

SWEETGOSPELHARMONY.COM

A way out trilogy,

LOOKING FOR A WAY OUT OF OUR RELIGIOUS,
POLITICAL AND PERSONAL PREDICAMENTS,

Also a way back,

TAKING BACK OUR RELIGIO-NATIONAL
HERITAGE – ALSO – OUR PERSONAL SPACE

H. D. KAILIN

PART I – THE NAZARENE WAY OUT

(Volume I) Beyond reach of Jerusalem, Rome, Geneva, stood the Orientalist

(Volume II) Beyond the canonical gospels exists a Nazarene narrative gospel

PART II – AMERICA'S WAY OUT

Three men with power: Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin

Three women of valor: Tubman, Winnemucca, and Liliuokalani

PART III – MY OWN WAY OUT

Gullible's Travels: 50 years a Zionist, now seeking to make amends

WE HAVE A SURE, PROPHETIC WORD
BY INSPIRATION OF THE LORD;
AND THO' ASSAILED ON EV'RY HAND,
JEHOVAH'S WORD SHALL EVER STAND.

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PART I:

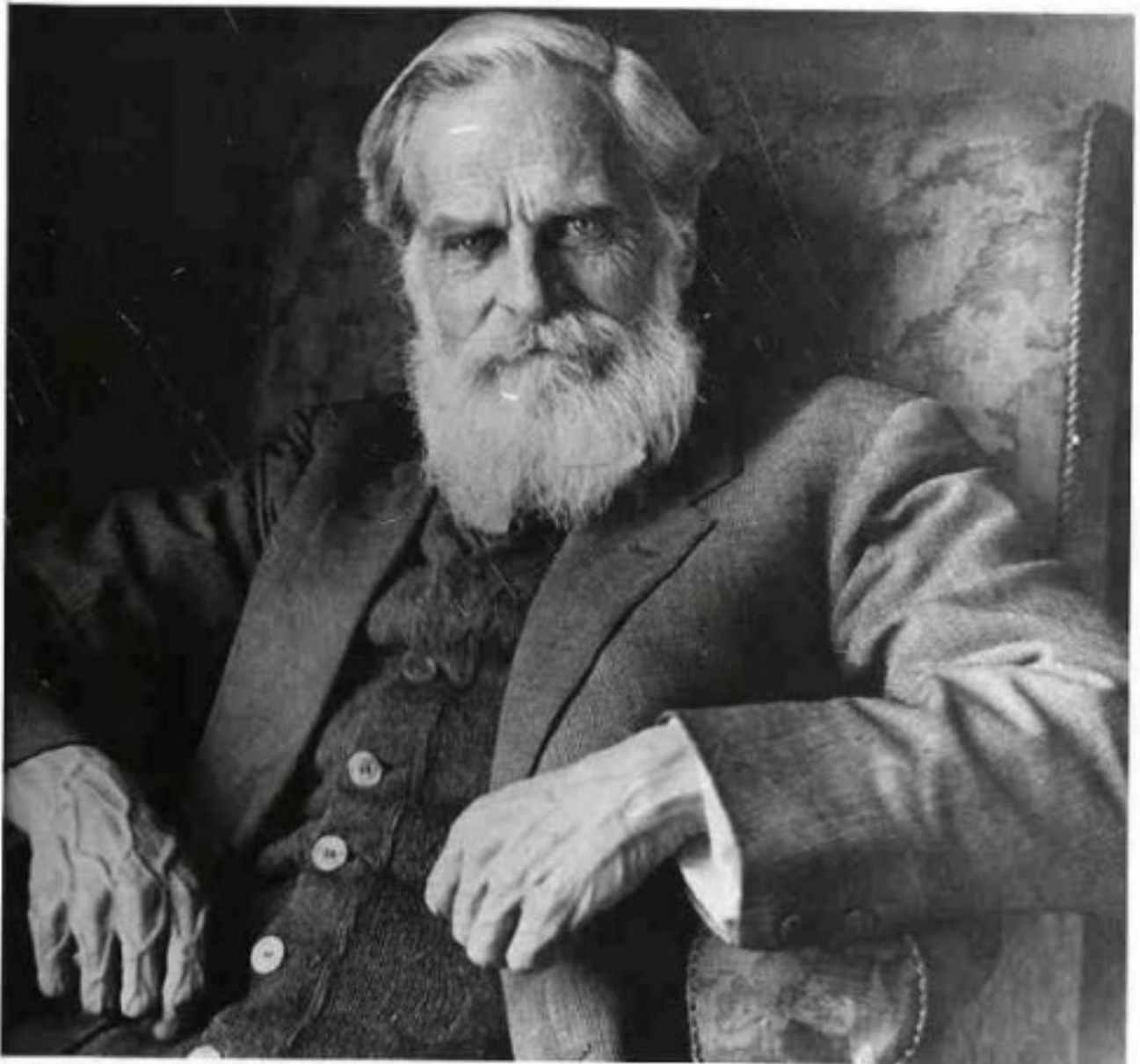
Τ h e O r i e n τ a λ i s τ

Gentlemen, go to the rising sun of the East, not to the setting sun of the West, if you wish to see Christ in the plenitude of his glory and in the fullness and freshness of his divine life. Behold he comes to us in his loose flowing garments, his dress and features altogether oriental, a perfect Asiatic in everything.

(Keshub Chandra Sen. *Who Is Jesus Christ?* Calcutta, 1919)

Again, looking eastward, after 2000 years, what do we see? That, as never before, the very land where believers were first called “Christian” is under attack. Not even in the days of the Mongol invasion was it so but now the Wicked Witch of the West and the drone Abominator have whistled up Benghazi thugs whom they have bank-rolled and armed with AK 47s and sent forth into the cradle of Christian civilization. While Aleppo burns, zionized Christianity looks the other way. (H. D. Kailin, 2013)

“Give us this day, Lord, our daily discovery.”



J. Rendel Harris (1852-1941)

“I do not think the central figure of Christianity or its central doctrine will be obscured by a careful restoration of the broken and almost lost fabric of its earliest literature.”

(J. Rendel Harris)

DISCOVERER OF ANCIENT TEXTS

Besides producing scholarship of a very high order, James Rendel Harris had an uncanny knack for discovering long-lost, Christian texts, including the *Odes of Solomon*; also, a Syriac version of the *Apology of Aristides*. In his essay: "Methods of Research in Eastern Libraries," he tells us how he did it, that being the old fashioned way by properly earning the trust of his Middle Eastern hosts. Other Westerners, contemptuous of their technically less advanced brethren in the East, had a way of running roughshod over them and none more so than Count von Tishendorf who, a generation before, had justified his purloining the Codex Sinaiticus from the monastic library at Mt. Sinai on the grounds that his hosts couldn't be trusted to value or preserve it, this despite their having preserved it for at least a 1200 years. Although the monastery's head librarian had specially loaned it to him, von Tishendorf claimed that he had rescued it out of a waste bin. Wrote Harris:

Now a person who is going to work in Eastern libraries must undergo a certain amount of preliminary training. He must have a few ideas about his work, and the people he is to work with, a reasonable amount of currency, some knowledge of modern Greek and a superfluity of good manners. As I am usually weak on the first two heads and not a colossus in Greek, I endeavour to make up in courtesy what I want in linguistics, or in backsheesh! It is a delusion to suppose that you are going amongst a degraded set of people when you visit a Greek monastery. Dr Schaff, who visited the Sinai convent, speaks of them in one of his books as a set of dirty monks who could not read the documents which they possessed. It would probably be equally true that the party to which Dr Schaff belonged were a set of dirty tourists; certainly as regards knowledge, the monks are not to be derided, for they still take a pleasure in showing their visitor's book in which Dr Schaff has transcribed incorrectly the Nicene Creed. The great question of like is not whether we have used Pears' Soap this morning, but whether we have said our credo rightly and whether we have washed our hands in innocency. And as for the question of knowledge, my own experience is that I frequently tested the librarian at [Mount] Sinai on the matter of dates of Greek MSS and seldom found him at fault; yet he had never read any treatise on palaeography, and he could not have stolen his knowledge from Gardthausen's Catalogues of the MSS, for he had confessed to me somewhat sadly, Prof. Gardthausen, who had enjoyed the hospitality of the Convent for several months, did not send them a copy of the Catalogue.

HUMANITARIAN

A humanitarian of the first water, Harris, when not ferreting out lost biblical texts, teaching, researching, or writing, was actively involved in missionary relief work, particularly in conjunction with the Society of Friends. Beginning in 1896, his efforts were focused on the plight of the Armenians, to whom he and his beloved wife, Helen, made repeated, extended visits, helping them rebuild their devastated communities.

On November 16th, 1916, at the height of WWI, Harris departed by steamship from Liverpool bound for India. Ten days later, off of Malta, his ship was sent to the bottom, torpedoed by a U-boat. Rescued some hours later by a passing ship, he ended up in Alexandria, Egypt where he commenced finding ancient, two thousand-year-old papyri offered for sale by local farmers who had dug them up in the course of their labors. This valuable collection ended up eventually at the Rylands Library in Manchester. Again, April, 1917, Harris shipped out for Marseilles, France but, again, his ship was sent to the bottom by a U-boat. This time he was four grueling days at sea in a lifeboat. Sharing the raft with him, among others, was his friend, fellow traveler, and distinguished scholar, James Hope Moulton, who, alas, tragically succumbed. On coming ashore in Corsica, Harris was greeted by the local priest who exclaimed: "It is the orientalist!" Harris's reputation had preceded him.

THE LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE DICHOTOMY

Not one easily pigeon-holed, Harris stood apart from a Protestant fundamentalism which too often mistakes credulity for belief and therefore rejects scholarship. As well, he stood apart from Christian modernism, which too often mistakes scepticism for critical thinking that requires disbelief as a response. The secret of Harris' success was his combining the best of scholarship with Faith in God. As he wrote:

As we learn to live the life of dependence upon the Lord, we must be not surprised if a great deal of our early theology drops off. . . . I am amazed to find how much of true religion may be resolved into that one word 'dependence.'

With regard to his literalistically-minded, fundamentalist critics, Harris wrote:

. . . they cannot steal from us the truth of immediate Revelation and direct communication with God, which was before the Scripture, and was the cause of them. We have been told in these meetings [the Manchester Conference of 1895 a meeting of liberal and conservative religious factions] that the Scriptures are the ultimate test of truth; if that un-Quakerly proposition be true, the criticism of them is a gross impertinence; but the internal discords of all Scriptures, ought to be enough to convince us that we have no infallibility in the house, not a drop. [But] while we have no infallibility, we have some splendid probabilities, and one of them in particular is of such high order that we call it "The certainty of love, which sets our hearts at rest."

Regarding Harris's manner of teaching, Rufus Jones wrote:

His method of teaching was unique and peculiar to himself. The student never knew in advance with what the next lecture would deal, and the marvelous man carried them on wings as eagles from one peak of truth to another across continents and athwart the centuries as though he were at home in all ages and in all lands.

PART I OF IV

The oracle says that God will not hide from the man dear to Him a mystery that is hidden and secret to many, but will reveal it to him.

(Eusebius)

O R A C L E S
and
T E S T I M O N I A

or'a'cles, *n.; pl.* [L. *oraculum*, to speak] **1.** The utterances of God, particularly as found in Holy Writ, often having prophetic, messianic import.

tes'ti'mo'nia, *n.; pl.* [L. *testimonium*, witness] **1.** An extract or collection of the Oracles of God. **2.** The argument from prophecy that Jesus is the Messiah.

Between his resurrection and ascension, Jesus conducted, as it were, a six-week, non-vocational Bible course in which he revealed (or reiterated) to his disciples oracles in the Scripture of messianic import. These oracles the apostle Matthew recorded and Nazarene believers then circulated as *Testimonia*.

LOGION

In Greek, the word for “word” is *logos*. A related word is “*logion*.” Whereas “*logos*” could be speech either human or divine, “*logion*” is reserved for divine speech and is always, exclusively God speaking to man. Thus do we find it in the *Septuagint* (the Greek Bible) and thus do we find it more generally in classical Greek. But whether occurring in a dream, a vision, or spoken aloud, *logion* is heavenly-derived knowledge. Depending on context, subsumed under *logion* is God’s Covenant, His Law, His prophecies, and/or His judgments.

If any man speak, let him speak as oracles [*logion*] of God. (*I Peter 4:11*)

Peter and the other apostles, albeit unlearned fishermen, boldly expressed their Faith to the world. The boldness came from the Spirit, but the learnedness came from Jesus who opened their eyes to those things in Scripture pertaining to himself.

The Christian patriarch, Papias, who flourished before 140 AD, wrote a book in five parts titled “*Exposition of Dominical Oracles*.” Scholars widely assumed that he was referring to Jesus’ sayings but, beginning in the late 19th century, certain scholars began to see this as applying, not to saying *by* Jesus, but, rather, to sayings *about* Jesus.

... for while the citation of the oracles is sometimes definite, it is sometimes indefinite, as in John 7³⁸ “as the scripture saith,” and sometimes, again, where there is no mark of citation at all, they are assumed. They had been under my attention for many years before the conclusion was forced upon me that I was dealing with *Logia*, oracles of the selfsame sort as those which Papius (about 120 A.D.) says were collected by Matthew in Hebrew. I then saw that by “dominical oracles” Papias meant oracles about the Lord Christ ... and not, as nearly all writers have hitherto supposed, sayings by the Lord Jesus. (Edward Selwyn)

Four instances exist of the use of the word “oracles” [*logion*] in the *New Testament*. Besides that by Peter above, Stephen said to his captors before they stoned him to death:

And he [Moses] received living oracles [*logion*] to pass on to you. (*Acts 7:38*)

Paul also spoke of the oracles:

What advantage then hath the Jew? Or what profit is there in circumcision? Much every way: chiefly because that unto them were committed the oracles [*logion*] of God. (*Romans 5:1-2*)

As well, the author of *Hebrews* spoke of the oracles:

For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, that ye have need one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles [*logion*] of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat. (*Hebrews 5:12*)

DEEDS, WORDS, PROPHECY

“Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days?”
(Luke 24:18)

The question above, asked with evident astonishment, carries with it the barely veiled implication that one would have to be quite out of the loop not to know about what had recently transpired. The inquirer was Cleopas and this was the third day since his promising nephew, Jesus, had died, seemingly ignominiously, by impalement. Now unsettling reports were cropping up that certain individuals had seen him alive. After observing that Jesus had shown himself “a prophet mighty in deed and word,” Cleopas then confessed his disappointment, saying: “but we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel.”

Though Jesus’s messiahship was more demonstrated than announced, Cleopas treated it as a matter of public record. From this we gather that the phenomenon of Jesus’ fame rested on more than words and deeds, no matter how mighty. Another dynamic was at work which had brought him to prominence, namely, the prophetic Scriptures. People wanted to know, was Jesus actually fulfilling those prophecies indicating that he was the Messiah, the hope of Israel or not? The messianic question was the burning issue of the day.

Suddenly the tables were turned and Cleopas found himself on the hot seat. “O fools, and slow of heart to believe all the prophets have spoken,” gravely intoned the stranger, who then proceeded to ask: “ought not Messiah to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?” And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, the stranger expounded unto them in all the Scriptures things concerning the Messiah, which things he expected Cleopas to know and was disappointed to find out that he did not.

What we now know, as confirmed by the Dead Sea Scrolls, is that prophetic texts, called “Oracles,” had been bundled together by the scribes to form “Testimony Books.” Organized by subject heading, they helped make clear what otherwise might have remained obscure regarding the time and place of messianic visitation, also of the nature of the Messiah himself, thus materially contributing to the quickening tempo of national messianic consciousness.

The common folk heard Jesus gladly, not because they were Bible scholars but because the *Testimonia* had been circulated widely throughout the land, and thus they were awake to the possibilities. Our contention is that Jesus, knowing this, had self-consciously gone about doing those things as would meet the common folk’s scripturally-justified expectations.

As for the visitation itself, in various respects it went quite badly in that Jesus was roundly rejected by the religious leadership, then impaled. But with his resurrection, Jesus’ followers were emboldened to give their oral witness, which they then buttressed with written accounts.

But antecedent to the apostles speaking or writing, the *Testimonia* had already done the work of heralding the good news of Jesus and God's Kingdom, for *Testimonia* and *Gospel* are but two sides of the same coin. In symbiotic relationship, the one being predictive, the other being the fulfilment, they are mutually reinforcing.

Unlike the Book of Mormon, the Nazarene gospels did not simply drop down from the heavens, afterward to be transcribed with the help of the angel Moroni. Rather, they had been worked up from previous documentary material, allowing the evangelists to trace the trajectory of Jesus' life from Bethlehem to Calvary by a meticulously worked-out, scriptural framework. By reason of his multi-faceted life and ministry, many hands and eyes were required to record Jesus' transit through this world. As well, many hands and eyes were required to develop beforehand the *Testimonia*, to capture the broad scope of his ministry.

Although appearing to be irretrievably lost, the *Testimonia* was substantially recovered in the early part of the 20th century by some of the century's most distinguished and accomplished scholars. Not many years later, with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in the late 1940's and 50's their bold deduction was largely vindicated, as well, another bold deduction of J. Rendel Harris's, that there had once existed a sayings gospel, for just before the Dead Sea Scrolls came to the light of day, so also did the *Nag Hammadi* texts. Though these were mostly of a Gnostic character, they also include the *Gospel of Thomas* which contains precious original saying of Jesus. With amazing foresight, J. Rendel Harris in 1916 wrote:

It has been my habit for some time past, to warn my students that the Christian literature does not necessarily begin with the New Testament, and certainly not with the Gospels; that there are traces of previous documentary matter on which the accepted and canonical New Testament depends; and that, until we have learnt to recognize and isolate these primitive deposits, we shall constantly be making mistakes in our interpretation of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers.

And, in particular I tell them that there are two lost documents of the early Christian propaganda, occurring in various forms, sufficiently alike to constitute a cycle or type, the traces of which are to be found constantly in the first period of the literature of the Church. . . . Of these the first is the Collection of the Sayings of Jesus, the second is the Book of Testimonies from the Old Testament. The first of these underlies the Gospels, and is especially an instrument for the conversion of the Gentiles: the second is an instrument for the refutation of the Jews. . . . when we have reduced our prejudices in favor of the antiquity of the Gospels to more sober limits, we shall ultimately agree well enough as to the Book of Sayings and its antiquity and value.

(J. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*, vol. 1, 1916)

PROPHECY AND FULFILMENT

A careful examination of the Gospels shows that they contain much 'submerged testimony matter.

(B. P. W. Stather Hunt, *Primitive Gospel Sources*)

From the discovery of *Testimonia* amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, we know that this genre was no Nazarene invention but a cycle of literature fostering messianic consciousness which, in due course, served as a kind of midwife to the Nazarene movement. Beginning first with John the Baptist (also called "the Forerunner"), then with Jesus, the Nazarenes added to the *Testimonia* their fulfilments. Thus did a new genre emerge, first called "gospel," (insofar as we know) by Justin Martyr. Note: the *Testimonia* were not written to confirm the gospels. That would be exactly backwards; rather, the gospels were written to confirm the *Testimonia*.

Testimonies, in the early Christian sense of the word, are, on one side, very nearly equivalent to quotations; but from another point of view, the term involves the idea of the person testifying as well as the thing witnessed; they are not only extracts from a book, they are the utterances of the person who is the author of the book. Thus the formula "it is written in the law" is impersonal and denotes strictly a quotation, but "Moses in the law saith" is a testimony, and Moses himself is the witness.

Our thesis is, that in very early times collections of such classified Testimonies were in use amongst the Christians, and that they were used polemically, either in attacking a Jewish position or in defending a Christian one; the witnesses are brought into court by the protagonists in a dispute: they are arranged in groups, and ordered in sequences; when they have said their say, it is assumed that something will have been settled. Hence arises the importance of the work of marshaling the Testimony on any particular question in debate.

From the Christian point of view they are a series of *Argumenta ad hominem*, the man being the Jew on the other side who is committed in advance by his belief in the Scriptures to the acceptance of the word of the witnesses, provided they are rightly heard and not misinterpreted. Thus the long title of such collections is that of "Testimonies against the Jews." There are, properly speaking, no Testimonies against the Gentiles, for the Gentiles and the Primitive Gentile Christians do not recognize the same court of appeal as the Jews and the Judaeo-Christians; their court of appeal is something quite different, it is the soul itself, the 'naturally Christian soul' of which Tertullian speaks, which knows truth by truth's own testimony.

How then, do we establish the existence of such collections as those which are here suggested? Three ways, at least, may be followed which lead to the result: the first consists in observing that different authors (say in the New Testament) quote the Old Testament in similar or closely-coincident sequences, and apparently without any mutual dependence upon one another for the form of the quotation. The suggestion is that they have used the same handbook.

The second method is by observing that from the second century onward there is a succession of actually preserved books of Biblical Testimonies, arranged under headings to prove definite points; and these collections have so much common matter that we are obliged to assume a primitive nucleus around which, and out of which, they have been evolved.

The third method turns on the occurrence in Patristic writers of Biblical quotations in such peculiar settings that one is obliged to admit that they were not taken directly from the Scriptures, but that there is some intervening link between the writers in question and the ultimate Biblical source of their citations.

(Oberlin Lecture, J. Rendel Harris)

JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE TESTIMONIA

When John the Baptist, apparently in a time of some spiritual discouragement, such as is natural to prison walls, and prison diet, sends disciples to enquire of Jesus, they are told to ask whether he is "the Coming One," or whether we are to look elsewhere, or elsewhen. Jesus relies in the terms of the thirty-fifth of Isaiah, performing certain miracles and translating them into corresponding language of Testimony: "Tell John . . . that blind men are recovering sight, lame men are walking, lepers are cleansed, deaf men are hearing, dead men are coming back to life, and *there is good news for the poor.*" The language of Jesus is that of a written Testimony, to which language his acts correspond: it says clearly that "I am the Messiah." The importance of this Biblical recognition lies in the fact that there must have been a pre-Christian Book of Testimonies in which the Jews had recorded their own ideas and expectations of what Messiah would be like when he came. (J. R. H.)

THE MEEK ONE

On the accession of Herod the great to the throne of Judaea, there was much discontent over the assumption of the kingship by a foreigner, and this discontent became permanent, and was always more or less in evidence. Let us see what the Slavonic text [of Josephus] says on the matter: —

At that time the priests mourned and grieved together in secret. They durst not do so openly for fear of Herod and his friends. For (one Jonathan) spoke: "The law bids us have no foreigner for king. Yet we wait for *the Anointed, the meek one, of David's line.* But of Herod we know that he is an Arabian, uncircumcised. *The Anointed will be called meek,* but this (is) he who has filled the whole land with bloodshed. Under the *Anointed* it was ordained *for the lame to walk, and the blind to see, and the poor to become rich.* But under this man the hale have become lame, the seeing are blinded, the rich have become beggars, etc."

Here Jonathan the priest is giving a series of Biblical Testimonies, which apply to the Messiah, the Anointed, and do not find verification in Herod. They are substantially the same Testimonies which Jesus sent back to John the Baptist; even the description of the "evangelization of the poor" is not wanting (πτωχοι εὐαγγελίζονται). We infer, then that at the time of the accession of Herod there was in existence a series

of collected *Testimonies concerning the Anointed*, and that there is some overlapping between this collection and the first Christian *Book of Testimonies*.

We have shown that outside of the Gospels, and in a definitely Jewish tradition, the newly-found Russian text of Josephus describes the priestly party in Jerusalem at the accession of Herod, as altogether non-resistant and pacifist. The Messiah who they expect is to be *the Meek One*. He will not shed blood as Herod has been shedding. He will enrich the poor, instead of pauperising the rich. And the statements made by Jonathan the priest under this head have the force of oracles, their descriptions are based on prophetic authority. Even if the Law forbids an alien king, they will not lift a finger against him. That applies both to Herod and the Romans. If the Jewish pre-Christian Testimonies describe in this way a Pacifist Messiah, and if Jesus assumes the role of that Messiah, and endorses his prophetic description, perhaps even deducing from it his own statement as to being "meek and lowly in heart," then we have the strongest case possible for the Christian statement concerning Christ as non-resistant.

We have seen that the pre-Christian description of the Messiah, disclosed by the Jews at the time of the accession of Herod, included amongst other titles that of the *Meek One* who was to come; and it may perhaps be asked what was the oracle of the Old Testament which was being quoted and acted upon by the Jewish leaders. I must surely have seen the prophecy of Zechariah (ix. 9) "Thy King cometh to thee; he is just and having salvation; he is meek and rides upon an ass." This is certainly interpreted by the Jewish Priests in a pacifist, or at least an anti-zealot, sense; and it is in this sense that it must have been taken over in the Christian *Testimonies*. This is, however, the oracles of the Triumphal Entry: from which we are entitled to affirm that this *Entry* was a quietist Demonstration and not an incitement to Revolt against Rome.

It is surprising in view of these parallelisms and coincidences, to find that there are people who still believe that Jesus never affirmed himself to be the Messiah. It would be nearer the truth to say that he never affirmed himself to be anything else. (J. Rendel Harris, *Josephus*)

HOW THE OLD TESTAMENT INFLUENCED THE NEW

The general problem of the influence of the Old Testament on the New has been the subject of a multitude of investigations, undertaken from different points of view, and dating from the earliest days of the Christian Church. Such studies were both natural and necessary, if the dictum of the Church that the Holy Ghost spake by the Prophets was to acquire creedal value. Our concern here, however, is with but one aspect of the subject, namely, some quotations from the Old which are embodied in the New. In modern Greek Testaments, the presence of such quotations in the text is usually indicated by a change of type, leading the reader at once to the Hebrew original, or, more commonly, to the related text of the Septuagint. If, on the other hand, we were in possession of a copy of Marcion's New Testament, we should not find any variety of type, or marginal references suggestive of other sources. Quotations from the Old Testament, or any reference to it as an authority would have been fatal to Marcion's theological theory, so he simplified matters by omitting such dogmatic references from his version of the

gospel. Some, indeed, slipped in, in spite of him (he would have been very lynx-eyed to detect them all), and these became arrows, for use against him, by Tertullian and other controversialists. Perhaps, then, the actual practice of making marginal references had, in the first instance, a controversial intention. However that may be, it would be easy to show that there is, of necessity much theology involved in these O. T. texts and their associated marginal references. Often, too, they serve to correct the text of the N.T. itself from transcriptional or other errors.

There is one direction in which it seems probable that results of definite theological value may be obtained from the quotations and the marginalia. We may raise the question of particular books, and the evidence for particular themes. The subject of Isaiah's influence on N.T. writers comes under the one head; that of the Suffering Servant under the other. If we treat them together, we must do so under the title 'What Christ and His disciples thought of Isaiah, and what in particular, was the use that they made of the 53rd chapter.' The study might yield some valuable results. One reason for making such a statement lies in the fact that the student will soon be able to verify (what might indeed have been assumed) that the treatment of the O. T. in the N. T. is unequal. There are large sections of its text from which nothing has been borrowed, and there are others which have been the subject of special attention, the reason of which we are sometimes able to divine.

For example, there are two adjacent chapters in Deuteronomy, containing respectively what are called the *Song of Moses* and the *Blessing of Moses*. Of these two chapters the former is credited by Dr. Hort with four times as many quotations in the N. T. as the latter. Admit that the former is a good deal longer than the other, there is still a disproportion in the number of quotations which sets us on the search for its cause. Why should the one be more used than the other as a source of authoritative appeal? When we examine the *Song* by the side of the *Blessing*, the difference between them stands out clearly. The *Song* is almost the opposite of blessing: it is 'near to cursing'; for it contains a catalogue of the aberrations of the chosen people, and adjusts Divine judgments to them; misfortunes are read in the light of misdeeds; infidelities and their consequences are described in detail. In this fact we find the answer to our question. The plenitude of quotations from the *Song* is due to the material it furnishes for an arraignment of the Jewish people; it is a natural treasury for *Tesitonia adversus Judæos*.

We can verify this hypothesis in a number of ways. Suppose we turn to Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, and examine whether he makes any use of the *Song* or of the *Blessing*: the *index locorum* will show us at once that he quotes the *Song* on nine occasions, involving the following verses ^{4.7-9, 15. 16-23. 30} (four times), and ⁴³; on the other hand, the *Blessing* is only twice referred to, and the quotation covers some three verses. This shows that the same preference for quotation from the *Song* prevails in the *Dialogue* as in the New Testament generally. In the case of the former, of course, we are definitely concerned with anti-Judaic propaganda and the exigencies of anti-Judaic controversy. It seems natural, therefore, to infer that when the *Song* is quoted in the N. T., the probability is in favour of the belief that the quotation is used anti-Judaically.

Now let us see how this passage is used by the early Christian Apologists. Aphrahat the Persian, in his eleventh

homily entitled *On Circumcision*, says that Moses, in that *Hymn of Testimony*, points out the people of the Gentiles, and says, 'I will provoke you to jealousy by a people that is not a people.' Here we notice not only the use of the quotation in an anti-Judaic sense, but the description of the whole as a *Song of Testimony*. There can be no doubt about this; for in the previous sentences Aphrahat says, 'Moses, their leader, testified against them. . . .' In the *Hymn of Testimony* he said again, 'Your vine is from the vine of Sodom, etc' (Dt 32³²). Clearly Aphrahat regards the *Song of Moses* as a storehouse of anti-Judaic arguments. The quotation is repeated in his 16th homily, which is a demonstration that 'the peoples' have been substituted for 'the People'; here again he says, 'In the *Song of Testimony* (Moses) says to the people: I will provoke you to jealousy, etc.' (*Dem.* 16, l.).

The student of testimonies will find frequent use made of these Deuteronomic passages in Justin, in Greg. Nyss., in Bar Salibi, etc. As the last-named writer's work is not yet published, we give one quotation from his *Testimonies against the Jews*: 'Listen to Moses how he said: Israel hath grown fat and got prominent eyes: he waxed fat and grew strong and he obtained riches and he forgot God who made him. I also will make him jealous with not-my-people, and with a foolish people I will provoke him to anger.' Perhaps enough has now been said to show the strength of the influence of the *Ode* or *Song of Moses* on the N. T.

How far back is this anti-Judaic use of O. T. passages traceable? The question is an important one. Two opposed opinions prevail at present; one inclined to regard the definite massing and ordering of such polemical matter, as little, if at all, earlier than the days of Cyprian; the other which affirms that these texts formed part of the earliest Christian propaganda, that this use of them is reflected in the N. T. literature, and may, with reason, be credited to the Apostles themselves; perhaps, even to their Master.

In the particular case we have been considering, that of the *Song of Moses*, the evidence certainly points to its early polemical use, but was it used earlier than by St. Paul? Is there any trace of it in the Gospels in the language of Jesus?

Here is an interesting case which has recently attracted the attention of the textual critics. In Lk 9⁴¹ the Lord addresses the crowd which had gathered round Him on His descent from the Mount of Transfiguration as a 'faithless and perverse generation.' This is not very remote from the 'crooked and perverse (διεστραμμένη) generation' of Dt 32⁵. At this point two of the oldest Western MSS omit the words 'and perverse.' Professor Burkitt, reviewing Streeter's new book in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1925, suggests that the Western omission is right, and that the added words have been introduced by parallelization from Dt 32⁵. 'The geographically Western text is right,' according to Burkitt. He has, however, overlooked the fact that there is a closer reference in the *Song* than the one which he quotes. In v.²⁰ the Jews are described as 'a perverse generation, children in whom is no faith': γενεὰ διεστραμμένη ἐστίν· νιοί οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν πίστις ἐν αὐτοῖς.

This is much nearer to the language of Jesus than the 'crooked and perverse generation,' and therefore if the text of the Gospel has been discoloured from the *Song*, this is the passage to refer to. But in that case it does not look

like a scribe's variation taken from the LXX, but a free quotation. In other words, it is the original text of the Gospel, and is a formula of Jesus Himself. So we have one more suggestion of His polemical use of the O. T.

The discovery that Aphrahat the Persian employs extracts from Dt 32 in an anti-Judaic manner, saying that they are taken from a *Song of Testimony* would, of itself, be almost sufficient to prove that he had access, not only to the text of Deuteronomy, but also to some tabulated extracts from the same source.

We can, however, carry our investigation a step further, for the very expression, 'Song of Testimony,' is taken from the previous chapter of Deuteronomy. Here we find Moses himself saying, 'Write this song . . . that this song may be a *witness for me against the children of Israel*' (Dt 31¹⁹); and again, 'This song shall *testify against them for a witness*' (Dt 31²¹).

The origin, then, of the expression *Testimonia adversus Judæos* is not to be looked for in Cyprian, or in any other of the sub-Apostolic fathers; it comes from the Scripture itself. It is a Mosaic creation. The formation of a collection of Testimonies began with the 32nd chapter of Deuteronomy, and may very well have opened with 'Moses says.' The anti-Judaists had Scripture on their side and the Jewish legislator himself for their inspiration. (J. R. Harris *A Factor of Old Testament Influence in the New Testament* (abridged), 1925)

BAPTISMAL TESTIMONIA

He leadeth me beside the still waters. (Psalm 23:2)

The voice of the Lord is upon the waters: the God of glory thundereth: the Lord is upon many waters. (Psalm 29:3)

Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. (Ezekiel 36:25)

Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil. (Isaiah 1:16)

Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge my transgressions: and my sin is ever before me. (Psalm 51:2-3)

Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation. And in that day shall ye say, Praise Jehovah, call upon his name, declare his doings among the people, make mention that his name is exalted. (Isaiah 12:3-4)

Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? he retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy. He will turn again, he will have compassion upon us; he will subdue our iniquities; and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea. (Micah 7:18-19)

"THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS IS THE SPIRIT OF PROPHECY." (REVELATION 19:10)

The ideas of Jesus are fresh and powerful, and freely expressed in speech of plastic beauty, which fascinated and irresistibly attracted His hearers, and produced upon them the impression that once again the authoritative voice of a prophet was heard in their midst. . . . in Jesus, His life, death, and resurrection, a new power of God had been revealed. God had indeed visited His people. (G. H. Box, "The Old Testament in relation to the New")

Albeit credited with transmitting the Nazarene messianic *Testimonia*, no one is suggesting that Matthew invented this literary genre or even that he much embellished it. For that one must look to the Master and to the prophets before him, for:

Surely the Lord YHVH will do nothing but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets. (Amos 3:7)

But what of the *Testimonia*? Was it just the foretelling of events, a set of predictions which Jesus fulfilled? As we shall see, it was more comprehensive, more multifaceted than that, for, Jesus served as prophet, priest and king. As well, he embodied Law, Prophecy and Wisdom, for, as he said:

"All things must be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses and in the Prophets and in the Psalms concerning me." (Luke 24:44)

As it was previously written:

The law shall not perish from the priest, nor council from the wise, nor the word from the prophet. (Jeremiah 18:18)

All that were before Jesus were placeholders. Regarding the first category, just as Moses went up the mountain to receive the Law, then came down to tell the people, so did Jesus go up the mountain to renew the Law, then also came down to tell the people. Jesus not only fulfilled prophecy, he fulfilled the Law, meaning thereby the Law's eternal purpose, for when he laid hands on Moses' legacy, he transformed it, that it might serve not just national Israel but the entire believing world. Thus was continuity of purpose achieved throughout.

Not only is accurate prediction an aid to faith, even as the Lord said: "Now I have told you before it comes to pass, that when it comes to pass, you may believe." (John 14: 29) but, as well, accurate prediction is an aid to good behavior, even as Peter said: "Since all these things are to be, ... what sort of people ought you to be in holy conduct and godliness?" (II Peter 3:11). Thus, the foretelling of events is just one aspect of prophecy.

“As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the son of man be lifted up.” (*John 3:14*)

There is no prophecy here at all but a supernatural patterning whereby the history of Israel is reflected in the history of our Lord. But it goes even beyond that. There are signs, symbols, types and antitypes, allegories, foreshadowings and prefigurements.

“I [YHVH] will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee [Moses], . . .”

(*Deuteronomy 18:18*)

Thus we see that Moses fasted forty days, so did our Lord; at Marah, Moses turned bitter water to sweet while at Cana, Jesus turned water not meant for drinking into wine which was; just as Moses fed the people in the wilderness with manna from heaven, so did Jesus feed the five thousand in the wilderness through the multiplication of loaves and fishes. Just as Moses struck the rock and water came forth so did Jesus who is THE ROCK provide living water. Moses parted the waters; Jesus walked on water. Moses’ face shone with glory; so also Jesus’ on the mount of transfiguration. Moses set up 70 (72?) elders to rule Israel; so also did Jesus chose 70 (72?) disciples to do the same. Moses sent forth twelve to spy out the land; Jesus sent forth the Twelve to arouse Israel to repentance. Moses led the chosen people out of Egyptian bondage; Jesus leads all of humanity who would have it out of spiritual bondage, across the Red Sea and into the Promised Land. As no man saw the death of Moses, so none saw the resurrection of Jesus. Moses was the type, Jesus the anti-type.

Jesus, before his impalement, said to Pilate:

“To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth.”

(*John 18:37*)

Not comprehending, Pilate asked Jesus:

“What is truth?”

(*John 18:38*)

Jesus earlier answered Pilate’s question in the hearing of his disciples when saying to his Father:

“I have given them thy word. . . . Thy word O Lord is truth.”

(*John 17:14, 17*)

The gospels, albeit containing biographical material, are not biographical in intent nor do they purport to be. Their purpose: to feature Jesus as the meaning behind the meaning of Scripture, for as the Word behind the Word, he transformed the Bible for Truth’s sake, for:

Jesus was in the Scriptures concealed; by him the Scriptures are revealed.

OBERLIN LECTURE ON THE TESTIMONIA, 1910 (ABRIDGED)

J; Rendel Harris

Composite quotations were the thing that arrested Dr Hatch's attention: and our analysis has shown that with such composite quotations the scribes have a tendency to go wrong (as in Isaiah for *Balaam* or *Moses*, where only the latter part was really Isaiah). The moment we make the suggestion of composite quotations whose ascription has become confused, we are reminded of the textual difficulty in the opening verses of Mark. Ought we to read,

As it is written in the prophets:
"Behold! I sent my messenger before thy face,
Who shall prepare thy way:
The voice of one crying in the wilderness,
Prepare the way of the Lord,
Make his paths straight";

or should it be,

As it is written in the prophet Isaiah, "Behold! etc."

The textual critics insist rightly that "Isaiah" is the true reading, whether it makes Mark look inaccurate or not. Suppose, then, for a moment that Mark had taken this proof of Christ's coming out of a prophetic Testimony book; such a book ought to have had on the margin the two names

Malachi: "Behold I send etc."

Isaiah: "The voice of one crying etc."

We have shown, in an exactly parallel case, how easy it is for one title to be neglected, and for the other to govern the whole of a composite quotation.

The suggestion is a startling one, and will need confirmation; for Mark is our earliest Gospel, and to put the *Book of Testimonies* behind all the Gospels is a bold step. Perhaps some one will object at once and say that Mark is not the evangelist who bases his argument on the fulfillment of prophecy, which is rather the characteristic of the Gospel according to Matthew. No doubt there is some force in the objection: but I should like to draw attention to a chapter in which Mark affirms the argument from prophecy. If we turn to the close of Mark's seventh chapter, in which the miracle of the Ephphatha healing is recorded, the incident is summed up with the words, "He hath done all things well: he makes both the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak." Here the word "well" means "appropriately," "as he should have done," "in accordance with prophecy." [Cf. Mark 7.6 ("Well did Isaiah prophecy") and the similar language in Acts 28.25.]

Thus the people recognize, in Mark, the fulfillment of prophecy: and Mark, himself, under such circumstances, could not miss it. What was the prophecy that they recognized as fulfilled? The answer is, the 35th chapter of Isaiah; and that Mark has this very chapter in mind is betrayed by the fact he calls the subject of the miracle κωφός

and μογιλάλος, "deaf" and "speaking with difficulty." The rare word μογιλάλος, is, in itself, sufficient to show that Isaiah 35 is in the mind of the evangelist, even if that passage had not been intimated by the closing words of the section about the making of deaf people to hear and speechless folk to talk. But this passage of Isaiah is, as we have seen, a leading proof-text in the *Book of Testimonies*. We may almost say that Mark wrote his seventh chapter to be read along with the *Book of Testimonies*. And certainly his interest in the verification of prophecy by Christ is betrayed in the chapter to which we have referred. There is no difficulty in making Mark into a student of prophecy. [Cf. Mark 7.6 ("Well did Isaiah prophecy") and the similar language in Acts 28:25].

But if this is correct, we shall expect verification of our hypothesis, from other parts of the New Testament. Suppose we ask the question whether there are any other places in the Gospels in which the suggestion of a misplaced title for a prophecy would be at home. We at once think of that much disputed passage in Matthew (Matt. 27.9), concerning the purchase of the potter's field: here we read -

Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying "And I took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of the valued one whom they priced of the children of Israel, and I gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord commanded me."

You know the trouble over this passage: the quotation is from Zechariah 11:13: but the textual critics (those at least who deal in honest wares), will not allow you to alter "Jeremy the prophet." On the other hand the coincidence with Zechariah is far from being exact. My suggestion is that Matthew has used a Testimony book in which a quotation from Zechariah was preceded or followed by one from Jeremiah, and that he has not accurately defined the limits of his quotations. For instance if we turn to Gregory of Nyssa's collection of *Testimonies against the Jews*, we shall find under the proof-texts for the Passion of Jesus, [Zacagni p. 309] the following sequence:

Jeremiah: "But I as an innocent lamb was led to the slaughter; I did not know,"
and again: "Come and let us put wood on his bread and let us erase his name from the living, and let his name be remembered no more."

Zecharias: "And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of the valued one, whom they priced of the children of Israel, and they gave them for the field of the potter, as the Lord commanded me."

Here the passage from Zechariah is quoted just as in Matthew, but I do not think it has been emended from the canonized Gospel. It looks as if it were the original from which Matthew worked: and in any case the sequence of Nyssen's quotations suggests directly the blunder in the reference to Jeremiah.

Some such explanation, arising out of a collection of proof-texts of the kind indicated, would clear up the difficulty which has long been perplexing the students of the Gospel.

The significance of the finding above is the indication that the Testimony Book predated the oldest Gospel and was used in its writing. (See the Appendix for the complete text.)

THE 3RD VERSION OF TESTIMONIA BEING THE CHURCH'S

In the 2nd century, the Church arose as a rival to the Nazarenes. Whereas the Nazarenes were steeped in Scripture, as religious Jews generally were, the Church, a Gentile institution, was much less so. Then did use of the original *testimonia* fall into abeyance, except, later, in revised form, the Church dusted it off and put to use in fierce intermural and intramural disputes – running battles, really – with Marcionites, Docetics, Encratics, Montanists, Valentinians, Arians, etc., all of whom were in pursuit of the ideological high ground. Church theologians would update the *testimonia* to make it relevant to the issues of the day, such as those having to do with the Trinity, identifying the Church as the so-called “New Israel,” cessation of Sabbath observance, the practice of Sacraments, etc., which concerns the original Nazarenes could not have imagined, much less have entertained. It is not that the original *Testimony Book* was outrightly done away with so much as radically refashioned that over time its original purpose was completely lost sight of. That is where 20th century reconstructive scholarship has come into play.

The existence in the early Church of collections of testimonies, extracted from the Old Testament for use against the Jews, has for a long time been a matter of suspicion. It was in the highest degree probable that such collections should arise, and their value for controversial purposes was so obvious that they would readily pass into the form of written books, and be subject to the correction, amplification, or excision of editors in such a way as to constitute in themselves a cycle of patristic literature, the main lines of whose development can easily be traced and the variations of whose development from one period of Church life to another can often be detected. They arose out of the exigency of controversy, and therefore covered the wide ground of canonical Jewish literature; but they were, at the same time, subject, to the exigency of the controversialist, who, traveling from place to place, could not carry a whole library with him. It was, therefore, a priori, probable that they would be little books of wide range. The parallel which suggests itself to one's mind is that of the little handbook known as the Soldier's Pocket Bible, which was carried by the Ironsides of Cromwell, and was composed of a series of Biblical extracts, chiefly from the Old Testament, defining the duty of the Puritan soldier in the various circumstances in which he found himself, and arranged under the headings of questions appropriate to the situation. . .

We are not limited to a search in the pages of early Christian polemicists, such as Justin or Irenaeus, though, "as we shall show presently, there is abundance of fragmentary matter in their writings which can best be explained by the use of a book of Testimonies, and, indeed, in such a case as that of Justin, whose largest and most important work is a debate, real or imaginary, with a Jewish Rabbi, it would be strange indeed if Justin did not use the method of Testimonies, while the rest of the Church used them freely. It is not, however, a question of isolating quotations and reconstructing the books from which they were taken. There are a number of such books actually extant, which, when read side by side, show, from their common matter and method, and from their curious and minute agreements, that they constitute the very cycle of literature which we have been speaking of

under the name of Testimonies; that is, they are definite books of polemic, closely connected one with in; the others, and bearing marks of derivation from a common original. In the case of a writer who uses Testimonies freely we may find ourselves in a difficulty as to whether he should be classed with Patristic writers, like Justin, who use Testimonies, but only in the course of an argument, or whether he should be grouped with Cyprian and others, to whom the Testimonies are the argument itself and not mere incidents in the course of it. But this is only a question of degree. All writers who can be convicted of the use of a Testimony book will be in evidence for the reconstruction of that book, in one or other of the phases of its evolution. We have already alluded to the case of Cyprian, and from the distinction drawn above, if it could be maintained, between those who quote and those who merely edit or transcribe such books, we should be led to say that there are, from that point of view, two Cyprians ; one who uses a book of Testimonies like Justin, for incidental polemic, and the other who makes, on his own account, an edition of the book with expansions and changes from his own editorial hand. The first may conveniently be neglected, at all events for the present. The second is one of our prime authorities. Cyprian's Testimonies contain an earlier collection of Testimonies against the Jews. A reference to the complete works of Cyprian will show a work in three books, addressed to a certain Quirinus, and headed with the title *Testimonia*. Of these the third book is concerned with Christian ethics and is clearly a later addition to the other two. But the first two books have a common preface in which Cyprian explains to Quirinus that he has put together two little tracts, one to show that the Jews, according to prophecy, have lost the Divine favour and that the Christians have stepped into their place ; and the other to show that Christ was and is, what the Scripture foretold Him to be. And the direct attack upon the Jews in the first book, followed by the appeal to them which is involved in the prophecies (from the Old Testament) of the second book, is sufficient to permit us to re-write the title of Cyprian's book from the simple form *Testimonia* into the form *Testimonia adversus Judaeos*; or, at all events, to regard the longer title as latent in the shorter. We shall have to refer constantly to these two books in the course of our investigation, both to the actual quotations made, and to the heads under which they are grouped. No one will doubt that we have rightly described the books if he will read the capitulations, beginning with the statement that The Jews have gravely offended God, and concluding with the affirmation that The Gentiles who believe are more than the Jews, and that The Jews can only obtain forgiveness by admission to the Christian Church. There can be no doubt that in Cyprian's writings we have preserved a book of Testimonies against the Jews. Tertullian against the Jews is a mass of Quotations, probably from an early Book of Testimonies. A somewhat similar case will be the tract ascribed to Tertullian, which goes under the name of *Tertullian adversus Judaeos*. . . . The case of Tertullian against the Jews . . . follows closely the lines of the collectors of *Testimonia*. And it will be sufficient here to state that it will be found very useful in determining the contents and defining the antiquity of the early *Testimonia*. Gregory of Nyssa is credited with a Book of Testimonies against the Jews. . . . We shall find many features in the work which are certainly of high antiquity and can be paralleled from the fathers of the first three centuries. Hippolytus and Others. A fourth work to which we may refer is a Demonstration against the Jews . . . which is current under the name of Hippolytus, and was published by Lagarde amongst the works of that father. A fifth work would be the tract against the Jews in the writings of Cyprian. And many other early Patristic writers will be found to be

more or less occupied in a similar use of material collected from the Old Testament. Bar Salibi Against the Jews. And last of all we come to the treatise of Bar Salibi Against the Jews, to which we referred in a recent issue of the Expositor, which, though late in date, contains many relics of the earlier controversies, and probably whole sections, slightly disguised in their transference into Syriac, of the lost book that we are in quest of. We have no need to apologize for Bar Salibi's late date, relatively to such writers as Tertullian, Cyprian or Hippolytus. It is recognized that the writings of Bar Salibi contain a great deal of early matter. . . . Bar Salibi must have had an excellent library of early fathers at his disposal, and it is very likely that more will yet be found of lost Christian authors in his pages. This new tract, then, of Bar Salibi can easily be proved to belong to the same cycle as the other books of which we have been speaking. We will now show how the conjecture of the critics, and the evidence of the extant literature as to the existence of early books of Testimonies can be confirmed by the internal evidence of the books referred to, including, of course, Bar Salibi himself. (*The Use of the Testimonies in the Early Church*, J. Rendel Harris, 1906)

We recall to our minds the steps by which we were able to establish the existence of the early Christian *Book of Testimonies*, which we have now tracked back from the ages of Cyprian and Lactantius, through the quotations of Tertullian, Irenaeus, and Justin, to a form in which we can still recognize the primitive document, very little changed in form or content. It was Messianic in character, and for the most part occupied in defining the marks by which the Messiah could be recognized. For instance, one of its leading sections was the proof that the Messiah "when he came," would "heal all diseases and raise the dead," the actual text being taken from the thirty-fifth chapter of Isaiah. The "coming of the Deliverer" was implied in the words, "Your God shall come . . . *He will come* and Save you. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, etc." Christian Fathers who refer to this Testimony commonly prefix the words, ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ "at His coming," and it was the detection of this prefixed explanation by Irenaeus and Justin that opened our eyes to the fact that these two writers were not quoting Isaiah directly but only a Testimony from Isaiah.

From the study which has preceded we are entitled to make the following general statements: —

1. If we wish to understand the Gospels, we must get behind the Gospels.
2. If we wish to get behind the Gospels, we must study the first collection of Christian *Testimonies* concerning the Messiah.
3. If we wish to understand the early Christian *Testimonies*, we must get behind them; i.e.
4. We must study the Jewish collection of Messianic prophecies from which they are, in part at least, derived.

(*J. Rendel Harris, Nichodemus* (abridged), 1932)

T H E G R E A T O ' S

Unbeknownst to itself, the Anglican Church has preserved the titles of Matthew's *Testimonia* in its Advent services. Called the "great O's for short," i.e., the Advent "O Antiphons" are intoned with solemnity every year before and after the reading of Mary's *Magnificat*:

O Sapientia / O Wisdom.

O Adonai / O Lord.

O Radix Jesse / O Root of Jesse.

O Caudus David / O Key of David.

O Oriens splendor / O Radiant dawn.

O Rex gentium / O King of the nations.

O Emmanuel rex et legifer noster / O God-with-us, Our King and Lawgiver.

Of this Rendel Harris wrote:

It is interesting to observe further the scriptural language in which the Divine Wisdom is described; she comes forth from the Mouth of the Most High; this is Sirach, c. xxiv. 3, and is one of the proof-tests in Cyprian's Testimonies; that is followed by a statement that Wisdom extends from marge to marge radiantly, and that she administers graciously; this is from the Wisdom of Solomon viii. 1. The prayer is made that Wisdom will come and teach us the way of prudence. It appears that in the great O's Christ is defined as Wisdom in the terms of the Sapiential books, much in the same way as we found in our study of Testimonies. The impression produced is that these Advent antiphons are of great antiquity. This impression is confirmed when we look at the other members of the group, which follow the appeal to Wisdom. They are pro-ethnic in a remarkable degree. Christ is the root of Jesse, who stands for an ensign of the peoples, the one to whom the Gentiles appeal. He is the King of the Gentiles, the Desire of the Gentiles, the Expectation of the Gentiles and their Savior. The term "King of the Gentiles" is interesting; it is the correct reading in Apoc. xv. 4. . . . Then we notice also that Christ is appealed to as the Stone, the Cornerstone, and we have shown abundantly how characteristic such a term is of the early years of Christianity. On the whole we conclude that the "O Sapientia" of the Calendar in the English Prayer-book is a bit of early ritual, broken away from its primitive setting, and with its meaning so obscured by the rust and dust of time that there is probably not an Anglican living who knows the interpretation of the vocative vocable in his Church Calendar. Even if he knew the story of the Great O's, he would not be able to tell why the Church said "O" in the first instance, nor why she said "O" to wisdom.

THOUGH FEW, THE LABORERS ARE WORTHY

Long in advance of the Nazarene movement, faithful Jews were helping fulfil the national mission by organizing and collating scripturally-based collections of prophecies regarding the expected Messiah, for Judaism was then markedly messianic, a fact made irrefutable by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The individual whose name is most associated with the testimony concept is J. Rendel Harris but he was not without antecedents. For instance, he credits Edwin Hatch of Oxford

for originally erecting the testimony hypothesis, for, as early as 1889, Dr. Edwin Hatch, in his book, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, wrote as follows:

It may naturally be supposed that a race which laid stress on moral progress, whose religious services had variable elements of both prayer and praise, and which was carrying on an active propaganda, would have, among other books, manuals of morals, of devotion and of controversy. ... the existence of composite quotations in the New Testament . . . suggest the hypothesis that we have in these relics of such manuals . . . [as] consist of extracts from the Old Testament.”

In 1894, with the anonymous publication of a book titled “*The Oracles ascribed to Matthew by Papias of Hierapolis*, a new era in biblical research should have begun, only it didn’t. Somehow this highly-researched book at the time of its publication escaped attention of scholars and the general public alike. Though its immediate impact was slight, eventually its findings were recognized for what they were, truly revolutionary. Its author since has been identified as John Burslim Gregory. From its prologue:

The following monograph is a contribution to the criticism of the New Testament. The views put forward in it shortly are these. That the famous work by Papias of Hierapolis, about which so much has been written, was upon the interpretation of messianic prophecies and that the work referred to in it, and attributed to Matthew, consisted of a collection of Messianic prophecies in Hebrew, extracted from the Old Testament, and perhaps from other books. I was led to conclusions which so differ so much from those put forward from most critics, in the following way. After reading the argument in the work entitled ‘Supernatural Religion,’ upon the gospel quotations in Justin Martyr, I was desirous of testing the matter by examining the quotations as they stood in the text of that father. After examining a considerable number of these quotations, I came to the conclusion that while there were many short passages, which considered by themselves, might well be supposed to have been quoted from the canonical gospels, it was not reasonable to suppose that any of Justin’s long quotations came from the canonical gospels. All of them that I have examined exhibit the following peculiarities. They consist of phrases, resembling sometimes one and sometimes another of the canonical gospels, and of other phrases not found in any of them, woven together, so as in each case to form a perfectly coherent whole. No quotation ever follows any one of the canonical gospels consecutively for more than a line or two. There is nothing about the quotations that in the least suggest that they are paraphrased or quoted merely from memory. Between them and the canonical gospels must be interposed the labor of someone who has deliberately cut a text to pieces and rearranged it. It is impossible to suppose that Justin, merely quoting from the canonical gospels would have made this mosaic. After examining a considerable number of gospel quotations, I determined to test Justin’s habits of quotation by comparing some of his Old Testament quotations with the LXX. I readily found long quotations which followed the LXX verbatim, sometimes with a various reading or two, through whole chapters. On the other hand, there were short quotations which were very different from the LXX. These latter

I noticed to consist of passages explained as Messianic prophecies, some but not all of which were quoted to a great extent in the same words in Matthew. I hence drew the conclusion that Justin got the Old Testament quotations which did not come from the LXX out of his gospel, and I accounted for those which are not found in any of the canonical gospels, by supposing that his gospel cited more Messianic prophecies than the present canonical gospels do. . . . the explanation suggested itself to me of a work in Aramaic, upon the interpretation of Messianic prophecy, which had been part of the materials out of which the canonical gospels had been compiled. Now I had already formed the conclusion that the books attributed by Papias to Matthew and Mark were rather materials out of which the canonical gospels had been partly compiled, than any of those gospels. The consideration, therefore, suggested itself whether this book on Messianic prophecy could be the book written in Hebrew which was attributed by Papias to Matthew.

With regard to the close relationship between Paul's and Peter's quotations of *Isaiah 28:16* (the Stone), Sanday and Hedlem, in 1895, wrote:

This may have arisen from St Peter's acquaintance with Romans; but another hypothesis may be suggested: which will perhaps account for the facts more naturally. We know that to prove from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ was the constant practice of the early Christians. Is it not possible that even as early as this there may have been collections of Old Testament texts used for controversial purposes arranged according to their subject, as were the latter *Testimonia* of Cyprian?

In 1906, F. Crawford Burkitt published a book titled *The Gospel History and its Transmission* in which he stated:

Now as we have seen, the evidence does not point to the direct use of a Hebrew MS of the Old Testament [by Matthew]: we must look rather to a collection of *Testimonia* as the immediate source of our Evangelist's quotations. The collection must have been made from the Hebrew, but the names of the several Prophets or Psalmists do not seem to have been attached to the quotations, . . . To collect and apply the Oracles of the Old Testament in the light of the New Dispensation was the first literary task of the Christian Church. Several such collections survive, and one of them *Testimonia* edited by Cyprian, is the source from which a whole series of Latin writers quote Scripture.

We may go on to conjecture that the original collection of Messianic proof-texts was made by Matthew the Publican in Hebrew, and it is the use of this document by our Evangelist which gives his work the right to be called the Gospel according to Matthew. This collection of texts, in a word, may have been the famous Λόγια, of which Papias speaks (Euseb. *HE* iii 39), which each one interpreted as he could.

Thus the answer to the first question we asked, as to the knowledge and methods of the First and Third, is that S. Luke uses the Greek Bible, but the First Evangelist draws his proof-texts direct from the Hebrew), although he too occasionally uses the ordinary Greek translation.

One of the first scholars to enter into the work of recovering the *testimonia* was Edward Carus Selwyn whose book *Oracles in the New Testament* appeared in 1911. He wrote:

To pronounce the words Jesus Christ is to assert a coincidence, a coincidence which is by no means accidental but providential, in accordance with the will of God, and inseparable from the belief in that purpose. The expectation of the Christ was held by a considerable body of opinion in the first century B. C., and may be described as faith or trust or belief: when Jesus came He was pronounced to fulfil many terms of that expectation. A coincidence was discovered between the facts of His life and the ideas of the previous faith. Jesus was identified with the Christ, the Man was found to correspond with the Opinion, the Life to fulfill the Faith.

The four Gospels contain a hundred passages of Old Testament which are treated as fulfilled in the events which they relate. Fifty of these are introduced by expressions which show that the evangelists considered them to be fulfillments. They write, "then was fulfilled what was written," "as it is written," or something similar. Fulfillment cannot fail to imply the recognition of a coincidence, whatever else and whatever more it means.

The present work is an attempt to discover the use of the Old Testament by the writers of the New. The oracles are precious words, and the words in the New Testament which were precious to the writers are words of the Old Testament. They were precious because they proved the great fact that Jesus was the Christ. The proof is known generally as the Argument from Prophecy.

The prophet spoke according to the rules clearly set forth by St. Paul in I Cor. 14²³⁻³³. He spoke *Logia* in combination with other *Logia* or with recent events, His "revelations" were similar in kind, in *genus* but not in *species*, to the Revelation of St. John the Divine. Here it need only be said that in a passage of any length in the New Testament dealing with the work of the Christian prophets we are likely to find something said concerning *interpretation* or *discrimination*, and accordingly in I Cor. 14²⁷ we have the order "let one (only) be interpreter (διερμηνευέτω means as *between the two* speakers with tongues, or at the most three who speak in turn), and if there be no interpreter, the person is to be silent in church, speaking only to himself and to God. And as to prophets, let two or three (only) be speaking (in turn), and let the other (prophets) *discriminate*." The *Logia* required this discrimination, a disentanglement of various trains of thought being very necessary when all contexts were apt to be disregarded and prophecies from different authors combined together.

Any Messianic passage of the Old Testament was a *Logion*, and, further, any passage might become a Messianic passage if duly submitted by a prophet speaking in ecstasy according to rule and submitting his revelation to the verdict of the umpires who were also prophets, and receiving their sanction. Gradually this rule was relaxed. It is not hazardous to say that the texts of the Old Testament in St. Peter's speeches, Acts 1-4, were among the earliest *Logia*; likewise Mark 1², 11⁹ and 12¹⁰. There would be the rudiments, the alphabet of *Logia*. But they were the alphabet of a copious language. For it has been demonstrated

above, for instance, that not merely several expressions, but substantially every word except “Mary” and except the dreams in the story of the Magi, is from the Old Testament in Greek. But this story would certainly be an example of most advanced study of oracles and it could not have been composed till after the disparagement of dreams had ceased, and after the time when every oracle had to be submitted by a prophet in ecstasy to the discrimination of the other prophets. (Edward Selwyn)

1906 marked the year J. Rendel Harris first published in the *Expositor* on the subject of *testimonia* and in 1910 he delivered a lecture at Oberlin College titled “The Book of Testimonies” but his *Magnus Opus* appeared in two volumes published in 1916 and 1920, titled *Testimonies I* and *II*. In 1917 appeared his magisterial book about *John’s* prologue. Afterward, he published several more articles of a substantial nature, the last appearing in 1934.

In 1932, the same Dutch scholar as had done much pioneering work on the *Diatessaron*, Daniel Plooi, also published an important book, this connecting the Testimonies to Aramaic Targums, another major insight as to their source. Following is an extract drawn from Daniel Plooi’s *Studies in the Testimony Book*. Following are his conclusions:

The writings preserved in our New Testament, though they are the oldest extant witnesses of early Christian literature, are not its first stage. . . . We ought not to forget that our New Testament is the record of *Hellenic* Christianity, whilst the earliest Church was that of Palestine, ‘salvation being from the Jews’. Of the literature of this primitive Church, which used Aramaic as its mother-tongue, only very scanty remains survive in the original, though we may be sure that a good deal has been preserved in Greek, submerged and unnoticed in its Hellenic form. It was however the Mother-Church of the great Apostle to the Gentiles: when he prays he does so in its language, saying *Abba*, only in the second place adding in Greek: *Our Father*. In Hellenic Christianity the most enthusiastic longing for the coming of the King was uttered in the “Maranatha” of the primitive Church), translated in the liturgical ending of the Apocalypse: *Amen, come O Lord Jesus*, in which, even so, the Aramaic *Amen* betrays its origin.

The early Christian dogma, especially its conception regarding Christ, the New Temple, the New Circumcision and so on are not based upon Hellenistic speculations, but find their origin in the primitive Christian Church, where the Bible was read with its Targumic rendering and interpretation, The Logos for instance of the early Christian Church is not to be derived primarily from Stoic teaching, but from the Targumic tradition, and so on. I wish to repeat: This does not exclude the obvious fact that on Hellenistic soil the early Christian dogma had to become acclimatized; but the real explanation comes from Palestine and from the Jewish traditions. And we shall have to re-study the whole material from this point of view.

I may now come back to the question whether this early Palestinian Testimony Book was in script from the beginning. The parallel with the Jewish halacha shows that this is not so self-evident as we, in modern times, should be inclined to assume. It may be that the tradition was in the beginning merely oral We might even

be inclined to believe it to have seen so for Paul also, when we examine the expressions used by him in 1 Cor. iv. 17, though it seems unlikely. The impression we certainly get from the way in which Paul quotes his Testimony collection is that he had it in script already. But whatever the answer to this question may be, there is no doubt that a solid basis of fixed tradition must be assumed and that a great personality of the primitive Church in Palestine is its 'author', even if we cannot attach to it a definite Christian name. The starting point, as we remarked, is in Jesus himself. But one great disciple with a highly spiritual mind and a deep insight into the fundamental truths of the Gospel, has developed Jesus' suggestions

In 1952, a book appeared titled, *Primitive Gospel Sources* by Stather Hunt. One area of his expertise has to do with a specialized study of "the Dialogues," these being a form of literature originally involving disputation between Jews and Nazarene Jews. The origin of this genre Stather Hunt dates to the 1st century. These dialogues, of which several have survived, are thought to contain much primitive Testimony Book material. As Hunt wrote:

At a comparatively early period the Testimony Book was issued in a popular form as a Dialogue. There seems to be evidence that the earliest Dialogue goes back to the first century, and there are reasons for supposing that it originated in Apostolic times. The Dialogues are all of the same character, and deal with the same problems, which are always the Christological problems which would confront the Jewish 'enquirer'.

The earliest book of the testimony type of which we have direct knowledge is the Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus, in its original form the proto-type of many other apologetical works of this kind. The dialogues are one of the most interesting of the by-ways of patristic literature, and contain a very considerable amount of primitive material. The method was adopted by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, but as this was primarily a letter the Apostle takes the parts of both Christian and Jew, the two classes of disputants in most of the dialogue, upon himself. The dialogue is a popular rather than a literary production, and like most popular productions, tends to be Conservative in its modest of expression, even when the meaning of those expressions has been forgotten. ¹

The editor who reviews a popular writing will keep its ancient form as far as possible; and just as it is the simple hymns and the children's fairy tales which seem to have the most enduring qualities, so this popular form of testimony writing is repeatedly revived for the use of untheologically-minded people until a more sophisticated age abandoned it on the ground that it was only fitted for children. ² I believe that the original dialogue was composed in Apostolic times from the primitive Testimony Book, in order to provide a popular text-book which would appeal to simple-minded people as something that they could readily understand, and that all the ancient dialogues are based upon this original.

Based on Dead Sea Scrolls recently discovered, in 1957 Joseph Fitzmyer, Joseph published, *"4Q Testimonia" and the New Testament*.

In 1966 a scholarly full-length biography of Justin Martyr was published, the first such treatment of him since 1923. As its author, L. W. Barnard, in the preface, explained:

Justin Marty was the most important of the second-century Greek apologists, yet he has usually been regarded as but one of a larger group of writers who reflected, in their presentation of Christianity, the intellectual currents of their age. This treatment is reflected in the paucity of books specifically concerned with Justin. This fact has done Justin a real injustice, for he was a pioneer Apologist and the others, such as Tatian and Athenagoras, were heavily indebted to him. It is not without justice that the doyen of German patristic scholars, Baron von Campenhausen, has said that nearly all the Greek fathers of the Church were, consciously or unconsciously, his imitators. . . . Justin, whatever his faults and the incompleteness of his theology, was a man with a mission. His Christian philosophy was no neat academic amalgam of Plato and Christianity. For him Christianity was philosophic truth itself and to its service he devoted his life with unswerving courage, honesty, and audacity. What more could be asked of any Christian?

Testimonia was a distinguishing feature of Justin's writings. As he wrote:

For Christ is proclaimed as King and Priest and God and Lord and Angel and Man and Chief Captain and Stone and Child Born, and liable to suffering at first, then, as going up to heaven and coming again with glory and having his Kingdom for ever, as I prove from all the scripture. (Dial. Xxxiv. 2)

He is also termed both Wisdom and Day and Dayspring and Sword and stone and od and Jacob and Israel in this fashion or in that, in the words of the prophets . . . (Dial. C. 4)

In 1973, as part of his doctoral requirement, Klyne Ryland Snodgrass wrote a 790-page dissertation titled: *The Christological stone testimonia in the New Testament*. Four texts he considers central to the New Testament witness regarding stone *testimonia* are: *Isaiah 8:14*, *Isaiah 28:16*, *Psalms 118:22*, and *Daniel 2:34, 44-45*. Stone *testimonia* had their origin in the *verba Christi*, *Mark 12:10-11*, *Matthew 21:42*, *Luke 20:7*. As Jesus said:

"Have ye not read even this scripture; the stone which the builders rejected, the same was made the cornerstone: this was from the Lord, and it was marvelous in our eyes."

In 1987, Oskar Skarsaune published a most significant study, titled: *The Proof From Prophecy: a study of Justin Martyr's Proof text tradition*. In it he demonstrates a pattern in Justin Martyr's scriptural quotations: that long passages were drawn from the Septuagint but short passages were drawn from the *testimonia*.

A rising star in the firmament of *Testimonia* scholars is Mark Swanson whose essay *Beyond Proof-texting: the use of the Bible in early Arabic Christian Apologies*, appeared in 2007

in a volume titled: *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, a book which well-illustrates the centrality of the Bible in Arab Christian experience. A few highlight from Mark Swanson's article:

I will focus on the early Melkite literature's use of the ancient Christian literary genre of *testimonia*, that is of collections of old Testament 'prophecies' of or 'witnesses' to the life of Christ and Christian doctrines and practices. The Old Testament texts are often referred to as 'proof-texts,' but I will argue that , in our literature they function in ways that move far beyond 'proof-texting.'

An excellent starting point for this study is the anonymous Melkite apology found in Sinai Arabic MS 154. . . .

The first scholarly article concerning the *Apology* was written by J. Rendel Harris . . . in 1901. . . . it was Harris who in a number of ways paved the way for the four visits to Sinai by the scholarly widows and twin sisters, Margaret Dunlap Gibson and Agnes Smith Lewis; it was during their fourth visit to the Monastery of St. Catherine in 1897 that Mrs Gibson photographed our treatise, allowing for its inclusion in her 1899 publication – and for Harris' review in 1903.

When Harris looked at the testimonies gathered together in the Arabic *Apology*, he immediately saw the early patristic parallels, or, in his own words, the *disiecta membra* of Justin and Ariston, of Irenaeus, Tertullian and Cyprian . . .”

In one passage from the *Apology's* chapter on Redemption, the author presents the cries of the prophets . . . :

“Lord bow the heaven and come down to us.” “[You who are] seated on the cherubim, manifest yourself to us. Stir up your power and come to save us.” “Not an intercessor, not an angel, but the Lord will come and save us.” “God sent his Word, and healed us from all our toil and saved us.” “He shall come openly and not tarry.” David the prophet prophesied and said: “Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord. O Lord our God, save us.” He also said: “God shall come and not be silent. Fire shall devour before him and break out round about him.”

The manuscript breaks off in mid sentence, and we do not know how much of the text might be missing. It would be possible to imagine more chapters of testimonies; having had one on baptism, for example, one might expect to see a chapter on the eucharist. On the other hand, the text as we have it breaks off during a discussion of Christ's return on the Day of Resurrection (carrying his cross as a 'sign'), which could be a fitting climax to the treatise as a whole.

If the original extent of the treatise is something of a mystery, the date of its composition is also somewhat mysterious, although the text itself gives us some tantalizing clues when it states that the Christian religion had been established 746 years.

I would argue, the testimonies play a major role in laying out and commending a *worldview*. For an understanding of the term 'worldview', I draw on an analysis by the New Testament scholar N. T. Wright, for

whom worldviews have four characteristic functions. First, they provide stories through which human beings understand their existence; one can go further and say that in compelling worldviews these stories fall within a kind of Big Story, an overarching 'meta-narrative'. Second, worldviews provide the questions that are fundamental to our understanding of human existence: 'who are we, where are we, what is wrong, and what is the solution?' Third, these stories are expressed in *rituals* and *symbols*. And fourth, they set forth particular *actions*, providing a guide for life in this world.

The *Apology* is a powerful presentation of a Christian worldview, and its use of scripture is integral to that presentation. It is the Christian scriptures that provide an overarching meta-narrative, from the creation of the world . . . to Christ's return on the Day of Resurrection (which is the topic when the text breaks off). Within this Big Story, the first part of the apology presents a series of individual narratives from the history of salvation, from humanity's fall (which addresses the 'What is Wrong?' question) to the incarnation, life, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus (which answers the question, 'what is the solution?'). The testimonies in the second part then bear witness that the scriptural narrative is internally coherent, with Old Testament prophecies matching New Testament events in such a way as to move the receptive reader to wonder.

Several times the author of the *Apology* nearly gets carried away with aesthetic delight: 'Look how beautiful is the correspondence of the acts of Christ to the prophecies of the prophets!'

The all-encompassing scope and beautifully-wrought coherence of the scriptures, then, provide for a worldview that is, if I may put it this way, inhabitable. The rituals and symbols are not neglected by the *Apology*, as may be seen from its final two chapters: Christians enter the reality described by this scriptural narrative through the ritual of *baptism*; within it, their great symbol is the cross. And throughout the *Apology* there are indications of the sort of actions that are suitable for life within this worldview, actions characterized as freedom from the Devil, obedience to God, and the imitation of Christ.

Also appearing in 2007 was a large volume titled: *Commentary of the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* by G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson. Unlike most standard-brand, Protestant Christian commentaries, this one embraces the *Testimonia* concept:

There is evidence for a written collection of *testimonia* of the early Christians that focused on "stone" texts and was used in five traditions in the NT: (1) the interpretation of Jesus as the rejected cornerstone (Matt. 21:33-46; Mark 12:1-11; Luke 20:9-19); (2) the portraits of Jesus and the stone *testimonia* in the Gospels (Mark 14:58, 15:29, John 2:19-21; Acts 6:14); (3) the metaphor of the stumbling stone set in Zion (Rom. 9:33; 1 Pet. 2:6-8;); (4) the stone metaphor for the Christian community and the temple (2 Cor. 6:14-7:1; Eph. 2:20-22); (5) the designation of Peter as the rock and foundation stone (Matt. 16:18).

Such then have been some of the major figures who entered into the work of recovering

the *Testimonia* which formed the foundation of Nazarene witness. Though often reviled or ignored in their day, these worthy scholars stand vindicated in ours.

DEAD SEA SCROLL TESTIMONIA

4QT shows that the stringing together of Old Testament texts from various books was a pre-Christian literary procedure, which may well have been imitated in the early stage of the formation of the New Testament. It resembles so strongly the composite citations of the New Testament writers that it is difficult not to admit that *testimonia* influenced certain parts of the New Testament. (Joseph Fitzmyer)

When J. Rendel Harris made the case for *Testimonia* in the early years of the 20th century, he had not so much as a single scrap of parchment evidence with which to convince his critics. His amazing command of the literature of the ancient world, as well, his linguistic abilities in multiple tongues: Hebrew, Aramaic, Latin, Greek, etc. plus a powerful logic helped him make his case. Initially he seemed to meet with little overt opposition yet, the scholarly establishment never truly came around to embracing his viewpoint. To diffident modernists, this scholar/saint was too believably devout. To dyed-in-the-wool fundamentalists, Harris was entirely too questioning; they could not countenance one who saw their beloved New Testament as being a late, churchly production, or who invited people to look through it to an earlier, Nazarene deposition. Thus it was that neither the liberal nor the conservative camp cared to entertain his *Testimonia* hypothesis.

It should be otherwise, for, in 1952, 2000 year-old copies of the very *Testimonia* Harris had postulated as once having existed in biblical times emerged from out of the bowels of the earth, brought forth to the light of day by Bedouin goat herders who that year located Dead Sea Scroll cave number 4. Containing a virtual treasure trove, cave 4 yielded 15,000 fragments from 574 separate texts. But then schemers (one shudders at the thought of calling them “scholars,”) immediately re-buried them, this time, however, in the bowels of Jerusalem’s Rockefeller Museum, where they moldered away another 40 years and might yet be hidden away, except for heroic measures taken by certain scholars.

This then was the sequence of events: in February, 1947, the first of eleven Dead Sea Scroll caves was discovered. In 1948 G. L. Harding, Britain’s director of antiquities for Jordan, authorized a Dead Sea manuscript hunt, the next year appointing Dominican Father, Roland de Vaux of *l’Ecole Biblique* to survey and excavate Cave 1 where the first seven scrolls had been found. In 1953, Harding assembled an international team of eight scholars to work in the Rockefeller Museum’s “scrollery,” placing Father de Vaux over this effort as project director. In 1956 the 11th and last cave was found.

Generally speaking, the work proceeded expeditiously with the results being published in

a timely manner: for instance, Cave 1's findings were released between 1950 and 1956; while those from 8 different caves were released in a single volume in 1963; publication of the Psalms Scroll from Cave 11 occurred in 1965 with translations soon following. A glaring exception: by 1985 less than half of cave 4's documents had been published. Odd because de Vaux's team of scholars had completed the reconstruction and photographing of Cave 4's scrolls in 1956 and the process of transcription was completed in 1960, after which the workshop in which they had been examined was dismantled and the scrolls themselves secured for safekeeping under lock and key. Yet it would be another thirty plus years before access to them was granted, but only after a bruising, knock-down, drag-out battle.

In August, 1966, *Harpers Magazine* published an article titled "The Untold Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls." Written by John Allegro, one of the International team's original eight members, his article asked rhetorically:

Why does the main message of the Scrolls still remain hidden nearly twenty years after their discovery?
Who is afraid of what they reveal?

Answering his own question, he identified a key obstructionist:

The editor-in-chief, who actually took no part in the editing of the new cache, was Father De Vaux, the Dominican archaeologist of the French School in Jerusalem. He laid it down as a general rule that we should restrict prior publication of our documents to no more than one per year. Apart from this, all the material would find its first presentation in the definitive series of publications to appear under the auspices of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, the French Biblical School, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and to be called *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan*. Fourteen years after the discovery of the Wounded Partridge cave [i.e., Cave 4] not a single volume dealing with this material has appeared. Were it not for our limited preliminary publications, the scholarly world would still know next to nothing about the contents of the four hundred or so documents that we have painstakingly put together from the fragments.

Regarding the Scrolls' significance, Allegro wrote:

Only recently two important American scholars, W. F. Albright and David Noel Freedman, had occasion to complain of a "partial boycott of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the part of New Testament scholars". They went on to say, "... in the Scrolls we have for the first time a direct Jewish background of the New Testament. Hitherto we have been partly dependent upon intertestamental literature (Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha) and partly on early rabbinic literature, which is, unfortunately, a century or two later than the deeds and words of Christ and the Apostles. Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls, we now have direct evidence that is of the greatest significance and which bears on all our New Testament books" ['The Continuing Revolution in Biblical Research', *Journal of Bible and Religion*, 31 April 1963]. It was Professor Albright who much earlier had described the new evidence of the beliefs and practices of the Jewish sectarians offered by the Scrolls as

bidding fair “to revolutionize our approach to the beginnings of Christianity” [Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplementary Studies Nos. 10-12, 1951.]

Based on Allegro’s charges, Jordan nationalized the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum which action, however, was short-lived, for it was soon to be nullified by tanks and guns when, in June, 1967, Zionist invaders took East Jerusalem. Since then, the museum has been jointly managed by the Israel Museum and the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (later renamed Israel Antiquities Authority).

After de Vaux’s death in 1971, he was replaced by Fr. Pierre Benoit of Dominican *Ecole Biblique*. Leaders changed but the gag order remained. That is why pointing the blame at one individual misses the point entirely. The cover-up was not about a lone obstructionist. Nor was it solely conducted at the behest of Dominicans for the policy continued unabated for decades under successive project directors, one of whom, James Strugnell was Protestant and the last of whom, Emanuel Tov, was Jewish.

It’s not necessarily that any one document was perceived by these controllers of the manuscripts as being a “smoking gun” but the weight of them all in their totality, apparently, was too much for their ingrained biases and so they metered them out slowly or withheld them entirely until aroused public interest had safely waned.

The idea that Jesus’ teachings had deep Jewish antecedents was not a congenial thought to either Synagogue or Church. It creates a problem for both parties to acknowledge Jesus’ intellectual and spiritual indebtedness to developments occurring in the time span they call “inter-testamental,” their unspoken fear being that this might blur their cherished doctrine of discontinuity between Testaments “Old” and “New” or, worse yet, it might belie there even having been a bifurcation of Testaments “Old” and “New.”

Just as the Pharisees and the Sadducees, normally adversaries, joined forces 2000 years ago in order to gang up on Jesus and his band of followers, so also in our day, Christians and Jews, normally adversaries, have joined forces against the *Testimonia* being interpreted as pointing too directly toward Jesus.

Oxford Don, Geza Vermes, who had been involved with the Dead Sea Scrolls from the beginning, and whose 1962 first edition, *Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, became the standard in that line of research, in 1977 described the publishing ban as “the academic scandal *par excellence* of the 20th century.” Finally, in 1989, the conspiracy began unraveling for it was then that Harvard’s Strugnell, one of the original eight scholars, was made chief editor. Most undiplomatic, his mistake was crossing swords with Robert Eisenman, who, whatever one thinks of his theories, was – and is – a very formidable personality. When Strugnell denied

Eisenman access on the grounds of the latter's unfitness, Eisenman fought back using a range of tactics, on a range of fronts, and with such fury that the cover-up was blown to Kingdom come. Perhaps, by sheer force of personality, Eisenman got an as yet unnamed Israeli with access to the scrolls to break loose unauthorized photos. With the help of Hershel Shanks, *Biblical Archeological Review's* editor, Eisenman had a platform or, if you will, a megaphone, allowing him to amplify his complaint. Before long the popular press picked up on the dispute, with the upshot being that Strugnell found himself pilloried worldwide. Never one to do his own cause any good, Strugnell later, rather incautiously, characterized outsiders wanting access to the Dead Sea Scrolls as "a bunch of fleas who are in the business of annoying us." Finally, thoroughly discredited, in December, 1990, Strugnell stepped down from his leadership position, only to be replaced by another obstructionist, Emanuel Tov of The Hebrew University. Though Tov did his best to extend the cover-up, as circumstance would have it, one of his former students figured out a way to circumvent it.

In 1991, Tov denied Ben Zion Wacholder of Hebrew Union College access to certain Dead Sea Scroll photographs necessary to his research. Wacholder's assistant, Martin Abegg, however, had access to Strugnell's unpublished Dead Sea Scroll concordance and from which, with great ingenuity, he reconstructed various, unpublished Dead Sea Scroll texts. Abegg, who formerly, had been Emanuel Tov's student/protégé at Jerusalem's Hebrew University happened to meet Tov at a conference where Tov greeted Abegg cryptically, saying "*banim giddalti v'romamti*," i.e., "I reared children and brought them up." At a loss for words, Abegg gave him an uncertain "thank-you." That evening, in Isaiah, chapter 1, he located the rest of the verse: "*v'hem pash'u bi*," "but they have rebelled against me."

Icing the cake was William Moffett of the Huntington Library. The Huntington Library had on microfilm the unpublished text which had been deposited with this institution as a security measure should the originals be lost. Since the Huntington Library had never signed a secrecy agreement, Moffat made the decision to go ahead and release its copy of the unpublished scrolls. This act, headlined in *The New York Times*, September 21, 1991, made news around the world.

With the cat out of the bag, one might have thought that the Israeli department of Antiquities at this point would have pulled in its horns but, no, ungracious to the end, on October 22, it announced its intention to grant permission only to approved scholars to access its official photos of the scrolls and then only if they agreed not to publish their findings!

Trumping that decision, Hershal Shanks, November 20th, published Eisenman's photos in *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, co-edited by James M. Robinson. Finally, winding up 40 years of obstructionism, Emanuel Tov conceded defeat, November 25th, at

annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Kansas City, MO, where he announced the lifting of all publication restrictions. The Society of Biblical Literature itself passed a resolution upholding the principle that all scholars should be afforded access to facsimile reproductions of all ancient manuscripts and with no restrictions on publication. None of these fine declarations, however, stopped Shanks and the Huntington Library from being sued for a 100,000 shekels. At least the scholastic logjam dating back to 1952 had been broken. And so concluded a tawdry tale.

Now that Dead Sea Scroll *Testimonia* is in the public domain, we can start to do comparisons, for instance, comparing 4Q525 (Cave 4, fragment 525) with Matthew 5:3-11. Readily apparent is how the language of this scroll corresponds to that of the Beatitudes:

Blessed the man who has attained Wisdom and walks in the law of the Most High. . . . [Blessed is he who speaks truth] with a pure heart and who does not slander with his tongue/. . . Blessed is he who seeks (Wisdom) with pure hands and who does not go after her with a deceitful heart. . . .

Other examples of messianic passages from texts from cave 4, followed by an in-depth look at 4Q175, otherwise known as 4Q*Testimonia*:

Isaiah Peshet [commentary] (4Q161)

The interpretation of the word [as in Isaiah 11:1-5] concerns the Shoot of David which will sprout in the final days, since with the breath of his lips he will execute his enemies, and God will support him with the spirit of courage . . . He will rule over all the peoples and Magog.

Messianic Florilegium (4Q174)

He is the Branch of David who shall arise with the Interpreter of the Law [to rule] in Zion [at the end] of time. As it is written, I will raise up the tent of David that is fallen [Amos 9:11]. That is to say, the Fallen Tent of David is he who shall arise to save Israel.

Messianic Anthology (4Q175)

I will raise up for them a Prophet like you from among their brethren. I will put my words in his mouth and he shall tell them all that I command him. A Star [prophetic teacher] shall come out of Jacob and a Scepter [messianic King] shall rise out of Israel.

Aramaic Apocalypse or Daniel Apocalypse (4Q246)

. . . he will be a great [king] over the [whole] earth . . . [all mankind] will serve [him]. The son of God he will be proclaimed and the son of the Most High they will call him. Like the sparks of the vision, so will be their kingdom. They will reign for years on the earth and they will trample all. People will trample people and one province another province until the people

of God will arise and all will rest from the sword. Their kingdom will be an eternal kingdom and all their path will be in truth. They will jud[ge] the earth in truth and all will make peace. The sword will cease from the earth, and all the provinces will pay homage to them. The Great God is their helper. He will wage war for them. He will give peoples into their hands and all of them (the peoples) He will cast before them. Their dominion will be an eternal dominion and all the boundaries of. . . (Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*.)

Genesis Peshar [commentary] (4Q252) [On *Genesis 49:10*]

A sovereign shall not be removed from the tribe of Judah.
While Israel has the dominion, there will not lack someone who sits on
the throne of David.
For the staff is the covenant of royalty, the thousands of Israel are the feet . . .
Until the Messiah of Righteousness comes, the Branch of David.
For to him and to his descendants has been given the covenant of royalty
over his people for all everlasting generations. . . .

4QWar Scroll (4Q285)

There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse [. . .] the Branch of David and they will enter into judgment with [. . .] the Prince of the Congregation, the Br[anch of David] will kill him.

Prayer of Enosh (4Q369)

You have made clear to him your good judgments . . . in eternal light.
And you made him a First-born Son to you . . .
like him for a Prince and Ruler in your earthly land.
. . . the crown of the heavens and the glory of the clouds [you] have set on him . . .

Messianic Apocalypse (Resurrection Text) (4Q521)

. . . [the hea]vens and the earth will listen to His Messiah, and none therein will stray from the commandments of the holy ones. Seekers of the Lord, strengthen yourselves in His service! All you hopeful in your heart, will you not find the Lord in this? For the Lord will consider the pious and call the righteous by name. Over the poor His spirit will hover and will renew the faithful with His power. And He will glorify the pious on the throne of the eternal Kingdom. He who liberates the captives, restores sight to the blind, straightens the b[ent]. And f[or] ever I will clea[ve to the h]opeful and in His mercy...And the fr[uit. . .] will not be delayed for anyone. And the Lord will accomplish glorious things which have never been as. . . For He will heal the wounded, and revive the dead and bring good news to the poor.

Elect of God (4Q534 or 4QMess ar)

He is the Elect One of God. His birth and the exhalation of his breath [are from God].
... his plans will last for ever.

Aaronic Text (or Words or Testament of Levi) (4Q541)

He will atone for all the children of his generation,
and he will be sent to all the children of his people.
His word is like the word of the heavens,
and his teaching, according to the will of God.
His eternal sun will shine
and his fire will burn in all the ends of the earth;
above the darkness his sun will shine.
Then darkness will vanish from the earth, and gloom from the globe.

In further consideration of 4Q175:

A well-preserved manuscript, 4Q175 consists of a single page only, missing, however, a small portion of the lower, bottom, right-hand corner. It contains four biblical quotes, each one set off from the other by spaces and hook-shaped symbols.

I: *Deuteronomy 18:18-19*

II: *Numbers 24:15-17;*

III: *Deuteronomy 33:8-11*

IV: *Joshua 6:26* accompanied by a brief commentary.

1. The eschatological prophet:

I YHVH will raise up for them a prophet like you [Moses] from among their kinsmen,
and will put my words into his mouth; he shall tell them all that I command him.

2. "a star from Jacob," i.e., the eschatological king:

Then Balaam gave voice to his oracle: The utterance of Balaam, son of Beor, the utterance of the man whose eye is true, the utterance of one who hears what God says, and knows what the Most High knows, of one who sees what the Almighty sees, enraptured and with eyes unveiled. I see him, though not now; I behold him, though not near: A star shall advance from Jacob, and a staff shall rise from Israel, that shall smite the brows of Moab, and the skulls of all the Shuthites,

3. The eschatological high priest:

And of Levi he said, "Your Thummim and Urim belong to the man you favored. You tested him at Massah; you contended with him at the waters of Meribah. He said of his father and mother, 'I have no regard for them.' He did not recognize his brothers or acknowledge his own children, but he watched over your word and guarded your covenant. He teaches your precepts to Jacob and your law to Israel. He offers incense before you and whole burnt offerings on your altar. Bless all his skills, O YHVH, and be pleased with the work of his hands. Smite the loins of those who rise up against him; strike his foes till they rise no more."

4. A savior figure, an eschatological Joshua, the messiah who makes war:

At the moment when Joshua finished praising and giving thanks with his psalms, he said "Cursed be the man who rebuilds this city! Upon his first-born will he found it, and upon his benjamin will he erect its gates! [Joshua 6:26]. And now an accursed man, one of Belial, has arisen to be a fowler's trap for his people and ruin for all his neighbors . . . will arise, to be the two instruments of violence. And they will build [. . . er] in Israel, and a horror in Ephraim and Judah. . . . wi]ll commit a profanation in the land and a great blasphemy among the sons of ... [... blood like water upon the ramparts of the daughter of Zion and in the precincts of Jerusalem.

(F. Garcia Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 1994)

Compare this then to the four craftsmen of *Zechariah*, chapter 1:

And YHVH shewed me four carpenters. Then said I, What come these to do?
And he spake, saying, ... these are come ... to cast out the horns of the Gentiles,
which lifted up their horn over the land of Judah to scatter it.

Various answers regarding the identity of the four craftsmen (or, as it were, carpenters) appear in Judaism, as for example, in *Pesiqta Rabbati 15:14-15*:

R. Isaac said, "It is written: And the Lord showed me four craftsmen (Zech 2:3).
These are they Elijah, the king Messiah, Melchizadek and the War Messiah.

Another variant, as found in *Suk 52b*, *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah 96*, and *Yalqut Shim'oni*:

And the Lord showed me four craftsmen (Zech 2:3). Who are these four craftsmen?
Rav Hana bar Bizna said in the name of Rav Shimon Hasida: "Messiah ben David,
Messiah ben Joseph, Elijah, and the Righteous Priest."

One point of observation: long ago Judaism assigned an eschatological meaning to the verse about the four craftsmen. Another point of interest has to do with Joshua's role as "savior" and messianic prefigurement. Pursuing the latter point further, let us consult Robert

Kraft, a scholar whose monograph on the subject, originally published in 1962, but updated in 1992, titled "Ioudaios," remains as an authoritative statement on the subject. From it, I quote:

I would like to summarize for you here the tentative results of a rather long and involved search that I embarked upon over three decades ago, with special focus not only on the specific items of data but also on the complex methodological issues involved. The question that intrigued me is indicated by the title of this presentation: was there a pre-Christian Jewish expectation of a "messiah-Joshua" figure? The methodological conundrum presented by such a query should be fairly obvious: once we have Christians proclaiming that their Joshua/Jesus is Messiah and defending the claim in part with reference to Jewish traditions it is difficult to determine from the data that has survived by means of the Christian transmission filters whether such a picture of a Joshua/Jesus Messiah is a Christian creation or not. And most of the data has come to us by means of the Christian filtering process. Thus many of the clearest pieces of evidence are among the most suspect.

The pre-Christian data that relate, or might be made to relate, to this picture are of both a general and a specific sort, and include:

- - evidence of a relatively old depiction of Joshua/Jesus as the expected successor and "prophet like Moses" (Dt 18.15); in the Book of the Exodus, it was similarly proclaimed through Moses and we have understood that the name of God himself was also "IHSOUS", which it says had not been revealed either to Abraham or to Jacob. And thus it is said: "The Lord said to Moses, tell this people `Behold I am sending my "ANGEL" before you, to guard you in the way that he might lead you into the land which I have prepared for you [Ex 23.20f.]. Heed him and obey him, don't disobey him, for he won't forsake you, for my "NAME" is on him.'

- - evidence that Joshua/Jesus somehow fits into the developing pattern or patterns of "two messiahs," one a military (later royal) savior and the other priestly, like Moses and Aaron. A Samaritan tradition designates Joshua/Jesus as the "scepter" that "arises" and the priest Phineas as the "star" in the "star and scepter" dyad of Balaam's oracle in Num 24.17. This material is complicated all the more by the appearance later in Jewish biblical tradition (Zech 1-6) of a high priestly Joshua/Jesus, side by side with a royal "messianic" counterpart (Zech 4.14), opposed by Satan (3.1) and somehow connected or identified with the figure of one called "branch" or (in Greek) "rising" = "NATOLH" (3.8, 6.12); . . .

- - evidence of connections between the Joshua/Jesus conflict with Amalek and the development of the idea of a dying Messiah son of Ephraim and/or Joseph, where in the last days God's agent finally and completely overcomes Amalek/Satan and then dies. Note that the Joshua/Jesus who first confronted Amalek in the pentateuchal tradition is described as an Ephraimite (Nm 13.8), and the Joshua/Jesus of Zechariah's

vision(s) is introduced as in conflict with Satan; - - evidence of apocalyptic associations between a future heroic figure and heavenly portents (sun and moon motionless) or connections (the east = the arising one) similar to those noted in some of the Joshua/Jesus traditions in the Hexateuch (Josh 10.12ff), in Zechariah (3.8, 6.12) and perhaps elsewhere.

It might also prove interesting to test the possibility of such a Joshua/Jesus messianology hovering somewhere in the background of certain Qumran passages. "4Q Testimonia" in particular is intriguing with its juxtaposition of the Mosaic prophet passage from Dt 18.15 (and in a "Samaritan" text form -- cf. Ex 20.21), the star & scepter oracle from Nu 24.15ff, a portion from the Blessing on Levi in Dt 33.8ff, and a passage from the 4Q Psalms of Joshua" material dealing with Joshua's curse on Jericho (= Jerusalem ?; compare Cyril of Jerusalem). Similarly, the "star & scepter" testimony is given in the War Scroll in the context of the final battle between the forces of God and the evil world dominion (cf 1QM 11.6ff). It may well be that the similarities suggested above are purely coincidental, but one can only determine this by a serious grappling with the available evidence.

As we see from the above, those valuing the witness of history are confronted with a curious circumstance, that predating Christianity, there existed amongst the Jews a highly-developed Christology:

For the Word is the eldest-born image of God. This same Word both pleads with the immortal as supplant for afflicted mortality and acts as ambassador of the ruler to the subject. He glories in this prerogative and proudly described it in these words 'and I stood between the Lord and you.' (Deut. v. 5), that is neither uncreated as God, nor created as you, but midway between the two extremes, a surety to both sides; to the parent pledging the creature that it should never altogether rebel against the rein and choose disorder rather than order; to the child, warranting his hopes that the merciful God will never forget His own work. For I am the harbinger of peace to creation from that God whose will is to bring wars to an end, who is ever the guardian of peace. But if there be any as yet unfit to be called a Son of God, let him press to take his place under God's First born, the Word, who holds the eldership among the angels, their ruler as it were. And many names are His, for he is called "the Beginning," and the Name of God, and His Word, and the Man after His Image, and "he that sees,' that is Israel. (Judaeus Philo)

If one didn't know any better, one's inclination might be to suspect that Philo, a well-known, 1st century, Alexandrian Jew, had lifted from the apostle Paul his material relating to the existence of a messianic mediator between Man and God. As well, he might be accused of having plagiarized from the author of *John's Gospel*, concerning the Messiah being God's Word. But there's this one fact needing to be taken into account, Philo died in 50 AD, and probably wrote the above statements decades beforehand. In other words, Philo, not the apostle or evangelist, had the priority. Credit be given where credit is due.

In our day, one could easily forget how passionate messianic Judaism could be and though it would seem that the fires of faith are banked and burn low, yet some of the Jewish people yet find solace in the twelfth of Moses Maimonides' thirteen principles:

I believe with complete faith in the coming of the Messiah, and even though he may delay, nevertheless I anticipate every day that he will come.

Not that there isn't much ambivalence as well. One can understand why. Having fallen for two false Messiahs: Bar Kokhba in 135 AD and, in the 18th century AD, Sabbetai Tzvi, Jews these days, generally speaking, would rather think about something else more pleasant. But, thanks to Zionism, the nightmare begins anew. It's not just idle chatter, this business of rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem, is well past the planning stage. All the paraphernalia necessary to such a venture, the robes, the furnishings, have been collected, and servants trained in their duties to carry out animal sacrifices, are at the ready. All is in readiness, waiting only for the Muslim's Dome of the Rock to be blasted to smithereens so that Temple construction can get underway. Circumstances are ripe for the "messiah" to reveal himself, so that the work can be authorized. So what does the good doctor have to say by way of advice regarding these matters? Wrote Dr. Maimonides:

The anointed King is destined to stand up and restore the Davidic Kingdom to its antiquity, to the first sovereignty. He will build the Temple in Jerusalem and gather the strayed ones of Israel together. All laws will return in his days as they were before: Sacrificial offerings are offered and the Sabbatical years and Jubilees are kept, according to all its precepts that are mentioned in the Torah.

Maimonides adopted an experimental if-it-works-it-works, if-it-doesn't-work-it-doesn't-work approach:

Do not imagine that the anointed King must perform miracles and signs and create new things in the world or resurrect the dead and so on. The matter is not so: For Rabbi Akiva was a great scholar of the sages of the Mishnah, and he was the assistant-warrior of the king Bar Kokhba, and claimed that he was the anointed king. He and all the Sages of his generation deemed him the anointed king, until he was killed by sins; only since he was killed, they knew that he was not. The Sages asked him neither a miracle nor a sign. . . . And if a king shall stand up from among the House of David, studying Torah and indulging in commandments like his father David, according to the written and oral Torah, and he will coerce all Israel to follow it and to strengthen its weak points, and will fight Hashem's [God's] wars, this one is to be treated as if he were the anointed one. If he succeeded {and won all nations surrounding him. Old prints and mss.} and built a Holy Temple in its proper place and gathered the strayed ones of Israel together, this is indeed the anointed one for certain, and he will mend the entire world to worship the Lord together, as it is stated: "For then I shall turn for the nations a clear tongue, to call all in the Name of the Lord and to worship Him with one shoulder (Zephaniah 3:9).

But if he did not succeed until now, or if he was killed, it becomes known that he is not this one of whom the Torah had promised us, and he is indeed like all proper and wholesome kings of the House of David who died. The Holy One, Blessed Be He, only set him up to try the public by him, thus: "Some of the wise men will stumble in clarifying these words, and in elucidating and interpreting when the time of the end will be, for it is not yet the designated time." (Daniel 11:35). (*Hilkhot Melakhim Umilchamoteihem*, chapter 11)

There's not much in the way of guidance here for the perplexed or for anyone else, just a shrug and a sigh and a "but if you succeed not" because probably you won't. What Maimonides didn't know, what rabbinic Judaism doesn't to this day acknowledge, is the *testimonia*. As a result, their pretender Messiah will ignite a conflagration so great as to set the world on fire.

In conclusion, the Dead Sea Scrolls have definitely reignited interest in the *testimonia*:

. . . it is relevant to our enquiry to ask whether we are to imagine the Christians of the New Testament period . . . using 'testimony books' – anthologies of such Old Testament passages as were regarded as significant for Christians. J. Rendel Harris (1916, 1920) answered in the affirmative. Working back from Cyprian's book of testimonies (*Testimoniorum libri III ad Quirinum*, c. and observing such phenomena as the juxtaposition of the stone passages' from Isa. viii and xxviii in Rom. X and I Pet. ii, he suggested that the evidence pointed to the very early use of such testimony books. More recently C. H. Dodd, followed by J. W. Doeve and others, argued that the New Testament data would be satisfied by postulating simply that, without necessarily using written anthologies at all, the Christians learnt to use whole sections of scripture in the light of the events they had experienced, and that these sections thus came to be associated together in their minds and on their lips. It is difficult . . . to see, *prima facie*, any reason why written collections should not also have been in circulation, especially in view of the Qumran 'florilegium' and messianic 'testimonia', . . .

(C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament*, third ed.)

NONSENSE IS LIONIZED, TRUTH IS LEFT AS AN ORPHAN

"The Testimony Book is a partially confirmed hypothesis which disappointingly explains little or nothing."

(Robert Horton Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*)

Illustrating how poor a reception Christendom's all-time most distinguished scholar was getting in America, in 2004 I applied for an inter-library loan in Washington State for Harris's two volume *Testimonia*. Volume I came from Texas, volume II, from Illinois. Fortunately they are now available in reprint but not long ago they were not to be had this side of the Mississippi. Harris found a ready reception from other first-rate scholars of his day: Mouton, Burkitt, for example, but not from "Establishment" scholars. When not ignoring him entirely, they have shown Harris at best a wary regard. Take Brevard Childs for example, in his 1992 book, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments*, he wrote:

In 1916 J. Rendel Harris (*Testimonies*) put forth a bold thesis regarding the use of the Old Testament by the church which initiated a lengthy debate, especially within the English-speaking world. His was one of the first attempts to use the form of Old Testament citations as a tool to recover the different strata within the early church's proclamation. Harris argued that there was an early Christian collection of Old Testament texts which had been organized for the use of Christian apologists and that this collection antedated every canonical writing. Of course, if this thesis could have been proved, it would have provided the earliest literary product of the church, and established a starting point for all subsequent development of early Christian proclamation.

Except for his use of the subjunctive "if this thesis could have been proved," his summation of Harris' contribution seems accurate enough and, perhaps, if a bit begrudgingly, even laudatory. But Childs then immediately goes on to chide Harris:

However, Harris' theory of a literary collection of 'testimonies' has not stood up well, and following the detailed scrutiny of C.H. Dodd, has been generally abandoned.

This is high-level academic sniping. So far from having "abandoned" the *Testimonia* concept, C. H. Dodd, Professor Emeritus in the University of Cambridge, albeit throwing in a small caveat or two, embraced it, as a close reading of his 1953 book, *According to the Scriptures: the Substructure of New Testament Theology*, reveals. As Dodd wrote:

It was suggested long ago that the phenomena of scriptural quotation in the New Testament might be accounted for by the hypothesis that a collection of "messianic proof-texts" was compiled at a very early date, and that this was used by New Testament writers. The hypothesis was worked out most elaborately by Rendel Harris, first in a series of articles, which were subsequently published, with additional matter, in two slim volumes entitled "*Testimonies*" (1916, 1920).

Harris's argument started from two ends. First, we have a volume under the name of Cyprian entitled *Testimonial*, containing just such a collection, organized and classified for the use of Christian apologists. It is easy to see that Cyprian is little more than an editor who revised and enlarged an earlier work. Harris showed abundantly how substantial portions of the classified collection can be recognized in such earlier writers as Tertullian, Irenaeus and Justin.

At the other end, we have the New Testament itself, where Harris noted certain points: in particular certain passages tend to be quoted by more than one writer; when they are so quoted, the said writers not infrequently agree in a reading different from that of the LXX, as if they were using in common a different translation, though such translation can seldom be identified, except in so far as some of these peculiar renderings reappear in the later versions of Aquila or Theodotion; certain passages tend to appear in combination in more than one New Testament book, suggesting

that two or more authors took them from a source in which they were already combined; and this suggestion is all the stronger where it appears that a writer has inadvertently attributed two passages from different authors to the same author, as for example Mark (i.2-3) gives a composite citation from Malachi and Isaiah and attributes the whole to Isaiah, an error which might easily arise if he were drawing the quotations not from copies of the books in question, but from an anthology which gave the two prophecies together; groups of passages tend to recur, connected by some key word or idea, e.g. various passages which speak of a stone — the stone which the builders rejected, the corner-stone of Zion, the stone of stumbling, and Daniel's stone cut without hands, which overthrew the great image and ground it to powder. Such groupings seem to anticipate the classification of testimonies in Cyprian and others, where we find, e.g. the passages just referred to under the catch heading "*Quod idem (Jesus) Lapis dictus sit.*"

Harris drew the conclusion that the original Book of Testimonies was, if not the earliest literary product of the Church, at least one of the earliest, antedating every canonical writing, and that its compiler was Matthew the Apostle; and he adopted from F. C. Burkitt the suggestion that it was this compilation which Papias meant when he said that "Matthew composed the Logia." The subsequent fortunes of this most important book he was able, with his immense and curious learning, to trace through innumerable writings, in various languages, of the patristic period, showing that it was used, re-edited and enlarged constantly throughout this period; and he even ventured to identify a sixteenth century MS. preserved on Mount Athos, containing a work against the Jews in five books which consists mainly of a collection of Testimonies, and is attributed to "Matthew the Monk," as a late form of the primitive Testimony-book, with the name of its true author confusedly preserved. This final stage of the argument, I fancy, no one, perhaps not even Harris himself, took very seriously. [I have heard him whimsically parody his own methods with an apparent seriousness which imposed upon some of his hearers.] But the main theory commanded wide attention and gained the assent of many scholars. In fact it may be said that in Great Britain at least Rendel Harris's book was the starting point of modern study of the use of the Old Testament in the New. It has, I believe, been assumed by most recent British writers that some such anthology of quotations was actually in existence at an early period, and that its use by New Testament writers is the best explanation of the phenomena before us.

This above, I would say, represents a huge concession, if not outright endorsement on Dodd's part of the *testimonia* concept. What Dodd takes exception to is the large role attributed to the apostle Matthew; also, in granting prominence to one official version. Whatever Matthew's role, the point is well taken, as the Dead Sea Scrolls demonstrate, the *testimonia* was a work-in-progress, with Jewish scribes producing various versions of the *testimonia*, as well, the Nazarenes, as well the Church. Dodd goes on to write:

For myself, I worked with Harris's hypothesis for many years. Many of the observations which I have

already made, and shall make, I owe originally to the study of his work. But I have come to think that his theory outruns the evidence, which is not sufficient to prove so formidable a literary enterprise at so early a date. Indeed, if such a work existed, was known to be the work of an apostle, and was held in such high esteem that Paul, the author to the Hebrews, the evangelists, the author of Acts, and one after another of the early patristic writers made it their *vade mecum*, it is scarcely to be understood that it should have been omitted from the Canon, should never be referred to, unless in Papias's enigmatic note, and should not have emerged into the light of day, as a substantive work, until Cyprian edited it in the middle of the third century.

. . . the selection and presentation of *testimonial* was not a static achievement, but a process, and one which continued well through the New Testament period and beyond. But in most of the cases we have examined there seemed to be good reason to infer that the first step, at least, had been taken by the Church at a very early stage indeed, often demonstrably earlier than the epistles of Paul. At the earliest period of Church history to which we can gain access, we find in being the rudiments of an original, coherent and flexible method of biblical exegesis which was already beginning to yield results. If we ask further questions about the actual beginnings of the process, we are on much more uncertain ground, but some degree of controlled conjecture may be allowed. It must be conceded that we have before us a considerable intellectual feat.

The various scriptures are acutely interpreted along lines already discernible within the Old Testament canon itself or in pre-Christian Judaism — in many cases, I believe, lines which start from their first, historical, intention — and these lines are carried forward to fresh results.

Very diverse scriptures are brought together so that they interpret one another in hitherto unsuspected ways. To have brought together, for example, the Son of Man who is the people of the saints of the Most High, the Man of God's right hand, who is also the vine of Israel, the Son of Man who after humiliation is crowned with glory and honour, and the victorious priest-king at the right hand of God, is an achievement of interpretative imagination which results in the creation of an entirely new figure. It involves an original, and far-reaching, resolution of the tension between the individual and the collective aspects of several of these figures, which in turn makes it possible to bring into a single focus the "plot" of the Servant poems of II Isaiah, of the psalms of the righteous sufferer, and of the prophecies of the fall and recovery (death and resurrection) of the people of God, and finally offers a fresh understanding of the mysterious imagery of apocalyptic eschatology.

This is a piece of genuinely creative thinking. Who was responsible for it? The early Church, we are accustomed to say, and perhaps we can safely say no more. But creative thinking is rarely done by committees, useful as they may be for systematizing the fresh ideas of individual thinkers, and for stimulating them to further thought. It is individual minds that originate. Whose was the

originating mind here? . . . the New Testament itself avers that it was Jesus Christ Himself who first directed the minds of His followers to certain parts of the scriptures as those in which they might find illumination upon the meaning of His mission and destiny. That He formally set before them a comprehensive scheme of biblical interpretation, after the manner of Lk. xxiv. 25-27, 44-45, we may well hesitate to believe; but I can see no reasonable ground for rejecting the statements of the Gospels that (for example) He pointed to Psalm cx as a better guide to the truth about His mission and destiny than the popular beliefs about the Son of David, or that He made that connection of the "Lord" at God's right hand with the Son of Man in Daniel which proved so momentous for Christian thought; or that He associated with the Son of Man language which had been used of the Servant of the Lord, and employed it to hint at the meaning, and the issue, of His own approaching death. To account for the beginning of this most original and fruitful process of rethinking the Old Testament we found need to postulate a creative mind. The Gospels offer us one. Are we compelled to reject the offer?

In imaginative reconstructions of the first age of the Church we have often been presented with the picture of a group of puzzled Galileans huddled together for mutual support and encouragement, and coming to form one of the many groups or sects within the Jewish community, without any idea that they were anything more, until with the gradual emergence of other similar groups a kind of *esprit de corps* arose, and persecution drove them into closer association, and so by degrees they achieved a doctrine of the one Church, as it meets us, for example, in the Epistle to the Ephesians. A study of the primitive *testimonia* shows that this picture is out of focus. From as early a stage as we can hope to reach (presupposed already by Paul) the primitive Christians were aware that they belonged to the new "Israel of God," which had emerged, as the prophets had always said it would, out of judgment and disaster. It was the true *ecclesia*, or people of God, by definition single and unique, one in all the earth. The universality of the ultimate people of God is an integral feature of the final *denouement* in various prophetic passages, notably in those of Joel, Zechariah, and II Isaiah. If the precise position of Gentile believers in the Church was at first somewhat ambiguous, this ambiguity is already present in the prophecies. Paul forced the Church to draw the logical conclusions from its doctrine of the new "eschatological" Israel, but it is highly improbable that he invented that doctrine.

If then the whole episode of the beginnings of Christianity is to be understood, as the first Christians understood it, in the light of prophecy, what happened was that the existing Jewish community ceased to represent the true Israel of God, as the embodiment of His purposes for mankind, and its place was taken by the Christian *ecclesia*.

EXTRACTS FROM MELITO'S TESTIMONY BOOK

One of the prophets said: "Lord, bend the heavens and come down to us" (Isaiah lxiv. 1). One said: "O thou that sittest upon the cherubim show thyself to us, stir up they might, and come for our salvation" (Psalm lxxx. 1). And one of them said: "There is no intercessor and no king, but the Lord will come and save us. Another prophesied, saying: "The Lord sent his word and healed us from our toil and saved us." (Psalm cvii. 20). Another prophesied, saying openly: "He shall come and shall not tarry" (Habakkuk ii.3). The prophet David prophesied, saying: "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord: God is the Lord and he hath appeared unto us" (Psalm cxviii. 26, 27). He said also: "The Lord shall come and shall not keep silence; fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him" (Psalm 1. 3)

"His name shall be blessed forever; His name endures before the sun and moon throughout all ages." (Psalm lxxii). About whom among men did God's prophet prophesy, or, among the kings of the earth, whose name is blessed among the nations? Or whose name endures before the sun and before the moon, save the Christ the Word and the Light of God.

Zachariah the prophet prophesied by the Holy Ghost, saying: Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem. Behold! Thy King cometh unto thee, riding upon an ass and her fowl. The Christ came in, when he entered the Holy City, sitting upon an ass, on the day of the palm trees. The children of Israel met him with olive trees and palm branches, with their wives and children. The babes and sucklings adored him, saying: Hosanna to the Son of David: Hearest thou not what these say, doth not their saying exalt when they adore thee as God is adored? The Christ said to them: Have ye not read in the psalms of the prophet David what he said by the Holy Ghost, Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast foreordained thy praise? This is the eighth psalm.

Concerning Judas who betrayed him, Amos (v. 12) prophesied, the oppressor of the righteous has taken a bribe. And Zechariah (xii. 12): If it be pleasing in your eyes, give me my price; and if not, you defraud me: and they weighed me thirty pieces of silver, and I took the thirty pieces of silver and cast them into the treasury. And Jeremiah said: And they gave me the thirty pieces of silver, the price of the valued one, whom they valued from the sons of Israel, and I gave them for the potter's field. And Isaiah (iii.10) said: Woe to the wicked: because the evil of the work of their hands shall be recompensed. And David (Psalm lxxviii): Command evil upon him (Psalm cix: 8) and his dwellings and ministry let another take. And Solomon (Proverbs vi:12, 13) says: A foolish person: a wicked man walks in slander: and he makes signs with his eyes and strikes with his fist. And Moses (Deuteronomy xxvii: 25) says: Cursed is everyone that taketh a bribe to kill the soul of the righteous.

For this was He Who was Pilot to Noah; Who conducted Abraham; Who was bound with Isaac; Who was in exile with Jacob; Who was the Divider of the inheritance with Jesus the son of Nun . . .

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TESTIMONIA ON THE GOSPEL TEXT

If the Testimony Book is really the earliest 'gospel describing the personality of Jesus in the words of the Old Testament', we can scarcely wonder that it influenced the Gospel-text. . . . we should be prepared to find it influencing the textual tradition of the Gospels as long as it remained side by side with the Gospels themselves.

(A. H. A. Bakker, *Amicitiae Corolla*)

The composite O.T. quotations in the N.T. as well as in early Christian literature from Barnabas and Melito to Cyprian's *Testimonia* especially, render it highly probable that *florilegia* and *catenae* of O.T. passages were in circulation. A pre-Christian origin for such excerpts is not impossible; the size of the O.T. would make it convenient for short manuals of this kind to be drawn up for the purpose of teaching and propaganda. But this need would be intensified when the controversy between Jews and Christians turned largely on the O.T. proof that Jesus was the true Messiah.

(Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*)

. . . it is obvious that a mere collection of prophecies would be of little use to the Christian until they had been brought into direct relationship with those episodes of our Lord's life which they were thought to prophesy. That is to say that the first step which the Christian teacher would take would be to illustrate the fulfilment of the prophecies in his Testimony Book by the stories of actual events known to his hearers (Acts ii. 22). These events were not narrated for the sake of their own particular interest, but in order to clinch an argument; and in course of time certain events would be 'married' to certain testimonies. Thus, in Acts ii. 16-35, St. Peter is described as first reciting a prophecy, and then showing how that prophecy had been fulfilled within the knowledge of his hearers; and it is only reasonable to suppose that others who were responsible for the teaching of the Faith followed his example. But if this supposition is correct the implications are enormous. For it means that from the very first there was a record of at least certain incidents connected with the life of our Lord (e.g. the one to which St. Peter referred) and possibly of a Passion story as full as that which we find in the Gospels. And when the official list of messianic prophecies was committed to writing, it would carry with it at least some of the incidents which had become attached to it; and such literature must have had an effect on the compilation of the Gospels, for none of the Evangelists could possibly have disregarded it.

The Apostolic Preaching connected incidents in the life of our Lord with certain definite messianic prophecies. This process was carried on by every primitive Christian preacher, so that in course of time there came into existence a storehouse of such incidents 'married' to some messianic prophecy. A primitive Testimony Book would provide the nucleus to which any incidents that seemed germane to some particular testimony would naturally gravitate. This may explain the fact that there are no extant stories about our Lord's early manhood; the Testimony Book did not provide hooks upon which to hang them, and the Gospel stories are related for evidential and not biographical reasons.

We have already seen that the Apostolic preaching was based upon the testimony principle, and in the analysis that follows Prof. Dodd continually lays stress upon the fact that our second Gospel corresponds with the primitive preaching (*Kerygma*) of the Apostles in that it emphasizes prophecy and its fulfilment. . . .

The problem before us is as to when and how those illustrations were first committed to writing and married to the prophecies which they were claimed as fulfilling. The moment that happened an embryo Gospel was formed, awaiting an Evangelist to bring it to birth.

The reason for the different arrangement and order in the various Gospels is most easily explained by the supposition that their original source had no distinct chronological order, but was fitted into a different kind of framework. That is to say that what would be a natural order for a Testimony Book (where kindred prophecies were grouped together under a common head) would not necessarily be the chronological order of their fulfilment; so that any description of the way in which some particular prophecy had been fulfilled might contain no note of time which would enable the Evangelist to place it in its proper chronological sequence, Therefore he would have to decide the correct position of any material which he drew from such a source by other considerations, . . .

I am not, of course, suggesting that all the Gospel material was derived from these illustrations to the Testimony Book, but that they set the ball rolling, so to speak, and any other incidents and discourses were fitted into the framework which the Testimony Book supplied. The converse is also probably true. Not everything connected with the Testimony Book found its way into the Gospels. There is the well known addition in Cod. W to the long ending of Mark (between verses 14 and 15), and the less well-known addition at the same place found in Cyril (Lect. xi. 3) –

They who know not are excusable; but ye, the Apostles, who have in My name cleansed lepers and cast out devils and raised the dead, ought not to be ignorant of Him for Whom ye do these wondrous works.

The statement of Papias is evidence that there was a more primitive document than Mark, and it is difficult to believe that St. Mark was unacquainted with it. (Hunt, *Primitive Gospel Sources*)

“The cloak that I [Paul] left at Troas with Carpus, when thou [Timothy] comest, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments.” (II Timothy 4:13)

It [the *Testimonia*] was a *vade-mecum* [workbook] for teachers, and indeed for all who wished to answer objections made by Jews, and to win them to the true faith. . . . the early Church believed that they had supreme authority for their method in dealing with the Old Testament, and that this authority thus given to the method must have covered, in part, the matter and the arrangement. (J. R. Harris, *Testimonia II*)

THE MAGI, HEROD AND MESSIANIC FULFILMENT

Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him. When Herod the king had heard these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born. And they said unto him, in Bethlehem of Judaea: for thus it is written by the prophet, and thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel. Then Herod, when he had privily called the wise men, enquired of them diligently what time the star appeared. And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search diligently for the young child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also. When they had heard the king, they departed; and, lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was. When they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshiped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense and myrrh. And being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country another way. (*Matthew 2:1-12*)

The Magi were men wise in interpreting the stars, which meant either that they were astrologers or else astronomers, either or both. In our day we take our calender for granted that we will know when to sow, when to harvest, when to mourn, when to celebrate, but it was not always so. In olden times the best minds were engaged in determining such matters. The Magi, being men of excellence, well-trained, careful observers, were the first of the Gentiles called by Jehovah to do the Messiah homage.

Isaiah speaks of the “procession of the nations to Zion” and the Magi, typifying Gentile seekers, were in the vanguard of that procession. Having seen his star in the east, they came to do the new-born king obeisance in the Oriental manner.

And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. . . . they shall bring gold and incense; and they shall show forth the praises of Jehovah. (*Isaiah 60:3, 6*)

Knowing that the one whom they sought to honor was born king of the Jews, the Magi, as seekers, did the logical thing, which is to say, they went to the capital city, to Jerusalem, probably supposing that a king would be found there.

The Magi went as Balaam’s successors. Balaam having been the Gentile prophet from Moses’s times who “saw that it pleased Jehovah to bless Israel and not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments” (*Numbers 24*). Balaam said prophetically:

"I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but he is not near: there shall come a star out of Jacob
And a Scepter shall rise out of Israel; he shall slay the princes of Moab, and rule over all the children of
men."
(Numbers 24:17)

As did the Queen of Sheba who came to Jerusalem bearing gifts for King Solomon, so arrived the Magi to Jerusalem bearing precious gifts, this time, however, for one greater than Solomon, for this was the King of Kings whom they sought to honor, only, instead of their being received with joy, there was consternation in Jerusalem, for:

When Herod the king had heard these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.

Of course, being the pseudo-, usurper-king that he was, Herod would be troubled. Those type always do feel threatened by what's real. Likewise the pseudo-religionists, the leaders of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, were none too thrilled either, fearing what this might mean for their own power and authority.

But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah,
yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings
forth have been from of old, from everlasting.
(Micah 5:2)

Not an angel but Jehovah Himself gave them a dream what to do. Obedient to the initial call, the wise men came from afar. On reaching Jerusalem, they were then obedient to the prophecy of *Micah 5:2*, that Christ the king would be born in Bethlehem and to there they went, after which they "rejoiced with exceeding great joy" to see the star Jehovah had sent them to guide them. In Bethlehem, on finding mother and child, they fell down with foreheads pressed to the ground and worshiped Jehovah's son. Afterward, obedient to Jehovah's dream, they departed by another way.

As if he were Balak's successor who sought to curse Israel, Herod sent forth agents to kill the Messiah. Later, the religious Establishment, the leaders of the Pharisees and the Sadducees would do likewise. But as did Balaam who frustrated the designs of Balak, so also did the three wise men frustrate Herod's designs by not reporting back to him as he demanded.

Insofar as Scripture informs us, the wise men did all things well. Nor did their searching go unrewarded. It was not for them a matter of always seeking but never finding, for they found their hearts' desire that we too might find our hearts' desire in Him.

"And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall
come: and I will fill this house with glory," saith Jehovah of hosts.
(Haggai 2:7)

DIALOGUE

A genre in its own right, or perhaps a sub-genre, since it is a spinoff from the *Testimonia*, the *dialogues* contained much the same kind of information as was found in the *Testimonia*, only couched in terms of a spirited debate between a believer and non-believer over the merits of Jesus' messianic claim with both parties resorting to holy Writ for support of their views. Whether such debates actually happened or whether this was merely a literary device, we cannot now say. The oldest dialogue we know of by name is *Jason and Papiscus*. Though its text perished long ago, even in a Latin translation by Celsus Afer, a preface to it remains; also, comments by those who were personally familiar with it. Of it Origen wrote:

A Christian disputes with a Jew on the basis of the Jewish Scriptures, and proves that the prophecies about the Messiah apply to Jesus, while his opponent in a gallant and not unequal manner plays the part of the Jew in the argument. (Origen, *Con. Cel.* IV. 52)

While the text of *Jason and Papiscus* is unavailable to us, other related texts from antiquity have survived. Belonging to this category: *Simon and Theophilus*, *Zacchaeus and Apollonius*, *Athanasius and Zacchaeus* and *Timothy and Aquila*. Though they often quoting the same Scripture verses in the same order and to the same end, yet none of them seem to have been derived from the other, which leads one reasonably to postulate that there must have been a source antecedent to them all and upon which all of them were dependent.

Falling into a somewhat different category is Justin Martyr's mid-2nd century *Dialogue with Trypho*. Though early and though covering much the same ground as the others, it differs from the aforementioned dialogues in that it quotes not only from the *Prophets* and from *Moses* but also from a gospel harmony to make its points. Also, it is more a monologue than it is a dialogue with the non-believing Jew lucky at best if he could get a word in edgewise. Therefore, we will lay aside consideration of Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* as standing somewhat apart from the literary tradition we are considering here. In relating the dialogues to the *testimonia* complex, F. C. Conybeare wrote:

In the absence of fuller knowledge of what was in Papiscus and Jason, it must remain a mere surmise that it was the basis of *Athanasius and Zacchaeus* and *Timothy and Aquila*. But I do not think it disputable that the document underlying these two dialogues was in the hands of Tertullian, coloring his works . . . ; that it also influenced, through some channel or other, Cyprian; . . . that it was also in the hands of Apollinarius and of the author of the pseudo-Gregorian *Testimonia*; and at an earlier time of Origen and perhaps of Irenaeus and Justin Martyr. Lastly, it unquestionably was in some form closely resembling Papiscus and Jason utilized by Maximus of Turin. . . . there is no convincing reason why 'Jason and Papiscus' should not have been a first century compilation.

If the Dialogue genre dates from the 1st century, then it could well be germane to our

understanding as to how the gospels were formed. But before getting down to cases, let us ask, for what purpose were new dialogues being written? Why didn't the Church Fathers stick with the original one? For one, it was between two Jews, whereas later dialogues involved an unbelieving Jew and a Gentile Christian. The *dialogue* format was more limiting than that of the *Testimonia* in that it was mainly focused on establishing Jesus' messianic claim, whereas in the 2nd century the main issue for the Church was to deal with heretical challenges as from Marcion or from certain Gnostics. Beyond that, the Church's Testimony Books delved off into various tangents to cover disputes over Mary's perpetual virginity, or Christ's two natures, or to inculcate a highly-developed Trinitarian theology.

Examples: whereas *Matthew 21:15* speaks of "children crying in the Temple," *Timothy and Aquila* instead of having this as referencing juveniles, has, instead, the Aramaic expression "the children of the Hebrews." Corroborating this reading the *Acts of Pilate* has Pilate's officer saying: "I saw him [Jesus] sitting on an ass, and the children of the Hebrews held branches in their hands and shouted ... Hosanna." Whereas the *Dialogue* speaks of olive branches, *John's Gospel* speaks of palm branches. Palms, being sub-tropical, did not grow in the immediate environs of Jerusalem but in Jericho. Maybe it was more a triumphal procession than just a triumphal entry. Another corroborative reading comes from an Arab tractate first published in 1898 which reads: "The children of Israel met Him [Jesus] with olive trees and palm branches with their wives and children." This type of corroboration, coming as it does from far disconnected sources, points to the survival of an ancient fund of apostolic writing not included in the *New Testament*. As Conybeare put it:

A document woven out of the canonical Gospels would not change the context of famous sayings of or about our Lord in the way in which the Gospel used by the author of the dialogue must have done.

Another example having to do with the mid-day darkness that descended on the crucifixion:

And once again there was light, as is written in *Isaiah* . . . and at eventide there shall be light.

This expansion, also found in Ephraim's commentary on the *Diatessaron*; also found in Latin codex *k*, is attributed to *Isaiah* but it comes, rather, from *Zechariah 14:7*. This is of a pattern, the *Testimonia* would string together quotes from diverse sources on a particular topic, with later copyists at times preserving only the first, most prominent attribution. Copyists, in trying to show fidelity to the text, often simply transcribed what was before them even if obviously flawed in grammar or, as above, providing a seemingly mistaken attribution. This conservative approach to manuscript copying is greatly beneficial to scholars today who would understand the history of the text. Thus we see, on occasion how incorrect *New Testament* attribution could have been derived from the *Testimonia*.

A POSSIBLE CAUSE OF CHRONOLOGICAL DISCREPANCY

The Apostolic Preaching connected incidents in the life of our Lord with certain definite messianic prophecies. This process was carried on by every primitive Christian preacher, so that in course of time there came into existence a storehouse of such incidents 'married' to some messianic prophecy. A primitive Testimony Book would provide the nucleus to which any incidents that seemed germane to some particular testimony would naturally gravitate. This may explain the fact that there are no extant stories about our Lord's early manhood; the Testimony Book did not provide hooks upon which to hang them, and the Gospel stories are related for evidential and not biographical reasons.

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The reason for the different arrangement and order in the various Gospels is most easily explained by the supposition that their original source had no distinct chronological order, but was fitted into a different kind of framework. That is to say that what would be a natural order for a Testimony Book (where kindred prophecies were grouped together under a common head) would not necessarily be the chronological order of their fulfilment; so that any description of the way in which some particular prophecy had been fulfilled might contain no note of time which would enable the Evangelist to place it in its proper chronological sequence. Therefore he would have to decide the correct position of any material which he drew from such a source by other considerations, . . .

I am not, of course, suggesting that all the Gospel material was derived from these illustrations to the Testimony Book, but that they set the ball rolling, so to speak, and any other incidents and discourses were fitted into the framework which the Testimony Book supplied. The converse is also probably true. Not everything connected with the Testimony Book found its way into the Gospels. There is the well known addition in Cod. W to the long ending of Mark (between verses 14 and 15), and the less well-known addition at the same place found in Cyril (Lect. xi. 3) –

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THE ORIGIN OF THE PROLOGUE TO ST JOHN'S GOSPEL (ABRIDGED)

J. Rendel Harris

A nearer approach to the origin of the Christology of the Church means a closer approximation to the position of those who first tried to answer the question "Who do men say that I am?"; and to be nearer the Apostles is to be nearer, also, to Christ Himself.

Is this Prologue an intellectual Athena bursting forth suddenly from the brain of a mystical Zeus? Or is it, like so many other surprising statements of poets, sages, and saints which seem to defy evolution and to be as independent of ancestry as Melchizedek, a statement which carries about it, upon close examination, marks of an ancestry in stages and by steps, like most of the religious, intellectual and physical products with which we are acquainted?

The Church is firmly persuaded and not without strong supporting reasons, that these opening sentences of the Fourth Gospel are among the most inspired words in the whole of the Christian records. . . . However that may be, it is certain that the Prologue of St John is the high-water mark of inspiration for those who read the Scriptures reverently. . . . Is it any wonder that direct and immediate inspiration has been claimed for these majestic verses?

It is just at this point that the enquiring mind puts in a protest and asks whether it is not possible that, conceding the inspiration of the words, we might legitimately question the immediateness of the inspiration. Suppose then we go in search of any prior stages of thought that may underlie the famous Prologue. To begin with, there is the description of Christ as the Logos. Was that reached immediately, as soon as Philosophy and Religion looked each other fairly in the face in Ephesus or Palestine or Alexandria? How soon did the term "Word of God" acquire a metaphysical sense? The question is perhaps easier asked than answered. In the Synoptic Gospels the term "Word of God" is always used of the utterance divine or the record of that utterance. It is that which the sower sows, that which the traditionalist makes void by his tradition, that which the multitudes throng round Jesus to hear. And the curious thing is that in the Fourth Gospel there is a similar usage, after one passes away from the Prologue and the doctrine of the Incarnation. Jesus Himself speaks of the readers of a certain Psalm as those to whom the Word of God came, and of His own message (rather than Himself) as the Word of the Father which He has communicated to His disciples. "I have given them thy word." The suggestion is natural that we should regard the philosophical use of Logos as the latest deposit upon the surface of the narration, a verbal usage which has displaced an earlier meaning and sense. It is the more curious that the Evangelist never reverts to the Logos with which he opens his narrative, in view of the fact that Christ speaks as "Light" and "Life" in various parts of the Gospel, and so identifies Himself (or is identified) with the metaphysic of the Prologue.

Is it possible, we ask next, that the Logos may have displaced an earlier metaphysical title as well as that employment of the word which we usually indicate by not writing it in capitals?

All through the rest of the New Testament the Word of God means the Evangelic message, except in one passage in the Apocalypse, where it is a title of the Messiah, and a doubtful place in Hebrews where the "quick and powerful" word of God appears to be explicable by Philonean parallels in a metaphysical sense.

We find, however, that there is occasionally another title given to Jesus Christ. He is called "the Wisdom of God and the Power of God," and is said to become the Wisdom of his people. "He has become to us Wisdom." So the question arises whether Sophia may not be an alternative title to Logos and perhaps prior to it.

For instance, in the Gospel of Luke (xi. 49) the Wisdom of God is personified and speaks of sending prophets and wise men to be rejected by the scribes and Pharisees. Apparently this is not meant for a Biblical quotation, and in that sense is not the Word of God; the "Wisdom" that speaks is not the title nor the contents of a book. In the corresponding passage of Matthew (I suppose we must refer the origin to the lost document Q) we have simply "Therefore, behold! I send unto you, etc." So when Tatian made his Harmony, he naturally produced the sentence, "Behold! I, the Wisdom of God, send unto you, etc.," which brings out clearly the involved, personified Wisdom Christ; and inasmuch as God is personified and speaks through Sophia, when He sends His processional array of prophets and wise men, we have what in Greek looks like a feminine form of the Johannine Logos. The suggestion arises (at present in the form of a pure hypothesis) that *the way to Logos is through Sophia and that the latter is the ancestress of the former*. Now let us try if we can re-write the Johannine Prologue, substituting the word Sophia for the word Logos. It now runs as follows –

In the beginning was the Divine Wisdom,
and Wisdom was with God,
and Wisdom was God.
The same was in the beginning with God:
All things were made by her, and without her was nothing made that was made.

As soon as we have written down the sentences we are at once struck by their resemblance to the Old Testament: we could almost say that we were transcribing a famous passage in Proverbs:

Prov. viii. 22-30. The Lord possessed me (Sophia) *in the beginning* of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, *from the beginning* . . . when he prepared the heavens *I was there*: when he set a compass upon the face of the deep . . . then *I was by him*."

It seems clear that we have found the stratum of the Old Testament upon which the Prologue reposes.

This is practically admitted by almost all persons who find Old Testament references in the New: they simply cannot

ignore the eighth chapter of Proverbs. If this be so, and if the Logos is quoted as being and doing just what Sophia is said to be and to do in the Book of Proverbs, then the equation between Logos and Sophia is justified, and we may speak of Christ in the metaphysical sense as the Wisdom of God, and may write out the first draft of the doctrine of the Logos in the form which we have suggested above.

In other words, we have in the Prologue not an immediate oracle, but a mediated one, in which separate stages can be marked out, and an original ground-form postulated.

. . . It is not necessary to assume an actual reference back to the original Hebrew of Proverbs: the Septuagint text will probably be sufficient to explain the form of the Prologue. The restoration of Sophia into the place occupied by the Logos in the Prologue will help us to understand better the course of the argument. For example, the statement that "all things were made by her" is a summary of the verses in Proverbs describing Wisdom's activity at the Creation; while the repetition "and without her nothing was made" shows that we have in the verse a reflection from another passage, where we are told that "in wisdom (or by wisdom) he hath made them *all*" (Ps. civ. 24).

The next step will be to see whether the proposed scheme of evolution for the Johannine Prologue will throw light on the remaining clauses of the argument contained in it. Perhaps, however, this will be sufficient for a first statement. So we will merely recapitulate our hypothesis, which is, that the Logos in the Prologue to John is a substitute for Sophia in a previously existing composition, and the language of the Prologue to the Gospel depends ultimately upon the eighth chapter of the Book of Proverbs.

Our hypothesis that the Logos of the Fourth Gospel is a substitute for a previously existing Sophia involves (or almost involves) the consequence that the Prologue is a hymn in honour of Sophia, and that it need not be in that sense due to the same authorship as the Gospel itself. The best way to test the hypothesis is to see where it will take us, and what further light it will shed upon the primitive Christian doctrine. Let us then retrace our steps for awhile and see whether the foundations of the argument are secure.

The first thing that needs to be emphasized is that we are obliged to take a different view of the Greek of the Fourth Gospel from that which is commonly taken by New Testament exegetes. They are in the habit of describing the Greek of the Gospel as simple, but correct, and of contrasting it in that respect with the Greek of the Apocalypse. Our position is that the very first verse of the Gospel ought to have undeceived them as to the linguistic accuracy of the writer, and to have marked him as a "barbarian" in the Greek sense. In other words, ἦν πρὸς Θεόν is not Greek at all: and a Greek scholar ought to have felt this at the very first reading. The various subtleties which are read into the expression are self-condemned, in that they can neither be justified by the theological thought of the time when the book was composed, nor can they be made to harmonize with the assumed simplicity of the writer's diction.

. . . we have in the Syriac the rendering –

l_ewath Alaha

which was, as any Syriac scholar will admit, the only possible rendering of ἦν πρὸς Θεόν, . . . It is this Syriac rendering that is the key to understanding the passage, for (i) it is the equivalent either of ἦν πρὸς Θεόν or of παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, and (ii) if we take it in the second of the two senses, we have the exact parallel of the language of the Proverbs, where wisdom is described as being “with God,” in the sense of being seated by God and in attendance upon Him. If the language of the Gospel is to be taken as unintelligible, the language of the Book of Proverbs must be taken as unintelligible also.

We are dealing with what is called "Translation Greek" or Semitic Greek."

Now let us return to Sophia. Our supposition that the Logos of the Gospel is a substitute for a primitive Sophia will be confirmed if we can show

- (i) that there is any literature, devotional or otherwise, connected with the praises of Sophia:
- (ii) if we find that Jesus, who is equated with the Logos, is also equated with the Wisdom of God:
- (iii) if the praises of Sophia are as notably derived from the Book of Proverbs, as we have seen the Prologue of the Gospel to be; and
- (iv) if the conjunction of Logos and Sophia is intellectually sufficiently close to allow one of them to be interchanged with the other.

With regard to the first and third points, we hardly need to remind ourselves that there is a whole series of Sapiential books, of which the principal representatives, the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, are seen by a very superficial criticism to be pendants to the great hymn in the eighth chapter of Proverbs. If, for example, the Book of Proverbs represents Wisdom as saying,

I was by Him as one brought up with Him,

this Attendant- Wisdom or Assessor- Wisdom appears in the prayer of Solomon "Give me Wisdom that sits by Thy throne" (Sap. Sol. ix. 4) and is said to have been:

With thee and aware of thy works, and present with thee at the world's making (Sap. Sol. ix. 9);

and a further prayer as follows:

Despatch her from the Holy Heaven,
Send her from the Throne of Thy Glory
(Sap. Sol. ix. 10);

in all of which passages Wisdom is conceived, as we said before, as the Co-Assessor and Attendant of the Creator. The motive for all these rhythms is in the eighth chapter of Proverbs. The ninth chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon is, in fact, a pendant to the eighth of the Proverbs of Solomon: it occupies an intermediate position between Proverbs and John. More than this, it furnishes the transition from Logos to Sophia, by using parallel language for the two personifications. The chapter opens thus:

O God of our fathers and Lord of Thy mercy,
Who hast made all things *by Thy Word*,
And hast ordained man *by Thy Wisdom*.

Here the parallel is made between creative word and creative wisdom: the Word and the Wisdom are almost equivalent: the earlier concept, Wisdom, in the Book of Proverbs, by whom all things were made, has attached to it a second concept, the Logos, and what was said of the former is now said of the latter: we have passed from

Without her was nothing made,
to
Without Him was nothing made.

We have crossed from Proverbs to John; the bridge upon which we crossed is the ninth chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon: so the praises of Sophia become the praises of the Logos.

The chapter closes with another suggestive parallelism between Sophia and the Holy Spirit, as follows:

Who knoweth Thy counsel
Unless Thou givest Wisdom
And sendest Thy Holy Spirit from on high?

When we pass from the so-called Wisdom of Solomon to the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, we are confronted with similar phenomena to those which we have already adumbrated. Again we see that the underlying text is the Great Chant in Proverbs, and that these so-called Sapiential books are variations of the same theme, that Wisdom is with God, that She is before all things, and that She is involved in the creation of all the works of God.

We are to set over against Proverbs viii. 22

The Lord created me in the beginning of His way,

Before His works of old,
the passage
Wisdom has been created before all things,
Intelligence and understanding from Eternity (Sir. i. 4);
and

The Lord created her Himself,
* * * * *
And shed her forth over all His works (Sir. i. 9).

But when we have made these obvious parallels we cannot detach them from the language of the Prologue :

In the beginning was the Word.
* * * * *
All things were made by Him.

The dependence of Sirach in its Sophia-doctrine upon Proverbs will be conceded readily enough: whole sentences are, in fact, transferred bodily, e.g.: Proverbs ix. 10 – Sir. I. 14; Prov. VIII. 17 – Sir. IV. 11.; Prov. VIII. 36. – Sir. IV. 12.; And so on.

It will not, perhaps, be so readily conceded that the language of the Johannine Prologue is a case of similar dependence; the practical difficulty arises from our insufficient familiarity with the language of the Sapiential books, and from the lack of the clue furnished by the inter-relation of σοφία and λόγος, to which we have drawn attention above.

Jesus, then, is identified with the Wisdom of God and the Word of God successively: first with the Wisdom because the Logos-doctrine is originally a Wisdom-doctrine, and after that with the Word, because the Wisdom becomes the Word.

. . . The fact is that Logos and Sophia were originally very near together, almost a pair, although under Gnostic speculation they were moved far apart. The substitution of Logos for Sophia in the primitive Christology was little more than the replacing of a feminine expression by a masculine one in Greek-speaking circles, and the transition was very easy. It appears, then, that we can justify the evolution of the Johannine Prologue from the eighth chapter of Proverbs, and we can show the line of the evolution to have passed through the Sapiential books.

If this be so, we do not need to imitate modern exegetes who speak of the influence of the teaching of Heraclitus upon the Ephesian philosophers or upon the early Ephesian Church. It is doubtful whether there is any need to introduce Heraclitus at all. Certainly we can explain further points in the primitive Christology, without turning aside from the path we have already been taking. A Sapiential student, if we may so describe a person who makes himself acquainted, from the Sapiential books, with the virtues and potencies and privileges of the personified Wisdom of God, will tell us, for example, that Wisdom is a *Holy Spirit* and an *Only-Begotten Spirit* (cf. Sap. Sol. vii.

22, ἔστιν γὰρ ἡ αὐτῇ πνεῦμα νοερόν, ἅγιον, μονογενές), where, in the first instance, the meaning of the word μονογενής was simply that She was the only one of her kind; a little lower down this expands itself into the statement that "because She is One, She can All" (μία δὲ οὐσα πάντα δύνάται [vii. 27]).

Thus behind the Only-Begotten Son of God to whom John introduces us, we see the Unique Daughter of God, who is His Wisdom, and we ought to understand the Only-Begotten Logos-Son as an evolution from the Only-Begotten Sophia-daughter.

Let us take another instance from the early Christology, not exactly coincident with the Johannine doctrine, but running parallel to it; I mean the Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the very lofty opening sentences of this Epistle, we find the statement that the Son of God is the heir of all things, and that by Him the ages (or worlds) were made, and that He is the Radiance of the Divine Glory, and the Reflexion of the Divine Being. Now recall what we said of the identification of Jesus with the Wisdom of God, and see what is said in the Wisdom of Solomon of the Divine Wisdom, that she is the

Radiance of the Eternal Light (vii. 26),

and the

Spotless Mirror of the Divine Activity,

and the

Image of His goodness.

The statements from the Epistle to the Hebrews can be deduced at once from the Sapiential books: for it was the Wisdom of God that made the worlds, Wisdom that is the Radiance of God (ἀπαύγασμα) and Wisdom that is the imprint of God (χαρακτήρ in Hebrews, εἰκὼν and ἔσοπτρον in the Wisdom of Solomon).

Thus we can see the doctrine that Jesus is the Divine Wisdom underlying the Christology of Hebrews.

Now let us come to consider some of the difficulties in the supposed dependence of Logos on Sophia, and of the Johannine Prologue upon Proverbs.

Up to the present point, the enquiry can be expressed in the simplest terms. The "barbarism in the opening Greek sentence of the Prologue can almost be made intelligible in English, with Westcott's commentary to help us: and when the peculiar language is corrected, the dependence of the Prologue upon the Book of Proverbs can be established by an English- Bible student, without any outside help. The Bible, however, cannot be read satisfactorily apart from the Church History (old Church and new Church) in which it is embedded: and the question at once arises as to whether there is corroborative evidence on the side of the Church History and Literature for the assumed transition from Sophia to Logos: if there is an evolution of the one from the other, why are there no more traces of the change in the Biblical and semi-Biblical literature, and in the writings of the Early Fathers? For it must be admitted that the evidence for Sophia in the New Testament is not overwhelming. So we will address ourselves

to this point: we want more evidence that Jesus is the Sophia of God, and more evidence that the eighth chapter of Proverbs has been a factor in the production of a primitive Christology.

The earliest Christian books, of which we recover traces as having been current in the period that elapsed between the death of the Founder of the Faith and the circulation of the canonical Christian Gospels, are mainly two in number; there was a book called the *Sayings* or *Words of Jesus*, of which fragments occasionally come to light in early papyri or in the citations of early Patristic and other writers; and there was over against this another volume or collection, which comprised *Quotations*, or as they were called *Testimonies*, or with a more explicit title, *Testimonies against the Jews*, the object of which collection of passages from the Jewish writings was to prove to the Jews from the Old Testament those Christian claims which constitute the doctrine of the New Testament. There need be no doubt as to the antiquity of this anti-Judaic quotation book, for it has survived in a number of more or less modified forms, and its influence may even be detected in the New Testament itself. Amongst the forms in which it has come down to us, one of the most interesting is the three books of *Testimonia adversus Judaeos* which are bound up with the writings of Cyprian: of these the first two are easily seen to be the adaptation by Cyprian of an earlier textbook, which he modifies from time to time, and to which he adds matter which can often be confidently credited to himself. The original arrangement can clearly be made out: the matter is arranged under headings which are almost always primitive, and the selected proof-texts are those which can be traced in the web of not a few early Patristic works. Now let us look at the second book of Cyprian's *Testimonia*, which contains the Christology, and see how the matter is arranged for the early Jewish objector or enquirer. The book opens with a capitulation as follows:

1. *Christum primogenitum esse et ipsum esse sapientiam Dei, per quem omnia facta sunt.*
2. *Quod Sapientia Dei Christus, et de sacramento incarnationis eius et passionis et calicis et altaris et Apostolorum, qui missi praedicaverunt.*
3. *Quod Christus idem sit et sermo Dei.*
4. *Quod Christus idem manus et brachium Dei.*

And so on.

There is no need to transcribe the rest of the headings under which the citations are grouped. The first two headings appear to stand for a single primitive capitulation, according to which Christ is declared to be the *Wisdom of God*, or, perhaps, the *First-born Wisdom of God*: and this is followed by a third heading which tells us that the same Christ is the *Logos of God* (*sermo* being the primitive translation of *λόγος*).

We may say with confidence that the order of appeal made by the early Christian controversialist to the unconverted Jew proceeded from an article which equated Christ with the Wisdom of God, and continued with a proof that the same Christ is the Word of God. The order of the proof is naturally the order of evolution of the Christology. Now let us see how the teaching is presented from the Scriptures of the Old Testament. It opens with Proverbs viii. 23-31.

Dominus condidit mo initium viarum suarum . . .
cum laetaretur orbe perfecto.

Then follows a passage from the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, which is introduced as being "from the same Solomon in Ecclesiasticus," the writer having confused the Wisdom of Ben Sira with the so-called Wisdom of Solomon: the passage quoted is xxiv. 3-16, 19, and runs as follows (it is necessary to quote the passage in full for there are important consequences that will result from it).

Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi ante oimem creaturam.
Ego in caelis feci ut oriretur lumen indeficiens,
et nebula texi omnem terrain.
Ego in altis habitavi et thronus meus in columna nubis.
Gyrum caeli circumivi et in profundum abyssi penetravi,
et in fluctibus maris ambulavi et in omni terra steti
et in omni populo et in omni gente primatum habui
et omnia excellentium et humilium corda virtute calcavi.
Spes omnis in me vitae et virtutis.
Transite ad me, omnes qui concupiscitis me.

The speaker is the Divine Sophia, and the passage in Ben Sira is described as the Praise of Wisdom and opens with the statement that "Wisdom will praise herself." The passage as it stands in the *Testimonies* shows striking variations from the Septuagint and from the Vulgate: for example, the opening words in the Greek LXX are

ἐγὼ ἀπὸ στόματος Ὑψίστου ἐξήλθον ,

and there is nothing to answer to

ante omnem creaturam.

The Vulgate, however, says definitely

primogenita ante omnem creaturam.

The word *primogenita* is necessary to the argument of the *Testimonies*, which tell us that Christ is the Firstborn and the Wisdom of God. And it is still more evident when we notice the coincidence with the language of the Epistle to the Colossians, that "Christ is the firstborn of every creature," which passage is actually quoted a little lower down by the *Testimony Book*. It is not necessary to assume, nor is it likely, that the first draft of the *Testimony Book* quoted New Testament writings at all. The point is that Colossians is itself, in part, a book of Testimonies, and that St Paul is quoting from Sirach. He has transferred the "Firstborn of every creature" from Sophia to Christ. We shall see this more clearly presently. Meanwhile observe that the difficulty as to the non-occurrence of the Sophia-doctrine in the New Testament is going to be met. It underlies the Pauline Christology as well as the Johannine, and is necessary to its evolution.

The twenty-fourth chapter of Sirach is now seen to be a typical member of a series of *Praises of Wisdom*: but it is equally clear that it is a pendant to the eighth chapter of Proverbs. . . .

Returning to the *Testimony Book*, we note that the second section of the proof that Christ is the Wisdom of God is taken again from Solomon in Proverbs; it is the opening of the ninth chapter of Proverbs: "Wisdom hath builded her house," and is treated as predictive of the Sacraments; but this is a deduction from the equation between Christ and Sophia.

The section which follows is the proof that Christ is the Word of God. The chief point is to notice that it opens with

Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum (Ps. xlv. 1);

and its appearance in the *Testimony Book* is a sufficient verification of our previous remark that Jerome was not the first to use the Psalm for Christological ends.

Assuming then that the equation between Christ and Sophia was fundamental in the *Book of Testimonies*, it will be interesting to take a later form of the same collection, that namely which is attributed to Gregory of Nyssa, and which will be found in the *Collectanea* of Zacagni.

Here we shall find many of the Cyprianic Testimonies, but the order of the argument is changed. We begin with the Trinity and with the proof-texts from the Old Testament that Christ is the Word of God. At first sight it looks as if Sophia had disappeared: but as we read on, we suddenly stumble on the expression of 1 Corinthians i. 24, that Christ is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God. And then follows abruptly something which appears to have been broken away from another setting:

(It says) in the person of Wisdom, I, that is to say, of the Son, when He prepared the Heaven was there by Him, and I was the One in whom He delighted; every day was I joying before His face.

It is the very passage with which Cyprian opens the second book of his Testimonies to which we referred above.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the eighth chapter of Proverbs, and those associated chapters of the Apocryphal Wisdom - books, are fundamental for the primitive Christology, as it was presented in the proof-texts against Judaism. The *Book of Testimonies*, then, shows clearly that the doctrine that

Christ is the Word of God

reposes on an earlier doctrine that

Christ is the Wisdom of God.

The Prologue to the Fourth Gospel is constructed out of the material furnished by the *Praises of Wisdom*, and the very same material is seen to underlie the great Christological passage in the Epistle to the Colossians. In both of

these great passages we have to translate the language back into an earlier and intermediate form. For instance, it will have struck the reader of the *Praise of Wisdom* in the twenty-fourth chapter of Sirach that the expression

In every people and in every race I had the primacy (*primatum habui*)

is something like the expression in Colossians, "that in all things he might have the preeminence"; and Cyprian (or one of his forbears) thought so too, for he follows his identification of the Firstborn Wisdom with "Christ the firstborn of every creature" (Col. i. 15), . . .

In the previous section we examined the primitive books of *Testimonies against the Jews*, in order to see whether they showed any traces of an evolution of the Logos-Christology out of a previous Sophia-Christology. The results were significant, and we were able to take the further step of affirming that the great Christological passage in the Epistle to the Colossians was like the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel in its ultimate dependence upon the eighth chapter of Proverbs. The next step would seem to be an enquiry as to whether these results are confirmed by Patristic study. Do the early Christian Fathers show, by survival or reminiscence, or in any other way, any traces of (a) the equation between Christ and Sophia, or (b) any signs that the famous statement that "the Lord created me the beginning of His way, before His works of old," has been a factor that can be recognized in the development of the doctrine of the Person of Christ. To these points we may now address ourselves. In so doing, we may occasionally be repeating the evidence of the previous section, for the reason that the earliest Patristic literature is coloured by the conventional *Testimonies* that were employed by Christian propagandists; but this overlapping is inevitable, and we need not discount the evidence of Irenaeus or Justin because it contains elements that run parallel to the *Book of Testimonies*: if they are saying the same things twice over, in any case, they say them from a different point of view, and by the mouth of fresh witnesses. Justin Martyr, for example, uses the method of prophetic testimony beyond any other Christian writer; but his evidence runs far beyond the small pocket edition of Quotations used by a primitive controversialist. Let us leave the hypothetical *Book of Testimonies*, and if we please, the actual Cyprianic collection, and ask the question whether Justin ever calls Christ Sophia, and whether he argues from the Sapiential books when he develops his Christology.

Here is a striking passage from the *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 139), where Justin has been deducing plurality in the Godhead from the book of Genesis ("Behold, the man has become one of us" and similar well-known passages), and where he goes on to quote Proverbs, under the title of Sophia, as though the real Wisdom of Solomon was the book of Proverbs itself. So he says: "In Sophia it is said: If I announce to you everyday occurrences I can also recall matters out of eternity. The Lord created me the beginning of his ways. . . . Before the hills He begat me."

After quoting the famous speech of Sophia from the Book of Sophia, he turns to his listeners and says that the thing which is here said to be begotten is declared by the Word of God to have been begotten before all created things, and every one will admit that there is a numerical distinction between that which begets and that which is begotten. We see that Justin uses the word Logos, not for Christ but for the Scripture; the Heavenly Birth is not

the Logos but the Divine Wisdom, which he identifies with Christ. In a previous chapter (c. 126) he definitely calls Christ the Wisdom of God, after the manner of the *Book of Testimonies*, to which he may even be referring, and he says: "Who can this be who is sometimes called the Angel of the Great Counsel, and by Ezekiel is called a man, and by Daniel like a Son of Man, and by Isaiah a child, and Christ and God worshipful by David, and Christ and a Stone by many writers, and *Sophia by Solomon*, etc., etc."

In the sixty-first chapter of the same dialogue, Justin goes over the same ground, and introduces the matter as follows:

"I am now going to give you, my friends, another Testimony from the Scriptures that God before all His other creatures begat as the Beginning a certain spiritual Power, which is also called Glory by the Holy Spirit, and sometimes Son, *and sometimes Sophia*, and sometimes Angel, and sometimes God, and *sometimes Lord and Word*, and sometimes calls himself Commander-in-Chief, etc."

He then continues that "The Word of Wisdom will attest what I say, being itself God begotten from the Father of the Universe, and being *Word and Wisdom* and the Glory of its Sire, as Solomon affirms": after which we are again treated to Proverbs viii. 21-36. It is clear that this speech of Sophia in the eighth of Proverbs occupied a large space in the accumulated material for Justin's Christology.

Now let us turn to the writings of Theophilus of Antioch whose three books addressed to Autolycus are dated in 168 A.D. We shall find in Theophilus the two streams of Christology flowing into one another, and we can actually see the absorption of the doctrine that

Christ is the Wisdom of God,
by the doctrine that

Christ is the Logos of God.

For awhile they flow side by side, but it needs no commentator to point out which of the two is to absorb the other. For instance, when Theophilus talks of the Creation of the world, he tells us:

Ps. xxxiii. 6 : God by His Word and His Wisdom made all things: for by His Word were the Heavens established; and all their host by His Spirit. Very excellent is His Wisdom.

Prov. iii. 19: By Wisdom God founded the earth, and He prepared the Heavens by understanding.
Theoph. ad AutoL i. 7.

He returns to the theme at a later point where his language will require careful consideration.

Ps. xlv. 1 : God having within Himself His own inherent Word, begat Him with His own Wisdom, having emitted Him before the Universe.

This passage is, for our purpose, important, (1) for the co-existence of the Word of God and the Wisdom of God,

(2) because the word *emitted* (ἐξερευξάμενος) is due to the finding of the "good word" in Ps. xlv. (My heart is emitting a good word): this identification of the Logos with the language of the psalm we have shown to be very early, and to have been current in the primitive *Book of Testimonies*. Theophilus goes on: This Word He had as His assistant in the things that were made by Him, and it was through Him that He made all things. This "Word" is called beginning (ἀρχή) because he is ruler (ἄρχει) and lord of all things that have been created by Him. It was He, who, being the Spirit of God, and the Beginning and the Wisdom and Power of the Most High, descended on the prophets and through them discoursed of the Creation of the World and all other matters. Not that the prophets were themselves at the Creation of the World; but what was present was the Wisdom of God that was in it (the World?) and the Holy Word of His that was always with Him.

Here we see that the reference to the Logos as Beginning (ἀρχή) leads at once to the introduction of the Sophia who is the Archē of the O.T. The writer says as much: the Logos is Arche and Wisdom. When he states the co-existence of the Word and the Wisdom in Creation, he uses of the Logos the expression "always present with Him" (ἄει συμπαρὼν αὐτῷ) which we recognize at once as borrowed from the description of Wisdom in the eighth chapter of Proverbs. And lest we should miss the reference, and the consequent equivalence of Word and Wisdom, Theophilus explains:

This is why He speaks as follows through Solomon:

When He prepared the heavens I was by Him,

(συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ), etc. Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 10.

The Logos-doctrine of Theophilus, then, although earlier than himself (as is clear not only from his well-known references to the opening verses of John, but also from the use of Ps. xlv.), is based upon a still earlier Wisdom-doctrine, which it is gradually displacing.

Sophia does not, however, wholly disappear; Theophilus goes on to talk of the creation of Light and the Luminaries, and explains that "the three days which elapsed before the creation of the Luminaries, are a type of the Trinity, i.e. of God, and *His Word and his Wisdom*." This is the first mention of the Trinity in theological literature, in express terms (τριάς), and Theophilus arrives at it by a bifurcation of the original Wisdom into Word and Wisdom, the τριάς being thus an evolution of a previous δῆλας: if we prefer to put it so, we may say that Theophilus identified the Wisdom-Christ, now detached from the Logos-Christ, with the Holy Spirit. It will be seen from the foregoing that theologians will have to make a new study of the doctrine of Christ the Wisdom of God, and that incidentally, the often quoted passages in Theophilus will obtain a fresh illumination. For it is no casual remark that Theophilus has dropped; it expresses his fundamental position: he returns to it later, when he has to explain the plurality of the language in Genesis ("Let us make man");

To no one else did he say, Let us make man, but to His own Logos and His own Sophia (ii. 18);

and again, when he has to explain how God could appear in a garden and converse with man, he says:

It was *His Word*, by whom He made all things, *which was His Power and His Wisdom*, that assumed the Person of the Father and Lord of the Universe, and so came into the garden, etc. (ii. 22).

The foregoing passages will suffice to show the direction in which Christian thought was moving and what it was moving into.

(Harris next turns to consider relevant writings of Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen and finds with each of them a similar pattern of quotation and argumentation along the lines we have seen already. For the sake of brevity, I will jump ahead to Harris's consideration of Eusebius while inviting interested reader to access Harris's book on the internet to get the full story.)

The chain of Patristic interpretation which deduces Logos from Sophia is practically unbroken: the finding of the investigation may be summed up in the *Prophetic Eclogues* of Eusebius (pp. 98 sqq.), who tells that the whole of the Book of Proverbs appears to be written in the person of Wisdom, who sometimes lays down ethical principles, and sometimes takes to herself the words of others: at one time offering us riddles, and at another teaching us concerning herself and instructing us as to her own Divine dignity. From these we may select whereby to learn that Wisdom is indeed a Divine creature and altogether to be praised in her nature, being the same as the second cause of the Universe after the prime Deity, and as the Word-God who was in the beginning with God, and as the Providence of God which regulates and orders all things, and penetrates to matters terrestrial, which Wisdom was created before every other Being and Substance, being the Beginning of the Ways of the whole creation. And what she, Sophia, says herself is on this wise: Then follows Proverbs viii. 12: This, then, is the teaching of Wisdom concerning herself; and who she is the holy Apostle teaches us, saying:

Christ the power of God and the Wisdom of God (1 Cor. i. 24).

And again

Who of God is made unto us Wisdom (1 Cor. i. 30).

It is Christ, then, who is the speaker in the passage from Proverbs. Wisdom is also the Word of God, by whom all things are made. For "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him," and

By Him were all things created, whether in Heaven or on Earth, whether visible or invisible,
as the Apostle says (Col. i. 16).

And just as in one aspect He is called the Word of God, and in another Life and Truth and True Light, and whatever other names the Scriptures give Him, *so also He is entitled Sophia*, the Handmaid of the Father for the Providence and Regulation of the Universe.

In these words Eusebius hands on the ecclesiastical traditions which we have been considering, identifying Sophia and Logos, and explaining the Prologue in John and the Christological passage in Colossians by the help of the eighth chapter of Proverbs, from which they are thus admitted to have been derived.

It is not for the sake of multiplying references that we cite one Father after another, but with the object of showing the continuity and consistency of the Patristic tradition, which appears to have been inadequately treated by leading commentators of our day, who did not see the meaning of the constant reference to Christ as the Wisdom of God, nor recognize the close connection between these early Patristic commentaries and the primitive collections of Testimonies. To illustrate the matter once more from a fresh point of view, suppose we go back to the opening capitulations of the second book of Cyprian's *Testimonies*, the book that contains the prophecies concerning Jesus Christ. We pointed out that these opening summaries of the sections that are to follow bore evidence of having been somewhat modified; for example, that the theme of the first chapter was originally the identification of Christ with the Wisdom of God, and that this Wisdom was the firstborn (primogenita), the adjective being applied to Sophia in the first instance. Now if we were to turn to Eusebius, *Evangelical Demonstration*, we should find the very same theme before us, the collection of prophetic arguments for Christological purposes; and it would be quite easy to show that Eusebius, while working with great freedom, is not independent of the approved Testimonies which have come down from the early days of the Church.

The first chapter of the fifth book of the *Demonstratio Evangelica* has for its heading the statement that "among the Hebrews the most wise Solomon was aware of a certain *firstborn* (πρωτότοκος) Power of God, which he also entitles His Wisdom and His Offspring, with the same honour that we ourselves also bestow." Compare that with the Firstborn Wisdom of the Testimonies, and then note how the writer plunges at once into Proverbs viii., and after enumerating the praises of Wisdom, remarks that Wisdom is the Divine and all-virtuous Substance that precedes all created things, the intellectual (νοερός) and firstborn (πρωτότοκος) Image (εἰκὼν) of the Unbegotten Nature,, the true-born and only-born (μονογενής) Son of the God of all.

Here Christ is declared to be the Wisdom of God, in *the terms in which Wisdom is described in Proverbs and the other Sapiential Books* (see especially Sap. Sol. vii. 22 sqq.). And, just as in the early Testimonies, Eusebius goes on to quote Colossians (i. 15, 17) and complete the proof that Christ is the Firstborn of every Creature; for Christ, he says, was speaking in His own person when Wisdom (apparently) spoke in hers. The equation between Christ and the Wisdom of God covers the whole of the argument.

Reviewing the course of the enquiry, we see that the commentators upon the great Christological passages in the New Testament, the Prologue to St John, and the parallel passage in Colossians, have failed to set these passages in the true line of their historical evolution. We have tried to restate the texts upon which the accepted Christology is based, first by correcting a grammatical error in the first verse of St John's Gospel, which ought to have been obvious to an unsophisticated reader; second, by showing that the theology of the Church is best seen in the first days of its making by a careful consideration of the primitive books of Testimonies; it follows from these corrections and identifications that the key to the language of the Johannine Prologue and to St Paul's language in the Epistle to the Colossians lies in the Sapiential tradition, and not in the reaction from Plato or Philo or Heraclitus.

...

If we are substantially right in the foregoing investigation, the next step will be to see how much further elucidation of St John s Prologue will result from the restoration of Sophia to its right place in the theme. This further enquiry will involve important considerations.

Before, however, we turn to this part of the enquiry it will be interesting to show that the suggestion of hymns in honour of Sophia, produced in the time that is adjacent to that in which the Fourth Gospel was written, is not a hypothesis destitute of illustration outside of the Scriptures. We actually have a Sophia-hymn of the kind that we have described in the Odes of Solomon.

The twenty-third Ode of this collection, after a somewhat obscure opening, in which Divine Grace appears to be speaking in the Person of Christ, goes on to tell of a Perfect Virgin, who stands and cries to men:

"There stood a perfect Virgin, who was proclaiming and calling and saying, ye sons of men, return ye; ye daughters, come ye: and forsake the ways of that corruption and draw near unto me, and I will enter into you and will bring you forth from perdition, and make you wise in the ways of truth; that you be not destroyed nor perish: hear ye me, and be redeemed. For the Grace of God I am telling among you, and by my means you shall be redeemed and become blessed. I am your judge; and they who have put me on shall not be injured; but they shall possess immortality in the new world: my chosen ones, walk ye in me, and my ways will I make known to them that seek me, and I will make them trust in my name."

One has only to recall the language of the Book of Proverbs in the beginning of the eighth chapter,

Doth not Wisdom cry?
And Understanding put forth her voice?
* * * * *
Unto you, O men, I call;
And my voice is to the sons of men.

It is clear that the Virgin speaker is Sophia and we are to illustrate the Ode in question by Proverbs viii., upon which it is based. It will be easy to adduce fresh parallels to the language, but what is really important for us to note is that the Sophia who speaks exchanged personality with the Christ. "I will make them trust in my name"; and the "Grace who stands on a lofty summit" (at the beginning of the Ode) and cries from one end of the earth to the other, is, perhaps, only a modification of the figure of Wisdom in Proverbs viii. 2, who "standeth on the top of high places."

Thus we have actually found a Sophia-Christ-Ode in the early Christian Church, quite unconnected with the Sophia

that we discovered in the *Testimony Book*. Note in passing that she describes herself as a Preacher of Divine Grace.

In the preceding series of arguments we have attempted to show that St John in his Prologue was working from existing materials, which comprise the *Praises of Sophia* in the Sapiential Books, and perhaps from some Sophia-songs that are no longer extant. There are foundations apparent underneath his edifice; and it is only reasonable to ask whether we can go further in the detection of the sources, and whether we can thereby throw any further light upon the language of the Prologue.

For example, we have in the seventh chapter of the book of Wisdom, a description of Wisdom as the Radiance of the Eternal Light, and it is natural to compare this with the Johannine doctrine that Christ is the Light, and the doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews that Christ is the Radiance of the Father's Glory. When we read a little further we find (Sap. Sol. vii. 29) that Sophia is "more illustrious than the Sun and brighter than the positions of all stars," and that compared with all "created" Light (*or* with "day"-light) she is found to be anterior;

φωτὶ συγκρινομένη εὕρισκται προτέρα :

this answers very well to the statement in the Fourth Gospel that "in Him was Life and the Life was the Light of men"; we may imagine, if we please, an earlier form that

In her was Life, and the Life was the Light of men:

or

In her was Light and the Light was the Life of men;

but now see what follows: the writer goes on to argue for the priority and the permanence of the Light in these words: Night, indeed, follows on created Light. But no evil overpowers Wisdom. Here we evidently have the origin of the phrase in the Johannine Prologue, which is commonly rendered, and the darkness comprehended it not: but which is better expressed in Moffatt's translation,

Amid the darkness the Light shone,
But the darkness did not master it.

There can hardly be a reasonable doubt that the explanation of the phrase in John is to be found in the passage of the Wisdom of Solomon. It does not require any philosophical reference to dualistic conflicts between Good and Evil, and Light and Darkness, *except as such conflicts are assumed in the language of the Wisdom of Solomon*. The darkness which masters the light is the darkness which comes on at the end of the day, existing potentially throughout the day but operating triumphantly when the end of the day comes. We are to take κατέλαβεν in John i. 5 as the equivalent of ἀντισχύει in Sap. Sol. vii. 30, and to say that Wisdom, being the Radiance of the Everlasting Light, has no ending to the day which it produces. Thus the chapter which furnished us with the explanation of the Johannine Only-Begotten, the Radiance of Hebrews, and the Image in Colossians, furnishes us also with the clue to the argument in John i. 5, and with the right way to translate the words.

Our next instance shall be the great Incarnation verse (John i. 14), which tells us that

The Word became flesh and dwelt among us:

where there is much discussion as to the meaning of the word ἐσκήνωσεν, which is connected by etymology with the word σκηνή (a tabernacle or tent) and so with the Hebrew word *Shekinah*. . . .

Since, however, we are arguing from the hypothesis that the Logos has been evolved from Sophia, the first thing to be done is to ask whether σκηνώω or its equivalent κατασκηνώω is one of the Sapiential words, and in what sense it is used in the *Praises of Wisdom*. The answer is that it occurs over and over again in the Αἴνεσις Σοφίας in the twenty-fourth chapter of Sirach: for example:

Sir. xxiv. 4: I dwelt (κατεσκήνωσα) on high:

* * * * *

Sir. xxiv. 8: He that created me pitched my tent (σκηνήν)

And said, *Dwell thou* in Jacob (κατασκηνώσον)

Let thy inheritance be in Israel:

(= Prov. viii. 22): Before the world from the Beginning He created me,

(And said) unto the end of the world I will not forsake thee.

In the Holy Tabernacle (σκηνῆ) before Him I ministered,

And thus was I established in Zion:

In the beloved City likewise He made me to rest,

And in Jerusalem was my authority:

I took root among the honoured people;

In the Lord's portion of His inheritance.

Reading these rhythms carefully we see they are founded on the eighth chapter of Proverbs, and that they essay to prove that Wisdom has made her dwelling among the Jews, and especially in Jerusalem. He says this over and over in eight different ways and he uses the etymology of σκηνώω from σκηνή and suggests that we may have to employ the awkward word Tabernacle instead of dwelling or tarrance if we are to bring out the force of his words. It results, moreover, from these Sapiential passages, which lead up to the Dwelling or Tabernacling of the Logos, that we ought to understand in John i. 14 that the Logos made His dwelling among the Jews, and in this case we must look back a sentence or two, and understand the words "He came to His own, and His own received Him not," in the sense that "He came to the Jews," . . .

The first draft of the argument appears to have been of the type that

In Jewry God is known;

and the first persons who received the Messiah are of the group described as οἱ Ἰῴδιοι , *i.e.* of the Jews. Naturally we go on to refer to such believing Jews the words,

The Sophia -Logos dwelt among us.

It will now be clear that this investigation divides itself into two parts, (1) the discovery of those Johannine and Colossian terms which belong to the Sapiential tradition; (2) the enquiry whether in either John or Colossians an additional Sapiential document should be assumed to underlie the Christian teaching. A good deal has been done in the way of defining which terms are really Sapiential: we can underline ἀρχή and ἀπαύγασμα and εἰκῶν and ἐσκήνωσεν and πρωτότοκος and μονογενής , as well as certain sentences in which the action of the Divine Wisdom is intimated. Some of these sentences do not require a special bridge to be built for them from the Sapiential books to the New Testament: the statements

πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο (John i. 3),

and

ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα (Col. i. 16),

are equivalents to the language of Proverbs, which are capable of immediate deduction, so soon as we have agreed that Jesus is the Wisdom of God. So also the doctrine that

αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων (Col. i. 17)

is an immediate consequence of the existence of Sophia πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος , and similarly for other obvious deductions. It is not so easy, however, to infer the immediate derivation of such terms as Μονογενής or Πρωτότοκος . No doubt Monogenes is a Sapiential term, but it is as unique in use as it is in meaning. When we come to the Gospel we find that it is one of the current words of the New Testament religion, and it is difficult to believe that it acquired currency so immediately, as to become, by one stroke, from an obscure adjective, one of the leading terms of theology. We seem to need an intermediate document, but do not quite see how to prove that it is absolutely required. To suspect is not enough.

Meanwhile, it is interesting to observe that Colossians does not exactly agree with St John in its treatment of the Logos-theme. In Colossians i. 18 Jesus is the ἀρχή in agreement with Proverbs,

ἀρχὴν ἔκτισέν με .

But in John this is somewhat obscured, and the language of Proverbs is interpreted to mean ἐν ἀρχῇ ; the source is the same, the treatment is different. In Colossians, Jesus is the Firstborn who has the First Rank, even among the dead. We have shown reason to suspect that this is an interpretation of a primitive ἡγήσατο , used of the Firstborn taking the lead; but in the Gospel we have what looks like a variant of the same theme, *viz.*, "Μονογενής . . . ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο ," where the difficulty of interpreting ἡγήσατο has been partly got

over by the substitution of a compound verb for the simple form. Yet it is not really got rid of, for ἐξηγέομαι can also mean "to take the lead," "to have the front place," and does not necessarily mean anything different from the πρωτεύειν of Paul.

Both writers, then, are working on the same theme, and working independently, but John is working more freely than Paul. The passage in Colossians resembles a list of the titles and offices of Christ; the Prologue in John is more like a poem, and in so far as it is poetic, is nearer to the Sapiential origins, even though in detail it may be more remote from them.

Consequently, if there is a Sophia-document missing, it underlies John rather than Paul; or if it underlies both of them, John is nearer to the form of the document.

As we have learnt a good deal by comparing the Colossian doctrine of the Logos with the Johannine, we make a further observation, and we notice that both writers have the doctrine of the Pleroma, which in later days, *i.e.* in Gnostic circles, acquired such prominence.

The Gospel has it in the form that "we have all received of the Pleroma of Jesus and grace for grace." The Epistle tells us that "according to the good pleasure of the Father all the Pleroma dwelt in the Son." After what we have already seen of the relation of the Gospel and Epistle *inter se*, it is not too much to say that they are working here from a common vocabulary. On the other hand, there does not seem to be any trace of the use of this word in the Sapiential Books upon which we have been working; and the word itself is so striking when used as expressing a communication of Divine Attributes, that we have a right to say that it has been found in some document intermediate between the Sapiential books and the New Testament. It may have been a hymn in praise of Sophia.

That it is Sophia who possesses the Pleroma may be seen in another way. The language of the Gospel is:

and we have all received of His Pleroma, grace piled on grace; for the law was given by
Moses, Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ.

The antithesis is recognized as being one between Law and Grace, the latter of which displaces the former. If, then, the writer is modifying a previous document and replacing Sophia by Jesus, we ought to have a sentence connecting Law and Truth with Sophia. The missing sentence is found in Proverbs iii. 16:

Out of her mouth goeth forth Righteousness,
Law and Mercy she bears on her tongue.
ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῆς ἐκπορεύεται δικαιοσύνη,
νόμον δὲ καὶ ἔλεον ἐπὶ γλώσσης φορεῖ.

The bridge between Proverbs (Law and Mercy) and the Gospel (Grace and Truth) will be found in Sap. Sol. iii. 9 (and iv. 15), *Grace and Mercy* to his elect.

οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτῷ συνήσουσιν ἀλήθειαν·

* * * * *

ὅτι χάρις καὶ ἔϋλεος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ (Sap. Sol. iii. 9).

The suggestion to replace Law by Grace, so natural to the primitive Christian, had already been made in part by the Wisdom of Solomon. We can see the passages growing from one form to another before our eyes. But this will require that the Pleroma also should be a transfer from Sophia to Jesus. And I think that we may find the origin of the Pleroma: it was a Pleroma of Law. That was the way in which Wisdom was to find expression. In order to see this, we may take two related passages of Sirach, as follows:

They that fear the Lord will seek out His good pleasure (εὐδοκίαν)

And they that love Him will be filled with the Law (ἐμπλησθήσονται τοῦ νόμου). Sir. ii. 16.

He that fears the Lord will accept chastening,

And they that rise early will find His good pleasure (εὐδοκίαν);

He that seeks Law will be filled with it (ἐμπλησθήσονται). Sir. xxxv. 14, 15.

The two passages are, as we have said, cognate: they imply a Pleroma of Law, and this is what pleases God; the Law is the Good Pleasure.

Now let us turn to Colossians and see how the Pleroma is introduced: we are told that "it was the Father's good pleasure that all the Pleroma should make its residence in the Son,"

ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι,

where we have again the connection between the εὐδοκία and the πλήρωμα .

The displacement of the Sophia that is interpreted as Law by the Sophia that is interpreted as Grace, may be illustrated from an actual equation made by the Jewish Fathers between Torah and Wisdom, as represented in the eighth chapter of Proverbs: thus in *Pirqe Aboth* (vi. 10) we learn that the Holy One has five possessions in the world; of these, Torah is one possession . . . Torah, whence? because it is written, *the Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old* (Prov. viii. 22). Here Sophia is clearly equated with Torah.

Other cases of the same equation will be found in Taylor (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, ed. 2, p. 173); eg., Bereshith Rabbah begins with Proverbs viii. 30, " Then was I by him as one brought up with him . . . and I was daily his delight as one brought up with him." Torah is here identified with Wisdom, and is also made to say with reference to Proverbs i.e., "I was the Instrument by which he created the world." See *Aboth* iii. 23. "Beloved are Israel that there was given to them the instrument with which the world was created."

We have assumed in the foregoing that the πλήρωμα is an experimental knowledge of the Law, in accordance with the statements of Sirach

They that love Him will be filled with the Law (ii. 16),
He that seeks Law will be filled with it (xxxv. 15).

In these passages we are almost bound to take the Law as an equivalent of *Wisdom*, just as in the *Sayings* of the Jewish Fathers, the Wisdom passage, Proverbs viii. 22, is made to apply directly to the *Thorah*, which is one of the Divine possessions, because "the Lord possessed me (Wisdom) in the beginning."

We thus see that there is a line of development of thought open, in which Christ will be announced not merely as Σοφία but also as Νόμος. It can be shown that this subordinate equation between Christ and Law was actually made, sometimes with the reservation that Christ is the New Law. Thus Clement of Alexandria quotes the *Preaching of Peter* to prove that Christ is Νόμος and Αόγος . . . The same occurs in a fragment of Hippolytus on *Luke* . . .

There is another direction in which the idea of Pleroma might have been reached by the student of the Old Testament who was in search of Christ in its pages. It is, in fact, said of the Holy Spirit that it fills the whole world:

πνεῦμα Κυρίου πεπλήρωκεν τὴν οἰκουμένην, (Sap. Sol. i. 7.)

and this passage is one of Gregory of Nyssa's proof-texts for the Holy Spirit. It is, however, clear as we have shown by a variety of illustrations that the Holy Spirit came into the Christian Theology, through the bifurcation of the doctrine of the Divine Wisdom, which, on the one side, became the Logos, and on the other the Holy Ghost. It is Wisdom which is, in this passage, denoted by the Holy Spirit.

It appears to be quite natural that the Law should turn up in the praises of Sophia, when Sophia is interpreted in a pre-Christian sense, and that it should be spoken of depreciatingly, when Sophia is interpreted in a Christian sense.

From the foregoing considerations it follows that there is an anti-Judaic element in the Fourth Gospel, from its very first page. The Law is antagonized and the people to whom the Law came.

When we make that statement and follow Alford and Westcott in what is certainly the right explanation of "His own who did not receive Him," we are again treading on the heels of the first composers of books of Testimonies against the Jews; for a scrutiny of Cyprian's First Book of Testimonies shows conclusively the very same rejection of the Jews on the ground that they have rejected the Lord.

Let us turn to the third chapter of the book in question. It is headed as follows:

That it was foretold that they (*i.e.* the Jews) would neither recognize the Lord
nor understand nor receive Him.

Then follow the proofs, and we readily anticipate the opening verses of Isaiah, with its appeal to a sinful nation,

Israel that doth not know, my people that doth not understand. But a little lower down we come upon a reference to Proverbs i. 28 ff.: as follows:

Item apud Solomonem: Quaerent me mali et non inuenient. Oderunt enim
Sapientiam, sermonem autem Domini non receperunt.

Here we have the Logos and Sophia side by side in the same verse, and the statement that the Wisdom has been hated and the Word not received. The parallel with John i. 11 is obvious. That verse is of the nature of an anti-Judaic Testimony. It is an adaptation of the LXX of Proverbs i. 29

ἐμίσησαν γὰρ σοφίαν, τὸν δὲ λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου οὐ προσείλαντο.

The transition from σοφία to λόγος is natural and easy, and a primitive statement that Wisdom came to the Jews and the Jews did not receive her, would readily be re-written in terms of the Logos, who

Came to His own, and His own did not receive Him.

The two statements are in part equivalent; . . .

The Gospel, after reciting the unresponsiveness of the Jewish people generally to the Logos who had come among them, goes on to explain that there were some who did receive the Logos, and that, in consequence of this reception, they became children of God, and experienced a spiritual birth;" to as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the children of God, owing their birth not to carnal generation nor human impulse, but to the Divine Will." It may be asked whether this striking passage has any counterpart in the Sophia literature upon which we have been drawing.

The answer is that to this beautiful description of the appearance of the Life of the Spirit as given in the Gospel, there is a parallel, shorter indeed, but almost as beautiful, in the seventh chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon, from which we have already taken so many illustrations. "In all ages Wisdom entering into holy souls, makes them Friends of God and prophets."

It is this work of Sophia in the making of "Friends of God" (φίλους Θεοῦ) that has prompted the "Children of God" (τέκνα Θεοῦ) who result from the reception of the Logos.

. . .

In his discourse on the Resurrection, he [Methodius] tells us that "Wisdom, the Firstborn of God, the parent and artificer of all things, brings forth everything into the world . . . whom the ancients called Nature and Providence, because she, with constant provision and care, gives to all things birth and growth. For, says *the Wisdom of God*, 'my Father worketh still, and I work' (John v. 17)." We note the identification of Jesus with the Wisdom of God, and compare the way in which the passage from John is introduced with the similar feature which we observed in the Gospel of Luke (xi. 49).

. . .

In the Clementine Homilies (which contain so much early controversial matter by way of survival), we have in the sixteenth homily a dispute between Peter and Simon Magus over the Divine Unity. Simon challenges the consist-

ency of the doctrine of the Unity with the language of Genesis (I. 26) "Let us make man," etc., and Peter replies as follows:

He who said to His Wisdom, Let us make, is one. And His Wisdom is that with which He always joyed as though it were His own spirit: for She is united as Soul to God: *and is stretched out by Him as a Hand for the creation of the world.*

...

If Wisdom is the Hand of God, and the Creative Instrument, we see why the statement to that effect occupies the position that it does in the Testimony Book. The whole of the passage quoted is of interest and is redolent of antiquity. The great stumbling-block for monotheists in the first chapter of Genesis, is explained by a duality in God, rather than a Trinity. Simon says, "Let us make" implies two or more. There are, says he, evidently two who created. Peter accepts it and identifies the second Creator with the Sophia of the eighth chapter of Proverbs. There is the Begotten God and the Unbegotten; the latter makes the world by the former.

...

It will be interesting to see how this interpretation that the 'hand of God is His Wisdom, by which He instrumentally made the world, can be reconciled with correct theology. The interpretation is clearly ancient, and it labours under a difficulty, in that it represents God as a Duality, and not as a Trinity. In the dispute between Peter and Simon Magus in the Clementine story, this is conceded on both sides. It is, however, clear that it will have to be modified, or there will be theological friction. The way of escape is to say that God has two hands or creative instruments, viz.: (I) His Wisdom, (ii) His Word, or, comprehending them under a single formula, His Word and His Wisdom.

... we come to the statement [in Irenaeus] that the angels could not be responsible for the creation of man, since *God had His own Hands. "He had always by Him the Word and the Wisdom, the Son and the Spirit through whom and in whom of His own free will He made all things* . . .

The transition from "one hand" to "two hands" in the description of the instruments by which Creation was effected, may be seen very clearly in Tertullian's *Treatise against Hermogenes*: after contesting the belief of Hermogenes as to the eternity of matter on philosophical grounds, he turns to the evidence of the Scriptures and the teaching of the prophets:

They did not mention matter but said that Wisdom was first set up, the beginning of His ways for His works (Prov. Viii 22); then that the Word was produced through whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made (John I. 3). . . He (the Word) is the Lord's right hand, indeed His two hands, by which He worked and fashioned. For, says He, the Heavens are the works for thine hands (Ps.cii. 25) wherewith He hath meted out the Heaven, and the earth with a span (Is. XI. 12, xlviii. 13). *Adv. Hermogenem, c. 45.*

...

Wisdom is either the Divine Conjugate or the Divine Offspring; it is not quite clear which. If the former, the Logos is her Son; if the latter, the Logos is her brother. The former position leads on to the curious Word of Christ in the *Gospel of the Hebrew*, "My Mother the Holy Ghost," the latter to the twinship of of Jesus and the Holy Spirit, as we

find in the *Pistis Sophia*. When the Logos becomes also an Assessor Dei, we have the Christian Trinity: but behind this there is the earlier stratum of a Christian Duality (the Holy Spirit being not yet come, in a theological sense, because the Divine Wisdom has not been divided into Logos and Pneuma).

We now begin to see that the controversy between Arius and Athanasius is not a mere struggle of an orthodox Church with an aggressive and cancerous heresy: the heretic is the orthodox conservative, and the supposed orthodox champion is the real progressive. The conflict is one between two imperfectly harmonized strata of belief. Arius and Athanasius do not stand at opposite poles: they are really next-door neighbours. This appears *inter alia*, from the fact that they practically use the same traditional Scripture proofs; we have shown elsewhere how painfully faithful Athanasius is to the body of conventional Christian Testimonies. It is not, however, that Arius is at heart a Jew, and must be struck down with the weapons proper to anti-Judaic struggle. Arius is as much anti-Judaic as Athanasius; only his collection of Testimonies has not been completed as to the text, and still less as to the interpretation.

...

Here is a further piece of evidence that Jesus was familiarly known as the Wisdom of God in certain early Christian circles. We have referred from time to time in this investigation to the Dialogues between Christians and Jews, of which the earliest example is the Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus by Ariston of Pella, which is lost, though no doubt it survives in a number of more or less modified descendants: amongst these one of the most interesting is the Dialogue between Athanasius and Zacchaeus published some years since by Mr F. C. Conybeare. In this Dialogue the points of the Testimony Book turn up to such an extent, that the Dialogue may be treated as a literary recast of the other anti-Judaic document. . . . Athanasius has to explain the sense in which these typical terms are used and to give him illustrations. When Athanasius demonstrates from the Old Testament the Divine Nature of Jesus, there is again an interruption on the part of the other member of the debate. "Do you mean to say that the Wisdom of God is another God?" It is very curious to remark that the equation between Christ and Wisdom is accepted by Zacchaeus. The whole passage is interesting, on account of its parallelism with certain clauses in the Nicene Creed. . . . If we could find out how much of this dialogue is derived from the previous "Jason and Papiscus" we should be able to tell whether the foregoing identifications and their Nicene consequences were trans-Jordanic in their ultimate origin; for the first of the Dialogues in question comes from Pella.

As soon as we have decided that behind the Logos-doctrine there lies a more Jewish and less metaphysical Sophia-doctrine, and that the early Christian preaching about Jesus proclaimed Him as the Wisdom of God, we cannot avoid the enquiry whether Jesus identified Himself with the Wisdom of God and announced Himself as such.

One thing seems quite clear: *Jesus did not announce Himself as the Word of God*. That title came from His followers and not from the first generation of them: but since we have shown reason to believe that *Word of God* is a substitute for *Wisdom of God*, it is not unlikely that this latter title, admitted to be antecedent to the second generation of discipleship, may go back to Jesus Himself, for it certainly belongs to the first generation of His followers; and

therefore either they gave it to Him or He gave it to Himself. The two things are, in any case, not very far apart chronologically.

Another way in which we approach the subject, without wandering off into comparative religion, is to notice how readily we ourselves recover the title when we are speaking in an elevated strain of His Being and Perfections : for example, amongst modern religious writers, one of the illuminated of the last generation was certainly T. T. Lynch, both as Preacher and Poet ; he says some where of Jesus:

He is the new and ancient Word,
All Wisdom man hath ever heard
Hath been both His and He:
He is the very life of truth,
In Him it hath eternal youth
And constant victory.

Here the writer has taken his flight from St Augustine s "Beauty, Ancient and yet new," to the Logos, who is also the Eternal Wisdom and the Eternal Truth. And Augustine might be quoted in the very same strain; for he also accepted Wisdom as an Eternal Divine Hypostasis. We may recall that great passage from the conversation at Ostia:

We came to our own minds and passed beyond them, that we might arrive at that region of never-failing plenty, where thou feedest Israel for ever with the food of truth, and where Life is the Wisdom by whom all these things were made, both what have been and what shall be, and she herself is not made, but is as she hath been, and so shall be for ever; yea, rather, to have been and hereafter to be are not in her, but only to be, seeing she is eternal.

Evidently St Augustine would have found no difficulty in a statement that "Wisdom was with God and that Wisdom was God": and it was as easy for him as it is possible for us, to recover the lost title "Wisdom of God" for Jesus.

Such a title is almost involved in "the Truth and the Life," which Jesus in the Fourth Gospel affirms Himself to be: but we naturally desire more direct evidence and if possible Synoptic evidence as to the use of the term by Jesus of Himself. The passages which Tatian harmonised from Matthew and Luke into the form "therefore, behold! I, the Wisdom of God, send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes," would be decisive if we could be sure that Tatian had recovered the original meaning or given the original sense to the passage of Q which Matthew and Luke are quoting. It is not an easy point to settle. It is, however, much more likely that Jesus spoke in the person of the Divine Wisdom, than that the passage is a reference to Scripture either extant or non-extant; and I therefore incline to believe that Tatian has given the sense of the passage.

That this Wisdom of Jesus was one of the things that most impressed His contemporaries is evident from the Synoptic tradition,

Whence hath this man this Wisdom? (Matt. xiii. 54, Mark vi. 2).

According to Luke he was from his earliest years filled with Wisdom and advancing in the same: but this does not necessarily involve the doctrine that Sophia has descended to dwell amongst us (Luke ii. 40, 52). St Paul, it should be observed, not only identifies Jesus with the Wisdom and Power of God, but also affirms Him to be the repository of "all the treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge " (Col. ii. 3).

No doubt it was by His Wisdom that Jesus impressed His own and succeeding generations.

This, however, is insufficient evidence for our purpose. Another direction suggests itself, by which we can infer that Jesus identified Himself with the Sophia of the Old Testament. It has been from time to time affirmed that the explanation of many of His sayings is to be found in parallel utterances in the Sapiential books; as for instance, that the verses in Matt. xi. 28-30 are to be traced back to Sirach xxiv. 19, where Sophia says,

Come unto me all ye that desire me,
Fill yourselves with my fruits;
For my memorial is sweeter than honey,
My inheritance than the honey-comb,

with Sirach li. 26,

Put your neck under her yoke etc.

Similarly it is suggested that the Words of Jesus that

He that cometh to me shall never hunger,
He that believeth on me shall never thirst (John vi. 35)

are an antithesis to the language of Sophia in Sirach xxiv. 21,

They that eat me shall hunger again,
They that drink shall thirst again.

If we could be sure that we had traced these sayings of Jesus to their proximate original, it would be easy to infer that He had borrowed the language of Sophia and was speaking in her person. This would very nearly settle the question that we are investigating. Jesus would be Sophia because His invitations would be those of Sophia.

...

The point reached by our investigation appears to mark an advance in the following sense. Two fresh facts (hitherto unnoticed or almost unobserved) have come to light: first that the tradition of the Testimony Book is earlier than the New Testament, antedates the Gospels, is Apostolic in origin, and the common property of all schools of Christian thought. Second, in accordance with the tradition of the Testimony Book, as well as from several other lines of enquiry, it is clear that the first and foremost article of Christian belief is that Jesus is the Wisdom of God, personified, incarnate, and equated with every form of personification of Wisdom that could be derived from or suggested by the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Upon the recognition and right evaluation of these two facts our reconstruction of the theology of the first age of the Church will depend.

OBERLIN LECTURE ON THE TESTIMONIA, 1910 (ABRIDGED)

J; Rendel Harris

Composite quotations were the thing that arrested Dr Hatch's attention: and our analysis has shown that with such composite quotations the scribes have a tendency to go wrong (as in Isaiah for *Balaam* or *Moses*, where only the latter part was really Isaiah). The moment we make the suggestion of composite quotations whose ascription has become confused, we are reminded of the textual difficulty in the opening verses of Mark. Ought we to read,

As it is written in the prophets:
"Behold! I sent my messenger before thy face,
Who shall prepare thy way:
The voice of one crying in the wilderness,
Prepare the way of the Lord,
Make his paths straight";

or should it be,

As it is written in the prophet Isaiah, "Behold! etc."

The textual critics insist rightly that "Isaiah" is the true reading, whether it makes Mark look inaccurate or not. Suppose, then, for a moment that Mark had taken this proof of Christ's coming out of a prophetic Testimony book; such a book ought to have had on the margin the two names

Malachi: "Behold I send etc."

Isaiah: "The voice of one crying etc."

We have shown, in an exactly parallel case, how easy it is for one title to be neglected, and for the other to govern the whole of a composite quotation.

The suggestion is a startling one, and will need confirmation; for Mark is our earliest Gospel, and to put the *Book of Testimonies* behind all the Gospels is a bold step. Perhaps some one will object at once and say that Mark is not the evangelist who bases his argument on the fulfillment of prophecy, which is rather the characteristic of the Gospel according to Matthew. No doubt there is some force in the objection: but I should like to draw attention to a chapter in which Mark affirms the argument from prophecy. If we turn to the close of Mark's seventh chapter, in which the miracle of the Ephphatha healing is recorded, the incident is summed up with the words, "He hath done all things well: he makes both the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak." Here the word "well" means "appropriately," "as he should have done," "in accordance with prophecy." [Cf. Mark 7.6 ("Well did Isaiah prophecy") and the similar language in Acts 28.25.]

Thus the people recognize, in Mark, the fulfillment of prophecy: and Mark, himself, under such circumstances, could not miss it. What was the prophecy that they recognized as fulfilled? The answer is, the 35th chapter of Isaiah;

and that Mark has this very chapter in mind is betrayed by the fact he calls the subject of the miracle κωφός and μογιλάλος, "deaf" and "speaking with difficulty." The rare word μογιλάλος, is, in itself, sufficient to show that Isaiah 35 is in the mind of the evangelist, even if that passage had not been intimated by the closing words of the section about the making of deaf people to hear and speechless folk to talk. But this passage of Isaiah is, as we have seen, a leading proof-text in the *Book of Testimonies*. We may almost say that Mark wrote his seventh chapter to be read along with the *Book of Testimonies*. And certainly his interest in the verification of prophecy by Christ is betrayed in the chapter to which we have referred. There is no difficulty in making Mark into a student of prophecy. [Cf. Mark 7.6 ("Well did Isaiah prophecy") and the similar language in Acts 28:25].

But if this is correct, we shall expect verification of our hypothesis, from other parts of the New Testament. Suppose we ask the question whether there are any other places in the Gospels in which the suggestion of a misplaced title for a prophecy would be at home. We at once think of that much disputed passage in Matthew (Matt. 27.9), concerning the purchase of the potter's field: here we read -

Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying "And I took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of the valued one whom they priced of the children of Israel, and I gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord commanded me."

You know the trouble over this passage: the quotation is from Zechariah 11:13: but the textual critics (those at least who deal in honest wares), will not allow you to alter "Jeremy the prophet." On the other hand the coincidence with Zechariah is far from being exact. My suggestion is that Matthew has used a Testimony book in which a quotation from Zechariah was preceded or followed by one from Jeremiah, and that he has not accurately defined the limits of his quotations. For instance if we turn to Gregory of Nyssa's collection of *Testimonies against the Jews*, we shall find under the proof-texts for the Passion of Jesus, [Zacagni p. 309] the following sequence:

Jeremiah: "But I as an innocent lamb was led to the slaughter; I did not know,"
and again: "Come and let us put wood on his bread and let us erase his name from the living, and let his name be remembered no more."

Zecharias: "And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of the valued one, whom they priced of the children of Israel, and they gave them for the field of the potter, as the Lord commanded me."

Here the passage from Zechariah is quoted just as in Matthew, but I do not think it has been emended from the canonized Gospel. It looks as if it were the original from which Matthew worked: and in any case the sequence of Nyssen's quotations suggests directly the blunder in the reference to Jeremiah.

Some such explanation, arising out of a collection of proof-texts of the kind indicated, would clear up the difficulty which has long been perplexing the students of the Gospel.

(For the complete and unabridged discussion of this topic, see the Appendix.)

I admit, however, that this is not such a good instance as the previous one, and it is wanting in completeness of proof: for I have not cleared up the variation of the text of Zechariah as quoted, when compared with the original prophecy.

Next let us examine a case of composite quotations, such as those to which Dr Hatch drew attention.

We have a striking combination in 1 Pet. 2.6-8,

Behold! I lay in Zion an elect corner-stone.

A precious stone:

And he that believeth on Him shall not be confounded . . .

The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense.

Here we have quotations from Isa. 28.16; Ps. 118.22 and Isa. 8.14, the connecting link for the composite passage being the idea that Christ is a stone.

Now suppose we turn to Romans 9.32-33, we have the statement made concerning the Jews that

They stumbled at the stumbling-stone, as it is written: "Behold! I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, and he that believeth on Him shall not be confounded.

Here the same two passages from Isaiah appear again, interwoven into a single reference. If now we could show that the early books of Testimonies actually had a section in which Christ was treated as the Stone spoken of by the prophets, it will become quite clear why Peter and Paul both make the same extracts from Isaiah.

Fortunately this can be at once established. For when we turn to Cyprian's collection of *Testimonies against the Jews*, we find a whole section headed by the words,

That the same [Christ] is called a stone.

and the next section is

That the same stone should become a mountain and fill the earth;

and other passages to the same effect may be cited from Justin and elsewhere. Cyprian begins with two of the quotations which we have been discussing, after which he goes stone-hunting all over the Old Testament. This is the way in which he commences:

Cyp. *Test.* ii.16. That Christ is also called a stone in Isaiah: "Thus saith the Lord, behold I place on the foundations of Sion a precious stone, elect, chief, a corner stone, honorable and he who trusteth in Him shall not be confounded." Also in the 117th [118] Psalm: "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner. This is done by the Lord, and it is wonderful in our eyes. This is the day etc."

Accordingly I claim that both Peter and Paul have had access to a collection of prophetic Testimonies: putting this with what has gone before, and with what might easily be expanded from other parts of the New Testament, we frame the hypothesis that the early Christian Church used collections of prophetic Testimonies, especially in their controversies with the Jews, and that these can be traced back as far as the very beginning of the canonical Christian literature.

It is interesting to note that in Prof. Gwatkin's recently published *Church History**, [Vol I. P. 199] the antiquity of the collected Testimonies is practically conceded, and they are inferred to be at least earlier than the Gospel of Matthew. The passage to which I refer runs as follows:

If they [the early Christian writers] were all borrowing from the same very early manual of proof-text [Rendel Harris and Burkitt have this theory] which must be at least earlier than the first Gospel, we may safely say that few books have so influenced Christian thought.

And now what prospect have we of recovering the lost book? In its original form there is, perhaps, but a slight probability of our ever laying hands upon it, although a handbook which was probably in use wherever the Church and the Synagogue were debating with one another must have been widely diffused and may turn up somewhere someday. But if we cannot recover the original form, we can often restore it from its descendants; and it is really surprising on how many lines its tradition has been preserved to us. For example, of actual books of Testimonies there are quite a number. We have the first two books of Cyprian's *Testimonies*, which certainly are modelled on an earlier form; we have the book of *Testimonies* ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa, and published by the Vatican Librarian Zacagni in his *Collectanea*; we have also a most instructive treatise by the great Syria Father Bar Salibi, which I detected in an unpublished work of his against Moslems, Jews and Heretics. The part relating to the Jews, is a collection of testimonies, translated for the most part, from a very early base. No doubt additions can be made to these. Then, beyond the actual collections, there are whole regions of Patristic literature which the work in

question has affected. We have seen one or two instances in what precedes; especially we may note the works of Justin and Irenaeus. From these various sources, it ought to be possible to re-edit the lost books with some approximation to accuracy. The difficulty will arise, however, that a polemical work like this was constantly being altered and amended. In the original draft there were proof-texts that turned out to be apocryphal and arguments that would not stand criticism. The first generations of Christians were by no means infallible, whatever their successors may have become; sometimes they corrected their mistakes; and sometimes they held on to them: sometimes they attached the most important theological conclusions to mistranslations and misquotations. A single instance may be given, which is the most striking that I know. The doctrine of Christ's nature, and especially his pre-existence was proved to the Jews by a passage from the 110th Psalm; in the Hebrew which is itself perhaps corrupt, the prince who is addressed in the Psalm is said to have "the beauty of holiness from the womb of the morning"; and to have "the dew of his youth"; this unintelligible matter is given by the Septuagint in the form,

From the womb before the day-star I begat thee;

and this was seized on by some Christian controversialists as a conclusive proof of Christ's pre-existence. One would suppose such an argument would have been brushed away at once, at least by an appeal to the Hebrew. On the contrary all the Fathers, from Justin onward use it: and it was one of the weapons with which Athanasius demolished Arius at the Council of Nicaea.

Primitive Christianity, on the Dogmatic side, must not always be taken seriously. They would have done better to content themselves with the prologue to St John's Gospel and to have left alone these prophetic Testimonies.

Before leaving this question, I should like to draw attention to another which has been raised by the discussion of the hypothesis of the *Testimony Book*.

A reference to Prof. Gwatkin's new *Church History* will show, in a footnote on p., the statement that Rendel Harris and Prof. Burkitt believe there was a primitive collection of Biblical Testimonies, and that Prof. Burkitt is disposed to identify this collection with the famous lost book on which Papias commented. It will be remembered how much controversy has raged round the lost work of Papias on the *Dominical Oracles*, a lost commentary on a lost book: and the question as to the nature of these lost oracles is still far from a solution. It has been commonly held that the five books of Papias were a commentary upon the lost Saying of Jesus; but objection to this has been made, that Sayings (λόγοι) are not the same thing as Oracles (λόγια), and that the word Oracles belongs rather to the Old Testament than to the collected

words of Christ. It is not, therefore, surprising that Prof. Burkitt should have suggested that our *Book of Testimonies* from the Old Testament is the real work upon which Papias made his comments.

Here is a new argument which brings some support to Burkitt's hypothesis.

It will be remembered that in his treatise *On the Incarnation*, Athanasius devotes a number of chapters to the refutation of the Jews, and that in those chapters we detected the use of the *Testimony Book*. Well, in the beginning of ch. 38 Athanasius expresses himself as follows;

If they do not think the preceding arguments sufficient, let them be persuaded by further oracles (λόγια) from those which they have in their possession.

Then he goes on to quote passages from Isaiah, which belonged to the *Testimony Book*. So here we see Athanasius actually describing his Biblical extracts by the name of Oracles (λόγια).

This is suggestive, but not finally decisive. For when we turn to Justin's *Apology* (ch. 49) where Justin is going to quote the very same passage that Athanasius had used against the Jews (Isa. 65.1-3), he calls the passage "Sayings" (λόγοι) and not "Oracles"; ("these sayings were spoken as if in the person of Christ"). So the same collection might be described either way. And this rather inclines us to believe that the terms "Oracles" and "Sayings" were more nearly synonymous than we might have at first supposed. If this were so, we could not affirm that Papias' book was a comment on Old Testament passages. It might have been, but the matter would require further investigation.* [* We shall find the same ambiguity in Justin, *dial.* 15, where he has a chapter which was probably taken from the *Testimony Book*, and concludes his quotation by saying, "Circumcise then the uncircumcision of your hearts, as the Sayings (λόγοι) of God throughout all these Sayings (λόγοι) demand."

Here the *Testimonies* seem to be called Sayings of God, which is not very far removed from the *Dominical Oracles* of Papias: and if we read a little further, observing that Justin has been quoting *Saying of Jesus* as well as *Testimonies from the Prophets*, we find him (ch. 18) remarking as follows: "Since you, Trypho, have admitted that you have read the teachings of that Savior of ours, I don't think I shall be doing anything out of place in reminding you of some brief Oracles of his in addition to those taken from the prophets." Here the term (λόγια) is used both of the *Testimonies from the Prophets* and of the *Saying of Jesus*. In the very next chapter (ch. 19 *ad fin.*) we have a passage from Ezekiel quoted as (ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ). From these passages it seems right to infer that we are not justified in restricting the term Oracles to the Old Testament or Saying to the New Testament or literature bordering on the New.]

It is possible that, in trying to clear up difficulties, especially where the matter of writings discussed overlap

the records of the New Testament, that we may raise more problems that we solve. I can quite understand that people do not like to be told that there may be primitive errors in the Gospels, and some people will not like to be told that there were earlier books from which the Gospels may have derived them. Also it is possible that the method of exploring for minute peculiarities in the texts of the early Fathers, like Justin and Irenaeus, may seem to be unduly subtle. We may, however, be sure that in work of this kind it pays to take pains: and it is absolutely necessary to be conscientious. Painstaking comparison of Gospel texts, along with determined honesty has convinced all sound scholars that we must read Isaiah in the opening of Mark and not the prophets: and that we must read Jeremy the prophet in Matthew's account of the betrayal. If then, by close and careful comparison of the common quotations in early patristic writers, we can make the hypothesis reasonable of their borrowing from a common source, and confirm its accuracy in a multitude of ways, we have in our hands the instrument for the correcting of the errors which may seem to have been imported into the text of the Gospels; we know how they arose, we are a step further in the problem of their composition, and we are in closer touch than we were before with the mind and the method of the early Christian Church. All of this is genuine progress; and each step taken prepares the way for a further step and for a wider vision. [In reference to the explanation by means of the shifting of carelessly transcribed or marginally arranged title, I see that Zacagni, the librarian of the Vatican, who edited for us the *Testimonies* of Gregory of Nyssa, had ingeniously detected the error in question in one passage and almost gave the explanation. As it is important to collect these instances, which are far more numerous than one would suppose, I will translate (transcribe) the page in question, along with Zacagni's note. It runs as follows:

Concerning the miracles which the Lord was to show forth after his incarnation.

Jeremiah: Behold! I have set thee for a covenant of the race, for a light of the Gentiles, that thou mayest establish the earth and possess the inheritance of the desert, saying to those who are in bonds, Go forth; and to those who are in darkness, be enlightened." And that these things cannot be said by a mere man concerning himself is clear, since it was the same one who said:

[*Baruch*] "This is our God and there shall not be reckoned another beside him."

Isaiah: "Be strong, ye relaxed hands and feeble knees etc."

Here the first extract is not from Jeremiah, but from Isaiah (49.6 8). Zacagni explains the matter thus: Nyssen took it for a passage of Jeremiah, because he

subjoins a testimony from Baruch (Bar. 3.36), who is often quoted under the name of Jeremiah. He meant it, therefore, to be referred to Jeremiah. It only remains, then, to add that the error must be earlier than Nyssen: and that it arose from the wandering of the eye of a scribe from the correct Isaiah to the Jeremiah (Baruch) which followed.

Before leaving this brief statement of an admittedly imperfect investigation, it may be worth while to ask the question what the net result of the enquiry is upon the general subject of the correct statement and proper defense of Christian doctrine. It is quite evident that the results of the examination into the mode of composition and transmission of prophetic Testimonies is inconsistent with the ordinary belief in a verbally inspired Gospel canon. For a large part of the argument turns upon an observed coincidence in blunders of transmission, and we were not able to limit these errors to persons belonging to the sub-apostolic or sub-evangelic Age. So that an enquiry of this kind is barred in advance for those who insist on an infallible text of the Scriptures as a preliminary to the enquiry. Not only is the argument one which is, of necessity, fallacious from their point of view, but in order to maintain the position in which they are entrenched, they have to surrender to impossible textual criticism (as by reading "the prophets" for "Isaiah" in the opening of Mark), or to equally impossible exegesis (as in explaining away "Jeremy the prophet" from the text of Matthew).

On the other hand, so soon as we admit the possibility of errors in transmission, we are in the great position of advantage of seeing how a number of such errors have arisen and of reflecting upon the very small importance that attaches to them historically.

But then there is another advantage that is gained by this method of enquiry. We are often challenged as to the validity of the Christian Gospels, considered as historical documents, in view of the generally accepted conclusion that they were not composed until nearly a quarter of a century after the events which they record. That empty space between the date of the Ascension and the beginning of the Christian literature, is one of the difficulties that have to be met. Even when we allow the Pauline and other letters to be adduced in evidence of the beliefs of the early Church, we are still far from being adequately supplied with material for historical interpretation: nor does it seem to me that we can fairly meet the difficulty by taking as positively as some do, about the Oral tradition and the existence of the order of Catechists, who are assumed to have the tradition by heart from the first Apostolic utterance onward, and never to have made serious errors of memory in the transmission of the tradition. Now it is in just such directions as we have been occupied that the void which perplexes us begins to be filled up. *There are lost books of the*

early Church, and some of them have been employed in the composition of our existing Gospels. Of this family one leading member was the *Book of Testimonies*; a second, to which we shall refer presently in another lecture, was the lost *Book of the Saying of Jesus*. And I have little doubt that, if our critical eyes were keener, and especially if we could recover some more fragments of early Christian literature, we should be able to affirm the existence of quite a little library of early Christian books. In this way much would become clear that is now somewhat obscure in the Evangelic history. We should not only have the original Mark, of which the critics talk (if there was an Ur-Marcus), and the companion document which they call Q which has been employed by both Matthew and Luke, but we should have two or three other leading Christian documents, belonging to the very space that was perplexing us by its vacancy. And it is easy to image that the vacancy (which is only due to the carelessness of the Church over its records) might wholly disappear. For we do not forget what Luke tells us about many who had tried to compose a Gospel History and who were certainly not Oral traditionalists or Catechists!

Our enquiry, then, is a real alleviation of the difficulty of the situation, and the first step, perhaps, towards its complete removal.

On the other hand it may be urged that in emphasizing the use of the Old Testament in early Christian times, we are making things worse for the exegete and the believer: for if the primitive Christians appealed so freely to prophecies of all kinds, they must often have made wrong appeals which were discredited almost as soon as made, or which are certainly not to be credited amongst ourselves.

This part of the problem, however, is not new: we shall have to settle for ourselves, quiet apart from the *Book of Testimonies*, whether Matthew was right in his interpretation of the calling of the Son out of Egypt. If he was the victim of an incorrect exegesis, this may have been, on our hypothesis, some one else's mistake and not his own. We shall still have to decide this and other matters with the best light we can get. And the real advantage of our method lies in this very direction, that it is an increase of light and an extension of knowledge. And I do not think the central figure of Christianity or its central doctrines are likely to be obscured by a careful restoration of the broken and almost lost fabric of its earliest literature.

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