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Is Q Necessary? A Source, Text, and Redaction Critical Approach to the Synoptic Problem

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement  
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by

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## 1.0 Introduction

Q, the so-called lost sayings source behind the gospels of Matthew and Luke, is often introduced to undergraduate New Testament students at the beginning of their education about the Synoptic Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. For some scholars, such as Burton Mack, Q represents the original words of Jesus, preserved in the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>1</sup> Others, such as Alan Kirk, have attempted to divide Q into redactional layers, determining in what order Q took shape and how the separate layers speak to different concerns of the early Christian church.<sup>2</sup>

However, no extant copy of Q exists. On some level, Q should be approached as a scholarly tool, not as an assured finding of critical New Testament scholarship. Q is a useful way to negotiate the maze of the Synoptic gospels, attempting to uncover the sources that lie behind the gospels in an attempt to understand precisely how they relate to the earliest Christians. To that end, this study approaches the question of whether Q exists, and, if it does not, how the creation of the Synoptic Gospels can be best hypothesized.

### 1.1 The Synoptic Problem

The Synoptic Problem refers to the relationship among the three Synoptic Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. These three gospels are known as “Synoptic,” (from the Greek *σύν*, to see) since their material, when placed in three parallel columns, appears almost identical. That is, they recount similar stories, often in markedly similar order, and often with only minor differentiations in detail. The Synoptic Gospels are to be contrasted with the Gospel of John, which recounts different events, such as the Wedding at Cana in John 2, with no Synoptic

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<sup>1</sup> Burton Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q and Christian Origins* (San Francisco: Harper, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> Alan Kirk, *The Composition of the Sayings Source: Genre, Synchrony, and Wisdom Redaction in Q* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

parallel. Accordingly, the Synoptic Problem is an attempt to understand how Matthew, Mark, and Luke are literarily related to each other.

This literary relationship, ignoring the suggestion of the existence of Q, can only take eighteen separate forms. Of these eighteen possible variants, only six are particularly viable.<sup>3</sup> This study, however, examines one theory of indirect transmission, known as the Two-Source Hypothesis, which posits that Matthew and Luke copy Mark and sayings source Q. It further examines a theory of direct transmission, known as the Farrer Hypothesis, which suggests that Luke copies both Matthew and Mark.

## 1.2 The Theories Under Consideration

This section provides a brief overview of the two theories that this study will examine.<sup>4</sup> The reasoning for the examination of these two theories and these two theories alone is explained in detail. This study assumes that Mark is the first Synoptic gospel written, a position known as Markan priority. Since Markan priority is the overwhelming consensus view of New Testament scholars today, this study will not provide an argument for it. Markan priority is to be taken as against Matthean or Lukan priority which respectively suppose that Matthew or Luke was the first Synoptic gospel written.

### 1.2a The Two-Source Hypothesis

The Two-Source Hypothesis posits that Matthew and Luke were written independently of each other, using the Gospel of Mark and sayings source Q in the development of their respective gospels. That is, it holds to Markan priority, the idea that Mark wrote first among the

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<sup>3</sup> W.R. Farmer "A New Introduction to the Problem," in *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (ed. Arthur M. Bellinzoni, Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985), 174.

<sup>4</sup> See below, 2.1 for the Two-Source Theory and 2.5 for the Farrer Hypothesis

gospels. As this study will show, the Two-Source Hypothesis has become the dominant theory of Synoptic origins among both English speaking and German speaking scholars. Yet, the Two-Source Hypothesis did not automatically become the dominant model. Instead, it required a revolution in New Testament scholarship for the Two-Source model to gain acceptance over its competitors, especially in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Throughout the twentieth century, the Two-Source model was refined and expanded upon, with some of its necessary implications teased out. However, in recent years, the Two-Source paradigm has come under attack by both the revived Griesbach Hypothesis and the Farrer Hypothesis.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, the consensus that existed in the 1950s has been significantly challenged.

### 1.2b The Farrer Hypothesis

The Farrer Hypothesis is named for Austin Farrer, its most prominent proponent. Much like the Two-Source Hypothesis, it too assumes Markan priority. However, it does not assume that Matthew and Luke are independent of each other. The Farrer Hypothesis instead proposes that Luke was quite aware of Matthew, using his gospel in conjunction with Mark's gospel in order to fashion the Gospel of Luke. Under the Farrer Hypothesis, Matthew is still dependent on Mark, but sayings source Q is not posited; Matthew's independent material comes from other sources or redactional activity. Largely, material shared by Matthew, Mark, and Luke has Matthew and Luke following Mark nearly verbatim, or the shared material differs slightly due to redactional activity. In some cases, Matthew and Luke do not follow Mark's material, but agree with each other against Mark. These disagreements are known as Minor Agreements. Yet, the

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<sup>5</sup> This study will not consider the Griesbach Hypothesis, as it is a theory of Matthean priority, not Markan.

Farrer Hypothesis is a decidedly minority position. Although it has gained adherents in recent years, most introductory textbooks fail to mention it, or only mention it in a cursory fashion.

### 1.3 Methodology

First, this study shall provide a review of the relevant literature in order to explain how the *status quaestionis* today came into existence. It will discuss how the Two-Source and Farrer Hypotheses originated, who the major players in the development of both of them were, and identify critically important literature in the development of each. Moreover, it will discuss how German, American, and Canadian scholars see the two proffered Synoptic solutions in the lens of today's scholarship.

After elaborating on how German, Canadian, and American scholars view Synoptic solutions, it will select three Minor Agreements from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke and provide them in both Greek and English translation. These Minor Agreements will be examined in light of both the Two-Source and Farrer Hypotheses. Other ancillary issues, such as issues of textual criticism or redactional criticism, shall be discussed alongside the consideration of the respective hypotheses. Finally, a conclusion shall be rendered upon each particular Minor Agreement and explained in the greater debate between the Two-Source and Farrer Hypotheses. The Minor Agreements are critical to this examination, since one striking Minor Agreement has the possibility to challenge or even eliminate the possibility of Luke's independence from Matthew.<sup>6</sup> If Lukan dependence on Matthew can be demonstrated, then Q becomes an unnecessary postulate and can be eliminated by Occam's razor.

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<sup>6</sup> Michael Goulder, "Luke's Knowledge of Matthew," in *The Minor Agreements: Symposium Gottingen* (ed. Georg Strecker, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1993) 143.

## 1.4 Importance of Study

This study addresses two critical questions. First, whether or not the sayings document Q exists, and second, whether or not it is easier to explain the origin of the Synoptic Gospels based solely on a literary relationship amongst the three, without reference to any lost sources or outside documents. This study further has implications for the nature of earliest Christianity, as Q is often thought to be a window into a pre-gospel Judaic Christian community that putatively existed in Galilee, who likely developed its theology prior to St. Paul the Apostle. In addition, if Q can be shown not to exist, there are implications as to the dates of both the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, with a re-dating of the gospels potentially under consideration. Similarly, this study may have implications for the study of the historical Jesus of Nazareth, as Mark and Q are often appealed to as two independent sources for Jesus' sayings and teachings.

However, before any of these implications are teased out, a review of research is necessary. That is, how did the field arrive in the position it is in right now, who supports what hypotheses, and what theory has the upper hand in number of adherents?

## Review of Research

### 2.1 Introduction

New Testament scholarship today is fundamentally dependent on scholarly work of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Until recently, source critical questions, questions involving the sources behind the Synoptic gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) are thought by most scholars to have been satisfactorily answered in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. As a result, a particular model of Synoptic origins known as the Two-Source Hypothesis has become the standard assumption among New Testament specialists. Under the Two-Source Hypothesis, Mark wrote first, then Matthew and Luke used a sayings source known as “Q” alongside the Gospel of Mark in order to create their gospels. On this line of thinking, Matthew and Luke were unaware of each other’s gospel, so neither Luke nor Matthew used each other. From this point of departure, scholars attempt to uncover the history behind the Gospels, reconstructing the origins of Christianity. This study aims to examine whether or not the confidence placed in the Two-Source Hypothesis is justified. Is there a better alternative, or is the Two-Source Hypothesis the best and most parsimonious explanation of the data?

### 2.2 The Synoptic Problem

The Synoptic Problem discusses the relationship among Matthew, Mark, and Luke, the three Synoptic Gospels. That is, how were the gospels developed and what sources did the evangelists use? These Gospels are known as the “Synoptic Gospels” due to their great similarity when compared pericope by pericope, also known as a Synopsis.<sup>7</sup>The Gospel of John is not considered a Synoptic Gospel, as, while it may share some tradition with the Gospel of Luke, it

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<sup>7</sup> Bart D. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 76.



is largely different from the Synoptics, with differing timelines, events, and discourses. The relationship of the Gospel of John to the Synoptic tradition is outside of the scope of this study and will not be discussed.

It is not immediately clear whether or not the Synoptic Problem has a definite solution. There are at least three points of view to the question, all of which have attracted significant scholarly support:

1. The Synoptic Problem is insoluble, the evidence is inadequate to provide one compelling solution.<sup>8</sup>
2. The Synoptic Problem has a definite solution, and the proposed solution is not a hypothesis, but a finding.<sup>9</sup>
3. No solution eliminates all of the issues, but one solution accounts for the most data while minimizing the issues that it raises.<sup>10</sup>

It is not particularly clear which of these positions is preferable, though #3 may allow one to approach the question with some reasonable hope of determining an answer. Yet, Joseph Fitzmyer's remark should not be cast aside so lightly: any answer to the Synoptic Problem is by nature hypothetical.<sup>11</sup> This study endeavors to show that there may be multiple valid interpretations of the data, with slight preference towards one or the other. Autographs, the original manuscripts, of the Gospels do not exist, and the lacunae of relevant early sources addressing the issue does not allow for an easy external answer. Indeed, the early sources that do

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<sup>8</sup> Joseph Fitzmyer "The Priority of Mark and the Q Source in Luke," in *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies* (ed. Joseph Fitzmyer, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 132-133.

<sup>9</sup> Willi Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament: An Approach to its Problems* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), 118.

<sup>10</sup> Raymond Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 111.

<sup>11</sup> John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 54.

exist, such as 1 Clement, only allow for a *terminus ante quem*, the latest possible date. Additionally, the dates assigned to the gospels are relatively arbitrary- they could have been written at any point between the 40s and the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Therefore, a solution must be formulated strictly based on the internal evidence, which requires an assumption of certain base facts.

Almost every solution to the Synoptic Problem has been proposed. Many of these solutions, however, are implausible, requiring existing data to be ignored or marginalized. The vast majority of New Testament scholars today support one of three hypotheses:

1. The Two-Source Hypothesis
2. The Farrer Hypothesis
3. The Griesbach (Two-Gospel) Hypothesis

This study assumes Markan Priority. Markan priority, rather simply, means that the Gospel of Mark was the first gospel written. This decision is not intended to neglect the excellent work done in favor of the Griesbach or Two-Gospel Hypothesis by the late W.R. Farmer.<sup>12</sup> The Griesbach Hypothesis posits that Matthew wrote first, then Luke used Matthew as a source, then Mark composed a digest of both Matthew and Mark. However, the Griesbach Hypothesis, while attractive in certain areas, falls prey to a number of serious issues, the most important of which is that it makes the existence of the Gospel of Mark difficult to explain. Consequently, this study will limit itself to two theories of Markan Priority and their derivatives. These two theories are the Two-Source Hypothesis (its offshoot, the Four-Source Hypothesis) and the Farrer

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<sup>12</sup> W.R Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1966).

Hypothesis. In order to understand these hypotheses in context, historical groundwork must first be laid.

### 2.3. A History of the Two-Source Hypothesis

The Two-Source Hypothesis, as described above, is likely still the dominant theory of Synoptic origins. Yet, it has not always enjoyed such prominence, often being in fierce competition with other, now far lesser-known theories. Yet, in order to understand Q, one must understand the history of the Two-Source Hypothesis.

#### 2.3.1 Laying the Groundwork: A History of Markan Priority

Prior to the beginning of the academic study of the New Testament, Markan Priority was not considered. Rather, the vast majority of commentators held to Matthean priority, primarily following the Augustinian Hypothesis as well as the testimony of the early Church Fathers. The Augustinian Hypothesis was propounded by its namesake, St. Augustine of Hippo, who proposed that Matthew was written first, then Mark, and finally Luke used both Matthew and Mark in order to create his own gospel.<sup>13</sup> Augustine's belief was anticipated by Clement of Alexandria, who stated that Matthew and Luke's gospels originated first, then Mark's came afterward, primarily to preserve Peter's preaching.<sup>14</sup> Overall, prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was largely assumed that Matthew had written first, though the relationship of Matthew to Mark and Luke remained a contentious matter. By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, exegetes largely held to the aforementioned Griesbach Hypothesis, so named for its first proponent, Johann Jakob

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<sup>13</sup> Augustine of Hippo, *The Harmony of the Gospels* 1:2.3-4 (London: Aeterna Press, 2015).

<sup>14</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History* 6:14.1 (trans. C.F. Cruse, Dublin: Merchant, 2011).

Griesbach.<sup>15</sup> It was against the Griesbach Hypothesis and its assumption of Matthean priority that Markan priority would be established.

Markan priority seems to have originated with the German NT scholar Karl Lachmann. Lachmann contended that Matthew and Luke almost always follow Markan order, that is, that Matthew and Luke reproduce Mark's order, rather than Luke and Mark following Matthew's order, therefore Mark is most likely the earliest gospel.<sup>16</sup> Such an argument is known as the argument from order. Despite vigorous attacks by GH proponents, such as B.C. Butler, who called Lachmann's argumentation "the Lachman Fallacy," the argument from order remains one of the crucial pieces in establishing Markan priority.<sup>17</sup> Despite Lachmann's erudition, Markan priority remained a minority position.

As the 1830s wore on, German NT scholars became increasingly convinced of Markan priority. Hermann Weisse contended that Mark was clearly behind Matthew and Luke; other sources were employed to create the Gospels of Matthew and Luke that currently exist.<sup>18</sup> The battle was far from won. Heinrich Holtzmann launched a scathing critique of Markan priority, instead opting for a lost Apostolic source (A) and attacking Markan priority on the basis that its advocates allowed for an "Ur-Mark," or a "Mark before Canonical Mark," which Holtzmann's theory disposed of.<sup>19</sup> Holtzmann's critique was primarily directed against Griesbach's advocates, which indicates that the Griesbach Hypothesis was, at the time, considered the strongest solution to the Synoptic Problem. The debate between Griesbach advocates and Markan priority

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<sup>15</sup> Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Symbolae Criticae ad Supplendas et Corrigendas Varium NT Lectionum Collectiones*. (Halaë: n.p., 1793).

<sup>16</sup> N.H. Palmer "Lachmann's Argument," *NTS* 13 (1966-1967).

<sup>17</sup> B.C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew: A Critique of the Two-Source Hypothesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 67.

<sup>18</sup> Hermann Weisse, *Die evangelische Geschichte, kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet*, (Leipzig: n.p, 1838) 55-56.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (Sheffield: University of Sheffield Press, 1989), 32.

advocates continued throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but the collapse of the Tübingen School, an influential school of thought led by F.C. Baur who also advocated the Griesbach Hypothesis, led to a slow yet steady growth in support for Markan priority. The Tübingen School's collapse was caused by a multitude of factors, the most important was the systematic destruction of many of its paradigms by scholars like Adolf von Harnack. Yet, the overarching effect was the same: Markan priority won out.

By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Markan priority seemed almost entirely secure. The German scholar Adolf von Harnack had no reservations about placing Mark as early as the 50s, thereby allowing him to date Luke-Acts prior to 62, in order to explain Acts' silence on Paul's death.<sup>20</sup> Yet, other scholars disagreed. Albert Schweitzer's book, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, discarded Markan priority in favor of Matthean priority. According to Schweitzer, Matthew 10 was close to a transcript of Jesus' charge to his disciples, with the clear implication that the apocalypse is imminent.<sup>21</sup> He further criticized Markan priority, contending that it was fallacious to simply assume that the least Christologically developed gospel is the earliest.<sup>22</sup> Despite Schweitzer's rather cogent reconstruction of Jesus as an eschatological prophet, his source critical comments were largely a remnant of earlier scholarly work. Despite the majority view shifting towards Markan priority and away from Matthean priority, it was not until the 1920s when the issue was finally and decisively settled.

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<sup>20</sup> See Adolf Von Harnack's *The Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels* (trans. John Wilkinson, London: Putnam and Sons, 1911).

<sup>21</sup> Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (trans. William Montgomery, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911), 357.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 392.

In 1924, Burnett Hillman Streeter (B.H. Streeter) released *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins*.<sup>23</sup> Streeter's work proved highly influential in the study of the Synoptic Problem and is still regarded as a standard text today. Streeter's most lasting contribution came in his arguments in support of Markan priority.

1. The Argument from Content: Matthew and Luke reproduce approximately 90% and more than 50% of Mark respectively. Moreover, in Matthean usage of Mark, Matthew reproduces Mark's exact words 51% of the time.<sup>24</sup>
2. The Argument from Wording: Matthew and Luke are often in close agreement with Mark, and rarely agree against it.<sup>25</sup>
3. The Argument from Order: Mark's order is preserved by Luke, when Matthew deviates from it, or by Matthew, when Luke deviates from it. Matthew and Luke never agree with each other's order against Mark.<sup>26</sup>
4. The Argument from Mark's Greek: Mark's Greek is by far the most primitive of the four gospels. Mark can easily be understood as a primarily oral gospel, with many repetitions and digressions. However, Matthew and Luke usually improve upon Mark's Greek, occasionally correcting it. For instance, Matthew 14 and Mark 6 both recount the death of John the Baptist. Mark calls Herod Antipas, "βασιλεύς," meaning "king". However, Matthew corrects this error to "τετραάρχης," meaning "tetrarch," which is Herod Antipas' correct title.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: MacMillan, 1924).

<sup>24</sup> B.H. Streeter, "The Case for the Priority of Mark," in *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (ed. Arthur M. Bellinzoni; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985), 25.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>27</sup> F.F. Bruce, "Herod Antipas, Tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea," *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society* 5 (1963-1965), 14.

5. The Argument from a Single Document: Both Matthew and Luke appear to be built around a Markan framework. Rather than Mark modifying Matthew's structure in order to eliminate the infancy narrative (Matthew 1 and 2), Matthew seems to be adapting Mark's structure in order to add the infancy narrative and the resurrection appearances (Matthew 28).

Streeter's arguments, especially the Argument from Order and the Argument from Mark's Greek have been heavily scrutinized. Yet, they are widely acknowledged to establish Markan priority. Despite the aforementioned attempt to revive the Griesbach Hypothesis under the name "Two-Gospel Hypothesis," Markan Priority is, in the eyes of Michael Goulder, a fact.<sup>28</sup> Goulder may be overstating the case here, though his point is well-taken, Markan priority is as close to a consensus position as anything else in New Testament studies today. However, one would be remiss to fail to mention what are likely the most convincing arguments.

The first argument stems from the presence of Semitisms in Mark and is potentially related to the Argument from Markan Greek. Semitisms are, rather simply, a Semitic word or phrase that appears in the Greek text. Throughout Mark, a number of Aramaic phrases appear, with one of the most notable coming in Mark 5:41, "Ταλιθα κουμ," which Mark translates as "Little girl, I say to you, arise." The Matthean and Lukan accounts both remove this Semitism, however. Maurice Casey's work, *The Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, examines these Markan sections in detail, claiming that they represent translations from an earlier Aramaic source<sup>29</sup> Casey's reasons that Aramaic sections reflect the fundamentally Jewish nature of Jesus' mission, which was progressively obfuscated by Christian writers

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<sup>28</sup> Michael Goulder, "Is Q a Juggernaut?," *JBL* 115, no. 4 (Winter, 1996), 670.

<sup>29</sup> Maurice Casey, *The Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 259.

seeking to distance themselves from Judaism, hence an early date.<sup>30</sup> Although Casey's conclusions have been challenged, the presence of Semitisms throughout Mark provides yet another piece of evidence in favor of Mark's priority.

The second argument is the argument from editorial fatigue. Editorial fatigue is rather simple: an editor ceases to make a correction and lapses back into what his source text says, that is, he becomes fatigued. Like the argument from the presence of Semitisms, it is related to the Argument from Markan Greek. The main thrust of the argument is as such: Matthew or Luke will make a change to Mark, such as Luke's relocation of the Feeding of the Five Thousand to Bethsaida (Luke 9:10-17). However, Mark's account has the Feeding of the Five Thousand take place in a ἔρημός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος, "a remote place" (Mark 6:35). Since the Lukan account is set in Bethsaida, a major city, Mark's account would not make sense. Yet, Luke makes the exact same remark, stating ὧδε ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ ἐσμέν, "we are here in a desert place." The word ἐρήμος means "desolate" or "empty" in this context. Yet, as Goodacre remarks, it is nonsensical to call a city desolate or empty!<sup>31</sup> Overall, the argument from editorial fatigue appears to be one of the more powerful argument in favor of Markan Priority.

Yet, Markan Priority is only part of the solutions this study examines. The Two-Source Hypothesis also posits the existence of Q in order to explain the Double Tradition material, or material found in Matthew and Luke that does not appear in Mark. Consequently, it is now necessary to provide a brief history of Q.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 259.

<sup>31</sup> Mark Goodacre, "Fatigue in the Synoptics," *NTS 44* (1998), 51.



## 2.4: The *Logia* or a Lost Source? The History of Q

The history of Q is a particularly detailed and interesting one. Over the last 180 years, scholarly opinions with regard to external evidence for Q have drastically changed. Indeed, evidence that was once thought conclusive for Q has been re-evaluated and found wanting, even by hardcore Q advocates. Yet, the literature for Q is voluminous, so a history taking into account only major works must be acceptable.

### 2.4.1. The Early History of Q

Originally, Q was associated with Papias of Hierapolis' work *The Exposition of the Sayings of the Lord*, a five volume work which is preserved only in a handful of fragments. These fragments were preserved in the writings of the historian Eusebius of Caesarea as well as Irenaeus of Lyon's *Against Heresies*, but it is also believed that there are a number of unattributed fragments in other works.<sup>32</sup> Papias remarks "Matthew put the *logia* in an ordered arrangement in the Hebrew language, but each person interpreted them as best he could."<sup>33</sup> Despite Papias' testimony, it has been demonstrated that the canonical Gospel of Matthew was written originally in Greek; it is not a translation from Aramaic or Hebrew. Consequently, NT scholars thought that Papias must have been referring to a series of sayings, the *logia*.

Moreover, these sayings are thought to have been in Aramaic, as Aramaic was likely the primary language of Jesus and his followers, though they may have also known a small amount of Greek. Friedrich Schleiermacher, the German theologian, argued that Matthew

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<sup>32</sup> Richard Bauckham, "Did Papias Write History or Exegesis?" *Journal of Theological Studies* 65, no. 10 (2014), 463.

<sup>33</sup> Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.39.16.

wrote a collection of sayings and discourses, which, following Papias, he termed the *logia*.<sup>34</sup>

Yet, he did not argue that this source was held in common by both Matthew and Luke.

Therefore, Robinson and others conclude that he does not deserve credit for discovering Q.<sup>35</sup>

Despite Schleiermacher's refusal to ascribe the *logia* to the Gospel of Luke, his arguments remained highly influential throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In general, Papias' *logia* and Q remained inextricably linked until the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, Schleiermacher's work, while revolutionary in proposing that Matthew made use of a sayings and discourses source, did not claim to establish Q's existence.

Rather, it was Karl Credner who originated the Q-idea. Credner, presaging future developments, contended that Matthew made use of Mark's notes, and the *logia* that Papias made reference to. Credner suggests that Luke used both Mark's notes and the *logia* in constructing his gospel as well. However, Michael Goulder suggests that Credner, unlike modern Two-Source theorists, suggested that the *logia* were incorporated into the Gospel of Matthew.<sup>36</sup> However, Robinson differs from Goulder, contending instead that Hermann Weisse, a German philosopher, established the existence of Q in his 1838 work.<sup>37</sup> Weisse, argued that Matthew and Luke made use of Papias' *logia*, as well as the Gospel of Mark. Rather than adducing a particularly complex argument for this contention, Weisse drew from the source material at face value. He insisted that Luke 1:1-2, "many have undertaken to set down an orderly account of the events that were fulfilled among us, just as they were handed down from the beginning by eyewitnesses and servants of the word," provided evidence for

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<sup>34</sup> Frederich Schleiermacher, "Ueber die Zeugnisse des Papias von unsern beiden ersten Evangelien," *ThStKr* 5 (1832), 738.

<sup>35</sup> James M. Robinson, "History of Q Research," in *The Critical Edition of Q* (ed. James M. Robinson, John S. Kloppenborg, Paul Hoffmann, Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), xx.

<sup>36</sup> Goulder, *Luke*, 30.

<sup>37</sup> Robinson, "History of Q," xx.

sources against the oft-argued independence hypothesis (that the gospels were created not through a literary relationship, but independent testimony). Werner Georg Kummel agrees with Robinson, stating that Weisse's work, not Credner's, was the impetus for the Q source.<sup>38</sup> In spite of the dispute over whether or not Weisse was the first proponent of Q, the fundamental argument of his work, that Matthew and Luke used Mark and the *logia* (Q), became the cornerstone of the Two-Source Hypothesis.

Holtzmann's work, already mentioned for its vicious attack on Markan priority, continued in the vein of Weisse and Credner. In opposition to both Weisse and Credner, Holtzmann was far more optimistic in identifying sources than many of his predecessors, promulgating several sources behind the canonical gospels of Mark and Matthew. For one, as mentioned above, he denied Markan priority, instead supporting a pre-Markan source, often closely identified with Mark's notes.<sup>39</sup> Additionally, Holtzmann identified a lost apostolic source, which he termed A. In keeping with his contemporaries, he identified A as Papias' *logia*, the sayings list presumably authored by an eyewitness to Jesus' ministry. Although many of Holtzmann's conclusions have not weathered the test of time, the cornerstone of Two-Source Hypothesis was in place. Mark had been written first, then Matthew and Luke drew on Mark and Papias' *logia* to produce their gospels.

#### 2.4.2. Papias' *logia*: A Dead End?

Despite the general consensus among Two-Source supporters that Papias' *logia* and Q were one and the same throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the relationship came into question in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most notably, J. Armitage Robinson contended that the use of *logia*

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<sup>38</sup>Werner Georg Kummel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville: Abington, 1975), 48.

<sup>39</sup>Goulder, *Luke*, 32.

as a term for Q was question-begging.<sup>40</sup> He stated that the use of *logia* as a title for the source behind Matthew's gospel placed too much store in Papias' report. Moreover, Robinson contended that Papias did not refer to a sayings collection, but instead to a gospel.<sup>41</sup> Consequently, Papias' information could not be used as external information for a sayings source. From this point onward, all evidence adduced in favor of Q would have to be internal, without hope of finding a cryptic reference in the Church Fathers.

To this end, a revolution occurred in *logia* studies. While examining the text of the New Testament, scholars recognized that the words of Jesus were not referred to as *logia*, but *logoi*. Indeed, even Papias makes this distinction, identifying the words of presbyters and the words of Jesus as *logoi*. Overall, it was concluded that the first century literature provided no compelling reason to identify the sayings as *logia*. Moreover, the identification of the Q source as *logia* manifestly begged the question, as even Papias' testimony averred against it.<sup>42</sup> With the collapse of the *logia* paradigm came need for a new identification.

The mantle of replacing *logia* as the technical term fell upon Johannes Weiss. Weiss argued for an Ur-Mark and the sayings source, which he called "Q." with the period indicating that it was an abbreviation for the German *quelle*, or source.<sup>43</sup> Weiss' term became the standard identification, with Papias' *logia* being consigned to the dustbin of New Testament scholarship. Joachim Jeremias cogently summarizes the relationship of Papias' *logia* to Q with his remark "the witness of Papias... can no longer bear the burden; it may be taken as proved that by τὰ λόγια Papias did not mean a collection of sayings of Jesus, but a gospel."<sup>44</sup> In short, by the end of

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<sup>40</sup> Robinson, "History of Q," xxiii.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiii.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvii.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, xxii.

<sup>44</sup> Joachim Jeremias, *New Testament Theology* (New York: Scribner, 1971), 38.

the First World War, something approaching a consensus appeared: Papias did not refer to a sayings source, but a gospel. Moreover, the cornerstone was in place: Q had been used by Matthew and Luke in order to create their gospels.

#### 1.4.4. An Aramaic Q?

In spite of the general agreement that Papias referred to a gospel, not a sayings source, scholarly debate about the nature of Q proper continued. Notably, Julius Wellhausen, the codifier of the Documentary Hypothesis, a source-based approach to the origins of the Pentateuch, contended that the sayings source had not been written in Greek, but originally in Aramaic, the language which Jesus was most familiar with.<sup>45</sup> Wellhausen's work had great influence on the great form critics Rudolf Bultmann and Martin Dibelius, both of whom took the existence of Q for granted, arguing that it had likely been in Aramaic.<sup>46</sup> Though the view of an Aramaic Q has fallen out of favor, with John Kloppenborg claiming that the evidence for an Aramaic Q is "extremely weak," it has been revived in recent years.<sup>47</sup> Notably, Maurice Casey, the British Aramaicist and New Testament scholar has argued for an Aramaic Q.<sup>48</sup> In general, however, it is more or less taken for granted that Q was originally a Greek document.

#### 2.4.4 Streeter and Synoptic Origins

Streeter's 1924 work, though important in the general scheme of Synoptic Problem research, did not make any particularly notable advancements with regard to Q proper. Yet, it is important because it represents one of the most notable attempts by a Q advocate to reckon with

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<sup>45</sup> Robinson, "History of Q," xxx.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., xliii.

<sup>47</sup> Kloppenborg, *Excavating*, 80.

<sup>48</sup> Maurice Casey, *An Aramaic Approach to Q: Sources for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

the Minor Agreements, the pericopes in Matthew and Luke where their wording agrees against Mark's. Streeter attributed one of the more problematic (for the Two-Source theory) Minor Agreements, at Matthew 26:68, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παΐσας σε (who is it that who struck you) to an earlier textual corruption.<sup>49</sup> Streeter's reasoning with this Minor Agreement has been extremely influential, with many Two-Source advocates following his argument. Streeter's major contribution to Synoptic studies was not in his work on Q, but in his propounding of a new hypothesis beholden to Q, the Four-Source Hypothesis.

#### 2.4.4a The Four-Source Hypothesis

The Four Source Hypothesis is an extension of the Two-Source Hypothesis explained above. In addition to Q, Four-Source advocates surmise the existence of M, special Matthean material, material that only Matthew had access to in the creation of his gospel, and L, special Lukan material, material that only Luke had access to. The most notable advocate of the Four-Source Hypothesis was the aforementioned B.H. Streeter, who beyond establishing Markan priority, detected these sources behind the gospels of Matthew and Luke. Streeter believed that the M material was primarily from the Jewish Christian community in Jerusalem, thereby making sense of Matthew's repeated references to Jesus' fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy and the evangelist's equation of Jesus as the new Moses.<sup>50</sup> Streeter further associated the L material with the Gentile Christian community in Caesarea.

Although some of Streeter's premises have not survived the test of time, his general outline has. The Four-Source Hypothesis is referred to in almost every discussion of the Synoptic

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<sup>49</sup> Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 306.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 223

Problem. Moreover, it is lauded by Bart Ehrman as the least problematic solution.<sup>51</sup> However, the Four-Source Hypothesis is, at least in part, beholden to the findings of the Two-Source Hypothesis. Michael Goulder has contended that eliminating Q thereby eliminates M and L as well.<sup>52</sup> While Goulder is somewhat mistaken, his point is still valid- Streeter's conception of M and L is dependent on having a distinct Q. Without it, the exegete's ability to determine exclusively Matthean or exclusively Lukan material decreases precipitously.

#### 2.4.5. Q from Streeter to present

As mentioned above, Q was accepted by the form critics Bultmann and Dibelius. Despite their formidable erudition and works, with Bultmann's shaping the field for years to come, Q research did not end. After World War II, James M. Robinson suggested that Q may have a genre, much like the gospels. Robinson suggested that Q was sapiential.<sup>53</sup> Dieter Lührmann and John S. Kloppenborg, though writing decades apart, used Robinson's classification to determine a redaction history for Q, a history of a writer changing the text in order to suit his own goals. Kloppenborg's discovery of Q-layers, though controversial, was employed by the Westar Institute's Jesus Seminar in its attempts to reconstruct the historical figure of Jesus of Nazareth.<sup>54</sup> Overall, though Q's history has been long and fascinating, one would be remiss in believing that there are only Q-based models of Synoptic origins. Perhaps the strongest challenger to the Q orthodoxy today stems from an Oxford New Testament scholar and his students.

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<sup>51</sup>Ehrman, *Introduction*, 77.

<sup>52</sup> Goulder, *Luke*, 43-44.

<sup>53</sup> Robinson, "History of Q," lvii.

<sup>54</sup> Most notably James M. Robinson, *The Gospel of Jesus: A Historical Search for the Original Good News* (San Francisco: HarperOne, 2006).

## 2.5 The Farrer Hypothesis

The Farrer Hypothesis, named for the British New Testament scholar Austin Farrer, also known as Mark without Q, is perhaps the most poorly known of the three discussed models of Synoptic origins. Yet, that is not due to any fault of its own. Unfortunately, it has often been proposed alongside otherwise questionable ideas, such as Michael Goulder's dubious lectionary theory, allowing opponents to dismiss it as the result of eccentric, though certainly learned scholarship. The Farrer Hypothesis suggests that Mark wrote first, then Matthew used Mark, and finally Luke made use of both Mark and Matthew in creating his gospel. It often focuses on what are known as the Minor Agreements, areas where Matthew and Luke agree with each other against Mark.

### 2.5.1 The Origins of the Farrer Hypothesis

In spite of its name, the Farrer Hypothesis was not originated by Austin Farrer. Instead, it originated in the United States, with James Ropes and his student Morton Enslin.<sup>55</sup> Ropes was skeptical about Q in general, claiming that there was no external evidence of it, as well as arguing that the Two-Source theorists had ignored the possibility of Lukan dependence on Matthew.<sup>56</sup> Enslin, following his *Doktorvater*,<sup>57</sup> contended that the Double Tradition material could be better explained by Luke's copying Matthew than by any hypothesis involving Q.<sup>57</sup> Yet, despite both Ropes' and Enslin's general skepticism about Q, they did not present any detailed argument for their views, making bold assertions yet not adequately explaining their model of Synoptic origins. Moreover, they were limited to a few pages in weighty tomes. Consequently,

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<sup>55</sup>Mark Goodacre, *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg: Trinity International, 2002), 10n38.

<sup>56</sup>James Hardy Ropes, *The Synoptic Gospels* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), 60.

<sup>57</sup>Morton Enslin, *Christian Beginnings* (New York: Harper, 1938), 43.



their work has largely proven uninfluential, besides the historical notability of suggesting that the Two-Source Hypothesis truly has no clothes.

The Farrer Hypothesis was first championed in detail by Austin Farrer, an Oxford New Testament scholar. His 1955 article “On Dispensing With Q” lays out a line of argument in favor of the Farrer Hypothesis, while significantly challenging the existing *Zeitgeist* of the Two-Source Hypothesis. Farrer constructed his argument along five lines of evidence:

1. The Two-Source hypothesis is dependent on the implausibility of Matthean use of Luke or Lukan use of Matthew. Such an implausibility has not been demonstrated, it has merely been asserted. One cannot presume that Q exists without first demonstrating that Luke could not have copied from Matthew.<sup>58</sup>
2. No reconstruction of Q is overwhelmingly evident. Reconstructions of Q are based on presumptions about the nature of Luke and Matthew as well as distinctions that seem somewhat arbitrary, such as language of a “special character.”<sup>59</sup>
3. A sayings document would represent a previously unknown type of literature in early Christianity. No evidence of such a document exists, nor does any external evidence of Q exist. Here, Farrer makes reference to Papias, but, in keeping with earlier scholarship, dismisses Papias’ *logia* as referring to a gospel.<sup>60</sup>
4. Even if Q does exist, its narrative structure closely follows Matthew’s. Jesus’ temptation in the wilderness is the antitype of Israel’s temptation during the Exodus. Jesus is brought to a

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<sup>58</sup> Austin Farrer “On Dispensing with Q,” in *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (ed. Arthur M. Bellinzoni, Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985), 324.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 325.

mountain and, much like Moses, delivers special teachings to his disciples. This typology and narrative are much more plausibly suited in Matthew, who attempts to show Jesus as the Jewish messiah and the new Moses, than in any hypothetical document.<sup>61</sup>

5. It is extremely unlikely that an early Christian community existed who attached little significance to Jesus' death and resurrection. Farrer criticizes Q by stating that there is no importance attached to Jesus' death, or indeed his proclamations about his future death. Moreover, most first century Christian literature places a heavy weight on Jesus' death and resurrection; it is one of the cornerstones of St. Paul's theology. Consequently, it is unlikely that a Christian community in general, and a Jewish Christian community more specifically, would create a document that seems to attach no importance to Jesus' death.<sup>62</sup>

Through all of these arguments, Farrer concludes that "the Q hypothesis is not, in itself, a probable hypothesis."<sup>63</sup> While Farrer's argument represented the first systematic attempt to create a model of Markan priority without Q, two significant difficulties arose rather quickly after his article was published. First, the Gospel of Thomas, which is a collation of the sayings of Jesus, was discovered at Nag Hammadi in 1945 and published only in 1956, a year after Farrer's article. Farrer's point that sayings literature is unknown was significantly weakened by the discovery of the Gospel of Thomas. Second, Farrer's argument about the lack of external evidence has been countered by an argument that, after Matthew and Luke were written, Q was not preserved, as it was already reproduced in the two gospels. Regardless of how strong Farrer's arguments are, his work was greatly expanded upon by his student Michael Goulder.

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 326-327.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 328.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 329.

### 2.5.2. Michael Goulder and E.P. Sanders

Michael Goulder is perhaps the best known advocate of the Farrer Hypothesis in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, his work on the matter was so voluminous that the Farrer Hypothesis has often been retitled the Farrer-Goulder Hypothesis. Goulder himself hated the addition of his own name, thinking that it detracted from Austin Farrer's memory, and allowing the Farrer Hypothesis to be dismissed as the work of an eccentric yet brilliant scholar. Whatever Goulder's eccentricities, he was the most vocal advocate for the Farrer Hypothesis in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Goulder's first major work involving the Farrer Hypothesis was *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, which largely focused upon the Midrashic use of the Hebrew Bible in Matthew. Midrash is an interpretative technique that explicates the Hebrew Bible in a deeper way than a simple surface reading.<sup>64</sup> One example of a midrashic technique, often used in the Gospel of Matthew, is the application of a prophecy to Jesus that often was intended to describe earlier events. For example, the Gospel of Matthew makes reference to Isaiah 7:14, "Look, the young woman is with child and shall bear a son, and he shall be called Emmanuel," but reinterprets it to apply to Jesus, rather than the reign of King Ahaz some seven hundred years prior. Yet, Goulder's argument for the Farrer Hypothesis in this work largely stems from his lectionary theory, that the gospel of Matthew was constructed around the Jewish festal year.<sup>65</sup> From this point of departure, Goulder forcefully argues that Luke knew Matthew's structure, but found it unsatisfactory. Therefore, using Matthew and Mark, Luke composed his own gospel, one more acceptable to a Philippian Christian.<sup>66</sup> In spite of his initial presentation, Goulder's work on the

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<sup>64</sup> Michael Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (Eugene, Wipf and Stock, 1974), 28.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 454.

Farrer Hypothesis in *Midrash and Lection* was cursory at best, relying on a tenuous lectionary theory that has been (rightfully) criticized, even by his most vociferous supporters.

Goulder's *magnum opus* in favor of the Farrer Hypothesis came in 1989, with *Luke: A New Paradigm*, a detailed commentary on the gospel of Luke. Goulder's work began with a scathing indictment of Q, reproducing his paper "On Putting Q to the Test," which he had presented at the Oxford Conference on the Synoptic Problem. Goulder proceeds to recapitulate the early history of Q, then dismantles both it and arguments for the L source, which he considered unnecessary if Q did not exist.<sup>67</sup> Goulder treats many of the significant minor agreements at length, and until the early 2000s, *Luke: A New Paradigm* was arguably the standard text in favor of the Farrer Hypothesis. Yet, Goulder's work, though in many areas impressively argued, attracted few scholarly supporters. Whatever sympathies they had with Goulder's support for the Farrer Hypothesis seemed to be tempered by Goulder's more idiosyncratic views, such as the lectionary theory, and the idea that all non-Markan material was due to the evangelist's creativity.

The next champion of the Farrer Hypothesis was, interestingly enough, someone far better known for his work on the Historical Jesus, E.P. Sanders. Sanders' work *Jesus and Judaism* was, alongside Geza Vermes' *Jesus the Jew*, one of the cornerstones of the Third Quest for the Historical Jesus.<sup>68</sup> However, Sanders' contribution to the Farrer Hypothesis is much more limited. Together with Margaret Davies, he sifted the Synoptic gospels and concluded that, while Goulder's fundamental hypothesis was sound, he was wrong that sources behind Matthew

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<sup>67</sup> Goulder, *Luke*, 73.

<sup>68</sup> See E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1985) and Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1973).

and Luke could be abandoned.<sup>69</sup> Instead, Sanders and Davies proposed a modified version of the Farrer Hypothesis that included sayings material, which has often been termed “Farrer with Q.” With Sanders’s and Davies’s incisive remarks, the Farrer Hypothesis was fundamentally transformed. Moreover, Sanders’ and Davies’ version of the Farrer Hypothesis appears to be the majority view today- Luke used Matthew as a source, but also had his own material. Contrast such a position to Goulder’s version, which abjured the existence of other sources, instead chalking up all non-Markan material to evangelistic creativity.

### 2.5.3 Mark Goodacre

Though Michael Goulder did not supervise any dissertations directly, his vociferous support of the Farrer Hypothesis was carried on by Mark Goodacre, whose dissertation, *Goulder and the Gospels: An Examination of a New Paradigm* examined many of Goulder’s theories, provided tests, and reached conclusions as to their value. While Goodacre criticized Goulder’s lectionary theory, stating that Goulder’s evidence largely is inferential, he generally supported the outline of the Farrer Hypothesis.<sup>70</sup> Yet, despite his overall sympathy, he draws out some of Goulder’s more problematic remarks.

For example, one of Goulder’s key arguments in favor of the Farrer Hypothesis was language characteristic of Matthew that appeared in Luke. In general, Goodacre finds many of Goulder’s examples well argued, lauding many of them for their incisiveness. Yet, Goodacre critiques Goulder’s argument based on the Sermon on the Mount/Plain. Goodacre, following John Hawkins’s work on the Minor Agreements, states that the Matthean account has one

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<sup>69</sup> E.P. Sanders and Margaret Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels* (Trinity: Harrisburg, 1989), 112.

<sup>70</sup> Mark Goodacre, *Goulder and the Gospels: An Examination of a New Paradigm* (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1996), 107.

distinctively Matthean word, μίσθος, hate, but the Lukan account also has a distinctively Lukan word, πεινάω, ill or sick. Therefore, Goodacre argues that Goulder's dependence on Hawkins' criteria does not support him.<sup>71</sup> Goulder's contention with this Minor Agreement is that the Lukan account replicated a Mattheanism, a word that appears often in Matthew. Subsequently, Goulder believed that the Minor Agreement could only be explained on the Farrer Hypothesis, as a prime example of Lukan dependence upon Matthew. As Goodacre shows, that conclusion does not follow, as there is evidence that Luke developed the pericope from his own sources. That is, while Luke includes the Mattheanism, he also adds a word that far more commonly appears in Luke than in Matthew. Hawkins identified four types of minor agreement: one in which the agreement was likely accidental, one in which the addition provides an explanation, another in which the agreement is due to correcting Mark's Semitic Greek, and finally a fourth where it seems implausible that either Matthew or Luke were not dependent on the other.<sup>72</sup> In this particular case, Goulder seems to lean upon literary dependence, but Goodacre rightfully suggests that it does not support his case, arguing instead for agnosticism.

In spite of Goodacre's overall support for Goulder's work, *Goulder and the Gospels* did not truly advance the Farrer Hypothesis. Rather, it simply examined it and found in its favor, while clearing the way for further argumentation. Goodacre's next work, "Fatigue in the Synoptics," illustrated the phenomenon of editorial fatigue, which, as mentioned above, means that a copyist, while changing the language at first, reverts to what his source material originally says. For example, in the Parable of the Talents/Pounds (Matthew 25:14-30 and Luke 19:11-17) the Matthean account says that there are three servants, whereas the Lukan account suggests 10.

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 51.

<sup>72</sup> John Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909), 210.

However, Luke does not refer to the servants as though there were 10 of them. He calls them the first, the second, and the third.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, it appears as though Luke has 10 servants in mind, not just one! It would take another work for Goodacre to lay out his case.

In 2002, Goodacre published his *Case Against Q*, the first full-scale exposition of the Farrer Hypothesis since Goulder's *Luke: A New Paradigm*. Goodacre examines several of the more vexing Minor Agreements in detail, then pits Q and the Gospel of Thomas against one another. In this section, his rationale is, like Austin Farrer's, that Q betrays a narrative sequence rather similar to the Matthean material. Moreover, Goodacre illustrates that Q's narrative structure elevates it from more than just a sayings source, but to what scholars of the time had been calling "the first gospel." Yet, Goodacre's book was largely a reaction to the milieu of the time, as an increasing number of works purporting to discover redactional layers in Q were being published. However, Goodacre's book was not only based on his own earlier work, but indebted to Sanders, Goulder, and Farrer. For example, he assumes the framework of the Farrer Hypothesis that Sanders and Davies propounded; Matthew and Luke have independent material.<sup>74</sup> Goodacre further calls into question the oft-assumed primitive nature of the Q material- the idea that Q often witnesses the earlier tradition and wording, such as in the Lord's Prayer. Overall, Goodacre's work has been described as a paradigm change in Synoptic Problem studies.<sup>75</sup> Yet, it does not appear to have had much effect on the state of the question in modern scholarship.

## 2.6. Farrer vs. Two-Source Hypothesis: The State of the Question in Current Scholarship

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<sup>73</sup> Goodacre, "Fatigue," 54.

<sup>74</sup> Goodacre, *Case*, 13n53.

<sup>75</sup> Francis Watson, *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Approach* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 85.

Among theories of Markan Priority, there are only two viable alternatives today: the Farrer Hypothesis and the Two-Source Hypothesis. The Four-Source Hypothesis, for the purpose of argumentation, is subsumed under the Two-Source Hypothesis. This section summarizes the state of the question in modern scholarship, primarily through the examination of introductory texts.

### 2.6.1 North America: State of Affairs

In the United States, the Farrer Hypothesis is relatively obscure. Due to the late W.R. Farmer's work in reviving the Griesbach Hypothesis, American scholars tend to see any attack on Q as an attack on Markan priority. Farmer's work built on the work of Griesbach supporters like B.C. Butler and Bernard Orchard, both of whom argued that Q was an incoherent idea in the first place. However, as the mere existence of the Farrer Hypothesis demonstrates, an attack on Q does not constitute an attack on Markan priority. Yet, it appears as though many American scholars are ignorant of the Farrer Hypothesis. Alternatively, if they are aware of it, it appears as though they do not make note of it in their introductory works. As John Poirier laments, many introductions simply assert the Two-Source Hypothesis.<sup>76</sup> Raymond Brown's introduction fails to mention the Farrer Hypothesis by name, dismissing it as incapable of explaining Luke's structure relative to Matthew.<sup>77</sup> Bart Ehrman's popular New Testament introduction simply asserts that the Four-Source Hypothesis provides the least problematic solution to the Synoptic Problem, and is held to by the majority of scholars today.<sup>78</sup> Mark Allan Powell's recent work *Introducing the New Testament* only casually mentions the Farrer Hypothesis, devoting more

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<sup>76</sup> John Poirier, "The Synoptic Problem and the Field of New Testament Introduction," *JSNT* 32, no.2 (2009), 182.

<sup>77</sup> Brown, *Introduction*, 111.

<sup>78</sup> Ehrman, *Introduction*, 77.



attention to both the Griesbach and Two-Source hypotheses.<sup>79</sup> Only one introduction devotes significant space to the Farrer Hypothesis, Mark Goodacre's *The Synoptic Problem: A Way through the Maze*, which provides a chapter entitled "The Case Against Q."<sup>80</sup> However, Goodacre's book is an aberration; most introductions are painfully ignorant of non-Two-Source solutions to the Synoptic puzzle.

Based only on New Testament introductions, one could reasonably conclude that American scholars are largely ignorant of the Farrer Hypothesis, and that it has gained little ground in the United States. Yet, that view would misrepresent the state of affairs. John Poirier remarks that the Farrer Hypothesis is the biggest competitor to the Two-Source theory today.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, recent developments in American scholarship support Poirier's point. Several New Testament scholars, several of whom are connected to Duke University, have declared either agnosticism with regard to Q, or have supported the Farrer Hypothesis. For example, Richard Hays has proclaimed that he does not believe that Q exists.<sup>82</sup> In all, it appears that Robert Stein's remark that the Two-Source theory is less of a consensus position today than it was 50 years ago remains accurate.<sup>83</sup> In spite of Stein's recognition of both Farrer and Goulder's work, he does not engage it seriously. Rather, he spends the majority of the discussion of the Minor Agreements defending Markan priority against the resurgent Griesbach Hypothesis. Stein's text is purportedly about the Synoptic Problem as a whole, not merely about the Two-Source Hypothesis and the Griesbach Hypothesis. However, it seems as though Stein's original point is

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<sup>79</sup> Mark Allan Powell, *Introducing the New Testament: A Historical, Literary, and Theological Survey* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009) 99.

<sup>80</sup> Mark Goodacre, *The Synoptic Problem: A Way Through the Maze* (London: T&T Clark, 2001).

<sup>81</sup> John Poirier, "Delbert Dunkert's Defense of Q," in *Markan Priority Without Q: Explorations in the Farrer Hypothesis* (ed. John C. Poirier and Jeffrey Peterson, New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2012), 179.

<sup>82</sup> Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2016), 13.

<sup>83</sup> Robert Stein, *The Synoptic Problem: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1987), 113.

well-taken- the Two-Source theory has been under attack for some time. Indeed, the Farrer Hypothesis seems to have gained some traction in recent years, even leading John Kloppenborg to provide a response chapter in *The Gospels According to Michael Goulder*.<sup>84</sup> While a scholarly response generally means that a theory is beginning to gain credence and support, one must be careful not to overstate the amount of dissent from the Two-Source theory.

For the time being, the Two/Four-Source Hypothesis remains the majority view of American New Testament scholars. Yet, it remains to be seen whether or not the Farrer Hypothesis will continue its inroads in New Testament scholarship in the United States.

### 2.6.2 The State of Affairs: The United Kingdom

Due to Michael Goulder's vociferous work, scholars in the United Kingdom have found it nearly impossible to ignore the Farrer Hypothesis. Indeed, it is likely the largest competitor to the Two/Four-Source theory. Consequently, even the most vigorous Two-Source advocates feel it necessary to pay heed to it in their published work. For example, Christopher Tuckett's *Q and the History of Early Christianity* devotes some 20 pages to discussing, then refuting what Tuckett calls the "Farrer-Goulder Hypothesis."<sup>85</sup> Similarly, Maurice Casey's *Jesus of Nazareth*, which has little discussion of the Synoptic Problem, mentions a group of scholars who deny the existence of Q, yet states that one of the major difficulties in what he calls "Mark without Q" is Luke's order.<sup>86</sup> Francis Watson's recent book, *Gospel Writing*, is supportive of the Farrer Hypothesis, devoting a section to what Watson calls "the coincidence of Q."<sup>87</sup> Rounding out the

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<sup>84</sup> John Kloppenborg, "Goulder and the New Paradigm: A Critical Appreciation of Michael Goulder on the Synoptic Problem," in *The Gospels According to Michael Goulder: A North American Response* (ed. Christopher Rollston, London: T&T Clark, 2002), 29-61.

<sup>85</sup> Christopher Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity* (London: T&T Clark International, 1996), 11-31.

<sup>86</sup> Maurice Casey, *Jesus of Nazareth: An Independent Historian's Account of His Life and Teaching* (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 80.

<sup>87</sup> Watson, *Gospel Writing*, 113.

discussion, Michael Goulder has suggested that the Farrer Hypothesis is seen by many, even American scholars, as the primary solution to the Two-Source theory.<sup>88</sup> It appears as though British scholars have, on a whole, been more willing to engage with the Farrer Hypothesis as it stands, rather than marginalizing it as a variation on the Griesbach Hypothesis.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, it can be reasonably surmised that, while the Farrer Hypothesis remains a minority position in the United Kingdom, it provides a powerful opponent, one that cannot be ignored with ease.

### 2.6.3 The State of Affairs: A Conclusion

In general, it appears that the Two-Source Hypothesis continues to dominate the discussion of Synoptic origins in both the United States and the United Kingdom. Most introductory textbooks fail to mention it, or, if they do, do so only cursorily. Recently, however, there has been an influx of work denying the existence of Q. Therefore, it is possible that Synoptic Problem research is on the cusp of a new age, one in which the existence of Q has to be demonstrated convincingly, not merely assumed. Therefore, this study will proceed as follows: it will examine several of the more problematic Minor Agreements for the Two-Source Hypothesis and analyze them through both the Two-Source lens and the Farrer lens. Then, it will reach a conclusion as to whether or not Q can bear the burden that has been placed upon it these last 180 years.

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<sup>88</sup> Michael Goulder, *Five Stones and a Sling: Memoirs of a Biblical Scholar* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009), 71.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

## Chapter 3: The Minor Agreements from Farrer and Two-Source Perspectives

### 3.1 The Minor Agreements

The Minor Agreements are, at least in some areas, problematic for a strict Two-Source understanding of the Synoptic Problem. That is, they raise questions as to how Matthew and Luke could be ignorant of each other, while at the same time Matthew has wording that has no parallel in Mark, yet is exactly replicated in Luke. Since the 1970s, with the revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis, these Minor Agreements have been seized upon by scholars wishing to overturn the Two-Source paradigm in favor of either the Farrer Hypothesis or the Griesbach Hypothesis. Once again, this study confines itself to the Farrer Hypothesis, since, while the Griesbach Hypothesis is an attractive account of Synoptic origins in some areas, it is far less successful in others. For example, it seems difficult to account for the existence of the Gospel of Mark on the Griesbach Hypothesis. More generally, the Minor Agreements require a demonstration of Q, not a simple assumption of it.

The Minor Agreements are best understood as sections where Matthew and Luke overlap but agree in wording against Mark. The exact number is uncertain, but seems to be somewhere around one thousand, depending on what one defines as a Minor Agreement.<sup>90</sup> They were first identified by John Hawkins in his 1909 work, *Horae Synopticae*, where he identifies four types of Minor Agreements:

1. Accidental Minor Agreements, ones where the similarity in wording is so small that it can easily be attributed to a synonym or a common word.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Christopher Tuckett, "The Minor Agreements and Textual Criticism," in *The Minor Agreements: Symposium Gottingen* (ed. Georg Strecker, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 124.

<sup>91</sup> Hawkins, *Horae*, 209.

2. Additions or natural explanations, where Matthew and Luke are expanding upon Mark's narrative so that the reader may better understand.<sup>92</sup>

3. Changes from Mark's rough, Semitic Greek to a more educated, Hellenistic Greek, such as adding in conjunctions, whereas Mark has few, Matthew and Luke have many. Alternatively, changing Mark's use of the historic present to the aorist or imperfect tenses; for example, Luke and Matthew use εἶπεν, "said," in place of Mark's λέγει, "says."<sup>93</sup>

4. Sections where the above three explanations all seem equally unlikely, where there is a powerful sense that Luke knew Matthew.<sup>94</sup>

This section of the study provides three examples of Minor Agreements (MA), the majority of which stem from Hawkins's fourth section. These Minor Agreements are:

1. Mark 14:65/Matthew 26:68/Luke 22:64

2. Matthew 4:13/Luke 4:16

3. Matthew 22:27/Luke 20:32

These Minor Agreements have been chosen due to both the volume of scholarly literature produced on them and the problems they pose for a traditional understanding of the Two-Source Hypothesis. Moreover, none of these Minor Agreements is easily explicable on one hypothesis or the other. Instead, both hypotheses provide partially cogent explanations and the decision in favor of one hypothesis and against another often will come down to material external to the

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 209

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 209

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 210

texts themselves. To that end, this study now turns to one of the most vexing Minor Agreements for the Two-Source Hypothesis.

### 3.2 Matt. 26:68 and Par.

The MA at Matthew 26:68 and parallels is likely one of the best known and most problematic Minor Agreements. There are two major considerations that make it problematic for the Two/Four-Source Hypothesis. First, it is located firmly within the passion narrative of Matthew and Luke, a section of the gospels that even the staunchest Q advocates will not identify as Q material. For example, the International Q Project's *Critical Edition of Q* concludes at Luke 22:30, whereas the Lukan overlap to Matt. 26:68 is Luke 22:64, towards the beginning of the passion narrative.<sup>95</sup> Second, the solutions proposed by Two-Source Theory advocates are potentially problematic and Farrer advocates, most notably Michael Goulder, have sprung upon the seemingly weak explanation as an attempt to “save the data” of the Two-Source Theory. However, before any of that is discussed, the Minor Agreement itself must be understood.

#### 3.2.1 Matt. 26:68 and Par.: The Text

This section begins with Jesus's arrest by the Sanhedrin after Judas' betrayal. Jesus is tried by the Sanhedrin and asked if he is the Messiah. He responds by proclaiming that he is the Son of Man, an oft-used term for the Messiah in Second Temple Judaism. The Sanhedrin subsequently finds Jesus guilty of blasphemy and Caiaphas, the high priest, tears his garments, a sign of sacrilege. Jesus is condemned to death and humiliated by the Sanhedrin, being beaten and

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<sup>95</sup> Luke is often thought to preserve the order of Q better than Matthew, so all references to Q are understood in their Lukan context.

told to prophesy. The pericope concludes with Peter's three time denial of Jesus, fulfilling Jesus' earlier prophecy.

Matt. 26:67-68

Then they spat in his face and struck him; and some slapped him, saying “, Prophecy to us, you Messiah! Who is it that struck you (τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παΐσας σε)?”

Mark 14:65

Some began to spit on him, to blindfold him, and to strike him, saying to him, “Prophecy!” The guards also took him over and beat him.

Luke 22:64

They also blindfolded him and kept asking him, “Prophecy! Who is it that struck you (τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παΐσας σε)?”

To clarify, the Minor Agreement here is the question “τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παΐσας σε,” or “who is it that struck you.” As mentioned above, this phrase counts as a Minor Agreement because it is an example in the Triple Tradition (areas where Mark, Matthew, and Luke narrate the same story) where Matthew and Luke agree against Mark's wording

### 3.2.1 The Farrer Solution

This particular Minor Agreement is one that Michael Goulder has termed “a very striking Minor Agreement.”<sup>96</sup> Similarly, Steve Black follows Goulder's remarks, agreeing that this

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<sup>96</sup> Goulder, *Luke*, 7.

particular Minor Agreement is rather problematic for the Two-Source Theory.<sup>97</sup> Mark Goodacre, the most vigorous proponent of the Farrer Hypothesis today, agrees that this particular Minor Agreement is “particularly remarkable.”<sup>98</sup> Since it is now established that Farrer Hypothesis advocates see this MA as “rather striking” and critical, the question of how they approach it must be answered.

Farrer interpreters, by and large, see this Minor Agreement as a prime example of Luke’s use of Matthew. As mentioned above, it is in the Passion Narrative, which is not thought to contain Q material. Moreover, it is an agreement of not one or two words (what a Minor Agreement usually looks like) but five words. One of those words, *παίω*, strike, is exceedingly rare in the New Testament, only appearing once in each gospel, as well as once in the Book of Revelation. In Matthew and Luke, it only appears with this Minor Agreement. Mark Goodacre concludes that “this is the kind of evidence that normally inclines one strongly in favor of direct literary dependence.”<sup>99</sup> The Farrer solution generally rejects all attempts to postulate textual corruption in this Minor Agreement, further discussed below. Yet, Matthew omits Jesus’ blindfolding, which is rather puzzling, whereas Mark and Luke both include it. Therefore, the Farrer solution is required to account for both Matthew’s omission of Jesus’ blindfolding as well as the Minor Agreement.

The Farrer solution to Matthew’s omission is actually quite simple. Matthew excludes the blindfolding of Jesus by simple oversight.<sup>100</sup> However, as common sense may dictate, it is not particularly intelligent to spit upon someone’s blindfolded face.<sup>101</sup> The somewhat strange

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<sup>97</sup> Steve Black, “One Striking Minor Agreement,” *Novum Testamentum* 52, no. 4 (2010), 314.

<sup>98</sup> Goodacre, *Case*, 157.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>100</sup> Michael Goulder, “Two Significant Minor Agreements,” *Novum Testamentum* XLV, no. 4 (2003), 371.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 371.



Matthean omission of the blindfolding is explained by Mark's delineation between two groups, the Sanhedrinists and the servants. Matthew, who typically expands upon Mark, eliminates the servants completely. Therefore, he is forced to divide the Sanhedrinists into two separate groups.<sup>102</sup> One has the servants' rods or canes, and the other group punches him and demands he prophesy. Therefore, the Matthean account makes sense of Jesus' being asked "τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε." The Lukan account follows from the Matthean account.

No matter how difficult understanding the Farrer solution may appear, it pales in difficulty to the Two-Source solution. As the Farrer Hypothesis asserts that Luke was dependent on Matthew, the Lukan account is simply a redaction of the Matthean account. Matthew's theological program is, in most areas, deeply anti-Jewish. Therefore, Matthew has the Sanhedrin strike and humiliate Jesus. Yet, Luke knows that members of the Sanhedrin tend to not humiliate the accused.<sup>103</sup> As a result, Luke replaces the Sanhedrinists with a number of men who strike Jesus at the Sanhedrinists' behest. But, Luke includes the blindfolding, and on Goulder's view, he is forced to maintain τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε. Therefore, as Tuckett suggests, Goulder is forced to posit Matthew acting in a rather odd way, though Goulder suggests that Matthew's redactional structure allows for the blindfolding and the spitting.<sup>104</sup>

### 3.2.2 The Two-Source Solution

The Two-Source Solution to this Minor Agreement is best understood as existing in two separate camps. First, a textual criticism based camp and a second camp that approaches the Minor Agreement without an attempt to postulate any changes to the text that currently exists.

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 372.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 372.

<sup>104</sup> Michael Goulder, "Luke's Knowledge of Matthew," in *The Minor Agreements: Symposium Gottingen* (ed. Georg Strecker, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 249.

For the sake of ease, the more simple solution, the one that discusses the text without recourse to a corruption, is discussed first. The primary advocate of this view, at least in recent years, has been Raymond Brown, whose *Death of the Messiah* provided a forceful case for considering the text to make sense as it stands, without reference to Lukan use of Matthew or a textual emendation.

According to this view of the text, Mark's structure provides reference to Isaiah 50:6-7, "I gave my back to those who struck me, and my cheeks to those who pulled out the beard; I did not hide my face from insult and spitting."<sup>105</sup> However, Brown approaches the question of the blindfolding (absent in Matthew, but reported in Mark and Luke) as a simple matter of intelligibility. As Brown points out, the phrase "to spit on him" is usually understood as spitting in one's face.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, Matthew's exclusion of the blindfolding makes sense, as it would be strange to spit in someone's blindfolded face. However, Brown further attempts to make sense of the phrase τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παΐσας σε, who is it that struck you?

Here, Brown suggests that the similarity between Matthew and Luke is not based upon literary dependence. Instead, he posits a shared oral tradition between Matthew and Luke.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, he concludes that the similarities between Matthew and Luke in this Minor Agreement do not have to be understood as literary dependence, nor a textual corruption that somehow afflicted all manuscripts of Matthew. Instead, it is a simple reality of the shared oral tradition behind the gospel. It has been well-established that a significant oral period existed prior to the creation of the first gospel, Mark, likely in the early-mid 60s. Therefore, it is not *prima facie* implausible to suggest that the similarity is best understood as oral tradition, but

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<sup>105</sup> Raymond Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave* (New York: Doubleday, 577).

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 578.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 579.

more significant comments are found below. Regardless of Brown's attempt to understand the text as it currently exists, his solution seems not to have found much traction among New Testament scholars today. Instead, most Two-Source advocates propose a different solution.

Although it is admittedly dangerous to suggest that most Two-Source Theory proponents support a particular point of view (largely because of the general lack of consensus in New Testament studies), it appears as though most commentators approach the Minor Agreement as a textual corruption. This line of thought is most closely associated with the aforementioned B.H. Streeter, though it did not originate with him. Rather, Streeter took it from C.H. Turner's work.<sup>108</sup> Frans Neiryck's work has proven among the most influential of those supporting a textual corruption.

Overall, Neiryck believes that the Lukan text is original, that is, it was originally part of the Gospel of Luke. He contends that the combination of the blindfolding and structure of the section in Luke suggests that it was part of the original text, rather than added by a later scribe or redactor.<sup>109</sup> Neiryck, against the Nestle-Aland critical text, which is commonly thought to reconstruct the text of the New Testament to a high degree of certainty, further suggests that Luke found the passage beginning *περικαλύπτειν*, to blindfold, in his edition of Mark, but believes that the blindfolding was also present in Luke's copy of Mark.<sup>110</sup> The evidence in favor of Neiryck's proposition is questionable; the lack of blindfolding is attested in some manuscript traditions, but Luke only replicates approximately seventy percent of Mark. Neiryck considers

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<sup>108</sup> Frans Neiryck, "TIS ESTIN O PAISAS SE," *ETL* 63 (1987), 29.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

the passage to be a result of Lukan redaction, which seems fairly likely. Yet, with regard to the Matthean text, Neiryck's perspective follows a long tradition.

The Matthean text, which Neiryck suggests is an interpolation, has been considered as such by a huge number of Two-Source supporters. A range of opinions exists, with Joseph Fitzmyer considering the text to be a result of the "L" material being copied into Matthew.<sup>111</sup> Neiryck, on the other hand, suggests that the passage comes from Lukan redaction, as mentioned above, then was copied into Matthew as a way to reconcile both Matthew and Luke. However, with regard to the interpolation, Neiryck agrees with Streeter's remark that it makes little sense to blindfold someone, then ask him who is striking him.<sup>112</sup> Neiryck further contends that Matthew 26:67-68 can easily be explained as a Matthean composition primarily based on Mark, largely because of certain Matthean markers, such as the replacement of *καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ*, "and to say (to) him," a relatively simple grammatical structure, with *λέγοντες*, a participle, "saying," which is an improvement upon Mark's relatively simple Greek. However, as Neiryck points out, it still does not resolve the issue of why the Minor Agreement is in the text in the first place.<sup>113</sup> Neiryck's resolution to the solution is multifaceted.

First, Neiryck supposes that the original Matthew lacked the relevant passage, *τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παίσαζ σε*. He suggests that the demand for a prophecy makes sense in Matthew, yet the introduction of the question in Matthew leads to a narrative difficulty.<sup>114</sup> Therefore, Neiryck concludes that the question was not original to Matthew, but was a later textual corruption. That is, Matthew was written without the section in question, but a later scribe added it into Matthew

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<sup>111</sup> Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 1458.

<sup>112</sup> Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 326.

<sup>113</sup> Neiryck, "Tis Estin," 41.

<sup>114</sup> Black, "One Striking," 319.

in order to bring it into line with Luke. Neiryneck's solution to the problem introduces the issue of a textual corruption for which no manuscript evidence exists. Therefore, it is to the text critical aspect of the Minor Agreement that this study turns.

### 3.2.3 A Textual Corruption?

The manuscript evidence behind Matthew 26:68 is unquestionably in favor of the originality of τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε. The reading is attested throughout the manuscript tradition. As Steve Black remarks, there are no significant variants in any manuscript tradition.<sup>115</sup> It is attested in the most reliable manuscripts, such as  $\aleph$ , A, B, and C. Therefore, Farrer Hypothesis advocates, such as Mark Goodacre, have argued that Two-Source theorists are trying to conform the text to their theory, rather than the other way around.<sup>116</sup> Bruce Metzger's commentary on the Greek text of the New Testament fails to mention Matthew 26:68 as having any other readings, and the textual apparatus of the Nestle-Aland 28<sup>th</sup> edition fails to provide either an alternate reading or a significant textual variant. There are some orthographic variants, as Black admits.<sup>117</sup> Additionally, the Two-Source theorists' postulation of a textual corruption goes against Barbara and Kurt Aland's principles of textual criticism. The Alands argue that one cannot solve a textual difficulty by suggesting an interpolation or gloss, nor can difficulties be resolved through conjecture, especially when the manuscript tradition shows no variation.<sup>118</sup> Another point of view is expressed by Bruce Metzger, who suggests that one can posit an emendation, but it has to

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<sup>115</sup> Black, "One Striking," 316.

<sup>116</sup> Goodacre, *Case*, 160.

<sup>117</sup> Black, "One Striking," 316n13.

<sup>118</sup> Kurt and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 275.

be motivated by the fact that the reading or its variants are incomprehensible.<sup>119</sup> However, it does not appear that Matthew 26:68 is incomprehensible.

Therefore, when taken strictly at face value, the case for a textual corruption in Matthew 26:68 looks fairly weak. In the interest of fairness, however, one must note some auxiliary issues. Although the text of the New Testament is abundantly well attested, the first complete manuscripts do not appear until the fourth century, approximately 340 years after the Gospel of Mark was likely composed. The earliest extant papyrus that has Matthew 26:68 is P<sup>37</sup>, which seems to date from the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Additionally, it has been well established that copyists would occasionally attempt to harmonize similar portions in order to make them agree with each other.<sup>120</sup> Indeed, Tatian, a second century theologian, attempted to harmonize all four gospels in his Diatesseron. Yet, harmonizations usually make themselves evident when compared to other textual traditions, whereas the MA at Matthew 26:68 is attested in all textual traditions and does not have any significant variants.

Despite its abundant attestation, it is logically possible that an interpolation occurred. The Nestle-Aland critical text is decidedly not the original text of the New Testament. Rather, it is an attempt to reconstruct the original text based on both manuscript evidence and choices of the Nestle-Aland committee. As Christopher Tuckett remarks, it is extremely dangerous to assume that there was an unbroken chain of transmission between the original texts and the Alexandrian text which the Nestle-Aland is primarily indebted to.<sup>121</sup> Tuckett further suggests that it is probable that there were changes to the text between the creation of the autographs and the first

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<sup>119</sup> Bruce Metzger and Bart Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 226.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.

<sup>121</sup> Tuckett 1989, 127.

extant manuscripts.<sup>122</sup> Tuckett's remarks here seem to be accurate. After all, it has been established that early Christian commentators had particularly different approaches to the text. Marcion, a 2<sup>nd</sup> century heretic, removed large portions of the Gospel of Luke in order to form his Gospel of the Lord. As Tuckett correctly points out, the text of the New Testament was not considered "sacred scripture" in a concrete way. Rather, as Marcion's case illustrates, the text was often modified for political and theological purposes, to the extent that certain portions of the text likely represent later emendations as anti-Docetic or anti-Gnostic additions.<sup>123</sup> Yet, these portions appear in all relevant manuscripts, so the text critic is left to making seemingly arbitrary decisions in order to determine what was in the original text and what was not.

Consequently, it appears as though one could argue that a textual corruption is responsible for the text in Matthew 26:68. Yet, one must be careful here, as it can appear as though one is simply changing what the text says in order to suit his or her own source critical theory. Mark Goodacre's comments, however, are particularly poignant here. The attempt to remove a section of the text simply because it is difficult to understand goes against the idea of *lectio difficilior*, the idea that the most difficult reading is likely the original one.<sup>124</sup> Therefore, while a textual corruption is hypothetically possible, two considerations must be taken into account:

1. The weight of manuscript evidence is vastly in favor of the reading τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε, with it being attested in all manuscript traditions and with only orthographic variants. That is, there are no manuscripts that do not include it as their reading.

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 127.

<sup>123</sup> See most notably Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

<sup>124</sup> Goodacre 2002, 159

2. It is the more difficult reading, as it does not make much sense to spit in someone's blindfolded face.

On the basis of these two considerations, there seem to be good reasons to accept the reading τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε as part of the original Matthean text, rather than it being a textual corruption as a harmonization with the Gospel of Luke. However, this judgment is reached by accepting Michael Goulder's argument that the combination of the blindfolding of Jesus and the subsequent spitting into his face as characteristic of Matthew's redactional scheme.<sup>125</sup> Additionally, the reading makes sense in its context. Jesus has been condemned by the Sanhedrin in Matthew, Mark, and Luke. He is then taken out into the courtyard to be humiliated, as one who blasphemes likely would be. Jesus is condemned as a false prophet and mocked because he cannot determine who strikes him, the self-proclaimed Messiah. On another note, this particular passage fits very well into both Matthew and Luke's respective theological programs.

As mentioned above, Matthew's theological program is, in most areas, deeply anti-Jewish. Jesus is portrayed as the new Moses, instructing his disciples when to pray, adding onto the Torah law, and giving new commandments or abrogating old ones. Additionally, Jesus is consistently portrayed as being in opposition to the Pharisees, who are seen as hopelessly legalistic and unable to comprehend that YHWH's power has become incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth. The Sadducees are similarly treated, with Jesus exposing their shallow understanding of the Hebrew Bible and the Sadducean lack of faith in YHWH's power. To this end, this reading makes perfect sense. The Sanhedrin, likely comprised of both Sadducees and Pharisees, is showing its inability to understand Jesus' mission or power. It fits Matthew's theology for the

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<sup>125</sup> Goulder, *Luke*, 160.



Matthean Sanhedrin to mock Jesus and imply that he is a false prophet. Therefore, it appears as though the reading τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε is a part of the original text. Conjecturing an emendation goes against both the principle of *lectio difficilior* and the fact that the pericope makes perfect sense with it included.

#### 3.2.4: Matthew 26:68 and Parallels: A Conclusion

As established above, Matthew 26:68 was likely part of the original text of the Gospel of Matthew. It does not represent a later corruption in an attempt to harmonize the Matthean text with the Gospel of Luke. Several Farrer Hypothesis supporters have contended that Two-Source advocates have postulated an interpolation simply to do away with an extremely problematic Minor Agreement, one that has often been called a “significant Minor Agreement.”<sup>126</sup> Although Farrer Hypothesis advocates are being polemical in this case, they do have a point. Despite attempts to the contrary, it appears as though the textual corruption has been hypothesized as a way to save the data of the Two-Source Hypothesis, at least in this particular case.

Moreover, Brown’s solution of Matthew taking over Mark’s quotation of Isaiah seems strange. The Septuagint (LXX) reading of Isaiah 50:6-7 is markedly different from Mark’s structure, with only a few shared words. Additionally, there seems to be no real connection between the two. Mark contains the blindfolding and the spitting, as opposed to Matthew, who only recounts the spitting. Instead, Brown is drawing a questionable parallel largely because it seems to be a way to save the data. Although scholars have established that the passion narrative in Mark, Matthew, and Luke is highly dependent on Hebrew Bible prophecies, Brown’s solution requires an insertion of Isaiah 50:6-7 into the passion narrative where there is little warrant to do

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<sup>126</sup> Goodacre, *Case*, 160.

so. Indeed, the prior passages give no recourse to Brown's solution, as Mark 14:64 is a reference to Leviticus 24:16, which gives the penalty for blasphemy, and Mark 14:66-72 have no reference to the Hebrew Bible at all. On these grounds, one is forced to conclude that Brown's solution is *ad hoc* at best and incoherent at worst. As with Frans Neiryck's solution, Brown can easily be accused of conforming the text to his source-critical theory, rather than the other way around.

Based on the fact that the word *παύω*, strike, appears only once throughout the Gospel of Luke (only in Luke 22:64) it appears as though the Farrer Hypothesis better explains this particular Minor Agreement. Yet, that does not necessarily mean that Q does not exist. Rather, it simply suggests that one of the cornerstones of the Two-Source Hypothesis is problematic: Luke is probably not ignorant of Matthew. Instead, Luke is at least partially dependent on the Gospel of Matthew in his writing of the passion narrative. However, the next Minor Agreement is much more ambiguous as to whether or not it is better answered through the Farrer or the Two-Source lens.

### 3.3. Matthew 4:13 and par.

In this passage, Matthew recounts Jesus leaving Nazareth after being rejected in his home town and moving his operations to Capernaum, another town along the Sea of Galilee. While walking toward Capernaum, Jesus spots Simon Peter and Andrew, whom he calls and makes his first disciples. Slightly farther down the road, Jesus sees John of Zebedee and his brother James. Just as with Simon Peter and Andrew, Jesus calls them and they respond, becoming Jesus' third and fourth disciples respectively. Matthew's section closes with Jesus preaching the good news throughout Galilee and performing healings and exorcisms, causing large crowds from throughout Israel to flock to him.

In the same vein, Luke recounts Jesus entering into Nazareth and reading from the Book of Isaiah on the Sabbath. However, his exposition of Isaiah does not go nearly as well, as his home town rejects him and intends to throw Jesus off a cliff. Yet, the crowd fails and Jesus, as in Matthew, goes to Capernaum, where he performs an exorcism while preaching on the next Sabbath. The Lukan section closes with Jesus healing Simon Peter's mother as well as a great number of other people, again leading to Jesus attracting a great following.

Matthew 4:13 and its parallel in Luke, Luke 4:16, represents another problematic Minor Agreement. However, unlike the Minor Agreement in Matthew 26:68, which has been explained with recourse to a textual corruption, Matthew 4:13 has not been. Instead, there are questions as to whether or not Matthew 4:13 is actually an element of Q or not. Consequently, there are three questions to be asked in this section:

1. Is Matthew 4:13 in Q?
2. Does Ναζαρά represent a Mattheanism, a word that appears characteristically in Matthew?
3. With numbers 1 and 2 under consideration, is the Minor Agreement better explained on the Two-Source Hypothesis or the Farrer Hypothesis?

### 3.3.1 Matthew 4:13 and Parallels: The Text

Matthew 4:13

And leaving Nazara (τὴν Ναζαρά), he (Jesus) came and lived in Capernaum by the sea, in the area of Zebulon and Naphtali.

Mark: No Parallel

Luke 4:16: Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά, οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος

And he came to of Nazara (Ναζαρά), where he was raised...

In this passage, the relevant Minor Agreement is the word Ναζαρά. Another item of note: this Minor Agreement may be an Aramaism. Matthew is often thought to be the product of a Jewish Christian community; the evangelist's knowledge of Aramaic is not unlikely.

### 3.3.1 The Two-Source Solution

On the Two-Source Hypothesis, this Minor Agreement is rather straightforward. It does not appear in Mark at all, yet follows the same narrative sequence in both Matthew and Luke. Therefore, it is in Q, and both Matthew and Luke took it from the Q material. However, as the *The Critical Edition of Q* asks, “is (at least) Ναζαρά in Q?”<sup>127</sup> For the Two-Source theory, this is a prime matter of importance- if it is not in Q, then the existence of this Minor Agreement likely eliminates the idea that Matthew and Luke are independent of one another. Moreover, while there are several textual variants for this reading, the principle of *lectio difficilior* suggests that Ναζαρά was most likely the original reading, since many manuscripts either read Ναζαρέθ or Ναζαρέτ. Additionally, it is attested by Origen in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, which provides more early confirmation of the more difficult Ναζαρά over the other two alternatives.

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<sup>127</sup> James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, John S. Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q, Synopsis Including the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Thomas with English, German, and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 42.

### 3.3.2 Is Matthew 4:13 (Or at least Nazara) in Q?

Among Q specialists, there is a question as to whether or not Ναζαρά appears in Q. On the face of it, there appears to be little reason to deny that it does. Q is occasionally defined as the material that appears in Matthew and Luke, but not in Mark. Under that definition of Q, there is no debate. Ναζαρά appears only in Matthew and Luke, but is curiously absent from the Markan account of Jesus' rejection. The International Q Project's (IQP) work seeks to establish a "critical text" for Q, that is, an attempt to construct the text as the IQP's members thought it originally stood. Yet, even the IQP members express some doubt as to whether Ναζαρά is in Q, giving it a rating of {B}, which means that there are good reasons for both accepting it or rejecting it, but the weight of evidence inclines the IQP to include it.<sup>128</sup> Therefore, this study now turns to the reasons for and against acceptance of Ναζαρά in Q.

#### 3.3.2a: Yes, Ναζαρά is in Q

If Ναζαρά is in Q, then the Two-Source Hypothesis has at least one firm leg to stand on, regardless of the implications of the Minor Agreement at Matthew 26:68. To that end, a number of scholars have written in support of Ναζαρά in Q. One of the most well-known, B.H. Streeter, argues that Matthew's and Luke's agreeing that Jesus went to Nazareth, not Galilee, is rather remarkable. Streeter claims that Q had a notice of a change of scene to Nazareth, which explains why Jesus' rejection at Nazareth fits into the pericope as it stands.<sup>129</sup> R.C. Tannehill goes one step further than Streeter did, stating that Matthew 4:13 and Luke 4:16 rest upon a common tradition. He goes on to observe that both agree on Jesus' movements after his baptism and

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<sup>128</sup> Shawn Carruth and James M. Robinson, *Q 4:1-13, 16 The Temptations of Jesus, Nazara* (Peeters: Leuven, 1996), xiv.

<sup>129</sup> Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 206-207.

temptation in the desert. Additionally, Tannehill points out that Matthew's account works in tandem with Luke's geographical sequence, yet comments that, while Matthew 4:13 does not narrate any events in Nazareth, Luke 4:16 does. Finally, Tannehill observes that Q likely does not continue beyond Ναζαρά, as other elements in Luke 4 show characteristic Lukan vocabulary and style.<sup>130</sup> In short, Tannehill suggests that the existence of Ναζαρά indicates an earlier source.

Tannehill's point is supported by a number of other scholars, such as Bruce Chilton and the late I. Howard Marshall. Marshall remarks that Ναζαρά is found only in Matthew 4:13 and Luke 4:16, but nowhere else in the New Testament. Therefore, the passage may contain a tradition of Jesus' activity in Nazareth, which Marshall suggests reflects a common, yet non-Markan tradition.<sup>131</sup> Bruce Chilton agrees, reasoning that the Aramaic name Ναζαρά could scarcely have been invented by Luke, who appears to have been a gentile with little connection to Palestine.<sup>132</sup> Overall, there seems to be a good case made that Ναζαρά is not a result of either Matthew or Luke, but of a pre-existing tradition.

Christopher Tuckett further supports the idea that Ναζαρά does not stem from either Matthew or Luke. Tuckett acknowledges that the passage in question is likely redactional, that is, it explains how Jesus moved his base of operations from Nazareth to Capernaum. Yet, the use of Ναζαρά, according to Tuckett, is both atypical of both Matthew and Luke. Therefore, Tuckett suggests that Ναζαρά comes from the Matthean tradition, but only to the extent to which Luke and Matthew's tradition is linked. Tuckett's argument thereby implies that Ναζαρά is from Q.

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<sup>130</sup> R.C. Tannehill, "The Mission of Jesus According to Luke IV 16-30," in *Jesus in Nazareth* (ed. W. Eltester, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972), 64.

<sup>131</sup> I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 18.1

<sup>132</sup> Bruce Chilton, "Announcement in Nazara: An Analysis of Luke 4:16-21," in *Gospel Perspectives: Studies of History and Tradition in the Four Gospels* (ed. R.T. France and D. Wenham, Sheffield: JSOT, 1981), 162.

Jacques Dupont agrees with Tuckett, pointing out that the Lukan pericope bears unmistakable signs of Luke's redactional hand, for example, the use of ἀνίστημι for "to read." Yet, Dupont further shows that the Matthean and Lukan accounts agree on the placement of Ναζαρά as occurring after the temptation in the desert. Based on these considerations, Dupont concludes that Matthew and Luke must be using the same source, "l'hypothèse la plus simple serait celle qui supposerait, dans la source qui contenait les tentations, une notice finale mentionnant 'Nazara'."<sup>133</sup> Essentially, Dupont's argument is that the final part of the Q material contains Ναζαρά, as a bridge into Jesus' leaving Nazareth. Despite both Tuckett and Dupont's arguments, there has been another influential school of thought.

James M. Robinson suggested a rather different approach to Ναζαρά. Rather than accept Tuckett and Dupont's seemingly straightforward answer that the temptation narrative concludes with Jesus' entering Nazareth, Robinson believes the answer can be made sense of in Q's structure. Robinson, following John Kloppenborg's work, believes that Q is a stratified document that went through three stages: First, Q was composed as a series of sermons and sayings, without reference to places or people. Then a redactional stage added the names of both people and places to the sermons and sayings. Finally, the temptation narrative was added. On Robinson's line of thinking, the existence of Ναζαρά is a fragment from the opening of what Robinson and Kloppenborg call "the inaugural sermon," the Sermon on the Mount/Plain. The Greek, reading, "and he looked up at his disciples and said," does not identify "him" as Jesus. Therefore, Robinson suggests that Ναζαρά is a remnant from an earlier stage of Q, which identifies the speaker as Jesus from Nazara. If Robinson and Kloppenborg's reconstruction of Q's redactional layers is correct, then it would make sense that the speaker is identified with an

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<sup>133</sup> Jacques Dupont, *Études sur les Évangiles Synoptiques* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985), 40.

Aramaism in Ναζαρά. However, significant objections have been raised against the existence of Ναζαρά in Q.

### 3.3.2b: No, Ναζαρά is not in Q

It must first be understood that opposing Ναζαρά in Q is by no means tantamount to rejecting the Two-Source Hypothesis. Hermann Weisse, whom Robinson and others consider the father of the Two-Source Hypothesis, suggests that the passage is simply a Matthean redaction that explains how Jesus moved his residence from Nazareth to Capernaum.<sup>134</sup> Similarly, Rudolf Bultmann, the German New Testament exegete whose form critical work rested on the Two-Source Hypothesis, argued that Matthew's use of Ναζαρά rested upon evangelistic creativity, the evangelist "looking past the present moment to recall the whole ministry of Jesus."<sup>135</sup> He further argued that Luke's use of Ναζαρά is designed to bind the narrative together, to make it come together in light of what has been said before.<sup>136</sup> Another noted defender of the Two-Source Hypothesis, Graham Stanton, argues that it is inherently implausible that several different traditions were woven together throughout Q. Rather, Stanton suggests that such a claim forces Q to have a particular Christological structure.<sup>137</sup> However, perhaps the most convincing arguments about Ναζαρά not being in Q have come from Michael Goulder.

Goulder states the introduction to the pericope includes the word αὐτῶν, which Luke does not use, but Matthew favors.<sup>138</sup> Goulder correctly observes that Ναζαρά appears nowhere else, attributing it to Matthean redaction of Mark 1.14, then further states that "the coincidence of

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<sup>134</sup> Weisse, 288.

<sup>135</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 65.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 361.

<sup>137</sup> Graham Stanton, "On the Christology of Q," in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament* (ed. B. Lindars and S.S. Smalley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 33.

<sup>138</sup> Goulder, *Luke*, 300.



placing with Luke cannot be accidental.”<sup>139</sup> On Goulder’s view, Luke’s structure in this pericope, where Jesus (or in Acts, Paul) have their futures portended, is very common in the Lukan corpus. Therefore, Goulder suggests that Luke is following Matthew and Mark’s text, and since Matthew’s text mentioned Ναζαρά, there is no reason to posit that Ναζαρά appears in Q.

### 3.3.2c: Conclusion

On the face of it, there appear to be strong reasons to question whether or not Ναζαρά is indeed in Q. If one follows the position of Michael Goulder, then there will never be a sufficient reason to suggest the existence of Q. Yet, there are two considerations that should be taken into account. First, this is the only place in which Ναζαρά exists in the entire New Testament. It does not appear at any other point in the Pauline corpus, the Catholic Epistles, or any of the gospels. Additionally, in Matthew, it is possible that Matthew switches from the spelling Ναζαρέτ to Ναζαρά, though only at this point. It seems difficult to understand why Matthew would change his spelling if not for an alternate source that held Ναζαρά. Moreover, why would such a spelling not appear in Mark? Mark has a good number of Semitisms and Aramaisms and Ναζαρά is likely an Aramaism. Usually, Matthew’s redactional structure removes these Semitisms, but Ναζαρά appears nowhere in Mark.

Beyond Ναζαρά’s not appearing in Mark, there is the issue of Ναζαρά’s place in the narrative. Both Matthew and Luke have it in the same place. Regardless of the minor details of each, it appears before the Sermon on the Mount/Plain (what IQP members call “the Inaugural Sermon”) and after the Temptation in the Wilderness. Therefore, it appears as though there are good reasons to suppose that there is some common source material here.

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 301.

### 3.3.4 The Farrer Solution

The Farrer solution to this Minor Agreement is rather simple, Ναζαρά was written by Matthew and Luke copied it into his own gospel. There is a non-Lukan term in the text of Luke 4:15, ἀποῶν, which, while not appearing in this context in Luke, appears often in Matthew. It appears often in Matthew because Matthew is attempting to differentiate between the Jewish Christian community for which he is presumably writing and the Jewish community that Matthew treats so polemically.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, Goulder suggests that Ναζαρά stems not from Q, as mentioned above. Instead, Goulder argues that it is dependent on Matthew's use of Ναζαρά in Matt. 2:23, which is based on his attempt to tie much about Jesus to a fulfilled prophecy.<sup>141</sup> Matthew attempts to understand how Jesus became known as Jesus of Nazareth (rather than Jesus of Bethlehem), so he mines the Hebrew Scriptures and finds the story of Samson. Samson, however, is not a Nazorean, but a Nazirite. Consequently, Matthew states that Jesus "shall be called a Nazirite," in order Therefore, Goulder concludes that Ναζαρά must have been written in both Matthew 2:23 and 4:13. Then, Luke copied Ναζαρά into his gospel for his own purposes. While Goulder's solution is certainly attractive from the Farrer standpoint, it leaves at least one burning question: is Ναζαρά a Mattheanism?

#### 3.3.4a Ναζαρά as a Mattheanism

A Mattheanism is a term that appears several times throughout Matthew, yet fails to appear in any other writing except work that is (arguably) dependent on Matthew. If Ναζαρά appears in the infancy narrative, which is traditionally thought to not be part of Q, then it is likely a Mattheanism. A Mattheanism in Luke would pose a significant difficulty for the Two-Source

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 300.

<sup>141</sup> Goulder, "Two Significant Minor Agreements," 368-369.

Hypothesis and suggest that what is thought to be Q material could very possibly be Matthean material. Matthew 2:23 reads Ναζαρέτ in the Nestle-Aland 28<sup>th</sup> text, but there are textual variants, some of which are rather significant. For example, P<sup>70</sup>, a papyrus fragment held by the National Archeological Museum in Florence, Italy, is a 3<sup>rd</sup> century fragment that has, among other readings, Matthew 2:23. P<sup>70</sup> reads Ναζαρά. Ναζαρά is further attested by Eusebius in his work *The Proof of the Gospel* “He was called Nazarene from Nazara.”<sup>142</sup> Finally, Origen seems to make reference to Ναζαρά as well, discussing whether Jesus’ homeland was Bethlehem or Ναζαρά.<sup>143</sup> These patristic references, plus P<sup>70</sup>, suggest that there was a strong, multiply attested, alternative textual tradition in Matthew 2:23. If Ναζαρά is so abundantly attested in the early textual tradition, it is the *lectio difficilior* and should be accepted as the original reading.

Again, there are some considerations to be taken into account. Beyond the witnesses of P<sup>70</sup>, Origen, and Eusebius, there is no reference to Ναζαρά in Matthew 2:23. Reliable manuscripts, such as Codex Sinaiticus, read Ναζαρέτ, rather than Ναζαρά. Although there seems to be a substantial Patristic case for Ναζαρά in Matthew 2:23, there are also compelling evidences against it, namely the lack of manuscript evidence.

However, the lack of conclusive reference to Ναζαρά in manuscripts beyond the aforementioned one does not close the case definitively. Based on the information, it appears as though Origen and Eusebius both testify to an alternative manuscript tradition, which does not survive to a significant degree. Despite the possibility of an alternate manuscript tradition, two items need to be taken into account. Most importantly, it was not uncommon for scribes to attempt to harmonize gospels and manuscripts, as is notably shown by several attempts at gospel

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<sup>142</sup> Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel*, VII.2.50 (trans. W.J. Ferrar, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981).

<sup>143</sup> Goulder, “Two Significant Minor Agreements,” 368.

harmonization, the most important being Tatian's *Diatesseron*. To that end, a scribe could have attempted to harmonize Matthew 2:23 and Matthew 4:13. This conjectured harmonization is not strictly conjectural, as manuscript evidence provisionally exists and there are similar occurrences between the Gospels and the LXX. For example, in the Gospel of John, Jesus quotes Psalm 69:10 "Zeal for your house will consume me," with the Greek for "will consume" as καταφάγεται. However, the majority reading is the aorist tense, κατέφαγεν, "has consumed." In the case of John 2:17, the aorist is likely the correct reading, but later Christian scribes attempted to harmonize the LXX to Jesus's quotation of the Psalm.

Consequently, although Goulder's suggestion of Ναζαρά as a Mattheanism is attractive, it fails on the general lack of evidence. However, that is not to say that Ναζαρά could not simply be an evangelistic creation rather than stemming from Q. The evangelists are best described as a mixture of author and compiler, devising information in some cases, but relying on pre-existing sources when need be. Despite Goulder's well-reasoned argument, the weight of the manuscript evidence as well as evidence of scribal character speaks against his conclusions. Therefore, Ναζαρά must be provisionally understood to not be a Mattheanism, but simply a *hapax*, a term that appears once, in both the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

#### 3.3.4 Matt. 4:13 and Parallels Conclusion

Based on the evidence for Ναζαρά's presence in Q, as well as the lack of evidence for Ναζαρά as a Mattheanism, this Minor Agreement seems far better explained on the Two-Source Hypothesis. However, this preference of the Two-Source Hypothesis over the Farrer Hypothesis is by no means rock-solid. If manuscript evidence were uncovered that showed Ναζαρά to be a Mattheanism, there would be significant issues for the Two-Source Hypothesis. Yet, as the evidence currently stands, it does not seem as though the Farrer Hypothesis can bear the weight

that it must in this case. Moreover, the Farrer Hypothesis appears inadequate to explain how Ναζαρά ended up in the text in the first place. Goulder's approach to viewing it as some sort of Matthean construction is tempting, but there are legitimate questions as to why Matthew seems to create an Aramaism that does not appear in Mark. Yet, it could be made sense of on the basis that the *Sitz im Leben* of the Matthean Community is likely Judea. Regardless of the issue of the Aramaism, there is an issue of structure.

In Luke, Jesus is rejected at Nazara. In Matthew, it simply states that Jesus leaves Nazara to go to Capernaum. Yet, in Matthew, Jesus returns to Nazareth and is rejected after giving a series of parables, whereas Luke has Jesus rejected after reading from the scroll of the Prophet Isaiah. If Luke is writing off Matthew in this pericope, it seems strange that Luke would so radically change Matthew's order. Rather, the differences in order, when combined with the strong evidence for Ναζαρά existing only in Q, seem to indicate that both Matthew and Luke depend on Q here, not each other.

However, this explanation is only part of the picture. Although Matthew often corrects Mark's grammar and usage, that is not always the case. One must be careful to note that Matthew actually contains more Semitisms than Mark does. Among the more striking examples is Jesus' reference to a man being unable to serve both God and mammon, an Aramaic term for money (Matt. 6:24, Luke 13:12). Additionally, the existence of Semitisms in Matthew does not pose an insuperable difficulty. Matthew is often thought to be tied to the Jewish Christian community that existed in Antioch. To that end, Matthew does not explain Jewish customs, as Mark does, nor does Matthew provide translations from Aramaic into Greek, again as Mark does. Consequently, it is not impossible that Matthew actually did devise the term Ναζαρά, which would keep with Matthew's knowledge of Aramaic (likely as a Jew) as well as Matthew's

theological program. Although this study focuses upon two theories of Markan priority, neither one seems to adequately account for the data. Both theories encounter significant issues; the Two-Source theory supposes that Matthew, usually thought to be a Jewish Christian, is not well-acquainted with Aramaic and is forced to depend upon another source for his Aramaism.

Matthew's dependence on another source for Aramaic goes against the internal evidence of Matthew's Semitisms as well as the presumed *Sitz im Leben* of the gospel proper. Moreover, on a traditional understanding of Q, there should be little (if any) narrative structure. The Gospel of Thomas, which *is* a sayings gospel, exhibits no signs of a narrative structure; it simply is composed of Jesus' sayings. In this case, Q has a narrative structure, as it recounts how Jesus was rejected at Nazareth and how he was able to move his base of operations to Capernaum. A Two-Source advocate is compelled to argue that Matthew's narrative structure is part of Q, which inexorably leads to the conclusion that the Q material belongs to Matthew proper. The Farrer Hypothesis encounters similar difficulties, as it is difficult to understand specifically why Matthew would use the Aramaism Ναζαρά when he was fully aware of Mark's use of Ναζαρέτ.

On the Farrer Hypothesis, Ναζαρά was first written by Matthew only at one point in his entire gospel; it is a phenomenon known as a *hapax legomenon*, a word that only appears once in a work of literature. So far, the Farrer solution does take into account Matthew's *Sitz im Leben*, but further considerations also doom the Farrer approach. The Farrer advocate assumes that Luke followed Matthew's gospel and included the Aramaism of Ναζαρά and that Luke depends upon Matthew throughout his gospel; Luke-Acts uses Ναζαρέτ or Ναζαρέθ, the latter six separate times. However, Mark uses only Ναζαρέτ, and the Farrer Hypothesis posits that Luke is a product of both Matthew and Mark. Therefore, it would be odd for Luke to ignore both Matthew and Mark's agreement on Ναζαρέτ in favor of Ναζαρά, or to use Ναζαρά once and then

completely abandon it. In view of these issues, this Minor Agreement is not adequately answered by either the Farrer or the Two-Source Hypotheses. Though this study limits itself to theories of Markan priority, this Minor Agreement is best explained on the Griesbach Hypothesis (GH).

Luke, writing for a Gentile audience, would, under the GH, have access to the Gospel of Matthew and no other material. In order to alter Matthew's theological program to make it acceptable to his own community, he would have to rewrite the story of Jesus' rejection. When Jesus is rejected at Nazareth in Matthew, he simply leaves Nazareth and sets up his new headquarters in Capernaum. In Luke, Jesus reads from Isaiah and speaks about Elijah's healing of Naaman the Syrian, a Gentile. Then, he leaves and goes to Capernaum. In this case, Luke adds onto Matthew's structure to show that Jesus is not only the new Elijah but is more sympathetic to the plight of the Gentiles than he is to the plight of the Jews. Mark, being a digest of both Matthew and Luke, completely omits this portion, as it is not pertinent to his community's concerns. Despite the general weakness of the latter part of the argument, it appears that this Minor Agreement may make sense on these considerations.

#### 3.4. Matthew 22:27 and Par.

In this section, Jesus is asked by the Sadducees about the resurrection at the end of time, which the Sadducees do not believe in. The Sadducees relate Moses's commandment that a man's brother should marry his brother's widow, provided there are no children. The story consists of a man with seven brothers who was married to a certain widow. When one brother dies, the next one marries his widow and so on, until both the last brother and (finally) the woman die. The Sadducees ask whose wife the woman will be after the supposed resurrection, arguing that, since all seven men were married to her, how can she be betrothed to only one? Jesus next expounds the two most important commandments, quoting Deuteronomy 6:5, "Love

the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind,” then quotes Leviticus 19:18, “love your neighbor as yourself.” The passage concludes with Jesus explaining why the Messiah cannot be the son of David alone.

This particular Minor Agreement, Matthew 22:27, is often overlooked. Goodacre remarks that it looks “ordinary at first, but after a closer inspection is more striking.”<sup>144</sup> Hawkins ignored this Minor Agreement, writing it off as one that was simply due to chance or independent redaction by Matthew and Luke.<sup>145</sup> However, Goodacre names this as one of his six “striking” Minor Agreements that uses characteristically Matthean language and characteristically non-Lukan language.<sup>146</sup> Farrer Hypothesis advocates have attempted to use this Minor Agreement in order to show Lukan dependence on Matthew, rather than the existence of Q.

#### 3.4.1 Matthew 22:27 and par.: The Text

Matt. 22:27

Later (ὕστερον) than all, the woman died

Mark 12:22

Last (ἔσχατον) of all, the woman died

Luke 20:32

Later (ὕστερον) also, the woman died.

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<sup>144</sup> Goodacre, *Case*, 154.

<sup>145</sup> Hawkins, *Horae*, 209.

<sup>146</sup> Goodacre, *Goulder and the Gospels*, 115.



The Minor Agreement in question here is the word ὕστερον, meaning “later.”

### 3.4.2 The Farrer Solution

This word is uncommon in the New Testament. Matthew uses it seven separate times, but it only appears once in Luke. The other appearances are in the Gospel of John and the Epistle to the Hebrews, both of which are probably not directly related to Matthew. Additionally, ὕστερον seems to be a Mattheanisms, a word unique to Matthew. Matthew will often replace the word ἔσχατον, meaning “finally” or “last of all,” with ὕστερον, as he does in the Parable of the Wicked Tenants in Matthew 21:37.<sup>147</sup> Indeed, Matthew uses ὕστερον seven separate times, whereas it only appears once in the entirety of Luke-Acts, which represents one-quarter of the New Testament text. Michael Goulder refers to this occurrence as a *hapax*. As is seen above, a *hapax* is often strong evidence for literary dependence.<sup>148</sup>

On both Goulder’s and Goodacre’s view, Matthew wrote ὕστερον, and Luke took it over as he was depending on both Matthew and Mark. This explains two major items. First, the appearance of the *hapax*, and second, the use of the non-Lukan ὕστερον in Luke. Interestingly enough, the Two-Source solution, again most notably propounded by Frans Neirynck, agrees that ὕστερον represents non-Lukan language. However, Neirynck chalks up this non-Lukan language to a different cause: independent redaction. Before this study addresses the Two-Source solution, however, a lexical study must be performed. That is, how is ὕστερον used and in what contexts?

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<sup>147</sup> Goodacre, *Case*, 155.

<sup>148</sup> See above, Section 3.2.

### 3.4.2a: The Usages of ὅσπερον in the New Testament

As mentioned above, ὅσπερον appears seven separate times in the Gospel of Matthew, as well as eleven total times in the New Testament. Ten of those usages, including Matthew 22:27, are adverbial. One of those usages, Matthew 21:29, is adjectival. The uses are broken up as follows: seven in the Gospel of Matthew, one in the Gospel of Luke, one in the Gospel of John (John 13:36), and finally once in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. 12:11). It does not appear in either the Gospel of Mark or the Acts of the Apostles, the second part of the single work Luke-Acts.

In both the Lukan and Matthean pericopes, ὅσπερον is simply used as a way to narrate the story, to indicate that the woman has been married to seven separate men, and finally, after all of her husbands die, she dies. Generally, ὅσπερον has the same connotation as Mark's ἑσχατον, so Matthew makes use of it in his traditional role of improving upon Mark's rather rough, Semitic Greek.

### 3.4.3 The Two-Source Solution

Neiryneck's argument is relatively simple in this particular Minor Agreement. First, he acknowledges that the weight of evidence is certainly impressive, pointing out that there are seven uses of ὅσπερον in Matthew, none in Mark, one in Luke, and none in Acts.<sup>149</sup> Additionally, he shows that ὅσπερον is used comparatively four times in Matthew, and three times superlatively.<sup>150</sup> However, Neiryneck asserts that since Luke simply writes ὅσπερον, rather than ὅσπερον πάντων, as Matthew does, it may be a case of independent redaction.<sup>151</sup> Neiryneck

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<sup>149</sup> Frans Neiryneck, "Goulder and the Minor Agreements," *ETL* 73 (1997), 89.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 88-89.

has a point here, as Luke-Acts has some of the best Greek, grammatically speaking, in the entire New Testament. That is, a Lukan redaction of Mark coinciding with Matthew does not necessarily imply a literary dependence.

#### 3.4.4 Matt. 22:27 and Par.: Conclusion

When taken at face value, the Farrer solution seems extremely strong. It easily explains the Mattheanisms in Luke as well as why ὕστερον is a hapax. Additionally, it does not depend on a redaction critical argument; it simply takes the text as it stands. Yet, Neiryneck's point cannot so easily be brushed aside. As he convincingly shows, there are other Minor Agreements where the language changes due to an improvement in the Greek. Additionally, it is possible that the majority of New Testament writers are not native Greek speakers or writers, as many of them write in a very heavily Semitic Greek, often inserting Semitisms into the Greek proper. Additionally, this passage makes best sense in a Matthean context. Matthew's theological program is, as mentioned above, anti-Jewish. The purpose of Matthew's gospel is to demonstrate two things. First, that the law of the old covenant has come to be fulfilled, and second that the Jews had the Messiah in their midst, but were too incompetent or blinded by their own legalism to see it.

To that end, this passage bears all the hallmarks of being a Matthean creation, rather than being taken over from Q. Additionally, the Two-Source approach faces the difficulty that this pericope is not Q material. It does not appear in the IQP's *Critical Edition of Q*, nor does it truly fit into Q's theological unfolding. Q is far from being the amorphous text that Austin Farrer mentions, then refutes.<sup>152</sup> As Farrer notes, Q has a notable theological theme, a certain

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<sup>152</sup> Farrer, 324.

progression of events, and a myriad of factors that lead one to believe that Q and Matthew are the same texts. This pericope also fits very well into Matthew's theological program, that Jesus is greater than the Sadducees and the Pharisees; he is the Jewish Messiah and the new Moses. Another consideration to be taken into account is that the evangelists are not simply compilers. On one hand, it is not in doubt that the evangelists had sources of some type. On the other hand, these sources are notoriously difficult to determine in some cases (e.g. Luke-Acts), but the evangelists must be understood as a combination of both authors and compilers. They used existing sources, but also added information based on the needs of the gospel communities as well as theological needs, such as how the Pharisees and Sadducees could be so blind to Jesus' clear Messiahship.

On a redaction critical note, the independent redaction position seems *ipso facto* unlikely. As shown above, this is not Q material, and Luke does not use the word ὕστερον at any other point in the corpus of Lukan literature. While Luke-Acts is not large enough to demonstrate the evangelist's entire vocabulary, it is very odd to claim that a *hapax legomenon* would appear because of an independent redaction. Why would an author of Luke's ability not use ὕστερον in place of ἔσχατον more frequently? Ἐσχατον appears not once, but three times in Luke. It appears to be a word that Luke is both familiar with and comfortable using, one that is far from unknown to him.

With all the above in consideration, one must take three facts into account. First, ὕστερον appears nowhere else in Luke-Acts, which is a single work by the same author. Second, it appears seven separate times in Matthew, three of which are the same usage as in Luke. Third, it is generally used by Matthew in order to replace ἔσχατον, but Luke does not use it for the same purpose. Yet, there are other considerations to be taken into account as well. As pointed out

above, this pericope has not one but two separate hapaxes, the other one being *γαμίσκονται*.<sup>153</sup> As shown above, one hapax is generally cause for suspecting literary dependence. Yet, in this case, there are two of them, which is a strong argument for literary dependence.

While Neiryneck's argument has much merit, the existence of two separate hapaxes tips the scale ever so slightly towards Lukan dependence on Matthew. Moreover, it does not require a value judgement, that Luke has better Greek because Luke is closer to Classical Greek. While that very well may be true, it does not have the bearing on the Minor Agreement that Neiryneck seems to think it does. Instead, following Farmer, the level of Greek could indicate nothing more than the writer's educational level.<sup>154</sup> Therefore, this Minor Agreement is best explained on the Farrer Hypothesis.

#### 4.0 The Study up to Now

So far, this study has examined how the state of the question today has been reached as well as examined the Minor Agreements in detail. At this point, this study will recapitulate the previous two sections.

#### 4.1 Revisiting the Review of Research

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<sup>153</sup> 3.4.1.

<sup>154</sup> Farmer, *Synoptic Problem*, 122.

As established above, the Two-Source and Farrer Hypotheses did not come together overnight.<sup>155</sup> They are the result of some one hundred and seventy years of study and New Testament criticism. As this study has shown, the Two-Source Hypothesis is likely the majority position in contemporary New Testament studies, with many scholars seeing any attack on Q as being an attack on Markan priority itself. Yet, in spite of the success of the Two-Source Hypothesis, the consensus that existed as late as 1960 has evaporated.

William Farmer and a group of both American and British scholars revived the Griesbach Hypothesis in the 1960s, and it remained the primary opponent to the Two-Source theory in both North America and Europe throughout most of the twentieth century. Alongside Farmer and his compatriots came the work of Austin Farrer and his student, Michael Goulder's work on the Farrer Hypothesis. Farrer's work is largely foundational, while Goulder himself worked out the specifics of the Farrer Hypothesis. Consequently, the hypothesis is often known as the Farrer-Goulder Hypothesis, though Goulder himself abjures that term. With the death or retirement of Griesbach Hypothesis supporters like Farmer, Bernard Orchard, and Lamar Cope, the Griesbach Hypothesis has diminished in importance, and few new scholarly works have approached the Griesbach Hypothesis with an intention beyond critique. With the collapse of the revived Griesbach (or, as its proponents prefer, Two-Gospel) school, the primary competitor to the Two-Source orthodoxy has become the Farrer Hypothesis.

Since Goulder has since died, the mantle of the Farrer Hypothesis has been taken up by another scholar, Mark Goodacre. Goodacre has removed the Farrer Hypothesis from some of Goulder's more questionable theories, positioning it as a scholarly option that denies the

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<sup>155</sup> Above, Chapter 2

existence of Q while holding to the finding of Markan priority. Following Goodacre's lead, a number of other prominent scholars have begun to question the existence of Q. As shown above, the prominent British New Testament scholar Francis Watson has argued that Q is an unnecessary postulate, while Richard Hays of Duke University has concurred with Goodacre's beliefs about Q. Similarly, Richard Bauckham, another British New Testament scholar, has argued that Q does not exist, and that the Gospel of Matthew is dependent on both Mark and Luke.<sup>156</sup> In spite of the breakdown of a consensus about Synoptic Problem solutions, the vast majority of scholars still hold to the Two-Source Hypothesis.

The Two-Source Solution, though under some stress, is still a vast majority position. As a survey of New Testament introductions reveals, most scholars are either ignorant of the alternatives or dismiss them out of hand.<sup>157</sup> However, this question must be determined on the evidence, not by simply counting the number of scholars who agree on the evidence. To that end, this study then turned to the Minor Agreements themselves.

## 4.2 The Minor Agreements

Once again, this study defines the Minor Agreements as wording in Matthew and Luke that agree against Mark's wording. One particularly prevalent example is the use of the word εἶπεν, "said," throughout the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, a grammatical improvement upon the Markan alternative, λέγει, "says," a use of the historic present common in the Gospel of

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<sup>156</sup> Richard Bauckham, email message, March 2017.

<sup>157</sup> Above, 2.6

Mark. However, this Minor Agreement is not a particularly important one; it is easy to understand how both Matthew and Luke would improve upon Mark's Greek independently of one another. Therefore, this examination focused upon three particularly critical Minor Agreements.

These three Minor Agreements were selected due to their problematic nature for the Two-Source Hypothesis. That is, they pose significant difficulties for the Two-Source Hypothesis, partly due to the use of wording that appears only once in the Gospels of Matthew or Luke. This phenomenon is known as a *hapax legomena*. To that end, these three Minor Agreements were examined:

1. Matthew 26:68/Mark 14:65/ Luke 22:64
2. Matthew 4:13/No Parallel in Mark/ Luke 4:16
3. Matthew 22:27/Mark 12:22/Luke 20:32

### 3.2.1. Matthew 26:68 and Par.

As demonstrated above, this Minor Agreement makes use of the word *παίω*, to strike. This word is a *hapax legomenon*, appearing only once in the Gospel of Matthew and once in the Gospel of Luke, both times at this location. Mark Goodacre contends that this is a piece of evidence that often leads one to conclude the literary dependence of one gospel upon another.<sup>158</sup> This is not a pericope that is thought to appear in Q, as this portion is part of the passion narrative. As a result, both Farrer and Two-Source advocates have recognized this Minor Agreement as being of prime importance for their respective theories. Farrer advocates have

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<sup>158</sup> Goodacre, *Case*, 157



latched onto it as a clear example of literary dependence, while Two-Source advocates have defended their theory in two separate ways.

Farrer proponents have used this Minor Agreement in order to support their view there is that Luke is literarily dependent on Matthew and Luke. Goulder, Goodacre, and Sanders have focused on the *hapax legomenon*, claiming that there is no better explanation for its existence than a strict literary dependence. Along these lines, Farrer supporters have strongly rejected any attempts at eliminating the Minor Agreement through recourse to a textual corruption. The argument about a textual interpolation has been central to discussion of this Minor Agreement.

Two-Source advocates often attribute this Minor Agreement to a textual corruption, as shown above (footnote). However, others, such as Raymond Brown, attempt to explain the text of Matthew and Luke by recourse to Hebrew Bible parallels, specifically Isaiah 50. Brown attempts to connect Isaiah 50:6-7, references to having been struck by one's enemies, with the passion narrative in Mark. On the face of it, this appears a promising solution, as the passion narrative is largely recognized to draw inspiration from the Hebrew Bible. Yet, Brown's connection is spurious at best, as there are few examples of shared language between the two passages. Beyond this point, Brown attempts to explain the similarities in language between Matthew and Luke with recourse to a shared oral tradition. This solution may very well be the case, as there is a significant oral period between Jesus' ministry and the writing of the first gospel. However, Brown's proposal has not been particularly influential, and it appears as though the majority of Two-Source advocates do not hold to his solution.

Against Brown, Two-Source advocates largely hold to a theory of textual corruption. That is, the relevant passage, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε, is argued to be an attempt to harmonize Matthew and Luke. Frans Nierynck has been the primary advocate of this view in recent years,

contending that Matthew had the passage added in order to be consistent with Luke. This view, although enticing, runs into two issues. First, there is no manuscript evidence for such an interpolation. The manuscript tradition is unanimous; the passage appears in all extant manuscripts of the Gospel of Matthew. The motivation for positing an interpolation is usually text critically based, rather than an attempt to argue that the passage makes little sense as it stands. Since Neiryck realizes that it does not make much sense for some men to spit into Jesus' blindfolded face, he proposes an interpolation.

However, Neiryck encounters another difficulty with his theory. In his haste to eliminate literary dependence of Luke on the Gospel of Matthew, Neiryck ignores the fact that Matthew occasionally omits events and actors that Mark mentions. Whereas Mark mentions several groups of people, Matthew does not. It makes sense to ask a blindfolded man who beats him when multiple groups are at present; it does not make sense when only one group is. This leads to two separate conclusions about this Minor Agreement.

First, this Minor Agreement is far better explained by the Farrer Hypothesis. The existence of the *hapax legomenon*  $\pi\alpha\iota\omega$  is powerful evidence for the literary dependence of Luke upon Matthew. Second, the omission of the second group makes sense on Matthew's anti-Semitic theological program. For Matthew, Jesus is the new Moses, the lawgiver. He is also the Jewish Messiah, fulfilling the prophecies of the Hebrew Bible. Therefore, it makes sense that Matthew would eliminate the servants (one of Mark's groups) and only have the Sanhedrinists beating Jesus. Farrer Hypothesis advocates have often framed this Minor Agreement polemically, arguing that Two-Source theorists are attempting to conform the text to their source-critical theory. Although this remark may be a slight exaggeration, there may be a

significant case here; the theory is attempting to determine what the text looks like, rather than the other way around.

#### 4.2.2 Matt. 4:13 and Luke 4:16 (no parallel in Mark)

This Minor Agreement, which has no parallel pericope in Mark, is often thought to be a prime example of Q material. The relevant word in this Minor Agreement is Ναζαρά, an Aramaicism for Nazareth, the town in which Jesus spent his childhood. The Two-Source Solution to this Minor Agreement is rather straightforward: Matthew and Luke are both making use of the Q material. Q is often thought to be the production of a pre-gospel Jewish Christian community in Galilee, so the inclusion of the Aramaicism Ναζαρά is logical. Additionally, while there have been some debates as to whether or not Ναζαρά is actually within Q, two considerations suggest that it is.

The first of these considerations is the theological unfolding of Q itself. If Q does exist, the inclusion of Ναζαρά comes just prior to Jesus' rejection at Nazareth. One of the more convincing arguments in favor of Ναζαρά in Q comes from the idea that the rejection at Nazareth was intended to be the final portion of the Temptation narrative. That is, Jesus has gone into the wilderness, been baptized, tempted by Satan, and is now returning home to find that he is no longer welcome in his hometown. Secondly, the passage makes sense on a redaction critical understanding of Q. Some scholars (most notably Kloppenborg and Robinson) have argued that Q was formed in several layers; Ναζαρά is a holdover from the earliest layer, which contained the Beatitudes and a few other select sayings. Ναζαρά was used in order to identify the speaker, Jesus from Nazara. Consequently, this study comes down in favor of the judgment that Ναζαρά is actually a part of sayings source Q, provided that sayings source Q exists. Yet, the Farrer Hypothesis approaches this Minor Agreement from a rather different lens.

Against the Two-Source advocates, Farrer advocates argue that Ναζαρά represents a Matthean tradition, not a separate sayings source. Most notably, Michael Goulder has attempted to argue that Ναζαρά is in fact a Mattheanism, a word characteristic of the Gospel of Matthew. Goulder has focused primarily on Matthew 2:23, which tells of Jesus' return to Nazareth, for he is to be called a Nazorean, according to the prophets. To this end, Goulder has cited the testimony of two early church fathers: Origen and Eusebius. Origen, in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, attempts to discern whether or not Jesus is from Bethlehem or Ναζαρά. Similarly, Eusebius mentions that Jesus is a Nazorean from Ναζαρά. Finally, P<sup>70</sup>, a fragment of the Gospel of Matthew from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, makes reference to Ναζαρά. Despite these three references, the rest of the textual tradition either refers to Jesus' hometown as Ναζαρέτ or Ναζαρέθ, not as Nazara. Eusebius and Origen may make reference to a different textual tradition, but the majority reading is that of Nazareth in Matthew 2:23, so it appears as though that is in fact the original reading. Therefore, Goulder's contention that Ναζαρά represents a Mattheanism fails.

In spite of Goulder's failure to establish Ναζαρά as a Mattheanism, it would fit well within the context of Matthew's Gospel. Matthew is clearly familiar with Aramaic, as he uses Aramaic terms a number of times (most notably Jesus' admonition that one cannot serve both God and mammon, the Aramaic term for riches). Beyond that consideration, Matthew is writing for a Jewish Christian community, likely in Antioch, a city in Syria. This Jewish Christian community may have a passing familiarity with Aramaic and could know Nazareth as Nazara. The evidence for either Matthean originality or the use of Q material is equally strong with this Minor Agreement.

Consequently, this Minor Agreement cannot be satisfactorily answered by either the Two-Source or the Farrer Hypotheses. Yet, the answer may lie in another hypothesis, the Griesbach Hypothesis. Under the Griesbach Hypothesis, Matthew is the first gospel written, then Luke uses Matthew, and finally Mark is a digest of both Matthew and Luke. Under the Griesbach Hypothesis, Matthew used the term Ναζαρά to refer to Nazareth, while Luke, writing for a Gentile audience, describes how Jesus was rejected in Nazareth on the Sabbath, tended to a Gentile (Naaman the Syrian) and then relocated to Capernaum, another city near the Sea of Galilee. Although this study does not examine the Griesbach Hypothesis in detail, the above scenario provides an adequate basis for explaining how and why this particular Minor Agreement came to be.

### 3.2.3 Matthew 22:27 and Parallels

As shown above, this Minor Agreement concerns the usage of the word ὕστερον in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke against the usage of ἔσχατον in the Gospel of Mark.<sup>159</sup> Both of these terms have approximately the same meaning, with ἔσχατον meaning “finally” and ὕστερον meaning “later.” There is no functional semantic difference, which is why, as shown above, Hawkins’ list of the Minor Agreements considers this Minor Agreement to be inconsequential. That is, Hawkins views this Minor Agreement as symbolic of Matthew’s and Luke’s improvements upon Mark’s Greek. A deeper examination of the Minor Agreement, however, proves Hawkins mistaken. Again, this particular Minor Agreement represents a *hapax legomenon* and is critical in demonstrating the literary dependence of the Gospel of Luke upon the Gospel of Matthew.

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<sup>159</sup> Section 3.4

Ὑστερον, the term in the Minor Agreement, is an exceedingly rare term in the New Testament. It appears a grand total of eleven times across the twenty seven books of the New Testament, seven times in Matthew, once in Luke, once in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and finally once in the Gospel of John. Since it appears seven times in Matthew alone, it can be characterized as a Mattheanism, a word commonly used in the Gospel of Matthew. How is one to explain the presence of a Mattheanism and a *hapax legomenon* in the Gospel of Luke?

For Farrer Hypothesis supporters, the solution is quite simple: Luke copied it from the Gospel of Matthew, in his improving upon Mark's Greek. Two-Source supporters have assumed two differing postures. The first: the Minor Agreement is simply inconsequential; Farrer supporters are attempting to make a case out of Luke's redactional activity. The second posture is that the presence of a Mattheanism represents an independent redaction by Luke that happens to create a Minor Agreement. Neiryneck refers to another example of redaction causing a Minor Agreement, using Matthew 7:27 as an example. On the face of it, both of these solutions seem equally probable. Despite the seeming equanimity of the solution, one must also take the theological stance of each of the gospels into account.

For Matthew, Jesus is the Jewish Messiah, able to confound the Jews with his superior knowledge and exposition of the Hebrew Bible. This passage bears all the hallmarks of being developed by Matthew. It speaks to the concerns of the Jewish Christian community while attacking those who cannot understand the nature of the Kingdom of Heaven. Luke does not seem to have a compelling reason to redact this passage, and the presence of a Mattheanism does not suggest independent redaction. Luke is quite familiar with the term ἔσχατον, using the term three separate times in his Gospel alone. Additionally, this is the only point at which ὕστερον is used in the entire unitary work of Luke-Acts, which represents approximately one-quarter of the

New Testament. Here, there appear to be few good reasons to deny the literary dependence of Luke upon Matthew. Therefore, this Minor Agreement is seemingly best explained on the Farrer Hypothesis.

#### 4.3 Conclusions

As the above sections have shown (3.2.1-3.2.3), two of the three Minor Agreements selected are best explained on the Farrer Hypothesis. The chart below cogently summarizes this study's findings:

Matthew 26:68 and Par.: Farrer

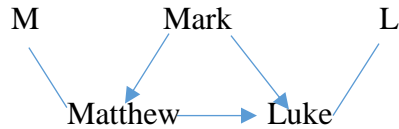
Matthew 4:13 and Par.: Inconclusive, possibly best explained on Griesbach Hypothesis

Matthew 22:27 and Par.: Farrer

Regardless of the findings of the second Minor Agreement, the evidence appears to lead in one direction: the Gospel of Luke is dependent on at least the Gospel of Matthew, if not also the Gospel of Mark. To that end, Q is not a necessary postulate; the Synoptic Problem can be easily explained without reference to Q. In spite of these findings, one cannot easily abandon independent sources for material peculiar to Matthew and Luke. Assuming Markan priority, this study proposes the following solution:

1. Mark's Gospel is written
2. Matthew uses Mark and the so-called "M" material to create his gospel.
3. Luke uses Matthew (and possibly Mark), alongside the "L" material to create his gospel

The following diagram is a pictorial representation of the above:



With the literary dependence of Luke upon Matthew, there may still be need for sayings material. However, it appears as though the majority of the sayings material can be understood as coming from Matthew, with Luke perhaps adding some through his own L material. At this point, Q may still exist, but is not Q, at least not in the traditional sense.<sup>160</sup> The abandonment of Q has heavy implications for the study of the New Testament, and it is to those implications that this examination now will turn.

## 5.0 Implications for Further Study

This examination is an admittedly limited study of three selected Minor Agreements. Although it determines that Q is not a necessary postulate to solve the Synoptic Problem, there

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<sup>160</sup> Mark Goodacre, email of August 16, 2016. My thanks to Prof. Goodacre for his help and support of this project.



are several implications that should be assessed through further studies. Perhaps most importantly, a systematic examination of the Minor Agreements should be done from the perspective of the Griesbach Hypothesis. This particular thesis only discusses the Minor Agreements from the position of Markan priority, and therefore assumes that Matthew and Luke must have acted with the knowledge of the Gospel of Mark. However, such a state of affairs is not necessarily the case; Mark may be posterior to Matthew and Luke. Although the Griesbach Hypothesis is not a particularly widespread model of Synoptic origins, it should not be ignored. Secondly, with the elimination of Q, there are now questions as to the nature of the earliest Christian teachings about Jesus (and indeed, the teachings of Jesus). A renewed effort should be made to understand particularly how the earliest Christians remembered Jesus, as well as how they communicated his teachings.

Fortunately, the nature of earliest Christian teachings is at least partly preserved in the Pauline Epistles and is currently the subject of scholarly works.<sup>161</sup> Another implication that will now arise is the date of the Gospel of Luke. Traditionally, Luke has been dated around the same time as Matthew, in the assumption that two independently written documents were produced around the same time. However, with the independence of Luke from Matthew now called into question, Luke may prove to be later than traditionally thought. The final major implication is that for the study of the historical Jesus of Nazareth.

For generations, the Quest for the Historical Jesus has been dependent upon the criteria of authenticity, a series of criteria used to determine what material is historical and what is not. One

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<sup>161</sup> James D.G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered: Christianity in the Making, Vol. 1* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003); Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006); Anthony Le Donne, *The Historiographical Jesus: Memory, Typology, and the Son of David* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2009)

of the major criteria, especially during the Third Quest, has been the criterion of multiple attestation. That is, if something is attested in Mark and Q, it is more likely to be historical than something attested in Mark alone. However, with the elimination of Q, the search for the historical Jesus must now depend on historiographical methods, rather than form critical methods. That is, one can no longer assume that the true message of Jesus lies behind the gospels, only to be uncovered through judicious use of the criteria. Instead, the Quest should now appreciate that the gospels are a record of Jesus' teaching and how Christians interpreted and shaped it to fit the needs of their own communities.

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