

LLEWELLYN HOWES

The Formative Stratum of the Sayings Gospel Q

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

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Mohr Siebeck

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The Formative Stratum of the Sayings Gospel Q

Reconsidering Its Extent, Message, and Unity

Mohr Siebeck

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*For Lurinda Maree,
who gives light to everyone in the house (cf. Q 11:33)*

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List of Abbreviations

[<i>Oec.</i>]	Aristotle's <i>Oeconomica</i>
Clem.	Clement
11Q13	Qumran Scroll <i>Melchizedek</i> from Cave 11 (a.k.a. 11QMelch)
1Q22	Qumran Scroll <i>Words of Moses</i> from Cave 1 (a.k.a. 1QDM)
1QS	Qumran Scroll <i>Community Rule</i> from Cave 1
Bar.	Baruch
4Q264	Qumran fragment of <i>Community Rule</i> from Cave 4
4Q416-418	Qumran fragments of <i>Sapiential Work A</i> from Cave 4 (a.k.a. 4Qinstructio)
4Q421	Fragmentary Qumran Scroll <i>Ways of Righteousness</i> from Cave 4 (a.k.a. 4QWays of Righteousness)
'Abot R. Nat.	'Abot de Rabbi Nathan
<i>Agr.</i>	Cato's <i>De agricultura (De re rustica)</i>
<i>A.J.</i>	Josephus's <i>Antiquitates judaicae</i>
<i>Alleg. Interp.</i>	Philo's <i>Allegorical Interpretation</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus's <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
Apoc. Adam	Apocalypse of Adam
<i>Asin.</i>	Plautus's <i>Asinaria</i>
ASV	American Standard Version
b. B. Meṣ.	Tractate Baba Meṣi'a from the Babylonian Talmud
b. Ber.	Tractate Berakot from the Babylonian Talmud
b. Hul.	Tractate Hallah from the Babylonian Talmud
b. Ketub.	Tractate Ketubbot from the Babylonian Talmud
b. Qidd.	Tractate Qiddušin from the Babylonian Talmud
b. Šabb.	Tractate Šabbat from the Babylonian Talmud
b. Ta'an.	Tractate Ta'anit from the Babylonian Talmud
<i>B.J.</i>	Josephus's <i>Bellum judaicum</i>
<i>Bacch.</i>	Plautus's <i>Bacchae</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
Cant. Rab.	Canticle of Canticles Rabbah (a.k.a. Song of Songs Rabbah)
<i>Cat. Maj.</i>	Plutarch's <i>Cato Major</i> (a.k.a. <i>Cato the Elder</i>)
<i>Cherubim</i>	Philo's <i>On the Cherubim</i>
Der. Er. Zuṭ	Derek Ereṣ Zuṭa
<i>Dial.</i>	Justin's <i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i>
<i>Dig.</i>	Justinian's <i>Digesta seu Pandectae</i>
<i>Dreams</i>	Philo's <i>On Dreams</i>

<i>Ep.</i>	Seneca the Younger's <i>Epistulae morales</i> or Pliny the Younger's <i>Epistulae</i> , as indicated by the context
ESV	English Standard Version
ET	English translation
<i>Good Person</i>	Philo's <i>That Every Good Person Is Free</i>
Gos. Thom.	Gospel of Thomas
<i>Hom.</i>	Pseudo-Clement's <i>Homilies</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HTS</i>	<i>Hervormde Teologiese Studies</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>J.W.</i>	Josephus's <i>Jewish War</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
Jos. Asen.	Joseph and Aseneth
<i>Joseph</i>	Philo's <i>On the Life of Joseph</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
Jub.	Jubilees
KJV	King James Version
<i>Leg.</i>	Plato's <i>Leges</i>
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint
m. 'Abot	Tractate 'Abot from the Mishnah
m. B. Bat.	Tractate Baba Batra from the Mishnah
m. B. Meṣ.	Tractate Baba Meṣi'a from the Mishnah
m. Naz.	Tractate Nazir from the Mishnah
m. Nid.	Tractate Niddah from the Mishnah
m. Ṭehar.	Tractate Ṭeharot from the Mishnah
Macc	Maccabees
<i>Magn.</i>	Ignatius's <i>To the Magnesians</i>
Mek.	Mekilta
<i>Merc.</i>	Plautus's <i>The Merchant</i>
<i>Metam.</i>	Apuleius's <i>Metamorphoses</i> (a.k.a. <i>The Golden Ass</i>)
<i>Migration</i>	Philo's <i>On the Migration of Abraham</i>
<i>Most.</i>	Plautus's <i>Mostellaria</i>
MT	Masoretic Text
<i>Names</i>	Philo's <i>On the Change of Names</i>
NASB	New American Standard Bible
<i>Nat.</i>	Pliny the Elder's <i>Natural History</i>
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	The New International Version
NKJV	The New King James Version
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	The New Revised Standard Version
<i>O.Mich.</i>	<i>Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection</i> (see bibliography: Amundsen 1935).
<i>Oec.</i>	Xenophon's <i>Oeconomicus</i>
<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i>	<i>Zenon Papyri, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> (see bibliography: Edgar 1925–1940)

- P.Col.* *Columbia Papyri* (see bibliography: Westermann and Hasenoehrl 1934; Bagnall and Obbink 1996)
- P.Col.inv.* *Columbia Papyri* (unpublished; referenced according to inventory number)
- P.Corn.* *Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University* (see bibliography: Westermann and Kraemer 1926)
- P.Duk.inv.* *Duke Papyrus Archive* (unpublished; see <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/homepage.html>)
- P.Enteux.* *ENTEΥΞΕΙΣ: Requêtes et plaintes adressées au Roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.* (see bibliography: Guéraud 1931–1932).
- P.Fay.* *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* (see bibliography: Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth 1900)
- P.Haun.* *Papyri Graecae Haunienses* (see bibliography: Bülow-Jacobsen 1981)
- P.Kar.Goodsp.* *Papyri from Karanis* (see bibliography: Goodspeed 1902)
- P.Köln* *Kölnner Papyri* (see bibliography: Gronewald and Maresch 1991)
- P.Lond.* *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (see bibliography: Skeat 1974)
- P.Mich.* *Michigan Papyri* (see bibliography: Edgar 1931; Winter *et al.* 1936; Husselman 1971; Shelton 1971; Browne 1975; Sijpesteijn 1982)
- P.Mich.inv.* *Michigan Papyri* (unpublished; referenced according to inventory number)
- P.NYU* *Greek Papyri in the Collection of New York University* (see bibliography: Nielson and Worp 2010)
- P.Oslo* *Papyri Osloenses* (see bibliography: Eitrem and Amundsen 1931)
- P.Oxy.* *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (see bibliography: Hunt 1912; Gonis and Colomo 2008; Leith *et al.* 2009; Maehler, Römer, and Hatzilambrou 2010)
- P.Petaus.* *Das Archiv des Petaus* (see bibliography: Hagedorn *et al.* 1969)
- P.Petr.* *The Flinders Petrie Papyri* (see bibliography: Mahaffy 1891)
- P.Princ.* *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections* (see bibliography: Kase 1936)
- P.Ryl.* *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (see bibliography: Johnson, Martin, and Hunt 1915)
- P.Stras.* *Griechische Papyrus der Kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Straßburg* (see bibliography: Schwartz 1963)
- P.Tebt.* *The Tebtunis Papyri* (see bibliography: Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly 1902; Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed 1907; Hunt and Smyly 1933)
- P.Theon.* *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones* (see bibliography: Sijpesteijn 1976)
- P.Wisc.* *The Wisconsin Papyri* (see bibliography: Sijpesteijn 1967)
- P.Zen.Pestm.* *Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive* (see bibliography: Pestman 1980)
- Pesiq. Rab Kah. Pesiqta de Rab Kahana
- Pol.* Aristotle's *Politica*
- Prob.* Philo's *Quod omnis probus liber sit*
- Pss. Sol. Psalms of Solomon
- m. B. Qam. Tractate Baba Qamma from the Mishnah
- QE* Philo's *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum*
- Quaest. rom.* Plutarch's *Quaestiones romanae et graecae (Aetia romana et graeca)*
- Rust.* Columella's *De re rustica*

<i>Sat.</i>	Macrobius's <i>Saturnalia</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> (see bibliography: Preisigke, Bilabel, and Kießling 1931; Bilabel, Preisigke, and Rupprecht 1981–1983; Rupprecht and Kießling 1985–1988; Preisigke 1997)
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
Sem.	Semaḥot
Sent. Sextus	Sentences of Sextus
Sir	Sirach
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>Sobriety</i>	Philo's <i>On Sobriety</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	Philo's <i>De specialibus legibus</i>
T. Ab.	Testament of Abraham
T. Jos.	Testament of Joseph
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
t. Ma'aś.	Tractate Ma'aśerot from the Tosefta
<i>Rust.</i>	Varro's <i>De re rustica</i>
<i>Vid.</i>	Plautus's <i>Vidularia</i>
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
<i>Worse</i>	Philo's <i>That the Worse Attacks the Better</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
y. Ber.	Tractate Berakot from the Jerusalem Talmud
Yal.	Yalqut
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

Introduction

As the book's title indicates, this is a study about the formative stratum (or earliest redactional layer) of the Sayings Gospel Q. And as the subtitle indicates, the book reconsiders three aspects of Q's formative stratum, namely its extent, message, and unity. Regarding its extent, the book argues that certain texts in Q that have traditionally been excluded from its earliest layer should rather be included. In the process of arguing for the inclusion of these individual texts, the book also reconsiders the message of Q's earliest redactional layer, the second item listed above. It would seem that Q's formative stratum was much more concerned with actual daily survival than earlier scholars might have thought. Besides the extent and message of Q's formative layer, the book also considers its unity. It is possible, the book argues, to regard the first layer of Q as a unified document or tradition even though it is made up of individual traditions. If I am correct about the addition of certain individual traditions to Q's formative stratum, what impact does this have on its overarching unity and flow?

More than 30 years ago, John S. Kloppenborg published *The Formation of Q*, identifying three redactional layers in the Sayings Gospel Q, namely the "formative stratum" (or Q¹), the "main redaction" (or Q²), and the "final recension" (or Q³).¹ The formative stratum came first, to which the main redaction was added at a later stage. The final recension was last to be added and consisted only of the temptation passage (Q 4:1–13) and two interpolations (Q 11:42c; Q 16:17). I have argued elsewhere that the latter two interpolations belong to the main redaction rather than the final recension, so that the final recension would include only the temptation passage.² The current study focuses on the formative stratum, with occasional reference to the main redaction. Kloppenborg used the following criteria to distinguish between these two redactional layers: (1) characteristic forms; (2) characteristic motifs; and (3) implied audience. Regarding characteristic forms, the formative stratum features sapiential small forms like maxims and aphorisms, while the main redaction features *chreia* with prophetic and/or apocalyptic logia. Regarding characteristic motifs, the formative stratum discusses the radical wisdom of God's

¹ Kloppenborg 1987.

² Howes 2015a, 85–86.

kingdom, while the main redaction discusses apocalyptic judgment. When it comes to the criterion of implied audience, the formative stratum is unilaterally addressed to the Q people as insiders, while the main redaction is simultaneously addressed to insiders as the actual, stated audience and outsiders who reject the Q people and their message as the “projected” or “implied” audience. Kloppenborg’s stratigraphy confirmed earlier proposals by scholars that deuteronomistic traditions about the condemnation of “this generation” represent redactional elaboration of the Q material during a later stage when boundary demarcation became important for the in-group.³ Although there had been other attempts to determine the redactional layering of Q, Kloppenborg’s proposal was the first to gain wide acceptance in scholarship.⁴ Subsequent proposals of Q’s stratigraphy have also failed to replace Kloppenborg’s proposal by convincing any number of scholars.⁵ As one would expect, not all scholars accept Kloppenborg’s proposed stratigraphy or even believe that the redactional make-up of Q can be determined in the first place.⁶ The impact of Kloppenborg’s monograph was to divide scholars clearly into two camps: those for and those against his proposed stratigraphy. The former group of scholars accepted his proposed stratigraphy, sometimes uncritically, and used it as a basis for further study.⁷ The latter group rejected it out of hand without engaging the detail of his exegetical analysis.⁸ Lacking on both sides has been a critical engagement with the details of Kloppenborg’s exegesis and argumentation. I intend to do just that here. Accepting Kloppenborg’s proposed stratigraphy for the most part, this monograph focuses on those individual texts that have in my opinion been wrongly ascribed to the main redaction instead of the formative stratum.

Thirty-plus years after the publication of Kloppenborg’s ground-breaking monograph, the time has come to re-evaluate his proposed stratigraphy in the exegetical detail it deserves. Developments over the last thirty years in both Q research and historical Jesus studies have contributed to the proposals and interpretations offered here. In my analysis, I will use the same three criteria as Kloppenborg to determine the redactional placement of individual traditions, namely characteristic forms, characteristic motifs, and implied audience. Although the focus is on Q’s redaction and stratigraphy, the current analysis includes interesting and novel interpretations of certain Q texts, aided in no small way by advances in our knowledge of not only the logia and parables of Jesus,

³ E.g. Steck 1967; Lührmann 1969.

⁴ Tuckett 1996, 69, 70; Horsley 1999, 62; Freyne 2000, 227.

⁵ E.g. Jacobson 1992; Ra 2016.

⁶ For a discussion of criticism against Kloppenborg’s proposal and arguments against such criticism, see Howes 2015a, 68–88.

⁷ E.g. Cotter 1995, 117; Arnal 2001, 5; Rollens 2014a, 94–95, 105, 109–113; Oakman 2015, 100.

⁸ Arnal 2001, 4; Kloppenborg 2001, 164.

but also the ancient Jewish world. A good example is my reinterpretation of the parable of the loyal and wise slave in Matthew 24:45–51 and Luke (Q) 12:42–46, which draws on a thorough understanding of servile farm management in antiquity.⁹ Another example is my proposed interpretation of the logion in Matthew 5:25–26 and Luke (Q) 12:58–59 about making peace with one’s opponent on the way to court, which takes full account of recent Q studies that appeal to Egyptian papyri.¹⁰ A final example is my reinterpretation of the parables of the mustard seed and leaven, which fully engages recent parable scholarship.¹¹ As such, the current study contributes not only to our understanding of Q’s redactional stratification, but also to our interpretation of the Jesus tradition, including especially his sayings and parables recorded in the earliest layer of Q. The content of this monograph should therefore be useful not only to Q scholarship, but also to scholarship on the parables of Jesus, the historical Jesus, the Synoptic Gospels, and the New Testament in general.

The novelty of my interpretations are not only a result of advances in scholarship, but also a consequence of my positionality on the African continent. Although my goal with this publication was not to read Q texts from a liberationist or African perspective, my situatedness on the African continent contributed in no small way to my reading of these texts.¹² My experience both of and with poverty, for example, affects how I look at the world and how I read texts, allowing me to see elements and nuances that others might miss. My reading of Q texts is therefore typically “from below.” Scholars often use the terms “from below” and “from above” to reference the opposing perspectives of the underclass and the elite, respectively. Reading a text “from below” therefore means to read it from the perspective of those who find themselves at the bottom of society’s socio-economic (as well as politico-religious) hierarchy, whether ancient or modern. The economic situation of many Africans today bears a striking resemblance to the economic situation of many Jews in the first century.¹³ I have been convinced by the content of Q’s formative stratum that this text was in the first place directed at poor people and struggling peasants in ancient Judaism.¹⁴ This is not to deny that Q was most likely written by “village scribes” (κωμογραμματεὺς).¹⁵ In general terms, I tend to agree with the “village scribe” hypothesis. Yet, unlike some proponents of this hypothesis,

⁹ See chapter 4 below.

¹⁰ See chapter 5 below.

¹¹ See chapter 6 below.

¹² For an overview of how Q has been interpreted in South Africa, see Howes 2019a.

¹³ See Van Aarde 2009, esp. 535–536; cf. Van Eck, Renkin, and Ntakirutimana 2016. For an overview of poverty in first-century Galilee, see Häkkinen 2016.

¹⁴ Cf. esp. Horsley 1995a, 44–45; 1999; Uro 1996, 89, 90; Park 2019, 52. Both the oral prehistory and the agricultural imagery of Q support the idea that it emerged in a non-elite agrarian context (Park 2019, 41–42, 44).

¹⁵ See Kloppenborg 1991; Arnal 2001; cf. Rollens 2014b; Bazzana 2015.

I do not perceive any contradiction between the idea that the *authors* of Q were socio-economic “middling” figures, to use the vocabulary of Rollens,¹⁶ on the one hand, and the idea that the primary *audiences* of Q were made up of the peasantry and poor, on the other.¹⁷ In antiquity, “the poor” (οἱ πτωχοί) was a specific class of people, who were on a lower socio-economic scale than peasants.¹⁸ Although the peasantry constituted a socio-economic group above “the poor,” most peasants were likewise very poor. It is true that the peasantry was made up of various socio-economic strata,¹⁹ but there should be little doubt that an overwhelming majority of them lived in poverty, especially in Palestine during the first century.²⁰ In fact, “the poor” also included dispossessed peasants, who lost their land due to economic pressures, making the line between these two classes of people blurry and easy to cross.²¹ It is therefore not impossible to imagine that “the poor” would in certain ancient references have included peasants struggling economically. According to Häkkinen, the Jesus movement

seems to have attracted especially, like some other anti-Roman movements, the landless: peasant children without inheritance, expropriated smallholders and all kinds of people who were deprived of access to the land. The changed situation from a landowner, a peasant farmer, into a tenant farmer or day labourer was dramatic for many Galileans. The peasant farmers were permanently poor and in continuous danger to fall under the subsistence level.²²

To distinguish between the different socio-economic strata in the ancient peasant class, Boer and Petterson, for example, speak of “small,” “middle,” and “big” peasants.²³ In this book, I will use the terms “small peasants” and “small peasantry” to reference peasants who were struggling to survive due to economic pressures, which included most peasants. Although the term “peasant” is often used in scholarship to reference a socio-economic *class* of people, including, for example, ancillary workers like fishermen and artisans,²⁴ I will mainly use the term here to reference peasant *farmers*. The term “the poor” will reference the landless class, including dispossessed peasants, although some peasants would have been so desperately close to losing their smallholdings that it would not be unreasonable to include at least some of them in this group as well. According to Ukpong, “[t]he poor comprised the urban non-elite and

¹⁶ Rollens 2014b.

¹⁷ Cf. Park 2019, 44.

¹⁸ Cf. Van Aarde 2009, 536; Häkkinen 2016, 2, 4.

¹⁹ See Freyne 1988, 211–212; Mattila 2010, 291–313; Boer and Petterson 2017, 68–72; cf. Rollens 2014b, 12, 21, 36; Häkkinen 2016, 3.

²⁰ See Häkkinen 2016, 1–9, esp. 3, 5–8; cf. Ukpong 2012, 200; Jacobs 2018, 121–126.

²¹ Häkkinen 2016, 4, 8.

²² Häkkinen 2016, 7.

²³ Boer and Petterson 2017, esp. 68, 70.

²⁴ See Boer and Petterson 2017, 71–72.

the rural small landowners, landless day labourers, slaves, the handicapped, tenant farmers, beggars (the blind, lame, lepers, destitute), widows and orphans.”²⁵ This study will therefore regard “the poor” and the “small peasantry” as separate but overlapping categories.

Although this book represents a critical reassessment of Kloppenborg’s redactional model, it is at the same time also an attempt to reinforce and buttress his proposed stratigraphy. The current author has defended his acceptance and approval of Kloppenborg’s stratigraphy of Q at length elsewhere.²⁶ This does not mean that every aspect and argument of Kloppenborg’s stratigraphy is simply taken over without question. In fact, this publication functions as an example of how one may accept Kloppenborg’s stratigraphy in principle, but still question and critically re-examine some of the more specific arguments and conclusions that pertain to particular texts. Although the book calls into question Kloppenborg’s attribution of individual texts to the main redaction, it defends his overarching proposal that an earlier layer of instructional material was subsequently expanded by the addition of prophetic and/or apocalyptic traditions. This is done in two distinct ways. Firstly, the current analysis will argue that individual traditions were expanded in exactly the same direction. For example, it will be argued that the traditions in Q 12:39–40, Q 12:42–46, Q 13:24–27, and Q 19:12–13, 15–24, 26 all show signs of development from non-eschatological traditions about the present kingdom of God to parables about the final judgment. This happened through the addition of material that changed the meaning of these parables to support the message of the main redaction, so that these individual traditions represent a microcosm for the procedure by which the Q document as a whole was edited. In other cases, the same goal was achieved without elaborating the tradition, but simply by placing it within a literary context that treats eschatological/apocalyptic themes. This is true for at least Q 11:33, 34–35, Q 12:58–59, and Q 14:16–21, 23. Secondly, the current study will attempt to show that Q’s formative stratum was a literary unity before the main redaction was added to it. This is in response to critics of Kloppenborg’s stratigraphy who point out that Q’s formative stratum might not have been a unified document before the addition of redactional material.²⁷ According to them, Kloppenborg’s proposal would be dealt a serious blow if the formative stratum was not a unified document or tradition in its own right before its redactional expansion. Instead of adding material to an existing document, editorial activity would then consist merely of assembling a host of disparate sayings (and/or clusters of sayings) into one document.²⁸ Against

²⁵ Ukpong 2012, 200.

²⁶ See Howes 2015a, 61–89, 151.

²⁷ E.g. Hoffman 1995, 187; Tuckett 1996, 71–74; Horsley 1999, 67; Dunn 2003, 156–157.

²⁸ Cf. Kloppenborg 1996a, 27.

this, the current study will argue that a strong case can indeed be made for the original unity of Q's formative stratum.

One of the criteria used here for distinguishing between the formative stratum and main redaction is whether individual traditions are sapiential, prophetic, eschatological, and/or apocalyptic in form and content. Kloppenborg claims that his stratigraphical analysis of Q was *not* based on determining whether the thematic content of particular logia or traditions were "sapiential," "prophetic," "eschatological," or "apocalyptic."²⁹ He explains further: "Thus when one speaks of a formative 'sapiential' stratum, this is a *secondary* characterization of the *result* of literary-critical analysis, and not the description of the *primary criteria* for strata separation."³⁰ True as this may be, the ultimate result that the formative stratum is a sapiential stratum and that the main redaction harbours apocalyptic eschatology and prophecy justifies the subsequent use of these findings as criteria when considering the placement of individual traditions in Q. Since the present study accepts Kloppenborg's stratigraphical analysis and uses it as a starting point for further analysis, it is entirely legitimate to use his *result* that the content of Q¹ is sapiential and that the content of Q² is apocalyptic, eschatological, and prophetic as *criteria* for distinguishing between the two layers. Formal literary criteria will not be ignored in the process. It is true that Kloppenborg allows for the presence of eschatological and apocalyptic themes in the formative stratum, but I have argued elsewhere that the formative stratum does not develop *futurist* eschatology or apocalypticism at all.³¹ This explains my high level of confidence in using categories like "sapiential" and "eschatological," in relation to both literary form and thematic content, when separating between the two main layers of Q.

The focus of this study on Q's first redactional layer introduces the question of Q's relation to the historical Jesus. A number of historical Jesus scholars have appealed to Kloppenborg's model as part of their larger arguments that the historical Jesus was not an eschatological or apocalyptic prophet, but rather a teacher of wisdom.³² Yet Kloppenborg's division is not as clear-cut as many of these scholars assume. For example, Kloppenborg does regard some of the traditions in Q's formative stratum as eschatological and/or apocalyptic. As noted above, I have argued elsewhere that none of the traditions in Q's formative stratum promote a futurist eschatology, apocalyptic or otherwise.³³ At any rate, Kloppenborg warns against equating the redactional development of Q

²⁹ See e.g. Kloppenborg 1996a, 51–52.

³⁰ Kloppenborg 1996a, 52, emphasis original; cf. Vaage 1995a, 75.

³¹ See Howes 2015a, 111–125, 151, 221–283, 286.

³² E.g. Mack 1993, 36–37; Borg 1994, 15 n. 13; Patterson 1998, 171–172; cf. Kloppenborg 1996a, 52.

³³ See Howes 2015a, 111–125, 151, 221–283, 286.

with the historical development of the Jesus tradition or Q materials.³⁴ In other words, Kloppenborg cautions against the automatic assumption that Q's earliest redactional layer represents an earlier layer of the Jesus tradition.³⁵ It is not unimaginable that certain individual traditions in the main redaction might be authentic, while certain traditions in the formative stratum might likewise be inauthentic. What is more, Q's Jesus and the historical Jesus might be two completely different entities and should not automatically be equated.³⁶ Despite these words of caution, I am personally convinced not only that the Sayings Gospel Q brings us closer to the historical Jesus than most, if not all, of the canonical material, but also that Q's formative stratum brings us closer to the historical Jesus than any other material in the Sayings Gospel Q. Q's chronological and geographical proximity to the historical Jesus in all likelihood indicates conceptual and essential proximity between Q's Jesus and the historical Jesus.³⁷ There is likely to be a great degree of overlap between the two figures.³⁸ Q does not only predate the canonical Gospels in the source-critical sense, but also in the tradition-historical sense, containing a more primitive theology and Christology than the rest of the New Testament. Despite Kloppenborg's justified insistence that tradition history and redaction history should not be equated, it seems that there might very well be a great degree of overlap between the two. As Dunn observes, Kloppenborg's archaeological imagery of "excavation" and "stratigraphy" more than suggests that the "earliest layer" from a redactional point of view is also earliest from a historical point of view.³⁹ Robinson addresses this topic directly, stating that older and later traditions about Jesus "do not necessarily conform to the layering of Q, although by and large this would seem to be the case."⁴⁰ If Robinson is correct, it would follow that although individual traditions in the formative stratum are not automatically authentic and individual traditions in the main redaction are not automatically inauthentic, the presence of a saying in the formative stratum is suggestive of authenticity, while the presence of a saying in the main redaction is similarly suggestive of inauthenticity. Stated differently, although the redaction history of Q should not be *equated* with the tradition history of Jesus material, the former can indeed be *related* to the latter to some degree. This is supported by the likely sociological and polemical reasons for adding the main

³⁴ Kloppenborg 1987, 99, 244–245; 1996a, 52; 2000a, 150–151.

³⁵ See Freyne 2000, 227–228; Allison 2010, 120–125; cf. Vaage 1995, 75; Tuckett 1996, 68; 2001a, 383, 388; Crossan 2001, 119; Dunn 2013, 81.

³⁶ Kloppenborg 2001, 163; cf. Holmén 2001, 513; Robinson 2011, 471.

³⁷ Robinson 1991, 192; 1993, 9; 2001a, 14; 2007, vii, viii; 2011, 470; Vaage 2001, 479; cf. Theissen and Merz 1998, 27, 29; Kloppenborg 2001, 152, 171; Horsley 2012, 103, 117, 154; Park 2019, 41.

³⁸ Kloppenborg 2001, 158.

³⁹ Dunn 2013, 81; cf. Perkins 2007, 90.

⁴⁰ Robinson 1995a, 260; cf. 2011, 471; cf. Järvinen 2001, 516–517.

redaction. The main redaction seems to have been added to strengthen internal group solidarity in the midst of hostility from outsiders. Although it is possible that they drew on existing Jesus material for this purpose, it is more likely that they created much of this material *ex nihilo* to address this new situation. This is in stark contrast to the probable reasons for creating Q's formative stratum. From the content of Q's formative stratum one can easily deduce that the early followers of Jesus compiled it for the express purpose of implementing the teachings of Jesus in their daily lives. Committing the Jesus material to writing was a way to ensure that the teachings of Jesus would not be forgotten and would find practical expression in the lives of his post-mortem followers. In other words, the respective reasons for creating each of Q's two principle layers support the notion that the formative stratum would generally be more authentic and historically trustworthy than the main redaction. All of this is to say that the message of Q's formative stratum brings us very close indeed to the message of the historical Jesus. This book therefore adds to our understanding of the historical Jesus by considering the extent and message of Q's formative stratum.

More specifically, the main purpose of the current book is to argue that the following texts belong in Q's formative stratum, even though Kloppenborg originally attributed them to Q's main redaction: Q 10:21, 23–24 (chapter 1); Q 11:33–35 (chapter 2); Q 12:39 (chapter 3); Q 12:42–44 (chapter 4); Q 12:58–59 (chapter 5); Q 13:25 (chapter 7); Q 14:16–21, 23 (chapter 8); and Q 19:12–13, 15–24 (chapter 9). An exceptional case regards Q 13:18–21 (chapter 6), which was originally attributed to the formative stratum by Kloppenborg, but for which I propose a non-traditional reading that is important to the book's overarching argumentation. Each of the first nine chapters represents a reworked and elaborated version – sometimes extensively so – of one or more scholarly articles formerly published by me. These articles are referenced in the first footnote of each chapter. The last two chapters bring everything together: chapter 10 considers the unity and flow of the formative stratum as a whole, and chapter 11 concludes the study by summarising the main themes of the formative stratum, discussing the level of creativity showcased during the redactional process, and considering what we can take away from this study about both the parables of Jesus and the historical Jesus. Finally, Annexure A reproduces the extent or scope of the formative stratum given the alterations suggested in this book.

All reconstructions and translations of Q in this book are from the International Q Project's *Critical Edition of Q*.⁴¹ I explain my reasons in the relevant contexts whenever my reconstruction or translation differs from the *Critical Edition of Q*. I use the same sigla as the *Critical Edition of Q* when reconstructing the Q text. Double square brackets (i.e. $\llbracket \dots \rrbracket$) indicate a probability of {C},

⁴¹ Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg 2000; 2002.

which is lower than {A} or {B}, but higher than {D} or {U}. Pointed brackets (i.e. <...>) indicate some measure of conjecture, but with reference to the Matthean and Lukan texts. Guillemets (i.e. «...») indicate phrases that seem to have originated in Q, but for which it is impossible to produce a verbatim or close-to verbatim reading with any degree of certainty. For a more detailed description of the application of these sigla, see the *Critical Edition of Q*.⁴² Chapter and verse references of the Sayings Gospel Q are according to Luke's Gospel.

Throughout this book, the term "main redactor" is used, even though more than one person were probably responsible for adding the main redaction. The title "main redactor" seems appropriate for the following reasons: (1) the material added by this redactor was dubbed the "main redaction" by Kloppenborg; (2) quantitatively, this redactor added more material at one stage than the redactor(s) responsible for the final recension; and (3) qualitatively, the material added by this redactor had more of an impact on the content and meaning of the document than the material added by the redactor(s) responsible for the final recension.

⁴² Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg 2000, 563–564; 2002, 153–155.

Chapter 1

Q 10:21–24, “Blessed Are Those Who See”¹

²¹ἐν ... εἶπεν· ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἐκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις· ναὶ ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου. ²²πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα [τις γινώσκει] εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὃ ἔαν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι. ²³μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες ἃ βλέπετε ... ²⁴λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ προφήται καὶ βασιλεῖς ... ἦσαν ἰδεῖν ἃ βλέπετε καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν, καὶ ἀκούσαι ἃ ἀκούετε καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν.

²¹At «that time» he said: I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, for you hid these things from sages and the learned, and disclosed them to children. Yes, Father, for that is what it has pleased you to do. ²²Everything has been entrusted to me by my Father, and no one knows the Son except the Father, nor [does anyone know] the Father except the Son, and to whomever the Son chooses to reveal him. ²³Blessed are the eyes that see what you see ... ²⁴For I tell you: Many prophets and kings wanted to see what you see, but never saw it, and to hear what you hear, but never heard it.

The composite nature of Q 10:21–24 is accepted by most.² Even a superficial reading of this cluster of sayings reveals that verse 22 interrupts the progression of thought from verse 21 to verses 23–24. A number of interpreters have noticed and commented on the intruding nature of verse 22.³ These scholars tend to see verse 22 as a late addition not only to this pericope, but also to Q as a whole.⁴ Unlike verse 21, the authenticity of verse 22 is also generally denied.⁵ Yet, in the scholarly analyses of Q 10:21–24, these logia are persistently treated together, especially verses 21 and 22.⁶ During these analyses, there seems to

¹ An earlier version of this chapter was published as an article in *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 95 (see Howes 2013a).

² See Marshall 1978, 431–432; cf. Kloppenborg 1987, 198; Lee 2005, 137.

³ Cf. e.g. Percy 1953, 260; Bultmann 1963, 159–160; Hahn 1969, 309; Lührmann 1969, 65; Schulz 1972, 215; Hoffmann 1975, 109; Marshall 1978, 431; Wanke 1980, 218; Zeller 1982, 405; 1984, 55; Kloppenborg 1987, 198; Sato 1988, 38; Denaux 1992, 170; Jacobson 1992, 150.

⁴ Cf. Kloppenborg 1996a, 11–12; Tuckett 2001b, 287; Lee 2005, 137.

⁵ Cf. Lee 2005, 137. It is worth noting, however, that an increasing number of scholars view this logion as typical of the way in which the historical Jesus spoke of himself (cf. Harvey 1982, 160).

⁶ See e.g. Robinson 1964, 226–228; Jacobson 1978, 140–143; Piper 1989, 170–173; Al-lison 1997, 13–14; 2000, 43–51, 232–233; Kirk 1998, 340–364; Broadhead 2001, 294–295; Fleddermann 2005a, 447–454.

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