

# EARLY CHRISTIANITY AND ITS LITERATURE



## Two Shipwrecked Gospels

*The Logoi of Jesus and  
Papias's Exposition of Logia about the Lord*

Dennis R. MacDonald

*SBL*

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Society of Biblical Literature



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Atlanta

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To Katya Louise MacDonald Reno  
and  
Henri Julian Reno

My favorite book lovers



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## PREFACE

Early Christians produced several books about Jesus in addition to the four Gospels in the New Testament. Some of these documents now survive in whole or in part, some in citations embedded in later writings, and some only as titles. Others are hypothetical reconstructions of lost documents that once may have been sources for later Gospels. This book attempts to reconstruct two lost Gospels, one of which probably was the earliest of all, what scholars conventionally call Q, probably from the German word *Quelle*, “source.” Tragically, no manuscript of this document exists, and there is no uncontested external witness to it, but, as we shall see, it is highly likely that the Synoptic Evangelists (unknown authors we have come to call Matthew, Mark, and Luke) all relied on a document that no longer exists. Although scholars have published several speculative reconstructions of Q on the basis of Matthew-Luke agreements against Mark, this volume proposes an alternative methodology for recovering the lost Gospel and produces a text nearly twice as long. To distinguish my reconstruction from others, I refer to it as Q+ or as the *Logoi of Jesus*, its most likely original title.

The second Gospel reconstructed in this volume survives exclusively in citations by later authors. The *Exposition of Logia about the Lord*, a five-volume work by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis (in Asia Minor), apparently was a running commentary on three earlier Gospels: those that we know as Mark and Matthew and a third with affinities with Matthew. I will propose that this third Gospel was none other than the lost Gospel, the *Logoi of Jesus*. Papias did not restrict himself to information derived from these books; he supplemented them with lore provided by people who had spoken with Jesus’ followers. Although publications of the Papiian fragments are readily available elsewhere, to my knowledge no one has rearranged them into their most likely sequence and speculated systematically concerning content that is missing in the gaps between them. Papias’s first four books apparently followed the narrative sequence of the Gospel of Matthew; the fifth regaled activities of Jesus’ followers up to his own day, circa 110 c.e. One therefore may consider his oeuvre as an extended Gospel with running commentary.

One can scarcely exaggerate the tragic consequences of these two textual shipwrecks. The *Logoi of Jesus* apparently was the earliest of all Gospels, and the *Exposition* was a trove of oral traditions about Jesus and the earliest known commentary on Mark and Matthew. These alternative reconstructions of the *Logoi of Jesus* and the *Exposition of Logia about the Lord* permit a new solution to the Synoptic Problem, the vexing interconnections among Matthew, Mark, and Luke. I will refer to this solution as the Q+/Papias Hypothesis. The first part of this book discusses the later of these two lost Gospels, because Papias provides precious external evidence that *Logoi* once existed and is not merely a clever scholarly contrivance.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book would have been impossible without the patience and insights of my students at the Iliff School of Theology, Harvard Divinity School, Union Theological Seminary (New York), the Claremont Graduate University, and especially the Claremont School of Theology. I have been working on the Synoptic Problem for more than thirty years, during which I have frequently modified my views, sometimes quite radically. I trust that my students, especially from earlier years, will forgive my evolution and will be receptive to my more mature views.

For part 1, on Papias's *Exposition of Logia about the Lord*, I am indebted to the extensive bibliographic work of Daniel Sharp and the critical encouragement of Enrico Norelli, whose edition informed me profoundly. Among the blessing of my life is my brother, Peter J. MacDonald, whose impressive facility in Italian spared me from many translation infelicities and permitted more confidence in using Norelli.

Part 2, on the *Logoi of Jesus* (Q+), relies heavily on the insights of David R. Catchpole, Harry T. Fleddermann, Christoph Heil, John S. Kloppenborg, Jan Lambrecht, James M. Robinson, Christopher M. Tuckett, and Jozef Verheyden, even though my reconstruction of the lost Gospel often departs dramatically from theirs. My student Richard C. Miller wrote the computer program for the Logoi concordance, and other Claremont students, J. D. Sellgren, Daniel Sharp, and Michael Kochenash, checked and revised it.

Above all, I must thank Bob Buller, SBL Editorial Director, for his skill, diligence, and patience in preparing the book for publication. This volume presented many unusual editorial challenges: extensive use of parallel columns, *en face* presentations of texts and translations, diagrams, synopses, and the always-pesky Greek diacriticals. Over many months he worked his magic with grace and precision, for which I will always be profoundly grateful.

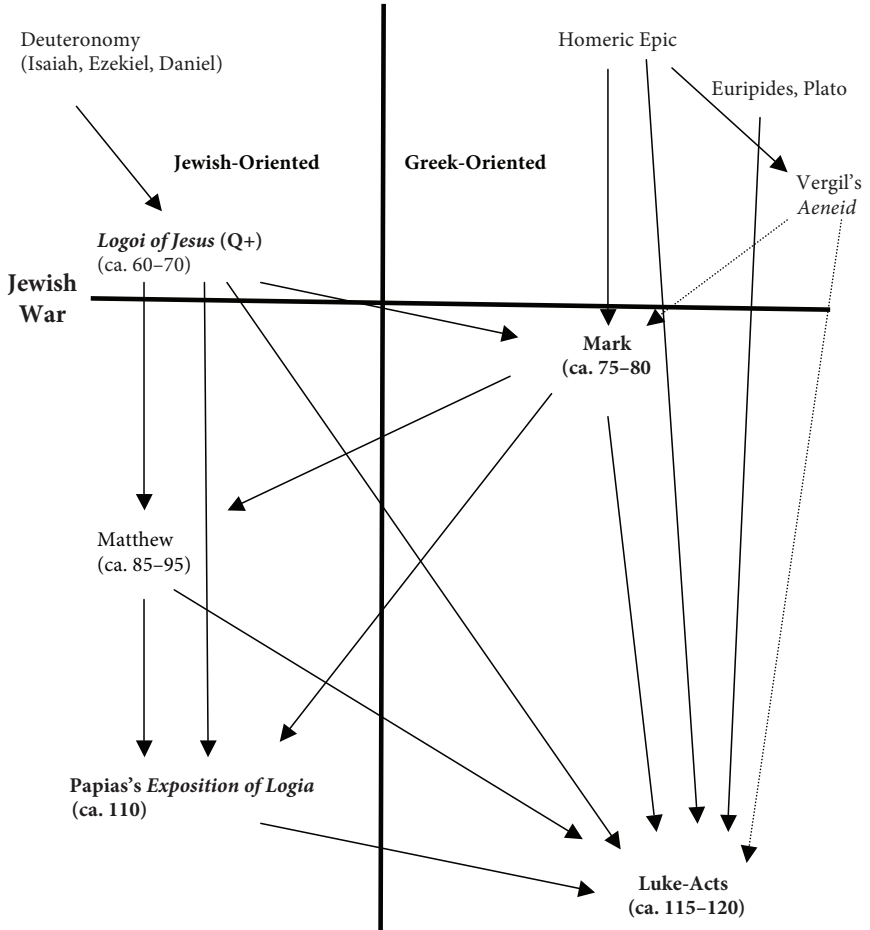


## ABBREVIATIONS

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| ABD        | <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.  |
| ABRL       | Anchor Bible Reference Library   |
| AnBib      | Analecta Biblica   |
| ANRW       | <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Part 2, <i>Principat</i> . Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–. |
| ATD        | Acta Theologica Danica   |
| ATR        | <i>Anglican Theological Review</i>   |
| BBB        | Bonner biblische Beiträge  |
| BETL       | Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium  |
| <i>Bib</i> | <i>Biblica</i>   |
| BTSt       | Biblical Tools and Studies   |
| BZABR      | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte   |
| BZNW       | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft  |
| CSCOSyr    | Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Syriac  |
| DJD        | Discoveries in the Judean Desert   |
| DQ         | Documenta Q  |
| ETL        | <i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>   |
| ETS        | Erfurter theologische Studien  |
| FB         | Forschung zur Bibel  |
| FRLANT     | Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments  |
| GTA        | Göttinger theologischer Arbeiten   |
| HTR        | <i>Harvard Theological Review</i>  |
| HTS        | Harvard Theological Studies  |
| ICC        | International Critical Commentary  |
| JBL        | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>  |
| JETS       | <i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>  |

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| <i>JSNT</i>  | <i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>  |
| JSNTSup      | Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series                                   |
| <i>JTS</i>   | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>  |
| KBANT        | Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament  |
| <i>LB</i>    | <i>Linguistica Biblica</i>   |
| LCL          | Loeb Classical Library   |
| LD           | Lectio Divinia   |
| LNTS         | Library of New Testament Studies   |
| <i>LS</i>    | <i>Louvain Studies</i>   |
| MTS          | Margburger theologische Studien  |
| <i>NovT</i>  | <i>Novum Testamentum</i>   |
| NovTSup      | Supplements to Novum Testamentum   |
| <i>NTS</i>   | <i>New Testament Studies</i>   |
| <i>SBFLA</i> | <i>Studii biblici Franciscani liber annus</i>  |
| SBL          | Society of Biblical Literature   |
| SBLDS        | Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series   |
| SBLECL       | Society of Biblical Literature Early Christian Literature                                      |
| StBL         | Studies in Biblical Literature   |
| <i>SH</i>    | <i>Sacred History</i>  |
| <i>SJT</i>   | <i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>  |
| <i>TJT</i>   | <i>Toronto Journal of Theology</i>   |
| TSAJ         | Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum   |
| TUGAL        | Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen<br>Literatur                       |
| VCSup        | Vigiliae Christianae Supplements   |
| WGRW         | Writings from the Greco-Roman World  |
| WMANT        | Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testa-<br>ment                              |
| WUNT         | Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament   |
| <i>ZKT</i>   | <i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>   |
| <i>ZNW</i>   | <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde<br/>der älteren Kirche</i> |

# THE Q+/PAPIAS HYPOTHESIS







PART 1

PAPIAS'S *EXPOSITION OF LOGIA ABOUT THE LORD*



## INTRODUCTION TO PART 1: SALVAGING A TEXTUAL SHIPWRECK

Early in the second century a bishop in Hierapolis, Phrygia, penned an extensive work about Jesus that he called Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις. The word ἐξήγησις can mean either “narrative” or “interpretation,” as in the transliteration “exegesis.” The English word “exposition” allows for the same ambiguity as in Greek. Although λόγια often meant “oracles” and thus was used by some early Christians to refer to Jewish Scriptures, Papias used the term *logia* to refer to the contents of the Gospels as discrete anecdotes, or chreiai, of things that Jesus “said or did [λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα]” (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15). His book thus included Jesus’ *logoi*, “words,” but was not restricted to sayings.<sup>1</sup> Papias’s use of *logia* resembles what modern scholars call pericopae, “sections.” As we shall see, the *Exposition of Logia about the Lord* was an eclectic Gospel of sorts that rearranged *logia* from at least three earlier books and augmented them with other traditions and commentaries.<sup>2</sup>

Papias’s work has not survived intact; our knowledge of it comes exclusively from fragments embedded in works of authors from the end of the second century until the eighth. In 2005 Enrico Norelli published his magisterial edition under the title *Papia di Hierapolis, Esposizione degli oracoli del Signore*, a dramatic improvement on its predecessors.<sup>3</sup> Norelli qualifies only a handful of fragments as reliable witnesses to the content of the lost work; for

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1. See the arguments of Benjamin W. Bacon, *Studies in Matthew* (New York: Henry Holt, 1930), 443–51.

2. See Armin Daniel Baum, “Papias als Kommentator evangelischer Aussprüche Jesu: Erwägungen zur Art seines Werkes,” *NovT* 38 (1996): 257–76.

3. Enrico Norelli, *Papia di Hierapolis, Esposizione degli oracoli del Signore: I frammenti* (Lecture cristiane del primo millennio 36; Milan: Paoline, 2005). This edition begins with 140 pages of introduction followed by a fifteen-page bibliography and more than three hundred pages of commentary on the fragments, which are arranged in the chronological order of their host documents. The discussion of each fragment begins with a presentation of the text in its original language (Greek, Latin, Syriac, or Armenian) with an Italian translation. After a few introductory comments concerning the nature of the host document,

example, he dismisses Irenaeus's references to traditions of the elders and all of the Armenian witnesses.<sup>4</sup> He lists the fragments as follows (the page numbers in parentheses refer to his edition of the texts with Italian translations).

- Fig. 1 (*Papia*, 174–77). Irenaeus (ca. 180), *Adv. haer.* 5.33.3–4  
 Fig. 5 (*Papia*, 230–38). Eusebius (ca. 325), *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1–17  
 Fig. 6 (*Papia*, 336–40). Apollinaris of Laodicea (ca. 390), fragment on Matt 27:5  
 Fig. 10 (*Papia*, 364–67). Philip of Side (ca. 435), fragment from *Codex Baroccianus 142*  
 Fig. 12a (*Papia*, 392–99). Andrew of Caesarea (ca. 563–614), *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, discourse 12, chapter 34, on Rev 12:7–9  
 Fig. 13 (*Papia*, 412–13). John of Scythopolis (ca. 532), scholia on Dionysius the Areopagite in *De Caelesti hierarchia* chapter 2  
 Fig. 15 (*Papia*, 422–23). Anastasius of Sinai (ca. 700), *Anagogical Contemplations on the Six Days of Creation 1*  
 Fig. 16 (*Papia*, 428–29). Anastasius of Sinai, *Anagogical Contemplations on the Six Days of Creation 7*

The testimonia consistently refer to the *Exposition* as spanning five volumes and occasionally indicate from which book particular content derived. Invariably and significantly, the order conforms to the Gospel of Matthew. According to John of Scythopolis, “Those who exercise themselves in not doing harm with respect to God they call ‘children’ [παῖδας], as Papias in the first book of his *Exposition of [Logia about] the Lord* makes clear” (Norelli fig. 13). William R. Schoedel proposed Matt 3:8–9 as Papias's exegetical target, even though the word παῖς or παιδίον is missing there. “Produce fruit worthy of repentance, and do not presume to say to yourselves, ‘We have as our fore-

---

Norelli presents his commentary as notes indexed to his translation. Five useful appendices appear at the end.

4. The numbering of the fragments follows the presentation in Norelli. Many of these fragments also appear at the end of Josef Kürzinger's landmark collection of studies, *Papias von Hierapolis und die Evangelien des Neuen Testaments* (Eichstätter Materialien 4; Regensburg: Pustet, 1983), 91–138, and (with English translations) in Bart D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers* (2 vols.; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 2:92–119. For alternative English translations, see William R. Schoedel, “The Fragments of Papias,” in *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary* (ed. Robert M. Grant; 6 vols.; London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964–1968), 5:89–130, and Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations* (3rd ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 722–67.

father Abraham.’ For I tell you that God is able from these rocks to raise up children [τέκνα] to Abraham.”<sup>5</sup> Here the trope of children implies the performance of righteous deeds, in keeping with Papias: “those who exercise themselves in not doing harm.” The absence of παῖς or παιδίον here is not crucial insofar as John of Scythopolis clearly inherited παῖδας from Dionysius the Areopagite and probably from Clement’s *Paidagogos*. Even if Norelli is right in proposing that the intellectual genesis of harmless children refers to the innocence of Adam and Eve in Eden, no other passage in Matthew or Mark is more likely to have prompted Papias’s hermeneia than Matt 3:8–9.<sup>6</sup> Fortunately, the ascriptions of Gospel echoes to the next three books are clearer.

According to Philip of Side, “In the second book Papias says that John the Theologian and his brother James were killed by Jews” (Norelli frg. 10). If Papias had a particular Gospel text in mind, it likely was Matt 20:22–23 (cf. Mark 10:38–39), where Jesus predicted that the sons of Zebedee would drink his cup and be baptized with his baptism.<sup>7</sup> No witness directly links content to book 3, but book 4 presented Jesus’ instructions to his disciples eating in the kingdom of God, the setting of which was the Last Supper, as in Matt 26:29 (cf. Mark 14:25), where Jesus predicted that “I will never drink this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it with you again in the kingdom of my Father.”<sup>8</sup> According to Irenaeus, Papias wrote about this “in the fourth of his books; he wrote five books in all” (Norelli frgs. 1 and 5). Book 4 also narrated the death of Judas, probably a polemic against Matthew’s account in 27:3–10 (Norelli frg. 6). No witness explicitly cites book 5.

From these data one might reasonably speculate that the first book discussed Papias’s literary intentions and began his exposition of his sources from Jesus’ birth to his baptism by John (cf. Matt 1:1–4:11) and that the second book discussed his ministry in Galilee and Judea (cf. Matt 4:12–20:34). Insofar as book 4 contained a discussion of Jesus’ last meal with disciples (cf. Matt 26:29), one might expect that book 3 discussed his ministry in Jerusalem (cf. Matt 21:1–25:46). In addition to interpreting the Last Supper, book 4 narrated

---

5. William R. Schoedel, “Papias,” *ANRW* 27.1:240.

6. Matt 18:3 might be another reasonable target: “Unless you turn and become like children [παιδία], you will not enter the kingdom of heaven.” Here, however, the Evangelist interprets “like children” to refer not to the avoidance of doing harm but to humility: “so whoever humbles himself like this child [παιδίον], this one is great in the kingdom of heaven” (18:4). Norelli presents strong parallels between Papias’s use of ἀκακία and Philo’s use of the same word (*Papia di Hierapoli*, 416). Insofar as the bishop of Hierapolis seems to have known 1 John, worthy of honorable mention are 1 John 2:14 and 18 and 3:7.

7. See also Norelli frg. 17.

8. So also Schoedel, “Papias,” 246.

the death of Judas and probably also the death and resurrection of Jesus (cf. Matt 26:1–28:20). Although no witness to Papias indicates what appeared in book 5, if one extrapolates from the Matthean order, one might reasonably suppose that it was in the last book that Papias discussed events after Jesus' resurrection to his own time. According to Eusebius,

From what was said earlier it was clear that Philip the apostle lived at Hierapolis with his daughters; now it should be indicated that, because Papias lived in their day, he could recall that he had received a marvelous tale from the daughters of Philip, for he narrates the raising of a dead person in his own day, and again another marvelous event about Justus surnamed Barsabbas—how he drank a fatal poison and, by the grace of the Lord, suffered nothing out of the ordinary. (Norelli frg. 5; cf. frg. 10).

Norelli appropriately organized the fragments according to the relative chronology of their host documents, but one also might arrange them into their most likely original sequence. After all, Papias himself was obsessed with putting the logia into correct chronological order. He was aware of criticisms of Mark's arrangement of logia "not in proper sequence [οὐ μέντοι τάξει]"; some had explained the jumble by appealing to the oral preaching of Peter, who never intended to create a sequential account (σύνταξις; Norelli frg. 5). Mark merely—but faithfully—translated Peter's memoirs as he had heard them. Matthew, on the other hand, wrote in Aramaic and "placed the logia in order [συνετάξατο]," but his Greek translators garbled it. For his part, Papias strove to put whatever he had learned about Jesus and the disciples back into proper sequence (συγκατατάξαι; Norelli frg. 5). The τάξις that Papias desired was the chronological order of events, as is clear from his preference for the sequence in Matthew insofar as he was a firsthand observer; Mark was not. This predilection corresponds with the identical sequences between the *Exposition* and Matthew whenever the two have similar content.

My arrangement of the Papias fragments requires an alterative numbering system to Norelli's. Numbers underlined identify passages where the original wording survives; fragments whose numbers are not underlined merely allude to content from the *Exposition* without quoting it. One must keep in mind that the following outline is heuristic and that, although it likely resembles the order of the fragments in Papias's volumes, certainty is impossible. One also must remember that the bulk of the work has vanished without a trace.

0 (= Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1]): The title of the work and its author

Book 1: Preface and comments on Jesus' origins to his baptism by John (Matt 1:1–4:11 and Mark 1:1–13)

- 1:1 (= Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.14]): Traditions from the elders John and Arision
- 1:2 (= Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.7]): Papias's incorporation of traditions from the elders
- 1:3 (= Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15]): The elder John on the writing of Mark
- 1:4 (= Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16]): The elder John on the writing of Matthew
- 1:5 (= Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.3–4]): Papias's compositional intentions
- 1:6 (= Norelli frg. 13): God's children are the righteous (assigned to book 1; cf. Matt 3:9–10)
- Book 2: Jesus' career in Galilee and Judea (Matt 4:12–20:34 and Mark 1:14–10:52)?
- 2:1 (= Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.17]): Miracles, parables, and a sinful woman
- 2:2a and 2b (= Norelli frgs. 15 and 16): Paradise in Genesis referred to "the church of Christ" (cf. Matt 19:28)
- 2:3 (= Norelli frg. 10): The martyrdoms of James and John (assigned to book 2; cf. Matt 20:20–23 and Mark 10:38–39)
- Book 3: Jesus' career in Jerusalem (Matt 21:1–25:46 and Mark 11:1–13:37)?
- 3.0 (= Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.11–12]): The earthly reign of Christ for a thousand years (cf. Matt 25:31–36)
- Book 4: Jesus' death and resurrection (Matt 26:1–28:20 and Mark 14:1–16:8)
- 4:1, 2, 3, and 4 (= Norelli frgs. 1 and 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1]): Bountiful harvests in the kingdom of God (assigned to book 4; cf. Matt 26:29 and Mark 14:25).
- 4:5 and 6 (= Norelli frg. 6): The death of Judas (assigned to book 4; cf. Matt 27:3–10)
- 4:7 (= Norelli frg. 12a): The fall of the angels (cf. Matt 28:18)
- Book 5: Activities of some of Jesus' followers to Papias's own day
- 5:1 (= Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9]): The daughters of Philip and Justus Barsabbas
- 5:2 (= Norelli frg. 10): The daughters of Philip, Justus Barsabbas, and the raising of Manaemus's mother

The commentary that follows focuses on Papias's use of antecedent literature, what I call "antetexts," especially the Gospel of Matthew.





## TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION AND COMMENTARY

## BOOK 1: PREFACE AND JOHN'S PREACHING

The arrangement of the fragments in book 1 requires special attention. Eusebius excerpted three passages from the beginning of the work, but apparently not in their original sequence. The first excerpt begins οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα συγκατατάξαι (“But I will not hesitate to set in order also for you whatever...”; *Expos.* 1:5). The word δέ, “but,” requires at least one previous sentence, and the word σοί, “for you [singular],” implies that the author already had mentioned this individual by name, perhaps his patron.<sup>1</sup> Norelli takes καί with the following ὅσα and translates it “anche tutto ciò” (“also all that”).<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it is more likely that καί goes with the preceding σοί, “also for you,” which suggests that others before Papias had “set in order” written accounts. Further evidence for the rearrangement of the three fragments is the link between Matthew’s setting the logia in order (συνετάξατο) and Papias’s intent to do the same (συγκατατάξαι). By rearranging Eusebius’s excerpts and by taking seriously clues about missing content, one gets a clearer picture of the beginning of the work.

Soon after the title, which Eusebius referred to as an inscription (ἐπιγέγραπται; *Expos.* 0), it would appear that Papias identified himself as the author and named his patron. Furthermore, the surviving excerpts suggest that from the outset the first volume discussed earlier writings about Jesus that had presented episodes and sayings (i.e., logia) in incompatible sequences. The earliest of the excerpts preserved by Eusebius seems to have been the discussion of the Gospel of Mark, then the discussion of Matthew, followed by Papias’s description of his own literary project. The discussion of Mark, however, implies that earlier Papias had introduced the elder John and

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1. Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 244–45.

2. Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 231.

perhaps an elder named Aristion as well.<sup>3</sup> (Darts identify fragments where Papias's wording survives, even if only in Latin translation.)

**0** (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1]). Title, Author, and Recipient

Eusebius: Τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ἃ καὶ ἐπιγράφται Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως.<sup>4</sup>

“Writings by Papias, five in number, are extant, which also bear the title [books] of an *Exposition of Logia about the Lord*.”

The reader apparently first encountered the following information.

- The title of the work: Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις (*Expos.* 0)
- The name of the author: Παπίας (*Expos.* 0)
- The name of the primary recipient: unknown (implied by the reference to “you” in *Expos.* 1:5)
- The identification of writings by Mark and Matthew that presented logia in incompatible sequences (implied by the reference to these books in *Expos.* 1:3 and 4)
- The introduction of the elder John and perhaps Aristion (implied by the reference to “the elder” at the beginning of *Expos.* 1:3)

**1:1** and **2** (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.14]). Aristion's *Expositions* and the Traditions of the Elders

1:1 Eusebius: Καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις, ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψαντες, ἀναγκαίως νῦν προσθήσομεν ταῖς προεκτεθείσας αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν ...

“And he [Papias] in his own writing hands down from the previously mentioned Aristion also other *Expositions of the Logoi of the Lord* and from the elder John other traditions.<sup>5</sup> To these [expositions and

3. See also Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 193.

4. On Eusebius's elliptical use of the genitive ἐξηγήσεως, see Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 59.

5. Ancient traditions about the elder John are notoriously complex, and scholars variously have attributed to him the composition or final redaction of the Gospel of John, one

traditions] we would direct the studios, but now we are compelled to add to these voices already presented by him a tradition . . .”<sup>6</sup>

The expression “other *Expositions* [ἄλλας ... διηγήσεις]” seems to pick up the reference two sentences earlier to “apostolic expositions [ἀποστολικὰς ... διηγήσεις]” (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.12), that is, New Testament writings. It also seems to distinguish Aristion’s “*Expositions*” from John’s “traditions [παραδόσεις],” which were oral: “the elder used to say [ἔλεγεν]” (1:3).<sup>7</sup> If Eusebius here had in mind a book by Aristion, the title apparently was τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις, which resembles Papias’s Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις. It is impossible to determine if the plural διηγήσεις implies several writings by Aristion or only one entitled *Expositions of the Logoi of the Lord*, which seems more likely. It also is unclear if Aristion commented on oral sayings attributed to Jesus, to sayings that appeared in the Gospels, or to a lost document entitled Οἱ τοῦ κυρίου λόγοι, “The Logoi of the Lord.” If Aristion indeed wrote a book, it would be the earliest known commentary on the sayings of Jesus, yet another textual shipwreck.

Even though Papias called Aristion a disciple of Jesus (*Expos.* 1:5), he placed his *Expositions* at a later stage, together with the traditions of the elder John, after the compositions of logia by Mark and Matthew. One also should note Papias’s distinction between logia (sayings and deeds of Jesus, which he discussed in his *Exposition*) and logoi (sayings only), which Aristion apparently discussed in his *Expositions*.

1:2 Eusebius: Ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλακίς αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασιν τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις.

“Indeed, often recalling them by name [i.e., John and Aristion], he puts their traditions in his writings.”<sup>8</sup>

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or more of the Johannine Epistles, or the Apocalypse of John. Fortunately, we need not weigh into this dispute here except to insist that Papias was not aware of the existence of the Fourth Gospel, which was composed later.

6. Eusebius here implies that copies of the *Exposition* still were widely available in his day.

7. “διηγήσεις ... παραδόσεις. The former seems to mean written stories, the later oral communications” (H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton, *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History and The Martyrs of Palestine* [London: SPCK, 1928], 115). One should note, however, that Eusebius used διήγησις for an oral tale in *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9; in 3.39.7 he uses παραδόσεις for both elders to refer to all that he received from them. Complicating the picture is the use of παραδόσεις elsewhere to refer both to oral and written “traditions.”

8. Elsewhere Eusebius wrote that Papias “also used testimonia from the first epistle of

Aristion probably was Papias's source for the fall of Satan later in the work (see the discussion of *Expos.* 4:7).

### 1:3 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15]). Mark as Peter's Translator

► Καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγεν· Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ· ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤμαρτεν Μάρκος οὕτως ἕνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσεν παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

The elder used to say this, too:<sup>9</sup> “Mark became Peter’s translator;<sup>10</sup> whatever Peter recalled of what was said or done by the Lord, Mark wrote down accurately, though not in proper sequence. For Mark himself neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but as I said, he later followed Peter,<sup>11</sup> who used to craft teachings for the needs [of the occasion],<sup>12</sup> not as though he were crafting a sequential arrangement of the logia about the Lord; so Mark was not in error by thus writing a few things as he remembered them,<sup>13</sup> for he made it his

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John and similarly from the epistle of Peter” (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.17]). This Petrine epistle apparently was the book we know as 1 Peter insofar as 2 Peter was written later than the *Exposition*. Norelli (*Papia di Hierapoli*, 331) suggests that Eusebius saw a connection between Papias and 1 Pet 5:13 (see 1:3). If one were to speculate also about the citation to 1 John, one might note the similarities between Papias’s concern for the truth of traditions about Jesus and similar concerns in the Johannine epistle (cf., e.g., 1:5 and 1 John 1:1–10).

9. The extent of the quotation from the elder is uncertain; it might include only the first sentence, but Norelli makes a good case for attributing this entire unit to him (*Papia di Hierapoli*, 294–99).

10. The word ἑρμηνευτής, translated here as “translator,” can also mean “interpreter,” but *Expos.* 1:4 uses the cognate verb ἑρμηνεύω for those who rendered Matthew’s original Semitic Gospel into Greek.

11. After an extensive overview of scholarship, Norelli concludes: “It seems impossible historically to verify the personal relationship between Peter and Mark attested by Papias’s elder, but a contact between this Gospel and ambient links to the memory of Peter appears to be likely” (*Papia di Hierapoli*, 297).

12. Or perhaps, “in the form of chreiai,” i.e., anecdotes. On the variety of options, see Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 310–11.

13. The reference to “a few things” probably reflects the brevity of Mark’s Gospel when compared with Matthew (Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 313).

one purpose to omit nothing that he had heard or falsely to present anything pertaining to them.”

This is the earliest reference to Mark as the author of a book about Jesus. Scholars remain divided over the actual authorship of this Gospel; some ascribe it to a historical character named Mark, but most hold that the original work was anonymous and that the name Mark derived from a traditional connection between Mark and Peter, as in 1 Pet 5:13, where the author, Pseudo-Peter, speaks of “my son Mark.” By not attributing the book directly to an apostle, the tradition may already have made it secondary to the Gospel attributed to Matthew, which likewise was originally anonymous.

Papias here gives Mark high marks for fidelity to the Jesus tradition without holding him responsible for getting the logia out of sequence, for he recorded Peter’s random memoirs. The bishop apparently suspected that these events in Mark were out of order because they differed from similar events in other books about Jesus. In the following excerpt, Papias again seems to be quoting the elder John.

1:4 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16]). Matthew and His Translators

► Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο, ἡρμήνευσεν δ’ αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.

“Matthew, for his part, set in order the logia in the Hebrew language, but each translated them as he was able.”

Whereas Mark did not compose “a sequential arrangement [σύνταξις],” this is precisely what Matthew, writing in “Hebrew” or Aramaic, did (συνετάξατο). His original sequence, however, was compromised by a few—perhaps only two—Greek translators. Papias seems not to have been concerned with the relative dating of Mark and Matthew because he assumed that neither served the other as a source. Both collections of logia derived independently from Jesus’ disciples, through Peter’s preaching or Matthew’s composing. What bothered him and his informant John were the incompatible sequences in the two books, and they gave the nod for accuracy to Matthew, at least to his putative Aramaic original.<sup>14</sup>

14. This is the case even if Papias’s statement about Mark’s deficient order pertains to rhetorical composition instead of historical chronology, for his point is that Matthew, as a participant, got the order right. See the discussions in F. H. Colson, “Τάξει in Papias (The Gospels and the Rhetorical Schools),” *JTS* 14 (1912): 62–69, Arthur Wright, “Τάξει in

Papias tried to make sense of at least three books about Jesus with differing content and sequences. In other words, he had a Synoptic Problem. As we shall see, Papias did not know the Gospels of Luke and John, but in addition to Mark and Matthew, he did know at least one other text, now lost, that apparently was more similar to Matthew than to Mark. According to Richard Bauckham, with respect to the composition of both Matthew and Mark

there are two stages, one the activity of an eyewitness, the other the activity of one or more non-eyewitnesses. ... Mark's Gospel is "not in order" because Peter did not relate the material in order, while Mark, not being an eyewitness, rightly did not attempt to put it "in order." Matthew, on the other hand, was an eyewitness who was able and did put the *logia* in order in his original Gospel, but this order was spoiled by those who translated his work into Greek. Thus Papias is concerned throughout with two aspects of each Gospel: its origin from eyewitness testimony and the question of "order." In both cases he wants to explain why a Gospel with eyewitness origins lacks proper "order."

Apparently Papias thought there had been more than one translation of Matthew's original work into Greek. ... He referred to these various Greek Matthews ... in order to show that none of them could be presumed to preserve accurately the "order" (*syntaxis*) of the original Hebrew or Aramaic Matthew.<sup>15</sup>

Bauckham surely is right in noting that Papias's statement about Matthew requires three or more compositional moments: the apostle's composition of the Semitic original and at least two differing Greek translations of it. He suggests that the elder John and Papias knew three such translations—the canonical Matthew, the *Gospel of the Nazarenes*, and the *Gospel of the Ebionites*—but this would require the dating of the last two books earlier than many experts would grant.<sup>16</sup> Bauckham also is wrong in thinking that the elder John and Papias faulted the sequences of *logia* in Mark and Matthew's translations

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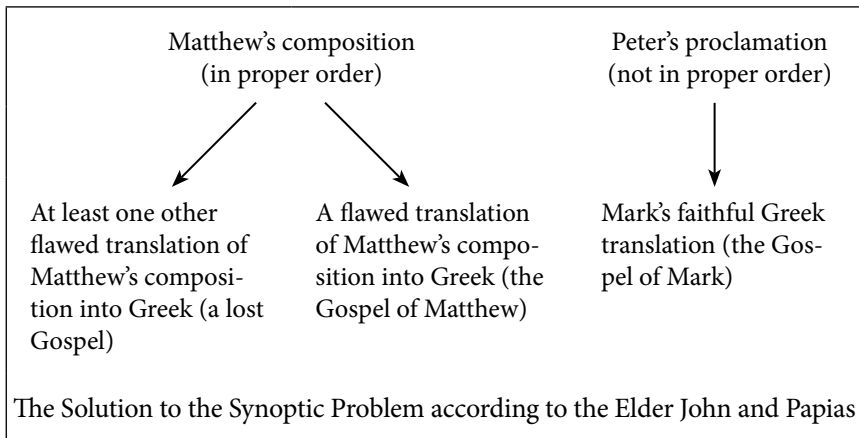
Papias," *JTS* 14 (1913): 298–300, and Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 220–21.

15. *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 223–24.

16. The author of the *Gospel of the Nazorenes* (if such a document ever existed) apparently knew the Gospel of John, and the author of the *Gospel of the Ebionites* knew Luke. See Philip Vielhauer and Georg Strecker, "Jewish Christian Gospels," in *New Testament Apocrypha* (2nd ed.; ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. R. McL. Wilson; 2 vols.; Cambridge: James Clark, 1991), 1:159 and 176; and Daniel A. Bertrand, "L'Évangile des Ebionites: Une harmonie évangélique antérieure au Diatessaron," *NTS* 26 (1980): 548–63. Although the primary model for these so-called apocryphal Gospels clearly is the Gospel of Matthew, this apostolic name never appears in the surviving fragments.

because they preferred the sequence in the Gospel of John; the Fourth Gospel was written much later.<sup>17</sup>

Norelli agrees with other scholars that there never was a primitive Semitic Matthew; it was invented to explain similarities and differences in two or more texts or books in circulation that differed from each other and that were attributed (at least by some) to Matthew.<sup>18</sup> It is more likely that the elder and Papias had in mind a Greek Gospel that resembled our Matthew but whose sequential differences required a creative solution.<sup>19</sup> I would paraphrase the elder John's enigmatic sentence as follows: "Matthew, for his part, set in order the logia in the Hebrew language, but [those responsible for the Greek Matthew and another Greek book] each translated as he was able."



17. See the discussion at n. 26.

18. *Papia di Hierapoli*, 322–23 and 329. Particularly insightful is the detailed discussion by Poul Nepper-Christensen (*Das Matthäusevangelium: Ein judenchristliches Evangelium?* [ATD 1; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1958]), who places Papias's assessment of Matthew in the context of later authors and leaves little doubt that our Gospel and probably its sources were composed in Greek. See especially 49–50 on why the tradition contrived a Hebrew Matthew. See also Ron Cameron, *Sayings Traditions in the Apocryphon of James* (HTS 34; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 100–121.

19. Had Papias in mind only differing manuscripts of Matthew, he might well have said the same about differing manuscripts of Mark.



1:5 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.3–4]). Papias’s Compositional Intentions

► Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι<sup>20</sup> ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τάληθῆ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῆ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς παραγινόμενας τῆς ἀληθείας· εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους, τί Ἰωάννης ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τί ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν ἅ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὀφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.

But I will not hesitate to set in order also for you whatever<sup>21</sup> I learned well and remembered well from the elders with interpretations to confirm their reliability;<sup>22</sup> for I would not take joy, as many would,<sup>23</sup> in those who had much to say, but in those who taught the truth; not in those who remembered the commandments of others, but in those who remembered the commandments given by the Lord for faith and derived from the truth itself.<sup>24</sup> If ever someone who had followed the elders should come by, I would investigate the sayings of the elders,<sup>25</sup> what Andrew or Peter said, or Philip, Thomas, James,

20. Some texts read συντάξαι.

21. Or “to set in order for you in addition whatever.”

22. It would appear that Papias wanted to put the logia back into Matthew’s original sequence, to augment the Greek translations of Matthew and the Gospel of Mark with other traditions, both written and oral, and to comment on them.

23. Proposals for identifying those whom Papias referred to as “many” have not produced a consensus. Rhetorically its primary function is to confirm the author’s own reliability.

24. Bauckham takes Papias’s reference to “the truth itself” to refer to Jesus and then links it to Jesus as the truth in John 14:6 (*Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 20–21). But in Papias the expression more likely refers to God. He refers to the commandments that “were given by [παρὰ] the Lord [i.e., Jesus] and that came from [ἀπό] the truth itself.” Papias’s near contemporary used a similar expression clearly without a connection to the Fourth Gospel. According to Lucian, historical writing has one task: “namely, what is beneficial, what issues only from the true [ἐκ τοῦ ἀληθοῦ]” (*How to Write History* 9).

25. Papias here acknowledges that he himself had not heard the elders, but certainty

John, Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples had said,<sup>26</sup> or what Aristion and the elder John, disciples of the Lord, say.<sup>27</sup> For I did not consider things derived from books to benefit me as much as things derived from a living and surviving voice.<sup>28</sup>

Papias here describes his literary task with the verb συγκατατάξαι: he was eager "to set in order" what he had learned. The strategic selection of this verb echoes his concern for the correct τάξις, or "order," of events in the life of Jesus and suggests that he emulated Matthew, who in his Semitic original correctly "set in order [συνετάξετο] the logia" (1:4).

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on this issue is elusive. Norelli concludes that Papias once met some of the elders himself and later some of their disciples (*Papia di Hierapoli*, 42 and 252–53; see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.3).

26. Bauckham, developing an observation first made by Joseph Barber Lightfoot, argues that similarities between this list of seven disciples and their order of appearance in the Fourth Gospel suggest that Papias knew John (*Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 20–21), but the parallels amount to a house of cards. To be sure, the first three names are in the same order (though Peter in John initially is called Simon), but then the Fourth Gospel mentions Nathaniel (1:45), Nicodemus (3:1), and Thomas (11:16). The names James and John never appear in the Gospel, and in chapter 21, generally considered an epilogue, they are called simply "the sons of Zebedee" (21:2). Matthew's name, too, is absent. In other words, there is no list of the Twelve in John, and to make Papias's list conform to John's order, one must omit two names from John's account (Nathaniel and Nicodemus), add three (James, John, and Matthew), and monitor the introduction of characters from the first chapter to the epilogue. Surely it is more likely that Papias linked the brothers Andrew and Peter and James and John, as in Matthew (and also in Mark and Luke). Matthew's list also reads "Philip, and Bartholomew, and Thomas, and Matthew" (10:3). The name Bartholomew may have dropped out in Papias because of his relative insignificance. These data render the statistical calculations of Jake H. O'Connell entirely useless ("A Note on Papias's Knowledge of the Fourth Gospel," *JBL* 129 [2010]: 793–94).

In any case, I see no reason why the bishop of Hierapolis needed to consult a text to compose his list of seven disciples. See especially Ulrich H. J. Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des früher Christentums* (FRLANT 133; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 173–76.

27. Eusebius seems to have taken the present λέγουσιν applied here to Aristion and John to imply that the bishop had been a "firsthand auditor [αὐτήκοον]" of these elders (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.7), whereas Papias himself claimed only to have heard of their teachings from others. Notice that when speaking of Jesus' other disciples, Papias uses the past tense εἶπεν, but when speaking of John and Aristion he uses the present λέγουσιν, thus implying that at least when he gathered his information they were still alive.

28. Bauckham surely is correct in insisting that here Papias refers not to an oral tradition as an abstraction of nameless lore, as some form critics have assumed, but to a chain of tradents (*Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 30–38; Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 101–5).

**1:6** (Norelli frg. 13). God's Children Are the Righteous (cf. Matt 3:8–10)

John of Scythopolis: Τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν ἀκακίαν ἀσκοῦντας παῖδας ἐκάλουν, ὡς καὶ Παπίας δηλοῖ βιβλίῳ πρώτῳ τῶν κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεων, καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τῷ Παιδαγωγῷ.

Those who exercise themselves in not doing harm with respect to God they call “children,” as Papias in the first book of his *Expositions [of Logia] about the Lord* makes clear, as well as Clement of Alexandria in the *Paidagogos*.<sup>29</sup>

Papias here may have had in mind the following saying: “So bear fruit worthy of repentance, and do not presume to tell yourselves: ‘We have as forefather Abraham!’ For I tell you: God can produce children for Abraham right out of these rocks” (Matt 3:8–10).

#### BOOK 2: JESUS IN GALILEE AND JUDEA (?)

Book 2 apparently contained interpretations of Jesus' career in Galilee and Judea, approximately equivalent to Matt 4:12–20:34 (cf. Mark 1:14–10:52). It is possible that Eusebius found in book 2 what he describes as “other content as though they came to him from an unwritten tradition, as well as some of the savior's strange parables, his teachings, and some other things even more fictional” (*Expos.* 3:1). Only Norelli frg. 10, from Philip of Side, can be placed here with confidence (see discussion of *Expos.* 2:3).

**2:1** (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.17]). The Sinful Woman

Eusebius: Ἐκτέθειται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἦν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει.

And he [Papias] also presented another tale about a woman who had

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29. John of Scythopolis apparently saw similar interpretations of the metaphor of the righteous as children in the *Exposition* and Clement's *Paidagogos* and summarized them with the phrase “those who exercise themselves in not doing harm with respect to God.” Unfortunately, “it is impossible . . . to find any one passage [in the *Paidagogos*] on which he [John] hangs the discussion” (Schoedel, “Fragments,” 116; see also Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 414–17).

been accused before the Lord of many sins, a tale that the *Gospel of the Hebrews* contains.

The relevant section of the *Gospel of the Hebrews* no longer survives; even so, Papias did not know the story from this book, which was written later than the *Exposition*.<sup>30</sup> After Papias, the first undisputed version of the tale appears in a truncated version in the *Didascalia apostolorum* (early third century), whose author urged his readers to receive those who repent as Jesus “did with her who had sinned, whom the elders placed before him, leaving the judgment in his hands, and departed. But he, the searcher of hearts, asked her and said to her: ‘Have the elders condemned you, my daughter?’ She says to him: ‘No, Lord.’ And he said to her: ‘Go, I do not condemn you either.’”<sup>31</sup> Modern readers familiar with the Gospel of John will recognize here affinities with the famous interpolation between John 7:52 and 8:12, but the author of the *Didascalia* could not have known the tale from that Gospel insofar as the interpolation first appears in manuscripts much later.<sup>32</sup> The verbal similarities with the Johannine interpolation, however, suggest that the two accounts somehow are connected.

Nearly two centuries later, Didymus of Alexandria (“the Blind”; d. 398) reported that he had seen several versions of the tale. In the following excerpt Didymus twice repeats himself. In both cases, the first doublet likely is a quotation—identified as such by quotation marks—and the second is his paraphrase.

We report that in some Gospels [a story] says that a woman was condemned by the Jews for a sin and was taken to be stoned at the place where this customarily happened. It says that when the Savior saw her and observed that they were ready to stone her, he said to those who were about to throw stones at her: “Whoever has not sinned, let him lift a stone and throw it.” If someone is certain that he has not sinned, let him take a stone and strike her. “And

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30. On the dating of the *Exposition*, see the discussion in chapter 2.

31. *Did. apost.* 8.2.24; translation altered from Arthur Vööbus, *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac* (CSCOSyr 177; Leuven: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1979).

32. Rufinus’s Latin translation of Eusebius here reads “de muliere adultera quae accusata est a Judaeis apud dominum” and thus links the story in Papias to the women caught in adultery in John 8:3–11. Rufinus associated the two because his Latin Bible already contained the Johannine interpolation (see Dieter Lührmann, “Die Geschichte von einer Sünderin und andere apokryphe Jesusüberlieferungen bei Didymos von Alexandrien,” *NovT* 32 (1990): 304–5).

no one dared to do so.” When they knew in themselves and recognized that they were guilty in some respects, they did not dare [to strike] her.<sup>33</sup>

Bart D. Ehrman has argued that among the Gospels that contained this story were Alexandrian copies of the Gospel of John, a claim rejected by Dieter Lührmann.<sup>34</sup> Be that as it may, Didymus’s use of the plural “Gospels” implies that he knew the story in at least one book other than John, including the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, which he cited elsewhere.<sup>35</sup> Hans-Josef Klauck contends that the summary “is probably not an abbreviated version of John 8:3–11, but an independent variant tradition, found by Didymus in a non-canonical gospel which was available in Alexandria.”<sup>36</sup>

The next most ancient version of the story appears as the interpolation into the Gospel of John. Many scholars have noted that the first two sentences most likely were added by the interpolator to provide a narrative transition. “And each one went to his or her home, but Jesus went to the Mount of Olives. Again, early in the morning he was in the temple, and all the people came to him; he sat and taught them” (John 7:53–8:2). The columns that follow present in the left witnesses to the story in Papias, the *Didascalía*, and Didymus and in right the Johannine interpolation.

Papias, *Didascalía*, and Didymus

John 8:3–11

[Papias narrated a story] “about a woman who had been accused before the Lord of many sins”

The scribes and the Pharisees brought a woman who had been caught in adultery,

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33. For the Greek text of this fragment, see Bart D. Ehrman, “Jesus and the Adulteress,” *NTS* 34 (1988): 25; Lührmann, “Die Geschichte von einer Sünderin,” 290; and Dieter Lührmann, ed., *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache* (MTS 59; Marburg: Elwert, 2000), 51.

34. Ehrman, “Jesus and the Adulteress,” 26–28; Lührmann, “Die Geschichte von einer Sünderin,” 293–96.

35. See Lührmann, “Die Geschichte von einer Sünderin,” 304–7, and his “Das Bruckstück aus dem Hebräerevangelium bei Didymus von Alexandrien,” *NovT* 29 (1987): 265–79. Lührmann dismissed the possibility that Didymus could have known Papias’s *Exposition* because it was not a Gospel (308). His suggestion that Didymus found the story in the *Gospel of Thomas* is unjustified speculation.

36. *Apocryphal Gospels: An Introduction* (trans. Brian McNeil; London: T&T Clark, 2003), 41. Here Klauck follows Lührmann, “Die Geschichte von einer Sünderin,” 306–7 and 312.

(*Expos.* 2:1). A woman “was condemned by the Jews for a sin and was taken to be stoned at the place where this customarily happened” (Didymus). “The elders” brought before Jesus a woman “who had sinned. ... Leaving the judgment in his hands, they departed” (*Didascalía*). “When the Savior saw her and observed that they were ready to stone her,

he said to those who were about to throw stones at her: ‘Whoever has not sinned, let him lift a stone and throw it.’

And no one dared to do so” (Didymus). ...

“But he ... asked her and said to her: ‘Have the elders condemned you, my daughter?’

She says to him: ‘No, Lord.’ And he said to her: ‘Go, I do not condemn you either’” (*Didascalía*).

and standing her in the center,

they spoke to him, saying, “Teacher, this woman was caught in the very act of adultery.

Moses commanded us in the law to stone such women. So what do you say?” They were saying this to test him, in order to have an accusation against him. But Jesus stooped down and was writing in the ground with his finger. And as they continued interrogating him, he straightened up and said to them, “Let the one among you without sin be the first to cast a stone at her.”

And he stooped down again and was writing on the ground. But when they heard his reply, one by one, beginning with the elders, they left, and only he and the woman who had been in the middle remained.

And Jesus straightened up and said to her, “Woman, where are they? No one is condemning you, are they?”

She said, “No one, Lord.”

And Jesus said, “I do not condemn you either. Go, and from now on sin no longer.”

From these parallels it would appear that the traditional elements of the story that now appears in John 8:3–11 included at least the following:

- Jewish religious authorities had accused a woman of many sins and brought her to Jesus just before they were to stone her. Only

the Johannine account states that her sin was adultery, which probably is a redactional innovation.<sup>37</sup>

- Jesus said something like, “Whoever has not sinned, let him lift a stone and throw it.”
- None of the authorities dared to do so.
- Jesus then turned to the woman and asked something like, “Have the elders condemned you?”
- She said, “No, Lord.”
- He told her something like, “I do not condemn you either. Go.”

No such story appears in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, which leaves three options for its genesis: (1) Papias heard the tale from “a living voice” such as that of the daughters of Philip (cf. *Expos.* 5:1 and 2); (2) he read it in Aristion’s *Expositions of the Logoi of the Lord*; or (3) he read it in the lost putative translation of Matthew. As we shall see in a comparison of Papias’s *Exposition* with the Gospel of Luke, the third option is the most compelling.<sup>38</sup>

**2:2a** and **2b** (Norelli frgs. 15 and 16). Paradise in Genesis Refers to the Church (cf. Matt 19:28)

2:2a. Anastasius of Sinai lists Papias among others who held that εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πᾶσαν ἑξαήμερον.

... all of the hexameron [referred] to Christ and the church.<sup>39</sup>

2:2b. Anastasius makes a similar claim later in the same work. Papias and others πνευματικῶς τὰ περὶ παραδείσου ἐθεώρησαν εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφερόμενοι.

... viewed things about paradise spiritually as referring to the church of Christ.

Norelli suggests that Papias’s interpretation of the opening chapters of Genesis was central to his eschatology; that is, the bliss of paradise pertains to the eternal bliss of the righteous.<sup>40</sup> It would be risky to speculate how Papias might

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37. See Lührmann, “Die Geschichte von einer Sünderin”; and Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 334–45.

38. See the discussion in part 2, chapter 5, to *Logoi* 5:17–23 (7:36–41, 49–50).

39. The word “hexameron” refers to the account of the six days of creation in Gen 1.

40. *Papia di Hierapoli*, 424–25.

have read Genesis “spiritually,” especially in light of his material interpretation in other fragments of the pleasures of the eschaton.<sup>41</sup>

If one were to identify a passage in Mark or Matthew that prompted this discussion in Papias, it might be Matt 19:28: “Truly I tell you that you who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory, you, too, will sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” The Greek word here translated “regeneration” is *παλιγγενεσία*, literally, “re-creation.” Matthew, like Papias (according to Anastasius of Sinai), apparently viewed the future of the church as a restoration of God’s creation before the fall of Adam and Eve.<sup>42</sup>

2:3 (Norelli frg. 10; cf. 17). The Deaths of James and John (cf. Matt 20:20–23 and Mark 10:38–39)

Philip of Side: Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῆρέθησαν.

In the second book Papias says that John [the Theologian] and his brother James were killed by the Jews.<sup>43</sup>

This fragment need not mean that both brothers were killed at the same time, and many ancient witnesses suggest that John outlived James by decades (e.g., John 21:20–23; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 2.22.5).<sup>44</sup> If Papias had a particular Gospel text in mind, it likely was Matt 20:20–23 (cf. Mark 10:38–39), where Jesus predicts violent deaths for the brothers:

Then the mother of the sons of Zebedee approached him with her sons to worship and request something from him. He said to her, “What do you want?” She said to him, “Speak so that these two sons of mine may sit in your kingdom, one on your right side and one on your left.” In reply, Jesus said: “You [plural] do not know what you are asking. Are you able to drink the cup that I am about to drink?” They said to him, “We are able.” He said to them, “You will drink my cup, but to sit at my right hand and my left, [this]

41. See Norelli’s sensitive treatment in *Papia di Hierapoli*, 424–26.

42. Justin Martyr similarly reads the description of paradise in Genesis to anticipate conditions after Jesus’ return (*Dial. Tryph.* 86.1).

43. I have placed “the Theologian” in brackets insofar as Papias, writing around 110 C.E. could not have so designated John the son of Zebedee.

44. Mark already may have been aware of this tradition (see Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000], 28–29).



is not mine to grant, but it is for those for whom it has been prepared by my Father.”

If Papias indeed had this text in mind, he probably notified his reader that Jesus’ prediction had been fulfilled.

### BOOK 3: JESUS IN JERUSALEM (?)

Several Papiian fragments suggest that the fate of the righteous after Jesus’ return was a prominent concern of the *Exposition*, and his chiliasm won him Eusebius’s smear that he was “a man of puny intellect” (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.12]). Irenaeus located one of Papias’s discussions of the eschaton in book 4 as part an elaboration of Jesus’ statement at the Last Supper about eating and drinking in the kingdom of God (*Expos.* 4:1, 2, and 3; cf. Matt 26:29; Mark 14:25). Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine in what other books, if any, Papias might have discussed similar eschatological topics. I would propose that, consistent with his obsession with chronological order and preference for Matthew’s arrangement, he did so in book 3, where he may have commented on content in Matt 21:1–25:46 (and its parallels in Mark 11:1–13:37). In these chapters Jesus is in Jerusalem and, among other things, predicts future events for his disciples.

**3:0** (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.11–12]). Christ’s Thousand-Year Earthly Kingdom (cf. Matt 25:31–36)

Eusebius: Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκοντα παρατίθεται ξένας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα μυθικώτερα· ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα τινὰ φησὶν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησί τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης· ἃ καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεξάμενον διηγῆσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνεορακότα.

He [Papias] also added other content as though they came to him from an unwritten tradition, as well as some of the Savior’s strange parables,<sup>45</sup> his teachings, and some other things even more fic-

45. The word translated as “strange” is ξένος, by which Eusebius seems to mean that these parables do not appear in the Gospels that he considered canonical (Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 290).

tional, among which he said that there will be a thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, when the kingdom of Christ will be established physically on this earth. I imagine that he assumed these things by misconstruing the apostolic accounts without noting that they were spoken from them [the apostles] symbolically in figures.

The “apostolic accounts” that, according to Eusebius, Papias misinterpreted surely included the reference to a millennial kingdom in Rev 20:1–17. Norelli, however, argues that Papias derived his chiliasm independent of John’s Apocalypse.<sup>46</sup>

It is impossible to know what, if any, Gospel logion may have sparked Papias’s discussion of an earthly “kingdom of Christ,” but Matt 25:31–36 would be a smart bet. Here Jesus depicts a tribunal at which the Son of Man rewards the righteous with an inheritance in his kingdom.

When the Son of Man comes in his glory and all his angels with him, then he will sit on the throne of his glory, and all the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate them from one another, as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, and puts the sheep on his right and the goats on the left. Then the king will say to those on his right hand, “Come, you who are blessed by my father; inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the creation of the world,<sup>47</sup> for I was hungry, and you gave me something to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me something to drink; I was a foreigner, and you took me in; naked, and you clothed me; sick, and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to me.”

Papias may have suggested to his readers that the inheritance of the kingdom by those who gave Jesus food and drink would involve physical pleasures for a thousand years. Once again, however, certainty is a chimera.

#### BOOK 4: JESUS’ DEATH AND RESURRECTION

The Papias fragments explicitly locate Papias’s treatment of the Last Supper and Judas’s death in book 4. In light of his preference for the sequence in Matthew, it is reasonable to think that this book generally corresponded to Matt 26:1–28:20 (cf. Mark 14:1–16:8).

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46. *Papia di Hierapoli*, 178–203.

47. Papias surely could have read this verse to refer to paradise; cf. 2:2b.

4:1 and 4:2, 3, and 4 (Norelli frgs. 1 and 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1]). Agricultural Bounty in the Kingdom of God (cf. Matt 26:29 and Mark 14:25)

4:1 Irenaeus: [...] Praedicta itaque benedictio ad tempora regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt iusti surgentes a mortuis, quando et creatura renovata et liberata multitudinem fructificabit universae escae ex rore caeli et ex fertilitate terrae. Quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt, qui Johannem discipulum domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat dominus et dicebat ...

Thus the blessing foretold [in Gen 27:28] undoubtedly pertains to the times of the kingdom, when the righteous, rising from the dead, will reign and when the creation, renewed and liberated, will bear an abundance of every kind of food “from the dew of heaven and the fertility of the earth”; thus the elders who saw John the disciple of the Lord recalled having heard from him how the Lord used to teach concerning those times and say: ...

► 4:2 Venient dies in quibus vineae nascentur singulae decem millia palmitum habentes, et in unoquoque palmitate dena millia brachiorum, et in unoquoque brachio dena millia flagellorum et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botruorum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum, et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit vigintiquinque metretas vini. Et cum [eorum] apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botruum alius clamabit botrus: “Ego melior sum, me sume, per me dominum benedic.” Similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum, et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum, et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres similiae clarae mundaе, et reliqua autem poma et semina et herbam secundum congruentiam his consequentem, et omnia animalia his cibis utentia qui a terra accipiuntur pacifica et consentanea invicem fieri, subiecta hominibus cum omni subiectione.

The days will come when vineyards shall grow each with ten thousand vines, and on one vine ten thousand branches, and on one branch ten thousand shoots, and on every shoot ten thousand clusters, and in every cluster ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give twenty-five measures of wine; and when one of the saints grasps a cluster, another cluster will cry out: “I am better, take me, bless the Lord on my account.” Similarly a grain of wheat will

bring forth ten thousand ears, and every ear will have ten thousand grains, and every grain ten pounds of clean white flour. And all the other fruits and seeds and grass will bring forth in like proportion. And all the animals using foods that are produced by the earth will live beautifully and harmoniously together, fully subject to humans. (Schoedel's translation, altered)

4:3 The continuation of Irenaeus's account according to Eusebius: Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων. ἔστιν γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα.

Papias, who was John's hearer and Polycarp's companion, a man of old, gives written witness in the fourth of his books; he wrote five books in all.

► 4:4 Haec autem credibilia sunt credentibus et Juda, inquit, proditore non credente et interrogante: Quomodo ergo tales geniturae a domino perficientur?, dixisse dominum: Videbunt qui venient in illa.

[Jesus speaks:] "These things are credible to those who believe. And," he [Papias] says, "when Judas the traitor did not believe and asked, 'How then will such extraordinary growths be brought about by the Lord?' the Lord declared, 'Those who come into those times will see them.'" (Schoedel's translation, altered)

The setting for these fragments almost certainly is Jesus' Last Supper with his disciples and his announcement in Matt 26:29 (cf. Mark 14:25) that "From now on I will never drink this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it with you again in the kingdom of my Father." Irenaeus cites Papias to bolster his chiliastic view of the kingdom of God and his interpretation of Isaac's blessing of Jacob: "May God give you some of the dew of heaven and some of the fatness of the earth, an abundance of grain and wine" (Gen 27:28, LXX). The Greek word lying behind "abundance" is πλῆθος, a translation of the Hebrew רֹב, cognate to the Palestinian Aramaic word for "myriad" or "ten thousand," רבוא. These lexical similarities apparently prompted speculations among Jews before Papias about extraordinary bounty in the eschaton, as in 2 Bar. 29:5: "the earth will also yield fruits ten thousand fold. And on one vine will be a thousand branches, and one branch will produce a thousand clusters,

and one cluster will produce a thousand grapes, and one grape will produce a cor of wine.”<sup>48</sup>

Many scholars have speculated concerning the relationship of this Papias fragment to 2 *Baruch* and other Jewish texts; I agree with Norelli’s caution at this point.

In sum, it is preferable to think that ancient Christian circles originally from the land of Israel had transmitted as a word of Jesus a Christianized form of a Jewish tradition on the extraordinary fertility of the land in the messianic age, based exegetically on Gen 27:28: the repetition of 10,000 in our saying seems in effect to issue from the *rov* [רֹב] of that verse, which is alluded to in the immediate context by Irenaeus.<sup>49</sup>

If this link between Palestinian Jewish traditions and Papias is correct, it would shed light on the identity of some of Papias’s informants. The work 2 *Baruch* originally was written in a Semitic language in Palestine as a response to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. Perhaps not long after its composition, someone translated it into Greek, which was the text that lies behind our Syriac translation, our only extant witness to it. Papias’s informants thus seem to have placed Palestinian Jewish fantasies about the abundance of food in the eschaton onto the lips of Jesus and used them to interpret Jesus’ statements about drinking the fruit of the vine in the kingdom of God as one finds them in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew.<sup>50</sup>

#### 4:5 and 6 (Norelli frg. 6). The Death of Judas (cf. Matt 27:3–10)

4:5 Apollinaris of Laodicea: Οὐκ ἐναπέθανε τῆ ἀγχόνῃ ὁ Ἰούδας, ἀλλ’ ἐπεβίω καθαιρεθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ ἀποπνιγῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεις, ὅτι πρηνῆς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δὲ σαφέστερον ἱστορεῖ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μαθητῆς λέγων οὕτως ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τῶν κυριακῶν λόγων.

Judas did not die by hanging, but he survived for a while because he was taken down before he choked. And the Acts of the Apostles

48. The translation comes from A. F. J. Klijn, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983), 1:630. See also 1 *En.* 10:19 and *Sib. Or.* 3.619–623 and 743–749.

49. *Papia di Hierapoli*, 188,

50. See Benjamin W. Bacon, “Date and Habitat of the Elders of Papias,” *ZNW* 12 (1911): 176–87. On peace among animals in the eschaton, see 2 *Bar.* 73:6.

makes this clear: “falling face down, he burst in the middle, and all his guts poured out.” Papias, John’s disciple, records this even more clearly when he speaks as follows in his fourth volume of *Exposition of the Logoi of the Lord*.

► 4:6 Μέγα δὲ ἀσεβείας ὑπόδειγμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιεπάτησεν Ἰούδας, πρησθεὶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα, ὥστε μηδὲ ὀπόθεν ἄμαξα ῥαδίως διέρχεται, ἐκείνον δύνασθαι διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτὸν μόνον τὸν ὄγκον τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ βλέφαρα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ φασὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξοιδῆσαι, ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν καθόλου τὸ φῶς μὴ βλέπειν, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἱατροῦ διόπτρας ὀφθῆναι δύνασθαι· τοσοῦτον βάθος εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπιφανείας. τὸ δὲ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ πάσης μὲν ἀσχημοσύνης ἀηδέστερον καὶ μείζον φαίνεσθαι, φέρεσθαι δὲ δι’ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ σώματος συρρέοντας ἰχώρας τε καὶ σκώληκας εἰς ὕβριν δι’ αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

Μετὰ πολλὰς δὲ βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας ἐν ἰδίῳ φασὶν χωρίῳ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς δυσωδίας ἔρημον καὶ ἀοίκητον τὸ χωρίον μέχρι τῆς νῦν γενέσθαι, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον δύνασθαι τινα ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον παρελθεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ τὰς ῥίνας ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφράξῃ. τοσαύτη διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔκρυσις ἐχώρησεν.

Judas conducted himself in this world as a great paradigm of impiety. His flesh became so bloated that he was unable to pass through an opening large enough for a chariot easily to pass. Not even the massiveness of his head could get through! They say that his eyelids were so swollen that he was entirely unable to see the light, and even physicians with magnifying glasses could not see his eyes, so deeply had they sunk beyond sight. His penis appeared to be more repulsive and larger than any such disgraceful member, and bloody discharge and maggots poured from all over his body, which caused injury whenever he attended to his bodily needs.

They say that after many tortures and punishments, he died in his own plot, which became deserted and uninhabited even to this day due to its stench. Still today no one can pass by that place without pinching his nostrils, such was the efflux that seeped from his flesh to the ground.<sup>51</sup>

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51. Christopher B. Zeichmann argues that, whatever the origin of Papias’s account,

The New Testament contains two incompatible accounts of the death of Judas; Papias surely knew the account in Matt 27:3–10 but not the one in Acts 1:16–20.<sup>52</sup> Most studies of these variant tales assume that at least two of the three—Matthew’s, Papias’s, and Luke’s—originated in oral tradition before being written in their host documents, but it is more likely that Matthew created the account of Judas’s suicide from biblical texts to solve a problem presented by his sources. If so, Papias was not objecting to an oral tradition about Judas but citing a tradition that opposed Matthew’s literary depiction of him.<sup>53</sup>

The Matthean Evangelist redacted Mark’s treatment of Judas’s betrayal of Jesus, but he also incorporated a traditional saying in 19:28 that promised all of the Twelve, including Judas, high status in his kingdom: “Truly I tell you that you who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory, you, too, will sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” By retaining this saying as well as Mark’s depiction of Judas as the betrayer, Matthew created a problem that needed a solution: How could Judas be both a traitor and a judge?

Here is Matthew’s innovative answer.

Then, when Judas, the one who delivered him up, saw that Jesus had been condemned, he changed his mind, returned the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, “I have sinned by delivering up innocent blood.” But they said, “What do we care? You see to it.” He threw the silver into the sanctuary, left, went off, and hanged himself. The chief priests took the silver and said, “It is not permitted to put these into the sacred treasury, since they are a blood price.” After holding council, they used some of the money to buy the potter’s field for the burial of foreigners. Thus that field was called a Field of Blood even to this day. Then what was said by Jeremiah the prophet was fulfilled: “And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the purchase price set by some of the people of Israel, and they gave them for the potter’s field, as the Lord had commanded me.” (Matt 27:3–10)

The Field of Blood surely was a real place somewhere near Jerusalem, for Luke independently knew its Aramaic name, Hakeldamach (Acts 1:19), but this seems to be the only traditional element of the logion; Matthew appar-

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he shaped it according to the conventions of rhetorical ekphrasis, especially portrayals of *skolekosis*, or “death by worm-consumption” (“Papias as Rhetorician: Ekphrasis in the Bishop’s Account of Judas’ Death,” *NTS* 56 [2010]: 427–29).

52. On the relative dating of the *Exposition* and Luke-Acts, see pages 46–48.

53. For a fuller treatment of this subject, see Dennis R. MacDonald, “Luke’s Use of Papias for Narrating the Death of Judas,” in *Reading Acts Today* (ed. Steve Walton et al.; London: T&T Clark, 2011), 43–62.

ently was the first person to link the location to Judas. For this Evangelist, the betrayer's remorse was sufficient vindication to reinstate him as an eschatological judge.<sup>54</sup>

Papias's account of Judas's death refutes Matthew's, as the following comparison demonstrates:

| Matt 27  | <i>Expos.</i> 4:5 and 6   |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Judas “hung [ἀπήγγξατο] himself.”</li> <li>• The chief priests “used some of the money to buy the potter’s field [ἀγρόν].”</li> <li>• “That field was called the Field of Blood even to this day [ἕως τῆς σήμερον].”</li> </ul> | <p>Judas “did not die by hanging [τῇ ἀγχόνῃ].”<sup>55</sup></p> <p>Judas died “in his own plot [χωρίῳ].”</p> <p>Judas’s plot “became deserted and uninhabited even to this day [μέχρι τῆς νῦν] due to its stench. Still today [μέχρι τῆς σήμερον] no one can pass by that place without pinching his nostrils.”</p> |

Papias explicitly attributed his version to oral informants, most likely auditors of the elders John and Aristion. One must choose between two assessments of the genesis of this vivid tale: (1) it originally was independent of the Gospel of Matthew, or (2) it was a polemical response to it prior to Papias.

Although scholars recognize Matthew's obvious reliance on texts from the Septuagint/Old Greek, they seldom note that the same biblical parallels seeped through Matthew into Papias. For example, the Evangelist's model for Judas's suicide came from 2 Samuel.

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54. Arie W. Zwiep concludes his book on Acts 1 (*Judas and the Choice of Matthias: A Story on the Context and Concern of Acts 1:15–26* [WUNT 2/187; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004], 181–82) by making the harmonization of the promise of thrones in Q and the depiction of Judas the betrayer in Mark the motivation for the selection of Matthias in Acts 1, yet he fails to see that Matthew's presentation of Judas's suicide was a different answer to the same problem.

55. Even if one takes this statement as Apollinaris's commentary, which seems likely, the quotation from Papias that follows leaves little doubt that Apollinaris took the passage as an alternative to Matthew (see Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 344).



2 Sam 17:23

Matt 27:3, 5, and 7b

And when Ahithophel saw that [εἶδε ὅτι] his advice did not come about, he saddled his ass, and went off [ἀπῆλθεν] to his house, ... and hanged himself [ἀπήγατο], and died, and was buried in the tomb [ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ τάφῳ] of his father.

Then, when Judas ... saw that [ιδὼν ... ὅτι] Jesus had been condemned, he changed his mind. ... He threw the silver into the sanctuary, left, went off [ἀπελθὼν], and hanged himself [ἀπήγατο]. ... for the burial [ταφήν] of foreigners.<sup>56</sup>

The tradition cited by Papias knew Judas's attempt to hang himself, though the noose failed to do the job.<sup>56</sup>

Also from 2 Samuel came Matthew's model for his etiology for the Field of Blood (ἀγρὸς αἵματος), namely, that it was purchased with blood money (τιμὴ αἵματος).<sup>57</sup>

2 Sam 6:8 (cf. Gen 26:33)

Matt 27:8

And that place was called [ἐκλήθη ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος] Uzza's Breach even to this day [ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας].

Thus that field was called [ἐκλήθη ὁ ἀγρὸς ἐκεῖνος] a Field of Blood even to this day [ἕως τῆς σήμερον].

Such etiological formulae are common in ancient literature, but in addition to the verbal similarities are contextual ones, including the use of 2 Samuel in Matt 27:3–7 that immediately precedes Judas's death. Uzza angered God by touching the ark of the covenant, and his death created fear among David and others. Uzza and Judas thus both were sinners whose violations stigmatized a plot of land. One may detect in Papias's version a trace of 2 Sam 6 in the phrase "still today [μέχρι τῆς σήμερον]."

56. In a private conversation, Norelli proposed that Matthew inherited a version of Judas's suicide because echoes of 2 Samuel appeared already in traditions related to Jesus' passion (compare 2 Sam 15:30–32 and 20:9–10 with Mark 14:32–36 and 45). It is more likely that these echoes are Mark's redactional imitations and not reflections of tradition. If so, Matthew would have detected biblical echoes in Mark and added his own imitations of the David narrative in 2 Sam 6:8 and 17:23 for his account of Judas's death.

57. For prohibitions of tainted money in the temple, see Deut 23:18.

The Matthean Evangelist then found in Jer 39:6–15 (MT 32:6–15) a text that might show that *mutatis mutandis* the death of Judas was according to Scripture: Jeremiah’s narration of purchasing a field (ἀγρός) as “the Lord” had directed him (39:6, 8, 14, 15). But Jer 39 (MT 32) could not implicate the Jewish authorities, so Matthew awkwardly conflated it with Zech 11:13.<sup>58</sup> It thus would appear that the Evangelist created the entire logion to harmonize the traditional promise of thrones with Mark’s depiction of Judas as a betrayer.<sup>59</sup> All that is traditional in Matthew’s account is a location near Jerusalem called the Field of Blood.

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58. Maarten J. J. Menken presents a compelling reconstruction of the Greek text that the Evangelist most likely used (*Matthew’s Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* [BETL 173; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004], 179–92).

- a καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς με·  
 b Κάθεσ αὐτοὺς [i.e., τριάκοντα ἀγρuruῶς (11:12)] εἰς τὸν κεραμέα.  
 c καὶ σκέψομαι εἰ δόκιμὸν ἐστίν, ὃν τρόπον ἐδοκιμάσθην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.  
 d καὶ ἔλαβον τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀγρuruῶς,  
 e καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν κεραμέα.
- a And the Lord said to me,  
 b “Deposit them [the thirty pieces of silver] with the potter,  
 c and I will find out if it is assayed the way I assayed for them.”  
 d And I took the thirty pieces of silver  
 e and gave them to the potter.

The verb ἔλαβον in line d must be a first-person singular, but Matthew required it to be the third-person plural to make it refer to the Jewish authorities, even though doing so created an absurd change of subject to the first-person singular in line e: “*They* took the thirty pieces of silver, and *I* gave them to the potter.” Matthew thus rearranged the sequence of the last three lines to d, c, and e and offered his alternative version of c: he replaced σκέψομαι with the third-person-plural ἐτιμήσαντο and altered the reference to the assessed value of the prophet’s wages to create a wordplay: “the price of the precious one on whom a price had been set.” At the end of the same line he also clarified the antecedent of the αὐτῶν by adding ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. He then changed the first-person ἔδωκα in line e to the third-person ἔδωκαν to make the Jewish authorities the buyers of the field. Matthew gave Jeremiah full credit for the citation because, of the two texts, it was more relevant to the Field of Blood.

59. I suspect that the Evangelist composed his account of Judas’s death as a separate unit and awkwardly inserted it between his redaction of Mark 15:1 and 2 as a conclusion to his earlier presentation of Peter’s denial in Matt 26:69–27:2. Two considerations favor his writing of the pericope independently and earlier: first, it places the chief priests and elders at the temple, whereas the contexts before and after Judas’s suicide place the authorities in Pilate’s court (27:1–2 and 11–12; cf. Mark 15:1 and 2–3). Second and more decisively, in his redaction of Mark 14:10–11, he indicated that the sum was thirty pieces of silver

Confirmation of Matthew's innovation comes from similarities between this passage and Matt 28:11–15, a redactional account of bribing the guards at Jesus' tomb. In both the chief priests convene a council (27:7: συμβούλιον δὲ λαβόντες; 28:12: συμβούλιον τε λαβόντες), and in both they offer money to someone to resolve a problem (27:6 and 10: λαβόντες τὰ ἀργύρια ... καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτά; 28:12 and 15: ἀργύρια ἱκανὰ ἔδωκαν ... λαβόντες ἀργύρια). The Evangelist states that "that field was called a Field of Blood even to this day [ἕως τῆς σήμερον]" (27:8) and that the legend that the disciples had stolen Jesus' body persisted "until today [μέχρι τῆς σήμερον]" (28:15).

If Matthew created the suicide of Judas, odds are good for taking Papias's version of Judas's death as a polemical response to it: Judas never committed suicide and therefore remained forever disqualified from serving as an eschatological judge.<sup>60</sup> In this connection it is worth noting that Papias wrote "about Justus surnamed Barsabbas, how he drank a fatal poison and, by the grace of the Lord, suffered nothing out of the ordinary" (*Expos.* 5:1; cf. 5:2). Eusebius here explicitly linked Justus Barsabbas in Papias with Joseph Barsabbas Justus in Acts 1, who, with Matthias, was a candidate to be Judas's replacement. One thus might suspect that Papias also spoke of Judas's replacement among the Twelve.

According to Papias, Judas "did not die by hanging [τῇ ἀγχόνῃ]"; Matthew had created his suicide from 2 Sam 17:23, where Ahithophel "hanged himself [ἀπήγατο]." Papias insisted that Judas "died in his own plot," apparently not in a field purchased by the chief priests after he repented. The notion of the authorities purchasing a field Matthew had crafted from Zech 11:13, which he quoted as "they gave them for the potter's field" (Matt 27:10a). Jewish opposition is entirely missing in Papias's version.

Papias's account agrees with Matthew that the field where Judas fell was notorious "to this very day," but not because Papias knew an independent tradition. Instead, he apparently was aware of objections to Matthew's account and its etiology for the Field of Blood from 2 Sam 6:8: "And that place was called Uzza's Breach even to this day." Papias's indebtedness to Matthew is crucial for understanding the alternative account in the Acts of the Apostles, as we shall see.

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(26:14–15), which seems to anticipate Judas's suicide later. In other words, the Evangelist knew when writing 25:14–15 what he would say in 27:3.

60. Similarly, Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis*, 143–44.

## 4:7 (Norelli frg. 12a). The Fall of Satan's Angels

► Andrew of Caesarea: Καὶ Παπίας δὲ οὕτως ἐπὶ λέξεως· ἐνίοις δὲ αὐτῶν—δηλαδὴ τῶν πάλαι θείων ἀγγέλων—καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν γῆν διακοσμήσεως ἔδωκεν ἄρχειν καὶ καλῶς ἄρχειν παρηγγύησεν. καὶ ἔξις φησὶν· εἰς οὐδὲν δὲ συνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν.

Papias wrote verbatim as follows: “To some of them”—apparently angels who once had been divine—“he gave [authority] to rule over the arrangement of the earth and gave them orders to rule well.” And next he says, “It turned out that their arrangement came to no good end.”

At this point Andrew quotes not from the *Exposition* but from Rev 12:9: “He was cast down—the great dragon, the serpent [ὄφις], the ancient one, the one called Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole inhabited world—he was cast down to the earth, and his angels were cast down with him.”

Although Andrew quotes from the Apocalypse of John to describe the fall of Satan, the two earlier sentences from Papias seem to imply that it was the angels who had been given authority to rule the world who were punished, which probably included Satan. John's Apocalypse locates the fall of Satan after Jesus' parousia, but Andrew, just after citing Papias, referred to “the fall of the devil” as what “happened after the cross” and appealed to Athanasius's *Vita Antonii*, where the hermit cited Ps 9:7 and its verb in the aorist tense: “The enemy's swords have failed entirely” (*Vit. Ant.* 41.3).<sup>61</sup>

In light of these parallels, I would propose that the most likely location of the reference to the fall of the wicked angels in Papias was here in book 4, after Jesus' resurrection and as an interpretation of Matt 28:18. “And Jesus approached them [his eleven disciples] and spoke with them, saying, ‘All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me.’” For Papias the “authority in heaven and on earth [τῆς γῆς]” that had “been given [ἔδόθη]” to the risen Jesus was the authority that God originally had “given [ἔδωκεν]” the angels “to rule over the arrangement of the earth [τὴν γῆν].”

This location of Andrew's excerpt is congruent with the authority that the risen Jesus gives to his disciples in the so-called Longer Ending of Mark, which clearly is an interpretation of Matt 28.

61. This notion that God had crushed the powers of Satan at Jesus' death and resurrection has its roots deep in the soil of the early church. Paul seems to appeal to it in 1 Cor 2:6–8 (cf. Col 2:14–15). For a later elaboration on the notion, see *Ascen. Isa.* 10–11 and the entire *Descensus Christi* (originally part of recension M of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*).

Matt 28:18–20

And Jesus approached them [his eleven disciples] and spoke with them, saying, “All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. So as you go [πορευθέντες], make disciples of all [πάντα] the Gentiles, baptizing [βαπτίζοντες] them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe everything that I have commanded you. Look, I am with you every day until the completion of the age.”

Mark 16:15–16

And he said to them [the eleven],

“As you go [πορευθέντες] into all the world, preach the gospel to every [πάση] creature.

The one who believes and is baptized [βαπτισθείς] will be saved, but the one not believing will be condemned.”

The Longer Ending continues with Jesus making promises to his disciples that seem to have been inspired by Luke 10.

Luke 10:17–19

The seventy returned with joy and said, “Lord, in your name the demons [τὰ δαιμόνια ... ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου] submit to us.” He said to them, “I saw Satan falling from the sky like lightning.

Look, I give you authority to tread on serpents [ὄφειων] and scorpions and on every power of the enemy, and nothing will harm you [ὕμᾶς οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσῃ].”  
[cf. Luke 10:9: “heal the infirm.”]

Mark 16:17–18

“In my name they will cast out demons [ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια],

they will speak in new tongues, in their hands they will hold serpents [ὄφεις], and whatever harmful potion they drink, it will do them no harm [οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάβῃ]. They will place their hands on the sick, and they will become well.”

A manuscript of an Armenian translation of the Longer Ending attributes it to “Ariston the elder,” almost certainly Aristion the elder who appears in ancient texts only in the *Exposition* and Eusebius’s excerpts from it. Insofar as

Papias's work seems to have survived longer among Armenian Christians than elsewhere, it is reasonable to conjecture that this thirteenth- or fourteenth-century gloss came from a scribe who saw something in Papias that prompted him—wrongly—to attribute the Longer Ending to Aristion. Of the surviving fragments, none has more affinities with the longer ending than 4:7, which speaks of the fall of demonic powers. As we shall see in *Expos.* 5:1 and 2, one of Jesus' followers drank poison and suffered no harm. One therefore might conclude that Papias cited Aristion to the effect that the risen Jesus promised his followers invulnerability from demons who had fallen from power at Jesus' death and resurrection. More than a millennium later, an Armenian scribe recognized the similarities between Papias and the Longer Ending of Mark and wrongly attributed it to Aristion.

It also is worth noting that Justin Martyr records a saying similar to Luke 10:19, but it differs somewhat in wording. (Underlining identifies identical wording.)

Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 76.6

Luke 10:19a

δίδωμι ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν καταπατεῖν  
ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ  
σκολοπενδρῶν καὶ ἐπάνω πάσης  
δυναμέως τοῦ ἐχθροῦ.

ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ  
πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων  
καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ.

I am giving you authority to tread  
on serpents and scorpions and cen-  
tipedes and on every power of the  
enemy.

Look, I gave you authority to tread  
on serpents and scorpions and on  
every power of the enemy.

Although it is possible that the variations in Justin issue from his retrieval of the passage from memory without consulting a text—after all, in the context he is citing several verses—he may well have known a different written version. Two deviations are particularly worthy of comment. Justin uses the present δίδωμι, “I am giving,” whereas Luke reads the perfect δέδωκα, “I have given you.” There is no contextual reason for Justin to have changed the verb to a present tense, but Luke needed a past tense to explain how the seventy already had been able to subdue demons. Note also that Justin's version reads καταπατεῖν, using the same verb that appears in Ps 90:13 (MT 91:13), which probably informed the original saying: “You will walk on the asp and the basilisk, and you will tread on [καταπατήσεις] the lion and the dragon.” One

therefore may suspect that Justin knew the saying from a text in a form more primitive than Luke's.<sup>62</sup>

#### BOOK 5: EVENTS AFTER JESUS' RESURRECTION

5:1 and 2 (Norelli frgs. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.8–10] and 10). The Daughters of Philip, Justus Barsabbas, and the Raising of Manaemus's Mother

None of the Papiian sources explicitly locates content in the fifth and last book of the *Exposition*, but insofar as the fragments that can be identified by book follow the narrative order of Matthew, it is reasonable to think that stories about events after Jesus' resurrection would have appeared in the final book. These fragments make clear that Papias derived some of this information from the daughters of Philip who lived in Hierapolis.

5:1 Eusebius: Ἄξιον δὲ ταῖς ἀποδοθείσαις τοῦ Παπία φωναῖς προσάψαι λέξεις ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν παράδοξά τινα ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλα ὡς ἂν ἐκ παραδόσεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν Φίλιππον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα ταῖς θυγατράσιν διατρίψαι διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν δεδήλωται· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ Παπίας γενόμενος, διήγησιν παρεληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου θυγατέρων μνημονεύει, τὰ νῦν σημειωτέον· νεκροῦ γὰρ ἀνάστασιν κατ' αὐτὸν γεγонуῖαν ἱστορεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς πάλιν ἕτερον παράδοξον περὶ Ἰουστον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Βαρσαβᾶν γεγονός, ὡς δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐπιόντος καὶ μηδὲν ἀηδὲς διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου χάριν ὑπομείναντος.

Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἰουστον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀνάληψιν τοὺς ἱερούς ἀποστόλους μετὰ Μαθθία στήσαι τε καὶ ἐπεύξασθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ προδότου Ἰούδα ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον τῆς ἀναπληρώσεως τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ ἢ τῶν Πράξεων ὧδέ πως ἱστορεῖ γραφή· καὶ ἔστησαν δύο, Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαβᾶν, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Ἰουστός, καὶ Μαθθίαν· καὶ προσευξάμενοι εἶπαν.

But it is appropriate to add to the utterances of Papias already presented some of his other statements, in which he tells of other wonders as though they came to him from tradition. From what was said earlier it was clear that Philip the apostle lived at Hierapolis with his daughters. Now it should be indicated that, because Papias

62. For a fuller treatment of this passage, see 367–71.

lived in their day, he could recall that he had received a marvelous tale from the daughters of Philip, for he narrates the rising of a dead person in his own day and again another marvelous event about Justus surnamed Barsabbas, how he drank a fatal poison and, by the grace of the Lord, suffered nothing out of the ordinary.

The writing of the Acts narrates as here that, after the ascension of the Savior, the holy apostles put forward this Justus along with Matthias and prayed over the lottery for the completion of their number in place of Judas: “They presented two men: Joseph, the one called Barsabbas, surnamed Justus, and Matthias. They prayed and said...”<sup>63</sup>

Philip of Side knew this passage from Eusebius but added information that almost certainly issued from an independent reading of the *Exposition*.

5:2 Philip of Side: Παπίας ὁ εἰρημένος ἰστόρησεν ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Φιλίππου ὅτι Βαρσαβᾶς ὁ καὶ Ἰοῦστος δοκιμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων ἰὼν ἐχίδνης πίων ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπαθῆς διεφυλάχθη. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα θαύματα καὶ μάλιστα τὸ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα Μαναΐμου τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστᾶσαν. περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντων, ὅτι ἕως Ἀδριανοῦ ἔζων.

The previously mentioned Papias narrated, as though having received from the daughters of Philip, that Barsabbas, also Justus, having been put to the test by unbelievers, drank snake venom in the name of Christ and was protected without harm. And he also regales other marvelous events and especially an episode about the raising of Manaemus’s mother from the dead. Concerning those who had been raised from the dead by Christ, [he said] that they lived until the time of Hadrian.”

Neither Eusebius nor Philip of Side states whether the Philip in Papias was one of the Twelve or one of the seven deacons mentioned in Acts 6, 8, and 21. Insofar as the other Papias fragments are silent about deacons, one must assume that the Philip whom the historian had in mind was one of the Twelve; Eusebius explicitly states that this was the case: “Philip the apostle lived at Hierapolis with his daughters” (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9). Furthermore, nei-

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63. Cf. Acts 1:23–24.



ther church historian tells how many daughters Philip had or what status they enjoyed in the Christian community. All one knows is that Papias appealed to them as his source for the story of Justus Barsabbas and a resuscitation, presumably of the mother of Manaemus.

Earlier in his history Eusebius cited two passages that mentioned these sisters. In the first he quoted a letter by Polycrates of Ephesus to Victor of Rome, “in which he mentions both him [John the apostle], Philip the apostle, and his daughters” (*Hist. eccl.* 3.31.2). “For in Asia great luminaries sleep...: Philip, from the twelve apostles, who sleeps at Hierapolis with his two daughters, who grew old as virgins, and his other daughter, who conducted her life in the Holy Spirit and rests in Ephesus” (3.31.2). Eusebius immediately then quoted from a work by Gaius of Rome against the Montanist Proclus. “The four prophesying daughters of Philip had been living in Hierapolis in Asia. Their grave is there, as is that of their father” (3.31.2). Of the two witnesses, that of Polycrates of Ephesus, familiar with Asian traditions, is more reliable than that of Gaius of Rome. Polycrates’ distinction between the two daughters who died as virgins and their sister, who died in Ephesus, implies that the third daughter married; Clement of Alexandria appealed to a tradition that held that at least two of the daughters had married: “Philip even gave his daughters to husbands” (*Strom.* 3.6; cf. Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.30.1). Although these witnesses to Philip’s daughters vary with respect to their number, they agree that the women emigrated from Judea to western Asia Minor, Hierapolis and Ephesus in particular, and that at least two of them died as virgins. These witnesses also imply or explicitly state that their father was one of the Twelve.

Eusebius’s account seems to suggest that unbelievers forced Justus to drink “a fatal poison” in order to kill him and that, “by the grace of the Lord, he suffered nothing out of the ordinary” (*Expos.* 5:1). Philip’s version, however, may be the more original: “Justus, having been put to the test by unbelievers, drank snake venom in the name of Christ and was protected without harm” (*Expos.* 5:2) Ancients were aware that snake venom was harmless when ingested; in fact, people were known to have drunk venom for medicinal purposes.<sup>64</sup> It would appear that Eusebius, aware of the fact, altered Papias’s account to read instead “a fatal poison.”

Note also the parallels between Philip’s version and the so-called Longer Ending of Mark: “In my name they will cast out demons, they will speak in new tongues, in their hands they will hold serpents, and whatever harmful

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64. James A. Kelhoffer, *Miracle and Mission: The Authentication of Missionaries and Their Message in the Longer Ending of Mark* (WUNT 2/112; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 433–42.

potion they drink, it will do them no harm” (Mark 16:17b–18a). The discussion of *Expos.* 4:7 proposed that Papias earlier had spoken of the fall of Satan’s angels and Jesus’ authority over heaven and earth. A promise of invulnerability to serpents and potions also may have appeared in this context.

If such a promise did indeed appear in Papias, one might interpret the Justus Barsabbas episode as his demonstration of Jesus’ authority by drinking poison. In other words, in his preaching to “unbelievers [ἀπίστων],” Justus repeated Jesus’ promise of divine protection from snakes and deadly drugs. They thus put him to the test (δοκιμαζόμενος). To prove the promise trustworthy, he voluntarily “drank snake venom in the name of Christ and was protected without harm” (*Expos.* 5:2).<sup>65</sup>

The martyrdom of Paul in the *Acts of Paul* suggests a somewhat different scenario. The author seems to have been familiar with the canonical Acts, even if he did not bother to square his narrative with it. Barsabbas Justus reappears in this text in a shocking context. Paul raised back to life Nero’s cup-bearer named Patroclus, who told the emperor that he had become a soldier under orders of “Christ Jesus, the king of the ages” (*Acts Paul* 11:2). Then,

Barsabbas Justus of the flat feet, Orion the Cappadocian, and Festus the Galatian, Nero’s first-ranked officers, said, “We, too, serve as soldiers to that king of the ages.” After severely torturing men whom he dearly loved, he locked them up and gave orders that the soldiers of the great king be sought out; he also issued the following: that all those who were found to be Christians and soldiers of Christ be killed. (11:2)

Among those rounded up was Paul, who threatened that, unless Nero repented, he would perish when Christ destroys “‘the world with fire.’ On hearing this, the emperor commanded that all the prisoners be burned with fire but that Paul be decapitated according to the law of the Romans” (11:3). The readers must assume that Barsabbas Justus and his two colleagues were similarly doomed. Nero successfully killed many, including the apostle, who after his death appeared to him. Terrified, the emperor “ordered that the prisoners be released, including Patroclus and those men with Barsabbas” (11:6). The author fails to say how Barsabbas Justus and his comrades survived when many were executed, but Eusebius’s paraphrase of Papias would fit beautifully here: “Justus surnamed Barsabbas ... drank a fatal poison [Philip of Side: “snake venom”] and, by the grace of the Lord, suffered nothing out of the ordinary” (*Expos.* 5:1; cf. 5:2). It would be reasonable to conjecture that, whereas Paul was beheaded “according to the law of the Romans” for

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65. For a discussion of Philip’s error in dating Papias to the age of Hadrian, see 46–47.

a citizen, and whereas *hoi polloi* believers died at pyres, Barsabbas and his companions survived the drinking of poison, a form of death common for Roman elites accused of treason. In an earlier study I proposed that one best accounts for the curious agreement between Papias and the *Acts of Paul* with respect to Barsabbas Justus by appealing to independent awareness of oral legends.<sup>66</sup> Papias gathered his information from the daughters of Philip who resided in Hierapolis, and the author of the *Acts of Paul* arguably relied on legends about Paul told by women. On the other hand, one might speculate that the author of the Acts read something about Justus Barsabbas's ordeal in Papias and provided it an alternative narrative, but there is nothing else in the survival of the *Acts of Paul* to suggest awareness of the *Exposition*.

From this assessment of Papias's use of earlier Gospels, one may draw the following conclusions. Although Papias apparently gave credibility to Mark as well as to the two Greek translations of Matthew, his proclivity, at least as represented in the surviving fragments was for Matthew. In fact, the excerpts never have him interpreting a passage in Mark that does not appear also in Matthew!

- *Expos.* 1:6 (God's children are the righteous) seems to interpret Matt 3:9–10 (no Markan parallel).
- *Expos.* 2:2a and 2b (paradise in Genesis refers to the church) seem to interpret Matt 19:28 (no Markan parallel).
- *Expos.* 2:3 (the deaths of James and John) seems to interpret Matt 20:20–23 (cf. Mark 10:38–39).
- *Expos.* 3:0 (Christ's thousand-year earthly kingdom) may interpret Matt 25:31–36 (no Markan parallel).
- *Expos.* 4:2 and 4 (agricultural bounty in the kingdom of God) seem to expand on Matt 26:29 (cf. Mark 14:25).
- *Expos.* 4:5 and 6 (the death of Judas) seem to oppose Matt 27:3–10 (no Marcan parallel).
- *Expos.* 4:7 (the fall of Satan's angels) seems to interpret Jesus' authority after his resurrection in Matt 28:18 (no Markan parallel).

Papias does, however, refer to a few episodes without antecedents in Mark or Matthew (e.g., the sinful woman and the fall of Satan) episodes that may have been in the lost Gospel that resembled Matthew, as we shall see.

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66. *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 34–37.

PAPIAS'S *EXPOSITION* AND LUKE-ACTS

Even in antiquity readers recognized distinctive connections between Papias's *Exposition* and Luke-Acts.<sup>1</sup> Both present Jesus forgiving a sinful woman (*Expos.* 2:1; Luke 7:36–50); both refer to the martyrdom of James, the brother of John (*Expos.* 2:3; Acts 12:1–2); both narrate the death of Judas not as a suicide, as in Matthew, but as divine punishment in his own field (*Expos.* 4:6; Acts 1:18–19); both mention Satan's fall from heaven (*Expos.* 4:7; Luke 10:19); both name Barsabbas Justus (*Expos.* 5:1 and 2; Acts 1:23); and both refer to the daughters of Philip (*Expos.* 5:1 and 2; Acts 21:8–9). Particularly impressive are similarities between their prefaces (*Expos.* 1:5; Luke 1:1–4). It also is worth noting that both were multivolume works whose authors intended to arrange the life of Jesus in chronological order; the last volume of each narrated events after Jesus' death.

Insofar as we have precious few fragments of Papias's *Exposition*, this density of overlapping content with Luke-Acts begs for a solution, and scholars who have engaged the question muster into three camps: (1) Papias's *Exposition* and Luke-Acts were independent works; (2) Papias knew the Gospel of Luke; and (3) the author of Luke-Acts knew Papias's *Exposition*.

*Option 1.* Papias's *Exposition* and Luke-Acts were independent works. Ulrich H. J. Körtner and Norelli, for example, attribute the overlapping names and episodes to shared oral traditions.<sup>2</sup> The similarities in the prefaces, on the other hand, reflect literary practices of the time; after all, Papias and the author of Luke-Acts were near contemporaries living in western Asia Minor. Hierapolis lay on a major road running from the east directly to Ephesus, Luke's likely region, about 150 kilometers to the west.

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1. See the comments by Apollinaris of Laodicea to *Expos.* 4:5 and by Eusebius to *Expos.* 5:1.

2. Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis*, 173–76; Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 105–12, 294.

Several scholars have insisted, however, that the parallels between the two works are far too extensive to attribute merely to common conventions. These parallels are most apparent in their introductions.

Luke 1:1: “Since many have attempted to set in order an exposition of the matters that have come to fruition among us”

As we have seen, Papias knew of at least four earlier books about Jesus: one attributed to Mark, two suspected translations of a Hebrew Matthew, and probably Aristion’s *Expositions*. Luke’s ἀνατάξασθαι (“to set in order”) appears only here in the New Testament and suggests that the Evangelist viewed his sources as arrangements of traditional content. Papias, too, was preoccupied with the τάξις of his sources. Mark did not compose a σύνταξις, whereas Matthew did (συνετάξατο), an order corrupted by his translators, but which the bishop intended to restore (συνκατατάξαι; *Expos.* 1:3, 4, and 5).

Luke’s διήγησιν (“exposition”) is another New Testament *hapax*. Aristion’s work apparently was called διηγήσεις, and Papias entitled his work an ἐξήγησις, in which he sought to record, as Mark had, “what was said or done [πραχθέντα] by the Lord” (*Expos.* 1:3). Luke’s goal was to record “the matters [πραγμάτων]” that had occurred.

Luke 1:2: “as those who became from the beginning firsthand observers and assistants of the message handed on [παρέδοσαν] to us [their expositions]”

Papias, too, attempted to preserve information about Jesus that was “handed down” from those who had known him. Mark translated the memories of Peter; Matthew, an eyewitness, wrote a Hebrew composition, which others handed on in Greek. The bishop himself sought to preserve the teachings of Jesus’ associates: “what Andrew or Peter said, or Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the Lord’s disciples had said, or what Aristion and the elder John, disciples of the Lord, say” (*Expos.* 1:5). According to Eusebius, Papias “handed down [παραδίδωσιν] ... traditions [παραδόσεις]” (*Expos.* 1:1 and 2).

Luke 1:3a: “it seemed good to me, too,” to compose an account.

Similarly, after Papias discussed Mark and Matthew’s translations, he wrote of his own compositional intentions: “I will not hesitate to set in order ... whatever I learned well and remembered well from the elders” (*Expos.* 1:5).

Luke 1:3b: “having followed [παρηκολουθηκότι] them all thoroughly”

This is the only occurrence of the verb παρακολουθέω in Luke-Acts, but it appears also in Papias's claim to have plied information from anyone who “followed [παρηκολουθηκώς] the elders” (*Expos.* 1:5). Both authors not only use the same word, but they use it in the same tense, voice, mood, and number—only the case is different because of the grammatical context.

Luke 1:3c: “to write [an exposition] precisely in sequence [ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς ... γράψαι]”

According to Papias, even though Mark's composition did not present the logia in chronological order, he did “write precisely [ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν]... For he made it his one purpose to omit nothing that he had heard or falsely to present anything pertaining to them” (*Expos.* 1:3).

Luke 1:3d: “for you [σοι], most excellent Theophilus”

Although many ancient prefaces refer to individual addressees, such addressees are rare in ancient Christian literature; thus, Papias is exceptional: “I will not hesitate to set in order also for you [σοι]” (*Expos.* 1:5). It is likely that the text earlier had named the recipient, as Luke does.

Luke 1:4: “so that you may recognize the certainty of sayings [λόγων] about which you have been instructed.”

Similarly, Papias sought to present his reader with a more reliable account about what had happened,

to confirm their reliability; for I would not take joy, as many would, in those who had much to say, but in those who taught the truth; not in those who remembered the commandments of others, but in those who remembered the commandments given by the Lord for faith and derived from the truth itself. If ever someone who had followed the elders should come by, I would investigate the sayings [λόγους] of the elders. (*Expos.* 1:5)

The impressive similarities between Luke's preface and Papias's suggests that they are not merely independent examples of a rhetorical commonplace: one author seems to have borrowed from the other. Proponents of options 2 and 3 for explaining the overlapping content in Papias and Luke-Acts agree

on a literary connection between them but disagree on the direction of dependence.

*Option 2.* Papias knew the Gospel of Luke. Erhardt Güttgemanns, for example, proposed that Papias knew Luke 1:1–4 and that his treatment of Mark answered Luke’s critique of disagreements in the order of events in his sources.<sup>3</sup> Two arguments tell against this direction of dependence. First, Eusebius made a point of listing the books known to Papias, which included the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, 1 John, and 1 Peter. Had he seen evidence that Papias also knew Luke–Acts, he surely would have said so.<sup>4</sup>

Second, Luke probably wrote later than Papias. Some scholars have dated the *Exposition* to 130–140 because of a comment from the historian Philip of Side: “Concerning those who had been raised from the dead by Christ, [Papias said] that they lived until the time of Hadrian,” who reigned from 117–138 C.E. (*Expos.* 5:2). There can be little doubt that the passage in Philip redacts Eusebius’s account of Papias’s recording of a resuscitation of a corpse “in his own day.” Eusebius does not indicate under which Roman emperor it occurred, and Philip may merely have guessed that it was under Hadrian.<sup>5</sup> It served Philip’s purpose to stretch Papias’s lifetime into Hadrian’s reign, for he wanted to show that Jesus’ power prolonged the lives of those whom he raised from the dead.

Furthermore, apart from this passage in Philip of Side, one likely would date Papias’s oeuvre at least a decade before Hadrian’s rule. Eusebius discusses him as a contemporary of Ignatius and Polycarp. Immediately after discussing

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3. “In welchen Sinne ist Lukas Historiker? Die Beziehung von Luk 1:1–4 und Papias zur antiken Rhetorik,” *LB* 54 (1983): 9–26, esp. 23. See the similar arguments in Theo K. Heckel, *Vom Evangelium des Markus zum viergestaltigen Evangelium* (WUNT 120; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 262–63. Other scholars who hold that Papias knew Luke include Joseph Barber Lightfoot, *Essays on the Work Entitled Supernatural Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1889), 150 and 178–86; Robert M. Grant, “Papias and the Gospels,” *ATR* 25 (1943): 218–20, Charles E. Hill, “What Papias Said about John [and Luke]: A ‘New’ Papias Fragment,” *JTS* 49 (1998): 582–629, and Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, esp. 412–37.

4. See especially the treatment of this issue by Johannes Munck, “Die Tradition über das Matthäusevangelium bei Papias,” in *Neotestamentica et Patristica: Eine Freundesgabe Herrn Professor Dr. Oscar Cullmann zu seinem 60. Geburtstag überreicht* (ed. Willem C. van Unnik; NovTSup 6; Leiden: Brill, 1962), 250–51.

5. Compare the linking of Quadratus to the reign of Hadrian in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.3.2. It may be worth noting here that Eusebius cited Irenaeus, who wrongly considered Papias an auditor of the apostle John, but perhaps correctly called him “a man of old” (ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ), that is, from the generation connected with Christian beginnings (*Expos.* 4:3).

Papias, Eusebius began book 4 with a reference to the twelfth year of Trajan's reign (i.e., 109 C.E.; *Hist. eccl.* 4.1), which implies that the events treated in book 4 took place earlier. If the elders John and Aristion were twenty years old when Jesus died around 30 C.E., even if they lived to the age of eighty, admirable longevity for the time, they would have died around the year 90. Papias does not indicate the interval between his collecting information from their followers while they were alive and his composing the *Exposition*, but it is unlikely to have been more than ten years. This same reasoning would apply to Eusebius's statement that Philip the apostle (!) and his daughters lived in Hierapolis in Papias's day (*Expos.* 5:1).

Norelli provides a superb discussion of the dating of Papias and concludes that the bishop was born between 60 and 70 C.E. and died sometime after 120.<sup>6</sup> The composition of the *Exposition* he dates to 110–120.<sup>7</sup> Around 110 is more realistic insofar as it shortens the interval between Papias's collection of traditions when the elders were still alive and his recording of them (so Körtner).<sup>8</sup>

With respect to Luke-Acts, Norelli and others date it to the 80s or 90s, decades before the composition of the *Exposition*. This dating is far too early, as Richard I. Pervo has argued at length.

Intertextual evidence from datable sources establishes a *terminus a quo* of circa 100. Further strong evidence comes from the extrinsic probability that Luke had access to letters of Paul, supported by the intrinsic evidence for his use of a collection of these epistles. There is no sufficient indicator of the existence of such a collection before 100. Other evidence derives from the good probability that Luke made use of the last volume of the *Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus, which can be dated to 93/94. ... The number of possible hints and allusions [to Acts by later authors] indicate that Acts was known by 150, if not a full decade, or perhaps even two decades, earlier.<sup>9</sup>

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6. *Papia di Hierapoli*, 47.

7. *Papia di Hierapoli*, 54.

8. Eusebius seems to place Papias's career during the reign of Trajan (98–117), contemporaneous to Ignatius (d. ca. 115) and Polycarp of Smyrna, who lived to an extraordinary old age (d. 156). For advocates of the earlier dating of the *Exposition*, see J. Vernon Bartlet, "Papias's 'Exposition': Its Date and Contents," in *Amicitiae Corolla* (ed. H. G. Wood; London: University of London Press, 1933), 15–44; E. Gutwenger, "Papias: Eine chronologische Studie," *ZKT* 69 (1947): 385–416; Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis*, 88–94; Robert W. Yarbrough, "The Date of Papias: A Reassessment," *JETS* 26 (1983): 181–91; and Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 13–14 and 17–20. Schoedel also holds to an earlier dating: "The later date depends in part on taking the De Boor fragment [= Norelli frg. 10] ... more seriously than it deserves" (Schoedel, "Papias," 236; see also 261–62).

9. Richard I. Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa



Within these poles of 100 and 150, Pervo suggests that 115–120 would be a safe bet for Luke’s second volume. Although Luke wrote his Gospel before writing Acts, the interval between the two compositions probably was short insofar as he almost certainly anticipated the writing of his second volume when writing the first.<sup>10</sup> If one dates the *Exposition of Logia about the Lord* to about 110 and Luke-Acts to 115 or later, Papias could not have known Luke’s writings or, for that matter, the Gospel of John.<sup>11</sup> By no means have all scholars accepted Pervo’s later dating of Acts, but we shall see that invariably, when Papias and Luke parallel each other, Luke is secondary, further evidence that Pervo is right.

*Option 3.* The author of Luke-Acts knew Papias’s *Exposition*. To my knowledge, only two scholars have proposed this option, and neither did so systematically. In 1956, Rupert Annand argued that Papias wrote around 80–90 and that Luke modeled his preface after the *Exposition*.<sup>12</sup> A few years later, Johannes Munck intimated that this indeed might have been the case.<sup>13</sup> I will argue that this third option, though the least popular, best explains the

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Rosa, Calif.: Polebridge, 2006), 343. See also Pervo’s *Acts: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 5.

10. For example, Luke may have rejected the Markan controversy about unwashed hands and Jesus’ pronouncing all things clean (Mark 7:1–23) because he wished to delay such a pronouncement until the episode concerning Cornelius in Acts 10. Similarly, Luke omitted the malicious accusation that Jesus would destroy and rebuild the temple (Mark 14:57–61) but redacted it in Acts 6:12–14 to create the charges against Stephen. Compare also Mark 13:32 and Acts 1:7 and Mark 6:54–56 and Acts 5:12–16. Furthermore, the ending of the Gospel creates expectations of a sequel (esp. Luke 24:49–52).

11. On redactions of the Gospel of Luke in the Gospel of John, see especially Manfred Lang, *Johannes und die Synoptiker: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Joh 18–20 vor dem markanischen und lukanischen Hintergrund* (FRLANT 182; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999); and Gilbert Van Belle, “Lukan Style in the Fourth Gospel,” in *Luke and His Readers* (ed. R. Bieringer, Gilbert Van Belle, and Joseph Verheyden; BETL 182; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 351–72, who summarized his research as follows: “From our analysis of the Johannine characteristics and the synoptic parallels, we argue that the diptych of the appearance of Jesus to his disciples ... can be explained as a Johannine creation based on the Synoptic Gospels. We thus ... question the authors who maintain that Luke, in one form or another, used or knew the Gospel of John. ... [T]he writing of the Gospel of John was influenced by the Gospel of Luke” (367–69). Körtner denies that Papias knew the Fourth Gospel and provides a compelling alternative explanation of the bishop’s connection with Johannine tradition (*Papias von Hierapolis*, 197–202). See Norelli, *Papia di Hierapoli*, 114–23, who shares Körtner’s skepticism.

12. Rupert Annand, “Papias and the Four Gospels,” *SJT* 9 (1956): 46–62.

13. Munck, “Die Tradition über das Matthäusevangelium,” 249–60.

data.<sup>14</sup> Papias wrote the *Exposition* at a crucial midpoint in the Synoptic tradition. He interpreted books that had been assigned to Mark and Matthew, and his work later informed the author of Luke-Acts.

The title of Luke's original, unified work no longer survives, due, no doubt, to its later division into two distinct books.<sup>15</sup> Although the original title is unrecoverable, the opening verse in Luke reveals how the author understood his literary enterprise. Like his many predecessors, he set out to compose a διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, "an exposition of the matters that have come to fruition among us."

Like Papias, the author of Luke-Acts wrote in the first-person singular in the prefaces to both volumes: "it seemed good to me" (Luke 1:3), and "I composed my first account" (Acts 1:1). Furthermore, beginning with Acts 16:10 and several times thereafter, the author employed the first-person plural voice for narrating the voyages of Paul that took him ultimately to Rome.<sup>16</sup> The reader was to assume that the author accompanied Paul at these points, but the dating of Luke-Acts to 115–120 makes this claim historically impossible. Most scholars view the two-volume work as originally anonymous and seek alternative explanations of the we-voyages.<sup>17</sup>

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14. Norelli discusses the parallels between the preface of Papias and Luke in depth (*Papia di Hierapoli*, 105–12), but for him the issue is whether Papias knew Luke or if the two were independent. Although he cites the work of Rupert Annand, he dismisses the notion that Luke knew Papias on the grounds that, according to his chronology, Luke wrote twenty or thirty years earlier than the bishop of Hierapolis (111). In his view, one best explains the similarities by attributing them to the topoi of historical introductions (109), but the parallels between the two are more extensive, sequential, and dense than those with any other historical introductions.

15. The first volume circulated independently, usually under the title εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν. For example, P<sup>75</sup>, the earliest textual witness (late second century), contains this title at the end of the Gospel. Other manuscripts read simply κατὰ Λουκᾶν. The second volume was known by several variations of Πράξεις ἀποστόλων, sometimes with the addition of Λουκᾶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ. The earliest external attribution of the Gospel to Luke appears in Irenaeus, around 180 C.E. (*Adv. haer.* 3.1.1; cf. 3.14.1–3 and the Muratorian Canon).

16. Acts 16:10–17; 20:5–15; 21:1–18; and 27:1–28:16.

17. William Sanger Campbell provides a useful treatment of these proposals (*The "We" Passages in the Acts of the Apostles: The Narrator as Narrative Character* [SBL SBL 14; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007], 1–13) and "The Narrator as 'He,' 'Me,' and 'We': Grammatical Person in Ancient Histories and in the Acts of the Apostles," *JBL* 129 (2010): 385–407. See also Dennis R. MacDonald, "The Shipwrecks of Odysseus and Paul," *NTS* 45 (1999): 88–89. Here is Campbell's sage conclusion concerning the function of "I" and "we" in Luke-Acts: "The first-person narrator character in Acts reflects the ancient grammatical practice and effects noted in the histories of Thucydides, Polybius, and Josephus. The first-person singular and plural passages in the Acts narrative defend and project the narrator's

It is more likely, however, that the author wrote under the pseudonym Luke. As the Papiian fragments show, by Luke's day originally anonymous Gospels had been attributed to Mark and Matthew. Furthermore, most Gospels written in the second century bore the name of an associate of Jesus, such as the Gospels of John, Thomas, Peter, Judas, Mary, and the Protogospel of James.<sup>18</sup>

Even without the name "Luke" in the title, readers of the two volumes surely would have speculated concerning the identity of the author among characters known to have been in the Pauline circle who were not mentioned in Acts. Luke would have been the most likely suspect. Post-Pauline tradition gave prominence to Luke as Paul's associate, but the name Luke is conspicuously and suspiciously missing in the Acts of the Apostles. In Phlm 23–24, Paul himself lists people who were with him when he composed the letter; they include Mark and Luke. This list seems to have informed the author of the Deutero-Pauline epistle Colossians.

Phlm 23–25

Epaphras my fellow-prisoner greets you in Christ Jesus [as do] Mark, Aristarchus,

Col 4:10–12a, 14, 18b

Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner greets you [as do] Mark, the cousin of Barnabas, ... and Jesus called Justus, who are of the circumcision, who alone were fellow-workers for

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personal knowledge as eyewitness or researcher, and therefore, his credentials for telling the story accurately so that, as Luke 1:4 claims, Theophilus and by extension all readers can be assured of the truth of the information" (90). However, Campbell's application of this observation to the authorship of Luke-Acts is problematic: he assumes that Luke wrote anonymously, even though his analogies from ancient literature come from books that bore the names of authors. Thucydides begins his work as follows: "Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote about the war of Peloponnesians and Athenians" (1.1.1). Polybius identifies himself at several points in his work, and his name probably appeared in its inscription. Josephus's preface to the *Bellum* includes the following identification: "I, Josephus, son of Matthias, [by race a Hebrew], a priest from Jerusalem, who at first myself fought the Romans" (*B.J.* 1.2–3). Although the Jewish historian does not name himself at the beginning of the *Antiquitates biblicae*, he immediately makes it clear that he is the same author who had composed the *Bellum*. In other words, none of the texts that Campbell uses to illustrate Luke's use of the first-person plural narrative is anonymous. I would propose that his analogies and analysis work far better if Luke-Acts was pseudonymous and not anonymous.

18. Exceptions would include the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, but it is by no means certain that these titles were original to these works.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Demas, and Luke, my fellow-workers.<br>May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. | the kingdom of God, who became my comfort. Epaphras, one of your own, greets you, a servant of Christ Jesus. ... Luke, the beloved physician, greets you, as does Demas. ...<br>May grace be with you. |
|--|--|

Insofar as Luke wrote later than the composition of Philemon and Colossians and knew a collection of Paul's letters, he may well have known of Luke's connections with both Paul and Mark. Evidence that Luke may have known the passage in Colossians appears in Acts 20 and in the correspondence of names in Col 4 and Acts.<sup>19</sup>

## Col 4:17

## Acts 20:24

|   |   |
|---|---|
| And tell Archippus: See to the task of serving that you received in the Lord [τὴν διακονίαν ἣν παρέλαβες ἐν κυρίῳ]. | I do not count my life of any value to myself so that I may complete my race and the task of serving that I received from the Lord Jesus [τὴν διακονίαν ἣν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ]. |
|---|---|

The name Aristarchus appears in Phlm 24 and Col 4:10; in Acts it appears in 19:29; 20:4; and 27:2. Mark appears in Phlm 24 and Col 4:10; it appears four times in Acts (were he is also called John). Barnabas appears in 1 Cor 9:16; Gal 2:1, 9, 13; and Col 4:10; in Acts it appears twenty-two times. The names Mark and Barnabas are not particularly telling, but the only occasions outside of Acts that Aristarchus appears in the New Testament are in the same verse as Luke, Paul's fellow-worker (Philemon) or physician (Colossians). In both cases he is with Paul and Luke in prison; in Acts, Aristarchus invariably is with Paul—once when Paul is in chains on his way to Rome!—and twice with the narrator, as indicated by the first-person plural.

The salutations at the end of 2 Timothy imitate those at the end of Colossians, and here again one finds Mark and Luke, now in Rome.

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19. See Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 120–21. “The data lead to the conclusion that Luke had access to a collection of Pauline epistles rather than a few independent items” (144). For tables listing the parallels between Acts and Colossians, see *Dating Acts*, 141.

Col 4:10, 12a, 14, 18b

2 Tim 4:10–11 and 22b

Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner greets you [as do] Mark, the cousin of Barnabas. ... Epaphras, one of your own, greets you, a servant of Christ Jesus. ... Luke, the beloved physician, greets you, as does Demas. ...

May grace be with you.

For, in love with this present world, Demas has abandoned me. ... Luke alone is with me. Bring Mark along with you, for he is useful to me for the ministry. ...

May grace be with you.

The tradition increasingly intensified the intimacy between Luke and Paul: whereas Paul called Luke merely his “fellow-worker,” the author of Colossians called him his “beloved physician,” and the author of 2 Timothy stated that Luke was Paul’s sole companion in prison before he died. Ancient subscriptions to these books—Philemon, Colossians, and 2 Timothy—state that each was written from Rome.<sup>20</sup> Just as this tradition located Paul and Luke in Rome, Acts sends Paul to Rome in the company of the pseudo-Lukan authorial voice: “When we entered Rome” (27:16).

One might argue, of course, that the absence of Luke in Acts and his associations with Paul in Rome prompted later readers such as Irenaeus to foist the book on him. I think it more likely, however, that the title of the two-volume work contained the pseudonym Luke as a strategic literary ploy; the selection of Paul’s intimate companion late in life as the fictive author was a brilliant choice, for it announced from the outset that this story about Christian origins would have a Pauline slant. The name Theophilus, “One-who-loves-God,” probably is fictive as well, a symbol for Luke’s readers (Luke 1:3). It is difficult to imagine that a historical Theophilus around 115 would have been duped by the anachronistic pseudonym. Luke-Acts thus is a case of double pseudonymity: the work of a fictive author to an imaginary recipient for the benefit of actual θεόφιλοι.

It therefore is reasonable to assume that the title, though precisely unrecoverable, was something like “An Exposition [διήγησις] of ... according to

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20. In this regard, one also might cite the martyrdom section of the *Acts of Paul* (11:1), which begins with two of Paul’s associates awaiting his arrival in Rome, Titus and Luke, characters entirely missing in action in Acts!

Luke.<sup>21</sup> One thus might cautiously compare the beginning of the books by Papias and (pseudo-)Luke as follows:

| Papias's <i>Exposition</i>                            | Luke                                     |
|---|--|
| Title: Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις<br>( <i>Expos.</i> 0) | Title: διήγησις of ... (?)               |
| Name of the author: Παπίας<br>( <i>Expos.</i> 0)      | Name of the author: Luke (?)             |
| Name of the recipient (see <i>Expos.</i><br>1:5)      | Name of the recipient: Θεόφιλος<br>(1:3) |

Papias next seems to have introduced three or more books that presented the logia about Jesus in differing order: one of these had been attributed to Mark, and at least two were considered translations of a Semitic Matthew. The preface also seems to have introduced the elder John and perhaps Aristion, both of whom, according to Eusebius, provided information that Papias incorporated throughout the *Exposition*. Three times in fragments 1:1 and 2 Eusebius refers to Papias's preservation of traditions (παραδίδωσιν and twice παραδόσεις).

As we have seen, Luke 1:1–2, like Papias's preface, begins with an acknowledgement of previous attempts to compose expositions about the life of Jesus. These famous verses require careful exegesis.

**Since many** (1:1a). Loveday C. A. Alexander, author of a brilliant book devoted to Luke's two prefaces, rightly refers to "the tendency of critics to think exclusively in terms of the documents we know: Mark and Matthew/Q are two, not 'many.'"<sup>22</sup> Again she says, "If this causes problems for our views on Gospel sources or chronology, perhaps we need to look more closely at those views and their assumptions."<sup>23</sup> (Chapter 3 of the present book will do precisely that.) Papias knew of at least four antecedent documents about Jesus, and the elder John informed him about speculations of a fifth. As we have

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21. The elder Aristion, one of Papias's informants, called his book τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις, *Expositions of the Logoi of the Lord* (*Expos.* 1:1). François Bovon similarly suspects that the word διήγησις appeared in the original title (*Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1–9:50* [trans. Christine M. Thomas; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2002], 24).

22. Loveday C. A. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1:1–4 and Acts 1:1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 115. Unfortunately, Alexander mentions Papias's preface only *en passant*.

23. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel*, 115.

seen, the four were the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, at least one other text with affinities to Matthew, and Aristion's *Expositions*; the hypothetical text was the Hebrew original of the Gospel of Matthew.<sup>24</sup>

**have attempted to set in order an exposition** [ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν] **of the matters that have come to fruition among us** (1:1b). Here Luke uses a synonym to Papias's συγκατατάξαι, "to set in order."<sup>25</sup> As Alexander notes, "compounds of -τάσσειν [stress] the ordering of pre-existent material rather than creation *de novo*."<sup>26</sup> Although the verb ἐπεχείρησαν, translated here as "attempted," need not be derogatory, verse 3 indicates that Luke considered the earlier attempts to have been deficient: "it seemed good to me, too, having followed them all thoroughly, to write [an exposition] precisely in sequence."

**as those who became from the beginning firsthand observers and assistants of the message handed on to us [their expositions]** (1:2). Alexander translates this verse differently: "just as the tradition was handed down to us by the original eyewitnesses and ministers of the word."<sup>27</sup> Her translation and interpretation are inadmissible. The subject of the verb in Greek is not "the tradition" but the tradents. In fact, the word "tradition" does not appear at all; she understands the verb παρέδωσαν to imply that what was "handed down" was "anonymous oral tradition."<sup>28</sup> Luke uses this verb thirty times elsewhere, and in every case the context clarifies what was "handed on"; there is no analogy to the verb meaning "to hand on tradition" without a clearly identified object. Surely it is wiser to take the implied object to be the multiple expositions ventured by Luke's predecessors, which would be consistent with Acts 16:4, where Luke wrote that Paul and Silas "handed on [παρεδίδωσαν] to the residents the need to observe the dictates that had been established by the apostles and the elders in Jerusalem," as articulated in the letter from the council in 15:23–29 (cf. 6:14 on Moses handing on customs in the Torah).

Alexander admits that "eyewitnesses" may wrongly imply that Luke is appealing to the αὐτόπται in a legal sense; I prefer "firsthand observers." Similarly, modern readers are likely to take her translation of ὑπηρέται as "ministers of the word" to imply that they were ecclesiastical officers, but the noun,

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24. Curiously, Norelli does not discuss Aristion's *Expositions* as a written text (*Papia di Hierapoli*, 110).

25. Alexander: "ἀνατάξασθαι is not so much a choice or a recondite word as a newly coined variant on the standard συντάξασθαι" (*The Preface to Luke's Gospel*, 110).

26. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel*, 110.

27. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel*, 116.

28. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel*, 120. Bovon (*Luke 1*, 20–21) and Norelli (*Papia di Hierapoli*, 110) make the same mistake.

as she notes, refers merely to “assistants”—etymologically “oarsmen”—in the transmission of some kind of message (τοῦ λόγου).

Alexander insists that αὐτόπται and ὑπηρέται form a hendiadys and refer to a single category of people; the individuals in this group were both “original eyewitnesses” and “ministers.”<sup>29</sup> But the phrase “from the beginning” seems to modify the observers (ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται), and “of the message” probably modifies only their assistants (ὑπηρέται τοῦ λόγου).<sup>30</sup> Luke thus forged a chain of tradents. The first link, the “firsthand observers” who handed down their expositions of the life of Jesus, resembles Papias’s appeals to Peter, Matthew, and probably Aristion and the elder John, whom he called “disciples of the Lord.” The second link, the “assistants of the message,” resembles Papias’s statements about Mark, the putative translators of the Hebrew Matthew, and the bishop’s informants who had personally heard Aristion and John.<sup>31</sup>

After discussing Mark and Matthew’s two translations, Papias stated this goal to put the logia again into proper order, “with interpretations to confirm their reliability” (*Expos.* 1:5). Similarly, after discussing the shortcomings of his predecessors, Luke states his goal: “it seemed good to me, too, having followed them all thoroughly, to write [an exposition] precisely in sequence also for you, most excellent Theophilus, so that you may recognize the certainty of sayings about which you have been instructed” (1:3–4). These verses, too, demand a careful reading.

**it seemed good to me, too, having followed** [παρηκολουθηκότι] **them all** [πᾶσιν] **thoroughly** (1:3a). Alexander provides compelling parallels where cognates of ἀκολουθεῖν were used to describe investigations into various matters.<sup>32</sup> Luke thus seems to be saying that he carefully consulted all the writings of the eyewitnesses and the assistants before composing his own. Papias gained his information from those “who had followed [παρηκολουθηκώς] the elders.” Although one might argue that Luke, like Papias, used the verb for consulting people with personal connections with the past, it would appear that “them all” refers instead to the written expositions of the “firsthand observers” and their subsequent “assistants.”

**to write [an exposition] precisely in sequence for you** [σοί], **most excellent Theophilus** (1:3b). The infinitive γράψαι, “to write,” has no expressed object, but the meaning is clear: the first clause in the sentence spoke of many who “attempted to set in order an exposition,” a task that Luke, too (κάμιοι),

29. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel*, 119.

30. See Acts 26:16, where Paul is called a ὑπηρέτης and μάρτυς.

31. Luke may have avoided using Papias’s term πρεσβύτεροι insofar as he would use it repeatedly in Acts to refer to those with ecclesiastical authority: presbyters.

32. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel*, 128–30.



now will attempt. Similarly, Papias spoke of his task as setting in order (συγκατατάξαι) things that he had learned from the elders apparently by rearranging them into the same sequence that Matthew set forth (συνετάξατο) in his Hebrew Gospel, a sequence that the translators skewed. One may take the adverb ἀκριβῶς, “precisely,” either with the participial phrase that precedes it (“having followed all thoroughly”) or with what follows it, which is how I understand it.

**so that you may recognize the certainty of sayings about which you have been instructed** (1:4). Although Alexander legitimately translates the word λόγων as “things,” I think that “sayings” comes closer to what Luke had in mind. Similarly, Papias wanted “to confirm the reliability” of the traditions he received from those “who taught the truth, ... who remembered the commandments given by the Lord for faith and derived from the truth itself. ... I would investigate the sayings [τοὺς ... λόγους] of the elders.”

The parallels between the prefaces of Papias’s *Exposition* and Luke-Acts are striking.

#### Beginning of the *Exposition*

#### Luke 1:1–4

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|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Title: Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις</li> <li>• Name of author: Papias</li> <li>• Name of recipient: unknown</li> <li>• Papias knew a book about Jesus ascribed to Mark and had heard from the elder John that Matthew wrote his arrangement of logia in Hebrew, which “each translated” the best he could.</li> <li>• “I will not hesitate to set in order [συγκατατάξαι] whatever I learned well.” Matthew “set in order [συνετάξατο] the logia.”</li> <li>• Mark translated the teachings of Peter; Matthew wrote his own arrangement in Hebrew, and at least two others translated it into Greek. Peter and Matthew were firsthand observers, while Mark and Mat-</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Title: διήγησις of ... (?)</li> <li>Name of author: Luke (?)</li> <li>Name of recipient: Theophilus (1:3)</li> <li>“Since many have attempted to set in order [ἀνατάξασθαι] an exposition of the matters that have come to fruition among us, as those who became from the beginning firsthand observers and assistants of the message</li> </ul> |
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thew's translators were assistants. For Papias the value of the elders was their transmission to posterity of traditions (παραδόσεις) about Jesus and the disciples.

- Papias learned about the teachings of the disciples by inquiring of anyone who had "followed [παρηκολουθηκώς] the elders."
- Mark "wrote accurately [ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν]" but not in sequence. "I [Papias] will not hesitate to set in order also for you [σου]."
- Papias wanted "to confirm the reliability" of the information that he had gathered from those "who taught the truth, ... who remembered the commandments given by the Lord for faith and derived from the truth itself. ... I would investigate the sayings [λόγους] of the elders."

handed on [παρέδοσαν] to us [their expositions],

it seemed good to me, too, having followed [παρηκολουθηκότι] them all thoroughly

to write [an exposition] precisely in sequence [ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι] for you, most excellent Theophilus,

so that you may recognize the certainty

of sayings [λόγων] about which you have been instructed."

A comparison of the content of the prefaces confirms that Luke-Acts is secondary. Surely it is more reasonable to think that Luke created his fictive authorial name and imaginary recipient in imitation of the names of Papias and his actual recipient than to think that Papias replaced Luke's pseudonyms with the real names. Papias, who gathered information from those who had "followed the elders," surely represents an earlier stage of tradition than pseudo-Luke, who "followed" only written documents. Whereas Papias, writing near the beginning of the second century, rejoiced in learning from "a living and surviving voice," Luke, writing somewhat later, could appeal only to the written expositions of the "firsthand observers" and "assistants of the message."<sup>33</sup> Luke thus seems to be placing his bookish "having followed them

33. Alexander provides compelling evidence that Papias's reference to "a living ... voice" was proverbial among craftsmen and educators to express a preference for learning from an expert in person to learning merely from a book ("The Living Voice: Scepticism towards the Written Word in Early Christian and in Greco-Roman Texts," in *The Bible in*

all thoroughly” on the level of Papias’s oral informants about what the elders transmitted of the teachings of the disciples. Furthermore, the Lukan Evangelist seems to contrast his exposition with Papias’s description of Mark: “whatever Peter recalled of what was said or done by the Lord Mark wrote down accurately [ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν], though not in proper sequence [οὐ μέντοι τάξει]” (*Expos.* 1:3). Luke, on the other hand, intended “to write [an exposition] precisely in sequence” [ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς ... γράψαι].

The two works also agree at several points apart from the preface to suggest a literary connection. For example, it would appear that in *Expos.* 1:6 Papias provided an interpretation of the reference to making children for Abraham out of rocks (Matt 3:9–10). Luke records the same saying and seems to agree with Papias’s clarification of John’s metaphor, for he supplies a similar explanation precisely at this point. Luke 3:10 begins with the crowds asking John, “So what should we do [ποιήσωμεν]?” They seem to be asking: What did he have in mind when insisting that they “produce [ποιήσατε] fruit worthy of repentance,” fruit that would allow them to become “children of Abraham”? According to Luke, John told them, “Let the one who has two tunics share with the one who does not have one, and let the one who has food do likewise” (3:11b). “Tax collectors, too, came to be baptized and said to him, ‘Teacher, what should we do [ποιήσωμεν]?’” to become “children for Abraham” (3:12). He told them, “Take nothing more than is allotted you” (3:13). “And even soldiers asked him, ‘And what should we do [ποιήσωμεν]?’ He said to them, ‘Do not extort money by force or by false accusations, and be content with your wages’” (3:14).

Jesus predicts the violent deaths of the sons of Zebedee in Mark and Matthew, but not in the Gospel of Luke, although the Acts of the Apostles mentions the death of James using language similar to Papias.

*Expos.* 2:3

John ... and his brother James  
[Ἰωάννης ... καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ  
ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ] were killed by Jews  
[ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθησαν].

Acts 12:1–3a

Herod the king used force against  
some from the church and  
killed James the brother of John  
[ἀνεῖλεν δὲ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
Ἰωάννου] with the sword. When he  
saw that this act pleased the Jews  
[τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις] ...

Despite the similarities in wording, only Papias mentions the death of John. It is reasonable to propose that Papias did not write that the brothers died at the same time but that both eventually were killed by Jews, thus fulfilling Jesus' prediction. James died first, perhaps as Acts says, at the hands of Agrippa II, and John died sometime after the Jewish War, which would have fallen outside Luke's narrative tether, which ends around 64 C.E.<sup>34</sup> That is, the Lukan author wrote later than Papias, but his fictive author came from the first Christian generation.

The commentary on Papias argued that he knew an alternative account of the death of Judas not as a suicide, as in Matthew, but as a divine punishment in his own field (*Expos.* 4:5 and 6). Luke's account of the death of Judas resembles Papias's.

This one then purchased a plot from the reward of his injustice and, falling face down, burst in the middle, and all his guts poured out. And it became known to all the residents of Jerusalem, so that plot was called in their own dialect Hakeldamach, that is, "Plot of Blood." For it was written in the book of Psalms, "Let his farm become deserted, let there be no inhabitant in it, and let another receive his responsibility." (Acts 1:18–20)

As Apollinaris recognized, this version of Judas's death shares much with Papias's: "Judas did not die by hanging, but he survived for a while and was taken down before he choked. And the Acts of the Apostles makes this clear: 'falling face down, he burst in the middle, and all his guts poured out.' Papias, John's disciple, records this even more clearly" (*Expos.* 4:5). Four similarities stand out:

- Unlike Matthew's account, Papias and Luke concur that Judas never repented.
- According to the bishop of Hierapolis, Judas "died in his own

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34. This position largely agrees with the conclusion of R. H. Charles (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* [ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1920], 1). John H. Bernard cast doubt on the reliability of this Papian fragment primarily for two reasons: (1) the reference to John as "the Theologian" clearly could not have derived from Papias, and (2) Philip may not be quoting Papias directly but summarizing Eusebius (cf. *Hist. eccl.* 2.23). He thus concluded: "No historical inference can be drawn from a corrupt sentence in a late epitome of the work of a careless and blundering historian" (*Commentary on John* [ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1928], xlii). Bernard thought that John died at a ripe old age from natural causes.

- plot [ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ... χωρίῳ]; according to Luke, “This one then purchased a plot [χωρίον].”<sup>35</sup>
- According to Papias, God punished Judas with an “efflux” of bloody discharge and maggots “that seeped to the ground.” Similarly in Luke: he “burst in the middle, and all his guts poured out.”<sup>36</sup>
  - Papias stated that Judas’s plot “became deserted and uninhabited [ἔρημον καὶ ἀοίκητον ... γενέσθαι].”<sup>37</sup> According to Luke, “For it was written in the book of Psalms, ‘Let his farm become deserted [γενηθῆτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος], let there be no inhabitant [μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν] in it.’”

Scholars have proposed three solutions to account for these similarities. (1) Papias and Luke knew a shared tradition or source different from Matthew’s account; (2) Papias knew Acts; or (3) Luke knew Papias’s *Exposition*. By far the first solution has been the most popular, and it informs virtually all discussions of Judas’s fate: both authors knew a tradition or a source that they used independently. For example, Hans-Josef Klauck argued that Luke inherited from this tradition his less vivid version of Judas’s death, which Papias, or more likely his informants’ tradition, graphically embellished.<sup>38</sup> This assessment is problematic.

Apparently it was Luke himself, not a source, who created the lapidary and enigmatic sentence “falling face down, [he] burst in the middle, and all his guts poured out.” Because the adjective πρηγής, “face down,” was rare in Luke’s day, readers ancient and modern have been unsure how to take it. The word is common in Homeric epic. When combatants in the *Iliad* died bravely, they received their wounds facing their enemies and thus fell backward (ὑπίτιος), but Homeric cowards, who turned from their enemies, were struck from behind and fell πρηγής. The weapon, usually a spear, struck the warrior in the back, drove him face down to the earth, and spilled his bowels. For example, Patroclus’s spear slew a Trojan as he turned to flee, “and he fell πρηγής on the ground” (16.310–311).<sup>39</sup>

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35. In Acts 1:25 Peter refers to Judas as the one who forsook his place among the Twelve “to go to his own place [εἰς τὸν τόπον ἴδιον].”

36. It was this similarity that prompted Apollinaris to link Papias with Acts.

37. For an example of these near synonyms used together, see Herodotus 2.34.

38. Hans-Josef Klauck, *Judas, un disciple de Jésus: Exégèse et répercussions historiques* (trans. Joseph Hoffmann; LD; Paris: Cerf, 2006), 127–28.

39. The word πρηγής is used of warriors falling to their deaths also in *Il.* 5.58; 12.396; 15.543; 16.413 and 579; and 21.118.

Luke then states that Judas “burst [ἐλάκησεν] in the middle,” using a verb that appears nowhere else in the New Testament or the Septuagint. The *Iliad* uses it for the cracking of bones in warfare, as when Menelaus struck Peisander in the head with a spear, “the bones cracked [λάκε], and his bloody eyeballs / fell at his feet in the dust. / He doubled over when he fell” (13.616–618).

Luke ends his depiction of Judas’s death by saying, “all his guts poured out.” This revolting expression, too, finds parallels in Homer, who described the death of Polydorus as follows:

Swift-footed noble Achilles struck him square on the back  
with a cast of his spear as he darted past; ...  
clean through went the spear point beside the navel,  
and he fell to his knees with a groan, and a cloud of darkness enfolded him,  
and as he slumped, he clasped his intestines to him with his hands. (20.413–  
414, 416–418)

Two passages in the epic use an identical formula for disgorging that is similar to Acts 1:18: “and then all / his guts poured to the ground [ἐκ δ’ ἄρα πᾶσαι / χύντο χαμαὶ χυλάδες].”<sup>40</sup> The word πᾶσαι with the tmesis ἐκ ... χύντο clearly resembles Luke’s ἐκεχύθη πάντα. Readers familiar with Homer thus would have taken Judas’s falling πρηγής to suggest that he was killed in flight like a coward. His bursting in the middle with his insides spilling to the earth implies impaling by an invisible shaft from behind. In *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?* I argued that Luke modeled the entire apostolic lottery after the lottery in the *Iliad* that selected Ajax to stand up to Hector.<sup>41</sup> For example, compare the following:

*Il.* 7.175–183

Acts 1:24–26

And each man marked his lot  
[κλήρον] / and cast it into the  
helmet of Atreides Agamemnon, /

and the people prayed and lifted  
their hands to the gods, / looking up

[Peter’s statement in 1:17 anticipates  
the casting of lots: Judas won his  
ministry with the Twelve in a lot-  
tery of sorts (ἔλαχεν τὸν κλήρον).]

They prayed

40. *Il.* 4.525–526 and 21.180–181.

41. See Dennis R. MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer? Four Cases from the Acts of the Apostles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 105–19.

to broad heaven, one would speak [εἵπασκεν] like this: / “Father Zeus, [I pray that] Ajax may win the lot [λαχεῖν], or the son of Tydeus, / or the king of gold-rich Mycenae himself.” / So they spoke, and the horseman, Nestor of Gerenia, shook them, / and out from the helmet popped the lot [κλήρος] that they had wanted: / that of Ajax.

and said [εἶπαν]: “Lord, knower of hearts, indicate which of these two men you select to take [λαβεῖν] the place of this service and apostleship that Judas forsook to go to his own place.” And they gave them lots [κλήρους],

and the lot [κλήρος] fell for Matthias. And he was enlisted with the eleven apostles.

The second option, that Papias knew Acts, clearly is excluded if Luke-Acts had not yet been written.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, if Papias’s version of the death of Judas were a response to Matthew, to say that it also borrowed from Acts would mean that for some reason this tradition omitted from both sources the reference to the Field of Blood, preferred death by dropsy to hanging or bursting of bowels, and omitted all biblical citations. Furthermore, Papias seems to appeal to his oral informants and not to a text: “They say [φασί]...”

Therefore, one most elegantly accounts for the connections between the two stories by thinking that Luke knew Papias, solution 3. He saw the grotesquerie in the *Exposition* and replaced it with a stereotypical punishment of a Homeric coward and an imitation of the selection of a hero by lot. This direction of dependence might explain Luke’s subtle alteration of Ps 68 (MT 69), where Acts agrees with Papias in using the adjective ἔρημος, in agreement with Papias (ἔρημον καὶ ἀοίκητον), instead of the participle ἡρημωμένη, as in the Septuagint.

Ps 68:26 (MT 69:26; cit. [A])

Acts 1:20

Let their farm be deserted  
[ἡρημωμένη];  
let there be no inhabitant [μὴ ἔστω  
ὁ κατοικῶν] in their tents.

“Let his farm become deserted  
[ἔρημος];  
let there be no inhabitant [μὴ ἔστω  
ὁ κατοικῶν] in it.”

Eusebius claimed that the daughters of Philip told a “marvelous event about Justus surnamed Barsabbas, how he drank a fatal poison and, by the

42. Körtner argues on other grounds that Papias’s account was independent of Luke (*Papias von Hierapolis*, 143). See also Klauck, *Judas, un disciple de Jésus*, 123.

grace of the Lord, suffered nothing out of the ordinary. The writing of the Acts [of the Apostles] narrates as here that, after the ascension of the Savior, the holy apostles put forward this Justus along with Matthias and prayed over the lottery for the completion of their number in place of Judas: "They presented two men: Joseph, the one called [τὸν καλούμενον] Barsabbas, dubbed [ἐπεκλήθη] Justus, and Matthias'" (*Expos.* 5:1; cf. 5:2). This citation from Acts 1:23 gives the first character three names: the first is Hebrew, the second Aramaic, and the third Latin. Eusebius's reference to Papias, however, speaks of "Justus surnamed [τὸν ἐπικληθέντα] Barsabbas" and explicitly identifies him with Joseph Barsabbas Justus in Acts. Philip of Side gives his name as "Barsabbas, also [ὁ καί] Justus," probably from the influence of Acts. But which version of the name—Luke's Joseph Barsabbas Justus or Papias's Justus Barsabbas—is more primitive?

Papias implies that the man was known primarily as Justus, a perfectly acceptable Latin name, but also was known as son of Sabbas in Aramaic. He says nothing about the Hebrew name Joseph. Luke, on the other hand, probably created the name Joseph to give the man purer Jewish pedigree. "Justus" in Acts appears to be less a name than a sobriquet indicating that Joseph was righteous, perhaps *torah*-observant. This pattern of giving characters bearing Latin names Hebrew ones appears elsewhere in Acts, most famously in Luke's providing Paul [Παῦλος] with a Hebrew approximation: Saul (Σαῦλος). To Mark he gave the Hebrew birth name John. In light of Luke's preference for Jewish to Latin names, it is likely that Papias's Justus Barsabbas was the earlier version.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine if Papias knew a tradition about a replacement of Judas among the Twelve, but this much is certain: for Papias, Judas's betrayal forever disqualified him from being an eschatological judge, as promised in Matt 19:28, which Papias surely had read: "Truly I tell you that you who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory, you, too, will sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."<sup>43</sup> Either this promise would be unfulfilled, or someone had to replace Judas, which is more theologically acceptable.

Here is what Luke had to say about the daughters of Philip: Paul and his retinue sailed from Ptolemais and moored "at Caesarea, went into the home of Philip the evangelist, one of the Seven, and stayed with him. He had four virgin daughters who prophesied" (21:8–9). Here the author identifies Philip as one of the deacons. This character, entirely unattested apart from Acts and later texts dependent on it, first appears in Jerusalem (6:5), conducts a mission

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43. See the discussion of *Expos.* 2:2a and 2b on pages 22–23 above.



to Samaria (8:5), encounters the Ethiopian eunuch in transit from Jerusalem to Gaza (8:26–27), after which he relocated in Caesarea, apparently with his four daughters (8:40).

Papias personally knew the daughters of Philip; at least two of them lived in Hierapolis. It is possible, of course, that Luke knew an independent tradition about these women, but it also is conceivable that all he knew about them he derived from the *Exposition*. Our fragments do not reveal how these women got to Phrygia from Judea, but they most likely would have sailed from Caesarea Maritima, the most important port serving Judea (see Acts 21:8) to Attalia, in southern Anatolia, or to Ephesus in the west. From either city they would have found a major road to Hierapolis. In other words, Luke placed the women at the port city that most likely would have been their point of departure for their new home. At this point, all four of them were virgin prophetesses. Notice also that Papias considered them important informants and recorded at least two of their stories, one of which concerned the raising to life of a woman. Luke, on the other hand, even though admitting that they prophesied, kept them silent. He seems to have preferred giving voice to a male “prophet named Agabus” (Acts 21:10).

Papias linked the women with Palestinian Jewish Christianity. The name Barsabbas is Aramaic for “son of Sabbas,” and Manaemus is Greek for the Hebrew name Menachem. In other words, these women were Jewish and transmitters of Levantine traditions. In Luke, however, they are daughters of a Hellenistic Jew from Jerusalem; later they took up residence in cosmopolitan Caesarea and became associated with Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles.<sup>44</sup>

Other contacts between Papias and Luke-Acts are possible. For example, Eusebius complained that Papias believed “that there will be a thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, when the kingdom of Christ will be established physically on this earth” (*Expos.* 3.0); Irenaeus cited favorably a passage about eating and drinking sumptuously in the eschaton (4:2). Had Luke read these passages in the *Exposition*, he would have agreed with Eusebius’s objection. Luke’s portrayal of God’s kingdom precludes an earthly millennium.

When he [Jesus] was asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God is coming, he answered them and said: “The kingdom of God is not coming

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44. Nothing else is known about Manaemus, although several scholars have linked him with a character with a similar name in Acts 13:1: “Manean, the intimate friend of Herod the tetrarch.” Manaemus in Philip seems to be the same person whose mother was raised from the death in Papias’s own day according to Eusebius (*Expos.* 5:1). Although it may be tempting to see this as another connection between the *Exposition* and Acts, the similarities between the names Manaemus and Manean may be accidental.

visibly, nor will they say, 'Look, here!' or, 'There!' For look, the kingdom of God is within you." He said to his disciples, "Days will come when you will long to see one of the days of the Son of Man and will not see it." (Luke 17:20–22)

According to *Expos.* 2:2, Papias and others "viewed things about paradise spiritually by referring to the church of Christ." The notion of paradise had a venerable and variegated history in Judaism, a history that left a faint footprint in early Christian texts. Paul refers to paradise in 2 Cor 12:4, where he states that in a vision he was caught up into it as an astral realm, clearly not a renewed earth. The word appears once in the Apocalypse of John: "To the one who conquers I will allow to eat from the tree of life, which is in the paradise of God" (2:7b).

The only other explicit reference to paradise in the New Testament appears in Luke and in a most fascinating location. The righteous thief asks the dying Jesus: "remember me when you enter your kingdom." Jesus does not consent to the request but transforms it: "Truly I tell you, today you will be with me in paradise" (23:42–43). Clearly paradise is not identified with a thousand-year period of Jesus earthly reign, as in Papias, but with a state of bliss available immediately upon one's death, which Jesus and the thief will enjoy together. It is by no means certain that Luke had Papias in mind when composing his passion narrative, but what is clear is that his view of paradise differed from the apocalyptic materiality of the bishop of Hierapolis.

Papias and Luke both extended their stories of Jesus and his followers by composing multivolume works. One should note, however, the striking differences between Papias's view of the early years of the church and Luke's. The *Exposition* spoke of events up to the end of the first century, whereas Acts ends decades earlier, around 63, with Paul's Roman imprisonment. Papias gathered information about "what Andrew or Peter said, or Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples had said, or what Aristion and the elder John, disciples of the Lord, say" (1:5). Although Luke, too, lists the names of eleven disciples at the beginning of Acts, he gives distinctive roles to only two of the nine whom he lists. James appears when the author refers to his death (12:1–2), and Peter figures prominently in chapters 1–6, 10–12, and 15. Luke shows no interest in the careers of Philip, Thomas, the two Johns, Matthew, or Aristion. Whereas Papias credited Matthew with having written the most sequentially correct and expansive Gospel, Luke gives him no text time whatsoever.

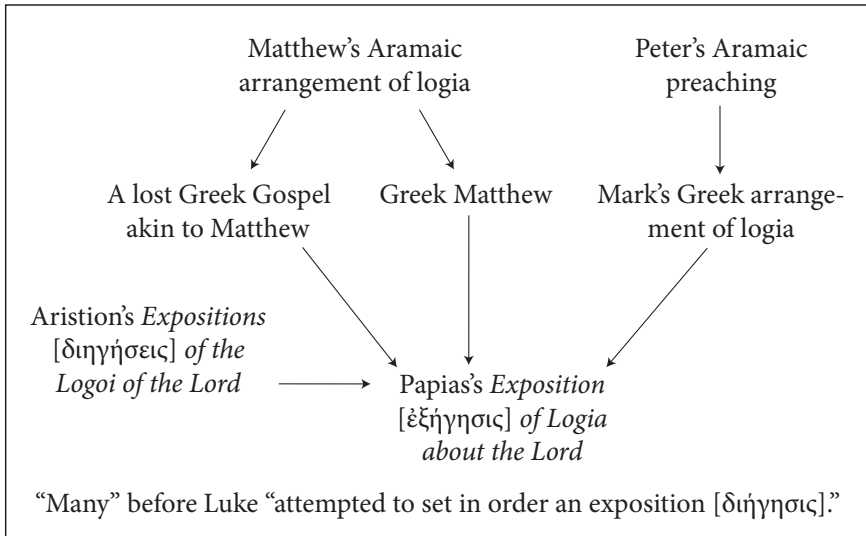
In addition to Peter, Luke gives important roles to several characters missing in the *Exposition*: the seven deacons—especially Stephen and Philip—Barnabas, and especially Paul, about whom Papias is entirely silent, even

though he must have known of Paul's missionizing in the vicinity of Hierapolis. It would appear that Papias and Luke held different views of Christian origins, a fact that makes all the more striking the times that Papias and Acts share similar content.

Whereas the bishop of Hierapolis admitted that he himself was not a participant in the origins of the church in the Levant, pseudo-Luke locates the voice of his narrator in the Pauline circle and thus trumps Papias by assuming a voice earlier than that of the *Exposition* by half a century. In this way he also occults his literary dependence on it.

| Papias's chain of tradition  | Luke's chain of tradition   |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jesus</li> <li>• the disciples</li> <li>• books about Jesus written by Mark and Matthew</li> <li>• the elders John and Aristion, who had known Jesus and his disciples (not a whisper in Papias about Paul)</li> <li>• those who had heard the elders and the daughters of Philip, whom Papias knew personally</li> <li>• Papias, whose actual date of composing the <i>Exposition</i> was around 110 C.E.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jesus</li> <li>• the disciples</li> <li>• "many" earlier books about Jesus</li> <li>• Paul, who did not know Jesus but had known some of his disciples (not a whisper in Luke-Acts about the elders John or Aristion)</li> <li>• the daughters of Philip (Acts 21:8–9, a we-passage, which implies the author's presence)</li> <li>• Luke, whose fictive date of composing the Acts of the Apostles was sometime after Paul arrived in Rome (ca. 63 C.E.)</li> </ul> |

The diagram on the opposite page portrays what Luke would have learned from Papias about earlier books about Jesus. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine precisely to what extent he might have agreed with this view, but in the next chapter will argue that this intertextual model to a large extent explains Luke's use of his sources.





### 3

## LUKE'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE *EXPOSITION* AND THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

Because of its antiquity, Papias's assessment of Mark and Matthew has exerted extraordinary influence on the history of Gospel interpretation.<sup>1</sup> Modern scholarship, however, has shown that he was misguided in nearly everything he said about these two books. For example, originally the Gospel of Mark probably was anonymous, and Peter's dismal presentation in it suggests that the author, whoever she was, did not merely translate the disciple's preaching. Many interpreters have read Papias in light of 1 Pet 5:13 to imply that Mark wrote from Rome, but the Evangelist's extensive use of Aramaic, including Aramaic-Greek puns and significant names, requires that his first readers lived in the bilingual eastern provinces of the empire.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, there never was a Semitic original of the Gospel of Matthew, as Papias opined. The tradition handed on by the elder John had contrived it to account for different sequences of logia in two Greek works that otherwise resembled each other. More significantly, the authors of Mark and Matthew did not compose independently; one of them used the other as a source.<sup>3</sup>

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1. The priority of Matthew was assumed, for example, by Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, and Augustine, and it may account for the location of this Gospel at the beginning of the New Testament.

2. For a fuller discussion, see my forthcoming commentary on the Gospel of Mark, tentatively titled *Mark's Redaction of the Lost Gospel*.

3. The most important tools for assessing interconnections among the Synoptic Gospels are synopses that present similar units of text, or pericopae, in parallel columns to enable comparison. The most authoritative such work is the fifteenth edition of Kurt Aland's *Synopsis quattuor evangeliorum: Locis parallelis evangeliorum apocryphorum et patrum adhibitis edidit* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996). It contains the Greek text of all four canonical Gospels and provides detailed cross-references to Jewish Scriptures, extensive apparatus for textual variants, and hundreds of parallel texts from early Christian authors. Its first appendix contains the Coptic text of the *Gospel of Thomas* with translations into German and English and notes that provide readings from surviv-

Advocates of the Augustinian Hypothesis and the Two-Gospel Hypothesis (2GH) argue that Mark redacted Matthew (see the diagram on the opposite page),<sup>4</sup> but if this were the case, Mark would be guilty of introducing inferior style, creating theological embarrassments, and omitting large sections of text, including the infancy narrative, the Sermon on the Mount, and Jesus' resurrection appearances.<sup>5</sup> It is far easier to explain the growth of the tradition from Mark to Matthew than in the other direction.<sup>6</sup> Most scholars thus hold to Markan Priority.<sup>7</sup>

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ing Greek fragments and retrotranslations into Greek for pericopae with parallels in the canonical Gospels. The second appendix provides Greek and Latin texts of witnesses to the Gospels by authors from the second to the fourth centuries. The Gospels are an intertextual amusement park, and this reference work guides its readers to its attractions.

For English-only readers, a useful equivalent is *Synopsis of the Four Gospels: English Edition*, also edited by Aland (New York: United Bible Societies, 1982). The most useful synopsis devoted exclusively to the Synoptics is Albert Huck and Heinrich Greeven, *Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* (13th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981).

4. The Two-Gospel Hypothesis holds that Mark redacted Matthew and Luke (hence "two Gospels"). Its advocates include William R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (2nd ed.; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1976); and David L. Dungan, *A History of the Synoptic Problem: The Canon, the Text, the Composition and the Interpretation of the Gospels* (New York: Doubleday, 1999). See also Basil C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew: A Critique of the Two-Document Hypothesis* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1951).

5. See John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 41–43.

6. For example, Matthew and Mark narrate Jesus' walking on water. In Matthew, the disciples take this as a sign that Jesus was "a son of a god," but in Mark they are perplexed. Mark 6:51b–52: "They were exceedingly perplexed among themselves, for they did not understand about the loaves of bread, but their hearts had been hardened."

Matt 14:33: Those who were in the boat worshiped him and said, 'Truly, you are a son of a god!'"

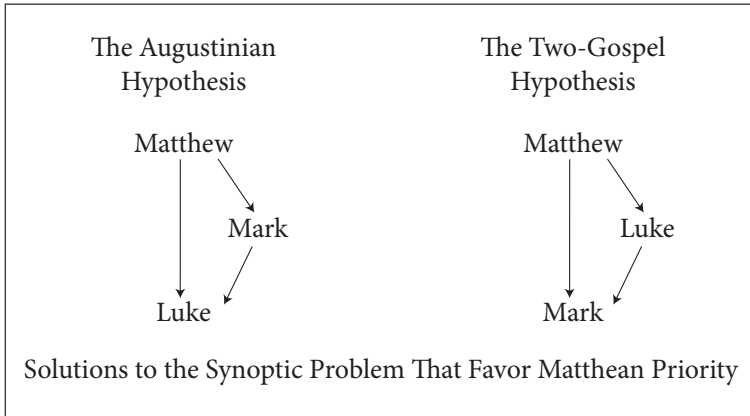
Surely it is more likely that Matthew replaced perplexity with theological perspicuity than the other way around. The next parallels compare accounts of the women at Jesus' tomb.

Mark 16:8: "They left and fled from the tomb, for trembling and confusion seized them. They said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid."

Matt 28:8–9: "They left the tomb quickly with fear and great joy and ran to tell his disciples. And Jesus met them and said, 'Greetings!' They went to him, grabbed his feet, and worshiped him."

Again, it is more likely that Matthew replaced the women's mute confusion with their joyous pronouncement than that Mark replaced their witness with their silence.

7. Obviously, if Luke knew Papias's work, it would destroy the case for the 2GH insofar as it holds that Mark redacted Luke. Matthew C. Williams provides a clever contribution to the case for Markan Priority by demonstrating that "Matthew made the same types of



#### LUKE'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK

Like Matthew and Papias, Luke apparently had physical access to the Gospel of Mark, and because of Papias, he also would have known that the book already had been attributed to Mark's translation of Peter's preaching. The portrayal of Peter and Mark in Acts is congenial to what he would have learned from the bishop of Hierapolis. When Peter escaped from Agrippa's prison, he "went to the house of Mary, the mother of John who is called Mark, where quite a number of people were gathered and at prayer" (Acts 12:12). Thus here, as in Papias, Mark is linked with Peter (as also in 1 Pet 5:13). Once again Luke has given a character with a Latin name one in Hebrew. According to Acts 12:25, Saul and Barnabas returned to Jerusalem and "took along John who was called Mark"; he thus becomes affiliated also with Saul/Paul, as in the Pauline epistles (see Phlm 24 and the pseudo-Pauline Col 4:10 and 2 Tim 4:11, cited earlier in connection with the name Luke).

Particularly fascinating is Acts 13:5, where one reads that Barnabas and Saul arrived in Salamis, Cyprus, and "proclaimed the word of God [τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ] in the synagogues of the Jews; and they had John as their assistant." The word here translated "assistant" has attracted much scholarly attention. B. T. Holmes argued that in contemporary papyri ὑπηρετής designated a subordinate public official responsible for "presenting or serving a copy of some

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changes that Marcan scribes made to Mark's Gospel. ... Text-critical criteria clearly and consistently support Marcan priority and Matthean posteriority. Nevertheless, sporadic instances of primary readings in Matthew are found" (*Two Gospels from One: A Comprehensive Text-Critical Analysis of the Synoptic Gospels* [Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2006], 214–25).



document.”<sup>8</sup> Holmes used such parallels to argue that the author of Acts witnesses to Mark’s composition of his Gospel before or during Paul’s mission in Cyprus and provides evidence of Luke’s attitude to one of his sources.

The word ὑπηρέτης, however, generally refers to someone other than a slave who attends to the demands of a superior, a task that often did involve writing or the handling of writings. Unfortunately, the author of Acts leaves to the reader’s imagination how Mark served as “an assistant” to Barnabas and Saul/Paul. Two considerations may suggest that he was not merely a gofer. First, the reader might well recall Luke 1:2 and the reference to “those who became assistants of the word [ὑπηρεταὶ ... τοῦ λόγου]”; earlier I proposed that these assistants were Gospel authors or putative translators. The reader of Luke-Acts thus may see Mark’s role to be that of a transmitter of information about Jesus from Peter, who was an eyewitness. Second and more importantly, according to Luke’s narrative, (John) Mark could have provided for Barnabas and Saul/Paul additional information about Jesus insofar as Peter was a friend of the family in Jerusalem (Acts 12:12). In other words, Holmes was wrong to think that the word ὑπηρέτης implied that Mark composed a Petrine Gospel before Paul’s mission in Cyprus, but Luke may well have used the loaded term to imply that the preaching of “the word of God” by Barnabas and Saul/Paul had roots, via Mark, in Petrine memory.

Acts’ John Mark returns to Jerusalem in 13:13, and the reader next encounters him there after the council on the Gentile mission, where Peter had played a decisive role (15:7–11). The following passage is his final appearance.

Paul said to Barnabas, “Let us return [from Antioch] and visit the brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, to see how they are faring.” Barnabas wanted to take with them John as well, also called Mark, but Paul did not think it appropriate to bring him along, for he had deserted them in Pamphylia and did not accompany them to the work. There was a pointed disagreement, with the result that they parted from each other: Barnabas took Mark and sailed for Cyprus.

For the last dozen chapters of Acts, the narrator says nothing concerning the fates of Peter or John Mark, thus leaving ajar the door for the tradition known to Papias that Mark later accompanied Peter and took dictation from him.<sup>9</sup>

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8. “Luke’s Description of John Mark,” *JBL* 54 (1935): 65.

9. It also may be worth noting that the reader last reads of Mark (not John or John Mark) in Acts 15:39, and only a few verses later, in 16:10, one encounters the first reference

Unlike Papias, Luke generally preferred the sequence of events in Mark to whatever he might have found in Matthew, although he, like Papias, apparently thought that all of his sources got the chronology wrong. He also would have agreed with Papias that Mark wrote “a few things as he remembered them” (*Expos.* 1:3), although there was much more to say, as the fuller accounts in Matthew, Papias, and Luke-Acts amply illustrate.

Luke also would have known that at least two other Gospels had been ascribed to Matthew, but this apostle appears in Acts only once, merely in a list of the eleven in 1:13. The prominence of Peter and John Mark in Acts and the virtual silence about Matthew may be symbolic of the relative weight that Luke gave to the Gospels attributed to them.

#### LUKE’S KNOWLEDGE OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

The dominant solution to the Synoptic Problem, the Two-Document Hypothesis (2DH), largely dismisses Papias’s testimony and insists that overlaps between Matthew and Luke, when they are not redacting Mark, issue from their independent use of a lost Greek source: Q. If Luke knew and redacted Matthew, one would expect him to follow Matthew’s sequence, as he does so faithfully with Mark’s, but this is by no means the case.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore and more significantly, as often as not Luke preserves wording or sequencing from a demonstrably earlier stratum of tradition when it parallels Matthew, what Harry T. Fleddermann calls the “priority disparity,” when a later document preserves content anterior to its source.<sup>11</sup> Proponents of the 2DH disagree among themselves, however, insofar as some hold that Mark, too, redacted this lost source, a view that one might call the Modified Two-Document Hypothesis (M2DH).<sup>12</sup>

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to a we-voyage. John Mark and the voice of the narrator thus never overlap, implying that the two never met.

10. See Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 39–41.

11. Harry T. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary* (BTSt 1; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 60–65.

12. On the complex matter of Q-Mark overlaps, see the excellent, though now dated, discussions by E. P. Sanders, “The Overlaps of Mark and Q and the Synoptic Problem,” *NTS* 19 (1972–1973): 453–65; and M. Devisch, “La Relation entre l’évangile de Marc et le document Q,” in *L’Évangile selon Marc: Tradition et redaction* (ed. M. Sabbe; BETL 34; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1974), 59–91. Proponents of the M2DH include John Pairman Brown, “Mark as Witness to an Edited Form of Q,” *JBL* 80 (1961): 29–44; Jan Lambrecht, “Die Logia-Quellen von Markus 13,” *Bib* 47 (1966): 321–60; idem, *Die Redaktion der Markus-Apokalypse: Literarische Analyse und Strukturuntersuchung* (AnBib 28; Rome: Papstliches Bibelinstitut, 1967); idem, “Q-Influence on Mark 8,34–9,1,” in *Logia: Les Paroles des Jésus* (ed. Joel Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1982),

Advocates of the 2DH and the M2DH reconstruct Q by sifting synopses for evidence of Matthew-Luke parallels and by sorting out potential Markan influence. In cases where Matthew and Luke differ, “the version which appears to be less likely the product of redaction is more likely to be the wording of Q. The results of reconstruction can only be stated as probabilities—more and less likely—never as absolutes, and there are instances where both versions betray the editorial interest of the evangelists and hence, the original wording of Q may be irrecoverable.”<sup>13</sup> This quotation comes from John S. Kloppenborg, with whom James M. Robinson and Paul Hoffmann edited *The Critical Edition of Q*.<sup>14</sup> One might caricature this methodology with the formula “Q = (Matthew // Luke) – Mark” (the symbol // indicates overlaps between Matthew and Luke).

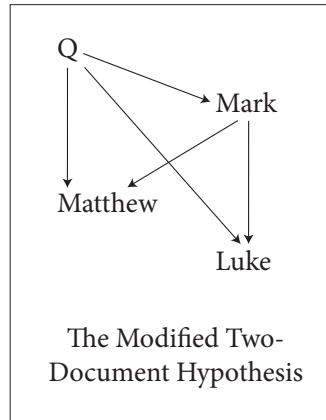
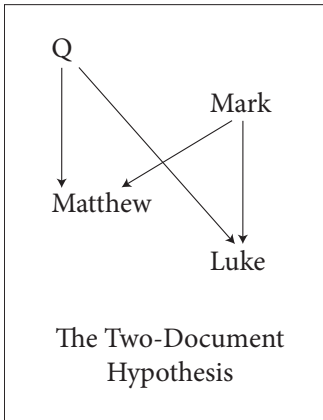
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277–304; idem, “John the Baptist and Jesus in Mark 1.1–15: Markan Redaction of Q?” *NTS* 38 (1992): 357–84; and idem, “A Note on Mark 8:38 and Q 12.8–9,” *JSNT* 24.3 (2002): 117–25; Wolfgang Schenk, “Der Einfluss der Logienquelle auf das Markusevangelium,” *ZNW* 70 (1979): 141–65; Walter Schmithals, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1985), which argues that Mark and Matthew redacted a later, edited version of Q; Burton Mack, “Q and the Gospel of Mark: Revisiting Christian Origins,” *Semeia* 55 (1992): 15–39; and David R. Catchpole, *The Quest for Q* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993). The most comprehensive articulations of the M2DH are those by Harry T. Fleddermann, *Mark and Q: A Study of the Overlap Texts, with an Assessment by F. Neiryneck* (BETL 122; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1995), and idem, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary*.

For arguments against this position, one might consult Rudolf Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums* (BBB 54; Bonn: Hanstein, 1980); Joachim Schüling, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Logienquelle und Markusevangelium* (FB 65; Würzburg: Echter, 1991); Jens Schröter, *Erinnerung an Jesu Worte: Studien zur Rezeption der Logienüberlieferung in Markus, Q und Thomas* (WMANT 76; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1997); Frans Neiryneck, “Assessment,” published as a response to Fleddermann in *Mark and Q* (261–305); idem, “The Sayings Source Q and the Gospel of Mark,” in *Frühes Christentum* (vol. 3 of *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion*; ed. Herbert Cancik, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Peter Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 125–45; Christopher M. Tuckett, “Mark and Q,” in *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and the New Literary Criticism* (ed. Camille Focant; BETL 110; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 154; and Joseph Verheyden, “Mark and Q” *ETL* 72 (1996): 408–17.

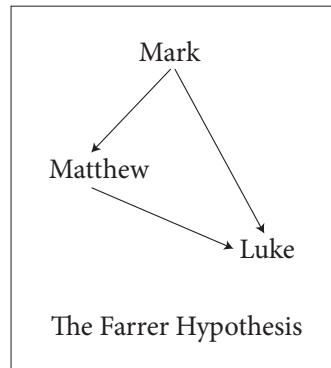
13. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 101. See also his examples on 101–4 and in Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary*, 200–203.

14. *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke and Thomas with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000). For a brief but useful history of Q scholarship, see Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary*, 3–39. Especially helpful is his presentation of reference works for the study of Q (39). See the excellent discussion by James M. Robinson of appeals to Papias in discussions of Q (*The Critical Edition of Q*, xx–xxiii). On Q’s original composition in Greek, see Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 72–80.



Luke's knowledge of Papias's *Exposition* subverts this explanation of Synoptic intertextuality insofar as it asserts that Luke knew Matthew. It therefore would seem to support the Farrer Hypothesis (FH), according to which Matthew-Luke overlaps simply show that Luke redacted Matthew.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, Luke's access to the *Exposition* allows that he might have known another Gospel, now lost, with affinities to Matthew but with the logia in a different sequence. At least theoretically, this second Greek Matthew could be Q. Ironically, the



15. For the Farrer Hypothesis, see Austin Marsden Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q" in *Studies in the Gospel: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* (ed. D. E. Nineham; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 55–58; Michael D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (JSNTSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989); Mark Goodacre, *The Synoptic Problem: A Way through the Maze* (London: T&T Clark, 2001); and idem, *The Case against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2001).

Both the FH and the 2GH dispense with a conjectural Q but disagree about where to locate Mark: the FH places Mark first (agreeing with the 2DH/M2DH), whereas the 2GH places Mark last as a truncating redaction of the other two. For a defense of Luke's putative redaction of Matthew from the 2GH camp, see Allen J. McNicol, ed., *Beyond the Q Impasse: Luke's Use of Matthew* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1996). Despite many helpful exegetical observations, this study systematically overlooks counter-indications of its hypothesis, especially evidence where Luke contains content that is more primitive than its equivalent in Matthew. Such alternating primitivity in the same logia is a lethal flaw, as is the intentional and systematic ignoring of Mark.

best evidence for Luke's use of Matthew appears not in his Gospel but in his second volume.

#### THE DEATH OF JUDAS

As we have seen, Papias's account seems to have been a polemical alternative to the account of Judas's suicide in Matthew; Luke's account generally agrees with Papias, but it also agrees to some extent with Matthew! The Matthean Evangelist fabricated from Zech 11:13 and Jer 39 (MT 32) the purchase of the potter's field with the money given Judas for his betrayal; therefore, the parallels in Acts to his buying the plot with "the reward of his injustice" should not be attributed to independent tradition. It would appear that Luke agreed with the account in Papias that Judas died in his own field but used Matthew's reference to the blood money to explain how Judas came to be a property owner. Although Matthew and Acts both cite Scripture to interpret the connection of Judas to his field, the citation in Acts seems to have been informed by the account in Papias about the field being "deserted and uninhabited."<sup>16</sup>

Matthew seems to have created the etiology for the field of blood from 2 Samuel, elements of which suspiciously appear also in Acts, but not in Papias.

| 2 Sam 6:8  | Matt 27:8  | Acts 1:19b  |
|--|--|---|
| That place was called<br>[ἐκλήθη ὁ τόπος<br>ἐκεῖνος] | That field was called<br>[ἐκλήθη ὁ ἀγρός<br>ἐκεῖνος]     | That plot was called<br>[κληθῆναι τὸ χωρίον<br>ἐκεῖνο]<br>in their own dialect<br>Hakeldamach,<br>that is, "Plot of Blood<br>[χωρίον αἵματος]." |
| Uzza's Breach.<br><br>even to this day.              | a Field of Blood<br>[ἀγρός αἵματος]<br>even to this day. |   |

Whereas the blood at issue in Matthew was that of Jesus, in Luke it is the blood of Judas.

Papias presumably read Matthew's account Judas's suicide but also knew from his informants that some considered this treatment of Judas too soft. Nothing the betrayer could do, not even self-destruction, could reinstate

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16. One may wonder if Luke objected to Matthew's mutilated quotation from Jeremiah.

him among the Twelve to be an eschatological judge. Not only did this tradition supply an alternative cause of death, one more befitting one who fought the divine; it may have narrated the selection of someone to replace him, as Papias's reference to Judas Barsabbas suggests (*Expos.* 5:1 and 2).

Luke seems to have known these incompatible accounts and borrowed elements from each. From Matthew came the etiology for the Field of Blood, which Luke also knew by its Aramaic name 'Ακελδαμάχ. Instead of Matthew's hybrid quotation from Zech 11:13 and Jer 39 (MT 32), Luke created a hybrid quotation of his own from Pss 68:26 and 108:8 (MT 69:26 and 109:8). From Papias he derived the tradition that Judas had not committed suicide but was punished miserably by God in a death that included the discharge of bodily fluids in his own field and that this plot became deserted. Peter replaced Judas by casting lots between Matthias and Joseph Barsabbas Justus, who also appeared in the *Exposition*.<sup>17</sup> In the following columns, underlining isolates Luke's agreements with his two sources for Judas's death.

| Matt 27:3–10   | <i>Expos.</i> 4:5 and 6, and<br>5:1 and 2                   | Acts 1:15–26   |
|--|---|--|
| Judas repented.  | <u>Judas never repented.</u>                                | <u>Judas never repented.</u>   |
| Chief priests <u>bought</u> a field <u>with the blood money</u> after his death. | <u>Judas owned his own field.</u>                           | <u>Judas bought a field with the blood money before his death.</u>       |
| Judas died by hanging himself.   | <u>Judas did not die by hanging.</u>                        | <u>Judas did not die by hanging.</u>                                     |
|  | <u>Judas died by an efflux "that seeped to the ground."</u> | <u>Judas "burst in the middle, and guts poured out."</u>                 |
| <u>His death fulfilled Scripture.</u>  |   | <u>His death fulfilled Scripture,</u> but not by those cited in Matthew. |

17. Luke's own account also shows the influence of Homeric depictions of the deaths of cowards and the lottery for the selection of Ajax in *Il.* 7. See chapter 2, pages 60–62.

His “plot became deserted and uninhabited [ἔρημον καὶ ἀοίκητον ... γενέσθαι].”

“Let his farm become deserted [γενηθήτω ... ἔρημος]; let there be no inhabitant [μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν].”

Plot “called Field of Blood.”

“That plot was called in their own dialect Hakeldamach, that is, ‘Plot of Blood.’”

Justus Barsabbas had a ministry after Judas’s death.

“Joseph, the one called Barsabbas, dubbed Justus” was one of two candidates to replace Judas.

These parallels suggest that Luke knew not only Papias’s account but Matthew’s as well. Further evidence of Luke’s use of Matthew appears at the beginning and ending of his Gospel.

#### INFANCY NARRATIVE

Michael D. Goulder (a proponent of the FH) presents a detailed and largely compelling case for Luke’s rewriting of Matthew’s infancy narrative.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, adherents of the 2DH seek alternative explanations for Luke’s overlaps with Matthew’s account of the birth. From the following discussion, however, one thing is clear: the Matthean and Lukan infancy narratives are literarily linked.

- Many of the names of the two genealogies are the same or similar.

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18. Goulder, *Luke*, 205–69. See also P. J. Thompson, “The Infancy Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke Compared,” in *Studia evangelica I: Papers Presented to the International Congress on “The Four Gospels in 1957” Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1957* (ed. Kurt Aland et al.; TUGAL 73; Berlin: Akademie, 1959), 217–22; John Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke’s Gospel: A Study in Early Christian Historiography* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1976), 122–27; and Barbara Shellard, *New Light on Luke: Its Purpose, Sources and Literary Context* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 70–81.

Matt 1:2–16  
(cf. 1 Chr 1:34 and 2:1–15)

Luke 3:23–34  
(in reverse order)

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Abraham  | Abraham     |
| Abraham sired Isaac,                           | Isaac       |
| and Isaac sired Jacob,                         | Jacob       |
| and Jacob sired Judah and his brothers,        | Judah       |
| and Judah sired Phares and Zara from<br>Tamar, | Phares      |
| and Phares sired Esron                         | Esron       |
| and Esron sired Aram,                          | Arni, Admin |
| and Aram sired Aminadab,                       | Aminadab    |
| and Aminadab sired Naason,                     | Naason      |
| and Naason sired Salmon,                       | Sala        |
| and Salmon sired Boaz from Rahab,              | Boaz        |
| and Boaz sired Obed from Ruth,                 | Obed        |
| and Obed sired Jesse,                          | Jesse       |
| and Jesse sired King David...                  | David       |
| and Josaphat sired Joram, ...                  | = Jonam?    |
| Jechoniah sired Salathiel,                     | Salathiel   |
| and Salathiel sired Zerubbabel, ...            | Zerubbabel  |
| and Eleazar sired Matthan, ...                 | = Matthat?  |
| and Jacob sired Joseph.                        | Joseph      |

- Mary became pregnant before she married Joseph.

Matt 1:18

Luke 1:27 and 2:5

μνηστευθείσης τῆς μητρὸς  
αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῷ Ἰωσήφ, πρὶν  
ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εὐρέθη ἐν  
γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος  
ἀγίου.

... πρὸς παρθένον ἐμνηστευ-  
μένην ἀνδρὶ ... Μαριάμ τῇ  
ἐμνηστευμένῃ αὐτῷ, οὐση  
ἐγκύω.

After his mother Mary had  
been engaged to Joseph, before  
they came together, she was  
found to be pregnant by a holy  
Spirit.

... to a virgin engaged to a man  
... Mary, who was engaged to  
him and was pregnant.



- Joseph and the parents of John were righteous.

Matt 1:19

Ἰωσήφ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς,  
δίκαιος ὢν ...

And Joseph, her husband-to-be, because he was righteous ...

Luke 1:6

ἦσαν δὲ δίκαιοι.

They were righteous.

- An angel announced the birth of Jesus; according to Luke, an angel similarly announced the birth of John. Joseph had Davidic lineage.

Matt 1:20

ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμηθέντος  
ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου κατ’ ὄναρ  
ἐφάνη αὐτῷ λέγων· Ἰωσήφ  
υἱὸς Δαβὶδ, μὴ φοβηθῆς παρα-  
λαβεῖν Μαρίαν τὴν γυναῖκά  
σου· τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν  
ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου.

After he had intended these things, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying, “Joseph, son of David, do not fear to take Mary as your wife, for the child conceived in her is from a holy Spirit.”

Luke 1:11, 13, 15, 26, 30, 35

ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος  
κυρίου ... εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν·  
ὁ ἄγγελος ... μὴ φοβοῦ,  
Ζαχαρία, ... καὶ ἡ γυνὴ σου,  
Ἐλισάβητ γεννήσει υἱὸν σοι...  
πνεύματος ἁγίου πλησθήσεται  
ἔτι ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ...  
ὁ ἄγγελος Γαβριὴλ ... Ἰωσήφ  
ἐξ οἴκου Δαβὶδ... εἶπεν ὁ  
ἄγγελος αὐτῇ· μὴ φοβοῦ,  
Μαριάμ, ... πνεῦμα ἁγίου  
ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σὲ . . . διὸ  
καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον  
κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ.

An angel of the Lord appeared to him. ... The angel said to him, ... “Zechariah, do not fear, ... your wife Elisabeth will bear you a son. ... He will be filled with a holy Spirit right from his mother’s womb...” The angel Gabriel ... Joseph

from the house of David.... The angel said to her, “Mary, do not fear. ... A holy Spirit will come upon you, ... and so your holy offspring will be called a son of a god.”

- An angel instructed the parents of Jesus (and John in Luke) what to name their son. Jesus would be a savior.

Matt 1:21

τέξεται δὲ υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.

“She will birth a son, and you will call his name Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins.”

Luke 1:13, 31, 77; 2:11

καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην... τέξῃ υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν. ... τοῦ δοῦναι γνώσιν σωτηρίας τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀφέσει ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν... ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν σήμερον σωτήρ.

“And you will call his name John...” “You will birth a son and call his name Jesus...” “To give knowledge of salvation to his people for the forgiveness of their sins...” “Today a savior is born to you.”

- Jesus’ mother was a virgin.

Matt 1:23

ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα Ἐμμανουήλ.

“Behold, a virgin will conceive and give birth to a son, and they will call his name Immanuel.”

Luke 1:27

τὸ ὄνομα τῆς παρθένου Μαριάμ.

The name of the virgin was Mary.

- After Jesus' birth he received his name.

Matt 1:25

καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως  
οὗ ἔτεκεν υἱόν· καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ  
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν.

And he did not know her [sexually] until she birthed a son. He called his name Jesus.

Luke 1:34; 2:7, 21

ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω ... καὶ ἔτεκεν  
τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ... ἐκλήθη τὸ  
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς.

"I am not [sexually] experienced with a man..." And she gave birth to her son.... His name was called Jesus.

- Jesus' birth took place in "Bethlehem of Judea" during "the days of King Herod."

Matt 2:1

τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος  
ἐν Βηθλέεμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας  
ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ  
βασιλέως ...

After Jesus had been born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king ...

Luke 1:5; 2:4

ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις  
Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς  
Ἰουδαίας ... εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν  
εἰς πόλιν Δαυὶδ ἣτις καλεῖται  
Βηθλέεμ.

It happened in the days of Herod, king of Judah ... into Judea to the city of David that is called Bethlehem.

Matthew's story of the visit of the magi (Matt 2:1b–12) is missing in Luke, but note the following:

- Both Matthew and Luke speak of a heavenly light at the birth of Jesus and use the word ἀνατολή, "dawn."

Matt 2:2 (cf. 29)

εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα  
ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ.

"For we saw his star in the east."

Luke 1:78

ἐπισκέψεται ἡμᾶς ἀνατολῇ ἐξ  
ὑψους.

"The dawn from on high will look upon us."

- The infant will be the Messiah.

Matt 2:4

ποῦ ὁ χριστός γεννᾶται.

where the Messiah would be born.

Luke 2:11

ἐτέχθη ... σωτὴρ ὃς ἐστὶν χριστός.

“A savior is born who is Messiah.”

- Visitors went to Bethlehem to see the baby and were astonished.

Matt 2:8, 10

καὶ πέμψας αὐτοὺς εἰς Βηθλέεμ εἶπεν· πορευθέντες ... ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν ἀστέρα χάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα.

He then sent them to Bethlehem and said, “When you go ...”  
And when they saw the star, they rejoiced greatly.

Luke 2:15, 17, 18

διέλθωμεν δὴ ἕως Βηθλέεμ καὶ ἴδωμεν ... ἰδόντες δὲ ἐγνώρισαν περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ λαληθέντος... καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες ἐθαύμασαν.

“Let’s travel to Bethlehem and see...”  
When they saw him, they recognized the statement that had been told.... Everyone who heard about it was amazed.

- The family returned to Nazareth in Galilee.

Matt 2:22–23

ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἐλθὼν κατώκησεν εἰς πόλιν λεγομένην Ναζαρέτ.

Luke 2:39

ἐπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, εἰς πόλιν ἐαυτῶν Ναζαρέθ.

He departed for the regions of Galilee. After arriving there, he took up residence in a city called Nazareth.      They returned to Galilee, to Nazareth, their hometown.

- One passage in Luke seems to be a strategic improvement on Matt 2:23: “After arriving there, he took up residence in a city called Nazareth: thus what was said by the prophets was fulfilled: ‘That he will be called a Nazorean.’” Luke seems to have recognized that Matthew was alluding to the birth of Samson, who, according to Judg 13, was to be “a narizite,” not “a Nazorean.” Judges says explicitly that Samson thus must “not drink wine or strong drink and not eat anything unclean” (13:7). Luke’s Gabriel tells Zechariah that the son to be born to him should not drink “wine and strong drink” in accord with prohibitions not only of nazirites but of Levites according to Leviticus (compare Lev 10:9 and Luke 1:15). So when readers get to Luke 7:33 and complaints about John’s not eating or drinking, they will understand that he acted this way because of his observance of priestly and nazirite holiness, not because he was a socially marginal ascetic, like Elijah.

Two passages in Luke’s infancy narrative redact logia outside of Matthew’s account of Jesus’ birth and thus point to Luke’s use of that Gospel and not merely an antecedent oral tradition. Here is the first: Matthew surely knew Mark’s account of Jesus’ baptism, to which he added the following deference of John to Jesus: “I need to be baptized by you, and you come to me [ἔρχῃ πρὸς με]?” (3:14b). In Luke, John’s mother Elisabeth says much the same to Mary: “How is it that the mother of my Lord comes to me [ἔλθῃ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου πρὸς με]?” (Luke 1:43).

The second example appears in the Benedictus, an apparent echo of Isa 9:1, but it is more likely that Luke actually redacted a passage in Matthew.

Matt 4:16

The people who sit in darkness [ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκοτει (or σκοτία)] have seen a great light; for those who sit in the region and shadow of death a light has risen [τοῖς

Luke 1:78–79

“Through the bowels of the mercy of our God, the dawn [ἀνατολή] from on high will look upon us to shine on those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death

καθημένοις ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ                      [τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου  
θανάτου φῶς ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῖς].                      καθημένοις].”

Notice distinctive uses of τοῖς καθημένοις and the resonance between Matthew’s ἀνέτειλεν and Luke’s ἀνατολή, neither of which appears in Isa 9. As Barbara Shellard observes, “There are so many shared points connecting the two accounts [of Jesus’ infancy] that if we deny that Luke used Matthew we must postulate yet another missing common source which both [Evangelists] felt free to interpret creatively.”<sup>19</sup>

#### PASSION NARRATIVE

Traces of Luke’s redaction of Matthew appear also in Luke’s passion narrative, even though his primary source clearly was Mark. Notice the striking agreement between Matthew and Luke against Mark at Jesus’ beating at his Jewish trial. (Mark appears in the left column, not in the center, as in most Gospel synopses.)

| Mark 14:65   | Matt 26:67–68  | Luke 22:63–64  |
|--|--|--|
| <p>And they began to spit on him, cover his face, pummel him, and say to him, “Prophecy [λέγειν αὐτῷ· προφήτευσον]!”</p> | <p>And they spat in his face, pummeled him, and they slapped him, saying, “Christ, prophesy for us: Who is it who is striking you [λέγοντες· προφήτευσον ἡμῖν χριστέ, τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε]?”</p> | <p>And the men who held him mocked him with blows, and covering him asked him, saying, “Prophecy: Who is it who is striking you [λέγοντες· προφήτευσον, τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε]?”</p> |

Agreements also appear in details provided by Matthew and Luke concerning the centurion at the cross.

- Both Matthew and Luke omit the following from Mark’s comment concerning the centurion at the cross: “who stood facing him saw that in this way he breathed his last”; both later Evangelists change Mark’s Latin loanword κεντυρίων to ἑκατονάρχης.

19. Shellard, *New Light on Luke*, 79.

- Whereas Mark contains only the response of the centurion, Matthew has the response of the centurion and his soldiers, and Luke speaks of the responses of the centurion and the Jewish crowds.
- Matthew transformed the gloat of Mark's centurion into a genuine confession of faith; Luke transformed it into a declaration of innocence. What prompted the responses of the centurion and the soldiers in Matthew was not watching how Jesus died but the observation of attending portents. What prompted the responses of the crowds in Luke was the nobility of Jesus' death and hearing the centurion's statement of Jesus' innocence.

Although Mark seems to have been Luke's primary source for Joseph of Arimathea's rescue of Jesus' corpse, several agreements between Luke and Matthew merit attention.

- Against Mark, Matthew and Luke both read οὗτος προσελθὼν τῷ Πιλάτῳ (Matt 27:58; Luke 23:52).
- Like Matthew, Luke omits Pilate's astonishment at Jesus' early death.
- Whereas Mark's verb for wrapping the linen is ἐνείλησεν, Matthew and Luke both read ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτό.
- Matthew added to Mark's account that the tomb was new; Luke states that "no one ever yet had been laid down" in it.

Parallels between Matthew and Luke also appear in their resurrection stories.

- Matthew transformed Mark's young man into an angel, and Luke transformed him into two angels.
- In Matt 28:8 we read: "They left the tomb [ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου] quickly with fear and great joy and ran to tell his disciples [ἀπαγγεῖλει τοῖς μαθηταῖς]." Luke 24:9b offers the parallel: "When they returned from the tomb [ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου], they announced all these things to the eleven [ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς ἕνδεκα]."
- Whereas Matthew next has the risen Jesus himself appear to the women to tell them to tell the eleven to go to Galilee, Luke has the women tell "the apostles" that Jesus had been raised.
- The young man in Mark instructs the disciples via the women to go to Galilee, but they stay in Jerusalem because of the women's

failure; the angel in Matthew and Jesus himself instruct the disciples via the women to go to Galilee, and they actually do; in Luke, Jesus tells the disciples to stay in Jerusalem, and they actually do so (24:49).

- Mark's risen Jesus makes no commands to the disciples about a future mission, but Matthew's Jesus, in Galilee, gives them their great commission (28:16–20). Luke's Jesus does the same in the first chapter of Acts (1:8–11).

Advocates of the 2DH/M2DH, of course, would account for these Matthew-Luke overlaps apart from Luke's redaction of Matthew, but the most economical solution is to assume that Luke knew the passion narratives of both Mark and Matthew, generally preferred the former, but found occasional inspiration also from the latter.

#### DID LUKE KNOW PAPIAS'S SECOND "TRANSLATION" OF MATTHEW?

On one issue most contemporary Gospel scholars seem to agree: if Luke knew Matthew, one should abort the quest for Q. For this reason, 2DH and M2DH proponents dogmatically defend Luke's ignorance of Matthew against the arguments of Goulder and others. But a few scholars from an earlier generation argued that Luke probably knew, in addition to Mark, both Q and Matthew. According to R. T. Simpson, "the fact that St Luke may have read Matthew does not exclude the possibility of his having access to other traditions" such as Q. "[T]he study of the major agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark greatly strengthens the probability that Matthew was *one* of the sources employed by St Luke in the composition of his Gospel."<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Wilhelm Wilkens argued that Luke redacted Mark as one of his literary *Grundlagen* ("foundations") and "merely supplemented" Mark with material from Matthew.<sup>21</sup> "Luke reproduced Marcan content and at the same time had Matthew's version [ringing] in his ear."<sup>22</sup> Although Luke's use of Matthew thus does not eliminate his reliance on Q, "the Q-problem turns out to be more complicated than is generally recognized."<sup>23</sup> How might one reconstruct Q if Luke knew Matthew?

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20. R. T. Simpson, "The Major Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark," *NTS* 12 (1965–1966): 283–84, emphasis original.

21. Wilhelm Wilkens, "Zur Frage der literarischen Beziehung zwischen Matthäus und Lukas," *NovT* 8 (1966): 57.

22. Wilkens, "Zur Frage der literarischen Beziehung," 56.

23. Wilkens, "Zur Frage der literarischen Beziehung," 57.



Part 2 of this book attempts to reconstruct this second textual shipwreck on the basis of an alternative model for solving the Synoptic Problem: the Q+/Papias Hypothesis (Q+/PapH), which holds to the following assessments.

1. Markan priority. Of the Synoptic Gospels, Mark was the earliest and served as a source to Matthew and Luke (with the 2DH/M2DH and the FH).
2. The existence of a lost Gospel. In addition to Mark, Matthew redacted at least one other Gospel, now lost, namely, Matthew's Q (with the 2DH/M2DH).
3. Mark's knowledge of the lost Gospel. The Markan Evangelist knew the same document that informed Matthew (with the M2DH).
4. Papias's knowledge of Mark, Matthew, and the lost Gospel. Papias's running commentary compared the content of Mark, Matthew, and a lost Gospel that sufficiently resembled Matthew that he took it to be a second Greek translation of Matthew's original.
5. Luke's knowledge of Papias's *Exposition* and thus also of Mark, Matthew, and the lost Gospel. It would appear that Luke redacted these earlier books about Jesus sequentially, generally preferring Mark to Q and Q to Matthew. Robert A. Derrenbacker Jr. has shown that ancient authors, who wrote on their laps, usually maintained visual contact with only one text at a time and had to rely on memory when incorporating others.<sup>24</sup> Luke consulted Papias for his preface, Matthew for the infancy narrative, Mark for Jesus' ministry in Galilee, the lost Gospel for Jesus' teachings (especially on his journey to Jerusalem), Mark again for the passion narrative, Matthew again for Jesus' postresurrection appearances, and Papias for a few episodes in the Acts of the Apostles. Although the following diagram is deceptively simple, it nonetheless suggests that Luke's serial use of his sources was, at least to some extent, chiasmic.

A Papias for the preface (Luke 1:1–4)

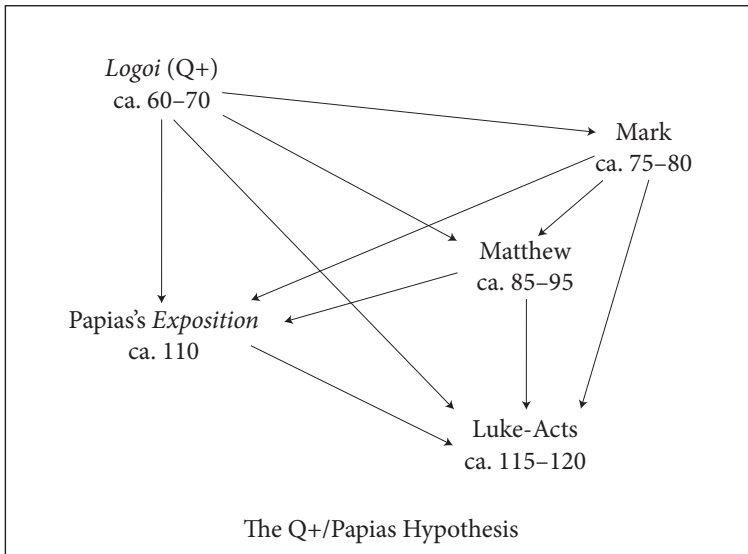
B Matthew for the infancy narrative (Luke 1:5–2:52)

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24. Robert A. Derrenbacker Jr., *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem* (BETL 186; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005).

- C Mark (and Q) for the empowerment and ministry in Galilee (Luke 3:1–9:50)
- D Q for the travel section (Luke 9:51–18:14)
- C' Mark (and Q) for Jesus in Jerusalem, including the passion (Luke 18:15–24:8)
- B' Matthew for the appearances of the risen Jesus and his commission (Luke 24:9–Acts 1:11)
- A' Papias for the death of Judas and events after Jesus' resurrection (at least Acts 1:12–26)

The following diagram provides an intertextual map to the Q+/Papias Hypothesis. I prefer to call my textual reconstruction by its most likely original title, the *Logoi of Jesus*.





PART 2  
THE *LOGOI* OF JESUS



## INTRODUCTION TO PART 2

### SALVAGING ANOTHER TEXTUAL SHIPWRECK

Typically, reconstructions of Q involve the comparison of overlapping content in Matthew and Luke, the removal of potential Markan influence, and, when Matthew and Luke differ, the selection of wording and sequencing that displays less redactional manipulation. This procedure has yielded impressive results, but according to the Q+/Papias Hypothesis, this procedure is too simple. In the first place, Mark, too, seems to have known the lost source, and because Luke apparently knew Matthew, one might account for the overlapping content usually attributed to Q merely to Luke's redaction of the Gospel. Although the Q+/PapH makes the recovery of Q more difficult, it is not impossible, and I hope to show that the results of an alternative methodology are more reliable.

The following chapter compares Mark and Matthew and scrupulously avoids Luke-Acts to show that both authors knew and redacted the same lost Gospel. In other words, one does not need Luke to establish the existence of Q! Chapter 5 is the heart of the reconstruction insofar as it integrates logia in Luke-Acts and attempts to reconstruct the order and even the wording of the lost Gospel. At the end of chapter 5 one will find a synopsis of the reconstructed Greek text with its parallels in the Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke. In order fully to understand the arguments for the textual reconstruction, one must consult this synopsis.

Chapters 6–10 explore related topics, such as the literary characteristics of the reconstruction (ch. 6), *Logoi* as Papias's second putative translation of Matthew (ch. 7), the lost Gospel as a source for the Gospel of Mark (ch. 8), the extraordinary importance of this reconstruction for understanding the historical Jesus (ch. 9), and the reasons why *Logoi* and Papias's *Exposition* shipwrecked (ch. 10). Appendix 1 presents the textual reconstruction and an English translation on facing pages; appendix 2 is a concordance of Greek words; appendix 3 lays out the chapter-verse numbers in the textual reconstruction with its equivalents in the three Synoptics; appendix 4 compares the

content and sequence of my reconstruction with that in *The Critical Edition of Q*.

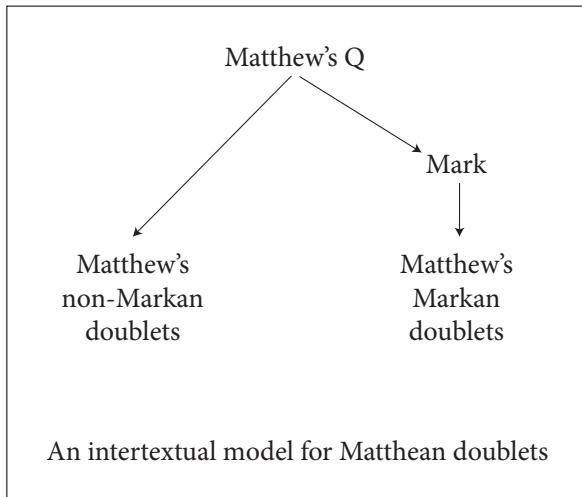
## MATTHEW'S NON-MARKAN SOURCE (Q WITHOUT LUKE)

Matthew contains doublets apparently caused by his redaction of Mark and another text with similar content. With few exceptions, Matthew's redactions of Mark appear in the same sequence, whereas the corresponding non-Markan doublets witness to a radically different arrangement. Although the Matthean Evangelist occasionally created doublets without the benefit of a source in addition to Mark (e.g., his duplication of the healing of Bartimaeus [Mark 10:46–52] in 9:27–30 and again in 20:29–34), the majority of the non-Markan doublets issue from a stratum of tradition not only more primitive than Mark but one that may well have served the Markan Evangelist as a source! In addition to Matthew's doublets are so-called nondoublets, places where the Evangelist seems to have eschewed redacting Mark because he preferred a non-Markan version of the logion. The end of this chapter assesses whether this content issues from oral tradition, from a combination of traditions and sources, or from a single lost Gospel.

Central to this analysis is the concept of inverted priority. For shorthand I use the symbol < to mean "earlier than." One would expect that, because Matthew redacted Mark, most of the content would be Mark < Matthew (Mark is earlier than Matthew), but often it is the case that Matthew preserves content in a form anterior to its Markan equivalent. Thus, when the lost Gospel presents content in a more original form, one might express it somewhat ironically as Matthew < Mark. This phenomenon of inverted priority has contributed to the intractability of the Synoptic Problem.

Matthean non-Markan doublets and nondoublets provide the surest evidence for the existence of the lost Gospel. The examples treated in this chapter by no means exhaust the content of Matthew's second source. Only when one integrates parallels from Luke-Acts (ch. 5) does one get a fuller view of the extent of the lost book.





Determining which version of a logion is more primitive often is a tricky matter; the following general principles inform the analysis in this chapter and the next.

- **Independence < narrative contextualization.** When one version seems to stand on its own, it more likely is prior to one that has been assimilated into a narrative context or secondarily linked with another saying.
- **Integrity < division.** In general, when one version is unified and parallel content in another Gospel appears in two or more different contexts, the unified version is primary.
- **Intertextual fidelity < obfuscation.** When the origin of a logion relies on a biblical antecedent text (an antetext), the version closer to the biblical text likely is prior to the one where the connections are obscure.
- **Awkwardness < improvement.** When one version contains a difficulty, it is likely prior to the one without it. Similarly, when one version presents Jesus more modestly than the other, it likely is prior. Later texts tend to solve problems rather than create them, to enhance Jesus' stature rather than diminish it.

- **Ambiguity < explication.** Although the Evangelists occasionally abbreviate their sources, more often they augment them with explanations, including interpretive glosses and moralizing taglines. Thus, when one logion is terse and balanced, it likely is prior to one that shows embellishment at the expense of aesthetics.
- **Atypicalities < redactional flags.** When a logion displays characteristics typical of an author's style or theology, it probably is secondary to a version that shows fewer traits characteristic of its host Gospel.

I will discuss selected logia in the order that the non-Markan doublets appear in Matthew insofar as doing so suggests the likely order of this content in his second source.<sup>1</sup> To assist the English reader, I present the parallels in translation and make no attempt to reconstruct the wording of the lost Gospel; that task best awaits the integration of variants in Luke-Acts in chapter 5. Appendix 1 provides my reconstruction of the Greek text with an English translation.

#### THE QUEST FOR MINIMAL MATTHEW'S Q (MQ-)

MATT 5:13 < MARK 9:49–50; MATTHEAN NONDOUBLET AFTER 18:9 (INSIPID SALT)

Mark 9:49–50 barely makes sense: “For everyone with fire will be salted. Salt is good, but if salt has lost its saltiness, with what can you season it? Have salt among yourselves and be at peace with each other.” The first verse about being salted “with fire” artificially links salt to the preceding reference to eternal fire in Isa 66:24 in 9:48. The Evangelist apparently attached the salt saying to the end of the biblical citation and applied it to making peace. When Matthew redacted Mark in chapter 18, he wisely omitted these two verses, but he has his own saying about insipid salt in the Sermon on the Mount. Here, then, is an example of a Matthean nondoublet: the Evangelist saw in his sources two examples of the saying; he used one in the Sermon on the Mount and later omitted the awkward Markan version.

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1. This chapter relies heavily on Fleddermann's *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, the most detailed comparison of overlapping sayings in Mark and Matthew of which I am aware. Also important are the Matthew commentaries of Ulrich Luz (*Hermeneia*), who provides for each Matthean logion a discussion of its sources.

Matt 5:13

“You are the salt of the earth, but if the salt becomes insipid [μωρανθῆ], with what will it be salted? It has no enduring function except to be cast outside to be trampled on by people.”

&lt; Mark 9:49–50

(Matthean nondoublet after 18:9)

“For everyone with fire will be salted. Salt is good, but if the salt has lost its saltiness [ἄναλον γένηται], with what can you season it?”

Have salt among yourselves and be at peace with each other.”

Mark here “clarifies an ambiguous term μωρανθῆ [in his source]. The verb usually means ‘to make foolish’ ... or ‘to become foolish,’ ... so Mark secondarily altered the expression to ἄναλον γένηται to remove the ambiguity.”<sup>2</sup> Notice also Mark’s secondary and awkward application: “have salt among yourselves and be at peace with each other.”

MATT 5:15 < MARK 4:21; MATTHEAN NONDOUBLET AFTER 13:23 (LIGHT ON THE LAMPSTAND)

Mark 4:1–34 presents Jesus teaching by means of parables and aphorisms. Matthew conservatively redacted this sermon from Mark (13:1–23, 31–35), but when he came to Mark 4:21–24 he ignored it because earlier he had presented three similar sayings in different contexts. This omission thus involves three examples of nondoublets. Here is the first:

Matt 5:15

“They do not light a lamp and put it under the bushel basket but on the lampstand, and it gives light for everyone in the house.”

&lt; Mark 4:21

(Matthean nondoublet after 13:23)

“The lamp does not come to be placed under the bushel basket or under the bed, does it? To be placed on the lampstand, right?”

In Matthew, “a lamp” that someone lights becomes “the lamp” and the active subject of the verb. There is no human agency in Mark’s saying; the author seems to have personified the lamp as Jesus, the light that comes into the world.<sup>3</sup> Notice also that the balanced saying in Matthew has become skewed in

2. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 758.

3. Similarly Fleddermann, *Mark and Q*, 78. See also Jacques Dupont, “La transmission

Mark's redaction, which consists of two questions: one question anticipates a negative answer and adds the phrase ("or under the bed"), and the other anticipates a positive answer without an expressed verb before the result clause.<sup>4</sup>

MATT 5:18 < MARK 13:31 < MATT 24:35 (NO SERIF OF THE LAW)

Matthew redacts Mark 13:31 in 24:35 (Jesus' words will never pass away), but in the Sermon on the Mount he uses the same expression concerning Jewish law, thereby creating a doublet.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Matt 5:18   | < Mark 13:31 (< Matt 24:35)  |
| <p>"For truly I tell you,<br/>until heaven and earth pass away, not<br/>one iota or serif will pass from the law<br/>until all is fulfilled."</p> | <p>"Heaven and earth will pass away,<br/>but my words will not pass away."</p> |

Matthew's doublets make permanent both Jewish law (5:18) and Jesus' words (24:35). It would appear that in the Sermon on the Mount the Evangelist relied on a tradition that Mark radically altered by stating that it was not Torah that was permanent but also Jesus' teachings.<sup>5</sup>

MATT 5:23–24 < MARK 11:25 < MATT 6:14–15 (RECONCILING BEFORE SACRIFICING)

In Mark 11:25 Jesus instructs the Twelve to forgive others before asking for divine forgiveness. Matthew included Mark's instructions in 6:14–15, but a similar saying appears earlier in the Sermon on the Mount, where Jesus commands the Twelve concerning offering sacrifices at the Jerusalem temple. Here, then, is another Matthean doublet.

|                                      |                                     |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Matt 5:23–24                         | < Mark 11:25 (< Matt 6:14–15)       |
| <p>"So if you bring your gift to</p> | <p>"And when you stand praying,</p> |

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des paroles de Jésus sur la lampe et la mesure dans Marc 4,21–25 et dans la tradition Q" in *Logia: Les paroles de Jésus—The Sayings of Jesus* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Leuven University of Press, 1982), 201–36, esp. 209–14.

4. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 521.

5. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 787–88. "It is easy to imagine a Christian reformulation of a statement on the permanence of the law into a saying on the permanence of Jesus' words." See also Brown, "Mark as Witness," 41.

the altar and there remember that your brother holds something against you, leave your gift there before the altar, go, and first be reconciled with your brother, and then come and offer your gift.”

forgive if you hold something against someone,  
so that your Father who is in the skies may forgive your trespasses.”

The non-Markan doublet is more primitive insofar as it presupposes that the Jerusalem temple and its sacrificial system are still viable. Mark rescues the saying for his time and community by relating it to prayer. Ulrich Luz opines that the Matthean version of the saying actually came from Jesus.<sup>6</sup>

MATT 5:29–30 < MARK 9:43, 45, 47 < MATT 18:8–9 (CUTTING OFF OFFENDING LIMBS)

Matthew redacts Mark 9:42, 45, and 47 in 18:8–9, but a non-Markan doublet appears in the Sermon on the Mount.

Matt 5:29–30

< Mark 9:43, 45, and 47–48  
( < Matt 18:8–9)

“If your right eye entices you, pluck it out and cast it from you, for it is better for to lose one of your body parts than that your whole body be cast into Gehenna.

And if your right hand entices you, chop it off and cast it from you, for it is better for you to lose one of your body

“And if your hand entices you, chop it off, for it is better for you to enter into life deformed than that you enter into Gehenna, into the unquenchable fire, with two hands. And if your foot entices you, chop it off, for it is better for you to enter into life lame than that you be cast into Gehenna with two feet. And if your eye entices you, gouge it out, for it is better for you to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye than to be cast into Gehenna with two eyes, where their worm does not die, and the fire is not quenched.”

6. *Matthew 1–7: A Commentary* (trans. James E. Crouch; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 240.

parts than that your whole body go off to Gehenna.”

On the one hand, Mark's version, with three offending members, may reflect an earlier version than what appears in the Sermon on the Mount; the same judgment may apply to the sequence hand-foot-eye. Matthew has artificially linked the saying with the prohibition of adultery (5:31–32): the eye of lust leads to the offense of the hand, possibly a metaphor for the penis.<sup>7</sup> The preceding verse speaks about looking at a woman lustfully as committing adultery in one's (male) heart.<sup>8</sup>

Apart from issues of sequence, however, Matthew's version likely is more primitive. Only Mark's version speaks of entering “into life” or “into the kingdom of God.” These positive elements are secondary, for when Matthew saw them when redacting Mark 9, he was content to include them (18:8–9). Mark's reference to the undying worm and eternal flame (9:48) is a secondary tag from Isa 66:24, after which came the saying about the insipid salt (MQ- 5:13). Had Matthew been redacting Mark here, it is not apparent why he would have omitted the biblical reference to the worm and fire. Notice also the elegant symmetry of the two sayings in Matthew but not in Mark.<sup>9</sup>

It therefore would appear that in this example, as in others, one finds alternating primitivity: in some respects Mark is prior, in other respects Matthew. This is what one should expect if both Evangelists redacted the same source. If the logion displayed only Markan priority, one might simply say that Matthew redacted Mark twice (both in 5:29–30 and 18:8–9). Whenever a Matthean non-Markan doublet is more primitive than Mark, one should suspect the influence of another text.

MATT 5:32 < MARK 10:11–12 < MATT 19:9 (DIVORCE LEADING TO ADULTERY)

Matthew contains doublets that prohibit divorce: Matt 19:9 clearly redacts Mark 10:11–12, while the other instance apparently derives from elsewhere.

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7. Hans Dieter Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 238–39.

8. “Matthew cannot ... have found it [9:43–48] in Mark, stripped it of its interpretation, and given it a new one—while turning it into Semitic poetry. Rather, each found it in [a] disciplinary context uninterpreted ... and interpreted it for his own needs” (Brown, “Mark as Witness,” 37–38).

9. Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 242: the Matthean “evangelist presumably took over our version of the saying not from Mark but from elsewhere. ... Its Semitic background, the double tradition [i.e., Mark and another source], and the fact that Jesus often exaggerates in a similar way all speak for the conclusion that the logion originated from Jesus.”

Here again one finds the pattern of Matthew's non-Markan doublet being prior to the Markan one.

Matt 5:32

“And I tell you: Everyone who divorces his wife except for a charge of fornication commits adultery against her, and whoever marries a divorcee commits adultery.”

< Mark 10:11–12 (< Matt 19:9)

He says to them, “Whoever divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery against her.

And if she divorces her husband and marries another, she commits adultery.”

The Matthean Evangelist clearly was responsible for the insertion of the phrase “except for a charge of fornication,” because a similar insertion appears in his redaction of Mark 10:11 (19:9). Otherwise, Matthew's non-Markan doublet represents an earlier stage of the tradition than Mark insofar as it says nothing about a woman divorcing her husband, which seems to be a concession to laws concerning divorce in the Greco-Roman world.<sup>10</sup> Mark seems to have taken a saying against divorce and expanded it into a full-blown controversy between Jesus and the Pharisees, a secondary contextualization.<sup>11</sup>

MATT 6:19–20A < MARK 10:21 < MATT 19:21 (STORING UP TREASURES IN HEAVEN)

Matthew redacted Mark 10:21 in 19:21, but a similar passage appears in a non-Markan doublet in 6:19–21.

Matt 6:19–20a

“Do not treasure for yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and gnawing deface and where robbers dig

< Mark 10:21 (< Matt 19:21)

“You lack one thing. Go, sell whatever you have and give to the poor,

10. One should note, however, that 1 Cor 7:10–16, written earlier than Mark and Matthew, orders both genders to avoid divorce. See also Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 788–89. For exceptions of Jewish women divorcing their husbands, see Tal Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine: An Inquiry into Image and Status* (TSAJ 44; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 146–47.

11. Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 253: “By adding ‘and marries another,’ Mark 10:11 indicates when the divorce becomes final.”

through and rob, but treasure for yourselves treasures in heaven.” and you will have treasure in heaven.”

The elegantly chiasmic saying in Matthew appears in Mark as the punch line for a story in which Jesus challenges a rich man. This is but one example of Mark's narrative contextualizing of a traditional saying, of expanding a logos into an extended logion.

MATT 7:1–2 < MARK 4:24; MATTHEAN NONDOUBLET AFTER 13:23 (NOT JUDGING)

Matthew avoided redacting Mark 4:24 because he already had used a similar saying earlier. This example is important insofar as the version in Matthew appears to be a rewriting of Lev 19:35, but the one in Mark is oblivious to the biblical antetext.

| Lev 19:35  | Matt 7:1–2  | < Mark 4:24 (Matthean nondoublet after 13:23)  |
|--|---|--|
| <p>“You will not commit injustice in judgment, in measures, in weights, or in scales.”</p> | <p>“Do not pass judgment so you are not judged. For with what judgment you pass judgment, you will be judged. And with the measurement you use to measure out, it will be measured out to you.”</p> | <p>And was saying to them, “Observe what you hear. With the measurement you use to measure out it will be measured out to you and will be added to you.”</p> |

The elegant balance of the saying in Matthew is lost in Mark by the removal of the reference to judgment and the addition of “and will be added to you.”<sup>12</sup>

MATT 7:8 < MARK 11:24 < MATT 21:22 (CERTAINTY OF ANSWER TO PRAYER)

Matthew redacts Mark 11:24 in 21:22, but in the Sermon of the Mount he presents a similar saying with a claim to being more primitive than its equivalent in Mark.

12. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 312.



Matt 7:8

“For everyone who asks receives,  
and the one who searches finds,  
and to the one who knocks will it be  
opened.”

&lt; Mark 11:24 (&lt; Matt 21:22)

“Therefore, I tell you,  
everything that you pray and ask for,  
believe that you received it,  
and it will be to you.”

These balanced three lines in Matthew appear in Mark a part of a logion in which Jesus instructs his disciples in prayer and faith. The saying in Matt 7:8, however, is independent. Notice also that Mark compromised the aesthetic balance by his emphasis on faith.<sup>13</sup>

MATT 10:23B &lt; MARK 13:30 &lt; MATT 24:34 (SCHEDULING JESUS’ RETURN)

In Mark 13:30 Jesus tells four of his disciples that their generation will not perish before his predictions of the return of the Son of Man are fulfilled (see also 9:1); Matthew redacts this saying in 24:34, which creates a tension with the prediction of the timing of the coming of the Son of Man in 10:23.

Matt 10:23b

“For truly I tell you,  
you will not complete the cities of Israel  
until the Son of Man comes.”

&lt; Mark 13:30 (&lt; Matt 24:34)

“Truly I tell you,  
this generation will not pass away until  
all these things happen” [including a  
mission to Gentiles (13:10)].

Mark seems to have reset the apocalyptic clock to account for the delay of Jesus’ return and to permit a mission to Gentiles. In other words, in this non-Markan Matthean doublet we find another example of inverted priority.<sup>14</sup>

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13. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 464–65.

14. Luz suggests that the saying in Matt 10:23 may have come from Jesus (*Matthew 8–20: A Commentary* [trans. James E. Crouch; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], 87). So also Volker Hampel, “Ihr werdet mit den Städten Israels nicht zu Ende kommen: Eine exegetische Studie über Matthäus 10,23,” *ThZ* 45 (1989): 1–13.

MATT 10:26–27 < MARK 4:22–23; MATTHEAN NONDOUBLET AFTER 13:23  
(WHAT IS HIDDEN WILL BE REVEALED)

This is the third and final instance of Matthew's omission of content from Mark's parable speech because he earlier had used similar material. Surely Matt 10:26–27 preserves this saying in a more primitive version.

Matt 10:26–27

“Nothing is covered up that will not be exposed, and hidden that will not be known. What I tell you in the dark, say in the light; and what you hear in the ear proclaim on the housetops.”

< Mark 4:22–23

(Matthean nondoublet after 13:23)

“For it [the lamp] is not hidden except to be disclosed, nor was it secret, but to come into public view. Let anyone with ears to hear listen.”

Mark personified what was hidden to be Jesus himself, not his message, as in Matthew. Mark's tag about “ears to hear” invites the reader to recognize the allegory. In Matthew's second saying, Jesus is the speaker of secret things, but in Mark Jesus himself is the secret; just as the lamp “comes” to be placed on a lampstand, it also is hidden so that it would “come” into public view.<sup>15</sup>

MATT 10:32–33 < MARK 8:38 < MATT 16:27 (CONFESSING OR DENYING)

Matthew redacted Mark 8:38 in 16:27, but a similar passage appears earlier.

Matt 10:32–33

“So everyone who speaks out for me in public, I also will speak out for him before my Father who is in heaven. But whoever denies me in public,

I also will deny him before my Father who is in heaven.”

< Mark 8:38 (< Matt 16:27)

“For whoever is ashamed of me and my words among this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of Man will be ashamed of him when he comes in the glory of his Father and with the holy angels.”

15. So also Dupont, “La transmission des paroles,” 214–19; Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 579.

In some respects Mark's version seems to be the more primitive. Its reference to the Son of Man surely is more original than Matthew's "I," and "Father in heaven" is typically Matthean. In other respects, however, Matthew's version takes priority over Mark's, for it contrasts in balanced phrases those who speak for Jesus and those who deny him. Mark, on the other hand, speaks only of negative consequences for those who fail. Matthew's "in public" becomes in Mark "this adulterous and sinful generation." The tag "with the holy angels" resonates with Mark 13:26–27, where Jesus predicts that when "the Son of Man" comes on the clouds "he will send his angels" to collect the elect.<sup>16</sup>

MATT 10:34–35 < MARK 13:12 < MATT 10:21 (CHILDREN AGAINST PARENTS)

Matthew redacts Mark 13:12 in 10:21, but a few verses later he seems to present an even earlier version of the same saying. Matthew's non-Markan doublet clearly is closer to the biblical antecedent than its equivalent in Mark.<sup>17</sup> Notice also that Mark's version does not make Jesus directly responsible for violence or family divisions. Informing the original saying was Mic 7:6.<sup>18</sup>

| Mic 7:6  | Matt 10:34–36  | < Mark 13:12<br>( < Matt 10:21)   |
|--|--|---|
| <p>Therefore, a son dishonors his father, a daughter will rebel against [ἐπιναστήσεται] her mother, a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and the men of his house are all a man's enemies.</p> | <p>"Do not suppose that I have come to hurl peace on earth. I did not come to hurl peace, but a sword! For I have come to divide a person against his father, and daughter against her mother, and daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, And a person's enemies are those at home."</p> | <p>"Brother will betray brother to death, and a father his child, and children will rebel against [ἐπιναστήσονται] parents, and have them put to death. And you will be hated by all people for my name."</p> |

16. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 580; Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 409.

17. One should note, however, that Mark seems to be aware of the biblical antecedent: notice the agreement against Matthew in the use of the word ἐπιανίστημι, "will rebel."

18. So also Brown, "Mark as Witness," 34.

Mark would have had reason to omit the potentially objectionable opening lines of this saying, which depict Jesus as a bringer of carnage. In Mark's version the combating family members are themselves responsible for the hostility, not Jesus.<sup>19</sup>

MATT 10:38–39 < MARK 8:34–35 < MATT 16:24–25 (TAKING ONE'S CROSS)

Matthew contains a doublet of this logion insofar as it redacted Mark 8:34–35 in 16:24–25 but presents another version of it in Matt 10. Matthew's non-Markan doublet is more primitive: Mark apparently added the motif of wishing (twice), added the phrase “let him deny himself,” intensified finding and losing to saving and destroying, and added the reference to “and the gospel's.”<sup>20</sup>

Matt 10:38–39

“And the one who does not take one's cross and follow after me is not worthy of me. The one who finds one's life will lose it, and the one who loses one's life for my sake will find it.”

< Mark 8:34–35 (< Matt 16:24–25)

“If anyone wishes to follow me, let him deny himself, and let him take up his cross, and let him follow me. For whoever wishes to save his life will lose it, and whoever destroys his life for my sake and the gospel's will save it.”

MATT 10:40 < MARK 9:37 < MATT 18:5 (WHOEVER TAKES YOU IN TAKES ME IN)

Matthew redacted Mark 9:37 in 18:5, but a similar version of the saying appears earlier in chapter 10.

Matt 10:40

“Whoever takes you in takes me in, and whoever takes me in takes in the one who sent me.”

< Mark 9:37 (< Matt 18:5)

“Whoever takes in one of these children in my name takes me in, and whoever takes me in does not take me in but the one who sent me.”

19. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 645: “Mark clearly lies downstream of Q”; and, “It is easier to imagine a writer like Mark taking a metaphor and interpreting it literally than to image the opposite movement from a situation of violence to the metaphor of Q.” Luz suggests that Matt 10:34–36 may ultimately derive from Jesus (*Matthew 8–20*, 111–12).

20. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 251–52: “Mark took over the saying from Q.” So also Brown, “Mark as Witness,” 31–33.

The Matthean version grants to the Twelve status similar to Jesus himself as worthy of financial support. Mark has transformed it to require that the Twelve support children as they would him. This redaction is consistent with Mark's dim view of the disciples.<sup>21</sup> Notice also Mark's secondary addition of "in my name" and the linkage to the preceding narrative in the reference to "one of these children." The saying in Matt 10:40, however, can stand alone.

MATT 11:10 < MARK 1:2; MATTHEAN NONDOUBLET AT 3:3 (PROMISED MESSENGER)

Mark's Gospel begins with an error: he attributes to Isaiah two citations, even though only the second came from that biblical book (Isa 40:3). The first seems to be a hybrid from Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1. "As it is written in Isaiah the prophet, 'Look, I am sending my messenger ahead of you, who will prepare your way, a voice of one crying in the wilderness, "Prepare the way of the Lord; make straight his footpaths,"' it happened that John the Baptizer was in the wilderness preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (1:2–4). Matthew does not contain this problem because in 3:3 he does not attribute the first citation to Isaiah and does not present the second until chapter 11, where it is correctly credited to Isaiah.

Mark's misattribution likely was due to careless use of a source that included both the citation from Isa 40:3 at the beginning of the Gospel and the amalgam from Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1 later, as in Matt 11:10. "This peculiar translation of Mal 3:1 'who shall prepare *thy* way' is appropriate at Matt 11:10 (as if God were talking to Jesus about John), but not at Mark 1:2. Mark and Matthew appear to have a common testimony source."<sup>22</sup>

Notice also that Matthew's version of Mark's first citation is modestly closer to the biblical texts.

| Exod 23:20   | Mal 3:1 (cf. 3:22)   | Matt 11:10   | < Mark 1:2<br>(Matthean non-<br>doublet at 3:3)                   |
|--|--|--|---|
| "And look, I am sending my messenger [και ιδου εγω αποστειλω | "Look, I am sending my messenger [ιδου εγω εξαποστειλω τον | "Look, I am sending my messenger [ιδου εγω αποστειλω τον | "Look, I am sending my messenger [ιδου αποστειλω τον αγγελον μου] |

21. Brown, "Mark as Witness," 34–35; Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 423–24.

22. Brown, "Mark as Witness," 43.

|   |  |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|
| τὸν ἄγγελόν μου]<br>ahead of you [πρὸ<br>προσώπου σου],<br>to keep you on<br>the way [ἐν τῇ<br>ὁδῷ].” | ἄγγελόν μου],<br>and he will scout<br>a way ahead of<br>me [ἐπιβλέψεται<br>ὁδὸν πρὸ<br>προσώπου μου].” | ἄγγελόν μου]<br>ahead of you<br>[πρὸ προσώπου<br>σου], who will<br>prepare your way<br>in front of you<br>[κατασκευάσει<br>τὴν ὁδὸν σου<br>ἔμπροσθέν σου].” | ahead of you<br>[πρὸ προσώπου<br>σου], who will<br>prepare your way<br>[κατασκευάσει<br>τὴν ὁδὸν].” |
|---|--|---|---|

Surely these agreements are not accidental; either Matthew copied from Mark, unhinged the two biblical citations, and used them separately in 3:3 and 11:10, or he relied on a lost text known also to Mark where the citations appeared in different contexts. It seems to have been the Markan Evangelist who combined them at the beginning of his Gospel, due perhaps to the shared word ὁδός, “way,” and the references to John the Baptist. Mark thus was not quoting Jewish Scriptures directly but redacting the same source known to Matthew (inverted priority).<sup>23</sup>

MATT 12:30 < MARK 9:40; MATTHEAN NONDOUBLET BEFORE 10:42 (ONE NOT WITH ME IS AGAINST ME)

Matthew omits Mark's account of Jesus commanding the Twelve not to silence a man outside their circle who was exorcising in his name (9:38–41), even though he must have been aware of it (compare Mark 9:41 and Matt 10:42). In 12:30, however, one finds a saying that stands the saying in Mark on its head.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Matt 12:30   | < Mark 9:40                                   |
| “The one not with me is against me,<br>and the one not gathering with me<br>scatters.” | “For whoever is not against us is for<br>us.” |

Mark's more inclusive version probably is secondary insofar as he used it to conclude an episode in which Jesus permits someone other than his closest companions to exorcise in his name. According to Fleddermann, “It is more probable that an intolerant saying has been softened than that a tolerant one has been sharpened. ... It is easier to imagine a statement about Jesus being broadened to a statement about the community than to imagine the opposite

23. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 370.

development.”<sup>24</sup> Mark’s transformation from the negative to the positive prevented his using the second line about not scattering, unless he transformed it to “and the one not scattering with me gathers,” which is risible.

MATT 12:32 < MARK 3:28–31 < MATT 12:31 (SPEAKING AGAINST THE HOLY SPIRIT)

Matthew redacted what he saw in Mark 8:29 in 12:31 but knew an earlier version from another source, which he inserted immediately following.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Matt 12:32   | < Mark 3:28–29 (< Matt 12:31)  |
| “And whoever says a word against the Son of Man, it will be forgiven him;  | “Truly I tell you that everything will be forgiven the sons of men—their sins and whatever blasphemies they might utter—but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will never have forgiveness but is guilty of an eternal sin.” |
| but whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit, it will not be forgiven him, neither in this age nor in that to come.” |  |

Mark apparently recognized in a traditional and beautifully balanced saying a theological problem with forgiving blasphemy against Jesus, so instead of “whoever says a word against the Son of Man [τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου]” he substituted “everything will be forgiven the sons of men [τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων].”<sup>25</sup> This is but one example of several where Matthew seems to have seen similar sayings in his two sources and yoked them together (Matt 12:31 from Mark and 12:32 from elsewhere).

MATT 12:38–39 < MARK 8:11–12 < MATT 16:1 (NO SIGN FOR THIS GENERATION)

Matthew redacted Mark 8:11–12 in chapter 16, but earlier he included a similar saying.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Matt 12:38–40                                 | < Mark 8:10–13 (< Matt 16:1 and 4)   |
| [In the context of the Beelzebul controversy] | Immediately, he boarded the boat with his disciples and went into the region of Dalmanoutha. |
| Some of the scribes and Pharisees             | The Pharisees came out and began to  |

24. Fleddermann, *Mark and Q*, 158; see also idem, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 498–99.

25. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 581.

responded said, "Teacher, we want to see a sign from you."

<sup>39</sup> But in reply he said to them, "An evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign, except the sign of Jonah the prophet.

<sup>40</sup> For just as Jonah was in the belly of the sea monster for three days and three nights, so the Son of Man will be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."

question him, testing him, seeking from him a sign from heaven.

Groaning in his spirit, he says, "Why does this generation seek a sign? Truly I tell you, no sign will be given to this generation."

He left them, again boarded the boat, and went off to the other side with his disciples.

Here is another example of alternating primitivity. In several respects, Matthew's version is secondary: note the apparent addition of "the scribes," "evil," and especially the reference to Jonah's three-day ordeal in the belly of the beast. In other respects, however, Mark seems to be secondary, such as the apparent addition of the opponents' sinister intentions ("testing him"), the angel's point of departure ("from heaven"), and Jesus' exasperation ("groaning in his spirit"). What is more telling is the refusal of Mark's Jesus to provide his opponents a sign of any kind, in keeping with Mark's theme of secrecy.<sup>26</sup> Finally, Mark seems to have created from this *logos* a narrative *logion* by the addition of nautical narrative veneer.

MATT 17:20 < MARK 11:22B-23 < MATT 21:21 (FAITH TO MOVE MOUNTAINS)

Matthew redacted Mark 11:22-23 in 21:21, but earlier in the Gospel he provided a saying that seems to reflect a stratum of tradition earlier than Mark.

Matt 17:20b

"For I tell you truly, if you have faith like a mustard seed, you will say to this mountain 'Move from here to there!'

and it will move, and nothing will be impossible for you."

< Mark 11:22b-23 (< Matt 21:21)

"Have faith in God. Truly I tell you, whoever says to this mountain, 'Be taken up and be thrown into the sea,' and does not waver in one's heart but believes that what one says will come to pass, it will happen for that person."

<sup>26</sup> Fleddermann, *Mark and Q*, 132; idem, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 497-98; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 215.



The version in Matthew is beautifully balanced and contains the simile of the mustard seed in contrast to the mountain. The one in Mark is clumsy, wordy, and prosaic because of his secondary elaboration on faith: “and does not waver in one’s heart but believes that what one says will come to pass.”<sup>27</sup>

MATT 18:6–7 < MARK 14:21 < MATT 26:24 (WOE TO THAT MAN)

In Mark 14:21 Jesus pronounces a woe on Judas that resembles Matt 18:7. Earlier Mark seems to have redacted a traditional saying about enticing “little ones.”

| Matt 18:6–7   | < Mark 9:42  | < Mark 14:21<br>( < Matt 26:24)  |
|---|--|--|
| <p>“Whoever entices one of these little ones who believe in me, it would be more profitable for him [συμφέρει αὐτῷ] that a millstone were hung around his neck and he be plunged into the depths of the sea. Woe to the world because of enticements; for enticements must come, but woe [πλὴν οὐαί] to that person through whom [δι’ οὗ] the enticement comes”</p> | <p>“Whoever entices one of these little ones who believe in me, it would be better for him [καλὸν ἔστιν αὐτῷ] if a millstone were put around his neck, and he were cast into the sea.”</p> | <p>“The Son of Man goes as it has been written concerning him, but woe [οὐαὶ δέ] to that man through whom [δι’ οὗ] the Son of Man is betrayed! It would be better for him [καλὸν αὐτῷ] if that man had never been born!”</p> |

It would appear that Mark divided a unified saying similar to what appears in Matthew and applied the second saying to Judas.<sup>28</sup> Because Matthew redacted Mark 14:21 in 26:24, 18:7 should be considered a non-Markan secondary doublet. It is difficult to imagine literary dependence in the oppo-

27. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 807: “Mark’s ‘and does not doubt in heart but believes that what he says happens’ is an obvious interpretive addition to the saying.”

28. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 796–97.

site direction: Matthew saw the two sayings in Mark and not only redacted 14:21 but modeled 18:7 after it and attached it to his version of Mark 9:42.

MATT 20:16 < MARK 10:31 < MATT 19:30 (REVERSAL OF THE LAST AND THE FIRST)

Matthew redacted Mark 10:31 in 19:30, but in chapter 20 he provided yet another instance of it.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Matt 20:16                                      | < Mark 10:31 (< Matt 19:30)                                |
| “So the last will be first and the first last.” | “And many first will be last, and the last will be first.” |

Because of the brevity of these two sayings, demonstrating the priority of one over the other is difficult, but it would appear that the perfect symmetry in Matthew is prior to Mark, who seems to have added “many.”<sup>29</sup>

MATT 21:32 < MARK 11:30–32 < MATT 21:25–26 (REJECTION OF JOHN THE BAPTIST)

Matt 21:25–26 redacts Mark 11:31–32, but just a few verses later one finds a similar passage that may have inspired the Markan account.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Matt 21:32   | < Mark 11:30–32 (< Matt 21:25–26)   |
| “For John came to you in a way a righteous, and you did not believe him [οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ], but the tax collectors and prostitutes believed him [ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ]; but when you observed it, you did not bother afterward to believe in him [τοῦ πιστεῦσαι αὐτῷ].” | “Was the baptism of John from heaven or from mortals? Answer me.” <sup>31</sup> And they deliberated among themselves: “If we say, ‘From heaven,’ he will say, ‘So why did you believe him [οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ]?’ <sup>32</sup> But if we say, ‘From mortals ...’” They feared the crowd, for everyone took John truly to be a prophet. |

29. Fledermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 692–93.

The version in Matthew can stand alone, but Mark embedded his in a dispute with “chief priests, scribes, and elders” (11:27). Matthew likely saw similar sayings in the lost Gospel and Mark and linked them with the intervening parable of the two sons (21:28–31). Luke 7:29–30 parallels Matt 21:32 and links it to John as a prophet, as in Mark 11.

MATT 24:26 < MARK 13:21 < MATT 24:23 (“LO HERE! LO THERE!”)

Matthew redacts Mark 13:21 in 24:23 and just a few verses later presents the same saying with minor alterations. This seems to be another instance of the Evangelist’s yoking similar sayings from his two sources.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Matt 24:26   | < Mark 13:21 ( < Matt 24:23)  |
| “So if they say to you, ‘Look, he is in the desert!’ do not go out; ‘Look, he is in the private chambers!’ do not believe it.” | “And then if someone should say to you, ‘Look, the Messiah is here! Look, there!’ do not believe it.” |

Whereas Matthew’s version says only that “he” is in the desert (but see 24:23), Mark speaks explicitly about “the Messiah.” Apart from this, determining which of the two is more primitive is difficult; even so, Matthew’s repetition of the saying just a few verses after his redaction of Mark’s version points to a combination of two sources.<sup>30</sup>

MATT 24:43–44 < MARK 13:35 < MATT 24:42 (COMING OF THE SON OF MAN)

This is another example of Matthew’s yoking similar sayings from his two sources. In 24:42 the Evangelist clearly redacts Mark 13:35 about not knowing the hour of “the master’s” return, and the next two verses repeat the same saying, apparently from a non-Markan source.

|  |                              |
|--|------------------------------|
| Matt 24:43–44  | < Mark 13:35 ( < Matt 24:42) |
| “But know this: If the householder had known [εἰ ᾔδει] in which watch the robber was coming [ἔρχεται], he would have been on his guard and would not have let his house be dug into. |                              |

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30. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 811.

Therefore, you also must be ready, for the Son of Man is coming [ἐρχεται] at an hour you do not expect [ὃν δοκεῖτε].”

“Keep watch, because you do not know [οὐκ οἴδατε] when the lord of the house is coming [ἐρχεται]—in the evening, or at midnight, or at cockcrow, or in the morning.”

Mark apparently has transformed the trope of Jesus' coming like a robber into his coming like the lord of a household, clearly a secondary improvement.

MATT 25:29 < MARK 4:25 < MATT 13:12 (ONE WHO HAS WILL BE GIVEN)

Matthew redacted Mark 4:25 in 13:12 but repeated the same saying in chapter 25 as the conclusion to the parable of the entrusted money.

Matt 25:29

“For everyone who has will be given and will be augmented; but from the one who does not have, even what he has will be taken from him.”

Mark 4:25 (< Matt 13:12)

“For whoever has, it will be given to him; whoever has nothing, even what he has will be taken from him.”

Matthew seems to have added the phrase “and will be augmented.” On the other hand, Mark's version seems to be secondary insofar as the saying no longer pertains to faithful stewardship of a bequest but to perception that Jesus is the light that has come.<sup>31</sup> Those with ears to hear will be rewarded with additional insights.

If Mark had seen the parable of the entrusted money in the lost Gospel, he would have had a solid ethical reason for omitting it: the master of Matthew's story presumably is Jesus, who has returned in judgment but admits to being a tyrant: “I reap where I have not sown and gather up from where I have not winnowed” (25:26).

#### THE QUEST FOR EXPANDED MATTHEW Q (MQ+)

There is no reason to think that Matthew relied on a second source only in these cases of doublets and nondoublets. Three additional types of logia also seem to have derived from the lost Gospel: (1) logia in Matthew that seem to be anterior to similar content in Mark; (2) logia in Matthew that Mark may

31. See Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 855–56.

have radically transformed (secondary redactions); and (3) logia in Matthew that are entirely absent in Mark.

The criterion of inverted priority applies to categories 1 and 2 but is irrelevant to 3 insofar as there is no second version available for comparison. The expansion of minimal MQ requires criteria in addition to inverted priority, which I now will refer to as criterion A.

**Criterion B: Evidence of Tradition.** Does the logion display evidence that Matthew inherited it and did not simply create it? For example, insofar as Matthew wrote after the Jewish War, logia that presuppose the existence of the Jerusalem temple are likely to be traditional.<sup>32</sup>

**Criterion C: Congruence with Minimal MQ.** Does the logion conform to logia established on the basis of criterion A? This congruence might be in the form of distinctive vocabulary or theology, literary form, location with other logia from MQ-, or even information implied by it.

**Criterion D: Explanation for Mark's Omission or Transformation.** Can one explain why, if Mark saw a logion in the lost Gospel, he would have avoided including it or radically transformed it?

I will argue that several Matthean logia meet these criteria and should be added to minimal MQ to create MQ+. Because this assessment continues to exclude any consideration of Luke-Acts, MQ+ is not identical to the final reconstruction of the lost Gospel.

MATT 3:1-6 < MARK 1:2-6 (INTRODUCTION OF JOHN)

It is one thing for Matthew to present Jesus reiterating his teachings more than once, but it is quite another for him to introduce new characters twice or to duplicate the same dispute. On a few occasions it would appear that, even though Matthew followed Mark's narrative sequence for a logion, he preferred another version of it, or at least included more primitive content to supplement Mark.

For example, it would be unnecessary to introduce John the Baptist twice, so even if Matthew saw another introduction in addition to Mark 1:2-6, he

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32. Matt 17:24-27 (the temple tax) is an exception to this rule.

would have had three choices: (1) to ignore the second account, (2) to prefer the second account, or (3) to merge the two accounts into a hybrid. In this case, the Matthean Evangelist likely created a hybrid.

| Matt 3:1–6   | < Mark 1:2–6  |
|--|---|
| [cf. -11:10]   | As it was written in Isaiah the prophet,  |
| [cf. 3:3]  | “Look, I am sending my messenger ahead of you, who will prepare your way. A voice of one crying in the wilderness, ‘prepare the way of the Lord; make straight his footpaths.’” |
| In those days it happened that John the Baptist and was preaching in the wilderness of Judea, <sup>2</sup> saying, “Repent, for the kingdom of heaven has arrived.”      | It happened that John the Baptizer was in the wilderness preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins.   |
| <sup>3</sup> For this is the one spoken of by Isaiah the prophet, “A voice of one crying in the wilderness, ‘Prepare the way of the Lord; make straight his footpaths.’” | [cf. 1:2]   |
| And John made his clothing from camel hair, wore a leather belt around his waist; his diet was locusts and wild honey.   | [cf. 1:6]   |
| Then Jerusalem and all the region of the Jordan went out to him and were baptized by him in the Jordan River, confessing their sins.                                     | And all the region of the Jordan and all the residents of Jerusalem went out to him and were baptized in the Jordan River, confessing their sins.                               |
| [cf. 3:4]  | John was clothed in camel hair, wore a leather belt around his waist, and ate locusts and wild honey.   |

Insofar as MQ- 21:32 presupposes the activity of John and polarized responses to his preaching, Matt 3:1–6 would be congruent with the lost Gospel elsewhere (criterion C). Mark surely did not invent his depiction of John’s activities, for they generally agree with Josephus’s depiction of the Baptist. “He was a good man and had exhorted the Jews to lead righteous lives, to practice justice towards their fellows and piety towards God, and so doing to join in baptism. In his view this was a necessary preliminary if baptism was to be acceptable to God” (*A.J.* 18.118 [LCL]). Of course, Mark’s indebtedness to traditions about John the Baptist (criterion B) need not mean that the source of that information was a lost Gospel that independently informed Matt 3:1–6; to demonstrate this one must provide evidence for Matthean inverted priority (criterion A).

Earlier this chapter discussed Matthew's citation of Exod 23:20/Mal 3:1 in 11:10 and argued that it was more primitive than Mark's use of the same conflated quotation in 1:2. Matthew likely omitted it in chapter 3 to avoid a doublet with chapter 11. Mark's use of Isa 40:3 in 1:3 is another case of an indirect citation. Both Evangelists quote the verse identically but deviate from the LXX. Although one might attribute these agreements to Matthew's use of Mark, one could also attribute them to their use of a common source and not of the LXX/OG directly, as was the case with the quotation of Exod 23:20/Mal 3:1. In favor of attributing the quotation of Isa 40:3 to the lost Gospel is Mark's mistaken attribution of the quotation of Mal 3:1. It would appear that Mark saw the shared use of "the way" in two biblical citations in the lost Gospel and attributed them both to Isaiah (underlining in the following columns highlights agreements between the two Gospels against Isaiah).

| Isa 40:3   | Mark 1:2a and 3  | Matt 3:3   |
|--|--|--|
| φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ<br>ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν<br>ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας<br>ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ<br>θεοῦ ἡμῶν. | Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ<br>Ἰσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ...<br>φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ<br>ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν<br>ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας<br>ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους<br><u>αὐτοῦ</u> . | Οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ<br>ῥήθεις διὰ Ἰσαΐου τοῦ<br>προφήτου λέγοντος·<br>φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ<br>ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν<br>ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας<br>ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους<br><u>αὐτοῦ</u> . |

Furthermore, one should note that this passage "is the most complete and explicit citation of scripture in the Gospel of Mark. Other passages cite written scripture but name neither the book cited nor its author."<sup>33</sup> Mark apparently departed from the pattern because of his redaction of the same source that informed Matthew.

The importance of these parallels for assessing the relationship of Mark to the lost Gospel can hardly be overestimated, as John S. Kloppenborg observed.

[I]f the quotation of Isaiah in Luke 3:4 / Matt 3:3 and especially the Baptism of Jesus with its heavenly voice were included [in Q], it would be virtually impossible to avoid the conclusion that Mark was literarily dependent upon Q, since it would be almost incredible that two completely independent documents could both begin with the sequence of a quotation of Isa 40:3, John's message of the Coming One, the Baptism of Jesus, and the Temptation.<sup>34</sup>

33. Yarbro Collins, *Mark*, 135.

34. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 99.

For this reason Kloppenborg thinks that the citation of Isa 40:3 and the baptism of Jesus did *not* appear in Q!

It would appear, however, that immediately after composing his infancy narrative, the Matthean Evangelist began conflating his two sources.<sup>35</sup> Although Matt 3:1–6 redacts Mark 1:2–6, its presentation in some respects is more primitive than Mark. Thus, it also would appear that the Markan author saw in the lost Gospel two biblical texts applied to John, combined them, and put them at the beginning of his Gospel without recognizing that only the second of the citations came from Isaiah.<sup>36</sup> This relocation of the citations created a notoriously awkward opening sentence: “as it is written,” which is followed by an extensive quotation, and the completion of the sentence with “it happened that...”. The version in Matthew displays no such solecism. Furthermore, the Markan Evangelist not only relocated the citation of Isaiah to the beginning of his Gospel but delayed the description of John’s attire and diet in order to juxtapose his “preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins” and the residents of Judea flocking to him at the Jordan to be baptized, “confessing their sins.” John’s leathers and locusts appear more as a Markan afterthought.

MATT 3:11 < MARK 1:7–8 (JOHN AND THE ONE TO COME)

Matt 3:11

He responded by saying, “I baptize you [βαπτίζω] in water for repentance, but the one to come after me is more powerful than I, whose sandals I am not worthy to carry.

< Mark 1:7–8

He preached, saying,  
 “One more powerful than I is coming after me, the thong of whose sandals I am not worthy to bend down and untie.

35. See Catchpole, *The Quest for Q*, 70–76; Lambrecht, “John the Baptist and Jesus,” 357–84; and Fleddermann, *Mark and Q*, 25–31. Frans Neiryneck argues that the parallels between Q and Mark pertain not to Q’s redaction but to its traditions (these objections appear in Fleddermann, *Mark and Q*, 268–70; see also Neiryneck, “The First Synoptic Pericope: The Appearance of John the Baptist in Q?” *ETL* 72 [1996]: 41–74; and Ismo Dunderberg, “Q and the Beginning of Mark,” *NTS* 41 [1995]: 501–11). Neiryneck’s criticisms are built atop a wobbly foundation of a perceived but highly subjective distinction between tradition and redaction in Q. Unfortunately, he is not alone in minimizing the scope of Q’s literary originality.

36. Matthew’s “sources are Mark 1:2–8 and part of the Sayings Source that presumably included a brief report of the Baptist’s appearance along with a scripture quotation from Isa 40:3. ... Matthew has woven together these two reports” (Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 133–34).



He will baptize you in holy Spirit and fire.”

I baptized [ἐβάπτισα] you in water, but he will baptize you in a holy Spirit.”

Matthew uses the present tense βαπτίζω for John’s baptizing, whereas Mark uses the past tense ἐβάπτισα apparently to refer back to John’s activities in 1:4–5.<sup>37</sup> Matthew states that the one to come would baptize “in holy Spirit and fire,” whereas Mark lacks “and fire.” Notice also that Mark places John in a more subordinate position. Matthew’s John says he is “not worthy to carry” Jesus’ sandals, but Mark’s Jesus says he is “not worthy to bend down and untie” them.

Finally, it is worth noting that Mark seems to have scrambled the elegant chiasmic structure of the saying found in Matthew.

|           |   |                            |
|-----------|---|----------------------------|
| A ἐγὼ μὲν | ὕμᾱς βαπτίζω                                      | ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετάνοιαν·    |
|           | B ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μου ἔστιν, |                            |
|           | B' οὐδ' οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι·    |                            |
| A' αὐτὸς  | βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς                                     | ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί. |

Mark restructured the saying to emphasize the contrast in the last two lines: “I baptized you in water, but he will baptize you in a holy Spirit.”

MATT 3:13, 16–17 < MARK 1:9–11 (BAPTISM)

Both Gospels narrate Jesus’ baptism.

Matt 3:13–17

Then from Galilee Jesus arrived to John at the Jordan to be baptized by him. But John rebuffed him and said, “I need to be baptized by you, and you come to me?”

In reply, Jesus said to him, “Let it be for now; for this is fitting to fulfill all righteousness.” Then John allowed it. After Jesus had been baptized, immediately he emerged from the water, and

< Mark 1:9–11

And it so happened in those days that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized in the Jordan by John.

And immediately, when he emerged from the water, he saw the skies ripped

37. According to Fleddermann, this change of tenses “signals a turning point” in Mark. “The baptist belongs to the past” (*Mark and Q*, 37; cf. *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 222).

behold, the skies were opened for him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending upon him like a dove.

And behold a voice came from the skies, saying, "This is my beloved Son in whom I take delight."

and the Spirit like a dove descending into him.

And a voice came from the skies, "You are my beloved Son; in you I take delight."

Matt 3:14–15 clearly is a secondary explanation of why Jesus submitted himself to John's baptism of repentance. Secondary, too, is the shift from Mark's "You are my beloved Son" to "this is my beloved Son"; the private notification has become a public declaration. In other respects Matthew seems to follow Mark quite conservatively, but two details in 3:16 suggest that he redacted a more primitive account. First, whereas Mark speaks of "the heavens ripped [σχιζομένουσ],"<sup>38</sup> Matthew says the heavens "were opened [ἠνεώχθησαν]." Either image is legitimate, but Mark's is suspicious insofar as his only other use of this verb appears just after Jesus' death with the rending of the temple veil.

Mark 1:10–11

And immediately, when he emerged from the water, he saw the skies ripped [σχιζομένουσ] and the Spirit [τὸ πνεῦμα] like a dove descending into him.

And a voice came from the skies, "You are my beloved Son [σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου]; in you I take delight."

Mark 15:37–39

Then Jesus gave a loud cry and expired [ἐξέπνευσεν]. The curtain of the sanctuary was ripped [ἔσχισθη] in two, from top to bottom.

Now when the centurion who stood facing him saw that in this way he breathed his last [ἐξέπνευσεν], he said, "Oh sure, this mortal was a son of a god [ἀληθῶσ οὔτοσ ὁ ἄνθρωποσ υἱὸσ θεοῦ ἦν]!"<sup>38</sup>

This congruence between the initiation and termination of Jesus' career as the Son of God surely is intentional Markan redaction, and the verb "ripped" at Jesus' baptism was necessary to alert the reader to the similarities. Matthew repeated Mark's reference to the ripping of the veil (27:51), but used a different verb for the opening of the skies at the baptism, perhaps because here he used another source in addition to Mark (criterion A; Matt 3:16 < Mark 1:10).

38. This translation takes the centurion's statement to be a gloat, not an ironic statement of faith. See my *Homeric Epics*, 141–43.

Another indication of Matthean inverted priority is his statement that the Spirit descended “upon [ἐπί]” Jesus, not “into [εἰς]” him, as in Mark. If one prefers Matthew’s reading, Jesus’ visitation by the Spirit conforms with the biblical pattern of divine empowerment of prophets, such as Elisha in 2 Kgs 2:9b and 15: “Let there be double of your spirit upon me [πνεύματί σου ἐπ’ ἐμέ]. ... And the spirit [τὸ πνεῦμα] of Elijah came to rest on [ἐπί] Elisha.”<sup>39</sup> See also Isa 42:1 (God speaks): “Jacob is my child, I will help him; Israel is my elect, my chosen; my soul received him. I have given my spirit on him [τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ’ αὐτόν]. He will bring justice to the Gentiles.” One might also consider Isa 61:1–2: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me [πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ’ ἐμέ], for he has anointed me. He sent me to preach good news to the poor, to heal those crushed in their hearts, to proclaim release to the captives, recovery of sight to the blind, to call for the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of retribution, to console all who mourn.” It would appear that Matthew retained the original preposition and that Mark changed it to “into,” perhaps to create the contrast with the spirit exiting Jesus (ἐξέπνευσεν) at his death.

Finally, and perhaps most decisively, Matt 3:16–17 seems to preserve an allusion to the opening verses of Ezekiel in the lost Gospel.

| Ezek 1:1, 3b, 28b, 2:1–3b  | Matt 3:13, 16–4:1a   | < Mark 1:9–12  |
|--|--|--|
| And it so happened in the [καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ] thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth of the month, and I was in the midst of the captivity at the river Chorab, | Then from Galilee Jesus arrived [παραγίνεται] to John at the Jordan to be baptized by him. ... After Jesus had been baptized, immediately he emerged from the water, | And it so happened in those [καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς] days that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized in the Jordan by John. |
| and the skies were opened [ἠνοιχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί], and I saw [καὶ εἶδον] visions of God  | and behold, the skies were opened [ἠνεψθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί], and he saw   | And immediately, when he emerged from the water, he saw [εἶδεν] the skies ripped [σχιζομένους] τοὺς οὐρανοὺς],                                   |

39. Furthermore, “Jesus’ sojourn in the wilderness for forty days, during which time he is served by angels, recalls Elijah’s flight into the wilderness, where an angel appears to him and gives him food and drink, which enables him to make a journey of forty days and forty nights to Mount Horeb” (Yarbro Collins, *Mark*, 47).

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| [θεοῦ]. ...<br>The hand of the Lord<br>came upon me [ἐπ' ἐμέ].<br>[Ezekiel sees an empow-<br>ering vision that results<br>in his designation as a<br>prophet.]<br>And I saw, fell on<br>my face, and heard a<br>voice speaking [φωνὴν<br>λαλοῦντος]. And it said<br>to me, "Son of Man<br>[υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου], stand<br>on your feet, and I will<br>speak to you." And<br>the Spirit came upon<br>me [καὶ ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ<br>πνεῦμα], lifted me up<br>[ἀνέλαβέν με], raised<br>me, and stood me on<br>my feet, and I heard him<br>speaking to me. And he<br>said to me, "Son of Man<br>[υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου], I am<br>sending you to the house<br>of Israel" | [καὶ εἶδεν] the Spirit of<br>God [τοῦ θεοῦ]<br><br>descending upon him<br>[ἐπ' αὐτόν] like a dove.<br><br>And behold a voice<br>[φωνή] came from the<br>skies, saying [λέγουσα],<br>"This is my beloved Son<br>[υἱός μου], in whom I<br>take delight."<br>Then Jesus was led up<br>[ἀνήχθη] into the wilder-<br>ness by the Spirit [τοῦ<br>πνεύματος].<br><br>[Jesus preaches repen-<br>tance and the coming of<br>God's kingdom.] | and the Spirit like a dove<br><br>descending into him [εἰς<br>αὐτόν].<br><br>And a voice [φωνή]<br>came from the skies,<br><br>"You are my beloved Son<br>[υἱός μου]; in you I take<br>delight."<br>And [καὶ] immediately<br>the Spirit [πνεῦμα] cast<br>him into the wilderness.<br><br>[Jesus preaches repen-<br>tance and the coming of<br>God's kingdom.] |
|--|--|---|

The parallels with the opening chapters of Ezekiel are striking, more so in Matthew than in Mark. Notice the wording used for the opening of the heavens, for the reference to God's hand or Spirit coming "upon" the chosen one, and for the Spirit's leading Ezekiel or Jesus.<sup>40</sup> Because in some respects Mark seems closer to the biblical antetext (as in the opening verse), we have here evidence of alternating primitivity. It is likely that MQ imitated the empowerment of Ezekiel as a prophet for its model for the empowerment of Jesus as God's Son.

Even without Matthean inverted priority, other considerations make it likely that the lost Gospel included Jesus' baptism by John. Mark is unlikely to have created Jesus' baptism by John insofar as it might seem to make him subordinate and imply that he needed "a baptism for the forgiveness of sins" (1:4; criterion B). The ascription of the unit to the lost Gospel also satisfies cri-

40. See also Ezek 3:24: "the Spirit came upon me [ἐπ' ἐμὲ πνεῦμα]."

terion C, for without Jesus' baptism it would be difficult to explain how he and John met, which is assumed later in MQ- 11:10 (see also -21:32). Yet another reason for ascribing Jesus' baptism to the lost Gospel appears in the next unit in MQ+, which refers to Jesus as God's Son.

MATT 4:1-2, 6, 11 < MARK 1:12-13 (TEMPTATIONS IN THE WILDERNESS I)

Both Gospels contain similar accounts of Jesus' temptations, but only Matthew provides the content of the dispute with the devil.

Matt 4:1-2, 6, and 11

Then Jesus was led into the wilderness by the Spirit to be tested by the devil. And he fasted for forty days and forty nights and finally became hungry. ... And he [the devil] says to him, "If you are God's Son, throw yourself down, for it is written, 'He will command his angels about you, and on their hands they will bear you, so that you do not strike your foot against a stone.'" ... Then the devil left him, and angels came and served him.

< Mark 1:12-13

And immediately the Spirit cast him out into the wilderness. And he was in the wilderness forty days, being tested by Satan,

[cf. 3:11, where "the unclean spirits" cry out, "You are God's Son!"]

and he was with the wild animals. And the angels served him.

Although Mark does not retain the content of the temptations, his reference to wild beasts in the wilderness apparently alludes to the two verses that follow the citation of Ps 90 (MT 91) in the second temptation: "And you will walk on an asp and a basilisk, and you will tread on a lion and a serpent. Because he hoped in me, I will rescue him" (90:13-14a [MT 91:13-14b]). Jeffrey B. Gibson cites four passages from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* that evoke this psalm.<sup>41</sup> For example:

If you achieve good, my children, men and angels will bless you;  
and God will be glorified through you among the Gentiles.  
The devil will flee from you;  
wild animals will be afraid of you,  
and the angels will stand by you. (*T. Naph.* 8:4)

41. "Jesus' Wilderness Temptation According to Mark," *JSNT* 53 (1994): 3-34.

Gibson:

In Psalm 91 the angels protect, and the beasts (and demons) are subject to those who, despite the danger and distress brought on by trusting God, still cling to him in love. In the *Testament of Naphtali* it is promised ... that the angels will bless and cleave to, and the beasts (and demons) fear, those who imitate the example of the patriarch's devotion and "work that which is good." ... [I]n describing Jesus as being "with" beasts and angels consequent to his wilderness temptation, Mark is saying ... that it involved establishing whether or not Jesus would be faithful to God and his commands. ... Jesus' being "with" the beasts most certainly meant that Jesus had somehow subdued them and that he stood over them as their master and lord.<sup>42</sup>

It is likely that Mark saw in a source that it shared with Matthew an allusion to Ps 90 (MT 91). He did not let the devil cite verses 11–12, but he did allude to verse 13 by placing wild beasts and angels at the scene.

MATT 4:1–11 < MARK 14:32–42 [B] < MATT 26:36–46 [b] (TEMPTATIONS IN THE WILDERNESS II)

Objections to M2DH's contention that Mark knew Q usually include this challenge: Why would Mark have omitted so much of Q? Two problems deflect the thrust of this objection. In the first place, it assumes that one knows what Q contained on the basis of Matthew-Luke overlaps against Mark, but we have seen that this position is debatable if not wrong. Second, this challenge often applies an anachronistic understanding of redaction.

If one allows for a more plastic rewriting of sources, one that includes mimesis (rhetorical imitation), one sees that more of Q reappears in Mark than one might otherwise expect. When an author reproduces a source conservatively, it is a primary redaction [A]; when an author radically transforms an antetext, it is a secondary redaction [B] or an imitation. To say that a redaction is secondary is not to say that it is trivial; indeed, the opposite usually is the case insofar as the author meaningfully altered the target. At several points Matthew clearly took liberties in his redaction of Mark: the parable of the seed growing secretly becomes the parable of the weeds (cf. Mark 4:26–29 and Matt 13:24–30); the healing of Bartimaeus morphs into the healing of two blind men (cf. Mark 10:46–52 and Matt 20:29–34). Similarly, Mark contains radical rewritings of passages found in Matthew that provide additional examples of Matthean inverted priority. Insofar as Matthew, in turn, redacted Mark's

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42. Gibson, "Jesus' Wilderness Temptation," 22–23 and 31.

secondary redactions, it contains secondary doublets. This technical jargon describes a rather simple phenomenon: source < secondary redaction [B] < secondary doublet [b].

Mark contains a likely secondary redaction of the temptations, which further indicates his knowledge of the entire logion. His account of Gethsemane contains several tantalizing parallels with Matt 4.

Matt 4:1–3, 5–8

Then Jesus was led into [εἰς] the wilderness by the Spirit to be tested [πειρασθῆναι] by the devil. And he fasted for forty days and forty nights, and later became hungry. . . .

[The devil tempted Jesus three times.]  
And the tempter came and said to him, “If [εἰ] you are God’s son, order that these stones become loaves.” . . .

And the devil took him along [παραλαμβάνει] to the holy city, put him on the tip of the temple and said to him, “If [εἰ] you are God’s Son, throw yourself down. . . .”

Jesus said to him: “Again it is written: ‘Do not put to the test [οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις] the Lord your God.’”

Again the devil took him along [παραλαμβάνει] to an exceedingly high mountain [εἰς ὄρος].

< Mark 14:26, 32–33, 36, 38 [B]  
( < Matt 26:36–46 [b])<sup>43</sup>

They went out to the Mount [εἰς τὸ ὄρος] of Olives. . . . And they came to [εἰς] the area called Gethsemane. . . .<sup>33</sup>  
And he took with him [παραλαμβάνει] Peter, James, and John, began to break down and be troubled. . . .

[Jesus prayed his prayer three times.]  
And going a little ahead of them, he fell on the ground and prayed that if [εἰ] possible the hour might pass from him, saying,

[The Mount of Olives was opposite the temple.]

“Abba, Father, . . .”

[He told the disciples:] “Watch and pray that you do not enter into temptation [μὴ ἔλθητε εἰς πειρασμόν].”

In both columns one finds references to mountains, the Jerusalem temple, taking someone along (παραλαμβάνει), Jesus’ filial relationship to this Father, and temptations. In Matthew, Jesus is tempted three times and resists; in Mark, he finds that his disciples had succumbed to temptation three times. If there is a literary connection between these two accounts—which is debatable—it is more likely that Mark omitted the temptations at the beginning of the Gospel because he planned freely to redact them later in his narrative. If

43. Matthew redacted Mark’s Gethsemane episode in 26:36–36, thereby creating a secondary doublet.

so, Matthew's presentation of the temptations in chapter 4 is anterior to Mark 14 (criterion A).

MATT 4:12–13, 17 < MARK 1:14–15 (NAZARA)

Matthew and Mark both record Jesus' return to Galilee, although Mark's Jesus does not return to his hometown Nazareth until chapter 6. Matt 4:12–13 and 17 are tantalizing insofar as here again the Evangelist seems to have combined his redaction of Mark with another account of Jesus' travels.

| Matt 4:12–13 and 17  | < Mark 1:14–15   |
|--|--|
| On hearing that John was arrested, he went off to Galilee. After leaving Nazara, he went to Capernaum. ... | After John was arrested, Jesus went into Galilee,  |
| And Jesus began to preach and say,   | preaching the good news of God and saying, "The time has been completed, and the kingdom of God has arrived! |
| "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven has arrived!"   | Repent and believe in the good news!"  |

The reference in Matthew to Nazara seems entirely gratuitous: Jesus goes to his hometown and then leaves, with no indication about what happened there (Hi, gang! See ya later!). Furthermore, when Matthew refers to this village elsewhere, he spells it Ναζαρέτ (2:23; as in Mark) or Ναζαρέθ (21:11). Matt 4:14–16 consists of an extended quotation of Isa 8:23b–9:1 and clearly is secondary. Its reference to "route by the sea" required Jesus to arrive as quickly as possible at "Capernaum by the sea." The reference to Nazara thus seems to have been traditional, satisfying criterion B, Matthew's debt to tradition. Furthermore it seems to be congruent with MQ- insofar Jesus presumably returned to Galilee at some point in the lost Gospel (criterion C).<sup>44</sup>

MATT 5:19 (OBSERVING THE COMMANDMENTS)

Matthew contains dozens of logia that are entirely missing in Mark that might be considered for inclusion in the lost Gospel, but only a few satisfy our criteria. Some of these logia presuppose that the Jerusalem temple and its activities are still intact, others depict Jesus in less than flattering terms, and others

44. It also is unclear why Matthew twice would have avoided references to "the good news," if Mark were his only source. Such references appear five times elsewhere in the Gospel.



present him making statements inconsistent with Matthew's own views. In such cases, Matthew likely relies on tradition (criterion B), and Mark seems to have omitted them (criterion D). The case for inclusion strengthens when the content is congruent with MQ- (criterion C).

Only Matthew contains the following two verses, which directly follow the verse on the permanence of the law (MQ- 5:18).

So whoever relaxes one of the least of these commandments and teaches the same to others will be called least in the kingdom of heaven, and whoever does and teaches them, this one will be called great in the kingdom of heaven. Truly I tell you that unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven. (Matt 5:19–20)

The last sentence clearly is a Matthean creation. Note the intrusive new introduction “Truly I tell you that ...” and Matthew's characteristic use of “righteousness” and the “kingdom of heaven.” Furthermore, this sentence introduces the redactional antitheses that follow in which the Evangelist illustrates how Jesus' followers should “exceed” the righteousness of the “scribes and Pharisees.”<sup>45</sup> But Heinz Schürmann makes a compelling case that the first sentence followed the statement about the permanence of the law already in Q (MQ- 5:18).<sup>46</sup> Note, for instance, the discrepancy between 5:19, which speaks of those who are least in God's kingdom, and 5:20, which excludes people from the kingdom altogether.<sup>47</sup> The first verse thus may be traditional (criterion B); furthermore, it clearly appears in a context with other content that Matthew derived from the lost Gospel (criterion C).<sup>48</sup>

Notice also that the rhetorical pattern in this verse resembles that in MQ-10:32–33.<sup>49</sup>

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45. It is worth noting similarities between Matt 5:20 and Luke 16:15 on the righteousness of the Pharisees, which might point to the influence of a common source.

46. *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur der synoptischen Evangelien* (KBANT; Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1968), 132–34. Schürmann's claim, however, that Luke 16:14–18 formed a traditional unit that Matthew redacted and relocated fails to account for Luke's clumsy redactional bridge at 16:14–15, which links the theme of love of money in 16:1–13 with Jesus' argument with Pharisees about the law.

47. Luz would call my reading of Matt 5:19 “a ‘half-radical’ attitude” to Torah observance insofar as those who fail to keep the lesser commandments will nevertheless be in God's kingdom (*Matthew 1–7*, 220).

48. “We may have here Q<sup>Mt</sup>” (Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 213).

49. See also MQ- 10:38–39 and 12:32.

MQ- 10:32–33

“Everyone speaks out for me before people, the Son of Man will also speak out for him before my Father. But whoever may deny me before people, the Son of Man will deny him before my Father.”

MQ+ 5:19

“So whoever relaxes one of the least of these commandments ... will be called least in the kingdom of heaven, and whoever does them, ... this one will be called great in the kingdom of heaven.”

Several scholars have suggested that the author of the Epistle of James knew Q. Compare the following.

MQ+ 5:19

“So whoever relaxes one of the least of these commandments ... will be called least in the kingdom of heaven.”

Jas 2:10

Whoever keeps the entire law but stumbles in one [of the commandments] becomes liable for them all.

Mark may have omitted this verse because of its demand for Torah observance (criterion D).

MATT 5:22 (AGAINST ANGER)

Six times Matthew's Sermon on the Mount creates antitheses between Jewish customs and traditional teachings of Jesus. In at least five of the six Matthean antitheses the Evangelist used sayings from the lost Gospel.

Antithesis 1: MQ- 5:23–24 (reconciling before sacrificing)

Antithesis 2: MQ- 5:29–30 (cutting off offending limbs)

Antithesis 3: MQ- 5:32 (divorce leading to adultery)

Antithesis 4: MQ+ 5:34–35, 37 (not swearing oaths)

Antithesis 5: MQ+ 5:39b-41 (going the second mile)

Earlier this chapter argued for the inclusion of Matt 5:23–24 (reconciling before sacrificing) in MQ on the basis of the priority of a non-Markan doublet. The verse immediately preceding it in Matthew has no equivalent in Mark but most likely appeared already in the lost Gospel. This is the first instance of an antithesis in Matthew, and it immediately follows Matthew's redactional setting: “Truly I tell you that unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven” (5:20).

“You have heard it said by the ancients, ‘You will not kill [Deut 5:18]; who-

ever kills is liable for the judgment [Exod 21:12 and Lev 24:17].’ But I tell you that everyone who is angry with his brother is answerable to the judgment; and whoever says to his brother, ‘Raka,’ is answerable to the Sanhedrin; and whoever says, ‘Fool,’ is answerable for the Gehenna of fire.” (Matt 5:21–22)

Matt 5:22 (“But I tell you...”) meets our criteria for inclusion in the lost Gospel. The untranslated Aramaic words *ῥακά*, “knucklehead,” and *γέεννα*, “Gehenna,” suggest that it was traditional (criterion B). The verse nests among content from MQ- (criterion C, congruence), including the next logion, with which it seems to be intimately and organically related. Gehenna as a place of punishment appears three times in MQ- 10:29–30, and a similar command to forgive “a brother” appears in MQ- 5:23–24. The rhetorical pattern here is similar to that in MQ- 10:8–10 and MQ+ 5:19. Mark may have omitted the verse because here Jesus recognizes the binding authority of the Sanhedrin (criterion D).<sup>50</sup>

#### MATT 5:34–35, 37 (AGAINST SWEARING OATHS)

Mark has no equivalent to this logion, but it meets our criteria for expanding MQ-. The author of the Epistle of James knew a remarkably similar saying.

##### Matt 5:34–37

“I tell you:  
Do not ever swear an oath [*μὴ ὀμόσαι*],  
neither by heaven [*μῆτε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*],  
for it is God’s throne,  
nor by the earth [*μῆτε ἐν τῇ γῆ*],  
for it is his footstool,  
nor [*μῆτε*] by Jerusalem,  
for it is the city of the great king,  
Do not swear by your head,  
for you cannot make a single hair white  
or black.  
But let your word be ‘yes, yes,’ or ‘no,  
no [*ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ναὶ ναὶ, οὐ  
οὐ*].’ Anything more than this is of evil.”

##### Jas 5:12

Above all, my brothers and sisters,  
do not swear an oath [*μὴ ὀμνύετε*]—  
not by heaven [*μῆτε τὸν οὐρανόν*],  
not by the earth [*μῆτε τὴν γῆν*]  
nor [*μῆτε*] by any other oath—  
but let your ‘yes’ be yes and your ‘no’  
be no [*ἴτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ  
οὐ οὐ*], so that you do not fall under  
judgment.

50. Luz attributes Matt 5:22 to Jesus himself (*Matthew 1–7*, 220).

Unless one thinks that the author of James knew Matthew, which is possible, the overlapping content issues from knowledge of a shared tradition, either oral or written (criterion B).<sup>51</sup> I would side with interpreters who suspect that the author of James knew Q.<sup>52</sup> The original saying likely evoked Isa 66:1: “Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool. What kind of house will you build for me?” says the Lord.”

This logion also satisfies criterion C (congruence with minimal MQ) insofar as MQ- similarly presents Jesus intensifying some aspects of Jewish law, such as in 5:32 with respect to divorce. According to Lev 19:12, Moses commanded that if someone makes an oath in God's name he or she make good on it, lest the holiness of the Name be defiled. Matt 5:34–37 prohibits the making of all oaths. Mark may have omitted this saying about oaths because of its reference to Jerusalem as “the city of the great king,” which also is missing in James. By their time, the city lay in ruins (criterion D, explanation of omission).<sup>53</sup>

MATT 5:39B–41 < MARK 15:21 [B] < MATT 27:32 [b] (GOING THE SECOND MILE)

Matthew redacts Mark's setting for the crucifixion, but the Sermon on the Mount contains a passage that may well have informed Mark 15, another secondary redaction.

Matt 5:39–41

< Mark 14:65 and 15:20–21 [B] and 24  
( < Matt 27:32 [b])

“But I say to you not to oppose evil.

And they began to spit on him, to cover his face, to beat him, and to say to him, “Prophesy!” And the attendants received him with blows [ῥαπισμασιν].  
...

Instead, whoever slaps [ῥαπίζει] you on the right cheek, offer to him the other as well; and to the person wanting to take you to court and get your shirt, turn over to him the coat [τὸ ἱμάτιον] as well.

51. Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 262: “Since the categorical prohibition of swearing is unique in Judaism, it probably comes from Jesus.”

52. For a helpful discussion, see P. J. Hartin, *James and the “Q” Sayings of Jesus* (JSNTSup 47; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 188–91, who does not attribute Matt 5:34–37 to Q but to “the Matthean community” (148 n. 1). Luz attributes the logion to a source other than Q (*Matthew 1–7*, 260).

53. Similarly, Luke has no equivalent to this logion.

And the one who conscripts you  
[ἀγγαρεύσει] for one mile, go with him  
a second.”

(cf. Ps 21:19 [MT 22:18])

And they brought him out to crucify  
him and conscript [ἀγγαρεύουσιν] to  
carry his cross a passer-by, Simon of  
Cyrene. ...

And they crucified him, and divided  
his garments [τὰ ἱμάτια] by casting  
lots for them, to determine what each  
should take.

Mark here seems to have narrativized a saying similar to Jesus’ instructions in Matthew’s sermon, where one finds references to slapping, sacrifice of garments, and conscription.<sup>54</sup> Particularly telling is the presence in both columns of the relatively rare Persian loanword ἀγγαρεύω, translated here as “conscript.” The only other use of this verb in the New Testament appears in Matthew’s redaction of this passage in Mark (Matt 27:32 [b]). It also is missing in the LXX. Simon of Cyrene does what Jesus tells the disciples to do in Matthew’s saying. Mark’s reader might expect that, if anyone would carry Jesus’ cross, it would have been Simon Peter in obedience to the statement, “If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross [ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ], and follow me” (8:34). Peter had promised that he was willing to die with Jesus, but he failed to stay awake while Jesus prayed, fled at his arrest, and three times denied even knowing him (14:29–50, 66–72). It was not Simon Peter but Simon of Cyrene who carried the cross (ἄρηι τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ).

MATT 6:9–13 < MARK 14:35–38 [B] < MATT 26:38–41 [b] (DISCIPLES’  
[LORD’S] PRAYER)

The so-called Lord’s Prayer in the Sermon on the Mount shares several details with Jesus’ prayer in Gethsemane in Mark 14.

Matt 6:9–13

< Mark 14:35–38a [B] (< Matt  
26:38–41 [b])

“Therefore pray [προσεύχησθε] like  
this:

He fell on the ground and prayed  
[προσηύχετο], ... saying [ἔλεγεν],

54. For the concept of narrativizing, see William Arnal, who likewise observed this phenomenon in Mark’s creative redeployment of Jesus’ sayings, though not necessarily from Q (“Major Episodes in the Biography of Jesus: An Assessment of the Historicity of the Narrative Tradition,” *TJT* 13 [1997]: 201–26).

‘Our Father [πάτερ], who is in the skies, —may your name be kept holy— let your kingdom come, let your will [θέλημα σου] be done, as in heaven so also on earth.

Our day’s bread give us today;

and forgive our debts for us, as we, too, have forgiven those in debt to us; and do not lead us into temptation [μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν].”

“Abba, Father [ὁ πατήρ], you are able to do anything. Take this cup from me, but not what I want [θέλω] but what you [σύ] want.”

And he comes and finds them sleeping. And he says to Peter, “Simon, are you sleeping? Could you not stay awake for a single hour? Watch and pray [προσεύχθεσθε] that

you do not enter into temptation [μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν].”

If there is a literary connection between these two accounts (the evidence is far from clear-cut), priority surely should go to Matthew.<sup>55</sup> Mark might well have read the prayer to imply that Jesus had debts to be forgiven and was susceptible to temptation. In his transformation of the prayer into Jesus’ prayer at Gethsemane, Jesus is obedient to the divine will, and it is the disciples who must resist temptation. This then would be a case of Mark’s secondary redaction [B] that created a secondary doublet in Matthew. The non-Markan Matthean doublet again is anterior to Mark.

MATT 7:6 < MARK 7:24–30 [B] < MATT 15:21–28 [b] (PEARLS BEFORE SWINE)

“The saying in [Matt] 7:6 has always been known for its obscurity.”<sup>56</sup> “Do not give what is holy to the dogs, and do not throw your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, spin around, and tear you to pieces.” The saying appears without a meaningful connection to the logion before it in 7:1–5 (the speck and the beam) or to the one after it in 6–11 (certainty of answer to prayer). According to the saying per se, Jesus’ audience likely is the Twelve, who apparently have been entrusted with knowledge of the holy, metaphorically pearls, and is it likely that the reference to dogs and swine refers to people considered unclean to observant Jews. Two verses later one finds evidence of MQ- (7:8), so it is reasonable to suggest, as several scholars

55. “It is generally felt that Mark [14:36–38] echoes the Lord’s Prayer” (Brown, “Mark as Witness,” 42).

56. Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 493.

have, that the Evangelist also saw this saying in his non-Markan source. Ulrich Luz: “Matthew was a conservative author; out of faithfulness to his tradition he included the saying simply because it appeared in his copy of Q.”<sup>57</sup> The saying almost certainly was traditional (criterion B): “theologically it is not at all in keeping with Matthew” elsewhere.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, it agrees with MQ- 10:23 (criterion C), which similarly implies a mission only to Jews: “You will not complete the cities of Israel until the Son of Man comes.” Finally, had the Markan Evangelist known of this saying, he would have omitted it insofar as he, like Matthew, promoted a mission to Gentiles (e.g., 13:10; criterion D). In fact, it is likely that he composed an episode to contradict it. According to Mark 7:27–28, a Gentile woman compelled Jesus to exorcise her daughter, even though at first he demurred: “It is not good to take the bread of children and throw it to the dogs.’ She responded and said, ‘Lord, even the dogs under the table eat the children’s scraps.’” As we shall see in the discussion of Matt 10:5–6, the parallels between Matt 7:6 and Mark 7:24–30 are far more extensive and support a literary connection.

MATT 8:5–10 < MARK 2:1–12 [B] < MATT 9:1–8 [b] (HEALING OF A PARALYTIC AT CAPERNAUM)

Matt 9:1–8 redacts Mark’s story of the healing of a cripple in 2:1–12, but just one chapter earlier he presented another story with striking parallels to the same tale. If the parallels suffice to establish a literary relationship—and I would not insist that they do—it would be another example of a Markan secondary redaction [B], potentially another instance of Matthean inverted priority.

Matt 8:5–10

After Jesus entered Capernaum [εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς Καφαρναούμ],

< Mark 2:1–7 and 10–12 [B] (< Matt 9:1–3 and 6–8 [b])

After he again had entered Capernaum [εἰσελθὼν ... εἰς Καφαρναούμ] for a few days, word got out that he was in a house. So many people came together that there was no longer any room except at the door, and he was speaking the word to them.

57. *Matthew 1–7*, 356. So also Georg Strecker, *The Sermon on the Mount: An Exegetical Commentary* (trans. O. C. Dean Jr.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1988), 146–48.

58. Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 355.

a centurion approached him [προσήλθεν], exhorted him, and said, "Lord, my boy is laid up in my house, a paralytic [παραλυτικός] who suffers greatly." And he said to him, I will come and cure him." And in reply the centurion said: "Lord, I am not worthy for you to come under my roof [τὴν στέγην], but only say a word, and let my boy be healed. For I too am a person under authority [ἐξουσίαν] with soldiers under me, and I say to one: 'Go,' and he goes, and to another 'Come,' and he comes, and to my slave: 'Do this,' and he does so."

[cf. v. 13]

But Jesus, on hearing, was amazed, and said to those who followed: "Truly I tell you, not even in Israel have I found such faith [ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, παρ' οὐδενὶ τοσαύτην πίστιν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ εὔρον]."

The similarities are spotty but substantial. Both stories take place in Capernaum; both involve a paralytic who remains passive throughout. In each case someone intervenes on behalf of a loved one and by doing so demonstrates faith greater than that to be found in Israel (Matthew) or among the scribes (Mark). The centurion in Matthew recognizes in Jesus someone with authority capable of curing his son with a word. Jesus in Mark demonstrates his authority to forgive sins by curing the paralytic. The other similarities may be coincidental or trivial (such as the references in both to a roof), but others are striking.

If one story generated the other, the priority surely goes to the one in Matt

Some came [ἔρχονται] who were bringing him

a paralytic [παραλυτικόν] who was carried by four people.

Unable to bring him to Jesus because of the crowd, they removed the roof [τὴν στέγην] where he was and dug through to lower the pallet on which the paralytic lay.

When Jesus saw their faith [πίστιν], he said to the paralytic, "Child, your sins are forgiven." Some of the scribes were sitting there and deliberating in their hearts: "Who is this fellow who speaks like this? He blasphemes! Who is able to forgive sins but God alone?" ... "But so that you may know that the Son of Man possesses authority [ἐξουσίαν] to forgive sins on the earth, he said to the paralytic, "I tell you, arise, take your pallet, and go home." He got up, immediately lifted the pallet, and left before them all, so that everyone was astonished and glorified God, saying, "We have never seen such a thing before [λέγοντας ὅτι οὕτως οὐδέποτε εἶδομεν]!"



8. Mark apparently transformed a miracle story into a controversy to introduce the controversies with Jewish authorities in the logia that follow. In his passion narrative the Markan Evangelist would have a different role for a centurion (15:39). Whereas Matthew's Jesus expresses amazement at the centurion's faith ("not even in Israel have I found such faith"), Mark's crowd expressed amazement at Jesus' powers to heal ("We have never seen such a thing before").

MATT 8:19–22 < MARK 1:16–20 [B] < MATT 4:18–22 [b] (CONFRONTING POTENTIAL FOLLOWERS)

Matthew redacted Mark for Jesus' calling of disciples (cf. Mark 1:16–20 and Matt 4:18–22), but one finds Matthew's Jesus later inviting more people to follow him. This second calling of disciples contains sufficient similarities for one to suspect that Mark generated his account by freely redacting a story similar to it.

Matt 8:19–22

One of the scribes approached and said to him, "Teacher, I will follow [ἀκολουθήσω] you wherever you go." And Jesus says to him, "Foxes have holes, and birds of the sky have nests; but the Son of Man does not have anywhere he can lay his head."

But another of [his] disciples said to him,

"Master, permit me first to go and bury my father [τὸν πατέρα μου]." But Jesus says to him, "Follow me [ἀκολουθεῖ], and leave [ἄφες] the dead to bury their own dead."

< Mark 1:16–20 [B] (< Matt 4:18–22 [b])

As he passed along the Sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew, the brother of Simon, casting nets into the sea; they were fishermen. And Jesus said to them, "Come after me, and I will make you fishermen for people."

Immediately they left their nets and followed [ἠκολούθησαν] him.

And going on a bit further, he saw Jacob [James], the son of Zebedee, and his brother John; they were in a boat repairing the nets.

Immediately he called them; and they left [ἀφέντες] their father Zebedee [τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν] in the boat with the hired men and went off after him.

In both episodes Jesus calls people to follow him, and in both cases they must leave their fathers. Curiously—and perhaps not accidentally—both epi-

sodes contrast or compare people to animals: in Matthew, Jesus contrasts his homelessness with the shelters of foxes and birds; in Mark, he likens people to fish whom Simon and Andrew one day will ensnare. Mark's preoccupation with things nautical may issue from his indebtedness to the *Odyssey*, especially Athena's acquisition of a boat and a crew for Telemachus at the end of book 2 (2.383–387).<sup>59</sup>

MATT 9:9–13 < MARK 2:13–17 (EATING WITH TAX COLLECTORS AND SINNERS)

Matthew and Mark both contain sequences of four controversies: eating with tax collectors and sinners (Mark 2:13–17; Matt 9:9–13), not fasting (Mark 2:18–22; Matt 9:14–17), gleaning grain on the Sabbath (Mark 2:23–28; Matt 12:1–8), and healing on the Sabbath (Mark 3:1–6; Matt 12:9–14). Most scholars hold that the versions in Matthew and Luke merely derive from Mark, although Mark may well have inherited the four episodes from a lost source (criterion B).<sup>60</sup> The four controversies seem to comprise a literary unity.

Matt 9:9–13

And while Jesus was passing by from there, he saw a person called Matthew sitting at the tax booth, and he said to him, "Follow me." He rose up and followed him.

And it so happened that as Jesus was reclining to eat at the house, behold, many tax collectors and sinners came and were reclining with Jesus and his disciples.

When the Pharisees saw it,

they said to his disciples, "Is he eating with tax collectors and sinners?" On

< Mark 2:13–17

And again he went out by the sea and the entire crowd came to him, and he was teaching them. And while passing by, he saw Levi, son of Alphaeus, sitting at the tax booth, and he said to him, "Follow me." He rose up and followed him.

And it so happened that while Jesus reclined to eat at Levi's house, many tax collectors and sinners too were reclining with Jesus and his disciples, for many of them were following him.

When the scribes of the Pharisees saw that he was eating with tax collectors and sinners, they said to his disciples, "Why is your teacher eating with tax collectors and sinners?" On hearing

59. See MacDonald, *Homeric Epics*, 55–57.

60. "The fact that the rhetorical richness and elegance of this section exceeds that of most of the literary structures elsewhere in the Gospel [of Mark] makes it somewhat more likely that the Evangelist made use of a source consisting roughly of 2:3–28" (Yarbro Collins, *Mark*, 183). See also Joanna Dewey, *Markan Public Debate: Literary Technique, Concentric Structure, and Theology in Mark 2:1–3:6* (SBLDS 48; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1980), 41–55.

hearing this, he said, “Those who are strong have no need of a physician; those who are sick do. But go and learn what this is: ‘I desire mercy and not sacrifice.’ For I did not come to call the righteous but sinners.”

this, Jesus said, “Those who are strong have no need of a physician; those who are sick do.

I did not come to call the righteous but sinners.”

In several respects Matthew’s version is secondary to Mark’s, as one would expect. The Matthean Evangelist added “your teacher” in verse 11 and a citation of Hos 6:6 (“I desire mercy and not sacrifice”) in verse 13. On the other hand, the Evangelist omits Mark’s statements that Jesus again “went out by the sea” (2:13), “many of them were following him” (2:15), and “he was eating with tax collectors and sinners” (2:16). One might account for each of these omissions simply by appealing to Matthean redaction.

Notice, however, that the logion also satisfies the criteria for expanding MQ. Mark apparently did not create Jesus’ eating with sinners (criterion B), and this episode agrees with minimal MQ, where Jesus states why he “came.” The following passage (MQ- 10:34–35) uses the verb ἤλθον with the infinitive twice: “I did not come [ἤλθον] to hurl peace on earth but a sword! For I have come [ἤλθον] to divide son against his father.” As we shall see, another passage in MQ+ (11:19) uses this language in connection with “tax collectors and sinners”: “The Son of Man came [ἤλθεν], eating and drinking, and you say, ‘Look! A person who is a glutton and drunkard, a chum of tax collectors and sinners [τελωνῶν φίλος καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν].’” Here in Mark 2:17 and Matt 9:13b one reads: “Those who are strong have no need of a physician; those who are sick do. I did not come [ἤλθον] to call the righteous but sinners [ἀμαρτωλοῦς].” If this passage did appear in the lost source, it would prepare for the flashback to Jesus’ “open commensality” in MQ+ 11:19.

MATT 9:14–17 < MARK 2:18–22 (NOT FASTING)

The second controversy in this sequence pits Jesus against “the disciples of John and the Pharisees,” at least in Mark’s version.

Matt 9:14–17

Then the disciples of John came to him and said, “Why do we and the Pharisees fast so much, but your disciples do not fast?”

< Mark 2:18–22

The disciples of John and the Pharisees used to fast. They came and said to him, “Why do the disciples of John and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, but your disciples do not fast?”

And Jesus said to them, "The sons of the wedding chamber are not able to mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them, are they?"

Days will come when the bridegroom will be taken from them; then they will fast. And no one patches a patch from an unwashed cloth on an old garment; for its fullness tears from the garment, and a worse tear results.

Nor do they cast new wine into old skins; otherwise, the skins burst, and the wine is spilled, and the skins are destroyed. But they cast new wine into new skins, and both are preserved."

And Jesus said to them, "The sons of the wedding chamber are not able to fast while the bridegroom is with them, are they? As long as they have the bridegroom with them, they are not able to fast.

Days will come when the bridegroom will be taken from them; then they will fast on that day. No one sews a patch from an unwashed cloth on an old garment; otherwise, the cloth that had not shrunk tears from the other, the new from the old, and a worse tear results.

And no one casts new wine into old skins; otherwise, the wine bursts the skins, and both wine and skins are destroyed, but new wine into new skins."

Matthew's redactional hand appears at the end with the tag "and both are preserved," but other elements in Matthew are more primitive than Mark. For example, Matthew indicates that Jesus' interlocutors were John's disciples; only in Mark are they joined by Pharisees. It is more likely that Mark added the Pharisees than that Matthew omitted them insofar as Matthew is prone to add Pharisees to controversies elsewhere. Matthew lacks an equivalent to Mark 2:19b, in which Jesus answers his own rhetorical question, which seems to be a secondary feature: "As long as they have the bridegroom with them, they are not able to fast."<sup>61</sup>

The all-important criterion C, congruence, also applies. Several aphorisms in the lost Gospel, like the two at the end of this logion, begin with a negative statement and end with a positive one, either expressed or implied. In our logion one finds "no one [οὐδεὶς ἐπιβάλλει] patches a patch" and "no one casts [οὐδεὶς βάλλει] new wine." Compare these with MQ- 5:15: "no one lights [οὐδεὶς κείει] a lamp and puts it in a hidden place."

Most significantly, this passage anticipates the contrast between John's asceticism and Jesus' partying in MQ+ 11:18-19: "John came neither eating

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61. Mark's wordier version of the trope of the patch may be an explanation of "for its fullness tears from the garment," as in Matthew's version. He could have modeled his expansion after the structure of the trope of the wine skins: "otherwise, the wine bursts the skins." However, one could also argue that Matthew simply tightened up Mark's saying about the patch and that the shared source was balanced, as in Mark.

nor drinking, and you say, ‘He has a demon!’ The Son of Man came eating and drinking [ἔσθίωv καὶ πίνωv], and you say, ‘Look! A person who is a glutton and drunkard, a chum of tax collectors and sinners!’”

MATT 10:1–4 < MARK 3:13–19 (LIST OF THE TWELVE)

Matthew and Mark both list the names of Jesus’ disciples but in different locations. Whereas Mark’s list appears relatively early in his narrative, before the parable speech, Matthew’s appears later in the narrative, after the Sermon on the Mount and just before the Mission Speech. Chances are good that both Evangelists saw similar lists insofar as Matthew’s bears signs of inverted priority (criterion A).

Matt 10:1–4

And after summoning his twelve disciples, he gave them authority over unclean spirits to cast them out and to heal every disease and every ailment. The names of the twelve apostles were as follows:

first was Simon, the one called Peter, and Andrew his brother, and James the son of Zebedee and John his brother,

Philip, and Bartholomew, Thomas, and Matthew the tax collector, and James the son of Alphaeus, and Thaddeus, Simon the Cananaean, and Judas the Iscariot, who also betrayed him.

< Mark 3:13–19

He ascends into the mountain and summons those whom he wished, and they went away to him.

He made them twelve, [whom he called apostles], so that they might be with him and that he might send them to preach and to have authority to cast out demons. [And he made them twelve.]

He gave the name Peter to Simon,

and James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, and he gave them the name Boanerges, which is Sons of Thunder, and Andrew, and Philip, and Bartholomew, and Matthew, and Thomas, and James the son of Alphaeus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Cananaean, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him.

The primary difference between the two lists pertains to the order and significance of the names Simon Peter, Andrew, James, and John. The first two men appear together in Matthew, but in Mark they are separated by James

and John, presumably because Mark assigned Simon, James, and John more prominent roles later in the narrative. Also, Mark's Jesus gives sobriquets to all three of these men: Simon becomes Peter, and the sons of Zebedee become Sons of Thunder, "Boanerges."

Mark's depiction of James and John throughout the Gospel resembles Castor and Polydeuces, the twin sons of Tyndareus and Leda, also known as the Dioscuri, "Sons-of-Zeus."<sup>62</sup> Zeus, of course, was the god of thunder and lightning. Mark earlier depicted the sons of Zebedee as fishermen who abandoned their father's boat; the Dioscuri, too, were sailors. In fact, they were among the famous Argonauts who accompanied Jason to retrieve the golden fleece. A *Homeric Hymn* to the Dioscuri calls them

saviors ... of mortals  
and swift-sailing ships when stormy gales rage  
over the ruthless sea. From their ships men pray  
to the sons of Zeus.

\* \* \* \* \*

Immediately, they [the Dioscuri] bring to an end the gales of cruel winds,  
and spread smooth the waves on the expanse of the white sea. (*Hom. Hymn*  
33.6–9 and 14–15)

It therefore would appear that it was Mark who added Jesus' renaming the sons of Zebedee to an earlier list and in so doing placed Andrew in the fourth position. It is worth noting that, when the Evangelist first introduced these four disciples, he yoked Simon with Andrew and James with John (1:16–20), the same order that seems to have been in Matthew's non-Markan source.

In addition to satisfying criterion A, Mark's list satisfies criterion B, evidence of tradition. Paul knew that Jesus had called twelve disciples, and it is likely that their names were widely known.<sup>63</sup> Insofar as only five of the named disciples play roles later in Mark, it is unlikely that he concocted the names of the other seven to compose 3:13–19.

The satisfaction of criterion C, however, is dicier. Apart from the name Matthew/Levi in MQ+ 9:9, the lost Gospel elsewhere never names Jesus' followers, so any list of named disciples would seem be incongruent (no disciples have names in the reconstructions in *The Critical Edition of Q* or Fleddermann). Even so, the author apparently knew that Jesus had twelve disciples,

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62. For a more systematic treatment of this comparison, see MacDonald, *Homeric Epics*, 24–32. See also James Rendel Harris, "Sons of Thunder," *Exp* 3 (1907): 149–52.

63. See 1 Cor 15:5.

for he wrote that their master promised them that they would sit on “thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel” (see the discussion of MQ+ 19:28).

MATT 10:5–6 < MARK 7:24–30 [B] < MATT 15:21–28 [b] (DO NOT GO TO THE GENTILES)

Only Matthew contains the following: “Do not go on the way to the Gentiles, and do not enter a city of the Samaritans. Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel” (10:5–6). Scholars long have debated if these verses were traditional or Matthew’s creation. In favor of attributing them to tradition is the obvious disagreement between the command in 10:5 and 28:19, which explicitly sends the disciples “to all the Gentiles.” To be sure, both passages could be Matthean: at first Jesus commanded the exclusion of Gentiles, but after his resurrection he made them the target of apostolic evangelism. It is more likely, however, that the Evangelist inherited 10:5–6 (criterion B, evidence of tradition).<sup>64</sup>

The logion also is congruent with minimal MQ (criterion C). Here is MQ- 10:23b: “I tell you truly, you will by no means complete the cities of Israel until the Son of Man comes.” Several details suggest that Matt 10:23 followed on the heels of 10:5–6 in the lost Gospel. In the first place, in both logia Jesus addresses his followers concerning their mission to cities (πόλιν / ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ) and implies a mission exclusively to wayward Israel (πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ / τὰς πόλεις τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ).

Further evidence that Matthew found these two logia together in his source comes from the ending of the Gospel, where Jesus, after his resurrection, comes to his disciples, before they had completed their mission to “the lost sheep of the house of Israel,” and sends them to the Gentiles.<sup>65</sup>

Matt 10:4–6 and 23

Jesus sent these twelve, commanding them saying [λέγων],

Matt 28:18–20

And Jesus approached them and spoke with them, saying [λέγων], “All authority

64. Of Matt 10:5b–6, Luz states, “The logion, which is not redactional, has come to Matthew either from his special material or from Q, but Matthew is probably responsible for the placement” (*Matthew 8–20*, 71). See also Wolfgang Trilling, who makes a strong case that the Matthean author must have inherited 10:5b–6 as a unit from a source, whose restriction of a mission to Israel he reversed in 15:24 and 28:19 (*Das wahre Israel: Studien zur Theologie des Matthäusevangeliums* [ETS 7; 3rd ed.; Leipzig: St. Bruno, 1975], 100–105).

65. Luz provides a helpful overview of the options for connecting these texts in *Matthew 8–20*, 73–74.

in heaven and on earth has been given to me.

“Do not go into Gentile [ἐθνῶν] routes, and do not enter a city of the Samaritans.

Go [πορεύεσθε] rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. ...

So as you go [πορευθέντες], make disciples of all the Gentiles [τὰ ἔθνη], baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son [τοῦ υἱοῦ], and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe everything that I have commanded you.

Look, I am with you every day until the

And whenever they persecute you in this city, flee into another. For I tell you truly, you will by no means complete [τελέσητε] the cities of Israel until the Son [ὁ υἱός] of Man comes.”

completion [συντελείας] of the age.”

In Matt 28, “the Twelve” have become “the eleven” to account for the death of Judas. Whereas in chapter 10 Jesus prohibited the disciples from going to the Gentiles, in chapter 28 he insists on it. In chapter 10 he promised that the Son of Man would return before the completion of the mission to “the cities of Israel”; Matthew’s Jesus promises in chapter 28 that he already is with them and will be with them “until the completion of the age.” Matthew conflated the endings of his two sources. From Mark he redacted the empty tomb story; from the lost Gospel he redacted sections of the mission speech, which he earlier had used in chapter 10.

Criterion D here would require a plausible explanation for the absence of the logion in Mark. The explanation is transparent: the Markan Evangelist portrayed Jesus and the Twelve on missions that included Gentiles; indeed, “the good news must first be announced to all the Gentiles” before Jesus would return (13:10).<sup>66</sup>

My student Ekaputra Tupamahu argued that the saying about casting pearls to swine in Matt 7:6, if it appeared in Matthew’s second source, most likely appeared between 10:5–6.

<sup>5b</sup> “Do not go on the way of the Gentiles [μὴ ἀπέλθητε], and do not enter [μὴ εἰσέλθητε] a city of the Samaritans.

66. These verses also are missing in Luke.



7:6 Do not give [μὴ δώτε] what is holy to the dogs,  
 and do not throw [μηδὲ βάλητε] your pearls before swine,  
 lest [μήποτε] they trample them under their feet,  
 spin around, and tear you to pieces.  
 10:6 Go rather [πορεύεσθε δὲ μᾶλλον] to the lost sheep of the  
 house of Israel.”

The first four lines all are negative aorist subjunctives in the second-person plural. Notice also the sequence of three kinds of animals from the unclean to the clean—dogs, swine, sheep—which relate metaphorically to three peoples. When read together, these passages from Matthew suggest that Jesus referred to Gentiles and Samaritans as dogs and swine and Israel as sheep. Matthew apparently relocated the saying about pearls before swine to the Sermon on the Mount where the canine and porcine allusions no longer need refer to non-Jews. Even though the logic of Matthew’s new location is obscure, it allows for Greek wordplay. Matt 7:4–5 three times uses the verb ἐκβάλλειν, “to cast,” picked up in 7:6 with μηδὲ βάλητε. The command not to give (μὴ δώτε) in 7:6 anticipates the heavy use of the same verb in the verses that follow: δοθήσεται, ἐπιδώσει (twice), διδόναι, δώσει (7:7–11).<sup>67</sup>

Mark seems to have opposed a tradition similar to what now appears at the beginning of Matt 10 and likely appeared in their shared source.

Matt 10:1b and 5b, 7:6, and 10:6

< Mark 7:24–28

He gave them authority over unclean spirits to cast them out [πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά] and to heal every disease. ...

“Do not go on the way to the Gentiles [εἰς ὁδὸν ἔθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθητε], and do not enter [εἰς ... μὴ εἰσέλθητε] a city of the Samaritans....

Jesus got up from there and went into [ἀπήλθεν εἰς] the region of Tyre and Sidon. When he entered [εἰσελθὼν εἰς] a house, he did not want it to become known, but he was unable to escape detection. Immediately a woman heard about him; her daughter had an

67. So also Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 495. If Matthew were indeed responsible for the relocation of this saying, the juxtaposition of sayings similar to Matt 7:6 and 7:7 in Gos. Thom. 93 and 94 would demonstrate a literary connection between the two Gospels and not merely independent knowledge of similar traditions.

Do not give what is holy to the dogs [τοῖς κυσίν], and do not throw [βάλητε] your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, spin around, and tear you to pieces.... Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

unclean spirit [πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον]. She came and fell at his feet. The woman was Greek, Syrophenician by birth, and she asked him to cast the demon [τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐκβάλη] from her daughter. He said to her, "Let the children first be fed, for it is not good to take the bread of children and throw it to the dogs [τοῖς κυναρίοις βαλεῖν]." She responded and said, "Lord, even the dogs [τὰ κυνάρια] under the table eat the children's scraps." [Jesus then exorcises the demon.]

Here Mark's Jesus, by going into the region of the Gentiles, does precisely what he prohibited the Twelve from doing in Matthew. Initially he refuses to exorcise the "unclean spirit" on grounds similar to those expressed in Matt 7:6 about giving "what is holy to the dogs." Without directly contradicting Jesus, the woman expresses contentment with table scraps.

As impressive as these parallels are on their own, they become all the more so when one considers Matthew's redaction of Mark's Syrophenician episode, where Jesus states that he was reluctant to help the Canaanite woman because he "was not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," a veritable quotation of his sending of the Twelve exclusively "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in 10:6! In other words, Matthew apparently saw in Mark 7:24–30 a refutation of Jesus' prohibitions in Matthew's non-Markan source. Here, then, is a case of Mark's secondary redaction of the saying about not going to Gentiles; Matthew adroitly merged the two contradictory texts into a satisfactory hybrid. He apparently knew of instructions to the Twelve that were more primitive than what he found in Mark (Matthew's inverted priority; criterion A).

#### MATT 10:9–10 < MARK 6:8–9 (INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MISSION)

Matthew and Mark both contain instructions to the Twelve concerning what provisions to forego on their journeys. Although Mark's account seems to have informed Matthew in some respects, in the following parallels, Mark seems to be secondary.

Matt 10:9–10

“You should not own gold, silver, or copper in your belt [μηδὲ χαλκὸν εἰς τὰς ζώνας]—no knapsack for the road [μὴ πήραν εἰς ὁδὸν], nor two garments [μηδὲ δύο χιτῶνας], nor shoes [μηδὲ ὑποδήματα], nor stick [μηδὲ ῥάβδον].

For the worker is worthy of his food.”

&lt; Mark 6:8–9

He told them to take nothing for the road [μηδὲν αἴρωσιν εἰς ὁδὸν] except for a stick [ῥάβδον]—no bread, no knapsack [μὴ πήραν], no copper in their belts [μὴ εἰς τὴν ζώνην χαλκόν]—to wear shoes [ὑποδεδεμένους σανδάλια] and, “Do not wear two garments [μὴ ἐνδύσασθε δύο χιτῶνας].”

Matthew’s version is entirely in direct discourse, whereas Mark’s begins in indirect discourse and awkwardly switches to direct discourse at the end. The most telling difference, however, has to do with what Mark allows the missionaries to take with them. Like Matthew, he prohibits a knapsack, cash, and two garments, but he explicitly allows a stick and shoes. “A staff and sandals belonged so essentially to the provisions of wandering preachers that we can explain their mention as exceptions [in Mark] only as a deliberate modification of a previous ban on them.”<sup>68</sup>

MATT 10:14–15 &lt; MARK 6:11–13 (RESPONSE TO A TOWN’S REJECTION)

As we have seen, Matthew and Mark both contain speeches in which Jesus gives instructions to the Twelve for a mission, and, for the most part, Matthew’s version is secondary and displays no clear signs of inverted priority. The following parallels, however, suggest that Matthew here is prior.

Matt 10:14–15

“Whoever does not receive you or hear your words, on going out from that house or that city, shake off the dust [κονιορτόν] from your feet.

Truly I tell you: For the land of Sodom and Gomorrah it shall be more bearable on the day of judgment than for that city.”

&lt; Mark 6:11

“Whatever place does not take you in or hear you, leave there and shake off the dirt [χοῦν] that is on your feet as a witness against them.”

68. Fleddermann, *Mark and Q*, 118. See also Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew*, 102–5.

The phrase εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς, translated here “as a witness against them,” is typically Markan (see also 1:44 and 13:9), and Matthew had no objection to using it when redacting Mark (Matt 8:4 and 10:18; cf. 24:14). In MQ- 10:6 Jesus instructed the Twelve to go only to “the lost sheep of the house of Israel,” and MQ- 10:23b stated that they would not have completed their mission to “the cities of Israel” before the coming of the Son of Man. If the first half of the verse appeared also in the lost Gospel, which is likely, the parallels with this passage are striking (criterion C).

Matt 10:14–15

“Whoever does not receive you [ὑμᾶς] or hear your words, on going out from that house or that city [τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης], shake off the dust from your feet. Truly I tell you [ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν] ...”

Matt 10:23a

“When they persecute you [ὑμᾶς] in this city [τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ], flee into another. For I tell you truly [ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν] ...”

As we shall see, MQ elsewhere contrasts Jewish rejection with acceptance among Gentiles.

MATT 11:16–19 (THIS GENERATION AND WISDOM’S CHILDREN)

Mark has no equivalent to these verses.

To what am I to compare this generation? It is like children seated in the marketplaces, who, addressing the others, say: “We fluted for you, but you would not dance; we wailed, but you would not beat your breasts.” For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, “He has a demon!” The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, “Look! A person who is a glutton and drunkard, a chum of tax collectors and sinners!” But Wisdom was vindicated by her works. (Matt 11:16–19)

In favor of attributing this passage to pre-Matthean tradition is its unseemly portrayal of Jesus as a party animal (criterion B), and it is not difficult to speculate why Mark would have omitted it had he seen it in Q (criterion D). Most telling, however, is the compatibility of this logion with minimal MQ (criterion C). In MQ- Jesus is called the Son of Man (e.g., MQ- 10:23; 12:32; 24:44) and criticisms of “this generation” appear also in MQ- 12:39, where “an evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign.” In MQ- 11:10, just six verses earlier in Matthew, Jesus praised John as the promised messenger. Finally, because Matt 9:14–17 likely appeared in its non-Markan source (MQ+

9:14–17), the reader of the lost Gospel already would have known that John's disciples fasted. Jesus' disciples, however, are like revelers at a wedding.

MATT 12:1–4, 8 < MARK 2:23–28 (GLEANING ON THE SABBATH)

So little distinguishes the two Gospels in the following columns that one might easily conclude that Matthew merely redacted Mark, but two details in Matthew seem more primitive than Mark.<sup>69</sup>

Matt 12:1–8

At that time, Jesus went through grain fields on a Sabbath, and his disciples were hungry and began to glean the heads of grain and eat them.

When the Pharisees saw this, they said to him, "Look, your disciples are doing what is not permitted to do on the Sabbath."

He said to them, "Have you not read what David did when he and those with him were hungry, when he went into the house of God,

and they ate the bread of the presence, which was not permitted him or those who were with him to eat, except for the priests alone?

Or have you not read in the law that on the Sabbath the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath and are innocent? And I tell you that something greater than the temple is here. You would not have condemned the innocent if you had understood this: 'I want mercy and not sacrifice. [Hos 6:6]'

For the Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath."

< Mark 2:23–28

It so happened that he was traveling through grain fields on a Sabbath, and his disciples began to glean the heads of grain as they made their way.

And the Pharisees began saying to him, "Look; why are they doing what is not permitted on the Sabbath?"

He says to them, "Have you never read what David did when he and those with him were in need and hungry, how he went into the house of God to Abiathar the high priest and ate the bread of the presence, which was not permitted to eat except for the priests, and he gave it also to those who were with him?"

And he said to them, "The Sabbath came into existence for the human, not the human for the Sabbath; so that the Son of Man is lord also of the Sabbath."

69. So also Pierre Benoit, "Les épis arrachés (Mt 12:1–8 et par.)," *SBFLA* 13 (1962/1963): 76–92.

Matt 12:5–7 obviously is secondary, including the use of Hos 6:6 (cf. 9:13), but Mark also contains a secondary expansion. In Jesus' defense he cites the example of David and his soldiers eating the so-called bread of the presence. In the biblical account, it was a priest named Abimelech who accommodated David, but Mark called him "Abiathar the high priest." This mistake is missing in Matthew, so either the Matthean Evangelist avoided the error in his redaction of Mark, which surely is possible, or he had access to a version without the error, in which case Mark would have created it. This seems to have been the case, for whoever first composed the logion seems to have consulted the text of 1 Sam 21. (Jesus even refers to reading the story rather than merely hearing it.) It is more likely that Mark created the mistake by not reading the text directly but by redacting a version similar to Matthew.<sup>70</sup> The following columns demonstrate the point: it is difficult to explain Mark's error if he had a copy of 1 Sam 21 before him, which the dense lexical parallels otherwise suggest.

## 1 Sam 21:2–6

And David goes into Nob to Abimelech the priest [ἔρχεται Δαυὶδ εἰς Νομβᾶ πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχ τὸν ἱερέα]. ...

[David speaks:] "If you now have five loaves of bread on hand, give to my hand whatever is found." The priest answered David and said, "I have no profane bread on hand; there are only holy loaves. The young men may eat [φάγεται], provided that they have guarded themselves from a woman." ... [David gave them assurances that none of his men had had sex for three days.] And Abimelech the priest gave him the bread of the presence [καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Ἀβιμέλεχ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως].

## Mark 2:25–26

He says to them, "Have you never read what David did when he and those with him were in need and hungry, how he went into the house of God to Abiathar the high priest [εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἀβιαθὰρ ἀρχιερέως] and

ate [ἔφαγεν] the bread of the presence [τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως], which was not permitted to eat except for the priests,

and gave it [καὶ ἔδωκεν] also to those who were with him?"

70. Maurice Casey attempts to explain the error as a misunderstanding of an Aramaic source ("Culture and Historicity: The Plucking of the Grain [Mark 2:23–28]," *NTS* 34 [1988]: 1–23). Fatal to this proposal are the strong connections between Mark and the Greek of the LXX.

If the error concerning Abiathar were the only suspicious element in Mark's account, one might conclude simply that Matthew caught the mistake and omitted the priest entirely, but Mark 2:27 is suspect as well. Note that the verse begins with an unnecessary reminder to the reader that Jesus was speaking: "And he said to them...." Mark then inserted the sentence "the Sabbath came into existence for the human, not the human for the Sabbath," which implies that "son of man" in the following verse refers not to Jesus but to humans beings in general. This interpretation surely is secondary (inverted priority, criterion A).<sup>71</sup> MQ+ 11:19 reads as follows: "The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and you say, 'Look! A person who is a glutton and drunkard, a chum of tax collectors and sinners!'" The controversy over plucking grain makes a similar point: the Jewish authorities fault Jesus and his disciples for working on the Sabbath, but he vindicates himself by claiming his authority over the Sabbath as the Son of Man (criterion C). Mark's secondary addition of verse 27 transforms  $\acute{o}$  υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου from a title for Jesus into any human being.

MATT 12:9–13 < MARK 3:1–5 (HEALING ON THE SABBATH)

The fourth and final controversy in the series again pertains to the Sabbath, and again Matthew's account gives evidence of a source more primitive than Mark.

Matt 12:9–14

And on leaving there, he went into their synagogue, and behold there was a man with a withered hand. And they questioned him, saying, "Is it permitted to heal on the Sabbath?" so that they might bring charges against him.

And he said to them, "Which man of you who owns one sheep, if it should fall into a pit on the Sabbath, will not grab it and bring it out? So how superior is a person to a sheep?

Thus it is permitted to do good on the Sabbath."

< Mark 3:1–6

He again entered a synagogue, and a man was there who had a withered hand. And they were observing him closely [so see] if he would heal on the Sabbath, so that they might bring charges against him. He says to the man with the withered hand, "Arise in the middle." And he said to them,

"Is it permitted on the Sabbath to do good or to cause harm, to save a life or

71. See Yarbrow Collins, *Mark*, 204.

Then he said to the man, "Stretch out your hand." His hand stretched out and was restored to health, like the other one.

The Pharisees left and took a council against him, how they might destroy him.

to kill?" They were silent. He looked around at them with rage, grieved at the hardness of their hearts, and says to the man, "Stretch out the hand." His hand stretched out and was restored.

The Pharisees left immediately and held council with the Herodians against him, how they might destroy him.

Matthew lacks an equivalent to Mark's "They were silent. He looked around at them with rage, grieved at the hardness of their hearts." The Evangelist likely would have included Jesus' anger if Mark were his primary model, for elsewhere he increases Jesus' exasperation with Pharisees, though not consistently. More importantly, Matthew but not Mark contains the reference to the sheep in the pit, a Jewish legal topic attested at Qumran and elsewhere.<sup>72</sup> In its place Mark's Jesus asks, "Is it permitted to do good on the Sabbath or to do evil, to save a life or to kill?" (3:4), without halakic argumentation. The plotting of the Pharisees that concludes the logion in both Gospels probably did not appear in their common source: Mark supplied it to establish narrative tension early in his Gospel, and Matthew followed suit.

MATT 12:24–29 < MARK 3:22–27 (JESUS' DEFENSE TO THE BEELZEBUL ACCUSATION)

Although the Matthean Evangelist followed the Markan order of presentation when redacting this episode, he seems, for the most part, to have preferred another version, one more primitive. Matt 12 and Mark 3 both narrate a controversy about the source of Jesus' power to exorcise, but only Matthew's begins with the healing of a man who was blind, deaf, and possessed of a demon (12:22–23). If Mark had seen such an episode in the lost Gospel, he would have had sufficient reason to omit it insofar as Jesus had been healing and exorcising frequently from 1:21 to 3:12. One next reads this.

72. "These verses are traditional and show linguistically a Semitic background. The example of the domestic animal that has fallen into the pit" was "a 'model case' in Jewish Sabbath interpretation" (Luz, *Matthew* 8–20, 186). The extension of the argument in verse 12a, however, is Matthew's redaction.



Matt 12:24–29

But when the Pharisees heard this, they were saying, “This person does not cast out demons except by Beelzebul, the ruler of demons!”

But, knowing their intentions, he said to them,

“Every kingdom divided against itself is left barren, and every city or house divided against itself will not stand.

And if Satan casts out Satan, he is divided against himself, so how will his kingdom stand?

And if I by Beelzebul cast out demons, your sons, by whom do they cast them out? This is why they will be your judges. But if it is by the Spirit of God that I cast out demons, then there has come upon you the kingdom of God.

Or how is anyone able to enter the house of a strong man and loot his goods unless he first binds the strong man, and then he will loot his house?”

&lt; Mark 3:22–27

And the scribes who had come down from Jerusalem were saying, “He has Beelzebul!” and “By the ruler of demons he is casting out demons!” And addressing them with parables, he was saying to them, “How can Satan cast out Satan?”

And if a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house is divided against itself, that house cannot stand. And if Satan rose up against himself and was divided, his is not able to stand but reaches his end.

But no one is able to enter the house of a strong man to loot his goods unless he first binds the strong man, and then he will loot his house.”

Although in some respects Matthew’s account may be secondary (see verse 25, “knowing their intentions”), in other respects it reflects an earlier stratum of tradition. Jesus’ opponents in Matthew are Pharisees, but in Mark they are scribes from Jerusalem, which anticipates the dangers he will face there later. The accusation in Matthew is that Jesus casts out demons by the ruler of demons, but Mark intensifies the charge by adding that Jesus himself is a demoniac: “He has Beelzebul!” In his defense, Matthew’s Jesus refers to the exorcisms performed by the sons of the Pharisees, a statement that Mark may have found too generous to Jesus’ enemies.<sup>73</sup> He thus transformed the rhetorical question “And if I by Beelzebul cast out demons, your sons, by whom do they cast them out?” into “How can Satan cast out Satan?”<sup>74</sup>

73. But see Mark 9:38–41.

74. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 496–97. See also Raoul Syx, “Jesus and the Unclean Spirit: The Literary Relation between Mark and Q in the Beelzebul Controversy (Mark 3:20–30 par.),” *LS* 17 (1992): 166–80.

Finally, despite the similarities between Matt 12:25–26 and Mark 3:23–26, the structures are different, and Mark's surely is secondary (criterion A). Matthew's version is beautifully balanced.

|  |                        |                                  |
|--|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| πάσα βασιλεία                          | μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς | ἐρημοῦται                        |
| καὶ πᾶσα πόλις ἢ οἰκία                 | μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς | οὐ σταθήσεται.                   |
| καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς τὸν σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλει, | ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη,   | πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; |

Mark rearranged these lines to put the conclusion at the beginning: “How can Satan cast out Satan?” and then offered three parallel expressions as in Matthew. Notice how the verb δύνασθαι dominates.

|                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῆ, | οὐ δυνήσεται ἡ βασιλεία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι, |
| καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῆ,    | οὐ δυνήσεται ἡ οἰκία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι.    |
| καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν   |  |
| καὶ ἐμερίσθη,                        | οὐ δύναται στήναι ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει.       |

The repeated emphasis on Satan's impotence contrasts with Jesus' power to bind the strong man and loot his goods.

This logion also satisfies criterion C, congruence, insofar as MQ- 12:30 (one not with me is against me) and MQ- 12:38–39 (no sign for this generation) appear in Matthew just after the Beelzebul controversy; Matthew obviously was redacting the lost Gospel elsewhere in this chapter. Even more striking is MQ+ 12:43–35 (return of the unclean spirit), which virtually requires an earlier mention of inadequate exorcisms that failed to bind the strong man, which is what one finds in Matt 12:27: “And if I by Beezebul cast out demons, your sons, by whom do they cast them out?”<sup>75</sup>

#### MATT 12:43–45 (RETURN OF THE UNCLEAN SPIRIT)

Again, Mark has no equivalent to Matt 12:43–45:

When the defiling spirit has left the person, it wanders through waterless regions looking for a resting place, and finds none. Then it says, “I will return to my house from which I came.” And on arrival it finds it vacant, swept, and tidied up. Then it goes and brings with it seven other spirits more evil than itself, and, moving in, they settle there. And the last circumstance of that person becomes worse than the first. So it will be also for this evil generation.

75. See the discussion later in this chapter.

Earlier this chapter argued that Matt 12:38–39 (no sign for this generation) appeared in minimal MQ on the basis of inverted priority of a Matthean non-Markan doublet to its equivalent in Mark 8:11–12. That logion appears in the context of Matthew’s account of the Beelzebul controversy, which likely was the original setting of this logion as well. Surely Jesus is not talking about the inadequacy of his own exorcisms, as though it would be better that he never exorcised at all. Rather, it presupposes that the exorcisms of others were inadequate insofar as they did not bind Satan but allowed him to wander. It is somewhat more likely that Matthew received as tradition the exorcist activities of Jesus’ opponents than that he created them (criterion B; see MQ+ 12:27). For the same reason one might suspect that, had Mark seen this passage in Q, he would have omitted it (criterion D). In terms of content there is little in this logion that is congruent with MQ-, but its location not long after MQ- 12:38–39 surely suggests that Matthew saw the two units (12:38–39 and 43–45) to be compatible, for he linked them by repeating the reference to “this evil generation” in verse 45 (criterion C).

MATT 13:3–11, 13 < MARK 4:3–12 (THE SOWER AND THE REASON FOR PARABLES)

Matt 13:1–11

On that very day, after Jesus left the house, he sat beside the sea. And many crowds gathered to him, so that he boarded a boat to sit. And the entire crowd stood on the shore. He was speaking to them many things in parables, saying,  
 “Behold, the sower went out to sow, and during his sowing some seeds fell along the road, and when the birds came they devoured them. Other seeds fell on rocky land, where they had little soil; immediately they sprouted because they had no deep soil. At sunrise they were scorched; because they had no root, they withered. Other seeds fell into the thorns, and the thorns grew up with them and choked them. But other seeds fell into good soil and produced fruit:  
 one a hundred-fold,

< Mark 4:1–11

Again he began to teach beside the sea, and a huge crowd gathered to him, so that he boarded a boat to sit on the sea; the entire crowd was on the ground near the sea. He was teaching them many things in parables, and in his teaching he was telling them,  
 “Listen: behold, the sower went out to sow, and it happened that during the sowing some seed fell along the road, and the birds came and devoured it. Other seed fell on rocky land, where it had little soil; immediately it sprouted because it had no deep soil. When the sun rose, it was scorched; because it had no root it withered. Other seed fell into the thorns, and the thorns rose up and choked it; it gave no fruit. And other seeds fell on good soil, and it gave fruit that rose up and increased. One bore thirty-fold,

another sixty-fold,  
another thirty fold.  
Let the one with ears listen.”

And when the disciples came, they said to him, “Why do you speak to them in parables? He answered and said, “To you it has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to those it was not given.”

Matt 13:12 (cf. 25:29)  
“For whoever has, it will be given to him and augmented; but whoever has nothing, even what he has will be taken from him.”

Matt 13:13  
“It is for this reason that I speak to them in parables: because even though they see, they do not see, and even though they hear they do not hear or understand.”

one sixty-fold,  
one a hundred-fold.”  
And he said, “Let someone with ears to hear listen.”

And when he was alone, those with him, along with the Twelve asked him about the parables. He told them, “To you has been given the mystery of the kingdom of God, but to those outside everything is in parables.”

> Mark 4:25  
“For whoever has, it will be given to him; whoever has nothing, even what he has will be taken from him.”

< Mark 4:12  
“... so that they may see and not understand, and hearing they may not understand; that they never repent and it be forgiven them.”

The interpretation of the parable of the sower later in Mark 4:13–20 almost certainly is the creative work of the Evangelist, and his version of the parable itself displays adjustments anticipating that interpretation. For example, the Evangelist seems to have added this sentence: “At sunrise they were scorched; because they had no root, they withered.” (4:6), which prepares the reader for his interpretation: “When affliction or persecution arises because of the word, they immediately stumble” (4:17).

On the other hand, the parable and Jesus’ explanation for his speaking in figures surely are traditional (criterion B).<sup>76</sup> The clearest indication that Mark 4:3–12 depends on an antetext is the incompatibility of his setting for the parable and the setting for Jesus’ statement concerning why he speaks in parables. Mark 4:1–2 places Jesus on a boat, and the narrator presumes that Jesus is still on the boat in 4:36, but verse 10 implies that he was on land: “And when he was alone, those with him, along with the Twelve, asked him about the parables.”

76. See the excellent discussion in Yarbrow Collins, *Mark*, 239–40.

It is one thing to attribute Mark 4:3–12 to a source, quite another to demonstrate that this source was the lost Gospel. Matthew’s omission of Mark’s pleonastic “rose up and increased” and “bore” in 4:8 suggests its priority here (criterion A). The most striking disagreement between the two accounts is the statement in Matthew “to you it has been given to know the mysteries,” whereas Mark reads “to you has been given the mystery,” singular. The Markan Evangelist seems to have omitted the reference to knowing and replaced the plural “mysteries” with the singular “mystery,” presumably to link it to “the word” that was sown in the preceding parable. Matthew’s esoteric version probably is more primitive than Mark’s. Notice also that Jesus’ explanation for speaking in parables makes a distinction between the wisdom of his disciples and the incomprehension of “those outside.” The esotericism of this passage is somewhat inconsistent with Mark’s general attitude to the disciples, who are depicted as blind in 8:14–21.

MATT 13:33 < MARK 4:26–29 [B] (YEAST)

Mark lacks the parable of the yeast but may contain a secondary redaction of it. The yeast parable appears in Matthew immediately after the mustard seed, but in Mark just before the mustard seed one finds the parable of the seed growing secretly.

| Matthew                    | Mark                               |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 13:31–32: The mustard seed | 4:26–29: The seed growing secretly |
| 13:33: The yeast           | 4:30–32: The mustard seed          |

The seed growing secretly seems to be Mark’s free redaction of the parable of the yeast. Both stories compare the rule of God to a dynamic object that someone places in dough or the earth, the result of which is a great reward. Mark transformed the yeast into seed to conform to the dominance of agricultural tropes in his parable sermon; thus the woman of the parable of the yeast becomes a man, like the man in the parable of the sower. The transformation also emphasizes the remarkable powers of the hidden object: the farmer sleeps and rises throughout the growing season, unaware how the seed grows, yet he reaps a full harvest. Apart from Matthew’s signature “kingdom of heaven,” his parable is more primitive.

| Matt 13:33   | < Mark 4:26–29                                      |
|--|---|
| He spoke to them another parable:<br>“The kingdom of heaven [τῆν | And he said,<br>“The kingdom of God [ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ |

βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν] is like yeast, which a woman took and hid in three measures of flour

until it was fully fermented.”

θεοῦ] is like a man who casts seed on the earth, and sleeps and rises up night and day. The seed sprouts and grows, he does not know how. The earth brings forth produce by itself, first the stalk, then the head, then the full grain on the head. And when the grain is ripe, he at once goes in with his sickle, because the harvest has come.”

In addition to the similarities in form and meaning between the two parables, each is yoked with the parable of the mustard seed, as we have seen.<sup>77</sup>

MATT 15:1–11 < MARK 7:1–15 (UNWASHED HANDS)

As was the case with the Beelzebul controversy, here Matthew follows Mark's sequence but seems to rely on a different source for some of the content of yet another dispute. The first challenge to the interpreter is to determine which of the two versions preserves the more original introduction. Mark's version begins with a gloss to explain for his readers why the washing of hands was important for Pharisees. Note that Mark's insertion of 7:3–4 is so extensive that he has to reintroduce Jesus' opponents in verse 5.

Matt 15:1–2

Then the Pharisees and scribes from Jerusalem came to Jesus,

< Mark 7:1–5

The Pharisees and some of the scribes came from Jerusalem and gathered about him, and when they saw some of the disciples with unclean hands (that is, unwashed) eating bread—for the Pharisees and all the Jews never ate unless they had washed their hands with the fist in observance of the tradition of the ancients, nor would they eat unless they had bathed after coming from the agora, and many other such traditions which they received for

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77. If Mark created this parable as a secondary redaction of the parable in the lost Gospel, its presence also in *Gos. Thom.* 21:9–10 would require dependence on Mark, not on independent oral tradition. Thomas's version of the mustard seed likewise contains Markan redaction.

saying, “Why do your disciples violate the tradition of the ancients? For they do not wash [their] hands when they eat bread.”

observance: the washing of cups, pitchers, kettles, and dining couches— the Pharisees and the scribes asked him, “Why do your disciples not behave in accord with the tradition of the ancients, but with unclean hands they eat bread?”

One might reasonably argue that Matthew merely abbreviated Mark’s account and assumed that his readers would not need an explanation of Jewish practices concerning washing their hands before eating.<sup>78</sup> It is more likely, however, that Mark knew a version of the story similar to what appears now in Matthew and added the interpretive gloss. This is confirmed by other indications that Mark is secondary.

In some respects, however, Mark’s version of Jesus’ response is more primitive than Matthew’s, as one would expect from the relative chronology of their compositions. Mark’s “Moses said” (7:10) surely is more primitive than Matthew’s “God said” (15:4). The Aramaic word “corban” in Mark 7:11 likely was prior to Matthew’s translation “a gift” (15:5). On the other hand, Mark contains two likely additions: the repetition of “you have abandoned the command of God and observe human tradition” (7:8), and “you do many such things” (7:13). Mark’s radical interpretation in vv. 17–19 clearly is secondary, and finds no equivalent in Matthew.

The primary difference between the two accounts pertains to differing orders of presentation.

Matt 15:3–9

He responded and said to them,  
 “And why do you yourselves violate the command of God because of your tradition? For God said, ‘Honor your father and your mother,’ and ‘the one who maligns his father or mother, let him be put to death.’  
 But you say, ‘Whoever tells his father or mother, “What you might have gained from me is a gift”’; that person will not honor his father or his mother. You

< Mark 7:6–13

He told them,

78. See Luz, *Matthew* 8–20, 326.

made void the word of God because of your tradition.

Hypocrites, Isaiah aptly prophesied concerning you, as it has been written, 'This people honors me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me. They worship me in vain because they teach as their teachings human precepts.'

"Isaiah aptly prophesied concerning you hypocrites, as it has been written, This people honors me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me. They worship me in vain because they teach as their teachings human precepts.' You have abandoned the command of God and observe human tradition."

And he said to them, "How well you reject the command of God to hold to your tradition! For Moses said, 'Honor your father and your mother,' and 'the one who maligns his father or mother, let him be put to death.' But you say, 'If a person tells his father or mother, "What you might have gained from me is corban (i.e., a gift)"; you no longer allow him to do anything for his father or mother, and thus make void the word of God through your tradition which you hand down.<sup>79</sup> You do many such things."

Matthew's Jesus first presents evidence of violations of biblical commands and then cites Isaiah to denounce them, whereas Mark's Jesus first denounces his adversaries and then presents the evidence. The original version of the logion probably linked the two biblical citations because of wordplay on the verb τιμάω, "honor": "Honor [τίμα] your father" and "This people honors [τιμῶσιν] me with their lips." Matthew's order not only reflects the chronological order of Moses before Isaiah; it also makes somewhat better use of the wordplay: God commands the honoring of parents, but Jesus' opponents adhere to tradition to avoid it; thus they give lip service to honoring God, but their hearts are far from God.

What decisively gives the nod to Matthean inverted priority is Mark's garrulous transition from Jesus' denunciation to his proof. Notice also the unnecessary repetition.

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79. It also is worth noting that Mark's accusation that his opponents "no longer allow [οὐκ ἐπι ἀφιετε] him to do anything for his father or mother" seems to be harsher than Matthew's version: "that person will not will not honor his father or his mother."



Matt 15:3 and 6b

He responded and said to them [εἶπεν αὐτοῖς], “And why do you yourselves violate the command of God because of your tradition?” ... “You made void the word of God because of your tradition.”

&lt; Mark 7:8–9

“You have abandoned the command of God and observe human tradition.”  
And he said to them [ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς], “How well you reject the command of God to observe your tradition!”

Mark 7:8 completes Jesus’ denunciation, and 7:9 begins his evidence, but the Evangelist unnecessarily reproduced the introductory formula from his non-Markan source, “And he said to them.” It also is worth noting that Mark’s κρατεῖτε, “you observe” (7:8), likely is secondary to Matthew’s παραβιάετε (15:3) insofar as the verb appears twice in Mark’s secondary explanation of Jewish lavation (7:3–4). The distinction between the “traditions of the fathers” and Mosaic legislation occurs also in Josephus’s discussion of disputes between Pharisees and Sadducees.<sup>80</sup>

Mark and Matthew agree in sequence for the rest of the logion, but Mark’s elaboration in 7:15 spoils the balance of Matthew’s version.

Matt 15:10–11

And after summoning the crowd, he said to them, “Listen and understand.

What goes into the mouth does not defile a person, but what comes out of the mouth, this defiles the person.”

&lt; Mark 7:14–15

And after again summoning the crowd, he was saying to them, “Everyone listen to me and understand.

There is nothing outside of a person that goes into him is able to defile him.<sup>81</sup> But things that come out of a person are what defile the person.”

At this point Mark’s Jesus explains to his disciples what he means.

And when he entered a house apart from the crowd, his disciples asked him about the aphorism. He said to them. “Are you, too, still uncomprehending? Do you not know that nothing outside that goes into a person is able to defile him, because it does not enter into one’s heart but into the belly and passes into the latrine?” In order to make all foods pure, he was saying ...

80. A.J. 13.10.6 (297–298). See also Gal 1:14.

81. Mark’s δύνανται, missing in Matthew, is characteristically Markan redaction.

This passage (Mark 7:17–20), missing in Matthew, transforms the episode into a wholesale dismissal of Kashrut and clearly is secondary.

What Jesus says next in Mark parallels the last sentence that he earlier shared with Matthew.

Matt 15:11b

“[W]hat comes out of the mouth, this defiles the person.”

Mark 7:20b

“That which defiles someone is what comes out of the person.”

This dispute in Matthew and Mark reveals much about Matthew's use of his two sources. On the one hand, he followed Mark's location of the logion but preferred the variant in his other source that did not go as far as Mark in making “all foods pure.” Mark's version retains some details more primitive than Matthew, so the Matthean Evangelist did not merely copy the lost Gospel. Here again is an instance of alternating primitivity; Matthew's account displays occasional inverted priority to Mark (criterion A).

MATT 19:23–24 < MARK 10:23–25 (THE CAMEL AND THE EYE OF A NEEDLE)

According to Mark, after a rich man refused to sell his goods and donate the proceeds to the poor, Jesus instructed his disciples about wealth in a passage that is rife with repetition that seems to have issued from the clumsy use of a source. Matthew redacted Mark in this context but seems to have known as well a more primitive version of this saying.

Matt 19:23–24

Jesus said to his disciples, “I tell you truly that a rich person will enter the kingdom of heaven only with difficulty.

And again I tell you,

it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter the kingdom of God.”

< Mark 10:23–25

Jesus looked around at his disciples and said to them, “How difficult it is for those who have money to enter into the kingdom of God.” His disciples were amazed at his words, and Jesus responded by again saying to them, “How difficult it is to enter into the kingdom of God. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter the kingdom of God.”

In several respects Matthew is secondary: note his characteristic use of “kingdom of heaven” and the discussion with the disciples that follows in

both Gospels. On the other hand, several details suggest that Matthew knew a second version. Mark 10:24 seems to be a redactional insertion to emphasize the amazement of the disciples and to expand “the discussion to include a general human problem.”<sup>82</sup> This gloss is missing in Matthew. The traditional elements seem to be Mark 10:23 and 25, which satisfy criterion C. They appear in a section of Mark that is heavy with parallels to MQ- (cf. MQ- 5:32; 6:19–20; 20:16 with Mark 10:11–12, 21, 31). These verses also are congruent with the lost Gospel elsewhere, with its preoccupation with entering the kingdom of God and criticisms of wealth (e.g., MQ- 6:19–21). The addition of verse 24 disturbs the literary balance of the saying as it appears in Matthew.

- 19:23 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι  
 πλούσιος δυσκόλως  
 εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.  
 24 πάλιν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν·  
 εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον  
 διὰ τρυπήματος ραφίδος διελθεῖν  
 ἢ πλούσιον  
 εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.<sup>83</sup>

Less telling but worth noting is the presence only in Matthew of the expression “I tell you truly [ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν],” which is characteristic of MQ (e.g., MQ- 10:23 and 17:20).

MATT 19:28 < MARK 10:37–39 [B] < MATT 20:21–23 [b] (SITTING ON  
 THRONES OF GLORY)

Matthew redacted Mark 10:37–39 in 20:21–23, Jesus’ refusal to grant the sons of Zebedee seats at his right and left hand after his glorification. It would appear that the Markan Evangelist freely redacted a promise of thrones such as we find in Matt 19:28 and raised the bar by insisting that the privilege of sitting with Jesus “in his glory” was reserved for those who made the ultimate sacrifice for his cause. Jesus’ rejection of the request is consistent with Mark’s harsh treatment of the Twelve throughout the Gospel and thus seems to be secondary to the promise of thrones as we find it in Matthew.<sup>84</sup>

82. Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 515.

83. The parallels would be even tighter if, as is likely, the lost Gospel read in line three “the kingdom of God” and not “the kingdom of heaven.”

84. Brown: Matthew and Mark “both associate” the Son of Man with “his δόξα (Matt 19:28 and Mark 10:37), which reflects knowledge of ‘sit in the kingdom,’” as in Luke 22:28–30 (“Mark as Witness,” 38).

Matt 19:28

And Jesus said to them: “Truly I tell you that you who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man [καθίστη] sits on the throne of his glory [δόξης αὐτοῦ], you, too, will sit [καθήσεσθε] on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.”

&lt; Mark 10:37 [B] (&lt; Matt 20:21 [b])

They said to him,

“Grant that we might sit with you in your glory [καθίσωμεν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ σου], one on your right side and one on your left.”

By redacting both of his sources, the Matthean Evangelist blunted the conflict between them: he retained the promise of thrones from the lost Gospel and soon thereafter redacted Mark's insistence that the seats of greatest honor will be determined according to the plan of God. Thus Matthew reinstalled the Twelve on the very thrones from which Mark had ousted them!

MATT 23:16–22 (SWEARING BY THE TEMPLE)

Only in Matthew among the Synoptics does one find the following.

Woe to you, blind leaders, who say, “Whoever swears an oath by the sanctuary has no obligation, but whoever swears an oath by the gold of the sanctuary has an obligation.” You fools and blind! For which is greater, the gold or the sanctuary that sanctifies the gold? And, “Whoever swears an oath by the altar has no obligation, but whoever swears an oath by the gift that is on it has an obligation.” You blind! For which is greater, the gift or the altar that sanctifies the gift? So the one who swears an oath by the altar swears an oath by it and by everything that is on it. And the one who swears an oath by the sanctuary swears an oath both by it and by what resides in it. And whoever swears an oath by heaven swears an oath both by the throne of God and by the one who sits on it. (Matt 23:16–22)

MQ+ 5:33–37 similarly prohibited the swearing of oaths and referred to heaven as God's throne, as in this logion; MQ- 5:23–24 referred to sacrifices of gifts at the Jerusalem sanctuary as though the cult were still viable (criterion C).<sup>85</sup> Matthew clearly wrote after the fall of the temple, but this logion makes little sense unless it and the sacrificial altar were still intact (criterion B, evidence of tradition). One may suspect that Mark, for whom the logion would

85. On the compatibility of Matt 23:20–22 and 5:33–37, see the judicious discussion in Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 21–28: A Commentary* (trans. James E. Crouch; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 121.

have been not only anachronistic but somewhat irrelevant to his Gentile readers, may have omitted the logion had he seen it in the lost Gospel (criterion D).

MATT 23:38–39 < MARK 11:9 [B] < MATT 21:9 [b] (BLESSED IS ONE WHO COMES)

Matthew redacts Mark's version of the (un)triumphal entry in chapter 21, including the acclamation of Jesus as "the one who comes in the name of the Lord" (cf. Mark 11:9; Matt 21:9). The origin of this statement clearly is Ps 117:26 (MT 118:26). Matthew contains a reference to this acclamation a few chapters later in the context of Jesus' harsh denunciations of the Pharisees.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Matt 23:38–39   | < Mark 11:9–10 [B] (cf. Matt 21:9 [b])   |
| “Look, your house is left desolate!   | [Jesus enters Jerusalem and goes to the temple.]   |
| For I tell you: You will not see me until the time comes when you say, ‘Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord [εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου]!’” | Those who led and those who followed were crying out, “Hosanna! ‘Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord [εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου]!’<br>Blessed is the coming kingdom of our father David! Hosanna in the highest!” |

If Mark's readers were aware of a denunciation of religious authorities such as one finds in Matthew, they should have caught the irony. In Matthew, the temple is forsaken, and Jerusalem will not see its salvation until the residents say “Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!” In Mark, those who utter this phrase will be complicit in Jesus' death, which will lead to the destruction of the temple. It therefore would appear likely that Mark has transformed a traditional saying to serve a new narrative purpose.

MATT 25:13–15, 19 < MARK 13:33–37 (LIKE A MAN ON A JOURNEY)

Matt 24 clearly rewrites Mark's apocalypse, but after redacting Mark 13:28–32 in 24:32–36 the Matthean Evangelist avoids redacting Mark 13:33–37. He did not need to use Mark 13:33–37 because he planned to insert an expanded version of a similar logion later in the same speech.

Matt 25:13–15 and 19

&lt; Mark 13:33–35a

[The following verse appears at the end of the parable of ten female slaves, five of whom were not ready when their master arrived, after a delay, from a wedding feast.]

“So be on your guard [γρηγορεῖτε] for you do not know [ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε] the day or the hour.

For is it like a person, on taking a trip [ἄνθρωπος ἀποδημῶν], called his slaves [δούλους] and gave [παρέδωκεν] them his possessions. To one he gave [ἔδωκεν] five talents, to another two, and to another one—to each [ἐκάστῳ] according to his ability,

and he took a trip [ἀπεδήμησεν].

[During their master's absence, two of the slaves successfully invest their talents, but the one with only one talent hid it.]

After a long time, the master of those slaves comes [ἔρχεται ὁ κύριος τῶν δούλων] and audits them.”

“Watch out and stay awake, for you do not know [οὐκ οἴδατε γάρ] when the time will be. [cf. 13:35a]

It is like a man on a trip [ἄνθρωπος ἀπόδημος], who left his house and gave [δούς] authority to his slaves [δούλους],

to each one [ἐκάστῳ] his task, and commanded his doorkeeper to watch [γρηγορεῖν].

So watch [γρηγορεῖτε], for you do not know when the lord of the house is coming [οὐκ οἴδατε γάρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται].”

This case is extraordinary in several respects. In the first place, in the discussion of MQ- 24:43–44 (coming of the Son of Man) I argued that Jesus' command to be vigilant was prior to Mark 13:35, so one of the verses in Mark 13:33–35 already qualifies for inclusion in the lost Gospel (criterion C, congruence). Similarly, the discussion of MQ- 25:29 (one who has will be given) argued that Mark 4:25 was posterior to its parallel at the end of the parable of the talents. It therefore is reasonable to suspect that Mark redacted as well the beginning of the parable. If so, Matt 25:13–15 would be anterior to Mark 13:33–35 (criterion A).<sup>86</sup> The Matthean Evangelist noted similarities between the two parables and chose not to redact Mark 13:33–37 because he would use the parable of the talents later in his discourse. In fact, one might consider this

86. See also the arguments for the priority of the Matthean version in Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew*, 82–85.

example not merely a case of Matthean substitution but also of the priority of a Matthean nondoublet.

#### CONCLUSION

It is one thing to identify Matthew's dependence on traditions anterior to Mark, but it is quite another to demonstrate that this anteriority issues from a single lost document, such as Papias's supposed alternative translation of a Semitic Matthew. Form critics, for example, might propose that the Matthean Evangelist was aware of oral traditions that handed down primitive variants of Jesus' sayings.<sup>87</sup> It has become fashionable in some circles to dismiss the Q hypothesis for its failure sufficiently to consider the dynamics of such nontextual transmission of Jesus' teachings. From this perspective one might argue that the Synoptics share scores of sayings not because of intertextuality but because of independent recording of oral traditions. According to this view, Matthew's non-Markan doublets are more primitive than their Markan counterparts simply because its author was more faithful than Mark in recording the tradition.

Although this objection is a useful caveat against rigidly intertextual models for solving the Synoptic Problem, it fails to explain most of the data discussed in this chapter. Several logia assigned to MQ display their textuality indirectly in their consistent citations and allusions to texts of Jewish Scriptures strikingly similar to the Septuagint. If these logia issued from oral tradition, one might expect to find evidence of a Semitic text or freer Greek citations.

Other interpreters might argue that these parallels issue not from one source but several. Two observations make this hypothesis unlikely. First, one would have to argue not only that Matthew used multiple sources but that Mark used the same ones! Although this is possible, Occam's Razor would favor both Evangelists sharing one common source. Second, even though Matthew likely rearranged the content in the lost source to serve his ends, just as he occasionally did with Mark, the sequence of Matthean non-Markan doublets and nondoublets suggests a coherent literary structure.

This quest for the common source behind Matthew and Mark began with Papias's solution to sequential disparities in Mark and two Greek translations of a hypothetical Hebrew Matthew. I proposed that Papias was mistaken: these two documents were not independent translations; one document was

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87. One finds such appeals to oral traditions throughout Luz's commentaries on Matthew.

MQ AND PARALLELS

| MQ-/+                     | Lukan parallels | Markan parallels          | Matthew Markan doublets and nondoublets | Description of logia           |
|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| <b>John the Baptist</b>   |                 |                           |   |                                |
| +3:1-6                    | 3:1-6           | <1:2-6                    |   | introduction of John           |
| +3:11                     | 3:16-17         | <1:7-8                    |   | John and the one to come       |
| <b>Jesus' Empowerment</b> |                 |                           |   |                                |
| +3:13, 16-17              | 3:21-22         | <1:9-11                   |   | baptism                        |
| +4:1-11                   | 4:2-13          | <1:12-13                  |   | temptations in the wilderness  |
| +4:12-13, 17              | 4:14-16         | <14:32-42 [B]<br><1:14-15 | <26:36-46 [b]                           | Nazara                         |
| <b>Initial Teachings</b>  |                 |                           |   |                                |
| -5:13                     | 14:34-35        | <9:49-50                  | n-d after 18:9                          | insipid salt                   |
| -5:15                     | 11:33           | <4:21                     | n-d after 13:23                         | light on the lampstand         |
| -5:18                     | 16:17           | <13:31                    | <24:35                                  | no serif of the law            |
| +5:19                     |                 |                           |   | observing the commandments     |
| +5:22                     |                 |                           |   | not speaking in anger          |
| -5:23-24                  |                 | <11:25                    | <6:14-15                                | reconciling before sacrificing |
| -5:29-30                  |                 | <9:43, 45, 47             | <18:8-9                                 | cutting off offending limbs    |
| -5:32                     | 16:18           | <10:11-12                 | <19:9                                   | divorce leading to adultery    |
| +5:34-35, 37              |                 |                           |   | against swearing oaths         |
| +5:39b-41                 | 6:29-30         | <15:21 [B]                | <27:32 [b]                              | going the second mile          |
| +6:9-13                   | 11:1-4          | <14:35-38 [B]             | <26:38-41 [b]                           | disciples' (Lord's) prayer     |
| -6:19-21                  | 12:33-34        | <10:21                    | <19:21                                  | storing up treasures in heaven |



|   |                    |              |                 |                                       |
|---|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| -7:1-2                                      | 6:37-38            | <4:24        | n-d after 13:23 | not judging                           |
| +7:6  |                    | <7:24-30 [B] | <15:21-28 [b]   | pearls before swine                   |
| -7:8  | 11:9-13            | <11:24       | <21:22          | certainty of the answer to prayer     |
| +8:5-10                                     | 7:1-10             | <2:1-12 [B]  | <9:1-8 [b]      | healing of a paralytic at Capernaum   |
| +8:19-22                                    | 9:57-60            | <1:16-20 [B] | <4:18-22 [b]    | confronting potential followers       |
| <b>Controversies with Religious Leaders</b> |                    |              |                 |                                       |
| +9:9-13                                     | 5:27-32            | <2:13-17     |                 | eating with tax collectors            |
| +9:14-17                                    | 5:33-39            | <2:18-22     |                 | not fasting                           |
| <b>Mission Speech</b>                       |                    |              |                 |                                       |
| +10:1-4                                     | 6:12-16, Acts 1:13 | <3:13-19     |                 | list of the Twelve                    |
| +10:5-6                                     |                    |              | <28:16-20 [B]   | do not go to the Gentiles             |
| +10:9-10                                    | 10:4               | <6:8-9       |                 | instructions for the mission          |
| +10:14-15                                   | 10:10-12           | <6:11-13     |                 | response to a town's rejection        |
| -10:23                                      |                    | <13:30       | <24:34          | scheduling Jesus' return              |
| -10:26-27                                   | 12:2-3             | <4:22-23     | n-d after 13:23 | what is hidden will be revealed       |
| -10:32-33                                   | 12:8-9             | <8:38        | <16:27          | confessing or denying                 |
| -10:34-35                                   | 12:49-53           | <13:12       | <10:21          | children against parents              |
| -10:38-39                                   | 17:33              | <8:34-35     | <16:24-25       | taking one's cross                    |
| -10:40                                      | 10:16              | <9:37        | <18:5           | whoever takes you in takes me in      |
| <b>Jesus' Praise of John</b>                |                    |              |                 |                                       |
| -11:10                                      | 7:27               | <1:2         | n-d at 3:3      | promised messenger                    |
| +11:16-19                                   | 7:31-35            |              |                 | this generation and Wisdom's children |
| <b>More Controversies</b>                   |                    |              |                 |                                       |
| +12:1-4, 8                                  | 6:1-5              | <2:23-28     |                 | gleaning on the Sabbath               |
| +12:9-13                                    | 6:6-11             | <3:1-5       |                 | healing on the Sabbath                |

|                                  |           |               |                                     |
|----------------------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| +12:24-29                        | 11:14-22  | <3:22-27      | Beelzebul controversy               |
| -12:30                           | 11:23     | <9:40         | one not with me is against me       |
| -12:32                           | 12:10     | <3:28-31      | speaking against the Holy Spirit    |
| -12:38-39                        | 11:16, 29 | <8:11-12      | no sign for this generation         |
| +12:43-45                        | 11:23-26  |               | return of the unclean spirit        |
| <b>Parables</b>                  |           |               |                                     |
| +13:3-13                         | 8:4-10    | <4:1-12       | the sower and reason for parables   |
| +13:33                           | 13:20-21  | <4:26-29 [B]  | yeast                               |
| <b>Another Controversy</b>       |           |               |                                     |
| +15:1-11                         |           | <7:1-15       | unwashed hands                      |
| <b>Final Instructions</b>        |           |               |                                     |
| -17:20                           | 17:6      | <11:22b-23    | faith to move mountains             |
| -18:6-7                          | 17:1-2    | <14:21 [B]    | woe to that man                     |
| +19:23-24                        | 18:24-25  | <10:23-25     | the camel and the eye of the needle |
| <b>Predictions of the Future</b> |           |               |                                     |
| +19:28                           | 22:28-30  | <10:37-39 [B] | sitting on thrones of glory         |
| -20:16                           | 13:30     | <10:31        | reversal of the last and the first  |
| -21:32                           | 7:29-30   | <11:31-32     | rejection of John the Baptist       |
| +23:16-22                        |           |               | swearing by the temple              |
| +23:38-39                        | 13:35     | <11:9 [B]     | "Blessed is one who comes"          |
| -24:26                           | 17:23     | <13:21        | "Lo here! Lo there!"                |
| -24:43-44                        | 12:39-40  | <13:35        | coming of the Son of Man            |
| +25:13-15, 19                    | 19:12-13  | <13:33-37     | like a man on a journey             |
| -25:29                           | 19:26     | <4:25         | one who has will be given           |
|                                  |           | <13:12        |                                     |

the source for the other. That is, the author of the Gospel of Matthew redacted two Gospels: Mark and a lost Gospel that earlier had served Mark as a source!

This chapter thus has argued for Q without consulting the Gospel of Luke! Chapter 5 investigates Luke-Acts with similar criteria and with similar results. Even though the Lukan Evangelist knew Mark, Matthew, and Papias's *Exposition*, he also knew the lost Gospel. Chapter 6 argues that my reconstruction witnesses to a coherent and sophisticated literary work, chapter 7 compares the new reconstruction of the lost Gospel with Matthew and demonstrates how Papias could have confused the two books as independent translations of a Semitic original, and chapter 8 discusses how one might use the reconstructed lost Gospel when interpreting the Gospel of Mark.

## THE LOGOI OF JESUS (Q+) AND ITS ANTETEXTS

## LUKE-ACTS AND THE LOST GOSPEL

According to the Q+/Papias Hypothesis, the author of Luke-Acts knew the *Exposition of Logia about the Lord* and thus would have known of the existence of one book about Jesus attributed to Mark and at least two to Matthew. Chapter 4 argued that Matthew redacted two sources: Mark and a lost Gospel, which one might call Matthew's Q (MQ). I further argued that this lost book was a source also for Mark! This would explain why Matthew contains so many doublets and why the non-Markan doublets attest to an earlier stratum of textuality than Mark's equivalent logia. To identify this phenomenon, I employed the following criteria:

- A. Matthew's occasional inverted priority to Mark
- B. Evidence of tradition in Matthew
- C. Logia in Matthew congruent with content established by criterion A (MQ-)
- D. Explanation of Mark's omissions of traditional logia in Matthew

Chapter 4 did not attempt to reconstruct the wording or sequence of the lost Gospel or even to identify all of the content potentially attributable to it but merely to demonstrate that many of the logia in Matthew suggest that the Evangelist used a lost source in addition to Mark.

This chapter, however, will comb through the Gospel of Luke (and occasionally the Acts of the Apostles) with similar criteria for additional evidence of the lost Gospel, collecting more textual wreckage, so to speak. As was the case with Matthew, the most important criterion is inverted priority (A): evidence that Luke preserves content from a Gospel earlier than his surviving sources. As we shall see, not only does Luke contain dozens of parallels to logia attributable to Matthew's Q (MQ), it frequently preserves wording more primitive than what one finds in Matthew, rendering it highly likely

that, at least in these cases, he used the same lost Gospel as the Matthean Evangelist.

But to say that Matthew and Luke shared a common lost source does not presume that they consulted identical copies of it. From what we know of the early transmission of the Gospel of Mark, for example, one must assume that no two copies of the lost Gospel were the same. Not only did scribes err in transcribing their models, they also intentionally added, deleted, or otherwise altered them. Some advocates of the 2DH/M2DH have argued that deviations between Matthew and Luke issue not from redaction but from earlier corruptions in textual transmission. Although this may have been the case, such analyses build one speculation atop another and result in precariously unstable structures. At the same time, one should concede that, given the status of our texts and the plasticity of ancient textual transmission, any attempt to reconstruct the wording of the lost Gospel may be a fool's errand. Even if one were to get the wording precisely correct, one could never be certain of it. However, I would contend that one does not need the precise wording to reconstruct much of the original authorial voice.

What vexed Papias most about the three Gospels available to him were their disagreements in order. The textual reconstruction offered in this chapter similarly will wrestle with the rival sequences in the Synoptics and strive to restore the logia to their order in the lost Gospel, a task that requires additional criteria.

- Criterion 1. Frequently all three Synoptics present logia in the same sequence. This order might simply reflect Markan influence on Matthew and Luke, but usually it is wisest to accept the Synoptic arrangement, especially when other criteria confirm it.
- Criterion 2. Logia that appear in only one Gospel generally should be located relative to other content in that Gospel.
- Criterion 3. For Lukan logia without parallels in Mark and that display inverted priority to Matthew but agree with its sequence, the shared order likely derives from the lost Gospel.
- Criterion 4. Occasionally two or more logia attributable to the lost Gospel are indebted to a biblical antecedent which may suggest in which order they originally appeared.
- Criterion 5. When logia appear in different order, one should prefer the one that displays the least redactional dislocation in light of the Evangelists' general literary practices.
- Criterion 6. When logia appear in different order, one should prefer the sequence that is most internally meaningful with other content attributable to the lost Gospel.

The reconstruction of damaged texts is an art as well as a science. I confess to an aesthetic prejudice: the lost Gospel was coherent and resembled other ancient books, unlike the textual reconstructions of Q offered in *CEQ* or Fleddermann, which are fragmentary, often incoherent, and literarily *sui generis*. Although I rely heavily on these earlier reconstructions for assessing Matthew-Luke overlaps texts, I depart from them insofar as I use different criteria, attempt to fill in the missing gaps, and often deviate from Luke's order when doing so yields a more coherent reading (criterion 6).

Whereas previous reconstructions borrow Q's chapter-verse numbers from Luke, my rearrangement requires new sequential numbers (the traditional Luke-based numbers appear in parentheses). I have divided the lost Gospel into ten chapters that reflect its likely structure, based in part on the Jewish Scriptures that the author evokes. The discussion of each chapter begins with the findings in chapter 4 concerning Matthew's Q, then discusses the likely original order of the logia.

Discussions of individual logia are based on the synopsis that follows chapter 5, which includes my textual reconstruction as well as the relevant sections from the Synoptics in chronological order from left to right. Underlining identifies words attributed to *Logoi* and are identical in any of the Synoptics; broken underlining identifies words that appear in the Synoptics in a different grammatical form.

| <i>Logoi</i> 1:1–2 | Mark 1:4         | Matt 3:1–2                     | Luke 3:2b–3         |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
|                    |                  | Ἐν δὲ ταῖς<br>ἡμέραις ἐκείναις |                     |
| Ἐγένετο            | ἐγένετο          | παραγίνεται                    | ... ἐγένετο ῥῆμα    |
| Ἰωάννης ὁ          | Ἰωάννης ὁ        | Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτί-               | θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην.   |
| βαπτίζων           | βαπτίζων         | στῆς κηρύσσων                  | τοῦ Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν   |
| ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ        | ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ      | ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ                    | ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς     |
|                    |                  |                                | Ἰουδαίας, καὶ ἦλθεν |
|                    |                  |                                | εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν       |
|                    |                  |                                | περίχωρον τοῦ       |
|                    |                  |                                | Ἰορδάνου            |
| καὶ                | καὶ              | [καὶ] λέγων·                   |                     |
| κηρύσσω            | κηρύσσω          |                                | κηρύσσω             |
| βάπτισμα           | βάπτισμα         |                                | βάπτισμα            |
| μετανοίας,         | μετανοίας εἰς    | μετανοεῖτε·                    | μετανοίας εἰς       |
|                    | ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. |                                | ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,    |

This arrangement has three advantages over standard synopses, such as Aland and Huck-Greeven. First, it includes the reconstruction of the lost Gospel. Second, the chronological order from left to right illustrates how the

logion evolved historically. Third, it facilitates the isolation of inverted priority insofar as the underlining highlights Matthew's preservation of content more primitive than Mark or Luke's priority to Mark or Matthew (neither of which happens to apply in this case).

#### THE LOST GOSPEL AND ITS ANTE-TEXTS

Dale C. Allison Jr.'s *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* admirably demonstrates the indebtedness of Q to antecedent biblical literature, and the same observation applies to my expanded reconstruction.<sup>1</sup> I will designate all informing texts with one of the following labels.

- Citation (cit). Citations are more or less verbatim quotations; they fall into two categories: marked and unmarked. When the author notifies the reader that he is citing, it is marked (cit. [A]); otherwise, it is unmarked (cit. [B]).
- Reference (ref.). When the reconstructed text points to an antetext without citing it, it is a reference; this category includes paraphrases. For example, 10:18 (10:12) refers to the punishment of Sodom in Gen 19.
- Allusion (all.). When the text does not cite or explicitly refer to an antetext but implicitly evokes it, it is an allusion. Allusions may be conforming or transforming. A conforming allusion [A] evokes the text sympathetically, but the lost Gospel also is fond of transforming allusions [B], often to demonstrate the superiority of Jesus' teaching to Jewish Scriptures.
- Echo (echo). Many texts have fainter genetic connections with biblical antetexts and may consist only of a suggestive word or phrase; these are echoes. For example, *Logoi* 10:56 (12:27) reads: "Observe the lilies, how they grow: They do not work nor do they spin. Yet I tell you: Not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed like one of these." This text may echo Ps 146:9 (MT 147:9), where the psalmist says that God provides food to animals, including the nestlings of ravens, but in this case, unlike

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1. Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2000.

an allusion, recognizing the influence of the antetext provides little interpretive leverage.

I present the parallels between the lost Gospel and the Septuagint (LXX) in columns to facilitate comparison, but they must be used with caution. The LXX did not exist in the first century as a single book. The author of Q would have known of Greek translations only as individual works or as parts of small collections. Furthermore, no two manuscripts of what we now call the LXX were identical, and the texts available to the author no doubt differed from the readings published in modern editions. What may appear to us as hermeneutically significant alterations of the biblical text may come from earlier scribal activity. When I refer to the author's use of the Jewish Bible I will refer to it as the LXX/OG (the Septuagint/Old Greek). The LXX chapter-verse numbering for the book of Psalms and a few other books differs from the Massoretic Hebrew text and therefore also from most modern translations. I prefer the numbering of the LXX and include in parentheses the equivalents in the Masoretic text, although I retain the traditional English book titles.

The antetextual categories citation, reference, allusion, and echo are by no means unique to this commentary, but this study adds another.

- Imitation (imit.). When authors model their works after literary models they engage in imitation (in Greek, μίμησις [*mimesis*]; in Latin, *imitatio*). Like allusions, imitations fall into two categories: conforming (imit. [A]) and transforming (imit. [B]), depending on the level of discontinuity between the targeted text and its emulation. As we shall see, rhetorical imitation holds the key to understanding what kind of book the author of the lost Gospel set out to compose.

Mimesis dominated Greek literary education. Children learned their ABI's by copying from their teachers; more advanced students learned to tell stories by modeling them after classical poets, especially Homer. A preeminent scholar of ancient Greek education describes the process lyrically.

A student started by slavishly following a model, provided either by his own teacher or by a writer from the past; he began composing according to that pattern; and he learned to fly independently through a painful process of trial and error. The horizons of a student who was reaching the top of the educational hill were much broader than they had been, but the principles that inspired his learning were identical: imitation of a model, honor paid to the written word, reverence for the literary authors and the world of mythology, a strengthening of mnemonic skills in order to retain a patrimony of



information, and the application of sets of rules that imprisoned his freedom and inspiration, providing at the same time comfortable and somewhat stimulating paths to follow.<sup>2</sup>

Advanced students, however, broke the chains of passive imitation and were free to improvise (*inventio*). For example, they might borrow from two or more models in order to combine the most desirable traits of each, like a bee that gathers pollen from many blossoms to produce textual honey, or like a painter who employs multiple models to depict Helen of Troy, the most beautiful of all women.<sup>3</sup> Students parodied, transvalued, and otherwise rivaled their models. “The literary texts of the past were appropriated ever more intensely, but they were also transcended and seen in new perspectives, as students sought to force their way in with the exercises and vie with the originals.”<sup>4</sup> For such rivalry (in Greek ζήλωσις; in Latin *aemulatio*) to succeed the reader must recognize the influence of the targeted text. Without doubt the most popular targets were Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the twin pillars of Greek literary culture before Plato in the fifth century B.C.E. and after Photius in the ninth C.E.

Jews, too, imitated venerable models. For example, the Chronicler rewrote most of 1 and 2 Kings. The authors of Tobit, *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the *Life of Adam and Eve*, and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* all freely imitated and emulated the book of Genesis. Other authors targeted the book of Deuteronomy, most notably the *Temple Scroll*, among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the *Testament of Moses*, which expands on Moses’ instructions to Joshua at the end of Deuteronomy.<sup>5</sup>

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2. Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 221.

3. For the trope of the bee, see Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Imit.* frg. 6, and Cicero *Inv.* 2.1–2. For the trope of the painter, see Seneca *Ep.* 84.3–5 and 8–9.

4. Cribiore, *Gymnastics*, 225.

5. See also book four of Josephus’s *Antiquitates biblicae*. The importance of Deuteronomy in first-century Palestine is well documented. “Fragments of some thirty-four original scrolls of Deuteronomy have been found in the Judean Desert. Thirty-one of these were discovered in caves near Khirbet Qumran and attest to the importance of the book amongst the sectarians. ... Deuteronomy is the second best attested biblical book in the Qumran library, only surpassed by the Psalms” (Timothy H. Lim, “Deuteronomy in the Judaism of the Second Temple Period,” in *Deuteronomy in the New Testament* [ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken; LNTS 358; London: T&T Clark, 2007], 9 and 11). According to Simone Paganini, the author of the *Temple Scroll*, by eliminating Moses’ voice as an intermediary for God’s instructions to Israel, produced an “Entmosaisierung” (de-Moses-izing) of Deuteronomy (“Nicht darfst du zu diesen Worten etwas hinzufügen”: *Die Rezeption des Deuteronomiums in der Tempelrolle*” [BZABR 11; Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2009]).

On the basis of previous reconstructions of Q, Allison already noted the formative importance of Deuteronomy.

That one or more of the contributors to Q reckoned Jesus to be the eschatological fulfillment of Deut 18:15 and 18, verses that foretell the coming of a prophet like Moses who must be heeded, is nowhere explicitly evidenced. But the possibility must be seriously reckoned with. (a) Some Jews, including the author of 4QTestimonia, took the oracle in Deuteronomy to foretell an eschatological figure. (b) Q's hero sounds very much like a prophet, and the earliest Christians generally reckoned Jesus to be such. The antiquity of this notion is well nigh guaranteed by the overwhelming probability that "prophet" was part of Jesus' own self-conception. (c) Q knows Deuteronomy well, for it quotes from the book three times and alludes to it on at least five further occasions. (d) Some Christians—Matthew, for example, and whoever composed Acts 3:12–26—clearly took Jesus to be the fulfillment of Deut 18:15, 18.<sup>6</sup>

Allison's comments apply even more impressively to my reconstruction, which I call a prophetic rewriting of Deuteronomy insofar as the author borrowed extensively from the biblical prophetic corpus to depict Jesus as the promised prophet like Moses.

#### TITLE

The lost work probably bore a title, and the editors of *CEQ* make a plausible case that it was Οἱ λόγοι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, "The Logoi of the Lord Jesus."<sup>7</sup> I see little reason to include κυρίου insofar as "Lord" seldom appears in the document as a title for Jesus. I thus would propose Οἱ λόγοι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, "The Logoi of Jesus." Compare the incipit of the *Gospel of Thomas*: οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι [ἀπόκρυφοι οὓς ἐλά]λησεν Ἰη[σοῦ]ς ὁ ζῶν ("These are the [hidden] words [that] the living Jesus spoke"). Papias knew of another book about Jesus similarly described: Aristion's *Expositions of Logoi of the Lord*.<sup>8</sup>

Chapter 2 argued that Luke's preface (1:1–4) imitates the preface to Papias's *Exposition*, after which he presented his account of the births of John

6. *Intertextual Jesus*, 72. Allison also published an extensive and important study of Matthew's presentation of Jesus as the prophet promised in Deuteronomy (*The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993]).

7. See the excellent discussion by Robinson in *CEQ*, xx–xxxiii.

8. If my reading of Papias is correct, at some point in its transmission the lost Gospel became identified with the apostle Matthew. This likely took place after its composition. See the discussion of *Logoi* 3:13–18 (5:27–32).

and Jesus. Michael D. Goulder makes a compelling case that Luke's model for these accounts was Matthew's infancy narrative, which in turn seems to have been generated from Scriptural texts that the author deemed relevant to Jesus' birth.<sup>9</sup> Nothing in the first two chapters of Luke satisfies the criterion of inverted priority to Matthew. The lost Gospel apparently began with the preaching of John the Baptist.

### 1. JOHN THE PROPHET

Chapter 4 argued that two logia in Matthew concerning John witness to pre-Markan tradition: the introduction of John (MQ+ 3:1–6) and his prediction of one to come who would be mightier than he (MQ+ 3:11). Luke, too, contains these units and occasionally displays inverted priority to Mark and Matthew, evidence of his use of the lost Gospel. Insofar as all three Synoptics present the following logia in precisely the same sequence, it is reasonable to conclude that the order reflects that of the *Logoi of Jesus* (sequential criterion 1).

#### TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

1:1–5 (3:2–4, [M] 3:4–5; MQ+ 3:1–6). The Introduction of John

Because Luke shows no inverted priority for this logion, the case for inclusion depends on Matthew's priority to Mark (see the discussion in chapter 4, to Matt 3:1–6).<sup>10</sup>

1:6–8 (3:7–9). John's Denunciation of Abraham's Children

Matt 3:7–10 and Luke 3:7–9 both contain John's denunciation of Abraham's children, but here one finds the first Lukan independent witness to the lost Gospel.

Luke 3:7

Therefore he was saying to the crowds that came to be baptized by him ...

<Matt 3:7

When he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees who came for his baptism, he said to them ...

9. *Luke*, 205–69. See also the discussion in chapter 3, 78–85.

10. The reconstruction in the synopsis resembles, but is not identical to, Lambrecht's ("John," 364).

The phrase “Pharisees and Sadducees” appears five times in Matthew and nowhere else in the canonical Gospels; it thus is a redactional flag. Furthermore, nine times the Matthean Evangelist redacted Mark to specify Jesus’ opponents as Pharisees (9:34, 12:24, 21:45, 22:34 and 41, 23:2, and 27:62) or Pharisees and Sadducees (16:11 and 12). It is more likely that Matthew saw “crowds” in his source, noticed John’s immediate denunciation of them as a “brood of snakes,” and thus concluded that they were “Pharisees and Sadducees” than that Luke transformed “Pharisees and Sadducees” in Matthew and altered it to “crowds.”<sup>11</sup> Here then would be a case of Lukan inverted priority: Luke likely was not redacting Matthew but a shared lost source (criterion A).<sup>12</sup>

The rest of the logion in Luke (3:7b–9) is nearly identical to Matt 3:7b–10, which satisfies criterion C (coherence) insofar as it occurs after a logion attributable to the lost Gospel (MQ+ 3:1–6, the introduction of John) and before another (MQ+ 3:11, John and the one to come). Mark may have omitted this logion because, from his perspective, divine judgment already had arrived with the Roman suppression of the Jewish insurgence in Judea (criterion D). God had cleared the threshing floor but had not yet gathered the wheat. Papias perhaps had this passage in mind, either from the lost Gospel or from Matthew, when he reportedly said that “Those who exercise themselves in not doing harm with respect to God they call ‘children,’ as Papias in the first book of his *Expositions [of Logia] about the Lord* makes clear” (*Expos.* 1:6).

Between 1:8 and 1:9 (3:9 and 3:16). Responses to John’s Preaching

As we shall see, the lost Gospel later contained a statement that “tax collectors” responded favorably to John but the religious authorities rejected him (see discussion of *Logoi* 5:10–11 [7:29–30]). Such hostility to John is not narrated in recoverable content from the lost Gospel, but if it appeared there, it is likely that it was immediately after John’s preaching of repentance, which is where Luke presents John’s instructions to crowds, soldiers, and “tax collectors” (3:10–14). Something like the following thus seems to have appeared here in *Logoi*.

«The religious authorities rejected John, but some people responded favorably to him, including tax collectors, and were baptized.»<sup>13</sup>

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11. Cf. Matt 12:34, where Matthew again redactionally applies “snake’s litter” to Pharisees.

12. So also *CEQ*.

13. Cf. *Logoi* 5:14 (7:33), where John’s opponents claimed that “he has a demon.”

1:9–10 (3:16–17; MQ+ 3:11). John and the One to Come

In all three Synoptics John predicts the coming of someone stronger than he (Mark 1:7–8, Matt 3:11–12, and Luke 3:16–17); of the three, Matthew generally presents this logion in its most original form. Although Luke might simply be redacting Matthew here, Matthean inverted priority suggests that it appeared already in *Logoi* (MQ+ 3:11; see the discussion in chapter 4).

#### TRANSLATION AND ANTEXTUAL COMMENTARY

1:1–5 (3:2–4, [M] 3:4–5; see MQ+ 3:1–6). The Introduction of John

|     |   |         |
|-----|---|---------|
| 1:1 | It happened that John the Baptist was in the wilderness   | 3:2     |
| 1:2 | and preaching a baptism of repentance;  | 3:3     |
| 1:3 | as it was written through Isaiah the prophet:   | 3:4     |
|     | “A voice of one crying in the wilderness,<br>‘Prepare the way of the Lord;<br>make straight his footpaths.’”                              |         |
| 1:4 | And John was clothed in camel hair,<br>wore a leather belt around his waist,<br>and ate locusts and wild honey.                           | (M) 3:4 |
| 1:5 | And all the region of the Jordan went out to him<br>and were baptized by him in the Jordan River,<br>confessing their sins. <sup>14</sup> | (M) 3:5 |

If the original title of the lost Gospel was indeed Οἱ λόγοι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, it would have alerted the perceptive reader at once of the book’s connections with Deuteronomy. Compare the following.

Deut 1:1 (imit. [A])  
These are the logoi [οἱ λόγοι] that  
Moses spoke to all of Israel beyond the  
Jordan in the wilderness [παντὶ Ἰσραὴλ  
πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ].  
[cf. 1:3: “to all the sons of Israel (πρὸς  
πάντας υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ).”]

*Logoi* title, 1:1–2, 5 (3:2–3 and [M] 3:5)  
The Logoi [οἱ λόγοι] of Jesus  
It happened that John the Baptist was  
in the wilderness [ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ] and  
preaching a baptism of repentance. ...  
And all the region of the Jordan [πᾶσα  
ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου] went out  
to him, and were baptized in the Jordan  
river [ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ ποταμῷ].

14. On Israel’s confession of sins in the wilderness, see Deut 1:41.

*Logoi* 1:3–5 cites one biblical text and alludes to two others. The citation pertains to Isa 40:3, which the author took to be a prediction of John’s preaching.<sup>15</sup>

Isa 40:3 (cit. [A])

A voice of one crying in the wilderness, “Prepare the way of the Lord; make straight the footpaths of our God.”

*Logoi* 1:3 (3:4)

As it was written through Isaiah the prophet:

“A voice of one crying in the wilderness, ‘Prepare the way of the Lord; make straight his footpaths.’”

The first allusion is to Elijah’s wardrobe, which locates John in the tradition of the prophets.<sup>16</sup>

2 Kgs 1:8 (all. [A])

[Elijah was] a hairy man who wore a leather belt around his waist [καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περιεζωσμένος τὴν ὄσφυν αὐτοῦ].

*Logoi* 1:4 ([M] 3:4)

John was clothed in camel hair, wore a leather belt around his waist [καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περιεζωσμένος τὴν ὄσφυν αὐτοῦ], and ate locusts and wild honey.

The second possible allusion points to 2 Kgs 5:14, where the Syrian general Naaman, following instructions from the prophet Elisha, immersed himself in the Jordan and was cleansed of his leprosy.

2 Kgs 5:14a (all. [A])

Naaman went down and was baptized [ἐβαπτίσατο] in the Jordan [ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ].

*Logoi* 1:5 ([M] 3:5)

[Many people] went out to him and were baptized [ἐβαπτίζοντο] by him in the Jordan river [ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ], confessing their sins.

At the outset, the author of the *Logoi of Jesus* establishes John’s baptism in the Judean desert as a vehicle for divine forgiveness with more legitimacy than the priestly sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple.<sup>17</sup>

15. The Community Rule (1QS 8:12–16) similarly interprets the separation of Jews from “the habitation of unjust men” and their settlement in the wilderness next to the Dead Sea as preparing for God’s intervention, “as it is written, ‘Prepare in the wilderness the way of... make straight in the desert a path for our God’” (cf. 1QS 9:17–20). “The community related to the Dead Sea Scrolls interpreted Isa 40:3 as a prophecy that was being fulfilled in their own time and in the life of their community” (Yarbro Collins, *Mark*, 137).

16. Cf. *1 Clem.* 17:1.

17. Hostility for the temple is explicit in *Logoi* 7:20–22 (13:34–35, [Mk] 14:58).

The beginning of the *Logoi of Jesus* not only invites the reader to compare the book with Deuteronomy, it also intimates that John might be the prophet promised in Deut 18:18–19: “I will raise up a prophet for them from among their brothers, as I raised up you, and I will put my words in his mouth, and he will speak to them as I command him. And the person who does not listen to what the prophet speaks from my mouth I will condemn.”<sup>18</sup> John’s attire resembled that of Elijah (cf. 2 Kgs 1:8), and Elisha directed Naaman to baptize in the Jordan River (2 Kgs 5:14). John’s preaching resembled that of Moses, who warned of future disasters for the twelve tribes of Israel if they were disobedient.<sup>19</sup> “All the region of the Jordan went out to him,” as Yarbrow Collins notes, “implies that John was accepted as a prophet, as an eschatological agent of God, by the Jewish people.”<sup>20</sup> Was John the promised prophet like Moses? At this point the reader cannot know the identity of “the Lord” whose “way” John was preparing, but the narrator will quickly reveal his identity as “the one to come” who would be stronger than John: Jesus of Galilee, whom God would select to be God’s Son, and the promised Son of Man, who, at history’s end, will execute divine justice.

#### 1:6–8 (3:7–9). John’s Denunciation of Abraham’s Children

- |     |  |     |
|-----|--|-----|
| 1:6 | He said to the crowds coming to be baptized,<br>“Snakes’ litter!<br>Who warned you to run from the impending rage?   | 3:7 |
| 1:7 | So bear fruit worthy of repentance,<br>and do not presume to tell yourselves,<br>‘We have as forefather Abraham!’<br>For I tell you:<br>God can produce children for Abraham right out of these rocks! | 3:8 |
| 1:8 | And the ax already lies at the root of the trees.<br>So every tree not bearing healthy fruit is to be chopped down<br>and thrown on the fire.”   | 3:9 |

John’s preaching contrasts with Deuteronomy’s Moses, who repeatedly told the people to claim the Promised Land that God had sworn to their ancestors.<sup>21</sup>

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18. This passage is cited in full in the so-called Messianic Anthology from Qumran (4QTestim [4Q175], 5–8).

19. E.g., Deut 4:24, 29:22–23, and 32:32–35.

20. *Mark*, 142.

21. According to Allison, John’s preaching also subverts Isaiah’s message of assurance in 51:1–2 (all. [B]): “Hear me, you who pursue justice and who seek the Lord. Look to the

Deut 1:8 (cf. 34:4; all. [B])

“Enter and inherit the land that I swore to your forefathers [τοις πατράσιν ὑμῶν], to Abraham [᾿Αβραάμ], Isaac, and Jacob, to give them and their seed after them.”

*Logoi* 1:7 (3:8)

“Do not presume to tell yourselves, ‘We have as forefather Abraham [πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν ᾿Αβραάμ]!’ For I tell you: God can produce children for Abraham right out of these rocks!”

If God can produce children for Abraham from rocks, God certainly can do so from Gentiles in the last days before the revelation of divine wrath. What matters is not one’s roots, as Moses said, but one’s fruits.

John’s preaching also may echo Deut 20:20, where Moses gives instructions about what trees to cut down during the siege of a city. Only if trees (δένδρα) do not bear edible fruit should they be chopped down for the construction of their siege works.

Deut 20:20 (all. [A])

“But whatever tree you discover not to produce edible fruit [οὐ καρπό-βρωτον], you will destroy, chop down [ἐκκόψεις], and build [with such trees] a staked enclosure around the city.”

*Logoi* 1:8 (3:9)

“So every tree [δένδρον] not bearing healthy fruit [μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν] is to be chopped down [ἐκκόπτεται] and thrown on the fire.”

A sensitive reader of *Logoi* might detect here a radical reversal: whereas in Deuteronomy Abraham’s descendants decide what trees bear fruit and thus should be spared, in *Logoi* God judges Abraham’s descendants for their deeds. Trees bearing good fruit God will spare, the others God will destroy.

Did the author or the community that produced the *Logoi of Jesus* promote a mission to Gentiles? Probably not. After assessing the evidence in the Matthew-Luke overlap texts, Christopher M. Tuckett concluded that “Q is aware of a Gentile mission, but not actively engaged in it. Any reference to Gentile conversions, or Gentile participation in the blessings of the kingdom, are not so much a reflection of the missionary activity of Q Christians but are used as part of Q’s polemical arsenal to address a Jewish audience by intensifying the appeal to other Jews.”<sup>22</sup> According to my reconstruction, *Logoi* focused attention on

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firm rock that you quarried and to the cistern that you dug. Look to Abraham your father [᾿Αβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν] and Sarah who suffered birth pangs for you” (*Intertextual Jesus*, 101–4).

22. *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 403–4. See also Paul D. Meyer, “The Gentile Mission in Q,” *JBL* 89 (1970): 405–17: “The Q-community ... used the Gentile mission to shame Israel into repentance and understood that mission to be God’s response to Israel’s past impenitence” (4:17).



the disobedience of “this generation” of Jews and restricted the mission of the Twelve to “the cities of Israel” (10:4–7 [(M) 10:5, (M) 7:6, (M) 10:6, 23]), yet one should note that Jesus warmly received Gentiles and, more significantly, seemed not to require them to be circumcised to join Jews at table.<sup>23</sup>

In other words, on the question of associating with Gentiles, *Logoi* has more in common with Paul than with Peter and James. At Antioch Paul and Peter ate with uncircumcised believers, but when “some people from James” arrived, Peter no longer would eat with them (Gal 2:11–13). It would appear that Peter’s change of heart had less to do with an absolute requirement that male Gentiles be circumcised than with the ability of Jews to observe Jewish codes of purity that prohibited eating with non-Jews. If male Gentiles wished to eat with Jews, they thus needed to be circumcised. As we shall see, *Logoi* presents Jesus eating with sinners, applauds his reception of Gentiles, and attacks Jewish codes of purity. Furthermore, like Paul, *Logoi* links the receptivity of Gentiles to Abraham. Here in 1:7 (3:8) the Baptist says that “God can produce children for Abraham right out of these rocks!” In 8:39–40 (13:29, 28) one reads that “many shall come from sunrise and sunset and recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God,” but the Jews whom Jesus addressed will be “thrown out into the outer darkness.” Because Abraham believed and was justified by God before he was circumcised and before the giving of the law, Paul argued that Gentiles, too, would be saved by faith without circumcision (Gal 3:6–18 and Rom 4:1–15).

Allison suggests that behind John’s prediction of destruction may be Deuteronomy’s condemnations of Sodom and Gomorrah, whom God, in wrath (ὄργη), burned with sulfur and salt. Such a fate awaits Israel if it does not obey divine commandments. “And all the Gentiles will say, ‘Why did the Lord act like this against this land? Why such a great fury of wrath [ὄργης]?’”<sup>24</sup> Another possible antetext is Deut 32:32–33 and 35 (all. [A]), where Moses associates Israel’s bad fruit and poisonous serpents with Sodom and Gomorrah.

For their vineyard is from the vineyard of Sodom,  
and their vine is from Gomorrah.  
Their grape is a grape full of bile;  
theirs is a bitter grape cluster.  
Their wine is the rage of serpents,  
the incurable rage of asps. . . .

23. Fleddermann surely exceeds the evidence by claiming that the author and his audience were Gentiles (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 164–66).

24. Deut 29:22–23 (echo); cf. 29:25: “the Lord was outraged [ὄργισθη θυμῷ] at that land.” See Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 75.

On the day of vengeance I will repay them. ...  
 For the day of their destruction is near,  
 and your fate is ready for you.

Like biblical prophets, including Moses, John called for repentance. To this point the reader of *Logoi* may still wonder if John was the promised prophet like Moses. But in the next logion John makes it clear that he was not; he was the one sent to prepare the way. He was unable to perform “all the signs and wonders, ... such as Moses performed before all Israel” (Deut 34:11–12).

As we shall see, *Logoi* 5:10–11 (7:29–30) states that at some point John’s preaching produced a polarized response from his listeners, and it is likely that something similar to the following appeared at this point.

«The religious authorities rejected John, but some people responded favorably to him, including tax collectors, and were baptized.»

1:9–10 (3:16–17; MQ+ 3:11). John and the One to Come

|      |   |      |
|------|---|------|
| 1:9  | He answered and said,<br>“I baptize you in water,<br>but the one to come after me is more powerful than I,<br>the straps of whose sandals I am not worthy to untie.<br>He will baptize you in holy Spirit and fire. | 3:16 |
| 1:10 | His pitchfork is in his hand,<br>and he will clear his threshing floor<br>and gather the wheat into his granary,<br>but the chaff he will burn on a fire that can never be put out.”                                | 3:17 |

The reference here to “the one to come [ἐρχόμενος] after me” may be an allusion to the Son of Man of Dan 7:13: “I was watching during a night vision, and behold someone like a son of man [υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου] was coming [LXX: ἦρχετο; Theodotion: ἐρχόμενος] with the clouds of the sky.” God will preside over a trial for mortals and give this coming one an eternal kingdom. As we shall see, elsewhere *Logoi* alludes to this prophecy in Dan 7 and relates it to an eschatological judgment.<sup>25</sup> It is perhaps more likely, in light of *Logoi* as a whole, that this logion alludes to the ending of Deuteronomy, where the author laments that the prophet like Moses promised in 18:15–19 had not yet come, one who, like Moses, would do “signs and wonders, ... great wonders and a strong hand” (34:10–12; all. [A]).

25. See especially the discussion to *Logoi* 10:61–63 (22:28–30).

## 2. JESUS' EMPOWERMENT AND TESTING

All of the Synoptics narrate Jesus' baptism by John, temptations by the devil, and return to Galilee. One might conclude from this that Matthew and Luke merely redacted Mark, but Chapter 4 argued that Matthew probably redacted a source more primitive than Mark: MQ+ 3:13, 16–17 (baptism) and MQ+ 4:1–11 (temptations). Insofar as all three Synoptics present these units in the same sequence, one may reasonably suspect that they followed the order already found in the *Logoi of Jesus* (criterion 1).

## TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

2:1–2 (3:21–22; MQ+ 3:13, 16–17). Baptism

Chapter 4 argued for Matthew's inverted priority to Mark as evidence of his use of the lost Gospel for Jesus' baptism, which seems to have been modeled after Ezek 1–2. Luke's version is secondary to Mark and Matthew.<sup>26</sup>

2:3–15 (4:1–4, 9–12, 5–8, 13; MQ+ 4:1–11). Temptations in the Wilderness

Chapter 4 argued that Matthew's account of Jesus' temptations came from his second source and that Mark knew both the narrative framework (1:12–13) and at least two of the temptations (14:32–42 [B]; see the discussion of Matt 4:1–11). In several respects, Matthew's version also is more primitive than Luke's, such as the sequencing of the three challenges.

In other respects, however, Luke seems to be more primitive. For example, it is difficult to understand why the Evangelist omitted the last half of Matthew's citation of Deut 8:3: "but by every word that issues from the mouth of God." Matthew, on the other hand, often expanded biblical citations that he found in his sources. The expression "holy city" appears in the Gospels only here in Matt 4:5 and in 27: 53 (cf. 24:15). If Luke redacted Matthew for the temptations, he would have had no obvious reason for changing the expression to "Jerusalem" (4:9) insofar as he calls Jerusalem holy in Acts 21:28 (cf. 6:13). It thus would appear more likely that Luke knew a version of Matthew's second temptation in the lost Gospel and that Matthew introduced "holy

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26. Elsewhere I have argued that the simile relating the Spirit to a dove was a Markan innovation modeled after the presentation of gods as birds in Homeric epic ("The Spirit as a Dove and Homeric Bird Similes," in *Early Christian Voices: In Texts, Traditions, and Symbols* (David H. Warren, Ann Graham Brock, and David W. Pao, eds.; Boston: Brill, 2003), 333–39).

city.”<sup>27</sup> Notice also that Luke’s citation of Ps 90:11 (MT 91:11) is somewhat closer to the LXX/OG, which Matthew seems to have abbreviated.

The third temptation (Luke’s second) provides a fascinating example of alternating primitivity.

| Luke 4:5–7   | <Matt 4:8–9  |
|--|--|
| And he took him up and showed him all the kingdoms of the inhabited world in a moment of time. And the devil told him: “I will give you authority over all this and their glory, for it has been give to me, and I may give it to whom-ever I wish. So if you bow down before me, all will yours.” | Again the devil takes him along into a high mountain and shows him all the kingdoms of the world and their glory.<br>9 And he said to him: “I will give you all these,<br><br>if you fall and bow down before me.” |

Luke seems to have added “in a moment of time” and the devil’s boast to be able to grant political authority, but in other respects it preserves an earlier textual stratum. Matthew seems to have modeled the so-called Great Commission at the end of the Gospel after the devil’s promise in the third temptation, but curiously enough, he seems to reflect the reading of the temptation in its Lukan version which used the word ἐξουσία, “authority”!

| Luke 4:6  | <Matt 4:8b–9a  | <Matt 28:18   |
|---|--|---|
| καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος· σοὶ δώσω τὴν <u>ἐξουσίαν</u> ταύτην <u>ἅπασαν</u> καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν. | ... καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ταῦτά σοι πάντα δώσω. | ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· ἐδόθη μοι <u>πᾶσα ἐξουσία</u> ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ [τῆς] γῆς. |

If one considers Matt 28:16–18 as a third witness to the third temptation, one might reconstruct the devil’s offer in the lost Gospel like this: “I will give you all this authority and their glory,” which would suggest that Luke preserved evidence of a version earlier than what now appears in Matthew (criterion A).

#### TRANSLATION AND ANTEXTUAL COMMENTARY

2:1–2 (3:21–22; MQ+ 3:13, 16–17). Baptism

2:1 And it so happened in those days that

3:21

27. So also CEQ.

Jesus came from Galilee and was baptized.  
 And the skies were opened,  
 2:2 and he saw the Spirit descending upon him. 3:22  
 And a voice came from the skies, "You are my son ..."

Jesus' baptism evokes the tradition of the visitation of God's Spirit to prophets, and the parallels with the opening chapters of Ezekiel are remarkable (see the discussion of 3:2–6 [4:16, 22, (M) 13:57, 4:24, 31]). This passage also seems to allude to Ps 2, a favorite text for early Christian interpretations of Jesus, the poet assumes the voice of the king and states: "He [God] established me as a king on Zion, his holy mountain, so that I would declare the ordinance of the Lord. The Lord said to me, 'You are my son [υἱός μου εἶ σύ], today I have birthed you. Ask me, and I will give you Gentiles as your inheritance and the ends of the earth as your possession'" (2:6–8).<sup>28</sup> The voice from the sky in *Logoi's* version of the baptism seems to have been informed by this text.

Ps 2:7 (all. [A])  
 The Lord said to me,  
 "You are my son [υἱός μου εἶ σύ];  
 today I have given birth to you."

*Logoi* 2:2 (3:22)  
 And a voice came from the skies,  
 "You are my son [συ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου]."

The poet of Ps 2 continues by commanding other kings (βασιλεῖς) and officials to "serve the Lord in fear" (2:10–11). A reader of *Logoi* familiar with this biblical antecedent would have found it to be an apt introduction to the temptations in which the devil offers Jesus all the kingdoms (βασιλείας) of the world, but Jesus replies: "Bow down to the Lord and serve only him" (2:11–14 [4:5–8]). *Logoi's* citation of the psalm makes clear that Jesus, not John, is God's Son. An even more striking parallel appears between Jesus' baptism and the opening chapters of Ezekiel, as we shall see.

2:3–15 (4:1–4, 9–12, 5–8, 13; MQ+ 4:1–11). Temptations in the Wilderness

|     |  |     |
|-----|--|-----|
| 2:3 | And Jesus was led into the wilderness by the Spirit            | 4:1 |
| 2:4 | to be tested by the devil.                                     | 4:2 |
|     | And «he ate nothing» for forty days; «and» he became hungry.   |     |
| 2:5 | And the devil told him,  | 4:3 |
|     | "If you are God's Son, order that these stones become loaves." |     |
| 2:6 | And Jesus answered him, "It is written,                        | 4:4 |
|     | 'A person will not live only from bread.'"                     |     |

28. The psalm is cited in Acts 13:33 and Heb 1:5 and 5:5.

|      |   |      |
|------|---|------|
| 2:7  | And the devil took him along to Jerusalem<br>and put him on the tip of the temple<br>and told him,<br>“If you are God’s Son, throw yourself down. | 4:9  |
| 2:8  | For it is written,<br>‘He will command his angels about you, to guard you,’   | 4:10 |
| 2:9  | and that ‘on their hands they will bear you,<br>so that you do not strike your foot against a stone.’”  | 4:11 |
| 2:10 | And Jesus in reply told him, “It is written,<br>‘Do not put to the test the Lord your God.’”  | 4:12 |
| 2:11 | And the devil took him along to a high mountain<br>and showed him all the kingdoms of the world,  | 4:5  |
| 2:12 | and told him,<br>“I will give you all this authority and their glory,<br>if you bow down before me.”  | 4:6  |
| 2:13 |   | 4:7  |
| 2:14 | And in reply Jesus told him, “It is written,<br>‘Bow down to the Lord your God<br>and serve only him.’”   | 4:8  |
| 2:15 | And the devil left him.   | 4:13 |

Jesus here emulates the testing of Israel in the wilderness, but he succeeds where the Israelites had failed.

Deut 8:2–5 (imit. [B] and cit. [A])

“You [singular, *passim*] should recall the entire way which the Lord your God led you [ἡγαγέ σε] in the wilderness [ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ] so that he might afflict and test [ἐκπειράσῃ] you, and the concerns of your heart may be known, whether or not you will keep his commandments.

And he afflicted, famished,

and fed you manna which your ancestors did not know, to declare to you that a person will not live only from bread [οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος], but a person will live by every word that issues from the mouth of God. And your garments did not grow old, your sandals did not wear out, and your feet did not become calloused

Logoi 2:3–6 (4:1–4)

And Jesus

was led [ἀνήχθη] into the wilderness [εἰς τὴν ἔρημον] by the Spirit to be tested [πειρασθῆναι] by the devil.

And «he ate nothing» for forty [τεσσαράκοντα] days; «and» he became hungry. And the devil told him, “If you are God’s son [υἱός], order that these stones become loaves.” And Jesus answered him, “It is written, ‘A person will not live only from bread [οὐκ ἐπ’ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος].’”

these forty [τεσσαράκοντα] years. And he should know your heart, for as a person disciplines his son [υιόν], so the Lord your God will discipline you.”

*Logoi's* reference to Jesus' fasting for forty days evokes Moses' fasting for forty days on Mount Horeb.<sup>29</sup>

Deut 9:9b (cf. 9:11, 18, and 25 and 10:10; all. [A])

“And I was on the mountain forty days [τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας] and forty nights; I ate no bread and drank no water.”

*Logoi* 2:4 (4:2)

And «he ate nothing» for forty days [ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα]; «and» he became hungry.

In the next exchange, the devil cites Scripture, ironically a passage from a psalm that ancient Jews used as apotropaic magic *against* the devil, but it ends with another quotation from Deuteronomy.<sup>30</sup>

Ps 90:11–12 (MT 91:11–12; cit. [A])

He will command his angels about you, to guard you in all your ways; and on their hands they will bear you, so that you do not strike your foot against a stone.

Deut 6:16 (cit. [A])  
“Do not put to the test the Lord your God.”

*Logoi* 2:7–10 (4:9–12)

The devil took him along to Jerusalem and put him on the tip of the temple and told him, “If you are God's son, throw yourself down.

For it is written, ‘He will command his angels about you to guard you; and that on their hands they will bear you, so that you do not strike your foot against a stone.’”

And Jesus in reply told him, “It is written, ‘Do not put to the test the Lord your God.’”

The final exchange emulates God's showing Moses the promised land that he would never enter. In an amazing transform, the devil plays the role of God.

29. The Deuteronomistic Historian imitated Moses' forty days on Mount Horeb to portray Elijah's forty days on the mountain (1 Kgs 19:8).

30. Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 159, and Yarbrow Collins, *Mark*, 151–52: “In the tractate on oaths in the Babylonian Talmud, Psalm 91 is called the ‘song against evil occurrences’ or ‘the song against plagues,’ that is, the psalm that protects against evil spirits or demons” (*Mark*, 151).

Deut 34:1–4 (cf. 3:27; imit. [A])

And Moses went up from Araboth into the mountain [ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος] of Nebo on the ridge of Pisgah which is opposite Jericho, and the lord show him [ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ] all [πάσας] the land of Gilead [the text goes on to list the various lands of Palestine]. And the Lord said to Moses, “This is the land that I swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, saying ‘I will give it [δώσω αὐτήν] to your seed.’ I showed it to your eyes, but you will not enter there.”

Deut 6:13 (or 10:20; cit. [A])

“You will fear the Lord your God and serve only him.”

*Logoi* 2:11–14 (4:5–8)

And the devil took him along to a high mountain [εἰς ὄρος]

and showed him all [δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ πάσας] the kingdoms of the world,

and told him, “I will give you [σοὶ δώσω] all this authority and their glory, if you bow down before me.”

And in reply Jesus told him, “It is written, ‘Bow down to the Lord your God and serve only him.’”

According to Deuteronomy, some Israelites in the wilderness served gods other than their Lord God, but according to *Logoi*, Jesus refused to worship the devil, even when he was offered all the kingdoms of the world. His refusal sets the stage for references to the kingdom of God in the Inaugural Sermon.<sup>31</sup> This strategic transformation of Deuteronomy informs the reader at the beginning of the book that Jesus is “the embodiment of true Israel, for in the Hebrew Bible Israel is spoken of as God’s son, and here in Q Jesus relives the foundational experiences of Israel.”<sup>32</sup>

*Logoi’s* Jesus also emulates Moses, who stated, “I was on the mountain forty days and forty nights; I ate no bread and drank no water” (Deut 9:9b). Like Moses, to whom God showed the Promised Land, the devil showed Jesus “all the kingdoms of the world.” Moses could not enter the land because of the sinfulness of his generation, but Jesus, through his obedience, could proclaim “the kingdom of God has arrived.” John had preached a coming judgment in the wilderness, but Jesus will preach the arrival of God’s kingdom in town and cities.

One might consider as another antetext a prophecy concerning a future son of man, whose influence appears elsewhere in the *Logoi of Jesus*. According to the vision recorded in Dan 7:13–14, God gave this figure a kingdom, an offer similar to what the devil promises Jesus in the lost Gospel.

31. So also Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 257.

32. Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 28. Similarly, Fleddermann: “In the theology of Q Jesus recapitulates and transcends the experience of Israel in his own person” (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 256).



Dan 7:13b–14 (all. [A])

Someone like a son of man was coming on the clouds of heaven...

And authority was given to him [ἔδοθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία], as well as all the Gentiles of the earth [πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς], tribe by tribe, and every glory that served him [πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῷ λατρεύουσα].

And his authority [ἐξουσία] was an eternal authority [ἔξουσία], which would not be snatched away, and his kingdom [βασιλεία] would not diminish.

*Logoi* 2:11–14 (4:5–8)

And the devil took him along to a high mountain

and showed him all the kingdoms of the world [πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τοῦ κόσμου], and told him, “I will give you all this authority and their glory [σοι δώσω τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν], if you bow down before me.” And in reply Jesus told him, “It is written, ‘Bow down to the Lord your God and serve [λατρεύσεις] only him.’”

Readers sensitive to this allusion might reasonably suspect that Jesus, as the Son of God, one day would be granted such authority. As we shall see, Jesus has declared this authority by the end of the book.

### 3. JESUS ACQUIRES DISCIPLES AND ALIENATES PHARISEES

To this point the logia attributed to the lost Gospel appear also in *CEQ*, as does Jesus’ return to Galilee, but the reconstruction of what follows is different from all previous reconstructions. Chapter 4 argued that the seven following logia appeared in Matthew’s Q; they appear also in all three Synoptics in nearly the same sequence.

| Mark        | Matthew      | Luke                   | Description                            |
|-------------|--------------|------------------------|--|
| 1:14–15     | +4:12–13, 17 | 4:14–16                | Return to Galilee                      |
| 1:16–20 [B] | +8:18–22     | 5:1–11 [B],<br>9:57–60 | Confronting potential followers        |
| 2:13–17     | +9:9–13      | 5:27–32                | Eating with tax collectors and sinners |
| 2:18–22     | +9:14–17     | 5:33–39                | Not fasting                            |
| 2:23–28     | +12:1–4, 8   | 6:1–5                  | Gleaning on the Sabbath                |
| 3:1–5       | +12:9–13     | 6:1–5                  | Healing on the Sabbath                 |
| 3:13–19     | +10:1–4      | 6:12–16                | List of the Twelve                     |

Insofar as the first four logia appear in precisely the same sequence (allowing for Matthew's sizeable insertions, including the Sermon on the Mount), they satisfy sequential criterion 1. Mark (followed by Luke) preserves the more original sequence of the next two insofar as the four controversies probably once constituted a continuous series (criterion 6). Furthermore, Matthew located the list of the Twelve to introduce his version of the Mission Speech, which suggest that the location of the lists in Mark and Luke are less redactional (criterion 5).

#### TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

Between 2:15 and 3:1 (4:13 and 4:14). John's Arrest

As we shall see, later in the lost Gospel (5:1 [7:18]) John sends disciples to Jesus, perhaps because he had been arrested in Judea, as stated in Mark 1:14a, Matt 4:12, and Luke 3:20. One thus may cautiously restore:

«John was arrested.»

3:1 (4:14; MQ+ 4:12–13, 17). Return to Galilee

All three Synoptics send Jesus back to Galilee immediately after his temptations. Mark and Matthew state that his message there was the arrival of God's kingdom and a call to repentance. Chapter 4 argued that Matthew's version was independent of Mark's because of his unusual spelling for Jesus' hometown Ναζαρά, which differs from other spellings in both Mark and Matthew, and the awkward absence of any ministry there.

As we shall see, *Logoi* elsewhere uses expressions similar to what appears in Mark and Matthew for describing Jesus' message. For the use of μετανοέω and cognates see *Logoi* 1:7, 6:40, and 10:19 (3:8, 11:32, and 10:13); for the phrase "the kingdom of God has arrived," see 6:27 (11:20: ἔφθασεν ἔφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) and 10:15 (10:9: ἤγγικεν ἔφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ). In other words, Mark 1:15 and Matt 4:17 are congruent with other content from the lost Gospel (criterion C). Indeed, without some such note concerning Jesus' activities, the reader would be uninformed about the purpose of his mission or why anyone would have left the comforts of home to follow him. Luke may have omitted the summary Jesus' preaching in his sources because what follows immediately in his Gospel is the Nazareth sermon where Jesus declares his mission more expansively.

Two passages later in *Logoi* refer to antecedent miracles. In 5:3 (7:22) Jesus lists some of them: "The blind regain their sight, and the lame walk around;

the skin-diseased are cleansed, and the deaf hear; the dead are raised, and the poor are evangelized.’ According to *Logoi* 10:19 (10:13), Jesus performed miracles in the Galilean towns of Chorazin and Bethsaida that failed to produce favorable responses.

If *Logoi* narrated such wonders, three observations make it reasonable to think that they occurred just after Jesus arrived in Galilee. First, according to Mark immediately after his return he performed miracles: he exorcised in a synagogue (1:23–26), healed Peter’s mother-in-law (1:29–31), cured many diseases (1:32–34 and 39), purified a leper (1:40–45), and healed a paralytic (2:1–12). Unfortunately, neither Matthew nor Luke sufficiently displays inverted priority to Mark to attribute these stories to a lost Gospel, but Mark probably did not create them without some precedence in tradition (criterion B).<sup>33</sup> Second, Luke 4:14 presupposes such miracle working as soon as Jesus arrived in Galilee: “News about him traveled throughout the entire area.”<sup>34</sup> Third, Jesus’ miracle working immediately after arriving in Galilee would provide a reason for the disciples to follow him despite the consequent hardships.<sup>35</sup>

The following thus is a reasonable conjecture of what appeared in *Logoi* after the temptations and return to Galilee.

«Jesus performed miracles in Galilean towns, such as Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, which some residents rejected as signs of his authority.»

3:2–6 (4:16, 22, [M] 13:57, 4:24, 31; MQ+ 4:13) Rejection in Nazara

Mark does not name any Galilean town on Jesus’ itinerary until Capernaum in 1:21. Although the reader is likely to assume that he returned to Nazareth (mentioned earlier in 1:9), the calling of fishermen to follow him would be impossible in his landlocked hometown. Here is Matthew’s redaction of Mark: “He withdrew into Galilee, and after leaving Nazara he went and took up residence in Capernaum” (4:12b–13a). Matthew’s Jesus does first go to his

33. So also Yarbrow Collins, *Mark*, 174 and 178–80.

34. See also the reference to earlier unnarrated miracles in Luke 4:23.

35. See the discussion of *Logoi* 3:7–12 (9:57–62). Mark (followed by Matthew) provided no motivation for the fishermen to follow Jesus. According to the reconstructions in *CEQ* and *Fleddermann*, there had been no miracle working before the centurion expressed confidence that Jesus could cure his son. Note also that Jesus’ response to the centurion presupposes that no Jew earlier had accepted his divine agency, but in *CEQ* and *Fleddermann* to this point there has been no such opposition. These data, especially when taken together, strongly suggest that the lost Gospel once narrated miracles early in the storyline.

hometown, as one might expect, but he says and does nothing there; instead, he immediately travels to Capernaum “by the sea,” to fulfill Isa 8:23–9:1 (see also the discussion in chapter 4 to Matt 4:12–13, 17).

Matthew likely found in his non-Markan source Jesus’ return to his homeland and some activity there, which is precisely what one finds in Luke: “He went into Nazara, where he had grown up. And, as usual on the Sabbath, he went into a synagogue and rose up to read” (4:16). In other words, Luke agrees with Matthew that when Jesus returned to Galilee he went first to Nazara, but only Luke indicates what Jesus did when he arrived. Matthew’s cryptic reference to the arrival and immediate departure from Nazara suggests that he, too, may have seen in the source a reference to activities there (sequential criterion 6).

In fact, all three Synoptics narrate Jesus’ rejection at his hometown. Mark and Matthew placed the episode in the middle of their narratives (Mark 6:1–6a and Matt 13:54–58), whereas Luke located it immediately after the temptations (4:16–30). Although Luke clearly expanded his sources into a dramatic and paradigmatic articulation of Jesus’ mission, he likely saw in the lost Gospel an account of Jesus’ rejection at home. Mark relocated the episode later to contrast Jesus’ powers even to raise the dead (5:35–43) with the skepticism of his neighbors and to link this rejection with the rejection of the Twelve and John’s beheading which immediately follow (6:6b–29). Matthew followed Mark’s sequence, but in 4:13 clumsily left traces of an episode in Nazara.

This assessment largely agrees with Heinz Schürmann, who made a compelling case that an account of Jesus’ rejection at Nazareth appeared early in Q.<sup>36</sup> He argued that the Lukan Evangelist was responsible for 4:17–21 and 25–27 but that 4:16 and 22–24 were traditional.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, according to him, these verses represent an earlier stratum of tradition than Mark’s version and make Luke’s redactional expansion more intelligible.<sup>38</sup> Matthew likely saw this story in Q insofar as 4:13, Jesus’ arrival and immediate departure from “Nazara,” seems to require it.<sup>39</sup>

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36. “Zur Traditionsgeschichte der Nazareth-Perikope, Lk 4,16–30,” in *Mélanges bibliques* (FS R. P. B. Rigaux; Gembloux: Duculot, 1970), 187–205.

37. “Nazareth-Perikope,” 188–91. For Luke’s artistic rewriting of the traditional episode, see Jeffrey S. Siker, “‘First to the Gentiles’: A Literary Analysis of Luke 14:16–30,” *JBL* 111 (1992): 73–90.

38. “Nazareth-Perikope,” 195–204.

39. “Nazareth-Perikope,” 201–202. Christopher M. Tuckett agrees that Q once contained the Nazara episode and goes further than Schürmann to propose that Q already alluded to Isa 61:1 (“Luke 4.16–30, Isaiah, and Q,” in *Logia: Les paroles de Jésus—The Sayings of Jesus* [ed. by Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: University of Leuven Press, 1982], 343–54).

To these arguments by Schürmann one might add two other considerations. First, the structure of this controversy conforms to other disputes in the *Logoi of Jesus*: typically, after a change in venue and audience, people take offense at him and ask him a hostile question. He then responds with a question of his own or an aphorism as here, thereby silencing his critics. The verb σκανδαλιζω appears in Jesus' visit to Nazareth in Mark and Matthew within a context similar to what one finds in *Logoi* 5:3–4 [7:22–23], where Jesus lists his miracles and ends with the beatitude, “blessed is one not offended by me [σκανδαλισθῆ ἔν ἐμοί].” The next logion discusses John the Baptist as a prophet whom the authorities rejected (5:5–11 [7:24–30; MQ+ 11:10]). Similarly, according to Mark 6:3 and Matt 13:57, Jesus' neighbors questioned the source of his miracles and “were offended by him [ἐσκανδαλιζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ].” The episode ends with an aphorism about the rejection of a prophet: “No prophet is without honor except in his homeland and in his house” (Matt 13:57).

The second consideration is even more conclusive. Already we have seen that the author portrays Jesus as a prophet like Moses. After Moses' encounter with God at the burning bush, he returns to his family, he and Aaron produce miracles, and their people believe and rejoice (Exod 4:29–31). Jesus' rejection in *Logoi* would provide a strategic contrast. Furthermore, the Spirit's descent upon Jesus at this baptism, as we shall see, recalls the empowerment of Ezekiel as a prophet to Israel, but his own people will reject him. The antextual commentary to this logion examines these parallels in more detail. The textual reconstruction in the synopsis strips away apparent later redactions.<sup>40</sup>

3:7–12 (9:57–62; MQ+ 8:19–22). Acquiring Disciples

According to Mark and Matthew, soon after Jesus arrived in Galilee—and long before he visited his hometown—he called fishermen to follow him (Mark 1:16–20 and Matt 4:18–22). This episode seems to be Mark's creation, and parallels in Matthew and Luke 5:1–11 show no sure signs of inverted priority.<sup>41</sup>

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40. I include Luke's reference to Joseph, even though in this logion his account generally is the most heavily redactional. The reference to Mary and Jesus' siblings in Mark (followed by Matthew) may well be secondary insofar as these characters play important roles elsewhere in Mark. In favor of Luke's reference to Jesus as Joseph's son is the contrast that it creates between the questioners' familiarity with Jesus' paternity and the reader's knowledge that Jesus actually was the Son of God. Schürmann, too, attributed “son of Joseph” to the lost Gospel (“Nazareth-Perikope,” 197).

41. Elsewhere I have argued that Mark modeled the calling of fishermen after Athena's acquisition of a ship and a crew in *Od.* 2.383–387 (*Homeric Epics*, 55–57).

On the other hand, Matthew and Luke both later narrate Jesus again calling disciples, and Chapter 4 argued that Matt 8 contains a more primitive version than what one finds in Mark 1:16–20 (i.e., MQ+ 8:19–22). An even stronger case for inclusion in the lost Gospel comes from Luke’s inverted priority to Matthew. Luke used *Logoi’s* call of disciples later in his narrative in order to swell the ranks of Jesus’ followers from twelve to seventy, whom he will send on a mission in chapter 10.

Luke 9:57–62

And as they were going on their journey, someone said to him, “I will follow you wherever you go.” And Jesus said to him, “Foxes have holes, and the birds of the sky have nests, but the Son of Man does not have anywhere he can lay his head.”

He said to another, “Follow me.” He said, “Master, permit me first to go and bury my father.” But he said to him, “Let the dead bury their own dead, but you go and announce the kingdom of God!”

And another said, “I will follow you, Master, but permit me to say farewell to those in my house.” But Jesus said to him, “No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks behind is fit for the kingdom of God.”

<Matt 8:19–22

And one of the scribes approached and said to him, “Teacher, I will follow you wherever you go.” And Jesus says to him, “Foxes have holes, and birds of the sky have nests; but the Son of Man does not have anywhere he can lay his head.”

But another of [his] disciples said to him, “Master, permit me first to go and bury my father.” But Jesus says to him, “Follow me, and leave the dead to bury their own dead.”

Although some details in Matthew seem to be more primitive (notice the absence of Luke’s “but you go and announce the kingdom of God”), Luke surely here was redacting the lost Gospel. In keeping with Matthew’s penchant for giving more specific identities to characters in his sources, 8:19 states that the first inquirer was “a scribe,” even though vs. 21 makes the second inquirer “another of his disciples.” Luke’s version is less heavily redactional: “someone said to him. ... He said to another ...”

As many scholars have noted, this passage seems to imitate the call of Elisha in 1 Kgs 19:19–21.

[Elijah] found Elisha, son of Saphat, and he was plowing [ἡροτρία] with oxen. ... And he [Elijah] came to him and threw his sheepskin mantle over him. Elisha left the cattle, ran after Elijah, and said, “I will kiss my father [τὸν πατέρα μου] and follow after you [ἀκολουθήσω ὀπίσω σοῦ].” And Elijah

said, “Return, for I have something for you to do.” And he returned from following him [ἐξ ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ], took the yoke of oxen, slew them, roasted them with the tackle of the oxen, and gave their meat to the people; they ate. He rose up, went after Elijah, and assisted him.

The parallel episode in Matthew and Luke presents Jesus as more demanding than Elijah, for he disallows a return home.

The third exchange appears only in Luke, and these verses provide the most important evidence of Lukan inverted priority to Matthew (criterion A). The third interlocutor asks permission to say farewell to those at home, just as Elisha had. Elijah granted his request; Jesus, however, refused it and used plowing as an analogy. Surely is it not accidental that Elisha was plowing when Elijah found him. These two verses thus seem to echo the same biblical text that informed Matthew as well as Luke (Lukan inverted priority). The extreme harshness of the prohibition to say farewell to one’s family might explain why Matthew omitted it (criterion D). It is possible that Mark delayed his redaction of these two verses until chapter 10. Compare the following:

Luke 9:61–62

And another said, “I will follow you [ἀκολουθήσω σοι], Master, but permit me to say farewell to those in my house [οἶκον].”

But Jesus said to him, “No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks behind is fit for the kingdom of God.”

<Mark 10:28–29

Peter began to say to him, “Look, we have left everything and followed you [ἠκολουθήκαμέν σοι].” Jesus said, “Truly I tell you, There is no one who has left house [οἰκίαν] or brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or lands for my sake ...”

[In 10:23–25 Jesus had just been speaking about how difficult it is to enter the kingdom of God.]

I am by no means the first scholar to propose that this third exchange first appeared in Q. Heinz Schürmann identified many “reminiscences” of Q that suggest that it was considerably larger than the content that later made the cut into CEQ. Among these reminiscences he included Luke 9:61–62.<sup>42</sup>

CEQ and Fleddermann’s Q include only the first two exchanges in this logion and place it after Jesus’ praise of John and before the Mission Speech, in

42. *Untersuchungen*, esp. “Sprachliche Reminiszenzen an abgeänderte oder ausgelassene Bestandteile der Redequelle im Lukas- und Matthäusevangelium,” 111–25. His discussion of Luke 9:61–62 appears on p. 121. So also Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 142–47, and John S. Kloppenborg, *Q: The Earliest Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 163.

agreement with the sequence in Luke. Matthew, however, locates it immediately after Jesus' healing of the centurion's son at Capernaum (8:18–22), much earlier in the narrative.

It is Mark, however, who seems best to preserve the location of calling disciples in the lost Gospel, soon after Jesus returns to Galilee, in the vicinity of Capernaum (1:16–20; Jesus and his disciples go to Capernaum in the next verse). *CEQ* and Fleddermann include Jesus' disciples in their reconstructions but *before* he calls them (e.g., Q 6:20–23, 40, and 46)!

Between 3:12 and 3:13 (9:62 and 5:27). Responses to Jesus' Call

Because Jesus' disciples are his audience for the Inaugural Sermon, at least a few people must have decided to follow, as in Mark 1:16–20 and 2:14 (cf. Matt 4:18–22 and 9:9 and Luke 5:8–11 and 28).

«Despite the hardships, some people decided to follow Jesus.»

3:13–18 (5:27–32; MQ+ 9:9–13). Eating with Tax Collectors and Sinners

All three Synoptics contain a sequence of four controversies: eating with tax collectors and sinners (Mark 2:13–17, Matt 9:9–13, and Luke 5:27–32), not fasting (Mark 2:18–22, Matt 9:14–17, and Luke 5:33–39), gleaning grain on the Sabbath (Mark 2:23–28, Matt 12:1–8, and Luke 6:1–5), and healing on the Sabbath (Mark 3:1–6, Matt 12:9–14, and Luke 6:6–11). Each of the disputes satisfies criteria for inclusion in MQ+, and the last one reveals Lukan inverted priority, as we shall see. They probably appeared together in *Logoi* soon after Jesus acquired disciples, as in Mark and Luke.

The discussion of MQ+ 9:9–13 in chapter 4 left unresolved whether Mark's "Levi, son of Alphaeus" or Matthew's "Matthew" appeared in the lost Gospel. This is one of the knottier problems in the reconstruction of the text and one that frustrates a definitive solution. On the other hand, it is potentially important for understanding the transmission of the *Logoi of Jesus*.<sup>43</sup>

The name Levi appears in the Gospels only here in Mark and in Luke's redaction of Mark in 5:27–29 (excluding the references to Levi in the genealogy of Jesus), but neither Mark nor Luke lists a Levi among the Twelve. The name Alphaeus appears in the New Testament five times, four times as the

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43. The discussion that follows relies heavily on an unpublished paper by Marco Frenschkowski delivered at a conference on Q in Graz, Austria, July 2011 ("Matthäus als Gewährsmann der Logionquelle: Neues zu einer alten Theorie").



father of Jacob/James. Only in Mark is he the father also of Levi. Scholars long have suspected that Levi actually does appear in Mark's list, either as Matthew or perhaps as James, son of Alphaeus.

For several reasons it is tempting to think that the name of the tax collector in the lost Gospel was Matthew. If my reading of Papias is correct, by his time two books that he considered translations of the Semitic Gospel derived their authority from the disciple Matthew. One of these surely is our Greek Matthew; the other, I would argue, is the lost Gospel. Similarly, the preface to the Gospel of Luke suggests that the sources that he used were *διηγῆσαι* of "eyewitnesses and assistants of the word." The author's high regard for the lost Gospel, which apparently exceeded his regard for the Gospel of Matthew, surely implies that he considered its reliability to be rooted in the experience of a participant in the events. Although the *Logoi of Jesus* originally was anonymous (which likely was the case also with the Gospels ascribed to Mark and Matthew), by the first decade of the second century it seems to have been linked with Matthew.

No follower of Jesus in the Synoptics would be a better candidate as an author of a Gospel than the tax collector whose occupation would have required competence in writing in Greek, Latin, and perhaps Aramaic. Later authors never appealed to Levi the tax collector as the guarantor of traditions about Jesus, but many appealed to Matthew.

Here one might adduce an attractive suggestion by Helmut Koester that links Q with Matthew by way of the *Gospel of Thomas*. In this Gospel three disciples respond to Jesus' question: "Compare me, and tell me whom I am like." Peter: "You are like a just angel." Matthew: "You are like a wise philosopher." Thomas: "Teacher, my mouth cannot bear at all to say whom you are like" (*Gos. Thom.* 13:1–4). Koester proposes that Matthew's answer implies that the author had in mind a collection of Jesus' sayings, like Q. "The Gospel of Matthew may have taken over the name of its author from the source of sayings that was used in its composition."<sup>44</sup> Be that as it may—certainty on the matter is a chimera—Papias and Luke likely connected the lost Gospel with Matthew, prompted to do so, perhaps, by the reference to Matthew the tax collector in *Logoi* 3:13 (5:27).

3:19–24 (5:33–38; MQ+ 9:14–17). Not Fasting

Luke displays no inverted priority to Mark or Matthew.

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44. *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 167.

3:25–29 (6:1–5; MQ+ 12:1–4, 8). Gleaning on the Sabbath

Luke displays no inverted priority to Mark or Matthew.

3:30–33 (6:6–7, 9–10; MQ+ 12:9–14). Healing on the Sabbath

Chapter 4 argued that Matt 12:9–14 preserved elements of this logion that were more primitive than Mark 3:1–6, largely on the basis of Matthew’s legal argument that his opponents did not object to rescuing a sheep from a pit on the Sabbath, which likely is more primitive than Mark’s generalization: “Is it permitted on the Sabbath to do good or to cause harm, to save a life or kill?” (3:4). Luke contains an argument similar to Matthew’s, not in his version of the healing of the man with a withered hand but later in the healing of a man with dropsy.

Matt 12:11

And he said to them, “Which person among you who has one sheep and it falls into a ditch on a Sabbath will not grab it and bring it out?”

Luke 14:5

And he said to them, “Who of you whose son or ox falls into a well will not draw him up on a Sabbath day?”<sup>45</sup>

Many scholars attribute these sayings to a shared oral aphorism, but each presupposes a narrative context. In both cases, Jesus is speaking to a group (“he said to them”) and asks a question that seems to be a defense of his doing good on the Sabbath. Both Evangelists place the saying in precisely such an episode, but the two stories differ with respect to the ailment that is cured. Matthew places it in the context of the healing of a withered hand, similar to the story in Mark, while Luke places it in the context of the healing of dropsy.<sup>46</sup>

The case for attributing to the lost Gospel the saying about rescuing animals on the Sabbath strengthens when one compares the stories in which it occurs. In both Matt 12:9–14 and Luke 14:1–6 Jesus is in a synagogue where Pharisees are present (Matthew) or in the home “of a certain leader of the Pharisees” (Luke). Both stories occur on the Sabbath and introduce the person with the ailment similarly.

45. Cf. Luke 13:15.

46. Fleddermann attributes this saying to Q but as an independent tradition, without a narrative context (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 707–13). He takes no account of the similarities between Matt 12:10b and Luke 14:3. Frans Neiryck argued a similar case in “Luke 14,1–6: Lukan Composition and Q Saying,” in *Der Treue Gottes Trauen: Beiträge zum Werk des Lukas* (Claus Bussman and Walter Radl eds.; Frieberg: Herder, 1991), 243–63.

Matt 12:10a

And behold a certain man was there with a withered hand [καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ἦν τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων ξηράν].

Luke 14:2

And behold a certain man was there with dropsy [καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν ὕδρωπικός].

Jesus' opponents hoped to trap him in the act of healing on the Sabbath; presumably they were aware that he had violated the Sabbath on previous occasions.

Matt 12:10b

They were questioning him, saying,

“Is it permitted to heal on the Sabbath [λέγοντες· εἰ ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν θεραπεῦσαι]?”

Luke 14:1b and 3

They were observing him carefully. . . . Jesus answered the lawyers and Pharisees saying,

“Is it permitted on the Sabbath to heal, or is it not [λέγων· ἔξεστιν τῷ σαββάτῳ θεραπεῦσαι ἢ οὐ]?”

In both stories Jesus then argues that doing good on the Sabbath is permissible by referring to the fallen animals, and in both he heals the man with the ailment.

It is possible, of course, that Luke saw the passage about the sheep in the pit in Matthew, omitted it in his redaction of the healing of the withered hand, and used it instead for the story of the dropsy, but it is more likely that he saw such a question in the lost Gospel that he shared with Matthew. In favor of this interpretation is the probability that the ox in the pit—and not the sheep—is the original reading. Elsewhere in Matthew the word πρόβατον appears ten times and creates a subplot of Jesus as the compassionate shepherd.

It thus would appear that that the story in the *Logoi of Jesus* presented him healing a man with a withered hand on the Sabbath. Mark redacted the story and omitted the reference to the beast in the pit; Matthew conflated the two accounts from the lost Gospel and Mark; while Luke kept the one in Mark relatively unaltered but used *Logoi* as his model *mutatis mutandis* for the man with dropsy in 14:1–6. The similar stories in *Logoi* and Mark thus created doublets in Luke.<sup>47</sup>

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47. One might even say the stories created Lukan triplets. See the similar tale in Luke 13:10–16, the healing of a crippled woman.

3:34–38 (6:12–16; MQ+ 10:1–4). The List of the Twelve

Chapter 4 argued that Matthew’s list of the disciples was more primitive than what one finds in Mark insofar as it lacked Mark’s suspicious renaming of Jacob (James) and John “Boanerges, which is Sons of Thunder” (3:17). Luke’s list seems to preserve information even more primitive than what one finds in Matthew. Like Matthew, Luke lacks the reference to the Sons of Thunder, but unlike Matthew he lists two Judases at the end of his apostolic roster: “Judas son of Jacob, and Judas Iscariot, who became Jesus’ betrayer” (6:16). Judas son of Jacob also appears in the list of the disciples sans Judas Iscariot in Acts 1:13.

| Mark 3:19                                       | Matt 10:4  | Luke 6:16 (cf. Acts 1:13)  |
|---|--|--|
| καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ,<br>ὃς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτόν. | καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης<br>ὁ καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτόν. | καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰακώβου<br>καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώθ,<br>ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης. |

Mark seems to have created from “Judas the son of Jacob” the name Judas Iscariot, which then informed the later Evangelists. Surely it is not by historical accident that Jacob’s son Judah (=Judas) in Genesis betrayed his brother Joseph. Mark apparently saw the significance of the name and made the connection more explicit by identifying him as Jesus’ betrayer and by giving him the significant moniker “Iscariot,” probably from εἰς, “into,” and the Palestinian Aramaic word for city *qiri<sup>e</sup>tha*. Judas Iscariot thus means “Judas Into-the-city,” i.e., Jerusalem, where he would betray his Lord.<sup>48</sup> Luke apparently saw two lists, each of which ended with the name Judas, understood the two Judases to be different characters, and omitted the name Thaddaeus to make room for both of them. My reconstruction of *Logoi* here thus removes Mark’s references to the “Sons of Thunder” and to Judas Iscariot.

#### TRANSLATION AND ANTETEXTUAL COMMENTARY

«John was arrested.»

3:1 (4:14; MQ+ 4:12–13, 17). Return to Galilee

|     |  |      |
|-----|--|------|
| 3:1 | And Jesus went into Galilee and preached,<br>“Repent! The kingdom of God has arrived.” | 4:14 |
|-----|--|------|

48. On the origin and meaning of Ἰσκαριώθ, see Joan E. Taylor, “The Name ‘Iskarioth’ (Iscariot),” *JBL* 129 (2010): 367–83.

«Jesus performed miracles in Galilean towns, such as Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, which some residents rejected as signs of his authority.»

3:2–6 (4:16, 22, [M] 13:57, 4:24, 31; MQ+ 4:13) Rejection in Nazara<sup>49</sup>

- |     |   |           |
|-----|---|-----------|
| 3:2 | And he went into Nazara and was teaching in the synagogue.  | 4:16      |
| 3:3 | And many people on hearing were amazed and said,<br>“Where did this fellow get his wisdom and powers?<br>Is this not Joseph’s son?” | 4:22      |
| 3:4 | And they were offended by him.  | (M) 13:57 |
| 3:5 | And Jesus said to them,<br>“A prophet is not without honor except in his own homeland.”<br>And he was amazed at their unbelief.     | 4:24      |
| 3:6 | And on leaving Nazara, he went down to Capernaum.   | 4:31      |

Although it might appear that nothing in this logion evokes Jewish Scriptures, it contributes to the author’s strategy of comparing and contrasting Jesus’ early career with that of Moses, especially as presented in Exodus.<sup>50</sup>

#### Exod 3–4

- Moses was shepherding “in the wilderness [τὴν ἔρημον],” when he saw a bush burning “with fire [πυρὶ]” (3:1–2).
- “He [God] said, ‘Do not approach here; untie the sandals [λῦσαι τὰ ὑπόδημα] from your feet. For the place on which you stand is holy [ἅγια] ground’” (3:5).
- “And he [God] said, ‘I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob’” (3:6).<sup>48</sup> God told Moses, “And now go; I am sending you to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and you will bring my people, the children of Israel, from the land of Egypt. ... I will be with you” (3:10 and 12).

#### Logoi 1–3

- John the Baptist was a prophet preaching “in the wilderness [τῆ ἔρημῳ]” (1:1 [3:2]; cf. 2:3 [4:1]).
- “... the straps of whose sandals I am not worthy to untie [λῦσαι τὸν ἱμαντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων]. He will baptize you in holy [ἅγιῳ] Spirit and fire [πυρὶ]” (1:9 [3:16]).
- “And a voice came from the skies, ‘You are my son...’” (2:2 [3:22]).

49. See also John 4:44, 6:42, and 7:15 and *Gos. Thom.* 31 (P.Oxy. 1.30–35).

50. Cf. *Logoi* 6:16 (20:37).

• Moses demurred and put God to the test: “But what if they do not believe me or obey my voice, for they will say, ‘God did not appear to you’—what will I tell them?” (4:1). God then gave him three signs (σημεία; 4:9).

• Moses and his family returned to Egypt on a mission to liberate the children of Israel (4:20). During his journey, he linked up with Aaron; the two brothers then “convened the council of elders [συνήγαγον τὴν γερούσιαν] of the children of Israel. And Aaron spoke all these words that God had spoken to Moses, and he [Moses?] performed the signs before the people.

And the people believed [ἐπίστευσεν] and rejoiced” (4:29–31).

• Moses and Aaron then went to Pharaoh to demand liberation (5:1).

The devil, in the desert, tempted Jesus to perform miracles three times (2:3–15).

“Jesus went into Galilee and preached, ‘Repent! The kingdom of God has arrived’” (3:1 [4:14]).

«Jesus performed miracles.»  
And he went into Nazara and was “teaching in the synagogue [συναγωγῆ].

And many people on hearing were amazed and said, ‘Where did this fellow get his wisdom and powers? Is this not Joseph’s son?’ And they were offended by him. . . . And he was amazed at their unbelief [ἀπιστίαν]” (3:2–5 [4:16, 22, (M) 13:57, 4:24]).

Jesus went to Capernaum and continued preaching the advent of God’s kingdom (3:6 [4:31]).

Whereas the people of Israel “believed” Moses’ “signs” as a evidence of God’s empowerment, the residents of Nazara greeted Jesus’ “powers” with “unbelief.” Surely *Logoi’s* readers could be forgiven if they saw in its depiction of Jesus “a prophet . . . such as Moses, . . . with all the signs and wonders” (Deut 34:10–11). At Jesus’ hometown, however, his neighbors gave the miracle worker no special credibility.

Parallels to *Logoi* 2 and 3 also appear in the opening chapters of Ezekiel where a heavenly vision empowers a priest in exile to assume the role of a prophet. The following parallels are particularly striking.

Ezek 1:1, 3, 28b, 2:1–5 (imit. [A])

And it so happened in the thirtieth year, [καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἔτει] in the fourth month, on the fifth of the month, and I was in the midst of the captivity at the river Chorab, and the skies were opened [ἠνοιχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί], and I saw [καὶ εἶδον] visions of God. . . . The hand of the Lord came

*Logoi* 2:1–2 and 3:1

And it so happened in those days [καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις] that Jesus came from Galilee and was baptized.

And the skies were opened [ἠνεώχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί], and he saw [καὶ εἶδεν] the Spirit descending upon him

upon me [ἐπ' ἐμέ]. [Ezekiel sees an empowering vision.] And I saw, fell on my face, and heard a voice [φωνήν] speaking. And it said to me, "Son of Man [υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου], stand on your feet, and I will speak to you."

And the Spirit came upon me [ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ πνεῦμα], lifted me up [ἀνέλαβέν με], raised me, and stood me on my feet, and I heard him speaking to me. And he said to me, "Son of Man [υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου], I am sending you to the house of Israel, to those who provoke me, who themselves have provoked me as well as their ancestors, to this very day. And you will tell them: 'Thus says the Lord.' Perhaps they will listen or tremble, ... and they will know that you are a prophet [προφητῆς] in their midst. But you, Son of Man [υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου], do not fear them."

The heavenly voice told the newly designated prophet Ezekiel that, ironically, his own people would not hear his message, whereas people of a foreign tongue would (2:1–5 and 3:4–7). Later we shall see that the command that Ezekiel go only to "the house of Israel" informed a similar command of Jesus to the Twelve.

The parallels between the empowerment of Moses by means of signs and a heavenly voice, of Ezekiel by means of the vision and a heavenly voice, and of Jesus by means of the descent of the Spirit and a heavenly voice surely are not accidental. The author of *Logoi* apparently used two famous call narratives in Jewish Scriptures as his models for Jesus' baptism and motivation for his daring message. But whereas Moses and Ezekiel were prophets, Jesus' baptism announced him as God's Son. John the Baptist was a prophet, and greater than all prophets, but Jesus was even greater (cf. 5:7–9 [7:26–28]). These parallels between Jesus and the initiations of the prophetic callings of Moses and Ezekiel make it highly likely that Jesus' rejection at this hometown appeared at the beginning of his ministry in Galilee, as in Luke, and not mid-career, as in Mark and Matthew.

[ἐπ' αὐτόν].

And a voice [φωνή] came from the skies, "You are my beloved Son [υἱός μου]; in you I take delight."

And Jesus was led up [ἀνίχθη] into the wilderness by the Spirit [τοῦ πνεύματος]. ... [The devil tempted Jesus in the wilderness after fortydays of hunger (2:3–15), after which,] Jesus went to Galilee and preached, "Repent! The kingdom of God has arrived."

[When the people in his hometown heard his teaching, "they were offended by him. And Jesus said to them, 'A prophet [προφητῆς] is not without honor except in his own homeland.' And he was amazed at their unbelief" (3:4–5 [4:22, (M) 13:57]).]

3:7–12 (9:57–62; MQ+ 8:19–22). Acquiring Disciples<sup>51</sup>

- 3:7 And someone said to him, 9:57  
 “I will follow you wherever you go.”
- 3:8 And Jesus said to him, 9:58  
 “Foxes have holes,  
 and birds of the sky have nests;  
 but the Son of Man does not have anywhere he can lay his head.”

Commentators have seen here a subversion of Ps 8:5–9 (all. [B]), where the psalmist praises God for having subdued all creation to humankind.

What is a human being [ἄνθρωπος] that you remember him, or a son of man [υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου] that you pay attention to him? You made him slightly lower than angels and crowned him with glory and honor. You set him over the works of your hands and subordinated everything under his feet, . . . even over the beasts of the field and the birds of the sky [τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ].

For the author of *Logoi*, Jesus is the Son of Man, but he will not have the authority that the psalmist praises until he returns in power and glory. For the present, even beasts and birds have more security than he.<sup>52</sup>

- 3:9 But another said to him, 9:59  
 “Master, permit me first to go and bury my father.”
- 3:10 But he said [to him], 9:60  
 “Follow me, and leave the dead to bury their own dead.”
- 3:11 And another said, 9:61  
 “I will follow you, Master,  
 but permit me to say farewell to those in my house.”
- 3:12 But Jesus said to him, 9:62  
 “No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks behind  
 is fit for the kingdom of God.”

As we have seen, this passage imitates the call of Elisha in 1 Kgs 19:19–21 (imit. [B]), but presents Jesus as more demanding than Elijah, for he disallows a return home.<sup>53</sup>

51. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 86 and *Logoi* 3:8 (9:58).

52. See the discussion of Jewish parallels in Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 160–63.

53. The three exchanges in *Logoi* may also have an antetext in Deut 33:9, where Moses praises the Levites for obeying God’s commands, even when it involved violence against their own families. This passage may echo the command to Lot’s family not to look back when fleeing Sodom, a command that Lot’s wife violated to her ruin (Gen 19:17 and 26).



Between 3:12 and 3:13 (9:62 and 5:27). Responses to Jesus' Call

«Despite the hardships, some people decided to follow Jesus.»

3:13–18 (5:27–32; MQ+ 9:9–13). Eating with Tax Collectors and Sinners

|      |  |      |
|------|--|------|
| 3:13 | And while passing by he saw Matthew sitting at the tax booth,<br>and he said to him, "Follow me."  | 5:27 |
| 3:14 | He rose up and followed him.   | 5:28 |
| 3:15 | And it so happened that while Jesus reclined to eat at his house,<br>many tax collectors and sinners too were reclining<br>with Jesus and his disciples. | 5:29 |
| 3:16 | When the Pharisees saw it, they said to his disciples,<br>"Why is he eating with tax collectors and sinners?"  | 5:30 |
| 3:17 | On hearing this, he said,<br>"Those who are strong have no need of a physician;<br>those who are sick do."   | 5:31 |
| 3:18 | I did not come to call the righteous but sinners."   | 5:32 |

This logion is the first of several to contrast Jesus' message to that of the Pharisees as guardians of Mosaic purity codes that excluded the likes of "tax collectors and sinners" from table fellowship. The reader now, for the first time, suspects that Jesus' behavior will offend the religious authorities.

3:19–24 (5:33–38; MQ+ 9:14–17). Not Fasting<sup>54</sup>

|      |   |      |
|------|---|------|
| 3:19 | The disciples of John came to him, and said,<br>"Why do we and the Pharisees fast,<br>but your disciples do not fast?"  | 5:33 |
| 3:20 | And Jesus said to them,<br>"The sons of the wedding chamber are not able to fast<br>while the bridegroom is with them, are they?"   | 5:34 |
| 3:21 | Days will come when the bridegroom will be taken from them;<br>then they will fast in that day.   | 5:35 |
| 3:22 | No one patches a patch from an unwashed cloth on an old<br>garment;<br>otherwise, the cloth not shrunk tears from it, the new from the<br>old,<br>and a worse tear results. | 5:36 |
| 3:23 | And no one casts new wine into old skins;<br>otherwise, the wine bursts the skins;  | 5:37 |

54. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 47 and 104.

- it is spilled, and the skins are destroyed.  
 3:24 One should cast new wine into new skins.” 5:38

*Logoi's* Jesus here distinguishes the conduct of his disciples by comparing them to male celebrants at a wedding who cannot fast until the bridegroom “is taken from them.” Clearly, John was not the bridegroom; Jesus was.<sup>55</sup>

### 3:25–29 (6:1–5; MQ+ 12:1–4, 8). Gleaning on the Sabbath

- 3:25 It so happened that 6:1  
 he was traveling through grain fields on a Sabbath,  
 and his disciples were gleaning the heads of grain and eating  
 them.<sup>56</sup>
- 3:26 And the Pharisees said to him, 6:2  
 “Look: why are they doing what is not permitted on the Sab-  
 bath?”
- 3:27 He said to them, 6:3  
 “Have you not read what David did  
 when he and those with him were hungry,  
 3:28 how he went into the house of God, 6:4  
 took the bread of the presence, ate it,  
 and gave it to those who were with him—  
 bread that it is not permitted to eat except for the priests  
 alone?”
- 3:29 And he said to them, 6:5  
 “The Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath.”

Here the author of *Logoi* explicitly refers to David’s eating the bread of the presence in 1 Sam 21:2–6. Prohibitions about working on the Sabbath appear in Deut 5:12–15; according to Exod 21:12–15, the penalty for violation was death (all. [B]).<sup>57</sup>

### 3:30–33 (6:6–7, 9–10; MQ+ 12:9–14). Healing on the Sabbath

- 3:30 And he entered the synagogue on the Sabbath, 6:6

55. Luke uses this pericope as a model also in 19:1–10, his story of Zacchaeus (a secondary redaction).

56. On gleaning in general, see, for example, Deut 23:25: “If you should enter the crop of your neighbor and gather the heads of grain [στάχυς] with your hands, you should never carry a pruning knife to the crop of your neighbor.”

57. One also might observe that Deuteronomy encourages the gleaning of crops by the needy, but says nothing about doing so on the Sabbath (23:25–29). It also speaks of food reserved for Levites (18:1–5 and 26:13–14).

- and behold a man was there with a withered hand.
- 3:31 And they were observing him closely, saying, 6:7  
 “Is it permitted to heal on the Sabbath?”
- 3:32 And he said to them, 6:9  
 “Who of you who will have an ox  
 and it falls into a ditch on the Sabbath  
 will not grab it and bring it out?”<sup>56</sup>  
 And they were unable to respond to these things.
- 3:33 He said to the man, 6:10  
 “Stretch out your hand.”  
 And his hand stretched out and was restored like the other one.<sup>58</sup>

The author of *Logoi* repeatedly alluded to the LXX/OG to portray Jesus in continuity with and superior to characters in Israel’s past, including the prophets presented in 1 and 2 Kings. As we have seen, the call to follow Jesus in *Logoi* 3:7–12 (9:57–62) imitated the call of Elisha in 1 Kgs 19:19–21.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, the healing of the man with a withered hand seems to allude to 1 Kgs 13:4–6. King Jeroboam of Israel built an altar at Bethel that “a man of God” denounced. The king stretched out his hand to order the prophet arrested, “and behold, his hand withered, the one that he extended against him” (13:4). Taking this as a sign of divine disapproval, Jeroboam ordered the altar destroyed and asked the prophet to heal him. The man of God “returned the hand of the king to him, and it was as it had been before” (13:6). *Logoi* presents Jesus performing a similar miracle on the Sabbath.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1 Kgs 13:4–6 (imit. [A])</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• King Jeroboam builds an altar at Bethel.</li> <li>• The king stretches out his hand to order the prophet arrested, and it withers (ἐξηράνθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ).</li> <li>• The king destroys the altar and asks the man of God to heal his hand. “He returned the hand of the king to him, and it was as it had been before.”</li> </ul> | <p><i>Logoi</i> 3:30–33 (6:6–7, 9–10)</p> <p>Jesus is in a synagogue.</p> <p>A man is there with a withered hand (χεῖρα ἔχων ξηράν).</p> <p>Jesus orders the man to stretch out his hand. “And his hand stretched out and was restored like the other one.”</p> |
|--|---|

Both stories involve conflicts with authorities; both involve a man with a withered hand; and in both the divine agent heals the extended hand. Jesus

58. Cf. Deut 22:4.

59. The command not to greet anyone on the road in *Logoi* 10:10 (10:4) may allude to a similar command to Gehezi in 2 Kgs 4:29.

here plays the role of “the man of God,” while Jeroboam’s role is split between the man with the withered hand and Jesus’ opponents who object to his healing on the Sabbath. After a useful discussion of Jewish legislation against healing on the Sabbath, Yarbro Collins concludes, “In light of these various traditions, the portrayal of the opponents of Jesus in this account implies that they intended to accuse Jesus of deliberately profaning the Sabbath or working on the Sabbath. In principle the penalty for this offense was death. In practice, a scourging was the more likely outcome.”<sup>60</sup>

### 3:34–38 (6:12–16; MQ+ 10:1–4). The List of the Twelve

|      |   |      |
|------|---|------|
| 3:34 | Jesus ascended into the mountain  | 6:12 |
| 3:35 | and called his twelve disciples.  | 6:13 |
| 3:36 | Simon, the one called Peter,<br>and Andrew his brother,<br>and Jacob, and John his brother,<br>and Philip, and Bartholomew, and Thomas, | 6:14 |
| 3:37 | and Matthew, and Jacob the son of Alphaeus, and Thaddeus,<br>and Simon the Cananaean,   | 6:15 |
| 3:38 | and Judas the son of Jacob. <sup>61</sup>   | 6:16 |

The reference here to Jesus and the Twelve ascending the mountain imitates Moses’ reception of the *torah* for the twelve tribes of Israel on Horeb (Sinai); what follows in *Logoi* is his Inaugural Sermon.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Deut 10:3b (cf. Deut 9:9; imit. [A])  | <i>Logoi</i> 3:34–35 (6:12–13)                               |
| “And I [Moses] ascended into the mountain [καὶ ἀνέβην εἰς τὸ ὄρος].”  | And Jesus ascended into the mountain [ἀνέβη δὲ εἰς τὸ ὄρος]. |
| Deut 1:23b–24 (imit. [A])   |  |
| “And I took from you twelve [δώδεκα] men, one man per tribe, and they turned and ascended the mountain [ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος].” | and called his twelve [δώδεκα] disciples. <sup>62</sup>      |

In this second passage from Deuteronomy, Moses speaks proudly of having selected from each of the twelve tribes “men who were wise, knowledgeable, and understanding, and I set them to rule over you” as judges

60. *Mark*, 208.

61. For the three instances here of Ἰάκωβος I prefer the transliteration Jacob to the translation James.

62. See also Deut 5:1: “And Moses called all Israel and said...”

(1:15–16). Jesus’ selection of the Twelve, however, has nothing to do with their wisdom and everything to do with their ability to plow for the kingdom of God without looking back, not even back at their families. Later Jesus gives thanks to his Father for having revealed mysteries not “to the wise and understanding [σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν]” but “to children,” apparently a reference to the Twelve (10:26 [10:21]). The contrast with “the wise ... and understanding [σοφούς ... καὶ συνετούς]” men from each of the twelve tribes chosen to be judges (κριταῖς) early in Deuteronomy probably is no accident. It also is worth noting that at the very end of the lost Gospel Jesus promises these same twelve less than brilliant men that they would be judges of Israel: “Truly I tell you that you are the ones who followed me; my Father will give you the kingdom, and when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory, you too will sit on twelve thrones judging [κρίνοντες] the twelve tribes of Israel” (10:61–63 [22:28–30]).

#### 4. THE INAUGURAL SERMON AND THE CENTURION’S FAITH

Chapter 4 attributed twenty-seven verses in the Sermon on the Mount to Matthew’s second source, which strongly suggests that a similar discourse appeared in the *Logoi of Jesus*. On the basis of similar criteria, I will attribute to the lost Gospel the following logia from the Gospel of Luke’s Sermon on the Plain.

| Luke    | Description                               |
|---------|---|
| 6:20–23 | Beatitudes                                |
| 6:24–26 | Woes                                      |
| 6:27–28 | Love your enemies                         |
| 6:31    | The Golden Rule                           |
| 6:36–38 | Being full of compassion like your Father |
| 6:39    | The blind Leading the blind               |
| 6:43–45 | The tree is known by its fruit            |
| 6:46    | Not just saying Lord, Lord                |

Except for the woes, all of these logia have parallels in Matthew, but in a different sequence. CEQ and Fleddermann reconstruct the Inaugural Sermon on the basis of Matthew-Luke overlaps and generally favor Luke’s order; my reconstruction, too, prefers Luke’s sequence, but not consistently because of my use of alternative sequential criteria.

Sequential criterion 1 (identical order in all three Gospels) is useless insofar Mark contains no extensive equivalent to this discourse; his alternative discourse is the Parable Sermon in chapter 4. Mark was less interested than Matthew and Luke in Jesus’ sayings and more interested in his deeds as evi-

dence of his identity as the Son of God.<sup>63</sup> Criterion 2 locates units attributable to *Logoi* that appear only in one Gospel relative to other traditional content in that Gospel. Accordingly, the woes that appear in Luke should follow the Beatitudes, and the following logia unique to Matthew should appear in Matthean sequence.

| Matthew      | Description                |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| +5:19        | Observing the commandments |
| +5:22        | Not speaking in anger      |
| +5:34–35, 37 | Against swearing oaths     |

Criterion 3 (agreements in order between Matthew and Luke's independent uses of the lost Gospel) is indispensable for rearranging the Inaugural Sermon. Four logia satisfy this criterion. (The symbol ">" means that the Lukan version reflects a textual stratum more primitive than Matthew.)

| Matthew | Luke     | Description                |
|---------|----------|----------------------------|
| 5:3–12  | >6:20–23 | Beatitudes                 |
| 5:44    | >6:27–28 | Love your enemies          |
| 7:1–2   | >6:37–38 | Not judging                |
| 7:21    | >6:46    | Not just saying Lord, Lord |

Criterion 4 compares logia to biblical antetexts that may have informed them. After Matthew's Sermon on the Mount one reads of Jesus healing the son of a Roman centurion; similarly, after Luke's Sermon on the Plain one finds a version of the same story. Although it is possible that Luke merely parroted Matthew's sequence, a parallel sequence in Deuteronomy suggests that the units appeared together already in Matthew's second source, viz. *Logoi*.

On the basis of these four sequential criteria, one can establish the following literary structure, which criteria 5 and 6 will augment.

| Matthew      | Luke     | Description                | Criterion satisfied |
|--------------|----------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 5:3–12       | >6:20–23 | Beatitudes                 | 3                   |
|              | 6:24–26  | Woes                       | 2                   |
| +5:19        |          | Observing the commandments | 2                   |
| +5:22        |          | Not speaking in anger      | 2                   |
| +5:34–35, 37 |          | Against swearing oaths     | 2                   |

63. On this issue see Léon Vaganay, "L'Absence du sermon sur la montagne chez Marc," *RB* 58 (1951): 5–46, and "Existe-t-il chez Marc quelques traces du sermon sur la montagne?" *NTS* 1 (1954–1955): 192–200.

|         |          |                              |   |
|---------|----------|------------------------------|---|
| 5:44    | >6:27–28 | Love your enemies            | 3 |
| 7:1–2   | >6:37–38 | Not judging                  | 3 |
| 7:21    | >6:46    | Not just saying Lord, Lord   | 3 |
| 7:24–27 | 6:47–49  | Houses built on rock or sand | 4 |
| +8:5–12 | 7:1–10   | The centurion's faith        | 4 |

Criterion 5 evaluates divergent sequences by preferring the one that displays less redactional manipulation. Matthew's editorial activities in the Sermon on the Mount are more radical than Luke's, including its secondary relocation of the entire sermon to the beginning of Jesus' career in Galilee. Furthermore, to expand the discourse the Matthean Evangelist wandered through the lost Gospel foraging for additional material. Luke's location of the sermon later in Jesus' career and his shorter version thus display inverted priority to the Sermon on the Mount as a whole. For the most part, Luke's sermon also satisfies sequential criterion 6 insofar as it is more internally meaningful with other content from the lost Gospel than the Sermon on the Mount.

The order of logia in the Synopsis (see end of this chapter, 411–504) reflects the application of these criteria and anticipates the discussion of the sequencing in the discussion of the textual reconstruction.

#### TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

##### 4:1–4 (6:20–23). Beatitudes

Matthew's Sermon on the Mount and Luke's Sermon on the Plain both begin with beatitudes, but Luke surely preferred a version that he saw independent of Matthew.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Luke 6:20–23  | <Matt 5:2–12   |
| And raising his eyes to his disciples, he said:<br>“Blessed are you poor,<br>for the kingdom of God is for you.<br>Blessed are you who hunger,<br>for you will eat your fill.<br>Blessed are you who weep now,<br>for you will laugh. | He opened his mouth and taught them, saying,<br>“Blessed are the poor in spirit,<br>for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.<br><br>Blessed are those who mourn,<br>for they will be consoled.<br>Blessed are the lowly,<br>for they shall inherit the earth.<br>Blessed are those who hunger and<br>thirst for righteousness,<br>for they will eat their fill.<br>Blessed are the merciful, |
| Blessed are you when people hate you,   |  |

exclude you, insult you, and cast out your name as evil against you because of the Son of Man.  
Be glad in that day and leap for joy, for behold, vast is your reward in heaven. For their fathers treated the prophets in the same manner.”

for they will be treated mercifully.  
Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God.  
Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called the sons of God.  
Blessed are those who are persecuted for the sake of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.  
Blessed are you when they insult you, persecute you, and, [lying,] say every kind of evil against you because of me.  
Be glad and exult, for vast is your reward in heaven. For this is how they persecuted the prophets who were before you.”

The vast majority of interpreters hold that Luke’s shorter version is more primitive than Matthew’s expansion (criterion A).<sup>64</sup> Whereas Luke refers to the physical deprivations of Jesus’ disciples, Matthew applies the Beatitudes more broadly and transforms the categories into spiritual virtues; thus, the “poor” become the “poor in spirit”; those “who hunger” become “those who hunger and thirst for righteousness.” For similar reasons the Evangelist added references to “the merciful, ... the pure in heart, ... and the peacemakers.” The second-person address in Luke, “you,” seems to have become third person in Matthew to allow for a more universal application. Notice also Luke’s reference to the Son of Man, which becomes “me” in Matthew. It would require mental gymnastics to argue that Luke crafted his version of the Beatitudes from what appears in Matt 5:2–12.<sup>65</sup> My reconstruction in the synopsis agrees largely with *CEQ*.<sup>66</sup>

4:5–7 (6:24–26). Woes

Only Luke’s Gospel contains Woes in addition to Beatitudes, and for this reason many reconstructions of Q, including *CEQ* and Fleddermann, omit them. Several factors, however, encourage their inclusion.<sup>67</sup> Although it is dif-

64. See Thomas Heike, *Q 6:20–21: The Beatitudes for the Poor, Hungry, and Mourning* (DQ; Leuven: Peeters, 2001) for the history of scholarship on this logion.

65. So also *CEQ* and Fleddermann.

66. See also Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 279–82.

67. These verses are included by Kloppenborg (*Earliest Gospel*, 163) and Delbert Burkett (*Rethinking the Gospel Sources. Volume 2. The Unity and Plurality of Q* [ECL 1. Atlanta:



difficult to prove that the Woes were traditional (criterion B), they are congruent (criterion C) not only with the Beatitudes but with woes elsewhere in the lost source (see MQ+ 23:16 and the discussion of *Logoi* 7:1–16). Criticisms of wealth too are common elsewhere in the book.

It is not difficult to understand why Matthew, had he seen the Woes in the lost Gospel, would have omitted them (criterion D). The Evangelist had greatly expanded the Beatitudes and by so doing broke the elegant symmetry of the Beatitudes and Woes as one finds them in Luke.

The Epistle of James may contain a free redaction of two of the Woes.

Luke 6:24 and 25b

“But woe to you who are rich [τοις πλουσίοις], for you have your consolation. . . . Woe to you who laugh [οι γελῶντες] now, for you will mourn and weep [πενθήσετε καὶ κλαύσετε].”

Jas 4:9 and 5:1

Grieve, mourn, and weep [πενθήσατε καὶ κλαύσατε]! Your laughter [ὁ γέλως] will turn into mourning [πένθος], and your joy into despair. . . . Now listen, you rich people [οἱ πλούσιοι], weep [κλαύσατε] with groaning at your coming misery!

4:8–9 (14:34–35; MQ- 5:13). Insuper Salt

Chapter 4 argued for the attribution of Matt 5:13 to MQ-; Luke’s version likely is more original than both it and Mark 9:49–50.

Luke 14:34–35

“So salt is good, but if salt becomes insipid, with what will it be seasoned? Neither for the earth nor for the dung-hill is it fit—they throw it out. May the one who has ears to hear hear.”

<Matt 5:13 (<Mark 9:49–50)

“You are the salt of the earth, but if the salt becomes insipid, with what will it be salted? It has no enduring function except to be cast outside to be trampled on by people.”

Luke’s tagline “May the one who has ears to hear hear” probably is a secondary invitation to the reader to decode the metaphor, but in other respects, Matthew is secondary. Notice the absence in Luke of Matthew’s redactional introduction: “You are the salt of the earth”; the next verse reads, “You are the light of the world” (5:14). Whereas Luke’s version speaks only of rejection

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Society of Biblical Literature, 2009], 77–78), who notes that “the woes correspond to the Q Beatitudes . . . in number, style, and theme,” and that “‘woe’ is a characteristic expression in Q but not in Luke.”

“they throw it out,” Matthew’s intensifies the rejection into violent abuse: “to be trampled.”<sup>68</sup>

It is difficult to decide where to locate this saying, which appears in three different literary settings in the Synoptics: Mark 9:49–50 places it artificially after another Q saying (MQ- 5:29–30), but neither Matthew nor Luke follows Mark in doing so. Luke uses it to conclude a distinctively Lukan passage (14:28–35), while Matthew places it immediately after the Beatitudes and follows it with two more tropes to illustrate the importance of giving witness despite persecution. Of the three Synoptic locations, Matthew’s seems most congenial to *Logoi*: the disciples are to remain faithful to the Son of Man despite persecution, for insipid salt is worthless (sequential criterion 6).

4:10–11 (16:16–17; MQ- 5:18). Since John the Kingdom of God

Chapter 4 attributed Matt 5:18 to MQ- on the basis of its inverted priority to Mark 13:31, which generated a doublet in Matt 24:35. Luke has an equivalent to this saying immediately after another saying with a parallel in Matthew.

Luke 16:16–17

“The law and the prophets were until John. From then on the kingdom of God is proclaimed, and everyone is forced into it.

But is it easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one serif of the law to fall?”

<Matt 11:12–13 and 5:17–18

“From the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and violent people commit violence against it. For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John.”  
 ... “Do not suppose that I have come to destroy the law and the prophets. I have not come to destroy but to fulfill. For truly I tell you, until heaven and earth pass away, not one iota or serif will pass from the law until all is fulfilled.”

Luke’s unified and briefer version of these sayings surely is more primitive than Matthew’s, who expanded the first half concerning violence against “the kingdom of heaven” (not the “kingdom of God” as in Luke; a Matthean redactional flag) and relocated it to link with another passage about John the Baptist in chapter 11.<sup>69</sup> The Evangelist earlier had presented the second half (the permanence of the law) in the Sermon on the Mount. Luke’s version

68. So CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 756–57).

69. So CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 781).

surely is not a redactional combination and truncation of the two sayings in Matthew. In favor of Luke's priority in the second half are its simplicity and the absence of Matthew's tag "until all is fulfilled," a Matthean explication (Luke 16:17<Matt 5:18).

Here is a comparison of Luke 16:17 with its equivalent in Mark.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>Luke 16:17 (cf. Matt 5:18)</p> <p>“But is it easier for heaven and earth to pass away [τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν] than for one serif of the law to fall.”</p> | <p>&lt;Mark 13:31 (cf. Matt 24:35 [b]; Luke 21:33 [b])</p> <p>“Heaven and earth will pass away [ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται], but my words will not pass away [παρελεύσονται].”</p> |
|--|--|

An original word about the abiding validity of the law, a saying that was potentially embarrassing to the early church, has been transformed [by Mark] into a word about the abiding validity of Jesus' words. Since Jesus' words take the place of the law, Mark's saying displays secondary Christianizing tendencies.<sup>70</sup>

*CEQ* prefers Luke's placement of this logion outside the Inaugural Sermon, but that location probably is secondary; the Evangelist relocated it later to follow the parable of the unjust manager as part of a denunciation of the Pharisees (see 16:14–15). Matthew has two redactions of the saying, one each in chapters 5 and 11. The second location surely is an insertion into other traditional material about the Baptist, but the location of the entire unit here in the Sermon on the Mount fits comfortably together with the next logion about observing the commandments (criterion 6).

My reconstruction of the wording this logion differs from earlier attempts, including *CEQ*. Matthew and Luke both take the verb βιάζεται as a present passive. In Luke the subject is “everyone” (“everyone is forced into it”); in Matthew it is “the kingdom of heaven” that is plundered by “the violent.” *CEQ* also takes the verb as a passive and reconstructs: “The law and the prophets «were» until John. From then on the kingdom of God is violated, and the violent plunder it.” But βιάζεται can also be a deponent; that is, it can have an active meaning: “overpower” or “prevail.” This meaning makes better sense of the first part of the sentence which lacks a verb. (It is common in Greek to supply a verb from the context when it is not explicit.) “The law and the prophets «were in force» until John. From then on the kingdom of God is in force.” Matthew and Luke took the verb to be passive but gave it different subjects.

70. Fleddermann, *Mark and Q*, 204. See also Lambrecht, *Redaktion*, 226–27, and “Logia-Quellen,” 346–50.

Matthew apparently recognized *Logoi's* disjunction between the law and the kingdom of God and rewrote the first verse to reaffirm the permanence of the law: Jesus did not “come to destroy” the law “but to fulfill it” (5:17).

Luke's second saying (16:17) seems to contradict his first (16:16); thus, many scholars view it as a later interpolation already in Q.<sup>71</sup> The alleged scribal insertion may have solved a theological problem, but it created a logical one. As we shall see in the discussion of antetexts, the two verses need not be read as contradictory.

#### 4:12 ([M] 5:19; MQ+ 5:19). Observing the Commandments

Chapter 4 argued that Matthew redacted the following logion which he found here in *Logoi's* Inaugural Sermon somewhere between the woes and the command to love one's enemies. My reconstruction has stripped away Matthew's apparent redactional additions.

#### 4:13 (16:18; MQ- 5:32). Divorce Leading to Adultery

Chapter 4 attributed Matt 5:32 to MQ- on the basis of the inverted priority of the non-Markan doublet (compare Mark 10:11–12 and Matt 19:9).<sup>72</sup> Luke's version of this saying seems to be even more primitive than Matthew's insofar as it knows nothing of Matthew's redactional exception, “except for fornication.”<sup>73</sup> Notice Luke's silence with respect to Matthew's antithesis formula, a redactional flag. This then is an example of a Lukan nondoublet: the prohibition of divorce appears only once in Luke because he redacted only the version he saw in the lost Gospel (a Lukan nondoublet).

Luke 16:18

“Everyone who divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery, and the one who marries a divorcee from her husband commits adultery.”

<Matt 5:31–32 (<Mark 10:11–12)

“It was said, ‘Whoever divorces his wife, let him give her a [document of] dissolution.’ But I say to you, everyone who divorces his wife, except in the case of sexual infidelity, makes her commit adultery, and whoever marries a divorcee commits adultery.”

71. E.g., Kloppenborg, *Excavating*, 212.

72. Cf. 1 Cor 7:10–11.

73. So CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 785–86).

The strongest reason for placing this logion here in the Inaugural Sermon is its attachment to 4:10–16 (16:16–17) in Luke 16:16–18 (cf. Matt 5:17–18 and 32).

4:14–16 ([M] 5:22–24; MQ+ 5:22 and MQ- 5:23–24). Reconciling before Sacrificing

Chapter 4 argued for the inclusion of this saying, which appears only in Matthew.

4:17–18 (12:58–59). Settling out of Court

This logion appears in Matt 5:25–26 and Luke 12:58–59, but because Luke's version clearly is secondary, it is possible that he merely borrowed it from Matthew. On the other hand, the passage appears in Luke among other content attributable to the lost Gospel (see the discussion of 8:17–32 [12:39–46, 49, 50, 54–56, and 13:18–19]); in other words, the Evangelist seems to have been consulting *Logoi* and not Matthew when composing chapter 12. The logion's absence in Mark is not alarming insofar as Mark neglected to redact much of the Inaugural Sermon (criterion D).

In keeping with its general preference for Luke's order, *CEQ* places this pericope after 12:54–56 (judging the time) and before 13:18–19 (the mustard seed), but the three logia have no content to suggest that they appeared in this sequence in the source.<sup>74</sup> Notice also Luke's awkward suture at 12:57.

Matthew's arrangement is more meaningful insofar as it contains several statements from *Logoi* showing that Jesus' teachings were superior to the biblical command "you shall not kill"; not only must Jesus' followers not kill, they must seek to resolve their conflicts with others. If such logia appeared together already in the lost Gospel, they would create the following logic: the disciples are to rejoice even though they will be persecuted, just as Israel's prophets were; they nevertheless must retain their saltiness. On the other hand, they should keep the commandments, not hurl insults, and settle grievances before offering sacrifices and going to court. The next logion (4:19–21 [(M) 5:34–35, 37]) continues the commands not to give unnecessary offence by insisting that the disciples be honest in their speech and legal affairs. In other words, this logion is congruent with neighboring logia attributable to the *Logoi of*

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74. Fleddermann, consistent with his aversion to *Sondergut*, has no Q 12:54–56, so he placed this logion after 12:52.

*Jesus* (criterion C and sequential criterion 6). My reconstruction in the synopsis largely agrees with *CEQ*.

4:19–21 ([M] 5:34–35, 37; MQ+ 5:34–35, 37). Against Swearing Oaths

This logion appears only in Matthew, but chapter 4 argued for including it in MQ, and sequential criterion 2 requires its location here.

4:22–24 (6:29, [M] 5:41, 6:30; MQ+ 5:39b–41). Renouncing One's Own Rights

Chapter 4 attributed this logion to MQ on the basis of Mark's secondary redactions at Jesus' crucifixion. The reconstruction in the synopsis largely conforms to *CEQ*.

4:25–27 (6:27–28, 35). Love Your Enemies

Luke's version of this logion lacks Matthew's redactional antithesis formula and its citation of Lev 19:18.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Luke 6:27–28   | <Matt 5:43–44   |
| [cf. Lev 19:18b]   |   |
| “But I tell all of you who are listening:<br>Love your enemies, do good to those<br>who hate you, bless those who curse<br>you, pray for those who abuse you.” | “You have heard that it was said, ‘You<br>will love your neighbor and hate your<br>enemy.’ But I say to you,<br>love your enemies and<br><br>pray for those who persecute you.” |

Paul's similar expressions in Rom 12:14 suggest that such instructions in Luke were traditional long before Matthew (criterion B).<sup>75</sup> For the reconstruction in the synopsis I am influenced by Fleddermann.<sup>76</sup> This logion satisfies sequential criterion 3 insofar as Luke's order conforms to Matthew's even though it is dependent on *Logoi*.

4:28–29 (6:32, 34). Impartial Love

Matt 5:46–47 and Luke 6:32 and 34 clearly are parallel, and Matthew seems to present the saying in its more original wording and sequence, so the

75. Fleddermann's Q agrees essentially with Luke (Q: *A Reconstruction and Translation*, 289–90).

76. Q: *A Reconstruction and Translation*, 289–90.

unit does not display Lukan inverted priority. On the other hand, Matthew's logion is coherent with other content from the lost Gospel (MQ+ 5:39b–41; criterion C). Furthermore, Luke had been redacting *Logoi* in the verses immediately preceding and following it. Surely it is unlikely that he set aside his copy of *Logoi* in order to consult Matthew for these two verses. This unit thus may qualify for sequential criterion 3; independent agreement in order between Matthew and Luke.

#### 4:30 (6:36). Being Full of Compassion like Your Father

Matthew's Sermon on the Mount and Luke's Sermon on the Plain contain similar sayings shortly after the saying about loving enemies, another example of Lukan inverted priority.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Luke 6:36  | <Matt 5:48   |
| “Be compassionate,<br>just as your Father is compassionate.” | “So be perfect,<br>just as your heavenly Father is perfect.” |

Luke's “be compassionate” probably is more primitive than Matthew's “be perfect” insofar as Matthew's sermon makes the point, as Luke's does not, that the Twelve must exceed the Pharisees in ethical perfection (cf. 5:20). The only other use of the word τέλειος in any Gospel is in Matt 19:21, with a similar contextual function.<sup>77</sup> With *CEQ* my reconstruction agrees with Luke.

#### 4:31–32 (6:37–38; MQ- 7:1–2). Not Judging

Chapter 4 attributed this logion to MQ-; the reconstruction in the synopsis replicates *CEQ*.

#### 4:33 (6:31). The Golden Rule<sup>78</sup>

In favor of Luke's priority to Matthew here is the balance of this saying and its omission of what seems to be a Matthean tagline.<sup>79</sup>

77. So also *CEQ* and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 293).

78. See Dupont's arguments for Mark's use of Q in “Transmission,” 219–22.

79. So also *CEQ* and Fleddermann.

Luke 6:31

“And as you wish that people treat you, treat them likewise.”

&lt;Matt 7:12

“Therefore every manner that you wish that people treat you, thus also treat them; for this is the law and the prophets.”

My reconstruction thus is identical to Luke.

## 4:34 (6:39). The Blind Leading the Blind

Luke’s sermon contains this saying which appears in Matthew much later than the Sermon on the Mount.

Luke 6:39

“Can a blind person show the way to a blind person? Will not both fall into a pit?”

&lt;Matt 15:14

“Let them be; they are blind guides [to the blind]. If a blind person leads a blind person, both will fall into a pit.”

Of the two versions Matthew’s clearly is secondary; note especially the introducing line that attaches it to the polemic that precedes it. Matthew’s pen has turned two rhetorical questions into a single declarative denunciation of the Pharisees (sequential criterion 5).<sup>80</sup> The reconstruction thus agrees with Luke.

## 4:35 (6:40). The Disciple and the Teacher

Matthew more faithfully preserves the wording of this saying in 10:24–25, but outside the Sermon on the Mount and in the context of Jesus’ instructions to the Twelve about their mission. Although one cannot demonstrate Lukan inverted priority here on the basis of wording, one can do so from Luke’s more likely original location of the saying.

If this verse appeared here in *Logoi*, as in Luke, its meaning would be that the disciples, in treating people as they would like to be treated, are behaving like their teacher. They must not seek privileges that Jesus forfeited. The next logion is a case in point: the disciples must address their own shortcomings before they can address the shortcomings of others (sequential criterion 6). Matthew seems to have relocated the saying to warn the disciples that if Jesus’ opponents treated him with contempt and violence, they can expect no better treatment for themselves (criterion 5).

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80. So also *CEQ*.



Furthermore, the Lukan Evangelist had been redacting *Logoi* for the previous logia, and he will do so again in what follows, so it is more likely that his parallels with Matthew here likewise issue from the common source than that he shifted from redacting the lost Gospel to excerpt a sentence from entirely different context in Matthew. Fleddermann makes a compelling case for preferring Matthew's wording of the saying, which I replicate in the synopsis.<sup>81</sup>

#### 4:36–37 (6:41–42). The Speck and the Beam

The nearly verbatim agreements between Matt 7:3–5 and Luke 6:41–42 allow for the possibility that Luke here is redacting Matthew and not *Logoi*. Note, however, that in this Lukan location the saying continues the argument of the preceding logia (criterion 6). This saying also is congruent with the prohibitions against judging others in MQ+ 7:1–2 and elsewhere in *Logoi* (criterion C). The reconstruction in the synopsis reproduces *CEQ*.

#### 4:38–40 (6:43–45). The Tree Is Known by Its Fruit

The Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Plain both contain versions of this saying, but Matthew seems to have segmented it.

Luke 6:43–45

“No healthy tree bears rotten fruit, nor on the other hand does a decayed tree bear healthy fruit. For each tree is known from its own fruit. For they do not gather figs from thorns, or grapes from thistles.

<Matt 7:16–18 and 12:33–35

“From their fruits you will recognize them. Are grapes picked from thorns, or figs from thistles? Thus every good tree produces good fruit, and the rotten tree produces evil fruit. It is impossible for a good tree to produce evil fruit or for a rotten tree to produce good fruit.”  
 ... “Either you make the tree healthy and its fruit healthy, or you make the tree rotten and its fruit rotten. For from the fruit the tree is known. Snakes’ litter! How can you speak good things when you are evil? For the mouth speaks from the fullness of the heart.

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81. Q: *A Reconstruction and Translation*, 741–44.

The good person from one's good treasure produces good, and the evil person from the evil produces evil. For from the exuberance of heart one's mouth speaks."

The good person from one's good treasure casts up good things, and the evil person from the evil treasure casts up evil things."

Matthew's division of the saying into two units and its repetition of 7:17–18 in 12:33 almost certainly are secondary. Notice also his redactional swipe at the "snakes' brood" in 12:34, which Luke likely would have retained, as he does in 3:7, if he saw it in his source.<sup>82</sup>

4:41 (6:46). Not Just Saying Lord, Lord

Compare the following:

Luke 6:46

"Why do you call me, 'Lord, Lord,' and not do what I say?"

<Matt 7:21

"Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' will enter into the kingdom of heaven; it is the one who does the will of my Father who is in heaven."

Matthew apparently transformed Jesus' statement about doing what he says into doing "the will of my Father who is in heaven," a typical Matthean expression. Luke's briefer version probably is earlier (criterion A).<sup>83</sup>

4:42–44 (6:47–49). Houses Built on Rock or Sand

Matt 7:24–27 and Luke 6:47–49 contain remarkably similar sayings at the end of their sermons. Insofar as Matthew's version generally seems to be more primitive and insofar as Luke's location is identical, it is impossible to establish Lukan inverted priority here, so one might reasonably argue that Luke's only source was Matthew. On the other hand, the logion in both Gospels appears after and before logia attributable to the lost Gospel, and it supplies an appropriate conclusion to the Inaugural Sermon as a whole (criterion C). The discussion of antetexts will argue that the logion conforms to the author's use of its primary biblical antetext (see also the discussion of *Logoi* 4:45–51 [7:1–3, 6–10]; sequential criterion 4).

82. So also CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 299–304).

83. So also CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 305–6).

4:45–51 (7:1–3, 6–10; MQ+ 8:5–10). The Centurion's Faith

Luke's version of this famous story clearly is secondary; the expansive treatment of the character of the centurion in 7:4–6 resembles Luke's depiction of Cornelius in Acts 10.<sup>84</sup> Although one might be tempted to think that the Evangelist merely redacted Matthew, chapter 4 argued that Mark radically transformed this story into the healing of a paralytic at Capernaum (Mark 2:1–12), which qualifies the Matthean version for inclusion in MQ.

CEQ reconstructs the beginning of this pericope as follows: [[καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε]] [[πλήρω]]σεν .. τοὺς τούτους [[“And it came to pass]] when he .. ended these sayings”; 7:1). The editors rejected Matthew's verb ἐτέλεσεν because the Evangelist uses it again several times later (11:1, 13:53, 19:1, and 26:1). But Luke's ἐπλήρωσεν could also be redactional (see 4:21 and 24:44 and Acts 1:16, 9:23, and 19:21). I favor Matthew's verb in part because it corresponds to its likely biblical antetext (see the discussion of the antetexts). Furthermore, the verb πληρώω, preferred by CEQ, appears elsewhere in the lost Gospel only in 7:16 (11:48) and in an entirely different expression.

The final statement, which contrasts the centurion's faith with the rejection by the Jewish authorities, would make best sense if *Logoi* already had narrated such rejection of Jesus despite his miracle working, controversies such as those that I proposed earlier. No such controversies appear in CEQ or Fleddermann.

Because Matthew and Luke agree weakly with each other against Mark, CEQ does not attempt a reconstruction of Q 7:10, even though the story presumably concluded with a narration of a cure. Luke redacted the story so that the centurion does not come to Jesus himself but dispatches others to make his request. Matthew's account, in which the centurion himself comes to Jesus, surely is more faithful to *Logoi*. The conclusions to three miracle stories in Mark display possible influence from this pericope in *Logoi* (Mark 2:11, 5:34, and 7:29–30) and would seem to favor the reconstruction of 4:51 (7:10) as it appears in the synopsis. For the chiasmic literary structure of the Inaugural Sermon, see the discussion in Chapter 6 (“The *Logoi of Jesus as Literature*”).

#### TRANSLATION AND ANTETEXTUAL COMMENTARY

Many scholars have noted similarities between Jesus' Inaugural Sermon in Q

84. For a helpful history of scholarship, see Steven R. Johnson, *Q 7:1–10: The Centurion's Faith in Jesus' Word* (DQ; Leuven: Peeters, 2002).

and the so-called Holiness Code at the end of Leviticus (chs. 17–27).<sup>85</sup> The religious logic of these chapters in the Torah is this: because God had rescued Israel from Egypt and dispersed the native peoples of the Promised Land, Israel must not conform to the profane practices of the nations but be holy as God is holy.<sup>86</sup> Such holiness requires justice, mercy, and compassion (the observance of just social norms) but also, among other stipulations, the strict observance of the Sabbath, the preservation of cultic bread for the priests, and the exclusion of physically handicapped priests from offering sacrifices (the observance of distinctively religious norms).<sup>87</sup> If Israel obeys God's ordinances, God will bless them with peace and wealth, but if they disobey, God will curse them with oppression and poverty (26:3–39). If they disobey and later repent, God will remember his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and once again bless them (26:40–46). Similar sentiments appear also throughout Deuteronomy. The Dead Sea Scrolls illustrate the importance of such holiness in daily Jewish life under the Roman occupation of Judea, and the Mishnah documents its significance both before and after the Jewish War. In the Inaugural Sermon Jesus continues to play the role of a prophet like Moses but surpasses him. God's most significant trait here is not holiness but compassion (4:30 [6:36]).

4:1–4 (6:20–23). Beatitudes<sup>88</sup>

4:1            And he was saying to them,

6:20

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85. See especially Catchpole, *Quest*, 101–34, and Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 29–38. The author of the Gospel of Mark may not have recognized these often subtle reversals of Jewish law, which may explain why its parallels to *Logoi's* sermon are rare. Although Mark, like the Synoptic source, presents Jesus advocating justice and mercy as more important than religious observance, the Evangelist uses this advocacy primarily to explain the hostility between Jesus and the religious establishment.

86. Lev 18:3 and 24–25, 19:2, 20:7–8, 22–24, and 26, 21:7–8, 22:2, 23:31–33, and 25:38.

87. Lev 19:3 and 39, 21:4–16 and 18–22, 23:1–3, 24:7–9, and 26:2.

88. The *Gospel of Thomas* contains parallels to several of the Beatitudes (logia 54, 68, and 69). At several points the Epistle of James echoes content from *Logoi's* Inaugural Sermon, so much so that some scholars reasonably aver that James knew it (e.g., Hartin, *James*, 140–72). Compare the following:

*Logoi* 4:1 and 3–4 (6:20 and 22–23; all. [A])

Jas 5:2 and 1:2

“Blessed are you poor [οἱ πτωχοὶ],  
for the kingdom of God [ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ  
θεοῦ] is for you. ...  
Blessed [μακάριοι] are you when they

Brethren and beloved, you have heard this:  
has God [ὁ θεός] not chosen the poor [τοὺς  
πτωχοὺς] in this world to be rich in faith and  
heirs of the kingdom [τῆς βασιλείας] that  
he promised to those who love him? ...  
Blessed [μακάριος] is the man who endures

- “Blessed are you poor,  
for the kingdom of God is for you.
- 4:2 Blessed are you who hunger, 6:21  
for you will eat your fill.  
Blessed are you who mourn,  
for you will be consoled.
- 4:3 Blessed are you when they hate and insult you, 6:22  
and say every kind of evil against you  
because of the Son of Man.
- 4:4 Be glad and exult, 6:23  
for vast is your reward in heaven.  
For this is how they treated the prophets.”

These Beatitudes ostensibly concern Jesus’ followers, but the biblical ante-texts suggest that the focus is on Jesus’ authority to make the demands that come later in the sermon. Here Jesus again identifies himself as the Son of Man, who, according to Dan 7:13–14, was promised to receive the kingdom from the Ancient of Days.<sup>89</sup> For those who follow Jesus, the present time may be a period of deprivation, suffering, and persecution analogous to that of the prophets of old. Jesus is the one whom God has selected to vindicate the righteous. The author apparently alluded also to the promises of benefits that appear at the beginning of Isa 61.<sup>90</sup>

Isa 61:1–2 (all. [A])

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,  
for he has anointed me. He sent me  
to preach good news to the poor  
[πτωχοῖς],  
to heal those crushed in their hearts,

to proclaim release to the captives,  
recovery of sight to the blind, to call

*Logoi* 4:1–2 (6:20–21)

[The Spirit descended upon Jesus at his  
baptism.]

“Blessed are you poor [πτωχοί],  
for the kingdom of God is for you.  
Blessed are you who hunger,  
for you will eat your fill.

hate and insult you, and say every kind of  
evil against you because of the Son of  
Man. Be glad and exult, for vast is your  
reward in heaven. For this is how they  
treated the prophets.”

persecution, because if he passes the testing

he will receive the crown of life that was  
promised to those who love him.

89. One should note, however, that in the opening chapters of Ezekiel God addresses the prophet as “son of Man” and warns him of rejection by the people (2:3–7 and 3:4–7).

90. See Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 104–7, who offers several analogous uses of Isa 61 from Qumran.

for the acceptable year of the Lord  
and the day of retribution, to con-  
sole [παρακαλέσαι] all who mourn  
[πενθοῦντας].

Blessed are you who mourn  
[πενθοῦντες], for you will be consoled  
[παρακληθήσεσθε].”

The promises of future rewards in the kingdom of God, here associated with heaven (4:4 [6:23]), compensate for the poverty and suffering of the present. Jesus has authority to make demands on his disciples because he is the one for whose sake they will receive this compensation.

4:5–7 (6:24–26). Woes<sup>91</sup>

- |     |  |      |
|-----|--|------|
| 4:5 | “But woe to you who are rich,<br>for you have your consolation.  | 6:24 |
| 4:6 | Woe to you who are full now,<br>for you will go hungry.<br>Woe to you who laugh now,<br>for you will mourn and weep. | 6:25 |
| 4:7 | Woe to you when all people speak well of you.<br>For their fathers treated the false prophets in the same manner.”   | 6:26 |

*Logoi’s* Inaugural Sermon begins and ends with blessings and curses that resemble both Lev 26 and Deut 28, where one reads that if Israel obeys God’s commandments they will be blessed, but if they disobey, they will be cursed. Whereas the blessings and curses in Leviticus and Deuteronomy apply to Israel as a whole, those in *Logoi* apply to individuals. These Beatitudes also contrast dramatically with Moses’ final words to the twelve tribes at the end of Deuteronomy:

Blessed [μακάριος] are you, Israel:  
what people is like you who is being saved by the Lord?  
Your Help will protect you with a shield;  
the sword will be your boast.  
Your enemies will be false to you;  
but you will tread upon their necks. (33:29; all. [B])

Whereas Moses blesses Israel with the promise of military conquest against its enemies, Jesus blesses the Twelve who will be persecuted in this life but will receive their “reward in heaven.” *Logoi’s* Beatitudes also contrast with the material blessings and security promised throughout Deuteronomy (e.g., 28:1–12).

91. Cf. Jas 4:9 and 5:1.

The author does not make explicit who was persecuting Jesus' followers, but elsewhere one learns that persecution issued from Jews identified either with Jerusalem, "who kills the prophets and stones those sent to her" (7:20 [13:34]), or with Pharisees and other interpreters of *torah*, descendants of those who killed the prophets (7:15–16 [11:47–48]). Some modern interpreters have minimized statements in Q about persecution as inflated rhetoric, but surely behind the rhetoric lies a bitter and violent controversy between the followers of Jesus and stricter adherents of Jewish law.<sup>92</sup>

4:8–9 (14:34–35; MQ- 5:13). Inspid Salt

- |     |  |       |
|-----|--|-------|
| 4:8 | “Salt is good,<br>but if the salt becomes insipid,<br>with what will it be seasoned? | 14:34 |
| 4:9 | Neither for the earth nor for the dunghill is it fit—<br>they throw it out.”         | 14:35 |

Although the Twelve must expect violent abuse, they must not lose their edginess.

4:10–11 (16:16–17; MQ- 5:18). Since John the Kingdom of God

- |      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 4:10 | “The law and the prophets « were in force» until John.<br>From then on the kingdom of God is in force.    | 16:16 |
| 4:11 | But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away<br>than for one iota or one serif of the law to fall.” | 16:17 |

4:12 ([M] 5:19; MQ+ 5:19). Observing the Commandments<sup>93</sup>

- |      |   |          |
|------|---|----------|
| 4:12 | “So whoever does not do<br>one of the least of these commandments<br>will be called least in the kingdom of God,<br>and whoever does them,<br>this one will be called great in the kingdom of God.” | (M) 5:19 |
|------|---|----------|

*Logoi* 4:10 (16:16) interprets for the Twelve—and the reader—Jesus' attitude toward John, which anticipates his comments to the crowd in *Logoi* 5, namely, that John, though great, belongs to the time of the “law and prophets.” In the earlier controversies, Jesus, bringer of new wine, thus could eat with tax collectors and sinners and work on the Sabbath. Even so (δέ; 4:11 [16:17]),

92. Pace Tuckett, Q, 425–50.

93. Cf. Jas 2:10.

one must not view his activities as abolishing the commands of the law, no iota or serif of which will perish. Although he is a new Moses, his teachings do not supersede biblical commands, they merely succeed them. For that reason (οὐν; 4:12 [(M) 5:19]), even though some “in the kingdom of God” may violate the biblical commands (like Gentiles?), those who observe them “will be called great.” *Logoi’s* Jesus will spend much of the Inaugural Sermon clarifying the relationship of his teachings to the law of Moses, especially as depicted in Deuteronomy, and in the end he will demand obedience to his teachings analogous to what he demands here at the beginning of the sermon (4:42–44 [6:47–49]).

4:13 (16:18; MQ- 5:32). Divorce Leading to Adultery

|      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 4:13 | “Everyone who divorces his wife and marries another<br>commits adultery,<br>and the one who marries a divorcee commits adultery.” | 16:18 |
|------|---|-------|

Is Jesus here prohibiting divorce or merely remarriage after divorce? Mark 10:10–12 and Matt 5:32 and 19:9 (and 1 Cor 7:10–11) suggest that he disallowed men divorcing their wives. The versions in Matthew and Luke are silent about a woman divorcing her husband, but Paul and Mark prohibit this as well. Mark 10:10–12 and Matt 19:9 state that Jesus’ ruling contravenes the Mosaic conditions for divorce in Deut 24:1–4: here one reads that a man may send his wife from his house by giving her “a scroll of dissolution [βιβλίον ἀποστασίου],” and both then may remarry.

If one prefers this reading of Jesus’ prohibition, the author of *Logoi* would appear to have struggled with *torah* as Paul had, who similarly stated that Christ was “the end of the law” (Rom 10:4)—the apostle had “died” to it (Gal 2:19)—but the law nevertheless had not been voided (Rom 4–8). The distinction that seems to be at work in the *Logoi of Jesus* contrasts the durability of the law, on the one hand, and its radicalization by the kingdom God, on the other. This is also Matthew’s solution: “Do not suppose that I have come to destroy the law and the prophets. I have come not to destroy but to fulfill” (5:17). One then might understand the prohibition of divorce not so much as a violation of the allowance for divorce in Deut 24:1–4 but as an intensification of the commandment not to commit adultery (e.g., Deut 5:17).

Another interpretation, however, is more likely. *Logoi* 4:13 (16:18) need not prohibit divorce per se but only a man’s remarriage after a divorce or marrying a divorcee. Not only would this reading allow greater continuity with Deut 24; it would be congruent with a similar prohibition to priests in Lev 21:7.



Lev 21:7 (all. [A]; cf. 21:14–15)

They will not take [for marriage] a woman who is a prostitute or defiled or a woman who has been cast away by her husband [γυναίκα ἐκβεβλημένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς]. He [the priest] is holy to his Lord God.

*Logoi* 4:13 (16:18)

“Everyone who divorces his wife [γυναίκα] and marries another commits adultery, and the one who marries a divorcee [ἀπολελυμένην] commits adultery.”

By taking Lev 21 as *Logoi*'s antetext here, one relaxes the tension between Jesus' prohibition and the preceding sayings in *Logoi* 4:11–12 (16:17 and [M] 5:19) about the permanence of the law.

4:14–16 ([M] 5:22–24; MQ+ 5:22 and MQ- 5:23–24). Reconciling before Sacrificing

- 4:14 “Everyone who is angry with his brother (M) 5:22  
is answerable to the judgment;  
and whoever says to his brother, ‘Raka,’  
is answerable to the Sanhedrin;  
and whoever says, ‘Fool,’  
is answerable to the Gehenna of fire.
- 4:15 So if you bring your gift to the altar (M) 5:23  
and there remember that your brother holds something  
against you,
- 4:16 leave your gift there before the altar, (M) 5:24  
go, and first be reconciled with your brother,  
and then come and offer your gift.”

The Sanhedrin mentioned here was a legal body that existed in many Jewish communities, but most references to it in the New Testament pertain to the one in Jerusalem. Here Jesus advises the Twelve to avoid becoming answerable to it; according to Mark, followed by the other Evangelists, it was this Jerusalem institution that condemned Jesus to die.

According to Leviticus, after committing an offense one must “bring the gift [προσείσει τὸ δῶρον]”; the priest will place it on the altar [θυσιαστήριον], and the sin will be forgiven (Lev 4:22–35; all. [B]). Nothing is said in this context about reconciliation with anyone who may have been wronged (though this certainly is addressed elsewhere in the Pentateuch). This logion in *Logoi* insists that before giving the gift at the altar (ἐὰν οὖν προσφέρῃς τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον) one must be reconciled with anyone who has been offended.

## 4:17–18 (12:58–59). Settling out of Court

- 4:17 “Be reconciled with your adversary 12:58  
while you go with him on the way,  
lest the adversary hand you over to the judge,  
and the judge to the assistant,  
and the assistant throw you into prison.
- 4:18 Truly I say to you: 12:59  
You will not get out of there until you pay the last penny.”

*Logoi* 4:18 (12:59) seems to be the first occurrence of the transliterated word ἀμήν in the Synoptic tradition, where it often calls attention to sayings that follow. Such uses of “amen” are quite rare in ancient Jewish texts, and some scholars have proposed that the custom began with the historical Jesus. Be that as it may, the nine uses of it in *Logoi* profoundly influenced later Gospels, including Mark, who used the word thirteen times in just such a manner.

4:19–21 ([M] 5:34–35, 37; MQ+ 5:34–35, 37). Against Swearing Oaths<sup>94</sup>

- 4:19 “I tell you, (M) 5:34  
Do not ever swear an oath,  
neither by heaven, for it is God’s throne,
- 4:20 nor by the earth, for it is his footstool, (M) 5:35  
nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king.
- 4:21 But let your word be ‘yes, yes,’ or ‘no, no.’ (M) 5:37  
Anything more than this is of evil.”

Whereas Moses allowed the swearing of oaths provided that the swearer honor the vow, Jesus here forbids oaths altogether.

Lev 19:12 (cf. Deut 10:20; all. [A])  
“You will not swear an oath [οὐκ ὀμεῖσθε] in my name without justice, and you will not defile the name of your God.”

Isa 66:1 (all. [A])  
“Heaven [ὁ οὐρανός] is my throne [θρόνος], and the earth [ἡ ... γῆ] is

*Logoi* 4:19–20 ([M] 5:34–35)  
“Do not ever swear an oath [μὴ ὀμόσαι],

neither by heaven [τῷ οὐρανῷ], for it is God’s throne [θρόνος], nor by the earth [τῇ γῇ], for it is his footstool [ὑποπόδιον

94. Cf. Jas 5:12.

my footstool [ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν]. ἐστὶν τῶν ποδῶν], nor by Jerusalem, for  
 What kind of house will you build for me?" says the Lord. it is the city of the great king."

4:22–24 (6:29, [M] 5:41, 6:30; MQ+ 5:39b–41). Renouncing One's Own Rights<sup>95</sup>

- 4:22 "To the one who slaps you on the cheek, 6:29  
 offer the other as well;  
 and to the person wanting to take you to court and get your  
 shirt,  
 turn over to him the coat as well.
- 4:23 And the one who conscripts you for one mile, (M) 5:41  
 go with him a second.
- 4:24 To the one who asks of you, give; 6:30  
 and from the one who borrows, do not ask back what is yours."

The imperative that one not withhold one's coat may allude to the command in Deut 24:14–15 (all. [B]) that if a poor person has only his coat to offer as collateral on a debt, the lender must return the garment to him at sunset, "and he will sleep in his coat and bless you." Jesus denies even this minimal act of consideration to his followers.

4:25–27 (6:27–28, 35). Love Your Enemies<sup>96</sup>

- 4:25 "Love your enemies, 6:27  
 do good to those who hate you,
- 4:26 bless those who curse you, 6:28  
 pray for those who persecute you,
- 4:27 and you will be sons of your Father, 6:35  
 for he raises his sun on bad and good  
 and rains on the just and unjust."

Lev 19:17–18 reads: "You will not hate your brother. . . . Your hand will not avenge, and you will not rage against the children of your people. And you will love [ἀγαπήσεις] your neighbor as yourself." *Logoi* seems to have transformed this command to love one's neighbor (*viz.*, another Jew) into a command to love one's enemies. This passage also may subvert the commands in Deuteronomy that the tribes of Israel show no mercy to conquered peoples: "The Lord your God will give them into your hand, and you will beat them; you will

95. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 95 and *Logoi* 4:24 (6:30).

96. Cf. *Did.* 1:3.

destroy them utterly; you will not make a treaty with them or have mercy on them” (7:2; all. [B]). Compare also the following.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>Deut 30:6–7 (all. [B])</p> <p>“And the Lord will purify your heart and the heart of your seed to love [ἀγαπᾶν] the Lord your God, from your whole heart, and from your whole soul, and you will live. And the Lord your God will give these curses on your enemies [τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου] and on those who hate you [τοὺς μισοῦντάς σε], those who persecuted you [οἱ ἐδίωξαν σε].”</p> | <p><i>Logoi</i> 4:25–27 (6:27–28, 35)</p> <p>“Love your enemies [ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθρούς ὑμῶν], do good to those who hate you [τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς], bless those who curse you, pray for those who persecute you [τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς], and you will be sons of your Father, for he raises his sun on bad and good and rains on the just and unjust.”</p> |
|--|--|

For the author of *Logoi*, people are “sons” of God not by virtue of being Jews but by virtue of praying for their persecutors.

*CEQ* places the last phrase in double brackets because it does not appear in Luke, but if it were in *Logoi*, it would seem also to subvert the blessings and the curses at the end of the Holiness Code and Deuteronomy. If the twelve tribes obeyed God’s commands he would give them rain, but if they disobeyed, he would turn the sky into iron (Lev 26:4 and 19). Similar statements appear in Deuteronomy (11:14–17 and 28:12). According to *Logoi*, however, God shines and rains on the bad as well as the good.

#### 4:28–29 (6:32, 34). Impartial Love

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| <p>4:28</p> <p>“... If you love those loving you,<br/>what reward do you have?<br/>Do not even tax collectors do the same?”</p>                    | <p>6:32</p> |
| <p>4:29</p> <p>And if you lend to those from whom you hope to receive,<br/>what reward do you have?<br/>Do not even the Gentiles do the same?”</p> | <p>6:34</p> |

Lev 25:37 and Deut 15:8–10 legislate against abuses in lending that lead to resentment. Jesus’ statement avoids such abuses and resentments entirely by having the lender not ask for the return of what was borrowed (all. [B]).

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Lev 25:37 (cf. Deut 15:8–10; all. [B])</p> <p>“You will not give your money to</p> | <p><i>Logoi</i> 4:29 (6:34)</p> <p>“And if you lend to those from whom</p> |
|---|--|

anyone with interest or give him food      you hope to receive, what reward do  
in order to get more.”                              you have?”<sup>97</sup>

In other words, *Logoi's* Inaugural Sermon orders that both the one sued and the lender forgo rights granted by the Torah.<sup>98</sup>

#### 4:30 (6:36). Being Full of Compassion like Your Father

4:30            “Be compassionate, just as your Father .. is compassionate.”                              6:36

This passage contrasts the holiness of God, the primary divine characteristic of the Holiness Code, with compassion.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Lev 19:2 (all. [B])                                       | <i>Logoi</i> 4:30 (6:36)  |
| “You will be holy, for I, the Lord your<br>God, am holy.” | “Be compassionate, just as your Father<br>.. is compassionate.” |

The word οἰκτίρων appears often in the LXX as a divine attribute, most often in the context of God's exclusive covenant with Israel: even though the people disobey the commandments of their God, God will receive them back because of his mercy and compassion, as in Deut 4:31 (all. [A]): “The Lord your God is a compassionate [οἰκτίρων] god.”<sup>99</sup>

#### 4:31–32 (6:37–38; MQ- 7:1–2). Not Judging<sup>100</sup>

4:31            “.. Do not pass judgment, so you are not judged.”                              6:37

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97. One of the blessings for obedience in Deuteronomy is that Israel, unlike Gentiles, would not need to borrow, just lend (15:6 and 28:12).

98. For a somewhat different assessment of the relationship of Q to Deut 24 see Ronald A. Piper, “The Language of Violence and the Aphoristic Logoi in Q: A Study of Q 6:27–36,” in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies in the Logoi Gospel* Q (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995), 53–72.

99. See also Exod 34:6, 2 Chr 30:9, Neh 9:31, Pss 77:38, 102:8, and 110:4–5 (MT 78:38, 103:8, and 111:4–5), Sir 2:11, and Joel 2:13. Twice the adjective appears as a divine attribute with a more universal scope. Ps 144:8–9 (MT 145:8–9): “The Lord is compassionate (οἰκτίρων) and merciful, longsuffering and full of mercy. The Lord is kind to everyone, and his compassions (οἰκτιρμοί) apply to all his works.” In Jonah 4:2 the prophet explains to God why he tried to avoid preaching to the Gentiles in Nineveh. Echoes of Ps 144 (MT 145) in Jonah 4:2 are clear: “I knew that you were merciful and compassionate (οἰκτίρων), long suffering and full of mercy, forgiving of evil deeds.” The prophet resented the extension of God's compassion to the Ninevites. The book ends with God reaffirming his compassion for Gentiles, including their animals (4:11).

100. Compare Jas 4:11–12 and *Logoi* 4:31 (6:37).

- For with what judgment you pass judgment,  
you will be judged.
- 4:32 And with the measurement you use to measure out,  
it will be measured out to you.” 6:38

This passage echoes the command for economic and legal fairness in the Holiness Code.<sup>101</sup>

Lev 19:35 (cf. Deut 25:13–14; all. [A])

“You will not commit injustice in judgment [ἐν κρίσει],

in measures [ἐν μέτροις], in weights, or in scales.”

*Logoi* 4:31–32 (6:37–38)

“.. Do not pass judgment so you are not judged [μὴ κρίνετε, ... μὴ κριθῆτε]. For with what judgment you pass judgment, you will be judged [ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε κριθήσεσθε]. And with the measurement you use to measure out, it will be measured out to you [ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν].”

4:33 (6:31). The Golden Rule<sup>102</sup>

- 4:33 “And the way you want people to treat you,  
that is how you treat them.” 6:31

A negative form of the Golden Rule appears in Tobit.

Tob 4:15a (all. [B])

“And what you hate,  
this do [ποιήσης] to no one.”

*Logoi* 4:33 (6:31)

“And the way you want people to treat you, that is how you treat [ποιεῖτε] them.”

The author of *Logoi*, however, seems to have created the positive form of the Golden Rule as an alternative to *lex talionis*.

Lev 24:19–20 (all. [B]; cf. Deut 9:21)

“And if someone does harm to his neighbor, as he did to him [ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ], that is how it will be done in return to him [ὡσαύτως ἀντιποιηθήσεται αὐτῷ]: fracture for fracture, eye for eye, tooth for tooth.

*Logoi* 4:33 (6:31)

101. Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 37.

102. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 6:3 (*P.Oxy.* 654.36–37).

The way [καθότι] someone gives harm to a person [τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ], that is how [οὕτως] harm will be given to him [αὐτῷ].”

“And the way [καθώς] you want people to treat you [ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι], that is how [οὕτως] you treat them [ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς].”

This radical transformation of reciprocal punishment into reciprocal kindness represents one of the great contributions of the Jesus tradition to Jewish thought.

#### 4:34 (6:39). The Blind Leading the Blind

4:34 “Can a blind person show the way to a blind person? Will not both fall into a pit?” 6:39

If this saying appeared in this sequence in *Logoi*, one might observe the following progression of ideas: Jesus’ disciples must establish the ethical norm by treating others as they wish to be treated. If they do not, they are blind guides to the blind. But if they do, they will be sighted guides for the blind and thus keep them from falling. The next saying, *Logoi* 4:35 (6:40), concludes the sequence by stating that because Jesus himself treats others as he would want to be treated, the disciples must be content to do the same and not expect better.

#### 4:35 (6:40). The Disciple and the Teacher<sup>103</sup>

4:35 “A disciple is not superior to the teacher, nor is the slave superior to his master. It is enough for the disciple that he be like his teacher, and the slave like his master.” 6:40

#### 4:36–37 (6:41–42). The Speck and the Beam<sup>104</sup>

4:36 “And why do you see the speck in your brother’s eye, but the beam in your own eye you overlook?” 6:41  
 4:37 How can you say to your brother, ‘Let me throw out the speck from your eye,’ and just look at the beam in your own eye? Hypocrite, first throw out from your own eye the beam, 6:42

103. Cf. John 13:16 and 15:20b.

104. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 26 and *P.Oxy.* 1:1–4. Fleddermann argues that the *Gospel of Thomas* displays knowledge of Lukan redaction in the phrase τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ (Q: *A Reconstruction and Translation*, 313).

and then you will see clearly to throw out the speck in your brother's eye. . .”

4:38–40 (6:43–45). The Tree Is Known by its Fruit<sup>105</sup>

- |      |   |      |
|------|---|------|
| 4:38 | “No healthy tree bears rotten fruit,<br>nor on the other hand does a decayed tree bear healthy fruit.   | 6:43 |
| 4:39 | For from the fruit the tree is known.<br>Are figs picked from thorns, or grapes from thistles?  | 6:44 |
| 4:40 | The good person from one's good treasure casts up good things,<br>and the evil person from the evil treasure casts up evil things.<br>For from the exuberance of heart one's mouth speaks.” | 6:45 |

This logion repeats agricultural tropes similar to *Logoi* 1:7–8 (3:8–9): “Do not presume to tell yourselves, ‘We have as forefather Abraham!’ For I tell you: God can produce children for Abraham right out of these rocks! And the ax already lies at the root of the trees. So every tree not bearing healthy fruit is to be chopped down and thrown on the fire.” One determines if a tree is healthy or sick by looking not at its roots, which are invisible, but at its visible fruits.<sup>106</sup> *Logoi's* readers also may have recalled an oracle in Isa 5: “My beloved had a vineyard on a fertile hill. I placed a hedge around it staked it, planted a choice vine built a tower in the middle of it, and dug a wine vat in it. I waited for it to produce grapes [σταφυλήν], but it produced thorns [ἀκάνθας]” (5:1–2; all. [A]).<sup>107</sup>

4:41 (6:46). Not Just Saying Lord, Lord

- |      |   |      |
|------|---|------|
| 4:38 | “Why do you call me, ‘Lord, Lord,’<br>and do not do what I say?” <sup>108</sup> | 6:46 |
|------|---|------|

Throughout the Holiness Code one finds a common refrain: Israel is to observe the commandments because they issue from the Lord God.<sup>109</sup> Lev 19, the ethical heart of the Code, ends with this refrain, and similar statements appear near the ends of the commands both in the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Plain.

105. Compare Jas 3:12 and Gos. *Thom.* 43 and 45.

106. Fleddermann provides a helpful assessment of the structure of this saying (Q: *A Reconstruction and Translation*, 318).

107. Cf. Mark 12:1–2.

108. On the double address “Lord, Lord,” see, for example, Deut 3:4 and 9:26.

109. Lev 18:4–5, 19:36–37, 20:8, and 25:17.



Lev 19:37 (all. [B])

“And you will keep all my law and all my commandments and will do [ποιήσατε] them; I am the Lord [κύριος] your God.”

*Logoi* 4:38 (6:46)

“Why do you call me, ‘Lord, Lord [κύριε κύριε],’ and do not do [ποιεῖτε] what I say?”

## 4:42–44 (6:47–49). Houses Built on Rock or Sand

|      |  |      |
|------|--|------|
| 4:42 | “Everyone hearing my sayings and doing them  | 6:47 |
| 4:43 | is like a person<br>who built one’s house on bedrock;<br>and the rain poured down and the rivers came,<br>and the winds blew and pounded that house,<br>and it did not collapse,<br>for it was founded on bedrock.   | 6:48 |
| 4:44 | And everyone who hears my sayings and does not do them<br>is like a person<br>who built one’s house on the sand;<br>and the rain poured down and the rivers came,<br>and the winds blew and battered that house,<br>and promptly it collapsed,<br>and its fall was great.” | 6:49 |

Perhaps what is most striking about the Inaugural Sermon is the authority that it gives to Jesus, whose teachings not only are superior to Moses’, they have the same status as the commands of God in the Pentateuch. Blessings now depend on obedience not to the *torah* but to the Inaugural Sermon. Here again Jesus fulfils the promise of a prophet like Moses in Deuteronomy: “I [God] will raise up a prophet for them from among their brothers, as I raised up you [Moses], and I will put my words in his mouth, and he will speak to them as I command him. And the person who does not listen to what the prophet speaks from my mouth I will condemn” (18:18–19). The parallels with Deuteronomy continue in the next logion, though with an amazing spin.

## 4:45–51 (7:1–3, 6–10; MQ+ 8:5–10). The Centurion’s Faith

|      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| 4:45 | When Jesus completed these sayings,<br>he entered Capernaum.  | 7:1 |
| 4:46 | And there came to him a centurion exhorting him and saying,<br>“My boy is doing badly.”<br>And he said to him,<br>“I will come and cure him.” | 7:3 |
| 4:47 | And in reply the centurion said,  | 7:6 |

- “Master, I am not worthy for you to come under my roof;  
 4:48 but say a word, and let my boy be healed. 7:7  
 4:49 For I too am a person under authority, 7:8  
 with soldiers under me,  
 and I say to one, ‘Go,’ and he goes,  
 and to another, ‘Come,’ and he comes,  
 and to my slave, ‘Do this,’ and he does it.”  
 4:50 But Jesus, on hearing, was amazed, and said to those who fol- 7:9  
 lowed,  
 “I tell you, not even in Israel have I found such faith.”  
 4:51 And Jesus said to the centurion, 7:10  
 “Go; may it be to you as you have believed.”  
 He returned home and found the child healed.

*Logoi's* story of the centurion seems to have been inspired by 2 Kings and its account of the healing of another military commander: “And Naaman, the leader of the Syrian force, was a great man before his king and was strikingly handsome, for by him the Lord brought salvation to Syria. Although he was mighty in valor, he was afflicted with leprosy” (2 Kgs 5:1). Like the centurion, Naaman went to a prophet because of his healing powers; in both cases the healing took place at a location distant from the healer. Jesus healed the centurion's boy without going to his house; Elisha told Naaman to immerse himself seven times in the Jordan River, where he was healed. The Syrian general returned to the prophet, cured, and said, “Look, I learned that there is no god in any land other than the one in Israel [οὐκ ... ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ]” (2 Kgs 5:15). According to *Logoi* 4:50 (7:9), Jesus responded to the centurion's humble confidence by saying, “Not even in Israel [οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ] have I found such faith.” Naaman returned home and worshipped the God of Israel (2 Kgs 5:18–19); the centurion returned home and found his son cured because of his faith. Although the verbal similarities between the stories in 2 Kgs 5 and *Logoi* 5 are thin, the structural parallels are compelling. Furthermore, Luke's redaction of the story seems to recognize the affinity of the tale in his source to that of Naaman.<sup>110</sup> But the story of Naaman by no means exhausts the biblical antetexts informing the story of the centurion.

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110. In his Nazareth sermon, Luke's Jesus cited two examples of God's graciousness to Gentiles: Elijah's raising of the son of the widow of Serepta and Elisha's healing of Naaman. Surely it is no accident that Luke created a story immediately after the story of the centurion's son in which Jesus raises to life the son of a widow (Luke 7:11–17; cf. 1 Kgs 17:9–24). In that story Luke even may borrow an element from the story of Naaman. Compare the following:

Near the end of Deuteronomy one finds a summary of blessings and curses—much as one finds at the end of *Logoi's* Inaugural Sermon.

Deut 30:15–31:1 (imit. [A])

“Look, today I have given in your presence life and death, good and evil. If you observe [εἰσακούσης] the commandments of the Lord your God—the ones I commanded you today: to love Lord your God, to walk in all his ways, to keep his righteous dictates and his judgments—you will live and be numerous, and the Lord your God will bless you throughout the land into which you are entering to inherit.

And if your heart should waver, not be observant [μὴ εἰσακούσης], and having been led astray you worship other gods and serve them, I tell you today that you will be utterly destroyed and not last long on the land that your God is giving you, which you are crossing the Jordan to inherit.

I testify to you today, by heaven and earth, I have offered before your face life and death, blessing and cursing. Choose life, so that you and your seed may live. “Love the Lord your God, obey his voice, and cling to him, because doing so is your life and the longevity of your days for dwelling on the land that God swore to give your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.” Moses completed [συνετέλεσεν] speaking all these sayings [τοὺς λόγους τούτους] to all the sons of Israel.

*Logoi* 4:42–45 (6:47–49, 7:1)

“Everyone hearing [ἀκούων] my sayings and doing them

is like a person who built one’s house on bedrock; and the rain poured down and the flashfloods came, and the winds blew and pounded that house, and it did not collapse, for it was founded on bedrock.

And everyone who hears [ἀκούων] my sayings and does not [μὴ] do them

is like a person who built one’s house on the sand; and the rain poured down and the flashfloods came, and the winds blew and battered that house, and promptly it collapsed, and its fall was devastating.”

When Jesus completed these sayings [ἔτέλεσεν ... τοὺς λόγους τούτους], ...

2 Kgs 5:8a (all. [A])

“Let it be known that there is a prophet [προφήτης] in Israel!”

Luke 7:16a

“A great prophet [προφήτης] has risen among us!”

*Logoi's* author grants to Jesus' teachings the same status as God's instructions to Moses. What makes these parallels relevant to the healing of the centurion's son is Moses' next speech in which he promises military victory over Israel's Gentile opponents.

He said to them, "Today I am one hundred and twenty years old, unable to move about, and the Lord said to me, 'You will not cross this Jordan.' The Lord your God who goes before your face will himself destroy all these Gentiles before you, and you will take them as an inheritance. And Joshua is the one who will go before you, as God said. And the Lord will do to the Gentiles as he obliterated Sihon and Og, the two kings of the Amorites, who were on the other side of the Jordan, in their own land." (Deut 31:2–4)

Here the author reminds the reader what God had commanded Moses to do to these two kings earlier in Deuteronomy.

"And the Lord said to me, 'Look, I have begun to hand you over to Sihon, king of Hesbon, the Amorite, and his land. Begin to inherit his land.' And Sihon, king of Hesbon, came out to engage us in battle at Jahaz, he and all his people. The Lord handed him over to us, and we slew them, his sons, and all his people, and we captured all his cities at that time, and annihilated, one by one, every city, with their wives, and their children, leaving no one alive." (Deut 2:31–34)

"And the Lord our God handed him into our hands, even Og and all his people, and we slew him until none of his seed remained. And we captured all their cities at that time; there was no city that we did not take from them. ... And we annihilated them as we did to Sihon, king of Hesbon, and we annihilated every city, one by one, with their wives and children." (Deut 3:3–4, 6)

The parallels between this text and *Logoi* are striking and strategic. Near the end of Deuteronomy one finds a summary that promises blessings on those who obey (εἰσακούσης) God's commands and curses on those who do not (μὴ εἰσακούσης). "Moses completed [συνετέλεσεν] speaking all these sayings [τοὺς λόγους τούτους] to all the sons of Israel" and immediately launched into orders to kill "all these Gentiles" in the land, including their children, just as they had done to two Amorite kings. They were to love the Lord their God and for God's sake destroy their enemies.

Similarly, at the end of *Logoi's* Inaugural Sermon one finds a blessing on anyone who obeys (ποιῶν) Jesus' sayings and curses on any who do not (μὴ ποιῶν; 4:42 and 44 [6:47 and 49]). "When Jesus completed these sayings [ἐτέλεσεν ... τοὺς λόγους τούτους]," he met a Roman centurion whose faith

was such that Jesus healed his son. “I tell you, not even in Israel have I found such faith.” The reader is reminded of John’s preaching earlier in 1:7 (3:8): “do not presume to tell yourselves, ‘We have as forefather Abraham!’ For I tell you: God can produce children for Abraham right out of these rocks!” Instead of killing the children of Gentile kings, as Moses commanded in Deuteronomy, Jesus heals the son of a Gentile centurion, playing the role rather more like the prophet Elisha with Naaman.

##### 5. JESUS’ PRAISE OF JOHN AND THE MYSTERIES OF THE KINGDOM

Matt 11:2–19 presents Jesus praising John the Baptist, but only five verses qualify for inclusion in MQ (MQ- 11:10 and MQ+ 11:16–19). Advocates of FH would argue that, insofar as Luke’s version in 7:18–35 is generally secondary to Matthew, there is insufficient reason to posit the influence of a hypothetical source. On the other hand, the few instances of Luke’s inverted priority to Matthew gain significance when one notes that his location of the entire discourse, soon after the healing of the centurion’s son, not only differs from Matthew’s location later in his Gospel but also likely represents its more original location (sequential criteria 5 and 6). In the first logion Jesus refers to types of miracles that he had performed but that Luke had not narrated, so the Evangelist had to add a note in 7:20–21. By delaying the unit until later, Matthew was able to narrate a string of impressive miracles in 8:23–9:24 to prepare the reader for the list in 11:4–5.

Under Textual Reconstruction I will argue that Luke’s wording occasionally and significantly displays inverted priority to Matthew, which suggests that the Evangelist redacted the lost Gospel for this entire unit. The sequence of the following logia thus would seem to be secure on the basis of sequential criterion 3.

| Matthew             | Luke     | Description                           |
|---------------------|----------|---------------------------------------|
| 11:2–6              | 7:18–23  | Signs that Jesus is the one to come   |
| 11:7–11 (MQ- 11:10) | >7:24–28 | John—more than a prophet              |
| 21:32               | >7:29–30 | For and against John                  |
| +11:16–19           | >7:31–35 | This generation and Wisdom’s children |

Chapter 4 also proposed that Matthew’s version of the sower and Jesus’ reason for speaking in parables is more primitive than Mark’s. Whereas Matthew placed his redaction of Mark’s Parable Speech after the Beelzebul controversy, Luke located his much earlier, where it most likely appeared in *Logoi*,

because in that context it would explain why most people rejected the messages of John and Jesus (criterion 6). By relocating the sower after this controversy, Matthew could use it to encourage the disciples with future successes despite the charges of the religious authorities that Jesus was in cahoots with the ruler of demons.

#### TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

##### 5:1–4 (7:18–19, 22–23). Signs That Jesus Is the One to Come

Because of the close Matthew-Luke agreements in this logion, one might deduce that the Lukan Evangelist simply redacted Matt 11:2–6, but Luke's presentation shortly after the healing of the centurion's son likely reflects the lost Gospel. Furthermore, the logion satisfies two other criteria. First, it is congruent with other content attributable to *Logoi* in its depiction of Jesus as superior to John and similar to Moses, who "performed signs and wonders" (Deut 34:10). Furthermore, the next logion—one verse of which qualifies for MQ—seems to require an introduction of the Baptist (criterion C).

Mark has no obvious parallel to this passage; instead of listing Jesus' miracles, the Gospel narrates the healings of two blind men (8:22–26 and 10:46–52), a paralytic (2:1–12), a leper (1:40–45), and a deaf man (7:31–37), the raising of a person from death (5:35–43), and preaching to the poor—the very signs of Jesus' identity mentioned in *Logoi* 5:3 (7:22)! If Mark saw this passage in *Logoi*, he would have had good reason to omit it, because it was precisely the performance of such miracles that would have aroused hostile suspicions that Jesus was the Messiah/Son of God. What Jesus cites as evidence that he was the coming one in *Logoi* he squelches in Mark (criterion D).

My reconstruction in the synopsis is nearly identical to CEQ. John does not ask his question concerning Jesus' identity in person because he is in prison (see Matt 11:2 and Luke 3:19–20).<sup>111</sup>

##### 5:5–9 (7:24–28; MQ- 11:10). John—More Than a Prophet

Chapter 4 attributed the biblical quotation in Matt 11:10 to MQ on the basis of inverted priority to Mark 1:2. Even though Luke's version shows no evidence of inverted priority to Matthew (in large part because the two

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111. The reader will recall that Jesus' neighbors earlier were scandalized by his miracles (3:4 [(M) 13:57]).

accounts are nearly verbatim), it is likely that Luke here again relies on *Logoi* instead of Matthew.

Although Mark does not redact *Logoi* 5:5–9 (7:24–28) as a whole, his agreement with *Logoi* 5:8 (7:27) against the LXX at the beginning of the Gospel suggests his awareness of it. One might also detect the influence of *Logoi* on Mark 6:17–29, whose introduction of John’s death contrasts John with “King Herod” and presents him as a prophet. Similarly, *Logoi* 5:6 (7:25) contrasts John with “those who wear finery . . . in kings’ houses,” and 5:7 (7:26) lauds him as superior to the prophets.

5:10–11 (7:29–30; MQ- 21:32). For and Against John

Because the agreements between Matt 21:32 and Luke 7:29–30 are weak, CEQ offers only a sketchy reconstruction; Fleddermann omits the logion entirely. Chapter 4, however, argued that the verses in Matthew are a non-Markan doublet that likely is more primitive than Mark 11:31–32 and its redaction in Matt 25–26. Other observations support the inclusion in *Logoi*. Luke 7:29–30 probably does not redact Matt 21:32 insofar as his version appears in an entirely different context. Notice also that missing in Mark is the Matthean cant “way of righteousness.” Both versions speak positively about tax collectors, as in MQ+ 9:9–13 and 11:19 (criterion C).

5:12–16 (7:31–35; MQ+ 11:16–19). This Generation and Wisdom’s Children

Again, compare Matthew and Luke.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Luke 7:35                                      | <Matt 11:19b                            |
| “And Wisdom is justified by all her children.” | “And Wisdom is justified by her works.” |

Chapter 4 argued for including Matt 11:16–19 in the lost Gospel, but Luke’s version, in this verse at least, seems to be more primitive even than Matthew. Scholars generally regard Luke’s reference to Wisdom’s “children” to be the more original reading than Matthew’s reference to Wisdom’s “works.”<sup>112</sup>

5:17–23 (7:36–41, 49–50). The Sinful Woman

To this point I have largely ignored Papias’s *Exposition of Logia about the Lord* for the reconstruction of the lost Gospel, but two parallels between his

112. So also CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 367).

five-volume work and Luke merit serious consideration. Here I will discuss the first; the second informs the reconstruction of *Logoi* 10:23–25 (10:17–19).

According to Eusebius, Papias narrated a story about “a woman accused of many sins,” most likely a tale similar to those found in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Didymus of Alexandria, later manuscripts of the Gospel of John ([7:53–8:11]), and a lost section of the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. Papias obviously did not know the tale in any of these other sources insofar as they had not yet been written, nor could he have seen in it Mark or Matthew. If Papias knew it from an antecedent text, the best choice would be the lost Gospel.

My commentary on *Expos.* 2:1 compared the interpolation in John with information from the sketchy three antecedent versions (chapter 2). The column on the right presents texts from the Johannine interpolation; the left column presents texts from the other three witnesses, each of which was earlier. For the Syriac of the *Didascalia* I provide only my English translation.

A composite from Papias, the  
*Didascalia Apostolorum*, and Didymus

[John 7:53–8:11]

[Papias narrated a story] περῑ γυναικὸς  
ἐπὶ̄ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ̄  
τοῦ κυρίου. (Eusebius)

γυνή ... κατεκρίθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
ἐπὶ̄ ἀμαρτία καὶ ἀπεστέλλετο  
λιθοβοληθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὅπου  
εἰώθει γίνεσθαι. (Didymus)

“The elders” brought before Jesus a  
woman who had sinned. ... Leav-  
ing the judgment in his hands, they  
departed.” (*Didascalia*)

ὁ σῶτηρ ... ἐωρακῶς αὐτὴν καὶ  
θεωρήσας ὅτι ἔτοιμοὶ εἰσιν πρὸς τὸ  
λιθ[οβολ]ῆσαι αὐτήν,

[Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν  
οἶκον αὐτοῦ, Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπορεύθη  
εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν. ὄρθρου δὲ  
πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ  
πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ  
καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς. ἄγουσιν  
δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι  
γυναῖκα ἐπὶ̄ μοιχείᾳ κατειλημμένην  
καὶ στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ  
λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· διδάσκαλε, αὐτὴ ἡ  
γυνὴ κατειληπταὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ  
μοιχευομένη·

ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ ἡμῖν Μωϋσῆς ἐνετεί-  
λατο τὰς τοιαύτας λιθάζειν. σὺ οὖν τί  
λέγεις; τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες  
αὐτόν. ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ.  
ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ  
κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν.



τοῖς μέλλουσιν αὐτὴν καταβαλεῖν λίθους εἶπεν· ὅς οὐκ ἤμαρτεν, αἰρέτω λίθον καὶ βαλέτω αὐτόν. εἴ τις συν-οιδεν ἑαυτῷ τὸ μὴ ἡμαρτηκέναι, λαβὼν λίθον παισάτω αὐτήν.

καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν. ἐπιστήσαντες ἑαυτοῖς καὶ γνότες, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ ὑπεύθυνοι εἰσὶν τισιν, οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν καταπαῖσαι ἐκείνην. (*Didymus*)  
 “But he ... asked her and said to her: ‘Have the elders condemned you, my daughter?’ She says to him: ‘No, Lord.’ And he said to her: ‘Go, I do not condemn you either.’” (*Didascalica*)

ὡς δὲ ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες αὐτόν, ἀνέκυψεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν πρῶτος ἐπ’ αὐτὴν βαλέτω λίθον.

καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν.  
 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ’ εἷς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ οὐσα.  
 ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ· γύναι, ποῦ εἰσιν; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν, οὐδεὶς, κύριε. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· πορεύου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μεκέτι ἀμάρτανε.]]

Both columns present a story with remarkable affinities to other controversies in logia attributable to *Logoi* (criterion C). Several of these disputes similarly begin with opponents asking Jesus a question to test his fidelity to Jewish law; he typically responds with a counterquestion, but in the Johannine interpolation he invites the one without sin to begin the stoning. In every controversy attributable to *Logoi*, Jesus reduces his opponents to silence, as in the Johannine episode. Notice also the congruence between this logion and Jesus’ eating with “tax collectors and sinners” in *Logoi* 3:13–18 (5:27–31), especially his claim in 3:18 (5:32) that he did not come to call the righteous “but sinners.” Jesus’ invitation for the one without sin to cast the first stone puts into narrative what he says elsewhere (*Logoi* 4:30 and 36–37 [6:36 and 41–42]).

Finally, and perhaps most decisively, are the enigmatic references to Jesus twice writing in the dirt with his finger. Scholars have offered many interpretations of this action, but in light of the context—a test about Jesus’ adherence to the law of Moses—it would appear that he is offering a new *torah*, written not with the finger of God into stone tablets but with his own finger into the dust, apparently a transvaluative mimetic act. Compare the following:

Deut 9:10

“And the Lord gave to me [Moses] two stone tablets written by the finger of God [γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ], and in them had been written [ἔγγραπτο] all that the Lord had

[[John 8:7–8]]

[[But Jesus stooped down and was writing in the ground with his finger [τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν]. ... And he stooped down again and was writing on the ground [ἔγραφεν εἰς

spoken to you in the mountain                    τὴν γῆν].‖  
on the day of assembly.”

The accounts summarized in Papias (apud Eusebius), the *Didascalia*, and Didymus are silent about writing in the dirt, perhaps because they did not understand the symbolism or because they were scandalized by its radical interpretation of the law of Moses. In the lost Gospel, on the other hand, one finds a distinctive preoccupation with Jesus as the new Moses who replaces old commandments with new ones.

The story of the sinful woman clearly was traditional before the *Didascalia apostolorum* and Didymus and probably was traditional also to Papias (criterion B). In no version does the woman repent; the focus of the tale is on Jesus’ compassion. The absence of her contrition would have been sufficient reason for Mark and Matthew to have omitted the episode, had they seen it in the lost Gospel (criterion D). The most compelling reason for including some version of the story in *Logoi*, however, comes from a secondary redaction of it in Luke.

Luke 7:36–50 freely redacts Mark 14:3–9, Jesus’ anointing by a woman at Bethany, but whereas Mark’s story appears near the beginning of the Passion Narrative, Luke places the story much earlier, immediately following the charge that Jesus was “a chum of tax collectors and sinners.” Notice how the two stories similarly begin.

## Mark 14:3

When he was in Bethany, at the house [ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ] of Simon the leper, and as he was reclining at dinner [κατακειμένου], a woman [γυνή] entered

who brought an alabaster jar of very costly ointment [ἀλάβαστρον μύρου] of pure nard.

She broke the alabaster jar and poured the ointment over his head.

## Luke 7:36–38

One of the Pharisees [later Jesus addresses him as Simon] asked him to eat with him.

When he went into the house [εἰς τὸν οἶκον] of the Pharisee, he reclined at dinner [κατεκλιθῆ]. And a woman [γυνή], who was a sinner [ἁμαρτωλός] in the city, learned that he was reclining in the house of the Pharisee, brought an alabaster jar of ointment [ἀλάβαστρον μύρου], stood behind his feet, wept, with her tears began to wet his feet, wiped them with the hair of her head, kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment.

Three Lukan alterations here are particularly noteworthy: (1) Simon the leper has become Simon the Pharisee; (2) Mark’s prescient woman has become “a sinner in the city”; and (3) the act of anointing the head has become an

erotic act of remorse involving the washing, kissing, and anointing of Jesus' feet. These alterations seem to result from Luke's redaction of a story similar to that of the sinful woman that once appeared in the *Exposition*.

The Sinful Woman (a composite  
from Papias, the *Didascalia*  
*Apostolorum*, and Didymus)

Luke 7:36–37

Jewish religious authorities had  
accused a woman of many sins and  
brought her to Jesus before stoning her.

One of the Pharisees asked him to eat  
with him. . . . And a woman who was a  
sinner in the city learned that he was  
reclining in the house of the Phari-  
see. [The others at dinner found the  
woman's erotic expression of contrition  
to be offensive and faulted Jesus for not  
recognizing what kind of woman she  
was.]

Here we find a potential source for two of Luke's three alterations. (1) Simon the leper has become a religious authority; and (2) Mark's prescient woman has become a sexual sinner.<sup>113</sup> The third alteration, the woman's contrition, apparently is a Lukan innovation. Neither the story in Mark nor that of the sinful woman refers to repentance, but this theme was important to Luke.

According to Mark's account of Jesus' anointing, "Some people expressed with each other their indignation: 'Why this waste of ointment? This ointment could have been sold for more than three hundred denarii that could be donated to the poor!' And they scolded her harshly" (14:4–5). Luke transformed the story such that the objection of those who dined with Jesus was directed not at the woman but at Jesus and not at the squandering of expensive ointment but at Jesus allowing a strumpet to touch him.

Luke's account continues with Jesus' interpretation of the woman's behavior and a rebuke of his host for not showing hospitality (7:41–47). This section ends with an aphorism: "Therefore I tell you, her sins, though many, are forgiven; thus she loved much. But one who is forgiven little loves little" (7:47). Here again the parallels with the story of the sinful woman are informative.

113. Papias: ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης; Didymus: κατεκρίθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ ἀμαρτίᾳ; cf. *Didascalia*: "who had sinned."

## The Sinful Woman

Luke 7:41–47

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jesus said something like: “Let the one among you without sin be the first to cast a stone at her.”</li> <li>• None of the authorities dared to do so.</li> </ul> | <p>Jesus rebukes his host and vindicates the woman.</p> <p>Those at dinner are speechless.</p> |
|--|--|

After rebuking the men, Luke’s Jesus addresses the woman, another likely redaction of the traditional story of the sinful woman.

## The Sinful Woman

Luke 7:48–50

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jesus then turned to the woman and asked something like, “Have the elders condemned you?”</li> <li>• She said, “No, Lord.”</li> <li>• He told her something like, “I do not condemn you either. Go.”</li> </ul> | <p>And he said to her, “Your sins are forgiven.” Those who were reclining with him began to say among themselves, “Who is this fellow, who even forgives sins?”</p> <p>And he said to the woman, “Your faith has cured you. Go in peace.”</p> |
|--|---|

These similarities suggest that Luke redacted a written version of the story of the sinful woman as well as Mark’s story of the anointing woman. He might, of course, have seen the tale in Papias, but this would not explain how the bishop of Hierapolis knew of it.

Instead of redacting the Markan anointing scene just prior to the passion narrative, Luke relocated it earlier apparently to illustrate Jesus’ notoriety as “a chum of tax collectors and sinners” (7:34), which is where he apparently saw the story of the sinful woman in *Logoi*. I therefore would propose the following history of this traditional story.

- Stage 1. The story originally appeared in the *Logoi of Jesus* as an example of Jesus befriending “sinners.”
- Stage 2. Mark and Matthew omitted the story because the woman showed no contrition or because of Jesus’ radical snubbing of Mosaic law (criterion D).
- Stage 3. Papias saw this tale in the lost Gospel and interpreted it as reliable Matthean historical memory (*Expos.* 2:1).
- Stage 4. Luke saw the logion both in the lost Gospel and in the *Exposition*; he redacted the version in *Logoi*, along with Mark 14:3–9, to create a story of the repentant woman in 7:36–50.

Reconstructing the text of the lost Gospel often is complex, but this case offers unusual difficulties. Our earliest witness to the tale consists of a phrase in Eusebius that paraphrases Papias. The only Synoptic redaction of the story appears in Luke, who thoroughly reworked it and borrowed elements also from Mark 14. The account in the *Gospel of the Hebrews* has vanished entirely; the author of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* cited only Jesus' exchange with the woman; and Didymus seems to have paraphrased the beginning of the story and cited two sentences but without saying which of the two or more "Gospels" that contained the story he was citing. The most complete version of the story, the Johannine interpolation, is also the most recent, and its interpolator obviously rewrote it to be congenial to this section of the Gospel. Furthermore, the textual variants within [John 7:53–8:11] are the most complex in the entire New Testament.<sup>114</sup> Given these difficulties, the following textual reconstruction is tentative performance.

One should attribute [John 7:53–8:2] to the interpolator; the traditional story apparently began at [8:3]. Identifying Jesus' opponents in the lost Gospel may be impossible. The *Didascalia* mentions only "the elders," Didymus blames "the Jews," and the Johannine interpolation reads "the scribes and the Pharisees." One may safely eliminate "the scribes" insofar as this group appears only once in logia attributable to *Logoi* (MQ+ 15:1 = *Logoi* 6:14). Didymus saw the story in several Gospels and may have used "the Jews" to cover all options. Although the Johannine interpolation makes "the Pharisees" the opponents, "the elders" appear later and awkwardly in [8:9]: "beginning with the elders [τῶν πρεσβυτέρων]." This agreement with the *Didascalia* favors a reconstruction of οἱ πρεσβύτεροι at the beginning of the story, which became "the scribes and Pharisees" in some manuscripts of the Gospel of John. The Johannine interpolation reads "caught in adultery [ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ κατειλημμένην]," but no other version mentions adultery; instead, they consistently refer to her merely as a sinner. The correlation between Papias's ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις and Luke's αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ... αἱ πολλαί also tells against the explicit reference to adultery, as does the absence of the woman's lover.<sup>115</sup>

Deciding between John's κατειλημμένην and Papias's διαβεβλημένην is more difficult, but διαβάλλω appears in Luke 16:1, which likely derived from *Logoi*, as we shall see. In the third verse, Nestle<sup>27</sup> reads λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, but the use of the historical present of λέγω is rare in *Logoi*. The Johannine Pharisees begin their challenge to Jesus with the statement "this woman was

114. "The passage evidences more textual corruption than any text of comparable length in the entire NT" (Ehrman, "Adulteress," 34).

115. It is worth noting that Codex Bezae at [John 8:3] reads ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ instead of ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ (so also Didymus).

caught in the very act of adultery [αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατείληπται ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ μοιχευομένη],” but, as we have seen, no other account mentions adultery. This phrase seems to be an addition to inform Jesus of the specific charges against the woman. Elsewhere in *Logoi* controversies characteristically begin with a question, which is the case here as well, if one omits this phrase.

For [John 8:5] Nestle<sup>27</sup> reads λιθάζειν, “to stone,” using a verb that appears elsewhere in the Fourth Gospel (see 10:31–33; 11:8). Several manuscripts read instead λιθοβολεῖσθαι “to be stoned,” using a verb that appears also in Deut 22:24, the legislation about stoning adulterers (λιθοβολέω). More important, Didymus reads λιθοβοληθῆναι and λιθ[οβολ]ῆσαι.

Although the imperfect of λέγω, used in [John 8:4], is rare in the lost Gospel, it does appear elsewhere. This sentence is congruent with controversies in *Logoi*, but the interpolation continues with the phrase ἵνα ἔχῳσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ (“to have something with which to accuse him”). This phrase probably was not in the source insofar as it seems to anticipate the accusation of Jesus before the Sanhedrin in the Fourth Gospel (see John 18:29). Furthermore, the verb κατηγορέω never appears in *Logoi*.

For Jesus’ response, one might favor the reading in Didymus insofar as he seems to be citing a text, not merely paraphrasing. In the following excerpt, he seems to quote the first line and immediately paraphrase it: “‘Whoever has not sinned, let him lift a stone and throw it.’ If someone is certain that he has not sinned, let him take a stone and strike her.”<sup>116</sup> *Logoi* is fond of introducing sentences with relative pronouns. The root ἀναμαρτ- appears nowhere else in *Logoi*, or elsewhere in the entire New Testament, for that matter.

For the reaction of the religious authorities, one should follow Didymus, who again seems to be quoting; notice his redundant and unnecessary duplication: “‘And no one dared to do so.’ When they knew in themselves and recognized that they were guilty in some respects, they did not dare [to strike] her.”

Three observations render it likely that *Logoi* did not include the last six words of the Johannine interpolation: καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε (“and from now on sin no longer”). First, there is no equivalent to it in its parallel in Luke 7:50. Second, the version in the *Didascalia* likewise has no equivalent. Third, the expression μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε “sin no longer” appears also in John 5:14, in Jesus’ instruction to a cripple after healing him. The interpolator apparently noted that in his source Jesus said nothing about the woman’s guilt and added the remonstrance.

116. For the Greek text, see Ehrman, “Jesus and the Adulteress,” 25; Lührmann, “Die Geschichte von einer Sünderin,” 290.

5:24–29 (8:5–10; MQ+ 13:3–13). The Sower and the Reason for Parables

Chapter 4 argued that this parable appeared in the lost Gospel largely on the basis of Matthew’s “to you it has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom” representing an earlier stratum of tradition than Mark’s less esoteric “to you has been given the mystery of the kingdom,” where the singular seems to refer to Jesus instead of his message. Luke, then, would have seen the parable in *Logoi*, Mark, and Matthew; he agreed with *Logoi* and Matthew against Mark’s “to you has been given the mystery of the kingdom of God” (8:10). “The exact correspondence between Matthew and Luke in the order of words ... is difficult to explain in terms of independent redaction” of Mark.<sup>117</sup>

#### TRANSLATION AND ANTETEXTUAL COMMENTARY

From the outset, the author of the lost Gospel notified the reader of similarities between John and Moses: at the beginning of Deuteronomy Moses gave warnings to Israel in the wilderness to be faithful to God’s commandments; similarly, at the beginning of *Logoi* John is in the wilderness preaching a baptism of repentance. Soon, however, the reader learns that John was merely a forerunner to Jesus, whom the voice from heaven revealed to be the Son of God. *Logoi* 2–4 say nothing about John, except that he baptized Jesus and was imprisoned, but here in chapter 5 Jesus praises his forerunner.

First, however, the author confirms for John—and the reader—Jesus’ identity as “the one to come.” To understand this cryptic designation one must recall the last three verses of Deuteronomy. “A prophet still has not arisen in Israel such as Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face, with all the signs and wonders, one whom the Lord sent to do these things in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh and his ministers, and all his land, great wonders and a strong arm, such as Moses performed before all Israel” (34:10–12). Jesus’ reply to John’s question implies that he is the prophet like Moses for whom the author of Deuteronomy pined.

5:1–4 (7:18–19, 22–23). Signs That Jesus Is the One to Come

|     |  |      |
|-----|--|------|
| 5:1 | And John, on hearing about all these things,<br>sending through his disciples, | 7:18 |
| 5:2 | said to him,<br>“Are you the one to come, or are we to expect someone else?”   | 7:19 |

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117. Yarbro Collins, *Mark*, 248.

- 5:3 And in reply he said to them, 7:22  
 “Go report to John what you hear and see:  
 The blind regain their sight, and the lame walk around;  
 the skin-diseased are cleansed, and the deaf hear;  
 the dead are raised, and the poor are evangelized.
- 5:4 And blessed is whoever is not offended by me.” 7:23

The catalogue of miracles does not evoke a particular text but is a pastiche of biblical allusions. Only the reference to lepers finds no analogue in Isaiah.<sup>118</sup>

|                         | Isa 26:19 | 29:18–19 | 35:5–6 | 42:18 | 61:1–2 |
|-------------------------|-----------|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| Blind people see        |           | x        | x      | x     | x      |
| Lame people walk        |           |          | x      |       |        |
| Deaf people hear        |           | x        | x      | x     |        |
| Dead people raised      | x         |          |        |       |        |
| Poor people evangelized |           | x        |        |       | x      |

For the cleansing of lepers, the author may have had in mind the healing of Naaman in 2 Kgs 5:1–27.<sup>119</sup>

#### 5:5–9 (7:24–28; MQ- 11:10). John—More Than a Prophet<sup>120</sup>

- 5:5 And when they had left, 7:24  
 he began to talk to the crowds about John:  
 “What did you go out into the wilderness to observe?  
 A reed shaken by the wind?
- 5:6 If not, what did you go out to see? 7:25  
 A person arrayed in finery?  
 Look, those wearing finery are in kings’ houses.
- 5:7 But then what did you go out to see? A prophet? 7:26  
 Yes, I tell you: even more than a prophet!
- 5:8 This is the one about whom it has been written, 7:27  
 ‘Look, I am sending my messenger ahead of you,  
 who will prepare your way in front of you.’

118. A similar list of miracles that will attend the coming of the Messiah appears in a Dead Sea Scroll (4Q521, Messianic Apocalypse). See Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 111–13; Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 1–38.

119. So also Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 377.

120. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 78 with *Logoi* 5:5–6 (7:24–25) and *Gos. Thom.* 46 with *Logoi* 5:9 (7:28). Fleddermann argues that both parallels in Thomas reflect awareness of the Synoptics (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 370–71).



- 5:9 Truly I tell you: 7:28  
 There has not arisen among women's offspring anyone greater  
 than John.  
 Yet the least significant in God's kingdom is more than he."

This passage contains one of *Logoi's* few marked citations from the LXX/OG, and it seems to conflate Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1, as we have seen.

#### 5:10–11 (7:29–30). For and Against John

- 5:10 "For John came, and the tax collectors believed him 7:29  
 such that they were baptized with his baptism,  
 5:11 but you did not believe in him." 7:30

The crowds went into the wilderness to listen to a prophet, but John was "more than a prophet." Although he was not "the one to come," he was the preparing messenger predicted by Malachi (*Logoi* 5:8 [7:27]). Furthermore, "there has not arisen [οὐκ ἐγγήγερται] among women's offspring anyone greater than John" (5:9a [7:28a]), a statement that evokes Deut 34:10: "a prophet still has not arisen [οὐκ ἀνέστη] in Israel such as Moses." Although John was a prophet greater than Moses, "the least significant in God's kingdom is more than he" (5:9b [7:28b]). Insofar as Jesus, as the Son of God, is the most significant member of God's kingdom, to this extent Jesus surpasses John. The author thus establishes the following hierarchy.

Jesus, "the one to come," the Son of God  
 "the least significant in God's kingdom"  
 John the Baptist, the greatest of all mortals  
 before the arrival of the kingdom  
 Moses and other prophets

The author had one additional task with respect to John: to explain the radical differences between his asceticism and Jesus' robust social life. The reader recognizes John to be a prophet by his austere wardrobe, diet, and jeremiad against Israel's disobedience; Jesus, on the other hand, ate with tax collectors and sinners, did not allow his disciples to fast, and worked on the Sabbath. How is it conceivable that both John and Jesus were prophets? The author of *Logoi* provides the answer in the next logion.

5:12–16 (7:31–35; MQ+ 11:16–19). This Generation and Wisdom’s Children

|      |   |      |
|------|---|------|
| 5:12 | “To what am I to compare this generation<br>and what is it like?”   | 7:31 |
| 5:13 | It is like children seated in the marketplaces,<br>who, addressing the others, say,<br>‘We fluted for you, but you would not dance;<br>we wailed, but you would not beat your breasts.’ | 7:32 |
| 5:14 | For John came, neither eating nor drinking,<br>and you say, ‘He has a demon!’   | 7:33 |
| 5:15 | The Son of Man came, eating and drinking,<br>and you say, ‘Look! A person who is a glutton and drunkard,<br>a chum of tax collectors and sinners!’                                      | 7:34 |
| 5:16 | But Wisdom was vindicated by her children.”   | 7:35 |

The last verse in this pericope seems to allude to Sir 4.

Sir 4:11 (all. [A])

Wisdom will exalt her sons [ἡ σοφία  
υἱοὺς αὐτῆς]; she receives those who  
seek her.

*Logoi* 5:16 (7:35)

“But Wisdom [ἡ σοφία] was vindicated  
by her children [τέκνων αὐτῆς].”

*Logoi* 5:12 (7:31) is the first of seven occurrences in the lost Gospel of the expression “this generation,” each of which is pejorative. Allison rightly notes that when “this generation” appears in the LXX it refers to the generation either during Noah’s or Moses’ time.<sup>121</sup> God punished Noah’s generation with the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and the flood; God barred Moses’ generation from the promised land. In his song near the end of Deuteronomy, Moses addresses the assembled tribes and speaks of “disgraceful children, a crooked and perverse generation” (32:5; all. [A]; cf. 32:20). The author of *Logoi* contrasts the children of “this generation” to the children of Wisdom, both of whom were divine agents, yet both were scorned. John was condemned for “neither eating nor drinking,” Jesus for being “a glutton and drunkard, a chum of tax collectors and sinners!” (5:14–15 [7:33–34]). Later in the *Logoi of Jesus* Wisdom herself speaks against “this generation.” She says that she would send it “prophets and sages,” but “some of them they will kill and persecute” (7:17–19 [11:49–51]), the very treatment given to John and Jesus. Thus, despite the radical differences in their lifestyles, both men were

121. *Intertextual Jesus*, 57–59; of the time of Noah: Gen 7:1; of the time of Moses: Num 32:13; Deut 1:35; Pss 77:8; 94:10 (MT 78:8; 95:10).

prophets sent by Wisdom and were spiritual descendants of Moses, but only Jesus could inaugurate God's kingdom.

Deuteronomy also may provide background for the accusations here against Jesus. The parents of an incorrigible son were to bring him to the council, where they would say, "This son of ours is disobedient and belligerent, and he does not obey our voice but plays the glutton and the drunkard [οἰνοφλυγῆ]. The men of his city will stone him with stones and kill him" (21:20–21; all. [B]). According to Allison,

Perceiving such an allusion might prod one to reflect on two things. The first is that, in Deuteronomy 21, the rebellious son is stoned, which is the punishment of the prophets in Q 13:34 [= *Logoi* 7:20]. So the accusation that Jesus is a glutton and drunkard is not a light matter but rather a grave indictment that, if he continues in his ways, others will think that the law commands his execution. A second thought is that the legislation on the rebellious son (Deut 21:18–21) is followed immediately by the law that enjoins the bodies of executed criminals to be hung on a tree (Deut 21:22–23), a law that in time came to be understood as having to do with crucifixion. So a hearer of Q, familiar with the story of Jesus' crucifixion (cf. Q 14:26 [= *Logoi* 8:50]), might associate Q's allusion to Deut 21:20 with Jesus' fate: the elders did in fact put to death one they perceived to be a rebellious son and a "glutton and drunkard."<sup>122</sup>

#### 5:17–23 (7:36–41, 49–50). The Sinful Woman

|      |  |      |
|------|--|------|
| 5:17 | The elders brought in<br>a woman who had been accused of many sins,  | 7:37 |
| 5:18 | and standing her in the center,  | 7:38 |
| 5:19 | they said to him, "Teacher,<br>Moses commanded us in the law<br>to stone such women.<br>So what do you say?"<br>But they were saying this to test him.       | 7:39 |
| 5:20 | But Jesus stooped down<br>and was writing in the ground with his finger.<br>And as they continued interrogating him,<br>he straightened up and said to them, | 7:40 |
| 5:21 | "Whoever has not sinned, let him lift a stone and throw it."   | 7:41 |
| 5:22 | And he stooped down again and was writing in the ground.<br>And no one dared to do it,   | 7:49 |

122. *Intertextual Jesus*, 41.

and they left one by one.

- 5:23 And Jesus straightened up and said to her, 7:50  
 “Woman, where are they? No one is condemning you, are they?”  
 She said, “No one, Lord.”  
 And Jesus said, “I do not condemn you either. Go!”

The Mosaic command to kill the sinful woman alluded to in 5:19 (7:39) evokes Deut 22, which states that the woman as well as her lover is to be executed: “You will lead both to the gate of their city, and they will be stoned with stones and die” (22:24; ref.). According to my reconstruction, which is informed by Papias’s reference to “many sins,” the elders may have punished only the woman—not the man—because of her repeated violations, which seems to be reflected in Luke’s dubbing her “a sinner in the city.”

Deut 9:10 apparently provided the author his model for Jesus writing in the dirt.

Deut 9:10 (imit. [B])

“And the Lord gave to me [Moses] two stone tablets written by the finger of God [γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ], and in them had been written [ἔγγραπτο] all that the Lord had spoken to you in the mountain on the day of assembly.”

*Logoi* 6:20–21 (7:40–41)

But Jesus stooped down and was writing in the ground with his finger [τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν]. ...  
 And he stooped down again and was writing in the ground [ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν].

Just as God descended to earth to write the law on stone tablets with his finger, Jesus “stooped down and was writing in the ground with his finger.” Throughout the *Logoi of Jesus* one finds a distinctive preoccupation with Jesus as the new Moses who replaces some of the old commandments with new ones, written in the sand, not in stone.

5:24–29 (8:5–10; MQ+ 13:3–13). The Sower and the Reason for Parables<sup>123</sup>

- 5:24 “The sower went out to sow, 8:5  
 and during his sowing  
 some seed fell along the road,  
 and the birds came and devoured it.  
 5:25 Other seed fell on the rock 8:6  
 and withered because it had no root.

123. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 9 and 62.

|      |   |      |
|------|---|------|
| 5:26 | Other seed fell among the thorns,<br>and the thorns grew up and choked it.  | 8:7  |
| 5:27 | Other seeds fell in good ground and produced fruit:<br>one a hundred-fold,<br>another sixty-fold,<br>another thirty-fold.<br>Let the one with ears to hear listen.”   | 8:8  |
| 5:28 | And when he was alone, his disciples said to him,<br>“Why do you speak to them in parables?”  | 8:9  |
| 5:29 | He said,<br>“To you it has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God,<br>but to the rest it is given in parables,<br>so that seeing they may not see,<br>and hearing they may not understand.” | 8:10 |

The threefold failure of the sowing progresses from the seed that becomes bird feed to the shoot that cannot establish roots to the plant that thorns choke.<sup>124</sup>

Here, as in *Logoi* 10:29 (10:24), one hears echoes of Isa 6.<sup>125</sup>

Isa 6:9 (all. [A])

And he said, “Go and say to this people, ‘You will hear [ἀκοῆ ἀκούσετε] and not comprehend [οὐ μὴ συνήτε], and you will see [βλέποντες βλέψετε] and not understand [οὐ μὴ ἴδητε].’”

*Logoi* 5:29 (8:10)

“so that seeing they may not see [βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν], and hearing [ἀκούοντες] they may not comprehend [μὴ συνιῶσιν].”

According to Deuteronomy, God prevented the children of Israel from understanding the miracles that Moses performed in Egypt: “The Lord your God did not give you [ἔδωκεν ... ὑμῖν] a heart to understand, or eyes to see [βλέπειν], or ears to hear [ἀκούειν] until today” (29:3; all. [A]). The controversies that follow underscore Jewish rejection of Jesus’ teachings.

One should note how beautifully this logion segues from the story of the sinful woman. Twice Jesus stoops to write with his finger “in the ground [εἰς

124. For other examples of the trope of the sower and the seed in ancient literature, see Yarbrow Collins, *Mark*, 245–46. “Those educated in Greek and tradition would ... recognize the description of sowing and its results as an analogy to or allegory of education” (245).

125. The author of Matthew obviously saw in this passage—whether in *Logoi* or in Mark or in both—an allusion to Isa 6, for in 13:14–15 he interpreted the inability of Jesus’ audience to understand as a fulfillment of “the prophecy of Isaiah” and quotes Isa 6:9–10 from the LXX/OG.

τὴν γῆν]. In the parable Jesus likens his teaching to one who sows seed on the earth, but only what falls “in good ground [εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν]” produces fruit. The woman’s accusers saw with their own eyes what Jesus was doing, but they did not understand, just as they might hear Jesus’ parables with their ears but not get it, because they, unlike the Twelve, had not been “given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God.”

#### EXCURSUS 1: THE LOCATION OF THE MISSION SPEECH

Our sweep through Luke for traces of the lost Gospel last analyzed 8:5–10, the sower. In 8:11–9:50 the Evangelist redacts Mark and shows no signs of using another source. The so-called Travel Section begins at 9:51 and extends to 18:14; these chapters are a treasure trove of redactions of *Logoi*, as we shall see. Jesus’ invitation to potential followers in 9:57–62 concerned us earlier (see the discussion of *Logoi* 3:7–12 [9:57–62]). The next evidence of Luke’s use of the lost Gospel appears as a sequence of logia commonly called the Mission Speech (10:1–20), some of which appears also in MQ (10:5–6, 14–15, and 23).

*CEQ* and Fleddermann follow Luke’s order in placing this speech after the challenge to potential followers, but this location is problematic. Four versions of the Mission Speech appear in the Synoptics (Mark 6:6b–13; Matt 10:5–16; Luke 9:1–6; 10:1–20), but no Evangelist narrates what happened to the Twelve during their mission. In fact, Matthew does not send the disciples on missions of their own until after Jesus’ resurrection! According to Mark and Luke, the Twelve—and in Luke also the Seventy—went on their missions and returned to tell Jesus of their successes but without giving details. Both of Luke’s summaries of missionary activities seem to redact a similar summary in Mark.

| Mark 6:30  | Luke 9:10a   | Luke 10:17   |
|--|--|--|
| And the apostles rejoined Jesus and announced to him everything that they had done and whatever they had taught. | And the apostles returned and told him what they had done. | The seventy returned with joy and said, “Lord, in your name the demons submitted to us.” |

This is all one learns about the mission of the disciples in any of the Gospels! Such silence would be more acceptable if the Mission Speech appeared at the end of the source, not in the middle, as in *CEQ* and the Synoptics. Several considerations suggest that the lost Gospel indeed ended with the Mission Speech.

Mark ends with the women at the tomb failing to tell the disciples that

Jesus was going before them to Galilee, where they were to see him.<sup>126</sup> If the author were to include a Mission Speech, it clearly could not be at the end; in fact, it would have been difficult to insert it after 8:27, when the disciples increasingly show themselves to be uncomprehending and unfaithful. Instead, the Evangelist located the mission of the disciples at 6:6b–13 apparently to explain how Herod Antipas had learned about Jesus. “King Herod heard about him—for his name had been made public—and was saying that John the Baptizer had risen from the dead, ‘and this explains why miracles are at work through him’” (6:14).

Matthew thus inherited two versions of the commissioning of the Twelve, one from the lost Gospel and one from Mark. He merged the two and located his hybrid early in his Gospel, following Mark’s arrangement, but created the Great Commission in 28:16–20 as a corrective to *Logoi’s* Mission Speech, as we shall see. Whereas at the end of the lost Gospel Jesus prohibited a mission to Gentiles, at the end of Matthew he commands it.

According to Q+/PapH, Luke would have known three antecedent Mission Speeches: one in the lost Gospel—apparently at the end of the book—and two in Mark and Matthew, where they appear earlier. The Evangelist followed Mark’s sequence for the commissioning of the Twelve (see 9:1–6) and used the lost Gospel as his model for the commissioning of the Seventy (10:1–20), not at the end of the Gospel but soon after the earlier commissioning story. By locating both episodes earlier in the Gospel, Luke illustrated the growth of Jesus’ followers—from twelve to seventy—growth that continues in Acts: 1:15 (120); 2:41 (3,000), and 4:4 (5,000). Like Matthew, and perhaps inspired by it, Luke presents the risen Jesus expanding the mission of the disciples to Gentiles at the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles (1:6–8). A fuller treatment of this passage must await a reconstruction of the wording of the lost Gospel (see the discussion of *Logoi* 10:1–15 and its echoes of the ending of Deuteronomy).

Here is the argument in a nutshell: if the Mission Speech originally appeared in the middle of the lost Gospel, as it does in *CEQ* and *Fleddermann*,

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126. The scribe responsible for the so-called Longer Ending of Mark ([16:9–20]), who apparently knew of the endings of Matthew and Luke, compensated for the absence of a sending at the end of Mark and added his own version: “And he said to them, ‘Go into all the world and proclaim the good news to every creature. The one who believes and is baptized will be saved, but the one who disbelieves will be condemned. These signs will accompany those who believe: in my name they will cast out demons, speak in new tongues, with their hands they will lift up serpents, and whatever poison they drink will do them no harm; they will lay their hands on the sick, and they will become well.’ After speaking with them, the Lord Jesus was taken up into heaven and sat at the right hand of God, but they left, preached everywhere, and with the Lord’s help confirmed the message by means of accompanying signs.”

one should expect to read a detailed report about the outcome of the mission, but none of the Synoptics provides such a narrative. It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that, like Matt 28:16–20, *Logoi* ended with Jesus sending his disciples to expand his mission. Mark could not locate the Mission Speech at the end of the Gospel; he used it instead in chapter 6 to explain how Herod had become aware of Jesus' popularity: he had six sets of wandering promoters. Matthew and Luke, for their own reasons, similarly placed their commissioning speeches earlier in their narratives, but both composed passages that echo the Mission Speech, which they likely found at the end of the *Logoi of Jesus*. Matthew's Great Commission redacts Jesus' instructions to include Gentiles; at the ascension in Acts, Luke similarly presents Jesus telling his followers to be his witnesses to the ends of the world. Chapter 6 will argue for the location of the Mission Speech as the conclusion of the lost Gospel on internal literary grounds.

#### 6. MORE CONTROVERSIES

Chapter 4 attributed the following five logia to Matthew's second source; they appear soon after his description of Jesus' praise of John.

| Mark    | Matthew   | Luke            | Description                                |
|---------|-----------|-----------------|--|
| 3:22–27 | +12:24–29 | 11:14–22        | Jesus' defense of the Beelzebul accusation |
| 9:40    | -12:30    | 11:23           | The one not with me is against me          |
| 8:11–12 | -12:38–39 | 11:16,<br>29–32 | The sign of Jonah for this generation      |
|         | +12:43–45 | 11:23–26        | The return of the unclean spirit           |
| 7:1–15  | +15:1–11  |                 | Unwashed hands                             |

This chapter will argue for Luke's inverted priority to several logia that appear in the context of the Beelzebul dispute.

| Mark    | Matthew          | Luke      | Description                                |
|---------|------------------|-----------|--|
|         | 12:22–23         | >11:14    | Jesus' exorcism of a deaf man              |
| 3:23–26 | +12:25–28        | >11:17–20 | Jesus' defense of the Beelzebul accusation |
|         | -12:30,<br>43–45 | >11:23–26 | The return of the unclean spirit           |
| 3:31–35 | 12:46–50         | >11:27–28 | Blessed are those who keep the word        |

If Luke's version of the controversy about the great commandment came merely from a redaction of Mark 12:28–34 (or Matt 22:34–40), one would expect to find it after the controversy over marriage and resurrection, that is, after, 20:40, but it actually occurs ten chapters earlier, in 10:25–28! Christo-



pher M. Tuckett and Jan Lambrecht make compelling cases for Luke's use of Q.<sup>127</sup> According to Lambrecht, "It appears impossible to explain adequately Lk 10:25–28 and Mt 22:34–40 without the postulate of a second source, a text which is different from Mk 12:28–34. ... There is no reason why this text should not be called a Q passage."<sup>128</sup>

Mark seems to have inherited the tale from a document, not merely from oral tradition. The scribe asks Jesus about the first commandment, but he responds by listing the first and second. Had Mark created the scribe's question, one might imagine him to have written, "What are the greatest commandments of all?" (criterion B, evidence of tradition). What he saw in his source probably was similar to what one now finds in Luke, who located the dispute in an entirely different location. Luke lacks Mark's transition at the beginning (12:28), linking it to earlier controversies, and Mark's conclusion, which terminates them (12:34). Luke's version, on the other hand, stands alone. In addition, it is difficult to explain some of Luke's omissions if Mark were his primary source here, omissions such as the Shema in Mark 12:29 or the reference to love being "greater than whole burnt offerings and sacrifices" in 12:33 (an allusion to 1 Sam 15:22a or perhaps Hos 6:6).<sup>129</sup> The statement at the end of Luke's version, "Do this and you will live," probably is prior to Mark's "You are not far from the kingdom of God," which apparently raises the bar for entry into God's kingdom higher than merely observing the love command. At stake in Mark is not legal obedience but spiritual perception. More significantly, only Luke's version places the citation from Torah on the lips of Jesus' interlocutor; Jesus merely affirms it: "You have answered correctly." In Mark, however, it is Jesus who articulates the love command, which the scribe then affirms, "Teacher, you rightly say in truth."

This controversy in Luke also is congruent with other controversies in the lost Gospel: someone tests Jesus with a question; he responds with a counter-question and ends with an aphorism. The attitude toward the Jewish law in this passage is typical of what one finds in the lost Gospel, namely, the preference for the moral aspects of the law over purity (criterion C).

All reconstructions of Q include the Beelzebul controversy, but I will argue for including not only the great commandment but two other con-

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127. Christopher M. Tuckett, *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis: An Analysis and Appraisal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 125–39; Jan Lambrecht, "The Great Commandment Pericope and Q," in *The Gospel behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 73–96.

128. "The Great Commandment Pericope," 95.

129. Matthew's version likewise is missing the Shema and biblical allusion, evidence perhaps of Matthew's use of *Logoi* in addition to Mark.

troversies as well: tribute to Caesar and marriage and the resurrection. Luke probably should be trusted for retaining the original sequence of the great commandment and the Beelzebul controversy not much later.<sup>130</sup>

#### TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

All three Synoptics present the following logia in the same sequence; therefore, if they appeared in the lost Gospel, they would satisfy sequential criterion 1. For a justification of locating all three controversies before the Beelzebul dispute, see the introduction to this chapter and the arguments for preferring Luke's early location of the dispute concerning the great commandment.

#### 6:1–5 (20:21–25). Tribute to Caesar

Although the agreements between Matt 22:15–22 and Luke 20:20–26 against Mark 12:13–17 are meager, they are enticing. Both omit the redundant Markan phrase “Should we give it or should we not?” (12:14b) and the clause ἵνα ἴδω “so that I may see” (15b). Both replace Mark's φέρετε with (ἐπι-)δείξατε, and both rearrange the end of Jesus' response by placing the verb ἀπόδοτε “give” at the beginning of the sentence with a transitional conjunction (οὖν or τοίνυν) and make contiguous the two references to Caesar: Καίσαρος Καίσαρι. Of course, one might conclude that these agreements issue from Luke's use of Matthew, but the logion is congruent with controversies elsewhere in *Logoi* (criterion C).

For example, the form of this logion resembles other controversies in which Jesus' opponents ask him dicey questions, and he responds with questions of his own that set his interrogators on the defensive. He then completes his responses with memorable aphorisms. The examples for comparison come from controversies I already have assigned to the lost Gospel, including the great commandment (*Logoi* 6:18–21 [10:25–28]), the Beelzebul controversy (6:24–29 [11:17–22]), and unwashed hands (6:41–51 [(M) 15:1–11]), textual

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130. Mark relocated the Beelzebul controversy and the blessing of those who keep God's word, apparently to establish the hostility between Jesus and the Pharisees earlier in his narrative (3:22–27 and 31–35). The refusal to perform a sign appears just after the feeding of the four thousand as an independent episode. The light on the lampstand appears in the Parable Sermon (4:21), but the Evangelist omitted the return of the unclean spirit and the evil eye. To the controversies about tribute, resurrection, and the greatest commandment, Mark added one other (the controversy about David's son; 12:35–37); like *Logoi*, Mark brings the controversies to a head with warnings about the Pharisees, warnings that he derived from the lost Gospel.

reconstructions of which appear in the synopsis. Particularly relevant to the tribute controversy are the following (for the purpose of comparison, I use Mark, but any of the Synoptics would suffice):

*Logoi* 6:18b (10:25)

“Teacher [διδάσκαλε], which is the greatest commandment in the law?”

Mark 12:14b

“Teacher [διδάσκαλε], we know that ... you teach truly the way of God.

*Logoi* 3:31 (6:7)

“Is it permitted to heal [ἔξεστιν ... θεραπεύσαι] on the Sabbath?”

Is it or is it not permitted to give [ἔξεστιν δοῦναι] a poll-tax to Caesar?”

Both in the tribute controversy and in the Beelzebul controversy Jesus recognizes the disguised intentions of his opponents.

*Logoi* 6:24 (11:17)

But knowing their thoughts, he said to them [εἰδὼς δὲ τὰ διανοήματα αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς] ...

Mark 12:15

But knowing their hypocrisy, he said to them [ὁ δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς] ...<sup>131</sup>

In some controversies Jesus responds with a question of his own, as he does in Mark 12:15 and 16: “Why do you test me? ... Whose image and whose inscription is this?”<sup>132</sup> The controversy over paying tribute to Caesar concludes with an aphorism (12:17), as do several of the other controversies in *Logoi*.<sup>133</sup>

An additional reason for attributing the logion to *Logoi* pertains to the tax per se. After the Jewish War, when the Synoptic Evangelists wrote, paying tribute to Caesar was less an existential issue than before it, if one can trust the perspective of Josephus, who claims that the Jewish insurrection against the Romans involved the refusal to pay the tax. For example, Judas the Galilean incited Judeans to withhold tribute out of loyalty to God, their true master (ca. 6–7 C.E.).<sup>134</sup> The Jewish historian also attributed to Agrippa II a final speech before the city fell to the Romans that urged them to pay: “Your actions already are acts of war with Romans, for you have not given to Caesar the tax, and you have chopped down the stoas of Antonius. You just might be able to repel the charge of insurrection if you again restore the stoas and pay

131. On hypocrisy, see also *Logoi* 6:47 and 7:13 ([M] 15:7 and 11:41).

132. See *Logoi* 3:20, 28–29, 32; 6:19, 25–26, and 43 (5:34, 6:4–5, 9; 10:26; 11:18–19; and [M] 15:3).

133. See *Logoi* 3:17–18, 22–24, and 29; 6:21 (5:31–32 and 36–38, 6:5; 10:28).

134. *B.J.* 2.118.

the tax.”<sup>135</sup> The tax mentioned in *Logoi*, however, is explicitly called a κῆνσον, from the Latin word *census*, which was to be paid by a silver drachma, perhaps like those minted under the rule of Tiberius, inscribed with the profile of the emperor and TI[berius] CAESAR DIVI AUG[usti] F[ilius] AUGUSTUS, “Tiberius Augustus Caesar, Son of Divine Augustus.”<sup>136</sup>

If one were to locate this controversy and the next (20:21–38) before Luke’s location of the great commandment (10:25–28), *Logoi* would contain a string of controversies that reach a crescendo in Jesus’ pronouncing woes on his opponents (11:1–52; *Logoi* 7). Similarly in Mark, the controversies over paying tribute to Caesar, the resurrection, and the great commandment lead to woes against Jewish authorities, woes that likewise have parallels in *Logoi*.<sup>137</sup> Further evidence that Mark derived this controversy over tribute from the lost Gospel is its location immediately after the parable of the wicked vine-dressers, a likely secondary redaction of the parable of the great supper.<sup>138</sup> In other words, it appears in a context with other redactions of the lost Gospel.

#### 6:6–17 (20:27–38). Marriage and the Resurrection

Although Mark inherited from *Logoi* most of his controversies between Jesus and the Jewish authorities, he also was able to create such disputes, and this one lacks unambiguous traces of pre-Markan tradition, so criterion B fails. Furthermore, Luke’s minor agreements with Matthew, though tantalizing, do not require a lost source; no Lukan inverted priority here. Even so, the logion appears in Mark and Matthew in the context of other logia ascribable to *Logoi*: the great commandment (6:18–21 [10:25–28]) and first seats in the synagogues (7:2 [11:43]).

I will argue for inclusion almost exclusively on the basis of congruence with other content from the lost Gospel (criterion C), but here, too, the evidence is inconclusive. On the one hand, nowhere else in the lost Gospel does one find a reference to the Sadducees or explicitly to the resurrection, even though several passages presuppose it.<sup>139</sup> On the other hand, virtually every other aspect of this passage resonates with content from the *Logoi of Jesus*.

135. B.J. 2.403–404; see also 1.89 and 154; 2.273 and 383–385; and 7.253; A.J. 18.4.

136. Paul Corby Finney, “The Rabbi and the Coin Portrait (Mark 12:15b, 16): Rigorism Manqué,” *JBL* 112 (1993): 629–44; Richard C. Miller, “Return Caesar’s Things to Caesar,” *SH* 2.5 (2006): 72–76; Yarbrow Collins, *Mark*, 553–56.

137. See the discussion of *Logoi* 7:1–3 (11:46, 43, 52).

138. See the discussion of *Logoi* 8:43–49 (14:16–21, 23).

139. See, for example, *Logoi* 6:39–40 (11:31–32).

The author of the lost Gospel frequently evokes the figure of Moses and the Pentateuch, especially Deuteronomy, and this passage does so as well with a citation from Deut 25:5–6. Furthermore, it admirably adheres to the controversy pattern used so often in *Logoi*.

1. The introduction of opponents: *Logoi* 3:16 and 26; 6:41 (5:30; 6:2; [M] 15:1); particularly striking is 3:19 (5:33).

*Logoi* 3:19 (5:33)

The disciples of John came to him, saying [προσέρχονται αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου λέγοντες] ...

Matt 22:23

Sadducees came to him, saying [προσηλθον αὐτῷ Σαδδουκαῖοι, λέγοντες] ...

2. A hostile question, often involving a point of Jewish law: *Logoi* 3:16, 19, 26; 6:25–26, 42 (5:30, 33; 6:2; 11:18–19; [M] 15:2). Particularly similar is *Logoi* 6:18 (10:25).

*Logoi* 6:18 (10:25)

A certain exegete of the law, to test him, asked, “Teacher [ἐπηρώτησεν πειράζων αὐτόν· διδάσκαλε], which is the greatest commandment in the law [ἐν τῷ νόμῳ]?”

Mark 12:19 and Matt 22:28

They asked him, saying, “Teacher [ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτόν λέγοντες· διδάσκαλε], Moses wrote for us in the law [ἐν τῷ νόμῳ] ...” [The Sadducees cite Deut 25:5–6 and ask:] “so in the resurrection, to which of them is she the wife[]?”

3. Jesus responds with a question of his own: *Logoi* 3:20, 32; 6:19–20, 43–49 (5:34; 6:9; 10:26–27; [M] 15:3–9), though especially noteworthy is 3:27 (6:3).

*Logoi* 3:27 (6:3)

“Have you not read what David did [οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησεν Δαυίδ]?”

Mark 12:26

“Have you not read in the book of Moses [οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μωϋσέως]?”

4. Jesus concludes the debate with a discussion-ending aphorism: *Logoi* 3:26, 29; 6:51 (6:2, 5; [M] 15:11). The closest parallel is *Logoi* 3:18 (5:32).

*Logoi* 3:18 (5:32)

“I did not come to call righteous but sinners [οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς].”

Mark 12:27

“He is God not of the dead but of the living [οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς νεκρῶν ἀλλὰ ζώντων].”

The expression οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται (“neither marry nor are given in marriage”; Mark 12:25 and parallels) resembles a similar expression

in Luke 17:27: “They ate, drank, married, and were given in marriage [ἐγάμουν ... ἐγαμίζοντο], until the day Noah entered the ark.” The two verbs γαμέω and γαμίζω appear together only in these two logia in the entire New Testament.<sup>140</sup> Finally, the trilogy of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is surprisingly rare in the Synoptics, and its only other occurrence is in Matt 8:11 and its equivalent in Luke 13:28. Although neither this logion nor Luke 17:27 appears in MQ, I will argue for the inclusion of both (see the discussions of *Logoi* 8:12–13 [13:29, 28] and 9:3–8 [17:37, 26–30] below). Surely it is worth noting that both here and in the controversy about the resurrection the author refers to the three patriarchs as though they were alive.

#### 6:18–21 (10:25–28). The Great Commandment

For the inclusion of this logion, see the discussion at the beginning of *Logoi* 6. The agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark include the identification of the questioner as a νομικός, a participle about the exegete’s motivation, the address of Jesus as “teacher,” the use of “with [ἐν]” instead of Mark’s consistent use of “from [ἐξ],” and several major omissions, including the Shema. Matthew omits the exegete’s repetition of Jesus’ citation of the commands to love God and neighbor; Luke omits Jesus’ repetition of the commands. The reconstruction of *Logoi* 6:18–21 (10:25–28) in the synopsis puts the correct answer on the lips of the exegete of the law, as in Luke.

#### 6:22–23 (11:14–15). The Beelzebul Accusation

The next five logia that make up the controversy concerning Beelzebul satisfy sequential criterion 3 insofar as Luke for the most part agrees with Matthew’s order, even though he displays evidence of redacting the lost Gospel. For example, chapter 4 included in MQ+ the Beelzebul controversy by dint of Matthean inverted priority to Mark, but Luke’s version reflects an even earlier text. Here are the Lukan and Matthean accounts of the exorcism that initiated the dispute.

Luke 11:14

And he cast out a demon which made a person deaf. It happened that when the demon left, the deaf person spoke. And the crowds were amazed.

<Matt 12:22–23 (cf. 9:32–33)

Then a blind and deaf demoniac was brought to him, and he healed him, so that the deaf person spoke and saw. And all the crowds were astonished

140. One should note, however, that the rare verb γαμίζω appears twice in 1 Cor 7:38.

and were saying, “This man is not the  
son of David, is he?”

It would appear that Matthew has increased Jesus’ powers by having him heal a man not only deaf, as in Luke, but also blind.<sup>141</sup> He also added his interpretation of the astonishment of the observers: “This man is not the son of David, is he?” It is difficult to account for Luke’s version as a truncation of what appears in Matthew. Mark has no equivalent to this exorcism (though see the exorcism of a deaf demoniac in 9:14–29), but had he included it here, it would have been redundant of the many exorcisms Jesus already had performed in the Gospel (criterion D).

6:24–29 (11:17–22; MQ+ 12:24–29). Jesus’ Defense

Although Matthew’s version of the Beelzebul controversy is earlier than Mark’s (see Chapter 4), Luke’s is more primitive even than Matthew’s. It is easier to explain why the anthropomorphism “finger of God” in Luke would have become “the Spirit of God” in Matthew than the other way around (criterion A).<sup>142</sup> The discussion of antetexts will argue that God’s finger in the lost Gospel points to Moses’ contest with Egyptian magicians in Exodus, the likely model for the Beelzebul controversy as a whole.

Luke 11:20

“But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then there has come upon you the kingdom of God.”

<Matt 12:28

“But if it is by the Spirit of God that I cast out demons, then there has come upon you the kingdom of God.”

*CEQ* offers only a summary of 11:21–22, not a textual reconstruction per se: “A strong person’s house cannot be looted, but if someone still stronger overpowers him, he does get looted.” Clearly one cannot reconstruct *Logoi* here from the formula “Q = (Matthew // Luke) – Mark” insofar as Matthew agrees verbatim with Mark and shares with Luke virtually nothing distinctive.

Mark 3:27

“But no one is able to enter the house of a strong man to loot his

Matt 12:29

“Or how is anyone able to enter the house of a strong man and loot

Luke 11:21–22

“When a strong man fully armed guards his courtyard, his goods are

141. So also *CEQ* and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 477–78).

142. So also *CEQ* but not Fleddermann.

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| goods unless he first binds the strong man, | his goods unless he first binds the strong man, | safe. But when someone stronger than he comes and conquers him, he strips him of his full suit of armor on which he relied, and distributes his weapons.” |
| and then he will loot his house.”           | and then he will loot his house?”               |   |

The most plausible explanation of these parallels is that Matthew saw nearly identical sayings in *Logoi* and Mark. Luke did, too, but intensified his version by likening Satan not merely to a strong man but to one “fully armed” and on watch. Luke’s Jesus does not bind the strong man but “conquers him, strips him of his full suit of armor, ... and distributes his weapons,” presumably to his allies. I find it difficult to imagine that, if Matthew saw something similar to Luke’s version in *Logoi*, he would have preferred Mark’s blander one.<sup>143</sup> *CEQ* properly prefers Luke’s location for this logion and the next insofar as Matthew’s order reflects Markan influence (sequential criterion 5).

6:30–33 (11:23–26; MQ- 12:30 and MQ+ 12:43–45a). The Return of the Unclean Spirit

Chapter 4 included this logion in MQ+ because it is surely was traditional before Matthew inherited it (criterion B), it is congruent with MQ- (criterion C), and Mark may well have omitted it because it granted at least some exorcisms to Jesus’ opponents (criterion D). Luke’s version likely is even earlier insofar as his version of the saying about those who are not with Jesus, which appears in Matt 12:30, seems originally to have appeared in the lost Gospel (MQ- 12:30).<sup>144</sup> Luke’s unified logion apparently is more original insofar as the saying sets up the contrast between his effective exorcisms and those of his opponents that result in tragedy.<sup>145</sup>

Luke 11:23–24

“The one not with me is against me, and the one not gathering with me scatters.

<Matt 12:30 and 43

“The one not with me is against me, and the one not gathering with me scatters. ...

143. But see Fleddermann, *Mark and Q*, 53–55, and *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 484–88 and 496–97.

144. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 488.

145. So *CEQ*.



|  |  |
|--|--|
| When the unclean spirit leaves a person ...” | [thirteen verses later one reads:]<br>When the unclean spirit leaves a person ...” |
|--|--|

## 6:34–35 (11:27–28). Blessed Are Those Who Keep God’s Word

After his version of the Beelzebul controversy Mark presented a saying about Jesus’ true family as those who do God’s will (Mark 3:31–35), and Matthew followed his lead in 12:46–50. Luke’s redaction of Mark 3:31–35 appears in a different context altogether (8:19–21), but after his version of the return of the unclean spirit, he offers another saying that likewise contrasts Jesus’ family with those who do God’s will. In this case, Luke seems to be the primary version and Mark the secondary.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Luke 11:27–28  | <Mark 3:31–35 (<Matt 12:46–50<br>and <Luke 8:19–21)  |
| While he [Jesus] was saying these things,  | And his mother and brothers came, stood outside, and sent for him by calling him.  |
| a woman from the crowd [ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου] raised her voice and said to him [εἶπεν αὐτῷ],                               | The crowd [ὄχλος] sat around him and said to him [λέγουσιν αὐτῷ],  |
| “Blessed is the womb that bore you and the breasts that you sucked.”   | “Look, your mother, brothers [and sisters,] are outside seeking you.” He responded and said, “Who are my mother and my brothers?” And looking about to those who were sitting around him, he says, “Look: my mother and my brothers. |
| But he said,   | For whoever does the will of God [ὅς γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ], that one is my brother, sister, and mother.”   |
| “Blessed rather are those who hear and observe the word of God [οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες].” |  |

In favor of viewing Mark’s version as secondary is his proclivity to contrast Jesus’ family and disciples, who often disappoint him, with other characters, who prove themselves to be more faithful (a Markan redactional flag). Matthew chose to redact Mark’s version after Jesus’ statement about the return of the unclean spirit (12:46–50), while Luke redacted *Logoi’s* at the same location (11:27–28).

If one were to read the texts in these two columns isolated from each other, one might note their generic similarities but not suspect a genetic, literary rela-

tionship between them, but their appearance in precisely the same order, following the Beelzebul controversy, surely points to a textual connection.<sup>146</sup>

The passage in Luke is congruent with the lost Gospel's critical attitude toward family life throughout (criterion C). In MQ+ 9:59–60 Jesus does not permit a potential follower to return home to bury his father; in *Logoi* 3:11–12 (9:61–62) he told someone not to return home to say farewell to his family.<sup>147</sup>

These data suggest the following explanation. *Logoi's* version of the Beelzebul controversy included a saying about the return of the unclean spirit followed by Jesus' response to the beatitude about the blessed womb and breasts. Mark saw this sequence, eliminated the reference to the return of the demon, and transformed the saying about Jesus' mother to include his brothers and sisters.<sup>148</sup> Matthew conflated the two versions of the Beelzebul controversy, included *Logoi's* reference to the return of the demon, but preferred Mark's saying about Jesus' true family and substituted it for the beatitude in the lost Gospel (Matt 12:46–50). Luke, too, saw both versions, and redacted what he saw in *Logoi*, including the woman's beatitude, and moved his redaction of Mark's version to 8:19–21. My reconstruction of *Logoi* 6:34–35 (11:27–28) necessarily duplicates Luke's version, its only primary redaction.

6:36–40 (11:16, 29–32; MQ- 12:38–39). The Sign of Jonah for this Generation

For a justification of including this logion, see chapter 4, to Matt 12:38–39.

6:41–51 ([M] 15:1–11; MQ+ 15:1–11). Unwashed Hands

Luke contains no controversy about unwashed hands (Mark 7:1–15 and Matt 15:1–11), but, ironically, an echo of it in Luke 11:37–39 provides the best evidence of its location in the lost Gospel. Only Luke places the woes on the Pharisees in the context of a meal, and his introduction to it seems to be aware of a traditional dispute: "While he was speaking, a Pharisee asked him to dine

146. Burkett likewise includes this logion in Q (*Unity*, 80–81).

147. If this passage appeared in the lost Gospel, it could have informed a passage later in Mark. In chapter 13 Jesus predicts events relevant to the Jewish War, which includes a woe on women who are pregnant or nursing at the time, a reversal of the beatitude that we find in Luke.

Luke 11:27b: "Blessed is the womb that bore you and the breasts that you sucked [ἐθήλασας]."

<Mark 13:17: "Woe to those who are pregnant and who are nursing [θηλαζούσας] in those days."

148. Fleddermann suggests that Mark omitted the return of the demon because it "appears to suggest that Jesus' powers to exorcise can be undone" (*Mark and Q*, 59).

with him, so he went into his home and reclined. When the Pharisee saw that he did not first wash before eating, he was astonished. Jesus said to him...". Although Luke here may be redacting Mark 7:1–6, it is likely that Mark in turn derived this controversy from *Logoi*. Furthermore, Mark's version of the dispute over unwashed hands ends with a reference to the "evil eye," which seems to reflect knowledge of another saying from the lost Gospel (see the discussion of *Logoi* 6:53–54 [11:34–35]). If the controversy about unwashed hands did appear in the lost Gospel it probably came after the Beelzebul controversy and before the evil eye, and thus also before the woes on the Pharisees (sequential criterion 6).

Perhaps the most compelling reason to include this pericope in *Logoi* is the elegant argument it creates with the logia that precede and follow it when inserted into Luke's sequence. In the Beelzebul controversy some people accuse Jesus of collusion with the ruler of demons; in the controversy about unwashed hands Jesus counterattacks by accusing them of being full of evil. The two lamp sayings (*Logoi* 6:52–54 [11:33, 34–35]) elaborate on inner evil: if one's eye is corrupt the whole body is full of darkness and not like a lamp that should illumine the whole room. The woes in *Logoi* 7 then enumerate the vices of the religious leaders and pick up themes from the earlier discussion: despite their concern for external purity and holiness, including the washing of cups, the authorities committed injustice.

If one were to reconstruct the controversy about unwashed hands in *Logoi* one would strive to omit Markan redactional additions, retain expressions that seem to have given Mark difficulty or that are coherent with *Logoi*, and above all decide whether to prefer Matthew's order over Mark's. Chapter 4 presented the arguments favoring Matthew's sequence.

Although Mark and Matthew both extend the logion and make explicit the evils that issue from within, it is unlikely that such a list appeared in *Logoi*. In the first place, the lists in both Gospels contain several words that appear nowhere else in *Logoi* (διαλογισμός, πορνεία, κλοπή, φόνος, μοιχεία, πλεονεξία, πονηρία, δόλος, άσέλγεια, όφθαλμός πονηρός, βλασφημία, ύπερηφανία, and άφροσύνη). Notice also that Mark's reference to the "evil eye [όφθαλμός πονηρός]" in 7:22 seems to reflect the *Logoi* pericope of the "evil eye [όφθαλμός ... πονηρός]" that originally followed the dispute over unwashed hands.

Luke has no precise equivalent to this controversy, but he apparently knew of it and used it to introduce Jesus' woes on the Pharisees.<sup>149</sup>

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149. See Schürmann, *Untersuchungen*, 115. Catchpole similarly argues that Luke 11:38–39 was in Q, though in a different setting (*Quest*, 256–59).

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <i>Logoi</i> 6:41–43 ([M] 15:1–3)  | Mark 7:1–2 and 5–6a   | Luke 11:37–39a   |
|  | The Pharisees and some of the scribes came from Jerusalem and convened before him.  | While he was speaking, a Pharisee asked him to dine with him, so he went into his home and reclined. |
| On seeing [ιδόντες] some of his disciples eating bread with defiled hands, the Pharisees asked him, “Why do your disciples violate | When they saw [ιδόντες] some of his disciples eating bread with defiled hands...<br>The Pharisees and scribes interrogated him about why his disciples were not conducting themselves according to the traditions of the ancients but were eating bread with defiled hands. | When the Pharisee saw [ιδών] that he did not first wash before eating, he was astonished.            |
| the tradition of the ancients? For with defiled hands they eat bread.”   |   |  |
| He responded and said to them ...  | He said to them ...   | Jesus said to him ...  |

What follows in *Logoi*, Mark, and Matthew is the controversy itself. Luke’s reason for omitting it appears in Acts 10:1–11:18 (criterion D), where Peter seems to learn for the first time that Jewish laws of *kashrut* no longer apply. He must not consider unclean what God has pronounced clean (10:15 and 11:9). If Luke retained a version of the controversy about washing hands, he would have to explain why Peter was not paying attention when Jesus declared all foods clean (Mark 7:19).

#### 6:52 (11:33; MQ- 5:15). The Light on the Lampstand

Matthew placed this logion in the Sermon on the Mount, which surely is secondary to Luke’s location where it forms a unit with the next logion about the evil eye (sequential criterion 6). *CEQ* reconstructs 11:33 as follows: “No one light<s> a lamp and puts it in a hidden place, but on the lampstand, and it gives light for everyone in the house.” The words “in a hidden place” appear in square brackets because only Luke contains this phrase; Matthew reads, “under the bushel basket.” Two observations suggest that this phrase, and not Luke’s “in a hidden place,” was in the lost Gospel. First, the presence of the article makes it parallel with “on *the* lampstand”; second, Luke clearly avoids using the expression “under the bushel basket” in 6:16 where

he redacts Mark.<sup>150</sup> CEQ seems to have preferred Luke's reading to guard against Markan interference; Mark, too, contains the phrase "under the bushel basket."

6:53–54 (11:34–35). The Evil Eye

Matt 6:22–13 and Luke 11:34–35 agree so closely that one cannot determine on the basis of wording alone if Luke redacted *Logoi* or Matthew. Once again the key to inclusion is hidden in sequencing. Matthew moved the saying to the Sermon on the Mount, whereas Luke placed it after the light on the lampstand, where it more likely first belonged (Lukan inverted priority; criterion A). It also is worth noting that although Mark has no primary redaction of this logion, its reference to the "evil eye" in 7:22, following the controversy about unwashed hands, may reflect awareness of it in this location.

#### TRANSLATION AND ANTETEXTUAL COMMENTARY

6:1–5 (20:21–25). Tribute to Caesar<sup>151</sup>

|     |  |       |
|-----|--|-------|
| 6:1 | “Teacher,<br>we know that you teach truly the way of God.                          | 20:21 |
| 6:2 | Is it or is it not permitted to give a poll-tax to Caesar?”                        | 20:22 |
| 6:3 | But knowing their hypocrisy he said to them,                                       | 20:23 |
| 6:4 | “Show me a denarius.”  | 20:24 |
|     | And they produced one.<br>“Whose image and whose inscription is this?”             |       |
|     | They said to him, “Caesar’s.”  |       |
| 6:5 | He said to them,<br>“Give what is Caesar’s to Caesar<br>and what is God’s to God.” | 20:25 |

This logion may evoke Gen 1 and the creation of the human in God's image (εἰκόν): the human is in God's image; the drachma merely bears Caesar's.

150. So also Fleddermann, *Mark and Q*, 76–77, and *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 515–18.

151. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 100.

## 6:6–17 (20:27–38). Marriage and the Resurrection

|      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 6:6  | And Sadducees came to him who said that there was no resurrection, and they asked him,  | 20:27 |
| 6:7  | saying, “Teacher, Moses wrote for us that if someone’s brother should die and not have a child, the brother should take his wife and raise up offspring for his brother.                              | 20:28 |
| 6:8  | There were seven brothers; the first took the wife and at death left no offspring.  | 20:29 |
| 6:9  | So also the second  | 20:30 |
| 6:10 | and the third.  | 20:31 |
|      | Similarly, too, the seven died and left no offspring.   |       |
| 6:11 | Last of all the woman died, too.  | 20:32 |
| 6:12 | So in the resurrection, to which of them is she the wife, for the seven brothers had her as a wife?”  | 20:33 |
| 6:13 | And Jesus said to them,   | 20:34 |
|      | “The sons of this age marry and are given in marriage, <sup>152</sup>   |       |
| 6:14 | but those at the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage,  | 20:35 |
| 6:15 | but they are like angels in the heavens.  | 20:36 |
| 6:16 | And concerning the dead, that they rise up, have you not read in the book of Moses how, at the bush, God spoke to him, saying, ‘I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob’? | 20:37 |

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152. Only Luke contains the phrase “the sons of this age marry and are given in marriage.” I would suggest that Mark, followed by Matthew, omitted it because it was unusual, whereas Luke expanded it to exhort the reader, awkwardly, to asceticism. Only once elsewhere in the New Testament does one find the phrase *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*: in Luke 16:8, another logion likely from the lost Gospel (see the discussion to *Logoi* 8:71–79 [16:1–9]). In these parallels I underline Luke’s redactions.

*Logoi* 6:13–15 (20:34–36): Jesus said to them, “The sons of this age marry and are given in marriage, but those at the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage, but they are like angels in the heavens.”

Luke 20:34–36: Jesus said to them, “The sons of this age marry and are given in marriage, but those who are worthy to obtain that age and the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage, nor are they any longer able to die, for they are equal to angels and are sons of God, insofar as they are sons of the resurrection.”

6:17 He is God not of the dead but of the living.”

20:38

Jesus’ argument here is elliptical. The Sadducees, quoting Deuteronomy’s instructions concerning Levirate marriage, imply that Moses did not believe in the resurrection of the dead (which the biblical Moses surely did not), or he would not have so legislated. Jesus’ response is no less clear, for he seems to think that God’s address to Moses, long after the deaths of the three patriarchs, implies that they were still alive.<sup>153</sup>

This controversy about the resurrection begins with the Sadducees quoting Deut 25 on Levirate marriages and ends with Jesus quoting Exod 3.

Deut 25:5–6 (cit. [A])

“If brothers are living in the same area and one of them should die without offspring [ἀποθάνη ... σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ἦ αὐτῷ], the wife [ἡ γυνή] of the deceased is not to marry an outsider. The brother [ὁ ἀδελφός] of her husband will go to her, take her as his own wife [λήμψεται αὐτήν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα], and live with her. And the child that she bears will be established from the name of the deceased.”

Exod 3:6 (cit. [A])

“I am the God of your father, God of Abraham, and God of Isaac, and God of Jacob.”

*Logoi* 6:7 (20:30)

“Moses wrote for us that if someone’s brother should die and not have a child [ἀποθάνη μὴ ἔχων τέκνον], the brother should take his wife [λάβη ὁ ἀδελφός αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα] and raise up offspring [σπέρμα] for his brother.”

*Logoi* 6:16 (20:37)

“And concerning the dead, that they rise up, have you not read in the book of Moses how, at the bush, God spoke to him, saying,

‘I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?’”

In this passage the author uses Moses to interpret Moses against the interpretation of his opponents.

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153. See Yarbro Collins, *Mark*, 562–64.

6:18–21 (10:25–28). The Great Commandment<sup>154</sup>

|      |  |       |
|------|--|-------|
| 6:18 | And behold a certain exegete of the law, to test him, asked,<br>“Teacher, which is the greatest commandment in the law?”   | 10:25 |
| 6:19 | He said to him,<br>“What is written in the law?”   | 10:26 |
| 6:20 | He answered and said,<br>“You will love the Lord your God<br>with all your heart,<br>and with all your soul,<br>and with all your mind,<br>and your neighbor as yourself.” | 10:27 |
| 6:21 | He said to him,<br>“You have answered rightly. Do this and you will live.”   | 10:28 |

The “exegete of the law” here cites passages from Deuteronomy and Leviticus, and Jesus replies with an allusion to Leviticus of his own.

## LXX

*Logoi* 6:18–21 (10:25–28)

And behold a certain exegete of the law, to test him, asked, “Teacher, which is the greatest commandment in the law?” He said to him, “What is written in the law?” He answered and said,

Deut 6:5 (cit. [A]; cf. 10:12–13, 11:1, 13, and 23, 13:4, 19:9, and 30:6)

“And you will love the Lord your God from all your heart, and from all your soul, and from all your strength.”

“You will love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind,

Lev 19:18 (cit. [A])

“You will love your neighbor as yourself.”

and your neighbor as yourself.”

He said to him, “You have answered rightly.

Lev 18:5 (cf. Deut 11:8; all. [B])

“And you will keep all my instructions and all my judgments, and you will

154. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 25 and *Logoi* 6:20 (10:27).



do [ποιήσετε] them, if a person does      Do [ποίει] this and you will live [ζήση].”  
 [ποίησας] them, he will live [ζήσεται]  
 by them.”

The point of this dispute is subtle but profound. Whereas Moses' God promised that “if a person does them [viz. ‘all my instructions’], he will live,” Jesus says that if a person loves God with all one's heart and one's neighbor as oneself she or he will live. He thus distinguishes between observing all the law and observing the love commandment.<sup>155</sup>

#### 6:22–23 (11:14–15). The Beelzebul Accusation

- |      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 6:22 | And he cast out a demon «which made a person» deaf.<br>And once the demon was cast out, the deaf person spoke.<br>And the crowds were amazed. | 11:14 |
| 6:23 | But some said,<br>“By Beelzebul, the ruler of demons, he casts out demons!”   | 11:15 |

Yarbro Collins provides an overview of warnings about “familiar spirits” and concludes: “In the cultural contexts in which these traditions were known, the accusation . . . implies that Beelzebul is Jesus' familiar spirit and that Jesus deserves a death by stoning,” as in Deut 13:6.<sup>156</sup>

#### 6:24–29 (11:17–22; MQ+ 12:24–29). Jesus' Defense<sup>157</sup>

- |      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 6:24 | But knowing their thoughts, he said to them,<br>“Every kingdom divided against itself is left barren.<br>And every house divided against itself will not stand. | 11:17 |
| 6:25 | And if Satan is divided against himself,<br>how will his kingdom stand?   | 11:18 |
| 6:26 | And if I by Beezebul cast out demons,<br>your sons, by whom do they cast them out?<br>This is why they will be your judges.                                     | 11:19 |
| 6:27 | But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons,<br>then there has come upon you the kingdom of God.   | 11:20 |

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155. So Günther Bornkamm, “Das Doppelbegot der Liebe,” in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann* (2d ed.; ed. Walther Eltester; BZNW 21; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1957), 86.

156. *Mark*, 229. See also her excellent treatment of Beelzebul (229–31).

157. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 35 and *Logoi* 6:26–29 (11:21–22).

- 6:28 How is anyone able to enter the house of a strong man  
and loot his goods 11:21
- 6:29 unless he first binds the strong man,  
and then he will loot his house?" 11:22

For the antetexts to this passage, see the discussion of *Logoi* 6:36–40 (11:16, 29–32).

6:30–33 (11:23–26; MQ- 12:30 and MQ+ 12:43–45a). The Return of the Unclean Spirit

- 6:30 “The one not with me is against me,  
and the one not gathering with me scatters. 11:23
- 6:31 When the defiling spirit has left the person,  
it wanders through waterless regions looking for a resting  
place, and finds none. 11:24
- Then it says,  
‘I will return to my house from which I came.’
- 6:32 And on arrival it finds it swept and tidied up. 11:25
- 6:33 Then it goes and brings with it  
seven other spirits more evil than itself,  
and, moving in, they settle there. 11:26
- And the last circumstances of that person  
become worse than the first.”

6:34–35 (11:27–28). Blessed Are Those Who Keep God’s Word<sup>158</sup>

- 6:34 While he was saying these things,  
a woman from the crowd raised her voice and said to him,  
“Blessed is the womb that bore you  
and the breasts that you sucked.” 11:27
- 6:35 But he said, “Blessed rather are those who hear the word of  
God 11:28  
and observe it.”

The woman’s blessing may echo the blessing on Joseph in Gen 49:25 (echo): “the blessing of the breasts [μαστῶν] and the womb.” An even more compelling antetext appears in Deuteronomy.

158. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 79 and 99.

Deut 28:1b–2, 4 (all. [B]; cf. 7:12–13  
and 30:9)

“If you obey the hearing [ἀκοῆ  
εἰσακούσητε] of the voice of the  
Lord your God [τοῦ θεοῦ] to observe  
[φυλάσσειν] and do all his command-  
ments ... all these blessings will come  
to you: ...

blessed [εὐλογημένα] will be the issue  
of your womb [τῆς κοιλίας σου].”

*Logoi* 6:34b–35 (11:27b–28)

“Blessed is the womb [ἡ κοιλία] that  
bore you [σε] and the breasts that  
you sucked.” But he said, “Blessed  
[μακάριοι] rather are those who hear  
[ἀκούοντες] the word of God and  
observe it [τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες].”

6:36–40 (11:16, 29–32; MQ- 12:38–39). The Sign of Jonah for This Generation

|      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 6:36 | And others said to him,<br>“Teacher, we want to see a sign from you.”   | 11:16 |
| 6:37 | But in reply he said to them,<br>“An evil generation seeks a sign,<br>and a sign will not be given to it—except the sign of Jonah!  | 11:29 |
| 6:38 | For as Jonah became to the Ninevites a sign,<br>so also will the Son of Man be to this generation.  | 11:30 |
| 6:39 | The queen of the south will be raised at the judgment<br>with this generation<br>and condemn it,<br>for she came from the ends of the earth<br>to listen to the wisdom of Solomon,<br>and look something more than Solomon is here! | 11:31 |
| 6:40 | Ninevite men will arise at the judgment with<br>this generation and condemn it.<br>For they repented at the announcement of Jonah,<br>and look, something more than Jonah is here!”   | 11:32 |

The most transparent antetexts informing this passage are 2 Kgs 10:1–3, the Queen of Sheba’s visit to Solomon, and Jonah 3:6–10, the repentance of the Ninevites, but the demand for a sign relies on Exodus and Deuteronomy.

At the beginning of the preceding cluster of logia Jesus performs a sign, the exorcism of a mute demoniac, and by this time the reader will recognize it as yet another proof that Jesus was a prophet like the miracle-working Moses pined for at the end of Deuteronomy (34:10–12).

Jesus' opponents, however, took the exorcism as a sign that he cast out demons by Beelzebul, or Baal-zebub, a Philistine deity. A reader attentive to *Logoi* as a transvalued Deuteronomy may recall that such a charge was punishable with death.

And if there rises up among you a prophet or a dreamer of dreams who produces for you a sign [σημείον] or a wonder, and the sign [σημείον] or wonder occurs which he spoke to you, saying "Let's go and worship other gods"—gods whom you do not know—you must not listen to the words of that prophet, ... for the Lord your God is testing you to learn if you love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul. ... That prophet or that dreamer of dreams will die. (Deut 13:2–4 and 6; all. [B])

Jesus refuses to give his opponents another sign (σημείον) because they, like the generation at the time of Moses, are evil. Instead of taking a sign as evidence that he was a prophet like Moses, they might take it as collusion with a foreign god, Beelzebul. "A sign [σημείον] will not be given to it—except the sign [σημείον] of Jonah," namely, the preaching of repentance; furthermore, Jesus is a greater prophet than Jonah (*Logoi* 6:36–40 [11:16, 29–32]).<sup>159</sup> One may recall the response to the disciples of the Baptist: the healing miracles that he performed were signs that he was "the one to come," at which some would take offence; that is, they would not see them as signs (*Logoi* 5:2–3 [7:22–23]). To refute the charge that his exorcisms issued from Beelzebul, he responds that because "every kingdom divided against itself is left barren," his

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159. By no means have all scholars held that "the sign of Jonah" was his preaching. Matthew took the reference to apply to Jesus' death and resurrection as an analog to Jonah's three day sojourn in the belly of the beast (23:38–42). Could such a meaning apply already to *Logoi*? In support of an affirmative answer might be the following two considerations. First, after a comprehensive investigation of later interpretations of Jonah, Hans F. Bayer concluded that "no reference is made ... which suggests that Jonah constituted a sign to the Ninevites as a preacher of repentance" (*Jesus' Predictions of Vindication and Resurrection: The Provenance, Meaning, and Correlation of the Synoptic Predictions* [WUNT 20; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986], 138; I am grateful to Min-Woo Shin for this reference). Second, *Logoi* does not say that Jesus' message in the present was a sign but that the Son of Man "will be [ἔσται]" a sign in the future, perhaps after Jesus' death.

On the other hand, other arguments favor taking the sign as his preaching. First, there is no evidence in the book of Jonah itself that the prophet notified the Ninevites that he had been rescued from the sea-monster; they were oblivious to it. Second, according to my reconstruction of the logion, which agrees with *CEQ*, the analogy between Jonah and Jesus pertained only to their preaching. Finally and most importantly, nowhere else in the lost Gospel does one find evidence of Jesus' vindication by resurrection, a notion that appears in the Synoptics first in Mark.

preternatural powers issue from God and are more permanently effective than the exorcisms of his opponents' children (6:27–33 [11:20–26]).

Allison surely is correct in noting that this controversy imitates Moses' contest with magicians in Exod 7–8, where God tells Moses to demand that Pharaoh let “the sons of Israel” leave Egypt. God would multiply “signs [σημεία] and wonders” to demonstrate his power (Exod 7:2–5). If Pharaoh says, “‘Give us a sign [σημείον] or a wonder, you [Moses] will say to Aaron your brother, ‘Take your staff and throw it to the ground before Pharaoh and before his servants, and it will become a snake’” (7:9; cf. 10:2). Moses and Aaron did so, but Pharaoh's magicians, too, turned their staffs into snakes. Even though Pharaoh saw this sign, his heart remained hardened and remained so despite the devastating plagues that followed. Only the slaying of the Egyptian firstborn softened his will. Compare the following:

Exod 7:9 (imit. [B])

“Give us a sign [δοτε ἡμῖν σημεῖον] or wonder.”

[Moses gave a sign, but Pharaoh remained adamant.]

*Logoi* 6:36–37 (11:16, 29)

And others said to him, “Teacher, we want to see a sign from you [σημείον].” But in reply he said to them, “An evil generation seeks a sign [σημείον], and a sign will not be given [σημείον οὐ δοθήσεται] to it—except the sign [σημείον] of Jonah!”

Although Jesus could perform such signs of power, he refused to perform them on demand; instead, he preached repentance as Jonah did to the Ninevites (ref.); he spoke wisely like Solomon to the Queen of Sheba in 2 Chr 9:1–12 (ref.).

Moses then afflicted the Egyptians by turning the Nile into blood; the magicians did so, too. The second plague was an infestation of frogs, the third was a swarm of insects, a feat the magicians could not match. “So the sorcerers told Pharaoh, ‘This is the finger of God [δάκτυλος θεοῦ]’” (Exod 8:15; all. [A]). Similarly, Jesus acknowledged that the sons of his accusers could exorcize, but they could not bind Satan, so he told them, “If it is by the finger of God [δακτύλῳ θεοῦ] that I cast out demons, then there has come upon you the kingdom of God” (*Logoi* 6:27 [11:20]). These parallels would be all the more striking if the author were aware of the post-biblical Jewish tradition that ascribed to Jannes and Jambres, the Egyptian magicians, the powers of the devil.<sup>160</sup>

160. Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 53–57.

The reader of the *Logoi of Jesus* thus should conclude that Jesus was indeed a prophet like Moses “with all the signs [σημείοις] and wonders, one whom the Lord sent to do these things in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh and his ministers.” Now it is not Pharaoh but the Jewish leaders who refuse to recognize the origin of these wonders. In the next chapter Jesus will make a case that Jewish leaders were so corrupt that God will hold them accountable for the deaths of all the prophets. The suspense thus builds, with both sides making accusations of offenses punishable by execution.

6:41–51 ([M] 15:1–11; MQ+ 15:1–11). Unwashed Hands<sup>161</sup>

- |      |   |          |
|------|---|----------|
| 6:41 | The Pharisees and scribes, <sup>162</sup><br>on seeing some of his disciples eating bread with defiled hands,<br>said to him,               | (M) 15:1 |
| 6:42 | “Why do your disciples violate the tradition of the ancients?”  | (M) 15:2 |
| 6:43 | He responded and said to them,<br>“And why do you yourselves violate the command of God<br>because of your tradition?”                      | (M) 15:3 |
| 6:44 | For Moses said,<br>‘Honor your father and your mother,’<br>and<br>‘the one who maligns his father and mother,<br>let him be put to death.’” | (M) 15:4 |

The distinction between the “traditions of the fathers” and Mosaic legislation occurs also in Josephus’s discussion of disputes between Pharisees and Sadducees.<sup>163</sup>

This quotation conflates Exod 20:12 and 21:16 (MT 21:17).

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Exod 20:12 and 21:16<br>(MT 21:17; cf. Deut 5:16; cit. [A])   | <i>Logoi</i> 6:44 ([M] 15:4)  |
| “Honor your father and your mother.<br>...” “The one who maligns his father or<br>his mother, he will be put to death.” | “‘Honor your father and your mother,’<br>and ‘the one who maligns his father or<br>mother, let him be put to death.’” |

161. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 14:5 and *Logoi* 6:51 ([M] 15:11).

162. Even though Mark and Matthew both mention scribes in addition to Pharisees, elsewhere *Logoi* is silent about this group.

163. *A.J.* 13.10.6 (297–298). See also Gal 1:14.

- 6:45 “But you say, (M) 15:5  
 ‘Whoever tells his father or mother,  
 “What you might have gained from me is corban”;  
 6:46 that person will not honor his father or mother. (M) 15:6  
 You made void the word of God because of your tradition.  
 6:47 Hypocrites, (M) 15:7  
 Isaiah aptly prophesied concerning you, as it has been written,  
 6:48 ‘This people honors me with their lips, (M) 15:8  
 but their hearts are far from me.  
 6:49 They worship me in vain, (M) 15:9  
 because they teach as their teachings human precepts.’”

Here are the parallels between Isaiah and *Logoi*.

Isa 29:13 (cit. [A])

*Logoi* 6:47–49 ([M] 15:7–9)

“This people honors me with their lips,  
 but their hearts are far from me. They  
 worship me in vain, because they teach  
 as their teachings human precepts.”

“Hypocrites, Isaiah aptly prophesied  
 concerning you, as it has been written,  
 “This people honors me with their lips,  
 but their hearts are far from me. They  
 worship me in vain, because they teach  
 as their teachings human precepts.’”

- 6:50 And he said to the crowd, (M) 15:10  
 “Listen and understand.  
 6:51 What goes into a person does not defile him, (M) 15:11  
 but what comes out of a person defiles him.”

6:52 (11:33; MQ- 5:15). *The Light on the Lampstand*<sup>164</sup>

- 6:52 “No one lights a lamp and puts it under the bushel basket, 11:33  
 but on the lampstand,  
 and it gives light for everyone in the house.”

6:53–54 (11:34–35). *The Evil Eye*<sup>165</sup>

- 6:53 “The lamp of the body is the eye. 11:34  
 If your eye is clear,  
 your whole body is radiant;  
 but if your eye is evil,  
 your whole body is dark.

164. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 33:2–3.

165. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 24.

6:54        So if the light within you is dark,                    11:35  
               how great must the darkness be!”

“Q 22:33–36 [= *Logoi* 6:52–54] ... helps explain the state of Jesus’ opponents. They are self-centered and unable to treat Jesus in a generous fashion because they are filled with darkness (11:35)—even though a great light has come to them (11:33). ... Their fault is that their eye is evil.”<sup>166</sup>

### 7. WOES AGAINST RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Chapter 4 argued that Matthew derived one of his eight woes in chapter 23 from a lost Gospel insofar as it is unlikely that the Evangelist would have created Jesus’ instructions not to swear by the Jerusalem temple after it had fallen to Rome (MQ+ 23:16–22). I also argued that Jesus’ denunciation of the religious authorities several verses later came from the same source, but for MQ+ 23:38–39 the case for inclusion involves its inverted priority to Mark’s secondary redaction of the logion in 11:9.

Luke 11 similarly contains a discourse consisting largely of six woes, most of which demonstrate inverted priority to Matthew, as we shall see. Matthew located his woes at the conclusion of the controversies that he redacted from Mark and immediately before his redaction of Mark’s predictions of future wars, a location that allows for a dramatic progression: disputes with Jewish authorities, denunciations, divine punishment. Luke, however, located the woes in his travel section, at a meal shortly after the Beelzebul controversy. Although both literary settings show signs of redaction, Luke’s placement earlier in the narrative almost certainly is more original (sequential criterion 5) and provides a fitting conclusion to the disputes in *Logoi* 6 (criterion 6).

In addition to locating these woes at different locations, the two Evangelists present them in radically different order. Matthew took the discourse as an opportunity to add several curses of his own; even so, he preserved the order in the lost Gospel more faithfully than Luke.

#### TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

Luke 11:39–48 presents a unique challenge to the reconstruction of Q. To this point the analysis has isolated individual sayings, but the logoi that make up this section of Luke with their parallels in Matt 23 are best treated together.

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166. Dale C. Allison Jr., *The Jesus Tradition in Q* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1997), 166.



The following columns present the parallels in their Matthean order, which appears in the right column insofar as Luke's wording (but not sequence) demonstrates inverted priority.

Luke 11:37-48 (note the sequence)

37 While he was speaking, a Pharisee asked him to dine with him, so he went into his home and reclined. When the Pharisee saw that he did not first wash before dinner, he was astonished. ...

46 And he said,

“And woe to you exegetes of the law, for you burden people with burdens difficult to bear, and do not lift one of your fingers for the burdens. ...”

43 “Woe to you, Pharisees, for you love the front seat in the synagogues and accolades in the markets. ...”

52 “Woe to you exegetes of the law, for you have taken the key of knowledge; you yourselves do not go in and hinder those who are entering. ...”

<Matt 23:1-33

Then Jesus spoke to the crowds and his disciples, saying, “The scribes and the Pharisees sit on the throne of Moses, so do and observe whatever they tell you, but do not do what they do, for they say one thing and do another.

They bind heavy [and hard to bear] burdens, and load on the backs of people, but they themselves do not want to lift their finger to move them. And they do all their works to be seen by people, for they broaden their phylacteries and lengthen their tassels.

And they love the best seats at banquets and the front seats in the synagogues, and accolades in the markets, and having people call them ‘rabbi.’ But you should not be called ‘rabbi,’ for one of you is the teacher, and you are all brothers. And you should not call anyone your ‘father’ who is on the earth, for your heavenly Father is your only one. Nor should you be called ‘guides,’ for Christ is your only guide. The greatest among you will be your servant. And whoever exalts oneself will be humbled, and whoever humbles oneself will be exalted.

Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you shut the kingdom of heaven from people; for you do not go in nor let in those trying to get in. Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you comb the sea and

42 “But woe to you, Pharisees, for you tithe the mint and rue and vegetable, and bypass justice and the love of God. But these one had to do without bypassing those. ...”

39 The Lord said to him, “Now you Pharisees purify the outside of the cup and platter, but inside you are full of plunder and wickedness. Fools! Did not the one who made the outside also make the inside? But give as alms the things within you, and everything is pure for you. ...”

44 “Woe to you, for you resemble indistinct tombs, and people walking on top are unaware.”

One of the lawyers responded and said to him, “Teacher, by saying these things you are treating us with contempt!” And he said, ...

“Woe to you, for you built the tombs of the prophets, but your forefathers killed them.

Thus you are witnesses and consent to the deeds of your forefathers, for they killed them, and you build monuments!”

dry land to make a single proselyte, and once someone becomes one, you make him a son of Gehenna twice as much as you are. Woe to you. Those who say the following are blind guides: ... [See the discussion of MQ+ 23:16–22 in chapter 4.]

Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you tithe mint and dill and cumin, and give up the weightier matters of the law: justice, mercy, and faith. But these one had to do, without giving up those. Blind guides, who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel! Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you purify the outside of the cup and dish, but inside they are full of plunder and dissipation. Blind Pharisee, purify first the inside of the cup, so that its outside also may become pure.

Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, for you resemble whitewashed tombs that outside appear to be beautiful, but inside are full of the bones of the dead and all kinds of impurity. Similarly, outside you appear to people to be righteous, but inside you are full of hypocrisy and lawlessness.

Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, for you build the tombs of the prophets and decorate the tombs of the righteous, and you say, ‘If we had lived in the days of our fathers, we would not have had any part in the blood of the prophets.’

So that you witness against yourselves that you are the sons of those who murdered the prophets. And you have filled out the measure of your fathers.

Snakes! Brood of vipers! How can you  
flee from the judgment of Gehenna?"

Chapter 4 already suggested that Matt 23:16–22 (swearing by the temple) preserves a passage from MQ, and other aspects of Luke's account also are secondary to Matthew, such as the setting at a meal (11:37–38) and the complaint of a lawyer (11:45). As we shall see, when Luke and Matthew overlap, Matthew frequently retains the more original sequence, but only magical thinking could imagine that Luke derived his woes from Matthew alone.

Luke lacks parallels to Matt 23:2–3 (the Pharisees on "the throne of Moses"), 23:5 (phylacteries and tassels), 23:7b–8 (being called "rabbi" and its elaboration in 23:9–12), 23:15 (on making proselytes), 23:16–22 (on swearing by the temple), 23:24 (straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel), and 23:33 (the brood of vipers). It is easier to imagine that Luke had never seen these logia (except for 23:16–22) than that he saw them and deleted them. Notice also that the first twelve verses in Matthew speak of the opponents in the third-person plural ("they"), but verse 13 shifts to the second-person plural and maintains this voice until the end, which is how Luke consistently speaks of the opponents ("you").<sup>167</sup> It therefore would appear that in several respects Luke's version reflects an earlier textual stratum (criterion A).

Furthermore, two verses in Luke are particularly promising candidates for preserving more primitive content. A balanced saying in Luke 11:43 seems to be garbled in Mark 12:38–40.<sup>168</sup>

Luke 11:43

"Woe to you, Pharisees, for you love the front seat in the synagogues [τὴν πρωτοκαθεδρίαν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς] and accolades in the markets [καὶ ἀσπασμούς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς]."

<Mark 12:38–40

"Keep away from the scribes who like walking about in robes, and accolades in the markets [καὶ ἀσπασμούς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς], the front seats in the synagogues [πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς], and the best seats at meals.

They devour the houses of widows and make long prayers for show. These will receive a greater judgment."<sup>169</sup>

167. So CEQ.

168. Similarly Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 551. Luke's redaction of Mark 12:38–40 in 20:46 created a doublet with 11:43.

169. Elsewhere I have argued the Mark's addition of "the best seats at meals" and

The second example pertains to Luke's more primitive wording to Matthew.

Luke 11:44  
 "Woe to you, for you are like indistinct tombs, and people walking on top are unaware."

<Matt 23:27–28  
 "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you resemble white-washed tombs. Outside they appear to be beautiful, but inside they are full of corpses' bones and every impurity. So you, too: outwardly you appear to be righteous, but inside you are full of hypocrisy and lawlessness."

Luke's version implies familiarity with Jewish laws concerning the impurity of tombs, but Matthew's expands on the simile: the issue now is not invisible tombs but ostentatious ones that disguise the rot inside them. Luke's denunciation is strong, but Matthew's is stronger insofar as it charges the "scribes and Pharisees" with mendacious pretense, even though inside they are full of "impurity ... hypocrisy and lawlessness." Matthew's version also displays a redactional flag, his concern for who truly is "righteous." If Luke were merely redacting Matthew, he would have removed the specificity of the denunciation, softened the polemic, and trimmed the simile to bare essentials. Of course, one can imagine this to have been the case, but it surely is not as likely as Luke's use of a source different from and more primitive than Matthew.<sup>170</sup>

Between 6:54 and 7:1 (11:35 and 11:46). Jesus Addresses his Opponents

Jesus last spoke to the crowd in 6:53–54 (11:34–35), but in the woes he addresses the Pharisees and exegetes of the law. It is likely that some transition similar to the following appeared at this point (see Luke 11:37–38).

«Then Jesus turned to the Pharisees and exegetes of the law and told them: »

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"they devour the houses of widows" issues from his comparison of the Jewish authorities with Penelope's suitors in the *Odyseey* (*Homeric Epics*, 37–38). See also Butler, *Originality*, 73–75, who argues that Mark 12:38–40 is secondary to Matt 23:6–7.

170. So CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 538–39: "Luke basically preserves the Q Tombs Woe").

Although Q+/PapH holds that Luke knew Matthew, with respect to the woes against in the Pharisees in Matt 23 and Luke 11:39b–52, it would appear that Luke’s only source was the *Logoi of Jesus*. Not only does one find several compelling examples of Lukan inverted priority to Matthew (criterion A), his version repeatedly is silent where Matthew’s redactional voice is loudest, as in Matt 12:2–3, 5, 8–12, 15, and 28.

#### 7:1–3 (11:46, 43, 52). Woes against Religious Leaders 1: On Exploitation

Matt 23:4, 6–7, and 13 make a compelling sequence (vss. 5 and 8–23 are redactional additions), and they parallel three verses in Luke but in a different sequence. If one follows Matthew’s order, the first verse establishes the theme to be developed in the rest of the speech: the legal burdens that the religious leaders place on others. The next unit denounces their sense of honorific entitlement, and the third attacks them as dogs in a manger for not entering the kingdom and for excluding others who might want to do so (sequential criterion 6).

Although Matthew may preserve the more original sequence, Luke clearly did not merely redact that Gospel. Most telling are his omissions of elements that are Matthean elaborations: Jesus’ opponents lay burdens “on the backs of people”; they love “the first seats at dinners” and “to be called ‘rabbi’ by people.”

#### 7:4–10 ([M] 23:16–22; MQ+ 23:16–22). Woes against Religious Leaders 2: On Oaths

This logion appears only in Matthew, who seems to have deviated from *Logoi* by introducing the theme of blindness in vs. 16 (“blind leaders”) and 7 (“You fools and blind”).<sup>171</sup> It is more likely that *Logoi* again addressed the “exegesets of the law.”

Although Mark is not a primary witness to this logion, his story of the widow’s penny may be a secondary redaction of it (12:41–44 [B]; cf. Luke 21:1–4 [b]). Surely it is not by accident that immediately after Jesus’ denunciation of the Pharisees’ love of the best seats in synagogues, which Mark seems to have taken from *Logoi* 7:2 (11:43), one finds a scene about people giving gifts at the Jerusalem temple, which resembles themes from *Logoi*’s woes against the Pharisees. In place of *Logoi*’s discussion of swearing oaths by the temple and its altar, gold, and gifts, Mark presents a story of exploitation of a

171. See the insightful discussion in Luz, *Matthew* 20–28, 119.

poor widow at the temple treasury; her back is burdened with a heavy financial load. The next saying in *Logoi*, too, pertains to scrupulous tithing.

7:11–16 (11:42, 39, 41, 44, 47–48). Woes against Religious Leaders 3: On Purity

Even though Matt 23:23–33 contains several redactional additions, it likely presents a more original sequence than its equivalents. The Lukan Evangelist seems to have rearranged the sayings so that the one about purifying the cup comes first; he places all of the woes in the context of a meal where issues of purity would come to the fore (criterion 5). There is no apparent reason why Luke would have omitted Matt 23:24, 28, and 33 if he were merely redacting Matthew here. My reconstruction of the wording in the synopsis generally follows Fleddermann.<sup>172</sup>

Even though Mark is not a primary witness to this logion, it may contain a secondary redaction of it embedded in its interpretation of the controversy over unwashed hands.

*Logoi* 7:12–13 (11:39, 41)

“Woe to you, Pharisees,

for you purify the outside of the cup [καθαρίζετε τὸ ἔξωθεν ποτηρίου] and dish, but inside they are full of plunder and dissipation.

Purify [καθαρίσων] first the inside of the cup, and its outside also will be pure [τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου, καὶ ἔσται καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ καθαρὸν].”

Mark 7:3–4 and 18–19

(cf. Matt 15:16–17)

The Pharisees and all the Jews never ate unless they had washed their hands with the fist in observance of the tradition of the ancients, nor would they eat unless they had bathed after coming from the agora, and many other such traditions which they received for observance:

the washing of cups [ποτηρίων], pitchers, kettles, and dining couches. ...

He said to them [the disciples,] “Are you, too, still uncomprehending? Do you not know that nothing outside [τὸ ἔξωθεν] that goes into a person is able to defile him, because it does not enter into one’s heart but into the belly and

172. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 531–33 and 541–44.

passes into the latrine?”—in order to make all foods pure [καθαρίζων]. [Mark then speaks of the vices that pertain to the inside of a person (20–23).]

### 7:17–19 (11:49–51). Wisdom’s Judgment on this Generation

Luke attributes this logion to personified Wisdom; Matthew puts it on the lips of Jesus instead, probably a secondary alteration. Notice also Matthew’s expansion of the outrages against the prophets and the clarification that the blood of Zechariah was that of the son of Barachiah (criterion A, Lukan inverted priority).<sup>173</sup>

Luke 11:49–51

“Therefore also the Wisdom of God said, ‘I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they will kill and persecute,

so that the blood of all the prophets poured out from the founding of the world may be held against them, from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah, murdered between the sacrificial altar and the House.’

Truly I tell you: all these things will come upon this generation!”

<Matt 23:34–36

“Therefore, behold, I am sending to you prophets, sages, and scribes; you will kill and crucify some of them and flog some of them in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city.

Thus all righteous blood poured out on the earth might come upon you, from the blood of Abel the righteous to the blood of Zechariah, son of Barachiah, whom you murdered between the sanctuary and the sacrificial altar.

Truly I tell you: all these things will come upon this generation!”

The reconstruction in the synopsis largely conforms to *CEQ*.<sup>174</sup>

### 7:20–21 (13:34–35; MQ+ 23:38–39). Judgment over Jerusalem

Chapter 4 proposed that the lost Gospel was the source for “blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord” in Mark 11:10. Furthermore, one should note Luke’s use of *Logoi* throughout his presentation of the woes and the congruence of this passage with *Logoi*’s transvaluative use of Deuteronomy elsewhere (see Deut 32:11).

173. So *CEQ* and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 545–46).

174. But see Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 544–47.

7:22 ([Mk] 14:58). Jesus will Destroy the Sanctuary

Immediately after Jesus' statement "You will not see me until the time comes when you say, 'Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord,'" Matthew begins redacting Mark 13: "As he was leaving the temple, one of his disciples says to him, 'Teacher, look what kind of stones and how great the buildings!' Jesus said to him, 'Do you see these large buildings? One stone here will not be left upon a stone that will not be destroyed'" (Mark 13:1–2; cf. Mat 24:1–2). Matthew seems to have juxtaposed the woes on Jerusalem and the prediction about the temple because at this point the lost Gospel, too, contained a statement about the temple, a statement that Luke omitted. Mark, however, transformed it.

According to Mark's account of Jesus' trial, "some people stood up and gave false testimony against him, saying 'We heard him say "I will destroy this sanctuary that is made with hands, and after three days I will build another that is not made with hands.'" Not even then was their testimony consistent" (14:57–59). Although earlier in the Gospel Jesus had predicted that someone would destroy the temple, he never claimed that it would be he. At his crucifixion, taunters repeated the slur against him: "Destroyer of the sanctuary and builder of it in three days, rescue yourself by coming down from the cross!" (15:29). Mark's readers should recognize the irony in their mockery: Jesus was not destroying the temple, his murderers were. When he expired, the veil of the temple was rent from top to bottom, an apparent portent of its eventual devastation. Then, "after three days," his body was raised from the dead. From Mark's perspective, the recent fall of the temple at the hands of the Romans was God's judgment on Jews before Jesus' return; "after the persecution" Jesus would return to gather the elect (12:9 and 13:24–27).<sup>175</sup>

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175. Kurt Paesler has argued in detail for the following history of the saying about the fall of the temple (*Das Tempelwort Jesu: Die Traditionen von Tempelzerstörung und Tempelerneuerung im Neuen Testament* [FRLANT 184; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997]).

- The origin of the saying lies in "the genuine Jewish expectation of an eschatological temple" (228).
- The earliest form of this saying, perhaps from Jesus himself, is preserved in Mark 13:2, except for the words "after three days." Paesler reconstructs the saying as follows: "One stone here will not be left on another stone that will not be destroyed" (121). He even proposes an Aramaic original to the saying (256–61).
- The next discernable stage of the tradition informed John 2:19; here the words "after three days" already have been added to reflect Jesus' resurrection. Paesler reconstructs the Johannine traditional saying like this: "I will destroy this sanctuary and after three days I will raise it up." To reconstruct this tradition Paesler,



I propose that the saying first saw light of day in the *Logoi of Jesus* immediately after 7:20–21 (13:34–35) as a prediction of Jesus: “I will destroy this sanctuary that is made with hands and build another that is not made with hands.” The saying in Mark 14:58 surely was traditional (criterion B), and the saying is congruent with *Logoi* elsewhere (criterion C).<sup>176</sup> As we have seen, *Logoi* 7:17–21 (11:49–51, 13:34–35) excoriated “this generation” for its complicity in killing prophets and Jerusalem for rejecting Jesus.<sup>177</sup> It ended with words of judgment: “Look, your house is forsaken! ... I tell you: You will not see me until the time comes when you say, ‘Blessed is the one who comes in

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without textual justification, alters John’s λύσατε, “dissolve,” to read καταλύσω, “I will destroy,” and ἐγερῶ, “I will raise,” to οἰκοδομήσω, “I will build” (228). The Evangelist altered the saying in a controversy with Docetists (“He was speaking of the sanctuary of his body” [2:21]), but a saying similar to the traditional one flowed into the version now found in *Gos. Thom.* 71: “Jesus says, ‘I will [destroy this] house, and no one will be able to build it [again]’” (121–22).

- A saying similar to that found in the Gospel of John informed a pre-Markan Passion Narrative at Mark 14:58 and 15:29, which also bears traces of a pre-Pauline tradition as preserved in 2 Cor 5:1: “For we know that we have a habitation from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens” (122).
- Mark thus inherited the two sayings from a written source (the hypothetical pre-Markan passion narrative), and the sayings in Matt 26:61 and 27:40 and Acts 6:14 all are dependent on Mark (121).

Although there is much to commend in Paesler’s study, this reconstruction is highly problematic. The author of the Gospels of John and *Thomas* almost certainly knew Matthew, Mark, or both, and their interpretations of the “sanctuary” as Jesus’ body (John), or the “house” as the material world (*Thomas*) probably derived ultimately from their interpretations of Mark. Furthermore, as we shall see, Mark 13:2 is not the earliest form of the saying but a Markan redaction. Problematic too is the assumption that Mark inherited a written passion narrative. On the other hand, Paesler surely is correct in locating the origin of the saying in Jewish eschatology concerning a renewed temple and in viewing “after three days” as a christological addition, which most likely reflects Mark’s redaction and not a pre-Markan stage. Mark’s three so-called passion predictions (8:31, 9:31, and 10:34), all clearly are his creations, and each contains the words “after three days.”

176. For other scholars who hold to the origin of the saying earlier than Mark, see Dieter Lührmann, “Markus 14:55–58: Christologie und Zerstörung des Tempels im Markusevangelium,” *NTS* 27 (1980–1981): 466–69; John Dominic Crossan, *In Fragments: The Aphorisms of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983), 309–12; and Raymond E. Brown, who attributed some form of the saying to the historical Jesus (*The Death of the Messiah* [ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1994], 457–60).

177. The most thorough analysis of the temple in Q is that of Kyu Sam Han, *Jerusalem and the Early Jesus Movement: The Q Community’s Attitude toward the Temple* (JSNTSup 207; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002). Han concludes that Q’s author was more contemptuous of the temple than some interpreters have assumed; indeed, the Evangelist dismisses any hope of its restoration.

the name of the Lord!’” (7:21 [13:35]). If the temple saying immediately followed, it would sustain the self-referential first person and the theme of the temple’s abandonment. The destruction of the temple would be the “accounting” for the blood of the prophets.

Further evidence for including this saying in *Logoi* comes from Mark’s sequence of events in 12:27–13:2. Mark 12:38–40 redacted a saying from *Logoi* about loving “the front seats in the synagogues and accolades in the markets” (7:2 [11:43]) and added that the Jesus’ opponents “devour the houses of widows” (Mark 12:40a). This addition about widows illustrates what the Evangelist would have seen in *Logoi* 7:4–11 ([M] 23:16–22, 11:42): woes on the religious leaders for exploitation and the abuse of oaths made with respect to the Jerusalem temple. Mark next presents the story of the widow who gave all she owned to the temple treasury. Immediately after the episode of the widow at the temple, Jesus predicts its destruction.

Mark 14:58

“I will destroy [καταλύσω] this sanctuary that is made with hands, and after three days I will build [οικοδομήσω] another that is not made with hands.”

Mark 13:1–2

(cf. Matt 24:1–2 and Luke 21:5–6)

As he was leaving the temple, one of his disciples says to him, “Teacher, look what kind of stones and how great the buildings [οικοδομαί]!” Jesus said to them, “Do you see these large buildings [οικοδομάς]? One stone here will not be left upon a stone that will be not destroyed [καταλυθῆ].”

The parallel sequences do not end here. Apparently the lost Gospel continued with a private discourse to the Twelve about courage in the face of opposition (*Logoi* 8:1–26). Much of the content of *Logoi* 7 and 8 appears in Mark, but what is most important is the location of several of them in Mark 13 as part of Jesus’ reply to a disciple’s question about when the temple would fall. Following is a breakdown of the parallels between *Logoi* and Mark in this section.

*Logoi*

Mark

• Denunciations of religious leaders

7:1–2 (11:46, 43). Religious leaders exploit others and love the best seats  
7:4–11 ([M] 23:16–22, 11:42). Denunciation of oaths by the temple and tithing without justice

12:38–40. Pharisees love the best seats and exploit others, including widows  
12:41–41. A widow gives her all at the temple

• Predictions of the destruction of the temple

7:20–22 (13:34–35, [Mk] 14:58). “Your house is forsaken. . . . I will destroy this sanctuary.” 13:1–2. The temple will be destroyed

• Instructions to the disciples

8:11–12 (12:11–12). Hearings before synagogues 13:9–11. Hearings before the authorities  
 8:17–18 (12:39–40). The uncertainty of the hour 13:35. The uncertainty of the hour  
 8:25–26 (12:51, 53). Children against parents 13:12. Children against parents

These sections of *Logoi* and Mark also have much content that they do not share, but the correlations are impressive and suggest a literary connection.

Impressive too is the juxtaposition of Matthew’s redaction of Mark 13:1–2. The acclamation in Matthew precedes a reference to the destruction of the temple.<sup>178</sup>

| <i>Logoi</i> 7:21–22 (13:35, [Mk] 14:58)   | Mark 13:1–2   | Matt 23:39–24:2   |
|--|---|---|
| <p>“You will not see me until the time comes when you say, ‘Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!’</p> | <p>And as he was leaving the temple, one of his disciples says to him, “Teacher, look what kind of stones and how great the buildings [οικοδομαί]!”</p> | <p>“You will not see me until the time comes when you say, ‘Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!’”</p>                   |
| <p>I will destroy [καταλύσω] this sanctuary that is made with hands and build [οικοδομήσω] another</p>                 | <p>Jesus said to him, “Do you see these large buildings [οικοδομάς]? One stone here will not be left upon a stone that</p>                              | <p>And leaving the temple, Jesus was traveling, and his disciples approached him to show him the buildings [οικοδομάς] of the temple.</p> |
|  |   | <p>He answered them and said, “You see all these things, right? Truly I tell you, one stone here will not be</p>                          |

<sup>178</sup> Long ago Jan Lambrecht proposed that Mark 13:2 was a redaction of Q 13:35 (= *Logoi* 7:21; “Logia-Quellen,” 355–58).

|                                  |                                       |  |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| that is not made with<br>hands.” | will not be destroyed<br>[καταλυθῆ].” | left upon a stone that<br>will not be destroyed<br>[καταλυθήσεται].” |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|

Matthew’s juxtaposing of Mark’s prophecy with *Logoi* 7:21 (13:35) is most elegantly explained by assuming that he saw a similar prophecy in *Logoi* 7:22 ([Mk] 14:58).

Further evidence for locating this saying in *Logoi*, after the statement “your house is forsaken,” is its conformity to the Roman military ritual of *evocatio deorum*, which Pliny the Elder describes as follows: “Verrius Flaccus cites credible authors that the Romans observed a custom for the priests: during sieges, before anything else, they would call out the tutelary god [*evocari deum*] and promise him or her the same or even greater cultus among the Romans. This ritual persists as a high-priestly custom.”<sup>179</sup> The departure of a city’s gods prior to its destruction appears also in Vergil’s *Aeneid*, where the Trojan hero tells his troops that Troy is doomed because its gods had forsaken it. “All the gods on whom this imperium [Troy] has relied have departed [*excessere*]; the holy places and altars are forsaken [*relictis*]; the city that you aid is ablaze. Let us die and rush into the midst of arms.”<sup>180</sup>

John S. Kloppenborg describes the *evocatio deorum* as “the Roman siege practice of ... ‘calling out’ of the tutelary deity or deities of a city prior to its destruction, the ‘devoting’ of its inhabitants to death or, more usually, slavery, and the razing of its buildings and temples.”<sup>181</sup> He also cites several passages in Josephus, according to whom God had forsaken the Jerusalem temple long before the advent of the Roman army. For example: “I suspect that the deity has fled from the holy places and taken his stand along side those with whom you [Jewish defenders of the city] are fighting.”<sup>182</sup> The Jewish historian attributed this attitude to Titus himself: “if any god ever watched over this place; but I do not suppose that there is one now.”<sup>183</sup>

Kloppenborg thus argues that Q 13:35a (= *Logoi* 7:21), “Look, your house is forsaken,” does not look back on the destruction of the temple, as some have suggested, but anticipates it by proclaiming that God had left it.<sup>184</sup> Furthermore, he contends that this Q saying may have informed Mark’s prediction of the destruction of the temple in 13:2: “If there was a pre-Markcan tradi-

179. *Nat.* 28.18–19.

180. *Aen.* 2.351–353.

181. “*Evocatio deorum* and the Date of Mark,” *JBL* 124 (2005): 424. Note 52 on this page provides a superb bibliography on the ritual.

182. *B.J.* 5.412; cf. 5.367 and 371 and 6.290–300, and Tacitus *Hist.* 5.13.

183. *B.J.* 6.127.

184. “*Evocatio*,” 442.

tion of Jesus' oracle against the temple, alluding to the Roman ritual of evocation [as in *Logoi* 7:21 (13:35)], Mark has historicized and narrativized this oracle, using it retrospectively in his account of the dual fates of Jesus and the temple."<sup>185</sup> The proposed reconstruction of *Logoi's* oracle against Jerusalem beautifully fits this pattern. Because the "house," viz., the temple, "is forsaken" by God, it is ripe for devastation: "I will destroy this sanctuary that is made with hands and build another that is not made with hands."

The author of *Logoi* thus seems to have postured himself in opposition to other Jews who expected a divine agent to appear to save the temple from Romans, like those whom Josephus mentions in the *Bellum*.

The cause of their destruction [at the fall of the temple] was a false prophet [ψευδοπροφήτης] who, on that very day, arose to announce to the people in the city that God had ordered them to go into the temple to receive signs of deliverance. There were many prophets at the time whom the tyrannical defenders secretly insinuated to the public who were urging them to await God's assistance. . . . Thus charlatans and religious frauds at the time deluded the pitiful populace and did not heed or believe the vivid portents that pre-figured the coming destruction. (*B.J.* 6.285–286 and 288)

Josephus and Tacitus (perhaps dependent on the Jewish historian) cite an ambiguous biblical oracle that some authorities took to predict "a ruler of the world." According to both authors the interpretation that this leader would be Jewish was wrong; it predicted Vespasian or Titus.<sup>186</sup> Unfortunately, neither author revealed the source of the oracle, but surely the predictions of the Son of Man in Daniel would be one suspect in the lineup.<sup>187</sup>

According to *Logoi*, however, the Son of Man would destroy the temple on God's behalf and build another. *Logoi's* Jesus thus resembles Jesus, son of Ananias, a self-designated prophet who, again according to Josephus, for more than seven years before the fall of the city went about repeating nonstop "Woe on Jerusalem!" and "Woe again to the city, the people, and the sanctuary [ναῶν]!"<sup>188</sup>

I thus propose the following tradition history for this fascinating saying.

185. "Evocatio," 449.

186. *B.J.* 6.311–313; cf. Tacitus *Hist.* 5.13.

187. *4 Ezra*, written after the war, seems to rearticulate such earlier expectations in a vision of a man from the sea, a son of God, who miraculously carved out a mountain. God then told Ezra that the man was God's agent to liberate "Zion" from its enemies. "And Zion will come and be made manifest to all people, prepared and built, as you saw the mountain carved out without hands" (13:36). Cf. Rev 21:10–22.

188. *B.J.* 6.300–310.

• *Logoi* 7:17–22 (11:49–51, 13:34–35, [Mk] 14:58) formed a unit that condemned “this generation” of murder and predicted that Jerusalem would not again see Jesus until the residents say “Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord,” that is, until they thus acknowledge him as God’s savior for Israel. Jesus then predicts that he will “destroy this sanctuary that is made with hands and build another that is not made with hands.”

• Mark, writing after the fall of Jerusalem, knew of this tradition that expected Jesus himself to return before the destruction of the temple; he warns the disciples not to be taken in by charlatans claiming to be the Messiah during the impending persecution (13:21–22). So the Evangelist distanced Jesus from the prediction of the temple’s fall with three redactions. First, he followed the acclamation “Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord” with Jesus’ entry into the temple but without the prediction that he would destroy it. Second, Jesus did predict the fall of the temple to his disciples in 13:2, but later in the chapter he made it clear that the temple would fall before he returned. Third, Mark put the prediction that Jesus would destroy the temple and build another on the lips of false witnesses at the Sanhedrin and of misinformed mockers at the cross.

• Matthew and Luke seem to have had a similar problem with the saying in *Logoi* 7:22 ([Mk] 14:58), for each omitted it (criterion D, explanation of omission). Luke also omitted Mark’s reference to the predictions of the fall of Jerusalem at the trial and at the cross.<sup>189</sup>

• The author of the Fourth Gospel attributed the prediction to Jesus himself, but spiritualized the sanctuary: “In response, Jesus said to them, ‘Dissolve this sanctuary and in three days I will raise it up. . . . He was speaking to them about the sanctuary of his body’” (2:19 and 21).

• The *Gospel of Thomas* likewise attributed the saying to Jesus, but seems to have interpreted the house as the material world: “Jesus says, ‘I will [destroy this] house, and no one will be able to build it [again]’” (71).

If this reconstruction of the tradition history is correct, it would appear that the authors of the Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke took issue with *Logoi*’s identification of Jesus with the fall of the temple. Each Evangelist viewed its destruction as the result of Jesus’ violent death, not the future work of God at Jesus’ return, as in the lost Gospel. This failure of *Logoi*’s prophetic vision may have contributed to its disappearance into textual oblivion.<sup>190</sup> The woes against the Jewish authorities thus would have ended with these three minatory sayings.

189. But see Acts 6:14.

190. See ch. 10: “Why the *Logoi of Jesus* and Papias’s *Exposition Shipwrecked*.”

- 7:21 “Look, your house is forsaken! 13:35  
 .. I tell you: You will not see me until the time comes when  
 you say, ‘Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the  
 Lord!’
- 7:22 I will destroy this sanctuary that is made with hands (Mk) 14:58  
 and build another that is not made with hands.”

#### TRANSLATION AND ANTETEXTUAL COMMENTARY

Between 6:54 and 7:1 (11:35 and 11:46). Jesus Addresses his Opponents

«Then Jesus turned to the Pharisees and exegetes of the law and told them: »

7:1–3 (11:46, 43, 52). Woes against Religious Leaders 1: On Exploitation<sup>191</sup>

- 7:1 “Woe to you, exegetes of the law, 11:46  
 for you bind ... burdens,  
 and load on the backs of people,  
 but you yourselves do not want to lift your finger to move  
 them.
- 7:2 Woe to you, Pharisees, 11:43  
 for you love the front seat in the synagogues  
 and accolades in the markets.
- 7:3 Woe to you, exegetes of the law, 11:52  
 for you shut the kingdom of God from people;  
 you did not go in,  
 nor let in those trying to get in.”

7:4–10 ([M] 23:16–22; MQ+ 23:16–22). Woes against Religious Leaders 2: On Oaths

- 7:4 “Woe to you exegetes of the law, who say, (M) 23:16  
 ‘Whoever swears an oath by the sanctuary has no obligation,  
 but whoever swears an oath by the gold of the sanctuary has  
 an obligation.’

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<sup>191</sup>. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 39:1–2 and *P.Oxy.* 655.2.4–13 and *Gos. Thom.* 102 and *Logoi* 7:3 (11:52).

- 7:5 For which is greater, (M) 23:17  
the gold or the sanctuary that sanctifies the gold?
- 7:6 And, (M) 23:18  
‘Whoever swears an oath by the altar has no obligation,  
but whoever swears an oath by the gift that is on it has an  
obligation.’
- 7:7 For which is greater, (M) 23:19  
the gift or the altar that sanctifies the gift?
- 7:8 So the one who swears an oath by the altar (M) 23:20  
swears an oath by it and by everything that is on it.
- 7:9 And the one who swears an oath by the sanctuary (M) 23:21  
swears an oath both by it and by what resides in it.
- 7:10 And whoever swears an oath by heaven (M) 23:22  
swears an oath both by the throne of God  
and by the one who sits on it.”
- 7:11–16 (11:42, 39, 41, 44, 47–48). Woes against Religious Leaders 3: On  
Purity<sup>192</sup>
- 7:11 “Woe to you, Pharisees, 11:42  
for you tithe mint and dill and cumin,  
and give up justice and love.  
But these one had to do, without giving up those.<sup>193</sup>
- 7:12 Woe to you, Pharisees, 11:39  
for you purify the outside of the cup and dish,  
but inside they are full of plunder and dissipation.
- 7:13 Hypocrites, purify first the inside of the cup, 11:41  
and its outside also will be pure.
- 7:14 Woe to you, Pharisees, 11:44  
for you are like indistinct tombs  
and people walking on top are unaware.
- 7:15 Woe to you, Pharisees, 11:47  
for you build the tombs of the prophets,  
and you say,  
‘If we had lived in the days of our fathers,  
we would not have had any part in the blood of the prophets.’
- 7:16 Thus you witness against yourselves 11:48  
that you are the sons of those who killed the prophets,  
and you fill out the measure of your fathers.”

192. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 89:1–2 and *Logoi* 7:12 (11:39).

193. On the tithe, see, for example, Deut 12:17–18 and 14:22–27.



An attractive antetext for 7:11 (11:42) might be Deut 26:12. “And if you complete tithing [ἀποδεκατῶσαι] all the entire tenth of the produce of your land in the third year, you will give the second tenth to the Levite, the proselyte, the orphan, and the widow, and they will eat in your city and be full.” If the author had this text in mind, one might say that he granted that the Pharisees were observant of the first tithe but not the second.

7:17–19 (11:49–51). Wisdom’s Judgment on This Generation<sup>194</sup>

|      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 7:17 | “Therefore also .. Wisdom said,<br>‘I will send them prophets and sages,<br>and some of them they will kill and persecute,  | 11:49 |
| 7:18 | so that the blood of all the prophets<br>poured out on the earth may come upon them,  | 11:50 |
| 7:19 | from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah,<br>murdered between the sacrificial altar and the House.’<br>Truly I tell you:<br>all these things will come upon this generation!” | 11:51 |

Some scholars have taken the use of Wisdom here as evidence of an allusion to a lost Jewish sapiential book, but it may merely refer to Wisdom as a personification of the voice of God’s sagacity. The reference to Abel, of course, points to Gen 4:8–16, and Allison draws attention to the following parallels to 2 Chr 24.<sup>195</sup>

| 2 Chr 24:17–25 (ref.)   | <i>Logoi</i> 7:17–19 (11:49–51)  |
|---|--|
| • “He sent them prophets [ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς προφήτας]” (19; all. [A])              | “I will send them prophets [ἀποστελῶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς προφήτας].”               |
| • Zechariah [LXX: Azariah] was stoned (21).   | “Some of them they will kill.”   |
| • Zechariah was slain “in the courtyard of the house [οἴκου] of the Lord” (21; ref.).   | Zechariah was slain “between the sacrificial altar and the House [οἴκου].” |
| • “The blood [αἷμασιν] of the son of the priest Jehoiada [viz., Zechariah]” (25; ref.). | “The blood [αἷματος] of Zechariah.”  |

194. Cf. Rev 6:10 and 16:16.

195. *Intertextual Jesus*, 149–52.

- [Gen 4:10–11 says that Abel’s blood cried out to God from the earth. “And now you [Cain] are accursed from the earth” (all. [A])]      The blood of Abel and Zechariah “will come upon this generation.”
- Zechariah’s dying words were, “May the Lord see and judge!” (22).

2 Chr 24 also seems to have informed *Logoi* 7:20–21 (13:34–35), the next logion, which follows immediately in Matthew (sequential criterion 4).

7:20–21 (13:34–35; MQ+ 23:38–39). Judgment over Jerusalem<sup>196</sup>

- |      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 7:20 | “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, who kills the prophets and stones those sent to her!<br>How often I wanted to gather your children together, as a hen gathers her nestlings under her wings, and you were not willing! | 13:34 |
| 7:21 | Look, your house is forsaken!<br>.. I tell you: You will not see me until the time comes when you say, ‘Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!’”   | 13:35 |

In Matthew this logion follows a redaction of *Logoi* 7:17–19 (11:49–51), which probably was the order also in *Logoi* because of continued echoes to 2 Chr 24, where Zechariah preached that because Israel had “forsaken the Lord, he will forsake you.” Consequently, he was stoned (ἐλιθοβόλησαν) to death and Jerusalem was handed over to the Syrians (2 Chr 24:19–21).<sup>197</sup>

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196. *Logoi* 7:20–21 (13:34–35) also is hauntingly similar to 4 *Ezra* 1:28–34: “Thus says the Lord Almighty: Have I not entreated you as a father entreats his sons or a mother her daughters or a nurse her children, that you should be my people and I should be your God, and that you should be my sons and I should be your father? I gathered you as a hen gathers her brood under her wings. But now, what shall I do to you? I will cast you out from my presence. When you offer oblations to me, I will turn my face from you; for I have rejected your feast days, and new moons, and circumcisions of the flesh. I sent to you my servants the prophets, but you have taken and slain them and torn their bodies in pieces; their blood I will require of you, says the Lord. Thus says the Lord Almighty: Your house is desolate; I will drive you out as the wind drives straw; and your sons will have no children, because with you they have neglected my commandment and have done what is evil in my sight” (trans. Bruce M. Metzger in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1:526). The history of composition of this Jewish apocalypse is complex, but it would appear to have been composed around the year 100 C.E., considerably later than *Logoi*. Furthermore, the first two chapters of 4 *Ezra* clearly were the work of a Christian author, who apparently modeled this passage after Luke 13:34–35 or, more likely, Matt 23:37–39.

197. For a thorough treatment of this matter, see James M. Robinson, “The Sequence

An attentive reader might detect in Jesus' oracle of woes echoes also of Moses' warning near the end of Deuteronomy: "In that day I will rage against them with wrath, abandon them, and turn my face from them. He [personified Israel] will be something to be devoured, and many evils and afflictions will find him. In that day he will say, 'Because the Lord my God is not with me, these evils have found me'" (Deut 31:17). Also compare the following:

Deut 32:11 (all. [A])

"As an eagle looks after his brood [νοσσιὰν αὐτοῦ], labors over his chicks, receives them by spreading his wings [τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ], and takes them on his back."

*Logoi* 7:20 (13:34)

"How often I wanted to gather your children together, as a hen gathers her nestlings [νοσσία αὐτῆς] under her wings [τὰς πτέρυγας], and you were not willing!"

*Logoi's* statement "your house is forsaken [ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν]" echoes Jer 12:7: "I have abandoned my house [τὸν οἶκόν μου]; I have forsaken [ἀφῆκα] my inheritance; I have given my beloved's life into the hands of its enemies" (all. [A]).<sup>198</sup> The last line of the logion is a citation of Ps 117 (MT 118).

Ps 117:26 (MT 118:26; cit. [B])

Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord [εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου]!

We have been blessed from the house of the Lord [εὐλογήκαμεν ὑμᾶς ἐξ οἴκου κυρίου].

*Logoi* 7:21 (13:35)

"You will not see me until the time comes when you say, 'Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord [εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου]!'"

The transformation of the psalm in *Logoi* is dramatic. The temple, God's "house," has been forsaken and can no longer offer the blessings that are praised in the psalm. When Jesus returns as the Son of Man, those who earlier rejected him will acclaim him.

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of Q: The Lament over Jerusalem," in *Von Jesus zum Christus: Christologische Studien* (ed. Rudolf Hoppe and Ulrich Busse; BZNW 93; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 225–60.

198. Fleddermann proposes instead Jer 22:5 LXX: "This house will be for destruction [εἰς ἐρήμωσιν ἔσται ὁ οἶκος οὗτος]" (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 705). See also 1 Kgs 9:8; Amos 9:1; Mic 3:12; Jer 7:13–14; 26:4–6.

7:22. Jesus will Destroy the Sanctuary<sup>199</sup>

7:22 “I will destroy this sanctuary that is made with hands and build another that is not made with hands.” (Mk) 14:58

As we have seen, Allison proposed that the reference to the blood of Zechariah alluded to 2 Chr 24 and the threat that God would abandon Israel. At the end of 2 Chronicles, several chapters later, Jerusalem and its temple fall to the Babylonians, and Cyrus invites the exiles to return to rebuild God’s house.

2 Chr 36:15–16 and 23 (imit. [A])

And the Lord God of their fathers sent out [ἐξαπέστειλεν] by the hand of his prophets [τῶν προφητῶν], ... sending his messengers [ἀποστέλλων τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ], for he was sparing his people and his sanctuary. And they mocked his messengers [ἀγγέλους] and ridiculed his prophets [προφήτας],

until the wrath of the Lord arose against his people, and there was no remedy. [vv. 17–19 narrate the fall of Jerusalem and “the house of the Lord (τὸν οἶκον κυρίου).”]

“Cyrus, king of the Persians speaks as follows: “The Lord God of heaven has given to me every kingdom of the earth, and he ordered me to build for him a house [οικοδομήσαι αὐτῷ οἶκον] in Jerusalem in Judea. Who is there among you of all his people? May his God be with him and let him go up.”

*Logoi* 7:17–22

(11:49–51, 13:34–35, [Mark] 14:58)

“Therefore also .. Wisdom said, ‘I will send them prophets [ἀποστελῶ ... προφήτας] and sages, and some of them they will kill and persecute. ... O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, who kills the prophets [τοὺς προφήτας] and stones those sent [τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους] to her!

How often I wanted to gather your children together, as a hen gathers her nestlings under her wings, and you were not willing!

Look, your house [ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν] is forsaken! ...

I will destroy this sanctuary that is made with hands

and build [οικοδομήσω] another that is not made with hands.”

If readers of the *Logoi of Jesus* recognized these similarities, they would perceive their own situation to be like that of their ancestors just before the

199. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 71.

Babylonian exile. Jesus will play the role both of the destroyer of the sanctuary and its rebuilders, but his rebuilding will surpass that undertaken under Cyrus, which resulted in a structure “made with hands.”

This is the last chapter in the *Logoi of Jesus* that focuses on Jesus’ relationship to Moses or Jewish law; his religious adversaries are conspicuously absent in chapters 8–10. Henceforth, the focus is on the kingdom of God and the disciples’ preparation for it, but from this observation it would be wrong to conclude that the author stopped composing a document informed by Deuteronomy. Beginning in Deut 28 the author turned attention to the future of the twelve tribes after the younger generation enters the promised land. Blessings await the next generation if they are faithful, but curses if they are not. Moses then transfers his authority to Joshua and the leaders of the twelve tribes. As we shall see, the *Logoi of Jesus* ends with predictions about the future and Jesus’ bestowal of his authority to his disciples, who “will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel” (10:63 [22:30]).

#### 8. DISCIPLESHIP AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD

*Logoi* 8 consists of twenty-five logia, ten of which chapter 4 attributed to Matthew’s second source, and nine of which display Luke’s inverted priority to Matthew (and Mark). Two major challenges face the reconstruction of the lost Gospel here: the first consists of secondary redactions in both Matthew and Luke that obscure the text that they might have shared; the second is the radically different sequence of similar content in both Gospels.

This much is clear: Luke’s order more likely preserves *Logoi*’s original sequence. With only one exception, every Lukan logion in this chapter appears in the Travel Section (Luke 9:51–18:14), where Markan influence is minimal. Matthew, on the other hand, seems to have rummaged through this section of the lost Gospel for content that he could combine with his redaction of Mark. For example, Matt 10 redacts and inflates Mark’s Mission Speech with four logia that appear in Luke’s Travel Section and in the same relative sequence.

| Matthew          | Luke     | Description                     |
|------------------|----------|---------------------------------|
| -10:26–27        | 12:2–3   | What is hidden will be revealed |
| 10:28–31, -32–33 | 12:8–9   | Confessing or denying           |
| -10:34–35, 36    | 12:49–53 | Children against parents        |
| 10:37–39         | 17:33    | Taking one’s cross              |

Similarly, the Matthean Evangelist augmented Mark’s Parable Speech and Apocalyptic Discourse with content parallel to this part of Luke’s Travel Section.

| Matthew           | Luke     | Description                            |
|-------------------|----------|--|
| 13:31–32          | 13:18–19 | The mustard seed                       |
| +13:33            | 13:20    | The yeast                              |
| 24:43–51 (+43–44) | 12:39–46 | The faithful or unfaithful slave       |
| 25:1–9            | 12:35–38 | Preparing for the return of the master |
| 25:10–12          | 13:25    | I do not know you                      |

The Evangelist expanded *Logoi's* Inaugural Sermon in his Sermon on Mount, in part by adding content from this section of the lost Gospel, if one were to judge from Luke's order.

| Matthew  | Luke     | Description                 |
|----------|----------|-----------------------------|
| -5:29–30 |          | Cutting off offending limbs |
| 6:24     | 16:13    | Not serving two masters     |
| 7:13–14  | 13:24    | The narrow door             |
| 7:22–23  | 13:26–27 | Workers of injustice        |

This chapter will argue that Luke displays inverted priority to his sources in the following units and with only one exception preserves the order of the lost Gospel better than Matthew.

| Luke     | Matthew                      | Description                            |
|----------|------------------------------|--|
| 12:35–38 | <25:1–10 [B]                 | Preparing for the return of the master |
| 12:49    |                              | Fire on the earth                      |
| 13:18–19 | <13:18–19                    | The mustard seed                       |
| 13:22–27 | <7:13–14, 22–23,<br>25:10–12 | I do not know you                      |
| 14:16–23 | <22:1–10 [B]                 | The great supper                       |
| 14:26    | <10:37                       | Hating one's family                    |
| 17:3–4   | <18:15–22 [B]                | Forgiving a brother repeatedly         |
| 16:1–9   | <18:23–35 [B]                | The mustard seed                       |
| 16:10–13 | <6:24                        | Not serving two masters                |

#### TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

##### 8:1 (12:1). Keep Yourselves from the Yeast of the Pharisees

It would appear that *Logoi's* Jesus never again addressed his opponents directly after he predicted that he would destroy the Jerusalem temple and build another. Matthew's woes against the Pharisees lead into his redaction of Mark 13, the Synoptic Apocalypse, whereas Luke separated his use of *Logoi*

7:20–21 (13:34–35) from the woes in chapter 11 and wrote this immediately after the woes (11:53–54): “Meanwhile, as a crowd of thousands came together such that they were trampling each other, he began first to say to his disciples, ‘Keep yourselves from the yeast of the Pharisees’” (12:1). The first half of this verse surely is Luke’s redactional addition, but the second half parallels Mark and Matthew (see the synopsis). The Lukan phrase “which is hypocrisy” is an insertion to explain the yeast metaphor.

On the surface Luke 12:1b might seem to be a redaction of Mark or Matthew, but Schürmann suspected that it echoed Q.<sup>200</sup> In favor of this suspicion is the need for a shift of audience from the Pharisees to the disciples (criterion C). Furthermore, there is a telling agreement with Matthew against Mark in the use of the verb προσέχω.<sup>201</sup> Proponents of FH, of course, would chalk this up to Luke’s redaction of Matthew, but Luke’s version speaks only about the yeast of the Pharisees; nothing here resembles Matthew’s Sadducees (or Mark’s Herod).

If the preceding arguments are correct, Luke preserved the more original location insofar as the Matthean version, when seen in its larger context, clearly redacts Mark. It thus would appear that Mark transformed the verse in *Logoi* into a narrative about the disciples not understanding the multiplication of the loaves and fish (a secondary redaction).

*Logoi* 8:1 (12:1)

And he began to say to his disciples,  
“Keep yourselves from the yeast of the  
Pharisees.”

Mark 8:14–16

And because they [the disciples] had overlooked bringing bread with them on the boat, they had only one loaf. He commanded them, saying, “Pay attention and watch out for the yeast of the Pharisees and the yeast of Herod.” And they discussed among themselves that they had no bread.

8:2–3 (12:2–3; MQ- 10:26–27). What Was Whispered will Be Known

This saying is a Matthean nondoublet (Matthew did not redact the same saying in Mark 4:22–23), and chapter 4 argued for MQ- 10:26–27. This saying also is a Lukan doublet insofar as the Evangelist redacted Mark 4:22–23 in 8:17, but in 12:2–3 he redacted either Matt 10:26–27 or the lost Gospel. Sup-

200. *Untersuchungen*, 123–24.

201. See also Matt 10:17: προσέχετε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

port for ascribing the saying to *Logoi* comes from Luke's inverted priority to Matthew (criterion A).

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Luke 12:1b-3   | <Matt 10:26-27   |
| “Keep yourselves from the yeast of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.  | “So do not fear them,  |
| And nothing is covered up that will not be exposed, and hidden that will not be known.   | for nothing is covered up that will not be exposed, and hidden that will not be known.                                 |
| Therefore, whatever you say in the dark will be heard in the light, and what you whisper in the ear in closets will be proclaimed on the housetops.” | What I say to you in the dark, speak in the light; and what you hear whispered in the ear, proclaim on the housetops.” |

Matthew seems to have transformed a minatory saying about hypocrisy (“whatever you say in the dark will be heard in the light”) into an encouragement to fearless proclamation (“what I say to you in the dark, speak in the light”).

#### 8:4-7 (12:4-7). Not Fearing the Body's Death

Insofar as Matthew's version shows less redaction, it is difficult to determine if Luke redacted a source other than Matthew. In the larger Lukan context, however, one finds extensive evidence of his use of the lost Gospel and not Matthew (criterion C). My reconstruction agrees with *CEQ*.

#### 8:8-9 (12:8-9; MQ- 10:32-33). Confessing or Denying

This logion also appears in MQ- because of the priority of Matthew's non-Markan doublet to Mark 8:38.<sup>202</sup> Luke has the same doublet: the Evangelist redacted Mark 8:38 in 9:26, but he has another version of the saying in 12:8-9 caused either by borrowing from Matthew or from the lost Gospel. Here again is an example of Lukan inverted priority over Matthew.

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202. Lambrecht surely is correct in saying that “For the reconstruction of Q 12:8-9 Mark can just be called, in addition to Matthew and Luke, a third witness” (“Note,” 124). For a helpful history of interpretation of this logion and the next two, see Paul J. Hoffmann, E. Amon, Thomas Hieke, and M. E. Boring, *Q 12:8-12: Confessing or Denying—Speaking against the Holy Spirit—Hearings before Synagogues* (DQ; Leuven: Peeters, 1998).



Luke 12:8–9

“Whoever may speak out for me in public, the Son of Man will also speak out for him before the angels of God. But the one denying me in public, will be denied before the angels of God.”

&lt;Matt 10:32–33

“So whoever speaks out for me in public, I also will speak out for him before my Father who is in heaven. But whoever denies me in public, I also will deny him before my Father who is in heaven.”

Whereas Luke’s Jesus refers to “the Son of Man” and a judgment “before the angels of God,” Matthew’s Jesus refers to himself instead (“I”) and a judgment not before angels but before God. Notice also Matthew’s telltale “my Father who is in heaven.” Surely Luke takes priority over Matthew, and both take priority over Mark (criterion A).<sup>203</sup> My reconstruction follows Lambrecht’s, which is preferable to *CEQ* insofar as he takes Mark into account.

8:10 (12:10; MQ- 12:32). Speaking against the Holy Spirit

According to chapter 4, Matt 12:32 appeared in MQ- insofar as it is more primitive than its Markan equivalent (3:28–29), which caused a doublet in Matt 12:31. Luke did not redact the saying in Mark 8, but he did redact a saying similar to what one finds in Matt 12 (this then is a Lukan nondoublet), and its non-Markan version displays inverted priority to Matthew (and Mark; criterion A).

Luke 12:10

“And whoever will say a word against the Son of Man, it will be forgiven him; but for the one who blasphemes the Holy Spirit, it will not be forgiven.”

&lt;Matt 12:32

“And whoever says a word against the Son of Man, it will be forgiven him; but whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit it will not be forgiven him, neither in this age nor in the age to come.”

Matthew’s tag appears to be secondary, generated perhaps from Mark 3:29.<sup>204</sup> See also concerns for the completion of this age in Matt 13:39, 40, and 49, 24:3, and 28:20 (a redactional flag).

203. So *CEQ* and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 573–74).

204. So *CEQ* and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 575).

## 8:11–12 (12:11–12). Hearings before Synagogues

Here is a case of a Matthean nondoublet and a Lukan doublet. Matthew likely saw in Mark 13:9–11 a saying similar to Luke 12:11–12 and conflated them in 10:17–20. Luke, on the other hand, redacted one version from *Logoi* in 12:11–12 and one from Mark later in 21:14–15. His non-Markan doublet best preserves the content of the lost Gospel.

Luke 12:11–12

“When they bring you  
before synagogues,  
and rulers and authorities,  
[For Matt 10:18b–19a, see Mark  
13:9b–11.]  
do not be anxious about how or what  
defense you will give or say,  
  
for the Holy Spirit will teach you in  
this hour what you are to say.”

&lt;Matt 10:17–20

“Be leery of people,  
for they will hand you over to councils  
and flog you in their synagogues. And  
you will be brought before governors  
and kings because of me, as a testi-  
mony to them and to the Gentiles.  
And when they hand you over, do not  
be anxious how or what you are to  
speak, for what you should speak will  
be giving to you in that hour; for it is  
not you who speak but the Spirit of  
your Father that speaks in you.”

Surely is it more likely that Luke followed the lost Gospel than that he redacted Matthew and surgically removed parallels with Mark 13.<sup>205</sup> Not only is his version more balanced, it avoids Matthew’s repetition of the verb *παράδωμαι*: *παράδωσουσιν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ... ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν ὑμᾶς* (cf. Mark 13:9 and 11). The reconstruction in the synopsis largely agrees with *CEQ*.

## 8:13–16 (12:35–38). Preparing for the Return of the Master

Matt 25:1–10, the parable of the ten virgins, presents a special challenge for the reconstruction of the lost Gospel. Verses 1–6 parallel Luke 12:35–38, and verses 10–13 parallel 9:25–28. *CEQ* attributes Matt 25:10–13 to the Evangelist’s use of Q but rejects 25:1–6 for want of substantial verbal agreements. Some connection between these verses and Luke 12:35–38, however, is likely, and, if so, Luke’s version clearly is more primitive.<sup>206</sup>

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205. So *CEQ*.

206. Many scholars have attributed this passage to Q. See the impressive list in a bibliographic note by Bernd Kollmann, “Lk 12:35–38—ein Gleichnis der Logienquelle,” *ZNW* 81 (1990): 254, which includes Schürmann, *Untersuchungen*, 124. Kollmann argues from parallels in *Did.* 16:1 that Luke 12:35 appeared in Q in connection with the parable of

Matthew tells of five wise and five foolish girls who wait for the bridegroom to return home. The five fools forgot to bring oil for their lamps and thus were unprepared when the bridegroom came late at night. They left to buy fuel and on returning found themselves locked out of the house and their master unwilling to open the door for them. The parable ends with the admonition, “So keep watch [γρηγορεῖτε], for you do not know the day or the hour” (25:13; cf. 24:42). Luke 12:35–38 similarly tells of the return of a master, and it too commands readers to keep watch (γρηγοροῦντας), even though they are unsure when their Lord would arrive. This story, like Matthew’s, draws an analogy with people awaiting their master to return home from a wedding late at night, and it, too, refers to lighting lamps and opening doors. If Matt 25:1–10 is indeed a secondary redaction of the story [B], it provides indirect testimony that it was in the lost Gospel, for Luke surely did not derive his tale from what appears here in Matthew. It is far more likely that Luke’s version is prior and that Matthew expanded it (criterion A).

The parable in Matthew appears in his supplement to Mark’s apocalyptic discourse, which he created in large measure by combining prophetic content from MQ (MQ- 24:26 and 43–44, MQ+ 25:13–15, MQ+ 25:19, and MQ- 25:29). The parable also is consistent with MQ-, both in form and content insofar as the source contained other slave parables involving the return of a master. It is likely that Mark did not omit this logion but secondarily redacted it (criterion A and D). Compare the following:

Luke 12:35–40

“Tie up your loose clothing, have your lamps lit, and be like people who were expecting their master to return from the wedding feast

so that when he arrived and knocked, they would open the door to him at once.

Blessed are those slaves whose master, on arriving, finds watching. Truly I tell you that he will tie up his loose clothing, make them recline, and come and serve them.<sup>207</sup>

<Mark 13:33–37

“Watch out and stay awake, for you do not know when the time will be. It is like a man on a journey, who left his house and gave authority to his slaves, to each one his task,

and commanded his doorkeeper to watch.

Keep watch, because you do not

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the faithful or unfaithful slave (*Logoi* 8:17–23 [12:39–40, 42–46]), but he is more tentative about including Luke 12:36–38 (261).

207. Cf. John 13:4–9.

And if he should come [ἐλθῆ] at the second or at the third watch of the night and find [εὔρη] them awake, they are blessed.

But know this: If the householder had known in which watch the robber was coming, he would not have let his house be dug into. You also must be ready, for the Son of Man is coming at an hour you do not expect.”

know when the lord of the house is coming [ἔρχεται]—in the evening, or at midnight, or at cockcrow, or in the morning—lest he come [ἐλθῶν] suddenly and find [εὔρη] you sleeping. And what I say to you I say to all: watch!”

The version in Luke likens the coming of the Son of Man to that of a robber. Although the trope of Jesus returning as a thief was widespread in the early Church, the comparison is hardly flattering, and here in Luke it is awkward, for the image implies that believers must be on guard to protect their goods from Jesus when he returns.<sup>208</sup> Don't let the Son of Man dig into your house! Mark's omission of the first part of the saying avoids the awkward comparison: Jesus is not coming as a thief but as the master of the house to claim what is his. Absent too is the reference to the Son of Man. The indeterminacy of Luke's lapidary “hour you do not expect” has been expanded to “in the evening, or at midnight, or at cockcrow, or at dawn.” The reference to “cockcrow [ἀλεκτοροφωνία]” may anticipate the crowing of the cock that reminded Peter of Jesus' prediction that he would betray him (14:72: ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν. ... ἀλέκορα φωνῆσαι; cf. 12:30; a redactional flag).<sup>209</sup> Thus, Jan Lambrecht has proposed that Mark 13:32–37 is a redaction of Q 12:35–46 with echoes also of 19:12–27.<sup>210</sup>

Finally, it may be worth noting that Luke may have seen similarities between the parable of the master's return and Mark 13:33–37 insofar as he failed to redact it as part of his apocalypse in chapter 21. Matthew, however, does have a doublet insofar as 24:42 redacts Mark 13:35 and Matt 24:44 parallels Luke 12:40.

Because of Matthew's secondary redaction in Matt 25:1–10, Luke's version is as close to the wording in the missing Gospel as one can now recover. It should be noted, however, that Jas 5:9b is a potential witness to *Logoi* 8:14 (12:36): “Behold the judge is standing at the doors.”

208. See 1 Thess 5: 2 and 4, 2 Pet 3:10, and Rev 3:3 and 16:15.

209. So also Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 630–31.

210. “Logia-Quellen,” 350–55, and *Redaktion*, 249–51.

8:17–23 (12:39–40, 42–46; MQ- 24:43–44). The Faithful or Unfaithful Slave

Chapter 4 argued for inclusion of Matt 24:43–44 in MQ- on the basis of inverted priority to Matthew’s non-Markan doublet to Mark 13:35 (<Matt 24:42), and the parable that follows qualifies for inclusion in *Logoi* on the basis of Luke’s inverted priority to Matthew. The parable clearly is a unit, and the two versions agree so closely that one might reasonably conclude that Luke merely redacted Matthew here. The final verses in both Gospels, however, suggest that Luke’s version takes priority (criterion A).

Luke 12:46

“The master of that slave will come on a day he does not expect and at an hour he does not know, and will cut him to pieces and give him an inheritance with the faithless.”

<Matt 24:50–51

“The master of that slave will come on a day he does not expect and at an hour he does not know, and will cut him to pieces and give him an inheritance with the hypocrites, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.”

Matthew’s word for “hypocrites,” ὑποκριτής, appears in that Gospel twelve other times, but only three times in all of Luke-Acts. It thus is more likely that Matthew added it than that Luke transformed it to ἀπίστων. Similarly, the phrase “where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth” appears elsewhere in Matthew six times, often as a redactional insertion, but it appears only once in Luke-Acts. Insofar as Luke did not recoil from using the formula in 13:28, had he seen it at the end of the parable, he may well have included it. It likely is a Matthean secondary addition.<sup>211</sup>

The next several logia seem no longer addressed to the disciples but to the crowds, as in Luke (12:54), or to the religious leaders, as in Matthew (16:1).

«Jesus then spoke to the crowds:»

8:24–27 (12:49, 51, 53, 52; MQ- 10:34–36). Children against Parents

Chapter 4 included Matt 10:34–35 in MQ- because of Matthean inverted priority to Mark 13:12, which created a doublet in Matt 10:21. Luke’s version is even more primitive; it is more likely that Matthew omitted the reference to Jesus’ desire that fire already scorch the earth than that Luke added it.<sup>212</sup>

211. See Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 629.

212. So CEQ, but not Fleddermann.

Notice Luke's secondary and forced interpretation of fire in 12:50 as Jesus' suffering.<sup>213</sup>

Luke 12:49–51

<Matt 10:34

“Fire have I come to hurl on the earth, and how I wish it had already blazed up! I have a baptism to be baptized, and how I am afflicted until it is finished.

Do you think that I have come to give peace on earth? No, I tell you: division instead!”

“Do not suppose that I have come to hurl peace on earth. I did not come to hurl peace, but a sword!”

8:28–30 (12:54–56). Judging the Time

Similar sayings appear in Matt 16:2b–3 and Luke 12:54–56. Complicating any assessment of a potential connection between them is the textual status of the unit in Matthew.

The manuscript evidence for the absence of these words [in 16:2b–3] is impressive. Copyists may have added these verses from a source similar to Luke 12:54–56 or from the passage in Luke, with a few changes. On the other hand, it can be argued that these words are original and were omitted by copyists in climates such as Egypt where red sky in the morning does not announce the coming of rain.<sup>214</sup>

Despite the textual problems, *CEQ* includes this logion; Fleddermann does not. In favor of inclusion is the contribution it would make to the surrounding logia. The last logion attributable to the lost Gospel was Jesus' prediction of fire, sword, and domestic violence (8:24–27 [12:49, 51, 53, 52]). If our logion followed it, one might note the wordplay on πῦρ in the appearance twice of the word πυρράζει, “is flame red,” which otherwise is absent in the LXX and the New Testament. Curiously, this play is missing in both Matthew and Luke insofar as Matthew is silent about casting πῦρ on the early, and Luke does not contain πυρράζει.

Following this saying in Luke one finds this series of logia.

213. On the other hand, Matthew's reference to “a sword” probably is more primitive than Luke's “division” (so *CEQ*).

214. Roger L. Omanson, *A Textual Guide to the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), 25.

12:57–59. Setting out of court (cf. *Logoi* 4:17–18 [12:58–59])

13:1–5. The slaughter of Galileans

13:6–9. The parable of the fig tree

13:10–17. The healing of a crippled woman

I located the first logion in the Inaugural Sermon, but the other three apparently are Lukan creations.<sup>215</sup> Luke's primary redactions of *Logoi* do not recur until 13:18–19, the parable of the mustard seed, which, like the logion of judging the time, pertains to spiritual perception. Luke's order clearly is independent of Matthew and probably reflects the order of the lost Gospel (criterion A and sequential criterion 5). Matthew relocated the saying to heighten Jesus' condemnation of his opponents (16:2–3).

#### 8:31–32 (13:18–19). The Mustard Seed

The parable of the mustard seed provides a marvelous example of Matthew's hybridity insofar as it merges into a single logion the different versions of the saying in the lost Gospel (most faithfully represented in Luke) and Mark. Note the order of the following parallels: Luke first, then Mark, and Matthew last.

| Luke 13:18–19  | <Mark 4:30–32  | <Matt 13:31–32   |
|--|--|--|
| Then he said,<br>“What is the kingdom of<br>God like, and with what<br>am I to compare it? | And he said,<br>“How should we com-<br>pare the kingdom of<br>God, or what parable<br>should we apply to it?                       | He presented another<br>parable to them by saying,<br>“The kingdom of heaven                                     |
| It is like a seed of mus-<br>tard, which a person<br>took and threw into<br>his garden.    | It is like a seed of<br>mustard, which, when<br>sown on the earth, is the<br>smallest of all seeds on<br>the earth; yet when it is | is like a seed of mustard,<br>which a person sowed in<br>his field. It is the smallest<br>of all seeds, yet when |
| And it grew and became<br>a tree,  | sown, sprouts up and<br>becomes the greatest of<br>all shrubs, and it pro-<br>duces huge branches,                                 | it grows it is the great-<br>est of all shrubs and<br>becomes a tree,  |

215. The parable of the fig tree is a secondary redaction of Mark 11:12–14, and the healing of the cripple is a secondary redaction of *Logoi* 3:30–33 (6:6–7, 9–10).

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| and the birds of the sky<br>nested in its branches.” | so that the birds of the<br>sky can nest under its<br>shade.” | so that the birds of the<br>sky come and nest in its<br>branches.” |
|--|---|--|

Luke surely did not redact Mark insofar as Mark’s parable is more botanically correct and thus may be secondary: mustard seeds do not grow into trees as in Luke.<sup>216</sup> Mark also seems to have added the reference to the mustard as “the smallest of all seeds” to enhance the contrast between the tiny seed and the shrub. “Mark corrects Q’s exaggerated image of the mustard as a tree. Instead of Q’s ‘tree’ Mark describes the mustard as ‘greater than all the shrubs,’ toning down the exaggeration.”<sup>217</sup>

For similar reasons it is unlikely that Luke redacted Matthew here, but one also might observe that if Luke did redact Matthew, one would have to conclude that he skillfully sifted out only those elements that seem to have derived from Mark!<sup>218</sup> Matthew thus seems to have known, in addition to Mark, a second version similar to what Luke recorded.

8:33–34 (13:20–21; MQ+ 13:33). The Yeast

Because the wording in Matthew and Luke is nearly identical, one might argue that Luke merely redacted Matthew here, but both Evangelists link the parable with the mustard seed, for which Luke provided the most original version. It is more likely that Luke inherited both sayings from *Logoi*. Mark apparently transformed this logion into the parable of the seed growing secretly (4:26–29; see Chapter 4).

8:35–38 (13:24–27). I Do Not Know You

Despite the striking similarities between the Matthew and Luke in the following verses, Luke’s source surely was not Matthew.

|   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| Luke 13:23–27   | <Matt 7:13–14; 25:10–12; 7:22–23 |
| Someone said to him, “Lord, will those<br>who are saved be few?” He said to<br>them, “Struggle to enter through the<br>narrow door, | “Enter through the narrow gate,  |

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216. See also Fleddermann, *Mark and Q*, 96–97; *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 662–63.

217. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 665.

218. So CEQ.



for many, I tell you, will seek to enter, and will not be able to do so.

When the household has arisen and locked the door, and you begin to stand outside and knock on the door, saying, 'Master, open for us,' and he will answer you, 'I do not know whence you come.'

Then you will begin saying, 'We ate in your presence and drank, and it was in our streets you taught.' And he will say to you, 'I do not know you, whence you come. Get away from me all doers of injustice!'"

for broad is the gate and wide the path that leads to destruction, and there are many who enter through it. How narrow the gate and constricted the path that leads to life, and there are few who find it." ...

"While they were off to buy it, the bridegroom came and those who were prepared went with him into the wedding, and the door then shut. Later the rest of the virgins came and said, 'Master, master, open for us.' But he replied, 'Truly I tell you, I do not know you.'" ...

"Many will say to me in that day, 'Master, Master! Did we not prophesy in your name? Did we not cast out demons in your name? Did we not perform many mighty deeds in your name?' And then I will confess to them, 'I never knew you! Get away from me you who do lawlessness!'" ...

Whereas Luke presents a unified logion, Matthew sliced the saying into three parts, using the line "I do not know you" twice.<sup>219</sup> Notice Matthew's apparent secondary addition of the road that leads to destruction (7:14) and the application of Jesus' rejection exclusively to unfaithful prophets (7:22). Luke contains neither of these elements. Matthew seems to have expanded the first saying to include not only the narrow door but also the wide one that leads to destruction. He also transformed the final saying into a polemic against false prophets and exorcists and relocated both sayings to the Sermon on the Mount. The middle saying he reacted for use in his parable of the ten virgins. Even if Luke knew the Gospel of Matthew, he surely did not consult it for composing 13:24–27; his source seems to have been the lost Gospel (Lukan inverted priority, criterion A).<sup>220</sup> The reconstruction in the synopses generally conforms to *CEQ*.

219. So *CEQ* and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 676–85).

220. One also should note that Luke's ἀπόστιγτε probably was in *Logoi*, because it seems to agree with the citation of Ps 6:9 (MT 6:8). For the same reason it is tempting also to include Luke's πάντες, *pace CEQ*.

8:39–40 (13:29, 28). Many Shall Come from Sunrise and Sunset

Matt 8:11–12 and Luke 13:28–29 present the same saying, and Matthew seems to preserve the wording more faithfully.<sup>221</sup> It therefore is impossible to establish Lukan inverted priority here, but Luke's location reflects the lost Gospel more faithfully insofar as Matthew awkwardly embedded it within in the story of the centurion's faith. My reconstruction agrees with *CEQ*.

8:41 (13:30; MQ- 20:16). The Reversal of the Last and the First

On the inclusion of this logion, see chapter 4.

8:42 (14:11). The Exalted Humbled and the Humble Exalted

*CEQ* rightly prefers Luke's order and places the logion here, which continues the perspective of the preceding one (criterion C and sequential criterion 6). Luke thus seems to be redacting *Logoi* and not Matthew (criterion A).<sup>222</sup> Although Mark may simply have omitted this logion, he may instead have given a freer redaction of it.

Luke 14:11

“Everyone exalting oneself will be humbled, and the one humbling oneself will be exalted.”

<Mark 10:43–45 [B]

“Whoever wishes to be great among you will be your servant, and whoever wishes to be the first among you will be slave of all. For the Son of Man did not come to be served but to serve and to give his life a ransom for many.”

8:43–49 (14:16–21, 23). The Great Supper

There can be little doubt that Luke's parable of the great supper reflects a textual stratum anterior to Matthew's parable of the wedding feast.<sup>223</sup>

221. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 686–89.

222. Insofar as the author of the Epistle of James may also have known *Logoi*, the parallels in 1:9–11 and 4:6 and 9–10 add weight to its inclusion. Especially impressive is Jas 4:10: “Humble yourselves [ταπεινώθητε] before the Lord, and he will exalt [ὑψώσει] you.”

223. So *CEQ* and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 722–29).

Luke 14:16–24

He said to him,  
“A certain man prepared a large dinner  
and invited many.

And he sent his slave at the time of the  
dinner to say to the invited,

‘Come, for it is now ready.’

One and all began to make excuses.  
The first said to him, ‘I bought a farm  
and need to go to check on it. I beg  
you, let me be excused.’ And another  
said, ‘I bought five yoke of oxen, and  
I’m going to try them out. I beg you,  
let me be excused.’ And another said, ‘I  
married a wife, and therefore I am not  
able to come.’ When the slave arrived,  
he announced these things to his  
master. Then the householder, enraged,

said to his slave,

‘Go out on the roads, and whomever  
you find, invite, so that my house may  
be filled.’”

Matthew then appended a conclusion to the parable that has no equivalent in Luke (Matt 22:11–14).

Matthew’s secondary redacting apparently transformed a story similar to what now appears in Luke into a full-blown allegory, in which the king represents God, Jesus is the son, the prophets are the slaves, those invited are Jews, their city is Jerusalem, and the king’s army are Roman legions. Clearly Luke

<Matt 22:1–10

And in response, Jesus spoke to them  
in parables, saying, “The kingdom of  
heaven may be compared to a king  
who prepared a wedding feast for his  
son.

And he sent his slaves to call those  
who had been invited to the wedding  
feast, and they did not want to come.  
Again he sent other slaves, saying, “Tell  
those who had been invited, “Look, I  
have prepared my feast, my bulls and  
my fatted calves have been slaughtered,  
and everything is ready. Come to the  
wedding feast.”

But they showed little interest and  
went away, one to his farm.

another to his business.

The rest seized his slaves, treated them  
with contempt, and killed them.

The king was furious, sent his sol-  
diers, destroyed those murderers, and  
burned their city.

Then he said to his slaves, “The wed-  
ding feast is ready, but those who were  
invited were not worthy,  
so go into the main streets and invite to  
the wedding feast whomever you find.’  
And after those slaves left for the roads,  
they gathered everyone whom they  
found, both the evil and the good, and  
the wedding feast was full of diners.”

did not derive this parable from Matthew (criterion A). When one places this parable after the previous logion in the lost Gospel (8:42 [14:11]), the story continues the theme of reversal of fortunes (criterion C). My reconstruction of the excuses generally follows Fleddermann.<sup>224</sup>

If Mark knew *Logoi*, it is remarkable that he did not include the parable of the great supper, which would have been congenial to his presentation of the disbelief of Israel and the receptivity of the Gentiles. I propose that he did include it but in a radically rewritten version: it appears in Mark as the parable of the wicked vinedressers. The parable of the great supper thus is not missing in Mark; it has been transformed (criterion D).

Parable of the Great Supper  
(*Logoi* 8:43–49 [14:16–21, 23])

- “A certain man [ἄνθρωπος] prepared a large dinner.”
- The man invited friends to dine with him.
- Later, the man sent a slave to call them.

“And he sent his slave at the time of the dinner [καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ δείπνου] to say to the invited, ‘Come, for it is now ready.’ And all began to make excuses. The first said to him, ‘I bought a farm and need to go to check on it. I beg you, let me be excused.’

And another said, ‘I bought five yoke of oxen, and I’m going to try them out. I beg you, let me be excused.’

And another said, ‘I married a wife, and therefore I am not able to come.’”

- The master was furious.

Parable of the Wicked Vinedressers  
(Mark 12:1–12)

“A man [ἄνθρωπος] planted a vineyard.”

The man gave the vineyard to vinedressers.

Later, the man sent a slave to collect the produce.

“At the appropriate time he sent a slave [καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ... τῷ καιρῷ δούλον] to the tenants to receive from them some of the produce from the vineyard.

After seizing and beating him, they sent him away empty-handed.

Then he sent another slave to them; they struck that one in the head and dishonored him.<sup>225</sup>

He sent yet another slave, whom they killed—and many others, some of whom they beat, and some they killed. He had one more option, a beloved son. He sent him to them last of all, saying, “They will treat my son with respect.”

The master of the vineyard will come with vengeance.

224. *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 725–30.

225. This slave with the wounded head recalls the beheading of John the Baptist.

- Those who had been invited will not dine.      The wicked vinedressers will die.
- Those who had not been invited will dine.      The vineyard will be given to others.

8:50–52 (14:26–27, 17:33; MQ- 10:38–39). Hating One’s Family and Taking One’s Cross

Chapter 4 included in MQ- the saying about taking one’s cross in Matt 10:38–39 on the basis of the priority of Matthew’s non-Markan doublet to Mark 8:34–35 (cf. Matt 16:24–2). Luke apparently knew the same logion and preserved wording even more primitive than what appears in Matthew. Note that Matthew seems to soften the command to hate one’s family.<sup>226</sup>

Luke 14:26–27

“If someone comes to me and does not hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters and even his own soul, he cannot be my disciple. Whoever does not carry his own cross and come after me cannot be my disciple.”

<Matt 10:37–38

“The one who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and the one who loves son or daughter more than me is not worth of me. And the one who does not take one’s cross and follow after me is not worthy of me.”

The reconstruction in the synopsis agrees with CEQ.

Although establishing the order of *Logoi* often is difficult, doing so for the next several logia is exceedingly so. This reconstruction will not resume the Lukan sequence of logia until 8:83 (16:13); the intervening content, 8:53–82, for the most part follows Matthew’s presentation. The preceding logia had been addressed to the crowds, but what follows here is addressed to the disciples (cf. Matt 18:1 and Luke 17:1), so it would appear that some transition like this appeared here in the lost Gospel.

«Jesus again turned to his disciples and said:»

8:53–54 (17:1–2; MQ- 18:6–7). Against Enticing Little Ones

Chapter 4 put Matt 18:6–7 in MQ- because of its inverted priority to Mark

226. So CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 748).

9:42 and 14:21. Luke contains a similar logion with perhaps even more primitive wording.

Luke 17:1–2

He said to his disciples, “It is inevitable that enticements come, but woe to the one through whom they come!

It is better for him if a millstone is put around his neck and he is thrown into the sea than that he should entice one of these little ones.”

<Matt 18:6–7 (<Mark 9:42)

“Whoever entices one of these little ones who believe in me, it would be more profitable for him that a millstone were hung around his neck and he be plunged into the depths of the sea.

Woe to the world because of enticements; for enticements must come, but woe to that person through whom the enticement comes.”

Luke’s elegantly balanced version likely is more primitive than Matthew’s awkwardly repetitive and embellished one.<sup>227</sup>

My reconstruction of this saying makes the parallels with Mark even more striking. The Markan Evangelist redacted the first part of the saying and applied it to Judas.

*Logoi* 8:53–54 (17:1–2)

“It is necessary for enticements to come, but woe [πλὴν οὐαί] to the one through whom [δι’ οὗ] they come! It is more profitable for him if [συμφέρει αὐτῷ εἰ] a millstone is put around his neck and he is thrown into the sea, than that he should entice one of these little ones.”

Mark 14:21

“The Son of Man goes as it has been written concerning him, but woe [οὐαί δέ] to that man through whom [δι’ οὗ] the Son of Man is betrayed! It would be better for him if [καλὸν αὐτῷ εἰ] that man had never been born!”

The Evangelist redacted the same saying again in chapter 9.

*Logoi* 8:53–54 (17:1–2; red. [A])

“It is necessary for enticements [σκάνδαλα] to come, but woe to the one through whom they come!

Mark 9:42

“Whoever entices one of these little ones [σκανδαλίση ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων] who believe in me,

227. CEQ and Fleddermann likewise prefer Luke’s wording.

It is more profitable for him if a millstone is put around his neck and he is thrown into the sea [συμφέρει αὐτῷ εἰ λίθος μυλικὸς περικείται περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔρριπται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν] than that he should entice one of these little ones [σκανδαλίση τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἓνα].”

it would be better for him if a millstone is put around his neck, and he were cast into the sea [καλὸν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰ περικείται μύλος ὄνικος περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ βέβληται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν].”

#### 8:55–56 ([M] 5:30, 29; MQ- 5:29–30). Cutting Off Offending Limbs

The rhetorical form of these three warnings in Mark 9:43, 45, and 47 conforms to that of 8:53–54 (17:1–2), to which they may have already been attached in *Logoi*. Each saying contains the following: (1) a reference to the offense expressed as σκάνδαλα, “enticements,” or the cognate verb σκανδαλίζη, “entices”; (2) a comparative introduction to the apodosis (“it is more profitable”); and (3) the punishment of being cast into the sea or Gehenna. *Logoi* 8:4–5 (12:4–5) makes a similar point: “And do not be afraid of those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. But fear .. the one who is able to destroy both the soul and body in Gehenna.”

#### 8:57–58 (18:24–25; MQ+ 19:23–24). The Camel and the Eye of a Needle

Matthew and Luke follow Mark’s lead in locating this saying at the end of the story of the rich man, a tale that Mark seems to have created as a chreia to introduce it. Although its location here, after the command to cut off offending limbs, makes good sense, its precise location in the lost Gospel must remain uncertain.

#### 8:59–61 (15:4–5, 7). The Lost Sheep

Matthew and Luke both contain this parable, and in most respects Luke’s version is secondary, but two details in Luke suggest that his source was not Matthew. In Luke the sheep merely gets lost, but Matthew, developing the allegory of the sinner, says that the sheep “goes astray.”<sup>228</sup> Luke’s version also lacks the typically Matthean “your Father who is in heaven” and its moralizing conclusion.<sup>229</sup>

228. So CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 769: “Matthew’s πεπλανημένοις replaced Q’s ἀπολωλόσιν”).

229. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 771.

Luke 15:4–7

“Which person is there among you who has a hundred sheep, on losing one of them, will not abandon the ninety-nine in the wilderness and go after the lost one until he finds it? And on finding it he places it on his shoulders rejoicing, enters his house, and invites his friends and neighbors, saying to them, ‘Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep that was lost.’ I say to you that thus there will be more rejoicing in heaven over one repenting sinner than over the ninety-nine righteous who had no need of repentance.”

&lt;Matt 18:12–14

“How does it seem to you? If a person has a hundred sheep and one of them goes astray, will he not leave the ninety-nine in the mountains and go and hunt for the one that went astray? And if it should happen that he finds it,

I tell you truly that he rejoices over it more than over the ninety nine that did not go astray. Thus it is not the intention before our Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones be lost.”

The reconstruction in the synopsis largely agrees with Fleddermann.<sup>230</sup>

The location of this logion in the lost Gospel is uncertain, but placing it here provides the following flow of meaning: even though entering the kingdom of God is difficult, especially for the rich, God seeks the lost and rejoices on finding them.

#### 8:62–64 (15:8–10). The Lost Coin

This parable appears only in Luke; Fleddermann thus omits it, though *CEQ* includes it. One should note its similarities with the parable of the lost sheep and the symmetry between the activities of a male shepherd and a female housekeeper. The form and content are congruent with *Logoi* elsewhere. Mark and Matthew may have omitted it because of the awkwardness of the trope of a coin, which could not be held accountable for its being lost (criterion D).

Instead of the parable of the lost coin, Matthew seems to provide a redactional interpretation of the parable of the lost sheep and applies it to intrapersonal relationships in his community (18:15–20). This leads to a discussion of forgiveness (18:21–22) and an illustration of forgiveness in the parable of the unforgiving slave (18:23–35). A similar sequence appears in Luke: the parable of the lost sheep leads to a twin parable, the lost coin, which ends with joy over a repenting sinner, which leads to another parable: the prodigal son, which is

230. *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 766–74.



followed by the parable of the unjust slave. These parallels with Matthew are even more impressive if one notes that Luke 17:3–4 parallels Matt 18:21–22 (forgiving a brother repeatedly). Notice also the appearance of the parable of two sons later in Matthew, which Luke likely transformed into the parable of the prodigal. The location of the parable of the two sons obviously is secondary in Matthew insofar as it falls within its redaction of a pericope from Mark. It is unlikely that Matthew and Luke struck on this similar sequence of the other logia independently; each redacted a similar sequence in *Logoi*. The following columns suggest the order of these logia in *Logoi*, Matthew, and Luke.

| <i>Logoi</i>   | Matthew   | Luke  |
|--|---|---|
| 8:59–61 (15:1–5, 7). The lost sheep                      | 18:12–14. The lost sheep                                | 15:1–7. The lost sheep  |
| 8:62–64 (15:8–10). The lost coin                         | 18:15–20. Redactional interpretation of the lost sheep  | 15:8–10. The lost coin  |
| 8:65–68 ([M] 21:28–31). The two sons                     | [21:28–32. The two sons]                                | 15:11–24. The prodigal younger son  |
| 8:69–70 (17:3–4). Forgiving a sinning brother repeatedly | 18:15 and 21–22. Forgiving a sinning brother repeatedly | 15:25–32. The unforgiving older son<br>[17:3–4. Forgiving a sinning brother repeatedly] |
| 8:71–82 (6:1–9). Unjust manager                          | 18:23–35. Unforgiving slave                             | 16:1–9. Unjust manager  |

#### 8:65–68 ([M] 21:28–31). The Two Sons

Matt 21:23–27 and 33–44 clearly redact Mark 11:27–12:12, but the intervening verses, 28–32, are a redactional insertion.

“How does it appear to you? A man had two sons. He went to the first and said, ‘Son, go and work in the vineyard today.’ But he replied, ‘I don’t want to.’ But later he changed his mind and went off to work. The father likewise went to the other son, who replied, ‘I’m on my way, sir,’ but he never went out to work. Which of the two did the will of his father?” They said, “The first.” Jesus said to them, “Truly I tell you that tax collectors and prostitutes will precede you into the kingdom of God. For John came to you in a way of righteousness, and you did not believe in him.”

The discussion of *Logoi* 5:10–11 (7:29–30) attributed Matt 21:31–32 to the lost Gospel, so it is reasonable to suspect that the Matthean Evangelist found there as well the parable of the two sons that immediately precedes it. I would

suggest that he transformed it into a controversy under the influence of his redaction of Mark 11:27–33 in the verses immediately preceding. In other words, the introductory question (“How does it appear to you?”), the response of Jesus’ opponents (“They said, ‘The first’”), and the reintroduction of Jesus’ response (“Jesus said to them”) seem to be Matthew’s creations.

The content that remains, however, satisfies criteria for inclusion into *Logoi*. The parable of the two sons is consistent with MQ in form (a parable followed by a rhetorical question, followed by an explication; cf. MQ- 24:43–44) and in its concern for the socially marginal and entering the kingdom of God (criterion C). Notice also the agreements with Luke’s parable of the prodigal son. The two parables begin almost identically.

Matt 21:28b

“A man had two sons [ἄνθρωπος εἶχεν τέκνα δύο].”

<Luke 15:11b

“A man had two sons [ἄνθρωπός τις εἶχεν δύο υἱούς].”<sup>231</sup>

In both stories one son begins poorly and ends well, while the other begins well and ends badly.<sup>232</sup>

Matt 21:28c–30

“He went to the first and said, ‘Son, go and work in the vineyard today.’ But he replied, ‘I don’t want to.’ But later he changed his mind and went off to work.

The father likewise went to the other son, who replied, ‘I’m on my way, sir,’ but he never went out to work.”

<Luke 15:12–32

The younger son asks for his inheritance and squanders it, but later repents and is welcomed with gifts and a banquet.

The older son remained reliable and looked after his father’s farm, but in the end he was rebuked for not rejoicing at the return of his brother.

In the parable of the two sons, prostitutes will enter the kingdom of God before the Pharisees; in the parable of the prodigal, the younger son squandered his patrimony on prostitutes but ended up at a feast in his honor while his brother did not.

It would appear that Luke expanded *Logoi*’s story into an allegory. In other words, it is a secondary redaction [B]. Goulder agrees that Luke crafted the prodigal son after the parable of the two sons, but in his opinion, Luke saw

231. Note that the father addresses the elder son as τέκνον in Luke 15:31.

232. In the parallels that follow I accept the text of Matt 21:28–30 in Nestle<sup>27</sup>, but the manuscript evidence is notoriously messy.

the story only in Matthew, not in Q.<sup>233</sup> The parable of the two sons, however, resonates with *Logoi* 4:41 (6:46): “Why do you call me, ‘Lord, Lord [κύριε, κύριε],’ and do not do [ποιεῖτε] what I say?” Matthew’s parable thus is congruent with the lost Gospel and appears among other content that he seems to have borrowed from it.

Matthew’s parable concerns the doing of the will of God, whereas Luke’s tale of the prodigal concerns God’s forgiving the one who repents and finding the one who was lost. By emphasizing this theme, Luke adapted the parable to the concerns of the two preceding parables: the lost sheep and the lost coin. Most significantly, the parable in Matthew says nothing about the response of one brother to how his father treated the other, but this is the dominant concern in the second half of Luke’s parable, which clearly is informed by the setting: “All the tax collectors and sinners were coming to hear him, and the Pharisees and the scribes were grumbling, ‘This man receives sinners and eats with them’” (15:1–2). Luke thus understands his parable as an allegory directed against the Pharisees; they resemble the petulant older brother who refused to eat with his wayward sibling.

Unlike the parable of the two sons, Luke’s parable gives a more prominent role to the father, and here again one may detect the influence of the parables of the sheep and coin.

| Lost Sheep  | Lost Coin   | Prodigal Son   |
|---|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A shepherd has ninety-nine sheep and loses one of them.</li> </ul>   | A woman has ten silver coins and loses one of them.   | A man as two sons, and one of them takes his inheritance and squanders it.                             |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The shepherd searches for the sheep until he finds it.</li> </ul>  | The woman searches her house for the coin until she finds it.   | The father runs to meet the returning prodigal.  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The shepherd rejoices, convenes friends and neighbors, and says, “Rejoice with me, for I have found the sheep that was lost.”</li> </ul> | The woman rejoices, convenes friends and neighbors, and says, “Rejoice with me, for I have found the coin that I had lost.” | The father orders this slaves to prepare a party to celebrate the return of his son, whom he had lost. |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jesus applies the parable to joy in heaven over one sinner who repents.</li> </ul>   | Jesus applies the parable to joy among the angels “over one sinner who repents.”  | The father rebukes the elder son for not rejoicing at the return of his wayward brother. “You,         |

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233. *Luke*, 616.

too, should have partied  
and rejoiced, because  
this man, your brother,  
was dead and lived, was  
lost and was found.”

### 8:69–70 (17:3–4). Forgiving a Sinning Brother Repeatedly

In this logion Luke again retains the more original wording and sequence.

| Luke 17:3–4   | <Matt 18:15 and 21–22  |
|---|--|
| “Look out for yourselves.<br>If your brother should sin, rebuke him,<br>and if he repents, forgive him.                                     | “And if your brother should sin<br>[against you], reprove him between<br>yourself and him in private. If he<br>should hear you, you have regained<br>your brother.” ...  |
| And if seven times a day he sins<br>against you, also seven times he should<br>return to you and say, ‘I repent,’ you<br>will forgive him.” | Then Peter approached and said to<br>him, “Lord, how often can my brother<br>sin against me and I still forgive him?<br>As many as seven times?” Jesus said<br>to him, “I do not say as many as seven<br>times but as many as seven times<br>seventy.” |

Luke’s saying is balanced and coherent, whereas Matthew separated it by five intervening verses, glossed it, and multiplied the number of times one should forgive someone from “seven times” to “seventy times seven times.” Luke surely did not generate his saying from what now appears in Matt 18:15–22 (criterion A, Lukan inverted priority).<sup>234</sup>

### 8:71–82 (16:1–9). The Unjust Manager

No reconstruction of Q contains an equivalent to Luke 16:1–9, but this passage satisfies several of the criteria for inclusion in *Logoi*. There can be little doubt that the strange story was traditional, probably from a source Gospel (criterion B).<sup>235</sup> Furthermore, it appears in a section of Luke that relies heavily

234. So CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 799–800).

235. Joseph A. Fitzmyer attributes this tale to L, Luke’s alleged special source (*The Gospel according to Luke X–XXIV* [AB 28; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1986], 1095–96).

on content attributable to it.<sup>236</sup> Parables are frequent in *Logoi*, including other parables about masters and subordinates (criterion C). Criterion D (explanation of omission from the other Gospels) clearly applies here, for the master praises the manager for his calculating dishonesty.

But perhaps the most compelling reason for attributing the story to *Logoi* is a potential parallel in Matthew; the parable of the unforgiving slave appears in a similar sequence and seems to be a secondary redaction; if so, Luke 16:1–9 would be another instance of inverted priority.<sup>237</sup>

|                       | Matthew                      | Luke                                |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| The lost sheep        | 18:12–13                     | 15:4–7                              |
| The lost coin         | —                            | 15:8–10                             |
| On forgiving          | 18:15 and 21–22              | 15:11–32 (prodigal son; cf. 17:3–4) |
| Unfaithful underlings | 18:23–35 (unforgiving slave) | 16:1–9 (unjust manager)             |

Although the similarities in the following columns are slender, they are suggestive, and in each case, the version in Luke seems to issue from an earlier stratum of the tradition (criterion A).

Luke 16:1–2

“There was a certain rich man [ἄνθρωπος] who had a manager, who was exposed to the man as having squandered his possessions. The master called him in and said to him, ‘What is this that I hear about you? Give an accounting [ἀπόδος τὸν λόγον] of your management, for you can no longer manage the house.’”

<Matt 18:23–27

“For this reason the kingdom of heaven has been compared to a human [ἄνθρωπῳ] king who wanted settle accounts with his slaves. When he began his accounting, one who owed him a ten thousand talents was brought to him. Because he was unable to pay [ἀποδοῦναι], his master ordered him to be sold, together with his wife, children, and all his possessions to meet his obligation. So the slave fell to the ground, knelt before him, and said, ‘Be patient with me and I will repay everything.’ The master of that slave was moved to compassion, let him go, and absolved his debt.”

236. Before the parable in Luke 14:34–35 and 15:1–7 and after it in 16:16–18.

237. Burkett includes this logion as well (*Unity*, 84–85).

Matthew elsewhere redacts *Logoi* to make an ἄνθρωπος into a βασιλεύς and uses an identical construction as here in 18:23 (compare Luke 14:16 with Matt 22:2: ὠμοιώθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλεῖ). In both columns the subordinate does harm to his master's wealth either by incurring exorbitant debt (Matthew's slave) or by mismanagement (Luke's manager). Both stories involve forgiveness of debts, but Matthew moved the motif earlier in his story under the influence of the preceding logion about forgiving one's brother. If Matthew and Luke appropriated the parable from the lost Gospel, Luke's version clearly is more faithful to it.

Matthew's tale continues by having the forgiven slave collect debts from a fellow slave, who begs for forgiveness but his request is rejected. Luke's tale, on the other hand, sends the manager to the master's debtors to ease their indebtedness. Even though the actions of these subordinates differ, both involve debt relief.

Luke 16:3–7

“The manager said to himself, ‘What will I do, for my master removed me from managing his house? I am not strong enough to dig and I am ashamed to beg. I know what I will do so that when I am removed from management people will receive me into their homes.’

One by one [ἓνα ἕκαστον τῶν] he summoned his master's debtors [χρεοφειλετῶν] and said to the first, ‘How much do you owe [ὀφείλεις] my master?’ He said, ‘One hundred [ἑκατόν] jugs of olive oil.’ He said to him, ‘Take your bill, sit down quickly, and write fifty.’ Then he said to the other, ‘And how much do you owe [ὀφείλεις]?’ He said, ‘One hundred [ἑκατόν] containers of wheat.’ He says to him, ‘Take your bill and write eighty.’”

<Matt 18:28–30

“But that slave left and found one of [ἓνα τῶν] his fellow slaves who owed [ὀφείλεν] him a hundred [ἑκατόν] denarii, grabbed and choked him, and said, ‘If you owe [ὀφείλεις] me anything, pay up.’

Then his fellow slave fell to the ground and begged him, ‘Be patient with me and I will repay you.’ Unwilling to do so, he left and threw him in prison until he paid off what he owed.”

Of the two stories, that in Luke again is more likely to have appeared in the source. Matthew omitted the manager's monologue because his slave's motivations are obvious: he wants the cash. Matthew's story needs only one example to make his point, while the interpretation of the parable in Luke requires at least two acts of debt relief ("make friends," plural).

The masters in both stories then learn of the conduct of their subordinates and react to the news.

Luke 16:8–9

"And the master [ὁ κύριος] praised the manager of injustice because he acted wisely. For the sons of this age are wiser than the sons of light in their own generation.

And I tell you [ὑμῖν], make [ποιήσατε] for yourselves friends from mammon of injustice, so that when it is gone, they may receive you into eternal homes."

<Matt 18:31–32a and 35

"When his fellow slaves learned what had happened, they were greatly saddened and went to lay out for their master everything that had happened. Then his master [ὁ κύριος] summoned him and said, 'Wicked slave, I forgave all your debt because you begged me to do so; should you not have had mercy on your fellow slave just as I had mercy on you?' Stirred to anger, his master handed him over to the torturers until he paid all that he owed.

My heavenly Father will treat you [ποιήσει ὑμῖν] the same way if each one does not forgive his brother from his heart."

Although the master in Matthew punishes the unforgiving slave, while Luke's master praises the unjust manager, both stories end by having Jesus apply the parable to his audience with verbs in the second-person plural, both involve one's treatment of others, and both relate this conduct to future rewards or punishments.

Scholars frequently observe a tension between Luke's moralizing conclusion and his parable *per se*.<sup>238</sup> I would suggest, however, that he found the conclusion already in the lost Gospel and that in this context the parable and the conclusion are compatible. The parable commends the manager but does not exonerate him. The scoundrel signifies "the sons of this age" who, though unjust, use their injustice to get ahead. The "sons of light" have something to

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238. E.g., John Dominic Crossan, *In Parables: The Challenge of the Historical Jesus* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 108–11; Bernard Brandon Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 255–60.

learn from their wisdom, although without engaging in injustice. Just as the manager used his master's wealth in the present to make friends who will receive him into their homes in the future, so Jesus' followers can use their own "mammon of injustice" for eternal homes.

Furthermore, the content of Luke 16:8–9 is congruent with *Logoi* elsewhere (criterion C). The command to use one's wealth in this life to secure wealth in the next resembles MQ- 6:19–20: "Do not treasure for yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and gnawing deface and where robbers dig through and rob, but treasure for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor gnawing defaces and where robbers do not dig through nor rob."

8:80–83 (16:10–13). God or Mammon

Luke 16:10–12 is a continuation of the parable of the unjust manager and concludes with the saying in 16:13 about serving two masters. *CEQ* rightly follows Luke's location for this logion insofar as Matthew's setting for the equivalent is secondary; it appears in the Sermon on the Mount among other sayings collected from *Logoi* (Matt 6:24).

The remarkable correspondences between Matt 6:24 and Luke 16:13 leave little doubt that Luke here redacted either Matthew or the lost Gospel. In favor of Luke's use of *Logoi* for 16:10–13 are similarities between 16:10 and *Logoi* 9:15 (19:17): ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω. Beautifully balanced expressions also are characteristic of the source (criterion C).

- 16:10 Ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ  
καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν,  
καὶ ὁ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἄδικος<sup>239</sup>  
καὶ ἐν πολλῷ ἄδικός ἐστιν.
- 11 εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδικῷ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε,  
τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει;
- 12 καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε,  
τὸ ὑμέτερον τίς ὑμῖν δώσει;
- 13 οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν·  
ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἓνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει,  
ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει.  
οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ. (16:10–13)

Although Matthew has an equivalent to 16:13, it has none to vss. 10–12, perhaps because that Evangelist radically altered the parable of the unjust

239. This line obviously would be more balanced if it began καὶ ὁ ἄδικος ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ.



manager to which these verses originally applied. Understandably, Mark would have nothing to do with any of it (criterion D).

Although Mark contains no primary redaction of the story of the unjust manager, his story of the rich man in 10:17–22 is curiously similar. Both tales contrast wealth and the acquisition of eternal life (*Logoi* 8:79 [16:9]: τὰς αἰωνίους σκήνας; Mark 10:17: ζῶν αἰώνιον), and both make the point that one cannot serve God and wealth. Whereas the story in *Logoi* commends that manager for cheating his master, Mark's Jesus adds a commandment to the biblical list: "you should not defraud" (10:19). This subtle and curious addition may be due to the influence the defrauding manager in *Logoi*.

#### TRANSLATION AND ANTETEXTUAL COMMENTARY

##### 8:1 (12:1). Keep Yourselves from the Yeast of the Pharisees

|     |   |      |
|-----|---|------|
| 8:1 | And he began to say to his disciples,<br>"Keep yourselves from the yeast of the Pharisees." | 12:1 |
|-----|---|------|

The metaphor of avoiding yeast need not be related to any particular text, but the most expansive biblical prohibition appears in Exod 12:15–20. Prohibitions of yeast at Passover appear also in Deut 16:3–4.

##### 8:2–3 (12:2–3; MQ- 10:26–27). What Was Whispered will Be Known<sup>240</sup>

|     |   |      |
|-----|---|------|
| 8:2 | "Nothing is covered up that will not be exposed,<br>and hidden that will not be known.  | 12:2 |
| 8:3 | What you say in the dark<br>will be heard in the light;<br>and what you whispered into the ear<br>will be proclaimed on the housetops." | 12:3 |

##### 8:4–7 (12:4–7). Not Fearing the Body's Death

|     |  |      |
|-----|--|------|
| 8:4 | "And do not be afraid of those who kill the body,<br>but cannot kill the soul. | 12:4 |
| 8:5 | But fear .. the one who is able to destroy both the soul and body              | 12:5 |

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240. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 33:1 (*P.Oxy.* 1.41–43), 5 (*P.Oxy.* 654.27–31), and 6:2–4 (*P.Oxy.* 654.36–40). See also Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 579–80.

- in Gehenna.
- 8:6 Are not five sparrows sold for two cents? 12:6  
And yet not one of them will fall to earth without your Father's consent.
- 8:7 But even the hairs of your head all are numbered. 12:7  
Do not be afraid, you are worth more than many sparrows."<sup>241</sup>
- 8:8–9 (12:8–9; MQ- 10:32–33). Confessing or Denying<sup>242</sup>
- 8:8 "Anyone who may speak out for me in public, 12:8  
the Son of Man will also speak out for him  
before the angels of God.
- 8:9 But whoever may deny me in public, 12:9  
the Son of Man also will deny him  
before the angels of God."<sup>243</sup>
- 8:10 (12:10; MQ- 12:31–32). Speaking against the Holy Spirit<sup>244</sup>
- 8:10 "And whoever says a word against the Son of Man, 12:10  
it will be forgiven him;  
but whoever speaks against the holy Spirit,  
it will not be forgiven him."
- 8:11–12 (12:11–12). Hearings before Synagogues
- 8:11 "When they bring you before synagogues, 12:11  
do not be anxious about how or what you are to say;
- 8:12 for it will be given to you in that hour what you are to say." 12:12
- 8:13–16 (12:35–38). Preparing for the Return of the Master
- 8:13 "Tie up your loose clothing 12:35  
and have your lamps lit,
- 8:14 and be like people who were expecting their master 12:36  
when he returned from the wedding feast,  
so that when he arrived and knocked,

241. Cf. 1 Sam 14:45, 2 Sam 14:1, and 1 Kgs 1:52, but see Allison's caution (*Intertextual Jesus*, 236–37).

242. Cf. Rev 3:5.

243. Dan 7:13–14 (all. [A]).

244. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 44:1–3.

- they would open the door to him at once.
- 8:15 Blessed are those slaves whose master, on arriving, 12:37  
finds watching.  
Truly I tell you that he will tie up his loose clothing,  
make them recline, come, and serve them.
- 8:16 And if he should come at the second or at the third watch of 12:38  
the night  
and find them awake,  
they are blessed.”

The beginning of this logion alludes to Exod 12:11, where God commands the children of Israel how to conduct themselves the night of their liberation from Egypt. They must be awake and ready to flee as soon as the angel of the Lord slays the Egyptian firstborn.

Exod 12:11 (all. [A])

*Logoi* 8:13 (12:35)

“You will eat the meal like this:

tie up your loose clothing [αἱ ὀσφύες  
ὑμῶν περιεζωσμέναι].”

“Tie up your loose clothing [ἔστωσαν  
ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι].”

By invoking this passage in Exodus the author likens the return of the master to the coming of God at Passover to rescue them from Egypt. (Mark 13:35–36 may show awareness of *Logoi* 8:13–16 [12:35–38], but see the discussion of *Logoi* 8:17–23 [12:39–40, 42–46].)<sup>245</sup>

8:17–23 (12:39–40, 42–46; MQ- 24:43–44). The Faithful or Unfaithful Slave<sup>246</sup>

- 8:17 “But know this: 12:39  
If the householder had known in which watch the robber was  
coming,  
he would not have let his house be dug into.
- 8:18 You also must be ready, 12:40  
for the Son of Man is coming at an hour you do not expect.
- 8:19 Who then is the faithful and wise slave 12:42  
whom the master put over his household slaves  
to give the distribution of food on time?
- 8:20 Blessed is that slave whose master, on coming, 12:43  
will find so doing.

245. See Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 60–62.

246. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 21:5 and 103 and *Logoi* 8:17 (12:39). See also Rev 3:3 and 16:15.

|      |  |       |
|------|--|-------|
| 8:21 | Amen, I tell you,<br>he will appoint him over all his possessions.   | 12:44 |
| 8:22 | But if that slave says in his heart,<br>'My master is delayed,'<br>and begins to beat the male and female slaves,<br>and eats and drinks with the drunkards,                         | 12:45 |
| 8:23 | the master of that slave will come on a day he does not expect<br>and at an hour he does not know,<br>and will cut him to pieces<br>and give him an inheritance with the faithless." | 12:46 |

The example of the faithful slave echoes biblical texts about Joseph, a slave in Egypt, who proved himself to be so reliable that his master put him in charge of his entire estate.<sup>247</sup>

Gen 39:4–5 (all. [A])

[Potiphar] put him [Joseph] over his house [κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ]. ...

The Lord blessed the house of Egypt because of Joseph, and the blessing of the Lord applied to all his possessions [ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῷ].

*Logoi* 8:19–21 (12:42–44)

"Who then is the faithful and wise slave whom the master put over his household [κατέστησεν ... ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκετείας αὐτοῦ] to give the distribution of food on time?

Blessed is that slave whose master, on coming, will find so doing. Amen, I tell you, he will appoint him over all his possessions [ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ]."

This parable is the creation of the author of *Logoi* and not of the historical Jesus insofar as the issue addressed is the so-called delay of the parousia, or Jesus' return. Although the author is aware of the delay, he reaffirms the immediacy of the parousia and warns against unfaithfulness in the interim, long though it may be. The story resembles the overarching folktale of Homer's *Odyssey*. Odysseus left his home to fight in Troy and left his servants in charge of various aspects of his estate. After twenty years, some of his servants, thinking that their master had died, sided with Penelope's young suitors and abused slaves who had remained faithful to their master. When he finally returned, he rewarded his faithful servant and punished the wicked. Particularly suggestive are the following parallels.

247. Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 87–92.

*Od.* 22.474–477

[Odysseus returned unexpectedly.]

And they brought Melanthius beyond  
the door and outside the courtyard, /  
and with the pitiless bronze cut off his  
nose and ears, / ripped off his genitals  
to be eaten raw by the dogs, / and  
lopped off his hands and feet.

*Logoi* 8:23 (12:46)

“The master of that slave will come on  
a day he does not expect and at an hour  
he does not know

and will cut him to pieces and give him  
an inheritance with the faithless.”

Lambrecht proposed that Mark 13:32–37 is a redaction of Q 12:35–46 with echoes also of 19:12–27 (= *Logoi* 8:13–23 and 9:11–23).<sup>248</sup> Notice also the following parallels, which I used in chapter 4 to establish Mark 13:35 as deriving ultimate from the lost Gospel.

*Logoi* 8:17–18 (12:39–40)

“But know this: If the householder had  
known [εἰ ᾔδει] in which watch the  
robber was coming [ἔρχεται], he would  
not have let his house be dug into. You  
also must be ready, for the Son of Man  
is coming [ἔρχεται] at an hour you do  
not expect.”

Mark 13:35

“Keep watch, because you do not know  
[οὐκ οἴδατε] when the master of the  
house is coming [ἔρχεται], if in the eve-  
ning, or at midnight, or at cockcrow, or  
in the morning.”

«Jesus then spoke to the crowds:»

8:24–27 (12:49, 51, 53, 52; MQ- 10:34–36). Children against Parents<sup>249</sup>

- |      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 8:24 | “Fire have I come to hurl on the earth,<br>and how I wish it had already blazed up!   | 12:49 |
| 8:25 | Do you think that I have come to hurl peace on earth?<br>I did not come to hurl peace, but a sword!                                     | 12:51 |
| 8:26 | For I have come to divide son against his father,<br>and daughter against her mother,<br>and daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, | 12:53 |
| 8:27 | and a person’s enemies are those at home.”  | 12:52 |

Mic 7:6 clearly informs this saying.

248. “Logia-Quellen,” 350–55; *Redaktion*, 249–51.

249. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 10, 16, and 82.

Mic 7:6 (all. [A])

Therefore, a son dishonors his father [υἱὸς ... πατέρα], a daughter will rebel against her mother [θυγάτηρ ... ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς], a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law [νύμφη ἐπὶ τὴν πενθερὰν αὐτῆς], and the men of his house are all a man's enemies [ἐχθροὶ ἀνδρὸς πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ].

*Logoi* 8:26–27 (12:53, 52)

“I have come to divide son against his father [υἱὸν ... πατρός], and daughter against her mother [Luke: θυγάτηρ ... ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα], and daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law [νύμφη ἐπὶ τὴν πενθερὰν αὐτῆς], and a person's enemies are those at home [καὶ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ οἰκιακοὶ αὐτοῦ].”

This logion also has a potential parallel in Deuteronomy. The following passage appears among other predictions of doom near the end of the book (32:–20, 22–23, 25):

God said, “I will turn my face from them,  
and I will show what will happen to them at the end,  
for it is a perverse generation,  
children in whom is no fidelity. ...  
For the fire [πῦρ] of my wrath has already been lit,  
and it will burn to hades below.  
It consumes the earth [γῆν] and its vegetation;  
it will ignite the foundations of the mountains.  
I will gather evils against them,  
and my arrows will bring destruction on them. ...  
Outside the sword [μάχαιρα] will render them childless,  
and from their private chambers will come fear:  
a young man with a young woman,  
a nursing infant and one who has reached old age.”

The author of *Logoi* may have seen in the progression of disasters in this text—fire, sword, intergenerational fear—reason for appending the oracle from Micah concerning enemies in one's own household in 8:24–27 (12:49, 51, 53, 52).

8:28–30 (12:54–56). Judging the Time<sup>250</sup>

8:28 “When evening has come, you say, ‘Good weather!’

12:54

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250. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 91.

- For the sky is flame red.  
 8:29 And at dawn, ‘Today it’s wintry!’ 12:55  
 For the lowering sky is flame red.  
 8:30 The face of the sky you know how to interpret, 12:56  
 but the time you are not able to?’

8:31–32 (13:18–19). The Mustard Seed<sup>251</sup>

- 8:31 And he said, “What is the kingdom of God like, 13:18  
 and with what am I to compare it?  
 8:32 It is like a seed of mustard, 13:19  
 which a person took and threw onto the earth.  
 And it grew and became a tree,  
 and the birds of the sky nested in its branches.”

Informing the parable seems to be Dan 4, which speaks of Nebuchadnezzar’s kingdom (βασιλεία) as a mighty tree.

Dan 4:10, 12 (cf. 4:20–21; all. [A])

“I was sleeping and saw a tall tree [δένδρον] planted in the earth [ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς]. Its appearance was enormous and no other tree was like it [ὅμοιον αὐτῷ]. ... Its branches [οἱ κλάδοι αὐτοῦ] were about thirty stades in length [over three miles], all the wild beasts of the earth took shade beneath it, birds of the sky [τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] built nests in it.”

*Logoi* 8:31–32 (13:18–19)

“What is the kingdom [βασιλεία] of God like [τίνι ὁμοία], and with what am I to compare it [τίνι ὁμοιώσω αὐτήν]? It is like a seed of mustard, which a person took and threw onto the earth [ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς]. And it grew and became a tree [δένδρον],

and the birds of the sky [τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] nested in its branches [ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ].”

Jesus’ parable makes the point that God’s kingdom may begin like a seed of a common weed but will nonetheless become a tree as mighty as the one in King Nebuchadnezzar’s dream. Instead of the phrase “on the earth [ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς],” CEQ reads “into his [[garden]] [εἰς [[κῆπ]]ον αὐτοῦ],” following Luke.

251. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 20:1–3.

The verbal echoes with Dan 4 suggest that Mark here may have preserved the reading in *Logoi* and that Matthew and Luke independently altered the phrase “on the earth” to “in his field” or “in his garden.” In most other respects Mark’s version is secondary.

8:33–34 (13:20–21; MQ+ 13:33). The Yeast<sup>252</sup>

|      |  |       |
|------|--|-------|
| 8:33 | And again, “With what am I to compare the kingdom of God?  | 13:20 |
| 8:34 | It is like yeast,<br>which a woman took and hid in three measures of flour<br>until it was fully fermented.” | 13:21 |

8:35–38 (13:24–27). I Do Not Know You<sup>253</sup>

|      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 8:35 | “Struggle to enter through the narrow door,<br>for many will seek to enter,<br>and few will find it.  | 13:24 |
| 8:36 | When the householder has arisen and locked the door,<br>and you begin to stand outside and knock on the door, saying,<br>‘Master, open for us,’<br>and he will answer you, ‘I do not know you,’ | 13:25 |
| 8:37 | then you will begin saying,<br>‘We ate in your presence and drank,<br>and it was in our streets you taught.’  | 13:26 |
| 8:38 | And he will say to you, ‘I do not know you!<br>Get away from me, you who do lawlessness!’”  | 13:27 |

The final sentence seems to be an unmarked citation from Ps 6.<sup>254</sup>

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Ps 6:9 (MT 6:8; cit. [B])  | <i>Logoi</i> 8:38 (13:27)  |
| Get away from me, all you who do law-<br>lessness [ἀπόστητε ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, πάντες οἱ<br>ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν]! | “Get away from me, you who do<br>lawlessness [ἀπόστητε ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ οἱ<br>ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν]!” |

252. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 96; see Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 667–68.

253. See also the discussion of *Logoi* 8:13–16 (12:35–38).

254. See Christoph Heil, “Πάντες ἐγράφαι ἀδικίας’ Revisited: The Reception of Ps 6:9a LXX in Q and in Luke,” in *Von Jesus zum Christus: Christologische Studien* (ed. Rudolf Hoppe and Ulrich Busse; BZNW 93; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 261–76.



## 8:39–40 (13:29, 28). Many Shall Come from Sunrise and Sunset

|      |  |       |
|------|--|-------|
| 8:39 | “And many shall come from sunrise and sunset and recline   | 13:29 |
| 8:40 | with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God,<br>but the sons of the kingdom will be thrown out<br>into the outer darkness,<br>where there will be wailing and grinding of teeth.” | 13:28 |

The beginning of Deuteronomy recites God’s promise that the descendants of “Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob” would inherit the land from the river Euphrates in the east to the land of Canaan in the west (1:7–8). This passage in *Logoi*, however, suggests that the offspring of the patriarchs will be cast out, and Gentiles from the east and the west will eat in God’s kingdom. See the discussion at 8:42 (14:11).

## 8:41 (13:30; MQ- 20:16). The Reversal of the Last and the First

|      |  |       |
|------|--|-------|
| 8:41 | “... The last will be first,<br>and the first last.” | 13:30 |
|------|--|-------|

## 8:42 (14:11). The Exalted Humbled and the Humble Exalted

|      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 8:42 | “Everyone exalting oneself will be humbled,<br>and the one humbling oneself will be exalted.” | 14:11 |
|------|---|-------|

The ending of the Inaugural Sermon presented the disciples with two options: they could imitate either the person who built a house on the rock or the one who built on sand (4:42–44 [6:47–49]). I compared these alternatives to Moses’ presentation of two ways near the end of Deuteronomy (30:15–20). The first logion after *Logoi*’s Inaugural Sermon is the healing of the centurion’s boy (4:45–51 [7:1, 3, 6–10]), which I contrasted with Moses’ command to slay the native peoples of the Promised Land, including women and children (Deut 31:1–4). A similar sequence appears in *Logoi* 8:35–40 (13:24–27, 29, 28). The first verse in this section refers to the “narrow door,” which, as Matthew recognized, implies also a wide one; that is, here, too, Jesus urges the Twelve to choose between two ways. People who during their lifetimes did not enter “the narrow door” will find a door shut to them in the hereafter. The “sons of the kingdom,” that is, Jews, “will be thrown out into the outer darkness.” It will not be they who eat with “Abraham and Isaac and Jacob” but those “from sunrise and sunset.” These Gentiles, like the Roman centurion, will demonstrate more fidelity than those in Israel.

The phrase ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν, translated in *CEQ* as “from Sunrise and Sunset,” may invoke Mal 1:11a (all. [A]), where God says, “My name

will be glorified among the Gentiles from the rising of the sun to its setting [ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου ἕως δυσμῶν]."<sup>255</sup> Particularly relevant may be Deut 11, which contains another version of blessings on the obedient and curses on the wayward. Among the blessings is the expulsion "of all the Gentiles" from the Promised Land, from the river Euphrates in the east to the Mediterranean "in the setting of the sun [δυσμῶν]" (11:24; all. [B]). If *Logoi's* readers had this text in mind, they well may have seen the irony: instead of Jews inheriting the lands from the rising and setting of the sun that God had promised to the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the descendants of the patriarchs who had not entered "the narrow door" will be displaced in the kingdom of God by Gentiles who will arrive "from sunrise to sunset." *Logoi's* John the Baptist would have agreed: "God can produce children for Abraham right out of these rocks! And the ax already lies at the root of the trees. So every tree not bearing healthy fruit is to be chopped down and thrown on the fire" (1:7–8 [3:8–9]). The next parable illustrates how the humbled will be exalted.

8:43–49 (14:16–21, 23). The Great Supper<sup>256</sup>

|      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 8:43 | "A certain man prepared a large dinner, and invited many.   | 14:16 |
| 8:44 | And he sent his slave at the time of the dinner to say to the invited, 'Come, for it is now ready.'   | 14:17 |
| 8:45 | And all began to make excuses.<br>The first said to him,<br>"I bought a farm and need to go to check on it.<br>I beg you, let me be excused." | 14:18 |
| 8:46 | And another said,<br>"I bought five yoke of oxen, and I'm going to try them out.<br>I beg you, let me be excused."                            | 14:19 |
| 8:47 | And another said,<br>"I married a wife, and therefore I am not able to come."   | 14:20 |
| 8:48 | And the slave said these things to his master.<br>Then the householder, enraged, said to his slave,   | 14:21 |
| 8:49 | 'Go out on the roads, and whomever you find, invite, so that my house may be filled.'   | 14:23 |

Scholars debate whether this story is truly a parable or an allegory in which God (or perhaps Jesus) is the householder and Jews are the invitees. Matthew surely read it as an allegory, and Luke probably did as well. Notice

255. Cf. Zech 8:7 and Pss 49:1, 106:3, and 112:3 (MT 50:1, 107:3, and 113:3).

256. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 64:7 and 12.

the interval between the invitation and the dinner, whose timing seems to surprise the guests.

Some interpreters have proposed that behind the excuses in this parable lie the exemptions for military service as delineated in Deut 20:5–9, which included those who recently had built houses, planted a vineyard, or become engaged to marry. The parallels are intriguing, but they add little to the interpretation of the story.

8:50–52 (14:26–27, 17:33; MQ- 10:38–39). Hating One’s Family and Taking One’s Cross<sup>257</sup>

|      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 8:50 | “The one who does not hate father and mother<br>cannot be my disciple,<br>and the one who does not hate son and daughter<br>cannot be my disciple. .. | 14:26 |
| 8:51 | The one who does not take one’s cross and follow after me<br>cannot be my disciple.   | 14:27 |
| 8:52 | The one who finds one’s life will lose it,<br>and the one who loses one’s life for my sake will find it.”   | 17:33 |

Allison suggests that Jesus’ command to hate one’s family subverts the fourth commandment.<sup>258</sup>

Deut 5:16 (all. [B]; cf. Exod 20:12)  
“Honor your father and mother [τὸν  
πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου].”

*Logoi* 8:50a (14:26a)  
“The one who does not hate father and  
mother [τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα]  
cannot be my disciple.”

A more compelling antetext appears in Deut 33, where Moses blesses Levi for putting obedience to *torah* above family.

Deut 33:9 (all. [A])  
“... he who says to his father and mother  
[τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ], ‘I never saw  
you,’ and to his brothers, ‘I never knew  
you,’ and to his sons [τοὺς υἱούς], ‘I  
never made your acquaintance.’ He kept  
my sayings; he guarded my covenant.”

*Logoi* 8:50 (14:26)  
“The one who does not hate father and  
mother [τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα]  
cannot be my disciple, and the one  
who does not hate son [τὸν υἱόν] and  
daughter cannot be my disciple.”

257. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 55:1–2 and 101:1.

258. *Intertextual Jesus*, 62–64 and 69–72.

Levi and his sons had demonstrated their zeal for the commands of God by slaying their relatives who had worshipped the golden calf. “Moses said to them, ‘Today you have filled your hands for a blessing to be given you by the Lord, each person because of [the slaying] of a son or a brother’” (Exod 32:29). Like the Levites, the disciples are to hate their families, but unlike the Levites, the lives in the balance are not those of one’s family but of the disciples themselves. It is their duty not to slay but to take up their crosses.

8:53–54 (17:1–2; MQ- 18:6–7). Against Enticing Little Ones

«Jesus again turned to his disciples and said:»

- |      |  |      |
|------|--|------|
| 8:53 | “It is necessary for enticements to come,<br>but woe to the one through whom they come!  | 17:1 |
| 8:54 | It is more profitable for him<br>if a millstone is put around his neck<br>and he is thrown into the sea<br>than that he should entice one of these little ones.” | 17:2 |

This logion in *Logoi* probably refers to sexual abuses of children.

8:55–57 ([M] 5:30, 29; MQ- 5:29–30). Cutting off Offending Limbs

- |      |   |          |
|------|---|----------|
| 8:55 | “And if your hand entices you, chop it off,<br>for it is more profitable for you that one of your limbs be<br>destroyed<br>than that your entire body be cast into Gehenna.<br>And if your foot entices you, chop it off,<br>for it is more profitable for you that one of your limbs be<br>destroyed<br>than that your entire body be cast into Gehenna. | (M) 5:30 |
| 8:56 | And if your eye entices you, gouge it out,<br>for it is more profitable for you that one of your limbs be<br>destroyed<br>than that your entire body be cast into Gehenna.”   | (M) 5:29 |

The offense of the hand probably refers to masturbation, those of the feet to transporting oneself to sexual indiscretions, and those of the eye to lust.<sup>259</sup> Here then one finds a potential intensification of prohibitions of sexual misconduct from what one finds in the law of Moses.

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259. See Yarbro Collins, *Mark*, 450–54.

## 8:57–58 (18:24–25; MQ+ 19:23–24). The Camel and the Eye of a Needle

- 8:57 “How difficult it is for those who have wealth  
to enter into the kingdom of God. 18:24
- 8:58 It is easier 18:25  
for a camel to go through the eye of a needle  
than for a rich person to enter the kingdom of God.”

8:59–61 (15:4–5, 7). The Lost Sheep<sup>260</sup>

- 8:59 “Which person is there among you who has a hundred sheep, 15:4  
on losing one of them,  
will not leave the ninety-nine in the mountains  
and go hunt for the lost one?
- 8:60 And if he should find it, 15:5
- 8:61 I tell you truly that he rejoices over it 15:7  
more than over the ninety nine that that were not lost.  
Thus there will be joy in heaven  
over one who is found.”

## 8:62–64 (15:8–10). The Lost Coin

- 8:62 “Or what woman who has ten coins, if she were to lose one coin, 15:8  
would not light a lamp and sweep the house and hunt until she  
finds?
- 8:63 And on finding she calls the friends and neighbors, saying, 15:9  
‘Rejoice with me, for I found the coin which I lost.’
- 8:64 Just so, I tell you: 15:10  
There is joy before the angels  
over one repenting sinner.”

It is unlikely that the parables of the lost sheep and lost coin (if in *Logoi*) should be attributed to the historical Jesus. The themes are entirely consistent with the perspective of the lost Gospel: Jesus came not to call the righteous but sinners, and the disciples likewise should rejoice when the lost is found.

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260. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 107.

## 8:65–68 ([M] 21:28–31). The Two Sons

- 8:65 “A man had two sons. (M) 21:28  
He went to the first and said,  
‘Son, go and work in the vineyard today.’
- 8:66 But he replied, ‘I don’t want to.’ (M) 21:29  
But later he changed his mind and went off to work.
- 8:67 The father likewise went to the other son, (M) 21:30  
who replied, ‘I’m on my way, sir,’  
but he never went out to work.
- 8:68 Which of the two did the will of the father? (M) 21:31  
Truly I tell you that tax collectors and prostitutes will pre-  
cede  
the Pharisees into the kingdom of God.”

Compare this last sentence with Deut 23:18: “There will not be a prostitute [πόρνη] from the daughters of Israel, and there will not be a patron of prostitutes [πορνεύων] from the sons of Israel.”

## 8:69–70 (17:3–4). Forgiving a Sinning Brother Repeatedly

- 8:69 “If your brother sins against you, reprove him; 17:3  
and if he repents, forgive him.
- 8:70 And if seven times a day he sins against you, 17:4  
also seven times shall you forgive him.”

This pericope may be yet another allusion to the Holiness Code.

Lev 19:17  
“You will not hate your brother [τὸν ἀδελφόν σου] in your mind; you will reprove [ἐλεγμῶ ἐλέγξεις] your neighbor, and will not accept a sin [ἄμαρτίαν] because of him.”

*Logoi* 8:69–70 (17:3–4)  
“If your brother [ὁ ἀδελφός σου] sins [ἄμαρτήσῃ] against you, rebuke [ἐλεγξον] him; and if he repents, forgive him. And if seven times a day he sins [ἄμαρτήσῃ] against you, also seven times shall you forgive him.”

The command in Leviticus says nothing about forgiveness or multiple wrongs; it merely states that one must not retaliate out of hate. The author of *Logoi* seems to have transformed it into a command to forgive repeatedly.

## 8:71–82 (16:1–9). The Unjust Manager

- 8:71 “There was a certain rich man who had a manager,  
who was exposed to the man as having squandered his possessions. 16:1
- 8:72 The master called him in and said to him,  
‘What is this that I hear about you?  
Give an accounting of your management,  
for you can no longer manage the house.’ 16:2
- 8:73 The manager said to himself,  
‘What will I do, for my master removed me from managing his house?  
I am not strong enough to dig, and I am ashamed to beg. 16:3
- 8:74 I know what I will do so that when I am removed from man-  
agement  
people will receive me into their homes.’ 16:4
- 8:75 One by one he summoned his lord’s debtors  
and said to the first,  
‘How much do you owe my master?’ 16:5
- 8:76 He said, ‘One hundred jugs of olive oil.’  
He said to him,  
‘Take your bill, sit down quickly, and write fifty.’ 16:6
- 8:77 Then he said to the other, ‘And how much do you owe?’  
He said, ‘One hundred containers of wheat.’  
He says to him, ‘Take your bill and write eighty.’ 16:7
- 8:78 And the master praised the manager of injustice  
because he acted wisely. 16:8  
For the sons of this age are wiser  
than the sons of light in their own generation.
- 8:79 And I tell you,  
make for yourselves friends from mammon of injustice,  
so that when it is gone,  
they may receive you into eternal homes.” 16:9

8:80–83 (16:10–13). God or Mammon<sup>261</sup>

- 8:80 “The one who is reliable in the smallest matter is reliable also  
in much;  
and the one who is unjust in the smallest matter is unjust also  
in much. 16:10
- 8:81 So if you are not reliable in unjust mammon,  
16:11

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261. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 47:1–2.

|      |  |       |
|------|--|-------|
|      | who will entrust you with true wealth?   |       |
| 8:82 | And if you are not reliable with the wealth of others,<br>who will give you your own?  | 16:12 |
| 8:83 | No one can serve two masters;<br>for a person will either hate the one and love the other,<br>or be devoted to the one and despise the other.<br>You cannot serve God and Mammon.” | 16:13 |

*Logoi* 8 within the flow of the document as a whole prepares the disciples for the sacrifices that are required for entering God’s kingdom, whose rewards will be worth the hardships. As God seeks the wayward, like a person missing a sheep or a coin, Jesus’ followers should forgive those who wrong them. Finally, if “the sons of this age” can use their wealth to make friends, his followers can do so to secure reception into “eternal homes.” If they cannot be reliable in “unjust Mammon,” how will they be given “true wealth”? One cannot serve both God and money.

#### 9. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL SERMON

This chapter consists of only four logia, two of which met the criteria for Matthew’s second source (see Chapter 4). *Logoi*’s order is unmistakable insofar as Matthew and Luke follow the same sequence, even though Luke gives evidence of redacting the lost Gospel and not Matthew, as we shall see (sequential criterion 3). Further evidence of Luke’s independence is his location of this cluster of sayings in his Travel Section, whereas Matthew placed them in his supplement to his redaction of Mark’s apocalypse (sequential criterion 5).

#### TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

It would appear that some transition signaled the change in subject, such as one finds in Luke 17:22.

«And he said to the disciples:»

9:1–3 (17:23–24; MQ- 24:26). The Son of Man like Lightning

Chapter 4 argued that Matt 24:26 derived from MQ- because it is more primitive than its equivalent in Mark 13:21, which generated a doublet in Matt 24:23. But it is Luke who preserves the earliest version. Notice Matthew’s sec-



ondary additions of “in the desert,” “in the private chambers,” and “the parousia” (criterion A, Lukan inverted priority).<sup>262</sup>

Luke 17:23–24, 37

“They will tell you, ‘Look, there!’ or, ‘Look, here!’ Do not leave or follow. For as the lightning blazes and shines from one end of the sky to the other, so will the Son of Man be on his day.” ... And in reply they say to him, “Where, Lord?” And he said to them, “Wherever the body, there too the vultures will gather.”

<Matt 24:26–28

“So if they say to you, ‘Look, he is in the desert!’ do not go out; ‘Look, he is in the private chambers!’ do not believe it. For as the lightning streaks out from sunrise and flashes as far as sunset, so will be the parousia of the Son of Man. Wherever the corpse is, there the vultures will gather.”

With respect to the verse about the vultures, however, Matthew likely reflects the location in *Logoi* insofar as Luke’s location implies that the vultures are the angels who will snatch up the bodies at Jesus’ return. The verse is missing in Mark perhaps because he recognized that eagles prefer to kill their own food and seldom dine on carrion (criterion D). For a defense of my translation of αἰτοί as “vultures,” see the antetextual commentary.

The editors of *CEQ* proposed the following reconstruction for Q 17:23–24.

ἐὰν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν· ἰδοὺ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐστίν, μὴ ἐξέλθητε· ἰδοὺ ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις· μὴ διώξητε· <sup>24</sup> ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή ἐξέρχεται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ φαίνεται ἕως δυσμῶν, οὕτως ἔσται ἡ [ὁ] υἱὸς [τοῦ] ἀνθρώπου [ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ].

This reconstruction of 17:24 is unobjectionable, but if one considers Mark as a potential witness to the lost Gospel, one should reassess the reconstruction of 17:23. Mark and Luke both have references to “here” and “there,” though in the opposite order. Matthew agrees with Luke’s order if “in the wilderness” refers to “there,” and “indoors” refers to “here,” which is likely. Insofar as Matthew and Luke agree against Mark in prohibiting the going out (μὴ ἐξέλθητε / μὴ ἀπέλθητε), some such prohibition probably appeared in *Logoi* following the line about “there.” Only Luke uses the verb διώκω, “I pursue,” whereas Matthew and Mark agree on the verb πιστεύω, “I believe.”

262. “Matthew alone uses παρουσία among the Gospel writers” (Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 817).

9:4–8 (17:26–30). As in the Days of Noah

The following columns display Luke's inverted priority to Matthew (criterion A).

Luke 17:26–30

“As it took place in the days of Noah so will it be in the days of the Son of Man. They were eating, drinking, marrying, and giving in marriage, until the day Noah entered the ark and the flood came and took them all.

Similarly, just as it was in the days of Lot. They were eating, drinking, buying, selling, planting, and building, but on the day that Lot left Sodom, fire and brimstone rained from the sky and destroyed them all. These very conditions will obtain when the Son of Man is revealed.”

<Matt 24:37–39

“For just like the days of Noah, so will be the coming of the Son of Man. For as in [those] days before the flood they were chopping and drinking, marrying and being given in marriage, until the day Noah entered the ark, and were oblivious until the flood came and killed them all,

so will be [also] the coming of the Son of Man.”

Matthew's statement “and were oblivious” seems to be secondary, as are his two references to “the coming [παρουσία]” of the Son of Man.<sup>263</sup> The biggest difference between the two accounts pertains to Luke 17:28–29 which has no equivalent in Matthew, who seems to have omitted them because they duplicated verses 37–38 about Noah.<sup>264</sup> It is difficult to know what Luke would have gained by adding these verses apart from adding fire and brimstone to the flood. The symmetry between what took place “in the days of Noah” and “in the days of Lot” probably appeared in the lost Gospel.

9:9–10 (17:34–35). One Taken, One Left

Insofar as Matthew's presentation seems to be the less redacted form, both in wording and location, one cannot be entirely certain that Luke's source was *Logoi*. On the other hand, if one attributes the preceding logion to the lost

263. So CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 821).

264. See especially Kloppenborg, *Earliest Gospel*, 163, Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 95–98, and Burkett, *Unity*, 167–68.

Gospel, it would be reasonable to attribute this one to it as well; it is unlikely that Luke put aside his copy of *Logoi* and consulted Matthew.

9:11–23 (19:12–13, 15–24, 26; MQ- 25:29, MQ+ 25:13–15, 19). The Entrusted Money

Because Luke redacted this parable with a heavier hand than Matthew, Q skeptics might argue that his only source was Matthew, but at least one aspect of his account seems to be independent, namely, his preference for the mina and not the talent. A mina was worth about one hundred drachmas; a talent was worth far more, and five talents would have been small fortune. It is more likely that Matthew inflated Q's currency than that Luke deflated Matthew's.<sup>265</sup> Furthermore, Chapter 4 included in MQ- Matt 25:29 (one who has will be given) because it is anterior to the Markan doublet in 13:12 (cf. Mark 4:25). Furthermore, Matt 25:13–15 and 19 point to the lost Gospel by dint of Matthew's preference for this parable to a similar trope in Mark 13:33–37. The reconstruction in the synopsis is heavily indebted to Fleddermann.<sup>266</sup>

#### TRANSLATION AND ANTETEXTUAL COMMENTARY

9:1–3 (17:23–24, 37; MQ- 24:26). The Son of Man like Lightning<sup>267</sup>

«And he said to the disciples:»

|     |   |       |
|-----|---|-------|
| 9:1 | “If they say to you, ‘Look, there!’ do not go out;<br>‘Look, here!’ do not believe it.                                  | 17:23 |
| 9:2 | For as the lightning streaks out from sunrise<br>and flashes as far as sunset,<br>so will the Son of Man be on his day. | 17:24 |
| 9:3 | Wherever the corpse, there the vultures will gather.”   | 17:37 |

265. “The talent was an enormous amount compared to the pound, and Luke never would have changed to pounds if he found talents in his source” (Q: *A Reconstruction and Translation*, 841). Similarly CEQ.

266. Q: *A Reconstruction and Translation*, 837–63. See also the reconstruction by Adelbert Denaux, “The Parable of the Talents/Pounds (Q 19:12–17): A Reconstruction of the Q Text,” in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), 429–60.

267. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 3 and 113. Fleddermann rightly argues that both logia in *Thomas* are secondary to the Synoptics (Q: *A Reconstruction and Translation*, 828–29).

Much scholarly ink has been spilled on the meaning of this last line.<sup>268</sup> The problem involves ἀετοί, usually translated “eagles,” instead of the more standard word for vultures, γύπες. Ancient authors were aware that eagles seldom eat carrion but prefer their dinner freshly slain.<sup>269</sup> The unusual reference to eagles gathering around a corpse thus has prompted several interpreters to see here a cryptic reference to Rome, whose military standards bore the eagle, the bird most sacred to Jupiter (and Zeus). Exceptions to the distinction between eagles and vultures, however, appear in the LXX, where ἀετοί occasionally refers to vultures.<sup>270</sup> After an excellent investigation Gertraud Harb suggests that “it is much more plausible to read the term ἀετοί as referring to vultures than to interpret it in any other way. In my opinion, a plausible interpretation must take into account both the Semitic background of the saying and its force as a metaphor.”<sup>271</sup> My translation reflects this background.

It remains to be seen, however, what such a translation contributes to the saying in the lost Gospel. The solution lies in a recognition of the chiasmic structure of *Logoi* 9:1–3 (17:23–24, 37) as a literary unit.

- A “If they say to you, ‘Look, there!’ do not go out;  
‘Look, here!’ do not believe it.  
B For as the lightning streaks out from sunrise and flashes as  
far as sunset, so will the Son of Man be on his day.  
A<sup>1</sup> Wherever the corpse, there the vultures will gather.”

The vultures thus represent those in unit A who gather around fraudulent divine agents; unit B, however, insists that the coming of the Son of Man will be recognized by cosmic signs; and unit A<sup>1</sup> reinforces unit A with a droll reminder that even a corpse can attract a crowd. The trope thus seems to compare would-be saviors with carrion and those who gather around them with a crowd of vultures.

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268. See especially Steven L. Bridges, *Where the Eagles Are Gathered* (New York: Continuum, 2003), and John Topel, “What Kind of a Sign Are Vultures? Luke 17:37b,” *Bib* 84 (2003): 403–11.

269. “I have been unable to find any Greek text describing eagles eating carrion or corpses” (Gertraud Harb, “The Meaning of Q 17:37: Problems, Opinions, and Perspectives,” *ZNW* 102 [2011]: 284).

270. Harb (“The Meaning of Q 17:37”) gives as examples the LXX of Job 39:27–30, Mic 1:16, and Prov 30:17, where ἀετός is used of a vulture: “translating bird designations was not consistent from the Hebrew Bible to the Septuagint.”

271. Harb, “The Meaning of Q 17:37,” 293.

9:4–8 (17:26–30). As in the Days of Noah

|     |  |       |
|-----|--|-------|
| 9:4 | “As it took place in the days of Noah<br>so will it be in the day of the Son of Man.   | 17:26 |
| 9:5 | They ate, drank, married, and were given in marriage,<br>until the day Noah entered the ark,<br>and the flood came and destroyed them all. | 17:27 |
| 9:6 | And as it was in the days of Lot,<br>they were eating, drinking, buying, selling, planting, and build-<br>ing,                             | 17:28 |
| 9:7 | but on the day that Lot left Sodom,<br>fire and sulfur rained from heaven and destroyed them,  | 17:29 |
| 9:8 | so will it also be on the day when the Son of Man is revealed.”  | 17:30 |

The author of *Logoi* not only refers explicitly to Noah and Lot, he alludes to the following texts:

Gen 7:7 (all. [A])

And Noah—together with his sons, his wife, and the wives of his sons—went into the ark [εἰσῆλθε δὲ Νῶε ... εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν] because of the waters of the flood [τοῦ κατακυσμοῦ].

Gen 19:24 (all. [A])

And the Lord rained sulfur [ἔβρεξεν ... θεῖον] on Sodom and Gomorrah and fire from heaven [πῦρ ... ἐξ οὐρανοῦ] from the Lord.

*Logoi* 9:5 (17:27)

“They ate, drank, married, and were given in marriage, until the day Noah entered the ark [εἰσῆλθεν Νῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν], and the flood came [ὁ κατακλυσμός].”

*Logoi* 9:7 (17:29)

“On the day that Lot left Sodom, fire and sulfur rained from heaven [ἔβρεξεν πῦρ καὶ θεῖον ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ] and destroyed them.”

The legal sections of Deuteronomy extend from chapters 5 to 26 and precede a string of curses on Israel if they disobey God’s commandments (27) and blessings on those who obey (28:1–14). If Israel lapses they will suffer additional curses (28:15–35). Moses then predicts that the tribes will establish a monarchy that will fall to a foreign power that will relocate them, oppress them, and execute God’s judgment for their disloyalty. They then may lose their identity and be scattered among the nations (28:36–68). To avoid such disasters, Israel must remain faithful to God’s covenant with them by keeping his commandments (29:1–18). These apparent predictions, of course, actually are historical flashbacks on the Israelite monarchy, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Assyrians, and the Diaspora to Mesopotamia and Egypt. Israel was not able to escape destruction, and the result was similar to the destruction of Sodom. Compare this oracle of judgment with *Logoi* 9:6–8 (17:28–30).

Deut 29:21–22

*Logoi* 9:6–8 (17:28–30)

[MT 29:22–23]; all. [A])

“The next generation will see ... the plagues on that land and its diseases that the Lord sent upon it—sulfur [θειον] and salt—nothing sown and nothing sprouted ... as [ὡσπερ]

Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed, ... which the Lord destroyed in his anger and wrath.”

“And as [καθώς] it was in the days of Lot, they were ... planting, and building, but on the day that Lot left Sodom, fire and sulfur [θειον] rained from heaven and destroyed them, so will it also be on the day when the Son of Man is revealed.”<sup>272</sup>

9:9–10 (17:34–35). One Taken, One Left<sup>273</sup>

- |      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 9:9  | “There will be two men in the field;<br>one is taken and one is left.     | 17:34 |
| 9:10 | Two women will be grinding at the mill;<br>one is taken and one is left.” | 17:35 |

9:11–23 (19:12–13, 15–24, 26; MQ- 25:29, MQ+ 25:13–15, 19). The Entrusted Money<sup>274</sup>

- |      |  |       |
|------|--|-------|
| 9:11 | “A person, on taking a trip,   | 19:12 |
| 9:12 | called his slaves<br>and gave them his money.<br>To one he gave five minas, to another two, and to another one,<br>and he took a trip.<br>The one who had received five minas went and earned five more.<br>Likewise the one [who received] two earned two more.<br>But the one who received one mina went off, dug up the earth,<br>and hid his master’s money. | 19:13 |
| 9:13 | And the master of those slaves came<br>and called them.  | 19:15 |
| 9:14 | The one who received five minas came and said,   | 19:16 |

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272. Cf. Deut 32:32.

273. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 61:1.

274. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 41 and *Logoi* 9:23 (19:26).

|      |   |        |
|------|---|--------|
|      | ‘Master, you gave me five minas.<br>Look, I earned five more minas.’  |        |
| 9:15 | And he said to him, ‘Well done, good slave,<br>you have been faithful over a little,<br>I will set you over much.’                      | 19:17  |
| 9:16 | And the one who received two minas came and said,<br>‘Master, you gave me two minas.<br>Look, I have earned two more minas.’            | 19:18  |
| 9:17 | And he said to him, ‘Well done, good slave,<br>you have been faithful over a little,<br>I will set you over much.’                      | 19:19  |
| 9:18 | And the one who received one mina came and said,  | 19:20a |
| 9:19 | ‘Master, I knew you, that you are a hard person,<br>reaping where you did not sow<br>and gathering up from where you did not winnow;    | 19:21  |
| 9:20 | and, scared, I went and hid your mina in the ground.<br>Here, you have your money.’   | 19:20b |
| 9:21 | And he said to him, ‘Wicked slave!<br>You knew that I reap where I have not sown,<br>and gather up from where I have not winnowed?’     | 19:22  |
| 9:22 | Then you had to invest my money with the money changers!<br>And at my coming I would have received what belongs to me<br>plus interest. | 19:23  |
| 9:23 | So take from him the mina and give it to the one who has the<br>ten minas.  | 19:24  |
| 9:24 | For everyone who has will be given;<br>but from the one who does not have,<br>even what he has will be taken from him.”                 | 19:26  |

Although Matthew and Luke each add a verse to this reconstruction, neither seems to have derived it from *Logoi*.

It is unlikely that the parable of the entrusted money was spoken by Jesus. The saying displays several signs of the hand of *Logoi*'s author, including most obviously the departure of the master and the audit on his return, a metaphor for Jesus' death and parousia. Fleddermann rightly contrasts this parable with the parable of the unjust slave, where the master punishes his slave for immorality. In this parable the slave is punished merely for sloth. "It is not enough to be free of evil"; "one must be filled with good."<sup>275</sup>

The author here may have been informed by the depiction of God in Deuteronomy, who told Israel that they would benefit from the labors of others:

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275. Q: *A Reconstruction and Translation*, 862.

And it will be when the Lord your God brings you into the land that he swore to your fathers, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give you great and beautiful cities that you did not build, houses full of all good things that you did not fill, chiseled wells that you did not chisel, vineyards and olive groves that you did not plant, and having eaten and sated yourself, be careful that you do not forget the Lord your God. (Deut 6:10–12)

This reconstruction of the *Logoi of Jesus* as a whole differs from others by placing the Mission Speech at the end. The parable of the entrusted money thus is the last logion before Jesus sends the Twelve on their mission and is a fitting transition to it: in the Mission Speech Jesus gives his disciples responsibility for the proclamation of God's rule. They will have no money to take with them, but they will be held accountable for their trust. *Logoi* ends with the promise of thrones for the Twelve if they remain good and faithful servants.

This pattern in Deuteronomy of legislation, prediction of future woes and salvation, and commissioning of the hero's successors appears also in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, where the sons of Jacob hand on to their sons the wisdom of their years, predict events in the future, and give final instructions for carrying on their legacy before they die.<sup>276</sup> *Logoi* follows the same pattern: wisdom sayings, predictions, and the commissioning of the Twelve to carry on Jesus' legacy before he dies.

#### 10. THE MISSION SPEECH

Excursus 1 (261–63 above) argued that the Mission Speech in the lost Gospel appeared at the end of the work and not in the middle, as in all three Synoptics. This radical departure from all other reconstructions of Q finds confirmation both on internal literary grounds (sequential criterion 6) and by comparison with Deuteronomy. Of the sixteen logia that make up this chapter, nine are attributable to Matthew's second source (see ch. 4), and of these all but two have parallels in Luke, which occasionally retains wording or sequences from a textual stratum more primitive than Matthew. Earlier I argued that Matthew foraged through the lost Gospel for content to augment the Sermon on the Mount; this phenomenon is visible in Matthew's relocations from *Logoi's* Mission Speech as well. Luke's location of the following logia as part of his Travel Section seems better to reflect the sequence in the *Logoi of Jesus* than their equivalents in Matthew.

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276. See, for example, Marinus de Jonge, "Patriarchs, Testaments of the Twelve," in *ABD* 5:182.



| Matthew       | Luke     | Description                               |
|---------------|----------|---|
| +6:6–13       | >11:1–4  | The disciples' (Lord's) prayer            |
| 7:7–11 (-7:8) | 11:9–13  | Certainty of answer to prayer             |
| +6:9–13       | 12:33–34 | Storing up treasures in heaven            |
| 6:25–33       | 12:22–31 | Free from anxiety like lilies and ravens. |

The reconstruction that follows thus generally follows Luke's sequence.

#### TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

10:1–7 (8:1, 9:1–2, [M] 10:5, [M] 7:6, [M] 10:6, 23; MQ+ 10:5, MQ+ 7:6, MQ+ 10:6 and MQ- 10:23). Do Not Go to the Gentiles

Chapter 4 attributed Matt 10:5, 7:6, and 10:6 and 23 to MQ, but the parallels in the synopsis suggest that before Jesus' instructions the lost Gospel included a narrative transition of some kind, which I have attempted to reconstruct in *Logoi* 10:1–3 (8:1, 9:1–2). Matt 10:5–6 reads, “Do not go into Gentile routes, and do not enter a city of the Samaritans. Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.” The phrase “the lost sheep [πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα]” resonates with the imagery of the parable of the lost sheep in *Logoi* 8:59 (15:4): “Which person is there among you who has a hundred sheep [πρόβατα], on losing one of them, will not leave the ninety-nine in the mountains and go hunt for the lost one [τὸ ἀπολωλός]?” Matthew's telling of the parable does not use the substantive participle τὸ ἀπολωλός, “the lost,” but τὸ πλανώμενον, “the wanderer.” In other words, the reference to “the lost” is more likely to reflect a source than Matthew's redaction, who blames the sheep itself for straying.

Chapter 4 also included in Matthew's second source Matt 10:23. The coming of the Son of Man here is congruent with *Logoi* 8:18 (12:40): “You also must be ready, for the Son of Man is coming [ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται] at an hour you do not expect.”<sup>277</sup>

277. See also *Logoi* 1:8 and 10, 8:24, and 9:1–2, 4–5, 8, and 13 (3:9 and 17, 12:46, 17:23–24, 26–27, 30, and 19:15). Only after I completed my analysis of these pericope did I discover that forty years earlier Schürmann came to nearly the same conclusion; both Matt 10:5b–6 and 10:23 appeared in the Synoptic source. The only substantial disagreements between his assessment and mine pertain to the location of these verses in the lost document. He, too, placed Matt 10:5b–6 in the Mission Speech, not at the beginning but between Luke 10:7 and 8 (= *Logoi* 10:13 and 14 [10:7 and 8]; *Untersuchungen*, 137–49). The saying in Matt 10:23 he put after Luke 12:11–12 (= *Logoi* 8:11–12 [12:11–12]; *Untersuchungen*, 150–57). In my view, however, one should view Matt 28:16–20 and Acts 1:6–11 as

Note the following similarities.<sup>278</sup>

Matt 10:23 (cf. Matt 22:39)

“I tell you truly [ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν], You will by no means [οὐ μὴ] complete the cities of Israel until [ἕως] the Son of Man comes [ἔλθῃ].”

*Logoi* 7:21b (13:35b)

“... I tell you [λέγω .. ὑμῖν]: You will not [οὐ μὴ] see me until [ἕως] the time comes when you say, ‘Blessed is the one who comes [ἐρχόμενος] in the name of the Lord!’”

Of the Synoptic Evangelists, only Matthew retained from *Logoi* Jesus’ command that the Twelve not conduct their mission among Gentiles or even Samaritans (10:23), but his Jesus sets matters right at the end of the Gospel with a secondary redaction. Compare the following:

*Logoi* 10:2–7

(9:1–2, [M] 10:5, [M] 7:6, [M] 10:6, 23)

After summoning the Twelve,

he gave them authority [ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν] over unclean spirits and to heal diseases, and sent them two-by-two saying [λέγων],

“Do not go into Gentile [ἔθνῶν] routes, and do not enter a city of the Samaritans.

Do not give what is holy to the dogs, and do not throw your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, spin around, and tear you to pieces. Go [πορεύεσθε] rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And whenever they persecute you in this city, flee into another. For I tell you truly, you will by no means complete

Matt 28:16–20

The eleven disciples went into Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had ordered them, and when they saw him, they knelt and were perplexed. And Jesus approached them and spoke with them, saying [λέγων], “All authority [ἐξουσία] in heaven and on earth has been given to me [ἐδόθη μοι].

So as you go [πορευθέντες], make disciples of all the Gentiles [τὰ ἔθνη],

baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son [τοῦ υἱοῦ], and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe everything that I have commanded you. Look, I am with

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secondary redactions, both of which favor viewing Matt 10:5b-6 and 10:23 as contiguous in the source and locating the entire unit early in the speech.

278. These columns present Matthew on the left because what is at stake is not literary dependence but congruence with other *Logoi* logia.

[τελέσητε] the cities of Israel until the Son [ὁ υἱός] of Man comes.”      you every day until the completion [συντελείας] of the age.”

Here in Matthew “the Twelve” of *Logoi* has become “the eleven” to account for the death of Judas. Just as Jesus transmitted his authority (ἐξουσία) to the Twelve in *Logoi*, in Matthew God gave Jesus authority (ἐξουσία), which he extends to the eleven for their mission. Whereas *Logoi’s* Jesus prohibited the disciples from going to the Gentiles, Matthew’s Jesus insists on it. The message to be preached by the Twelve in the lost Gospel was that “the kingdom of God as reached unto you” (10:15 [10:9]), but in Matthew’s redaction, Jesus tells the disciples to baptize and to teach the observance of “everything that I have commanded you.” Jesus promised in *Logoi* that the Son of Man would return before the completion of the mission to “the cities of Israel”; Matthew’s Jesus promises that he already is with them and will be with them “until the completion of the age.”<sup>279</sup> I would propose that Matthew conflated the endings of his two sources: the *Logoi of Jesus* and the Gospel of Mark. From Mark he redacted the empty tomb story; from *Logoi* he redacted sections of the Mission Speech, which he also had used in chapter 10. (See also the discussion of Matt 28:16–20 in excursus 2.)

Luke-Acts retains nothing of *Logoi’s* prohibitions about a mission to Samaritans and Gentiles, but the author, like Matthew, has the risen Jesus expand the mission of the disciples at the beginning of his second volume.

*Logoi* 10:2–7  
(9:1–2, [M] 10:5, [M] 7:6, [M] 10:6, 23)  
After summoning the Twelve, he gave them authority [ἐξουσίαν] over unclean spirits and to heal diseases, and sent them two-by-two saying [λέγων],

“Do not go into Gentile routes, and do not enter a city of the Samaritans [Σαμαριτῶν]. Do not give what is holy to the dogs, and do not throw your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, spin around, and tear you to pieces. Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And when-

Acts 1:6–8

Those who were traveling along asked him, “Will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?” He said to them, “It is not for you to know the times or seasons that the Father has placed in his own authority [ἐξουσίᾳ], but you will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come over you, and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria [Σαμαρείᾳ], and as far as the end of the earth.”

279. The final verse in Matthew echoes the final verse of Daniel, “And the completion [συντέλεια] of days” (12:13).

ever they persecute you in this city, flee into another. For I tell you truly, you will by no means complete the cities of Israel until the Son of Man comes.”

Both texts speak of Jesus’ authorizing of his disciples, his own authority, Israel, and Samaria, but what *Logoi* prohibits—a Gentile mission—Acts requires. *Logoi*’s calculation of Jesus’ return before the completion of the mission to “the cities of Israel” gives way here to Jesus’ disallowing such eschatological calculations. The rest of Acts, of course, narrates this mission that ends in Rome with Paul awaiting his execution. Like Matthew, Luke apparently sought to resolve the differences between the endings of his two sources: he integrated and expanded Mark’s account of the empty tomb with *Logoi*’s account of the sending of the Twelve. Luke’s relatively positive treatment of Samaritans may well be a corrective to the lost Gospel’s exclusion; see the commentary to 10:16–18 (10:10–12).

Chapter 4 argued that Mark created his tale of the Syrophenician woman as a critical response to the exclusion of Gentiles. The following parallels are remarkable.

*Logoi* 10:2b and 4–6

[9:1 and (M) 10:5, 7:6, 10:6]

He gave them authority over unclean spirits [πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων] and to heal diseases. . . . “Do not go on the way to the Gentiles [εἰς ὁδὸν ἔθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθητε], and do not enter [εἰς . . . μὴ εἰσέλθητε] a city of the Samaritans.

Do not give what is holy to the dogs [τοῖς κυσίν], and do not throw [βάλητε] your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, spin

<Mark 7:24–28

Jesus got up from there and went into [ἀπῆλθεν εἰς] the region of Tyre and Sidon. When entered [εἰσελθὼν εἰς] a house, he did not want it to become known, but he was unable to escape detection.

Immediately a woman heard about him; her daughter had an unclean spirit [πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον]. She came and fell at his feet. The woman was Greek, Syrophenician by birth, and she asked him to cast the demon from her daughter. He said to her, “Let the children first be fed, for it is not good to take the bread of children and throw it to the dogs [τοῖς κυναρίοις βαλεῖν].”

She responded and said, “Lord, even the dogs [τὰ κυνάρια] under the table

around, and tear you to pieces. Go eat the children's scraps."  
 rather to the lost sheep of the house of [Jesus then exorcises the demon.]  
 Israel."

Mark's Jesus, by going into the region of the Gentiles, does precisely what he prohibited the Twelve from doing in the lost Gospel! Initially he refuses to exorcise the "unclean spirit" on grounds similar to those expressed in *Logoi* 10:5 [(M) 7:6] about giving "what is holy to the dogs."

#### 10:8–9 (10:2–3). Workers for the Harvest

Matthew and Luke both present this saying in the same sequence, but whereas in Luke they are contiguous, in Matthew they are separated by fifteen verses. This seems to be yet another example of Matthew's segmentation of a unified logion in his second source.<sup>280</sup>

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Luke 10:2–3  | <Matt 9:37–38 and 10:16   |
| He said to them, "The harvest is plentiful, but the workers are few. So ask the Lord of the harvest to dispatch workers into his harvest. Be on your way! Look, I send you like sheep in the midst of wolves." | And then he told his disciples, "The harvest is plentiful, but the workers are few. So ask the Lord of the harvest to dispatch workers into his harvest." ... "Behold, I send you like sheep in the midst of wolves. So be wise as serpents and harmless as doves." |

Clearly Mark was one of Matthew's sources for the larger context of these sayings (9:36–10:16), even though the later Evangelist rearranged the furniture. Notice that references to sheep appear at the beginning, middle, and end of this series.

|   | Mark      | Matthew  |
|---|-----------|----------|
| <b>Sheep</b> without a shepherd<br>(relocated from the feeding of the 5000) | 6:34      | 9:36     |
| Workers for the harvest   | —         | 9:37–38  |
| Summoning the Twelve  | 6:7       | 10:1     |
| The list of the Twelve  | 3:15–19   | 10:2–4   |
| "Go only to the lost <b>sheep</b> of the house of Israel"                   | —         | 10:5–6   |
| Jesus orders them to preach and heal  | (cf. 6:7) | 10:7     |
| What not to take on the mission   | 6:8–9     | 10:9–10  |
| Where to reside on the mission  | 6:10      | 10:11–13 |

280. So also CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 405).

|  |      |       |
|--|------|-------|
| How to treat those who reject their mission    | 6:11 | 10:14 |
| Punishment greater than for Sodom and Gomorrah | —    | 10:15 |
| <b>Sheep</b> in the midst of wolves            | —    | 10:16 |

Matthew apparently recognized in two contiguous sayings a clash of metaphors (such as one finds in Luke): the sending of harvesters into fields and the sending of sheep among wolves. In Mark's account of the Mission Speech he found a similar progression: first came the sending of the Twelve to minister among those who welcomed them (harvesters in fields); then came their rejection by others (sheep ravaged by wolves).

By delaying the saying about sheep among wolves until after the instructions for the mission Matthew created a clever subplot. From Mark he borrowed the saying about the crowds resembling sheep without a shepherd (6:34) and the instructions about the mission from 6:7–11. He repeated this theme in 10:6: "Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Some Jews will receive them, but others will not and thus will be more culpable than Sodom and Gomorrah. In other words, the sheep will become wolves and the disciples will become vulnerable sheep. Matthew added that they must "be wise as serpents and harmless as doves." This line is missing in Luke, and it is not clear why he would have omitted it if he were redacting Matthew. It therefore would appear that the sayings appeared together in the lost Gospel, as in Luke, and that Matthew, in his strategic conflation of Mark and *Logoi*, unhinged them (criterion A). Mark may have omitted this passage because the reference to the harvest implies an imminent end (criterion D).

#### 10:10–15 (10:4–9; MQ+ 10:9–10). Instructions for the Mission

Four versions of Jesus' instructions to the Twelve appear in the Synoptics: Mark 6:7–10, Matt 10:7–13, and Luke 9:1–4 and 10:4–9. Chapter 4 argued for Matthew's priority to Mark, which suggests his use of an alternative text. The parallels among the four mission instructions are among the most impressive arguments in favor of the 2DH and the existence of Q. Frequently the accounts in Matt 10 and Luke 10 agree against Mark, but Luke's second set of instructions seldom agrees with Mark 6, whereas Matt 10 repeatedly does. It is far more likely that Matthew conflated the two accounts in the lost Gospel and Mark and that Luke redacted the two accounts serially: Mark 6:7–10 in 9:1–4 and the lost Gospel in 10:4–9. If Luke redacted only Matthew in chapter 10, he would have peeled off several details where Matthew agreed with Mark in order to create a distinctive second episode.<sup>281</sup>

281. See Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 409–12.

Furthermore, two elements in Luke's account could not have come from Mark or Matthew and have claims on a more primitive textual stratum. Only Luke contains the command not to greet anyone on the road, which probably is an allusion to 2 Kgs 4:29, where Elijah tells Gehazi, "Gird your loins, take my stick in your hand, and go. If you should find a man, do not greet him, and if a man should greet you, do not respond to him. And you will lay my stick on the face of the child." Gehazi is not to greet anyone on his way because doing so might delay him.<sup>282</sup> So also in Luke, the disciples are to travel light (cf. Exod 12:11 and 34–36)—not even to take a stick—and go on their mission without stopping to greet anyone. Matthew may have omitted the line because the command to speak to no one seemed unreasonable.

Moreover, only in Luke does Jesus command the disciples to say "Peace to this house," although Matthew too speaks of the disciples granting peace to receptive houses. The origin of this command probably lies in an imitation of Moses' command to the twelve tribes of Israel about how to conduct their conquest of Canaan; the discussion of antetexts will deal with the parallels to Deut 20 in more depth.

This is one of the few occasions where Paul confirms that overlapping content in Matthew and Luke was traditional (criterion B). 1 Cor 9:14 makes explicit reference to Jesus' statement that those who preach the good news were worthy to earn livelihoods from doing so, as in Matt 10:10 and Luke 10:7. The reconstruction in the synopsis is nearly identical to *CEQ*.

10:16–18 (10:10–12; MQ+ 10:14–15). Response to a Town's Rejection

There is little evidence here that Luke redacted a source other than Matthew, but the saying appears in the context of content more clearly from the lost Gospel. Sodom appears also in *Logoi* (9:7 [17:29]; criterion C). Chapter 4 attributed this logion to MQ on the basis of the inverted priority of Matt 10:14–15 to Mark 6:11–13.

10:19–21 (10:13–15). Woes against Galilean Towns

*CEQ* rightly prefers locating this logion here, after the saying about rejection, in agreement with Luke. Matthew used it to expand the criticism of the generation that rejected John and Jesus (11:21–24). Insofar as Luke's order seems to preserve the saying in its more native setting, his source probably was not Matthew but *Logoi* (criterion A). The references to miracles that Jesus

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282. See Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 135–47.

performed in Chorazin and Bethsaida are tantalizing insofar as strict Matthew-Luke overlaps do not record any such activity in these towns. I proposed that *Logoi* narrated miracles soon after Jesus arrived in Galilee.<sup>283</sup>

10:22 (10:16; MQ- 10:40). Whoever Takes You in Takes Me In

Chapter 4 argued for inclusion of this saying to Matthew's second source on the basis of Matthew's priority to Mark 9:37; note also Matthew's Markan doublet in 18:5.

10:23–25 (10:17–19). The Fall of Satan

Only the Gospel of Luke contains the following passage.

The seventy returned with joy and said, "Lord, in your name the demons submitted to us." He said to them, "I saw Satan falling from the sky like lightning. Look, I gave you authority to tread on serpents and scorpions and on every power of the enemy, and nothing will harm you. Yet do not rejoice in this—that the spirits submit to you—but rejoice that your names are written in the heavens."

The commentary on Papias's *Exposition* and its sources proposed that the following fragment formed part of his interpretation of Jesus' statement at the end of Matthew that after his resurrection all authority had been given to him "in heaven and on earth" (28:18).

4:7 Andrew of Caesarea: "Papias wrote verbatim as follows:

'To some of them'—apparently angels who once had been divine—'he gave [authority] to rule over the arrangement of the earth and gave them orders to rule well.'

And next he says,

'It turned out that their arrangement came to no good end.'

At this point Andrew quotes not from the *Exposition* but from Rev 12:9: "He was cast down—the great dragon, the serpent, the ancient one, the one called Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole inhabited world—he was cast down to the earth, and his angels were cast down with him."

Although Andrew cites the fall of Satan from the Apocalypse of John and not from the *Exposition*, Papias's work, too, probably referred to it and pre-

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283. See the discussion of content between *Logoi* 3:1 and 2 (4:14 and 4:16).



sented the risen Jesus promising his disciples that demons no longer could harm them; thus Justus Barsabbas drank poison and was unharmed (*Expos.* 5:1 and 5:2).<sup>284</sup> This passage about Satan's fall obviously did not come from Mark or Matthew, but it may well have come from the lost Gospel. The argument for inclusion is complex and relies heavily on the uses of biblical ante-texts.

Jesus' second temptation in *Logoi* quoted Ps 90 (MT 91).

Ps 90:11–12 (MT 91:11–12)

He will command his angels about you, to protect you in all your ways; and on their hands they will bear you, so that you do not strike your foot against a stone.

Deut 6:16

“Do not put to the test the LORD your God.”

*Logoi* 2:7–10 (4:9–12)

The devil took him along to Jerusalem and put him on the tip of the temple and told him, “If you are God's Son, throw yourself down.

For it is written, ‘He will command his angels about you, to guard you,’ and that ‘on their hands they will bear you, so that you do not strike your foot against a stone.’”

And Jesus in reply told him, “It is said, ‘Do not put to the test the Lord your God.’”

The next verse in the psalm informs Luke 10:19!

Ps 90:13 (MT 91:13)

You will walk on the asp and the basilisk, and you will tread [καταπατήσεις] on the lion and the dragon.

Deut 8:14–15

“You will exalt your heart and forget the LORD your God, who led you out of the land of Egypt, from the house of slavery, and who brought you through that great and terrible wilderness, where there is the biting serpent and scorpion [ὄφεις δάκνων καὶ σκορπίος] and thirst.”<sup>285</sup>

Luke 10:19a

“Look, I have given you authority to tread [πατεῖν]

on serpents and scorpions [ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων] and on every power of the enemy.”

284. See the discussion to *Expos.* 4:7 and 5:1 and 2.

285. Deut 8:15 is the only appearance in the LXX of the expression “serpent and scorpion.”

The devil cited Ps 90:11–12 (MT 91:11–12), which promised divine protection; Jesus resists this temptation, but later in Luke Jesus alludes to the next verse in the psalm to offer divine protection to the Seventy because now Satan has fallen. One may reasonably suspect that Luke found this subplot already in the lost Gospel.

The saying surely was traditional before Luke insofar as his Jesus corrects the disciples for rejoicing in their power over the demons; instead, they should rejoice that their “names are written in the heavens” (criterion B). The logion appears among other logia from *Logoi* and seems to be congruent with it (e.g., the Beelzebul controversy, where Jesus proclaims his victory over Satan and the demonic; *Logoi* 6:26–29 [11:19–22]).

Further evidence that Luke found this logion in *Logoi* pertains to its biblical antetext. An oracle in Isa 14 informed Jesus’ warning to Capernaum earlier in Luke 10:15 (*Logoi* 10:21 [10:15]).

## Isa 14:12–15

How has the Dawn-bearer fallen from the sky, he who rises early! ... But you said in your mind, “I will ascend into the sky [εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν]; I will place my throne among the stars of God [some texts read: τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, “of heaven”]; I will sit on a high [ὑψηλῶ] mountain; on high [ὑψηλά] mountains to the north; I will ascend above the clouds; I will be like the Most High.” But now you will descend to hades [εἰς ᾄδου καταβήσῃ], even to the foundations of the earth.

*Logoi* 10:21 (10:15)

“And you, Capernaum, up to heaven will you be exalted [ἔως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ]?”

Into hades will you come down [ἔως τοῦ ᾄδου καταβήσῃ]!”

The first verse in Isaiah probably informed the tradition preserved in Luke 10:18, just a few verses later.

## Isa 14:12

How has the Dawn-bearer fallen from the sky [ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ], he who rises early! Crushed to the earth is the one who sends out to all the nations.<sup>286</sup>

## Luke 10:18

“I saw Satan falling from the sky [ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα] like lightning [ὡς ἀστραπήν].”

286. This verse from Isaiah, directly or indirectly, may have informed Rev 8:10: “And

The juxtaposition of the fall of Satan and the oracle against those who would ascend to heaven in Isa 14 and Luke 10 surely is not accidental. There are two viable explanations: either Luke recognized in Matthew the allusion to Isaiah and extended it to include the fall of Satan, or he saw in a lost Gospel a coherent allusion to Isa 14:12–15, which is more likely.

I would propose the following tradition history for this saying.

- The *Logoi of Jesus* contained a reference to the fall of Satan as part of Jesus' final instructions to the Twelve.
- Matthew omitted the reference to Satan's fall while Jesus was living because he would not receive such authority until his resurrection (28:18–20).
- Papias, apparently citing the exposition of Matthew by Aristion, interpreted Jesus' statement that all authority had been given to him to imply that God, at Jesus' death and resurrection, had punished the angels who earlier had governed the world.
- Luke saw the reference to the fall of Satan in the lost Gospel and included his modified version of it in 10:17–20.
- The author of the Longer Ending of Mark ([16:9–20]) braided together from various antecedents an alternative version of Jesus' post-resurrection commissioning of the eleven. Among these texts were the Great Commission in Matt 28 and the promise of invulnerability to serpents in Luke 10:19.
- Andrew of Caesarea cited two sentences from Papias according to which, at creation, authority over the world had been given to angels and that this authority had been given to Jesus after his resurrection, when Satan fell from the sky, as in Rev 12:9.
- An Armenian scribe more than a millennium after Papias recognized similarities between the Longer Ending and Aristion's discussion of the ending of Matthew in Papias, and thus attributed [16:9–20] to him.

Although one might expect that, insofar as the two Lukan verses in question appear in only one of the Synoptics, the textual reconstruction would consist simply of presenting the text as it appears in Luke, but matters are

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the third angel sounded the trumpet. And a great star fell from heaven [ἔπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀστήρ] burning like a torch [ὡς λαμπάς], and it fell [ἔπεσεν] into a third of the rivers." Satan's fall from heaven "like lightning" resembles a simile used for the return of the Son of Man: "For as the lightning [ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή] streaks out from sunrise and flashes as far as sunset, so will the Son of Man be on his day" (9:1 [17:24]).

more complex. Justin Martyr offers an alternative version of the saying about walking on serpents. (Underlining identifies the items that the two versions have in common, but our interest will lie in their differences.)

Justin Martyr *Dial.* 76:6  
 δίδωμι ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν καταπατεῖν  
 ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ  
 σκολοπενδρῶν καὶ ἐπάνω πάσης  
 δυνάμεως τοῦ ἐχθροῦ.  
 “I am giving you authority to tread on  
 serpents and scorpions and centipedes  
 and on every power of the enemy.”

Luke 10:19a  
 ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν  
 ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ ἐπὶ  
 πᾶσαν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ.  
 “Look, I gave you authority to tread on  
 serpents and scorpions and on every  
 power of the enemy.”

Although it is possible that the variations in Justin’s version issue from his retrieval of the passage from memory without consulting a text—after all, in the context he is citing several verses—he may well have known a different text. Two deviations are particularly worthy of comment.

Justin uses the present δίδωμι, “I am giving,” whereas Luke reads the perfect δέδωκα, “I have given you.” There is no contextual reason for Justin to have changed the verb to a present tense, but Luke needed a past tense to explain how the Seventy already had been able to subdue demons. Surely the present tense better fits the context in *Logoi*: as part of Jesus’ commissioning of the Twelve, he transfers to them his authority over the demonic. At *Logoi* 10:2 (9:1) the author states that Jesus gave the disciples authority using a similar construction (ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων καὶ νόσουσθε θεραπεύειν). Note also that Justin’s version reads καταπατεῖν, using the same verb that appears in Ps 90:13 (MT 91:13): καταπατήσεις. Luke, however, reads πατεῖν. More enigmatic is Justin’s addition of “centipedes.”

One may suspect that Justin’s version differs from Luke’s not because he had access to the *Logoi of Jesus* but because he knew of the saying from Papias’s *Exposition*, but the status of our texts renders such a judgment little more than speculation. The reconstruction in the synopsis generally favors Luke but prefers Justin’s uses of δίδωμι, καταπατεῖν, and ἐπάνω with the genitive πάσης δυνάμεως.

10:26–29 (10:21–24). Jesus’ Prayer

Luke’s version of this prayer probably represents an earlier textual stratum than Matthew.

Luke 10:21–24  
 In the same hour he rejoiced in the

<Matt 11:25–27 and 13:16–17  
 At that time Jesus replied and said, “I

spirit and said: “I praise you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, for you hid these things from sages and the learned, and revealed them to children. Yes, Father, for that is what it has pleased you to do.

Everything has been entrusted to me by my Father, and no one knows who the son is except the Father, or who the Father is except the son, and to whom ever the son chooses to reveal him.”

And he turned to his disciples in private and said, “Blessed are the eyes that see what you see. For I tell you: Many prophets and kings wanted to see what you see, but never saw it, and to hear what you hear, but never heard it.”

praise you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, for you hid these things from sages and the learned, and revealed them to children. Yes, Father, for that is what it has pleased you to do.

Everything has been entrusted to me by my Father, and no one knows the son except the Father, nor does anyone know the Father except the son, and to whomever the son chooses to reveal him.” ...

“Blessed are your eyes because they see, and your ears because they hear. For I tell you truly: Many prophets and righteous people wanted to see what you see, but never saw it, and to hear what you hear, but never heard it.”

It is more likely that Matthew divided this logion into two units than that Luke saw them in two different places in Matthew and combined them.<sup>287</sup> Matthew used the first saying to contrast the wisdom of the disciples with his rejection by Galilean towns (11:20–24) and the second in his redaction of Mark 4 to explain why the disciples were able to understand the parables while the crowds were not. Notice also that Matthew is fond of the word *δικαιος*, “righteous one,” to refer to religious leaders, and he uses it here in vs. 17, whereas Luke reads instead “kings,” which conforms to the antetext in Dan 2:20–23 (see the discussion of the biblical antetexts).

10:30–32 (11:2–4; MQ+ 6:9–13a). The Disciples’ Prayer

It is difficult to know where to locate the Lord’s Prayer—more accurately, the disciples’ prayer. Matthew locates it in the Sermon on the Mount, which surely is secondary. Luke’s location is more promising (sequential criterion 5). Although the gap between 10:24 (Luke’s use of the preceding verse in *Logoi*) and 11:2 (the beginning of the disciples’ prayer) is substantial, it seems to be redactional (including the relocation of a passage from *Logoi*: Luke 10:25–28 redacts 6:18–21 [10:25–28]). When one omits these intervening verses, Jesus, after his prayer of thanksgiving, instructs the Twelve in prayer (criterion 6).

287. So also CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 437).

Chapter 4 argued that the Markan author transformed the disciples' prayer, similar to what appears in Matt 6:9–13, into Jesus' prayer at Gethsemane in 14:35–38. Even stronger evidence for the existence of the prayer in the lost Gospel comes from Luke's inverted priority to Matthew. It is difficult to understand why Luke would have omitted "who is in the sky" (a Matthean flag), "let your will be done, on earth as in heaven," or "rescue us from evil" (criterion A).<sup>288</sup>

Luke 11:2–4  
He said to them, "When you pray, say,  
Father—  
may your name be kept holy!—  
let your kingdom come.

Our day's bread give us each day,  
and forgive our sins for us, for we too  
have  
forgiven everyone in debt to us;  
and do not put us to the test!"

<Matt 6:9–13  
"Therefore pray like this:  
Our Father who is in the skies—  
may your name be kept holy!—  
let your kingdom come,  
let your will be done on earth as in  
heaven.  
Our day's bread give us today,  
and forgive our debts for us, as we too  
have  
forgiven those in debt to us;  
and do not put us to the test,  
but rescue us from evil."

If the author of the Gospel of Mark knew *Logoi*, it is surprising that he chose not to include the disciples' prayer, but he may have used it as a model for two other logia. Here is the first.

*Logoi* 10:30 and 32 (11:2 and 4)  
"When you pray [ὅταν προσεύχησθε],  
say, Father [πάτερ], ... forgive [ἄφεσ]  
our debts for us, as we too have for-  
given [ἀφήκαμεν] those in debt to us."

Mark 11:25  
"And when you stand praying [ὅταν  
στήκετε προσευχόμενοι], forgive  
[ἀφίετε] if you hold a grudge against  
someone, so that your Father [πατήρ]  
who is in the skies may forgive [ἀφή]  
you your trespasses."

In both texts a prayer for forgiveness requires the disciples to forgive others. In *Logoi*, those praying already have forgiven the debts of others; Mark makes the saying into a command. The Matthean Evangelist apparently saw a connection between the disciples' prayer and Mark 11:25 insofar

288. So also CEQ and Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 456–59). The scholarly consensus favors Lukan priority for the prayer. See Shawn Carruth and Albrecht Garsky, *Q 11:2b–4: The Lord's Prayer* (DQ; Leuven: Peeters, 1996).

as he redacted this verse in Mark immediately after his version of the prayer (6:9–15).

The second possible secondary redaction in Mark is Jesus' prayer at Gethsemane.

*Logoi* 10:30–32 (11:2–4)

“When you pray [προσεύχησθε], say [λέγετε], ‘Father [πάτερ]—may your name be kept holy!—Let your kingdom come: [Matthew’s version of the Lord’s Prayer adds: “let your will (θέλημά σου) be done; as in heaven so also on earth.”] our day’s bread give us today;

and cancel our debts for us, as we, too, have cancelled for those in debt to us; and do not lead us into temptation [εις πειρασμόν].”

Mark 14:35–38a

He fell on the ground and prayed [προσηύχετο], ... saying [ἔλεγεν], “Abba, Father [ὁ πατήρ], you are able to do anything. Take this cup from me, but not what I want [θέλω] but what you [σύ] want.”

And he comes and finds them sleeping. And he says to Peter, “Simon, are you sleeping? Could you not stay awake for a single hour? Watch and pray [προσεύχεσθε] that you do not enter into temptation [εις πειρασμόν].”

In Mark’s scene it is not Jesus but the disciples who must resist temptation.

### 10:33–36 (11:5–8). The Generous Friend

David Catchpole presents a compelling case for including in Q an altered form of Luke 11:5–8.<sup>289</sup> The passage in question appears between the disciples’ (Lord’s) prayer and the certainty of the answer to prayer (MQ+ 9:9–13a). Here is a translation of the Lukan logion in question:

And he said to them, “Who of you who has a friend will go to him at midnight and say to him, ‘Friend, help me [by giving me] three loaves of bread, because my friend arrived at my house from a journey, and I have nothing to offer him.’ From inside that friend might respond, ‘Stop bothering me! The door already has been locked, and my children are with me in bed. I cannot get up and give you anything.’ I tell you, even if on the basis of being his friend he will not give him anything, because of his persistence he will get up and give him whatever he needs.”

289. *Quest*, 201–11. See also his “Q and ‘the Friend at Midnight’ (Luke xi.5–8/9),” *JTS* (1983): 407–24; and Burkett, *Unity*, 79–80.

Catchpole shows that this passage agrees with the parable of the petitioning woman in Luke 18:1–8, apparently the Evangelist’s creation, where a judge agrees to a widow’s appeal because she persistently pesters him. Catchpole then proposes that Luke himself was responsible for adding to a traditional saying the phrase in vs. 8: “even if on the basis of being his friend he will not give him anything, because of his persistence ...”<sup>290</sup> Accordingly, the interrogative that begins in vs. 5 (“Who of you ...”) continues until the end of verse 7.

“Who of you who has a friend will go to him at midnight and say to him, ‘Friend, help me [by giving me] three loaves of bread, because my friend arrived at my house from a journey, and I have nothing to offer him’; would that friend inside say in response, ‘Stop bothering me; the door already has been locked, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot get up and give you anything?’” (11:5–7)

The reader might be expected to answer “no one” to this extended rhetorical question: a true friend would not deny such a request; instead, he would “get up and give him whatever he needs.”

Several other *logia* in *Logoi* begin with the construction “Who of you.”<sup>291</sup> The petitioner in the parable asks for three loaves of bread (ἄρτους); the disciples’ prayer which immediately precedes it includes the petition for bread (ἄρτον). The friend who was petitioned does not refuse the request but gives (δώσει) his friend what he needs. The disciples’ prayer includes the request that God give (δός) bread for the day. Finally, the only other instance of the verb χηρίζω in the Gospels is in another *Logoi* statement a few verses later in Luke 12:30b (= *Logoi* 10:59): “for your Father knows that you need [χηρίζετε] them all” (criterion C).

The logion thus altered would encourage a comparison with Matt 6:7–8, Matthew’s introduction to the disciples’ prayer in the Sermon on the Mount: “When you pray, do not babble on like the Gentiles, for they suppose that they will be heeded because of their prolixity. So do not be like them; for your Father knows what you need before you ask him.” Not only is this Matthean logion contiguous with the disciples’ prayer, like Luke 11:5–8 it agrees with Catchpole’s reconstruction according to which God immediately grants the request of the petitioner. Notice also the minor agreement in the final lines of both pericopae.

290. “In short, [Luke] 11:8 has imposed on 11:7 a scheme contributed by 18:2, 4–5” (Burkett, *Unity*, 208).

291. See also *Logoi* 3:22, 8:59, and 10:54 (6:9, 15:4, and 12:25). On the other hand, this construction also appears in Luke’s redaction (e.g., 14:28, 15:8, and 17:7).



Luke 11:8b

“[H]e will get up and give him whatever he needs [ἄσων χρηΐζει].”

&lt;Matt 6:8b

“[Y]our Father knows what you need [ὅν χρεΐαν ἔχετε] before you ask him.”

Luke 11:5–8 thus seems to rely on tradition (criterion B) and falls among several sayings from *Logoi* with which it is congruent (criterion C). Although the parallels with Matthew are slim, they suggest a textual connection insofar as Matt 6:8b may be a secondary redaction [B].

But why is the saying missing or substantially altered in the other two Synoptics (criterion D)? If Catchpole’s reconstruction is correct, the punctuation of Jesus’ initial question is anything but transparent. The question begins with “who of you” in vs. 5, but the question mark would not appear until the end of vs. 7, fifty-eight words later; Christopher Tuckett objected to Catchpole’s reconstruction for this very reason.<sup>292</sup> Furthermore, one cannot assume that the copies of *Logoi* available to the Synoptic Evangelists all clearly marked the interrogative at the end of vs. 7. That is to say, the Evangelists may well have thought that the interrogative ended at the end of vs. 6, in which case, verses 7 and 8 would seem to contradict each other insofar as vs. 7 would imply that the friend would not have responded favorably (“I cannot get up and give you anything”), but vs. 8 would state that he gave his friend what he wanted. Luke resolved the problem by introducing the theme of the petitioner’s impudence that made his friend change his mind. Matthew resolved the same difficulty by omitting the hypothetical refusal of the petition and emphasizing verbal economy in prayer. Mark avoided the problem by wisely omitting the entire logion.

10:37 (17:6; MQ- 17:20). Faith like a Mustard Seed

Chapter 4 proposed that Matthew was indebted to MQ- for 17:20 because this non-Markan doublet displays inverted priority to Mark 11:22–23 (cf. Matt 21:21). Luke’s version likely is earlier even than Matthew’s.

Luke 17:6

The Lord said, “If you have faith like a mustard seed, you might say to this mulberry tree, ‘Be uprooted and placed in the sea!’ And it would obey you.”

&lt;Matt 17:20

“For I tell you truly, if you have faith like a mustard seed you will say to this mountain, ‘Move from here to there!’ and it will move, and nothing will be impossible for you.”

Matthew here heightens the miracle from the transplantation of a tree to

292. “Q, Prayer, and the Kingdom,” *JTS* 40 (1989): 367–76.

the moving of a mountain and may show the influence of Mark 11:22–23.<sup>293</sup> Here we have another Lukan nondoublet insofar as the Evangelist did not redact the saying in Mark.

The locations of this logion in Matthew and Luke are secondary (sequential criterion 5). Matthew added it to his redaction of Mark's account of the frothing demoniac (17:20), and Luke removed it from its context in *Logoi* to 17:6 to avoid conflict with his redaction of the parable of the generous friend in which he emphasized persistence in prayer. The saying about the mustard seed, on the other hand, suggests how little faith is needed to do amazing things.

Surprisingly, clues concerning the original setting of the mustard seed saying appear in a cluster of sayings about prayer in Mark 11:22–25. Mark 11:22–23 redacts *Logoi* 10:37 (17:6), 11:24 redacts *Logoi*'s statement about asking and receiving (10:38–39 [11:9–10]), and 11:25 may be a secondary redaction of the disciples' prayer (*Logoi* 10:30–32 [11:2–4]). In other words, the Evangelist seems to have reorganized a cluster of sayings about prayer from the *Logoi of Jesus*. This context seems more native for the mustard seed saying, just before the saying on the certainty of the answer to prayer in the lost Gospel (criterion 6).

Matthew placed several of the preceding logia on prayer in the Sermon on the Mount. Luke placed them later in his Gospel, shortly after the complex of sayings about prayer just discussed. Either Luke borrowed this sequence from Matthew, or both Evangelists independently found the same general sequence in *Logoi*, which is more likely (Lukan inverted priority; criterion A).

|  | Matthew     | Luke      |
|--|-------------|-----------|
| The disciples' prayer                    | 6:9–13      | 11:2–4    |
| The generous friend                      | [cf. 6:7–8] | 11:5–8    |
| Faith like a mustard seed                | [17:20]     | [17:6]    |
| The certainty of the answer to prayer    | 7:7–11      | 11:9–13   |
| Storing up treasures in heaven           | 6:19–21     | 12:33–34  |
| Free from anxiety like ravens and lilies | 6:25–33     | 12:22b–31 |

10:38–42 (11:9–13; MQ- 7:8). The Certainty of the Answer to Prayer

Chapter 4 attributed Matt 7:8 to his second source. Although Mark does

293. In favor of preferring the mountain to the tree might be the tradition to which Paul seems to allude in 1 Cor 13:2b: “if I have all faith [ἔχω ... πίστιν] to move mountains [ὄρη] but do not have love, I am nothing.” But see Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Translation*, 806: “Luke ... reflects the original image of the mulberry tree.” So also CEQ.

not contain an extensive parallel to this logion, it does retain a possible echo of it immediately following the statement about faith to move mountains (11:24). Luke's version shows no signs of inverted priority apart from its location. Matthew locates this saying in the Sermon on the Mount, whereas Luke places it in a string of instructions on prayer attributed to the lost Gospel.

10:43–44 (12:33–34; MQ- 6:19–21). Storing Up Treasures in Heaven

Matthew and Luke juxtapose this pericope and the next but in the opposite order; *CEQ* rightly prefers Matthew's order. Mark seems to have known this saying from *Logoi* and redacted it in 10:21, thereby creating doublets in Matt 19:21 and Luke 18:22. See the discussion in Chapter 4.

10:45–50 (12:16–21). The Rich Fool

Only Luke contains the following passage.

He told them a parable. "The field of a certain rich man prospered; he thought to himself, 'What will I do, for I have nowhere to stow my produce?' He said, 'I will do this: I will pull down my barns and will build bigger ones; there I will stow all my grain and goods and tell my soul, "Soul, you have many good things laid up for many years. Relax, eat, drink, and be happy."' But God said to him, 'Fool, this very night they will demand your soul from you; who then will own what you prepared?' So it is with one who lays up treasure for oneself."

Because this passage appears only in Luke, most reconstructions of Q omit it, but several scholars have included it.<sup>294</sup> Matthew relocated his equivalent to Luke 12:22–34 to his Sermon on the Mount (*Logoi* 10:51–60 [12:22–31]) and may have deleted this parable of the rich fool because the narrative would fit awkwardly there. Be that as it may, the reference in Matt 6:35 about concern for what one drinks (τί πίνετε) may echo the statement about drinking in the parable (πίε; Luke 10:19). The next logion in Luke begins with διὰ τοῦτο, "therefore," a fitting transition from the parable of the rich fool. Like the previous logion, the parable picks up the reference to laying up treasure (compare μὴ θησαυρίζετε in Luke 12:33 and ὁ θησαυρίζων in 12:21). It also anticipates the references in the next logion to gathering into barns (cf. συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας in *Logoi* 10:53 [12:24], and συνάξω, ἀποθήκας, and again συνάξω

294. E.g., Schürmann, *Untersuchungen*, 119–20 and 125, Kloppenborg, *Excavating*, 100, and *Earliest Gospel*, 163, and Burkett, *Unity*, 81–82.

in Luke 12:17 and 18). Although it is difficult to prove that Luke 12:16–21 was traditional (criterion B), it clearly nests among other content from *Logoi* and is congruent with this context (criterion C). The reference in Matt 6:25 to drinking might even qualify as a minor agreement with Luke 12:19.

The parable also is congruent with other sections of the *Logoi of Jesus*. The introduction, “the field of a certain rich man [ἀνθρώπου τινός]” is similar to the introduction of the parable of the great supper (8:43 [14:16]; ἀνθρωπός τις]). The parable of the unjust steward likewise resembles this parable.

*Logoi* 8:71 and 73–74 (16:1 and 3–4)  
 “There was a certain rich man [ἀνθρω-  
 πός τις ἦν πλούσιος]. ... The manager  
 said to himself, ‘What will I do, for  
 [εἶπεν δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ... τί ποιήσω, ὅτι]  
 my master removed me from manag-  
 ing his house? ... I know what I will do  
 [ἔγνω τὶ ποιήσω]. ...”

Luke 12:16–18  
 “The field of a certain rich man  
 [ἀνθρώπου τινός πλουσίου] prospered;  
 he thought to himself, ‘What will I do,  
 for [ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων· τί ποιήσω, ὅτι]  
 I have nowhere to stow my produce?’  
 He said, ‘I will do this [καὶ εἶπεν· τοῦτο  
 ποιήσω]: I will pull down my barns and  
 will build bigger ones.”

The reconstruction in the synopsis omits Luke’s opening transitional phrase; otherwise, it reproduces his text, even though one may suspect that he modestly adjusted it to suit his style (see the characteristically Lukan διελογίζετο in the second verse).

10:51–60 (12:22–31). Free from Anxiety like Lilies and Ravens

Luke and Matthew contain nearly identical versions of this logion, thus implying Luke’s use of Matthew. Two verses, however, suggest that Luke preserved readings from a textual stratum earlier than Matthew.

Luke 12:24 and 31  
 “Consider the ravens: They neither sow  
 nor reap nor gather into barns, and yet  
 God feeds them. How much superior  
 are you to the birds? ...  
 But seek his kingdom, and these things  
 will be added to you.”

<Matt 6:26 and 33  
 “Observe the birds of heaven: They nei-  
 ther sow nor reap, and have no store-  
 room or barn, and yet your heavenly  
 Father feeds them. Are you not better  
 than the birds? ... But seek first the  
 kingdom of God and his righteousness,  
 and all these shall be granted to you.”

Luke lacks Matthew’s characteristic “your heavenly Father” and God’s “righteousness.”<sup>295</sup>

295. So CEQ.

10:61–63 (22:28–30; MQ+ 19:28). You will Judge the Twelve Tribes of Israel

Chapter 4 attributed Matt 19:28 to MQ on the basis of inverted priority to Mark 10:37–39, but Luke may have known a version even earlier than Matthew's.

Luke 22:28–30

“You are they who have endured with me in my trials. As my Father assigned me a kingdom, I assign you to eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and you will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.”

<Matt 19:29

And Jesus said to them: “Truly I tell you that you who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory, you, too, will sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.”

Although in some respects Matthew retains more primitive wording (e.g., “Son of Man” to Luke’s “I”), Luke’s reference to “the kingdom” of God surely has a stronger claim on being traditional than Matthew’s “the regeneration” (criterion A).

Furthermore, it is Luke who provides the best evidence that the promise of thrones appeared after the logion about the lilies and the ravens, to which he added a saying about rewards in the kingdom of God: “Do not fear, little flock, for your Father [ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν] is delighted to give you the kingdom [δοῦναι ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν]” (12:32). The “little flock” refers to the Twelve (see 12:22). Luke’s version of the promise of thrones similarly says: “As my Father [ὁ πατήρ μου] assigned me a kingdom [βασιλείαν], I assign you [ὑμῖν] to eat and drink at my table in my kingdom [ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου]” (22:29–30a). Luke thus seems to have paraphrased the promise in the same passage that he later would embed in Jesus’ Last Supper with the Twelve. Luke’s order thus is both independent of Matthew and witnesses to a more original location for the logion (criterion A).

CEQ offers the following reconstruction: ὑμεῖς .. οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι .. καθήσασθε ἐπὶ θρόν[ους] κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. This reconstruction is problematic.<sup>296</sup> Both Gospels make reference to a setting for Jesus’ glorification: Matthew speaks of παλιγγενεσία, which one might translate woodenly as “regeneration”; Luke speaks of a βασιλεία, “kingdom,” which is a dominating theme in *Logoi*. As we have seen, Luke 12:32 also is a potential witness to this passage in his source, and it speaks of the “Father” giving the

296. Joseph Verheyden provides a superb discussion of the reconstruction of this pericope in “Documenta Q: The Reconstruction of Q 22:28–30,” *ETL* 76 (2000): 404–32. See especially the list of competing reconstructions on 430–32.

kingdom to the little flock. Furthermore, the inspiration for the passage in *Logoi* almost certainly was Dan 7:9–10, which, like Matthew, speaks of Jesus sitting on a glorious throne (see the discussion of antetexts).

The position of this logion near the end of *Logoi* is virtually certain. Not only is it the last primary redaction of the source in both Matthew and Luke, it is a fitting conclusion to Jesus' teachings in the lost document as a whole.

Although Mark does not contain a primary redaction of this logion, he may have radically altered it into Jesus' denial of thrones to the sons of Zebedee (a secondary redaction). Compare the following:

*Logoi* 10:60–62 (12:31, 22:28–29)

“But seek his kingdom, and all [πάντα] these shall be granted to you. Truly I tell you [ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν] that you are the ones who followed me [οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι]; my Father will give you the kingdom.”

Mark 10:28–30

“Look, we have left everything [πάντα] and followed you [ἠκολουθήκαμέν σοι]. Jesus said, “Truly I tell you [ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν], There is no one who has left house or brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or lands for my sake and for the sake of the gospel who will not receive one hundred fold now at this time houses and brothers and sisters and children and lands with persecutions and in the age to come eternal life.”

It probably is not by accident that a few verses later one again finds parallels to the ending of the lost source embedded in Jesus' conversation with the Boanerges. “James and John, the sons of Zebedee, approached him and said, “Teacher, we want you to grant us our request.” He said to them, “What do you want me to grant you?” (Mark 10:35–36). Their response echoes *Logoi's* promise of thrones.

*Logoi* 10:62–63 (22:29–30)

“My Father will give you [δώσει ὑμῖν] the kingdom, and when the Son of Man sits [καθίστη] on the throne of his

Mark 10:37

“Grant us [δός ὑμῖν] to sit, one on your right and one on your left, in your glory [καθίσωμεν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ σου].”<sup>297</sup>

297. The following parallels suggest that Mark may have redacted this logion also in his Passion Narrative.

*Logoi* 10:61–63 (22:28–30): “Truly I tell you that [ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι] you are the ones who followed me; my Father will give you the kingdom [τὴν βασιλείαν], and when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory, you too will sit on twelve thrones judging

glory [δόξης αὐτοῦ], you too will sit [καθίσεσθε] on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.”

One also should note tantalizing similarities between the structure of *Logoi* 10 and Mark 6.

- | <i>Logoi</i>   | Mark  |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jesus forbids a mission to Gentiles; the Twelve are to go to the house of Israel, where they may expect rejection (10:4–7 [(M) 10:5, (M) 7:6, (M) 10:6, 23]).</li> <li>• Jesus commissions the Twelve for their mission (10:10–15 [10:5–9]).</li> <li>• Jesus instructs the Twelve about rejection (10:16–18 [10:10–12]).</li> <li>• Jesus pronounces woes on those who reject him and his disciples (10:19–22 [10:13–16]).</li> <li>• Jesus assures the Twelve that God will provide them bread (repeatedly in 10:30–60).</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jesus is rejected by his hometown and relatives and later exorcises the daughter of a Gentile (6:2–6; cf. 7:24–30).</li> <li>• Jesus commissions the Twelve for their mission (6:8–10).</li> <li>• Jesus instructs the Twelve about rejection (6:11–13).</li> <li>• Herod Antipas executes John the Baptist (6:14–29).</li> <li>• Jesus feeds the five thousand on bread and fish, but the Twelve fail to understand (6:30–44).</li> </ul> |

#### TRANSLATION AND ANTETEXTUAL COMMENTARY

It would be fair to say that Deuteronomy as a whole is Moses’ last testament to the twelve tribes of Israel, but 29:1 introduces the last of three major divisions of the book, which ends with Moses’ death. Deut 29–33 thus truly is Moses’ finale, a muddle of materials from various compositional strata which contribute to a common literary goal: to allow Moses to give final instructions to Joshua (Jesus in the LXX) and to the elders of the twelve tribes for taking possession of the Promised Land after his death, a transfer of author-

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the twelve tribes of Israel.” [Luke here speaks of “eating and drinking” in Jesus’ “kingdom” (22:30).]

Mark 14:25: “Truly I tell you that [ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι] I will never again drink any of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it again in the kingdom of God [ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ].”

Whereas the saying in *Logoi* promises of thrones to the Twelve for their faithfulness, Mark follows this logion with the failure of the disciples to follow him in to the cross (14:26–31).

ity. Among the themes are God's provision for the twelve tribes during their forty years in the wilderness, instructions concerning the conquest of the inhabitants of Canaan, and final blessings on each of the tribes. The following excerpts provide the antetextual backdrop for the Mission Speech, which likewise functions as Jesus' final testament to the Twelve.

These are the *logoi* of the covenant that the Lord commanded Moses to establish with the sons of Israel in the land of Moab, besides the covenant that he made with them in Horeb. And Moses summoned all the sons of Israel and said to them, "You saw everything that the Lord did before you in Egypt to Pharaoh, his servants, and his entire land, the great trials that your eyes saw, those great signs and wonders. And the Lord did not give you a heart for knowing, or eyes for seeing, or ears for hearing until today. And he led you for forty years in the wilderness, and your garments did not grow old, your shoes did not wear away from your feet, you did not eat bread or drink wine or fermented drink, so that you might know that this is the Lord your God.<sup>298</sup> And you came as far as this place, and Sihon, king of Hesbon, and Og, king of Bashan, went out to meet us in battle, and we beat them, and we took their land, and I gave it as an inheritance to Ruben, Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh. And you will make sure to do all these *logoi* of this covenant, so that you might understand all things that you will do." (Deut 29:1-9)

Moses later warns that if Israel breaks this covenant, God will send them punishments like those sent against Sodom and Gomorrah (29:22-23) such that "all the Gentiles will say, 'why had the Lord done this to this land? Why this great fury of wrath?' And they will say, 'Because they abandoned the covenant of the Lord, the God of their fathers'" (29:24-25).

Moses ends this speech by again citing military successes over Sihon and Og as models of how to conduct warfare in Canaan.

He said to them, "Today I am one hundred and twenty years old, unable to move about, and the Lord said to me, 'You will not cross this Jordan.' The Lord your God who goes before your face will himself destroy all these Gentiles before you, and you will take them as an inheritance. And Joshua is the one who will go before you, as God said. And the Lord will do to the Gentiles as he obliterated Sihon and Og, the two kings of the Amorites, who were on the other side of the Jordan, in their own land." (31:2-4)

Moses had laid out instructions concerning how to conduct such warfare in chapter 20.

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298. Instead of bread, God had provided them manna, and instead of wine, God gushed water from a rock.



“If you should advance on a city to make war on it, you should call out to them with peace. And if they respond to you in peace and open their gates to you, all that people and everyone found in the city will pay you tribute and be submissive to you. But if they do not submit to you and make war with you, you will camp around it, and the Lord your God will give it into your hands, and you will murder by sword every male—excluding the women, possessions, all the cattle, and everything in the city—and you will take to yourself as spoils all the plunder and will eat all the plunder of your enemies, whom the Lord your God has given you.” (20:10–14)<sup>299</sup>

In Deut 33 Moses blesses the twelve tribes one by one and ends with this promise of military conquest.

Blessed [μακάριος] are you, Israel:  
 what people is like you who is being saved by the Lord?  
 Your Help will protect you with a shield;  
 the sword will be your boast.  
 Your enemies will be false to you;  
 but you will tread upon their necks. (33:29)

God then commands Moses to climb Mount Nebo, where he sees the expanse of the land God “swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob by saying, ‘I will give this to your seed.’ I showed it to your eyes, but you will not enter there.” And Moses, the servant of the Lord, died in Moab” (34:4–5).

My reconstruction places *Logoi’s* Mission Speech at the end of the work, perhaps just before Jesus’ death. Be that as it may, this chapter repeatedly evokes the last six chapters of Deuteronomy.

10:1–7 (8:1, 9:1–2, [M] 10:5, [M] 7:6, [M] 10:6, 23; MQ+ 10:5, 7:6, 10:6 and MQ- 10:23). Do Not Go to the Gentiles

|      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| 10:1 | And Jesus went about all the cities and towns preaching the good news of God’s kingdom.       | 8:1 |
| 10:2 | After summoning the Twelve, he gave them authority over unclean spirits and to heal diseases, | 9:1 |
| 10:3 | and sent them two-by-two saying, ...  | 9:2 |

Compare this with the beginning of *Logoi* 29.

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299. The commentary to *Logoi* 4:45–51 (7:1, 3, 6–10) argued that the story of the centurion’s faith was a transvaluative critique of such Deuteronomic commands.

Deut 29:1–2a (imit. [A])

These are the logoi of the covenant that the Lord commanded Moses to establish with the sons of Israel in the land of Moab. ...

And Moses summoned all the sons of Israel [καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Μωϋσῆς πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραήλ] and said [καὶ εἶπεν] to them, ...

*Logoi* 10:1–3 (8:1, 9:1–2)

And Jesus went about all the cities and towns preaching the good news of God's kingdom.

After summoning the Twelve [καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς δώδεκα], he gave them authority over unclean spirits and to heal diseases, and [καὶ] sent them two-by-two, saying [λέγων], ...

Moses gave instructions to the twelve tribes about the ensuing invasion of Canaan; Jesus, however, prohibited the Twelve from going to non-Jews.

- |      |  |           |
|------|--|-----------|
| 10:4 | “Do not go into Gentile routes,<br>and do not enter a city of the Samaritans.  | (M) 10:5  |
| 10:5 | Do not give what is holy to the dogs,<br>and do not throw your pearls before swine,<br>lest they trample them under their feet,<br>spin around, and tear you to pieces.    | (M) 7:6   |
| 10:6 | Go rather to the lost sheep<br>of the house of Israel.   | (M) 10:6  |
| 10:7 | And whenever they persecute you in this city,<br>flee into another.<br>For I tell you truly,<br>you will not complete the cities of Israel<br>until the Son of Man comes.” | (M) 10:23 |

Informing this logion also may be a passage from Ezekiel; see the discussion at 10:23–25 (10:17–19).

The exclusion of a mission to the Gentiles need not imply that the author of *Logoi* excluded Gentiles altogether. After an assessment of the evidence, Paul D. Meyer concluded that

the Q-community accepted the Gentile mission as a *fait accompli*. They considered it God's activity and so acquiesced to it. But the fact of Gentile faith was used exclusively to address their fellow Jews: God was “filling” his kingdom with Gentiles, and they [Jews] must repent and obey the Son of man [sic.] lest their impenitence become irreversible. ... The Q-community therefore used the Gentile mission to shame Israel into repentance, and understood that mission to be God's response to Israel's past impenitence.<sup>300</sup>

300. “Gentile Mission,” 417.



Matthew may have omitted the phrase “eat what is set before you” (*Logoi* 10:14 [10:8]) because it implies that the disciples need not keep kosher. If the phrase did indeed appear in the lost Gospel, it would be consonant with its presentation of Jesus and the disciples engaging in a practice of open commensality, of suspending the observance of Jewish purity codes pertaining to meals. *Gos. Thom.* 14:4–5 resembles Luke’s version and interprets the command to eat whatever is offered as a challenge to kashrut: “And if you go into any land and wander from place to place, (and) if they accommodate you, (then) eat what they will set before you. Heal the sick among them! For what goes into your mouth will not defile you. Rather, what comes out of your mouth will defile you.”<sup>306</sup>

Many commentators rightly have taken the command in *Logoi* 10:10 (10:4) not to greet anyone on the road as an allusion to 2 Kgs 4:29, where Elijah tells Gehazi, “Gird your loins, take my stick in your hand, and go. If you should find a man, do not greet him, and if a man should greet you, do not respond to him. And you will lay my stick on the face of the child.” Gehazi is not to greet anyone on his way because doing so might delay him.<sup>307</sup> So also in *Logoi*, the disciples are to travel light (cf. Exod 12:11, 34–36)—not even to take a stick—and go on their mission without stopping to greet anyone. For an even more influential antetext, see the discussion of the next logion.

10:16–18 (10:10–12; MQ+ 10:14–15). Response to a Town’s Rejection

|       |  |       |
|-------|--|-------|
| 10:16 | “But into whatever city you enter and they do not take you in,<br>on going out from that city, | 10:10 |
| 10:17 | shake off the dust from your feet.   | 10:11 |
| 10:18 | I tell you:<br>For Sodom it shall be more bearable on that day<br>than for that city.”         | 10:12 |

This logion and the preceding radically transvalue the instructions in Deut 20 concerning rules of engagement with the inhabitants of Canaan.

|                                       |                                 |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Deut 20:10–14 (imit. [B])             | <i>Logoi</i> 10:11–18 (10:5–12) |
| “If you should advance on a city [ἐὰν | “Into whatever house you enter  |

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apostles” after his resurrection: “They went out to preach that the kingdom of God was about to arrive. So they preached in various regions and cities” (*1 Clem.* 42:3–4).

306. These instructions find a striking parallel in Josephus’s account of the Essenes in *B.J.* 2.8.4 (124–126). See Yarbrow Collins, *Mark*, 298–99.

307. See Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 135–47.

δὲ προσέλθῃς πρὸς πόλιν] to make war on it, you should call out to them with peace [εἰρήνης]. And if they respond to you in peace [ἐὰν μὲν εἰρηνικά] and open their gates to you, all that people and everyone found in the city will pay you tribute and be submissive to you. But if they do not [ἐὰν δὲ μή] submit to you and make war with you, you will camp around it, and the Lord your God will give it into your hands, and you will murder by sword every male—excluding the women, possessions, all the cattle, and everything in the city—and you will take to yourself as spoils all the plunder and will eat [φάγη] all the plunder of your enemies, whom the Lord your God has given you.”

[εἰσέλθητε], first say, ‘Peace [εἰρήνην] to this house!’ And if [καὶ ἐὰν μὲν] a son of peace [εἰρήνης] be there, let your peace come upon him;

but if not [εἰ δὲ μή], let your peace return upon you.

And at that house remain, eating [ἔσθιοντες] and drinking whatever they provide, for the worker is worthy of one’s reward. Do not move around from house to house. And whatever city you enter [εἰς ἣν ἂν πόλιν εἰσέρχησθε] and they take you in, eat [ἔσθιετε] what is set before you. And cure the sick there, and say to them, ‘The kingdom of God has reached unto you.’ But into whatever city you enter and they do not take you in, on going out from that city, shake off the dust from your feet. I tell you: For Sodom it shall be more bearable on that day than for that city.”

These parallels are striking: in both a lawgiver instructs his followers how to conduct themselves in their missions after his death. The twelve tribes and the twelve disciples first are to appeal for a peaceful reception, and if the residents respond in peace, all is well. On the other hand, according to Moses, if the residents are hostile, the tribes are to take the town, put the men to the sword, take the women, livestock, and possessions, and eat the spoils. In *Logoi*, however, Jesus tells the disciples: “let your peace return upon you.” Rather than subjugating or destroying, they are to shake the dust from their feet against those who reject them and cure the sick among those who accept them. The act of shaking dust from one’s feet functions as a curse for not having been welcomed with the washing of feet. Notice also that Deuteronomy speaks of Israelites slaying Gentiles, but *Logoi* pronounces judgment

instead on the Jewish towns of Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum. On the day of judgment they will be punished more cruelly than Sodom or the Gentile towns of Tyre and Sidon (10:19–21 [10:13–15]).<sup>308</sup>

Luke contains a story about rejection from a Samaritan village where Jesus exemplifies such a nonretaliatory response. This passage strongly suggests that the Evangelist saw in the lost Gospel and rejected the exclusion of Gentiles and Samaritans as reconstructed in 10:3–7 (9:2, [M] 10:5, [M] 7:6, [M] 10:23).

*Logoi* 10:3–7a and 16–18

(9:2, [M] 10:5, [M] 7:6,  
[M] 10:23a, and 10:10–12)

And he sent them [καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς] two-by-two saying, “Do not go [μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε] on the way to the Gentiles, and do not enter a city of the Samaritans [εἰς πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε].

Do not give what is holy to the dogs, and do not throw your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, spin around, and tear you to pieces. Go [πορεύεσθε] rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And whenever they persecute you in this city, flee into another [εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν].

...

But into whatever city you enter [εἰς ἣν δ’ ἂν πόλιν εἰσέλθῃτε] and they do not take you in [μὴ δέχωνται], on going out [ἐξερχόμενοι] from that city, shake off the dust from your feet. I tell you: For Sodom it shall be more bearable on that day than for that city.”

Luke 9:52–53 and 56

And he sent messengers [καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους] before his face, and as they went [πορεύθέντες] they entered a village of the Samaritans [εἰσήλθον εἰς κώμην Σαμαριτῶν] to make preparations for him.

They did not take him in [οὐκ ἐδέξαντο]. ... [James and John want to punish the village by calling down fire from heaven, but Jesus does not allow it.] They went into another [ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς ἑτέραν] village. [Sodom had been punished with fire and brimstone.]

The striking similarities between the two accounts suggest that Luke here is rejecting *Logoi’s* prohibition of a Samaritan mission. It also is worth noting that this episode appears just a few verses before Luke’s redaction of *Logoi’s*

308. Deut 29:22–25 similarly warns that if Israel disobeys, God will punish the land as he had Sodom and Gomorrah, such that “all the Gentiles” will be amazed at the devastation.

Mission Speech, the sending of the Seventy. In this regard one also might call attention to the parable of the Good Samaritan that appears embedded in Luke's redaction of the Mission Speech (10:29–37); here it is not the Jewish priest or Levite who shows mercy and provides healing; it is a Samaritan.<sup>309</sup>

10:19–21 (10:13–15). Woes against Galilean Towns

|       |   |       |
|-------|---|-------|
| 10:19 | “Woe to you, Chorazin! Woe to you, Bethsaida!<br>For if the wonders performed in you had taken place in Tyre<br>and Sidon,<br>they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. | 10:13 |
| 10:20 | Yet for Tyre and Sidon it shall be more bearable at the judgment<br>than for you.   | 10:14 |
| 10:21 | And you, Capernaum, up to the sky will you be exalted?<br>Into hades will you come down!” <sup>310</sup>  | 10:15 |

In the Jewish Bible, Sodom (mentioned in the previous verse), Tyre, and Sidon were targets of prophetic disdain.<sup>311</sup> The author of *Logoi* apparently created an oracle not against cities outside Israel but against Jewish villages, and his model for doing so almost certainly was Isa 14:12–15.<sup>312</sup>

Isa 14:12–15 (all. [A])

How has the Dawn-bearer fallen from the sky, he who rises early! ... But you said in your mind, “I will ascend into the sky [εις τὸν οὐρανόν]; I will place my throne among the stars of God [some texts read: τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, “of heaven”]; I will sit on a high [ὕψηλῳ] mountain; on high [ὕψηλά] mountains to the north; I will ascend above the clouds; I will be like the Most High.” But now you will descend to Hades’ abode [εις ᾄδου καταβήση], even to the foundations of the earth.

*Logoi* 10:21 (10:15)

“And you, Capernaum, up to heaven will you be exalted [ἔως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήση]?”

Into hades will you come down [ἔως τοῦ ᾄδου καταβήση]!”

309. Luke's model for this story surely was 2 Chr 28.

310. Kloppenborg includes an equivalent to Matt 11:23b–24, which Luke may have omitted because it nearly duplicates his 10:13b–14 (*Earliest Gospel*, 163).

311. See Kloppenborg, *Excavating*, 118–21.

312. Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 114–15.

*Logoi's* readers may have heard in the phrase “in sackcloth and ashes [ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῶ]” an allusion to the Ninevites in Jonah. *Logoi* 6:36–40 (11:16, 29–30–32) makes “the men of Nineveh” examples of faith to shame “this evil generation,” for they “repented at the preaching of Jonah.” Here is the relevant text in Jonah (all. [A]).

And the men of Nineveh trusted in God, proclaimed a fast, and dressed in sackcloth [σάκκους], from the greatest to the least of them. And word of it reached the king of Nineveh, who rose from this throne, threw off this robe, covered himself in sackcloth [σάκκον], and sat in ashes [σποδοῦ]. ... And people and beasts wore sackcloth [σάκκους] and cried out intently to God. Each person turned from his wicked ways. (3:5–6, 8)

Because the Ninevites repented, God decided not to destroy them, much to Jonah's displeasure. *Logoi's* point is similar to that of the author of the book of Jonah: disobedient Jews should learn from repentant Gentiles to avert divine wrath.

10:22 (10:16; MQ- 10:40). Whoever Takes You in Takes Me In

|       |  |       |
|-------|--|-------|
| 10:22 | “Whoever takes you in takes me in,<br>and whoever takes me in takes in the one who sent me.” | 10:16 |
|-------|--|-------|

10:23–25 (10:17–19). The Fall of Satan

|       |  |       |
|-------|--|-------|
| 10:23 | “And the demons will submit to you in my name.   | 10:17 |
| 10:24 | I saw Satan falling from the sky like lightning.   | 10:18 |
| 10:25 | Look, I am giving you authority to tread on serpents and<br>scorpions<br>and on every power of the enemy,<br>and nothing will harm you.” | 10:19 |

Biblical antetexts helped to glue these verses into this section of the lost Gospel. *Logoi* 10:21 (10:15) alludes to Isa 14:12–15, as does this saying.

Isa 14:12 (all. [A])

How has the Dawn-bearer fallen from the sky [ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ], he who rises early! Crushed to the earth is the one who gives orders to all the nations.

*Logoi* 10:24 (10:18)

“I saw Satan falling from the sky [ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα] like lightning.”



Whereas Jesus resisted the devil's temptation to make good on God's protection as promised in Ps 90:11–12 (MT Ps 91:11–12), at the end of the book he offers the authority promised in the next verse of the psalm.

Ps 90:13 (MT 91:13; all. [A])

You will walk on the asp and the basilisk, and you will tread [καταπατήσεις] on the lion and the dragon.

*Logoi* 10:25 (10:19)

“I am giving you authority to tread [καταπατεῖν] on serpents and scorpions [ὄφειων καὶ σκορπίων] and on every power of the enemy.”<sup>313</sup>

Jesus' instructions to the Twelve concerning their future missions end here. Earlier we saw how the author imitated Deut 20:10–14 for the core of these instructions, but the framing logia (10:1–8 and 15–24) imitate the commissioning of Ezekiel to be a prophet, the same antetext that seems to have informed Jesus' baptism and empowerment to proclaim the coming of the kingdom of God.

After Ezekiel's vision at “the river Chobar,” God commissioned him for his mission (2:3–7a and 3:4–9).

And he said to me, “Son of man, I am sending you to the house of Israel, to those who provoke me, ... And you will tell them, ‘Thus says the Lord.’ Perhaps they will listen or tremble, ... and they will know that you are a prophet in their midst. But you, son of man, do not fear them or be amazed at their appearance, for they will become frenzied and will rise up against you on all sides; you dwell in the midst of scorpions. Do not fear their words and do not be amazed at their appearance, because it is a provoking house. And you will speak my words to them, if perhaps they will hear and fear. ...

“Son of man, go and enter the house of Israel and speak my words to them, because you are not sent to a people with an unintelligible speech and a difficult tongue but to the house of Israel, not to many peoples of foreign speech or foreign languages, ... such that you would not be able to hear their words. And if I did send you to such peoples, they would listen to you. But the house of Israel would not want to listen to you, because they do not want to listen to me, because the entire house of Israel is contentious and hardhearted. And behold, I have given you a powerful face over their faces, and I will strengthen your might over their might. ... And do not fear them or tremble from their face, because it is a provoking house.”

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313. It is also worth noting that Deut 8:14–15 reminds wayward Israel that God had rescued them from dangers in the wilderness, “where there is the biting serpent and scorpion [ὄφις δάκνων καὶ σκορπίος].”

I proposed that *Logoi's* setting for the Mission Speech began with Jesus' prohibition of a mission to Gentiles. Compare the following.

Ezek 2:3 and 3:4–6 and 8–9

And he said to me, “Son of man [νιε ἀνθρώπου], I am sending you to the house of Israel [ἐξαποστέλλω ἐγώ σε πρὸς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ]. ... Son of man [νιε ἀνθρώπου], go and enter the house of Israel [εἴσελθε πρὸς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ] and speak my words to them, because you are not sent [οὐ ... ἐξαποστέλλῃ] to a people with an unintelligible speech and a difficult tongue but to the house of Israel [πρὸς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ], not to many peoples of foreign speech or foreign languages. ...

And behold, I have given [δέδωκα] you a powerful face over their faces, and I will strengthen your might over their might. ... And do not fear them or tremble from their face, because it is a provoking house.”

*Logoi* 10:2–4, 6–7

(9:1–2, [M] 10:5–6, 23)

After summoning the Twelve, he gave [ἔδωκεν] them authority over unclean spirits and to heal diseases,<sup>3</sup> and sent them [ἀπέστειλεν αὐτούς] two-by-two saying,

“Do not go into [εἰς ... μὴ εἰσελθῆτε] Gentile routes, and do not enter [εἰς ... μὴ εἰσελθῆτε] a city of the Samaritans. ...

Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel [πρὸς πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ].

And whenever they persecute you in this city, flee into another. For I tell you truly, you will not complete the cities of Israel [τοῦ Ἰσραήλ] until the Son of Man [ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου] comes.”

The constellation of vocabulary and motifs in the two scenes of commissioning surely are not merely conventional; they are mimetic. Leaving to the side the vexed matter of the provenance the Son of Man, in both accounts one finds the sending of a messenger or messengers to “the house of Israel” and a prohibition against going to Gentiles; in both accounts those who are sent must expect opposition; in both accounts the sender promises protection or vindication. Whereas God gave Ezekiel strength against his foes, Jesus gave the Twelve authority to exorcise and heal. Furthermore, *Logoi's* metaphor of Israel as lost sheep has an extended parallel in Ezek 34:15–16, where God says that he will seek out and save the lost sheep of Israel (see also the context in vss. 4–23): “I will feed my sheep [τὰ πρόβατα]... I will seek the lost [τὸ ἀπολωλός].”

The parallels with Ezekiel do not end here. In *Logoi* 10:9 (10:4), Jesus warns his disciples that he is sending them off “like sheep in the midst of

wolves [ἐν μέσῳ λύκων].” God warned Ezekiel that he was living “in the midst of scorpions [ἐν μέσῳ σκορπίων]” (2:6). Among the promises Jesus makes to the Twelve is protection from serpents and scorpions (*Logoi* 10:25 [10:19]).

*Logoi* 10:17b reads: “For Sodom it shall be more bearable on that day than for that city” that rejects the Twelve. One finds a similar comparison in Ezek 16:47–54, where God says that the sins of Israel exceed those of Sodom, and therefore it will suffer greatly. The lost Gospel also compared Israel’s disobedience with the relative receptivity of Tyre and Sidon, and the model again may have been Ezek 3.

Ezek 3:5–7a

“You are not sent ... to many peoples of foreign speech or foreign languages, ... And if [εἰ] I did send you to such peoples, these would listen [ἄν εἰσήκουσαν] to you. But the house of Israel would not want to listen to you, because they do not want to listen to me.”

*Logoi* 10:19 (10:13)

“Woe to you, Chorazin! Woe to you, Bethsaida!  
For if [εἰ] the wonders performed in you had taken place in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented [ἄν ... μετενόησαν] long ago in sackcloth and ashes.”

Finally, God told Ezekiel that if “the house of Israel” rejects his message, they actually are rejecting God’s message (3:7). Similarly, Jesus tells the Twelve that whoever receives them actually is receiving Jesus himself (*Logoi* 10:22 [10:16]).

It therefore would appear that the first three chapters of Ezekiel provided the author of the lost Gospel a model not only for Jesus’ initial empowerment in his baptism, but also for his commissioning of the Twelve at the end of the book to continue his mission after his death, even though the dominating biblical antetext is the last six chapters of Deuteronomy. Here again the author depicts Jesus as a prophet, one who resembled both Moses and Ezekiel. Jesus’ prayer that follows makes it clear that he, as God’s Son, surpasses all previous prophets.

10:26–29 (10:21–24). Jesus’ Prayer<sup>314</sup>

|       |   |       |
|-------|---|-------|
| 10:26 | In that hour Jesus said,<br>“I praise you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth,<br>that you hid these things from the wise and understanding | 10:21 |
|-------|---|-------|

314. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 4 (*P.Oxy.* 654.21–27) and *Logoi* 10:26 (10:21), and *Gos. Thom.* 38 (*P.Oxy.* 655.2.2–11) and *Logoi* 10:28–29 (10:23–24).

- and revealed them to children.  
 Yes, Father, for that is what it has pleased you to do.
- 10:27 Everything has been entrusted to me by my Father, 10:22  
 and no one knows the Son except the Father,  
 and no one knows the Father except the Son,  
 and to whomever the Son chooses to reveal him.
- 10:28 Blessed are the eyes that see what you see 10:23  
 and the ears that hear what you hear.
- 10:29 For I tell you: 10:24  
 Many prophets and kings wanted to see what you see,  
 but never saw it,  
 and to hear what you hear,  
 but never heard it.”

In the book of Daniel, King Nebuchadnezzar called “enchanters, magicians, sorcerers, and Chaldeans” to recall for him a dream and then interpret it. The imperial seers, stumped, said, “There is no person on earth who is able to reveal the king’s concern, for no great king or ruler asks such a thing of a magician or a Chaldean, for the information that the king requests is onerous, and there is no one to announce it before the king but the gods, whose dwelling is not with any flesh” (2:10–11 [Theodotion]). Enraged, the king slew all the wise men (σοφοί) and intended to slay Jewish prophets as well. Daniel stalled for time, and during the night, in a dream, “the mystery was revealed [ἀπεκαλύφθη] to Daniel, and Daniel blessed the God of heaven.” The prayer that follows in Daniel seems to have informed *Logoi*.

Dan 2:20–23 (Theodotion; all. [B])  
 “May the name of God be blessed from everlasting to everlasting, for wisdom and power [ἡ σοφία; instead of “power,” many texts read “understanding (σύνεσις)”] are his. ... He establishes kings [βασιλεῖς] and deposes them, giving wisdom to the wise [σοφίαν τοῖς σοφοῖς] and prudence to those who have understanding [σύνεσιν]. He reveals [ἀποκαλύπτει] what is deep and hidden [ἀπόκρυφα]; he knows [γινώσκων] things in the darkness. ... You [σοί], O God of my fathers, I praise [ἔξομολογοῦμαι] and extol, for [ὅτι] you have given me wisdom [σοφίαν ... δέδωκάς μοι] and power, ... and

*Logoi* 10:26b-29 (10:21b-24)  
 “I praise you [ἔξομολογοῦμαί σοι], Father, Lord of heaven [οὐρανοῦ] and earth,  
 for [ὅτι] you hid these things from the wise and understanding [σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν]  
 and revealed [ἀπεκάλυψας] them to children. Yes, Father, for that is what it has pleased you to do.  
 Everything has been entrusted to me [μοι παρεδόθη] by my Father, and no one knows [γινώσκει] the Son except the Father, and no one knows

revealed to me the vision of the king  
[βασιλέως].”

[γινώσκει] the Father except the Son,  
and to whomever the Son chooses to  
reveal [ἀποκαλύψαι] him. Blessed are  
the eyes that see what you see . . . For  
I tell you: Many prophets and kings  
[βασιλείς] wanted to see what you see,  
but never saw it, and to hear what you  
hear, but never heard it.”

To the king Daniel said, “The mystery about which the king inquires none of the wise men [σοφῶν], magicians, enchanters, or soothsayers can announce to the king. But there is a God in heaven [οὐρανῶ] who reveals [ἀποκαλύπτων] mysteries” (2:27–28). The author of *Logoi* here seems to be subverting Daniel, where God reveals secrets not to the king or imperial sages but to the prophet and other Jewish savants and sages.<sup>315</sup> In *Logoi*, however, it is Jesus who plays the role of Daniel; only he can reveal the Father. God no longer gives revelations to the wise but to children, like the disciples, who see and hear things that in the past God did not permit kings nor prophets to witness.

Scholars also have noted that the final phrases of this logion in *Logoi* again seem to allude to Isa 6:9.

Isa 6:9 (all. [A])

And he said, “Go and say to this  
people, ‘You will hear [ἀκοῆ ἀκούσετε]  
and not comprehend [οὐ μὴ συνῆτε],  
and you will see [βλέποντες βλέψετε]  
and not understand [οὐ μὴ ἴδητε].”

*Logoi* 10:29 (10:24)

“Many prophets and kings wanted to  
see what you see, but never saw it  
[ιδεῖν ἃ βλέπετε καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν], and to  
hear what you hear, but never heard it  
[ἀκούσαι ἃ ἀκούετε καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν].”

Had Mark seen this logion in *Logoi* he would have had reason to omit it; the Evangelist includes the disciples themselves among those who were spiritually deaf and blind (8:17–18)!

Yet another text from the ending of Deuteronomy may be relevant here. Moses reminded the tribes of God’s liberation from Egypt, but they were not given eyes or ears to comprehend it. In *Logoi* Jesus tells the Twelve that their eyes and ears were fortunate.

Deut 29:2–4 (all. [B])

“You saw everything that the Lord did

*Logoi* 10:28 (10:23)

[Jesus had given the Twelve authority

315. Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 232–33.

before you in Egypt to Pharaoh, his servants, and his entire land, the great trial that your eyes [ὄφθαλμοί] saw, those great signs and wonders.

The Lord did not give you a heart for knowing, or eyes for seeing [ὄφθαλμούς βλέπειν], or ears for hearing [ᾠτα ἀκούειν] until today.”

to tread on serpents and scorpions, metaphors for demonic powers (10:23–24 [10:18–19]).]

“Blessed are the eyes that see what you see [οἱ ὄφθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες ἃ βλέπετε] and the ears that hear what you hear [καὶ τὰ ᾠτα ἃ ἀκούοντες ἃ ἀκούετε].”<sup>316</sup>

In Jesus’ prayer he thanks God for revelations to his disciples. Here the author presents him as the sole vector of this revelation, for only he knows “the Father,” not even Moses could make this claim. Thus prophets and kings of the past were unable to see or hear these things (10:26–29 [10:21–24]). Jesus thus again fulfills expectations concerning the promised prophet: “I will place my word in his mouth, and he will speak to them as I command him” (18:18). Deuteronomy ends with the lament that no prophet yet had arisen like Moses, “whom the Lord knew face to face” (34:10).<sup>317</sup>

#### 10:30–32 (11:2–4; MQ+ 6:9–13a). The Disciples’ Prayer

|       |  |      |
|-------|--|------|
| 10:30 | “When you pray, say:<br>Father—may your name be kept holy!—<br>let your kingdom come.                              | 11:2 |
| 10:31 | Our day’s bread give us today;   | 11:3 |
| 10:32 | and forgive our debts for us,<br>as we too have forgiven those in debt to us;<br>and lead us not into temptation!” | 11:4 |

Several interpreters have heard in this most famous of Christian prayers echoes of the Holiness Code and its emphasis on God’s holiness and prohibition of interest in loans.<sup>318</sup> Here those who utter this prayer have cancelled their debts altogether.

316. Compare also the statement about God’s secrets and revelations in Deut 29:29 with *Logoi* 10:26–27 (10:21–22).

317. One also should note that the contrast of the disciples, called “children,” with “the wise and understanding [σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν]” distinguishes them from those whom Moses had selected as judges of the twelve tribes of Israel: “the wise, knowledgeable, and understanding [σοφούς ... καὶ συνετούς]” (Deut 1:15–16).

318. On God’s holiness, see Lev 19:2 and 20:7 and 26. On lending, see Lev 25:37: “You will not give your money to anyone with interest or give him food in expectation of more.”

## 10:33–36 (11:5–8). The Generous Friend

|       |  |  |
|-------|--|--|
| 10:33 | “Who of you who has a friend<br>would go to him at midnight and say to him,<br>‘Friend, help me [by giving me] three loaves of bread,<br>10:34 because my friend arrived at my house from a journey,<br>and I have nothing to offer him’;<br>10:35 would that friend inside say in response,<br>‘Stop bothering me;<br>the door already has been locked,<br>and my children are with me in bed;<br>I cannot get up and give you anything’?<br>10:36 I tell you,<br>he will get up and give him whatever he needs.” | 11:5<br><br><br>11:6<br><br>11:7<br><br>11:8 |
|-------|--|--|

10:37 (17:6; MQ- 17:20). Faith like a Mustard Seed<sup>319</sup>

|       |  |      |
|-------|--|------|
| 10:37 | “If you have faith like a mustard seed,<br>you might say to this mulberry tree,<br>‘Be uprooted and placed in the sea!’<br>And it would obey you.” | 17:6 |
|-------|--|------|

10:38–42 (11:9–13; MQ- 7:8). The Certainty of the Answer to Prayer<sup>320</sup>

|       |   |       |
|-------|---|-------|
| 10:38 | “I tell you:<br>Ask and it will be given to you,<br>search and you will find,<br>knock and it will be opened to you.  | 11:9  |
| 10:39 | For everyone who asks receives,<br>and the one who searches finds,<br>and to the one who knocks will it be opened. ..   | 11:10 |
| 10:40 | What person of you, whose son asks for bread,<br>will give him a stone?   | 11:11 |
| 10:41 | Or again, when he asks for a fish,<br>will give him a snake?  | 11:12 |
| 10:42 | So if you, though evil, know how to give good gifts<br>to your children,<br>by how much more will the Father from heaven give good things<br>to those who ask him!” | 11:13 |

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319. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 48.

320. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 2, 92, and 94 and *Logoi* 10:38 (11:9).

10:43–44 (12:33–34; MQ- 6:19–21). Storing Up Treasures in Heaven<sup>321</sup>

- 10:43 “Do not treasure for yourselves treasures on earth, 12:33  
 where moth and gnawing deface  
 and where robbers dig through and rob,  
 but treasure for yourselves treasures in heaven,  
 where neither moth nor gnawing defaces  
 and where robbers do not dig through nor rob.
- 10:44 For where your treasure is, 12:34  
 there will also be your heart.”

This passage apparently alludes to Isa 51:8.

Isa 51:8 (all. [A])

For a garment is eaten [βρωθήσεται] by  
 time, and wool is eaten [βρωθήσεται]  
 by a moth [σητός], but my justice is  
 forever, and my salvation is from gen-  
 eration to generation.

*Logoi* 10:43 (12:33)

“Do not treasure for yourselves trea-  
 sures on earth, where moth [σής] and  
 gnawing [βρώσις] deface and where  
 robbers dig through and rob, but trea-  
 sure for yourselves treasures in heaven,  
 where neither moth [σής] nor gnawing  
 [βρώσις] defaces and where robbers do  
 not dig through nor rob.”

10:45–50 (12:16–21). The Rich Fool<sup>322</sup>

- 10:45 “The field of a certain rich man prospered; 12:16  
 10:46 he thought to himself, 12:17  
 ‘What will I do,  
 for I have nowhere to stow my produce?’  
 10:47 He said, ‘I will do this: 12:18  
 I will pull down my barns and will build bigger ones;  
 there I will stow all my grain and goods  
 10:48 and tell my soul, 12:19  
 “Soul, you have many good things laid up for many years.  
 Relax, eat, drink, and be happy.”  
 10:49 But God said to him, 12:20  
 ‘Fool, this very night they will demand your soul from you;  
 who then will own what you prepared?’  
 10:50 So it is with one who lays up treasure for oneself 12:21  
 and is not rich toward God.”

321. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 76:2b-3 and *Logoi* 10:43 (12:33).

322. Compare *Gos. Thom.* 63.



Similar warnings against trusting in wealth appear in *1 En.* 97:8–10, *Sir* 11:19, and often in Greek literature.<sup>323</sup> If the author of *Logoi* had any single model in mind, it may have been Ps 48 (MT 49).

Ps 48:17–19a

(MT 49:17–19a; imit. [A])

Do not fear when a man becomes rich [πλουτήση ἄνθρωπος], and the glory of his house expands.

For when he dies, he will take nothing with him, his glory will not descend with him. Although his soul [ψυχή] will be blessed during his lifetime.

One might also view this story as a corrective to the hedonism of *Eccl* 8:15.

*Eccl* 8:15 (all. [B])

I praised happiness [εὐφροσύνην], for there is nothing better [ἀγαθόν] for a person under the sun but to eat [φαγεῖν], drink [πιεῖν], and be happy [εὐφρανθῆναι], and this will accompany him in his labors during the days of his life, as many as God [ὁ θεός] gave him under the sun.

It also is worth noting that the criticism of wealth here contrasts with the blessings promised for obedience to God in Deuteronomy (e.g., 28:4–5 and 11–12).

*Logoi* 10:45–49 (12:16–20)

“The field of a certain rich man [ἀνθρώπου τινὸς πλουσίου] prospered; he thought to himself, ‘What will I do, for I have nowhere to stow my produce?’

He said, ‘I will do this: I will pull down my barns and will build bigger ones; there I will stow all my grain and goods and tell my soul [ψυχῆ], “Soul [ψυχή], you have many good things laid up for many years. Relax, eat, drink, and be happy.”’

God said to him, ‘Fool, this very night they will demand your soul [ψυχὴν] from you; who then will own what you prepared?’”

*Logoi* 10:48–49 (12:19–20)

“‘And I will tell my soul, “Soul, you have many good things [ἀγαθά] laid up for many years. Relax, eat [φαγε], drink [πίε], and be happy [εὐφραίνου].”’ God [ὁ θεός] said to him, ‘Fool, this very night they will demand your soul from you.’”

323. See also *Tob* 7:10 and Euripides, *Acl.* 787–789.

10:51–60 (12:22–31). Free from Anxiety Like Lilies and Ravens

|       |  |       |
|-------|--|-------|
| 10:51 | “Therefore I tell you:<br>Do not be anxious about your life, what you are to eat,<br>nor about your body, with what you are to clothe yourself.                    | 12:22 |
| 10:52 | Is not life more than food,<br>and the body than clothing?   | 12:23 |
| 10:53 | Consider the ravens:<br>They neither sow nor reap nor gather into barns,<br>and yet God feeds them.<br>Are you not better than the birds?                          | 12:24 |
| 10:54 | And who of you by being anxious<br>is able to add to one’s stature a . . . cubit?  | 12:25 |
| 10:55 | And why are you anxious about clothing?  | 12:26 |
| 10:56 | Observe the lilies, how they grow:<br>They do not work nor do they spin.<br>Yet I tell you:<br>Not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed like one of these.    | 12:27 |
| 10:57 | But if in the field the grass,<br>there today and tomorrow thrown into the oven,<br>God clothes thus,<br>will he not much more clothe you, persons of petty faith! | 12:28 |
| 10:58 | So do not be anxious saying,<br>What are we to eat?<br>Or, What are we to drink?<br>Or, What are we to wear?   | 12:29 |
| 10:59 | For all these the Gentiles seek;<br>for your Father knows that you need them all.  | 12:30 |
| 10:60 | But seek his kingdom,<br>and all these shall be granted to you.”   | 12:31 |

Many interpreters have heard in this pericope an echo of Ps 146:9 (MT 147:9), where the psalmist says that God provides food to animals, including the nestlings of ravens.<sup>324</sup> Others have seen here a dramatic reversal of Prov 6:6–11, where the text admonishes the lazy to imitate hardworking animals. Allison suggests the following contrasts.<sup>325</sup>

324. Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 164–65.

325. Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 172–73.

Prov 6:6–11 (all. [A])

- “Go to the ant ... and see.” It prepares its food (τροφή).
- “Go to the bee and learn” how hard it works. Even kings enjoy the result of its labor.
- Moral: “If you are diligent, your harvest will gush like a spring, and poverty will scurry off like a wicked runner.”

*Logoi* 10:51–60 (12:22–31)

- “Look at the ravens.” “God feeds [τρέφει] them.”
- “Consider the lilies, ... they do not work nor spin.” Solomon was not arrayed so splendidly.
- Moral: “But seek God’s kingdom, and all these shall be granted to you.”

In the *Logoi of Jesus*, because the Twelve are not permitted to take a knapsack or an extra pair of sandals and must eat and drink only what their hosts provide, they, like Israel in the wilderness, might become preoccupied with survival. It is in this light that one should read the last several logia of *Logoi* 10, which, like Moses’ speech to Israel before this death, assure the disciples of divine solicitude if they remain faithful. For example, they are to pray: “Our days’ bread [ἄρτον] give us today; ... and lead us not into temptation [πειρασμόν]” (10:31–32 [11:3–4]).<sup>326</sup> God will be to them like a generous man who, when asked, offered his friend “three loaves of bread [ἄρτους]” (10:33 [11:5]). He will do this for them even if their faith is as tiny as a mustard seed; they need only ask, search, and knock. “What person of you, whose son asks for bread [ἄρτον], will give him a stone? Or again, when he asks for a fish, will give him a snake [ὄφιν]?” (10:40–41 [11:11–12]). In their mission the Twelve will create wealth not on earth but in heaven; so Jesus commands them, “Do not be anxious about your life, what you are to eat, nor about your body, with what you are to clothe yourself. Is not life more than food, and the body than clothing?” (10:51–52 [12:22–23]). If God cares for the ravens and the lilies, surely God will also care for the Twelve. “So do not be anxious, saying, What are we to eat? Or, What are we to drink? Or, What are we to wear? For all these the Gentiles seek; for your Father knows that you need them all. But seek his kingdom, and all these shall be granted to you” (10:58–60 [12:29–31]).<sup>327</sup> Jesus’ final instructions to them thus echo his first: “Blessed are you poor, for the kingdom of God is for you. Blessed are you who hunger, for you will eat your fill” (4:1b-2a [6:20b-21a]).<sup>328</sup> Indeed, in the last recoverable logion, Jesus promises the Twelve that they will rule with him in God’s kingdom.

326. So Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 51–53.

327. Note that at the beginning of *Logoi* John the Baptist is in the wilderness wearing only camel hair and eating locusts and wild honey.

328. Excursus 1 proposed that Mark created the story of the feeding of the five thou-

10:61–63 (22:28–30; MQ+ 19:28). You Will Judge the Twelve Tribes of Israel<sup>329</sup>

|       |  |       |
|-------|--|-------|
| 10:61 | “Truly I tell you that you are the ones who followed me;   | 22:28 |
| 10:62 | my Father will give you the kingdom,<br>and when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory, | 22:29 |
| 10:63 | you too will sit on twelve thrones judging<br>the twelve tribes of Israel.”                      | 22:30 |

Near the end of the book of Daniel one finds a prophecy of the victory of “one like the Ancient of Days” over a diabolical monster and the handing over of a kingdom to “a son of man.” This passage played an enormous role in early Christian interpretations of Jesus.<sup>330</sup> At several places *Logoi* alludes to this text, and it probably is not accidental that the last pericope attributable to the lost Gospel echoes this passage in the last chapters of Daniel.

Two Greek recensions of the book of Daniel, the LXX and Theodotion, contain the following items. The prophet saw “thrones established [θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν], and an Ancient of Days took his seat [ἐκάθητο].” Countless thrones attended to him. Then God “set up a tribunal [κριτήριον] and books were opened. . . . I was watching during a night vision, and behold someone like a son of man [υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου] was coming with the clouds of the sky.” God gave him authority over all peoples and an eternal kingdom (βασιλεία; 7:9–10 and 12–14). According to Dan 7:22 and 27, God will give judgment to “the holy ones of the Most High”; their kingdom (βασιλεία) will be over all peoples forever.

According to *Logoi*, Jesus was the Son of Man during his lifetime, but he did not have anywhere to lay his head (3:2–3 [9:57–58]). He had not come to bring peace but a sword (10:26 [12:51]), and his followers would share in his poverty and persecution (4:1–4 [6:20–23]). Someday, however, he would return as the Son of Man at an unexpected hour (10:18–19 [12:39–40]), with cosmic signs and punishment for those who will be “eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage” (9:4–8 [17:26–30]). Then there will be a judgment. Those who were persecuted for the sake of the Son of Man will have a great reward in the kingdom (βασιλεία) of God.

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sand as an illustration of divine provision of bread which the Twelve failed to understand.

329. Cf. Rev 4:2–4.

330. See, for example, Christopher M. Tuckett, “The Son of Man and Daniel 7: Q and Jesus,” in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), 371–94.

- 8:8 “Anyone who may speak out for me in public, 12:8  
the Son of Man will also speak out for him before the angels of  
God.
- 8:9 But whoever may deny me in public, 12:9  
the Son of Man also will deny him before the angels of God.
- 8:10 And whoever says a word against the Son of Man, 12:10  
it will be forgiven him;  
but whoever speaks against the holy Spirit,  
it will not be forgiven him.”

The Twelve will be rewarded with thrones at the tribunal. “[M]y Father will give you the kingdom [δώσει ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν], and when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory, you too will sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel” (10:62–63 [22:29–30]). Even in this final logion, however, one may hear echoes of the ending of Deuteronomy, where Moses blesses the twelve tribes before his death and before they enter the Promised Land: “This is the land that I swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob by saying, ‘I will give this to your seed [τῷ σπέρματι ὑμῶν δώσω αὐτήν]’” (34:4)

The author of *Logoi* thus transvalued Deuteronomy to replace the teachings of Moses with those of Jesus, the prophet like Moses and superior to him. One must not confuse this literary strategy with Christian triumphalism over Judaism, supercessionism. The author of the lost Gospel made frequent use of the biblical wisdom and prophetic traditions to challenge Moses’ teachings; that is, *Logoi*’s transvaluative strategy was to place Jesus in the traditions of Jewish sages and prophets, who had their own issues with Moses and Deuteronomic theology. The *Logoi of Jesus* witnesses to a Jewish sect that regarded him as the prophet sans pareil; strictly speaking, the lost Gospel is not a Christian text.

#### EXCURSUS 2: THE ENDING OF MATTHEW AS A WITNESS TO THE ENDING OF LOGOI

If the proposed reconstruction of the lost Gospel is correct, one may more fully appreciate Matthew’s literary accomplishment in chapter 28. From Mark he inherited the story of the empty tomb and the command of the young man to the women to notify the eleven disciples that Jesus was on his way to Galilee, where he would meet them (Mark 16:2–8; cf. Matt 28:2–8). Mark’s fearful women never told, so the disciples never saw their Lord in Galilee. Matthew, however, presents Jesus himself appearing to the women with the same message, which they reported to the eleven (28:9–12). The disciples go to Galilee and see the risen Jesus, who then gives them their marching orders (28:16–20).

Virtually nothing in Jesus' final instructions in Matthew resembles Mark, but several elements seem to develop what the Evangelist saw at the end of *Logoi*. As we have seen, the final scene in Matthew radically transformed *Logoi* 10:2–7 (9:1–2, [M] 10:5, [M] 7:6, [M] 10:6), where Jesus sent the Twelve to “the lost sheep of the house of Israel,” and excluded Gentiles. At the end of the Gospel, however, he explicitly sends his disciples “to make disciples of all the Gentiles,” to baptize them, and to teach “them to observe everything that I have commanded you. Look, I am with you every day until the completion of the age” (28:19–20).

This transformation, impressive as it is, is only half of Matthew's antetextual playfulness. Several scholars have suspected, in my view rightly, that the Evangelist modeled the scene after Moses' farewell to Israel at the end of Deuteronomy.<sup>331</sup> Most compelling is the recent article by Kenton L. Sparks, who emphasizes Jesus' statement “I am with you every day until the completion of the age” (Matt 28:20).<sup>332</sup> Three times in Deut 31 one finds this divine promise: “I will be with them,” i.e., God will accompany the twelve tribes as they enter Canaan to conquer it (31:6, 8, and 23). This theme reappears early in the Book of Joshua: “No man shall be able to stand before you all the days of your life; as I was with Moses, so I will be with you; I will not fail you or forsake you” (Josh 1:5, 9, 17, and 3:7). Sparks: “As these divine promises echoed in Joshua's ears, behind him stood the mountain on which Israel's disqualified leader, Moses—the man of God—died. Where Moses failed, Joshua would succeed. He would lead his people in their quest to supplant and kill the hapless Canaanites.”<sup>333</sup> Sparks also suggests that “the mountain” in Galilee where Jesus met his disciples evokes the setting of Deut 34 where Moses ascended Mount Nebo to die; Jesus' command that the disciples teach the Gentiles “to observe everything that I have commanded you” reflects similar instructions in Deut 31:5 and 29.<sup>334</sup> What Sparks concludes about Matthew's Christology might be said *mutatis mutandis* of *Logoi*.

Matthew's biographical agenda was not only to present Jesus as a new Moses but also to present Jesus as Moses' superior, as the giver of a new law that fulfilled the old one. When we understand the mountain in Matthew 28 as parallel to the mountain on which Moses died, the full force of Matthew's concluding remarks hits home. Where the disqualified Moses died on the

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331. For example, Allison, *New Moses*, 262–66.

332. “Gospel as Conquest: Mosaic Typology in Matt 28:16–20,” *CBQ* 68 (2006): 651–63.

333. “Conquest,” 658. See also Allison, *New Moses*, 262–66.

334. “Conquest,” 660.

mountain before the conquest, Jesus the resurrected Messiah promised his disciples: “I am with you” (ἐγὼ μεθ’ ὑμῶν εἰμι). With these words, Jesus uttered anew the divine promise made to Joshua and Israel as they entered the land after Moses died. Moreover, whereas Moses commanded his people to kill “all the nations” (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη; see LXX Deut 11:23; Josh 23:4; 24:18), Jesus charged his followers to make disciples of “all the nations” (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη). In sum, the lives of both Moses and Jesus end with mountaintop preparations for a quest among the nations, and with the promise “I will be with you.” The juxtaposition of these themes is not accidental.<sup>335</sup>

The final logia in the *Logoi of Jesus* do not contain the four elements in Matt 28:16–20 that most resemble the last chapters of Deuteronomy: the mountain, the command to teach what had been commanded, the sending to the Gentiles, or the promise of continued divine presence. In fact, the lost Gospel prohibited a mission to Gentiles. On the other hand, Jesus’ command in the lost Gospel to proclaim that “the kingdom of God has reached unto you” (10:15 [10:9]) surely implies continuity with Jesus’ teachings, and earlier he had promised divine protection until his return: “nothing will harm you” (10:25 [10:19]).

One therefore might reasonably propose that Matthew recognized in his non-Markan source echoes of the ending of Deuteronomy which inspired him to create the Great Commission. In other words, Matthew borrowed from Mark for his narration of the empty tomb, with alterations that allowed Jesus to meet with the eleven in Galilee, but he also borrowed from the *Logoi of Jesus* for creating Jesus’ speech to the eleven once they arrived there. Unlike the lost Gospel, Matthew’s Jesus orders the disciples to go to all the Gentiles, but like the lost Gospel, the Evangelist portrayed Jesus like Moses at the end of Deuteronomy.

### EXCURSUS 3: HOW THE *LOGOI OF JESUS* ENDED

It is highly unlikely that Matthew and Luke redacted a source in addition to Mark for narrating Jesus’ death or postmortem appearances. Furthermore, Mark’s account is so integrated and typical of his style that there is insufficient reason to require the Evangelist’s reliance on a source. Most scholars thus conclude that Q ended without a reference to Jesus’ death. On the other hand, the *Logoi of Jesus* did foreshadow what would happen in the future. Even if these predictive passages do not permit a reconstruction of the end

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335. “Conquest,” 660–61.

of a coherent passion narrative, they do suggest what the author anticipated concerning Jesus' fate.

The author knew that Jesus was crucified: "The one who does not take one's cross and follow after me cannot be my disciple. The one who finds one's life will lose it, and the one who loses one's life for my sake will find it" (8:51–52 [14:27, 17:33]). Because crucifixion was distinctively Roman, the author apparently knew of Jesus' execution by Rome.

On the other hand, Jesus' primary enemies were other Jews, who also were a lethal threat to the disciples. In *Logoi* 8:4–5 (12:4–5) he warns his followers of future perils: "And do not be afraid of those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. But fear .. the one who is able to destroy both the soul and body in Gehenna." In the next logion he predicts that his followers will be forced to witness publicly in Jewish legal settings.

- |      |  |       |
|------|--|-------|
| 8:8  | "Anyone who may speak out for me in public,<br>the Son of Man will also speak out for him<br>before the angels of God.                                     | 12:8  |
| 8:9  | But whoever may deny me in public,<br>the Son of Man also will deny him<br>before the angels of God.   | 12:9  |
| 8:10 | And whoever says a word against the Son of Man,<br>it will be forgiven him;<br>but whoever speaks against the holy Spirit,<br>it will not be forgiven him. | 12:10 |
| 8:11 | When they bring you before synagogues,<br>do not be anxious about how or what you are to say."   | 12:11 |

If the disciples were vulnerable to such legal proceedings, Jesus surely was too. *Logoi's* reader may assume that he would be fearless in such a situation but may wonder if the disciples would confess or deny him. The lost Gospel thus seems to have held both Jews and Romans responsible for Jesus' death, which is precisely what one finds, of course, in the Synoptics.

Daniel A. Smith proposes that the following verses provide the key to Jesus' "post-mortem vindication" in Q.

- |      |   |       |
|------|---|-------|
| 7:20 | "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, who kills the prophets<br>and stones those sent to her!<br>How often I wanted to gather your children together,<br>as a hen gathers her nestlings under her wings, <sup>336</sup><br>and you were not willing! | 13:34 |
| 7:21 | Look, your house is forsaken!<br>.. I tell you: You will not see me until the time comes when<br>you say, 'Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!'"  | 13:35 |



Smith argues convincingly that in Q one finds the pattern of death-disappearance-return which appears in a wide variety of ancient texts.<sup>336</sup> Among Jerusalem's victims was Jesus himself, an emissary of Wisdom. Because of the city's hostility, God had abandoned the temple. According to Smith, the phrase "you will not see me" implies Jesus' assumption "until the time comes when" Jesus returns as the Son of Man "in the name of the Lord." In my reconstruction, at his return he would destroy the temple and build another.

If the *Logoi of Jesus* were indeed a transvaluative imitation of Deuteronomy, one may suspect that it ended with a reference to Jesus' death and divine vindication, for at the end of Deuteronomy one reads of the death of Moses. He ascended Mount Nebo in Moab, and God showed him the full extent of the Promised Land, much as the devil showed Jesus "all the kingdoms of the world."

And the Lord said to Moses, "This is the land that I swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob by saying, 'I will give this to your seed.' I showed it to your eyes, but you will not enter there." And Moses, the servant of the Lord, died in Moab according to the word of the Lord. And they buried him in Gai, in the land of Moab, near the house of Phogor [i.e., Beth-peor]. And no one knew his tomb until this very day. (Deut 34:4–6)

The mysterious circumstances surrounding Moses' death and the disappearance of his tomb led to speculations of his assumption into heaven, like the assumptions of Enoch and Elijah. The earliest references to such traditions appear in Philo, who interpreted Deut 34:6 to imply that God "translated" Moses (*Sacr.* 38 and QG 1.86 [to Gen 5:24]).

According to Josephus, Moses brought "Eleazer the chief priest and Joshua the general" with him to the mountain. "And while he was saying his farewells and was still talking with them, all of a sudden a cloud stood over him, and he vanished [ἀφανίζεται] down some ravine. But in the sacred books he wrote of himself as having died, out of fear that because of his superlative virtue people would dare to say that he had withdrawn to the deity" (*A.J.* 4.326 [48]). "Josephus either interpreted the biblical Moses tradition himself in view of his Hellenistic readership, as he did with Enoch and Elijah, or ... he was acquainted with a particular tradition of Moses' bodily assumption. In both cases, the existence of a tradition of Moses' bodily resurrection goes back to the end of the first century A.D."<sup>337</sup> Similarly, the author of the Epistle

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336. *The Post-mortem Vindication of Jesus in the Sayings Gospel Q* (LNTS 338; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 49–93.

337. Arie W. Zwiep, *The Ascension of the Messiah in Lukan Christology* (NovTSup 87;

of Jude refers to a traditional contest over Moses' body between Michael and the devil (9).

Smith does not directly relate Q 13:35 (= *Logoi* 7:21) to the assumption of Moses in Deuteronomy, but the following parallels suggest a connection.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Deut 34:6b   | <i>Logoi</i> 7:21 (13:35)   |
| And no one knew his tomb [οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ] until [ἔως] this very day. | “You will not see me [οὐ μὴ ἴδητε με] until [ἔως] the time comes when you say, ‘Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!’” |

I think it reasonable to speculate that *Logoi* ended with a reference to Jesus' death and perhaps even the disappearance of his body. It fell to the Synoptic Evangelists to provide narratives to the crucifixion and resurrection.<sup>338</sup>

«If the *Logoi of Jesus* imitates the Book of Deuteronomy, one might suspect that it continued with a note concerning Jesus' crucifixion (cf. 8:51 [14:27]). Just as no one knew the location of Moses' tomb—later tradition interpreted the ending of Deuteronomy to imply the disappearance of his body—one may reasonably speculate that *Logoi* mentioned the disappearance of Jesus' corpse (cf. 7:21 [13:35]: “You will not see me until the time comes when you say, ‘Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!’”).»

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Leiden: Brill, 1997), 69. Zwiep further suggests that the tradition informed Mark's depiction of Moses at Jesus' transfiguration together with Elijah (70). See also Klaus Haacker and Peter Schäfer, “Nachbiblische Traditionen vom Tod des Moses,” in *Josephus-Studien: Untersuchungen zu Josephus, dem antiken Judentum, und dem Neuen Testament* (FS O. Michel; Otto Betz, Klaus Haacker, and Martin Hengel, eds.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 147–74 (esp. 160–64 and 170–74).

338. It may be worth noting that Jesus vanishes in Luke 24:31b: “And he himself disappeared [ἄφαντος ἐγένετο] from them” (cf. 24:51 and Acts 1:9–11).



GREEK SYNOPSIS OF THE *LOGOI OF JESUS*  
AND THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

## LOGOI 1

|  |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 3:1-6)</p> <p>[cf. 5:8 (7:27)]</p> <p>[cf. 1:3]</p>                                       | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>1:2 Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἑραῖῳ· τῷ προφήτῃ ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου· 3 φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>[cf. 11:10]</p> <p>[cf. 3:3]</p> <p>3:1 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις</p>    | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>[cf. 7:27]</p> <p>[cf. 3:4]</p> <p>3:1 Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαδέκῃ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τετραρχούντος τῆς Ἰαλλυαίας Ἡρώδου, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τετραρχούντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνιτιδος χώρας, καὶ Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιλινηῆς τετραρχούντος, 2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα,</p> |
| <p>Οἱ Λόγοι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ</p> <p>1:1 Ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ 2 καὶ κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας,</p> | <p>[cf. Mark 1:1: Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ]</p> <p>4 ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας</p>  | <p>παράγινεται Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστῆς κηρύσσων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, 2 [καὶ] λέγων· μετανοεῖτε</p> | <p>ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, 3 καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς πέραν τῆς περὶ Ἰορδάνου κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας</p>   |

|  |  |  |
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| <p>εις ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.</p> <p>[cf. 1:2-3]</p> | <p>ἠγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.</p> <p>3 οὗτος γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ ρηθεὶς διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιήτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.</p> | <p>εις ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,</p> <p>4 ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βιβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου· φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιήτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ. 5 πᾶσα φάραξ πληρωθήσεται καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ἔσται τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθεῖαν καὶ αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας· 6 καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.</p> <p>[cf. 3:3]</p> |
| <p>εις ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.</p>                    | <p>ἠγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.</p> <p>3 οὗτος γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ ρηθεὶς διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιήτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.</p> | <p>4 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης εἶχεν τὸ ἔγδομα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τραχέων, καμῆλου καὶ ζώηνν δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν αὐτοῦ· ἡ δὲ τροφή ἦν αὐτοῦ ἀκρίδες καὶ μέλι ἄγριον.</p> <p>5 Τότε ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περιχώρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, 6 καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ ποταμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔξιμολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.</p>                      |
| <p>εις ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.</p>                    | <p>3 ὡς γέγραπται διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου· φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιήτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.</p>   | <p>4 καὶ ἦν Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμῆλου καὶ ζώηνν δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσθλων ἀκριδῶν καὶ μέλι ἄγριον.</p> <p>5 καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ περιχώρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ ποταμῷ ἔξιμολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.</p>   |
| <p>εις ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.</p>                    | <p>3 ὡς γέγραπται διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου· φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιήτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.</p>   | <p>4 καὶ ἦν Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καὶ οἱ καμῆλου καὶ ζώηνν δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσθλων ἀκριδῶν καὶ μέλι ἄγριον.</p> <p>5 καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ περιχώρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ ποταμῷ ἔξιμολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.</p>  |

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| <p>καὶ ζώνων δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐσθλῶν ἀκριδῶν καὶ μέλι ἀγρίων.</p>   |  | <p>καὶ ζώνων δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐσθλῶν ἀκριδῶν καὶ μέλι ἀγρίων.</p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>1:6 Εἶπεν τοῖς ἐρχομένοις ὄχλοις βαπτισθῆναι· γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φρυγῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς; 8 ποιῆσατε οὖν καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας καὶ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἄβραάμ. Λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι δυνατὰ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγένετο τέκνα τῷ Ἄβραάμ. 8 ἦδη δὲ ἡ ἀξίτη πρὸς τὴν ρίζαν τῶν δένδρων κείται· πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιῶν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.</p> <p>«The religious authorities rejected John, but some people responded favorably to him, including tax collectors, and were baptized.»</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>3:7 Ἴδὼν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδουκαίων ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φρυγῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς; 8 ποιῆσατε οὖν καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας 9 καὶ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἄβραάμ. Λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι δυνατὰ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγένετο τέκνα τῷ Ἄβραάμ. 10 ἦδη δὲ ἡ ἀξίτη πρὸς τὴν ρίζαν τῶν δένδρων κείται· πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιῶν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται. [see 21:31b-32]</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 3:11)<br/>1:9 Ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>[1:6; see 2.1]<br/>1:7 Καὶ ἐκρίσεν λέγων·</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>3:11 Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετανοίαν, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 3:11)<br/>1:9 Ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>[1:6; see 2.1]<br/>1:7 Καὶ ἐκρίσεν λέγων·</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>3:11 Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετανοίαν, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 3:11)<br/>1:9 Ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>[1:6; see 2.1]<br/>1:7 Καὶ ἐκρίσεν λέγων·</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>3:11 Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετανοίαν, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 3:11)<br/>1:9 Ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>[1:6; see 2.1]<br/>1:7 Καὶ ἐκρίσεν λέγων·</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>3:11 Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετανοίαν, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 3:11)<br/>1:9 Ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>[1:6; see 2.1]<br/>1:7 Καὶ ἐκρίσεν λέγων·</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>3:11 Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετανοίαν, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος</p>  |

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| <p>ισχυρότερός μου ἔστιν<br/>οὐ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς λύσαι<br/>τὸν μᾶντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων<br/>αὐτοῦ·</p> <p>αὐτός ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν<br/>πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ·<br/>10 οὐ τὸ πῦρον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ<br/>καὶ διακαθαρίει τὴν ἄλωνα αὐτοῦ<br/>καὶ συναΐξει τὸν σίτον εἰς τὴν<br/>ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ· τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον<br/>κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστω·</p> | <p>μου ὁπίσω μου,<br/>οὐ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς λύσαι<br/>τὸν μᾶντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων<br/>αὐτοῦ·</p> <p>8 ἔγωβ βαπτίσεια ὑμᾶς ὕδατι,<br/>αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς ἐν<br/>πνεύματι ἁγίῳ·</p> <p>αὐτός ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν<br/>πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ·<br/>12 οὐ τὸ πῦρον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ<br/>καὶ διακαθαρίει τὴν ἄλωνα αὐτοῦ<br/>καὶ συναΐξει τὸν σίτον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν<br/>ἀποθήκην· τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον<br/>κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστω·</p> | <p>μου,<br/>οὐ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς λύσαι<br/>τὸν μᾶντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων<br/>αὐτοῦ·</p> <p>αὐτός ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν<br/>πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ·<br/>17 οὐ τὸ πῦρον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ<br/>διακαθαίρει τὴν ἄλωνα αὐτοῦ<br/>καὶ συναΐξει τὸν σίτον εἰς τὴν<br/>ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ· τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον<br/>κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστω·</p> |
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## LOGOI 2

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| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 3:13, 16–17)<br/>2:1 Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς<br/>ἡμέραις ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ<br/>τῆς Παλαιάς</p> | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>1:9 Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς<br/>ἡμέραις ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ<br/>Ναζαρέτ τῆς Παλαιάς</p> <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>3:13 Ἵτε παραγίγεται ὁ Ἰησοῦς<br/>ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιάς ἐπι τὸν<br/>Ἰορδάνην πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην<br/>τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.<br/>14 ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης διεκώλυεν αὐτὸν<br/>λέγων· ἐγὼ χρεῖαν ἔχω ὑπὸ σοῦ<br/>βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ σὺ ἔρχῃ πρὸς<br/>με· 15 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς<br/>εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν· ἄφες ἄρτι,<br/>οὕτως γὰρ πρέπει ἔστιν ἡμῖν<br/>πληρῶσαι πάσαν δικαιοσύνην·<br/>τότε ἀφήσιν αὐτόν·</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>3:21 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ<br/>βαπτισθῆναι ἅπαντα<br/>τὸν λαόν<br/><br/>[cf. 1:43]</p> |
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| <p>καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη.</p> <p><u>καὶ</u><br/>ἠνεώχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ</p> <p>2 καὶ εἶδεν τὸ πνεῦμα<br/>καταβαῖνον<br/>ἐπ' αὐτόν·</p> <p><u>καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν<br/>οὐρανῶν·</u> σὺ εἶ<br/><u>ὁ υἱός μου</u> ...</p> <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 4:1-2)<br/>2:3 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀνήχθη<br/>εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ<br/>πνεύματος· 4 πειρασθῆναι<br/>ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου·<br/>καὶ ...<br/>ἡμέρας τεσεράκοντα, ...</p> | <p>καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν<br/>Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου·</p> <p>10 <u>καὶ</u> εὐθὺς ἀναβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ<br/>ὑδάτος εἶδεν σχισμένους<br/>τοὺς οὐρανοὺς<br/>καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα<br/>ὡς περιστῆραν καταβαῖνον<br/>εἰς αὐτόν·</p> <p>11 <u>καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν<br/>οὐρανῶν·</u> σὺ εἶ<br/><u>ὁ υἱός μου</u> ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ<br/>ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.</p> <p><b>Mark</b><br/>1:12 Καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα<br/>αὐτὸν ἐβάλλει εἰς τὴν<br/>ἔρημον·<br/>13 καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἔρημῳ·<br/>τεσεράκοντα ἡμέρας<br/>περιζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ,<br/>καὶ ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων, ...</p> | <p>16 βαπτισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς<br/>εὐθὺς ἀνέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ<br/>ὑδάτος· <u>καὶ</u> ἰδοὺ ἠνεώχθησαν<br/>[αὐτῷ] οἱ οὐρανοί,<br/>καὶ εἶδεν [τὸ] πνεῦμα [τοῦ] θεοῦ<br/>καταβαῖνον ὡσεὶ περιστῆραν<br/>[καὶ] ἐρχόμενον ἐπ' αὐτόν·</p> <p>17 <u>καὶ</u> ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν<br/>οὐρανῶν λέγουσα· οὗτός ἐστιν·<br/><u>ὁ υἱός μου</u> ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ<br/>ἐν φ' εὐδόκησα.</p> <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>4:1 Τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνήχθη<br/>εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ<br/>πνεύματος· <u>πειρασθῆναι<br/>ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου·</u><br/>2 <u>καὶ</u> νηστεύσας<br/>ἡμέρας τεσεράκοντα<br/>καὶ νύκτας τεσεράκοντα,<br/>ὑπερῶν ἐπεινάσεν.</p> | <p>καὶ Ἰησοῦ βαπτισθέντος<br/><u>καὶ</u> προσευχομένου<br/>ἀνεώχθη<br/>τὸν οὐρανόν<br/>22 <u>καὶ</u> καταβῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ<br/>ἅγιον σωματικῶ εἶδει ὡς<br/>περιστῆραν ἐπ' αὐτόν,<br/><u>καὶ φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γενέσθαι·</u><br/><u>σὺ εἶ</u><br/><u>ὁ υἱός μου</u> ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ<br/>ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.</p> <p><b>Luke</b><br/>4:1 Ἰησοῦς δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος<br/>ἀγίου ὑπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ<br/>Ἰορδάνου καὶ ἦγχετο ἐν τῷ<br/>πενήμῳ· ἐν τῇ ἔρημῳ·<br/>2 ἡμέρας τεσεράκοντα<br/>περιζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου·<br/>καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς<br/>ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ συν-<br/>τελεσθεισῶν αὐτῶν ἐπεινάσεν.</p> |
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| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 4:6–11; MQ+ 4:3–11)</p> <p>2:5 Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος· εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰπέ ἵνα οἱ λιθοὶ οὗτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται.</p> <p>6 καὶ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· γέγραπται ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος.</p> <p>7 Καὶ παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·</p> <p>8 γέγραπται γάρ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ</p> <p>9 καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἁρουσίν σε, μήποτε προσκώμῃς πρὸς λιθὸν τὸν πόδα σου.</p> <p>10 καὶ ἀποκρίθεις εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· γέγραπται·</p> <p>οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.</p> <p>11 καὶ παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ πᾶσας τὰς βασιλείας τοῦ κόσμου,</p> <p>12 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· σοι δώσω τὴν ἔξουσίαν ταύτην ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν,</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>4:3 Καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ πειράζων εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰπέ ἵνα οἱ λιθοὶ οὗτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται.</p> <p>4 ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίθεις εἶπεν· γέγραπται· οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ρήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ.</p> <p>5 Τότε παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ.</p> <p>6 καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, βάλε σεαυτὸν κάτω· γέγραπται γάρ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ</p> <p>καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἁρουσίν σε, μήποτε προσκώμῃς πρὸς λιθὸν τὸν πόδα σου.</p> <p>7 ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· πάλιν γέγραπται·</p> <p>οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.</p> <p>8 Πάλιν παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν λιαν καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ πᾶσας τὰς βασιλείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν.</p> <p>9 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ταῦτά σοι μάνητα δώσω,</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>[cf. 14:26–38]</p> | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>4:3 Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος· εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰπέ τῷ λίθῳ τοῦτῳ ἵνα γένηται ἄρτος.</p> <p>4 καὶ ἀπεκρίθη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· γέγραπται ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος.</p> <p>[cf. 4:9–12]</p> | <p>5 Καὶ ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ πᾶσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου.</p> <p>6 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος· σοὶ δώσω τὴν ἔξουσίαν ταύτην ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται καὶ ἡ ἐν θέλω δίδωμι αὐτήν·</p> |
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| <p>13 ἐὰν προσκυνήσῃς μοι.</p> <p>14 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· <u>γέγραπται</u>· κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις. [cf. 2:7–10]</p> | <p>ἐὰν πεσὼν προσκυνήσῃς μοι.</p> <p>10 τότε λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ὕπαγε, σατανᾶ· <u>γέγραπται γάρ</u>· κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις. [cf. 4:5–7]</p> | <p>7 σὺ οὖν ἐὰν προσκυνήσῃς ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ, ἔσται σοὺ πάσα.</p> <p>8 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· <u>γέγραπται</u>· κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.</p> <p>9 Ἦγαγεν δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερόνιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εἰ νόος εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, βάλε σεαυτὸν ἐνεῦθεν κάτω· 10 <u>γέγραπται γάρ</u> ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε 11 καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρουσίν σε, μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου. 12 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ὅτι εἴρηται· οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>2:15 <u>Καὶ</u> ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος.</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>1:13b καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι δηκόνου αὐτῷ.</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>4:13 <u>Καὶ</u> συντελέσας πάντα περσασμὸν ὁ διάβολος ἀπέστη ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ· ἄχρι καιροῦ.</p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 4:12–13, 17)<br/>«John was arrested.»<br/>3:1 <u>Καὶ</u> ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>4:12 Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη ἀνεχώρησεν</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>4:14 <u>Καὶ</u> βτέστερψεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος</p>  |

## LOGOI 3

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| <p>εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν</p> <p>καθ' ὅλης τῆς περιήρου περὶ αὐτοῦ.<br/>15 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων. 16 καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά, ...</p>  | <p>εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.</p> <p>13 Καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρά ἐλθὼν κατήρτησεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ. ... 17 ἀπὸ τότε ἦρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς κηρύσσειν καὶ λέγειν· <u>μετανοεῖτε</u>. ἦγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.</p> <p>[see 7:22 and 10:13]</p>   | <p>εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν</p> <p>κηρύσσειν τὸν εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ 15 καὶ λέγων ὅτι πεπληρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἦγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ· μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεῦτε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.</p> <p>«Jesus performed miracles in Galilean towns, such as Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, which some residents rejected as signs of his authority.»</p> <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>3:2 <u>Καὶ</u><br/>ἦλθεν εἰς <u>Ναζαρά</u></p> <p>καὶ<br/>ἐδίδασκεν ἐν τῇ<br/>συναγωγῇ.</p> |
| <p>εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.</p> <p>13 Καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρά ἐλθὼν κατήρτησεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ. ... 17 ἀπὸ τότε ἦρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς κηρύσσειν καὶ λέγειν· <u>μετανοεῖτε</u>. ἦγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.</p> <p>[see 11:5 and 21]</p>  | <p>εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.</p> <p>καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. 2 καὶ γενομένου σαββάτου ἦρξατο διδάσκειν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ.</p> <p><b>Mark</b><br/>6:1 <u>Καὶ</u> ἐξήλθεν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ,</p>  | <p>εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.</p> <p>καὶ ἀκούουσι αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. 2 καὶ γενομένου σαββάτου ἦρξατο διδάσκειν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ.</p> <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>13:54 <u>Καὶ</u><br/>ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ</p> <p>ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ<br/>συναγωγῇ αὐτῶν,</p>  |
| <p>εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.</p> <p>καὶ ἀκούουσι αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. 2 καὶ γενομένου σαββάτου ἦρξατο διδάσκειν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ.</p> <p><b>Luke</b><br/>4:16 <u>Καὶ</u><br/>ἦλθεν εἰς <u>Ναζαρά</u>, οὗ ἦν τεθρομμένος, καὶ εἰσηλθὼν κατὰ τὸ εἶθος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν<br/>συναγωγὴν καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνώσαι. ...</p> | <p>εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.</p> <p>καὶ ἀκούουσι αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. 2 καὶ γενομένου σαββάτου ἦρξατο διδάσκειν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ.</p> <p><b>Luke</b><br/>4:16 <u>Καὶ</u><br/>ἦλθεν εἰς <u>Ναζαρά</u>, οὗ ἦν τεθρομμένος, καὶ εἰσηλθὼν κατὰ τὸ εἶθος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν<br/>συναγωγὴν καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνώσαι. ...</p> | <p>εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.</p> <p>καὶ ἀκούουσι αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. 2 καὶ γενομένου σαββάτου ἦρξατο διδάσκειν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ.</p> <p><b>Luke</b><br/>4:16 <u>Καὶ</u><br/>ἦλθεν εἰς <u>Ναζαρά</u>, οὗ ἦν τεθρομμένος, καὶ εἰσηλθὼν κατὰ τὸ εἶθος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν<br/>συναγωγὴν καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνώσαι. ...</p>   |

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| <p>3 και πολλοὶ ἀκούοντες ἐξεπήλυσοντο λέγοντες· πόθεν τοῦτω ἡ σοφία αὐτῆ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις;</p>                                | <p>καὶ πολλοὶ ἀκούοντες ἐξεπήλυσοντο λέγοντες· πόθεν τοῦτω ταῦτα, καὶ τίς ἡ σοφία ἢ δοθεῖσα τοῦτω, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τοιαῦτα;</p>  | <p>ὡστε ἐκπλήσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγειν· πόθεν τοῦτω ἡ σοφία αὐτῆ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις;</p>  | <p>22 καὶ πάντες ἐμαρτύρουν αὐτῷ καὶ θαυμάζον ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔλεγον·</p>  |
| <p>οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἐστὶν Ἰωσήφ οὗτος; ..</p>  | <p>διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ γινόμεναι; 3 οὐχὺ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ τέκτων, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Μαρίας καὶ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσήφου καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ Σίμωνος; καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ ὧδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς;</p>   | <p>55 οὐχὺ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱὸς; οὐχὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται Μαρία καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβος καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Σίμων καὶ Ἰούδας; 56 καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ πάσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσιν; πόθεν οὖν τοῦτω ταῦτα πάντα;</p> | <p>οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἐστὶν Ἰωσήφ οὗτος;</p>  |
| <p>4 καὶ ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ·</p>  | <p>καὶ ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ.</p>   | <p>57 καὶ ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ.</p>  | <p>23 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· πάντως ἐρεῖτέ μοι τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην· Ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτὸν· ὅσα ἠκούσαμεν γενομένα εἰς τὴν Καφαρναούμ ποιήσον καὶ ὧδε ἐν τῇ πατριδί σου.</p> |
| <p>5 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· οὐκ ἐστὶν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατριδί αὐτοῦ.</p> <p>καὶ ἐθαύμαζεν διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν</p> | <p>4 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατριδί αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. 5 καὶ οὐκ ἔδυνάτο ἐκεῖ ποιῆσαι οὐδεμίαν δυνάμιν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις ἀρρώστοις ἐπιθεῖς τὰς χεῖρας ἐθεράπευσεν. 6 καὶ ἐθαύμαζεν διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν</p> | <p>ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· οὐκ ἐστὶν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατριδί καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. 58 καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ δυνάμεις πολλὰς διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν</p>  | <p>24 εἶπεν δὲ ἄμην λέγων ἡμῖν ὅτι οὐδέεις προφήτης δεκτός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πατριδί αὐτοῦ. ...</p>  |

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| <p>αὐτῶν.<br/>6 καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρέθ<br/>κατήλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ.</p>  | <p>αὐτῶν. ...<br/>4:13 Καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρέθ<br/>ἔλθων κατόκησεν εἰς<br/>Καφαρναούμ.</p>  | <p>αὐτῶν.<br/>καὶ περιήγεν τὰς κόμινας κύκλω<br/>διδάσκων.</p> | <p>κατήλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ.<br/>31 καὶ<br/>κατήλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ πόλιν τῆς<br/>Γαλιλαίας.</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 8:19–22)<br/>3:7 Καὶ εἶπέν τις αὐτῷ·<br/>ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου<br/>ἂν ἰπέρχῃ.<br/>8 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς·<br/>αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσι<br/>καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ<br/>κατασκηνώσεις, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ<br/>ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν<br/>κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ.<br/>9 ἔτερος δὲ<br/>εἶπεν αὐτῷ· κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι<br/>πρῶτον ἀπελθεῖν καὶ θάψαι τὸν<br/>πατέρα μου. 10 εἶπεν δὲ<br/>αὐτῷ· ἀκολουθεῖ μοι καὶ ἄφες<br/>τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἐαυτῶν<br/>νεκροὺς.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>8:19 Καὶ προσελθὼν<br/>εἰς γραμματεὺς εἶπεν αὐτῷ·<br/>διδάσκαλε, ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου<br/>ἂν ἰπέρχῃ.<br/>20 καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς·<br/>αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσι<br/>καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ<br/>κατασκηνώσεις, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ<br/>ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν<br/>κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ.<br/>21 ἔτερος δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν [αὐτοῦ]<br/>εἶπεν αὐτῷ· κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι<br/>πρῶτον ἀπελθεῖν καὶ θάψαι τὸν<br/>πατέρα μου. 22 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λέγει<br/>αὐτῷ· ἀκολουθεῖ μοι καὶ ἄφες<br/>τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἐαυτῶν<br/>νεκροὺς.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>[cf. 1:16–20]<br/>[cf. 10:28–29]</p>        | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>9:57 Καὶ πορευομένων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ<br/>εἶπέν τις πρὸς αὐτόν·<br/>ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου<br/>ἂν ἰπέρχῃ.<br/>58 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς·<br/>αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσι<br/>καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ<br/>κατασκηνώσεις, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ<br/>ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν<br/>κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ.<br/>59 εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς ἕτερον· ἀκολουθεῖ μοι.<br/>ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· [κύριε], ἐπίτρεψόν μοι<br/>ἄπελθόντι πρῶτον θάψαι τὸν<br/>πατέρα μου. 60 εἶπεν δὲ<br/>αὐτῷ· ἄφες<br/>τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἐαυτῶν<br/>νεκροὺς, σὺ δὲ ἀπελθὼν διάγγελλε τῇ<br/>βασίλειαν τοῦ θεοῦ.<br/>61 εἶπεν δὲ καὶ ἕτερος·<br/>ἀκολουθήσω σοι, κύριε· πρῶτον δὲ<br/>ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἀποτάξασθαι τοῖς<br/>εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου.<br/>62 εἶπεν δὲ [πρὸς αὐτόν] ὁ Ἰησοῦς·</p> |

οὐδέεις ἐπιβαλῶν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ ἄροτρον καὶ βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω εὐθετὸς ἔστιν τῆ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.

«Despite the hardships, some people decided to follow Jesus.»

1:16 Καὶ παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σίμωνος ἀμφιβάλοντας ἐν τῆ θαλάσῃ· ἦσαν γὰρ ἀλιεῖς,  
17 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι ἀλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων.  
18 καὶ εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.  
19 καὶ προβάς ὀλιγον εἶδεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καταρτίζοντας τὰ δίκτυα,  
20 καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν Ζεβεδαῖον

4:18 Περιπατῶν δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν δύο ἀδελφούς, Σίμωνα τὸν λεγόμενον Πέτρον καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, βαλλοντας ἀμφιβλήτρον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· ἦσαν γὰρ ἀλιεῖς,  
19 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ἡμᾶς ἀλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων.  
20 οἱ δὲ εὐθέως ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.  
21 καὶ προβάς ἐκεῖθεν εἶδεν ἄλλους δύο ἀδελφούς, Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μετὰ Ζεβεδαίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν καταρτίζοντας τὰ δίκτυα αὐτῶν,  
καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς,  
22 οἱ δὲ εὐθέως ἀφέντες τὸ πλοῖον καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν

οὐδέεις ἐπιβαλῶν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ ἄροτρον καὶ βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω εὐθετὸς ἔστιν τῆ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.

5:1b Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἐστὼς παρὰ τὴν λίμνην Ἰεννησαρέτ 2 καὶ εἶδεν δύο πλοῖα ἐστῶτα παρὰ τὴν λίμνην· οἱ δὲ ἀλιεῖς ἄπ' αὐτῶν ἀποβάντες ἔπλυνον τὰ δίκτυα. 3 ἔμβας δὲ εἰς ἕν τῶν πλοίων, ὃ ἦν Σίμωνος,  
[cf. 5:10–11]

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| <p>έν τῷ πλοίῳ μετὰ τῶν μισθοῦ τῶν ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>ἠκολούθησαν αὐτόν.</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>5:27 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηγήθεν</p> <p>καὶ ἐθέασατο τὴν λέγειν ὄνοματι Λεῦν καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τελευτῶν.</p> <p>καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀκολούθει μοι.</p> <p>28 καὶ καταλιπὼν πάντα ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ. 29 Καὶ ἐποίησεν δοχὴν μεγάλην Λεῦς αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦν ὄχλος πολλὸς τῶν λέγων, καὶ ἄλλων οἳ ἦσαν μετ' αὐτῶν κἀπακείμενοι.</p>                   |
| <p>έν τῷ πλοίῳ μετὰ τῶν μισθοῦ τῶν ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>2:13 Καὶ ἐξηγήθεν πάλιν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.</p> <p>14 καὶ παρὰ τῶν εἶδεν Λεῦν τὸν τοῦ Ἀλφαίου καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τελευτῶν.</p> <p>καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ἀκολούθει μοι.</p> <p>καὶ ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. 15 Καὶ γίνεται κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἄμαρτωλοὶ συνανέκειντο πρὸς Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοὺς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ.</p> <p>16 καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων, ἰδόντες ὅτι ἐσθίει μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ τελευτῶν</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>9:9 Καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὄ Ἰησοῦς ἐκέθεν εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τελευτῶν. Μαθθαίου λεγομένου, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ἀκολούθει μοι.</p> <p>καὶ ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. 10 Καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, καὶ ἰδοὺ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἄμαρτωλοὶ ἐλθόντες συνανέκειντο πρὸς Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοὺς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.</p> <p>11 καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι</p> |
| <p>3:13 Καὶ παρὰ τῶν εἶδεν Μαθθαίου καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τελευτῶν.</p> <p>καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ἀκολούθει μοι.</p> <p>14 Καὶ ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. 15 καὶ γίνεται κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἄμαρτωλοὶ συνανέκειντο πρὸς Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοὺς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.</p> <p>16 καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>ἔλεγον τοὺς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· διὰ τί μετὰ τῶν τελευτῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει;</p> <p>17 ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς [ὅτι] οὐ χρεῖαν</p>  | <p>30 καὶ ἐγγύζον οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς αὐτῶν</p> <p>πρὸς τοὺς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ λέγοντες· διὰ τί μετὰ τῶν τελευτῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίετε καὶ πίνετε;</p> <p>31 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· οὐ χρεῖαν</p>   |



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| <p>ἔχουσιν οἱ ισχυρόντες ἰατροῦ<br/>ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες·</p> <p>18 οὐκ ἤλθον καλέσαι δικαίους<br/>ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλοὺς.</p> <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 9:14-17)</p> <p>3:19 Προσέρχονται αὐτῷ οἱ<br/>μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου</p> <p>λέγοντες·<br/>διὰ τί ἡμεῖς<br/>καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι<br/>νηστεύομεν</p> <p>οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ σου οὐ<br/>νηστεύουσιν;</p> <p>20 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·<br/>μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ<br/>νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος<br/>μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστί· νηστεύειν;</p> <p>21 ἔλεουσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν<br/>ἀπαρθῆ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος,<br/>καὶ τότε νηστεύουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ<br/>τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.</p> | <p>ἔχουσιν οἱ ισχυρόντες ἰατροῦ<br/>ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες·</p> <p>οὐκ ἤλθον καλέσαι δικαίους<br/>ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλοὺς.</p> <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>2:18 Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου<br/>καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι νηστεύοντες,<br/>καὶ ἐρχονται<br/>καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ·<br/>διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου<br/>καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ Φαρισαίων,<br/>νηστεύουσιν</p> <p>οἱ δὲ σοὶ μαθηταὶ οὐ<br/>νηστεύουσιν;</p> <p>19 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·<br/>μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ<br/>νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος<br/>μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστί· νηστεύειν;<br/>ὅσον χρόνον ἔχουσιν τὸν νυμφίον<br/>μετ' αὐτῶν οὐ δύνανται<br/>νηστεύειν.</p> <p>20 ἔλεουσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν<br/>ἀπαρθῆ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος,<br/>καὶ τότε νηστεύουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ<br/>τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.</p> | <p>ἔχουσιν οἱ ισχυρόντες ἰατροῦ<br/>ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες·<br/>13 πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε τί<br/>ἐστίν· ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν·<br/>οὐ γὰρ ἤλθον καλέσαι δικαίους<br/>ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλοὺς.</p> <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>9:14 Τότε προσέρχονται αὐτῷ οἱ<br/>μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου</p> <p>λέγοντες·<br/>διὰ τί ἡμεῖς<br/>καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι<br/>νηστεύομεν [πολλὰ],<br/>οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ σου οὐ<br/>νηστεύουσιν;</p> <p>15 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·<br/>μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ<br/>νυμφῶνος πενθεῖν ἐφ' ὅσον<br/>μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστί· οἱ νυμφίος;</p> <p>ἔλεουσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν<br/>ἀπαρθῆ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος,<br/>καὶ τότε νηστεύουσιν.</p> | <p>ἔχουσιν οἱ υἱαῖνοντες ἰατροῦ<br/>ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες·</p> <p>32 οὐκ ἐλήλυθα καλέσαι δικαίους<br/>ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν.</p> <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>5:33 Οἱ δὲ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτόν·<br/>οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου<br/>νηστεύουσιν, πυκνὰ καὶ δεήσεις ποιοῦναι<br/>ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων,<br/>οἱ δὲ σοὶ ἐσθίουσιν καὶ<br/>πίνουσιν.</p> <p>34 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς·<br/>μὴ δύνασθε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ<br/>νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος<br/>μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστί· νηστεύειν;</p> <p>35 ἔλεουσονται δὲ ἡμέραι, καὶ ὅταν<br/>ἀπαρθῆ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος,<br/>τότε νηστεύουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ<br/>τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. 36 ἔλεγεν δὲ καὶ</p> |
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| <p>22 οὐδείς ἐπιβάλλει ἐπιβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, αἶρει τὸ πλήρωμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γίνεται.</p> <p>23 καὶ οὐδείς βιάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος τοὺς ἀσκοὺς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκχυθήσεται, καὶ οἱ ἄσκοι ἀπολούνται.</p> <p>24 ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον.</p> | <p>21 οὐδείς ἐπιβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπιβάλλει ἐπιβλημα εἰ δὲ μὴ, αἶρει τὸ πλήρωμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γίνεται.</p> <p>22 καὶ οὐδείς βιάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος τοὺς ἀσκοὺς καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἀπολλύται· ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς.</p> | <p>16 οὐδείς δὲ ἐπιβάλλει ἐπιβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν· αἶρει γὰρ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱματίου καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γίνεται.</p> <p>17 οὐδὲ βιάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μὴ γέ, ῥήξει ὁ ἄσκος καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἐκχυθήσεται, ἀπόλλυνται· ἀλλὰ βιάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς, καὶ ἀμφοτέροι συντηροῦνται.</p> | <p>παρβολὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι οὐδείς ἐπιβλημα ἀπὸ ἱματίου καινοῦ σχίσας ἐπιβάλλει ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ γέ, καὶ τὸ καινὸν σχίσει καὶ τῷ παλαιῷ οὐ συμφωνήσει τὸ ἐπιβλημα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ καινοῦ.</p> <p>37 καὶ οὐδείς βιάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μὴ γέ, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος ὁ νέος τοὺς ἀσκοὺς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκχυθήσεται, καὶ οἱ ἄσκοι ἀπολούνται· 38 ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον.</p> <p>39 [καὶ] οὐδείς πῶνον παλαιὸν θέλει νέον· λέγει γάρ· ὁ παλαιὸς χρηστὸς ἐστίν.</p> |
| <p>25 Καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι παραπερεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτιλλον</p> <p>26 καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον</p>  | <p>12:1 Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῇ καιρῷ ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς σάββασι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων· οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεινῶσαν καὶ ἤρξαντο τῆλεν, στάχυας καὶ ἔσθθιεν.</p> <p>2 οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἰδόντες ἔφησαν·</p>  | <p>6:1 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ σπορίμων, καὶ ἔτιλλον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤσθθον τοὺς στάχυας ψάγοντες ταῖς χερσίν.</p> <p>2 τινὲς δὲ τῶν Φαρισαίων ἔφησαν·</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>6:1 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ σπορίμων, καὶ ἔτιλλον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤσθθον τοὺς στάχυας ψάγοντες ταῖς χερσίν.<br/>2 τινὲς δὲ τῶν Φαρισαίων ἔφησαν·</p>   |
| <p>3:25 Καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι παραπερεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτιλλον</p> <p>26 καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον</p>  | <p>12:1 Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῇ καιρῷ ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς σάββασι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων· οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεινῶσαν καὶ ἤρξαντο τῆλεν, στάχυας καὶ ἔσθθιεν.</p> <p>2 οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἰδόντες ἔφησαν·</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>2:23 Καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι παραπερεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο ὁδὸν ποιεῖν τῆλεν, τοὺς στάχυας.</p> <p>24 καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον</p>  | <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 12:1–4, 8)<br/>3:25 Καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι παραπερεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτιλλον</p> <p>26 καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον</p>   |

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| αὐτῷ· ἴδε τί ποιῶσιν τοῖς σάββασι· ὁ οὐκ ἔξεστιν·  | αὐτῷ· ἴδε τί ποιῶσιν τοῖς σάββασι· ὁ οὐκ ἔξεστιν·  | αὐτῷ· ἴδου· οἱ μαθηταὶ σου ποιοῦσιν ὁ οὐκ ἔξεστιν ποιεῖν ἐν σάββατι·  | τί ποιεῖτε ὁ οὐκ ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασι·  |
| 27 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησεν Δαυὶδ ὅτε ἐπείνασεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ,  | 25 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησεν Δαυὶδ ὅτε χρεῖαν ἔσχεν καὶ ἐπείνασεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ,   | 3 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησεν Δαυὶδ ὅτε ἐπείνασεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ,  | 3 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοῦς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, οὐδέ τοῦτο ἀνέγνωτε ὁ ἐποίησεν Δαυὶδ ὅτε ἐπείνασεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ [ὄντες,                               |
| 28 πῶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως λαβὼν ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔδωκεν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὐς οὐκ ἔξεστιν φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ μόνους τοὺς ἱερεῖς· | 26 πῶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἀβιαθάρ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως ἔφαγεν, οὐς οὐκ ἔξεστιν φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, καὶ ἔδωκεν καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ὄσταν· | 4 πῶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως ἔφαγον, ὁ οὐκ ἔξον ἦν αὐτῷ φαγεῖν οὐδὲ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἱερέσιν μόνοις·   | 4 ὡς] εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως λαβὼν ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔδωκεν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὐς οὐκ ἔξεστιν φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ μόνους τοὺς ἱερεῖς· |
| 29 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· κύριός ἐστιν τοῦ   | 27 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ σάββατον·   | 5 ἡ οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὅτι τοῖς σάββασι οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὸ σάββατον βεβηλοῦσιν καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἰσιν· 6 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μείζον ἐστιν ὧδε. 7 εἰ δὲ ἐγνώκατε τί ἐστιν ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν, οὐκ ἂν κατεδικάσατε τοὺς ἀναίτιους, | 5 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· κύριός ἐστιν τοῦ   |

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| σαββάτου ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.   | ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου.   | σαββάτου ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.   | σαββάτου ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 12:9–14)<br/> 3:30 <u>Καὶ εἰσηλθεν τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος χεῖρα ἔχων ξηρὰν.</u><br/> 31 <u>καὶ παρετήρουν αὐτὸν λέγοντες· ἔξεστιν τῷ σαββάτῳ θεραπεύσαι;</u></p> | <p><b>Mark</b><br/> 3:1 <u>Καὶ εἰσηλθεν πάλιν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν, καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος ἐξηραμμένος, ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα.</u><br/> 2 <u>καὶ παρετήρουν αὐτὸν εἰ τὸς σάββατον θεραπεύσει αὐτόν, ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν αὐτοῦ.</u><br/> 3 <u>καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀθρώπῳ τῷ τὴν ξηρὰν χεῖρα ἔχοντι· ἔγειρε εἰς τὸ μέσον.</u><br/> 4 <u>καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββατον ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι, ψυχὴν σώσαι ἢ ἀποκτεῖναι;</u></p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/> 12:9 <u>Καὶ μεταβάς· ἐκείθεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν· ἰδοὺ καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος χεῖρα ἔχων ξηρὰν, καὶ ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες· εἰ ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββατον θεραπεύσαι;</u><br/> ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν αὐτοῦ.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/> 6:6 <u>Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ διδάσκειν, καὶ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ χεῖρ αὐτοῦ ἡ δεξιὰ ἦν ξηρὰ.</u><br/> 7 <u>παρετηροῦντο δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι εἰ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ θεραπεύει,</u><br/> ἵνα ἐύρωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ.<br/> 8 <u>αὐτὸς δὲ ἴδαι τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς αὐτῶν, εἶπεν δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ξηρὰν ἔχοντι τὴν χεῖρα· ἔγειρε καὶ στήθι εἰς τὸ μέσον· καὶ ἀναστὰς ἔστη.</u><br/> 9 <u>εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτούς· ἔπερωτῶ ὑμᾶς εἰ ἔξεστιν τῷ σαββάτῳ ἀγαθοποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι, ψυχὴν σώσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι;</u><br/> [Luke 14:5· <u>τίγος ὑμῶν υἱὸς ἡ βουβῆ εἰς φρέαρ πεσεῖται, καὶ οὐκ εὐθέως ἀνασπάσει αὐτόν· ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου;</u></p> |
| 32 <u>ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τίς ἔσται ἐξ ὑμῶν</u>  | 4 <u>καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββατον ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι, ψυχὴν σώσαι ἢ ἀποκτεῖναι;</u>   | 11 <u>ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τίς ἔσται ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀνθρώπου</u>   | 9 <u>εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτούς· ἔπερωτῶ ὑμᾶς εἰ ἔξεστιν τῷ σαββάτῳ ἀγαθοποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι, ψυχὴν σώσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι;</u><br>[Luke 14:5· <u>τίγος ὑμῶν υἱὸς ἡ βουβῆ εἰς φρέαρ πεσεῖται, καὶ οὐκ εὐθέως ἀνασπάσει αὐτόν· ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου;</u>  |
| <u>ὁς ἔχει βουβὴν, καὶ ἐὰν ἐπιπέσῃ τοῖς σάββατον εἰς βόθυνον, οὐχὶ κρατήσῃ αὐτό καὶ ἐγερεῖ;</u>   | 4 <u>καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββατον ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι, ψυχὴν σώσαι ἢ ἀποκτεῖναι;</u>   | <u>ὁς ἔχει πρόβατον ἐν καὶ ἐὰν ἐπιπέσῃ τοῦτο τοῖς σάββατον εἰς βόθυνον, οὐχὶ κρατήσῃ αὐτό καὶ ἐγερεῖ;</u><br>12 <u>πόσῳ ὁν διαφέρει ἄνθρωπος πρόβατου, ὥστε ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββατον καλῶς ποιεῖν.</u>                                   | 9 <u>εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτούς· ἔπερωτῶ ὑμᾶς εἰ ἔξεστιν τῷ σαββάτῳ ἀγαθοποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι, ψυχὴν σώσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι;</u><br>[Luke 14:5· <u>τίγος ὑμῶν υἱὸς ἡ βουβῆ εἰς φρέαρ πεσεῖται, καὶ οὐκ εὐθέως ἀνασπάσει αὐτόν· ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου;</u>  |

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| <p>καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἀνταποκριθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα.</p>  | <p>οἱ δὲ ἐσιώπων.</p>   | <p>6 καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἀνταποκριθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα.]<br/>10 καὶ περιβλεψάμενος πάντας αὐτούς</p>   |
| <p>33 λέγει τῷ ἀθροώπῳ· ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου. καὶ ἐξέτεινεν καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη ἡ χεῖρ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἡ ἄλλη.</p> | <p>5 καὶ περιβλεψάμενος αὐτούς μετ' ὀργῆς, συλλυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πωρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν λέγει τῷ ἀθροώπῳ, ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά. καὶ ἐξέτεινεν καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη ἡ χεῖρ αὐτοῦ.</p>                              | <p>εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου. ὁ δὲ ἐποίησεν καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη ἡ χεῖρ αὐτοῦ.</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 10:1–4)<br/>3:34 Ἀνέβη δὲ εἰς τὸ ὄρος</p>   | <p>6 καὶ ἐξελθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι εὐθύς μετὰ τῶν Ἱερωδιανῶν συμβουλίον ἐδίδουν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν.</p>   | <p>11 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπληθήσαν ἀνοίας καὶ διεάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τί ἂν ποιήσασιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.</p>   |
| <p>35 καὶ προσεκάλεσεν τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητάς αὐτοῦ.</p>  | <p>3:13 Καὶ ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ προσκαλεῖται οὓς ἤθελεν αὐτός, καὶ ἀπέκληθεν αὐτῶν. 14 καὶ ἐποίησεν δώδεκα ἵνα ὡσαν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἵνα ἀποστείλῃ αὐτούς κηρύσσειν 15 καὶ ἔχεν ἐξουσίαν ἐκβάλλειν τὰ</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>6:12 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεῦδασθαι, καὶ ἦν διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ.<br/>13 καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡμέρα, προσεφώνησεν τοὺς μαθητάς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ἅπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα, οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν. [cf. 9:1–2]</p> |
| <p><b>Mark</b><br/>5:1 Ἴδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος,</p>  | <p>8 καὶ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ προσήλθαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. ... 10:1 Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητάς αὐτοῦ</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>5:1 Ἴδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ προσήλθαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. ... 10:1 Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητάς αὐτοῦ</p>  |
| <p>ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων</p>  | <p>ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων</p>   | <p>καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ἅπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα, οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν. [cf. 9:1–2]</p>  |

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| δαιμόνια.   | ώστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὰ καὶ<br>θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ<br>πᾶσαν μολακίαν.<br>10:2 τῶν δὲ δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τὰ<br>ὀνόματα ἔστιν ταῦτα·<br>πρῶτος Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος<br>Πέτρος<br>καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ.<br>καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου<br>καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ,                 | 14 Σίμωνα ὃν καὶ ὠνόμασεν<br>Πέτρον<br>καὶ Ἰάκωβον<br>καὶ Ἰωάννην   |
| καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι<br>Πέτρῳ,<br>17 καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου<br>καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ<br>Ἰακώβου καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς<br>ὄνομα [τα] Βοανηργές, ὃ ἔστιν<br>υἱοὶ βροντῆς. 18 καὶ Ἀνδρέαν<br>καὶ Φίλιππον,<br>καὶ Βαρθολομαῖον,<br>καὶ Μαθθαῖον,<br>καὶ Θωμᾶν,<br>καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ἀλφαίου<br>καὶ Θαδδαίου,<br>καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν Καναναῖον.                                   | 3 Φίλιππος<br>καὶ Βαρθολομαῖος<br>Θωμᾶς<br>καὶ Μαθθαῖος ὁ τελῶνης,<br>Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου<br>καὶ Θαδδαῖος,<br>4 Σίμων ὁ Καναναῖος  | καὶ Φίλιππον<br>καὶ Βαρθολομαῖον<br>15 καὶ Μαθθαῖον<br>καὶ Θωμᾶν<br>καὶ Ἰάκωβον Ἀλφαίου<br>καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν καλούμενον ζηλωτὴν<br>16 καὶ Ἰούδαν Ἰακώβου<br>καὶ Ἰουδαν Ἰσκαριώθ, ὃς<br>ἐγένετο προδότης. |
| 16 [καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δώδεκα,]<br>καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι<br>Πέτρῳ,<br>17 καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου<br>καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ<br>Ἰακώβου καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς<br>ὄνομα [τα] Βοανηργές, ὃ ἔστιν<br>υἱοὶ βροντῆς. 18 καὶ Ἀνδρέαν<br>καὶ Φίλιππον,<br>καὶ Βαρθολομαῖον,<br>καὶ Μαθθαῖον,<br>καὶ Θωμᾶν,<br>καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ἀλφαίου<br>καὶ Θαδδαίου,<br>καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν Καναναῖον. | 36 Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος<br>Πέτρος,<br>καὶ Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ,<br>καὶ Ἰάκωβος,<br>καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ,<br>καὶ Φίλιππος,<br>καὶ Βαρθολομαῖος,<br>καὶ Θωμᾶς,<br>37 καὶ Μαθθαῖος,<br>καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου,<br>καὶ Θαδδαῖος,<br>καὶ Σίμων ὁ Καναναῖος,<br>38 καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. |   |

| <i>LOGOI 4</i>  |   |  |
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| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>4:1 Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς·<br/>μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ,<br/>ὅτι ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.<br/>2 μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες,<br/>ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε.<br/>μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες,<br/>ὅτι παρακληθήσεσθε.</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b></p>  |  |
| <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>5:2 Καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων·<br/>3 μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι,<br/>ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.<br/>4 μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες,<br/>ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.<br/>5 μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς,<br/>ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν.<br/>6 μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.<br/>7 μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες,<br/>ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται.<br/>8 μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῆ καρδία,<br/>ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται.<br/>9 μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί,<br/>ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.<br/>10 μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης,<br/>ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.<br/>11 μακάριοι ἐστε ὅταν</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>6:20 Καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν·<br/>μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ,<br/>ὅτι ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.<br/>21 μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες νῦν,<br/>ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε.<br/>μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντες νῦν,<br/>ὅτι γελάσετε.</p> |  |
| <p>3 μακάριοι ἐστε ὅταν μισησωσιν<br/>καὶ<br/>ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔπωσιν<br/>πάντων καθ' ὑμῶν</p>  | <p>ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν καὶ ἔπωσιν<br/>πάντων καθ' ὑμῶν [ψευδόμενοι]</p>   | <p>22 μακάριοι ἐστε ὅταν μισησωσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἄθρωποι καὶ ὅταν ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ὀνειδίσωσιν καὶ ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πανηρόν</p> |

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| <p>ἐνεκεν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.<br/> 4 χείριστε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε,<br/> ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ·<br/> οὕτως γὰρ ἔποιον· τοῖς προφήταις.</p> <p>5 πλὴν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις,<br/> ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.<br/> 6 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐμπλησθέντες νῦν,<br/> ὅτι πεινᾶσθε.<br/> οὐαὶ, οἱ γελῶντες νῦν,<br/> ὅτι πενήθησθε καὶ κλαύσετε.<br/> 7 οὐαὶ ὅταν ὑμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν πάντες<br/> οἱ ἄνθρωποι· κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν<br/> τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.</p> | <p>ἐνεκεν υἱοῦ.<br/> 12 χείριστε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε,<br/> ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς·<br/> οὕτως γὰρ ἐδίδαξαν τοῖς προφήταις τοὺς<br/> πρὸ ὑμῶν.</p>  | <p>ἐνεκεν υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.<br/> 4 χείριστε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε,<br/> ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ·<br/> οὕτως γὰρ ἔποιον· τοῖς προφήταις.</p> <p>5 πλὴν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις,<br/> ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.<br/> 6 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐμπλησθέντες νῦν,<br/> ὅτι πεινᾶσθε.<br/> οὐαὶ, οἱ γελῶντες νῦν,<br/> ὅτι πενήθησθε καὶ κλαύσετε.<br/> 7 οὐαὶ ὅταν ὑμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν πάντες<br/> οἱ ἄνθρωποι· κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν<br/> τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 5:13)<br/> 4:8 Καλὸν τὸ ἄλας·<br/> ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἄλας μωρανθῇ,<br/> ἐν τίνι ἀρτυθήσεται;<br/> 9 οὔτε εἰς γῆν οὔτε εἰς κοιλίαν<br/> εὐθετόν ἐστιν,<br/> ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό.</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/> 9:49 Πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἀλσθήσεται.<br/> 50 καλὸν τὸ ἄλας·<br/> ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἄλας ἀναλον γένηται,<br/> ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτυθήσεται;<br/> ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἄλα,<br/> καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b> (n-d after 18:9)<br/> 5:13 Ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἄλας τῆς γῆς·<br/> ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἄλας μωρανθῇ,<br/> ἐν τίνι ἀλσθήσεται;<br/> εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι εἰ μὴ<br/> βληθῆν· ἔξω καταπατέσθαι ὑπὸ<br/> τῶν ἀνθρώπων.</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 5:18; MQ+ 5:19)<br/> 4:10 νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου·<br/> ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/> 11:12 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ<br/> βαπτιστοῦ ἕως ἄρτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν.</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b> (cf. 21:33, a redaction of Mark 13:31)<br/> 16:16 Ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται μέχρι Ἰωάννου·<br/> ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ</p>  |



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| <p><u>βιάζεται.</u></p>  | <p>οὐρανῶν βιάζεται και βιασαται ἀρπαζουσιν αὐτήν. 13 πάντες γάρ οι προφήται και ὁ νόμος ἕως Ἰωάννου ἐπροφήτευσαν· 14 και ει θέλετε δεξασθαι, αὐτός ἐστιν Ἰηλίας ὁ μέλλον ἐρχεσθαι. 15 ὁ ἔχων ὄτα ἀκουέτω. ... 5:17 Μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας· οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι. 18 ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν· ἕως ἀν παρῆλθῃ ὁ οὐρανός και ἡ γῆ, ἰῶτα ἔν ἢ μία κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἕως ἀν πάντα γένηται. 19 ὅς ἐάν οὖν λύση μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων, και διδάξῃ οὕτως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐλαχιστος κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν· ὅς δ' ἀν ποιῆσῃ και διδάξῃ, οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν. 20 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐάν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλεον τῶν γραμματέων και Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.</p> | <p>οὐρανῶν βιάζεται και βιασαται ἀρπαζουσιν αὐτήν. 13 πάντες γὰρ οἱ προφῆται και ὁ νόμος ἕως Ἰωάννου ἐπροφήτευσαν· 14 και εἰ θέλετε δεξασθαι, αὐτός ἐστιν Ἰηλίας ὁ μέλλον ἐρχεσθαι. 15 ὁ ἔχων ὄτα ἀκουέτω. ... 5:17 Μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφῆτας· οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι. 18 ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν· ἕως ἀν παρῆλθῃ ὁ οὐρανός και ἡ γῆ, ἰῶτα ἔν ἢ μία κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἕως ἀν πάντα γένηται. 19 ὅς ἐάν οὖν λύση μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων, και διδάξῃ οὕτως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐλαχιστος κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν· ὅς δ' ἀν ποιῆσῃ και διδάξῃ, οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν.</p> | <p>εὐαγγελίζεται και πᾶς εἰς αὐτήν βιάζεται.</p>   |
| <p>11 <u>εὐκοπώτερον δέ ἐστιν τὸν οὐρανὸν και τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν ἢ μίαν κεραίαν τοῦ νόμου πεσεῖν.</u></p> | <p>12 ὅς ἐάν οὖν μὴ ποιῆσῃ μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐλαχιστος κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅς δ' ἀν ποιῆσῃ αὐτάς, οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται ἐν τῷ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.</p>   | <p>[cf. 13:31]</p>   | <p>17 <u>εὐκοπώτερον δέ ἐστιν τὸν οὐρανὸν και τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν ἢ τοῦ νόμου μίαν κεραίαν πεσεῖν.</u></p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 5:32)</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b></p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 19:9, a redaction of Mark 10:11–12)<br/>5:31 Ἐρρέθη δέ· ὅς ἀν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, δότω αὐτῇ</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b> (n-d to Mark 10:11–12)</p>  |

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| <p>4:13 Πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα<br/>αὐτοῦ καὶ<br/>γαμῶν ἄλλην μοιχεύει,<br/>καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένος γαμῶν<br/>μοιχεύει.</p>  | <p>10:11 Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς·<br/>ὅς ἂν ἀφολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα<br/>αὐτοῦ καὶ<br/>γαμήσῃ ἄλλην μοιχᾶται· ἐπ’<br/>αὐτὴν· 12 καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὴ<br/>ἀπολύσῃ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς<br/>γαμήσῃ ἄλλον μοιχᾶται.</p> | <p>ἀποστάσιον.<br/>32 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι<br/>πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα<br/>αὐτοῦ παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας<br/>ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι,<br/>καὶ ὅς ἐὰν ἀπολελυμένη γαμήσῃ,<br/>μοιχᾶται.</p>   | <p>16:18 Πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα<br/>αὐτοῦ καὶ<br/>γαμῶν ἑτέραν μοιχεύει,<br/>καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένος ἀπὸ ἀνδρός γαμῶν<br/>μοιχεύει.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 5:23–24; MQ+ 5:22)</p> <p>4:14 Πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ<br/>ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει·<br/>ὅς δ’ ἂν εἶπῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· ρακά,<br/>ἔνοχος ἔσται τῷ συνεδρίῳ·<br/>ὅς δ’ ἂν εἶπῃ· μωρέ,<br/>ἔνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γένναν τοῦ πυρός.<br/>15 ἔὰν ὄν προσφέρῃς τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ<br/>θυσιαστήριον κακεῖ μνησθήσῃς ὅτι ἀδελ-<br/>φός σου ἔχει τι κατὰ σοῦ, 16 ἄφες ἐκεῖ τὸ<br/>δῶρόν σου ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου<br/>καὶ ὕπαγε πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ<br/>σου, καὶ τότε ἔλθων πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρόν<br/>σου.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>[cf. 11:25]</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 6:14–15 and Mark 11:25)<br/>5:21 Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις·<br/>οὐ φονεύσεις, ὅς δ’ ἂν φονεύσῃ, ἔνοχος<br/>ἔσται τῇ κρίσει. 22 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι<br/>πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ<br/>ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει·<br/>ὅς δ’ ἂν εἶπῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· ρακά,<br/>ἔνοχος ἔσται τῷ συνεδρίῳ·<br/>ὅς δ’ ἂν εἶπῃ· μωρέ,<br/>ἔνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γένναν τοῦ πυρός.<br/>23 ἔὰν ὄν προσφέρῃς τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ<br/>θυσιαστήριον κακεῖ μνησθήσῃς ὅτι ἀδελ-<br/>φός σου ἔχει τι κατὰ σοῦ, 24 ἄφες ἐκεῖ τὸ<br/>δῶρόν σου ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου<br/>καὶ ὕπαγε πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ<br/>σου, καὶ τότε ἔλθων πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρόν<br/>σου.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b> (n-d to Mark 11:25)</p>  |
| <p>17 Διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀντιδικῷ σου</p>  |   | <p>12:57 Τί δὲ καὶ ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν οὐ κρίνετε τὸ<br/>δικαίον;<br/>58 ὡς γὰρ ὑπάγετε μετὰ τοῦ ἀντιδικοῦ σου</p>  |   |

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| <p>ἕως ὅτου ὑπάγεις μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ,</p> <p>μήποτε σε παραδῶ ὁ ἀντίδικος τῷ κριτῇ<br/>καὶ ὁ κριτὴς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ<br/>καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν βληθήσῃ·</p> <p>18 ἄμην λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν,<br/>ἕως τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην ἀποδῆς.</p> <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 5:34–35, 37, and 39b–41)</p> <p>4:19 Λέγω ὑμῖν· μὴ ὀμνῆτε ὄλωσ· μήτε<br/>ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὅτι θρόνος ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ,<br/>20 μήτε ἐν τῇ γῆ, ὅτι ὑποπόδιόν ἐστὶν τῶν<br/>ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, μήτε εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ,<br/>ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.</p> <p>21 ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν καὶ ναί, οὐ οὐ·<br/>τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ<br/>ἐστίν.</p> <p>22 τῷ ῥαπίζοντι σε εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα,<br/>σπρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·</p> | <p>ἕως ὅπου εἶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ,</p> <p>μήποτε σε παραδῶ ὁ ἀντίδικος τῷ κριτῇ<br/>καὶ ὁ κριτὴς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ<br/>καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν βληθήσῃ·</p> <p>26 ἄμην λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν,<br/>ἕως ἂν ἀποδῆς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.</p> <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>5:33 Παλιν ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς<br/>ἀρχαίοις· οὐκ ἐπιρκήσεις, ἀποδώσεις δὲ<br/>τῷ κυρίῳ τοὺς ὄρκους σου.</p> <p>34 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὀμνῆσαι ὄλωσ· μήτε<br/>ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὅτι θρόνος ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ,<br/>35 μήτε ἐν τῇ γῆ, ὅτι ὑποπόδιόν ἐστὶν τῶν<br/>ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, μήτε εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ,<br/>ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.</p> <p>36 μήτε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ σου ὀμόσης, ὅτι οὐ<br/>δύνασαι μίαν τρίχα λευκὴν ποιῆσαι ἢ<br/>μέλαιναν.</p> <p>37 ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν καὶ ναί, οὐ οὐ·<br/>τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ<br/>ἐστίν.</p> <p>38 ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη· ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντι<br/>ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντι ὀδόντος.</p> <p>39 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστήναι τῷ<br/>πονηρῷ· ἀλλ'<br/>ὅστις σε ῥαπίξει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα<br/>[σου], σπρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·</p> | <p>ἕως ὅπου εἶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ,<br/>μήποτε κατασύρη σε πρὸς τὸν κριτῆν,<br/>καὶ ὁ κριτὴς σε παραδώσει τῷ πράκτορι,<br/>καὶ ὁ πράκτωρ σε βαλεῖ εἰς φυλακὴν·<br/>59 λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν,<br/>ἕως καὶ τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτὸν ἀποδῆς.</p> <p><b>Luke (note sequence)</b></p> <p>6:29 τῷ τύποντι σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα,<br/>πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,</p> |
| <p>ἕως ὅτου ὑπάγεις μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ,</p> <p>μήποτε σε παραδῶ ὁ ἀντίδικος τῷ κριτῇ<br/>καὶ ὁ κριτὴς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ<br/>καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν βληθήσῃ·</p> <p>18 ἄμην λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν,<br/>ἕως τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην ἀποδῆς.</p> <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>[cf. 14:65,<br/>15:21–24, 27]</p>  | <p>ἕως ὅπου εἶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ,</p> <p>μήποτε σε παραδῶ ὁ ἀντίδικος τῷ κριτῇ<br/>καὶ ὁ κριτὴς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ<br/>καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν βληθήσῃ·</p> <p>26 ἄμην λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν,<br/>ἕως ἂν ἀποδῆς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.</p> <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>5:33 Παλιν ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς<br/>ἀρχαίοις· οὐκ ἐπιρκήσεις, ἀποδώσεις δὲ<br/>τῷ κυρίῳ τοὺς ὄρκους σου.</p> <p>34 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὀμνῆσαι ὄλωσ· μήτε<br/>ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὅτι θρόνος ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ,<br/>35 μήτε ἐν τῇ γῆ, ὅτι ὑποπόδιόν ἐστὶν τῶν<br/>ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, μήτε εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ,<br/>ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.</p> <p>36 μήτε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ σου ὀμόσης, ὅτι οὐ<br/>δύνασαι μίαν τρίχα λευκὴν ποιῆσαι ἢ<br/>μέλαιναν.</p> <p>37 ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν καὶ ναί, οὐ οὐ·<br/>τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ<br/>ἐστίν.</p> <p>38 ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη· ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντι<br/>ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντι ὀδόντος.</p> <p>39 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστήναι τῷ<br/>πονηρῷ· ἀλλ'<br/>ὅστις σε ῥαπίξει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα<br/>[σου], σπρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·</p> | <p>ἕως ὅπου εἶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ,<br/>μήποτε κατασύρη σε πρὸς τὸν κριτῆν,<br/>καὶ ὁ κριτὴς σε παραδώσει τῷ πράκτορι,<br/>καὶ ὁ πράκτωρ σε βαλεῖ εἰς φυλακὴν·<br/>59 λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν,<br/>ἕως καὶ τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτὸν ἀποδῆς.</p> <p><b>Luke (note sequence)</b></p> <p>6:29 τῷ τύποντι σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα,<br/>πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,</p> |

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| καὶ τῷ θεῶντι σοι κρηθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον.   | 40 καὶ τῷ θεῶντι σοι κρηθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον.  | καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄφροντος σοῦ, τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς.   |
| 23 καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἓν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.   | 41 καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἓν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.   | 30 παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε διδού, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄφροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει. ...  |
| 24 τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δύο, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δαμιζομένου, τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει.   | 42 τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δύο, καὶ τὸν θελόντα ἀπὸ σοῦ, δαμιζοσθῆαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς.  | 27 Ἄλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς,                    |
| 25 ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς,   | 43 ἴκουσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου.  | 28 εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπιηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς. ...                                 |
| 26 εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. 27 καὶ ἔσθεσε νιοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν, ὅτι τὸν ἦλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροῦς καὶ ἀγαθοῦς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. | 44 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν· ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς, 45 ὅπως γένησθε νιοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν, ὅτι τὸν ἦλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροῦς καὶ ἀγαθοῦς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. | 32 Καὶ εἰ ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστί; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶσιν. |
| 28 Εἰ .. ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;  | 46 Ἐάν γὰρ ἀγαπήσῃτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;  | 33 καὶ [γὰρ] ἐάν ἀγαθοποιήτε τοὺς ἀγαθοποιούντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστί; καὶ οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν.   |
| 29 καὶ ἐάν δαμίσητε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;   | 47 καὶ ἐάν ἀσπίσησθε τοὺς ἀελαφοὺς ὑμῶν μόνον, τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;   | 34 καὶ ἐάν δαμίσητε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις [ἐστί]; καὶ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀμαρτωλοῖς δαμιζοῦσιν ἵνα      |

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| <p>30 Γίνεσθε οικτίρμονες ὡς ..<br/>ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.</p>  | <p>48 ἔσεσθε οὖν ἡμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς<br/>ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστιν.</p>  | <p>ἀπολάβωσιν τὰ ἴσα. ...<br/>36 γίνεσθε οικτίρμονες καθὼς<br/>[καὶ] ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.</p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 7:1-2)<br/>4:31 .. Μὴ κρίνετε, ... μὴ κριθῆτε·<br/>ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε<br/>κριθήσεσθε.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>4:24 Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· βλέπετε<br/>τί ἀκούετε,<br/>ἐν ᾧ μέτρω μετρεῖτε<br/>μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν<br/>καὶ προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.</p>                        | <p><b>Matthew</b> (n-d after 13:23)<br/>7:1 Μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε·<br/>2 ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε<br/>κριθήσεσθε.</p>   |
| <p>32 καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέτρω μετρεῖτε<br/>μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.</p>   | <p>4:24 Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· βλέπετε<br/>τί ἀκούετε,<br/>ἐν ᾧ μέτρω μετρεῖτε<br/>μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν<br/>καὶ προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b> (cf. 8:18, a redaction of Mark 4:24)<br/>6:37 Καὶ μὴ κρίνετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε·<br/>καὶ μὴ καταδικάζετε,<br/>καὶ οὐ μὴ καταδικασθῆτε.<br/>ἀπολύετε, καὶ ἀπολυθήσεσθε·<br/>38 δίδοτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν·<br/>μέτρον καλὸν πεπερασμένον<br/>σεσαλευμένον ὑπερεκχυνόμενον<br/>δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ὑμῶν.<br/>ὃ γὰρ μέτρω μετρεῖτε<br/>ἀντι μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>4:33 Καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν<br/>ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι,<br/>οὕτως ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς.</p>            | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>7:12 Πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐάν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν<br/>ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι,<br/>οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς·<br/>οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>6:31 Καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν<br/>ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι,<br/>ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως.</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>4:33 Μήτι δύνатаι τυφλὸς ὀδηγεῖν;<br/>οὐχὶ ἀμφοτέροι εἰς βόθυνον πεσοῦνται;</p>                  | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>15:14 "Ἄφετε αὐτούς, τυφλοὶ εἰσὶν ὀδηγοὶ<br/>τυφλῶν· τυφλὸς δὲ τυφλὸν ἐάν ὀδηγῆ,<br/>ἀμφοτέροι εἰς βόθυνον πεσοῦνται;</p>                         | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>6:39 Εἴπεν δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς·<br/>μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὀδηγεῖν;<br/>οὐχὶ ἀμφοτέροι εἰς βόθυνον ἐπιπεσοῦνται;</p>  |

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| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>4:35 <u>Ὁὐκ ἔστιν μαθητῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον·</u><br/><u>οὐδὲ δοῦλος ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ·</u><br/><u>ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ,</u><br/><u>καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὡς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ.</u></p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>10:24 <u>Ὁὐκ ἔστιν μαθητῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον·</u><br/><u>οὐδὲ δοῦλος ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ.</u><br/>25 <u>ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ,</u><br/><u>καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὡς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ· εἰ τὸν οἰκοδοσῶσιν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκάλεσαν,</u><br/><u>πόσῳ μᾶλλον τοὺς οἰκιακοὺς αὐτοῦ.</u></p>  | <p><b>Mark</b></p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>6:40 <u>Τι δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου,</u><br/><u>τὴν δὲ δοκὸν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀφθαλμῷ οὐ κατανοεῖς;</u> 42 <u>πὼς δύνασαι λέγειν·</u><br/><u>τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· ἀδελφέ, ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου,</u><br/><u>αὐτὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου δοκὸν, οὐ βλέπων;</u><br/><u>βλέπων;</u> ὑποκριτῶν.<br/><u>ἔκβαλε πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου,</u><br/><u>καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις</u><br/><u>τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκβαλεῖν.</u></p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>4:36 <u>Τι δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου,</u><br/><u>τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δοκὸν οὐ κατανοεῖς;</u> 37 <u>πὼς ἐρεῖς</u><br/><u>τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου,</u><br/><u>καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ δοκὸς ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου;</u><br/><u>ὑποκριτῶν,</u><br/><u>ἔκβαλε πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου τὴν δοκὸν,</u><br/><u>καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις</u><br/><u>ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ... Ἔ... ὀφθαλμῷ... τὸ ἀδελφοῦ σου.</u></p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>7:3 <u>Τι δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου,</u><br/><u>τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δοκὸν οὐ κατανοεῖς;</u> 4 <u>ἢ πὼς ἐρεῖς</u><br/><u>τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου,</u><br/><u>καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ δοκὸς ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου;</u><br/><u>5 ὑποκριτῶν,</u><br/><u>ἔκβαλε πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου τὴν δοκὸν,</u><br/><u>καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις</u><br/><u>ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.</u><br/>6 <u>μηδὲ ὅτε τὸ ἄγιον τοῖς κυσίν μιθὲ βάλῃτε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων, μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποσίν αὐτῶν καὶ στραφέντες ῥήξωσιν ὑμᾶς.</u></p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>6:41 <u>Τι δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου,</u><br/><u>τὴν δὲ δοκὸν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀφθαλμῷ οὐ κατανοεῖς;</u> 42 <u>πὼς δύνασαι λέγειν·</u><br/><u>τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· ἀδελφέ, ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου,</u><br/><u>αὐτὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου δοκὸν, οὐ βλέπων;</u><br/><u>βλέπων;</u> ὑποκριτῶν.<br/><u>ἔκβαλε πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου,</u><br/><u>καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις</u><br/><u>τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκβαλεῖν.</u></p> |

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| <p><b>Logoi</b></p> <p>4:38 Οὐκ ἔστιν δένδρον καλὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν σαπρὸν, οὐδὲ πάλιν δένδρον σαπρὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν.</p> <p>39 ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκειται.</p> <p>μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἐξ ἀκανθῶν σῦκα ἢ ἐκ τριβόλων σταφυλάς;</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>7:15 Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασιν προβατίων, ἑσῶθεν δὲ εἰσὶν λύκοι ἀρπαγες.</p> <p>16 ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.</p> <p>μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν σταφυλάς ἢ ἀπὸ τριβόλων σῦκα;</p> <p>17 οὕτως πᾶν δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποῦς καλοῦς ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ σαπρὸν δένδρον καρποῦς πονηροῦς ποιεῖ.</p>                              | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>7:15 Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύμασιν προβατίων, ἑσῶθεν δὲ εἰσὶν λύκοι ἀρπαγες.</p> <p>16 ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.</p> <p>μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν σταφυλάς ἢ ἀπὸ τριβόλων σῦκα;</p> <p>17 οὕτως πᾶν δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποῦς καλοῦς ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ σαπρὸν δένδρον καρποῦς πονηροῦς ποιεῖ.</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>6:43 Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν δένδρον καλὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν σαπρὸν, οὐδὲ πάλιν δένδρον σαπρὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν.</p> <p>44 ἕκαστον γὰρ δένδρον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου καρποῦ γινώσκειται.</p> <p>οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀκανθῶν συλλέγουσιν σῦκα οὐδὲ ἐκ βιάτου σῖταφιλήν, τρυγῶσιν.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p> <p>4:40 Ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἠρσαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει ἀγαθά, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐκβάλλει πονηρά· ἐκ γὰρ περισσεύματος καρδίας λαλεῖ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>12:34 Γεννήματα ἐχθρῶν, πᾶς δύνασθε ἀγαθὰ λαλεῖν πονηροὶ ὄντες; ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ περισσεύματος τῆς καρδίας τὸ στόμα λαλεῖ.</p> <p>35 ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἠρσαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει ἀγαθά, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἠρσαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει πονηρά.</p> <p>36 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶν ῥήμα ἀργὸν ὁ λαλήσουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀποδώσουσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως· 37 ἐκ</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b> (note sequence)</p> <p>12:34 Γεννήματα ἐχθρῶν, πᾶς δύνασθε ἀγαθὰ λαλεῖν πονηροὶ ὄντες; ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ περισσεύματος τῆς καρδίας τὸ στόμα λαλεῖ.</p> <p>35 ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἠρσαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει ἀγαθά, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἠρσαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει πονηρά.</p> <p>36 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶν ῥήμα ἀργὸν ὁ λαλήσουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀποδώσουσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως· 37 ἐκ</p> | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>6:45 Ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἠρσαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ προφέρει τὸ πονηρόν;</p> <p>ἐκ γὰρ περισσεύματος καρδίας λαλεῖ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.</p>   |

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| <p>γάρ τῶν λόγων σου δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων σου καταδικασθήσῃ. ...<br/>7:21 Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι: κύριε κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.</p>  | <p>46 τί δέ με καλεῖτε: κύριε κύριε,<br/>καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;</p>   |
| <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>7:24 Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἀκούει μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ποιῆι αὐτούς, ὁμοιωθήσεται ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ, ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν· 25 καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέπεσαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν, τεθεμελιωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν. 26 καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ μὴ ποιῶν αὐτοὺς ὁμοιωθήσεται ἀνδρὶ μωρῷ, ὅστις ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον· 27 καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέκοψαν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνη, καὶ ἔπεσεν,<br/>καὶ ἦν ἡ πτώσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>6:47 Πᾶς ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς με καὶ ἀκούων μου τῶν λόγων, καὶ ποιῶν αὐτούς, ὑποδείξω ὑμῖν τίνι ἔσστιν ὅμοιος· 48 ὅμοιος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ ὁικοδομοῦντι οἰκίαν ὃς ἔσκαψεν καὶ ἐβάθυνεν καὶ ἔθηκεν θεμέλιον ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν· πλημύρης δὲ γενομένης προσήρξεν ὁ ποταμὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν σαλευσάσθαι αὐτήν διὰ τὸ καλῶς οἰκοδομηθῆσαι αὐτήν. 49 ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας καὶ μὴ ποιήσας ὅμοιος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδομήσαντι οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν χωρὶς θεμελίου, ἣ προσήρξεν ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ εὐθὺς συνέπεσεν καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ ρήγμα τῆς οἰκίας ἐκείνης μέγα.</p> |
| <p><b>Mark</b><br/>4:42 Πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους καὶ ποιῶν αὐτούς, 43 ὅμοιος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃς ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν· καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέπεσαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν, τεθεμελιωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν. 44 καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους καὶ μὴ ποιῶν αὐτοὺς ὅμοιος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ ὃς ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον· καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέκοψαν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνη, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν,<br/>καὶ ἦν ἡ πτώσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη.</p>   | <p>41 τί με καλεῖτε: κύριε κύριε,<br/>καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;</p>  |



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| <p><b>Mark</b><br/>2:1-12</p> <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 8:5-10)<br/>4:45 Ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους, εἰσηλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ.<br/>46 καὶ ἦλθεν αὐτῶ· ἐκατόνταρχος παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων· ὁ παῖς μου κακῶς ἔχει· καὶ λέγει αὐτῶ· ἔγω· ἔλθων θεραπεύσω αὐτόν.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b> (note sequence)<br/>7:28 Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους ...<br/>8:5 Εἰσελθὼντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς Καφαρναούμ προσήλθεν αὐτῶ· ἐκατόνταρχος παρακαλῶν αὐτόν 6 καὶ λέγων· κύριε, ὁ παῖς μου βέβηται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ παραλητικός, δεινῶς βασανιζόμενος, 7 καὶ λέγει αὐτῶ· ἔγω· ἔλθων θεραπεύσω αὐτόν.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>7:1 Ἐπειδὴ ἐπήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰσηλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ.<br/>2 ἔκατόνταρχου δὲ πνιός δουλοῦ κακῶς ἔχων, ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν, ὃς ἦν αὐτῶ· ἔντιμος,<br/>3 ἀκούσας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἑβραίων αἰτητῶν, ὅπως ἔλθων διασώσῃ τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ.<br/>4 οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν σπουδαίως λέγοντες ὅτι ἀξίός ἐστιν ᾧ παρέξῃ τούτο· 5 ἀγαπᾷ γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχοδόμησεν ἡμῖν· 6 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐπορεύετο σὺν αὐτοῖς· ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπεμψεν φίλους ὁ ἔκατονταρχος λέγων αὐτῶ· κύριε, μὴ σκύλλου, οὐ γὰρ ἱκανὸς εἰμι ἵνα ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην μου εἰσελθῆς· 7 διὸ οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἤξισα πρὸς σὲ ἔλθειν· ἀλλὰ εἰπέ λόγῳ, καὶ ἰαθήτω ὁ παῖς μου· 8 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὑπὸ ἔξουσίαν τασσόμενος ἔχων ὑπ' ἐμαυτὸν στρατιώτας, καὶ λέγω τούτῳ· καὶ ἔρχεται, καὶ ἐρᾷται, καὶ ἔρχεται, καὶ ἔρχεται, καὶ ἔρχεται, καὶ ἔρχεται, καὶ ποιεῖ.<br/>9 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐθαύμασεν αὐτόν καὶ στραφεὶς τῶ· ἀκούσθητι, αὐτῶ</p> |
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| <p>λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ<br/> <u>ποσαύτην πίστιν εὔρον.</u><br/> 51 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῳ·<br/> <u>ὑπάγε, ὡς ἐπίστευσας γεννηθῆτω σοι,</u><br/> καὶ ὑποστρέψας εἰς τὸν οἶκον,<br/> εὔρον τὸν παῖδα ὑγιαίνοντα.</p> | <p>ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, παρ' οὐδενὶ<br/> ποσαύτην πίστιν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ εὔρον. ...<br/> 13 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῳ·<br/> <u>ὑπάγε, ὡς ἐπίστευσας γεννηθῆτω σοι,</u><br/> καὶ ἰδθῆθι ὁ παῖς [αὐτοῦ] ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.</p> | <p>ὄχλῳ εἶπεν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ<br/> ποσαύτην πίστιν εὔρον.<br/> 10 καὶ ὑποστρέψαντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον οἱ<br/> πεμφθέντες εὔρον τὸν δοῦλον ὑγιαίνοντα.</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 11:10)<br/> 5:1 .. ὁ .. Ἰωάννης ἀκούσας<br/> περὶ πάντων τούτων<br/> πέμψας διὰ τῶν<br/> μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ 2 εἶπεν αὐτῷ·<br/> σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἔτερον προσδοκώμεν;</p>  | <p><b>Matthew</b> (n-d at 3:3)<br/> 11:2 Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀκούσας ἐν τῷ<br/> δεσποτηρίῳ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ<br/> πέμψας διὰ τῶν<br/> μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ 3 εἶπεν αὐτῷ·<br/> σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἔτερον προσδοκώμεν;</p>               | <p><b>Luke</b> (n-d at 3:1)<br/> 7:18 Καὶ ἀπηγγείλαν Ἰωάννη οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ<br/> περὶ πάντων τούτων, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος<br/> δύο τινὰς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰωάννης<br/> 19 ἔπεμψεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον λέγων·<br/> σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκώμεν;<br/> 20 παραγενόμενοι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνδρες<br/> εἶπαν· Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστὴς ἀπέστειλεν<br/> ἡμᾶς πρὸς σέ λέγων· σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ<br/> ἄλλον προσδοκώμεν; 21 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ<br/> εθεράπευσεν πολλοὺς ἀπὸ νόσων καὶ<br/> μαστιγῶν καὶ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν καὶ τυφλοῖς<br/> πολλοῖς ἐχέριστο βλέπεν.<br/> 22 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·<br/> <u>πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννῃ ἃ</u><br/> <u>εἶδετε καὶ ἠκούσατε·</u><br/> <u>τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν</u><br/> <u>καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν,</u><br/> <u>λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται</u></p> |
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| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>5:10 Ἦλθεν γάρ Ἰωάννης<br/>ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἦν ἢ ἐξ ἀθροῶτων; ...<br/>31 ἐάν εἴπομεν· ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, εἶρη-</p>  | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>21:32 Ἦλθεν γάρ Ἰωάννης<br/>πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης,</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>7:29 Καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀκούσας</p>   |

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| <p>καὶ οἱ τελῶναι<br/>ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ<br/>βαπτισθέντες τὸ βάπτισμα<br/>αὐτοῦ. 11 ὑμεῖς δὲ</p> <p>οὐκ<br/>ἐπίστευσατε αὐτῷ.<br/>[cf. 5:5 and 7]</p>  | <p>καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ,<br/>οἱ δὲ τελῶναι καὶ αἱ πόρνοι<br/>ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ·</p> <p>ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰδόντες</p> <p>οὐδὲ μετεμελήθητε ὕστερον<br/>τοῦ πιστεῦσθαι αὐτῷ.</p> | <p>καὶ οἱ τελῶναι<br/>ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ<br/>βαπτισθέντες τὸ βάπτισμα<br/>αὐτοῦ. 30 οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ<br/>νομικοὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ<br/>ἠθέτησαν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μὴ<br/>βαπτισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.</p>  | <p>καὶ οἱ τελῶναι<br/>ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ<br/>βαπτισθέντες τὸ βάπτισμα<br/>αὐτοῦ. 11 ὑμεῖς δὲ</p> <p>οὐκ<br/>ἐπίστευσατε αὐτῷ.<br/>[cf. 5:5 and 7]</p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MC+ 11:16–19)</p> <p>5:12 Τίνοι .. ὁμοίωσά<br/>τῆν γενεὰν ταύτην καὶ τίνοι ἐστὶν ὁμοίως<br/>13 ὁμοία ἐστὶν παιδίοις καθημένοις ἐν<br/>ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἃ</p> <p>προσφωνοῦντα τοῖς ἐτέροις λέγουσιν·<br/>ἠυλόησαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε,<br/>ἐθρηνησαμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐκόψασθε.</p> <p>14 ἦλθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης<br/>μὴ ἐσθίων μίττε πίνων,<br/>καὶ λέγετε· δαϊμόνιον ἔχει.</p> <p>15 ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσθίων<br/>καὶ πίνων, καὶ λέγετε· ἰδοὺ ἀνθρώπος<br/>φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης, τελωνῶν φίλος καὶ<br/>ἀμαρτωλῶν. 16 καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ<br/>τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>διὰ τί οὐκ οὐκ<br/>ἐπίστευσατε αὐτῷ; ...<br/>30 ἐφοβούντο τὸν ὄχλον· ἅπαντες<br/>γὰρ εἶχον τὸν Ἰωάννην ὄντως ὅτι<br/>προφήτης ἦν.</p>             | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>11:16 Τίνοι δὲ ὁμοίωσά<br/>τῆν γενεὰν ταύτην;<br/>ὁμοία ἐστὶν παιδίοις καθημένοις ἐν<br/>ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἃ</p> <p>προσφωνοῦντα τοῖς ἐτέροις 17 λέγουσιν·<br/>ἠυλόησαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε,<br/>ἐθρηνησαμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐκόψασθε.</p> <p>18 ἦλθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης<br/>μίττε ἐσθίων μίττε πίνων,<br/>καὶ λέγουσιν· δαϊμόνιον ἔχει.</p> <p>19 ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσθίων<br/>καὶ πίνων, καὶ λέγουσιν· ἰδοὺ ἀνθρώπος<br/>φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης, τελωνῶν φίλος καὶ<br/>ἀμαρτωλῶν. καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ<br/>τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>7:31 Τίνοι οὖν ὁμοίωσά τοὺς ἀνθρώπους<br/>τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ τίνοι ἐστὶν ὁμοίως<br/>32 ὁμοιοὶ εἰσὶν παιδίοις τοῖς ἐν<br/>ἀγορᾷ καθημένοις καὶ</p> <p>προσφωνοῦσιν· ἀλλήλοισ ἃ λέγει·<br/>ἠυλόησαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε,<br/>ἐθρηνησαμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐκλαύσατε.</p> <p>33 ἐλήλυθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστῆς<br/>μὴ ἐσθίων ὄρτον μίττε πίνων οἶνον,<br/>καὶ λέγετε· δαϊμόνιον ἔχει.</p> <p>34 ἐλήλυθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσθίων<br/>καὶ πίνων, καὶ λέγετε· ἰδοὺ ἀνθρώπος<br/>φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης, φίλος τελωνῶν καὶ<br/>ἀμαρτωλῶν. 35 καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ<br/>πάντων τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς.</p> |

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| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>5:17 Ἐγούσιν <u>δέ</u> οἱ πρεσβύτεροι<br/>γυναικᾶ ἐπὶ πολλαῖς<br/>ἀμφιγίαις διαβεβλημένην,</p> <p>18 <u>καὶ</u> <u>στῆσαντες</u> αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>14:3 Καὶ ὄντος αὐτοῦ<br/>ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ<br/>λεπροῦ, κατακειμένου αὐτοῦ ἤλθεν<br/>γυνή</p> <p>ἔχουσα<br/>ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νόδου πιστικῆς<br/>πολυτελοῦς, συντριψασα τὴν<br/>ἀλάβαστρον κατέχευεν αὐτοῦ τῆς<br/>κεφαλῆς.</p> <p>4 ἦσαν δὲ τινες ἀνανακτοῦντες<br/>πρὸς αὐτούς·<br/>εἰς τὴ ἄπωλεια αὐτῆ τοῦ μύρου<br/>γένονεν; 5 ἠδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ<br/>μύρον παραθῆναι ἐπάνω δυναρῶν<br/>τριακοσίων καὶ δοθῆναι τοῖς<br/>πτωχοῖς· καὶ ἐνεβριμῶντο αὐτῇ.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>26:6 Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γενομένου<br/>ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ<br/>λεπροῦ, 7 προσήλθεν αὐτῷ<br/>γυνή</p> <p>ἔχουσα<br/>ἀλάβαστρον μύρου βαρυτίμου<br/>καὶ κατέχευεν ἐπὶ τῆς<br/>κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου.</p> <p>8 ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ μαθηταὶ ἠγανάκτησαν<br/>λέγοντες·<br/>εἰς τὴ ἄπωλεια αὐτῆ;<br/>9 ἔδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο<br/>παραθῆναι πολλοῦ<br/>καὶ δοθῆναι<br/>πτωχοῖς.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b> (see Papias, <i>Expos.</i> 2:1; John 8:3–11)<br/>7:36 Ἠρώτα <u>δέ</u> τις αὐτὸν ἱσθῆναι Φαρισαίων<br/>ἵνα φάγη μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰσελθὼν<br/>εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φαρισαίου<br/>κατεκλίθη, 37 καὶ ἰδοὺ<br/>γυνὴ ἥτις ἦν τῇ πόλει<br/>ἀμφοτωλῶς,<br/>καὶ ἐπγνοῦσα ὅτι κατέκειται ἐν τῇ<br/>οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Φαρισαίου, κομίσασα<br/>ἀλάβαστρον μύρου<br/>38 <u>καὶ</u> <u>στῆσά</u> ὀπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας<br/>αὐτοῦ κλαίουσα τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἤρξατο<br/>βρέχειν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς θριξίν<br/>τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἐξέμασεν καὶ<br/>κατεφίλει τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤλειφεν<br/>τῷ μύρῳ.<br/>39 ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Φαρισαῖος ὁ καλέσας αὐτὸν<br/>εἶπεν· ἐν αὐτῷ λέγων·<br/>οὗτος εἰ ἦν προφήτης, ἐγίνωσκεν ἂν τις<br/>καὶ ποταπὴ ἡ γυνὴ ἥτις ἄπτεται αὐτοῦ,<br/>ὅτι ἀμφοτωλὸς ἐστίν.<br/>40 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς<br/>εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Σίμων, ἔγω σοί<br/>τι εἶπεν· ὁ δὲ <u>διδάσκαλε</u>, εἰπέ, φησίν.<br/>41 δύο χρεοφειλέται ἦσαν δανιστῆ τινι-</p> |
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| <p>6 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἄφετε αὐτήν· τί αὐτῇ κόπους παρέχετε; καλὸν ἔργον ἠργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί.</p> <p>7 πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ὅταν θέλῃτε δύνασθε αὐτοῖς εὖ ποιῆσαι, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε. 8 ὁ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν·</p> | <p>10 γυνὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τί κόπους παρέχετε τῇ γυναίκει; ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἠργάσατο εἰς ἐμέ.</p> <p>11 πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε.</p>  | <p>ὁ εἰς ὧφειλεν δηγήσασθαι πεντακόσια, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος πενήκοντα. 42 μὴ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦναι ἀμφοτέροις ἐχαρίσατο, τίς οὖν αὐτῶν πλεῖον ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν;</p> <p>43 ἀποκριθεὶς Σίμων εἶπεν· ὑπολαμβάνω ὅτι ᾧ τὸ πλεῖον ἐχαρίσατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ὀρθῶς ἔφρανας, 44 καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ Σίμωνι ἔφη· βλέπεις ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα;</p>   |
| <p>προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμόν.</p> <p>9 ἀμὴν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἐάν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ὁ ἐποίησεν αὐτὴ λαληθήσεται εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς.</p>  | <p>12 βαλοῦσα γὰρ αὐτὴ τὸ μύρον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματός μου πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με ἐποίησεν.</p> <p>13 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἐάν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, λαληθήσεται καὶ ὁ ἐποίησεν αὐτὴ εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς.</p> | <p>εἰσῆλθὸν σου εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ὕδωρ μοι ἐπὶ πόδας οὐ ἔδωκας· αὕτη δὲ τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεξέν μου τοὺς πόδας καὶ ταῖς θριαξίν αὐτῆς ἐξέμαξεν. 45 φιλημά μοι οὐκ ἔδωκας, αὕτη δὲ ὄψ' ἦς εἰσῆλθον οὐ διέλιπεν καταφιλοῦσά μου τοὺς πόδας.</p> <p>46 ελαίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν μου οὐκ ἠλειψας· αὕτη δὲ μύρω ἠλειψεν τοὺς πόδας μου.</p>   |
| <p>47 οὐ χάριν· λέγω σοι, ἀφένεται αἱ ἀμαρτίαι αὐτῆς αἱ πολλαί, ὅτι ἠγάπησεν πολὺ· ᾧ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀφίεται, ὀλίγον ἀγαπᾷ.</p>  | <p>47 οὐ χάριν· λέγω σοι, ἀφένεται αἱ ἀμαρτίαι αὐτῆς αἱ πολλαί, ὅτι ἠγάπησεν πολὺ· ᾧ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀφίεται, ὀλίγον ἀγαπᾷ.</p>   | <p>εἰσῆλθὸν σου εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ὕδωρ μοι ἐπὶ πόδας οὐ ἔδωκας· αὕτη δὲ τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεξέν μου τοὺς πόδας καὶ ταῖς θριαξίν αὐτῆς ἐξέμαξεν. 45 φιλημά μοι οὐκ ἔδωκας, αὕτη δὲ ὄψ' ἦς εἰσῆλθον οὐ διέλιπεν καταφιλοῦσά μου τοὺς πόδας.</p> <p>46 ελαίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν μου οὐκ ἠλειψας· αὕτη δὲ μύρω ἠλειψεν τοὺς πόδας μου.</p> <p>47 οὐ χάριν· λέγω σοι, ἀφένεται αἱ ἀμαρτίαι αὐτῆς αἱ πολλαί, ὅτι ἠγάπησεν πολὺ· ᾧ δὲ ὀλίγον ἀφίεται, ὀλίγον ἀγαπᾷ.</p> |

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| <p>καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας ἔγραψεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. 22 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν, καὶ ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ' εἰς.</p> <p>23 ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν <u>αὐτῇ</u>: γύναι, ποῦ εἶσαι; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν; ἢ δὲ εἶπεν, οὐδεὶς, κύριε. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· <u>πορεύου</u>.</p>                            |  | <p>48 <u>εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῇ</u>, ἀφέωνταί σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι.</p> <p>49 καὶ ἤρξαντο οἱ συνανακειμένοι λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· τίς οὗτός ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ἁμαρτίας ἀφίρσεν; 50 εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα· ἢ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε· <u>πορεύου</u> εἰς εἰρήνην.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 13:3–11, 13)</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>4:1 Καὶ πάλιν ἤρξατο διδάσκειν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ συνάγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλος πλείστος,</p> <p>ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα καθῆσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἦσαν.</p> <p>2 καὶ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς πολλὰ καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ.</p> <p>3 ἀκούετε. ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείραι.</p> <p>4 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπείρειν</p> | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>8:4 Συνιόντος δὲ ὄχλου πολλοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν</p>   |
| <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>13:1 Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐξελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῆς οἰκίας ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν· 2 καὶ συνήχθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλοι πολλοί,</p> <p>ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα καθῆσθαι,</p> <p>καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εἰστήκει.</p> <p>3 καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ ἐν παραβολαῖς λέγων·</p> | <p>ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς εἰρήμων τοῦ σπείραι.</p> <p>4 καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν</p>   | <p>εἶπεν διὰ παραβολῆς·</p>  |
| <p>5·24 Ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείραι.</p> <p>καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν</p>   | <p>5 <u>εἶπεν</u> ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείραι τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν</p>   | <p>εἶπεν διὰ παραβολῆς·</p>  |

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| ὁ μὲν ἔπεσον παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,<br>καὶ ἦλθεν τὰ πετεινά<br>καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό.<br>25 καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσον ἐπὶ τὴν<br>πέτραν, | ὁ μὲν ἔπεσον παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,<br>καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό.<br>5 καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσον ἐπὶ τὸ<br>πετρώφει, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν<br>γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐθὺς<br>ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν<br>βάθος γῆς· 6 καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν<br>ὁ ἥλιος ἐκαυματίσθη<br>καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίξαν<br>ἐξηράνθη.   | ὁ μὲν ἔπεσον παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,<br>καὶ ἦλθεν τὰ πετεινά<br>καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό.<br>5 καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσον ἐπὶ τὸ<br>πετρώφει, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν<br>γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐθὺς<br>ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν<br>βάθος γῆς· 6 καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν<br>ὁ ἥλιος ἐκαυματίσθη<br>καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίξαν<br>ἐξηράνθη. | ὁ μὲν ἔπεσον παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν<br>καὶ κατέφαγόν τινι,<br>κατέφαγεν αὐτό.<br>6 καὶ ἕτερον κατέπεσον ἐπὶ τὴν<br>πέτραν,<br>καὶ<br>φυνὲν<br>ἐξηράνθη διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν<br>ικμάδα.  |
| 26 καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσον ἐπὶ<br>τὰς ἀκάνθας, καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ<br>ἄκανθαι καὶ ἔπνιξαν αὐτό.                                 | 7 καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσον εἰς<br>τὰς ἀκάνθας, καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ<br>ἄκανθαι καὶ συνέπνιξαν αὐτό,<br>καὶ καρπὸν οὐκ ἔδωκεν.   | 7 καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσον εἰς<br>τὰς ἀκάνθας, καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ<br>ἄκανθαι καὶ ἔπνιξαν αὐτό.  | 7 καὶ ἕτερον ἔπεσον ἐν μέσῳ<br>τῶν ἀκάνθων, καὶ συμφοίσει αἱ<br>ἄκανθαι ἀπέπνιξαν αὐτό.   |
| 27 καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσον εἰς τὴν γῆν<br>τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου<br>καρπός,   | 8 καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσον εἰς τὴν γῆν<br>τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου<br>καρπὸν ἀναβαίνοντα καὶ<br>αὐξανόμενα καὶ ἔφερον<br>ἐν τριάκοντα<br>καὶ ἐν ἐξήκοντα<br>καὶ ἐν ἑκατόν.<br>9 καὶ ἔλεγεν·<br>ὅς ἔχων ὄψα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.<br>10 Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο κατὰ μόνας,<br>ἤρτων αὐτῶν οἱ περὶ<br>αὐτῶν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα τὰς<br>παραβολαῖς. | 8 ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν<br>τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου<br>καρπός,<br>ὁ μὲν ἑκατόν,<br>ὁ δὲ ἐξήκοντα,<br>ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα.<br>9 ὁ ἔχων ὄψα ἀκουέτω.<br>10 Καὶ προσελθόντες<br>οἱ μαθηταὶ εἶπαν<br>αὐτῶν· διὰ τί<br>ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖς αὐτοῖς   | 8 καὶ ἕτερον ἔπεσον εἰς τὴν γῆν<br>τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ φυνὲν ἐποίησεν<br>καρπὸν<br>ἐκατονταπλασίονα.<br>ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει·<br>ὁ ἔχων ὄψα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.<br>9 ἐπιτηρῶν δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μαθηταὶ<br>αὐτῶν· τίς αὐτῆ εἴη ἡ<br>παραβολή. |



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| <p>29 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν·<br/>ὅμιν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ<br/>μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ<br/>θεοῦ· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς<br/>ἐν παραβολαῖς.</p> | <p>11 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς·<br/>ὅμιν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται<br/>τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ<br/>θεοῦ· ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω<br/>ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται,<br/>[see 4:25]</p> | <p>10 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν·<br/>ὅμιν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ<br/>μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ<br/>θεοῦ· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς<br/>ἐν παραβολαῖς,<br/>[see 8:18b]</p>  |
| <p>ἵνα βλέποντες<br/>μὴ βλέπωσιν<br/>καὶ ἀκούοντες<br/>μὴ συνιώσιν.</p>   | <p>12 ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν<br/>καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν,<br/>καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν<br/>καὶ μὴ συνιώσιν,<br/>μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν<br/>καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς.</p>                  | <p>12 ὅστις γὰρ ἔχει, δοθήσεται αὐτῷ<br/>καὶ περισσευθήσεται· ὅστις δὲ<br/>οὐκ ἔχει, καὶ ὃ ἔχει ἀρθήσεται<br/>ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. 13 διὰ τούτο ἐν<br/>παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ,<br/>ὅτι βλέποντες<br/>οὐ βλέπουσιν<br/>καὶ ἀκούοντες<br/>οὐκ ἀκούουσιν οὐδὲ συνιώσιν.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>«With the intention of trapping<br/>Jesus, the Pharisees</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b></p>   | <p><b>Luke</b></p>   |
| <p>sent representatives to<br/>him who said,»</p>   | <p>12:13 Καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν πρὸς<br/>αὐτὸν τινὰς τῶν Φαρισαίων<br/>καὶ τῶν Ἡρωδιανῶν ἵνα αὐτὸν<br/>ἀγρεύσωσιν λόγῳ.</p>   | <p>20:20 Καὶ παρατηρήσαντες ἀπέστειλαν<br/>ἐγκαθέτους ὑποκρινόμενους ἑαυτοῦς<br/>δικαίους εἶναι, ἵνα<br/>ἐπιλάβωσιν αὐτοῦ λόγου, ὥστε</p>  |

## LOGOI 6

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| <p>14 και ἐλθόντες λέγουσι αὐτῷ·<br/> <u>διδάσκαλε, οἰδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθής εἶ</u><br/>         και οὐ μέλει σοι περὶ οὐδενός· οὐ γὰρ βλάπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων,<br/> <u>ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας</u><br/>         τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις·<br/>         2 ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κήνησον <u>Καίσαρι</u><br/>         ἢ οὐ; 3 ὁ δὲ εἰδώς αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν<br/>         εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τί με πειράζετε; φερέτέ μοι δηνάριον ἵνα ἴδω. 16 οἱ δὲ ἤνεγκαν.<br/> <u>καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῆ καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή;</u><br/>         οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ· <u>Καίσαρος.</u><br/>         5 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ <u>Καίσαρος</u> <u>Καίσαρι</u> καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.</p> | <p>λέγοντες·<br/> <u>διδάσκαλε, οἰδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθής εἶ</u> καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ διδάσκεις καὶ οὐ μέλει σοι περὶ οὐδενός· οὐ γὰρ βλάπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων,<br/>         17 εἶπτε οὖν ἡμῖν τί σοι δοκεῖ·<br/> <u>ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κήνησον Καίσαρι</u><br/>         ἢ οὐ; 18 γινούσ δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν εἶπεν· τί με πειράζετε, ὑποκριταί; 19 ἐπιδείξατέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνησον· οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δηνάριον.<br/>         20 <u>καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῆ καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή;</u><br/>         21 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· <u>Καίσαρος.</u><br/>         τότε λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ <u>Καίσαρος</u> <u>Καίσαρι</u> καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.<br/>         22 καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἐθαύμασαν, καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον.</p> | <p>παροδοῦναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. 21 καὶ ἐπικρίθησαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες·<br/> <u>διδάσκαλε, οἰδαμεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγεις</u><br/>         καὶ διδάσκεις καὶ οὐ λαμβάνεις πρόσωπον,<br/> <u>ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας</u><br/>         τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις·<br/>         22 ἔξεστιν ἡμᾶς <u>Καίσαρι</u> φόρον δοῦναι ἢ οὐ; 23 κατανοήσας δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν πανουργίαν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς·<br/>         24 δεῖξατέ μοι δηνάριον·<br/> <u>τίνος ἔχει εἰκόνα καὶ ἐπιγραφήν;</u><br/>         οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· <u>Καίσαρος.</u><br/>         25 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· τοῖνυν ἀπόδοτε τὰ <u>Καίσαρος</u> <u>Καίσαρι</u> καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.<br/>         26 καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐπιλαβέσθαι αὐτοῦ ῥήματος· ἐναντίον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ θαυμάσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκρίσει αὐτοῦ ἐσίγησαν.</p> |
| <p>6:1 <u>Διδάσκαλε, οἰδαμεν ὅτι ἐπ' ἀληθείας</u><br/>         τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις·<br/>         2 ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κήνησον <u>Καίσαρι</u><br/>         ἢ οὐ; 3 ὁ δὲ εἰδώς αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν<br/>         εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·<br/>         4 δεῖξατέ μοι δηνάριον· οἱ δὲ ἤνεγκαν.<br/> <u>καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῆ καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή;</u><br/>         οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ· <u>Καίσαρος.</u><br/>         5 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ <u>Καίσαρος</u> <u>Καίσαρι</u> καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.</p>   | <p>λέγοντες·<br/> <u>διδάσκαλε, οἰδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθής εἶ</u> καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ διδάσκεις καὶ οὐ μέλει σοι περὶ οὐδενός· οὐ γὰρ βλάπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων,<br/>         17 εἶπτε οὖν ἡμῖν τί σοι δοκεῖ·<br/> <u>ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κήνησον Καίσαρι</u><br/>         ἢ οὐ; 18 γινούσ δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν εἶπεν· τί με πειράζετε, ὑποκριταί; 19 ἐπιδείξατέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνησον· οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δηνάριον.<br/>         20 <u>καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῆ καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή;</u><br/>         21 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· <u>Καίσαρος.</u><br/>         τότε λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ <u>Καίσαρος</u> <u>Καίσαρι</u> καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.<br/>         22 καὶ ἀκούσαντες ἐθαύμασαν, καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον.</p> | <p>παροδοῦναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. 21 καὶ ἐπικρίθησαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες·<br/> <u>διδάσκαλε, οἰδαμεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγεις</u><br/>         καὶ διδάσκεις καὶ οὐ λαμβάνεις πρόσωπον,<br/> <u>ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας</u><br/>         τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις·<br/>         22 ἔξεστιν ἡμᾶς <u>Καίσαρι</u> φόρον δοῦναι ἢ οὐ; 23 κατανοήσας δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν πανουργίαν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς·<br/>         24 δεῖξατέ μοι δηνάριον·<br/> <u>τίνος ἔχει εἰκόνα καὶ ἐπιγραφήν;</u><br/>         οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· <u>Καίσαρος.</u><br/>         25 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· τοῖνυν ἀπόδοτε τὰ <u>Καίσαρος</u> <u>Καίσαρι</u> καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.<br/>         26 καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐπιλαβέσθαι αὐτοῦ ῥήματος· ἐναντίον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ θαυμάσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκρίσει αὐτοῦ ἐσίγησαν.</p> |

| <b>Logoi</b>   | <b>Mark</b>  | <b>Matthew</b>  | <b>Luke</b>   |
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| 6:6 <u>Καί</u> προσήλθον αὐτῷ.<br><u>Σ</u> αδδουκαίτοι<br><u>οἱ</u> λέγοντες   | 12:18 <u>Καί</u> ἔρχονται.<br><u>Σ</u> αδδουκαίτοι πρὸς αὐτόν,<br><u>οἱ</u> τινες λέγοντιν.  | 22:23 Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ<br>προσηλθον αὐτῷ <u>Σ</u> αδδουκαίτοι,<br><u>λέγοντες</u>   | 20:27 Προσελήθητε δὲ τινες τῶν<br><u>Σ</u> αδδουκαίων<br><u>οἱ</u> [ἀντι-]λέγοντες  |
| μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν, καὶ<br>ἐπιπρώτησαν αὐτὸν 7 λέγοντες·<br>διδάσκαλε, Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν<br>ἡμῖν ἕν τινος ἀδελφός<br>ἀποθάνη                        | ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι, καὶ<br>ἐπιπρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες·<br>19 διδάσκαλε, Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν<br>ἡμῖν ὅτι ἕν τινος ἀδελφός<br>ἀποθάνη καὶ καταλιπὴ γυναῖκα<br>καὶ μὴ ἀφῆ τέκνον, ἵνα λάβῃ<br><u>ὁ</u> ἀδελφός αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα | μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν, καὶ<br>ἐπιπρώτησαν αὐτὸν 24 λέγοντες·<br>διδάσκαλε, Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν·<br>ἕν τις<br>ἀποθάνη<br>μὴ ἔχων τέκνα, ἐπιγαμβρῆσει<br><u>ὁ</u> ἀδελφός αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα               | ἀνάστασιν μὴ εἶναι,<br>ἐπιπρώτησαν αὐτὸν 28 λέγοντες·<br>διδάσκαλε, Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν<br>ἡμῖν ἕν τινος ἀδελφός<br>ἀποθάνη ἔχων γυναῖκα, καὶ<br>οὗτος ἔτεκνος ἢ, ἵνα λάβῃ<br><u>ὁ</u> ἀδελφός αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα |
| καὶ ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ<br>ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ. 8 ἔπιτά ἀδελφοὶ<br>ἦσαν· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος<br>ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα καὶ ἀποθνήσκων<br>οὐκ ἀφῆκεν σπέρμα·           | καὶ ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ<br>ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ. 20 ἔπιτά ἀδελφοὶ<br>ἦσαν· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος<br>ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα καὶ ἀποθνήσκων<br>οὐκ ἀφῆκεν σπέρμα·  | αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ<br>ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ. 25 ἦσαν δὲ παρ'<br>ἡμῖν ἔπιτά ἀδελφοί· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος<br>γῆρας ἐτελεύτησεν,<br>καὶ μὴ ἔχων σπέρμα ἀφῆκεν<br>τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ<br>αὐτοῦ. | καὶ ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ<br>ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ. 29 ἔπιτά οὖν ἀδελφοὶ<br>ἦσαν· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος<br>λαβὼν γυναῖκα ἀπέθηνεν ἄτεκνος·   |
| 9 καὶ ὁ δευτέρος,<br>10 καὶ ὁ τρίτος,<br>ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ<br>ἀπέθανον μὴ καταλιπόντες<br>σπέρμα. 11 ὕστερον πάντων καὶ<br>ἡ γυνὴ ἀπέθανεν. | 21 καὶ ὁ δευτέρος ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν<br>καὶ ἀπέθανεν μὴ καταλιπὼν.<br>σπέρμα· καὶ ὁ τρίτος<br>ὡσαύτως. 22 καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ<br>οἷκ ἀφῆκαν<br>σπέρμα· ἔσχατον πάντων καὶ<br>ἡ γυνὴ ἀπέθανεν.  | 26 ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ δευτέρος<br>καὶ ὁ τρίτος<br>ἔως τῶν ἑπτὰ.   | 30 καὶ ὁ δευτέρος<br>31 καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἔλαβεν αὐτήν,<br>ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ οὐ<br>κατέλιπον τέκνα καὶ ἀπέθανον.<br>32 ὕστερον καὶ<br>ἡ γυνὴ ἀπέθανεν.  |
| 12 ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει οὖν<br>τίνος αὐτῶν ἔσται<br>γυνή, οἱ γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἔσχον<br>αὐτὴν γυναῖκα·   | 23 ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει [ὅταν<br>ἀναστῶσιν] τίνος αὐτῶν ἔσται<br>γυνή, οἱ γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἔσχον<br>αὐτὴν γυναῖκα.  | 27 ὕστερον δὲ πάντων<br>ἀπέθανεν ἡ γυνή.<br>28 ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει οὖν<br>τίνος τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔσται<br>γυνή, πάντες γὰρ ἔσχον<br>αὐτήν. 29 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ   | 33 ἡ γυνὴ οὖν ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει<br>τίνος αὐτῶν γίνεται<br>γυνή, οἱ γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἔσχον<br>αὐτὴν γυναῖκα.   |

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| <p>13 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·<br/>οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου<br/>γαμοῦσιν καὶ γαμίζονται,<br/>14 οἱ δὲ<br/>ἐν ἀναστασει ἐκ νεκρῶν<br/>οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε<br/>γαμίζονται,<br/>15 ἅλλ' εἰσὶν ὡς ἀγγελοὶ ἐν τοῖς<br/>οὐρανοῖς.</p>                   | <p>24 ἔφη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·<br/>οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πλανᾶσθε<br/>μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφάς<br/>μηδὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ;<br/><br/>25 ὅταν γὰρ ἐκ νεκρῶν<br/>ἀναστῶσιν, οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε<br/>γαμίζονται,<br/>ἅλλ' εἰσὶν ὡς ἀγγελοὶ ἐν τοῖς<br/>οὐρανοῖς.</p>                 | <p>ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·<br/>πλανᾶσθε<br/>μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφάς<br/>μηδὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ.<br/><br/>30 ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀναστάσει<br/>οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε<br/>γαμίζονται,<br/>ἅλλ' ὡς ἀγγελοὶ ἐν τῷ<br/>οὐρανῷ εἰσιν.</p>           | <p>34 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·<br/><br/>οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου<br/>γαμοῦσιν καὶ γαμίζονται,<br/>35 οἱ δὲ καταζωθέντες τοῦ αἰῶνος<br/>ἐκείνου τυχεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως<br/>τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε<br/>γαμίζονται· 36 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἐτι<br/>δύνανται, ἰσάγγελοι γὰρ εἰσιν<br/>καὶ υἱοὶ εἰσιν θεοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως<br/>υἱοὶ ὄντες.</p> |
| <p>16 περὶ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ὅτι<br/>ἐγείρονται οὐκ ἀνέγγωτε ἐν τῇ<br/>βίβλῳ Μωυσέως ἐπὶ τοῦ βάρτου<br/>πῶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς λέγων·<br/>ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ<br/>καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ<br/>καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ;<br/>17 οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς νεκρῶν<br/>ἀλλὰ ζώντων.</p> | <p>26 περὶ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ὅτι<br/>ἐγείρονται οὐκ ἀνέγγωτε ἐν τῇ<br/>βίβλῳ Μωυσέως ἐπὶ τοῦ βάρτου<br/>πῶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς λέγων·<br/>ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ<br/>καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ<br/>καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ;<br/>27 οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς νεκρῶν<br/>ἀλλὰ ζώντων· πολὺ πλανᾶσθε.</p> | <p>31 περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνατάσεως<br/>τῶν νεκρῶν οὐκ ἀνέγγωτε<br/>τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑμῖν<br/>ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντος·<br/>32 ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ<br/>καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ<br/>καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ;<br/>οὐκ ἔστιν [ὁ] θεὸς νεκρῶν<br/>ἀλλὰ ζώντων.</p> | <p>37 ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί,<br/>καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐμήνησεν ἐπὶ τῆς βάρτου,<br/>ὡς λέγει<br/>κύριον τῶν θεῶν· Ἀβραάμ<br/>καὶ θεῶν Ἰσαάκ<br/>καὶ θεῶν Ἰακώβ.<br/>38 θεὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν νεκρῶν<br/>ἀλλὰ ζώντων,<br/>πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσιν.<br/>39 ἀποκριθέντες δὲ πνευ τῶν γραμματέων<br/>εἶπαν· διδάσκαλε, καλῶς εἶπας.</p>                                |
| <p>40 οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐτόλμων ἐπερωτᾶν αὐτὸν<br/>οὐδέν.</p>  |  | <p>33 καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ ὄχλοι<br/>ἐξεπλήρουντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ<br/>αὐτοῦ.</p>  | <p>40 οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐτόλμων ἐπερωτᾶν αὐτὸν<br/>οὐδέν.</p>  |

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| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>6:18 <u>Και ιδού</u></p> <p>νομικός τις</p> <p>ἐπρώτησεν</p> <p>πειράζων αὐτόν· διδάσκαλε·<br/><u>ποία ἐντολή μεγάλη ἐν τῷ νόμῳ;</u><br/>19 <u>ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν·</u></p> <p><u>ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται·</u></p> <p>20 <u>ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν·</u><br/>ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου<br/><u>ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου</u><br/><u>καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου</u><br/>καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου,</p> <p><u>καὶ τὸν</u><br/>πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>12:28 Καὶ προσελθὼν εἰς τῶν γραμματέων ἀκούσας αὐτῶν συζητούντων, ἰδὼν ὅτι καλῶς ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς ἐπρώτησεν αὐτόν·<br/><u>ποία ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη πάντων;</u><br/>29 ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι πρώτη ἐστὶν· ἀκούε, Ἰσραήλ, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἰς ἔσθιν, 30 καὶ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου <u>καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου</u> καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου.</p> <p>31 δευτέρα αὕτη· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· μείζων τούτων ἄλλη ἐντολὴ οὐκ ἔστιν.</p> <p>32 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ γραμματεὺς·</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>22:34 Οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ἐφίμωσεν τοὺς Σαδδουκαίους συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό,<br/>35 καὶ ἐπρώτησεν εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν [νομικός]</p> <p>πειράζων αὐτόν· 36 διδάσκαλε, ποία ἐντολὴ μεγάλη ἐν τῷ νόμῳ;<br/>37 <u>ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·</u></p> <p>ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου <u>ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου</u> καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου·</p> <p>38 αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη καὶ πρώτη ἐντολὴ, 39 δευτέρα δὲ ὅμοια αὕτῃ· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.<br/>40 ἐν ταύταις ταῖς δυατὶ ἐντολαῖς ὅλος ὁ νόμος κρέμαται καὶ οἱ προφήται.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>10:25 <u>Καὶ ἰδού</u></p> <p>νομικός τις ἀνέστη</p> <p>ἐπειράζων αὐτόν λέγων· διδάσκαλε, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;<br/>26 <u>ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν·</u></p> <p><u>ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται·</u><br/>πῶς ἀγαπήσεις;</p> <p>27 <u>ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν·</u><br/>ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου,</p> <p><u>καὶ τὸν</u><br/>πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.</p> |
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| <p>καλῶς, διδάσκαλε, ἐπὶ ἀληθείας εἶπες ὅτι εἷς ἔστιν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ· 33 καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν</p> <p>ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας<br/>καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς συνέσεως<br/>καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος<br/>καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν πλησίον<br/>ὡς ἑαυτὸν</p> <p>περισσότερόν ἐστιν πάντων τῶν ὀλοκαυτωμάτων καὶ θυσιῶν.<br/>34 καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἰδὼν [αὐτὸν] ὅτι νουνεχῶς ἀπεκρίθη εἶπεν αὐτῷ· οὐ μακρὰν εἶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ.<br/>καὶ οὐδείς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμα αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι.</p> | <p>21 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ·<br/>ὁρθῶς ἀπεκρίθης·<br/>τοῦτο ποιεῖ καὶ ζήση.</p> | <p>29 ὁ δὲ θεῶν δικαίῳσαι ἑαυτὸν εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν· καὶ τίς ἔστιν μου πλησίον;</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 12:30; MQ+ 12:24–29)</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b></p>  | <p><b>Luke</b></p>   |
| <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>9:32 Ἀγῶν δὲ ἐξερχομένων ἰδοὺ προσήγγεν αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπον κωφὸν δαίμονιζόμενον. 33 καὶ ἐβλήθηεντος τοῦ διαμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός· καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι λέγοντες· οὐδέποτε ἐφάνη οὕτως ἐν τῷ</p>  |   |  |

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| <p>3:20 Καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον· καὶ συνέχεται πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν. 21 καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξήλθον κρατῆσαι αὐτόν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη.</p>                    | <p>Ἰσραήλ. 34 οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον· ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια. ...</p>  | <p>11:14 Καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον [καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν] κωφόν· ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐξελθόντος ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι.</p> |
| <p>6:22 Καὶ ἐξέβλεψεν δαιμόνιον κωφόν· καὶ ἐβλαφέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι.</p>   | <p>12:22 Τότε προσνήχη αὐτῷ δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός, καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τὸν κωφὸν λαλεῖν καὶ βλέπειν. 23 καὶ ἐξίσταντο πάντες οἱ ὄχλοι καὶ ἔλεγον· μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς Δαυὶδ;</p> | <p>15 Πινέξ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶπον· ἐν Βεελζεβούλ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια. ...</p>                                      |
| <p>22 καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες ἔλεγον, ὅτι Βεελζεβούλ ἔχει καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.</p>  | <p>24 οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἀκούσαντες εἶπον· οὗτος οὐκ ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ Βεελζεβούλ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων.</p>   | <p>17 αὐτὸς δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὰ διανοήματα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·</p>   |
| <p>23 καὶ προσκαλεσόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· πῶς δύναται σατανᾶς σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν; 24 καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῆ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἢ βασιλεῖα ἐκείνη. 25 καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ'</p> | <p>25 εἰδὼς δὲ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·</p>  | <p>πᾶσα βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν διαμερισθεῖσα ἐρημοῦται καὶ οἴκος ἐπὶ οἴκῳ ἐπι</p>   |
| <p>24 εἰδὼς δὲ τὰ διανοήματα αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·</p>   | <p>πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐρημοῦται καὶ πᾶσα πόλις ἢ οἰκία</p>   | <p>πᾶσα βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν διαμερισθεῖσα ἐρημοῦται καὶ οἴκος ἐπὶ οἴκῳ ἐπι</p>   |

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| μερισθείσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθίσεται.<br>25 καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἐμερίσθη, πῶς σταθίσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;                               | ἐαυτὴν μερισθῆ, οὐ δυνήσεται ἡ οἰκία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι.<br>26 καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμερίσθη, οὐ δύναται στήναι ἄλλα τέλος ἔχει.   | οἶκον πίπτει.<br>18 εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' αὐτὸν διμερίσθη, πῶς σταθίσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; ὅτι λέγεται ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλειν με τὰ δαιμόνια.<br>19 εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἕσονται.<br>20 εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ [ἐγώ] ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.<br>21 ὅταν ὁ ἰσχυρὸς καθωπλισμένος φυλάσῃ τὴν αὐτοῦ αὐλήν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἔστιν τὰ βιτάρχοντα αὐτοῦ.<br>22 ἐπὶ τὸν δὲ ἰσχυρότερον αὐτοῦ ἐπελθὼν νικήσῃ αὐτόν, τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ αἶρει ἐφ' ἧ ἐπιποθεῖται καὶ τὰ σκόλα αὐτοῦ διαδίδωσιν.<br>23 ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἔστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει. |
| μερισθείσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθίσεται.<br>26 καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς τὸν σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλει, ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἐμερίσθη, πῶς οὖν σταθίσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;     | 27 καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἕσονται ὑμῶν.<br>28 εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.<br>29 ἢ πῶς δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τὰ σκευὴ αὐτοῦ ἀρπάσαι.<br>ἐάν μὴ πρῶτον δῆσῃ τὸν ἰσχυρόν; καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει;   | 27 καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἕσονται ὑμῶν.<br>28 εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.<br>29 ἢ πῶς δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τὰ σκευὴ αὐτοῦ ἀρπάσαι.<br>ἐάν μὴ πρῶτον δῆσῃ τὸν ἰσχυρόν; καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει;   |
| ἐαυτὸν μερισθῆ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἄλλα τέλος ἔχει.<br>26 καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμερίσθη, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἄλλα τέλος ἔχει. | 27 ἄλλ' οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν τὰ σκευὴ αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι.<br>29 ἐάν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρόν δῆσῃ, καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει;   | 27 καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἕσονται ὑμῶν.<br>28 εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.<br>29 ἢ πῶς δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τὰ σκευὴ αὐτοῦ ἀρπάσαι.<br>ἐάν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρόν νικήσῃ αὐτόν, τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ αἶρει ἐφ' ἧ ἐπιποθεῖται καὶ τὰ σκόλα αὐτοῦ διαδίδωσιν.<br>23 ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἔστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει.  |
| μερισθείσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθίσεται.<br>25 καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἐμερίσθη, πῶς σταθίσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;                               | 26 καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἕσονται ὑμῶν.<br>27 εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.<br>28 πῶς δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τὰ σκευὴ αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι.<br>29 ἐάν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρόν δῆσῃ, καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει; | 26 καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἕσονται ὑμῶν.<br>27 εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.<br>28 πῶς δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τὰ σκευὴ αὐτοῦ ἀρπάσαι.<br>29 ἐάν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρόν νικήσῃ αὐτόν, τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ αἶρει ἐφ' ἧ ἐπιποθεῖται καὶ τὰ σκόλα αὐτοῦ διαδίδωσιν.<br>23 ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἔστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει.  |



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| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 12:43–45)<br/>6:31 "Όταν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέληθ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ἕρπον' ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκει. τότε λέγει· εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐπιστρέψω ὅθεν ἐξήλθον. 32 καὶ ἔλθὼν εὐρίσκει σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον. 33 τότε πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ ἔτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χεῖρονα τῶν πρώτων.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>12:43 "Όταν δὲ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέληθ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ἕρπον' ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκει. 44 τότε λέγει· εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐπιστρέψω ὅθεν ἐξήλθον· καὶ ἔλθὼν εὐρίσκει σχολάζοντα σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον. 45 τότε πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ ἔτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χεῖρονα τῶν πρώτων.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>12:43 "Όταν δὲ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέληθ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ἕρπον' ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκει. 44 τότε λέγει· εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐπιστρέψω ὅθεν ἐξήλθον· καὶ ἔλθὼν εὐρίσκει σχολάζοντα σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον. 45 τότε πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ ἔτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χεῖρονα τῶν πρώτων.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>6:34 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἐπάρασά τις φωνήν· γυνὴ ἓκ τοῦ ὄχλου εἶπεν αὐτῷ· μακαρία ἡ κοιλία ἡ βασιτάσασά σε καὶ μαστοὶ οὓς ἐθήλασας. 35 αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν· μενοῦν μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες.</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>3:31 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐρχεται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔξω στήκοντες ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καλοῦντες αὐτόν. 32 καὶ ἐκάθητο περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος.</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>12:46 Ἐτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος τοῖς ὄχλοις ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ εἰστήκεισαν ἔξω ζητούντες αὐτῷ λαλῆσαι.</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>11:27 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἐπάρασά τις φωνήν· γυνὴ ἓκ τοῦ ὄχλου εἶπεν αὐτῷ· μακαρία ἡ κοιλία ἡ βασιτάσασά σε καὶ μαστοὶ οὓς ἐθήλασας. 28 αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν· μενοῦν μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες. ...</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>3:31 Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐρχεται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔξω στήκοντες ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καλοῦντες αὐτόν. 32 καὶ ἐκάθητο περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος.</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>11:27 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἐπάρασά τις φωνήν· γυνὴ ἓκ τοῦ ὄχλου εἶπεν αὐτῷ· μακαρία ἡ κοιλία ἡ βασιτάσασά σε καὶ μαστοὶ οὓς ἐθήλασας. 28 αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν· μενοῦν μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες. ...</p>  |
| <p>8:19 Παρεγένετο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο συντυχεῖν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον.</p>   |   |  |

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| <p>καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ·<br/> ιδού ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου [καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ σου] ἔξω ζητοῦσιν σε.<br/> 33 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει· τίς ἐστὶν ἡ μήτηρ μου ἢ οἱ ἀδελφοί [μου]; 34 καὶ περιβλεψάμενος τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν κύκλω καθήμενος λέγει· ἴδε ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου.<br/> 35 ὁς [γάρ] ἄν ποιήσῃ τὸ θελημα τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗτος ἀδελφός μου καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν.</p> | <p>47 [εἶπεν δὲ τις αὐτῷ·<br/> ιδού ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἐστήκασιν ζητοῦντές σοι Λαλιθαί.]<br/> 48 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν τῷ λέγοντι αὐτῷ· τίς ἐστὶν ἡ μήτηρ μου, καὶ τίνας εἰσὶν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου; 49 καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου.<br/> 50 ὅστις γάρ ἄν ποιήσῃ τὸ θελημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς αὐτός μου ἀδελφός καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν.</p> | <p>20 ἀπηγγέλη δὲ αὐτῷ· ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἐστήκασιν ἔξω ἰδεῖν θελόντες σε.<br/> 21 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιῶντες.</p>  |
| <p><b>Mark</b></p>  | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 16:1 and 4, a redaction of Mark 8:10–13)<br/> 12:38 Τότε ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ τινες τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων λέγοντες· διδάσκαλε, θέλομεν ἀπὸ σοῦ σημεῖον ἰδεῖν.<br/> 39 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοχθάλis σημεῖον ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ προφήτου.</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b> (note sequence)<br/> 11:16 Ἔτεροι δὲ πειράζοντες σημεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἴρουν παρ' αὐτοῦ. ...<br/> 11:29 Τῶν δὲ ὄχλων ἐπαθροισμένων ἤρξατο λέγειν· ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη γενεὰ πονηρὰ ἐστίν· σημεῖον ζητεῖ, καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 12:38–39)</p>  | <p>6:36 Ἔτεροι δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ· διδάσκαλε, θέλομεν ἀπὸ σοῦ σημεῖον ἰδεῖν.<br/> 37 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· γενεὰ πονηρὰ σημεῖον ζητεῖ, καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ.</p>   | <p>11:16 Ἔτεροι δὲ πειράζοντες σημεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἴρουν παρ' αὐτοῦ. ...<br/> 11:29 Τῶν δὲ ὄχλων ἐπαθροισμένων ἤρξατο λέγειν· ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη γενεὰ πονηρὰ ἐστίν· σημεῖον ζητεῖ, καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ.</p>                                  |

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| <p>8:11 Καὶ ἐξήλθον οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ ἤρξαντο συζητεῖν αὐτῷ, ζητούντες παρ' αὐτοῦ <u>σημείων</u> ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, πειράζοντες αὐτόν. 12 καὶ ἀναστενάξας τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ λέγει· τί ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη ζητεῖ <u>σημείων</u>; ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, εἰ <u>δοθήσεται</u> τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ <u>σημείων</u>.</p> <p>13 καὶ ἀφῆεις αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐμβὰς ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πέραν.</p> | <p>16:1 Καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ Σαδδουκαῖοι περάζοντες ἐπιρώτησαν αὐτὸν σημείον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπιδειξάμενος αὐτοῖς.</p> <p>2 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ...</p> <p>4 γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοχαλις σημείων ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ σημείον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ εἰ μὴ τὸ σημείον Ἰωνᾶ, καὶ καταλείπων αὐτοὺς ἀπῆλθεν. ...</p>          |
| <p>6:38 Καθὼς γὰρ ἐγένετο Ἰωνᾶς τοῖς Νινευίταις σημείων, οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ.</p>   | <p>11:30 Καθὼς γὰρ ἐγένετο Ἰωνᾶς τοῖς Νινευίταις σημείων, οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ.</p>  |
| <p>39 βασιλισσα νότου ἐγερθήσεται ἐν τῇ κρίσει μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ κατακρινεῖ αὐτήν, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἐκ τῶν περσῶν τῆς γῆς ἀκοῦσαι τὴν σοφίαν Σολομώντος,</p>   | <p>41 ἄνδρες Νινευίται ἀναστήσονται ἐν τῇ κρίσει μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης, καὶ κατακρινοῦσιν αὐτήν, ὅτι μετενόησαν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰωνᾶ, καὶ ἰδοὺ πλείων Ἰωνᾶ ὄδε.</p> <p>42 βασιλισσα νότου ἐγερθήσεται ἐν τῇ κρίσει μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ κατακρινεῖ αὐτήν, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἐκ τῶν περσῶν τῆς γῆς ἀκοῦσαι τὴν σοφίαν Σολομώντος,</p> |
| <p>Logoi</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b></p>   |
| <p><b>Matthew</b></p>  | <p><b>Mark</b></p>   |

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| <p>καὶ ἰδοὺ πλείον Σολομώνος ὥδε.<br/>40 ἄνδρες Νινευίται ἀναστήσονται ἐν τῇ κρίσει μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ κατακρινοῦσιν αὐτήν, ὅτι μετενόησαν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰωνᾶ, καὶ ἰδοὺ πλείον Ἰωνᾶ ὥδε.</p> | <p>καὶ ἰδοὺ πλείον Σολομώνος ὥδε.</p>   | <p>καὶ ἰδοὺ πλείον Σολομώνος ὥδε.<br/>40 ἄνδρες Νινευίται ἀναστήσονται ἐν τῇ κρίσει μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ κατακρινοῦσιν αὐτήν, ὅτι μετενόησαν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰωνᾶ, καὶ ἰδοὺ πλείον Ἰωνᾶ ὥδε.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 15:1–11)</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b> (note sequence)</p>  | <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 15:1–11)</p>   |
| <p>6:41 Οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς ἰδόντες τινὰς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ὅτι κοιναῖς χερσὶν ἐσθίουσιν τοὺς ἄρτους</p>   | <p>7:1 Καὶ συνάγονται πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ τινες ἰσραηλιτῶν γραμματέων ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Ἱερουσολύμων. 2 καὶ ἰδόντες τινὰς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ὅτι κοιναῖς χερσὶν τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀνόμοιοις, ἐσθίουσιν τοὺς ἄρτους 3 -- οἱ γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐὰν μὴ πυγμῇ νύψωνται τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν, κρατοῦντες τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, 4 καὶ ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν, καὶ ἄλλα πολλά ἔστιν ἃ παρέλαβον κρατεῖν, βαπτισμοὺς ποτηρίων καὶ ξεστῶν καὶ χαλκίων καὶ κλινῶν-- 5 καὶ ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτὸν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς διὰ τί οὐ περιπατοῦσιν οἱ μαθηταὶ σου κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἀλλὰ κοιναῖς χερσὶν ἐσθίουσιν τὸν ἄρτον; ...</p> | <p>6:41 Οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς ἰδόντες τινὰς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ὅτι κοιναῖς χερσὶν ἐσθίουσιν τοὺς ἄρτους</p>   |
| <p>ἐλεγον· αὐτῷ· 42 διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταὶ σου παραβαίνουσιν τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων;</p>  | <p>λέγοντες· 2 διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταὶ σου παραβαίνουσιν τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων; οὐ γὰρ νίπτονται τὰς χεῖρας [αὐτῶν] ὅταν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν.</p>  | <p>ἐλεγον· αὐτῷ· 42 διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταὶ σου παραβαίνουσιν τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων;</p>  |
| <p><b>Matthew</b></p>   | <p><b>Luke</b></p>  | <p><b>Luke</b></p>  |
| <p>15:1 Τότε προσέρχονται πρὸς Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσολύμων Φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς</p>  | <p>15:1 Τότε προσέρχονται πρὸς Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσολύμων Φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς</p>  | <p>15:1 Τότε προσέρχονται πρὸς Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσολύμων Φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς</p>  |

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| <p>43 <u>ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·</u><br/> <u>διὰ τί καὶ ὑμεῖς παραβαίνετε τὴν ἐντολὴν</u><br/> <u>τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν;</u><br/> 44 <u>Μωϋσῆς γὰρ εἶπεν·</u></p>  | <p>9 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς<br/> καλῶς ἀθετεῖτε τὴν ἐντολὴν<br/> τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν<br/> στήσητε. 10 <u>Μωϋσῆς γὰρ εἶπεν·</u></p>  | <p>3 <u>ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·</u><br/> <u>διὰ τί καὶ ὑμεῖς παραβαίνετε τὴν ἐντολὴν</u><br/> <u>τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν;</u><br/> 4 <u>ὁ γὰρ θεὸς εἶπεν·</u></p>  |
| <p>τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου,<br/> καὶ ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα<br/> θανάτῳ τελευτάτω. ...</p>   | <p>τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου,<br/> καὶ ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα<br/> θανάτῳ τελευτάτω. ...</p>  | <p>τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα,<br/> καὶ ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα<br/> θανάτῳ τελευτάτω.</p>   |
| <p>45 ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε· ὅς ἂν εἴπῃ<br/> <u>τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρὶ· κορβάν,</u><br/> <u>ὁ ἐάν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῆς,</u></p>   | <p>11 ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε· ἐάν εἴπῃ ἄνθρωπος<br/> <u>τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρὶ· κορβάν,</u> ὁ ἔστιν<br/> <u>δῶρον, ὁ ἐάν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῆς,</u></p>  | <p>5 ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε· ὅς ἂν εἴπῃ<br/> <u>τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρὶ·</u><br/> <u>δῶρον, ὁ ἐάν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῆς,</u></p>   |
| <p>46 <u>οὐ μὴ τιμῆσαι τὸν πατέρα</u><br/> <u>ἢ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ ἠκυρώσατε τὸν</u><br/> <u>λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν.</u></p>   | <p>12 <u>οὐδέ τι ἀφίετε αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ποιῆσαι</u><br/> <u>τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρὶ. 13 ἀκυροῦντες τὸν</u><br/> <u>λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν παραδίδοσιν ὑμῶν ἢ</u><br/> <u>παρεδώκατε· καὶ παρόμοια τοιαῦτα</u><br/> <u>πολλὰ ποιεῖτε. ...</u></p>  | <p>6 <u>οὐ μὴ τιμῆσαι τὸν πατέρα</u><br/> <u>αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἠκυρώσατε τὸν</u><br/> <u>λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν.</u></p>   |
| <p>47 ὑποκριταί, καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ<br/> ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας λέγων·</p>   | <p>καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἡσαΐας περὶ<br/> ὑμῶν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ὡς γέγραπται [ὅτι]<br/> <u>οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χεῖλεσιν με τιμᾷ,</u><br/> <u>ἢ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·</u><br/> <u>7 μάτην δὲ σέβονται με διδάσκοντες</u><br/> <u>διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων. ...</u></p>   | <p>7 ὑποκριταί, καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ<br/> ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας λέγων·</p>  |
| <p>48 οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χεῖλεσιν με τιμᾷ,<br/> ἢ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·<br/> 49 μάτην δὲ σέβονται με διδάσκοντες<br/> διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.</p>  | <p>7 <u>μάτην δὲ σέβονται με διδάσκοντες</u><br/> <u>διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων. ...</u><br/> 14 καὶ προσκαλεσόμενος πάλιν τῶν ἄλλων.<br/> <u>ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· ἀκριβοῦσαί μου πάντες καὶ</u><br/> <u>συνίετε. 15 οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἔξωθεν</u><br/> <u>τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς αὐτὸν</u><br/> <u>ὁ δύναιται κινῆσαι αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ</u><br/> <u>ἀνθρώπου ἔκπορευόμενά ἐστιν</u><br/> <u>τὰ κρινοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον.</u></p> | <p>8 ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσιν με τιμᾷ,<br/> ἢ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·<br/> 9 μάτην δὲ σέβονται με διδάσκοντες<br/> διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.<br/> 10 καὶ προσκαλεσόμενος τῶν ἄλλων.<br/> <u>ἔλεπεν αὐτοῖς· ἀκούετε καὶ</u><br/> <u>συνίετε. 11 οὐ</u></p> |
| <p>50 καὶ<br/> <u>εἶπεν τῷ ἄλλῳ· ἀκούετε καὶ</u><br/> <u>συνίετε. 51 οὐ</u><br/> <u>τὸ εἰσερχόμενον εἰς αὐτὸν</u><br/> <u>κοινὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ</u><br/> <u>ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ αὐτοῦ</u><br/> <u>κοινὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον.</u></p> | <p>14 καὶ προσκαλεσόμενος πάλιν τῶν ἄλλων.<br/> <u>ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· ἀκριβοῦσαί μου πάντες καὶ</u><br/> <u>συνίετε. 15 οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἔξωθεν</u><br/> <u>τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς αὐτόν</u><br/> <u>ὁ δύναιται κινῆσαι αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ</u><br/> <u>ἀνθρώπου ἔκπορευόμενά ἐστιν</u><br/> <u>τὰ κρινοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον.</u></p>  | <p>10 καὶ προσκαλεσόμενος τῶν ἄλλων.<br/> <u>ἔλεπεν αὐτοῖς· ἀκούετε καὶ</u><br/> <u>συνίετε. 11 οὐ</u><br/> <u>τὸ εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα</u><br/> <u>κοινοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ</u><br/> <u>ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦτο</u><br/> <u>κοινὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον.</u></p>    |

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| <p>17 Καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἶκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου, ἐπρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ</p>  | <p>12 Τότε προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· οἶδας ὅτι οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον ἔσαν δαλίσθησαν; 13 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἐκριζωθήσεται.</p>  |
| <p>τὴν παραβολὴν.</p>   | <p>14 ἄφετε αὐτούς· τυφλοὶ εἰσὶν ὁδηγοὶ [τυφλῶν]· τυφλὸς δὲ τυφλὸν ἐάν ὀδηγῆ, ἀψφότερο εἰς βόθυνον πεσοῦνται.</p>  |
| <p>18 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀσύνετοί ἐστε; οὐ νοεῖτε ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἔξωθεν εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐ δύναται αὐτὸν κοινῶσαι, 19 ὅτι οὐκ εἰσπορεύεται αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀφεδρώνα ἐκπορεύεται—καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα; 20 Ἐλεγεν δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου</p>              | <p>15 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· φράσον ἡμῖν τὴν παραβολὴν [ταύτην]. 16 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἀκμὴν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀσύνετοί ἐστε; 17 οὐ νοεῖτε ὅτι πᾶν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα</p>   |
| <p>ἐκπορευόμενον, ἐκεῖνο κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. 21 ἔσωθεν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ διαλογισμοὶ κακοὶ ἐκπορεύονται, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, φόνοι, 22 μοιχεῖαι, πλεονεξίαι, πονηρίαι, δόλος, ἀσέλγεια, ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός, βλασφημία, ὑπερηφανία, ἀφροσύνη· 23 πάντα ταῦτα τὰ πονηρὰ ἔσωθεν ἐκπορεύεται καὶ κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον.</p> | <p>εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρώνα ἐκβάλλεται; 18 τὰ δὲ ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ἐξέρχεται, κάκεῖνα κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. 19 ἐκ γὰρ τῆς καρδίας ἐξέρχονται διαλογισμοὶ πονηροί, φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, ψευδομαρτυρία, βλασφημία. 20 ταῦτ' ἐστὶν τὰ κοινόντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸ δὲ ἀνίπτοις χερσὶν φεγῆν οὐ κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον.</p> |

[cf. 4:31]

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| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 5:15)</p> <p>6:52 <u>Οὐδέεις κἀφει λῦχνον</u><br/>καὶ τίθησαν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸν<br/>μόδιον</p> <p>ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ<br/>λάμπει πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ.</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>4:21 Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς·<br/>μήτι ἔρχεται ὁ ἀρχιφῶς<br/>ἵνα ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον ἴσθῃ<br/>ἢ ὑπὸ τὴν κλίνην;<br/>οὐχ ἵνα ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν τεθῆ;</p>  | <p><b>Matthew</b> (n-d after 13:23)</p> <p>5:15 <u>Οὐδέ κἀφουσιν λῦχνον</u><br/>καὶ τίθησιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸν<br/>μόδιον</p> <p>ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ<br/>λάμπει πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ.</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b> (cf. 8:16 and Mark 4:21)</p> <p>11:33 <u>Οὐδέεις λῦχνον ἀφας</u><br/>εἰς κρύπτην τίθησαν [οὐδέ ὑπὸ τὸν<br/>μόδιον]</p> <p>ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν, ἵνα<br/>οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι τὸ φῶς βλέπωσιν.</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p> <p>6:53 <u>Ὁ λῦχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ</u><br/>ὄφθαλμός. ... <u>αν ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου ἀπλοῦς</u><br/>ἦ, ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινὸν ἐστί·<br/>... <u>αν δὲ ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου πονηρὸς ἦ,</u><br/>ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου σκοτεινόν.</p> <p>54 εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν,<br/>τὸ σκότος πόσον.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>6:22 <u>Ὁ λῦχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ</u><br/>ὄφθαλμός. ἐάν οὖν ἡ ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου<br/>ἀπλοῦς, ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινὸν ἔσται·<br/>23 ἐάν δὲ ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου πονηρὸς ἦ,<br/>ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου σκοτεινὸν ἔσται.<br/>εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν,<br/>τὸ σκότος πόσον.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>6:22 <u>Ὁ λῦχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ</u><br/>ὄφθαλμός. ἐάν οὖν ἡ ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου<br/>ἀπλοῦς, ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινὸν ἔσται·<br/>23 ἐάν δὲ ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου πονηρὸς ἦ,<br/>ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου σκοτεινὸν ἔσται.<br/>εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν,<br/>τὸ σκότος πόσον.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>11:34 <u>Ὁ λῦχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ</u><br/>ὄφθαλμός σου. ὅταν ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου ἀπλοῦς<br/>ἦ, καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινὸν ἔστί·<br/>ἐπὶ δὲ πονηρὸς ἦ,<br/>καὶ τὸ σῶμά σου σκοτεινόν.<br/>35 σκόπει οὖν μὴ τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ<br/>σκότος ἐστίν.<br/>36 εἰ οὖν τὸ σῶμά σου ὅλον φωτεινόν,<br/>μὴ ἔχον μέρος τι σκοτεινόν, ἔσται φωτεινόν<br/>ὅλον ὡς ὅταν ὁ λῦχνος τῆ ἀστρατῆ φωτίξῃ σε.</p> |
| <i>LOGOI 7</i>   |   |  |  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p> <p>7:1 <u>Ὁβαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς, ὅτι</u></p>   | <p><b>Mark</b> (note sequence)</p> <p>12:37b Καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἤκουεν<br/>αὐτοῦ ἠδέως. 38 καὶ ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ<br/>αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν·</p>  | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>23:1 Τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν τοῖς<br/>ὄχλοις καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ<br/>2 λέγων· ἐπὶ τῆς Μωυσέως</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b> (note sequence)</p> <p>11:46 Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν·<br/>καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς οὐαί, ὅτι</p>   |

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| <p>καθέδρα· ἐκάθισαν οἱ γραμματεῖς<br/>καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι. 3 πάντα οὖν<br/>ὅσα ἐὰν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν ποιήσατε<br/>καὶ τηρετε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἔργα<br/>αὐτῶν μὴ ποιεῖτε· λέγουσιν γὰρ<br/>καὶ οὐ ποιοῦσιν.</p>   | <p>φορτίζετε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φορτία<br/>δυσβάστακτα,</p>  |
| <p>4 δεισμύουσιν, δὲ φορτία βαρέα<br/>[καὶ δυσβάστακτα] καὶ<br/>ἐπιτίθεισιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους<br/>τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶ<br/>δακτύλῳ αὐτῶν οὐ θέλουσιν<br/>κινήσαι αὐτά. 5 πάντα δὲ τὰ<br/>ἔργα αὐτῶν ποιοῦσιν πρὸς τὸ<br/>θεαθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,<br/>πλατύνουσιν γὰρ τὰ φυλακτήρια<br/>αὐτῶν καὶ μεγαλύνουσιν τὰ<br/>κράσπεδα,</p> | <p>καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῶν.<br/>δακτύλων ὑμῶν οὐ προσφάτετε τοῖς<br/>φορτίοις, ...</p>                  |
| <p>6 φιλοῦσιν, δὲ τὴν πρωτοκλισίαν<br/>ἐν τοῖς δεῖπνοις<br/>καὶ τὰς πρωτοκαθεδρίας<br/>ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς</p>  | <p>43 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις,<br/>ὅτι ἀγαπᾶτε</p>   |
| <p>7 καὶ τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς<br/>ἀγοραῖς καὶ καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν<br/>ἀνθρώπων ραββί· 8 ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ<br/>κληθῆτε ραββί· εἰς γὰρ ἔστιν<br/>ὑμῶν ὁ διδάσκαλος, πάντες δὲ<br/>ὑμεῖς ἀδελφοὶ ἔστε. 9 καὶ πατέρα<br/>μὴ καλέσητε ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,</p>   | <p>τὴν πρωτοκαθεδρίαν<br/>ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς<br/>καὶ τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς<br/>ἀγοραῖς, ...</p> |
| <p>βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων<br/>τῶν θελόντων ἐν στολαῖς<br/>περιπατεῖν</p>   | <p>καὶ οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις,<br/>ὅτι φιλεῖτε</p>  |
| <p>καὶ ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς<br/>39 καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς<br/>συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν<br/>τοῖς δεῖπνοις.</p>   | <p>τὴν πρωτοκαθεδρίαν<br/>ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς<br/>καὶ τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς<br/>ἀγοραῖς.</p>     |
| <p>2 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις,<br/>ὅτι φιλεῖτε</p>  | <p>τὴν πρωτοκαθεδρίαν<br/>ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς<br/>καὶ τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς<br/>ἀγοραῖς.</p>     |



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| <p>10:43-44</p>                    | <p>εἰς γὰρ ἔστιν ὑμῶν ὁ πατήρ ὁ οὐράνιος. 10 μηδέ κληθῆτε καθηγηταί, ὅτι καθηγητῆς ὑμῶν ἔστιν εἰς ὁ Χριστός. 11 ὁ δὲ μείζων ὑμῶν ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος. 12 ὅστις δὲ ὑψώσει ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται καὶ ὅστις ταπεινώσει ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται. 13 οὐαὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισσαῖοι ὑποκριταί, <u>ὅτι κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὑμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ εἰσέρχεσθε οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε εἰσελθεῖν.</u> 15 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισσαῖοι ὑποκριταί, ὅτι περιήγαγε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ποιῆσαι ἕνα προσηλυτον, καὶ ὅταν γένηται ποιεῖτε αὐτὸν υἱὸν γενένης διπλοτέρου ὑμῶν.</p> | <p>εἰς γὰρ ἔστιν ὑμῶν ὁ πατήρ ὁ οὐράνιος. 10 μηδέ κληθῆτε καθηγηταί, ὅτι καθηγητῆς ὑμῶν ἔστιν εἰς ὁ Χριστός. 11 ὁ δὲ μείζων ὑμῶν ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος. 12 ὅστις δὲ ὑψώσει ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται καὶ ὅστις ταπεινώσει ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται. 13 οὐαὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισσαῖοι ὑποκριταί, <u>ὅτι κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὑμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ εἰσέρχεσθε οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε εἰσελθεῖν.</u> 15 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισσαῖοι ὑποκριταί, ὅτι περιήγαγε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ποιῆσαι ἕνα προσηλυτον, καὶ ὅταν γένηται ποιεῖτε αὐτὸν υἱὸν γενένης διπλοτέρου ὑμῶν.</p> |
| <p>8:42</p>                        | <p>3 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς, <u>ὅτι κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὑμεῖς οὐκ εἰσάγετε οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε εἰσελθεῖν.</u></p>  | <p>52 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς, <u>ὅτι ἤρατε τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως· αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσάγετε καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἐκωλύσατε.</u></p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 23:16-22)</p> | <p>7:4 Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς τοῖς λέγονσιν: <u>ὅς ἂν ὁμώσῃ ἐν τῷ ναῷ, οὐδὲν ἔστιν· ὅς δ' ἂν ὁμώσῃ ἐν τῷ χερυσῶ του ναοῦ, ὀφείλει.</u> 5 τίς γὰρ μείζων ἔστιν, ὁ χερυσὸς ἢ ὁ ναὸς ὁ ἀγιάσας τὸν χερυσόν; 6 καὶ· ὅς ἂν ὁμώσῃ ἐν τῷ θουσιαστηρίῳ, οὐδὲν ἔστιν· ὅς δ' ἂν</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b></p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 23:16-22)</p> | <p>7:4 Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς τοῖς λέγονσιν: <u>ὅς ἂν ὁμώσῃ ἐν τῷ ναῷ, οὐδὲν ἔστιν· ὅς δ' ἂν ὁμώσῃ ἐν τῷ χερυσῶ του ναοῦ, ὀφείλει.</u> 5 τίς γὰρ μείζων ἔστιν, ὁ χερυσὸς ἢ ὁ ναὸς ὁ ἀγιάσας τὸν χερυσόν; 6 καὶ· ὅς ἂν ὁμώσῃ ἐν τῷ θουσιαστηρίῳ, οὐδὲν ἔστιν· ὅς δ' ἂν</p>  | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>23:16 Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ὁδηγοὶ τυφλοὶ οὐ λέγοντες· <u>ὅς ἂν ὁμώσῃ ἐν τῷ ναῷ, οὐδὲν ἔστιν· ὅς δ' ἂν ὁμώσῃ ἐν τῷ χερυσῶ του ναοῦ, ὀφείλει.</u> 17 μωροὶ καὶ τυφλοὶ, τίς γὰρ μείζων ἔστιν, ὁ χερυσὸς ἢ ὁ ναὸς ὁ ἀγιάσας τὸν χερυσόν; 18 καὶ· ὅς ἂν ὁμώσῃ ἐν τῷ θουσιαστηρίῳ, οὐδὲν ἔστιν· ὅς δ' ἂν</p>   |
| <p><b>Luke</b></p>                 | <p>11:42 Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς, ὅτι κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὑμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ εἰσέρχεσθε οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε εἰσελθεῖν.</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b></p>  |

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| <p>ὁμότης ἐν τῷ δώρῳ τῷ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, ὀφείλει.<br/>7 τίς γὰρ μείζων ἔστιν, τὸ δῶρον ἢ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ ἀγιάζον τὸ δῶρον; 8 ὁ οὖν ὁμότης ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ὁμνῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ·<br/>9 καὶ ὁ ὁμότης ἐν τῷ ναῷ ὁμνῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ κατοικοῦντι αὐτόν, 10 καὶ ὁ ὁμότης ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁμνῶν ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ.</p> | <p>ὁμότης ἐν τῷ δώρῳ τῷ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, ὀφείλει. 19 τυφλοὶ, τίς γὰρ μείζων, τὸ δῶρον ἢ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ ἀγιάζον τὸ δῶρον; 20 ὁ οὖν ὁμότης ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ὁμνῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ·<br/>21 καὶ ὁ ὁμότης ἐν τῷ ναῷ ὁμνῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ κατοικοῦντι αὐτόν, 22 καὶ ὁ ὁμότης ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁμνῶν ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ.</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p>  | <p><b>Luke</b></p>   |
| <p>7:11 <u>Ὁὐαὶ ἔμιν, τοῖς Φαρισαίοις,</u><br/>ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἥδυσμον<br/>καὶ τὸ ἀνηθον καὶ τὸ κύμνον καὶ<br/>ἀφήκατε τὴν<br/>κρίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην- ταῦτα<br/>δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κάκεῖνα μὴ ἀφέναι.</p>   | <p>11:42 <u>Ὁὐαὶ ἔμιν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις,</u><br/>ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἥδυσμον<br/>καὶ τὸ πῆγανον καὶ πᾶν λάχανον καὶ<br/>παρέρχεσθε τὴν<br/>κρίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ- ταῦτα<br/>δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κάκεῖνα μὴ παρῆναι. ...</p>   |
| <p>12 <u>Ὁὐαὶ ἔμιν, τοῖς Φαρισαίοις,</u><br/>ὅτι καθαρῖζετε τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ<br/>ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παρομφίδος, ἔσωθεν δὲ<br/>γέμουσιν ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας;<br/>13 ἔποκρίθαι,</p>   | <p>39 <u>Νὴν ἡμεῖς οἱ Φαρισαῖοι</u><br/>τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ<br/>ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ πίνακος καθαρῖζετε, τὸ δὲ<br/>ἔσωθεν ἡμῶν γέμει ἀρπαγῆς καὶ πονηρίας.<br/>40 ἄφρονες, οὐχ ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔξωθεν καὶ τὸ<br/>ἔσωθεν ἐποίησεν;<br/>41 <u>πλὴν τὰ ἐνόντια</u> δοτε ἐλεημοσύνην,<br/>καὶ <u>ἰδοὺ πάντα καθαρά</u> ἡμῖν ἔστιν. ...<br/>44 <u>Ὁὐαὶ ἔμιν,</u><br/>ὅτι ἔστέ ὡς τὰ μνημεῖα<br/>τὰ ἀδηλα, καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι [οἱ] περιπατοῦντες</p> |
| <p><u>καθάρισον πρῶτον τὸ ἐντός τοῦ ποτηρίου,</u><br/>καὶ ἔσται καὶ τὸ ἐκτός αὐτοῦ καθαρὸν ..<br/>14 <u>Ὁὐαὶ ἔμιν, τοῖς Φαρισαίοις,</u><br/>ὅτι ἔστέ ὡς τὰ μνημεῖα<br/>τὰ ἀδηλα, καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι οἱ περιπατοῦντες</p>  | <p>καθάρισον πρῶτον τὸ ἐντός τοῦ ποτηρίου,<br/>ἵνα γένηται καὶ τὸ ἐκτός αὐτοῦ καθαρὸν.<br/>27 <u>Ὁὐαὶ ἔμιν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι</u><br/>ὑποκριταί, ὅτι παρομοιάζετε τάφοις<br/>κεκολλημένοις, οἵτινες ἔξωθεν μὲν</p>  |



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| <p>18 ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ αἷμα πάντων τῶν προφητῶν τὸ ἐκκεχυμένον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.</p> <p>19 ἀπὸ αἵματος· Ἄβελ ἕως αἵματος Ζαχαρίου καὶ ἀπολομένου μεταξὺ τοῦ θουσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου· ἀμήν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἴξει ταῦτα πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν γενεάν ταύτην.</p>  | <p>35 ὅπως ἔλθῃ ἕφ' ὑμᾶς πᾶν αἷμα δικαίων ἐκχυνόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς</p> <p>ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος· Ἄβελ τοῦ δικαίου ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ζαχαρίου υἱοῦ Βαραχίου, ὃν ἐφρονέσατε μεταξὺ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θουσιαστηρίου. 36 ἀμήν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἴξει ταῦτα πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν γενεάν ταύτην.</p>  | <p>50 ἵνα ἐκρίθη ἡ τὸ αἷμα πάντων τῶν προφητῶν τὸ ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης, 51 ἀπὸ αἵματος Ἄβελ ἕως αἵματος Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἀπολομένου μεταξὺ τοῦ θουσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου· ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐκρίθησεται ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης· ... 53 Κάκειθεν ἐξεθόντο αὐτοῦ ἦρξαντο οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι δεινῶς ἐνέχριν καὶ ἀποστοματίζουσ αὐτὸν περὶ πλείονων, 54 ἐνεδρευοντες αὐτὸν θηρεῖσαι τι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 23:38–39)</p> <p>7:20 Ἰερουσαλήμ· Ἰερουσαλήμ· ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφῆτας καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν· ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου, ὃν τρόπον ὄρνις ἐπισυνάγει τὰ νοσσία αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε.</p> <p>21 ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν. λέγω· ὅ· ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ ἴδῃτέ με ἕως ἥξει ὅτε εἴπητε· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>23:37 Ἰερουσαλήμ· Ἰερουσαλήμ· ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφῆτας καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν· ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου, ὃν τρόπον ὄρνις ἐπισυνάγει τὰ νοσσία αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε.</p> <p>38 ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν ἔρημος, 39 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ με ἴδῃτε ἀπ' ἄρτι ἕως ἂν εἴπητε· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>13:34 Ἰερουσαλήμ· Ἰερουσαλήμ· ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφῆτας καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν· ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυνάξει τὰ τέκνα σου, ὃν τρόπον ὄρνις ἐπισυνάγει τὰς πτέρυγας καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε, 35 ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν. λέγω [δε] ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ ἴδῃτέ με ἕως ἥξει ὅτε εἴπητε· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.</p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (cf. 15:29)</p> <p>14:58 Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>14:58 Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ</p>   | <p><b>Acts</b></p> <p>6:14 Ἀκηκόαμεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ</p>  |

λέγοντος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος  
οὗτος κητέλλει τὸν τόπον τούτων.

ἔφη· δύναιται  
κητέλλεσθαι τὸν ναὸν  
τοῦ θεοῦ  
καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν  
οἰκοδομησάι.

λέγοντος ὅτι ἐγὼ  
καταλίωσ τὸν ναὸν τούτων τὸν  
χειροποιήτων  
καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον  
ἀχειροποιήτων οἰκοδομήσω.

7:22 Ἐγὼ  
καταλίωσ τὸν ναὸν τούτων τὸν  
χειροποιήτων  
καὶ ἄλλον  
ἀχειροποιήτων οἰκοδομήσω.

### LOGOI 8

**Luke**  
12:1 Ἐν οἷς ἐπισυναχθεῖσάν τῶν μυριάδιων  
τοῦ ὄχλου, ὥστε καταπατεῖν ἀλλήλους,  
ἤρξατο λέγειν πρὸς  
μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ πρώτων· προσέχετε  
ἑαυτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης, ἥτις ἐστὶν  
ὑπόκρισις, τῶν Φαρισαίων.

**Matthew**  
16:6 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν·  
αὐτοῖς· ὁράτε καὶ προσέχετε  
ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης  
τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ  
Σαδδουκαίων.

**Mark**  
8:15 Καὶ διεστέλλετο αὐτοῖς λέγων·  
ὁράτε, βλέπετε  
ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης  
τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τῆς ζύμης  
Ἡρώδου.

**Logoi**  
8:1 Καὶ ἤρξατο λέγειν πρὸς  
μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ· προσέχετε  
ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης  
τῶν Φαρισαίων.

**Luke** (cf. 8:17, a redaction of Mark 4:22)  
12:2 Οὐδὲν δὲ συγκεκαλυμμένον ἐστὶν  
ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται καὶ  
κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.

**Matthew** (n-d after 13:23)  
10:26 Μὴ οὖν φοβηθῆτε αὐτούς·  
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν κεκαλυμμένον  
ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται καὶ  
κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.

**Mark**  
4:22 Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν  
κρυπτὸν ἐάν μὴ ἴνα φανερωθῇ,  
οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἀπόκρυφον  
ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐλθῆ εἰς φανερόν.

**Logoi** (MQ- 10:26-27)  
8:2 Οὐδὲν κεκαλυμμένον ἐστὶν  
ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται καὶ  
κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.

3 ἄνθ' ὧν ὅσα  
ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ εἶπατε ἐν τῷ  
φωτὶ ἀκουσθήσεται· καὶ ὃ πρὸς  
τὸ οὐὲς ἐλαλήσατε ἐν τοῖς ταμίεισις

27 ὃ λέγω ὑμῖν  
ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ εἶπατε ἐν τῷ  
φωτὶ, καὶ ὃ εἰς  
τὸ οὐὲς ἀκούετε.

3 ὃ  
ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ εἶπατε ἐν τῷ  
φωτὶ ἀκουσθήσεται· καὶ ὃ εἰς  
τὸ οὐὲς ἐλαλήσατε.

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| κηρυχθήσεται ἐπὶ πᾶν δωματίον.   | <b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 10:32–33)  | <b>Mark</b> | κηρύξατε ἐπὶ πᾶν δωματίον.  | <b>Matthew</b> (cf. 16:27, a redaction of Mark 8:38) | κηρυχθήσεται ἐπὶ πᾶν δωματίον.   | <b>Luke</b> (cf. 9:26, a redaction of Mark 8:38) |
| 8:4 Καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνειν·   | 8:4 Καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνειν·   |             | 10:28 Καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνειν·  |  | 12:4 Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς φίλοις μου, μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἐχόντων περισσότερόν τι ποιῆσαι. 5 ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν τίνα φοβηθήτε· φοβηθήτε τῶν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτείνειν ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς |  |
| 5 φοβεῖσθε δὲ .. τῶν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν τῇ γῆ ἐν νηι.  | 5 φοβεῖσθε δὲ .. τῶν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν τῇ γῆ ἐν νηι.  |             | 29 οὐχὶ δύο στρουθία ἀσφαρίου πωλεῖται;   |  | τὴν, γέενναν. καὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, τοῦτον φοβηθήτε. 6 οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία πωλοῦνται ἀσφαρίων δύο;  |  |
| 6 οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία πωλοῦνται ἀσφαρίων δύο; καὶ ἐν ἑξ αὐτῶν οὐ πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν.                      | 6 οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία πωλοῦνται ἀσφαρίων δύο; καὶ ἐν ἑξ αὐτῶν οὐ πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν.                      |             | καὶ ἐν ἑξ αὐτῶν οὐ πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν.   |  | καὶ ἐν ἑξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιληρημένος ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.   |  |
| 7 ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τριῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς πᾶσαι ἠριθμημέναι εἰσίν· μὴ φοβεῖσθε· πολλῶν στρουθίων διαφέρετε ὑμεῖς.                       | 7 ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τριῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς πᾶσαι ἠριθμημέναι εἰσίν· μὴ φοβεῖσθε· πολλῶν στρουθίων διαφέρετε ὑμεῖς.                       |             | 30 ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τριῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς πᾶσαι ἠριθμημέναι εἰσίν.  |  | 7 ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ τριῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν πᾶσαι ἠριθμηθήσονται. μὴ φοβεῖσθε· πολλῶν στρουθίων διαφέρετε. 8 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν,  |  |
| 8 πᾶς ὅς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἑμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁμολογήσει ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ. | 8 πᾶς ὅς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἑμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁμολογήσει ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ. |             | 31 μὴ οὖν φοβεῖσθε· πολλῶν στρουθίων διαφέρετε ὑμεῖς.   |  | πᾶς ὅς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἑμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁμολογήσει ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ.   |  |
| 9 ὅς δ' ἂν ἀρνήσῃται με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,  | 9 ὅς δ' ἂν ἀρνήσῃται με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,  |             | 32 πᾶς οὖν ἵσθις, ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἑμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν [τοῖς] οὐρανοῖς. |  | 9 ὁ δὲ ἀρνησάμενός με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων,  |  |
| 8:38 Ὁς γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπαισχυθῇ με καὶ τοὺς ἑμοὺς λόγους ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ μοιχαλίδι καὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ,                                  | 8:38 Ὁς γὰρ ἐὰν ἐπαισχυθῇ με καὶ τοὺς ἑμοὺς λόγους ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ μοιχαλίδι καὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ,                                  |             | 33 ἵσθις δ' ἂν ἀρνήσῃται με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,   |  |  |  |

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| <p>και ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπαρνήσεται αὐτὸν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ.</p>  | <p>ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθῆσεται αὐτὸν ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δοξῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων.</p>                          | <p>ἀρνήσεταιί με κἀγὼ αὐτὸν ἐμπροσθεν οὐρανοῖς.</p> <p>τὸν πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν [τοῖς] οὐρανοῖς.</p>  | <p>ἀπαρνήσεται ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ.</p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p>   | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>3:28 Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πάντα ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἁμαρτήματα και βλασφημῖαι ὅσα ἐὰν βλασφημήσωσιν.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>12:31 Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, πᾶσα ἁμαρτία και βλασφημία ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b></p>   |
| <p>8:10 Καὶ ὡς ἐὰν εἴπῃ λόγον εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ· ὡς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.</p> | <p>29 ὡς δὲ ἂν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ ἔνοχος ἔσται αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος.</p>                 | <p>ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος βλασφημία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.<br/>32 καὶ ὡς ἐὰν εἴπῃ λόγον κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ· ὡς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ ὅτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.</p> | <p>12:10 Καὶ πᾶς ὡς ἐρεῖ λόγον εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ· τῷ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα βλασφημήσαντι οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p>   | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>13:9 Βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτοῦς παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια και εἰς συναγωγὰς</p>                                       | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>10:17 Προσεχετε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· παραδώσουσιν γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια και ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>12:11 Ὅταν δὲ εἰσφέρωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς και τὰς ἀρχὰς και τὰς ἐξουσίας,</p>                                 |

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| <p>δαρήσαθε και ἐπὶ ἠγεμόνων και βασιλέων σταθήσαθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. 10 και εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρώτων δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. 11 και ὅταν ἄγουσιν ὑμᾶς παραδιδόντες, μὴ προμεριμνᾶτε τί λαλήσητε, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐὰν δοθῆ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τούτου λαλεῖτε. οὐ γὰρ ἔστε ὑμεῖς οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.</p> | <p>μαστιγώσουσιν ὑμᾶς· 18 και ἐπὶ ἠγεμόνας δὲ και βασιλεῖς ἀχθήσαθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς και τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. 19 ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν ὑμᾶς, μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς ἢ τί λαλήσητε· δοθήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλήσητε. 20 οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἔστε οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τὸ λαλοῦν ἐν ὑμῖν.</p>  | <p>μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς ἢ τί ἀπολογησθε ἢ τί εἴπητε· 12 τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διδάξει ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἃ δεῖ εἰπεῖν.</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>8:13 Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι και οἱ λύχνοι καίωμενοι· 14 και ὑμεῖς ὅμοιοι ἀνθρώποις προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν πότε ἀναλύσῃ ἐκ τῶν γάμων.</p>  | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>25:1 Ἵτε ὁμοιωθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν δέκα παρθένοις, αἵτινες λαβοῦσαι τὰς λαμπάδας ἑαυτῶν ἐξήλθον εἰς ὑπάντησιν τοῦ νομφίου. 2 πέντε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦσαν μοραὶ και πέντε φρόνμοι. 3 αἱ γὰρ μοραὶ λαβοῦσαι τὰς λαμπάδας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔλαβον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔλαιον. 4 αἱ δὲ φρόνμοι ἔλαβον ἔλαιον ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις μετα τῶν λαμπάδων ἑαυτῶν. 5 Χρονίζοντας δὲ τοῦ νομφίου ἐνύσταζαν πᾶσαι και ἐκάθευδον. 6 μέσης δὲ νυκτὸς</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>12:35 Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι και οἱ λύχνοι καίωμενοι· 36 και ὑμεῖς ὅμοιοι ἀνθρώποις προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν πότε ἀναλύσῃ ἐκ τῶν γάμων.</p> |
| <p><b>Mark</b></p>  |   |  |



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| <p>ἵνα ἐλθόντος καὶ κρούσαντος εὐθύς ἀνοιξῶσιν αὐτῷ.</p>  | <p>κραυγὴ γέγονεν· ἰδοὺ ὁ νυμφίος, ἐξέρχεσθε εἰς ἀπάντησιν [αὐτοῦ]. 7 τότε ἠγέρθησαν πᾶσαι οἱ παρθένοι ἐκεῖναί καὶ ἐκόσμησαν τὰς λαμπάδας ἑαυτῶν. 8 αἱ δὲ μωραὶ ταῖς φρονίμοις εἶπαν· δότε ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ ἐλαίου ὑμῶν, ὅτι αἱ λαμπάδες ἡμῶν σβέννυνται. 9 ἀπεκρίθησαν δὲ αἱ φρόνιμοι λέγουσαι· μήποτε οὐ μὴ ἄρκεσθ ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν· πορεύεσθε μάλλον πρὸς τοὺς πωλοῦντας καὶ ἀγοράσατε ἑαυταῖς, 10 ἀπερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀγοράσαι ἦθεν ὁ νυμφίος, καὶ αἱ ἔτοιμοι εἰσῆλθον μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς γάμους καὶ ἐκλείσθη ἡ θύρα.</p> | <p>ἵνα ἐλθόντος καὶ κρούσαντος εὐθύς ἀνοιξῶσιν αὐτῷ.</p>  |
| <p>37 μακάριοι οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, οὓς ἔλθων ὁ κύριος εὐρήσει γρηγορούντας·</p>  | <p>15 μακάριοι οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, οὓς ἔλθων ὁ κύριος εὐρήσει γρηγορούντας·</p>  | <p>15 μακάριοι οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, οὓς ἔλθων ὁ κύριος εὐρήσει γρηγορούντας·</p>  |
| <p>ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι περιζώσεται καὶ ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρελθὼν διακονήσει αὐτοῖς. 38 <u>κάν ἐν τῇ δευτέρῳ</u> <u>κάν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ</u> καὶ εὐρῆ οὕτως, μακάριοι εἰσὶν ἐκεῖνοι.</p>                                     | <p>ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι περιζώσεται καὶ ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρελθὼν διακονήσει αὐτοῖς. 16 <u>κάν ἐν τῇ δευτέρῳ</u> <u>κάν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ</u> καὶ εὐρῆ οὕτως, μακάριοι εἰσὶν ἐκεῖνοι.</p>   | <p>16 <u>κάν ἐν τῇ δευτέρῳ</u> <u>κάν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ</u> καὶ εὐρῆ οὕτως, μακάριοι εἰσὶν ἐκεῖνοι.</p>   |
| <p><b>Luke</b><br/>12:39 Τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι εἰ ἦδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποιά ὥρα ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, οὐκ ἂν ἀφῆκεν διορυχθῆναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.<br/>40 καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι, ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐ δοκεῖτε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 24:42 and Mark 13:25)<br/>24:43 Ἐκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι εἰ ἦδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποιά φυλακῇ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, ἐργηρόρησεν ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴασεν διορυχθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ.<br/>44 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι, ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>[13:35–37]<br/><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 24:43–44)<br/>8:17 Ἐκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι εἰ ἦδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποιά φυλακῇ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, οὐκ ἂν εἴασεν διορυχθῆναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.<br/>18 καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι, ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.</p> |

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| <p>41 εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος· κύριε, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην λέγεις ἢ καὶ πρὸς πάντας;</p> <p>42 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος ὁ φρόνιμος, ὃν καταστήσει ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ διδόναι ἐν καιρῷ. [τοῖ] σιτομέτριον. 43 μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλάβῃ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὐρήσει οὕτως ποιούντα οὕτως. 44 ἀληθῶς λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπὶ πάνσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ καταστήσει αὐτόν.</p> | <p>45 τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος καὶ φρόνιμος, ὃν καταστήσει ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκετείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς τὴν τροφήν ἐν καιρῷ; 46 μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλάβῃ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὐρήσει οὕτως ποιούντα. 47 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπὶ πάνσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ καταστήσει αὐτόν.</p>      | <p>48 ἔάν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ κακὸς δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ· χρονίζει μοι ὁ κύριος, 49 καὶ ἄρξῃται τύπτειν τοὺς συνδούλους αὐτοῦ, ἐσθίῃ δὲ καὶ πίνῃ μετὰ τῶν μεθύοντων, 50 ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκεῖνου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἧ οὐ προσδοκᾷ καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἧ οὐ γινώσκει, 51 καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτόν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν θήσει· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.</p> | <p>41 εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος· κύριε, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην λέγεις ἢ καὶ πρὸς πάντας;</p> <p>42 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος ὁ φρόνιμος, ὃν καταστήσει ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ διδόναι ἐν καιρῷ. [τοῖ] σιτομέτριον. 43 μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλάβῃ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὐρήσει οὕτως ποιούντα οὕτως. 44 ἀληθῶς λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπὶ πάνσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ καταστήσει αὐτόν.</p>   |
| <p>45 ἔάν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ· χρονίζει ὁ κύριός μου ἔρχεσθαι, καὶ ἄρξῃται τύπτειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας, ἐσθίειν τε καὶ πίνειν, καὶ μεθύσκεισθαι, 46 ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκεῖνου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἧ οὐ προσδοκᾷ καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἧ οὐ γινώσκει, καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει.</p>  | <p>47 ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὁ δοῦλος ὁ γνοὺς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐτοιμάσας ἢ ποιήσας πρὸς τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ θαρσύνεται πολλὰς. 48 ὁ δὲ μὴ γνοὺς, ποιήσας δὲ ἄξια πληγῶν θαρσύνεται ὀλίγας, παντὶ δὲ ὡς ἐδόθη πολὺ, πολὺ κριτηθεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς παρεβέντο πολὺ, περισσότερον αἰτήσουσιν αὐτόν.</p> | <p>47 ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὁ δοῦλος ὁ γνοὺς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐτοιμάσας ἢ ποιήσας πρὸς τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ θαρσύνεται πολλὰς. 48 ὁ δὲ μὴ γνοὺς, ποιήσας δὲ ἄξια πληγῶν θαρσύνεται ὀλίγας, παντὶ δὲ ὡς ἐδόθη πολὺ, πολὺ κριτηθεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς παρεβέντο πολὺ, περισσότερον αἰτήσουσιν αὐτόν.</p>  | <p>19 τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος καὶ φρόνιμος ὃν κατέστησεν ὁ δοῦλος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκετείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ δοῦναι τὸ σιτομέτριον ἐν καιρῷ; 20 μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλάβῃ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὐρήσει οὕτως ποιούντα. 21 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπὶ πάνσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ καταστήσει αὐτόν.</p> <p>22 ἔάν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ· χρονίζει ὁ κύριός μου, καὶ ἄρξῃται τύπτειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας, ἐσθίῃ δὲ καὶ πίνῃ μετὰ τῶν μεθύοντων, 23 ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκεῖνου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἧ οὐ προσδοκᾷ καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἧ οὐ γινώσκει, καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτόν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει.</p> |

«Jesus then spoke to the crowds:»

| <b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 10:34–35)   | <b>Mark</b>   | <b>Matthew</b> (cf. 10:21, a redaction of Mark 13:12)   | <b>Luke</b> (cf. 21:16, a redaction of Mark 13:12)   |
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| 8:24 Πῦρ ἤλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν·<br>καὶ τί θέλω εἰ ἥδη ἀνήφθη.  |   |   | 12:49 Πῦρ ἤλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν·<br>καὶ τί θέλω εἰ ἥδη ἀνήφθη.  |
| 25 δοκεῖτε ὅτι ἤλθον βαλεῖν<br>εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν·<br>οὐκ ἤλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ<br>μάχασαι.                                    | 13:12 Καὶ παραδώσει<br>ἀδελφός ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον<br>καὶ πατήρ τέκνον,<br>καὶ<br>ἐπαναστήσονται τέκνον ἐπὶ<br>γονεῖς<br>καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς. | 10:34 Μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἤλθον βαλεῖν<br>εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν·<br>οὐκ ἤλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ<br>μάχασαι.   | καὶ πῶς συνέχομαι ἕως ὅτου τελεσθῇ.<br>51 δοκεῖτε ὅτι εἰρήνην παρενενόμη<br>δοῦναι ἐν τῇ γῆ· οὐχί, λέγω ὑμῖν,<br>ἀλλ' ἡ διαμερισμὸν. 52 ἔσονται γὰρ ἀπὸ<br>τοῦ νῦν πέντε ἐν ἑνὶ οἴκῳ<br>διαμερισμένοι, τρεῖς ἐπὶ δυοῖν<br>καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τρισίν, 53 διαμερισθήσονται<br>πατήρ ἐπὶ υἱὸν<br>καὶ υἱὸς ἐπὶ πατέρα<br>μητὴρ ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ<br>θυγατὴρ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα,<br>πενθερὰ ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην αὐτῆς καὶ<br>νύμφη ἐπὶ τὴν πενθεράν. |
| 26 ἤλθον γὰρ διχάσαι<br>υἱὸν κατὰ πατρός αὐτοῦ,<br>καὶ<br>θυγατέρα κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς,<br>καὶ<br>νύμφην κατὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς αὐτῆς. | 36 καὶ ἔχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ<br>οἰκιστὰὶ αὐτοῦ.  | 35 ἤλθον γὰρ διχάσαι<br>ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ<br>καὶ<br>θυγατέρα κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς<br>καὶ<br>νύμφην κατὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς αὐτῆς,   | 36 καὶ ἔχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ<br>οἰκιστὰὶ αὐτοῦ.   |
| 27 καὶ ἔχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ<br>οἰκιστὰὶ αὐτοῦ.  |   |   |  |
| <b>Logoi</b>  | <b>Mark</b>   | <b>Matthew</b> (missing in some manuscripts)<br>16:2 Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·<br>[ὁμίας γενομένης<br>λέγετε· εὐδία, πυρράζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός·<br>3 καὶ πρωτὶ σήμερον χειμῶν, πυρράζει γὰρ<br>στυγνάζων ὁ οὐρανός.] | <b>Luke</b><br>12:54 Ἔλεγεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις ὅταν ἴδῃτε<br>[τὴν] νεφέλην ἀνατέλλουσαν ἐπὶ ὄρους,<br>εὐθέως λέγετε ὅτι ὄμβρος ἐρχεται,<br>καὶ γίνεται οὕτως·<br>55 καὶ ὅταν νότον πνεύοντα,<br>λέγετε ὅτι καύσων ἔσται, καὶ γίνεται.  |

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| <p>30 τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἶδατε διακρίνειν, τὸν καιρὸν δὲ οὐ δύνασθε;</p>  | <p>τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γινώσκετε διακρίνειν, τὰ δὲ σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν οὐ δύνασθε:}]</p>  | <p>56 ὁμοκρταί, τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἶδατε δοκιμάζειν, τὸν καιρὸν δὲ τοῦτον πῶς οὐκ οἶδατε δοκιμάζειν.</p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p> <p>8:31 Καὶ εἶπεν· τίμη ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τίμη ὁμοίωσά αὐτήν;</p> <p>32 ὁμοία ἐστὶν κόκκω σινάπεως ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἐβάλεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·</p> <p>καὶ ἤξηρσεν</p> <p>καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον,</p> <p>καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>4:30 Καὶ ἔλεγεν· πῶς ὁμοιώσαμεν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ ἐν τίνι αὐτῆν παραβολῇ θώμεν;</p> <p>31 ὡς κόκκω σινάπεως, ὃς ὅταν σπαρῆ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, μικρότερον ὂν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 32 καὶ ὅταν σπαρῆ, ἀναβαίνει καὶ γίνεται μείζον πάντων τῶν λαχάνων καὶ ποιεὶ κλάδους μεγάλους, ὥστε δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν αὐτοῦ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν.</p> <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>4:26 Καὶ ἔλεγεν· οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς ἄνθρωπος</p> | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>13:18 "Ἐλεγεν οὖν· τίμη ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τίμη ὁμοίωσά αὐτήν;</p> <p>19 ὁμοία ἐστὶν κόκκω σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἐβάλεν εἰς κῆπον ἑαυτοῦ.</p> <p>καὶ ἤξηρσεν</p> <p>καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον,</p> <p>καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ.</p> <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>13:20 Καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν· τίμη ὁμοίωσά τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ; 21 ὁμοία ἐστὶν ὕμψ,</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 13:33)</p> <p>8:33 Καὶ πάλιν· τίμη ὁμοίωσά τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ; 21 ὁμοία ἐστὶν ὕμψ,</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>13:31 " Ἄλλην παραβολὴν ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς· ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ὕμψ,</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>13:31 " Ἄλλην παραβολὴν παρέθρηκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν κόκκω σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρεν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ· 32 ὁ μικρότερον μὲν ἐστὶν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων, ὅταν δὲ ἀξηθῆ μείζον τῶν λαχάνων ἐστὶν καὶ γίνεται δένδρον, ὥστε ἐλθεῖν τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατεσκήνωσεν ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ.</p> <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>13:33 " Ἄλλην παραβολὴν ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς· ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ὕμψ,</p> |

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| <p><u>ἦν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ ἐνέκρυψεν εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία</u><br/><u>ἕως οὗ ἐξυμώθη ὄλον.</u></p>  | <p>βάλῃ τὸν σπόρον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 27 καὶ καθεύδῃ καὶ ἐγέρηται νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, καὶ ὁ σπόρος βλαστᾷ καὶ μικύνηται ὡς οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτός.</p> | <p><u>ἦν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ ἐνέκρυψεν εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία</u><br/><u>ἕως οὗ ἐξυμώθη ὄλον.</u></p>  | <p><u>ἦν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ ἐνέκρυψεν εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία</u><br/><u>ἕως οὗ ἐξυμώθη ὄλον.</u></p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p>  | <p><b>Mark</b></p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b> (note sequence)</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b></p>  |
| <p>8:35 Ἀγωνίεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας, ὅτι πολλοὶ ζητήσουσιν εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ ὀλιγοὶ εὐρήσουσιν αὐτήν.</p>  |  | <p>7:13 Εἰσελθατε διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης, ὅτι πλατεία ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ πολλοὶ εἰσιν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς· 14 τί στενὴ ἡ πύλη καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν καὶ ὀλιγοὶ εἰσιν οἱ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτήν. ...</p>              | <p>13:22 Καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων καὶ πορεύαν ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα. 23 εἶπεν δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς· κύριε, εἰ ὀλιγοὶ οἱ σωζόμενοι; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· 24 ἀγωνίεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας,</p>  |
| <p>36 ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης καὶ κλείσῃ τὴν θύραν καὶ ᾄρξῃσθε ἕξω ἐστάναι καὶ κρούειν τὴν θύραν λέγοντες· κύριε, ἀνοίξον ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἐρεῖ ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς· 37 τότε ᾄρξεσθε λέγειν·</p> |  | <p>25:10 Ἀπερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀγοράσαι ἦλθεν ὁ νυμφίος, καὶ αἱ ἔτοιμοι εἰσῆλθον μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς γάμους καὶ ἐκλείσθη ἡ θύρα. 11 ὕστερον δὲ ἔρχονται καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι λέγουσαι· κύριε, κύριε, ἀνοίξον ἡμῖν. 12 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς. ...</p> | <p>ὅτι πολλοὶ, λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητήσουσιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἴσχύουσιν. 25 ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης καὶ ἀποκλείσῃ τὴν θύραν καὶ ᾄρξῃσθε ἕξω ἐστάναι καὶ κρούειν τὴν θύραν λέγοντες· κύριε, ἀνοίξον ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἐρεῖ ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ. 26 τότε ᾄρξεσθε λέγειν·</p> |

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| <p>ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας·</p> <p>38 καὶ ἐρεῖ λέγων ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς, ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.</p>  | <p>κῆριε κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὄνομαιτι ἐπροφήτευσαι, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὄνομαιτι δαμόνια ἐξέβαλον, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὄνομαιτι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν;</p> <p>23 καὶ τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς, ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.</p>  | <p>ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας·</p> <p>38 καὶ ἐρεῖ λέγων ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς, ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.</p> | <p>ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας·</p> <p>27 καὶ ἐρεῖ λέγων ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς] πόθεν ἐστέ· ἀπόστητε· ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες ἐργάται, ἀδελφίαις,</p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p> <p>8:39 Καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσιῶν ἤξουσιν καὶ ἀνακληθήσονται 40 μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ,</p> <p>οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>8:11 Λέγων δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσιῶν ἤξουσιν καὶ ἀνακληθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν,</p> <p>12 οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.</p> | <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 20:16)</p> <p>10:31 Πολλοὶ δὲ ἔσονται πρώτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι πρώτοι.</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>13:28 Ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅταν ἠγῆσθε Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφῆτας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλόμενους ἐξω.</p> <p>29 καὶ ἤξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσιῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου καὶ ἀνακληθήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 20:16)</p> <p>8:41 ..ἔσονται οἱ ἔσχατοι πρώτοι καὶ οἱ πρώτοι ἔσχατοι.</p>  | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 19:30, a redaction of Mark 10:31)</p> <p>20:16 Οὕτως ἔσονται οἱ ἔσχατοι πρώτοι καὶ οἱ πρώτοι ἔσχατοι.</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>13:30 Καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσὶν ἔσχατοι οἱ ἔσονται πρώτοι καὶ εἰσὶν πρώτοι οἱ ἔσονται ἔσχατοι.</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>13:30 Καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσὶν ἔσχατοι οἱ ἔσονται πρώτοι καὶ εἰσὶν πρώτοι οἱ ἔσονται ἔσχατοι.</p>  |

| <i>Logoi</i>   | <i>Mark</i>                  | <i>Matthew</i>   | <i>Luke</i>  |
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| 8:42 <u>Πᾶς ὁ νῦν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ὁ ταπεινὸν ἑαυτὸν υψωθήσεται.</u>   | 10:43–45                     | 23:11 Ὁ δὲ μείζων ὑμῶν ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος.<br>1:2 ὅστις δὲ ὑψώσει ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται καὶ ὅστις ταπεινώσει ἑαυτὸν υψωθήσεται.   | 14:11 Ὅτι πᾶς ὁ νῦν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ὁ ταπεινὸν ἑαυτὸν υψωθήσεται.   |
| <i>Logoi</i>   | <i>Mark</i><br>[cf. 12:1–12] | <i>Matthew</i><br>22:1 Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν εἶπεν ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λέγων·<br>2 ὦμοι ἢ βασιλεῖα τῶν οὐρανῶν ἄνθρωποι βασιλεῖ, ὅστις ἐπιήρξεν γάμος τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ. 3 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ καλεῖσαι τοὺς κλημμένους εἰς τοὺς γάμους, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελον ἔλθεῖν. 4 πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἄλλους δούλους λέγων· εἴπατε τοῖς κλημμένοις· ἰδοὺ τὸ ἄριστόν μου ἠτοιμάκα, οἱ ταῦροι μου καὶ τὰ σπιτιὰ τεθυμένα καὶ πάντα ἔτοιμα· δεῦτε εἰς τοὺς γάμους.<br>5 οἱ δὲ ἀμελήσαντες ἀπηγόρευον, ὅς μὲν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀγρὸν ὅς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν αὐτοῦ· | <i>Luke</i><br>14:16 Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·<br><u>ἀνθρωπὸς τις ἐποίησεν δεῖπνον μέγα, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν πολλοὺς 17 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ τῆ ὥρᾳ τοῦ δείπνου εἰπεῖν τοῖς κλημμένοις·</u><br><br>ἐρχεσθε, ὅτι ἡδη ἔτοιμά ἐστιν.   |
| 8:43 <u>Ἄνθρωπὸς τις ἐποίησεν δεῖπνον μέγα, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν πολλοὺς 44 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ τῆ ὥρᾳ τοῦ δείπνου εἰπεῖν τοῖς κλημμένοις.</u> |                              | 5 οἱ δὲ ἀμελήσαντες ἀπηγόρευον, ὅς μὲν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀγρὸν ὅς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν αὐτοῦ·<br><br>6 οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κρατήσαντες τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ ὑβρίσαν καὶ ἀπέκτειναν.  | 18 καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀπὸ μᾶς πάντες παραιτεῖσθαι. ὁ πρῶτος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀγρὸν ἠγόρασα καὶ ἔχω ἀνάγκην ἐξελθῶν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν· ἐρωτῶ σε, ἔχε με παρητημένον.<br>19 καὶ ἕτερος εἶπεν· ζεύγη βοῶν ἠγόρασα πέντε καὶ πορεύομαι δοκιμάσαι αὐτά· ἐρωτῶ σε, ἔχε με παρητημένον.<br>20 καὶ ἕτερος εἶπεν· γυναῖκα ἔγνημα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δύναμαι ἔλθεῖν. |
| 45 καὶ ἤρξαντο πάντες παραιτεῖσθαι. ὁ πρῶτος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀγρὸν ἠγόρασα καὶ ἔχω ἀνάγκην ἐξελθῶν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν· ἐρωτῶ σε, ἔχε με παρητημένον.          |                              |  |  |
| 46 καὶ ἕτερος εἶπεν· ζεύγη βοῶν ἠγόρασα πέντε καὶ πορεύομαι δοκιμάσαι αὐτά.  |                              |  |  |
| ἐρωτῶ σε, ἔχε με παρητημένον.  |                              |  |  |
| 47 καὶ ἕτερος εἶπεν· γυναῖκα ἔγνημα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δύναμαι ἔλθεῖν.   |                              |  |  |

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| <p>48 καὶ ὁ δούλος<br/> <u>τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα.</u><br/> <u>τότε ὀργισθεὶς ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης</u></p> <p>εἶπεν τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ·</p> <p>49 ἔξελθε εἰς τὰς<br/> <u>ὁδοὺς καὶ ὅσους ἔαν εἴρηξ</u></p> <p>καλέσων.</p> | <p>7 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐργάσθη καὶ πέμψας τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτοῦ ἀπώλεσεν τοὺς φονεῖς ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησεν.</p> <p>8 τότε λέγει τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ· ὁ μὲν γάμος ἔτοιμός ἐστιν, οἱ δὲ κεκλημένοι οὐκ ἦσαν ἄξιοι· 9 πορεύεσθε οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ ὅσους ἔαν εἴρηξε</p> <p>καλέσῃτε εἰς τοὺς γάμους.</p> | <p>21 καὶ παραγενόμενος ὁ δούλος ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα.<br/> <u>τότε ὀργισθεὶς ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης</u></p> <p>εἶπεν τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ·</p> <p>ἔξελθε ταχέως εἰς τὰς<br/> <u>πλατείας καὶ ῥύμας τῆς πόλεως</u><br/> καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς καὶ ἀναπεύρους καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ χωλοὺς εἰσαγάγε ὧδε.</p> <p>22 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ δούλος· κύριε, γέγονεν ὁ ἐπέταξας, καὶ ἔτι τόπος ἐστίν.</p> <p>23 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος πρὸς τὸν δούλον· ἔξελθε εἰς τὰς<br/> <u>ὁδοὺς καὶ φραγμοὺς καὶ ἀνάγκασον εἰσελθεῖν,</u></p> <p><u>ἵνα γεμισθῇ μου ὁ οἶκος.</u></p> <p>24 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κεκλημένων γενόσεται ἰμοῦ τοῦ δείπνου.</p> |
| <p>10 καὶ<br/> <u>ἐξελθόντες οἱ δούλοι ἐκείνοι εἰς τὰς</u><br/> <u>ὁδοὺς συνήγαγον πάντας οὓς εὗρον,</u><br/> <u>πονηροὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς·</u><br/> <u>καὶ ἐπλήσθη ὁ γάμος ἀνακειμένων.</u></p>                 | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 16:24–25,<br/> a redaction of Mark 8:34–35)</p>   | <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 10:38–39)</p>   |
| <p>8:34 Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἀκολουθεῖν,</p>   | <p>10:37 Ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b> (note sequence; cf. 9:23–26,<br/> a redaction of Mark 8:34–38)<br/> 14:25 Συνεπορευόντο δὲ αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί, καὶ στραφεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· 26 εἴ τις ἔρχεται πρὸς με<br/> καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ</p>   |



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| καὶ τὴν μητέρα   | ἡ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ  | καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐαυτοῦ, οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. | καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐαυτοῦ, οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. |
| οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα                                | οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος, καὶ ὁ φιλῶν υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος.   | 27 ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. ...   | 27 ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. ...   |
| 51 ὁς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. | 38 καὶ ὁς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος.  | 17:33 ὁς ἐὰν ζητήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ περιποιησασθαι ἀπολέσει αὐτὴν ὁς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ   | 17:33 ὁς ἐὰν ζητήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ περιποιησασθαι ἀπολέσει αὐτὴν ὁς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ   |
| 52 ὁ εὐρώων τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὁ ἀπολέσας τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ εὐρήσει αὐτήν.            | 39 ὁ εὐρώων τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσει αὐτήν, καὶ ὁ ἀπολέσας τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ εὐρήσει αὐτήν.  | ζφονογήσει αὐτήν.  | ζφονογήσει αὐτήν.  |
| καὶ τὴν μητέρα   | ἡ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ  | καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐαυτοῦ, οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. | καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς ἔτι τε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐαυτοῦ, οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. |
| οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα                                | οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος, καὶ ὁ φιλῶν υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος.   | 27 ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. ...   | 27 ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. ...   |
| 51 ὁς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. | 38 καὶ ὁς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος.  | 17:33 ὁς ἐὰν ζητήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ περιποιησασθαι ἀπολέσει αὐτήν ὁς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ   | 17:33 ὁς ἐὰν ζητήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ περιποιησασθαι ἀπολέσει αὐτήν ὁς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ   |
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| «Jesus again turned to his disciples and said:»  |  |  |  |
| <b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 18:6-7)  | <b>Mark</b>  | <b>Luke</b> (cf. 22:22 and Mark 14:21)   | <b>Luke</b> (cf. 22:22 and Mark 14:21)   |
| 8:53 Ἐνάγκη τὰ σκάνδαλα ἔλθειν,  | 14:21 Ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται· καλὸν αὐτῷ εἶ οὐκ ἐγενήθη ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκεῖνος. ... | 17:1 Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ· ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστίν τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα  | 17:1 Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ· ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστίν τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα  |
| πλὴν οὐαὶ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται.  | 9:42 Καὶ ὁς ἐὰν σκανδαλίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων [εἰς ἐμέ],  | μὴ ἔλθειν, πλὴν οὐαὶ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται·   | μὴ ἔλθειν, πλὴν οὐαὶ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται·   |

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| <p>54 <u>συνφέρει αὐτῷ εἰ</u><br/><u>λίθος μυλικός περικειται</u><br/><u>περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ</u><br/><u>ἐφρπται εἰς</u><br/><u>τὴν θάλασσαν</u><br/><u>ἣ ἵνα</u><br/><u>σκανδαλίση τὸν μικρὸν τούτων</u><br/><u>ἕνα.</u></p>  | <p>καλὸν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ μάλλον εἰ<br/>περικείται μύλος ὀνικός<br/>περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ<br/>βέβηται εἰς<br/>τὴν θάλασσαν.</p>  | <p>συνφέρει αὐτῷ ἵνα<br/>κρεμασθῇ μύλος ὀνικός<br/>περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ<br/>κατασπασθῇ ἐν τῷ πελάγει<br/>τῆς θαλάσσης.<br/>7 οὐαὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν<br/>σκανδαλῶν· ἀνάγκη γάρ<br/>ἐλθεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα, πλὴν οὐαὶ<br/>τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δι' οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον<br/>ἐρχεται.</p>   | <p>2 <u>λυσσελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ</u><br/><u>λίθος μυλικός περικειται</u><br/><u>περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ</u><br/><u>ἐφρπται εἰς</u><br/><u>τὴν θάλασσαν</u><br/><u>ἣ ἵνα</u><br/><u>σκανδαλίση τὸν μικρὸν τούτων</u><br/><u>ἕνα.</u></p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 5:29–30)</p> <p>8:55 <u>Καὶ ἔαν ἡ χεῖρ σου σκανδαλίη</u><br/><u>σε, ἀπόκοπον αὐτήν·</u><br/><u>συνφέρει σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἐν τῶν</u><br/><u>μελῶν σου καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα βληθῆ</u><br/><u>εἰς τὴν γέεναν.</u><br/><u>καὶ ἔαν ὁ πούς σου σκανδαλίη σε</u><br/><u>ἀπόκοπον αὐτόν· συνφέρει σοι ἵνα</u><br/><u>ἀποληται ἐν τῶν μελῶν σου καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ</u><br/><u>σῶμα βληθῆ εἰς τὴν γέεναν.</u><br/>56 <u>καὶ ἔαν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σου</u><br/><u>σκανδαλίη σε ἐκβαλε αὐτόν·</u><br/><u>συνφέρει σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται</u><br/><u>ἐν τῶν μελῶν σου</u><br/><u>καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα βληθῆ</u><br/><u>εἰς τὴν γέεναν.</u></p> | <p>9:43 <u>Καὶ ἔαν σκανδαλίη σε ἡ χεῖρ σου,</u><br/><u>ἀπόκοπον αὐτήν·</u><br/><u>καλὸν ἐστὶν σε κλλὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν</u><br/><u>ζωὴν ἢ τὰς δύο χεῖρας ἔχοντα ἀπελθεῖν</u><br/><u>εἰς τὴν γέεναν, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον.</u><br/>45 <u>καὶ ἔαν ὁ πούς σου σκανδαλίη σε,</u><br/><u>ἀπόκοπον αὐτόν· καλὸν ἐστὶν σε εἰσελθεῖν</u><br/><u>εἰς τὴν ζωὴν χωλὸν ἢ τοὺς δύο πόδας</u><br/><u>ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν γέεναν.</u><br/>47 <u>καὶ ἔαν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σου</u><br/><u>σκανδαλίη σε, ἐκβαλε αὐτόν·</u><br/><u>καλὸν σε ἐστὶν μονόφθαλμον</u><br/><u>εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ</u><br/><u>ἢ δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντα βληθῆναι</u><br/><u>εἰς τὴν γέεναν, ὅπου ὁ σκόληξ αὐτῶν</u><br/><u>οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται.</u></p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>9:43 <u>Καὶ ἔαν σκανδαλίη σε ἡ χεῖρ σου,</u><br/><u>ἀπόκοπον αὐτήν·</u><br/><u>καλὸν ἐστὶν σε κλλὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν</u><br/><u>ζωὴν ἢ τὰς δύο χεῖρας ἔχοντα ἀπελθεῖν</u><br/><u>εἰς τὴν γέεναν, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον.</u><br/>45 <u>καὶ ἔαν ὁ πούς σου σκανδαλίη σε,</u><br/><u>ἀπόκοπον αὐτόν· καλὸν ἐστὶν σε εἰσελθεῖν</u><br/><u>εἰς τὴν ζωὴν χωλὸν ἢ τοὺς δύο πόδας</u><br/><u>ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν γέεναν.</u><br/>47 <u>καὶ ἔαν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σου</u><br/><u>σκανδαλίη σε, ἐκβαλε αὐτόν·</u><br/><u>καλὸν σε ἐστὶν μονόφθαλμον</u><br/><u>εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ</u><br/><u>ἢ δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντα βληθῆναι</u><br/><u>εἰς τὴν γέεναν, ὅπου ὁ σκόληξ αὐτῶν</u><br/><u>οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται.</u></p> | <p><b>Matthew</b> (note sequence; cf. 18:8–9, a<br/>redaction of Mark 9:43, 45, and 47–48)</p> <p>5:30 <u>Καὶ εἰ ἡ δεξιὰ σου χεῖρ σκανδαλίη</u><br/><u>σε, ἔκκοπον αὐτήν καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ·</u><br/><u>συνφέρει γάρ σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἐν τῶν</u><br/><u>μελῶν σου καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου</u><br/><u>εἰς γέεναν ἀπέλθῃ. . . .</u></p> <p>29 <u>εἰ δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σου ὁ δεξιὸς</u><br/><u>σκανδαλίη σε, ἔξελε αὐτὸν καὶ βάλε</u><br/><u>ἀπὸ σοῦ· συνφέρει γάρ σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται</u><br/><u>ἐν τῶν μελῶν σου</u><br/><u>καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου βληθῆ</u><br/><u>εἰς γέεναν.</u></p> |
| <p><b>Luke</b></p>  |  |   |  |

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| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 19:23–24)</p> <p>8:57 Πώς δυσκόλως οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελεύονται.</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>10:23 Καὶ περιβλεψάμενος ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ·</p> <p>πὼς δυσκόλως οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελεύονται.</p> <p>24 οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν ἀποκρίθεις λέγει αὐτοῖς· τέκνα, πὼς δυσκόλόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν.</p> <p>25 εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον διὰ [τῆς] τριμαλῆς [τῆς] ραφίδος διαλθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>19:23 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πλούσιος <u>δυσκόλως</u> εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.</p> <p>24 πάλιν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον διὰ τρυπήματος ραφίδος διαλθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>18:24 Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς [περιλυπὸν γενόμενον] εἶπεν·</p> <p>πὼς <u>δυσκόλως</u> οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσπορεύονται.</p> <p>25 εὐκοπώτερον γάρ ἐστιν κάμηλον διὰ τρήματος βελόνης εἰσελθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν.</p> |
| <p>8:59 Τίς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔχων ἑκατὸν πρόβατα καὶ ἀπολέσας ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐχ ἀφήσει τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ πορευθεὶς ζητεῖ τὸ ἀπολωλός;</p> <p>60 καὶ ἐὰν εὗρη αὐτό,</p> <p>61 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι χαίρει ἐπ' αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα τοῖς μὴ ἀπολωλόσιν.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>18:12 Τὶ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ; ἐὰν γένηται τὴν ἀγθρόφιπ; ἑκατὸν πρόβατα καὶ πλανηθῇ ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐχ ἀφήσει τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ πορευθεὶς ζητεῖ τὸ πλανώμενον;</p> <p>13 καὶ ἐὰν γένηται εὗρηται αὐτό, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι χαίρει ἐπ' αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα τοῖς μὴ πεπλανημένοις.</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>15:4 Τίς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔχων ἑκατὸν πρόβατα καὶ ἀπολέσας ἓν αὐτῶν οὐ καταλείπει τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλός ἕως εὗρη αὐτό; 5 καὶ εὐρῶν ἐπιτίθησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄμους αὐτοῦ χαίρων.</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>15:4 Τίς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔχων ἑκατὸν πρόβατα καὶ ἀπολέσας ἓν αὐτῶν οὐ καταλείπει τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλός ἕως εὗρη αὐτό; 5 καὶ εὐρῶν ἐπιτίθησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄμους αὐτοῦ χαίρων.</p>   |

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| <p>14 οὕτως οὐκ ἔστιν θέλημα ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἵνα ἀπόληται ἕν. τῶν μικρῶν τούτων.</p>  | <p>6 και ἑλθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον συγκαλεῖ τοὺς φίλους και τοὺς γείτονας λέγων αὐτοῖς· συγχάριτέ μοι, ὅτι εὗρον τὸ πρόβατόν μου τὸ ἀπολωλός, 7 λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὕτως χαρὰ</p> <p>ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔσται ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανουῶντι ἢ ἐπὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα δίκαιοις οἵτινες οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν μετανόιας.</p> <p>8 Ἡ τίς γυνὴ δραχμῆς ἔχουσα δέκα ἐάν ἀπολέσῃ δραχμὴν μίαν, οὐχὶ ἀπτεῖ λύχνον και σαροῖ και ζητεῖ ἐμπλεῶς ἕως οὐ εὐρη;</p> <p>9 και εὐροῦσα συγκαλεῖ τὰς φίλας και γείτονας λέγουσα· συγχάριτέ μοι, ὅτι εὗρον τὴν δραχμὴν ἣν ἀπόλεσα. 10 οὕτως, λέγω ὑμῖν, γίνεται χαρὰ ἐνὸπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανουῶντι.</p> |
| <p>62 Ἡ τίς γυνὴ ἔχουσα δέκα δραχμῆς ἐάν ἀπολέσῃ δραχμὴν μίαν, οὐχὶ ἀπτεῖ λύχνον και σαροῖ τὴν οἰκίαν και ζητεῖ ἕως εὐρη;</p> <p>63 και εὐροῦσα καλεῖ τὰς φίλας και γείτονας λέγουσα· χάρητέ μοι, ὅτι εὗρον τὴν δραχμὴν ἣν ἀπόλεσα. 64 οὕτως, λέγω ὑμῖν, γίνεται χαρὰ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανουῶντι.</p> | <p>12 και εἶπεν ὁ νεώτερος αὐτῶν τῷ πατρὶ· πάτερ, δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, ὁ δε δεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὸν βιον. 13 και μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συναγαγὼν πάντα ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακρὰν και ἐκεῖ διεσκόρπισεν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν</p>   |
| <p>14 οὕτως οὐκ ἔστιν θέλημα ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἵνα ἀπόληται ἕν. τῶν μικρῶν τούτων.</p>  | <p>8:65 Ἄνθρωπος εἶχεν τέκνα δύο, και προσελθὼν τῷ πρώτῳ εἶπεν· τέκνον, ὕπαγε σήμερον ἐργάζου ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι. 66 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐ θέλω,</p>  |
| <p>62 Ἡ τίς γυνὴ ἔχουσα δέκα δραχμῆς ἐάν ἀπολέσῃ δραχμὴν μίαν, οὐχὶ ἀπτεῖ λύχνον και σαροῖ τὴν οἰκίαν και ζητεῖ ἕως εὐρη;</p> <p>63 και εὐροῦσα καλεῖ τὰς φίλας και γείτονας λέγουσα· χάρητέ μοι, ὅτι εὗρον τὴν δραχμὴν ἣν ἀπόλεσα. 64 οὕτως, λέγω ὑμῖν, γίνεται χαρὰ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανουῶντι.</p> | <p>12 και εἶπεν ὁ νεώτερος αὐτῶν τῷ πατρὶ· πάτερ, δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, ὁ δε δεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὸν βιον. 13 και μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συναγαγὼν πάντα ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακρὰν και ἐκεῖ διεσκόρπισεν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν</p>   |
| <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>21:28 Τὶ δὲ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ; ἄνθρωπος εἶχεν τέκνα δύο, και προσελθὼν τῷ πρώτῳ εἶπεν· τέκνον, ὕπαγε σήμερον ἐργάζου ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι. 29 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐ θέλω,</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>15:11 Εἶπεν δὲ· ἄνθρωπος τις εἶχεν δύο υἱούς.</p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p> <p>8:65 Ἄνθρωπος εἶχεν τέκνα δύο, και προσελθὼν τῷ πρώτῳ εἶπεν· τέκνον, ὕπαγε σήμερον ἐργάζου ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι. 66 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐ θέλω,</p>  | <p>12 και εἶπεν ὁ νεώτερος αὐτῶν τῷ πατρὶ· πάτερ, δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, ὁ δε δεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὸν βιον. 13 και μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συναγαγὼν πάντα ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακρὰν και ἐκεῖ διεσκόρπισεν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν</p>   |

ἀσώτως, 14 δαπανήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο λιμὸς ἰσχυρὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρξατο ὑστερεῖσθαι. 15 καὶ πορευθεὶς ἐκολληθῆ ἐνὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης, καὶ ἐπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς αὐτοῦ βόσκειν χοίρους, 16 καὶ ἐπεθύμει χορτασθῆναι ἐκ τῶν κερατιῶν ὧν ἤσθιον οἱ χοῖροι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ. 17 εἰς ἐαυτὸν δὲ ἐλθὼν ἔφη· πόσοι μισθοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς μου περισσεύονται ἔφρων, ἐγὼ δὲ λιμῷ ὠδε ἀπόλλυμαι. 18 ἀναστὰς πορεύσομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ ἐρώ αὐτῷ· πᾶτερ, ἤμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου, 19 οὐκ ἔτι εἰμι ἄξιος κληθῆναι υἱὸς σου· ποιήσόν με ὡς ἓνα τῶν μισθίων σου. 20 καὶ ἀναστὰς ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐαυτοῦ. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσπλαγγίσθη καὶ δραμῶν ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν πρᾶχρον αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφιλήσεν αὐτόν. 21 εἶπεν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῷ· πᾶτερ, ἤμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου, οὐκ ἔτι εἰμι ἄξιος κληθῆναι υἱὸς σου.

22 εἶπεν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ· ταχὺ ἐξενέγκατε στολὴν τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἐνδύσατε αὐτόν, καὶ δότε δακτύλιον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποδήματα εἰς τοὺς πόδας, 23 καὶ φέρετε τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτόν, θύσατε, καὶ φαγόντες εὐφρανθῶμεν, 24 ὅτι οὗτος ὁ υἱὸς μου νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνέζησεν,

ὑστερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς

ἀπῆλθεν.

ὑστερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς

ἀπῆλθεν.

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| <p>167 <u>προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ εἶπεν ὡσαύτως· ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ, κύριε,</u><br/>καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλθεν.</p> | <p>30 <u>προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ εἶπεν ὡσαύτως· ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ, κύριε,</u><br/>καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλθεν.</p>   | <p>ἦν ἀπολωλὼς καὶ εὐρέθη· καὶ ἤρξαντο εὐφραίνεσθαι.<br/>25 Ἦν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐν ἀγράφῳ· καὶ ὡς ἐρχόμενος ἤγγισεν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἤκουσεν συμφωνίας καὶ χορῶν, 26 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ἕνα τῶν παιδῶν ἐπυνθάνετο τί ἂν εἴη ταῦτα. 27 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἦκει, καὶ ἔθυσεν ὁ πατὴρ σου τὸν μόσχον τὸν στευτόν, ὅτι ὑγιαίνοντα αὐτὸν ἀπέλαβεν. 28 ὠργισθὴ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν εἰσελθεῖν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐξελθὼν παρεκάλει αὐτόν. 29 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ· ἰδοὺ τσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐντολήν σου παρήλθον, καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐδέποτε ἔδωκας ἔριφον ἵνα μετὰ τῶν φίλων μου εὐφρανθῶ.<br/>30 ὅτε δὲ ὁ υἱὸς σου οὕτως ὁ καταφαγῶν σου τὸν βίον μετὰ προφῶν ἦλθεν ἔθυσας αὐτῷ τὸν στευτόν μόσχον. 31 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· τέκνον, σὺ πάντοτε μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐμὰ σὰ ἔστιν. 32 εὐφρανθῆναι δὲ καὶ χαρῆναι ἔδει, ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου οὕτως νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἔζησεν, καὶ ἀπολωλὼς καὶ εὐρέθη.</p> |
| <p>68 <u>τίς ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐποίησεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς;</u><br/>καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλθεν.</p>                            | <p>31 <u>τίς ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐποίησεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς; λέγουσιν· ὁ πρῶτος,</u><br/>λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·<br/>ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οἱ τελῶναι καὶ αἱ πόρνοι προάγουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>17:3 Προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς, ἕαν ἀμίμωτοι ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπιτηρίσῃσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἕαν μετανόησῃ ἄφες αὐτῶν.</p>  |
| <p>8:69 <u>Ἐὰν ἀμαρτήσῃς εἰς σὲ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔλεγξον αὐτόν,</u><br/>καὶ ἕαν μετανόησῃ ἄφες αὐτῶν.</p>         | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>18:15 <u>Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμαρτήσῃς εἰς σὲ ὁ ἀδελφός σου, ὑπάγε ἐλεγξον αὐτόν μετὰ τῶν σου καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου.</u> ἕαν σου ἀκούσῃ ἐκέρῃσας</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b></p>   |

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| <p>τὸν ἀδελφόν σου· 16 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀκούσῃ, παράλαβε μετὰ σοῦ ἓτι ἓνα ἢ δύο, ἵνα ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων ἢ τριῶν σταθῇ πᾶν ῥῆμα· 17 ἐὰν δὲ παρακούσῃ αὐτῶν, εἰπέ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρακούσῃ, ἔστω σοι ὡσπερ ὁ ἔθνικος καὶ ὁ τελώνης.</p> <p>18 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅσα ἐὰν δῆσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένα ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὅσα ἐὰν λύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται λελυμένα ἐν οὐρανῷ.</p> <p>19 πάλιν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν δύο συμφωνήσωσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περὶ παντὸς πράγματος οὗ ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς· 20 οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ ἐμὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.</p> <p>21 Τότε προσελθὼν ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· κύριε, ποσάκις ἀμαρτήσῃ εἰς ἐμέ ὁ ἀδελφός μου καὶ ἀφήσω αὐτῷ; ἕως ἑπτάκις; 22 λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· οὐ λέγω σοι ἕως ἑπτάκις ἀλλὰ ἕως ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτὰ.</p> | <p>4 καὶ ἐὰν ἑπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμαρτήσῃ εἰς σέ καὶ ἑπτάκις ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς σέ λέγων· μετανοῶ, ἀφίσεις αὐτῷ.</p>         |
| <p>8:70 καὶ ἐὰν ἑπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμαρτήσῃ εἰς σέ καὶ ἑπτάκις ἀφίσεις αὐτῷ.</p>   | <p>4 καὶ ἐὰν ἑπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμαρτήσῃ εἰς σέ καὶ ἑπτάκις ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς σέ λέγων· μετανοῶ, ἀφίσεις αὐτῷ.</p>         |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p> <p>8:71 Ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν πλούσιος ὃς εἶχεν</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>16:1 Ἐλεγεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς· ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν πλούσιος ὃς εἶχεν</p>                       |
| <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>18:23 Διὰ τοῦτο ὠμοίωθι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν<br/>ἀνθρώπιμῃ βασιλεῖ, ὃς ἠθέλησεν συναῖραι</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>18:23 Διὰ τοῦτο ὠμοίωθι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν<br/>ἀνθρώπιμῃ βασιλεῖ, ὃς ἠθέλησεν συναῖραι</p> |

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| <p>οικονόμον, καὶ οὗτος διεβλήθη αὐτῷ ὡς διασκορπίζων τὰ ὑπέρχοντα αὐτοῦ.<br/>72 καὶ φωνήσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν αὐτῷ·</p> | <p>λόγον μετὰ τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ.<br/>24 ἀρξάμενου δὲ αὐτοῦ συναίρειν προσρηγέθη αὐτῷ εἰς ὀφειλέτης μυρίων ταλάντων.</p>  | <p>οικονόμον, καὶ οὗτος διεβλήθη αὐτῷ ὡς διασκορπίζων τὰ ὑπέρχοντα αὐτοῦ.<br/>72 καὶ φωνήσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν αὐτῷ·</p>   | <p>τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ· ἀπόδος τὸν λόγον τῆς οικονομίας σου,<br/>οὐ γὰρ δύνῃ ἔτι οικονομῆσαι.</p>   |
| <p>τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ· ἀπόδος τὸν λόγον τῆς οικονομίας σου,<br/>οὐ γὰρ δύνῃ ἔτι οικονομῆσαι.</p>              | <p>25 μὴ ἔχοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος πρῆξαι καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει, καὶ ἀποδοθῆναι. 26 πεσὼν οὖν ὁ δούλος προσεκύνη αὐτῷ λέγων· μακροθύμησον ἐπ' ἐμοί, καὶ πάντα ἀποδώσω σοι. 27 σπλαγχνισθεὶς δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου ἀπέλυσεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ δάνειον ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ.<br/>28 ἔξελεύσῃ δὲ ὁ δούλος ἐκεῖνος</p> | <p>73 εἶπεν δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὁ οικονόμος· τί ποιήσω, ὅτι ὁ κύριός μου ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν οικονομίαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· σκάπτειν οὐκ ἰσχύω, ἔπαιτεῖν αἰσχύνομαι. 74 ἔγγων τί ποιήσω, ἵνα ὅταν μετασταθῶ ἐκ τῆς οικονομίας δέξωνται με εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν.<br/>75 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν χρεοφιλῶν τοῦ κυρίου ἑαυτοῦ εἶπεν τῷ πρώτῳ· πόσον ὀφείλεις τῷ κυρίῳ μου; 76 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἑκατὸν βάρτους ἐλαίου. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· δέξαι σου τὰ γράμματα καὶ καθίσας ταχέως γράψον πενήτηκοντα.<br/>77 ἔπειτα ἑτέρῳ εἶπεν· σὺ δὲ πόσον ὀφείλεις; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἑκατὸν κόρους σίτου. λέγει αὐτῷ· δέξαι σου τὰ γράμματα καὶ γράψον ὀγδοήκοντα.</p> | <p>3 εἶπεν δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὁ οικονόμος· τί ποιήσω, ὅτι ὁ κύριός μου ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν οικονομίαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· σκάπτειν οὐκ ἰσχύω, ἔπαιτεῖν αἰσχύνομαι. 4 ἔγγων τί ποιήσω, ἵνα ὅταν μετασταθῶ ἐκ τῆς οικονομίας δέξωνται με εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν.<br/>5 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν χρεοφιλῶν τοῦ κυρίου ἑαυτοῦ εἶπεν τῷ πρώτῳ· πόσον ὀφείλεις τῷ κυρίῳ μου; 6 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἑκατὸν βάρτους ἐλαίου. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· δέξαι σου τὰ γράμματα καὶ καθίσας ταχέως γράψον πενήτηκοντα.<br/>7 ἔπειτα ἑτέρῳ εἶπεν· σὺ δὲ πόσον ὀφείλεις; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἑκατὸν κόρους σίτου. λέγει αὐτῷ· δέξαι σου τὰ γράμματα καὶ γράψον ὀγδοήκοντα.</p> |



29 πεσάν οὖν ὁ σύνδουλος αὐτοῦ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν λέγων· μακροθύμησον ἐπ' ἐμοί, καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι. 30 ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠθέληεν ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς φυλακὴν ἕως ἀποδώ τὸ ὀφειλόμενον. 31 ἰδόντες οὖν οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτοῦ τὰ γενόμενα ἐλυπήθησαν σφοδρὰ καὶ ἐλθόντες διεσέφησαν τῷ κυρίῳ ἑαυτῶν πάντα τὰ γενόμενα.

32 τότε προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ λέγει αὐτῷ· δοῦλε πονηρέ, πᾶσαν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἐκείνην ἀφήκᾳ σοι, ἐπεὶ παρεκάλεσάς με. 33 οὐκ ἔδει καὶ σὲ ἐλεῆσαι τὸν σύνδουλόν σου, ὡς καὶ γὼ σὲ ἠλέησα; 34 καὶ ὄργισθεῖς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τοῖς βασανισταῖς ἕως οὗ ἀποδώ πᾶν τὸ ὀφειλόμενον.

35 οὕτως καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ποιήσει ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῆτε ἕκαστος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν.

**Matthew**

78 καὶ ἐπήνεσεν ὁ κύριος τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀδικίας ὅτι φρονίμως ἐποίησεν.

ὅτι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου φρονιμώτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτός εἰς τὴν γενεάν τὴν ἑαυτῶν εἰσιν. 79 καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν λέγω, ἑαυτοῖς ποιήσατε φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, ἵνα ὅταν ἐκλίπῃ δέξωνται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς.

**Logoi**

8:80 Ὁ πιστός ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἄδικος καὶ ἐν πολλῷ ἄδικός ἐστιν.

81 εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾶ πιστοὶ οὐκ

8 καὶ ἐπήνεσεν ὁ κύριος τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀδικίας ὅτι φρονίμως ἐποίησεν.

ὅτι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου φρονιμώτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτός εἰς τὴν γενεάν τὴν ἑαυτῶν εἰσιν. 9 καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν λέγω, ἑαυτοῖς ποιήσατε φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, ἵνα ὅταν ἐκλίπῃ δέξωνται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς.

**Luke**

16:10 Ὁ πιστός ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἄδικος καὶ ἐν πολλῷ ἄδικός ἐστιν.

11 εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾶ πιστοὶ οὐκ

**Mark**

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| <p>ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει·<br/>82 καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐκ<br/>ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ὑμέτερον τίς ὑμῖν δώσει;<br/>83 οὐδεὶς δύναται δι᾽ αὐτοῦ κυρίου<br/>δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν<br/>ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται<br/>καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει.<br/>οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.</p>  | <p>ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει·<br/>12 καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐκ<br/>ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ὑμέτερον τίς ὑμῖν δώσει;<br/>13 Οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δι᾽ αὐτοῦ κυρίου<br/>δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν<br/>ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται<br/>καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει.<br/>οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.</p> | <p>6:24 Οὐδεὶς δύναται δι᾽ αὐτοῦ κυρίου<br/>δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν<br/>ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται<br/>καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει.<br/>οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.</p>   | <p>ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει<br/>82 καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐκ<br/>ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ὑμέτερον τίς ὑμῖν δώσει;<br/>83 οὐδεὶς δύναται δι᾽ αὐτοῦ κυρίου<br/>δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν<br/>ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται<br/>καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει.<br/>οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ - 24:26)<br/>9:1 Ἐὰν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν·<br/>ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ· μὴ ἐξέλθῃτε·<br/>ἰδοὺ ὧδε·<br/>μὴ πιστεύσητε·<br/>2 Ὅσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή<br/>ἐξερχεται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν<br/>καὶ φαίνεται ἕως δυσμῶν,<br/>οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ<br/>ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ.</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>13:21 Καὶ τότε ἐὰν τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ·<br/>ἴδε ὧδε ὁ χριστός,<br/>ἴδε ἐκεῖ,<br/>μὴ πιστεύσητε·</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 24:23–24)<br/>24:26 Ἐὰν οὖν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν·<br/>ἰδοὺ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐστίν, μὴ ἐξέλθῃτε·<br/>ἰδοὺ ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις,<br/>μὴ πιστεύσητε·<br/>27 Ὅσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή<br/>ἐξερχεται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν<br/>καὶ φαίνεται ἕως δυσμῶν,<br/>οὕτως ἔσται ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ<br/>τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.</p> | <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ - 24:26)<br/>9:1 Ἐὰν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν·<br/>ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ· μὴ ἐξέλθῃτε·<br/>ἰδοὺ ὧδε·<br/>μὴ πιστεύσητε·<br/>2 Ὅσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή<br/>ἐξερχεται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν<br/>καὶ φαίνεται ἕως δυσμῶν,<br/>οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ<br/>ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ.</p>  |
| <p><b>Luke</b> (note sequence)<br/>17:23 Καὶ ἐροῦσιν ὑμῖν·<br/>ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ,<br/>[ἢ·] ἰδοὺ ὧδε·<br/>μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε μηδὲ διώξῃτε.<br/>24 Ὅσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπή<br/>ἀστράπτουσα ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν<br/>εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν λάμψει,<br/>οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ<br/>ἀνθρώπου [ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ]· ...<br/>37 καὶ ἀποκριθέντες λέγουσιν αὐτῷ·<br/>ποῦ, κύριε; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·<br/>ὅπου τὸ σῶμα,<br/>ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ ἄετοι ἐπισυναχθήσονται.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>17:26 Καὶ καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Νώε,</p>  | <p>28 ὅπου ἐὰν ἢ τὸ πτώμα,<br/>ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται οἱ ἄετοι.</p>  | <p>3 ὅπου τὸ πτώμα,<br/>ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται οἱ ἄετοι.</p>  |
| <p><b>Mark</b><br/>24:37 Ὅσπερ γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Νώε,</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>24:37 Ὅσπερ γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Νώε,</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b></p>   | <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>9:4 Καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Νώε,</p>  |

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| <p>οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.</p> <p>5 ἦσθιον, ἔπινον, ἐγάμμουν, ἐγαμίζοντο, ἀχρηίς ἡμέρας εἰσῆλθεν Νιῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν, καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμός καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας· 6 καὶ καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Λωτῆ ἦσθιον, ἔπινον, ἠγόραζον, ἐπώλων, ἐφύτευον, ψικοδομοῦν· 7 ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐξῆλθεν Λωτῆ ἀπὸ Σοδομίων, ἐβρέξεν πῦρ καὶ θείον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας,</p> <p>8 οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται.</p> <p>9 ἔσονται δύο ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, εἷς παραλαμβάνεται καὶ εἷς ἀφίεται· 10 δύο ἀλήθουσαι ἐν τῷ μύλῳ, μία παραλαμβάνεται καὶ μία ἀφίεται.</p>  | <p>οὕτως ἔσται ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. 38 ὡς γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις [ἐκείναις] ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τρώγοντες καὶ πίνοντες, γαμιῶντες καὶ γαμίζοντες, ἀχρηίς ἡμέρας εἰσῆλθεν Νιῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν, 39 καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἕως ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμός καὶ ἦρεν ἅπαντας,</p>   | <p>οὕτως ἔσται [καὶ] ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.</p> <p>40 τότε δύο ἔσονται ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, εἷς παραλαμβάνεται καὶ εἷς ἀφίεται· 41 δύο ἀλήθουσαι ἐν τῷ μύλῳ, μία παραλαμβάνεται καὶ μία ἀφίεται.</p>                                | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 13:12, a redaction of Mark 4:25)</p> <p>25:14 Ὅσπερ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἀποδημιῶν ἐκάλεσεν τοὺς ἰδίους δούλους καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ, 15 καὶ ὡς μεν ἔδωκεν πέντε τάλαντα, ὡς δὲ δύο, ὡς δὲ ἓξ, ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν</p>                                   |
| <p>οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·</p> <p>27 ἦσθιον, ἔπινον, ἐγάμμουν, ἐγαμίζοντο, ἀχρηίς ἡμέρας εἰσῆλθεν Νιῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν, καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμός καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας, 28 ὡς οἷος καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Λωτῆ ἦσθιον, ἔπινον, ἠγόραζον, ἐπώλων, ἐφύτευον, ψικοδομοῦν· 29 ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐξῆλθεν Λωτῆ ἀπὸ Σοδομίων, ἐβρέξεν πῦρ καὶ θείον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας,</p> <p>30 κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔσται ἡ ἡμέρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται. ...</p> <p>34 Λέγω ὑμῖν, ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ ἔσονται δύο ἐπὶ κλίνης μίας, ὁ εἷς παραλημφθήσεται καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἀφεθήσεται· 35 ἔσονται δύο ἀλήθουσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μία παραλημφθήσεται, ἡ δὲ ἕτερα ἀφεθήσεται.</p> | <p>οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·</p> <p>27 ἦσθιον, ἔπινον, ἐγάμμουν, ἐγαμίζοντο, ἀχρηίς ἡμέρας εἰσῆλθεν Νιῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν, καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμός καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας, 28 ὡς οἷος καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Λωτῆ ἦσθιον, ἔπινον, ἠγόραζον, ἐπώλων, ἐφύτευον, ψικοδομοῦν· 29 ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐξῆλθεν Λωτῆ ἀπὸ Σοδομίων, ἐβρέξεν πῦρ καὶ θείον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας,</p> <p>30 κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔσται ἡ ἡμέρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται. ...</p> <p>34 Λέγω ὑμῖν, ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ ἔσονται δύο ἐπὶ κλίνης μίας, ὁ εἷς παραλημφθήσεται καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἀφεθήσεται· 35 ἔσονται δύο ἀλήθουσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μία παραλημφθήσεται, ἡ δὲ ἕτερα ἀφεθήσεται.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 25:29; MQ+ 25:13-15, 19)</p> <p>9:11 Ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀποδημιῶν</p> <p>12 ἐκάλεσεν τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς μεν ἔδωκεν πέντε μνάς, ὡς δὲ δύο, ὡς δὲ μίαν,</p> | <p><b>Luke</b> (cf. 8:18, a redaction of Mark 4:25)</p> <p>19:12 Εἶπεν οὖν ἄνθρωπος τις εὐγενής ἐπορεύθη εἰς χώραν μακρὰν λαβεῖν ἐαυτῷ βασιλείαν καὶ ὑποστρέψαι.</p> <p>13 καλέσας δὲ δέκα δούλους ἐαυτοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δέκα μνάς καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς, πραγματεῦσαθε ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ.</p> |

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| <p>καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν.</p> <p>καὶ πορευθεὶς ὁ τᾶς πέντε μνάς λαβὼν ἠργάσατο ἄλλας πέντε· ὡσαύτως ὁ τᾶς δύο ἠργάσατο ἄλλας δύο. ὁ δὲ τὴν μίαν λαβὼν ἀπελθὼν ᾠρῶξεν γῆν καὶ ἐκρῶψεν τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ.</p> <p>13 καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ κύριος τῶν δούλων ἐκείνων καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς. 14 καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ τᾶς πέντε μνάς λαβὼν εἶπεν· κύριε, πέντε μνάς μοι ἔδωκας· ἰδοὺ ἄλλας πέντε μνάς ἠργασάμην.</p> <p>15 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εὐ· ἀγαθὲ δοῦλε, ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω.</p> <p>16 καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ τᾶς δύο μνάς λαβὼν εἶπεν· κύριε, δύο μνάς μοι ἔδωκας· ἰδοὺ ἄλλας δύο ἠργασάμην.</p> <p>17 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εὐ· ἀγαθὲ δοῦλε, ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω.</p> | <p>ιδίαν δύναμιν, καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν.</p> <p>εὐθεὺς 16 πορευθεὶς ὁ τᾶς πέντε τάλαντα λαβὼν ἠργάσατο ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκέρδησεν ἄλλα πέντε· 17 ὡσαύτως ὁ τᾶς δύο ἐκέρδησεν ἄλλα δύο. 18 ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐν λαβὼν ἀπελθὼν ᾠρῶξεν γῆν καὶ ἐκρῶψεν τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ.</p> <p>19 μετὰ δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἐρχεῖται ὁ κύριος τῶν δούλων ἐκείνων καὶ συναίρει λόγον μετ' αὐτῶν. 20 καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ τᾶς πέντε τάλαντα λαβὼν προσήγγεν ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα λέγων· κύριε, πέντε τάλαντά μοι παρέδωκας· ἴδε ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα ἐκέρδησα.</p> <p>21 ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ· εὐ· δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστε, ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω.</p> <p>εἰσαλεθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου σου.</p> <p>22 προσελθὼν [δὲ] καὶ ὁ τᾶς δύο τάλαντα εἶπεν· κύριε, δύο τάλαντά μοι παρέδωκας· ἴδε ἄλλα δύο τάλαντα ἐκέρδησα.</p> <p>23 ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ· εὐ· δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστε, ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω.</p> | <p>14 οἱ δὲ πολῖται αὐτοῦ ἔμισουν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβεῖαν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ λέγοντες· οὐ θέλομεν τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.</p> <p>15 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐπιανελθεῖν αὐτὸν λαβόντα τὴν βασιλείαν</p> |
| <p>καὶ εἶπεν φωνηθῆναι αὐτῷ τούτῳ, δοῦλός σου οὗς δεδῶκε μοι ἀργύριον, ἵνα γνοῖ τί διεπραγματεύσαντο.</p> <p>16 παρεγένετο δὲ ὁ πρῶτος λέγων· κύριε, ἡ μνά σου δέκα προσηργάσατο μνάς.</p> <p>17 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εὐ· ἀγαθὲ δοῦλε, ὅτι ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ πιστός ἐγένου, ἴσθι ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐπάνω δέκα πόντων.</p> <p>18 καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ δευτέρως λέγων· ἡ μνά σου, κύριε, ἐποίησεν πέντε μνάς.</p> <p>19 εἶπεν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ·</p>  | <p>καὶ εἶπεν φωνηθῆναι αὐτῷ τούτῳ, δοῦλός σου οὗς δεδῶκε μοι ἀργύριον, ἵνα γνοῖ τί διεπραγματεύσαντο.</p> <p>16 παρεγένετο δὲ ὁ πρῶτος λέγων· κύριε, ἡ μνά σου δέκα προσηργάσατο μνάς.</p> <p>17 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εὐ· ἀγαθὲ δοῦλε, ὅτι ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ πιστός ἐγένου, ἴσθι ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐπάνω δέκα πόντων.</p> <p>18 καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ δευτέρως λέγων· ἡ μνά σου, κύριε, ἐποίησεν πέντε μνάς.</p> <p>19 εἶπεν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ·</p>   | <p>καὶ σὺ ἐπάνω γίνου πέντε πόντων.</p>   |

18 καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ πηγὴ μίαν μνᾶν  
λαβὼν· εἶπεν· 19 κύριε,  
ἐγνων  
σε, ὅτι σκληρὸς εἶ ἄνθρωπος,  
θερίζων ὅπου οὐκ ἔσπειρας καὶ συνάγων  
ὄθεν οὐ διεσκόρπισας, 20 καὶ φοβηθεὶς  
ἀπελθὼν ἔκρυσσα πηγὴ μνᾶν σου ἐν τῇ  
γῆ· ἰδοὺ ἔχεις τὸ ἀργύριόν σου.  
21 καὶ εἶπεν  
αὐτῷ· πονηρὲ δοῦλε, ἦδεῖς ὅτι  
θερίζω ὅπου οὐκ ἔσπειρα καὶ συνάγω ὄθεν  
οὐ διεσκόρπισας;  
22 ἔδει σε οὖν βαλεῖν μου τὰ ἀργύρια  
τοῖς πραπεζίταις, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐγὼ  
ἐκομισάμην ἂν τὸ ἐμὸν σὺν τόκῳ.  
23 ἄρατε οὖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μνᾶν  
καὶ δότε τῷ ἔχοντι τὰς δέκα μνάς·

24 τῷ γὰρ ἔχοντι παντὶ δοθήσεται,  
τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντος  
καὶ ὃ ἔχει ἀφθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

εἰσαθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου σου.  
24 προσελθὼν δὲ καὶ ὁ πῶ. ἐγ. τάλαντον  
ἐληψίης εἶπεν· κύριε,  
ἐγνων  
σε, ὅτι σκληρὸς εἶ ἄνθρωπος,  
θερίζων ὅπου οὐκ ἔσπειρας καὶ συνάγων  
ὄθεν οὐ διεσκόρπισας, 25 καὶ φοβηθεὶς  
ἀπελθὼν ἔκρυσσα τὸ τάλαντόν σου ἐν τῇ  
γῆ· ἰδὲ ἔχεις τὸ σῶγ.  
26 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ κύριος αὐτῷ εἶπεν  
αὐτῷ· πονηρὲ δοῦλε καὶ ὀκνηρὲ, ἦδεῖς ὅτι  
θερίζω ὅπου οὐκ ἔσπειρα καὶ συνάγω ὄθεν  
οὐ διεσκόρπισας;  
27 ἔδει σε οὖν βαλεῖν τὰ ἀργύριά μου  
τοῖς πραπεζίταις, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐγὼ  
ἐκομισάμην ἂν τὸ ἐμὸν σὺν τόκῳ.  
28 ἄρατε οὖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ τάλαντον  
καὶ δότε τῷ ἔχοντι τὰ δέκα τάλαντα·

29 τῷ γὰρ ἔχοντι παντὶ δοθήσεται καὶ  
περισσευθήσεται, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντος  
καὶ ὃ ἔχει ἀφθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.  
30 τὸν ἀχρεῖον δοῦλον ἐβάλετε εἰς τὸ  
σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ  
κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν οδόντων.

20 καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἤλθει.  
λέγων· κύριε, ἰδοὺ ἡ μνᾶ σου ἦν εἶχον  
ἀποκειμένην ἐν σουδαρίῳ· 21 ἐφοβούμην γὰρ  
σε, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος αὐστηρὸς εἶ, αἴρεις ὁ οὐκ  
ἐθήκας, καὶ θερίζεις ὁ οὐκ ἔσπειρας.

22 λέγει αὐτῷ· ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου κρινῶ σε,  
πονηρὲ δοῦλε, ἦδεῖς ὅτι  
ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος αὐστηρὸς εἰμι, αἴρεις ὁ  
οὐκ ἔθηκα καὶ θερίζων ὁ οὐκ ἔσπειρα·  
23 καὶ διὰ τί οὐκ ἔδωκας μου τὸ ἀργύριον  
ἐπὶ πραπεζίταις; καγὼ ἐλθὼν  
σὺν τόκῳ ἄν αὐτὸ ἔπραξα.  
24 καὶ τοῖς παρεστῶσιν εἶπεν·  
ἄρατε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μνᾶν  
καὶ δότε τῷ τὰς δέκα μνάς ἔχοντι·  
25 καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ· κύριε, ἔχει δέκα μνάς·  
26 λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι  
παντὶ τῷ ἔχοντι δοθήσεται,  
ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος  
καὶ ὃ ἔχει ἀφθήσεται.

27 πλὴν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μου τοῦτους τοὺς μὴ  
θελήσαντάς με βασιλεῦσαι ἐπ' αὐτούς

[cf. 4:25]

ἀγάγετε ὡδε καὶ κατασφράξατε αὐτοὺς  
ἐμπροσθέν μου.

## LOGOI 10

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| <b>Logoi</b> (MQ- 10:23b; MQ+ 10:5-6)  | <b>Mark</b><br>6:6b <u>Καὶ</u><br><u>περιῆγεν</u><br><u>τὰς κώμας κύκλω διδάσκων.</u>                    | <b>Matthew</b> (note sequence; cf. 24:34, a redaction of Mark 13:30)<br>9:35 <u>Καὶ</u><br><u>περιῆγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις</u><br><u>πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας διδάσκων ἐν</u><br><u>ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ</u><br><u>κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς</u><br><u>βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πάσαν</u><br><u>νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν. ...</u><br>10:1 <u>καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς</u><br><u>δώδεκα</u><br><u>ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν</u><br><u>πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ὥστε</u><br><u>ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὰ καὶ θεραπεύειν</u><br><u>πᾶσαν γέφυραν καὶ πᾶσαν</u><br><u>μαλακίαν. ...</u> | <b>Luke</b> (cf. 21:32-33, a redaction of Mark 13:30)<br>8:1 <u>Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς</u><br><u>καὶ αὐτὸς διώδευεν κατὰ πύλας.</u><br><u>καὶ κήμηγ.</u><br><u>κηρύσσων καὶ ἐραγγελοῦμενος τὴν</u><br><u>βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οἱ δώδεκα σὺν</u><br><u>αὐτῷ. ...</u><br>9:1 <u>συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς</u><br><u>δώδεκα</u><br><u>ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν</u><br><u>ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια</u><br><u>καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν. ...</u> |
| 10:1 <u>Καὶ</u><br><u>περιῆγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις</u><br><u>πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας</u> | 6:6b <u>Καὶ</u><br><u>περιῆγεν</u><br><u>τὰς κώμας κύκλω διδάσκων.</u>                                   | 9:35 <u>Καὶ</u><br><u>περιῆγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις</u><br><u>πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας διδάσκων ἐν</u><br><u>ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ</u><br><u>κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς</u><br><u>βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πάσαν</u><br><u>νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν. ...</u>  | 8:1 <u>Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς</u><br><u>καὶ αὐτὸς διώδευεν κατὰ πύλας.</u><br><u>καὶ κήμηγ.</u>   |
| 2 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς<br>δώδεκα   | 7 καὶ προσκαλεῖται τοὺς<br>δώδεκα καὶ ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς<br>ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο καὶ<br>ἐξῆδον αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν | 10:1 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς<br>δώδεκα μαθητάς αὐτοῦ  | 9:1 συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς<br>δώδεκα   |
| ἐδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν<br>πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων καὶ<br>νόσους θεραπεύειν.              | τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων,<br>καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἵνα ἐκβάλλωσιν αὐτοὺς<br>καὶ ἵνα θεραπεύωσιν τὰς νόσους.    | ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν<br>πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ὥστε<br>ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὰ καὶ θεραπεύειν<br>πᾶσαν γέφυραν καὶ πᾶσαν<br>μαλακίαν. ...  | ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν<br>ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια<br>καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν. ...  |
| 3 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς δύο δύο  | 8 καὶ  | 5 τούτους τοὺς δώδεκα ἀπέστειλεν<br>ὁ Ἰησοῦς   | 10:1a Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνέδειξεν ὁ κύριος<br>ἐτέρους ἐβδομήκοντα [δύο] καὶ<br>ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἀνά δύο [δύο] πρὸ<br>προσώπου αὐτοῦ. ...<br>9:2 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν τὴν<br>βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἰᾶσθαι [τοὺς  |

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| <p>Λέγων·<br/>4 εἰς ὁδὸν ἔθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε·<br/>καὶ εἰς πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν μὴ<br/>εἰσελθῃτε·<br/>5 Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσίν<br/>μηδὲ βάλῃτε τοὺς μαργαρίτας<br/>ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων·<br/>μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτούς<br/>ἐν τοῖς ποσίν αὐτῶν καὶ<br/>στραφέντες ῥήξωσιν ὑμᾶς· ...<br/>6 πορευέσθε δὲ μάλλον<br/>πρὸς πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα<br/>οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ·<br/>7 ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ<br/>πόλει ταύτῃ· φεύγετε εἰς τὴν<br/>ἐτέραν· ἄμην γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν·<br/>οὐ μὴ τελέσητε τὰς πόλεις τοῦ<br/>Ἰσραὴλ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ<br/>ἀνθρώπου.</p> | <p>παρηγγεῖλεν αὐτοῖς ...</p> <p>παραγγείλας αὐτοῖς λέγων·<br/>εἰς ὁδὸν ἔθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε<br/>καὶ εἰς πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν μὴ<br/>εἰσελθῃτε· ...<br/>7:6 Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσίν<br/>μηδὲ βάλῃτε τοὺς μαργαρίτας<br/>ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων·<br/>μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτούς<br/>ἐν τοῖς ποσίν αὐτῶν καὶ<br/>στραφέντες ῥήξωσιν ὑμᾶς· ...<br/>10:6 πορευέσθε δὲ μάλλον<br/>πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα<br/>οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ· ...<br/>10:23 ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ<br/>πόλει ταύτῃ· φεύγετε εἰς τὴν<br/>ἐτέραν· ἄμην γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν,<br/>οὐ μὴ τελέσητε τὰς πόλεις τοῦ<br/>Ἰσραὴλ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ<br/>ἀνθρώπου.</p> | <p>ἀσθενεῖς]. ...</p>  |
| <p>13:30]</p>   | <p>παρηγγεῖλεν αὐτοῖς ...</p> <p>Matthew (note sequence)<br/>9:37 Ὡς λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ·<br/>ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται<br/>ὀλίγοι· 38 δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ<br/>θερισμοῦ ὅπως ἐκβάλῃ ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν<br/>θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ· ...<br/>10:16 Ἴδου ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς<br/>πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων·</p>  | <p>10:1b εἰς πάσαν πόλιν καὶ τόπον οὐ<br/>ἤμελλεν αὐτὸς ἐρχεσθαι.</p> <p>Luke<br/>10:2 Ἐλεγεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς·<br/>ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται<br/>ὀλίγοι· δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ<br/>θερισμοῦ ὅπως ἐργάτας ἐκβάλῃ εἰς τὸν<br/>θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ· 3 ὑπάγετε·<br/>ἰδὸν ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς<br/>ἄρνας ἐν μέσῳ λύκων·</p> |
| <p>Logoi</p> <p>10:8 Ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται<br/>ὀλίγοι· δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ<br/>θερισμοῦ ὅπως ἐκβάλῃ ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν<br/>θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ· 9 ὑπάγετε·<br/>ἰδὸν ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς<br/>πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων·</p>   | <p>Mark</p>   |  |

|  | γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περὶστεραι.  |   |
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| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 10:9–10)</p> <p>10:10 Μὴ βαστάζετε βαλλάντιον, μὴ πῆραν, μὴ ὑποδήματα, μὴδὲ ῥάβδον· μὴ εἰς τὴν ζώνην χαλκόν,</p> <p>καὶ μηδὲνα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπίσασθε.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>6:8 Καὶ παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴ ῥέγναι ἄρωσιν εἰς ὁδὸν εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον, μὴ ἄρτον, μὴ πῆραν, μὴ εἰς τὴν ζώνην χαλκόν, ἢ ἀλλὰ ὑποδεσμεμένους σανδάλια, καὶ μὴ ἐνδύσασθε δύο χιτῶνας,</p> <p>10 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· ὅπου ἔσιν εἰσελθίτε εἰς οἰκίαν, ἐκεῖ μένετε ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃτε ἐκεῖθεν.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>10:7 Πορευόμενοι δὲ κηρύσσετε λέγοντες ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. 8 ἀσθενοῦντας θεραπεύετε, νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε, λεπρούς καθαρίζετε, δαίμονια ἐκβάλλετε. 9 διαφορεὴν ἐλάβετε, διαφορεὴν δότε. 10·9 μὴ κτήσῃθε χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἄργυρον μηδὲ χαλκὸν εἰς τὰς ζώνας ὑμῶν, 10 μὴ πῆραν εἰς ὁδὸν μηδὲ δύο χιτῶνας μηδὲ ὑποδήματα μηδὲ ῥάβδον· ἄξιός γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.</p> <p>11 εἰς ἦν δ' ἂν πόλιν ἢ κώμην εἰσελθίτε, ἐξετάσατε τίς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀξίος ἐστίν· κἀκεῖ μείνατε ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃτε.</p> <p>12 ἐπισκευόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπάσασθε αὐτήν.</p> |
| <p>10:4 Μὴ βαστάζετε βαλλάντιον, μὴ πῆραν, μὴ ὑποδήματα,</p> <p>καὶ μηδὲνα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπίσασθε.</p> <p>5 εἰς ἦν δ' ἂν εἰσελθίτε οἰκίαν, πρῶτον λέγετε· εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ</p>    | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>[cf. 9:1–2]</p> <p>10:4 Μὴ βαστάζετε βαλλάντιον, μὴ πῆραν, μὴ ὑποδήματα,</p> <p>καὶ μηδὲνα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπίσασθε.</p> <p>5 εἰς ἦν δ' ἂν εἰσελθίτε οἰκίαν, πρῶτον λέγετε· εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ</p>   |   |



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| <p>τούτω. 12 και ἐὰν μὲν ἐκεῖ ἦ υἱὸς εἰρήνης, ἐλθάτω ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν<br/>ἐπ' αὐτήν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἦ<br/>εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς<br/>ἐπιστραφήτω.</p>  | <p>13 και ἐὰν μὲν ἦ οἰκία ἀδία, ἐλθάτω ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν<br/>ἐπ' αὐτήν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἦ ἀδία, ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς<br/>ἐπιστραφήτω.</p>   | <p>τούτω. 6 και ἐὰν ἐκεῖ ἦ υἱὸς εἰρήνης, ἐπαναστήσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν· εἰ δὲ μὴ γινε, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀνακάμψει.</p>  |
| <p>13 ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένετε ἐσθλιοντες και πίνοντες τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν· ἀξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ· μὴ μεταβιβαινετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν. 14 και εἰς ἣν ἂν πόλιν εἰσέρχησθε, και δέχωνται ὑμᾶς, ἐσθιετε τὰ παρατιθέμενα ὑμῖν 15 και θεραπευετε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσθενοῦντας και λέγετε αὐτοῖς· ἤγγικεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b><br/>10:14 Καὶ ὅς ἂν μὴ δεῖξηται ὑμᾶς μηδὲ ἀκοσῆ τὸς λόγους ὑμῶν, ἐξερχόμενοι ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἐκτινάξατε τὸν κοινορτόν<br/>τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν.<br/>[cf. 10:7: ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν]<br/>15 ἅμην λέγω ὑμῖν</p> | <p>7 ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένετε ἐσθλιοντες και πίνοντες τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν· ἀξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ· μὴ μεταβιβαινετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν. 8 και εἰς ἣν ἂν πόλιν εἰσέρχησθε, και δέχωνται ὑμᾶς, ἐσθιετε τὰ παρατιθέμενα ὑμῖν 9 και θεραπευετε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσθενεῖς και λέγετε αὐτοῖς· ἤγγικεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi (MQ+ 10:14–15)</b><br/>10:16 Εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν εἰσελθῆτε και μὴ δεχωνται ὑμᾶς, ἐξερχόμενοι ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης 17 ἐκτινάξατε τὸν κοινορτόν<br/>τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν.</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>6:11 Καὶ ὅς ἂν τόπος μὴ δεῖξηται ὑμᾶς μηδὲ ἀκούσων ὑμῶν, ἐκπορευόμενοι ἐκεῖθεν ἐκτινάξατε τὸν χοῦν τὸν ὑποκάτω<br/>τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς,</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>10:10 Εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν εἰσελθῆτε και μὴ δεχωνται ὑμᾶς, ἐξερχόμενοι εἰς τὰς πλατείας αὐτῆς εἴπατε·<br/>11 και τὸν κοινορτόν τὸν κολληθέντα ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς πόδας απομασσομεθα ὑμῖν· πλην τοῦτο γινώσκετε διτι ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.<br/>12 λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι</p>                                  |

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| <p>Σοδόμοις ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνῃ ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκεῖνῃ.<br/>[cf. 10:15]</p>  | <p>ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται γῆ Σοδόμων, καὶ Ισορροῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκεῖνῃ.</p>  | <p>12 καὶ ἐξεληθόντες ἐκήρυξαν ἵνα μετανοήσῃν, 13 καὶ δαιμόνια πολλὰ ἐξεβάλων, καὶ ἦλειπον ἑλαφὸν πολλοὺς ἀρρώστους καὶ ἐθεράπευον.</p>  | <p>Σοδόμοις ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνῃ ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκεῖνῃ. ... 9:6 ἐξεργόμενοι δὲ διήρχοντο κατὰ τὰς κώμας εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ.</p>  |
| <p><b>Logoi</b><br/>10:19 <u>Ὁ</u>βὰι σοι, <u>Χοραζὶν</u>· οὐαὶ σοι, <u>Βηθσαϊδᾶ</u>· ὅτι εἰ ἐν <u>Τύρω</u> καὶ <u>Σιδῶνι</u> ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ μετενόησαν.<br/>20 πλὴν <u>Τύρω</u> καὶ <u>Σιδῶνι</u> ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν τῇ κρίσει ἢ ὑμῖν, 21 καὶ σὺ, <u>Καφαρναούμ</u>, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως τοῦ ἄδου καταβήσῃ.</p> | <p>ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται γῆ Σοδόμων, καὶ Ισορροῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκεῖνῃ. ... 9:6 ἐξεργόμενοι δὲ διήρχοντο κατὰ τὰς κώμας εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>11:21 <u>Ὁ</u>βὰι σοι, <u>Χοραζὶν</u>· οὐαὶ σοι, <u>Βηθσαϊδᾶ</u>· ὅτι εἰ ἐν <u>Τύρω</u> καὶ <u>Σιδῶνι</u> ἐγένοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ μετενόησαν.<br/>22 πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, <u>Τύρω</u> καὶ <u>Σιδῶνι</u> ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ ὑμῖν, 23 καὶ σὺ, <u>Καφαρναούμ</u>, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως ἄδου καταβήσῃ· ὅτι εἰ ἐν Σοδόμοις ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν σοί, ἔμεινεν ἂν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. 24 πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι γῆ Σοδόμων ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ σοί.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b><br/>10:13 <u>Ὁ</u>βὰι σοι, <u>Χοραζὶν</u>· οὐαὶ σοι, <u>Βηθσαϊδᾶ</u>· ὅτι εἰ ἐν <u>Τύρω</u> καὶ <u>Σιδῶνι</u> ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ μετενόησαν.<br/>14 πλὴν <u>Τύρω</u> καὶ <u>Σιδῶνι</u> ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν τῇ κρίσει ἢ ὑμῖν, 15 καὶ σὺ, <u>Καφαρναούμ</u>, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως τοῦ ἄδου καταβήσῃ.</p> |
| <p><b>Mark</b><br/>[9:37]</p>  | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 18:5, a redaction of Mark 9:37)<br/>10:40 <u>Ὁ</u> δευχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται, καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.</p>                      | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 18:5, a redaction of Mark 9:37)<br/>10:40 <u>Ὁ</u> δευχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται, καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b> (cf. 9:48; a redaction of Mark 9:37)<br/>10:16 <u>Ὁ</u> ἀκούων ὑμῶν, ἐμοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.</p>  |

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|                                | 41 ὁ δεχόμενος προφήτην εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου μισθὸν προφήτου λήμψεται, καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος δικαίον εἰς ὄνομα δικαίου μισθὸν δικαίου λήμψεται.   |  |  |
| <b>Logoi</b>                   | 10:23 Καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑποτάσσεται ὑμῖν, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου. 24 ἐθλώρουσιν τὸν σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα.  |  |  |
|                                | 25 ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἔρχομεν κατὰσπατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄψεων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ ἐπὶ ἅσασιν τὴν δυνάμειν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσῃ.  |  |  |
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| <b>Logoi</b>                   | 10:26 Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἐκρύψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις· καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου.                                |  |  |
|                                | 27 πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου.   |  |  |
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| <b>Mark</b>                    | [cf. 16:17–18]  |  |  |
| <b>Matthew</b>                 |   |  |  |
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| <b>Matthew</b> (note sequence) | 11:25 Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ καιρῷ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἐκρύψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις. 26 καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου.                |  |  |
|                                | 27 πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι. ...  |  |  |
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| <b>Luke</b>                    | 10:17 Ὑπέστρεψαν δὲ οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα [δύο] μετὰ χαρᾶς λέγοντες· κύριε, καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑποτάσσεται ἡμῖν, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου. 18 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς· ἐθλώρουσιν τὸν σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα.  |  |  |
|                                | 19 ἰδοὺ δέδοξα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄψεων καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ ἅσασιν τὴν δυνάμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσῃ, 20 πλὴν ἐν τούτῳ μὴ χαίρετε ὅτι τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν ἐγγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.                                  |  |  |
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| <b>Luke</b>                    | 10:21 Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἠγαλιάσατο [ἐν] τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ εἶπεν· ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις· καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου. |  |  |
|                                | 22 πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τίς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι. ...  |  |  |
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|                                |   |  |  |
| <b>Mark</b>                    |   |  |  |
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| <p>28 μακάριοι οὐ φθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες ἀβλέπετε καὶ τὰ ὕψα οἱ ἀκούοντες ἀκούετε.</p> <p>29 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ προφήται καὶ βασιλεῖς ... ἤσαν ἰδεῖν ἀβλέπετε καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἀκούετε καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν.</p>  | <p>13:16 ὑμῶν δὲ μακάριοι οὐ φθαλμοὶ ὅτι βλέπουσιν, καὶ τὰ ὕψα ὑμῶν ὅτι ἀκούουσιν.</p> <p>17 ἄμην γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δικαῖοι ἐπέθρησαν ἰδεῖν ἀβλέπετε καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἀκούετε καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν.</p>  | <p>ἰδῶν εἶπεν· μακάριοι οὐ φθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες ἀβλέπετε.</p> <p>24 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ βασιλεῖς ἠθέλησαν ἰδεῖν ἀβλέπετε καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἀκούετε καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν.</p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 6:9–13)</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b></p>   | <p><b>Luke</b></p>   |
| <p>10:30 Ὅταν προσεύχησθε λέγετε· Πάτερ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·</p> <p>31 τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δός ἡμῖν σήμερον· 32 καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.</p>  | <p>6:9 Οὕτως οὖν προσεύχηθε, ὑμεῖς· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· 10 ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γενήτω τὸ θέλημα σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· 11 τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δός ἡμῖν σήμερον· 12 καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· 13 καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.</p> | <p>11:2 Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς· ὅταν προσεύχησθε λέγετε· Πάτερ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·</p> <p>3 τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν· 4 καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίσημεν, παντὶ ὀφειλόντι ἡμῖν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.</p>                              |
| <p><b>Mark</b></p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b></p>   | <p><b>Luke</b></p>   |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p> <p>10:33 Τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔξει φίλον καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου καὶ εἴπῃ αὐτῷ· φίλε, χρήσθη μοι τρεῖς ἄρτους, 34 ἐπειδὴ φίλος μου παρεγένετο ἐξ ὁδοῦ πρὸς με καὶ οὐκ ἔχω ὁ παραθήσω αὐτῷ, 35 κάκεινος ἔσωθεν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπῃ, μὴ μοι κόπους παρέχε· ἦδη ἡ θύρα κέκλεισται, καὶ τὰ παιδία μου μετ'.</p> | <p>11:5 Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔξει φίλον καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου καὶ εἴπῃ αὐτῷ· φίλε, χρήσθη μοι τρεῖς ἄρτους, 6 ἐπειδὴ φίλος μου παρεγένετο ἐξ ὁδοῦ πρὸς με καὶ οὐκ ἔχω ὁ παραθήσω αὐτῷ, 7 κάκεινος ἔσωθεν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπῃ, μὴ μοι κόπους παρέχε· ἦδη ἡ θύρα κέκλεισται, καὶ τὰ παιδία μου μετ'.</p>  | <p>11:5 Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔξει φίλον καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου καὶ εἴπῃ αὐτῷ· φίλε, χρήσθη μοι τρεῖς ἄρτους, 6 ἐπειδὴ φίλος μου παρεγένετο ἐξ ὁδοῦ πρὸς με καὶ οὐκ ἔχω ὁ παραθήσω αὐτῷ, 7 κάκεινος ἔσωθεν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπῃ, μὴ μοι κόπους παρέχε· ἦδη ἡ θύρα κέκλεισται, καὶ τὰ παιδία μου μετ'.</p> |

ἔμοῦ εἰς τὴν κοίτην εἰσίν· οὐ δύναμαι ἀναστὰς δοῦναί σοι.  
8 λέγω ὑμῖν, εἰ καὶ οὐ δύοσαι αὐτῷ ἀναστὰς διὰ τὸ εἶναι  
φίλον αὐτοῦ, διὰ γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὐτοῦ ἐγερθεὶς δύοσαι  
αὐτῷ ὅσων χρήζει.

ἔμοῦ εἰς τὴν κοίτην εἰσίν· οὐ δύναμαι ἀναστὰς δοῦναί σοι·  
36 λέγω ὑμῖν,  
ἐγερθεὶς δύοσαι  
αὐτῷ ὅσων χρήζει.

### **Logoi** (MQ- 17:20)

### **Mark**

**Matthew** (cf. 21:21, a redaction  
of Mark 11:22b–23)

### **Luke**

11:22 Ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ.

23 ἄμην λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι

ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ

ὄρει τοῦτῳ· ἄρθητι

καὶ βληθῆτι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,

καὶ μὴ διακριθῆ ἔν τῃ καρδίᾳ

αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ πιστεύῃ ὅτι ὁ λόγιος

γίνεται, ἔσται αὐτῷ.

καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδυνατήσει ὑμῖν.

### **Mark**

**Matthew** (cf. 21:22, a redaction  
of Mark 11:24)

### **Luke**

11:24 Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν,

10:38 λέγω ὑμῖν,

αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν,

ζητεῖτε καὶ εὐρήσετε,

κρούετε καὶ ἀνοίγεται ὑμῖν·

39 πᾶς γὰρ ὁ

αἰτῶν λαμβάνει

καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὐρίσκει

καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοίγεται.

7:7 Αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν,

ζητεῖτε καὶ εὐρήσετε,

κρούετε καὶ ἀνοίγεται ὑμῖν·

8 πᾶς γὰρ ὁ

αἰτῶν λαμβάνει

καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὐρίσκει

καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοίγεται.

17:5 Καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῷ

κυρίῳ· πρόσθεες ἡμῖν πίστιν.

6 εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος·

εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον

σινάπεως, ἐλέγετε ἂν τῇ

συκαμίνῳ Ἰταύτῃ· ἐκκριθῆτι

καὶ φυτεύθῃτι ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ·

καὶ ὑπήκουσεν ἂν ὑμῖν.

11:9 Κἀγὼ ὑμῖν λέγω,

αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν,

ζητεῖτε καὶ εὐρήσετε,

κρούετε καὶ ἀνοίγεται ὑμῖν·

10 πᾶς γὰρ ὁ

αἰτῶν λαμβάνει

καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὐρίσκει

καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοίγεται.

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| <p>40 .. τίς ἐστὶν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος, ὃν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς ἰχθύος, καὶ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ;</p> <p>41 ἢ καὶ ἰχθὺν αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ;</p> <p>42 εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς ποιητοὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ δίδοναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσω μάλλον ὁ πατὴρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δώσει ἀγαθὰ τοῖς αἰτούσιν αὐτόν.</p>                              | <p>9 ἢ τίς ἐστὶν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος, ὃν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρτου, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ;</p> <p>10 ἢ καὶ ἰχθὺν αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ;</p> <p>11 εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς ποιητοὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ δίδοναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσω μάλλον ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς δώσει ἀγαθὰ τοῖς αἰτούσιν αὐτόν.</p>   | <p>11 τίνα δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς ἰχθύος, καὶ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὄφιν αὐτῷ ἐπιδώσῃ;</p> <p>12 ἢ καὶ αἰτήσῃ ὄφιν, ἐπιδώσῃ αὐτῷ σκορπίον;</p> <p>13 εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς ποιητοὶ ὑπάρχοντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ δίδοναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, πόσω μάλλον ὁ πατὴρ [ὁ] ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δώσει πνεῦμα ἅγιον τοῖς αἰτούσιν αὐτόν.</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b> (cf. 18:22 and Mark 10:21)</p> |
| <p><b>Mark</b></p> <p>10:21 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ ἠγάπησεν αὐτόν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἔν σε ὑστερεῖ· ὑπάγε, ὅσα ἔξεις πώλησον καὶ δός τοῖς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι.</p>   | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 19:21 and Mark 10:21)</p> <p>6:19 Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρώσις ἀφανίζει καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσιν καὶ κλέπτουσιν·</p> <p>20 θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου οὐτε σῆς οὐτε βρώσις ἀφανίζει καὶ ὅπου κλέπται οὐ διορύσσουσιν οὐδὲ κλέπτουσιν·</p> <p>21 ὅπου γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θησαυρός σου, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδιά σου.</p> | <p><b>Matthew</b> (cf. 19:21 and Mark 10:21)</p> <p>6:19 Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρώσις ἀφανίζει καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσιν καὶ κλέπτουσιν·</p> <p>20 θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου οὐτε σῆς οὐτε βρώσις ἀφανίζει καὶ ὅπου κλέπται οὐ διορύσσουσιν οὐδὲ κλέπτουσιν·</p> <p>21 ὅπου γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θησαυρός σου, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδιά σου.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b> (cf. 18:22 and Mark 10:21)</p> |
| <p>10:43 Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρώσις ἀφανίζει καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσιν καὶ κλέπτουσιν·</p> <p>θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου οὐτε σῆς οὐτε βρώσις ἀφανίζει καὶ ὅπου κλέπται οὐ διορύσσουσιν οὐδὲ κλέπτουσιν·</p> <p>44 ὅπου γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θησαυρός σου, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδιά σου.</p> | <p>6:19 Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρώσις ἀφανίζει καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσιν καὶ κλέπτουσιν·</p> <p>20 θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου οὐτε σῆς οὐτε βρώσις ἀφανίζει καὶ ὅπου κλέπται οὐ διορύσσουσιν οὐδὲ κλέπτουσιν·</p> <p>21 ὅπου γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θησαυρός σου, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδιά σου.</p>  | <p>12:33 Παλιῆσατε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῶν, καὶ τότε ἐλεημοσύνην ποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς βαλλάντια μὴ παλαιούμενα,</p> <p>θησαυρὸν ἀνεκλείπτου ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς,</p> <p>ὅπου κλέπτῃς οὐκ ἐγγίζει οὐδέ σῆς διαφθαίρει·</p> <p>34 ὅπου γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ θησαυρός ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ καρδιά ὑμῶν ἔσται.</p>   | <p><b>Luke</b> (cf. 18:22 and Mark 10:21)</p> |

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| <p><b>Logoi</b></p> <p>10:45 Ἀνθρώπου τινός πλουσίου εὐφώρησεν ἡ χώρα.<br/>46 καὶ διελογίζετο ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων· τί ποιήσω, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω πού συναΐξω τοὺς καρπούς μου; 47 καὶ εἶπεν· τοῦτο ποιήσω, καθελὼ μου τὰς ἀποθήκας καὶ μερίζοντας οικοδομήσω καὶ συναΐξω ἐκεῖ πάντα τὸν σίτον καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ μου 48 καὶ ἐρῶ τῇ ψυχῇ μου· ψυχῆ, ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κείμενα εἰς ἔτη πολλά· ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου. 49 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· ἄφρων, ταῦτη τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἃ δὲ ἠτοίμασας, τίνι ἔσται; 50 οὕτως ὁ θρῆσαυρίζων ἑαυτῷ καὶ μὴ εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν.</p> | <p><b>Mark</b></p> | <p><b>Matthew</b></p>   | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>12:16 Εἶπεν δὲ παραβολὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων· ἀνθρώπου τινός πλουσίου εὐφώρησεν ἡ χώρα.<br/>17 καὶ διελογίζετο ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων· τί ποιήσω, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω πού συναΐξω τοὺς καρπούς μου; 18 καὶ εἶπεν· τοῦτο ποιήσω, καθελὼ μου τὰς ἀποθήκας καὶ μερίζοντας οικοδομήσω καὶ συναΐξω ἐκεῖ πάντα τὸν σίτον καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ μου 19 καὶ ἐρῶ τῇ ψυχῇ μου· ψυχῆ, ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κείμενα εἰς ἔτη πολλά· ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου. 20 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· ἄφρων, ταῦτη τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἃ δὲ ἠτοίμασας, τίνι ἔσται; 21 οὕτως ὁ θρῆσαυρίζων ἑαυτῷ καὶ μὴ εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν.</p> |
| <p><b>Logoi</b></p> <p>10:51 Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν· μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε, μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν τί ἐνδύσθηθε. 52 οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλείον ἔστιν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος; 53 κατανοήσατε τοὺς κόρακας ὅτι οὐ σπείρουσιν οὐδὲ θερίζουσι οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας, καὶ ὁ θεός· τρέφει αὐτούς· οὐχ ὑμεῖς μάλλον διαφέρετε τῶν πετεινῶν; 54 τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται προσβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν; 55 καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος· τί μεριμνᾶτε;</p>   | <p><b>Mark</b></p> | <p><b>Matthew</b></p> <p>6:25 Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν· μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε, [ἢ τί πίητε], μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν τί ἐνδύσθηθε. οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλείον ἔστιν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος; 26 ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅτι οὐ σπείρουσιν οὐδὲ θερίζουσι οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας, καὶ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τρέφει αὐτά· οὐχ ὑμεῖς μάλλον διαφέρετε αὐτῶν; 27 τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται προσβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν ἕνα; 28 καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος· τί μεριμνᾶτε;</p> | <p><b>Luke</b></p> <p>12:22 Εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν· μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ τί φάγητε, μηδὲ τῷ σώματι τί ἐνδύσθηθε. 23 ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ πλείον ἔστιν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος; 24 κατανοήσατε τοὺς κόρακας ὅτι οὐ σπείρουσιν οὐδὲ θερίζουσι, οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ταμίης οὐδὲ ἀποθήκη, καὶ ὁ θεός· τρέφει αὐτούς· πόσω μάλλον ὑμεῖς διαφέρετε τῶν πετεινῶν; 25 τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ προσβῆναι πῆχυν; 26 εἰ οὖν οὐδὲ ἐλάχιστον δύνασθε, τί περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μεριμνᾶτε;</p>  |

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| <p>56 καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα πῶς αὐξάνει· οὐ κοπιᾷ οὐδὲ νήθει· λέγει δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ Σολομών ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιβαλετο ὡς ἐν τούτων.</p> <p>57 εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ τὸν χόρτον ὄντα σήμερον καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλόμενον ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιένυσται, οὐ πολλῷ μάλλον ὑμᾶς, ὀλιγόπιστοι; 58 μὴ οὖν μερμηρίσητε λέγοντες· τί φάγομεν; ἢ· τί πίωμεν; ἢ· τί περιβαλώμεθα; 59 πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσαν· οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὅτι χαίρειτε τούτων ἀπάντων. 60 ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ,</p> <p>καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.</p>  | <p>καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ πῶς ἀξιδιόρῳν· οὐ κοπιῶσιν οὐδὲ νήθουσι· 29 λέγει δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδὲ Σολομών ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιβαλετο ὡς ἐν τούτων.</p> <p>30 εἰ δὲ τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ σήμερον ὄντα καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλόμενον ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιένυσται, οὐ πολλῷ μάλλον ὑμᾶς, ὀλιγόπιστοι; 31 μὴ οὖν μερμηρίσητε λέγοντες· τί φάγομεν; ἢ· τί πίωμεν; ἢ· τί περιβαλώμεθα; 32 πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσαν· οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι χαίρειτε τούτων ἀπάντων. 33 ζητεῖτε δὲ πρόωτον τὴν βασιλείαν [τοῦ θεοῦ] καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.</p> | <p>27 κατανοήσατε τὰ κρίνα πῶς αὐξάνει· οὐ κοπιᾷ οὐδὲ νήθει· λέγει δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ Σολομών ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιεβάλετο ὡς ἐν τούτων.</p> <p>28 εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ τὸν χόρτον ὄντα σήμερον καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλόμενον ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιέζει, πόσῳ μάλλον ὑμᾶς, ὀλιγόπιστοι; 29 καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ ζητεῖτε τί φάγητε καὶ τί πίητε καὶ μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε. 30 ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου ἐπιζητοῦσαν, ὑμῶν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ οἶδεν ὅτι χαίρειτε τούτων. 31 πλὴν ζητεῖτε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ,</p> <p>καὶ ταῦτα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.</p> | <p><b>Luke</b> (note sequence)<br/>12:32 Μὴ φοβοῦ, τὸ μικρὸν ποιμῖνον, ὅτι εὐδόκησεν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν δοῦναι ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν. ...<br/>22:25 Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ...<br/>28 Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσπετε οἱ διαμεμνηκότες μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς μου. 29 κἀγὼ διασῳθῆμαι ὑμῖν καθὼς διέθετό μοι ὁ πατὴρ μου βασιλείαν, 30 ἵνα ἔσθῃτε καὶ πίνητε ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, καὶ καθήσεσθε</p> |
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| <p>56 καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα πῶς αὐξάνει· οὐ κοπιᾷ οὐδὲ νήθει· λέγει δὲ ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ Σολομών ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιβαλετο ὡς ἐν τούτων.</p> <p>57 εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ τὸν χόρτον ὄντα σήμερον καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλόμενον ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιένυσται, οὐ πολλῷ μάλλον ὑμᾶς, ὀλιγόπιστοι; 58 μὴ οὖν μερμηρίσητε λέγοντες· τί φάγομεν; ἢ· τί πίωμεν; ἢ· τί περιβαλώμεθα; 59 πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσαν· οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὅτι χαίρειτε τούτων ἀπάντων. 60 ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ,</p> <p>καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.</p>  | <p><b>Logoi</b> (MQ+ 19:28)</p> <p>10:61 Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἔσπετε οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μου·</p> <p>62 ὁ πατὴρ μου δώσει ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ ὅταν καθίσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ θρόνονο δόξης αὐτοῦ, 63 καὶ καθήσεσθε</p>  | <p><b>Luke</b> (note sequence)<br/>12:32 Μὴ φοβοῦ, τὸ μικρὸν ποιμῖνον, ὅτι εὐδόκησεν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν δοῦναι ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν. ...<br/>22:25 Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ...<br/>28 Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσπετε οἱ διαμεμνηκότες μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς μου. 29 κἀγὼ διασῳθῆμαι ὑμῖν καθὼς διέθετό μοι ὁ πατὴρ μου βασιλείαν, 30 ἵνα ἔσθῃτε καὶ πίνητε ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, καὶ καθήσεσθε</p>  | <p><b>Mark</b><br/>[10:37–40]</p>  |



ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντες τὰς  
δώδεκα φυλάς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντες τὰς  
δώδεκα φυλάς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

ἐπὶ θρόνων τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς κρίνοντες  
τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

## THE LOGOI OF JESUS AS LITERATURE

Chapters 4 and 5 attempted to recover as much wreckage as possible from the lost Gospel and to reassemble the remains into a reasonable replica. It falls to this chapter to scrutinize the replica as a whole to see if it can float as a literary work. Although one might be tempted to regard it as a collection of Jesus' sayings that have been arranged into speeches with a modest narrative veneer, it is better to view it as a rewriting of the book of Deuteronomy.

The title evokes Deut 1:1: "These are the logoi that Moses spoke to all of Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness." The reader of the *Logoi of Jesus* thus might expect a comparison between the teachings of Moses and Jesus, but the narrator next places not Jesus but John the Baptist "in the wilderness and preaching" to people from "all the region of the Jordan" (1:1-2). John and Jesus, like Moses, were prophets and both were predicted by yet another seer. John's wardrobe imitated Elijah's.

1:3       As it was written through Isaiah the prophet:  
              "A voice of one crying in the wilderness,  
              'Prepare the way of the Lord;  
              make straight his footpaths.'"

1:4       And John was clothed in camel hair,  
              wore a leather belt around his waist,  
              and ate locusts and wild honey.

Although the text presents John as a prophet, he is merely a voice of preparation for Jesus, the promised prophet in whose mouth God promised to place his word (Deut 18:18).

The author then highlights John's radicalism vis-à-vis traditional Judaism: the Baptist offers forgiveness for sins not in the Jerusalem temple but in the wilderness; he excoriates his audience for trusting in their status as Abraham's children and for not producing "fruit worthy of repentance" (1:7). He then confirms what the reader already suspected: he is not the promised prophet.

1:9       He answered and said,

“I baptize you in water,  
 but the one to come after me is more powerful than I,  
 the straps of whose sandals I am not worthy to untie.  
 He will baptize you in holy Spirit and fire.  
 1:10 His pitchfork is in his hand,  
 and he will clear his threshing floor  
 and gather the wheat into his granary,  
 but the chaff he will burn on a fire that can never be put out.”

“The one to come” will resemble Moses, who performed “signs and wonders, ... great wonders and a strong hand” (Deut 34:1–12). His coming will result in a one-time harvest of the righteous wheat and a perpetual burning of evil chaff.

The reader at once learns the identity of the coming one, the eschatological harvester.

2:1 And it so happened in those days that  
 Jesus came from Galilee and was baptized.  
 And the skies were opened,  
 2:2 and he saw the Spirit descending upon him.  
 And a voice came from the skies, “You are my son . . .”

Whereas John was a prophet, God declares Jesus to be God’s Son, a status immediately tested in the wilderness by the devil.

The three temptations evoke Israel’s forty years of testing in the Sinai, especially as depicted in Deut 8–9, but they also anticipate themes important at the end of the Gospel, where Jesus assures his followers that they will never want for food (the first temptation), will be protected from harm (the second), and will be given authority to cast out demons, for Satan himself has fallen (the third temptation was authority over the kingdoms of the world).

*Logoi’s* reader next sees this:

3:1 And Jesus went into Galilee and preached,  
 “Repent! The kingdom of God has arrived.”

Jesus remains in Galilee for the rest of the book. He first goes to “Nazara,” his hometown, where his neighbors reject him (3:2–6). He then enters Capernaum, where he gathers his first followers, who must abandon home and families (3:7–12).

Immediately after collecting a few followers, *Logoi’s* Jesus reclines at dinner with sinners in the home of a tax collector and by so doing for the first time offends Pharisees (3:13–18). Such festive concourse with sinners obviously contrasts also with John’s ministry, a contrast made explicit in the next logion concerning the disciples who, unlike the Pharisees and the disciples

of John, did not fast because the celebrating bridegroom was still with them (3:19–24). In the two controversies that follow, Jesus violates the Sabbath by permitting the gleaning of grain and by healing a man with a withered hand (3:19–33). When read together, these four controversies distinguish Jesus from the Pharisees, who object to his eating “with tax collectors and sinners” and desecrating the Sabbath.

Even so, Jesus now has gathered a small cadre of adherents. The text lists the names of the Twelve as those who will hear his Inaugural Sermon in which he plays the part of the new Moses by articulating a new law; the density of allusions to the Pentateuch makes this analogy abundantly clear. Just as Moses at the end of Deuteronomy insisted that the twelve tribes choose one of two ways—one of obedience and divine blessing or one of disobedience and ruin (30:15–18)—Jesus ends the sermon by comparing two ways: blessings will come to all who obey his teachings, ruin to those who do not (4:42–44). But unlike Moses, who ordered the destruction of the families of Gentile kings (Deut 31:2–4; cf. 2:31–34; 3:3–6), Jesus heals the son of a Roman centurion because he demonstrated greater faith than anyone in Israel (4:45–51).

This section of the lost Gospel may have been crafted as an extended chiasm.

- A Jews in a synagogue lie in wait to criticize Jesus if he heals on the Sabbath (3:25–28).
- B Jesus pronounces blessings on the poor, hungry, mourners, and persecuted but curses on the rich, full, and socially esteemed (3:29–4:9).
- C “Whoever does not do [μὴ ποιήσῃ] one of the least of these commandments...; and whoever does [ποιήσῃ] them...” (4:10–12).
- D The new teaching (4:13–24)
  - E Love your enemies (4:25–29).
  - F Be compassionate, like your Father (4:30).
  - E<sup>1</sup> The Golden Rule (4:31–34)
  - D<sup>1</sup> Be like the teacher (4:35–37).
- C<sup>1</sup> “Why do you call me ‘Lord, Lord’ and do not do [οὐ ποιεῖτε] what I say?” (4:38–41).
- B<sup>1</sup> Those who hear and do what Jesus says are like a house built on rock, but those who hear and do not do what Jesus says are like a house built on sand (4:42–44).
- A<sup>1</sup> A non-Jewish centurion asks Jesus to heal his son, thus demonstrating unusual faith (4:45–51).

After the healing of the centurion's son, *Logoi's* author returns attention to John, whose disciples ask Jesus if he is indeed "the one to come," the one who would be more powerful (5:1–2; cf. 1:9). Jesus cites as evidence the miracles that he had performed, after which he gives his assessment of the Baptist. John indeed was a prophet; in fact, he was greater than any Jewish prophet, including Moses, but the most insignificant of Jesus' followers is even greater.

5:9            "Truly I tell you:  
                  There has not arisen among women's offspring anyone greater than John.  
                  Yet the least significant in God's kingdom is more than he."

Even though John is an ascetic in the desert, unlike Jesus, who dines in towns with "tax collectors and sinners," both are children of Lady Wisdom (5:12–16).

To underscore Jesus' associations with sinners, the author narrates his forgiving a woman accused of many sexual sins, even though Moses commanded "in the law to stone such women" (5:19; probably alluding to Deut 22:24). Whereas God's finger wrote the Ten Commandments on tablets of stone, Jesus' finger wrote in the dirt.

In the parable of the sower, which apparently followed on the heels of this episode, Jesus explains to the crowds why most people rejected his message; to the Twelve he explains why he spoke to the crowds in parables.

5:29            He said,  
                  "To you it has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God,  
                  but to the rest it is given in parables,  
                  so that seeing they may not see,  
                  and hearing they may not understand."

*Logoi* 6 intensifies the hostility between Jesus and the Pharisees with controversies over tribute to Caesar (6:1–5), marriage after resurrection (6:6–17), the great commandment (6:18–21), Beelzebul (6:22–40), and eating with unwashed hands (6:41–54). The hostility heats to the boiling point in chapter 7, where Jesus launches a barrage of biting invectives against the Pharisees, ending in a prediction that one day he will return in judgment against them.

7:20            "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, who kills the prophets  
                  and stones those sent to her!  
                  How often I wanted to gather your children together,  
                  as a hen gathers her nestlings under her wings,  
                  and you were not willing!  
7:21            Look, your house is forsaken!  
                  ... I tell you: You will not see me until the time comes when  
                  you say, 'Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!'

7:22 I will destroy this sanctuary that is made with hands  
and build another that is not made with hands.”

The reader may reasonably suspect that Jesus himself will be among the prophets whom Jerusalem will kill.

*Logoi 8* begins with Jesus instructing the Twelve not to fear violent opposition and not to worry about what to say when brought before legal authorities (8:1–12), but the rest of this chapter is dominated by parables and allegories about the kingdom of God: preparing for the return of the master (8:13–16); the faithful and unfaithful slave (8:17–23); the mustard seed and the yeast (8:31–34); I do not know you (8:35–42); the great supper (8:43–49); the lost sheep and coin (8:59–64); the two sons (8:65–68); and the unjust manager (8:71–83). One might summarize the message of *Logoi 8* as an exhortation to faithfulness to Jesus’ teachings in anticipation of his return.

*Logoi 9* concentrates on Jesus’ return as the Son of Man in judgment and ends with the parable of the entrusted money (9:11–24), a fitting climax to chapters 8 and 9 and a brilliant literary preparation for the Mission Speech, where Jesus, like the master before going on a journey in the parable, calls together the Twelve and gives them responsibilities for continuing his mission after his departure. When he returns, he will hold them responsible and will reward the faithful.

*Logoi 10* contains the Mission Speech, which other reconstructions of the lost Gospel invariably embed in the middle. By locating this cluster of logia at the end, one restores its striking symmetry with the first four chapters. The parallels are apparent from the opening verses.

*Logoi 3:1*

And Jesus went [καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς]  
into Galilee and preached [κηρύσσων],  
“Repent! The kingdom of God has  
arrived [ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ].”

*Logoi 10:1*

And Jesus went about [καὶ περιῆγεν  
ὁ Ἰησοῦς] all the cities and towns  
preaching the good news of God’s king-  
dom [κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς  
βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ].

Just as he summoned the Twelve to receive the Inaugural Sermon, he summons them again for the Mission Speech.

*Logoi 3:34–35*

Jesus ascended into the mountain  
and called his twelve disciples [καὶ  
προσεκάλεσεν τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητάς].

*Logoi 10:2*

After calling the Twelve [καὶ προσκα-  
λεσάμενος τοὺς δώδεκα], he gave them  
authority over unclean spirits and to  
heal diseases.

Here at the beginning of chapter 10 Jesus no longer teaches the disciples but transmits to them his own authority. Their ministry and message are identical to his own. As they go from city to city in Galilee, they are to:

10:15 “... cure the sick there, and say to them,  
‘The kingdom of God has reached unto you [ἤγγικεν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ].’”

When Jesus first arrived in Galilee, he went to his hometown, where his neighbors rejected him (3:2–6); similarly, Jesus sends the Twelve not to Gentiles or Samaritans but to other Jews, some of whom will reject them.

10:6 “Go rather to the lost sheep  
of the house of Israel.  
10:7 And whenever they persecute you in this city,  
flee into another.  
For I tell you truly,  
you will not complete the cities of Israel  
until the Son of Man comes.  
10:8 The harvest is plentiful, but the workers are few.  
So ask the Lord of the harvest to dispatch workers  
into his harvest.”

The reader may well recall that John’s preaching in the wilderness called Jews to repent before the coming harvest.

1:10 “His pitchfork is in his hand,  
and he will clear his threshing floor  
and gather the wheat into his granary,  
but the chaff he will burn on a fire that can never be put out.”

Just as Jesus had no place to lay his head as he itinerated from town to town, on their mission the disciples must travel light.

10:10 “Carry no purse, nor knapsack, nor shoes, no stick,  
no money in your belt,  
and greet no one on the road.  
10:14 And whatever city you enter and they take you in,  
eat what is set before you.”

If a city will not receive them, they, like Jesus, must move to another (10:16–20). The author then makes the analogous missions of Jesus and the Twelve explicit.

10:22 “Whoever takes you in takes me in,  
and whoever takes me in takes in the one who sent me.”

The next logion in the Mission Speech echoes Jesus' second temptation, in which the devil challenges Jesus to the throw himself down from the wall of the temple and quotes Ps 90:11–12 (MT 91:11–12): “For it is written, ‘He will command his angels about you, to guard you’; and that ‘on their hands they will bear you, so that you do not strike your foot against a stone’” (2:8–9). At the end of the work (10:23–24) Jesus claims that he saw Satan falling from the sky and then authorizes the Twelve “to tread on serpents and scorpions and on every power of the enemy, and nothing will harm you,” clearly an allusion to Ps 90:13 (MT 91:13), the verse that immediately follows the one that the devil quoted in the second temptation!

Jesus' first temptation was the challenge to turn stones (λίθοι) into loaves of bread (ἄρτοι; 2:5). In the Mission Speech Jesus instructs the Twelve to pray for bread.

10:31 “Our day’s bread [ἄρτον] give us today;  
10:32 and forgive our debts for us,  
as we too have forgiven those in debt to us;  
and lead us not into temptation [μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν]!”

This last line echoes the introduction to the temptations in chapter 2.

2:3 And Jesus was led into [ἀνήχθη εἰς] the wilderness by the Spirit  
2:4 to be tested [πειρασθῆναι] by the devil.

Whereas Jesus refused to turn stones into bread for himself, he promises the Twelve that, if they ask God for bread, they will not get a stone.

10:40 “What person of you, whose son asks for bread [ἄρτον],  
will give him a stone [λίθον]?  
10:41 Or again, when he asks for a fish,  
will give him a snake?  
10:42 So if you, though evil, know how to give good gifts  
to your children,  
by how much more will the Father from heaven give good things  
to those who ask him!”

Here is third temptation:

2:11 And the devil took him along to a high mountain  
and showed him all the kingdoms of the world [τὰς βασιλείας τοῦ  
κόσμου],  
2:12 and told him,  
“I will give you all this authority and their glory [σοὶ δώσω τὴν ἐξουσίαν  
ταύτην ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν],  
2:13 if you bow down before me.”



Jesus refused, but because of his obedience and status as God's Son, by the end of the book he has vanquished Satan, achieved authority over the demonic, and one day will reign in glory with the Twelve. Although his followers had abandoned everything to become "fit for the kingdom of God [τῆ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ]" (3:11–12), those who remain faithful to him one day will rule with him.

10:61 "Truly I tell you that you are the ones who followed me;  
 10:62 my Father will give you the kingdom [δώσει ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν],  
 and when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory [δόξης αὐτοῦ],  
 10:63 you, too, will sit on twelve thrones judging  
 the twelve tribes of Israel."

It should be apparent from this overview that the *Logoi of Jesus* was not a loose assortment of traditional sayings clumsily gathered into speeches: it was a strategic rewriting of Deuteronomy with a coherent and compelling structure and plot. To be sure, it is not a narrative such as one finds in the Synoptics, but it is a narrative nonetheless.

Scholars inevitably will argue against the inclusion of individual logia and the arrangement of various textual units; I have no delusion of having perfectly reconstructed the lost Gospel, and I can only hope that future research will bring this fascinating book into clearer focus. On the other hand, this chapter has argued that the architecture of this reconstruction as a whole suggests that the *Logoi of Jesus* was a sophisticated literary accomplishment.

#### EXCURSUS: THE ORIGIN OF THE TITLE "SON OF MAN"

This reconstruction of the lost Gospel encourages a reassessment of one of the most intractable problems in the study of the Gospel: the origin and significance of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Scholars widely agree on the following:

- "Son of Man" was not a messianic title in Judaism.
- Paul was unaware of it.
- When "Son of Man" appears in the Gospels, it always is on the lips of Jesus himself; it never is used by another character or by the third-person narrator.
- Outside of the Gospels, "Son of Man" occasionally appears as a title for Jesus (Acts 7:56; Rev 1:13; 14:14; the phrase in Heb 2:6 does not refer to Jesus), but these texts shed little light on its genesis.
- The earliest surviving Christian text to use the expression is the Gospel of Mark.

- According to all reconstructions of Q (including Q+), “Son of Man” was Jesus’ favorite self-designation.
- The author of the Gospel of Mark seems to have been responsible for the notion that the Son of Man must suffer and die.

The following questions, however, continue to be hotly disputed.

- Did the historical Jesus refer to himself as the Son of Man?
- If he did, did he use it as a modest circumlocution (“yours truly”), evidence of which appears in Hebrew and Aramaic?
- Does the origin of the Son of Man have anything to do with the following vision in Daniel?

I was watching during a night vision, and behold someone like a son of man [υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου] was coming with the clouds of heaven, until he arrived at the Ancient of Days.... And authority was given to him, as well as all the Gentiles of the earth, tribe by tribe, and every glory that served him. And his authority was an eternal authority, which would not be snatched away, and his kingdom would not be destroyed. (Dan 7:13–14; see also 4 Ezra 13:1–11)

- If Dan 7 did inform the origin of “Son of Man” as it appears in the Gospels, did Jesus use it as a title for himself or an anticipated character in the eschaton?
- Did Jesus use “Son of Man” merely to refer to the Jewish people as the recipient of an eternal kingdom, which seems to be how the author of Daniel understood it?
- If Jesus did not use “Son of Man” at all, did the author of Q/Q+ know of it from an antecedent tradition or text, or did he create it with Dan 7 ringing in his ears?

I would propose a solution based on a linear reading of the *Logoi of Jesus*, from beginning to end, with attention to how the author linked Jesus to God, his Father. The discussion that follows treats in sequence every text that refers to Jesus as the Son of God or the Son of Man and provides brief commentaries. It is my view that no one ever had heard of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου applied to Jesus before the composition of the lost Gospel. The Evangelist created it under the influence both of Dan 7:13–14 and Ezek 1–2, whose importance in this discussion seldom gets it due.

As we have seen in chapter 5, the model for Jesus’ baptism seems to have been the opening chapters of Ezekiel, in which God addresses the prophet

three times as “Son of Man.” Altogether in Ezekiel God addresses him as “Son of Man” over one hundred times!

Ezek 1:1, 3, 28b, 2:1–5 (imit. [A])

And it so happened in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth of the month, and I was in the midst of the captivity at the river Chorab, and the skies were opened, and I saw visions of God. . . . The hand of the Lord came upon me. . . . And I saw, fell on my face, and heard a voice speaking. And it said to me, “Son of Man [υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου], stand on your feet, and I will speak to you.”

And the Spirit came upon me, lifted me up, raised me, and stood me on my feet, and I heard him speaking to me. And he said to me, “Son of Man [υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου], I am sending you to the house of Israel, to those who provoke me, who themselves have provoked me as well as their ancestors, to this very day. And you will tell them: ‘Thus says the Lord.’ Perhaps they will listen or tremble, . . .

and they will know that you are a prophet in their midst. But you, Son of Man [υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου], do not fear them.”

*Logoi* 2:1–2 and 3:1

And it so happened in those days

that Jesus came from Galilee and was baptized.

And the skies were opened, and he saw the Spirit descending upon him.

And a voice came from the skies, “You are my beloved Son [υἱός μου]; in you I take delight.”

And Jesus was led up into the wilderness by the Spirit. . . . [The devil tempted Jesus in the wilderness after forty days of hunger (2:3-15), after which,] Jesus went to Galilee and preached, “Repent! The kingdom of God has arrived.”

[When the people in his hometown heard his teaching, “they were offended by him. And Jesus said to them, ‘A prophet is not without honor except in his own homeland.’ And he was amazed at their unbelief” (3:4-5.)

These parallels seem to suggest *Logoi’s* literary imitation.

Because of his baptism, *Logoi’s* Jesus now knows that he has been designated as God’s Son and is empowered by God’s Spirit, as Ezekiel was, but nowhere in the lost Gospel does he refer to himself as the Son of God, although in the temptations the devil does so twice (2:5, 7). In all three temptations Jesus refuses to accept the prerogatives that might be his as the Son of God, and throughout the book he refuses to parade himself as the Son of God, preferring instead to call himself the Son of Man. The reader thus is likely at first not to identify Jesus as the glorified Son of Man of Dan 7 but as a son of

man like Ezekiel, a prophet who was rejected by his own people, as Jesus was at his hometown (3:2–5).

The following episode likely is the first reference ever to Jesus as the Son of Man, and it could not be further removed from the glories of his namesake in Daniel.

- 3:7           Someone said to him,  
                  “I will follow you wherever you go.”  
                  and when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory [δόξης αὐτοῦ],
- 3:8           And Jesus said to him,  
                  “Foxes have holes,  
                  and birds of the sky have nests;  
                  but the Son of Man does not have anywhere he can lay his head.”<sup>1</sup>

*Logoi’s* readers should find these verses shocking at two levels. First of all, the newly selected Son of God refuses to use that title and uses instead the more self-effacing term Son of Man. Second, the reader knows that he rejected the devil’s offer of “authority” and “glory” over “all the kingdoms of the world” (2:11), which surely echoes God’s promise to the Son of Man in Dan 7: “And authority was given to him, as well as all the Gentiles of the earth, tribe by tribe, and every glory that served him. And his authority was an eternal authority, which would not be snatched away, and his kingdom would not be destroyed.” What a contrast with his deprivation of a place to lay his head!

Here, then, is the key to the origin of the titular Son of Man: it was the invention of the author of the lost Gospel to contrast Jesus as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ with his self-designation as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. The contrast would be amplified if the reader is aware that “Son of Man,” when used of Ezekiel, identifies him with a prophet who was rejected by his own people, but when the same title is used in Daniel it designates one who will receive universal and unending authority. One might say that the plot of the lost Gospel develops the characterization of the Son of God from Ezekiel’s Son of Man to Daniel’s Son of Man.

The author develops this characterization in several of the next *logia*. When Pharisees object to Jesus’ disciples gleaning on the Sabbath, he defends them by claiming that, even though he is the lowly “Son of Man,” ironically he “is Lord of the Sabbath” (3:29).<sup>2</sup> In the Beatitudes, Jesus draws a contrast

1. Cf. Matt 8:19–20 and Luke 9:58.

2. Cf. Mark 2:28; Matt 12:8; and Luke 6:5. Mark seems to avoid using “Son of Man” here as a title in favor of human beings in general.

between the status of those who are hated and insulted “because of the Son of Man” and their “reward in heaven.” He explicitly connects their suffering and that of the Son of Man to hostility to “the prophets,” such as Ezekiel.<sup>3</sup>

- 4:3 Blessed are you when they hate and insult you  
and say every kind of evil against  
you because of the Son of Man.
- 4:4 Be glad and exult,  
for vast is your reward in heaven.  
For this is how they treated the prophets.”

Hostility to the Son of Man also appears in the next use of the title.

- 5:14 “For John came, neither eating nor drinking,  
and you say, ‘He has a demon!’
- 5:15 The Son of Man came, eating and drinking,  
and you say, ‘Look! A person who is a glutton and drunkard,  
a chum of tax collectors and sinners!’
- 5:16 But Wisdom was vindicated by her children.”<sup>4</sup>

The next use of the title again connects the Son of Man to a prophet, in this case Jonah.

- 6:36 And others said to him,  
“Teacher, we want to see a sign from you.”
- 6:37 But in reply he said to them,  
“An evil generation seeks a sign,  
and a sign will not be given to it—except the sign of Jonah!
- 6:38 For as Jonah became to the Ninevites a sign,  
so also will the Son of Man be to this generation.”<sup>5</sup>

Of all New Testament witnesses to the Son of Man the next three verses have attracted the most attention insofar as they suggest that Jesus used this title for someone other than himself. One thing is certain: the reference here to the Son of Man no longer is the rejected prophet like Ezekiel but the glorified Son of Man in Daniel, who appears before the Ancient of Days as he judges the wicked and the righteous.

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3. Cf. Matt 5:11 and Luke 6:22. Several scholars have proposed that this verse does not refer to Jesus as the Son of Man but to another figure. Matthew, however, clearly took it to refer to Jesus: “because of me.”

4. Cf. Matt 11:18–19 and Luke 7:33–35.

5. Cf. Matt 12:38–40 and Luke 11:16, 29–30.

- 8:8 “Anyone who may speak out for me in public,  
the Son of Man will also speak out for him  
before the angels of God.
- 8:9 But whoever may deny me in public,  
the Son of Man also will deny him before the angels of God.
- 8:10 And whoever says a word against the Son of Man,  
it will be forgiven him;  
but whoever speaks against the holy Spirit,  
it will not be forgiven him.”<sup>6</sup>

Without doubt this cluster of sayings is tricky, but Matthew clearly takes “Son of Man” here to refer to Jesus after his glorification: “I will speak out for him”; “I will deny him” (10:32–33). The same almost certainly is true also of Mark (8:38; cf. 13:26–27).

*Logoi’s* Jesus here is making a distinction not between himself and the Son of Man but between his status during his lifetime and his status as the Son of Man of Daniel after his exaltation.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, at the judgment, God would forgive those who had spoken “a word against the Son of Man,” that is, Jesus during his lifetime, but would not forgive those who spoke “against the holy Spirit.”

All of the references to the Son of Man from this point to the end of the lost Gospel pertain not to the Son of Man as one finds it in Ezekiel but to the Son of Man as in Dan 7, the eschatological judge.

- 8:18 “You also must be ready,  
for the Son of Man is coming at an hour you do not expect.”<sup>8</sup>
- 9:2 “As the lightning streaks out from sunrise  
and flashes as far as sunset,  
so will the Son of Man be on his day.”<sup>9</sup>
- 9:4 “As it took place in the days of Noah  
so will it be in the day of the Son of Man.
- 9:5 They ate, drank, married, and were given in marriage,  
until the day Noah entered the ark,  
and the flood came and destroyed them all.

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6. Cf. Mark 8:38; Matt 10:32–33; 12:31–32; and Luke 12:8–10.

7. Fleddermann: “The saying on Confessing and Denying ... does not distinguish between Jesus and the Son of Man but only between Jesus’ role in the present and his role in the eschaton” (*Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary*, 591; see also 588–91).

8. Cf. Matt 24:44 and Luke 12:40.

9. Cf. Matt 24:27 and Luke 17:24; cf. Mark 13:26.

10. Cf. Matt 24:37–39 and Luke 17:26–30.

- 9:6 And as it was in the days of Lot,  
they were eating, drinking, buying, selling, planting, and building,  
9:7 but on the day that Lot left Sodom,  
fire and sulfur rained from heaven and destroyed them,  
9:8 so will it also be on the day when the Son of Man is revealed.<sup>10</sup>  
10:7 “Whenever they persecute you in this city, flee into another.  
For I tell you truly,  
you will not complete the cities of Israel until the Son of Man comes.”<sup>11</sup>

Although the following logion does not use the title “Son of Man,” it is crucial for understanding how the author understood Jesus’ relationship to God. According to my reconstruction, he had just said that he saw “Satan falling from the sky like lightning” and had given the Twelve “authority to tread on serpents and scorpions and on every power of the enemy” (10:24–25). He then says—more candidly than anywhere—that his relationship with God was that of a son to a father.

- 10:27 “Everything has been entrusted to me by my Father,  
and no one knows the Son except the Father,  
and no one knows the Father except the Son,  
and to whomever the Son chooses to reveal him.”<sup>12</sup>

Only here in the lost Gospel does Jesus claim the status that he was given at his baptism and that he defended in his temptations by the devil. But even here he avoids the title “Son of God.”

The most important text for understanding Jesus as the Son of Man in *Logoi* is the last recoverable logion.

- 10:61 “Truly I tell you that you are the ones who followed me;  
10:62 my Father will give you the kingdom,  
and when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory,  
10:63 you too will sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.”<sup>13</sup>

The reference here to the Son of Man surely evokes Dan 7, and the most natural reading of the text is to say that, despite the hardships of following Jesus as the Son of Man who had no place to lay his head, somewhat like Ezekiel, those who stuck it out with him will have lavish rewards when he finally is glorified as the Son of Man.

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11. Cf. Matt 10:23.

12. Cf. Matt 11:27 and Luke 10:22.

13. Cf. Matt 19:28 and Luke 22:28–30. For Luke, Jesus clearly is the Son of Man.

I think it fair to conclude that Jesus never referred to himself as the Son of Man. The origin of the title lies in the literary imagination of *Logoi's* author, who found the contrasting uses of the title in Ezekiel and Daniel inspiration for Jesus' evolution from the rejected prophet to the recipient of the kingdom of God.

Other interpreters are certain to object that this interpretation ignores the ten appearances of the title in Mark. It is important to note, however, that three of these are primary redactions of *Logoi* (2:28; 8:38; 13:26), and two likely are secondary (2:10 [cf. *Logoi* 3:29]; 10:45 [cf. *Logoi* 3:18]). All five other occurrences reflect Mark's insistence that the Son of Man must suffer and die (8:31; 9:9, 12, 31; 10:33). I see no compelling evidence that the Evangelist knew of a tradition of the Son of Man apart from the lost Gospel. Similarly, other independent references to the Son of Man in Matthew, Luke, and John shed no light on its origin.

Isolating the genesis of "Son of Man" has been difficult because the text of the *Logoi of Jesus* shipwrecked. The proposed reconstruction strongly implies that it does not go back to Jesus but to the literary imagination of our unknown Evangelist. The reader knows almost from the outset that Jesus is the Son of God, but he discloses this identity to no one, preferring instead, and ironically, the self-effacing designation "Son of Man," evocative of Ezekiel the rejected prophet. In the final chapters of *Logoi*, however, the Son of Man no longer evokes Ezekiel but the eschatological recipient of the kingdom of God as in Daniel. The Markan Evangelist, followed by Matthew and Luke, widened the chasm by insisting, on the one hand, that the Son of Man would not only be rejected but would suffer and die and, on the other hand, that Jesus would be the victorious Son of Man of Daniel who would come on the clouds in power (13:26; 14:62).





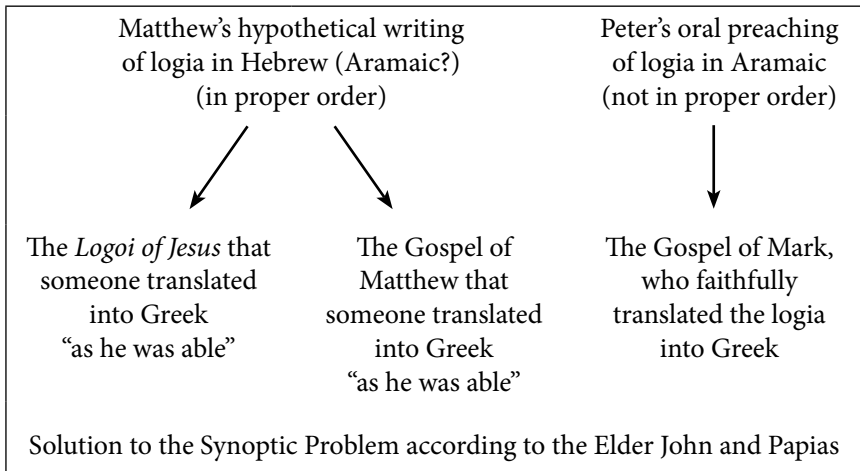
*LOGOI AS PAPIAS'S SECOND*  
 "TRANSLATION" OF MATTHEW

Here again is what Papias recorded from the elder John about the Gospels of Mark and Matthew: "Mark became Peter's translator; whatever Peter recalled of what was said or done by the Lord, Mark wrote down accurately, though not in proper sequence. . . . Matthew, for his part, set in order the logia in the Hebrew language, but each translated them as he was able" (*Expos.* 1:3, 4). Part 1 of this book argued that a Semitic Gospel of Matthew never existed; the elder John, Papias, and presumably other early Christians hypothesized such a document in order to guarantee the correct order of logia in the original Gospel as penned by the Evangelist himself and to explain the inconsistencies in order between two cognate Greek documents, one of which resembled our Greek Matthew. If there were indeed a second putative translation of Matthew, it presumably evidenced the following three traits: (1) it resembled Matthew more than it did Mark; (2) its order of logia differed also from Matthew; and (3) its content suggested a Semitic original. My reconstruction of the *Logoi of Jesus* fits this description.

If one were to compare previous reconstructions of Q with the Gospel of Matthew, one would observe many points of contact by the very nature of the criteria used to reconstruct Q, but one would never mistake any of these as an alternative translation of a Semitic Matthew. The *Logoi of Jesus*, on the other hand, looks remarkably like Matthew stripped of most of its narrative and with its discourses rearranged. One might say that, whereas our Matthew is a collection of logia, the lost Gospel was a collection only of logoi. Clearly it resembled Matthew more than Mark, even though the logia that it shares with Matthew often appear in a different sequence. Furthermore, the frequency of transliterated Aramaic words in Matthew and my reconstruction of *Logoi*, not to mention Aramaic personal and place names, might have encouraged the elder John and Papias to suppose that both relied on a Semitic original.

|           | The <i>Logoi of Jesus</i> | Matthew |
|-----------|---------------------------|---------|
| ἀμήν      | 9                         | 31      |
| βάτος     | 1                         |         |
| γένενα    | 5                         | 7       |
| ἔλωί      |                           | 2       |
| κορβᾶν    | 1                         |         |
| κόρος     | 1                         |         |
| λεμά      |                           | 1       |
| μαμωνᾶς   | 3                         | 1       |
| ράββί     |                           | 4       |
| ράκά      | 1                         |         |
| σαβαχθανί |                           | 1       |
| σάββατον  | 6                         | 10      |
| σάτον     | 1                         | 1       |

The following diagram suggests how Papias and traditions about the elder John related the three Gospels known to them.



The remainder of this chapter attempts to compare these three Gospels, as Papias apparently did, by understanding overlapping content between Matthew and Mark to be independent witnesses to Jesus' life and teachings. Insofar as Matthew was one of Jesus' disciples, Papias would have preferred its order to Mark's when the two differed. The surviving witnesses to Papias's *Exposition of Logia about the Lord*, though scanty, identify content from books 1, 2, and 4 and strongly imply that it followed Matthew's sequence.<sup>1</sup>

1. See Schoedel, "Papias," 246.

- Book 1: Preface (*Expos.* 1:5)  
The righteous are called "children" (*Expos.* 1:6; cf. Matt 3:9)
- Book 2: John and James were martyrs (*Expos.* 2:3; cf. Matt 20:22–23)<sup>2</sup>
- Book 4: The Last Supper (*Expos.* 4:1–4; cf. Matt 26:29)  
The death of Judas (*Expos.* 4:6; cf. Matt 27:2–10)

Accordingly, book 3 probably discussed Jesus' predictions of the future similar to those found in Matt 23–24, and the fifth book seems to have narrated miracles and missionizing after Jesus' death.

Papias saw both affinities and differences between two works ascribed to Matthew, especially differences in order of presentation that he blamed on Greek translators. In other words, although he preferred the order of Matthew to Mark, this preference applied only to the concocted Semitic original, the order of which Papias apparently sought to reconstruct by comparing the two putative translations of Matthew, with corrections and supplements from other traditions and texts, which included Aristion's *Expositions of the Logoi of the Lord* (*Expos.* 1:1–2).

In the following parallels I juxtapose *Logoi* and Matthew and place Mark last insofar as Papias thought that that Gospel did not present the logia in the correct order. The contents follow the order of our Gospel of Matthew, but I have underlined descriptions of logia where *Logoi* and Matthew present a different sequence. One may reasonably surmise that Papias ignored Mark's order when it disagreed with either of the two presumed translations of Matthew and that he sometimes preferred the sequence in *Logoi* and at other times that in the Gospel of Matthew insofar as "each" author "translated as he was able." When possible, I add content known only from Papias's *Exposition*. The columns are comprehensive of all three ancient Gospels.

Insofar as these three Gospels agree in order at the beginning, Papias would have had no reason to think that any of them was out of sequence.

|                         | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's preaching |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|                         | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| Infancy Narrative       |                   | 1:1–2:23  |                   |
| John the Baptist        | 1:1–10            | 3:1–12    | 1:1–8             |
| Baptism and temptations | 2:1–15            | 3:13–4:11 | 1:9–13            |

2. Here one also might place miracle stories, "strange parables," and the story of the sinful woman (*Expos.* 2:1).

The first book of Papias's *Exposition* apparently treated at least one of these logia: "Those who exercise themselves in avoiding wickedness with respect to God they call 'children,' as Papias, in the first book of his dominical explanations makes clear" (*Expos.* 1:6). The saying in question probably was John's statement that "God can produce children for Abraham right out of these rocks" (*Logoi* 1:7b and Matt 3:9b).

The next several logia have no precise equivalents in the *Logoi of Jesus*; Papias probably would have seen the agreements between Matthew and Mark as evidence of independent historical memory and would have taken Mark's additional content as Peter's unique recollection.

|                                 | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's preaching |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|                                 | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| Return to Nazara                | 3:1               | 4:12–17   | 1:14–15           |
| Jesus calls fishermen to follow |                   | 4:18–22   | 1:16–20           |
| Healing of a demoniac           |                   |           | 1:21–28           |
| Jesus preaches in Galilee       |                   | 4:23      | 1:35–39           |

Insofar as Mark has no equivalent to Matthew's Sermon on the Mount, presumably Papias would have assumed that by comparing its two Greek translations he could recover the original order in the Hebrew Matthew. The density of parallels between *Logoi* and Matthew clearly point to a literary connection, but Papias would have thought that this connection was due to their independent translating of Matthew's original.

|                                     | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's preaching |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|                                     | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| The setting of the Inaugural Sermon | 3:29–30           | 4:24–5:2  | 3:13              |
| Beatitudes                          | 4:1–4             | 5:3–12    |                   |
| Woes                                | 4:5–7             |           |                   |
| Inspid salt                         | 4:8–9             | 5:13–14   | 9:49–50           |
| <u>Light on a lampstand</u>         | 6:52              | 5:15–16   | 4:21              |
| To fulfill the Law and Prophets     |                   | 5:17      |                   |
| No serif of the law to fall         | 4:10–11           | 5:18      |                   |
| Observing the commandments          | 4:12              | 5:19–20   |                   |
| Reconciling before sacrificing      | 4:14–16           | 5:21–24   |                   |
| Settling out of court               | 4:17–18           | 5:25–26   |                   |
| <u>Cutting off offending limbs</u>  | 8:55–57           | 5:27–30   | 9:43–47           |
| <u>Divorce leading to adultery</u>  | 4:13              | 5:31–32   | 10:11–12          |

|   |          |         |      |
|---|----------|---------|------|
| Against swearing oaths                          | 4:19–21  | 5:33–37 |      |
| Renouncing one's own rights                     | 4:22–30  | 5:38–48 |      |
| On almsgiving                                   |          | 6:1–4   |      |
| On prayer                                       |          | 6:5–6   |      |
| <u>The disciples' prayer</u>                    | 10:30–32 | 6:7–15  |      |
| On fasting                                      |          | 6:16–18 |      |
| <u>Storing up treasures in heaven</u>           | 10:43–44 | 6:19–21 |      |
| <u>The evil eye</u>                             | 6:53–54  | 6:22–23 |      |
| <u>God or Mammon</u>                            | 8:80–83  | 6:24    |      |
| Rich fool                                       | 10:45–50 |         |      |
| <u>Free from anxiety like ravens and lilies</u> | 10:51–60 | 6:25–34 |      |
| Not judging                                     | 4:31–32  | 7:1–2   | 4:24 |
| The speck and the beam                          | 4:36–37  | 7:3–5   |      |
| <u>No pearls before swine</u>                   | 10:5     | 7:6     |      |
| <u>Certainty of answer to prayer</u>            | 10:38–42 | 7:7–11  |      |
| The Golden Rule                                 | 4:33     | 7:12    |      |
| <u>The narrow door</u>                          | 8:35     | 7:13–14 |      |
| The tree is known by its fruit                  | 4:38–41  | 7:15–21 |      |
| <u>I do not know you</u>                        | 8:36–38  | 7:22–23 |      |
| Houses built on rock or sand                    | 4:42–44  | 7:24–27 |      |

Matthew next clustered several stories from *Logoi* and Mark, but Papias would have taken the similarities to be independent memoirs of Matthew and Peter (via Mark). Problems in order would pertain only to passages missing in Mark and where Matthew and *Logoi* placed the logia in a different order (as suggested by the underlining).

|  | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's preaching |
|--|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|  | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| The healing of a leper                         |                   | 8:1–4     | 1:40–45           |
| The centurion's faith                          | 4:45–50           | 8:5–10    |                   |
| <u>Many shall come from sunrise and sunset</u> | 8:39–40           | 8:11–12   |                   |
| The centurion's boy healed                     | 4:51              | 8:13      |                   |
| The healing of Peter's mother-in-law           |                   | 8:14–15   | 1:29–31           |
| The sick healed at evening                     |                   | 8:16–17   | 1:32–34           |
| <u>Confronting potential followers</u>         | 3:7–12            | 8:18–22   |                   |
| Stilling the storm                             |                   | 8:23–27   | 4:35–41           |
| The Gerasene demoniac                          |                   | 8:28–34   | 5:1–20            |
| The healing of the paralytic                   |                   | 9:1–8     | 2:1–12            |

|   |            |         |          |
|---|------------|---------|----------|
| <u>Eating with tax collectors and sinners</u> | 3:13–18    | 9:9–13  | 2:13–17  |
| <u>Not fasting</u>                            | 3:19–24    | 9:14–17 | 2:18–22  |
| Jairus's daughter and the hemorrhaging woman  |            | 9:18–26 | 5:21–43  |
| Healing of two blind men                      |            | 9:27–31 | 10:46–52 |
| Healing of a deaf demoniac                    | [cf. 6:22] | 9:32–34 |          |

*Logoi* presented its Mission Speech at the end, but Matthew followed Mark's lead in placing it early in his Gospel, even though the disciples do not actually conduct missions of their own until after Jesus' death. Papias likely would have preferred the location of the speech earlier in Jesus' career insofar as, from his view, Matthew and Peter independently remembered it to have occurred then.

|                                     | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's preaching |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|                                     | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| <u>Jesus' preaching</u>             | 10:1              | 9:35–36   | 6:6b              |
| <u>Workers for the harvest</u>      | 10:8              | 9:37–38   |                   |
| <u>Summoning the Twelve</u>         | 10:2              | 10:1      | 6:7, 34           |
| <u>The list of the Twelve</u>       | 3:34–38           | 10:2–4    | 3:14–19           |
| <u>Do not go to the Gentiles</u>    | 10:3, 5–6         | 10:5–6    |                   |
| <u>Instructions for the mission</u> | 10:10–21          | 10:7–15   | 6:8–13            |
| <u>Sheep in the midst of wolves</u> | 10:9              | 10:16     |                   |
| The fall of Satan                   | 10:23–25          |           |                   |
| <u>The generous friend</u>          | 10:33–36          |           |                   |

To create his continuation of Jesus' instruction to the disciples, Matthew borrowed from both Mark and *Logoi*, relocating logia from both. Notice, however, the agreements in order between *Logoi* 8 and Matt 10.

|                                      | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's preaching |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|                                      | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| <u>Hearings before synagogues</u>    | 8:11–12           | 10:19     | 13:9–11           |
| <u>The Spirit will speak for you</u> |                   | 10:20–22  | 13:12             |
| <u>The coming of the Son of Man</u>  | 10:7              | 10:23     |                   |
| <u>The disciple and the teacher</u>  | 4:35              | 10:24–25  |                   |
| Confessing or denying                | 8:2–9             | 10:26–33  | 4:22–23,<br>8:38  |
| Children against parents             | 8:24–27           | 10:34–36  |                   |

|   |         |          |
|---|---------|----------|
| Hating one's family and taking<br>one's cross | 8:50–52 | 10:37–39 |
| <u>Whoever takes you in takes<br/>me in</u>   | 10:22   | 10:40    |

Mark has no equivalent to the following logia; Matthew received several of them from *Logoi* and generally retained their sequence.

|  | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's<br>preaching |
|--|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|
|  | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark               |
| Signs that Jesus is the one to<br>come | 5:1–4             | 11:1–6    |                      |
| John—more than a prophet               | 5:5–9             | 11:7–11   |                      |
| <u>Since John the kingdom of God</u>   | 4:10              | 11:12–15  |                      |
| Wisdom's children                      | 5:12–16           | 11:16–19  |                      |
| The sinful woman                       | 5:17–23           |           |                      |
| <u>Woes against Galilean towns</u>     | 10:19–21          | 11:20–24  |                      |
| Only the Son can reveal the<br>Father  | 10:26–27          | 11:25–27  |                      |
| "Come unto me"                         |                   | 11:28–30  |                      |

If Papias indeed adhered to the Matthean sequence of events, it may have been in book 2 where he added "other stories as though they came to him from an unwritten tradition, as well as some of the Savior's strange parables, his teachings, and some other things even more fictional" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.11). According to Eusebius, Papias's *Exposition* contained "another account about a woman who had been accused before the Lord of many sins, a tale that the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains" (*Expos.* 2:1). Scholars generally, and rightly, relate this story to the insertion into many texts of the Gospel of John at 8:2–11, but Eusebius's copies of John apparently did not contain it. If the tale did appear in *Logoi* and Papias, it most likely appeared in the second book, but confidence in this matter, too, is impossible.

For the following controversies, Matthew and Mark generally follow the same order, even though Mark placed them much earlier in his Gospel, before the Parable Sermon. Once again, Papias surely would have preferred the order in Matthew, taken the parallels in Mark as the independent recollections of Peter, and viewed the overlaps with *Logoi* to be variations of the Hebrew Matthew.



|  | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's preaching |
|--|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|  | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| Gleaning on the Sabbath                      | 3:25–29           | 12:1–8    | 2:23–28           |
| Healing on the Sabbath                       | 3:30–33           | 12:9–14   | 3:1–6             |
| Jesus heals crowds by the sea                |                   | 12:15–21  | 3:7–12            |
| The Beelzebul controversy                    | 6:22–29           | 12:22–29  | 3:20–27           |
| The one not with me is against me            | 6:30              | 12:30     |                   |
| Speaking against the Holy Spirit             | 8:10              | 12:31–32  | 3:28–30           |
| <u>The tree is known by its fruit</u>        | [cf. 4:38–40]     | 12:33–37  |                   |
| <u>The sign of Jonah for this generation</u> | 6:36–40           | 12:38–42  | 8:11–12           |
| The return of the unclean spirit             | 6:31–33           | 12:43–45  |                   |
| Blessed are those who keep God's word        | 6:34–35           |           |                   |
| Jesus' true family                           |                   | 12:46–50  | 3:31–35           |

Next one finds Matthew's version of Mark's Parable Sermon. Papias would have understood the agreements between Matthew and Mark to be independent recollections of the sermon.

|  | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's preaching |
|--|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|  | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| <u>The sower and the reason for parables</u> | 5:24–29           | 13:3–15   | 4:3–12            |
| <u>Only the Son can reveal the Father</u>    | 10:28–29          | 13:16–17  |                   |
| Interpretation of the sower                  |                   | 13:18–23  | 4:15–20           |
| The seed growing secretly                    |                   |           | 4:26–29           |
| The weeds                                    |                   | 13:24–30  |                   |
| The mustard seed and yeast                   | 8:31–34           | 13:31–33  | 4:30–32           |
| Jesus' use of parables                       |                   | 13:34–35  | 4:33–34           |
| Interpretation of the weeds                  |                   | 13:36–43  |                   |
| Parables unique to Matthew                   |                   | 13:44–52  |                   |

The next logia would have presented Papias few sequential problems insofar as *Logoi* contained few of them, and Matthew and Mark agree in sequence precisely in the material that they have in common.

|                                     | Matthew in Hebrew  |           | Peter's<br>preaching |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|----------------------|
|                                     | <i>Logoi</i> ↗     | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark               |
| Rejection at Nazara                 | 3:2–6              | 13:53–58  | 6:1–6a               |
| Opinions regarding Jesus            |                    | 14:1–2    | 6:14–16              |
| The death of John the Baptist       |                    | 14:3–12   | 6:17–29              |
| The return of the Twelve            |                    |           | 6:30–31              |
| Feeding of the five thousand        |                    | 14:13–21  | 6:32–44              |
| Walking on water                    |                    | 14:22–33  | 6:45–52              |
| Healings at Gennesaret              |                    | 14:34–36  | 6:53–56              |
| Unwashed hands                      | 6:41–51            | 15:1–12   | 7:1–15 (16)          |
| <u>The blind leading the blind</u>  | 4:34               | 15:13–14  | 7:17a                |
| Cleaning the outside of the cup     |                    | 15:15–20  | 7:17b–23             |
| Canaanite (Syrophoenician)<br>woman |                    | 15:21–28  | 7:24–30              |
| Healing a deaf mute                 |                    | 15:29–31  | 7:31–37              |
| Feeding of the four thousand        |                    | 15:32–39  | 8:1–10               |
| The Pharisees seek a sign           |                    | 16:1      | 8:11–13              |
| <u>Judging the time</u>             | 8:28–30            | 16:2–3    |                      |
| The leaven of the Pharisees         | 8:1                | 16:4–12   | 8:14–21              |
| Healing a blind man                 |                    |           | 8:22–26              |
| Peter's recognition of the Messiah  |                    | 16:13–23  | 8:27–33              |
| Teachings on discipleship           | [cf. 8:8–9, 50–52] | 16:24–28  | 8:34–9:1             |
| Transfiguration                     |                    | 17:1–9    | 9:2–10               |
| Coming of Elijah                    |                    | 17:10–13  | 9:11–13              |
| Frothing demoniac                   |                    | 17:14–21  | 9:14–29              |
| <u>Faith like a mustard seed</u>    | 10:37              | 17:20b    | 11:22b–23            |
| Jesus predicts his death            |                    | 17:22–23  | 9:30–32              |
| Paying the temple tax               |                    | 17:24–27  |                      |
| True greatness                      |                    | 18:1–5    | 9:33–37              |
| The alien exorcist                  |                    |           | 9:38–41              |
| Against enticing little ones        | 8:53–54            | 18:6–7    | 9:42                 |
| Cutting off offending limbs         | [cf. 8:55–57]      | 18:8–9    | 9:43–47              |
| The lost coin                       | 8:62–64            |           |                      |
| Reproving a brother                 |                    | 18:15–20  |                      |
| Forgiving a sinning brother         | 8:69–70            | 18:21–22  |                      |
| The unjust manager                  | 8:71–82            |           |                      |
| The unforgiving slave               |                    | 18:23–35  |                      |
| Divorce leading to adultery         | [cf. 4:13]         | 19:1–12   | 10:1–12              |
| Jesus blesses the children          |                    | 19:13–15  | 10:13–16             |
| The rich young man                  |                    | 19:16–22  | 10:17–22             |

|   |          |          |          |
|---|----------|----------|----------|
| The camel and the eye of the needle           | 8:58     | 19:23–24 | 10:23–25 |
| The rewards of discipleship                   |          | 19:25–27 | 10:26–28 |
| <u>Judging the twelve tribes of Israel</u>    | 10:61–63 | 19:28    |          |
| The first will be last                        |          | 19:29–30 | 10:29–31 |
| The laborers in the vineyard                  |          | 20:1–15  |          |
| <u>The reversal of the last and the first</u> | 8:41     | 20:16    |          |
| Jesus predicts his death yet again            |          | 20:17–19 | 10:32–34 |
| The greatest disciple                         |          | 20:20–28 | 10:35–45 |
| Healing two blind men                         |          | 20:29–34 | 10:46–52 |

According to the historian Philip of Side (fifth century), “In the second book Papias says that John the Theologian and his brother James were killed by the Jews” (*Expos.* 2:3). Insofar as Papias seems not to have known the Fourth Gospel, what Papias most likely said was that “John and James” were both “killed by the Jews.” If Papias had a particular text in mind, it seems to have been Matt 20:22–23 (cf. Mark 10:38–39), where Jesus predicted that the sons of Zebedee would drink his cup and be baptized with his baptism. If this is the case, Papias’s first and second books would have covered the content of Matthew’s first twenty chapters. My reconstruction of the *Exposition* suggested that Papias’s allegory of paradise in Genesis to refer to the church was an interpretation of “the re-creation” in Matt 19:28 (*Expos.* 2:2a and 2b).

Insofar as Matthew follows Mark’s order precisely for the next several logia, and insofar as Papias thought that the two accounts were independent memoirs of historical events, their sequences presented no problem, even though the parallels in the *Logoi of Jesus* appear in a different order.

|                                       | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter’s preaching |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|                                       | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| Triumphal entry                       | [cf. 7:21]        | 21:1–9    | 11:1–10           |
| Cleansing of the temple               |                   | 21:10–17  | 11:11,<br>15–19   |
| Cursing of the fig tree               |                   | 21:18–19  | 11:12–14          |
| Withered fig tree                     | [cf. 10:37]       | 21:20–22  | 11:20–26          |
| The challenge to Jesus’ authority     |                   | 21:23–27  | 11:27–33          |
| <u>The two sons</u>                   | 8:65–68           | 21:28–31a |                   |
| <u>For and against John</u>           | 5:10–11           | 21:31b–32 |                   |
| The wicked vinedressers               |                   | 21:33–46  | 12:1–12           |
| <u>The great supper/wedding feast</u> | 8:43–49           | 22:1–14   |                   |

Some of the following controversies and the woes against the Pharisees appeared earlier in *Logoi*. It was Mark who first used them later in his Gospel to build narrative tension for the passion narrative, and Matthew followed his lead. Of course, Papias would have taken the agreements between Matthew and Mark as independent testimony to these events and would have assumed that Matthew's version simply was more complete.

|   | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's preaching |
|---|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|   | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| Tribute to Caesar                         | 6:1–5             | 22:15–22  | 12:13–17          |
| Marriage and the resurrection             | 6:6–17            | 22:23–33  | 12:18–27          |
| The great commandment                     | 6:18–21           | 22:34–40  | 12:28–34          |
| David's son                               |                   | 22:41–46  | 12:35–37a         |
| Woes against scribes and Pharisees        |                   | 23:1–2    | 12:37b–38a        |
| Woes against exploitation                 | 7:1–2             | 23:3–10   | 12:38b–39         |
| <u>Exalted humbled and humble exalted</u> | 8:42              | 23:11–12  |                   |
| Woes against exclusion and oaths          | 7:3–10            | 23:13–22  | 12:40             |
| On purity                                 | 7:11–16           | 23:23–33  |                   |
| Wisdom's judgment                         | 7:17–13           | 23:34–39  |                   |
| The widow's penny                         |                   |           | 12:41–44          |

Papias next would have found in both Matthew and Mark Jesus' predictions of the future. When the two Gospels have shared content, they conform in order, but Matthew's speech is much longer thanks to his incorporation of *Logoi*. This is an excellent example of a section where the bishop of Hierapolis could have preferred the order in *Logoi* to that in Matthew as reflecting the imaginary Hebrew original.

|  | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's preaching |
|--|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|  | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| Jesus will destroy the sanctuary       | 7:22              |           |                   |
| Prediction of the temple's destruction | [cf. 7:22]        | 24:1–2    | 13:1–2            |
| Signs and persecutions before the war  |                   | 24:3–14   | 13:3–13           |
| The war                                |                   | 24:15–22  | 13:14–20          |
| The return of the Son of Man           | 9:1–2             | 24:23–36  | 13:21–32          |
| Keep watch!                            |                   |           | 13:33–37          |

|                                  |         |          |      |
|----------------------------------|---------|----------|------|
| As in the days of Noah           | 9:3–10  | 24:37–42 |      |
| The faithful or unfaithful slave | 8:17–23 | 24:43–51 |      |
| The return of the master         | 8:13–16 | 25:1–9   |      |
| I do not know you                | 8:35–38 | 25:10–13 |      |
| The entrusted money              | 9:11–24 | 25:14–30 | 4:25 |
| The final judgment               |         | 25:31–46 |      |

Papias may have interpreted Matt 24:31 to imply Jesus' earthly rule (similar to what one finds in Rev 7:1–8:5; 20:4–7): "And he [the Son of Man] will send his angels with a great trumpet sound, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one extremity of the skies to the other." Eusebius complained that Papias wrote "that there will be a thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, when the kingdom of Christ will be established physically on this earth. I imagine that he assumed these things by misconstruing the apostolic accounts without noting that they were spoken from them symbolically in figures" (*Expos.* 3). Among those "apostolic accounts" probably was the Apocalypse of John.

Because Matthew followed Mark's order for narrating the passion narrative, Papias would have assumed that Matthew and Peter remembered these events nearly identically—and independently. The absence of these *logia* in *Logoi* would be due to the author's focus on the *logoi*, or sayings of Jesus.

|                              | Matthew in Hebrew | Peter's preaching |
|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|                              | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↑ Mark            |
|                              | ↘ Matthew         |                   |
| The plot against Jesus' life | 26:1–5            | 14:1–2            |
| Anointing at Bethany         | 26:6–13           | 14:3–9            |
| Judas's betrayal             | 26:14–16          | 14:10–11          |
| Preparation for the Passover | 26:17–20          | 14:12–17          |
| The Last Supper              | 26:21–35          | 14:18–31          |

Before proceeding with a comparison of the Matthean and Markan passion narratives, it is worth noting Papias's expansion of the Last Supper. The following passage comes from Eusebius's quotation from Irenaeus (late second century), and the setting almost certainly is Jesus' announcement in Matt 26:29 (cf. Mark 14:25) that "from now on I will never drink this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it with you again in the kingdom of my Father."<sup>3</sup> Irenaeus cites this passage as part of an argument for the physicality of Jesus' future kingdom.

3. So also Schoedel, "Papias," 246.

[The blessings of Gen 27:28–29 refer to the time] when creation, renewed and liberated, will bear an abundance of every kind of food “from the dew of heaven and the fertility of the earth”; thus the elders who saw John the disciple of the Lord recalled having heard from him how the Lord used to teach concerning those times and say:

“The days will come when vineyards shall grow each with ten thousand vines, and on one vine ten thousand branches, and on one branch ten thousand shoots, and on every shoot ten thousand clusters, and in every cluster ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give twenty-five measures of wine; and when one of the saints grasps a cluster, another cluster will cry out: ‘I am better, take me, bless the Lord on my account.’ Similarly a grain of wheat will bring forth ten thousand ears, and every ear will have ten thousand grains, and every grain ten pounds of clean white flour. And all the other fruits and seeds and grass will bring forth in like proportion. And all the animals using foods that are produced by the earth will live beautifully and harmoniously together fully subject to humans.” (*Expos.* 4:2 [Schoedel, altered])

We possess Irenaeus's next sentence in Greek, thanks to Eusebius (*Expos.* 4:3): “Papias, who was John's hearer and Polycarp's companion, a man of old, gives written witness in the fourth of his books; he wrote five books in all.” The Latin translation of Irenaeus continues.

And he [Papias] says in addition, “These things are credible to those who believe. And,” he says, “when Judas the traitor did not believe and asked, ‘How then will such extraordinary growths be brought about by the Lord?’ the Lord declared, ‘Those who are alive when they take place will see them.’” (*Expos.* 4:4 [Schoedel])<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps the most striking aspect of these excerpts is Papias's willingness to expand on the earlier accounts of the Lord's Supper on the basis of other traditions and texts. Although he respected Matthew, Mark, and probably the *Logoi of Jesus*, he did not consider their witness to Jesus comprehensive or infallible.

The following parallels demonstrate Matthew's conservative replication of Mark's passion narrative, evidence for Papias of independent, sequential, and trustworthy firsthand accounts. The exception seems to have been the death of Judas, which appears only in Matthew.

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4. For an excellent discussion of other passages in Irenaeus that show the influence of Papias, see Schoedel, “Papias,” 243–44.

|                            | Matthew in Hebrew |            | Peter's preaching |
|----------------------------|-------------------|------------|-------------------|
|                            | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew  | ↑ Mark            |
| Gethsemane and arrest      |                   | 26:36–56   | 14:32–52          |
| Jesus before the Sanhedrin |                   | 26:57–27:2 | 14:53–15:1        |
| The death of Judas         |                   | 27:3–10    |                   |

Papias may have attributed to the imaginary Hebrew Matthew an alternative version of the betrayer's demise. The following excerpt comes from Apollinaris of Laodicea).

Judas did not die by hanging, but after having been taken down, he survived before choking. . . . Papias, John's disciple, records this clearly when he speaks as follows in his fourth volume of *Exposition of Logoi about the Lord* [sic]: "Judas conducted himself in this world as a prime example of impiety. His body became so bloated that he was unable to pass through an opening large enough for a chariot easily to pass. Not even the massiveness of his head could get through! They say that his eyelids were so swollen that he was entirely unable to see the light, and even physicians with magnifying glasses could not see his eyes, so deeply had they sunk beyond sight. His penis appeared to be more repulsive and larger than any such private member, and when he relieved himself, puss and maggots poured from his entire body to his shame. They say that after many tortures and punishments, he died in his own field, which became deserted and uninhabited to this very day due to its stench. Still today no one can pass by that place without pinching his nostrils, such was the efflux that seeped from his flesh to the ground." (*Expos.* 4:5–6)

The surviving fragments do not record if Papias narrated a replacement of Judas among the Twelve, but a note by Eusebius suggests that he did. The church historian says that the bishop of Hierapolis knew a story about Justus Barsabbas surviving an attempted execution: he was one of two candidates for the lottery to replace Judas, a connection made by Eusebius himself.

It would appear that Papias thought that Matthew's account of Judas's suicide was insufficient to restore him as one of the Twelve to whom Jesus promised thrones; his crimes were too heinous. Instead, the bishop recorded another tradition in which God struck him down with a miserable ailment and gave his place among the eleven to someone else.

Again, Papias probably attributed the following agreements in order between Matthew and Mark to independent historical memory and the absence of logia to *Logoi's* preoccupation with Jesus' teachings.

|                            | Matthew in Hebrew |           | Peter's preaching |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|
|                            | <i>Logoi</i> ↗    | ↘ Matthew | ↑ Mark            |
| Trial before Pilate        |                   | 27:11–31a | 15:2–20a          |
| The death of Jesus         |                   | 27:31b–56 | 15:20b–41         |
| Burial                     |                   | 27:57–61  | 15:42–47          |
| Guard at the tomb          |                   | 27:62–66  |                   |
| Women at the tomb          |                   | 28:1–8    | 16:1–8            |
| Jesus appears to the women |                   | 28:9–10   | [[16:9–11]]       |
| Report of the guard        |                   | 28:11–15  |                   |

My reconstruction of the *Exposition* suggested that the following passage appeared in book 4 as part of Papias's interpretation of Jesus' postresurrection authority in Matthew (28:16–20). According to Andrew of Caesarea, "Papias wrote verbatim as follows: 'To some of them'—apparently angels who once had been divine—'he gave the authority to rule over the crafted earth and gave them orders to rule well.' And next he says, 'It turned out that their arrangement came to no good end'" (*Expos.* 4:7). The author continues with what still may be a quotation from Papias, but the text is identical to Rev 12:9: "And the great dragon—the ancient serpent, the so-called 'devil' and 'Satan,' the deceiver of the whole world—was thrown to the earth, and his angels were thrown down there, too."

The fifth book of the *Exposition* apparently dealt with events after Jesus' death. According to Eusebius, "Philip the apostle together with his daughters lived in Hierapolis," Papias's own city, and informed their bishop on what they knew of Christian origins.<sup>5</sup>

Papias ... recalls that he had received a marvelous tale from the daughters of Philip, things that now must be examined, for he regales the rising of a dead man in his own time, and again another marvelous event about Justus surnamed Barsabbas—how he drank a fatal poison and, by the grace of the Lord, suffered nothing out of the ordinary. After the ascension of the Savior the holy apostles proposed this Justus together with Matthias and prayed for the choice by lot of the one who was to fill up their number in place of the traitor Judas, as is related as follows in Acts. (*Expos.* 5:1)

Philip of Side knew this tradition about Justus Barsabbas and added that Papias "relates still other marvelous events, especially that about the mother of Manaemus being raised from the dead" (*Expos.* 5:2). Several scholars have

5. *Hist. eccl.* 3.31.2–4.



suggested that this Manaemus is the same person who appears in Acts 21:16 as Mnason of Cyprus, “a disciple of old [ἀρχαίῳ μαθητῆϊ].” Be that as it may, the *Exposition of Logia about the Lord* apparently was a five-volume Gospel patterned after Matthew, augmented with other traditions and commentaries, which extended Jesus’ influence to the author’s own time.

In conclusion, the Synoptic Problem faced by the elder John and Papias apparently involved three Gospels. To explain similarities between *Logoi* and Matthew, they, like good source critics, proposed a hypothetical, lost Hebrew Gospel of Matthew. Their solution was brilliant and has proved to be compelling to interpreters for nearly two thousand years. We must dismiss as rhetorical invective Eusebius’s smear that Papias’s “mind was exceedingly puny” (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.13). In reality, the bishop of Hierapolis seems to have been an astute reader of his sources, even though his solution to the intertextual connections among these texts was wide of the mark.

THE *LOGOI* OF *JESUS* AS A SOURCE  
FOR THE GOSPEL OF MARK

Previous reconstructions of Q have significantly illumined the distinctive redactional transformations of it in the Gospels attributed to Matthew and Luke, but because proponents of 2DH eliminate Mark as a third witness to the lost Gospel, Q-Mark overlaps get relegated to the convenient category of shared traditions: they are generically similar but not genetically related. Although advocates of M2DH, like Fleddermann, hold that Mark, too, knew Q, to this date no one has published a major commentary on Mark that has taken seriously its redaction of the lost Gospel. The following table lists logia in the *Logoi of Jesus* with their possible Markan parallels.

MARK'S REDACTIONS OF THE *LOGOI* OF *JESUS*

| <i>Logoi</i>                            | Mark                | Description  |
|---|---------------------|--|
| (Luke-based)<br>7:27                    | (sequential)<br>5:8 | 1:2<br>Citation of Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1  |
| 3:2-4, (M) 3:4-5                        | 1:1-5               | 1:3-6<br>The introduction of John  |
| 3:16                                    | 1:9                 | 1:7-8<br>John and the one to come  |
| 3:21-22                                 | 2:1-2               | 1:9-11<br>Baptism  |
| 4:1-2, 10-11                            | 2:3-4, 8-9          | 1:12-13<br>Temptations in the wilderness   |
| «John arrested.»<br>4:14                | 3:1                 | cf. 1:14a<br>1:14-15<br>John arrested<br>Jesus returns to Galilee                |
| «Jesus performs miracles.»<br>(9:57-60) | (3:7-12)            | cf. 1:23-2:12<br>1:16-20 [B]<br>Jesus performs miracles<br>Jesus calls fishermen |
| (7:1, 3, 6-10)                          | (5:1-7)             | 2:1-12 [B]<br>The sinful paralytic   |
| 5:27-32                                 | 3:13-18             | 2:13-17<br>Eating with tax collectors and sinners                                |
| 5:33-38                                 | 3:19-24             | 2:18-22<br>Not fasting   |
| 6:1-5                                   | 3:25-29             | 2:23-28<br>Gleaning on the Sabbath   |

|                               |                   |             |   |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|---|
| 6:6–7, 9–10                   | 3:30–33           | 3:1–6       | Healing on the Sabbath  |
| 6:12–16                       | 3:34–38           | 3:13–19     | The list of the Twelve  |
| 11:14–15, 17–18, 21–22        | 6:22–25,<br>28–29 | 3:20–27     | The Beelzebul controversy                                       |
| (12:10)                       | (8:10)            | 3:28–29 [B] | Speaking against the Holy Spirit                                |
| (11:27–28)                    | (6:34–35)         | 3:31–35 [B] | Jesus' true family  |
| 8:5–10                        | 5:24–29           | 4:1–12      | The sower and the reason for parables                           |
| 11:33                         | 6:52              | 4:21        | The light on the lampstand                                      |
| 12:2–3                        | 8:2–3             | 4:22–23     | What is hidden will be known                                    |
| 6:38                          | 4:32              | 4:24        | Measure for measure   |
| 19:26                         | 9:23              | 4:25 [B]    | Whoever has, it will be given to him                            |
| (13:20–21)                    | (8:33–34)         | 4:26–29 [B] | The seed growing secretly                                       |
| 13:18–19                      | 8:31–32           | 4:30–34     | The mustard seed  |
| (7:1, 3, 6–10)                | (4:45–51)         | 5:21–43 [B] | Jairus's daughter and the hemorrhaging woman                    |
| 4:16, 22, (M) 13:57, 4:24, 31 | 3:2–6             | 6:1–6a      | Rejection at Nazareth   |
| 8:1, 9:1–2, (M) 10:5          | 10:1–4            | 6:6b–8b     | Calling the disciples for their mission                         |
| 10:4–9                        | 10:10–15          | 6:8–10      | Instructions for the mission                                    |
| 10:10–12                      | 10:16–18          | 6:11–13     | Response to a town's rejection                                  |
| (M) 15:1–11                   | 6:41–51           | 7:1–17      | Unwashed hands  |
| (11:39, 41)                   | (7:12–13)         | 7:18–23 [B] | Nothing outside a person can defile                             |
| (7:1, 3, 6–10)                | (4:45–51)         | 7:24–30 [B] | The Syrophenician woman   |
| (11:16, 29–30)                | (6:36–38)         | 8:10–12 [B] | No sign for this generation (narrativized)                      |
| (12:1)                        | (8:1)             | 8:13–21 [B] | Keep yourselves from the leaven of the Pharisees (narrativized) |
| (14:26–27, 17:33)             | (8:50–52)         | 8:34–37 [B] | The cost of discipleship  |
| 12:8–9                        | 8:8–9             | 8:38        | Confessing or denying   |
| ([M] 10:23)                   | (10:7)            | 9:1 [B]     | Some standing here will not taste death                         |
| (10:16)                       | (10:22)           | 9:33–37 [B] | Taking in children (narrativized)                               |
| (11:23)                       | (6:30)            |             |   |
| 17:1–2                        | 8:53–54           | 9:40–41 [B] | Whoever is not against us is for us                             |

|                   |             |              |   |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------|---|
| (M) 5:29–30       | 8:55–56     | 9:42         | Against enticing little ones  |
| 14:34–35          | 4:5–6       | 9:43–48      | Cutting off offending limbs   |
| 16:18             | 4:13        | 10:1–12      | Divorce leading to adultery<br>(narrativized)                             |
| (12:33–34)        | (10:44–44)  | 10:21–22 [B] | Storing up treasures in<br>heaven   |
| 18:24–25          | 8:57–58     | 10:23–28     | The camel and the eye of<br>the needle                                    |
| (14:26–27, 17:33) | (8:50–2525) | 10:29–30 [B] | The rewards of discipleship   |
| (13:30)           | (8:41)      | 10:31 [B]    | The reversal of the first and<br>the last                                 |
| (22:28–30)        | (10:61–63)  | 10:35–40 [B] | Eternal thrones   |
| (14:11)           | (8:42)      | 10:41–45 [B] | The greatest is the slave   |
| 13:35             | 7:21        | 11:9–11      | Blessed is the one who<br>comes in the name of<br>the Lord (narrativized) |
| 17:6              | 10:37       | 11:22b–23    | Faith like a mustard seed   |
| 11:9–10           | 10:38–39    | 11:24b       | Certainty of the answer to<br>prayer                                      |
| ([M] 5:23–24a)    | (4:15–16a)  | 11:25 [B]    | Forgiving before praying  |
| (11:2–4)          | (10:30–32)  | 11:25 [B]    | Forgiving before praying  |
| (14:16–21, 23)    | (8:43–49)   | 12:1–12 [B]  | The murderous vinedress-<br>ers   |
| 20:21–25          | 6:1–5       | 12:13–17     | Tribute to Caesar   |
| 20:27–38          | 6:6–17      | 12:18–27     | Marriage and the resurrec-<br>tion  |
| 10:25–28          | 6:18–21     | 12:28–34     | The great commandment   |
| 11:43             | 7:2         | 12:38–40     | Front seats in synagogues   |
| ([M] 23:16–20)    | (7:4–10)    | 12:41–44 [B] | The widow's penny (nar-<br>rativized)                                     |
| ([Mk] 14:58)      | (7:22)      | 13:1–2 [B]   | Not one stone left on<br>another (narrativized)                           |
| (12:11–12)        | (8:11–12)   | 13:9–11 [B]  | Hearings before authorities   |
| 12:49, 51, 53, 52 | 8:24–27     | 13:12–13     | Children against parents  |
| (11:27)           | (6:34)      | 13:14–20 [B] | The War: woe to those who<br>nurture                                      |
| 17:23–24          | 9:1–2       | 13:21–23     | The Son of Man like light-<br>ning  |
| (17:23–24)        | (9:1–2)     | 13:24–27 [B] | “The stars will fall from the<br>sky”                                     |
| ([M] 10:23)       | (10:7)      | 13:30 [B]    | This generation will not<br>pass away                                     |
| (16:17)           | (4:11)      | 13:31–32 [B] | Jesus' words will not pass<br>away  |

|                    |            |              |  |
|--------------------|------------|--------------|--|
| (12:39–40)         | (8:17–18)  | 13:33–37 [B] | The uncertainty of the hour  |
| (17:1–2)           | (8:53–54)  | 14:21 [B]    | Woe to the betrayer  |
| (4:1–4, 9–12, 5–8) | (2:3–14)   | 14:32–42 [B] | Gethsemane   |
| (11:2–4)           | (10:30–32) | 14:35–42 [B] | Jesus' prayer at Gethsemane<br>(narrativized)                              |
| ([Mk] 14:58)       | (7:22)     | 14:58–64 [B] | We heard him say, "I will<br>destroy this sanctuary"<br>(narrativized)     |
| (6:29)             | (4:22)     | 14:65 [B]    | Jesus' slapped on the face   |
| ([M] 5:41)         | (4:23)     | 15:21 [B]    | Simon of Cyrene carries<br>Jesus' cross (narrativ-<br>ized)                |
| ([Mk] 14:58)       | (7:22)     | 15:28–32 [B] | "Destroyer of the sanctu-<br>ary, . . . rescue yourself"<br>(narrativized) |

Skeptics of Q+/PapH likely would take issue with the secondary redactions listed here, and one might also be leery of several of the proposed primary redactions, but surely the potential overlapping logia between *Logoi* and Mark are sufficient to suggest a literary connection between them. Indeed, no two documents from the ancient world share this much content for which one would not require direct compositional dependence. In other words, the elder John and Papias were wrong: the Markan Evangelist did not translate Peter's recollections of Jesus independent to Matthew; he radically rewrote the same source that the Matthean Evangelist redacted in addition to Mark (see ch. 4).

It would appear that a major motivation of Mark's rewriting of the lost Gospel was its exclusion of a mission to Gentiles, but even more significant may have been its predictions that Jesus soon would return to destroy the Jerusalem temple and build another. Mark, writing after the fall of Jerusalem, knew better; chapter 10 will discuss this matter in more detail and suggest that *Logoi's* Jewish exclusivity and failed predictions contributed to its eventual textual shipwreck.

If Mark indeed redacted the *Logoi of Jesus*, it should be possible to compare the two works for a clearer understanding of his or her redactional and literary interests, just as advocates of 2DH/M2DH have analyzed redactions of Q in Matthew and Luke. It is to this end that I have written an intertextual commentary on the Gospel of Mark that argues that the Evangelist not only redacted the lost Gospel but repeatedly and strategically imitated characters, episodes and motifs from classical Greek poetry especially Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as I have suggested elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Mark's imitation of Homer was not

1. See, for example, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* (New Haven: Yale Uni-

merely a literary adjustment to Christian tradition; it was a seismic cultural shift. The world of the *Logoi of Jesus*, though Hellenized, was Palestinian and Jewish; its intertexts were almost exclusively biblical. By imitating classical Greek poetry, Mark transformed his protagonist into a rival of Greek heroes and gods. Like Hermes, he walks on water; like Aeolus, he commands the winds; like Odysseus, he outwits his opponents and exemplifies an enormous capacity for suffering; like Achilles, he pursues his goals fully aware that doing so will bring on his early death; like Hector, he dies abandoned by his god, and his corpse must be fetched from his killer. Mark's Jesus not only imitated Greek mythological characters; he emulated or rivaled them. Whereas Hector's body stayed in his tomb, Jesus' rose after three days. The Gospel was good news because it presented Jesus as surpassing all rivals, including Hellenic heroes.

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versity Press, 2000); "Renowned Far and Wide: The Women Who Anointed Odysseus and Jesus," in *A Feminist Companion to Mark* (ed. Amy-Jill Levine; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 128–35; "Homer," in *Jesus in History, Thought, and Culture: An Encyclopedia* (ed. Leslie Houlden; 2 vols.; Santa Barbara: ABC/CLIO, 2003), 1:357–60; "The Spirit as a Dove and Homeric Bird Similes," in *Early Christian Voices: In Texts, Traditions, and Symbols* (ed. David H. Warren, Ann Graham Brock, and David W. Pao; Boston: Brill, 2003), 333–39; "Imitations of Greek Epic in the Gospels," in *The Historical Jesus in Context* (ed. Amy-Jill Levine, Dale C. Allison, and John Dominic Crossan; Princeton Readings in Religions; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 372–84, "The Synoptic Problem and Literary Mimesis: The Case of the Frothing Demoniac," in *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (ed. Paul Foster et al.; BETL 239; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 509–21.



THE *LOGOI OF JESUS* AS A WITNESS  
TO THE HISTORICAL JESUS

For at least two centuries, the quest for the historical Jesus has been a hot potato, and the potato has yet to lose its heat. I confess to being less sanguine than most Gospel scholars about recovering the life and teachings of Jesus. In large part my skepticism issues from the profound influence of Jewish Scriptures, especially Deuteronomy, on the *Logoi of Jesus* and *Logoi's* pervasive influence on all three of the Synoptics. Despite claims about the historical worth of the Gospel of John, insofar as its author seems to have redacted at least two of the Synoptics (Mark and Luke) and thus dates to no earlier than 120 C.E., one is entitled to be skeptical about the trustworthiness of its testimony to the historical Jesus. Much the same assessment applies to the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Gospel of Thomas*. On the other hand, the author of the *Logoi of Jesus* surely relied to some extent on preexisting memories of him, and it is the task of this chapter to investigate the extent of that reliance.

Paul's authentic epistles predate the composition of the *Logoi of Jesus* and occasionally supply reliable historical information. According to Gal 1:18, the apostle resided with Cephas/Peter in Jerusalem for more than a fortnight, when he also met Jesus' brother James. He defended his Gentile mission to "James, Cephas, and John," again in Jerusalem (2:9), and he opposed Peter in Antioch (2:11–14). Such extensive interaction with Jesus' family and followers suggest that he was well-informed about Jesus' activities, teachings, and fate; unfortunately, little of this information has seeped into Paul's letters.

Apart from Paul's authentic letters, *Logoi* is our earliest witness to Jesus. The author likely completed the work shortly before (or perhaps during) the Jewish War of 66–70 C.E., a decade or so before the composition of the Gospel of Mark. The author's familiarity with Galilean towns—the text mentions Nazara, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and insignificant Chorazin—implies a provenance in Galilee, where Jesus conducted most of his activities. Although the author composed in Greek, the frequency of Semitic loanwords presumes a



bilingual environment. The absence of a Pauline kerygma and the title “Messiah/Christ” locates the book at a relatively early evolutionary stage of what was to become the Christian church, a stage appropriately called the Galilean Jesus movement. One therefore might initially assume that, if any text faithfully preserved Jesus’ teachings, it would be the lost Gospel. In reality, nuggets of reliable information about Jesus lie beneath the surface of the text and are difficult to mine.

Critical to historical quests for Jesus are criteria, and for the purposes of this discussion I will adopt those favored by John P. Meier in *A Marginal Jew*.<sup>1</sup> He rightly disregards several unreliable yardsticks, such as “traces of Aramaic,” “Palestinian environment,” “vividness of narration,” “tendencies of the developing Synoptic tradition,” and “historical presumption.” In other words, to say that a logion contains Aramaic words or syntax or that it issues from a Palestinian environment says nothing necessarily about Jesus, who was but one of many in his movement who spoke Aramaic and lived in Palestine. “Vividness of narration” could suggest an eyewitness account, but it more likely suggests literary art. The criterion of “tendencies of the developing Synoptic tradition,” once favored by form critics who wanted to write histories of various pericopae (as implied in the German word *Formgeschichte*), has run afoul of the plasticity and unpredictability of the transmission of oral memory. By “historical presumption” Meier refers to the challenge often made by Christian apologists that anyone who would doubt the authenticity of information in the Gospels must prove it to be false, but as he sagely notes, “the burden of proof is simply on anyone who tries to prove anything.”<sup>2</sup>

These caveats about dubious criteria pertain as well to the *Logoi of Jesus*. Even though one finds many transliterated Aramaic words and evidence of a Palestinian provenance in this reconstruction, these data need not point to Jesus. Claims about vividness and tendencies in the tradition must be put to the side, and there is no special burden of proof for doubting its historical reliability. In fact, because one must deal first and foremost with the lost Gospel as a work of literature, if there is a burden of proof, it lies heavier on those who would push the content back to an oral-traditional stage, not to mention the historical Jesus.

Meier’s five preferred criteria are “embarrassment,” “discontinuity,” “multiple attestation,” “coherence,” and “rejection and execution”; each of these is relevant to our reconstruction of the lost Gospel. One must reject as naively

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1. *The Roots of the Problem and the Person* (vol. 1 of *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 1:167–95.

2. Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1:183.

optimistic the verbatim attribution of any saying to the historical Jesus. At stake is not the recovery of Jesus' words (his *ipsissima verba*) but of his distinctive voice (his *ipsissima vox*).

Meier describes his first criterion as follows: "The point of the criterion [of embarrassment] is that the early Church would hardly have gone out of its way to create material that only embarrassed its creator or weakened its position in arguments with opponents."<sup>3</sup> The author of *Logoi* probably did not create Jesus' submission to John's "baptism of repentance"; surely he did not create the fasting of the followers of John the Baptist and the absence of the practice among the Twelve, for the text acknowledges that after Jesus' death the Twelve regularly did fast (3:21). Presumably he did not create the objection that some of Jesus' opponents accused him of being "a glutton and drunkard, a chum of tax collectors and sinners!" (5:15). Some scholars would propose that embarrassing, too, would have been the charge that Jesus cast out demons by Beelzebul (6:23), but one can imagine that the author created it in a polemic against "this evil generation."

"Closely allied to the criterion of embarrassment, the criterion of discontinuity ... focuses on words or deeds of Jesus that cannot be derived from Judaism at the time of Jesus or from the early Church after him."<sup>4</sup> The examples Meier gives include several pertinent to *Logoi*: Jesus' "sweeping prohibition of all oaths" (4:19–21), "his rejection of voluntary fasting" (3:19–24); "and possibly his total prohibition of divorce" (4:13).<sup>5</sup> Jesus in the lost Gospel claims that God had forsaken the Jerusalem temple, yet he gives instructions to his followers about giving sacrifices there (4:15–16). Such instructions about worship at the temple thus may be discontinuous with the Jesus movement after his death, especially after 70 C.E. Although some interpreters have abused this criterion by isolating Jesus from Judaism and the early church to make him unique, "discontinuity" nonetheless allows one to listen for a distinctive voice that seems to have informed the Evangelists, including the author of *Logoi*.

Furthermore, each of the Gospels, as well as *Logoi*, contains neutral or apparently un freighted details, *adiaphora*, that seem to have been generated neither from Judaism nor the Christian movement. There is no reason to challenge the accuracy of the following information: Jesus' home was in Nazareth of Galilee; he traveled to Judea, was baptized by John, returned to Galilee, conducted a ministry in towns and villages there (e.g., Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum), and traveled with several male disciples; he was considered a

3. Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1:168.

4. Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1:171.

5. Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1:172.

teacher, exorcist, and wonder worker (regardless of what we now might believe about demons or miracles), met hostility from Torah-observant Jews, and was crucified by the Romans with the encouragement of the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem. Although the number of the disciples, twelve, surely is significant, their names are not, and at least the names John and Peter (Cephas) are attested independently in the Pauline Epistles. This summary of *adiaphora* in *Logoi* says little about Jesus' proclamation, and for that very reason, because it is not religiously weighted, it probably reflects reliable traditions about him.

Meier's third criterion is multiple attestation, which "focuses on those sayings or deeds of Jesus that are attested in more than one independent literary source (e.g., Mark, Q, Paul, John)."<sup>6</sup> I have argued that Mark and *Logoi* (Q for Meier) are not "independent"; Mark, like Matthew and Luke, redacted the lost Gospel (see ch. 8). Furthermore, there should be little doubt that the author of the Gospel of John knew at least one, perhaps all three, of the Synoptics; the same applies to the *Gospel of Thomas*, which many scholars (though not Meier) postulate to be entirely independent of the canonical Gospels. In other words, Q+/PapH dramatically shrinks the number of possible sources for independent attestation.

Meier and other form critics would hold that the extensive content in Matthew and Luke not found in other Gospels attests to independent "layers of tradition," but this book has proposed that, because of secondary redactions, the number of such independent logia is smaller than is usually assumed. For example, the preceding chapter argued for Mark's free redactions of much of the *Logoi of Jesus*, especially the expansion of sayings into narratives. Such secondary redactions also appear in Matthew, whose parable of the unforgiving slave (Matt 18:23–25) may redact the parable of the unjust manager (*Logoi* 8:71–79); the parable of the ten virgins (Matt 25:1–13) redacts the saying on preparing for the return of the master (*Logoi* 8:13–16); and the parable of the sheep and the goats (Matt 25:31–46) greatly expands the logion on confessing and denying (*Logoi* 8:8–9). The situation is similar for Luke, whose stories of the healings of the crippled woman and the man with dropsy (Luke 13:10–16 and 14:1–6) imitate the healing of the man with a withered hand (Mark 3:1–16 and *Logoi* 3:30–34), and the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11–32), which expands the parable of the two sons (*Logoi* 8:65–68). When one finds such indebtedness to *Logoi* in any of the Synoptics, one cannot cite them as examples of multiple attestation. If the Gospels are indeed so literarily related, the number of possible multiple attestations shrivels considerably.

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6. Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1:174.

But it does not shrivel to nothing. Three passages in Josephus largely square with the depiction of John the Baptist or Jesus in the lost Gospel and thus independently attest to them.

To some of the Jews the destruction of Herod's army seemed to be divine vengeance, and certainly a just vengeance, for his treatment of John, surnamed the Baptist. For Herod had put him to death, though he was a good man and had exhorted the Jews to lead righteous lives, to practice justice towards their fellows and piety towards God, and so doing to join in baptism. In his view this was a necessary preliminary if baptism was to be acceptable to God. ... When others too joined the crowds about him, because they were aroused to the highest degree by his sermons, Herod became alarmed. Eloquence that had so great an effect on mankind might lead to some form of sedition, for it looked as if they would be guided by John in everything that they did. Herod decided therefore that it would be much better to strike first and be rid of him before his work led to an uprising, than to wait for an upheaval, get involved in a difficult situation, and see his mistake. Though John, because of Herod's suspicions, was brought in chains to Machaerus ... and there put to death. (*A.J.* 18.118–119 [LCL])<sup>7</sup>

The opening logia of the *Logoi of Jesus* present John in a similar light: he was a popular and controversial preacher of moral exhortation to crowds who thronged to be baptized in the Jordan River. Furthermore, it would appear that John had been imprisoned early in the document, which would explain why he had to send his disciples to ask if Jesus were the one to come (5:1–2). Josephus does not say what in John's message Antipas found potentially seditious, but the Baptist's preaching of impending wrath and apocalyptic intervention, as in the lost Gospel, may well have been part of the story.

The second passage in Josephus is the most controversial of the three, because it clearly was heavily interpolated by a Christian hand. Fortunately, it may be possible to excise these clumsy interpolations while leaving the original elements intact. The following is Meier's translation of the purged Greek text, but one must use it with caution: it is a reasonable but nonetheless hypothetical reconstruction. (The ellipses are mine; I omit some content from Meier's reconstruction that still reek of a Christian scribe.)

At this time there appeared Jesus, a wise man. ... He gained a following both among many Jews and among many of Greek origin. And when Pilate,

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7. See Meier's sage and detailed treatment of this passage in *Mentor, Message, and Miracles* (vol. 2 of *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*; ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1994), 2:56–62.

because of an accusation made by the leading men among us, condemned him to the cross, those who had loved him previously did not cease to do so. And up until this very day the tribe of Christians (named after him) has not died out. (Reconstructed from *A.J.* 18.63–64)<sup>8</sup>

Much of this summary applies to the Jesus of *Logoi*, which depicted Jesus as admired by both Jews and Gentiles. Jewish authorities considered him guilty of a capital crime (*Logoi* 6:23), but it was Romans who crucified him (8:51). After his death, his followers continued their devotion to him.<sup>9</sup>

The third and final citation in Josephus concerns Jesus only obliquely, since it narrates the death of his brother James at the hands of Ananus the high priest, a Sadducee, who illegally

convened the judges of the Sanhedrin and brought before them a man named James, the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ [another Christian interpolation?], and certain others. He accused them of having transgressed the law and delivered them up to be stoned. Those of the inhabitants of the city who were considered the most fair-minded and who were strict in observance of the law were offended at this. They therefore secretly sent to King Agrippa urging him ... to order Ananus to desist from any further such actions. (*A.J.* 20.200–201 [LCL])

The phrase “who was called the Christ” may be another Christian gloss, but probably not “the brother of Jesus,” which seems to be Josephus’s way of distinguishing between this James (Jacob) from several others. It would appear that the historian expected the reader to be more familiar with Jesus than with James, presumably because the reader already had encountered Jesus in book 18. This observation is the strongest evidence that Josephus earlier had discussed Jesus.

This third passage suggests that Torah-observant Jews in Jerusalem not long before the Jewish War were of two minds, perhaps between Sadducees and Pharisees, about whether apparent violations of Torah by James and “certain others”—almost certainly other followers of Jesus—merited stoning. Only the intervention of those who were “most fair-minded” prevented the Sanhedrin from executing those who had similarly transgressed.<sup>10</sup>

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8. Meier, *Marginal Jew*, 1:61.

9. I suspect that Josephus’s original treatment was much longer, in keeping with his more expansive treatments of religious turmoil during Pilate’s administration of Judea according to this context (*A.J.* 18.55–89).

10. It is tempting to link the oracle against Jerusalem in *Logoi* 7:20–21 with such an

The depiction of Jesus throughout *Logoi* as challenging Mosaic laws and establishing alternative rules of conduct squares with Josephus's statement that the Jerusalem Sanhedrin condemned James and other followers of Jesus as scorning sacred norms. It also is worth noting that, according to the lost Gospel, Jesus, though critical of aspects of the law and the management of the temple, reaffirmed many traditional laws, including the offering of gifts and sacrifices at the sanctuary. In other words, Josephus's depiction of polarized attitudes toward James among the Jerusalem religious elite is consistent with Jesus' complex relationship to Torah in the *Logoi of Jesus*.

Other promising examples of multiple attestation are overlaps between *Logoi* and the authentic epistles of Paul. Both state that Jesus had twelve disciples (1 Cor 15:5 and *Logoi* 3:34–38; 10:63), one of whom was named Cephas or Peter and another named John (e.g., Gal 2:9 and *Logoi* 3:36). Paul and *Logoi* both knew that Jesus' mission focused on Israel, not Gentiles (Rom 15:8–9 and *Logoi* 10:4–7). Central to Paul's kerygma were Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection (e.g., 1 Cor 15:3–7); similarly but obliquely, *Logoi* refers to the crucifixion and postmortem vindication (7:21 and 8:51). The majority of sayings in *Logoi* with parallels in Paul's letters are unmarked; that is, he did not directly attribute them to Jesus, but one may reasonably assign them to pre-Pauline tradition.

#### UNATTRIBUTED OVERLAPS BETWEEN PAUL AND THE *LOGOI OF JESUS*

|   | Paul                                | <i>Logoi of Jesus</i> |
|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Bless those who persecute                     | Rom 12:14;<br>1 Cor 4:12            | 4:25–26               |
| Do not return evil for evil                   | Rom 12:17, 21<br>(cf. 1 Thess 5:15) | 4:33                  |
| Be kind to one's enemies                      | Rom 12:19                           | 4:25                  |
| Give tribute to Caesar                        | Rom 13:6–7                          | 6:5                   |
| The love command                              | Rom 13:8–10                         | 6:18–21               |
| Do not judge others                           | Rom 14:13                           | 4:31                  |
| Do not entice others to sin                   | Rom 14:13                           | 8:54                  |
| Nothing is unclean in itself                  | Rom 14:14                           | 6:51                  |
| Faith can move mountains                      | 1 Cor 13:2                          | 10:37                 |
| Give away one's possessions                   | 1 Cor 13:3                          | 10:44                 |
| Jesus will return as a thief                  | 1 Thess 5:2                         | 8:17                  |
| When people say peace, then comes destruction | 1 Thess 5:3                         | 9:5                   |

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event, even though there is no mention of James, and even though it was considered an oracle of Jesus presented decades earlier.

In three invaluable cases Paul attributes to Jesus teachings similar to those found in the lost Gospel. The first appears in 1 Thessalonians.

For we tell you this by a word of the Lord, that those of us who are alive and remain until the coming of the Lord will by no means precede those who slept [viz. died]; the Lord himself, with a command, with the sound of an archangel, and with a trumpet of God, will descend from heaven, and the dead in Christ will arise first. Then we, the living and the remaining, together with them, will be snatched up in clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and thus we will always be with the Lord. (1 Thess 4:15–17)

The *Logoi of Jesus* often speaks of the return of Jesus as the Son of Man to rescue the faithful, but no passage precisely matches this passage in Paul; the closest verses are 9:2 and 9–10. The value of the Pauline parallel lies in its witness to traditions attributed to Jesus in which he predicts his return, but there remains a long leap between such traditions and the historical Jesus.

The second example of Paul's attribution of a tradition to Jesus is his prohibition of divorce: "I command those who are married—not I but the Lord—that a woman not separate from her husband (but if she does separate, let her stay unmarried or let her be reconciled to her husband) and that a man not leave his wife" (1 Cor 7:10–11). Unlike a similar command in *Logoi* 4:13, Paul applies the dominical prohibition first and primarily to a woman's separation from her husband, whereas *Logoi* addresses only the husband's divorce of his wife. What makes this Pauline reference most significant for understanding the historical Jesus is the attribution to Jesus of legislation that may be read as contradicting Deut 24:1–4, apparently to protect a woman from arbitrary dismissal by her husband. Throughout the *Logoi of Jesus* one finds similar instances of Jesus challenging Jewish law in favor of compassion or justice.

No less important is the third example, also from 1 Corinthians, in which Paul says that he chose not to abide by a command of "the Lord," namely, that "those who proclaim the gospel should live by the gospel" (9:14). Earlier in the chapter he stated that he, like "the other apostles and brothers of the Lord and Cephas," had "the right to eat and drink" at the expense of others and to be exempt from other labor (9:4–6). One recalls Jesus' command to the Twelve in *Logoi* 10:13: "And at that house remain, eating and drinking whatever they provide, for the worker is worthy of one's reward." This parallel is significant not simply because of similar wording; Paul knows that Jesus demanded a pattern of apostolic support to which other missionaries subscribed. He also apparently was aware that the Corinthians faulted him for violating the demand by working with his own hands. The author of *Logoi* knew this same institution; in other words, this overlap between Paul and

the lost Gospel beautifully satisfies the criterion of “multiple attestation,” but one cannot immediately assume that Paul or the author of *Logoi* correctly attributed to Jesus either the command to live by the gospel or the command against divorce. All that multiple attestation can prove is that the two authors, neither of whom knew the other’s work, received such material as tradition. To say more one must apply other criteria.

Before leaving Paul I would point to another important connection between *Logoi* and the epistles, even though it consists of only four words: ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, “the kingdom of God.” This expression is surprisingly rare in writings demonstrably earlier than the New Testament, but it appears seven times in authentic Pauline epistles (Rom 14:17; 1 Cor 4:20; 6:9, 10; 15:24, 50; Gal 5:21) and nineteen times in my reconstruction of the *Logoi of Jesus*.

To determine what Jesus might have meant by the kingdom of God, one could apply Meier’s fourth measure: “The criterion of coherence holds that other sayings and deeds of Jesus that fit well with the preliminary ‘data base’ established by using our first three criteria have a good chance of being historical (e.g., sayings concerning the coming of the kingdom of God or disputes with adversaries over legal observance).”<sup>11</sup> Meier rightly points to the kingdom of God and disputes as central to the recovery of Jesus’ teachings; indeed, they are intimately related concerns also in the *Logoi of Jesus*. Furthermore, what this document has to say about both is remarkably coherent and in many respects at odds with traditional Judaism and later Christian teachings.<sup>12</sup>

The author of *Logoi* distinguishes between God’s kingdom, “the kingdoms of the world” (2:11), and the kingdom of Satan (6:25). John the Baptist was the last prophet before the advent of the kingdom: “The law and the prophets «were in force» until John. From then on the kingdom of God is in force” (4:10). “The least significant in God’s kingdom is more than” John the Baptist (5:9). Jesus’ exorcisms witness to the advent of the kingdom: “If it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then there has come upon you the kingdom of God” (6:27).

Empowered by the Spirit, aware that he is the Son of God, and having resisted the temptations by the devil, Jesus returns to Galilee and preaches, “Repent! The kingdom of God has arrived” (3:1; cf. 10:1). This was also to be the message of Jesus’ disciples after his death: “Cure the sick there and say to them, ‘The kingdom of God has reached unto you’” (10:15).

11. *Marginal Jew*, 1:176.

12. Kloppenborg: “The center of Q’s theology is not Christology but the reign of God” (*Excavating Q*, 391; see also note 55, where he refutes interpreters who distance the kingdom of God from ethics).



To be “fit for the kingdom of God” requires one not to look back to one’s birth family (3:12). God prepared it for Jesus’ poor disciples (4:1), where those who hunger will eat and those who mourn will be consoled (4:2). “How difficult it is for those who have wealth to enter into the kingdom of God. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter the kingdom of God” (8:57–58).

The kingdom also has a mysterious quality. The Twelve were “given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to the rest it is given in parables” (5:29). Jesus compares it to a mustard seed that becomes a tree and to yeast that leavens “three measures of flour” (8:31–34). Although the kingdom already is present in the world, it will not come to fruition until the end of history, as implied in the disciples’ prayer: “let your kingdom come” (10:29). God will reward with bounty those who seek his kingdom (10:60). God prepared a kingdom for the children of Abraham, “the sons of the kingdom,” but it will be Gentiles who will dine there (8:39–40). The parable of the great supper illustrates this insofar as those who were invited to the dinner ultimately do not attend, because of their attachments to family or possessions. The house is filled instead with those who had not originally been invited (8:43–49).

The “exegetes of the law” neither go into “the kingdom of God” nor let others enter it (7:3). “Truly I tell you that tax collectors and prostitutes will precede the Pharisees into the kingdom of God” (8:68). “The last will be first, and the first last” (8:41).<sup>13</sup> To the Twelve, who endured hardships for Jesus during their lives, God will give special honors: “my Father will give you the kingdom, and when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory, you, too, will sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel” (10:61–63). Furthermore, the *Logoi of Jesus* presents him, the announcer of God’s kingdom, violating traditional Jewish law with respect to Sabbath observance, table purity, divorce, association with sinners, and the stoning of prostitutes. In other words, his disputes with Pharisees and his actions match his view that God’s kingdom introduces a new regime that replaces “the Law and the Prophets,” which culminated in John the Baptist.

Because of the author’s debt to rhetorical invention, it is impossible to attribute any of these sayings with confidence to the earthly Jesus. Even so, the lost Gospel attributes to him its central metaphor, the kingdom of God, which it presents as a coherent and distinctive moral vision. This powerful and compelling understanding of God’s rule likely reflects the teachings of Jesus himself, to whom the author of *Logoi* ascribed it. Paul, too, spoke of ἡ

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13. In Gal 5:19–21 Paul lists vices and ends the list with the statement, “those who commit such acts will not inherit the kingdom of God.” See also 1 Cor 6:9–10 and 15:50.

βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ and its radicalization of traditional Jewish ethics.<sup>14</sup> Jesus' selection of twelve men to be his most intimate disciples (a tradition attested both in 1 Corinthians and in the lost Gospel) is consistent with an ambitious reinterpretation of Jewish traditions. This assessment also conforms to Meier's final criterion.

"The criterion of Jesus' rejection and execution ... does not directly indicate whether an individual saying or deed of Jesus is authentic. Rather, it directs attention to the historical fact that Jesus met a violent end at the hands of Jewish and Roman officials and then asks us what historical words and deeds of Jesus can explain his trial and crucifixion."<sup>15</sup> Although the author did not narrate Jesus' death, he was aware of it and of the hostility of the Jewish establishment to his contentious interpretations of religious traditions. Finally and most importantly, one should not minimize the radical political implications for Roman authorities of a popular Jewish preacher announcing "the kingdom of God has arrived!" This alone would have been sufficient to get him crucified.

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14. According to Rom 14:17, the kingdom of God pertains to "righteousness, peace, and joy" (cf. 1 Cor 6:9–10; Gal 5:21).

15. *Marginal Jew*, 1:177.



WHY THE *LOGOI OF JESUS* AND  
PAPIAS'S *EXPOSITION* SHIPWRECKED

If the Q+/Papias Hypothesis is reasonably correct, more early Christians knew the lost Gospel than scholars usually assume, most of whom limit the cognoscenti to Matthew and Luke. Occasionally interpreters propose knowledge of Q in the Epistle of James, which I consider likely, or in the *Didache*, which is perhaps less so.<sup>1</sup> Others have proposed knowledge of it in the *Gospel of Thomas*. Tantalizing parallels with the Apocalypse of John, in my view, suggest that its author knew *Logoi*, though one could attribute virtually all of the similarities to knowledge of Matthew instead.<sup>2</sup> My reading of Eusebius's excerpts from Papias's *Exposition of Logia about the Lord* implies that he and the elder John, in Asia Minor, not only knew *Logoi* but thought that it was a truncating translation of a Semitic original of Matthew. More intriguing yet is the possibility that Aristion's lost *Expositions of the Logoi of the Lord* was a commentary on the lost Gospel. Versions of *Logoi* thus were available in the Roman provinces of Syria (Mark, Matthew, and perhaps the *Didache*), Phrygia (Papias), and Asia (Luke) for half a century, from about 65 C.E., when it was composed, to at least 115 C.E. Why did such a popular and important text thereafter vanish?

Many documents from antiquity failed to survive due simply to the fragility of manuscript production and distribution; especially vulnerable were books not used in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> But *Logoi* seems to have been too significant to fail

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1. See Hartin, *James*; and Clayton N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (VCSup 11; Leiden: Brill, 1989).

2. Compare *Logoi* 1:10 and Rev 14:14–20; *Logoi* 7:19 and Rev 6:10 and 16:16; *Logoi* 8:8 and Rev 3:5; *Logoi* 8:15 and Rev 3:20–21 and 16:15; *Logoi* 8:17 and Rev 3:3 and 16:15; *Logoi* 10:8 and Rev 14:14–20; and *Logoi* 10:63 and Rev 4:2–4.

3. Dieter Lührmann opines that Q was an accidental causality of scribal inattention (“Q: Sayings of Jesus or Logia?” in *The Gospel behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* [ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden: Brill, 1995], 113).

by accident. G. D. Kilpatrick, among the first interpreters to address this issue, proposed three factors. First, insofar as the lost Gospel seems to have been anonymous, it could not compete with books that were associated with Mark (and Peter), Matthew, Luke, and John. Second, because the authors of Matthew and Luke absorbed most of Q into their Gospels, their common source became superfluous. Finally, Q lacked a coherent narrative structure and thus inevitably ceded to Mark and his Matthean and Lukan redactors, who embedded Jesus' teachings within a riveting tale.<sup>4</sup>

Others have contended that the absence of references to Jesus as the Jewish Messiah, to the circumstances of his death, and to his resurrection, as well as the preoccupation with proper Torah observance, including worship at the Jerusalem temple, rendered the hypothetical source passé; its theology was outmoded.<sup>5</sup>

I am convinced, however, that the redactions of *Logoi* in Mark, Matthew, and Luke provide hints concerning what they found objectionable in it, objections that explain its textual shipwreck. Matthew and Luke transformed the Mission Speech in *Logoi*, which restricted the sending of the Twelve exclusively to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," into speeches that *required* a mission to Gentiles. *Logoi's* restriction of the mission exclusively to Jews may have contributed to its disappearance as the Christian movement drifted further from its Jewish moorings.

Furthermore, the *Logoi of Jesus* contained predictions about the future—the Jewish War in 66–70 C.E.—that proved to be false. The authors of the Synoptic Gospels, all of whom wrote after the war, omitted, redacted, or opposed these failed predictions, while struggling to retain much of *Logoi's* other content. The problem with the lost Gospel was not that its theology was inadequate; it was that some of Jesus' predictions were flat wrong. Mark's redactions of the *Logoi of Jesus* and his characteristic omission of passages that express apocalyptic immediacy reveal that he took issue with its predictions; the Jewish War did not jibe with Jesus' forecasts. Among Mark's motivations for adapting content from *Logoi* was to reset its apocalyptic clock. One might even say that he composed his Gospel to rescue some of its content while avoiding its errant predictions.

The author of the Gospel of Matthew seems to have viewed Mark's omission of content from *Logoi* as draconian insofar as he included much more of it, even much of its eschatological angst. But like Mark, Matthew omit-

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4. "The Disappearance of Q," *JTS* 42 (1941): 182–84.

5. James D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Disunity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1997), 287.

ted Jesus' prediction that he would destroy the temple; it was a trumped-up charge (26:21; 27:40). Matthew's version of the false testimony against Jesus distances him from the prediction even more than Mark's, for what his accusers claim to have heard is merely that he claimed "I *am able* to destroy God's sanctuary and build it in three days," not that he actually would do so.

Matthew's retention of the failed prediction about the return of the Son of Man is remarkable but interpretable in light of the Gospel as a whole. This Evangelist seems to have created the ending of his Gospel, the so-called great commission, as a fulfillment of the prophecy in *Logoi* that the disciples "will be no means complete the cities of Israel until the Son of Man comes" (10:7). For Matthew, the Son of Man indeed came to the eleven before they completed their mission, which actually never began. After Jesus' resurrection, they were to go to all the Gentiles, and Jesus would be with them to "the completion of the age," when he would return as the Son of Man (28:20).

Similarly, Luke thought that Mark's omission of content from the *Logoi of Jesus* was too drastic insofar as he also retained more of its content. He agreed with the other Synoptic Evangelists that *Logoi's* apocalyptic predictions had failed; his solution was to resist setting any schedule for Jesus' return (Acts 1:6). Furthermore, his account of Jesus' Sanhedrin trial and the taunts at the cross contain nothing whatever about Jesus destroying the temple. In fact, he omitted all of Mark 14:55–61 and made it his model for Acts 6:12b–14, the trial of Stephen before the Sanhedrin, where one reads: "They presented false witnesses who said, 'This person has not stopped making speeches against this holy place and the law, for we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place [the temple]'" (6:13–14).

One of Mark's strategies for exculpating Jesus of false predictions was to restrict this knowledge to God alone: "Concerning that day and hour, no one knows but the Father, neither the angels in heaven nor the Son" (13:32).<sup>6</sup> Luke omits this limitation of Jesus' powers of prediction, but at the beginning of Acts he attributes ignorance about the future not to himself but to his disciples.

Mark 13:32

Acts 1:6–7

Those who were traveling along asked him, "Will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?"

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6. Mark's Jesus does know, however, that the war will not take place until "the good news ... [is] announced to all nations" (13:10). Here again the Evangelist stretches the time between Jesus' death and his return.

“Concerning that day or hour no one knows [οἶδεν], neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father [ὁ πατήρ].”

He said to them, “It is not for you to know [γινῶναι] the times or seasons that the Father [ὁ πατήρ] has placed in his own authority.”

Luke’s Jesus then commands the disciples to evangelize to the end of the world in the interval before his return. The reluctance of Matthew and Luke to have Jesus declare the precise time of the parousia seems to be a corrective to *Logoi*’s pegging the coming of the Son of Man to the disciples’ mission to “the cities of Israel” and the destruction of the temple.

The failed predictions of the lost Gospel may help to explain as well the mysterious disappearance of Papias’s *Exposition of Logia about the Lord* and Aristion’s *Expositions of the Logoi of the Lord*, both of which may have referred to it. Papias’s work survived intact for centuries longer than *Logoi*. In the first quarter of the fourth century Eusebius could invite those who wished to know more about the traditions of the elders to consult Papias’s work for themselves (*Expos.* 1:1). Later in the century Jerome dismissed misinformed rumors that he intended to translate the entire work into Latin (Letter 71; Norelli frag. 8). Greek versions of the work were available at least until the eighth century, and Armenian versions may have been available centuries later. Given the *Exposition*’s antiquity and value as a witness to Christian origins, one would think that the scribal tradition would have guaranteed its transmission. Its loss is a particularly tragic textual shipwreck. What storm sunk it?

A comprehensive answer is thwarted by the paucity of surviving fragments, but what we do have suggests that it was a casualty of the canonizing of books attributed to the apostolic age. The extent of New Testament writings available to Papias apparently included the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, 1 Peter, 1 John, and perhaps John’s Apocalypse. He knew nothing of Luke-Acts or the Gospel of John, which were written later, but even more surprising is the absence of any reference to Paul or his letters, the last of which had been written about fifty years before Papias finished the *Exposition*. Surely Papias was aware of Pauline Christianity, for Hierapolis lay not far from Colossae and Laodicea and on the road that led to Ephesus toward the west. What does survive of his five volumes piggybacks on the writings that the dominant church gradually considered canonical.

For example, although Eusebius states that Papias often cited traditions by the elders John and Aristion (*Expos.* 1.2), the only fragments attributable to them concern the Gospels of Mark and Matthew (*Expos.* 1:3–4). In other words, his excerpts from the *Exposition* show interest in these two elders only when they witness to canonical texts. Irenaeus excerpted fragments 4:1–4 because he considered Papias to have been an auditor of the apostle John,

who was credited with writing the Fourth Gospel, and because the bishop of Lyons could harmonize Papias's account with canonical treatments of the Last Supper. Apollinaris of Laodicea, too, considered Papias to have been a disciple of the apostle John and approved of his account that Judas did not commit suicide because "the Acts of the Apostles makes this clear" (*Expos.* 4:5–6). Andrew of Caesarea linked Papias's account of angels falling from heaven to a similar notion in the Apocalypse of John (*Expos.* 4:7). Eusebius gave credence to Papias's story of Justus Barsabbas by associating him with Joseph Barsabbas Justus in Acts 1 (*Expos.* 5:1 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.9]). On the other hand, when Eusebius disagrees with Papias, he does so by claiming that the bishop was a man of feeble intellect and thus misinterpreted the "apostolic accounts" (*Expos.* 3.0 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.12–13]).<sup>7</sup>

By the time of Irenaeus, half a century after the composition of the *Exposition*, the *Logoi of Jesus* had shipwrecked, and thus only one Greek "translation" of Matthew survived. It is impossible to know how much of the *Exposition* discussed the lost Gospel, but surely it was more extensive than the fragments suggest, for Papias intended not only to augment Mark and Matthew with lore via *viva voce* but to restore Matthew's original σύνταξις, "orderly arrangement," which both of its translators botched. It is reasonable to assume that he thus compared and evaluated the sequences of logia in the two putative Matthean recensions available to him; he could ignore Mark because that Evangelist had no intention of composing a chronological σύνταξις.

Thus, Papias's project of comparing these two Matthean "translations" would have made little sense by the time of Irenaeus, when *Logoi* had vanished and many other Gospels, including those attributed to Luke and John, had become widely available. Apart from Eusebius's cryptic reference to "each translated ... as he was able," one hears nothing about Matthew's multiple Greek translations.<sup>8</sup> One therefore might suggest that among the reasons that the *Exposition* shipwrecked was *Logoi's* earlier shipwreck; without this Gospel Papias's project would have made little sense.

Finally, just as the *Logoi of Jesus* may have ceased circulating because of its errant eschatology, Eusebius considered the *Exposition* similarly flawed. According to William Schoedel, "Time did not deal kindly with Papias, partly no doubt because of his vigorous millennialism," his belief that Christ would

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7. Once, however, Eusebius seems to view positively a story that he knew elsewhere only in the *Gospel of the Hebrews* (*Expos.* 2.1). Some of the fragments in Athanasius of Sinai preserve Papias's views because they agreed with venerable authors of the past, such as Philo of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Pantaeus, and Clement of Alexandria (*Expos.* 2.2a and 2b).

8. See Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.11; Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 1; and Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.24.6.



reign on earth for a thousand years during which people would feast endlessly.<sup>9</sup> That is, his eschatology became unacceptable.<sup>10</sup>

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9. "Papias," 236.

10. Much of what survives from Papias concerns the eschaton (*Expos.* 3:0 and 4:1–4).

APPENDIX 1

THE *LOGOI* OF JESUS:  
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Οἱ Λόγοι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ

- 1:1 Ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ  
 1:2 καὶ κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας,  
 1:3 ὡς γέγραπται διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου·  
     φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ·  
     ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου,  
     εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.  
 1:4 καὶ ἦν Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου  
     καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν αὐτοῦ  
     καὶ ἐσθίων ἀκρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον.  
 1:5 καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου,  
     καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ,  
     ἐξομολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.
- 1:6 Εἶπεν τοῖς ἐρχομένοις ὄχλοις βαπτισθῆναι·  
     γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν,  
     τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;  
 1:7 ποιήσατε οὖν καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας  
     καὶ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς·  
     πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ.  
     λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι  
     δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ.  
 1:8 ἤδη δὲ ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ρίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται·  
     πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιῶν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται  
     καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.
- 1:9 Ἐπεκρίνατο λέγων·  
     ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι,  
     ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστί,  
     οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς λύσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ·  
     αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί·  
 1:10 οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ  
     καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἄλωνα αὐτοῦ

*THE LOGOI OF JESUS*

## 1. JOHN THE PROPHET

- 1:1 It happened that John the Baptist was in the wilderness  
 1:2 preaching a baptism of repentance;  
 1:3 as it was written through Isaiah the prophet:  
     “A voice of one crying in the wilderness,  
     ‘Prepare the way of the Lord;  
     make straight his footpaths.’”
- 1:4 And John was clothed in camel hair,  
 wore a leather belt around his waist,  
 and ate locusts and wild honey.
- 1:5 And all the region of the Jordan went out to him  
 and were baptized by him in the Jordan River,  
 confessing their sins.
- 1:6 He said to the crowds coming to be baptized,  
 “Snakes’ litter!  
 Who warned you to run from the impending rage?  
 1:7 So bear fruit worthy of repentance,  
 and do not presume to tell yourselves,  
 ‘We have as forefather Abraham!  
 For I tell you:  
 God can produce children for Abraham right out of these rocks!  
 1:8 And the ax already lies at the root of the trees.  
 So every tree not bearing healthy fruit is to be chopped down  
 and thrown on the fire.”
- «The religious authorities rejected John, but some people responded favorably to him, including tax collectors, and were baptized (cf. 5:10–11).»
- 1:9 He answered and said,  
 “I baptize you in water,  
 but the one to come after me is more powerful than I,  
 the strap of whose sandals I am not worthy to untie.  
 He will baptize you in holy Spirit and fire.  
 1:10 His pitchfork is in his hand,  
 and he will clear his threshing floor

καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ,  
τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.

- 2:1 Καὶ ἐγέντεο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις  
ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη.  
καὶ ἠνεψύχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ
- 2:2 καὶ εἶδεν τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον ἐπ' αὐτόν.  
καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν· σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου ...
- 2:3 Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀνήχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος  
2:4 πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου.  
καὶ ... ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα, ... ἐπείνασεν.
- 2:5 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος·  
εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰπὲ ἵνα οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται.
- 2:6 καὶ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· γέγραπται ὅτι  
οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος.
- 2:7 καὶ παραλαμβάνει αὐτόν ὁ διάβολος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ  
καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ,  
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·  
εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, βάλε σεαυτὸν κάτω·
- 2:8 γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι  
τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε
- 2:9 καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρουσίν σε,  
μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου.
- 2:10 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· γέγραπται·  
οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.
- 2:11 καὶ παραλαμβάνει αὐτόν ὁ διάβολος εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλόν  
καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τοῦ κόσμου,
- 2:12 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·  
σοὶ δώσω τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν,  
2:13 ἐὰν προσκυνήσῃς μοι.
- 2:14 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· γέγραπται·  
κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις  
καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.
- 2:15 καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν ὁ διάβολος.

and gather the wheat into his granary,  
but the chaff he will burn on a fire that can never be put out.”

## 2. JESUS' EMPOWERMENT AND TESTING

- 2:1 And it so happened in those days that  
Jesus came from Galilee and was baptized.  
And the skies were opened,  
2:2 and he saw the Spirit descending upon him.  
And a voice came from the skies, “You are my son.. ”
- 2:3 And Jesus was led into the wilderness by the Spirit  
2:4 to be tested by the devil.  
And he «ate nothing» for forty days; «and» he became hungry.  
2:5 And the devil told him,  
“If you are God’s Son, order that these stones become loaves.”  
2:6 And Jesus answered him, “It is written,  
‘A person will not live only from bread.’”  
2:7 And the devil took him along to Jerusalem  
and put him on the tip of the temple  
and told him,  
“If you are God’s Son, throw yourself down.  
2:8 For it is written,  
‘He will command his angels about you to guard you’;  
2:9 and that ‘on their hands they will bear you,  
so that you do not strike your foot against a stone.’”  
2:10 And Jesus in reply told him, “It is written,  
‘Do not put to the test the Lord your God.’”  
2:11 And the devil took him along to a high mountain  
and showed him all the kingdoms of the world,  
2:12 and told him,  
“I will give you all this authority and their glory,  
2:13 if you bow down before me.”  
2:14 And in reply Jesus told him, “It is written,  
‘Bow down to the Lord your God  
and serve only him.’”  
2:15 And the devil left him.

«John was arrested.»

- 3:1 Καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κηρύσσω·  
μετανοεῖτε· ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
- 3:2 Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά καὶ ἐδίδασκεν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ.  
3:3 καὶ πολλοὶ ἀκούοντες ἐξεπλήσσοντο λέγοντες·  
πόθεν τούτῳ ἡ σοφία αὕτη καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις;  
οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἐστὶν Ἰωσήφ οὗτος;  
3:4 καὶ ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ·  
3:5 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·  
οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ.  
καὶ ἐθαύμαζεν διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν.  
3:6 καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρά κατῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ.
- 3:7 Καὶ εἶπέν τις αὐτῷ·  
ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου ἐὰν ἀπέρχῃ.  
3:8 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς·  
αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσιν,  
καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνώσεις,  
ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ.  
3:9 ἕτερος δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·  
κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι πρῶτον ἀπελθεῖν καὶ θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου.  
3:10 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ·  
ἀκολούθει μοι καὶ ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς.  
3:11 εἶπεν δὲ καὶ ἕτερος·  
ἀκολουθήσω σοι, κύριε·  
πρῶτον δὲ ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἀποτάξασθαι τοῖς εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου.  
3:12 εἶπεν δὲ [πρὸς αὐτὸν] ὁ Ἰησοῦς·  
οὐδεὶς ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ' ἄροτρον καὶ βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω  
εὐθετός ἐστιν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.
- 3:13 Καὶ παράγων εἶδεν Ματθαῖον καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον,  
καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ἀκολούθει μοι.  
3:14 καὶ ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.

## 3. JESUS ACQUIRES DISCIPLES AND ALIENATES PHARISEES

3:1 And Jesus went into Galilee and preached,  
 “Repent! The kingdom of God has arrived.”

«Jesus performed miracles in Galilean towns, such as Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, which some residents rejected as signs of his authority.»

3:2 And he went into Nazara and was teaching in the synagogue.

3:3 And many people on hearing were amazed and said,  
 “Where did this fellow get his wisdom and powers?  
 Is this not Joseph’s son?”

3:4 And they were offended by him.

3:5 And Jesus said to them,  
 “A prophet is not without honor except in his own homeland.”  
 And he was amazed at their unbelief.

3:6 And on leaving Nazara, he went down to Capernaum.

3:7 And someone said to him,  
 “I will follow you wherever you go.”

3:8 And Jesus said to him,  
 “Foxes have holes,  
 and birds of the sky have nests;  
 but the Son of Man does not have anywhere he can lay his head.”

3:9 But another said to him,  
 “Master, permit me first to go and bury my father.”

3:10 But he said to him,  
 “Follow me, and leave the dead to bury their own dead.”

3:11 And another said,  
 “I will follow you, Master,  
 but permit me to say farewell to those in my house.”

3:12 But Jesus said to him,  
 “No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks behind  
 is fit for the kingdom of God.”

«Despite the hardships, some people decided to follow Jesus.»

3:13 And while passing by, he saw Matthew sitting at the tax booth,  
 and he said to him, “Follow me.”

3:14 He rose up and followed him.



- 3:15 καὶ γίνεται κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ συνανέκειντο  
τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.
- 3:16 καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ·  
διὰ τί μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει;
- 3:17 ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας εἶπεν·  
οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ  
ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες·
- 3:18 οὐκ ἤλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς.
- 3:19 Προσέρχονται αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου λέγοντες·  
διὰ τί ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι νηστεύομεν,  
οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ σου οὐ νηστεύουσιν;
- 3:20 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·  
μὴ δύναται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος  
ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν νηστεύειν;
- 3:21 ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος,  
καὶ τότε νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.
- 3:22 οὐδεὶς ἐπιβάλλει ἐπιβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν·  
εἰ δὲ μή, αἶρει τὸ πλήρωμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ  
καὶ χεῖρον σχῆμα γίνεται.
- 3:23 καὶ οὐδεὶς βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκὸς παλαιούς·  
εἰ δὲ μή, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος τοὺς ἀσκὸς  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκχυθήσεται, καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται.
- 3:24 ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκὸς καινοὺς βλητέον.
- 3:25 Καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὸν  
ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν παραπορευέσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων,  
καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτιλλον τοὺς στάχνας καὶ ἥσθιον.
- 3:26 καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον αὐτῷ·  
ἴδε τί ποιοῦσιν τοῖς σάββασιν ὃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν;
- 3:27 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·  
οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησεν Δαβὶδ  
ὅτε ἐπέινασεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ,
- 3:28 πῶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ  
καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως λαβῶν ἔφαγεν  
καὶ ἔδωκεν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ,  
οὓς οὐκ ἔξεστιν φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ μόνους τοὺς ἱερεῖς;
- 3:29 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς·  
κύριός ἐστιν τοῦ σαββάτου ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

- 3:15 And it so happened that while Jesus reclined to eat at his house, many tax collectors and sinners too were reclining with Jesus and his disciples.
- 3:16 When the Pharisees saw it, they said to his disciples, “Why is he eating with tax collectors and sinners?”
- 3:17 On hearing this, he said, “Those who are strong have no need of a physician; those who are sick do.
- 3:18 I did not come to call the righteous but sinners.”
- 3:19 The disciples of John came to him, and said, “Why do we and the Pharisees fast, but your disciples do not fast?”
- 3:20 And Jesus said to them, “The sons of the wedding chamber are not able to fast while the bridegroom is with them, are they?
- 3:21 Days will come when the bridegroom will be taken from them; then they will fast in that day.
- 3:22 No one patches a patch from an unwashed cloth on an old garment; otherwise, the cloth not shrunk tears from it, the new from the old, and a worse tear results.
- 3:23 And no one casts new wine into old skins; otherwise, the wine bursts the skins; it is spilled, and the skins are destroyed.
- 3:24 One should cast new wine into new skins.”
- 3:25 It so happened that he was traveling through grain fields on a Sabbath, and his disciples were gleaning the heads of grain and eating them.
- 3:26 And the Pharisees said to him, “Look: why are they doing what is not permitted on the Sabbath?”
- 3:27 He said to them, “Have you not read what David did when he and those with him were hungry, how he went into the house of God, took the bread of the presence, ate it, and gave it to those who were with him— bread that it is not permitted to eat except for the priests alone?”
- 3:29 And he said to them, “The Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath.”

- 3:30 Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ,  
καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος χεῖρα ἔχων ξηράν.
- 3:31 καὶ παρετήρουν αὐτὸν λέγοντες·  
ἔξεστιν τῷ σαββάτῳ θεραπεῦσαι;
- 3:32 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·  
τίς ἔσται ἐξ ὑμῶν ὃς ἔχει βοῦν  
καὶ ἐὰν ἐμπέσῃ τοῖς σάββασιν εἰς βόθυνον  
οὐχὶ κρατήσῃ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐγερεῖ;  
καὶ οὐ ἴσχυσαν ἀνταποκριθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα.
- 3:33 καὶ λέγει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ·  
ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου.  
καὶ ἐξέτεινεν καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἡ ἄλλη.
- 3:34 Ἐβῆ δὲ εἰς τὸ ὄρος
- 3:35 καὶ προσεκάλεσεν τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ.
- 3:36 Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος Πέτρος,  
καὶ Ἄνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ Φίλιππος, καὶ Βαρθολομαῖος, καὶ Θωμᾶς,
- 3:37 καὶ Μαθθαῖος, καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου, καὶ Θαδδαῖος,  
καὶ Σίμων ὁ Καναναῖος,
- 3:38 καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου.
- 4:1 Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς·  
μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί,  
ὅτι ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
- 4:2 μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες,  
ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε.  
μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες,  
ὅτι παρακληθήσεσθε.
- 4:3 μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν μισήσωσιν καὶ ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς  
καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν  
ἕνεκεν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
- 4:4 χαίrete καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε,  
ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ·  
οὕτως γὰρ ἐποίησεν τοῖς προφήταις.
- 4:5 πλὴν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις,  
ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.

- 3:30 And he entered the synagogue on the Sabbath,  
and behold a man was there with a withered hand.
- 3:31 And they were observing him closely, saying,  
“Is it permitted to heal on the Sabbath?”
- 3:32 And he said to them,  
“Who of you who will have an ox  
and it falls into a ditch on the Sabbath  
will not grab it and bring it out?”  
And they were unable to respond to these things.
- 3:33 He said to the man,  
“Stretch out your hand.”  
And his hand stretched out and was restored like the other one.
- 3:34 Jesus ascended into the mountain  
3:35 and called his twelve disciples.  
3:36 Simon, the one called Peter,  
and Andrew his brother,  
and Jacob, and John his brother,  
and Philip, and Bartholomew, and Thomas,  
3:37 and Matthew, and Jacob the son of Alphaeus, and Thaddeus, and  
Simon the Cananaean,  
3:38 and Judas the son of Jacob.

#### 4. THE INAUGURAL SERMON AND THE CENTURION’S FAITH

- 4:1 And he was saying to them,  
“Blessed are you poor,  
for the kingdom of God is for you.
- 4:2 Blessed are you who hunger,  
for you will eat your fill.  
Blessed are you who mourn,  
for you will be consoled.
- 4:3 Blessed are you when they hate and insult you  
and say every kind of evil against you  
because of the Son of Man.
- 4:4 Be glad and exult,  
for vast is your reward in heaven.  
For this is how they treated the prophets.
- 4:5 But woe to you who are rich,  
for you have your consolation.

- 4:6 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐμπλησμένοι νῦν,  
ὅτι πεινάσετε.  
οὐαὶ, οἱ γελῶντες νῦν,  
ὅτι πενθήσετε καὶ κλαύσετε.
- 4:7 οὐαὶ ὅταν ὑμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι·  
κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.
- 4:8 καλὸν τὸ ἄλας·  
ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἄλας μωρανθῆ,  
ἐν τίνι ἀρτυθήσεται;
- 4:9 οὔτε εἰς γῆν οὔτε εἰς κοπρίαν εὐθετόν ἐστιν,  
ἕξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό.
- 4:10 Ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου·  
ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ βιάζεται.
- 4:11 εὐκοπώτερον δὲ ἐστὶν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν  
ἢ ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μίαν κεραιάν τοῦ νόμου πεσεῖν.
- 4:12 ὃς ἐὰν οὖν μὴ ποιήσῃ  
μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων,  
ἐλάχιστος κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ·  
ὃς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ αὐτάς,  
οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.
- 4:13 Πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμῶν ἄλλην μοιχεύει,  
καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμῶν μοιχεύει.
- 4:14 πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ  
ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει·  
ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· ῥακά,  
ἔνοχος ἔσται τῷ συνεδρίῳ·  
ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ· μωρέ,  
ἔνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός.
- 4:15 ἐὰν οὖν προσφέρῃς τὸ δῶρόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον  
κάκει μνησθῆς ὅτι ἀδελφός σου ἔχει τι κατὰ σοῦ,
- 4:16 ἄφες ἐκεῖ τὸ δῶρόν σου ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου  
καὶ ὑπάγε πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου,  
καὶ τότε ἔλθων πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρόν σου.
- 4:17 διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ σου  
ἕως ὅτου ὑπάγεις μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ,  
μήποτε σε παραδῷ ὁ ἀντίδικος τῷ κριτῇ  
καὶ ὁ κριτὴς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ  
καὶ ὁ ὑπηρέτης σε βαλεῖ εἰς φυλακὴν.

- 4:6 Woe to you who are full now,  
for you will go hungry.  
Woe to you who laugh now,  
for you will mourn and weep.
- 4:7 Woe to you when all people speak well of you.  
For their fathers treated the false prophets in the same manner.
- 4:8 Salt is good,  
but if salt becomes insipid,  
with what will it be seasoned?
- 4:9 Neither for the earth nor for the dunghill is it fit—  
they throw it out.
- 4:10 The law and the prophets «were in force» until John.  
From then on the kingdom of God is in force.
- 4:11 But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away  
than for one iota or one serif of the law to fall.
- 4:12 So whoever does not do  
one of the least of these commandments  
will be called least in the kingdom of God,  
and whoever does them,  
this one will be called great in the kingdom of God.
- 4:13 Everyone who divorces his wife and marries another commits  
adultery,  
and the one who marries a divorcee commits adultery.
- 4:14 Everyone who is angry with his brother  
is answerable to the judgment;  
and whoever says to his brother, ‘Raka,’  
is answerable to the Sanhedrin;  
and whoever says, ‘Fool,’  
is answerable to the Gehenna of fire.
- 4:15 So if you bring your gift to the altar  
and there remember that your brother holds something against you,  
4:16 leave your gift there before the altar,  
go, and first be reconciled with your brother,  
and then come and offer your gift.
- 4:17 Be reconciled with your adversary  
while you go with him on the way,  
lest the adversary hand you over to the judge,  
and the judge to the assistant,  
and the assistant throw you into prison.

- 4:18 ἀμὴν λέγω σοι,  
οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν ἕως τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην ἀποδώς.
- 4:19 Λέγω ὑμῖν·  
μὴ ὀμνύετε ὅλως·  
μὴτε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὅτι θρόνος ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ,  
4:20 μὴτε ἐν τῇ γῆ, ὅτι ὑποπόδιόν ἐστιν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ,  
μὴτε εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.  
4:21 ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ναὶ ναί, οὐ οὐ·  
τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστίν.
- 4:22 Τῷ ραπίζοντί σε εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα,  
στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·  
καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν,  
ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον.  
4:23 καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγαρεύσει μίλιον ἕν,  
ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο.  
4:24 τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός,  
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δανιζομένου τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει.  
4:25 ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν,  
καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς,  
4:26 εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς,  
προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς,  
4:27 καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν,  
ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς  
καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους.  
4:28 .. εἰ .. ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς,  
τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε;  
οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;  
4:29 καὶ ἐὰν δανίσητε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν,  
τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε;  
οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;  
4:30 γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες ὡς .. ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν.
- 4:31 .. μὴ κρίνετε, ... μὴ κριθῆτε·  
ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε κριθήσεσθε,  
4:32 καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε  
μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.  
4:33 καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι,  
οὕτως ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς.  
4:34 μὴτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν;

- 4:18 Truly I say to you:  
You will not get out of there until you pay the last penny.
- 4:19 I tell you,  
Do not ever swear an oath,  
neither by heaven, for it is God's throne,  
4:20 nor by the earth, for it is his footstool,  
nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king.  
4:21 But let your word be 'yes, yes,' or 'no, no.'  
Anything more than this is of evil.
- 4:22 To the one who slaps you on the cheek,  
offer the other as well;  
and to the person wanting to take you to court and get your shirt,  
turn over to him the coat as well.
- 4:23 And the one who conscripts you for one mile,  
go with him a second.
- 4:24 To the one who asks of you, give;  
and from the one who borrows, do not ask back what is yours.
- 4:25 Love your enemies,  
do good to those who hate you,  
4:26 bless those who curse you,  
pray for those who persecute you,  
4:27 and you will be sons of your Father,  
for he raises his sun on bad and good  
and rains on the just and unjust.
- 4:28 If you love those loving you,  
what reward do you have?  
Do not even tax collectors do the same?
- 4:29 And if you lend to those from whom you hope to receive,  
what reward do you have?  
Do not even the Gentiles do the same?
- 4:30 Be compassionate, just as your Father .. is compassionate.
- 4:31 ... Do not pass judgment, so you are not judged.  
For with what judgment you pass judgment, you will be judged.
- 4:32 And with the measurement you use to measure out,  
it will be measured out to you.
- 4:33 And the way you want people to treat you,  
that is how you treat them.
- 4:34 Can a blind person show the way to a blind person?



- οὐχὶ ἀμφοτέρω εἰς βόθυνον πεσοῦνται;  
 4:35 οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον·  
 οὐδὲ δοῦλος ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ.  
 ἄρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὡς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ.
- 4:36 τί δὲ βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου,  
 τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δοκὸν οὐ κατανοεῖς;
- 4:37 πῶς ἔρεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου·  
 ἄφες ἐκβάλλω τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου,  
 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ δοκὸς ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου;  
 ὑποκριτὰ, ἐκβαλε πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου τὴν δοκόν,  
 καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ... τ... ὀφθαλμ... τοῦ  
 ἀδελφοῦ σου.
- 4:38 Οὐκ ἔστιν δένδρον καλὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν σαπρὸν,  
 οὐδὲ πάλιν δένδρον σαπρὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν.
- 4:39 ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται.  
 μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἐξ ἀκανθῶν σῦκα ἢ ἐκ τριβόλων σταφυλάς;
- 4:40 ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει ἀγαθὰ,  
 καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ ἐκβάλλει πονηρὰ·  
 ἐκ γὰρ περισσεύματος καρδίας λαλεῖ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.
- 4:41 τί με καλεῖτε· κύριε κύριε,  
 καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;
- 4:42 Πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους καὶ ποιῶν αὐτοῦς,  
 4:43 ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ,  
 ὃς ψκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν·  
 καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ  
 καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέπεσαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ,  
 καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν,  
 τεθεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν.
- 4:44 καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους καὶ μὴ ποιῶν αὐτοῦς  
 ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ  
 ὃς ψκοδόμησεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον·  
 καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ  
 καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέκοψαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ,  
 καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν,  
 καὶ ἦν ἡ πτώσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη.
- 4:45 Ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους,  
 εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναοῦμ.

- Will not both fall into a pit?
- 4:35 A disciple is not superior to the teacher,  
nor is the slave superior to his master.  
It is enough for the disciple that he be like his teacher,  
and the slave like his master.
- 4:36 And why do you see the speck in your brother's eye,  
but the beam in your own eye you overlook?
- 4:37 How will you say to your brother,  
'Let me throw out the speck from your eye,'  
and just look at the beam in your own eye?  
Hypocrite, first throw out from your own eye the beam,  
and then you will see clearly to throw out the speck in your  
brother's eye. ..
- 4:38 No healthy tree bears rotten fruit,  
nor on the other hand does a decayed tree bear healthy fruit.
- 4:39 For from the fruit the tree is known.  
Are figs picked from thorns, or grapes from thistles?
- 4:40 The good person from one's good treasure casts up good things,  
and the evil person from the evil treasure casts up evil things.  
For from the exuberance of heart one's mouth speaks.
- 4:41 Why do you call me, 'Lord, Lord,'  
and do not do what I say?
- 4:42 Everyone hearing my sayings and doing them
- 4:43 is like a person  
who built one's house on bedrock;  
and the rain poured down and the rivers came,  
and the winds blew and pounded that house,  
and it did not collapse,  
for it was founded on bedrock.
- 4:44 And everyone who hears my sayings and does not do them  
is like a person  
who built one's house on the sand;  
and the rain poured down and the rivers came,  
and the winds blew and battered that house,  
and promptly it collapsed,  
and its fall was great."
- 4:45 When Jesus completed these sayings,  
he entered Capernaum.

- 4:46 καὶ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἑκατόνταρχος παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων·  
ὁ παῖς μου κακῶς ἔχει.  
καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ·  
ἐγὼ ἐλθὼν θεραπεύσω αὐτόν.
- 4:47 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος ἔφη· κύριε,  
οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς,  
4:48 ἀλλὰ εἰπέ λόγῳ, καὶ ἰαθήτω ὁ παῖς μου.
- 4:49 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν,  
ἔχων ὑπ' ἑμαυτὸν στρατιώτας,  
καὶ λέγω τούτῳ· πορεύθητι, καὶ πορεύεται,  
καὶ ἄλλῳ· ἔρχου, καὶ ἔρχεται,  
καὶ τῷ δούλῳ μου· ποιήσον τοῦτο, καὶ ποιεῖ.
- 4:50 ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐθαύμασεν καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς ἀκολουθοῦσιν·  
λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τοσαύτην πίστιν εὔρον.
- 4:51 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῳ·  
ὑπάγε· ὡς ἐπίστευσας γενηθήτω σοι.  
καὶ ὑποστρέψας εἰς τὸν οἶκον, εὔρεν τὸν παῖδα ὑγιαίνοντα.
- 5:1 .. Ὁ .. Ἰωάννης ἀκούσας περὶ πάντων τούτων  
πέμπσας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ
- 5:2 εἶπεν αὐτῷ·  
σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν;
- 5:3 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·  
πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννη ἃ ἀκούετε καὶ βλέπετε·  
τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν,  
λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν,  
νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται·
- 5:4 καὶ μακάριός ἐστιν ὃς ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.
- 5:5 Τούτων δὲ ἀπελθόντων  
ἤρξατο λέγειν τοῖς ὄχλοις περὶ Ἰωάννου·  
τί ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον θεάσασθαι;  
κάλαμον ὑπὸ ἀνέμου σαλευόμενον;
- 5:6 ἀλλὰ τί ἐξήλθατε ἰδεῖν;  
ἄνθρωπον ἐν μαλακοῖς ἡμφιεσμένον;  
ἰδοὺ οἱ τὰ μαλακὰ φοροῦντες ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τῶν βασιλέων εἰσίν.
- 5:7 ἀλλὰ τί ἐξήλθατε ἰδεῖν; προφήτην;  
ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, καὶ περισσότερον προφήτου.
- 5:8 οὗτός ἐστιν περὶ οὗ γέγραπται·

- 4:46 And there came to him a centurion exhorting him and saying,  
 “My boy is doing badly.”  
 And he said to him,  
 “I will come and cure him.”
- 4:47 And in reply the centurion said,  
 “Master, I am not worthy for you to come under my roof;  
 4:48 but say a word, and let my boy be healed.  
 4:49 For I too am a person under authority,  
 with soldiers under me,  
 and I say to one, ‘Go,’ and he goes,  
 and to another, ‘Come,’ and he comes,  
 and to my slave, ‘Do this,’ and he does it.”
- 4:50 But Jesus, on hearing, was amazed, and said to those who followed,  
 “I tell you, not even in Israel have I found such faith.”
- 4:51 And Jesus said to the centurion,  
 “Go; may it be to you as you have believed.”  
 He returned home and found the child healed.

#### 5. JESUS’ PRAISE OF JOHN AND THE MYSTERIES OF THE KINGDOM

- 5:1 And John, on hearing about all these things,  
 sending through his disciples,  
 5:2 said to him,  
 “Are you the one to come, or are we to expect someone else?”
- 5:3 And in reply he said to them,  
 “Go report to John what you hear and see:  
 The blind regain their sight, and the lame walk around;  
 the skin-diseased are cleansed, and the deaf hear;  
 the dead are raised, and the poor are evangelized.  
 5:4 And blessed is whoever is not offended by me.”
- 5:5 And when they had left,  
 he began to talk to the crowds about John,  
 “What did you go out into the wilderness to observe?  
 A reed shaken by the wind?  
 5:6 If not, what did you go out to see?  
 A person arrayed in finery?  
 Look, those wearing finery are in kings’ houses.  
 5:7 But then what did you go out to see? A prophet?  
 Yes, I tell you: even more than a prophet!  
 5:8 This is the one about whom it has been written,

- ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου,  
 ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου.
- 5:9 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν·  
 οὐκ ἐγγίγεται ἓν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν μείζων Ἰωάννου·  
 ὁ δὲ μικρότερος ἓν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ μείζων αὐτοῦ ἔστιν.
- 5:10 ἦλθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ  
 βαπτισθέντες τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ,
- 5:11 ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ.
- 5:12 Τίτι .. ὁμοιώσω τὴν γενεὰν ταύτην  
 καὶ τίτι ἐστὶν ὁμοία;
- 5:13 ὁμοία ἐστὶν παιδίοις καθημένοις ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς  
 ἃ προσφωνοῦντα τοῖς ἐτέροις λέγουσιν·  
 ἠυλῆσαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε,  
 ἐθρηνήσαμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐκόψασθε.
- 5:14 ἦλθεν γὰρ Ἰωάννης μὴ ἐσθίων μήτε πίνων,  
 καὶ λέγετε· δαιμόνιον ἔχει.
- 5:15 ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων,  
 καὶ λέγετε· ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης,  
 τελωνῶν φίλος καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν.
- 5:16 καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς.
- 5:17 Ἄγουσιν δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι  
 γυναῖκα ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβεβλημένην,
- 5:18 καὶ στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ
- 5:19 εἶπαν αὐτῷ, διδάσκαλε,  
 ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ ἡμῖν Μωϋσῆς ἐνετείλατο  
 τὰς τοιαύτας λιθοβολεῖσθαι.  
 σὺ οὖν τί λέγεις;  
 τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες αὐτόν.
- 5:20 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας  
 τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν.  
 ὡς δὲ ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες αὐτόν,  
 ἀνέκυψεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·
- 5:21 ὃς οὐκ ἤμαρτεν, αἰρέτω λίθον καὶ βαλέτω αὐτόν.  
 καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν.
- 5:22 καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν,  
 καὶ ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ' εἷς.
- 5:23 ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ·  
 γύναι, ποῦ εἰσιν; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν;

- ‘Look, I am sending my messenger ahead of you,  
who will prepare your way in front of you.’
- 5:9 Truly I tell you:  
There has not arisen among women’s offspring anyone greater than  
John.  
Yet the least significant in God’s kingdom is more than he.
- 5:10 For John came, and the tax collectors believed him  
such that they were baptized with his baptism,  
5:11 but you did not believe in him.
- 5:12 To what am I to compare this generation  
and what is it like?
- 5:13 It is like children seated in the marketplaces,  
who, addressing the others, say,  
‘We fluted for you, but you would not dance;  
we wailed, but you would not beat your breasts.’
- 5:14 For John came, neither eating nor drinking,  
and you say, ‘He has a demon!’
- 5:15 The Son of Man came, eating and drinking,  
and you say, ‘Look! A person who is a glutton and drunkard,  
a chum of tax collectors and sinners!’
- 5:16 But Wisdom was vindicated by her children.”
- 5:17 The elders brought in  
a woman who had been accused of many sins,  
5:18 and standing her in the center,  
5:19 they said to him, “Teacher,  
Moses commanded us in the law  
to stone such women.  
So what do you say?”  
But they were saying this to test him.
- 5:20 But Jesus stooped down  
and was writing in the ground with his finger.  
And as they continued interrogating him,  
he straightened up and said to them,
- 5:21 “Whoever has not sinned, let him lift a stone and throw it.”  
And he stooped down again and was writing in the ground.
- 5:22 And no one dared to do it,  
and they left one by one.
- 5:23 And Jesus straightened up and said to her,  
“Woman, where are they? No one is condemning you, are they?”

ἢ δὲ εἶπεν, οὐδεὶς, κύριε.  
εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· πορεύου.

- 5:24 Ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπεῖραι.  
καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτὸν  
ὃ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν,  
καὶ ἦλθεν τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό.
- 5:25 καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν,  
καὶ ἐξηράνθη διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίζαν.
- 5:26 καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας,  
καὶ ἀνέβησαν αὐτὰς ἀκανθαὶ καὶ ἐπνιξαν αὐτό.
- 5:27 καὶ ἄλλα ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου καρπὸν,  
ὃ μὲν ἑκατόν,  
ὃ δὲ ἐξήκοντα,  
ὃ δὲ τριάκοντα.  
ὃ ἔχων ὠτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.
- 5:28 καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο κατὰ μόνας, οἱ μαθηταὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ·  
διὰ τί ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖς αὐτοῖς;
- 5:29 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν·  
ὑμῖν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ,  
τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς,  
ἵνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν  
καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ συνιῶσιν.
- 6:1 Διδάσκαλε,  
οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις·
- 6:2 ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κῆνσον Καίσαρι ἢ οὐ;
- 6:3 ὁ δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·
- 6:4 δεῖξατέ μοι δηνάριον.  
οἱ δὲ ἤνεγκαν.  
καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς·  
τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν αὕτη καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή;
- 6:5 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·

She said, "No one, Lord."

And Jesus said, "I do not condemn you either. Go."

«Jesus said to the crowds:»

- 5:24 "The sower went out to sow,  
and during his sowing  
some seed fell along the road,  
and the birds came and devoured it.
- 5:25 Other seed fell on the rock,  
and withered because it had no root.
- 5:26 Other seed fell among the thorns,  
and the thorns grew up and choked it.
- 5:27 Other seeds fell on good soil and produced fruit:  
one a hundred-fold,  
another sixty-fold,  
another thirty-fold.  
Let the one with ears to hear listen."
- 5:28 And when he was alone, his disciples said to him,  
"Why do you speak to them in parables?"
- 5:29 He said,  
"To you it has been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God,  
but to the rest it is given in parables,  
so that seeing they may not see,  
and hearing they may not understand."

## 6. MORE CONTROVERSIES

«With the intention of trapping Jesus, the Pharisees sent representatives to him who said,»

- 6:1 "Teacher,  
we know that you teach truly the way of God.
- 6:2 Is it or is it not permitted to give a poll-tax to Caesar?"
- 6:3 But knowing their hypocrisy he said to them,  
6:4 "Show me a denarius."  
And they produced one.  
And he said to them,  
"Whose image and whose inscription is this?"  
They said to him, "Caesar's."
- 6:5 He said to them,



ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι  
καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.

- 6:6 Καὶ προσῆλθον αὐτῷ Σαδδουκαῖοι οἱ λέγοντες  
μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασις,  
καὶ ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτόν
- 6:7 λέγοντες· διδάσκαλε, Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν  
ἐάν τις ἀδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ μὴ ἔχων τέκνον,  
ἵνα λάβῃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα  
καὶ ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ.
- 6:8 ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν·  
καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα  
καὶ ἀποθνήσκων οὐκ ἀφῆκεν σπέρμα·
- 6:9 καὶ ὁ δεύτερος,  
6:10 καὶ ὁ τρίτος,  
ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀπέθανον μὴ καταλίποντες σπέρμα.
- 6:11 ὕστερον πάντων καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἀπέθανεν.
- 6:12 ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει οὖν τίνος αὐτῶν ἔσται γυνή,  
οἱ γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἔσχον αὐτὴν γυναῖκα;
- 6:13 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·  
οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου γαμοῦσιν καὶ γαμίζονται
- 6:14 οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀναστάσει ἐκ νεκρῶν  
οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται,
- 6:15 ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ὡς ἄγγελοι ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.
- 6:16 περὶ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ὅτι ἐγείρονται  
οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μωϋσέως  
ἐπὶ τοῦ βάρου πῶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς λέγων·  
ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ  
καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ  
καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ;
- 6:17 οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς νεκρῶν  
ἀλλὰ ζώντων.
- 6:18 Καὶ ἰδοὺ νομικός τις ἐπηρώτησεν πειράζων αὐτόν·  
διδάσκαλε· ποία ἐντολὴ μεγάλη ἐν τῷ νόμῳ;
- 6:19 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν·  
ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται;
- 6:20 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν·  
ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου  
ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου  
καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου

“Give what is Caesar’s to Caesar  
and what is God’s to God.”

- 6:6 And Sadducees came to him who said that  
there was no resurrection,  
and they asked him,  
6:7 saying, “Teacher, Moses wrote for us that  
if someone’s brother should die and not have a child,  
the brother should take his wife  
and raise up offspring for his brother.  
6:8 There were seven brothers;  
the first took the wife  
and at death left no offspring.  
6:9 So also the second  
6:10 and the third.  
Similarly, too, the seven died and left no offspring.  
6:11 Last of all the woman died, too.  
6:12 So in the resurrection, to which of them is she the wife,  
for the seven brothers had her as a wife?”  
6:13 And Jesus said to them,  
“The sons of this age marry and are given in marriage,  
6:14 but those at the resurrection from the dead  
neither marry nor are given in marriage,  
6:15 but they are like angels in the heavens.  
6:16 And concerning the dead, that they rise up,  
have you not read in the book of Moses  
how, at the bush, God spoke to him, saying,  
‘I am the God of Abraham,  
and the God of Isaac,  
and the God of Jacob’?  
6:17 He is God not of the dead  
but of the living.”
- 6:18 And behold a certain exegete of the law, to test him, asked,  
“Teacher, which is the greatest commandment in the law?”  
6:19 He said to him,  
“What is written in the law?”  
6:20 He answered and said,  
“You will love the Lord your God  
with all your heart,  
and with all your soul,

- καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου,  
καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.
- 6:21 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ·  
ὀρθῶς ἀπεκρίθης. τοῦτο ποιεῖ καὶ ζήση.
- 6:22 Καὶ ἐξέβαλεν δαιμόνιον κωφόν·  
καὶ ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός  
καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι.
- 6:23 τινὲς δὲ εἶπον·  
ἐν Βεελζεβούλ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.
- 6:24 Εἰδὼς δὲ τὰ διανοήματα αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·  
πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐρημοῦται  
καὶ πᾶσα οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται.
- 6:25 καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη,  
πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;
- 6:26 καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια,  
οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν;  
διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἔσσονται ὑμῶν.
- 6:27 εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια,  
ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
- 6:28 Πῶς δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ  
καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι,
- 6:29 ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δήσῃ,  
καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει;
- 6:30 Ὅ μὴ ὦν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν,  
καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει.
- 6:31 ὅταν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,  
διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ζητοῦν ἀνάπαυσιν  
καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκει.  
τότε λέγει·  
εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐπιστρέψω ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον·
- 6:32 καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐρίσκει σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον.
- 6:33 τότε πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ  
ἑπτὰ ἕτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ  
καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ·  
καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου  
χείρονα τῶν πρώτων.
- 6:34 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτὸν ταῦτα  
ἐπάρασά τις φωνὴν γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου εἶπεν αὐτῷ·

- and with all your mind,  
and your neighbor as yourself.”
- 6:21 He said to him,  
“You have answered rightly. Do this and you will live.”
- 6:22 And he cast out a demon «which made a person» deaf.  
And once the demon was cast out, the deaf person spoke.  
And the crowds were amazed.
- 6:23 But some said,  
“By Beelzebul, the ruler of demons, he casts out demons!”
- 6:24 But knowing their thoughts, he said to them,  
“Every kingdom divided against itself is left barren.  
And every house divided against itself will not stand.
- 6:25 And if Satan is divided against himself,  
how will his kingdom stand?
- 6:26 And if I by Beezebul cast out demons,  
your sons, by whom do they cast them out?  
This is why they will be your judges.
- 6:27 But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons,  
then there has come upon you the kingdom of God.
- 6:28 How is anyone able to enter the house of a strong man  
and loot his goods
- 6:29 unless he first binds the strong man,  
and then he will loot his house?
- 6:30 The one not with me is against me,  
and the one not gathering with me scatters.
- 6:31 When the defiling spirit has left the person,  
it wanders through waterless regions looking for a resting place,  
and finds none.  
Then it says,  
‘I will return to my house from which I came.’
- 6:32 And on arrival it finds it swept and tidied up.
- 6:33 Then it goes and brings with it  
seven other spirits more evil than itself,  
and, moving in, they settle there.  
And the last circumstances of that person  
become worse than the first.”
- 6:34 While he was saying these things,  
a woman from the crowd raised her voice and said to him,

- μακαρία ἡ κοιλία ἡ βαστάσασά σε  
καὶ μαστοὶ οὓς ἐθήλασας.
- 6:35 αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν·  
μενοῦν μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ  
καὶ φυλάσσοντες.
- 6:36 Ἔτεροι δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ·  
διδάσκαλε, θέλομεν ἀπὸ σοῦ σημεῖον ἰδεῖν.
- 6:37 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·  
γενεὰ πονηρὰ σημεῖον ζητεῖ,  
καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ.
- 6:38 καθὼς γὰρ ἐγένετο Ἰωνᾶς τοῖς Νινευίταις σημεῖον,  
οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ.
- 6:39 βασίλισσα νότου ἐγερθήσεται ἐν τῇ κρίσει  
μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ κατακρινεῖ αὐτήν,  
ὅτι ἦλθεν ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς  
ἀκούσαι τὴν σοφίαν Σολομώνος,  
καὶ ἰδοὺ πλείον Σολομώνος ὤδε.
- 6:40 ἄνδρες Νινευῖται ἀναστήσονται ἐν τῇ κρίσει  
μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ κατακρινούσιν αὐτήν,  
ὅτι μετενόησαν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰωνᾶ,  
καὶ ἰδοὺ πλείον Ἰωνᾶ ὤδε.
- 6:41 Οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς  
ιδόντες τινὰς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ  
ὅτι κοιναῖς χερσὶν ἐσθίουσιν τοὺς ἄρτους ἔλεγον αὐτῷ·
- 6:42 διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταὶ σου παραβαίνουσιν  
τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων;
- 6:43 Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·  
διὰ τί καὶ ὑμεῖς παραβαίνετε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ  
διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν;
- 6:44 Μωϋσῆς γὰρ εἶπεν·  
τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου,  
καί·  
ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ  
τελευτάτῳ.
- 6:45 ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε·  
ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρὶ·  
κορβᾶν, ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφελῆθῃς,  
οὐ μὴ τιμῆσει τὸν πατέρα ἢ τὴν μητέρα.  
καὶ ἠκυρώσατε τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν.

- “Blessed is the womb that bore you  
and the breasts that you sucked.”
- 6:35 But he said,  
“Blessed rather are those who hear the word of God  
and observe it.”
- 6:36 And others said to him,  
“Teacher, we want to see a sign from you.”
- 6:37 But in reply he said to them,  
“An evil generation seeks a sign,  
and a sign will not be given to it—except the sign of Jonah!
- 6:38 For as Jonah became to the Ninevites a sign,  
so also will the Son of Man be to this generation.
- 6:39 The queen of the south will be raised at the judgment  
with this generation and condemn it,  
for she came from the ends of the earth  
to listen to the wisdom of Solomon,  
and look something more than Solomon is here!
- 6:40 Ninevite men will arise at the judgment  
with this generation and condemn it.  
For they repented at the announcement of Jonah,  
and look, something more than Jonah is here!”
- 6:41 The Pharisees and the scribes,  
on seeing some of his disciples  
eating bread with defiled hands, said to him,
- 6:42 “Why do your disciples violate  
the tradition of the ancients?”
- 6:43 He responded and said to them,  
“And why do you yourselves violate the command of God  
because of your tradition?
- 6:44 For Moses said,  
‘Honor your father and your mother,’  
and  
‘the one who maligns his father and mother,  
let him be put to death.’
- 6:45 But you say,  
‘Whoever tells his father or mother,  
“What you might have gained from me is corban”’;  
6:46 that person will not honor his father or mother.  
You made void the word of God because of your tradition.

- 6:47 ὑποκριταί,  
καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας λέγων·
- 6:48 οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χεῖλεσίν με τιμᾷ,  
ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·
- 6:49 μάτην δὲ σέβονται με  
διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.
- 6:50 Καὶ εἶπεν τῷ ὄχλῳ·  
ἀκούετε καὶ συνίετε·
- 6:51 οὐ τὸ εἰσερχόμενον εἰς αὐτὸν κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον,  
ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ αὐτοῦ κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
- 6:52 Οὐδεὶς καίει λύχνον καὶ τίθησιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν,  
καὶ λάμπει πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ.
- 6:53 ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ ὀφθαλμός.  
...αν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἀπλοῦς ἦ,  
ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινόν ἐστιν·  
...αν δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου πονηρὸς ἦ,  
ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου σκοτεινόν.
- 6:54 εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν,  
τὸ σκότος πόσον.
- 7:1 Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς,  
ὅτι δεσμεύετε φορτία ...  
καὶ ἐπιτίθετε ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
αὐτοὶ δὲ τῷ δακτύλῳ ὑμῶν οὐ θέλετε κινήσαι αὐτά.
- 7:2 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις,  
ὅτι φιλεῖτε τὴν πρωτοκαθεδρίαν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς  
καὶ τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς.
- 7:3 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς,  
ὅτι κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων·  
ὑμεῖς οὐκ εἰσήλθατε  
οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε εἰσελθεῖν.
- 7:4 Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς τοῖς λέγουσιν·  
ὅς ἂν ὁμόση ἐν τῷ ναῶ, οὐδὲν ἐστιν·

- 6:47 Hypocrites,  
Isaiah aptly prophesied concerning you, as it has been written,
- 6:48     ‘This people honors me with their lips,  
      but their hearts are far from me.
- 6:49     They worship me in vain,  
      because they teach as their teachings human precepts.’”
- 6:50 And he said to the crowd,  
“Listen and understand.
- 6:51 What goes into a person does not defile him,  
but what comes out of a person defiles him.
- 6:52 No one lights a lamp and puts it under the bushel basket,  
but on the lampstand,  
and it gives light for everyone in the house.
- 6:53 The lamp of the body is the eye.  
If your eye is clear,  
your whole body is radiant;  
but if your eye is evil,  
your whole body is dark.
- 6:54 So if the light within you is dark,  
how great must the darkness be!”

#### 7. THE WOES AGAINST RELIGIOUS LEADERS

«Then Jesus turned to the Pharisees and exegetes of the law and told them:»

- 7:1     “Woe to you, exegetes of the law,  
      for you bind ... burdens,  
      and load on the backs of people,  
      but you yourselves do not want to lift your finger to move them.
- 7:2     Woe to you, Pharisees,  
      for you love the front seat in the synagogues  
      and accolades in the markets.
- 7:3     Woe to you, exegetes of the law,  
      for you shut the kingdom of God from people;  
      you did not go in,  
      nor let in those trying to get in.
- 7:4     Woe to you exegetes of the law, who say,  
      ‘Whoever swears an oath by the sanctuary has no obligation,



- ὃς δ' ἂν ὁμόση ἐν τῷ χρυσῷ τοῦ ναοῦ, ὀφείλει.  
 7:5 τίς γὰρ μείζων ἐστίν,  
 ὁ χρυσὸς ἢ ὁ ναὸς ὁ ἀγιάσας τὸν χρυσόν;  
 7:6 καί·  
 ὃς ἂν ὁμόση ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, οὐδέν ἐστιν·  
 ὃς δ' ἂν ὁμόση ἐν τῷ δῶρῳ τῷ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, ὀφείλει.  
 7:7 τίς γὰρ μείζων ἐστίν,  
 τὸ δῶρον ἢ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ ἀγιάζον τὸ δῶρον;  
 7:8 ὁ οὖν ὁμόσας ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ  
 ὁμνύει ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ·  
 7:9 καὶ ὁ ὁμόσας ἐν τῷ ναῷ  
 ὁμνύει ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ κατοικοῦντι αὐτόν,  
 7:10 καὶ ὁ ὁμόσας ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ  
 ὁμνύει ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 καὶ ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ.
- 7:11 Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς Φαρισαίοις,  
 ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἡδύοσμον καὶ τὸ ἄνηθον καὶ τὸ κύμνον  
 καὶ ἀφήκατε τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην·  
 ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κάκεῖνα μὴ ἀφιέναι.
- 7:12 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, τοῖς Φαρισαίοις,  
 ὅτι καθαρίζετε τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος,  
 ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας.
- 7:13 ὑποκριτὰ, καθάρισον πρῶτον τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου,  
 καὶ ἔσται καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ καθαρὸν ..
- 7:14 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, τοῖς Φαρισαίοις,  
 ὅτι ἐστὲ ὡς τὰ μνημεῖα τὰ ἀδηλα,  
 καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ περιπατοῦντες ἐπάνω οὐκ οἶδασιν.
- 7:15 οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, Φαρισαῖοι,  
 ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν προφητῶν,  
 καὶ λέγετε·  
 εἰ ἤμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν,  
 οὐκ ἂν ἤμεθα αὐτῶν κοινωνοὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι τῶν προφητῶν.
- 7:16 ἄρα μαρτυρεῖτε ἑαυτοῖς  
 ὅτι υἱοὶ ἐστε τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων τοὺς προφήτας  
 καὶ ὑμεῖς πληροῦτε τὸ μέτρον τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.
- 7:17 Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ σοφία .. εἶπεν·  
 ἀποστελῶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ σοφοὺς,  
 καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενοῦσιν καὶ διώξουσιν,

- but whoever swears an oath by the gold of the sanctuary has an obligation.’
- 7:5 For which is greater,  
the gold or the sanctuary that sanctifies the gold?
- 7:6 And,  
‘Whoever swears an oath by the altar has no obligation,  
but whoever swears an oath by the gift that is on it has an obligation.’
- 7:7 For which is greater,  
the gift or the altar that sanctifies the gift?
- 7:8 So the one who swears an oath by the altar  
swears an oath by it and by everything that is on it.
- 7:9 And the one who swears an oath by the sanctuary  
swears an oath both by it and by what resides in it.
- 7:10 And whoever swears an oath by heaven  
swears an oath both by the throne of God  
and by the one who sits on it.
- 7:11 Woe to you, Pharisees,  
for you tithe mint and dill and cumin,  
and give up justice and love.  
But these one had to do, without giving up those.
- 7:12 Woe to you, Pharisees,  
for you purify the outside of the cup and dish,  
but inside they are full of plunder and dissipation.
- 7:13 Hypocrites, purify first the inside of the cup,  
and its outside also will be pure.
- 7:14 Woe to you, Pharisees,  
for you are like indistinct tombs,  
and people walking on top are unaware.
- 7:15 Woe to you, Pharisees,  
for you build the tombs of the prophets,  
and you say,  
‘If we had lived in the days of our fathers,  
we would not have had any part in the blood of the prophets.’
- 7:16 Thus you witness against yourselves  
that you are the sons of those who killed the prophets,  
and you fill out the measure of your fathers.
- 7:17 Therefore also .. Wisdom said,  
‘I will send them prophets and sages,  
and some of them they will kill and persecute,

- 7:18 ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ αἷμα πάντων τῶν προφητῶν  
τὸ ἐκκεχυμένον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
- 7:19 ἀπὸ αἵματος Ἰαβελ ἕως αἵματος Ζαχαρίου  
τοῦ ἀπολομένου μεταξὺ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου·  
ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν,  
ἥξει ταῦτα πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν γενεὰν ταύτην.
- 7:20 Ἱερουσαλὴμ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφῆτας  
καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν,  
ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου,  
ὄν τρόπον ὄρνις ἐπισυνάγει τὰ νοσσία αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας,  
καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε.
- 7:21 ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν.  
λέγω .. ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ ἴδητέ με ἕως ἥξει ὅτε εἶπητε·  
εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.
- 7:22 Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον  
καὶ ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω.
- 8:1 Καὶ ἤρξατο λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ·  
προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων.
- 8:2 οὐδὲν κεκαλυμμένον ἐστὶν ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται  
καὶ κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.
- 8:3 ὃ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ εἶπατε  
ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ἀκουσθήσεται.  
καὶ ὃ εἰς τὸ οὐὶς ἐλαλήσετε,  
κηρυχθήσεται ἐπὶ τῶν δωματίων.
- 8:4 Καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα,  
τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνειν·
- 8:5 φοβεῖσθε δὲ .. τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι  
ἐν τῇ γενένη.
- 8:6 οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία πωλοῦνται ἀσσαρίων δύο;  
καὶ ἐν ἓξ αὐτῶν οὐ πεσεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν.
- 8:7 ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς πᾶσαι ἠριθμημένοι εἰσίν.  
μὴ φοβεῖσθε· πολλῶν στρουθίων διαφέρετε ὑμεῖς.
- 8:8 πᾶς ὃς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ  
ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ·
- 8:9 ὃς δ' ἂν ἀρνήσηταί με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,

- 7:18 so that the blood of all the prophets  
poured out on the earth may come upon them,  
7:19 from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah,  
murdered between the sacrificial altar and the House.  
Truly I tell you:  
all these things will come upon this generation!
- 7:20 O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, who kills the prophets  
and stones those sent to her!  
How often I wanted to gather your children together,  
as a hen gathers her nestlings under her wings,  
and you were not willing!
- 7:21 Look, your house is forsaken!  
... I tell you: You will not see me until the time comes when  
you say, 'Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!'
- 7:22 I will destroy this sanctuary that is made with hands  
and build another that is not made with hands."

#### 8. DISCIPLESHIP AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD

- 8:1 And he began to say to his disciples,  
"Keep yourselves from the yeast of the Pharisees.  
8:2 Nothing is covered up that will not be exposed,  
and hidden that will not be known.  
8:3 What you say in the dark  
will be heard in the light;  
and what you whispered into the ear  
will be proclaimed on the housetops.
- 8:4 And do not be afraid of those who kill the body,  
but cannot kill the soul.  
8:5 But fear ... the one who is able to destroy both the soul and  
body in Gehenna.  
8:6 Are not five sparrows sold for two cents?  
And yet not one of them will fall to earth without your Father's consent.  
8:7 But even the hairs of your head all are numbered.  
Do not be afraid, you are worth more than many sparrows.  
8:8 Anyone who may speak out for me in public,  
the Son of Man will also speak out for him  
before the angels of God.  
8:9 But whoever may deny me in public,

- καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπαρνήσεται αὐτὸν  
ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ.
- 8:10 καὶ ὃς ἐὰν εἶπη λόγον εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ·  
ὃς δ' ἂν εἶπη εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα  
οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.
- 8:11 ὅταν δὲ εἰσφέρωσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς συναγωγάς,  
μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς ἢ τί εἶπητε·
- 8:12 δοθήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί εἶπητε.
- 8:13 Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι  
καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι·
- 8:14 καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅμοιοι ἀνθρώποις προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν  
πότε ἀναλύσῃ ἐκ τῶν γάμων,  
ἵνα ἐλθόντος καὶ κρούσαντος  
εὐθὺς ἀνοιξώσιν αὐτῷ.
- 8:15 μακάριοι οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, οὓς ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος  
εὐρήσει γρηγοροῦντας·  
ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι περιζώσεται  
καὶ ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρελθὼν διακονήσει αὐτοῖς.
- 8:16 κἂν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ κἂν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ  
καὶ εὕρῃ οὕτως,  
μακάριοί εἰσιν ἐκεῖνοι.
- 8:17 Ἐκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκετε  
ὅτι εἰ ἦδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποία φυλακῇ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται,  
οὐκ ἂν εἴασεν διορυχθῆναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.
- 8:18 καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι,  
ὅτι ἢ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.
- 8:19 τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος καὶ φρόνιμος  
ὃν κατέστησεν ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκετείας αὐτοῦ  
τοῦ δοῦνα τὸ σιτομέτριον ἐν καιρῷ;
- 8:20 μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ  
εὐρήσει οὕτως ποιοῦντα·
- 8:21 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν  
ὅτι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ καταστήσει αὐτόν.
- 8:22 ἐὰν δὲ εἶπη ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ·  
χρονίζει ὁ κύριός μου,  
καὶ ἄρξηται τύπτειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας,  
ἐσθίῃ δὲ καὶ πίνῃ μετὰ τῶν μεθυόντων,
- 8:23 ἦξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ οὐ προσδοκᾷ

- the Son of Man also will deny him  
before the angels of God.
- 8:10 And whoever says a word against the Son of Man,  
it will be forgiven him;  
but whoever speaks against the holy Spirit,  
it will not be forgiven him.
- 8:11 When they bring you before synagogues,  
do not be anxious about how or what you are to say;  
8:12 for it will be given to you in that hour what you are to say.
- 8:13 Tie up your loose clothing  
and have your lamps lit,  
8:14 and be like people who were expecting their master  
when he returned from the wedding feast,  
so that when he arrived and knocked,  
they would open the door to him at once.
- 8:15 Blessed are those slaves whose master, on arriving,  
finds watching.  
Truly I tell you that he will tie up his loose clothing,  
make them recline, come, and serve them.
- 8:16 And if he should come at the second or at the third watch of the night  
and find them awake,  
they are blessed.
- 8:17 But know this:  
If the householder had known in which watch the robber was coming,  
he would not have let his house be dug into.
- 8:18 You also must be ready,  
for the Son of Man is coming at an hour you do not expect.
- 8:19 Who then is the faithful and wise slave  
whom the master put over his household slaves  
to give the distribution of food on time?
- 8:20 Blessed is that slave whose master, on coming,  
will find so doing.
- 8:21 Amen, I tell you,  
he will appoint him over all his possessions.
- 8:22 But if that slave says in his heart,  
'My master is delayed,'  
and begins to beat the male and female slaves,  
and eats and drinks with the drunkards,  
8:23 the master of that slave will come on a day he does not expect

καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἣ οὐ γινώσκει,  
καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν  
καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει.

- 8:24 Πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,  
καὶ τί θέλω εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθη.
- 8:25 δοκεῖτε ὅτι ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν;  
οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν.
- 8:26 ἦλθον γὰρ διχάσαι υἱὸν κατὰ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ θυγατέρα κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς,  
καὶ νύμφην κατὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς αὐτῆς.
- 8:27 καὶ ἔχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ οἰκιακοὶ αὐτοῦ.
- 8:28 ... Ὁσίας γενομένης λέγετε· εὐδία,  
πυρράζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός·
- 8:29 καὶ πρωΐ· σήμερον χειμῶν,  
πυρράζει γὰρ στυγνάζων ὁ οὐρανός.
- 8:30 τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἴδατε διακρίνειν,  
τὸν καιρὸν δὲ οὐ δύνασθε;
- 8:31 καὶ εἶπεν· τίني ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ  
καὶ τίني ὁμοιώσω αὐτήν;
- 8:32 ὁμοία ἐστὶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως  
ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔβαλεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·  
καὶ ἤρξησεν καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον,  
καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ.
- 8:33 καὶ ἄλιν· τίني ὁμοιώσω τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ;
- 8:34 ὁμοία ἐστὶν ζύμῃ,  
ἣν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ ἐνέκρυσεν εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία  
ἕως οὗ ἐζυμώθη ὅλον.
- 8:35 Ἄγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας,  
ὅτι πολλοὶ ζητήσουσιν εἰσελθεῖν  
καὶ ὀλίγοι εὕρησουσιν αὐτήν.
- 8:36 ἄφ' οὗ ἂν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης καὶ κλείσῃ τὴν θύραν  
καὶ ἄρξησθε ἕξω ἐστάναι καὶ κρούειν τὴν θύραν λέγοντες·  
κύριε, ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν,  
καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἐρεῖ ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς.
- 8:37 τότε ἄρξεσθε λέγειν·  
ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν

and at an hour he does not know,  
and will cut him to pieces  
and give him an inheritance with the faithless.

- 8:24 Fire have I come to hurl on the earth,  
and how I wish it had already blazed up!  
8:25 Do you think that I have come to hurl peace on earth?  
I did not come to hurl peace, but a sword!  
8:26 For I have come to divide son against his father,  
and daughter against her mother,  
and daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law,  
8:27 and a person's enemies are those at home."

«Jesus then spoke to the crowds:»

- 8:28 "When evening has come, you say, 'Good weather!'  
For the sky is flame red.  
8:29 And at dawn, 'Today it's wintry!'  
For the lowering sky is flame red.  
8:30 The face of the sky you know how to interpret,  
but the time you are not able to?"  
8:31 And he said, "What is the kingdom of God like,  
and with what am I to compare it?  
8:32 It is like a seed of mustard,  
which a person took and threw onto the earth.  
And it grew and became a tree,  
and the birds of the sky nested in its branches."  
8:33 And again, "With what am I to compare the kingdom of God?  
8:34 It is like yeast,  
which a woman took and hid in three measures of flour  
until it was fully fermented.
- 8:35 Struggle to enter through the narrow door,  
for many will seek to enter,  
and few will find it.  
8:36 When the householder has arisen and locked the door,  
and you begin to stand outside and knock on the door, saying,  
'Master, open for us,'  
and he will answer you, 'I do not know you,'  
8:37 then you will begin saying,  
'We ate in your presence and drank,



- καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας·
- 8:38 καὶ ἐρεῖ λέγων ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς·  
ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.
- 8:39 καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἤξουσιν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται
- 8:40 μετὰ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ,  
οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται  
εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον·  
ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.
- 8:41 .. ἔσονται οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι  
καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι.
- 8:42 πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται,  
καὶ ὁ ταπεινῶν ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται.
- 8:43 Ἄνθρωπός τις ἐποίησε δεῖπνον μέγα, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν πολλοὺς
- 8:44 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ δεῖπνου εἰπεῖν  
τοῖς κεκλημένοις·  
ἔρχεσθε, ὅτι ἤδη ἔτοιμά ἐστιν.
- 8:45 καὶ ἤρξαντο πάντες παραιτεῖσθαι.  
ὁ πρῶτος εἶπεν αὐτῷ·  
ἀγρὸν ἠγόρασα καὶ ἔχω ἀνάγκην ἐξελθῶν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν·  
ἐρωτῶ σε, ἔχε με παρητημένον.
- 8:46 καὶ ἕτερος εἶπεν·  
ζεύγη βοῶν ἠγόρασα πέντε καὶ πορεύομαι δοκιμάσαι αὐτά.  
ἐρωτῶ σε, ἔχε με παρητημένον.
- 8:47 καὶ ἕτερος εἶπεν·  
γυναῖκα ἔγημα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δύναμαι ἔλθειν.
- 8:48 καὶ ὁ δούλος τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα.  
τότε ὀργισθεὶς ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἶπεν τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ·
- 8:49 ἔξελθε εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ ὄσους ἐὰν εὔρης καλέσον  
ἵνα γεμισθῇ μου ὁ οἶκος.
- 8:50 Ὁς οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα  
οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής,  
καὶ ὃς οὐ μισεῖ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα  
οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. ..
- 8:51 ὃς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου,  
οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής.
- 8:52 ὁ εὐρὼν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσει αὐτήν,  
καὶ ὁ ἀπολέσας τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εὕρησει αὐτήν.

- and it was in our streets you taught.’
- 8:38 And he will say to you, ‘I do not know you!  
Get away from me, you who do lawlessness!’
- 8:39 And many shall come from sunrise and sunset and recline  
8:40 with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God,  
but the sons of the kingdom will be thrown out  
into the outer darkness,  
where there will be wailing and grinding of teeth.
- 8:41 ... The last will be first,  
and the first last.
- 8:42 Everyone exalting oneself will be humbled,  
and the one humbling oneself will be exalted.
- 8:43 A certain man prepared a large dinner, and invited many.  
8:44 And he sent his slave at the time of the dinner to say to the  
invited,  
‘Come, for it is now ready.’
- 8:45 And all began to make excuses.  
The first said to him,  
“I bought a farm and need to go to check on it.  
I beg you, let me be excused.”
- 8:46 And another said,  
“I bought five yoke of oxen, and I’m going to try them out.  
I beg you, let me be excused.”
- 8:47 And another said,  
“I married a wife, and therefore I am not able to come.”
- 8:48 And the slave said these things to his master.  
Then the householder, enraged, said to his slave,  
8:49 ‘Go out on the roads, and whomever you find, invite,  
so that my house may be filled.’
- 8:50 The one who does not hate father and mother  
cannot be my disciple,  
and the one who does not hate son and daughter  
cannot be my disciple.
- 8:51 The one who does not take one’s cross and follow after me  
cannot be my disciple.
- 8:52 The one who finds one’s life will lose it,  
and the one who loses one’s life for my sake will find it.”

- 8:53 Ἐνάγκη τὰ σκάνδαλα ἔλθειν,  
πλὴν οὐαὶ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται.
- 8:54 συμφέρει αὐτῷ  
εἰ λίθος μυλικὸς περικείται περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ  
καὶ ἔρριπται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν  
ἢ ἵνα σκανδαλίση τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἕνα.
- 8:55 καὶ ἐὰν ἡ χεὶρ σου σκανδαλίζη σε ἀπόκοψον αὐτήν·  
συμφέρει σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἓν τῶν μελῶν σου  
καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα βληθῆ εἰς τὴν γέεναν.  
καὶ ἐὰν ὁ πούς σου σκανδαλίζη σε ἀπόκοψον αὐτόν·  
συμφέρει σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἓν τῶν μελῶν σου  
καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα βληθῆ εἰς τὴν γέεναν.
- 8:56 καὶ ἐὰν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σου σκανδαλίζη σε ἔκβαλε αὐτόν·  
συμφέρει σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἓν τῶν μελῶν σου  
καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα βληθῆ εἰς τὴν γέεναν.
- 8:57 πῶς δυσκόλως οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες  
εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελεύσονται.
- 8:58 εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν  
κάμηλον διὰ τῆς τρυμαλιᾶς τῆς ῥαφίδος διελθεῖν  
ἢ πλούσιον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν.
- 8:59 Τίς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔχων ἑκατὸν πρόβατα  
καὶ ἀπολέσας ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν,  
οὐχὶ ἀφήσει τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη  
καὶ πορευθεὶς ζητεῖ τὸ ἀπολωλός;
- 8:60 καὶ ἐὰν εὕρῃ αὐτό,
- 8:61 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι χαίρει ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα τοῖς μὴ ἀπολωλόσιν.  
οὕτως ἔσται χαρὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ  
ἐπὶ ἐνὶ εὐρεθέντι.
- 8:62 ἢ τίς γυνὴ ἔχουσα δέκα δραχμὰς ἐὰν ἀπολέσῃ δραχμὴν μίαν,  
οὐχὶ ἅπτει λύχνον καὶ σαροῖ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ζητεῖ ἕως εὕρη;
- 8:63 καὶ εὐροῦσα καλεῖ τὰς φίλας καὶ γείτονας λέγουσα·  
χάρητέ μοι, ὅτι εὗρον τὴν δραχμὴν ἣν ἀπόλεσα.
- 8:64 οὕτως, λέγω ὑμῖν,  
γίνεται χαρὰ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων  
ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι.
- 8:65 ἄνθρωπος εἶχεν τέκνα δύο.  
καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ πρώτῳ εἶπεν·

«Jesus again turned to his disciples and said:»

- 8:53 “It is necessary for enticements to come,  
but woe to the one through whom they come!
- 8:54 It is more profitable for him  
if a millstone is put around his neck  
and he is thrown into the sea  
than that he should entice one of these little ones.
- 8:55 And if your hand entices you, chop it off,  
for it is more profitable for you that one of your limbs be destroyed  
than that your entire body be cast into Gehenna.  
And if your foot entices you, chop it off,  
for it is more profitable for you that one of your limbs be destroyed  
than that your entire body be cast into Gehenna.
- 8:56 And if your eye entices you, gouge it out,  
for it is more profitable for you that one of your limbs be destroyed  
than that your entire body be cast into Gehenna.
- 8:57 How difficult it is for those who have wealth  
to enter into the kingdom of God.
- 8:58 It is easier  
for a camel to go through the eye of a needle  
than for a rich person to enter the kingdom of God.
- 8:59 Which person is there among you who has a hundred sheep,  
on losing one of them,  
will not leave the ninety-nine in the mountains  
and go hunt for the lost one?
- 8:60 And if he should find it,
- 8:61 I tell you truly that he rejoices over it  
more than over the ninety nine that that were not lost.  
Thus there will be joy in heaven  
over one who is found.
- 8:62 Or what woman who has ten coins, if she were to lose one coin,  
would not light a lamp and sweep the house and hunt until she finds?
- 8:63 And on finding she calls the friends and neighbors, saying,  
‘Rejoice with me, for I found the coin which I lost.’
- 8:64 Just so, I tell you:  
There is joy before the angels  
over one repenting sinner.
- 8:65 A man had two sons.  
He went to the first and said,

- τέκνον, ὕπαγε σήμερον ἐργάζου ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι.  
 8:66 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐ θέλω,  
 ὕστερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπήλθεν.  
 8:67 προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ εἶπεν ὡσαύτως.  
 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἐγώ, κύριε,  
 καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλθεν.  
 8:68 τίς ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐποίησεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός;  
 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οἱ τελῶναι καὶ αἱ πόρναι προάγουσιν  
 τοὺς Φαρισαίους εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.  
 8:69 ἐὰν ἀμαρτήσῃ εἰς σὲ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔλεγξον αὐτόν,  
 καὶ ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.  
 8:70 καὶ ἐὰν ἐπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμαρτήσῃ εἰς σὲ  
 καὶ ἐπτάκις ἀφήσεις αὐτῷ.  
 8:71 Ἴσθι ἄνθρωπος τις ἦν πλούσιος ὃς εἶχεν οἰκονόμον,  
 καὶ οὗτος διεβλήθη αὐτῷ ὡς διασκορπίζων τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ.  
 8:72 καὶ φωνήσας αὐτόν εἶπεν αὐτῷ·  
 τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ;  
 ἀπόδος τὸν λόγον τῆς οἰκονομίας σου,  
 οὐ γὰρ δύνη ἔτι οἰκονομεῖν.  
 8:73 εἶπεν δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὁ οἰκονόμος·  
 τί ποιήσω, ὅτι ὁ κύριός μου ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ;  
 σκάπτειν οὐκ ἰσχύω, ἐπαιτεῖν αἰσχύνομαι.  
 8:74 ἔγνω τὴν ποιήσω, ἵνα ὅταν μετασταθῶ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας  
 δέξωνταί με εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν.  
 8:75 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν χρεοφειλητῶν  
 τοῦ κυρίου ἑαυτοῦ εἶπεν τῷ πρώτῳ·  
 πόσον ὀφείλεις τῷ κυρίῳ μου;  
 8:76 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἑκατὸν βάτους ἐλαίου.  
 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·  
 δέξαι σου τὰ γράμματα καὶ καθίσας ταχέως γράψον πενήκοντα.  
 8:77 ἔπειτα ἐτέρῳ εἶπεν· σὺ δὲ πόσον ὀφείλεις;  
 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἑκατὸν κόρους σίτου.  
 λέγει αὐτῷ· δέξαι σου τὰ γράμματα καὶ γράψον ὀγδοήκοντα.  
 8:78 καὶ ἐπήνεσεν ὁ κύριος τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀδικίας  
 ὅτι φρονίμως ἐποίησεν·  
 ὅτι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου φρονιμώτεροι  
 ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτός εἰς τὴν γενεάν τὴν ἑαυτῶν εἰσιν.  
 8:79 καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν λέγω,  
 ἑαυτοῖς ποιήσατε φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας,  
 ἵνα ὅταν ἐκλίπη

- ‘Son, go and work in the vineyard today.’  
 8:66 But he replied, ‘I don’t want to.’  
 But later he changed his mind and went off to work.
- 8:67 The father likewise went to the other son,  
 who replied, ‘I’m on my way, sir,’  
 but he never went out to work.
- 8:68 Which of the two did the will of the father?  
 Truly I tell you that tax collectors and prostitutes will precede  
 the Pharisees into the kingdom of God.
- 8:69 If your brother sins against you, reprove him;  
 and if he repents, forgive him.
- 8:70 And if seven times a day he sins against you,  
 also seven times shall you forgive him.
- 8:71 There was a certain rich man who had a manager,  
 who was exposed to the man as having squandered his possessions.
- 8:72 The master called him in and said to him,  
 ‘What is this that I hear about you?  
 Give an accounting of your management,  
 for you can no longer manage the house.’
- 8:73 The manager said to himself,  
 ‘What will I do, for my master removed me from managing his house?  
 I am not strong enough to dig, and I am ashamed to beg.
- 8:74 I know what I will do so that when I am removed from management  
 people will receive me into their homes.’
- 8:75 One by one he summoned his lord’s debtors  
 and said to the first,  
 ‘How much do you owe my master?’
- 8:76 He said, ‘One hundred jugs of olive oil.’  
 He said to him,  
 ‘Take your bill, sit down quickly, and write fifty.’
- 8:77 Then he said to the other, ‘And how much do you owe?’  
 He said, ‘One hundred containers of wheat.’  
 He says to him, ‘Take your bill and write eighty.’
- 8:78 And the master praised the manager of injustice  
 because he acted wisely.  
 For the sons of this age are wiser  
 than the sons of light in their own generation.
- 8:79 And I tell you,  
 make for yourselves friends from mammon of injustice,  
 so that when it is gone,

- δέξωνται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκήνας.  
 8:80 ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν,  
 καὶ ὁ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἄδικος καὶ ἐν πολλῷ ἄδικός ἐστιν.  
 8:81 εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε,  
 τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει;  
 8:82 καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε,  
 τὸ ὑμέτερον τίς ὑμῖν δώσει;  
 8:83 οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν·  
 ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἓνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει,  
 ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει.  
 οὐ δύνασθε θεῶ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.
- 9:1 Ἐὰν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν· ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ· μὴ ἐξέλθητε·  
 ἰδοὺ ὧδε· μὴ πιστεύσητε·  
 9:2 ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἀστραπὴ ἐξέρχεται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν  
 καὶ φαίνεται ἕως δυσμῶν,  
 οὕτως ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ.  
 9:3 ὅπου τὸ πτώμα, ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται οἱ αἰετοί.
- 9:4 καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Νῶε,  
 οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.  
 9:5 ἦσθιον, ἔπινον, ἐγάμουν, ἐγαμίζοντο  
 ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας εἰσῆλθεν Νῶε εἰς τὴν κιβωτόν,  
 καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμός καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας,  
 9:6 καὶ καθὼς ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Λῶτ·  
 ἦσθιον, ἔπινον, ἠγόραζον, ἐπώλουν, ἐφύτευον, ᾠκοδόμουν·  
 9:7 ἢ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐξῆλθεν Λῶτ ἀπὸ Σοδόμων,  
 ἔβρεξεν πῦρ καὶ θεῖον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας,  
 9:8 οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται.  
 9:9 ἔσονται δύο ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ,  
 εἷς παραλαμβάνεται καὶ εἷς ἀφίεται·  
 9:10 δύο ἀλήθουσαι ἐν τῷ μύλῳ,  
 μία παραλαμβάνεται καὶ μία ἀφίεται.
- 9:11 Ἄνθρωπος ἀποδημῶν  
 9:12 ἐκάλεσεν τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτοῦ,

- they may receive you into eternal homes.
- 8:80 The one who is reliable in the smallest matter is reliable also in much;  
and the one who is unjust in the smallest matter is unjust also in much.
- 8:81 So if you are not reliable in unjust mammon,  
who will entrust you with true wealth?
- 8:82 And if you are not reliable with the wealth of others,  
who will give you your own?
- 8:83 No one can serve two masters;  
for a person will either hate the one and love the other,  
or be devoted to the one and despise the other.  
You cannot serve God and Mammon.”

### 9. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

«And he said to the disciples:»

- 9:1 “If they say to you, ‘Look, there!’ do not go out;  
‘Look, here!’ do not believe it.
- 9:2 For as the lightning streaks out from sunrise  
and flashes as far as sunset,  
so will the Son of Man be on his day.
- 9:3 Wherever the corpse, there the vultures will gather.
- 9:4 As it took place in the days of Noah  
so will it be in the day of the Son of Man.
- 9:5 They ate, drank, married, and were given in marriage,  
until the day Noah entered the ark,  
and the flood came and destroyed them all.
- 9:6 And as it was in the days of Lot,  
they were eating, drinking, buying, selling, planting, and building,  
9:7 but on the day that Lot left Sodom,  
fire and sulfur rained from heaven and destroyed them,  
9:8 so will it also be on the day when the Son of Man is revealed.
- 9:9 There will be two men in the field;  
one is taken and one is left.
- 9:10 Two women will be grinding at the mill;  
one is taken and one is left.
- 9:11 A person, on taking a trip,  
9:12 called his slaves  
and gave them his money.



- καὶ ᾧ μὲν ἔδωκεν πέντε μνᾶς, ᾧ δὲ δύο, ᾧ δὲ μίαν,  
καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν.  
καὶ πορευθεὶς ὁ τὰς πέντε μνᾶς λαβὼν ἠργάσατο ἄλλας πέντε·  
ὡσαύτως ὁ τὰς δύο ἠργάσατο ἄλλας δύο.  
ὁ δὲ τὴν μίαν λαβὼν ἀπελθὼν ὥρυξεν γῆν  
καὶ ἔκρυψεν τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ.
- 9:13 καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ κύριος τῶν δούλων ἐκείνων  
καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς.
- 9:14 καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ τὰς πέντε μνᾶς λαβὼν εἶπεν·  
κύριε, πέντε μνᾶς μοι ἔδωκας·  
ἴδου ἄλλας πέντε μνᾶς ἠργασάμην.
- 9:15 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εὖ, ἀγαθὲ δούλε,  
ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός,  
ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω.
- 9:16 καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ τὰς δύο μνᾶς λαβὼν εἶπεν·  
κύριε, δύο μνᾶς μοι ἔδωκας·  
ἴδου ἄλλας δύο μνᾶς ἠργασάμην.
- 9:17 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εὖ, ἀγαθὲ δούλε,  
ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός,  
ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω.
- 9:18 καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ τὴν μίαν μνᾶν λαβὼν εἶπεν·
- 9:19 κύριε, ἔγνω σε, ὅτι σκληρὸς εἶ ἄνθρωπος,  
θερίζων ὅπου οὐκ ἔσπειρας  
καὶ συνάγων ὅθεν οὐ διεσκόρπισας,
- 9:20 καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἀπελθὼν ἔκρυψε τὴν μνᾶν σου ἐν τῇ γῆ·  
ἴδου ἔχεις τὸ ἀργύριόν σου.
- 9:21 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· πονηρὲ δούλε,  
ἦδεις ὅτι θερίζω ὅπου οὐκ ἔσπειρα  
καὶ συνάγω ὅθεν οὐ διεσκόρπισα;
- 9:22 ἔδει σε οὖν βαλεῖν μου τὰ ἀργύρια τοῖς τραπεζίταις,  
καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐγὼ ἐκομισάμην ἂν τὸ ἐμὸν  
σὺν τόκῳ.
- 9:23 ἄρατε οὖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μνᾶν  
καὶ δότε τῷ ἔχοντι τὰς δέκα μνᾶς·
- 9:24 τῷ γὰρ ἔχοντι παντὶ δοθήσεται,  
τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντος  
καὶ ὃ ἔχει ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
- 10:1 Καὶ περιῆγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας

To one he gave five minas, to another two, and to another one,  
and he took a trip.

The one who had received five minas went and earned five more.

Likewise the one [who received] two earned two more.

But the one who received one mina went off, dug up the earth,  
and hid his master's money.

9:13 And the master of those slaves came  
and called them.

9:14 The one who received five minas came and said,  
'Master, you gave me five minas.  
Look, I earned five more minas.'

9:15 And he said to him, 'Well done, good slave,  
you have been faithful over a little,  
I will set you over much.'

9:16 And the one who received two minas came and said,  
'Master, you gave me two minas.  
Look, I have earned two more minas.'

9:17 And he said to him, 'Well done, good slave,  
you have been faithful over a little,  
I will set you over much.'

9:18 And the one who received one mina came and said,

9:19 'Master, I knew you, that you are a hard person,  
reaping where you did not sow

and gathering up from where you did not winnow;  
9:20 and, scared, I went and hid your mina in the ground.  
Here, you have your money.'

9:21 And he said to him, 'Wicked slave!  
You knew that I reap where I have not sown,  
and gather up from where I have not winnowed?

9:22 Then you had to invest my money with the money changers!  
And at my coming I would have received what belongs to me  
plus interest.

9:23 So take from him the mina  
and give it to the one who has the ten minas.

9:24 For everyone who has will be given;  
but from the one who does not have,  
even what he has will be taken from him.'"

#### 10. THE MISSION SPEECH

10:1 And Jesus went about all the cities and towns

- κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ.  
 10:2 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς δώδεκα  
 ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων  
 καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν·  
 10:3 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς δύο δύο λέγων·  
 10:4 εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθητε·  
 καὶ εἰς πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν μὴ εἰσέλθητε.  
 10:5 μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσὶν  
 μηδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων,  
 μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν  
 καὶ στραφέντες ῥήξουσιν ὑμᾶς.  
 10:6 πορεύεσθε δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ.  
 10:7 ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ,  
 φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν.  
 ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν·  
 οὐ μὴ τελέσητε τὰς πόλεις τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ  
 ἕως ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
- 10:8 Ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι·  
 δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὅπως ἐκβάλλῃ ἐργάτας  
 εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ.  
 10:9 ὑπάγετε·  
 ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων.
- 10:10 μὴ βαστάζετε βαλλάντιον, μὴ πήραν, μὴ ὑποδήματα, μηδὲ ράβδον·  
 μὴ εἰς τὴν ζώνην χαλκόν,  
 καὶ μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε.  
 10:11 εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν,  
 πρῶτον λέγετε· εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ.  
 10:12 καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐκεῖ ἦ υἱὸς εἰρήνης,  
 ἐλθάτω ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτόν·  
 εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιστραφήτω.  
 10:13 ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένετε ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες  
 τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν·  
 ἄξιός γάρ ἐστι ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.  
 μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν.  
 10:14 καὶ εἰς ἣν ἂν πόλιν εἰσέρχησθε, καὶ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς,  
 ἐσθίετε τὰ παρατιθέμενα ὑμῖν  
 10:15 καὶ θεραπεύετε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσθενοῦντας καὶ λέγετε αὐτοῖς·  
 ἤγγικεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.  
 10:16 εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν εἰσέλθητε καὶ μὴ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς,

- preaching the good news of God's kingdom.
- 10:2 After summoning the Twelve,  
he gave them authority over unclean spirits  
and to heal diseases,
- 10:3 and sent them two-by-two saying,
- 10:4 "Do not go on the way to the Gentiles,  
and do not enter a city of the Samaritans.
- 10:5 Do not give what is holy to the dogs,  
and do not throw your pearls before swine,  
lest they trample them under their feet,  
spin around, and tear you to pieces.
- 10:6 Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.
- 10:7 And whenever they persecute you in this city,  
flee into another.  
For I tell you truly,  
you will not complete the cities of Israel  
until the Son of Man comes.
- 10:8 The harvest is plentiful, but the workers are few.  
So ask the Lord of the harvest to dispatch workers  
into his harvest.
- 10:9 Be on your way!  
Look, I send you like sheep in the midst of wolves.
- 10:10 Carry no purse, nor knapsack, nor shoes, no stick,  
no money in your belt,  
and greet no one on the road.
- 10:11 Into whatever house you enter,  
first say, 'Peace to this house!'
- 10:12 And if a son of peace be there,  
let your peace come upon him;  
but if not, let your peace return upon you.
- 10:13 And at that house remain, eating and drinking  
whatever they provide,  
for the worker is worthy of one's reward.  
Do not move around from house to house.
- 10:14 And whatever city you enter and they take you in,  
eat what is set before you.
- 10:15 And cure the sick there, and say to them,  
'The kingdom of God has reached unto you.'
- 10:16 But into whatever city you enter and they do not take you in,

- ἐξερχόμενοι ἔξω τῆς πολέως ἐκείνης  
 10:17 ἐκτινάξατε τὸν κονιορτὸν τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν.  
 10:18 λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι  
 Σοδόμοις ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ  
 ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ.
- 10:19 Οὐαί σοι, Χοραζίν· οὐαί σοι, Βηθσαϊδά·  
 ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν,  
 πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῶ μετενόησαν.
- 10:20 πλὴν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν τῇ κρίσει  
 ἢ ὑμῖν.
- 10:21 καὶ σύ, Καφαρναούμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθῆσῃ;  
 ἕως τοῦ ἄβυθου καταβῆσῃ.
- 10:22 Ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται,  
 καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.
- 10:23 Καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑποτάσσεται ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου.  
 10:24 ἐθεώρουν τὸν σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα.  
 10:25 ἰδοὺ δίδωμι ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν καταπατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφρων  
 καὶ σκορπίων  
 καὶ ἐπάνω πάσης δυνάμεως τοῦ ἐχθροῦ,  
 καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσῃ.
- 10:26 Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς·  
 ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς,  
 ὅτι ἔκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν  
 καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις·  
 ναὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου.
- 10:27 πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου,  
 καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ,  
 καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς  
 καὶ ὃς ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.
- 10:28 μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες ἃ βλέπετε  
 καὶ τὰ ὧτα οἱ ἀκούοντες ἃ ἀκούετε.
- 10:29 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι  
 πολλοὶ προφήται καὶ βασιλεῖς ...ησαν ἰδεῖν ἃ βλέπετε  
 καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν,  
 καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ἀκούετε  
 καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν.
- 10:30 Ὄταν προσεύχησθε λέγετε·

- on going out from that city,  
 10:17 shake off the dust from your feet.  
 10:18 I tell you:  
 For Sodom it shall be more bearable on that day  
 than for that city.
- 10:19 Woe to you, Chorazin! Woe to you, Bethsaida!  
 For if the wonders performed in you had taken place in Tyre and Sidon,  
 they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes  
 10:20 Yet for Tyre and Sidon it shall be more bearable at the judgment  
 than for you.  
 10:21 And you, Capernaum, up to the sky will you be exalted?  
 Into hades will you come down!  
 10:22 Whoever takes you in takes me in,  
 and whoever takes me in takes in the one who sent me.
- 10:23 And in my name the demons will submit to you.  
 10:24 I saw Satan falling from the sky like lightning.  
 10:25 Look, I am giving you authority to tread on serpents  
 and scorpions  
 and on every power of the enemy,  
 and nothing will harm you.”
- 10:26 In that hour Jesus said,  
 “I praise you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth,  
 that you hid these things from the wise and understanding  
 and revealed them to children.  
 Yes, Father, for that is what it has pleased you to do.  
 10:27 Everything has been entrusted to me by my Father,  
 and no one knows the Son except the Father,  
 and no one knows the Father except the Son,  
 and to whomever the Son chooses to reveal him.  
 10:28 Blessed are the eyes that see what you see  
 and the ears that hear what you hear.  
 10:29 For I tell you:  
 10:24 Many prophets and kings wanted to see what you see,  
 but never saw it,  
 and to hear what you hear,  
 but never heard it.
- 10:30 When you pray, say:

- Πάτερ, αγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·  
ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
- 10:31 τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·
- 10:32 καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,  
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν·  
καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.
- 10:33 Τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔξει φίλον  
καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου καὶ εἶπῃ αὐτῷ·  
φίλε, χρῆσον μοι τρεῖς ἄρτους,
- 10:34 ἐπειδὴ φίλος μου παρεγένετο ἐξ ὁδοῦ πρὸς με  
καὶ οὐκ ἔχω ὃ παραθήσω αὐτῷ,
- 10:35 κάκεῖνος ἔσωθεν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπη,  
μὴ μοι κόπους παρέχε,  
ἤδη ἡ θύρα κέκλεισται,  
καὶ τὰ παιδιά μου μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὴν κοίτην εἰσίν·  
οὐ δύναμαι ἀναστὰς δοῦναί σοι;
- 10:36 λέγω ὑμῖν,  
ἐγερθεὶς δώσει αὐτῷ ὅσων χρήζει.
- 10:37 εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως,  
ἐλέγετε ἂν τῇ συκαμίνῳ ταύτῃ·  
ἐκριζώθητι καὶ φυτεύθητι ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει·  
καὶ ὑπήκουσεν ἂν ὑμῖν.
- 10:38 Λέγω ὑμῖν,  
αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν,  
ζητεῖτε καὶ εὕρήσετε,  
κρούετε καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν·
- 10:39 πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει  
καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὕρισκει  
καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιγήσεται.
- 10:40 .. τίς ἐστὶν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος, ὃν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρτον,  
μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ;
- 10:41 ἢ καὶ ἰχθὺν αἰτήσῃ,  
μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ;
- 10:42 εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι  
τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν,  
πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δώσει ἀγαθὰ  
τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτόν.
- 10:43 Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,

- Father—may your name be kept holy!—  
let your kingdom come.
- 10:31 Our day's bread give us today;  
10:32 and forgive our debts for us,  
as we too have forgiven those in debt to us;  
and lead us not into temptation!
- 10:33 Who of you who has a friend  
would go to him to him at midnight say to him,  
'Friend, help me [by giving me] three loaves of bread,  
10:34 because my friend arrived at my house from a journey,  
and I have nothing to offer him';  
10:35 would that friend inside say in response,  
'Stop bothering me;  
the door already has been locked,  
and my children are with me in bed;  
I cannot get up and give you anything'?  
10:36 I tell you,  
he will get up and give him whatever he needs.  
10:37 If you have faith like a mustard seed,  
you might say to this mulberry tree,  
'Be uprooted and placed in the sea!'  
And it would obey you.
- 10:38 I tell you:  
Ask and it will be given to you,  
search and you will find,  
knock and it will be opened to you.
- 10:39 For everyone who asks receives,  
and the one who searches finds,  
and to the one who knocks will it be opened. ..
- 10:40 What person of you, whose son asks for bread,  
will give him a stone?  
10:41 Or again, when he asks for a fish,  
will give him a snake?  
10:42 So if you, though evil, know how to give good gifts  
to your children,  
by how much more will the Father from heaven give good things  
to those who ask him!
- 10:43 Do not treasure for yourselves treasures on earth,



- ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρώσις ἀφανίζει  
 καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσιν καὶ κλέπτουσιν·  
 θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυρο... ἐν οὐρανῶ,  
 ὅπου οὔτε σῆς οὔτε βρώσις ἀφανίζει  
 καὶ ὅπου κλέπται οὐ διορύσσουσιν οὐδὲ κλέπτουσιν·  
 10:44 ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θησαυρός σου,  
 ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδία σου.
- 10:45 Ἐνθρώπου τινὸς πλουσίου εὐφόρησεν ἡ χώρα.  
 10:46 καὶ διελογίζετο ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων·  
 τί ποιήσω,  
 ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω ποῦ συνάξω τοὺς καρπούς μου;  
 10:47 καὶ εἶπεν· τοῦτο ποιήσω,  
 καθελῶ μου τὰς ἀποθήκας καὶ μείζονας οἰκοδομήσω  
 καὶ συνάξω ἐκεῖ πάντα τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ μου  
 10:48 καὶ ἐρῶ τῇ ψυχῇ μου·  
 ψυχῇ, ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κείμενα εἰς ἔτη πολλά·  
 ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου.  
 10:49 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ θεός·  
 ἄφρων, ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ·  
 ἃ δὲ ἠτοίμασας, τί νί ἔσται;  
 10:50 οὕτως ὁ θησαυρίζων ἑαυτῷ  
 καὶ μὴ εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν.
- 10:51 Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν·  
 μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε,  
 μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν τί ἐνδύσθησθε.  
 10:52 οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλεῖον ἐστὶν τῆς τροφῆς  
 καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος;  
 10:53 κατανοήσατε τοὺς κόρακας  
 ὅτι οὐ σπεύρουσιν οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν  
 οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας,  
 καὶ ὁ θεὸς τρέφει αὐτούς·  
 οὐχ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον διαφέρετε τῶν πετεινῶν;  
 10:54 τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν  
 δύναται προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν;  
 10:55 καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος τί μεριμνᾶτε;  
 10:56 καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα πῶς αὐξάνει·  
 οὐ κοπιᾷ οὐδὲ νήθει·  
 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν,  
 οὐδὲ Σολομῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιεβάλετο ὡς ἐν τούτων.

- where moth and gnawing deface,  
 and where robbers dig through and rob,  
 but treasure for yourselves treasures in heaven,  
 where neither moth nor gnawing defaces,  
 and where robbers do not dig through nor rob.
- 10:44 For where your treasure is,  
 there will also be your heart.
- 10:45 The field of a certain rich man prospered;  
 10:46 he thought to himself,  
 ‘What will I do,  
 for I have nowhere to stow my produce?’
- 10:47 He said, ‘I will do this:  
 I will pull down my barns and will build bigger ones;  
 there I will stow all my grain and goods
- 10:48 and tell my soul,  
 “Soul, you have many good things laid up for many years.  
 Relax, eat, drink, and be happy.”’
- 10:49 But God said to him,  
 ‘Fool, this very night they will demand your soul from you;  
 who then will own what you prepared?’
- 10:50 So it is with one who lays up treasure for oneself  
 and is not rich toward God.
- 10:51 Therefore I tell you:  
 Do not be anxious about your life, what you are to eat,  
 nor about your body, with what you are to clothe yourself.
- 10:52 Is not life more than food,  
 and the body than clothing?
- 10:53 Consider the ravens:  
 They neither sow nor reap  
 nor gather into barns,  
 and yet God feeds them.  
 Are you not better than the birds?
- 10:54 And who of you by being anxious  
 is able to add to one’s stature a .. cubit?
- 10:55 And why are you anxious about clothing?
- 10:56 Observe the lilies, how they grow:  
 They do not work nor do they spin.  
 Yet I tell you:  
 Not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed like one of these.

- 10:57 εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ τὸν χόρτον  
ὄντα σήμερον καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλόμενον  
ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιέννυσιν,  
οὐ πολλῶ μάλλον ὑμᾶς, ὀλιγόπιστοι;
- 10:58 μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε λέγοντες·  
τί φάγωμεν;  
ἢ· τί πίνωμεν;  
ἢ· τί περιβαλώμεθα;
- 10:59 πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσιν·  
οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὅτι χρῆζετε τούτων ἀπάντων.
- 10:60 ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.
- 10:61 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι·
- 10:62 ὁ πατὴρ μου δώσει ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν,  
καὶ ὅταν καθίσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ,
- 10:63 καὶ καθήσεσθε ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντες  
τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

- 10:57 But if in the field the grass,  
 there today and tomorrow thrown into the oven,  
 God clothes thus,  
 will he not much more clothe you, persons of petty faith!
- 10:58 So do not be anxious saying,  
 What are we to eat?  
 Or, What are we to drink?  
 Or, What are we to wear?
- 10:59 For all these the Gentiles seek;  
 for your Father knows that you need them all.
- 10:60 But seek his kingdom,  
 and all these shall be granted to you.
- 10:61 Truly I tell you that you are the ones who followed me;  
 10:62 my Father will give you the kingdom,  
 and when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory,  
 10:63 you too will sit on twelve thrones judging  
 the twelve tribes of Israel.”

«If the *Logoi of Jesus* imitates the book of Deuteronomy, one might suspect that it may have continued with a note concerning Jesus’ crucifixion (cf. 8:51). Just as no one knew the location of Moses’ tomb—later tradition interpreted the ending of Deuteronomy to imply the disappearance of his body—one may reasonably speculate that *Logoi* mentioned the disappearance of Jesus’ corpse (cf. 7:21: “You will not see me until the time comes when you say, ‘Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!’”).»



APPENDIX 2  
 CONCORDANCE TO THE *LOGOI OF JESUS*  
 (with Richard C. Miller)

|             |              |            |               |
|-------------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| “Αβελ       | ἀγιάζω (3)   | 4:36       | αἰτέω (6)     |
| 7:19        | 7:5          | 4:37 (2)   | 4:24          |
| Ἀβραάμ (4)  | 7:7          | 6:7 (3)    | 10:38         |
| 1:7 (2)     | 10:30        | 6:8        | 10:39         |
| 6:16        | ἅγιος (3)    | 8:69       | 10:40         |
| 8:40        | 1:9          | ἄδηλος     | 10:41         |
| ἀγαθός (10) | 8:10         | 7:14       | 10:42         |
| 4:27        | 10:5         | ἄδης       | αἰών (2)      |
| 4:40 (3)    | ἄγναφος      | 10:21      | 6:13          |
| 9:15        | 3:22         | ἀδικέω     | 8:78          |
| 9:17        | ἀγορά (2)    | 10:25      | αἰώνιος       |
| 10:42 (2)   | 5:13         | ἀδικία (2) | 8:79          |
| 10:47       | 7:2          | 8:78       | ἀκάθαρτος (2) |
| 10:48       | ἀγοράζω (3)  | 8:79       | 6:31          |
| ἀγαλλιάω    | 8:45         | ἄδικος (4) | 10:2          |
| 4:4         | 8:46         | 4:27       | ἄκανθα (3)    |
| ἀγαπάω (5)  | 9:6          | 8:80 (2)   | 4:39          |
| 4:25        | ἄγριος       | 8:81       | 5:26 (2)      |
| 4:28 (2)    | 1:4          | ἀετός      | ἀκολουθέω (8) |
| 6:20        | ἀγρός (3)    | 9:3        | 3:7           |
| 8:83        | 8:45         | αἷμα (4)   | 3:10          |
| ἀγάπη       | 9:9          | 7:15       | 3:11          |
| 7:11        | 10:57        | 7:18       | 3:13          |
| ἀγαρεύω     | ἄγω          | 7:19 (2)   | 3:14          |
| 4:23        | 5:17         | αἶρω (5)   | 4:50          |
| ἄγγελος (6) | ἀγωνίζομαι   | 2:9        | 8:51          |
| 2:8         | 8:35         | 3:22       | 10:61         |
| 5:8         | ἀδελφός (14) | 5:21       | ἀκούω (21)    |
| 6:15        | 3:36 (2)     | 9:23       | 3:3           |
| 8:8         | 4:14 (2)     | 9:24       | 3:17          |
| 8:9         | 4:15         | αἰσχύνω    | 4:42          |
| 8:64        | 4:16         | 8:73       | 4:44          |

|                        |                |                   |               |
|------------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| ἀκούω ( <i>cont.</i> ) | 4:49           | 10:57             | ἀνάπαισις     |
| 4:50                   | 5:25           | ἀμφοτέρος         | 6:31          |
| 5:1                    | 5:26           | 4:34              | ἀνάπτω        |
| 5:3 (2)                | 5:27           | ἄν (21); see also | 8:24          |
| 5:27 (2)               | 7:22           | ἐάν and κἄν       | ἀνάστασις (3) |
| 5:29                   | 9:12 (2)       | 4:12              | 6:6           |
| 6:35                   | 9:14           | 4:14 (2)          | 6:12          |
| 6:39                   | 9:16           | 6:45              | 6:14          |
| 6:50                   | ἀλλότριος      | 7:4 (2)           | ἀνατέλλω      |
| 8:3                    | 8:82           | 7:6 (2)           | 4:27          |
| 8:72                   | Ἄλφαῖος        | 7:15              | ἀνατολή (2)   |
| 10:28 (2)              | 3:37           | 8:8               | 8:39          |
| 10:29 (3)              | ἄλων           | 8:9               | 9:2           |
| ἀκрасία                | 1:10           | 8:10              | Ἄνδρέας       |
| 7:12                   | ἀλώπηξ         | 8:17              | 3:36          |
| ἀκρίς                  | 3:8            | 8:36              | ἀνεκτός (2)   |
| 1:4                    | ἀμαρτάνω (3)   | 9:22              | 10:18         |
| ἀκυρώω                 | 5:21           | 10:11             | 10:20         |
| 6:46                   | 8:69           | 10:14             | ἄνεμος (3)    |
| ἄλας (2)               | 8:70           | 10:16             | 4:43          |
| 4:8 (2)                | ἀμαρτία (2)    | 10:19             | 4:44          |
| ἄλευρον                | 1:5            | 10:37 (2)         | 5:5           |
| 8:34                   | 5:17           | ἀναβαίνω (2)      | ἄνευ          |
| ἀλήθεια                | ἀμαρτωλός (5)  | 3:34              | 8:6           |
| 6:1                    | 3:15           | 5:26              | ἄνηθον        |
| ἀληθινός               | 3:16           | ἀναβλέπω          | 7:11          |
| 8:81                   | 3:18           | 5:3               | ἄνήρ          |
| ἀλήθω                  | 5:15           | ἀναγιγνώσκω (2)   | 6:40          |
| 9:10                   | 8:64           | 3:27              | ἄνθρωπος (47) |
| ἀλλά (11)              | ἄμην (9)       | 6:16              | 2:6           |
| 3:17                   | 4:18           | ἀνάγκη (2)        | 3:8           |
| 3:18                   | 5:9            | 8:45              | 3:29          |
| 3:24                   | 7:19           | 8:53              | 3:30          |
| 4:48                   | 8:15           | ἀνάγω             | 3:33          |
| 5:6                    | 8:21           | 2:3               | 4:3           |
| 5:7                    | 8:61           | ἀνακλίνω (2)      | 4:7           |
| 6:15                   | 8:68           | 8:15              | 4:33          |
| 6:17                   | 10:7           | 8:39              | 4:40 (2)      |
| 6:51                   | 10:61          | ἀνακύπτω (2)      | 4:43          |
| 6:52                   | ἄμμος          | 5:20              | 4:44          |
| 8:25                   | 4:44           | 5:23              | 4:49          |
| ἄλλος (12)             | ἀμπελών        | ἀναλύω            | 5:6           |
| 3:33                   | 8:65           | 8:14              | 5:15 (2)      |
| 4:13                   | ἀμφιέννυμι (2) | ἀναπαύω           | 6:31          |
| 4:22                   | 5:6            | 10:48             | 6:33          |

|               |                |                 |               |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 6:38          | ἄξινη          | 6:31            | 2:6           |
| 6:49          | 1:8            | 6:36            | 2:10          |
| 6:51 (2)      | ἄξιος (2)      | 6:48            | 2:14          |
| 7:1           | 1:7            | 7:19            | 4:47          |
| 7:3           | 10:13          | 8:1             | 5:3           |
| 7:14          | ἀπαγγέλλω      | 8:4             | 6:20          |
| 8:8 (2)       | 5:3            | 8:36            | 6:21          |
| 8:9 (2)       | ἀπαίρω         | 8:38            | 6:37          |
| 8:10          | 3:21           | 8:39            | 6:43          |
| 8:14          | ἀπαιτέω (2)    | 8:73            | 8:36          |
| 8:18          | 4:24           | 9:2             | 8:66          |
| 8:27          | 10:49          | 9:7 (2)         | 8:67          |
| 8:32          | ἀπαρνέομαι     | 9:23            | 10:35         |
| 8:43          | 8:9            | 9:24            | ἀποκτείνω (5) |
| 8:59          | ἄπας (2)       | 10:26           | 7:16          |
| 8:65          | 2:12           | 10:49           | 7:17          |
| 8:71          | 10:59          | ἀποδεκατόω      | 7:20          |
| 9:2           | ἀπέρχομαι (8)  | 7:11            | 8:4 (2)       |
| 9:4           | 3:7            | ἀποδημέω (2)    | ἀπόλλυμι (16) |
| 9:8           | 3:9            | 9:11            | 3:23          |
| 9:11          | 5:5            | 9:12            | 7:19          |
| 9:19          | 8:66           | ἀποδίδωμι (3)   | 8:5           |
| 10:7          | 8:67           | 4:18            | 8:52 (2)      |
| 10:40         | 9:12           | 6:5             | 8:55 (2)      |
| 10:45         | 9:20           | 8:72            | 8:56          |
| 10:62         | 10:4           | ἀποθήκη (3)     | 8:59 (2)      |
| ἀνίστημι (3)  | ἀνταποκρίνομαι | 1:10            | 8:61          |
| 3:14          | 3:32           | 10:47           | 8:62          |
| 6:40          | ἀπέχω (2)      | 10:53           | 8:63          |
| 10:35         | 4:5            | ἀποθνήσκω (4)   | 9:5           |
| ἀνοίγω (5)    | 6:48           | 6:7             | 9:7           |
| 2:1           | ἀπιστία        | 6:8             | 10:6          |
| 8:14          | 3:5            | 6:10            | ἀπολύω (2)    |
| 8:36          | ἄπιστος        | 6:11            | 4:13 (2)      |
| 10:38         | 8:23           | ἀποκαθίστημι    | ἀποστέλλω (7) |
| 10:39         | ἀπλοῦς         | 3:33            | 5:8           |
| ἀνομία        | 6:53           | ἀποκαλύπτω (4)  | 7:17          |
| 8:38          | ἀπό (24)       | 8:2             | 7:20          |
| ἀντέχω        | 1:6            | 9:8             | 8:44          |
| 8:83          | 2:1            | 10:26           | 10:3          |
| ἀντίδικος (2) | 3:21           | 10:27           | 10:9          |
| 4:17 (2)      | 3:22           | ἀποκόπτω (2)    | 10:22         |
| ἄνυδρος       | 4:10           | 8:55 (2)        | ἀποτάσσω      |
| 6:31          | 4:24           | ἀποκρίνμαι (14) | 3:11          |
|               | 5:16           | 1:9             |               |



|              |             |          |          |
|--------------|-------------|----------|----------|
| ἄπτω         | 3:24        | 3:16     | 5:20 (2) |
| 8:62         | ἀσπάζομαι   | 3:19     | 5:21     |
| ἄρα (3)      | 10:10       | 3:20 (2) | 5:23     |
| 6:27         | ἀσπασμός    | 3:21     | 5:24 (2) |
| 7:16         | 7:2         | 3:22     | 5:26     |
| 8:19         | ἀσσάριον    | 3:23     | 5:28 (2) |
| ἀργύριον (4) | 8:6         | 3:25 (2) | 6:3 (2)  |
| 9:12 (2)     | ἀστραπή (2) | 3:26     | 6:4 (3)  |
| 9:20         | 9:2         | 3:27 (3) | 6:5      |
| 9:22         | 10:24       | 3:28     | 6:6 (2)  |
| ἀριθμέω      | ἄτιμος      | 3:29     | 6:7 (2)  |
| 8:7          | 3:5         | 3:31     | 6:12 (2) |
| ἀρκετός      | αὐλέω       | 3:32 (2) | 6:13     |
| 4:35         | 5:13        | 3:33     | 6:16     |
| ἀρνέομαι     | αὐξανω (2)  | 3:35     | 6:18     |
| 8:9          | 8:32        | 3:36 (2) | 6:19     |
| ἄροτρον      | 10:56       | 4:1      | 6:21     |
| 3:12         | αὔριον      | 4:7 (2)  | 6:24 (2) |
| ἀρπαγή       | 10:57       | 4:9      | 6:25     |
| 7:12         | αὐτός (253) | 4:12     | 6:26     |
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| 8:58                 | 8:29        | σκοτία         | στόμα              |
| ρήγνυμι (2)          | 8:65        | 8:3            | 4:40               |
| 3:23                 | 10:31       | σκότος (3)     | στρατιώτης         |
| 10:5                 | 10:57       | 6:54 (2)       | 4:49               |
| ρίζα (2)             | σής (2)     | 8:40           | στρέφω (2)         |
| 1:8                  | 10:43 (2)   | Σόδομα (2)     | 4:22               |
| 5:25                 | σιαγών      | 9:7            | 10:5               |
| ρίπτω                | 4:22        | 10:18          | στρουθίον (2)      |
| 8:54                 | Σιδών (2)   | Σολομών (3)    | 8:6                |
| σάββατον (6)         | 10:19       | 6:39 (2)       | 8:7                |
| 3:25                 | 10:20       | 10:56          | στρυγγάζω          |
| 3:26                 | Σιμών (2)   | σός (2)        | 8:29               |
| 3:29                 | 3:36        | 4:24           | σύ (218) and ὑμεῖς |
| 3:30                 | 3:37        | 4:36           | 1:6                |
| 3:31                 | σίναπι (2)  | σοφία (4)      | 1:7                |
| 3:32                 | 8:32        | 3:3            | 1:9 (2)            |
| σάκκος               | 10:37       | 5:16           | 2:2                |
| 10:19                | σιτομέτριον | 6:39           | 2:8 (2)            |
|                      | 8:19        | 7:17           | 2:9 (2)            |

|          |          |           |              |
|----------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| 2:10     | 6:34     | 8:76      | 10:60        |
| 2:12     | 6:36     | 8:77 (2)  | 10:61 (2)    |
| 2:14     | 6:42     | 8:79 (2)  | 10:62        |
| 3:7      | 6:43 (2) | 8:81      | σύκον        |
| 3:11     | 6:44 (2) | 8:82      | 4:39         |
| 3:19     | 6:45     | 9:1       | συκάμινος    |
| 3:32     | 6:46     | 9:15      | 10:37        |
| 3:33     | 6:47     | 9:17      | συλλέγω      |
| 4:3 (2)  | 6:53 (4) | 9:19      | 4:39         |
| 4:4      | 6:54     | 9:20 (2)  | συμφέρω (4)  |
| 4:5 (2)  | 7:1 (2)  | 9:22      | 8:54         |
| 4:6      | 7:2      | 10:5 (2)  | 8:55 (2)     |
| 4:7      | 7:3 (2)  | 10:7 (2)  | 8:56         |
| 4:15 (3) | 7:4      | 10:9      | σύν          |
| 4:16 (3) | 7:11     | 10:12 (3) | 9:22         |
| 4:17 (3) | 7:12     | 10:14 (2) | συναγωγή (8) |
| 4:18     | 7:14     | 10:15     | 1:10         |
| 4:19     | 7:15 (2) | 10:16     | 6:30         |
| 4:21     | 7:16     | 10:17     | 9:3          |
| 4:22 (3) | 7:19     | 10:18     | 9:19         |
| 4:23     | 7:20     | 10:19 (3) | 9:21         |
| 4:24     | 7:21 (3) | 10:20     | 10:46        |
| 4:25 (2) | 8:6      | 10:21     | 10:47        |
| 4:26 (2) | 8:7 (2)  | 10:22     | 10:53        |
| 4:27     | 8:11     | 10:23     | συναγωγή (4) |
| 4:28     | 8:12     | 10:25 (2) | 3:2          |
| 4:30     | 8:13     | 10:26 (2) | 3:30         |
| 4:32     | 8:14     | 10:29     | 7:2          |
| 4:33     | 8:15     | 10:30 (2) | 8:11         |
| 4:36     | 8:18     | 10:33     | συνανάκειμαι |
| 4:37 (5) | 8:21     | 10:35     | 3:15         |
| 4:50     | 8:36 (2) | 10:36     | συνέδριος    |
| 4:51     | 8:37     | 10:37     | 4:14         |
| 5:2      | 8:38 (2) | 10:38 (3) | συνετός      |
| 5:7      | 8:45     | 10:40     | 10:26        |
| 5:8 (3)  | 8:46     | 10:42 (2) | συνίημι (2)  |
| 5:9      | 8:55 (8) | 10:43 (2) | 5:29         |
| 5:11     | 8:56 (4) | 10:44 (2) | 6:50         |
| 5:13     | 8:59     | 10:49 (2) | σχίσμα       |
| 5:19     | 8:61     | 10:51 (3) | 3:22         |
| 5:23 (2) | 8:64     | 10:53     | σῶμα (10)    |
| 5:29     | 8:68     | 10:54     | 6:53 (3)     |
| 6:20 (5) | 8:69 (2) | 10:56     | 8:4          |
| 6:26 (2) | 8:70     | 10:57     | 8:5          |
| 6:27     | 8:72 (2) | 10:59     | 8:55 (2)     |

|              |              |            |            |
|--------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| σῶμα (cont.) | 4:8          | 6:34       | τροφή      |
| 8:56         | 4:28         | 6:41       | 10:52      |
| 10:51        | 4:29         | 8:43       | τρυμαλιά   |
| 10:52        | 4:36         | 8:71       | 8:58       |
| ταπεινώ (2)  | 4:41         | 10:45      | τύπτω      |
| 8:42 (2)     | 5:5          | τοιούτος   | 8:22       |
| ταχέως       | 5:6          | 5:19       | Τύρος (2)  |
| 8:76         | 5:7          | τόκος      | 10:19      |
| τέκνον (7)   | 5:12 (2)     | 9:22       | 10:20      |
| 1:7          | 5:19         | τολμάω     | τυφλός (3) |
| 5:16         | 6:4          | 5:22       | 4:34 (2)   |
| 6:7          | 6:12         | τόπος      | 5:3        |
| 7:20         | 6:19         | 6:31       | υγιαίνω    |
| 8:65 (2)     | 6:26         | τοσοῦτος   | 4:51       |
| 10:42        | 7:5          | 4:50       | ὔδωρ       |
| τελευτάω     | 7:7          | τότε (9)   | 1:9        |
| 6:44         | 8:11         | 3:21       | υἱός (33)  |
| τελέω (2)    | 8:12         | 4:10       | 2:2        |
| 4:45         | 8:19         | 4:16       | 2:5        |
| 10:7         | 8:24         | 4:37       | 2:7        |
| τελώνης (6)  | 8:31 (2)     | 6:29       | 3:3        |
| 3:15         | 8:33         | 6:31       | 3:8        |
| 3:16         | 8:59         | 6:33       | 3:20       |
| 4:28         | 8:62         | 8:37       | 3:29       |
| 5:10         | 8:68         | 8:48       | 4:3        |
| 5:15         | 8:72         | τραπεζίτης | 4:27       |
| 8:68         | 8:73         | 9:22       | 5:15       |
| τελώνιον     | 8:74         | τράχηλος   | 6:13       |
| 3:13         | 8:81         | 8:54       | 6:26       |
| τεσσεράκοντα | 8:82         | τρεις (2)  | 6:38       |
| 2:4          | 10:33        | 8:34       | 7:16       |
| τίθημι (2)   | 10:40        | 10:33      | 8:8        |
| 6:52         | 10:46        | τρέφω      | 8:9        |
| 8:23         | 10:49        | 10:53      | 8:10       |
| τίλλω        | 10:51 (2)    | τριάκοντα  | 8:18       |
| 3:25         | 10:54        | 5:27       | 8:26       |
| τιμάω (3)    | 10:55        | τρίβολος   | 8:40       |
| 6:44         | 10:58 (3)    | 4:39       | 8:50       |
| 6:46         | τις, τι (11) | τρίβος     | 8:78 (2)   |
| 6:48         | 3:7          | 1:3        | 9:2        |
| τίς, τί (47) | 4:15         | τρίτος (2) | 9:4        |
| 1:6          | 6:7          | 6:10       | 9:8        |
| 3:26         | 6:18         | 8:16       | 10:7       |
| 3:27         | 6:23         | τρόπος     | 10:12      |
| 3:32         | 6:28         | 7:20       | 10:27 (3)  |

|               |                |              |              |
|---------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| 10:40         | ὑποπόδιον      | 8:63         | 8:61         |
| 10:62         | 4:20           | 8:79         | 8:63         |
| ὑμέτερος (2)  | ὑποστρέφω      | 10:33 (2)    | χαλκός       |
| 4:1           | 4:51           | 10:34        | 10:10        |
| 8:82          | ὑποτάσσω       | φοβέω (4)    | χαρά (2)     |
| ὑπάγω (6)     | 10:23          | 8:4          | 8:61         |
| 4:16          | ὑστερος (2)    | 8:5          | 8:64         |
| 4:17          | 6:11           | 8:7          | χεῖλος       |
| 4:23          | 8:66           | 9:20         | 6:48         |
| 4:51          | ὑψηλός         | φορέω        | χειμών       |
| 8:65          | 2:11           | 5:6          | 8:29         |
| 10:9          | ὑψώω (3)       | φορτίον      | χείρ (8)     |
| ὑπακούω       | 8:42 (2)       | 7:1          | 1:10         |
| 10:37         | 10:21          | φρόνιμος (2) | 2:9          |
| ὑπάρχω (2)    | φάγος          | 8:19         | 3:12         |
| 8:21          | 5:15           | 8:78         | 3:30         |
| 8:71          | φαίνω          | φρονίμως     | 3:33 (2)     |
| ὑπέρ (4)      | 9:2            | 8:78         | 6:41         |
| 4:26          | Φαρισαῖος (11) | φυλακή (3)   | 8:55         |
| 4:35 (2)      | 3:16           | 4:17         | χειροποίητος |
| 8:78          | 3:19           | 8:16         | 7:22         |
| ὑπηρέτης (2)  | 3:26           | 8:17         | χείρων (2)   |
| 4:17 (2)      | 6:41           | φυλάσσω      | 3:22         |
| ὑπό (10)      | 7:2            | 6:35         | 6:33         |
| 1:5           | 7:11           | φυλή         | χιτών        |
| 2:3           | 7:12           | 10:63        | 4:22         |
| 2:4           | 7:14           | φυτεύω (2)   | χοῖρος       |
| 4:47          | 7:15           | 9:6          | 10:5         |
| 4:49 (2)      | 8:1            | 10:37        | Χοραζίν      |
| 5:5           | 8:68           | φωλεός       | 10:19        |
| 6:52          | φέρω           | 3:8          | χορτάζω      |
| 7:20          | 6:4            | φωνέω        | 4:2          |
| 10:27         | φεύγω (2)      | 8:72         | χόρτος       |
| ὑποδείκνυμι   | 1:6            | φωνή (3)     | 10:57        |
| 1:6           | 10:7           | 1:3          | χρεία        |
| ὑπόδημα (2)   | φημί           | 2:2          | 3:17         |
| 1:9           | 4:47           | 6:34         | χροοφειλέτης |
| 10:10         | φθάνω          | φῶς (3)      | 8:75         |
| ὑπόκρισις     | 6:27           | 6:54         | χρῆμα        |
| 6:3           | φιλέω          | 8:3          | 8:57         |
| ὑποκριτής (3) | 7:2            | 8:78         | χρήζω (2)    |
| 4:37          | Φίλιππος       | φωτεινός     | 10:36        |
| 6:47          | 3:36           | 6:53         | 10:59        |
| 7:13          | φίλος (6)      | χαίρω (3)    | χρονίζω      |
|               | 5:15           | 4:4          | 8:22         |

|               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| χρυσός (3)    | 10:56       |
| 7:4           | ώσαύτως (3) |
| 7:5 (2)       | 6:10        |
| χωλός         | 8:67        |
| 5:3           | 9:12        |
| χώρα          | ώσπερ       |
| 10:45         | 9:2         |
| ψευδοπροφήτης |             |
| 4:7           |             |
| ψυχή (10)     |             |
| 6:20          |             |
| 8:4           |             |
| 8:5           |             |
| 8:52 (2)      |             |
| 10:48 (2)     |             |
| 10:49         |             |
| 10:51         |             |
| 10:52         |             |
| ώδε (3)       |             |
| 6:39          |             |
| 6:40          |             |
| 9:1           |             |
| ώμος          |             |
| 7:1           |             |
| ώρα (5)       |             |
| 8:12          |             |
| 8:18          |             |
| 8:23          |             |
| 8:44          |             |
| 10:26         |             |
| ώς (16)       |             |
| 1:3           |             |
| 3:33          |             |
| 4:30          |             |
| 4:35 (2)      |             |
| 4:51          |             |
| 5:20          |             |
| 6:15          |             |
| 6:20          |             |
| 7:14          |             |
| 8:71          |             |
| 10:9          |             |
| 10:24         |             |
| 10:32         |             |
| 10:37         |             |

APPENDIX 3  
 OVERVIEW OF THE *LOGOI OF JESUS*  
 AND THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

The left column in this table presents logia from the lost Gospel. The three columns on the right provide chapter-verse numbers to the Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke that inform the reconstruction. Primary redactions [A] are unmarked; secondary redactions are marked with the symbol [B], most of which pertain to Mark. When Matthew and Luke redact Mark's secondary redactions of the *Logoi of Jesus*, they often create secondary doublets. The designation [a] identifies primary doublets; [b] identifies secondary ones. Lukan nondoublets are identified by square brackets that enclose the verse where the doublet should have occurred.

1. JOHN THE PROPHET

| <i>The Logoi of Jesus</i>                  | Mark  | Matthew | Luke (etc.) |
|--|-------|---------|-------------|
| 1:1–5                                      |       |         |             |
| The introduction of John                   | 1:2–6 | 3:1–6   | 3:2b–4      |
| 1:6–8                                      |       |         |             |
| John's denunciations of Abraham's children |       | 3:7–10  | 3:7–9       |
| 1:9–10                                     |       |         |             |
| John and the one to come                   | 1:7–8 | 3:11–12 | 3:16–17     |

2. JESUS' EMPOWERMENT AND TESTING

|                               |              |              |              |
|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 2:1–2                         | 1:9–11       | 3:13, 16–17  | 3:21–22      |
| Baptism                       |              |              |              |
| 2:3–15                        | 1:12–13      | 4:1–11       | 4:1–13       |
| Temptations in the wilderness |              |              |              |
| “You are God's Son”           | 3:11 [B]     |              |              |
| Gethsemane                    | 14:32–42 [B] | 26:36–46 [b] | 22:39–46 [b] |



## 3. JESUS ACQUIRES DISCIPLES AND ALIENATES PHARISEES

|  |             |             |                 |
|--|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 3:1                                    |             |             |                 |
| Return to Galilee                      | 1:14–15     | 4:12–13, 17 | 4:14–15         |
| 3:2–6                                  |             |             |                 |
| Rejection at Nazara                    | 6:1–6a      | 13:53–58    | 4:16–31         |
| 3:7–12                                 |             |             |                 |
| Acquiring disciples                    |             | 8:19–22     | 9:57–62         |
| Jesus calls fishermen                  | 1:16–20 [B] | 4:18–22 [b] | 5:1–2, 8–11 [b] |
| 3:13–18                                |             |             |                 |
| Eating with tax collectors and sinners | 2:13–17     | 9:9–13      | 5:27–32         |
| Zacchaeus                              |             |             | 19:1–10 [B]     |
| 3:19–24                                |             |             |                 |
| Not fasting                            | 2:18–22     | 9:14–17     | 5:33–38         |
| 3:25–29                                |             |             |                 |
| Gleaning on the Sabbath                | 2:23–28     | 12:1–8      | 6:1–5           |
| 3:30–33                                |             |             |                 |
| Healing on the Sabbath                 | 3:1–6       | 12:9–14     | 6:6–11          |
| The healing of a crippled woman        |             |             | 13:10–16 [B]    |
| The healing of a man with dropsy       |             |             | 14:1–6 [B]      |
| 3:34–38                                |             |             |                 |
| The list of the Twelve                 | 3:13–19     | 5:1, 10:1–4 | 6:12–16         |

## 4. THE INAUGURAL SERMON AND THE CENTURION'S FAITH

|                                 |           |                      |          |
|---------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|----------|
| 4:1–4                           |           |                      |          |
| Beatitudes                      |           | 5:1–4, 6, 11–12      | 6:20–23  |
| 4:5–7                           |           |                      |          |
| Woes                            |           |                      | 6:24–26  |
| 4:8–9                           |           |                      |          |
| Inspid salt                     | 9:49–50   | 5:13                 | 14:34–35 |
| 4:10–11                         |           |                      |          |
| Since John the kingdom of God   |           | 5:17–18,<br>11:12–13 | 16:16–17 |
| Jesus' words will not pass away | 13:31 [B] | 24:35 [b]            |          |
| 4:12                            |           |                      |          |
| Observing the commandments      |           | 5:19                 |          |

|   |              |                         |                       |
|---|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 4:13                                      |              |                         |                       |
| Divorce leading to adultery               | 10:11–12 [B] | 5:32<br>19:9 [b]        | 16:18<br>[after 9:51] |
| 4:14–16                                   |              |                         |                       |
| Reconciling before sacrificing            |              | 5:22–24                 |                       |
| Forgiving before praying                  | 11:25 [B]    | 6:14–15 [b]             |                       |
| 4:17–18                                   |              |                         |                       |
| Settling out of court                     |              | 5:25–26                 | 12:58–59              |
| 4:19–21                                   |              |                         |                       |
| Against swearing oaths                    |              | 5:34–35, 37             | [Jas 5:12]            |
| 4:22–24                                   |              |                         |                       |
| Renouncing one's own rights               |              | 5:39b–42                | 6:29–30               |
| Simon of Cyrene carries Jesus' cross      | 15:21 [B]    | 27:32 [b]               | 23:26 [b]             |
| 4:25–27                                   |              |                         |                       |
| Love your enemies                         |              | 5:44–45                 | 6:27–28, 35           |
| 4:28–29                                   |              |                         |                       |
| Impartial love                            |              | 5:46–47                 | 6:32, 34              |
| 4:30                                      |              |                         |                       |
| Being full of compassion like your Father |              | 5:48                    | 6:36                  |
| 4:31–32                                   |              |                         |                       |
| Not judging                               | 4:24         | 7:1–2                   | 6:37–38<br>[8:18]     |
| 4:33                                      |              |                         |                       |
| The Golden Rule                           |              | 7:12                    | 6:31                  |
| 4:34                                      |              |                         |                       |
| The blind leading the blind               |              | 15:14                   | 6:39                  |
| 4:35                                      |              |                         |                       |
| The disciple and the teacher              |              | 10:24–25a               | 6:40                  |
| 4:36–37                                   |              |                         |                       |
| The speck and the beam                    |              | 7:3–5                   | 6:41–42               |
| 4:38–39                                   |              |                         |                       |
| The tree is known by its fruit            |              | 7:16b, 18,<br>12:33b–35 | 6:43–45               |
| 4:41                                      |              |                         |                       |
| Not just saying Lord, Lord                |              | 7:21                    | 6:46                  |
| 4:42–44                                   |              |                         |                       |
| Houses built on rock or sand              |              | 7:24–27                 | 6:47–49               |

4:45–51

|  |             |               |             |
|--|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| The centurion's faith                        |             | 7:28a; 8:5–13 | 7:1–10      |
| The sinful paralytic                         | 2:1–12 [B]  | 9:1–8 [b]     | 5:17–26 [b] |
| Jairus's daughter and the hemorrhaging woman | 5:21–43 [B] | 9:18–26 [b]   | 8:40–46 [b] |
| The Syrophenician woman                      | 7:24–30 [B] | 15:21–28 [b]  |             |

## 5. JESUS' PRAISE OF JOHN AND THE MYSTERIES OF THE KINGDOM

5:1–4

Signs that Jesus is the one to come      11:2–6      7:18–23

5:5–9

John—more than a prophet      11:7–11      7:24–28

5:10–11

For and against John      21:31b–32      7:29–30

5:12–16

This generation and wisdom's children      11:16–19      7:31–35

5:17–23

The sinful woman      7:36–50 [B]  
[[John 8:3–11]]

5:24–29

The sower and reason for parables      4:3–12      13:3–15      8:5–10

## 6. MORE CONTROVERSIES

6:1–5

Tribute to Caesar      12:13–17      22:15–22      20:20–26

6:6–17

Marriage and the resurrection      12:18–27      22:23–33      20:37–39

6:18–21

The great commandment      12:28–34      22:34–40      10:25–28

6:22–29

The Beelzebul accusation      3:22–27      9:32–34, 12:24–29      11:14–15, 17–22

6:30–33

The return of the unclean spirit      12:30, 43–45a      11:23–26

Whoever is not against us is for us      9:40 [B]      9:50 [b]

|                                       |               |               |              |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 6:34–35                               |               |               |              |
| Blessed are those who keep God's word |               |               | 11:27–28     |
| Jesus' true family                    | 3:31–35 [B]   | 12:46–50 [b]  | 8:19–21 [b]  |
| Woe to those who nurse                | 13:17 [B]     | 24:19 [b]     | 21:23 [b]    |
| 6:36–40                               |               |               |              |
| The sign of Jonah for this generation |               | 12:38–42      | 11:16, 29–32 |
| No sign for this generation           | 8:11–12 [B]   | 16:1–2, 4 [b] |              |
| 6:41–51                               |               |               |              |
| Unwashed hands                        | 7:1–15, 20–21 | 15:1–11       |              |
| 6:52                                  |               |               |              |
| The light on the lampstand            |               | 5:15          | 11:33        |
|                                       | 4:21          |               | 8:16 [a]     |
| 6:53–54                               |               |               |              |
| The evil eye                          |               | 6:22–23       | 11:34–35     |

#### 7. THE WOES AGAINST RELIGIOUS LEADERS

|  |                  |               |               |
|--|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| 7:1–3  |                  |               |               |
| Woes against religious leaders 1:                    |                  | 23:4, 6–7, 13 | 11:43, 46, 52 |
| On exploitation                                      | 12:38–40         |               | 20:46 [a]     |
| 7:4–10   |                  |               |               |
| Woes against religious leaders 2:                    |                  | 23:15–22      |               |
| On oaths   |                  |               |               |
| The widow's penny                                    | 12:41–44 [B]     |               | 21:1–4        |
| 7:11–16  |                  |               | 11:39–44,     |
| Woes against religious leaders 3:                    |                  | 23:23, 25,    | 47–48         |
| On purity  |                  | 26b–27,       |               |
|  |                  | 29–32         |               |
| Nothing outside a person can defile                  | 7:3–4, 18–19 [B] | 15:16–17 [b]  |               |
| 7:17–19  |                  |               |               |
| Wisdom's judgment on this generation                 |                  | 23:34–36      | 11:49–51      |
| 7:20–21  |                  |               |               |
| Judgment over Jerusalem                              |                  | 23:37–39      | 13:34–35      |
| Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord | 11:9 [B]         | 21:9 [b]      | 19:38 [b]     |

7:22

Jesus will destroy the sanctuary

|   |            |            |                    |
|---|------------|------------|--------------------|
| No stone will be left on another                    | 13:1–2 [B] | 24:1–2 [b] | 21:5–6             |
| “We heard him say, ‘I will destroy this sanctuary’” | 14:58 [B]  | 26:61 [b]  | [Acts 6:14, 47–53] |
| “Destroyer of the sanctuary, ... rescue yourself”   | 15:29 [B]  | 27:40 [b]  |                    |

## 8. DISCIPLESHIP AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD

8:1

|  |      |      |      |
|--|------|------|------|
| Keep yourselves from the leaven of the Pharisees | 8:15 | 16:6 | 12:1 |
|--|------|------|------|

8:2–3

|                                  |      |          |                    |
|----------------------------------|------|----------|--------------------|
| What was whispered will be known | 4:22 | 10:26–27 | 12:2–3<br>8:17 [a] |
|----------------------------------|------|----------|--------------------|

8:4–7

|                              |  |          |        |
|------------------------------|--|----------|--------|
| Not fearing the body’s death |  | 10:28–31 | 12:4–7 |
|------------------------------|--|----------|--------|

8:8–9

|                       |      |                       |                    |
|-----------------------|------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Confessing or denying | 8:38 | 10:32–33<br>16:27 [a] | 12:8–9<br>9:26 [a] |
|-----------------------|------|-----------------------|--------------------|

8:10

|                                  |             |       |       |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------|-------|
| Speaking against the Holy Spirit | 3:28–29 [B] | 12:32 | 12:10 |
|----------------------------------|-------------|-------|-------|

8:11–12

|                            |             |       |                          |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Hearings before synagogues | 13:9–11 [B] | 10:19 | 12:11–12<br>21:14–15 [b] |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------|--------------------------|

8:13–16

|  |  |  |          |
|--|--|--|----------|
| Preparing for the return of the master |  |  | 12:35–38 |
|--|--|--|----------|

|                 |  |             |  |
|-----------------|--|-------------|--|
| The ten virgins |  | 25:1–13 [B] |  |
|-----------------|--|-------------|--|

8:17–23

|                                  |  |          |                    |
|----------------------------------|--|----------|--------------------|
| The faithful or unfaithful slave |  | 24:43–51 | 12:39–40,<br>42–46 |
|----------------------------------|--|----------|--------------------|

|                             |                        |                        |                               |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| The uncertainty of the hour | 13:35 [B]<br>13:32 [B] | 24:42 [b]<br>24:36 [b] | [after 21:33]<br>Acts 1:7 [b] |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|

8:24–27

|                          |           |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Children against parents | 13:12 [B] | 10:34–35<br>10:20–22 [b] | 12:49–53<br>21:16–17 [b] |
|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|

8:28–30

|                  |  |        |          |
|------------------|--|--------|----------|
| Judging the time |  | 16:2–3 | 12:54–56 |
|------------------|--|--------|----------|

|  |              |                          |                 |
|--|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 8:31–32                                    |              |                          |                 |
| The mustard seed                           | 4:30–32      | 13:31–32                 | 13:18–19        |
| 8:33–34                                    |              |                          |                 |
| The yeast                                  |              | 13:33                    | 13:20–21        |
| The seed growing secretly                  | 4:26–29 [B]  |                          |                 |
| 8:35–38                                    |              |                          |                 |
| I do not know you                          |              | 7:13–14, 22–23, 25:10–12 | 13:24–27        |
| 8:39–40                                    |              |                          |                 |
| Many shall come from sunrise and sunset    |              | 8:11–12                  | 13:28–29        |
| 8:41                                       |              |                          |                 |
| The reversal of the last and the first     |              | 20:16                    | 13:30           |
|  | 10:31 [B]    | 19:30 [b]                | [after 18:30]   |
| 8:42                                       |              |                          |                 |
| The exalted humbled and the humble exalted |              | 23:11–12                 | 14:11           |
| The greatest is the slave                  | 10:43–45 [B] | 20:26–28 [b]             | 22:26–27 [b]    |
| 8:43–49                                    |              |                          |                 |
| The great supper                           |              | 22:1–10                  | 14:16–23        |
| The murderous vinedressers                 | 12:1–12 [B]  | 21:33–46 [b]             | 20:9–19 [b]     |
| 8:50–52                                    |              |                          |                 |
| Hating one's family and taking one's cross |              | 10:37–39                 | 14:26–27, 17:33 |
| The cost of discipleship                   | 8:34–37 [B]  | 16:24–27 [b]             | 9:23–26 [b]     |
| The rewards of discipleship                | 10:28–30 [B] | 19:27–29 [b]             | 18:26–30 [b]    |
| 8:53–54                                    |              |                          |                 |
| Against enticing little ones               | 9:42         | 18:6–7                   | 17:1–2          |
| Woe to the betrayer                        | 14:21 [B]    | 26:24 [b]                |                 |
| 8:55–57                                    |              |                          |                 |
| Cutting off offending limbs                |              | 5:29–30                  |                 |
|  | 9:43–47      | 18:8–9 [a]               |                 |
| 8:58                                       |              |                          |                 |
| The camel and the eye of the needle        | 10:24–25     | 19:23–24                 | 18:24–25        |
| 8:59–61                                    |              |                          |                 |
| The lost sheep                             |              | 18:12–13                 | 15:4–7          |
| 8:62–64                                    |              |                          |                 |
| The lost coin                              |              |                          | 15:8–10         |

|  |  |              |              |
|--|--|--------------|--------------|
| 8:65–68                                |  |              |              |
| The two sons                           |  | 21:28–31     |              |
| The prodigal son                       |  |              | 15:11–32 [B] |
| 8:69–70                                |  |              |              |
| Forgiving a sinning brother repeatedly |  | 18:15, 21–22 | 17:3–4       |
| 8:71–82                                |  |              |              |
| The unjust manager                     |  |              | 16:1–9       |
| The unforgiving slave                  |  | 18:23–35 [B] |              |
| 8:83                                   |  |              |              |
| God or Mammon                          |  | 6:24         | 16:10–13     |

## 9. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

|                                      |              |              |               |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| 9:1–2                                |              |              |               |
| The Son of Man like lightning        |              | 24:26–27     | 17:23–24      |
|                                      | 13:21        | 24:23–25     |               |
| The stars will fall from the sky     | 13:24–26 [B] | 24:29–30 [b] | [after 21:24] |
| 9:3–8                                |              |              |               |
| As in the days of Noah               |              | 24:28, 37–39 | 17:26–30, 37  |
| 9:9–10                               |              |              |               |
| One taken, one left                  |              | 24:40–41     | 17:34–35      |
| 9:11–23                              |              |              |               |
| The entrusted money                  |              | 25:14–30     | 19:12–27      |
| Whoever has, it will be given to him | 4:25 [B]     | 13:12 [b]    | [8:18]        |

## 10. THE MISSION SPEECH

|                                    |           |                              |                  |
|------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------|------------------|
| 10:1–7                             |           |                              |                  |
| Do not go to the Gentiles          | 6:6–8a    | 9:35, 10:1, 5, 7:6, 10:6, 23 | 8:1, 9:1–2, 10:1 |
| Some here will not taste death     | 9:1 [B]   | 16:28 [b]                    | 9:27 [b]         |
| This generation will not pass away | 13:30 [B] | 24:34 [b]                    | 21:32 [b]        |
| 10:8–9                             |           |                              |                  |
| Workers for the harvest            |           | 9:37–38, 10:16               | 10:2–3           |
| 10:10–15                           |           |                              |                  |
| Instructions for the mission       |           | 10:7–13                      | 10:4–9           |

|  |               |                       |              |
|--|---------------|-----------------------|--------------|
|  | 6:8–10        |                       | 9:2–4 [a]    |
| 10:16–18                                 |               |                       |              |
| Response to a town's rejection           |               | 10:14–15              | 10:10–12     |
|  | 6:11–13       |                       | 9:5–6 [a]    |
| 10:19–21                                 |               |                       |              |
| Woes against Galilean towns              |               | 11:21–24              | 10:13–15     |
| 10:22                                    |               |                       |              |
| Whoever takes you in takes me in         |               | 10:40                 | 10:16        |
| Whoever takes in a child takes me in     | 9:37 [B]      | 18:5 [b]              | 9:48 [b]     |
| 10:23–25                                 |               |                       |              |
| The fall of Satan                        |               |                       | 10:18–19     |
| 10:26–29                                 |               |                       |              |
| Jesus' prayer                            |               | 11:25–27,<br>13:16–17 | 10:21–24     |
| 10:30–32                                 |               |                       |              |
| The disciples' prayer                    |               | 6:9–13a               | 11:2b–4      |
| Forgiving before praying                 | 11:25 [B]     | 6:14–15 [b]           |              |
| Jesus' prayer at Gethsemane              | 14:35–38 [B]  | 26:38–41 [b]          | 22:40–46 [b] |
| 10:33–36                                 |               |                       |              |
| The generous friend                      |               |                       | 11:5–8       |
| Against praying with many words          |               | 6:7–8 [B]             |              |
| 10:37                                    |               |                       |              |
| Faith like a mustard seed                |               | 17:20b                | 17:6         |
|  | 11:22b–23 [B] | 21:21 [b]             |              |
| 10:38–42                                 |               |                       |              |
| The certainty of the answer to prayer    |               | 7:7–11                | 11:9–13      |
|  | 11:24         | 21:22 [a]             |              |
| 10:43–44                                 |               |                       |              |
| Storing up treasures in heaven           |               | 6:19–21               | 12:33–34     |
|  | 10:21 [B]     | 19:21 [b]             | 18:22 [b]    |
| 10:45–50                                 |               |                       |              |
| The rich fool                            |               |                       | 12:16–21     |
| 10:51–60                                 |               |                       |              |
| Free from anxiety like ravens and lilies |               | 6:25–33               | 12:22b–31    |
| 10:61–63                                 |               |                       |              |
| Judging the twelve tribes of Israel      |               | 19:28                 | 22:25, 28–30 |





APPENDIX 4  
COMPARISON OF THE *CRITICAL EDITION OF Q*  
AND THE *LOGOI OF JESUS*

| <i>CEQ</i>  | <i>Logoi</i>  | Justification for<br>altered sequence and<br>hypothetical transitions   |
|---|---|---|
| 3:[0]. [[Incipit]                                 |   |   |
| 3:2b–3a. The introduction<br>of John              | 1:1–5 (3:2–4, [M] 3:4–5).<br>The introduction of John   |   |
| 3:7–9. John’s announce-<br>ment of judgment       | 1:6–8 (3:7–9). John’s de-<br>nunciation of Abra-<br>ham’s children<br>«Some people responded<br>favorably to John, includ-<br>ing tax collectors, and<br>were baptized by him.<br>The religious authorities,<br>however, rejected him.<br>John said:» | <i>Logoi</i> 5:10–11 (7:29–30)<br>looks back at positive and<br>negative responses to John’s<br>preaching. If <i>Logoi</i> narrated<br>such responses, this would<br>be the most likely location. |
| 3:16b–17. John and the<br>one to come             | 1:9–10 (3:16–17). John<br>and the one to come   |   |
| 3:[21b–22]. [[The baptism<br>of Jesus]]           | 2:1–2 (3:21–22). Baptism  |   |
| 4:1–4, 9–12, 5–8, 13. The<br>temptations of Jesus | 2:3–15 (4:1–4, 9–12, 5–8,<br>13). Temptations in the<br>wilderness<br>«John was arrested.»  | From this point on in <i>Logoi</i> ,<br>John is not on the scene,<br>and 4:10 (16:16) seems to<br>place him in the past; cf.<br>Mark 1:14a and Matt 4:12.   |

## 4:16. Nazara

3:1 (4:14). Return to Galilee

«Jesus performed miracles in Galilee that some local Jews repudiated.»

3:2–6 (4:16, 4:22, [M]

13:57, 4:24, 31). Rejection at Nazara

3:7–12 (9:57–62). Acquiring disciples

«Despite the hardships, some people decided to follow Jesus.»

3:13–18 (5:27–32). Eating with tax collectors and sinners

3:19–24 (5:33–38). Not fasting

3:25–29 (6:1–5). Gleaning on the Sabbath

3:30–33 (6:6–7, 9–10). Healing on the Sabbath

3:34–38 (6:12–16). The list of the Twelve

*Logoi* 5:3 and 10:19 (7:22 and 10:13) refer to miracles that some Galileans repudiated. The following logia imply that some people were sufficiently impressed to follow Jesus.

The following logia require the presence of disciples. Matthew places this logion after miracle stories and before the list of the Twelve (8:19–22). In Luke this logion appears at the beginning of his Travel Section, which is unique to him and is heavily reliant on *Logoi*. It would appear that Luke looked to the beginning of the lost source for material for beginning this section. The call of the disciples in Mark 1:16–20 may be a free redaction of *Logoi* 3:7–12 (9:57–60).

In the Inaugural Sermon Jesus addresses disciples who accepted the challenge to follow him.

This and the next three logia form a coherent series of controversies that provide a contrast with the faith of the centurion later in *Logoi*. The placement of these logia here follows the order in Mark and Luke.

|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| 6:20–23. Beatitudes   | 4:1–4 (6:20–23). Beatitudes<br>4:5–7 (6:24–26). Woes<br>4:8–9 (14:34–35). Inspid salt<br>4:10–11 (16:16–17). Since John the kingdom of God<br>4:12 ([M] 5:19). Observing the commandments<br>4:13 (16:18). Divorce leading to adultery<br>4:14–16 ([M] 5:22–24). Reconciling before sacrificing<br>4:17–18 (12:58–59). Settling out of court<br>4:19–21 ([M] 5:34–35, 37). Against swearing oaths<br>4:22–24 (6:29, [M] 5:41, 6:30). Renouncing one's own rights | Matthean order<br>Matthean order<br>Matthean order<br>Matthean order<br>Matthean order<br>Matthean order<br>Matthean order<br>Matthean order<br>Matthean order |
| 6:27–28, 35c–d. Love your enemies<br>6:29, [[Matt 5:41]], 6:30. Renouncing one's own rights | 4:25–27 (6:27–28, 35). Love your enemies<br>[see 4:22–24]  | Matthean order   |
| 6:31. The Golden Rule<br>6:32, 34. Impartial love   | [see 4:33]<br>4:28–29 (6:32, 34). Impartial love   |  |
| 6:36. Being full of compassion like your Father   | 4:30 (6:36). Being full of compassion like your Father   |  |
| 6:37–38. Not judging  | 4:31–32 (6:37–38). Not judging<br>4:33 (6:31). The Golden Rule   | Matthew's general order  |
| 6:39. The blind leading the blind   | 4:34 (6:39). The blind leading the blind   |  |
| 6:40. The disciple and the teacher  | 4:35 (6:40). The disciple and the teacher  |  |
| 6:41–42. The speck and the beam   | 4:36–37 (6:41–42). The speck and the beam  |  |

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| 6:43–45. The tree is known by its fruit              | 4:38–40 (6:43–45). The tree is known by its fruit                            |   |
| 6:46. Not just saying master, master                 | 4:41 (6:46). Not just saying Lord, Lord                                      |   |
| 6:47–49. Houses built on rock or sand                | 4:42–44 (6:47–49). Houses built on rock or sand                              |   |
|  | «After saying these words, Jesus descended the mountain with his disciples.» | The logia that follow put Jesus and the disciples in public settings. |
| 7:1, 3, 6b–9, ?10?. The centurion's faith            | 4:45–51 (7:1, 3, 6–10). The centurion's faith                                |   |
| 7:18–19, 22–23. John's inquiry about the one to come | 5:1–4 (7:18–19, 22–23). Signs that Jesus is the one to come                  |   |
| 7:24–28. John—more than a prophet                    | 5:5–9 (7:24–28). John—more than a prophet                                    |   |
| 7:[29–30]]. [[For and against John]]                 | 5:10–11 (7:29–30). For and against John                                      |   |
| 7:31–35. This generation and Wisdom's children       | 5:12–16 (7:31–35). This generation and Wisdom's children                     |   |
|  | 5:17–23 (7:37–41, 49–50). The sinful woman                                   | Lukan order   |
|  | 5:24–29 (8:5–10). The sower and the reason for parables                      |   |
| 9:57–60. Confronting potential followers             | [see 3:2–5]  |   |
| 10:2–3. Workers for the harvest                      | [see 10:8–9]   |   |
| 10:4–9. Instructions for the mission                 | [see 10:10–15]   |   |
| 10:10–12. Response to a town's rejection             | [see 10:16–18]   |   |
| 10:13–15. Woes on Galilean towns                     | [see 10:19–21]   |   |
| 10:16. Whoever takes you in, takes me in             | [see 10:22]  |   |
| 10:21–22, 23b–24. Jesus' prayer of thanksgiving      | [see 10:26–29]   |   |
| 11:2b–4. The Lord's Prayer                           | [see 10:30–32]   |   |

- 11:9–13. The certainty of the answer to prayer [see 10:33–34]  
 6:1–5 (20:21–25). Tribute to Caesar  
 6:6–17 (20:27–38). Marriage and the resurrection  
 6:18–21 (10:25–28). The great commandment
- 11:14–15, 17–20. Refuting the Beelzebul accusation 6:23–29 (11:14–15, 17–22). The Beelzebul accusation
- 11: [[21–22]]. [[Looting a strong person]] [see preceding logion]
- 11:23. The one not with me [see next logion]
- 11:24–26. The return of the unclean spirit 6:30–33 (11:23–26). The return of the unclean spirit
- 11:27–28? ?Hearing and keeping God’s word? 6:34–35 (11:27–28). Blessed are those who keep God’s word
- 11:16, 29–30. The sign of Jonah for this generation 6:36–40 (11:16, 29–32). The sign of Jonah for this generation
- 11:31–32. Something more than Solomon and Jonah [see preceding logion]  
 6:41–51 ([M] 15:1–11). Unwashed hands Luke 11:37–41 may look back to this logion, and *Logoi* 6:52–54 (11:33–35) makes a fitting conclusion to it.
- 11:33. The light on the lampstand 6:52 (11:33). The light on the lampstand
- 11:34–35. The jaundiced eye 6:53–54 (11:34–35). The evil eye  
 «Then Jesus turned to the Pharisees and exegetes of the Law and told them:» Jesus last addressed the disciples, but in the next logia addresses hostile religious authorities
- 11:39a?, 42, 39b, 41, 43–44. Woes against the Pharisees [see the next logia]

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 11:46b, 52, 47–48. Woes against the exegetes of the law | 7:1–3 (11:46, 43, 52).<br>Woes against religious leaders 1: On exploitation     | This sequence of woes generally follows Matthew. Luke seems to have rearranged the order to place purity issues first because of the context of a meal. |
|   | 7:4–10 ([M] 23:16–22).<br>Woes against religious leaders 2: On oaths            |   |
|   | 7:11–16 (11:42, 39, 41, 44, 47–48). Woes against religious leaders 3: On purity |   |
| 11:49–51. Wisdom’s judgment on this generation          | 7:17–19 (11:49–51). Wisdom’s judgment on this generation                        |   |
|   | 7:20–21 (13:34–35). Judgment over Jerusalem                                     | Matthean order. The preceding logion and this one both allude to 2 Chr 24.  |
|   | 7:22 ([Mk] 14:58). Jesus will destroy the sanctuary                             |   |
|   | «Jesus took the disciples aside.»   | The following logia require a change of audience.   |
|   | 8:1 (12:1). Keep yourselves from the leaven of the Pharisees                    |   |
| 12:2–3. Proclaiming what was whispered                  | 8:2–3 (12:2–3). What was whispered will be known                                |   |
| 12:4–5. Not fearing the body’s death                    | 8:4–7 (12:4–7). Not fearing the body’s death                                    |   |
| 12:6–7. More precious than many sparrows                | [see preceding logion]  |   |
| 12:8–9. Confessing or denying                           | 8:8–9 (12:8–9). Confessing or denying   |   |
| 12:10. Speaking against the Holy Spirit                 | 8:10 (12:10). Speaking against the Holy Spirit                                  |   |
| 12:11–12. Hearings before synagogues                    | 8:11–12 (12:11–12). Hearings before synagogues                                  |   |
| 12:33–34. Storing up treasures in heaven                | [see 10:43–44]  |   |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| 12:22b–31. Free from anxiety like ravens and lilies        | [see 10:51–60]  |
|  | 8:13–16 (12:35–38). Preparing for the return of the master            |
| 12:39–40. The Son of Humanity comes as a robber            | 8:17–23 (12:39–40, 42–46). The faithful or unfaithful slave           |
| 12:42–46. The faithful or unfaithful slave                 | [see the preceding logion]  |
| 12:49, 51, 53. Children against parents                    | 8:24–27 (12:49, 51, 53, 52). Children against parents                 |
| 12:54–56. Judging the Time                                 | 8:28–30 (12:54–56). Judging the Time                                  |
| 12:58–59. Settling out of court                            | [see 4:10–11]   |
| 13:18–19. The mustard seed                                 | 8:31–32 (13:18–19). The mustard seed                                  |
| 13:20–21. The yeast  | 8:33–34 (13:20–21). The yeast   |
| 13:24–27. I do not know you                                | 8:35–38 (13:24–27). I do not know you                                 |
| 13:29, 28. Many shall come from sunrise and sunset         | 8:39–40 (13:29, 28). Many shall come from sunrise and sunset          |
| 13:30. The reversal of the last and the first              | 8:41 (13:30). The reversal of the last and the first                  |
| 13:34–35. Judgment over Jerusalem                          |   |
| 14: [[11]]. [[The exalted humbled and the humble exalted]] | 8:42 (14:11). The exalted humbled and the humble exalted              |
| 14:16–18, ?19–20?, 21, 23. The invited dinner guests       | 8:43–49 (14:16–21, 23). The great supper                              |
| 14:26. Hating one's family                                 | 8:50–52 (14:26–27, 17:33). Hating one's family and taking one's cross |
| 14:27. Taking one's cross                                  | [see the preceding logion]  |
| 17:33. Finding or losing one's life                        | [see the preceding logion]  |
| 14:34–35. Insipid salt                                     | [see 4:8–9]   |



|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
|  | 8:53–54 (17:1–2). Against enticing little ones           | Mark locates this logion immediately before the next one.  |
|  | 8:55–56 ([M] 5:30, 29).<br>Cut off offending limbs       |  |
|  | 8:57–58 (18:24–25). The camel and the eye of a needle    |  |
|  | 8:59–61 (15:4–5, 7). The lost sheep                      | Matt 18:12–35 and Luke 15:4–16:9 have similar sequences of logia that seem to reflect the sequence in <i>Logoi</i> that ends with an equivalent to 8:71–79 (16:1–9). |
|  | 8:62–64 (15:8–10). The lost coin                         |  |
|  | 8:65–68 ([M] 21:28–31). The two sons                     |  |
|  | 8:69–70 (17:3–4). Forgiving a sinning brother repeatedly |  |
|  | 8:71–82 (16:1–12). The unjust manager                    |  |
| 16:13. God or mammon                             | 8:83 (16:13). God or mammon                              |  |
| 16:16. Since John the kingdom of God             | [see 4:10]   |  |
| 16:17. No serif of the law to fall               | [see 4:11]   |  |
| 16:18. Divorce leading to adultery               | [see 4:13]   |  |
| 17:1–2. Against enticing little ones             | [see 8:53–54]  |  |
| 15:4–5a, 7. The lost sheep                       | [see 8:59–61]  |  |
| 13: [[8–10]]. [[The lost coin]]                  | [see 8:62–64]  |  |
| 17:3–4. Forgiving a sinning brother repeatedly   | [see 8:69–70]  |  |
| 17:6. Faith like a mustard seed                  | [see 10:37]  |  |
| 17: [[20–21]]. [[The kingdom of God within you]] | ———  |  |
| 17:23–24. The Son of Humanity like lightning     | 9:1–2 (17:23–24). The Son of Man like lightning          |  |
| 17:37. Vultures around a corpse                  | 9:3–8 (17:37, 26–30). As in the days of Noah             |  |

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| 17:26–27, ?28–29?, 30. As<br>in the days of Noah | [see the preceding logion]  |  |
| 17:34–35. One taken, one<br>left                 | 9:9–10 (17:34–35). One<br>taken, one left   |  |
| 19:12–13, 15–24, 26. The<br>entrusted money      | 9:11–23 (19:12–13,<br>15–24, 26). The<br>entrusted money<br>10:1–7 (8:1, 9:1–2, [M]<br>10:5, 7:6, 10:6, 23). Do<br>not go to the Gentiles<br>10:8–9 (10:2–3). Workers<br>for the harvest<br>10:10–15 (10:4–9).<br>Instructions for the<br>mission<br>10:16–18 (10:10–12).<br>Response to a town’s<br>rejection<br>10:19–21 (10:13–15).<br>Woes on Galilean<br>towns<br>10:22 (10:16). Whoever<br>takes you in, takes me<br>in | Each of the Synoptics<br>locates the Mission Speech<br>earlier in their Gospels; so<br>does <i>CEQ</i> . But no Gospel<br>narrates their mission<br>per se; the returns of the<br>disciples to Jesus in Mark<br>and Luke are editorial.<br>Mark seems to have placed<br>his version of the Mission<br>Speech early in the narra-<br>tive to explain how Antipas<br>had heard about Jesus.<br>Matthew and Luke fol-<br>lowed Mark’s lead. Even so,<br>Matthew’s great commission<br>(28:16–20) echoes <i>Logoi’s</i><br>Mission Speech, as do Luke’s<br>account of the Last Supper<br>(22:28–30 and 35) and the<br>sending of the eleven at the<br>Ascension (Acts 1:6–8). On<br>literary grounds it makes<br>most sense to place the<br>speech at the end of <i>Logoi</i> .<br>The locations of the prayer<br>in Matthew and Luke are<br>secondary. At this location,<br>the prayer emboldens the<br>disciples for the sacrifices of<br>the mission. |
|  | 10:23–25 (10:17–19). The<br>fall of Satan   | Lukan order  |
|  | 10:26–29 (10:21–24).<br>Jesus’ prayer   |  |
|  | 10:30–32 (11:2–4). The<br>disciples’ prayer   |  |

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
|   | 10:33–36 (11:5–8). The generous friend                          | This follows the disciples' prayer in Luke.   |
|   | 10:37 (17:6). Faith like a mustard seed                         | The locations of this logion in Matthew and Luke seem to be secondary. Mark places it before the next logion. |
|   | 10:38–42 (11:9–13). The certainty of the answer to prayer       | As in <i>CEQ</i> , this logion must have come soon after the disciples' prayer.                               |
| 12:33–34. Storing up treasures in heaven              | 10:43–44 (12:33–34). Storing up treasures in heaven             | Matthean order  |
|   | 10:45–50 (12:16–21). The rich fool                              | Matthew omitted this parable.   |
| 12:22b–31. Free from anxiety like ravens and lilies   | 10:51–60 (12:22–31). Free from anxiety like ravens and lilies   | Matthean order  |
| 22:28, 30. You will judge the twelve tribes of Israel | 10:61–63 (22:28–30). You will judge the twelve tribes of Israel |   |

APPENDIX 5  
*EXPOSITION OF LOGIA ABOUT THE LORD:*  
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

The textual reconstruction is based on these fragments.

- Norelli frg. 1 (*Papia*, 174–77). Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5.33.3–4  
Norelli frg. 5 (*Papia*, 230–38). Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1–17  
Norelli frg. 6 (*Papia*, 336–40). Apollinaris of Laodicea, fragment on  
Matt 27:5  
Norelli frg. 10 (*Papia*, 364–67). Philip of Side, fragment from *Codex  
Baroccianus* 142  
Norelli frg. 12a (*Papia*, 392–99). Andrew of Caesarea, *Commentary  
on the Apocalypse*, discourse 12, chapter 34, on Rev 12:7–9  
Norelli frg. 13 (*Papia*, 412–13). John of Scythopolis, scholia on Dio-  
nysius the Areopagite in *De Caelesti hierarchia* chapter 2  
Norelli frg. 15 (*Papia*, 422–23). Anastasius of Sinai, *Anagogical Con-  
templations on the Six Days of Creation* 1  
Norelli frg. 16 (*Papia*, 428–29). Anastasius of Sinai, *Anagogical Con-  
templations on the Six Days of Creation* 7

The text and translation uses the following conventions to indicate the reliability of the fragments. Direct citations appear as inset block quotes; secondary allusions are flush to the left margin; content that seems to be required by the citations is bulleted.

## Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις

0 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1])—Eusebius: τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ἃ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως.

1:1 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.14])—Eusebius: Καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἄριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις, ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψαντες.

1:2 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.7])—Eusebius: ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασιν τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις.

1:3 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15])

Καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγεν· Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ· ὅς πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἥμαρτεν Μάρκος οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσεν παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

1:4 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16])

Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο, ἡρμήνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.

## EXPOSITION OF LOGIA ABOUT THE LORD

0 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1])—Eusebius: “Writings by Papias, five in number, are extant, which also bear the title [books] of an *Exposition of Logia about the Lord*.”

## 1. PREFACE AND JOHN’S PREACHING

- The name of the author: Papias
- The name of the recipient: unknown
- The identification of at least three earlier writings about Jesus that presented logia in incompatible sequences
- The introduction of the elder John and perhaps another elder named Aristion, whose “expositions of the sayings of the Lord” probably was a written text

1:1 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.14])—Eusebius: “And he [Papias] in his own writing hands down from the previously mentioned Aristion also other *Expositions of the Logoi of the Lord* and from the elder John other traditions to which we may send the studious.”

1:2 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.7])—Eusebius: “Indeed, often recalling them by name [i.e., John and Aristion], he puts their traditions in his writings.”

1:3 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15]; cf. Norelli, frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 2.15.1-2])

The elder used to say this, too: “Mark became Peter’s translator; whatever Peter recalled of what was said or done by the Lord, Mark wrote down accurately, though not in proper sequence. For Mark himself neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but as I said, he later followed Peter, who used to craft teachings for the needs [of the occasion], not as though he were crafting a sequential arrangement of the logia about the Lord; so Mark was not in error by thus writing a few things as he remembered them, for he made it his one purpose to omit nothing that he had heard or falsely to present anything pertaining to them.”

1:4 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16])

[Quoting “the elder”:] “Matthew, for his part, set in order the logia in the Hebrew language, but each translated them as he was able.”

1:5 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.3–4])

Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τάληθῆ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῆ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγινομένας τῆς ἀληθείας· εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκῶς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους, τί Ἄνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τί ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν ἅ τε Ἄριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὀφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.

1:6 (Norelli frg. 13)—John of Scythopolis: τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν ἀκακίαν ἀσκούντας παῖδας ἐκάλουν, ὡς καὶ Παπίας δηλοῖ βιβλίῳ πρώτῳ τῶν κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεων, καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τῷ Παιδαγωγῷ.

2:1 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.17])—Eusebius: ἐκτέθειται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἦν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίου εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει.

2:2a (Norelli frg. 15)—Anastasius of Sinai lists Papias among others who held that εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πᾶσαν ἐξαήμερον.

2:2b (Norelli frg. 16)—Anastasius makes a similar claim later in the same work. Papias and others πνευματικῶς τὰ περὶ παραδείσου ἐθεώρησαν εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφερόμενοι.

2:3 (Norelli frg. 10; cf. 17)—Philip of Side: Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθησαν.

- Identification of the texts that John considered to be translations of Matthew

1:5 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.3-4])

But I will not hesitate to set in order also for you whatever I learned well and remembered well from the elders with interpretations to confirm their reliability; for I would not take joy, as many would, in those who had much to say, but in those who taught the truth; not in those who remembered the commandments of others, but in those who remembered the commandments given by the Lord for faith and derived from the truth itself. If ever someone who had followed the elders should come by, I would investigate the sayings of the elders, what Andrew or Peter said, or Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples had said, or what Aristion and the elder John, disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not consider things derived from books to benefit me as much as things derived from a living and surviving voice.

1:6 (Norelli frg. 13)—John of Scythopolis: “Those who exercise themselves in not doing harm with respect to God they call ‘children,’ as Papias in the first book of his *Expositions [of Logia] about the Lord* makes clear, as well as Clement of Alexandria in the *Paidagogos*.”

## 2. JESUS IN GALILEE AND JUDEA (?)

2:1 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.17]) Eusebius: “And he [Papias] also referred to another tale about a woman who had been accused before the Lord of many sins, a tale that the *Gospel of the Hebrews* contains.”

2:2a (Norelli frg. 15)—Anastasius of Sinai listed Papias with Clement, Pantaeus, and Ammonius Saccus as those who thought that “all of the hexameron [referred] to Christ and the church.”

2:2b (Norelli frg. 16)—Anastasius also appealed to Philo of Alexandria, Papias, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Pantaenus, and Clement (and later to Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa), as those who “viewed things about paradise spiritually by referring to the church of Christ.”

2:3 (Norelli frg. 10; cf. 17)—Philip of Side: “In the second book Papias says that John [the Theologian] and his brother James were killed by the Jews.”



3:0 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.11-12])—Eusebius: Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκοντα παρατίθεται ξένας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα μυθικώτερα· ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα τινὰ φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησί τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης· ἃ καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεξάμενον διηγῆσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνεορακότα.

4:1 (Norelli frg. 1)—Irenaeus: [...] Praedicta itaque benedictio ad tempora regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt iusti surgentes a mortuis, quando et creatura renovata et liberata multitudinem fructificabit universae escae ex rore caeli et ex fertilitate terrae. Quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt, qui Johannem discipulum domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat dominus et dicebat ...

4:2 (Norelli frg. 1)

Venient dies in quibus vineae nascentur singulae decem millia palmium habentes, et in unoquoque palmito dena millia brachiorum, et in unoquoque brachio dena millia flagellorum et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botruorum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum, et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit vigintiquinque metretas vini. Et cum [eorum] apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botruum alius clamabit botrus: "Ego melior sum, me sume, per me dominum benedic." Similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum, et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum, et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres similae clarae mundaе, et reliqua autem poma et semina et herbam secundum congruentiam his consequentem, et omnia animalia his cibis utentia qui a terra accipiuntur pacifica et consentanea invicem fieri, subiecta hominibus cum omni subiectione.

4:3 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1]; cf. Norelli frg. 1)—The continuation of Irenaeus's account according to Eusebius: Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων. ἔστιν γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα.

## 3. JESUS IN JERUSALEM (?)

3.0 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.11-12])—Eusebius: “He [Papias] also added other content as though they came to him from an unwritten tradition, as well as some of the savior’s foreign parables, his teachings, and some other things even more fictional, among which he said that there will be a thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, when the kingdom of Christ will be established physically on this earth. I imagine that he assumed these things by misconstruing the apostolic accounts without noting that they were spoken from them [the apostles] symbolically in figures.”

## 4. JESUS’ DEATH AND RESURRECTION

4:1 (Norelli frg. 1)—Irenaeus: “[The blessings of Gen 27:28 refer to the time] when creation, renewed and liberated, will bear an abundance of every kind of food ‘from the dew of heaven and the fertility of the earth’; thus the elders who saw John the disciple of the Lord recalled having heard from him how the Lord used to teach concerning those times and say: ...”

4:2 (Norelli frg. 1)

The days will come when vineyards shall grow each with ten thousand vines, and on one vine ten thousand branches, and on one branch ten thousand shoots, and on every shoot ten thousand clusters, and in every cluster ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give twenty-five measures of wine; and when one of the saints grasps a cluster, another cluster will cry out: “I am better, take me, bless the Lord on my account.” Similarly a grain of wheat will bring forth ten thousand ears, and every ear will have ten thousand grains, and every grain ten pounds of clean white flour. And all the other fruits and seeds and grass will bring forth in like proportion. And all the animals using foods which are produced by the earth will live beautifully and harmoniously together, fully subject to humans. (Schoedel’s translation, altered)

4:3 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1]; cf. Norelli frg. 1) The continuation of Irenaeus’s account according to Eusebius: “Papias, who was John’s hearer and Polycarp’s companion, a man of old, gives written witness in the fourth of his books; he wrote five books in all.”

4:4 (Norelli frg. 1)

Haec autem credibilia sunt credentibus et Juda ... proditore non credente et interrogante: Quomodo ergo tales geniturae a domino perficientur?, dixisse dominum: Videbunt qui venient in illa.

4:5 (Norelli frg. 6)—Apollinaris of Laodicea: Οὐκ ἐναπέθανε τῇ ἀγχόνῃ ὁ Ἰούδας, ἀλλ' ἐπεβίω καθαιρεθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ ἀποπνιγῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεις, ὅτι πρηνῆς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δὲ σαφέστερον ἰστορεῖ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μαθητῆς λέγων οὕτως ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τῶν κυριακῶν λόγων.

4:6 (Norelli frg. 6)—Apollinaris next quotes Papias:

Μέγα δὲ ἀσεβείας ὑπόδειγμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιεπάτησεν Ἰούδας, πρηνεὶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα, ὥστε μὴδὲ ὀπόθεν ἄμαξα ῥαδίως διέρχεται, ἐκείνον δύνασθαι διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ αὐτὸν μόνον τὸν ὄγκον τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ βλέφαρα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ φασι τοσοῦτον ἐξοιδῆσαι, ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν καθόλου τὸ φῶς μὴ βλέπειν, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴδὲ ὑπὸ ἰατροῦ διόπτρας ὀφθῆναι δύνασθαι· τοσοῦτον βάθος εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπιφανείας, τὸ δὲ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ πάσης μὲν ἀσχημοσύνης ἀηδέστερον καὶ μεῖζον φαίνεσθαι, φέρεσθαι δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ σώματος συρρέοντας ἰχώρας τε καὶ σκώληκας εἰς ὕβριν δι' αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

Μετὰ πολλὰς δὲ βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας ἐν ἰδίῳ φασὶν χωρίῳ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς δυσωδίας ἔρημον καὶ ἀοίκητον τὸ χωρίον μέχρι τῆς νῦν γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον δύνασθαι τινα ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον παρελθεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ τὰς ῥίνας ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφράξῃ. τοσαύτη διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔκρυσις ἐχώρησεν.

4:7 (Norelli frg. 12a)—Andrew of Caesarea: Καὶ Παπίας δὲ οὕτως ἐπὶ λέξεως·

ἐνίοις δὲ αὐτῶν—δηλαδή τῶν πάλαι θείων ἀγγέλων—καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν γῆν διακοσμήσεως ἔδωκεν ἄρχειν καὶ καλῶς ἄρχειν παρηγγύησεν.

καὶ ἐξῆς φησὶν·

εἰς οὐδὲν δὲ συνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν.

4:4 (Norelli frg. 1)

[Jesus speaks:] “These things are credible to those who believe. And,” he [Papias] says, “when Judas the traitor did not believe and asked, ‘How then will such extraordinary growths be brought about by the Lord?’ the Lord declared, ‘Those who are alive when they take place will see them.’” (Schoedel)

4:5 (Norelli frg. 6)—Apollinaris of Laodicea: “Judas did not die by hanging, but he survived for a while because he was taken down before he choked. And the Acts of the Apostles makes this clear: ‘falling face down, he burst in the middle, and all his guts poured out.’ Papias, John’s disciple, records this even more clearly when he speaks as follows in his fourth volume of Exposition of the Logoi of the Lord.”

4:6 (Norelli frg. 6)—Apollinaris next quotes Papias.

Judas conducted himself in this world as a paradigm of impiety. His flesh became so bloated that he was unable to pass through an opening large enough for a chariot easily to pass. Not even the massiveness of his head could get through! They say that his eyelids were so swollen that he was entirely unable to see the light, and even physicians with magnifying glasses could not see his eyes, so deeply had they sunk beyond sight. His penis appeared to be more repulsive and larger than any such disgraceful member, and bloody discharge and maggots poured from all over his body, which caused injury whenever he attended to his bodily needs.

They say that after many tortures and punishments he died in his own plot, which became deserted and uninhabited even to this day due to its stench. Still today no one can pass by that place without pinching his nostrils, such was the efflux that seeped from his flesh to the ground.

4:7 (Norelli frg. 12a)—Andrew of Caesarea: “Papias wrote verbatim as follows:

‘To some of them’—apparently angels who once had been divine—‘he gave [authority] to rule over the arrangement of the earth and gave them orders to rule well.’

And next he says,

‘It turned out that their arrangement came to no good end.’”

5:1 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.8-9]) Eusebius: Ἄξιον δὲ ταῖς ἀποδοθείσαις τοῦ Παπία φωναῖς προσάψαι λέξεις ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν παράδοξά τινα ἱστορεῖκαί ἄλλα ὡς ἂν ἐκ παραδόσεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν Φίλιππον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα ταῖς θυγατράσιν διατρίψαι διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν δεδήλωται· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ Παπίας γενόμενος, διήγησιν παρειληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου θυγατέρων μνημονεύει, τὰ νῦν σημειωτέον· νεκροῦ γὰρ ἀνάστασιν κατ' αὐτὸν γεγονυῖαν ἱστορεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς πάλιν ἕτερον παράδοξον περὶ Ἰουστον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Βαρσαβᾶν γεγονός, ὡς δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐπιόντος καὶ μηδὲν ἀηδὲς διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου χάριν ὑπομείναντος.

5:2 (Norelli frg. 10)—Philip of Side: Παπίας ὁ εἰρημένος ἱστόρησεν ὡς παραλαβὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Φιλίππου ὅτι Βαρσαβᾶς ὁ καὶ Ἰουστός δοκιμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων ἰὸν ἐχίδνης πίων ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπαθὴς διεφυλάχθη. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα θαύματα καὶ μάλιστα τὸ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα Μαναΐμου τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστᾶσαν. περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντων, ὅτι ἕως Ἁδριανοῦ ἔζων.

## 5. EVENTS AFTER JESUS' RESURRECTION (?)

5:1 (Norelli frg. 5 [*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.8-9])—Eusebius: “But it is appropriate to add to the utterances of Papias already presented some of his other statements, in which he tells of other wonders as though they came to him from tradition. From what was said earlier it was clear that Philip the apostle lived at Hierapolis with his daughters. Now it should be indicated that, because Papias lived in their day, he could recall that he had received a marvelous tale from the daughters of Philip, for he narrates the rising of a dead person in his own day, and again another marvelous event about Justus surnamed Barsabbas—how he drank a fatal poison and, by the grace of the Lord, suffered nothing out of the ordinary.”

5:2 (Norelli frg. 10)—Philip of Side, who knew this passage from Eusebius, altered it and added other details. “The previously mentioned Papias narrated, as though having received from the daughters of Philip, that Barsabbas, also Justus, having been put to the test by unbelievers, drank snake venom in the name of Christ as was protected without harm. And he also regales other marvelous events and especially an episode about the raising of Manaemus’s mother from the dead. Concerning those who had been raised from the dead by Christ, [he said] that they lived until the time of Hadrian.”



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**W**ith characteristic boldness and careful reassessment of the evidence, MacDonald offers an alternative reconstruction of Q and an alternative solution to the Synoptic Problem: the Q+/Papias Hypothesis. To do so, he reconstructs and interprets two lost books about Jesus: the earliest Gospel, which was used as a source by the authors of Mark, Matthew, and Luke; and the earliest commentary on the Gospels, by Papias of Hierapolis, who apparently knew Mark, Matthew, and the lost Gospel, which he considered to be an alternative Greek translation of a Semitic Matthew. MacDonald also explores how these two texts, well known into the fourth century, shipwrecked with the canonization of the New Testament and the embarrassment at outmoded eschatologies in both the lost Gospel and Papias's *Exposition*.

*"Dennis MacDonald is one of the most creative and intellectually innovative New Testament scholars of his generation. In this bold new book, MacDonald dares to reimagine the textual landscape of early Gospel traditions. Attention is focused on reconstructing two lost Gospel texts, the Logoi of Jesus (the so-called Q source) and Papias's The Exposition of Logia about the Lord. MacDonald develops a new paradigm for reconstructing Q, and in the process generates a text nearly twice as long as traditional reconstructions. This he calls Q+. In relation to Papias's Exposition, MacDonald argues that work was a commentary on three gospel texts: Matthew, Mark and the Logoi of Jesus. Here MacDonald seeks to reassemble the surviving fragments of Papias's work in their original order and he speculates concerning the material that would have filled the gaps between these fragments. MacDonald's work is brave, challenging, and stimulating. If his ideas prove correct the implication for New Testament scholarship and current understandings of the transmission of the Jesus tradition would be truly revolutionary."*—Paul Foster, School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh

DENNIS R. MACDONALD is John Wesley Professor of New Testament and Christian Origins, Claremont School of Theology. He is the author or editor of a number of works, including *Christianizing Homer* (Oxford University Press), *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark*, and *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer? Four Cases from the Acts of the Apostles* (both from Yale University Press).

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