

The Jewish–Christian Dialogue *Jason and Papiscus* in Light of the Sinaiticus Fragment

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■ Abstract

For centuries, the lost Jewish-Christian dialogue *Jason and Papiscus* was known only through various quotations and summaries from Patristic sources. This changed in 2011 with the publication of a newly discovered, large fragment of *Jason and Papiscus* known as the Sinaiticus fragment. The current article examines the Sinaiticus fragment, compares it to the previously known remnants of *Jason and Papiscus* and examines the information from the fragment in relation to other texts. Several important new observations are obtained as a result. This article—for the first time—unites the Sinaiticus fragment with all of the Patristic material related to *Jason and Papiscus* in one appendix, with all entries newly translated by the author with updated notes. This article also contains new digital images of the Sinaiticus fragment.

■ Keywords

Jason and Papiscus, Jewish-Christian dialogues, Logos, Agrapha, Ariston of Pella, Sophronius, *Epistle of Barnabas*, Aristobulus of Alexandria, Philo, Gospel of John

■ Introduction

For centuries, the lost Jewish-Christian dialogue *Jason and Papiscus* was known only through various fragmentary quotations and descriptions found in Patristic sources. This changed in 2011 with the publication of the Sinaiticus fragment:

a newly discovered, large fragment of *Jason and Papiscus*.¹ The current article is an examination of what was previously known and assumed about *Jason and Papiscus*, and also an examination of the Sinaiticus fragment and how its discovery impacts the study of *Jason and Papiscus*. The examinations will be divided into the following sections: (I.) a summary of Patristic references to *Jason and Papiscus*; (II.) an overview of previous scholarly theories regarding *Jason and Papiscus*; (III.) a summary of the discovery of the Sinaiticus fragment, an examination of its previous publications, and a physical description of the fragment; (IV) previous observations about *Jason and Papiscus* reexamined in light of the Sinaiticus fragment; (V.) new observations in light of the Sinaiticus fragment; an appendix containing full quotations of all currently known ancient fragments of and references to *Jason and Papiscus*, including the Sinaiticus fragment; and new images of the Sinaiticus Fragment provided by Father Justin, the Librarian of Saint Catherine's Monastery, where the fragment was originally discovered and still currently resides.

■ I. A Summary of Patristic References to *Jason and Papiscus*

Currently, the earliest surviving reference to *Jason and Papiscus* is a criticism of the dialogue found in the pagan philosopher Celsus' anti-Christian work the *True Doctrine* (*Ἀληθῆς λόγος*).² This work was distributed in the mid-second century CE and now exists only as fragments preserved in *Against Celsus*, the Christian writer Origen's third-century CE reply to Celsus. In one fragment, Celsus singles out *Jason and Papiscus* for criticism as a representative of both Jewish and Christian attempts at rhetorical allegory: "Jews and Christians try somehow to allegorize (their myths), but (their myths) are incapable of being explained in this way and are plainly very stupid fables. I know of a work of this type named *The Dispute of Papiscus and Jason*, which does not deserve laughter but rather pity and hatred."³ While Celsus refers to *Jason and Papiscus*, he does not, as far as we currently know, quote the text of the dialogue.

In addition to preserving Celsus' reference to *Jason and Papiscus*, Origen's reply to Celsus is also chronologically the next earliest reference to *Jason and Papiscus*. Origen refers to the dialogue by name in his response to Celsus.⁴ Perhaps unexpectedly, Origen is contemptuous of *Jason and Papiscus* and writes that, by choosing the dialogue for criticism, "(Celsus) has chosen (a writing) whose style is not impressive, it is very basic . . . (and) would not excite the wise."⁵ In the lines that follow, Origen musters a more positive take on the dialogue and gives the

¹ Originally published by John Duffy in "New Fragments of Sophronius of Jerusalem and Aristo of Pella?" *Bibel, Byzanz und Christlicher Orient. Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. D. Bumazhnov et al.; OLA 187; Leuven: Peeters, 2011) 15–28.

² Section 1.1 in the Appendix.

³ Section 1.1 in the Appendix. See also section V.D below.

⁴ Section 1.2 in the Appendix. See also section V.D below.

⁵ Section 1.2 in the Appendix.

earliest known outline of its contents: “a Christian discusses with a Jew by means of Jewish scripture and teaches that the messianic prophecies suit Jesus, and in a manner not ignoble nor unbecoming the character of a Jew, the other man opposes his argument with his reply.”⁶ As far as is currently known, Origen does not quote the text of *Jason and Papiscus*.

Jerome referred to *Jason and Papiscus* in two separate works, both written in the late fourth century CE: *Comments on Galatians* and *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*. In *Comments on Galatians*, Jerome writes, “I remember in *The Dispute of Jason and Papiscus*, which is written in the Greek language, this expression: λοιδορία θεοῦ ὁ κρεμάμενος, ‘He that is hanged is cursed of God.’”⁷ This quotation of *Jason and Papiscus* is not found in the Sinaiticus fragment. In *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*, Jerome presents another quotation of *Jason and Papiscus*: “In the son, God made heaven and earth.”⁸ Jerome remarks that this *Jason and Papiscus* quotation was based on Genesis 1:1 and was the source of much confusion regarding the meaning of the section in Hebrew. It is of note that Jerome corrects this section of *Jason and Papiscus*, but, unlike Origen, does so in a way that does not deride the dialogue. This brief section of *Jason and Papiscus* is found in the Sinaiticus fragment.⁹

Chronologically, the next reference to *Jason and Papiscus* can be found in Celsus Africanus’ introduction to his Latin translation of *Jason and Papiscus*, which is believed to date from the end of the fifth century CE.¹⁰ This Latin introduction does not directly quote *Jason and Papiscus*, but does contain a summary of the dialogue’s contents that is more detailed than Origen’s earlier summary. Celsus Africanus’ summary reveals that Jason is the Christian discussant, Papiscus is the Jewish discussant, Papiscus is an “Alexandrian Jew,”¹¹ Jason’s teaching regarding the “Holy Spirit was victorious in the heart of Papiscus,” and Papiscus asked to be baptized (“receive the seal”) by Jason.¹² Like Jerome, Celsus Africanus also records that the dialogue was written in Greek.

John of Scythopolis¹³ mentions *Jason and Papiscus* in a writing dated to the early sixth century CE.¹⁴ John’s reference is brief, but important. John records that Clement of Alexandria, in the sixth book of Clement’s now lost work *Hypotyposes* (c. late second century CE), claimed Luke the Evangelist was the author of *Jason*

⁶ Section 1.2 in the Appendix.

⁷ Section 2 in the Appendix. This is a quotation of Deut 21:23. The reason Jerome mentions this section from Deut is because Paul mentions it in Gal 3:13.

⁸ Section 3 in the Appendix.

⁹ See section 6 in the Appendix. See also section V.C below.

¹⁰ Section 4 in the Appendix.

¹¹ See section V.D below.

¹² Section 4 in the Appendix.

¹³ For generations, this section was attributed to Maximus Confessor. It was only through the work of Rorem and Lamoreaux that John of Scythopolis was identified as the author of this section. See Paul Rorem and J.C. Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus: Annotating the Areopagite* (O ECS; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

¹⁴ Section 5 in the Appendix.

and *Papiscus*. John corrects this attribution and assigns *Jason and Papiscus* to the pen of Ariston of Pella. John is the lone source for this information regarding Ariston of Pella as author of the dialogue. Until the discovery of the Sinaiticus fragment, John was also the lone source regarding the tradition that Luke the Evangelist was author of the dialogue. John further records that he read about the “seven heavens” in *Jason and Papiscus*; the “seven heavens” are not mentioned in the Sinaiticus fragment.

■ II. An Overview of Previous Scholarly Theories Regarding *Jason and Papiscus*

Before the publication of the Sinaiticus fragment, scholarly studies of *Jason and Papiscus* generally regarded speculation about the contents of the lost dialogue to be pointless.¹⁵ After all, two summaries of the dialogue existed (Origen and Celsus Africanus), both summaries agreed with one another and both presented a Jewish-Christian dialogue that was similar to both roughly contemporary Jewish-Christian dialogues¹⁶ and those that came after it.¹⁷ Because of this, scholarly work on *Jason and Papiscus* tended to focus on the question of authorship.¹⁸ John of Scythopolis’ information that Ariston of Pella was the author of *Jason and Papiscus* forever linked the dialogue to the mysterious writer from Pella. As a result, most scholarly examinations of *Jason and Papiscus* also contained an investigation of Ariston of Pella. This immediately presented a problem, as John’s information about *Jason*

¹⁵ For more information about the reasoning behind this sentiment, see: Johann Albert Fabricius, *Delectus argumentorum et syllabus scriptorum qui veritatem religionis Christianae adversus atheos, epicureos, Deistas seu naturalistas, idololatrias, judaeos et muhamedanos lucubrationibus suis asseruerunt* (1715; repr., Hamburg: Felginer, 1725) 152–53; Martinus Josephus Routh, “Aristo Pellaeus,” in *Reliquiae sacrae* (rev. ed.; 5 vols.; Oxford: University Press, 1846–1848; repr., New York: Hildesheim, 1974) 94–109.

¹⁶ Justin Martyr’s 2nd-century *Dialogue with Trypho*. *Jason and Papiscus* is also similar to fragments of 2nd-century Christian dialogues with non-Christians such as the *Dialogue of Rhodon with Apelles* (also known as the *Conversation of Apelles with Rhodon*) and *Octavius and Caecilius* (also known as Marcus Minucius Felix’s *Octavius*).

¹⁷ Such as: *Simon and Theophilus*, *Gregentius and Herbanus*, *Timothy and Aquila*, *Athanasius and Zacchaeus* and *Papiscus and Philo*. There have been scholarly attempts to demonstrate that part or the entirety of *Jason and Papiscus* was preserved in a later Jewish-Christian dialogue, but these attempts have been unsuccessful. See section IV.C below.

¹⁸ For studies of this type, see: Andreas Gallandius, “Prolegomena,” in vol. 1 of *Bibliotheca Graeco-Latina veterum Patrum* (Venice: Albritti, 1765), repr. as “Notitia” in “Aristo Pellaeus,” *PG* 5, columns 1271–86; J. K. Theodor von Otto, “Aristo,” in *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi* (Jena: Dufft, 1861–1881; repr., 9 vols.; Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969), 9:349–63; Louis Ginzberg, “Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern und in der apokryphischen Litteratur,” *MGWJ* 42 (1898) 537–50; Adolf Harnack, “Das dem Aristo von Pella beigelegte Werk: Jason’s und Papiskus’ Disputation über Christus,” in *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des 2. Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter* (TUGAL 1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1882) 115–30; Louis Ginzberg, “Aristo of Pella (in the Decaoplis),” in *JE* 2:95; Andreas Külzer, *Disputationes Graecae contra Iudaeos* (Byzantinisches Archiv 18; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1999) 95–97, 122–24.

and *Papiscus* also referenced an apparently parallel tradition that another author wrote *Jason and Papiscus*: Luke the Evangelist.¹⁹

The possibility of two authors was an impediment to forming conclusions about *Jason and Papiscus*, particularly regarding attempts to date the dialogue. Eusebius,²⁰ the *Chronicon Paschale*,²¹ and Moses of Khorene²² were in agreement that Ariston of Pella lived during the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135/136 CE); all three works refer to information about the revolt that they attributed to Ariston. If Ariston was the author of *Jason and Papiscus*, the dialogue could be dated to roughly the third decade of the second century, the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt. The possibility that Luke was the author of *Jason and Papiscus* changed the dating and implied that—at the latest—*Jason and Papiscus* was written at the end of the first century CE.

J. E. Grabe's early (1699) investigation of both *Jason and Papiscus* and Ariston contained what became the most popular scholarly explanation of Clement's reference to Luke as author of *Jason and Papiscus*.²³ Grabe focused in on what he claimed was a mistake in the Greek text of John of Scythopolis' reference to Clement of Alexandria. Grabe "corrected" the Greek text and effectively did away with the reference to Luke the Evangelist as author of *Jason and Papiscus*.²⁴ As a result of Grabe's work, many scholars accepted that only one person was mentioned as the author of *Jason and Papiscus*: Ariston of Pella. Grabe's theory lived on into the twenty-first century,²⁵ before it was challenged by a detailed investigation of the Clement reference²⁶ and then disproven by the Sinaiticus fragment itself, which indisputably refers to Luke the Evangelist as author of *Jason and Papiscus* on two separate occasions.²⁷

¹⁹ See Section IV.A below.

²⁰ *Hist. eccl.* 4.6.

²¹ *Chronicon Paschale*, Year 134. For more information about this reference, see Harry Tolley, "Ariston of Pella's Lost Apology for Christianity," *Hermes* 146 (2018) 90–100.

²² Moses of Khorene (also known as Movses Khorenatsi), *History of Armenia*, 2.60.

²³ Johannes Ernest Grabe, "Aristo Pellaeus," in *Spicilegium SS. Patrum, ut et Haereticorum, Seculi post Christum natum I. II. & III* (Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1698–1699), 2:127–33.

²⁴ For more detailed information about how Grabe achieved this end, see Harry Tolley, "Clement of Alexandria's Reference to Luke the Evangelist as Author of *Jason and Papiscus*," *JTS* 63 (2012) 523–32.

²⁵ See Andrew J. Carriker, *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea* (VCSup 67; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 191–93; Lawrence Lahey, "Evidence for Jewish Believers in Christian-Jewish Dialogues through the Sixth Century (excluding Justin)," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (ed. Oskar Skarsaune and Reider Hvalvik; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007) 581–639.

²⁶ Tolley, "Clement of Alexandria," 523–32.

²⁷ Section 6 in the Appendix; see also section IV.A below.

■ III. A Summary of the Discovery of the Sinaiticus Fragment, an Examination of its Previous Publications and Physical Description of the Fragment

While doing research in the library of St. Catherine's monastery in the Sinai Desert, Dr. John Duffy unexpectedly discovered a large fragment of *Jason and Papiscus* (hereafter referred to as the Sinaiticus fragment).²⁸ Duffy was specifically searching St. Catherine's library for works by Sophronius, the seventh-century CE Patriarch of Jerusalem. During this search, Duffy began reading a work designated *Sinaiticus graecus* 1807, an anonymous book of collected excerpts and commentary that focused on the dates and origins of important Christian events.²⁹ While the book had been catalogued previously by Vladimir Benešević, the contents of the book had only been briefly summarized.³⁰ Duffy read through the first group of folios in the book and discovered a previously unknown homily on the Feast of the Circumcision by Sophronius. The sermon is internally dated to Sunday, 1 January 635 CE.³¹ In the course of the homily, Sophronius indicates that he is going to expound upon a certain point and then introduces *Jason and Papiscus*, "The meaning of this . . . is mentioned in another work . . . the *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*."³² Twenty-nine uninterrupted lines of text from the lost Jewish-Christian dialogue follow.

A. Duffy's Initial Publication of the Fragment

Duffy's initial publication of the Sinaiticus fragment focused primarily on demonstrating that the homily that contained the fragment was indeed written by Sophronius of Jerusalem.³³ The treatment of the Sinaiticus fragment in this initial article is brief but involved, although Duffy's attempts to reason out some

²⁸ Duffy, "New Fragments," 15–28.

²⁹ Duffy suggests that the book was probably written in the 16th century. He quotes Dr. Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann, who notes the possibility "that the (author of the book) may have copied an actual Hodegon manuscript" (ibid., 15 n. 2). Vladimir Benešević examined *Sinaiticus graecus* 1807 in the early 20th cent. (but noticed neither the Sophronius sermon nor the *Jason and Papiscus* fragment) and concluded that the book dated from the 15th century or possibly the 16th century. Vladimir Benešević, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur* (St. Petersburg, 1917; vols. 1 and 3.1 repr., 2 vols.; Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1965) 2:212–14.

³⁰ In his description of *Sinaiticus graecus* 1807, Vladimir Benešević noted that folios 4 recto – 136 verso were one group. He briefly described the entire group as "Starting off (with a) synopsis of Michael Attaliota" ("Синопись Михаила Аталіота. пачиная съ") and then recorded a partial sentence from this large group of folios before moving on to folios 137 recto to 140 recto and so on (Benešević, *Catalogus codicum*, 2:217). It is remarkable that Duffy (who consulted Benešević's work) did not simply think of the entire section as a writing of the 11th-century CE Byzantine historian Michael Attaliates ("Michael Attaliota") and move on to another section or some other work.

³¹ Duffy, "New Fragments," 24.

³² Section 6 in Appendix, lines 1–5.

³³ Duffy, "New Fragments," 1–24.

of Harnack's theories about *Jason and Papiscus* are somewhat distracting.³⁴ Nonetheless, the establishment of Sophronius as author of the homily was accomplished.³⁵ This important achievement helps to demonstrate that the Sinaiticus fragment of *Jason and Papiscus* is indeed authentic and was recorded by a reliable writer.³⁶

B. Bovon and Duffy's Publication of the Sinaiticus Fragment

Working with François Bovon, Duffy later published a separate article solely on the Sinaiticus fragment.³⁷ The article begins with an outline of the extant ancient references to *Jason and Papiscus*, then briefly summarizes previous scholarship on the dialogue, before presenting the full Greek text of the Sinaiticus fragment. This printed version of the Greek text is updated from its previous publication, with Duffy providing several helpful corrections to some small scribal mistakes found in the original Greek text.³⁸ Duffy and Bovon also provide, for the first time, an English translation of the Sinaiticus fragment. A section of comments on the Sinaiticus fragment and *Jason and Papiscus* follows.

While providing a good introduction to the Sinaiticus fragment, Duffy and Bovon fall into the same pattern set by previous studies: a focus on Ariston of Pella. As mentioned above, one of the main reasons Ariston became the focus of scholarship regarding *Jason and Papiscus* was because there simply was not enough tangible information about the dialogue itself to warrant a detailed investigation. This is not to say that there was a great deal of information available about Ariston of Pella at the time Duffy and Bovon wrote their article; there was not. A study published after Duffy and Bovon's article demonstrated that Ariston of Pella was indeed a Christian writer of the second century CE,³⁹ but at the time their article was written, Duffy and Bovon could only assume that Ariston was a Christian, a writer, and active in the second century. The acceptance of these assumptions as fact, in turn, led the article's focus away from the relationship between the Sinaiticus fragment and *Jason and Papiscus*, and instead attributed unwarranted importance to the relationship between Ariston of Pella and *Jason and Papiscus*.⁴⁰

Further, Bovon and Duffy's article is lacking several essential components. There is no information regarding where the Sinaiticus fragment is actually located in

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 24–28. See also section IV.C below.

³⁵ Duffy, "New Fragments," 18–24.

³⁶ "The material from the *Dialogue* is the only part of the sermon fragments that is not written according to the patriarch's rhythmical formula of the clausula, and this in turn conforms to the patriarch's normal practice elsewhere when he quotes from Scripture and other texts . . ." (*ibid.*, 27). See also section III.C below for further information.

³⁷ François Bovon and John M. Duffy, "A New Greek Fragment from Ariston of Pella's *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*," *HTR* 105 (2012) 457–65.

³⁸ Bovon and Duffy, "Greek Fragment," 461–63.

³⁹ Tolley, "Ariston," 90–100.

⁴⁰ Bovon and Duffy, "Greek Fragment," 459–60.

Sinaiticus graecus 1807; that information is only in Duffy's previous work. As a corollary to this, the actual length of the *Sinaiticus* fragment is not included in this article; this information also only occurs in Duffy's previous article. Perhaps most vexing is that all previously known ancient references to and quotations from *Jason and Papisus* are dutifully catalogued, but quotations of these sources are left out. Further, while Bovon and Duffy's article details the discovery of the fragment, the article contains little reflection on or contextualization about exactly how and what the publication of this discovery changes regarding our knowledge of *Jason and Papisus*, other Christian works, or Christianity in general.

C. Physical Description of the *Sinaiticus* Fragment⁴¹

Sinaiticus graecus 1807 consists of 128 folios of parchment, with Greek text written recto and verso.⁴² The text is in Greek miniscule script with a fair number of ligatures. The text has good word spacing; the letters are clearly formed and well preserved. Each page consists of an average of 24 lines of text with an average of seven to eight words per line. The digital images reveal that previous numberings of the folio were off by one folio side.⁴³ In this particular section of *Sinaiticus graecus* 1807, the unknown author/collector was interested in the Christian Sabbath (κυριακῆ ἡμέρα, "the Lord's day"). The author/collector begins his study of the Sabbath with a brief quotation from a previously known work by Sophronius: the Sermon on the Nativity.⁴⁴ After this quote, the author/collector moves on to the previously unknown homily on the Feast of the Circumcision with the words "τοῦ αὐτοῦ," indicating that this excerpt is also from Sophronius.⁴⁵

The section of Sophronius' homily on the Feast of the Circumcision that introduces *Jason and Papisus* begins at line 14 of folio 6 recto.⁴⁶ *Jason and*

⁴¹ See section 8 for images of the *Sinaiticus* fragment.

⁴² 128 folios would equal 256 pages of text.

⁴³ One can see clearly where, at some point in the past, someone wrote consecutive Arabic numerals in the upper right corner on the recto of each folio. Duffy's numbering is exactly one folio side off from the new images. Thus, when we refer to "6 verso," Duffy has "7 recto," and so on. Section 6 in the Appendix follows the new numbering of folios; it does not follow Duffy's numbering of folios. For the convenience of the reader: one page (recto and verso) is considered one folio.

⁴⁴ This sermon can be found in Christoph Von Schönborn, *Sophrone de Jérusalem: Vie monastique et confession dogmatique* (Théologie historique 20; Paris: Beauchesne, 1972). See also Duffy, "New Fragments," 15.

⁴⁵ Duffy notes this indication, but also goes on to demonstrate Sophronius' authorship using comparisons to Sophronius' known works. Duffy points out the close similarities between the Patriarch's interesting usage of "prose rhythm, using the so-called clausula . . ." (Duffy, "New Fragments," 20) found in both the Patriarch's previously known works and the new homily. By using two different avenues of investigation that result in the same conclusion, Duffy establishes a compelling case for Sophronius as author of the homily on the Feast of the Circumcision. Further, Duffy points out that this unique style is confined to the Sophronius material (*ibid.*, 24–26) and does not carry over to the *Jason and Papisus* quotation, further strengthening the possibility that Sophronius was copying *Jason and Papisus* from a text at hand, rather than memory.

⁴⁶ With the words, "Among other things, Luke . . ." (καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα Λουκᾶς . . .). See section

Papiscus is first mentioned at lines 21 and 22 of folio 6 recto. The fragment of *Jason and Papiscus* begins with the first line of folio 6 verso with the words, “(Papiscus) posed the question, Papiscus said, ‘I would. . . .’”⁴⁷ The fragment of *Jason and Papiscus* then continues on and takes up the entire page of folio 6 verso, 23 uninterrupted lines. The fragment continues on to folio 7 recto where it takes up five lines at the top of the page. Sophronius’ closing remarks⁴⁸ follow and run for 14 lines. The end of the closing remarks are the end of the quotation of Sophronius’ homily. The writer/collector then moves on to another topic.⁴⁹

■ IV. Previous Observations Reexamined In Light of the Sinaiticus Fragment

This section deals with previous observations about *Jason and Papiscus* that were the subject of debate in scholarship. The information found in the Sinaiticus fragment has impacted several of these observations.

A. Lukan Authorship of *Jason and Papiscus*

Before the discovery of the Sinaiticus fragment, the tradition that Luke the Evangelist wrote *Jason and Papiscus* was found only in John of Scythopolis’ section of *Notes on the Mystic Theology of Dionysius the Areopagite* (c. 537 CE), wherein John attributes the tradition of Lukan authorship to Clement of Alexandria.⁵⁰ This attribution was the subject of a great deal of debate in scholarly studies.⁵¹

The Sinaiticus fragment confirms the existence of the tradition that Luke the Evangelist wrote *Jason and Papiscus*. In the framing sequences of the Sinaiticus fragment, Sophronius twice attributes *Jason and Papiscus* to Luke the Evangelist. In introducing the dialogue, Sophronius writes, “Luke certainly and clearly initiates us into this illuminating and lovely knowledge. The meaning of this typology is not in the divine gospel, nor is it in what he wrote about the acts of the Apostles,

6 in the Appendix for the full section of text.

⁴⁷ τὴν ἐρώτησιν, Πάπισκος εἶπεν “ἦθελον. . . .” Section 6 in the Appendix. Again, the line numbers in section 6 are Duffy’s numbering of only the lines of the Sinaiticus fragment, not the line numbers of each section of *Sinaiticus graecus* 1807.

⁴⁸ These remarks are included in section 6 in the Appendix.

⁴⁹ The next work focuses on a ruler named Gregory (Γρηγορίου). It is a relatively long work (or excerpt), occupying folios 7 recto to 10 verso. It seems to feature King Gregory “The Patrician” (600[?]-646 CE), a contemporary of Sophronius of Jerusalem. To the best of the current author’s ability to determine, the work is unattested outside of *Sinaiticus graecus* 1807. This work is, unfortunately, outside the scope of the current article. It is worthwhile to note that this work is not listed in Benešević’s brief overview of folios 4 recto to 136 verso. See Benešević, *Catalogus codicum*, 217.

⁵⁰ John of Scythopolis states that the tradition came from Clement of Alexandria and then corrects the tradition and attributes the authorship of the dialogue to Ariston of Pella. See Section 5 in Appendix.

⁵¹ See also section II above, for more information; see Tolley, “Clement of Alexandria” for a detailed examination.

but it is mentioned in another work of his, and which having been devised in the form of a dialogue he named the *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*.⁵² Later on in his sermon, Sophronius also noted, “And these things Luke, the divinely sweet (author) of the *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus* taught by (his) writing.”⁵³ Another important point is that Sophronius wrote the homily from which the Sinaiticus fragment came in 635 CE; this date provides a new *terminus ante quem* for the Lukan authorship tradition.

While the Sinaiticus fragment clearly indicates Sophronius was a believer in Lukan authorship of *Jason and Papiscus*,⁵⁴ we cannot currently know for certain where Sophronius received this tradition. Sophronius could have been reliant upon Clement of Alexandria for this information, or perhaps Sophronius’ copy of *Jason and Papiscus* contained some type of information that perpetuated the tradition. Nonetheless, the Sinaiticus fragment allows us to conclude that John of Scythopolis’ attempt to correct the tradition and associate *Jason and Papiscus* with Ariston of Pella was not entirely successful, as over a hundred years after the attempt, the highest-ranking Christian ἐπίσκοπος of the city of Jerusalem (located roughly 130 km away from Beth Shean/Scythopolis) still openly stated that Luke the Evangelist wrote the dialogue.

With the Sinaiticus fragment, we can now update the literary appearances of the tradition of Lukan authorship of *Jason and Papiscus*: Clement of Alexandria knew of the tradition in Egypt near the end of the second century CE and accepted it; John of Scythopolis knew of the tradition—and corrected it—in Scythopolis/Beth Shean in the early sixth century CE; Sophronius knew of the tradition in Jerusalem in the second quarter of the seventh century CE and accepted it.

B. Independent Circulation of Jason and Papiscus

In Origen’s work, *Against Celsus*, we learn that the pagan writer Celsus wrote a criticism of Christianity which utilized *Jason and Papiscus* as an example of Christian writings he regarded as “nonsensical foolishness.”⁵⁵ In this critique, Celsus did not refer to *Jason and Papiscus* as being part of a collection. Rather, he refers to the dialogue directly and by name. Origen follows this same practice and also specifically refers to the dialogue as a separate writing or book.⁵⁶ It is also possible that Origen made a reference to the length or physical size of *Jason and Papiscus*. In the section in question, Origen writes, “Nevertheless, I could wish that all . . .

⁵² Section 6 in the Appendix, lines 1–5.

⁵³ Section 6 in the Appendix, lines 26–27.

⁵⁴ Before quoting *Jason and Papiscus*, Sophronius seems eager to introduce the dialogue, describing it as “certainly and clearly” bringing to the reader “illuminating and lovely knowledge” (Section 6 in the Appendix, lines 1–2).

⁵⁵ This work was known as *True Doctrine* (Ἀληθῆς λόγος) and is believed to have been written in the mid–2nd cent. CE. See section 1.1 in the Appendix. See also section V.D below.

⁵⁶ Section 1.2 in the Appendix. In these passages, neither Celsus nor Origen makes any reference to the author of *Jason and Papiscus*.

could take the little writing into his hands. . . .”⁵⁷ Here, Origen describes the work as *συγγραμμάτιον*⁵⁸ which is a diminutive form of the word *σύγγραμμα* and can mean “the little writing” or perhaps “the little book.”⁵⁹ This may also be a further indication that *Jason and Papiscus* circulated independently.

The writings of Celsus Africanus provide evidence of a separately circulating Latin translation of *Jason and Papiscus*.⁶⁰ At the end of the fifth century CE, Celsus Africanus translated *Jason and Papiscus* from Greek to Latin and sent the translation—along with an introduction and outline of the translation—to the man he called Bishop Vigilius. Unfortunately, the introductory outline to the translation is all that survives.

In the framing sequences of the Sinaiticus fragment, Sophronius refers to *Jason and Papiscus* as “*συγγράμματι*” (written work or book) twice.⁶¹ This indicates that Sophronius also regarded *Jason and Papiscus* as a separate work, unassociated with any other dialogue, and—because of his belief in Lukan authorship of the dialogue—a book he held in the highest esteem.

C. The Possibility that *Jason and Papiscus* Circulated under another Title

It has already been established that the material found in previously known fragments of *Jason and Papiscus* was not quoted in any other Jewish-Christian dialogue.⁶² The same can now be said about the material from the Sinaiticus fragment: it is not quoted or used in any other known Jewish-Christian dialogue. As a corollary to this, we may also safely state that the Sinaiticus fragment further demonstrates that *Jason and Papiscus* was not copied or translated into Latin and

⁵⁷ Section 1.2 in the Appendix.

⁵⁸ Harnack suggested that Origen’s usage of the word may have also been a pun meant to further disparage *Jason and Papiscus*: “. . . hat in dem Schriftchen (*συγγραμμάτιον* nennt es Origenes) die vulgäre Art erkannt. . . .” With the new information from the Sinaiticus fragment, this possibility seems unlikely. See Harnack, “Aristo,” 116 n. 1.

⁵⁹ The usage of *συγγραμμάτιον* to refer specifically to a small/short length writing or book can also be found in the following works: Longinus, *On the Sublime* 1.1: Τὸ μὲν τοῦ Καικιλίου συγγραμμάτιον . . . ; Lucian, *Herodotus* 1: . . . καὶ περιβόητος γένοιτο καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ συγγραμμάτια; among others.

⁶⁰ Section 4 in the Appendix. Harnack’s analysis of Celsus Africanus’ Latin introduction and outline of *Jason and Papiscus* is still unsurpassed. See Harnack, “Aristo,” 120–21 (see especially n. 1).

⁶¹ Section 6 in the Appendix, line 4 and line 6.

⁶² Theodor Zahn, “Über die ‘Altercatio legis inter Simonem Judaeum et Theophilum Christianum’ des Euagrius und deren ältere Grundlage,” in *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchen Literatur* (Erlangen: Deichert, 1884) 311–12; Peter Corsen, *Die Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani* (Jever: Mettcker & Sons, 1890) 1–34; Ginzberg, “Aristo of Pella,” 2:95.

distributed with a different title.⁶³ The reasons for these occurrences are currently unknown.⁶⁴

■ V. New Observations in Light of the Sinaiticus Fragment

The following section details new observations regarding the text of the Sinaiticus fragment. If any component of these new observations were made previously, the current author has made every attempt to note it.

A. All Quotations of the Bible Found in Fragments of Jason and Papiscus are from Mosaic Material

When examined with previously known fragments of the dialogue, the Sinaiticus fragment demonstrates further the exclusive use of Mosaic material by the two discussants as the foundation of their arguments.⁶⁵ The use of the term “Mosaic material” denotes both identifiable quotations from the Pentateuch/Torah and references to and quotations from writings cited by the author of the document as Mosaic with no parallel in any known Mosaic work. *Jason and Papiscus*’s apparently exclusive utilization of Mosaic material is unlike any other Jewish-Christian dialogue currently known. This fits in with Origen’s description of *Jason and Papiscus* as “a writing in which a Christian discusses with a Jew by means of Jewish scripture. . . .”⁶⁶

Being limited to the Mosaic material certainly does not hinder the creativity of the Christian respondent Jason. Among other examples, Jason uses quotations from this material to claim that “Christ” was active in the creation of the world⁶⁷ and also utilizes quotations of Mosaic material to claim that the Christian holy day of Sunday was originally established by both God and Moses as a day holier than the Jewish Sabbath.⁶⁸

⁶³ Harnack (*Die Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani nebst Untersuchungen über die antijüdische Polemik in der alten Kirche* [TUGAL 3; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883]) proposed that the 5th cent. CE Jewish-Christian dialogue *Simon and Theophilus* (also known as *The Altercatio of Evagrius*) was, in actuality, a Latin translation of *Jason and Papiscus*. After much criticism from his scholarly peers, Harnack later openly retracted the theory (*Geschichte der Aitchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* [2 vols.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1893–1904; 2nd exp. ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1958] 1.1:95. Page number taken from the 2nd edition.).

⁶⁴ Perhaps the association with Luke the Evangelist is behind this; perhaps it is because *Jason and Papiscus* developed a poor reputation. We simply do not know.

⁶⁵ See also V.D below, for more information on Mosaic material in the Sinaiticus fragment.

⁶⁶ Section 1.2. in the Appendix.

⁶⁷ Section 6 in the Appendix, lines 13–15.

⁶⁸ Section 6 in the Appendix, lines 9–13.

B. There are Many Similarities between Jason and Papiscus and the Epistle of Barnabas

The Sinaiticus fragment of *Jason and Papiscus* contains several similarities with the *Epistle of Barnabas*. Perhaps most striking is a Greek quotation of the Pentateuch/Torah used by the Christian discussant Jason.⁶⁹ The section reads: “In this way, God commanded this through Moses, saying: ‘Behold! I am making the last things just as the first.’”⁷⁰ From the way this section is constructed, it seems clear that Jason is quoting what he considered the Pentateuch/Torah.

Upon first impression, one could contend that perhaps the author of the dialogue intended to portray Jason as quoting a document other than the Pentateuch/Torah. The next section, however, negates this possibility: “. . . the beginning of the entire universe took place, as also the scripture of Moses mentions, just as God spoke, ‘let there be light and there was light.’”⁷¹ The inclusion of the Greek words “ὡς καὶ” in the second quotation indicates that the author of Jason’s narrative regarded both the first quotation about the “last things” and the second quotation about “let there be light” as part of the “scripture of Moses.”

It is important to point out that while the author of *Jason and Papiscus* regarded the “last things” quotation as part of the “scripture of Moses,” the quotation is not in the current received text of the Hebrew Torah or in any current edition of the Old Greek Pentateuch. However, this “last things” section can be found in Barn. 6.13 in a construction nearly identical to that found in the Sinaiticus fragment: “And the Lord says, ‘Behold! I am making the last things just as the first.’”⁷²

In this section of Barnabas, which is entitled, “What Does the Other Prophet, Moses, Say to Them,”⁷³ Barnabas takes various quotations from the writings of Moses (the Pentateuch/Torah) and expounds on how the quotations refer to Christ.⁷⁴ In this particular line, Barnabas clearly presents “Behold! I am making . . .” as a statement of God (“the Lord says . . .”). However, due to both the construction of the section and the fact that “Behold! I am making . . .” is not in any current copy of the Pentateuch/Torah, it was previously difficult to determine if Barnabas claimed the quote was from Mosaic material. The fact that this same quote is used

⁶⁹ This particular parallel was first pointed out in Duffy, “New Fragments,” 25. While Duffy (“New Fragments,” 25) and later Duffy and Bovon (“Greek Fragment,” 463) note that some scholars accepted the brief section from Barnabas as an *agraphon*, it is important to note that the way the Sinaiticus fragment uses this section certainly lends a great deal of credence to the possibility that this section is indeed an *agraphon*.

⁷⁰ Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα. Section 6 in the Appendix, line 10.

⁷¹ Τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου γίνεται, ὡς καὶ ἡ γραφὴ Μουσεῶς μνηνεῖ, καθὼς λέγει ὁ θεὸς “γενηθῆτω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς.” Section 6 in the Appendix, lines 12–13. “Let there be light and there was light” is from Gen 1:3.

⁷² Barn. 6.13: Ἰδοὺ ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα. Greek text of Barnabas from *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations* (ed. and trans. M. W. Holmes; 3rd ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007).

⁷³ Barn. 6.8: τί λέγει ὁ ἄλλος προφήτης Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῖς.

⁷⁴ Barn. 6.8–19.

by *Jason and Papiscus* and is explicitly referred to in the dialogue as coming from the “scripture of Moses” indicates that Barnabas used the quote in the same way: as a quotation of what the author believed to be Mosaic material.

Another point of close similarity between *Jason and Papiscus* and Barnabas is a claim from the Sinaiticus fragment that God established an “eighth day” (“ὄγδοάδα”) as the Christian Sabbath. In the Sinaiticus fragment, Jason says, “it is the day of the coming of ages; it falls on the eighth but is about to raise up the righteous in incorruption, in the Kingdom of God. . . . For the day of the Sabbath falls into rest, because it is the seventh day.”⁷⁵ Barn. 15.8 has the same concept along with similar language, “(God) is saying your present Sabbaths are not acceptable to me, but (the Sabbath) which I have prepared, in which, when I have rested everything, I will make the beginning of an eighth day—that is, the beginning of another world.”⁷⁶ This conception of the Christian Sabbath has no known parallel outside of *Jason and Papiscus* and Barnabas.

The Sinaiticus fragment also claims that on this “new Sabbath,” “(the Messiah) rose again from the dead . . . and after he was seen (by) his disciples, that is to say his apostles, he went up to heaven.”⁷⁷ Barn. 15.9 has strikingly similar language, “Therefore, we also observe the eighth day as a time of rejoicing, for on it Jesus both arose from the dead and after he had appeared (again) ascended into the heavens.”⁷⁸

C. The Sinaiticus Fragment Contains a Unique Section that Describes the Logos of God and its Role in Creation

The section occurs in lines 13–15 of the Sinaiticus fragment, after a section where Jason has just recited Gen 1:3 to Papiscus, “Let there be light and there was light.” Jason continues, saying, “The Logos which came forth from God and made the light was Christ, the son of God through whom all things came to be.”⁷⁹ This is similar to the canonical Gospel of John 1:1 and 1:3: “. . . and the Logos was with God and God was the Logos . . . through him all (things) came to be.”⁸⁰ This seems

⁷⁵ και ὅτι αὐτῆ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν αἰῶνων ἡμέρα, εἰς ὄγδοάδα πίπτουσα καὶ μέλλουσα ἀνατέλλειν τοῖς δικαίοις ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἡ τοῦ σαββάτου πίπτει εἰς καταπαυσιν διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν τῆς ἐβδομάδος. Section 6 in the Appendix, lines 20–24.

⁷⁶ Barn. 15.8: ὁρᾶτε, πὼς λέγει οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα ἐμοὶ δεκτά, ἀλλὰ ὁ πεποιήκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὄγδοῆς ποιήσω, ὃ ἐστὶν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχὴν.

⁷⁷ και παθὼν ἀνέστη ἅλιν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὄφθει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, τουτέστιν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἐπορεύθη. Section 6 in the Appendix, lines 18–20.

⁷⁸ Barn. 15.9: διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὄγδοὴν εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοὺς. It is not clear if *Jason and Papiscus* and Barnabas mean that Jesus was resurrected, appeared to his disciples, and ascended to heaven all in the same day. If so, this is completely different from the tradition found in the Acts of the Apostles, where Jesus was resurrected, appeared to his disciples, and then kept appearing to them for a period of forty days before ascending to heaven. This forty-day date of the ascension after the resurrection is part of the Christian “Feast of Ascension.” See Acts 1:3.

⁷⁹ ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐξεληθὼν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ φῶς ποιήσας ἦν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δι’ οὗ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἐγένετο. Section 6 in the Appendix, lines 13–15.

⁸⁰ John 1:1 and 1:3: καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος . . . πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ

to be the section of *Jason and Papiscus* that Jerome goes to great lengths to correct in his work *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*.⁸¹

In this section, the Sinaiticus fragment is unambiguous regarding the identity of the Logos: it is Christ, “The Logos . . . was Christ. . . .” The similar section from John does not contain this identification, and it does not mention “Christ” at all. John is, however, clear about the Logos’ role in relation to God: “. . . the Logos was from God and God was the Logos. . . .” The Logos section from the Sinaiticus fragment does not refer to this concept in any way. In fact, the arrangement of words in the Sinaiticus fragment could leave the section open to a different interpretation, “The Logos which came forth from God and made the light was Christ, the son of God. . . .” The Logos is Christ and Christ is the son of God, but at no point does this section put forth the teaching that Christ is also God.

Jason and Papiscus’ trinitarian imprecision about the nature of Christ as God could have left the dialogue open to accusations of vacillation or heresy.⁸² In early Christian communities of the second–fourth centuries CE, there were differences of opinion regarding trinitarian concepts and, relatively quickly, differences of opinion turned into internecine accusations and schism.⁸³ A common charge was that of “subordination:” teaching that Christ “the Son” came after, was created by, or was in any way subordinate to God “the Father.”⁸⁴ The Logos concept played an important role in several teachings about the nature of Christ later dubbed schismatic or heretical, and the adherents of these teachings often pointed to the Logos and

ἐγένετο. . . . Greek text of New Testament from NA28.

⁸¹ Section 3 in the Appendix. Louis Ginzberg (citing this quotation of *Jason and Papiscus* by Jerome) suggested that *Jason and Papiscus* represented a Christian Midrash about the Logos. See Ginzberg, “Die Haggada,” 539. See also section I. above.

⁸² Perhaps this might explain why Ariston of Pella, claimed by John of Scythopolis as author of *Jason and Papiscus*, is left out of Jerome’s *On Illustrious Men*, even though Jerome quoted from the dialogue on two separate occasions (sections 2 and 3 in the Appendix). However, some Christian elites, such as Sophronius of Jerusalem (section 6 in the Appendix) continued to make use of *Jason and Papiscus*, believing that it was written by Luke the Evangelist. Others, such as John of Scythopolis (section 5 in the Appendix), wrote to challenge the dialogue’s authorship and therefore also its reputation.

⁸³ According to Hippolytus (d. ca. 235 CE) incorrect teachings about the divine nature of Christ were started by Sabellius, Praxeas, and Cleomenes in Rome and Noetus in Smyrna (Hippolytus of Rome, *Haer.*, Books 9–11 and Hippolytus, *Against Noetus*). Similar teachings were started by Paul of Samosata, who began the Paulianist movement in Antioch around 260 CE (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.26–30). Paulianism is specifically addressed [and condemned] in Canon 19 of the First Council of Nicaea. Interestingly, Clement of Alexandria’s work *Hypotyposesis* (which John of Scythopolis quotes as containing the earliest information that Luke the Evangelist wrote *Jason and Papiscus*) was accused of heresy for a similar reason by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the 9th century. See Photius’s *Library*, summary 109.

⁸⁴ Subordination was a key component of Arianism. Socrates of Constantinople (also known as Socrates Scholasticus) records the dispute between bishop Alexander and Arius, the eponymous founder of Arianism, in his *Ecclesiastical History* 1.5 (*Socrate de Constantinople: Histoire ecclésiastique. Livre I.* [ed. and trans. Pierre Périchon and Pierre Maraval; SC 477; Paris: Cerf, 2004] 60–61).

its occurrence in the Gospel of John as “proof” of their own opinion.⁸⁵ The Council of Nicaea (325 CE) attempted to address these and other matters and issued the Nicene Creed, which specifically addresses Christ’s role as Son in the Trinity.⁸⁶ Finally, it must be stated that the expression of the Logos concept found in *Jason and Papiscus* could be related to pre-Christian traditions about the Logos of God.⁸⁷

D. The Sinaitic Fragment is Similar to the Fragments of Aristobulus of Alexandria

The majority of the surviving fragments of Aristobulus of Alexandria’s⁸⁸ writings are preserved in Eusebius’s *Preparation of the Gospel* and Clement of Alexandria’s *Stromateis* and *Exhortation to the Greeks*. Eusebius quotes Aristobulus in a coherent, well-documented way; the same cannot be said regarding how the material appears in Clement.⁸⁹ For this reason, the Aristobulus material utilized hereafter is from

⁸⁵ See Hans Schwarz, *The Trinity: The Central Mystery of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 2017) 35–56.

⁸⁶ Athanasius of Alexandria’s work “*Letter Concerning the Decrees of the Council of Nicaea*” (*De Decretis*) is a good overview of the events of the council. See H.C. Brennecke, U. Heil, and A. Von Stockhausen, “De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi,” in *Die Apologien* (ed. H. C. Brennecke, U. Heil, and A. Von Stockhausen; vol. 2 of *Athanasius Alexandrinus Werke*; New York: De Gruyter, 2006) xci–xcvii. The section of the Nicene Creed that addresses Christ’s role in creation is: “Through whom all things were made . . . (δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο . . .).” Greek text from “Eusebius of Caesarea’s Letter on the Council of Nicaea,” in Socrates’s *Ecclesiastical History* 1.8 (SC 477: 89–103). This seems to be a clear reference to the belief that it was Christ as Logos through whom the physical world came into existence. However, the word Logos is conspicuous by its absence.

⁸⁷ The work of Daniel Boyarin has helped to advance the theory that the concept of God’s “Logos” as an independent agent active in many things—particularly the creation—was a Jewish conception before it became a Christian conception. See Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ* (New York: New Press, 2013); idem, “Logos, a Jewish Word: John’s Prologue as Midrash,” in *The Jewish Annotated New Testament* (ed. Amy-Jill Levine and Marc Zvi Brettler; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) 546–49; idem, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Divinations; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); idem, “The Gospel of the Memra: Jewish Binitarianism and the Prologue to John,” *HTR* 94 (2001) 243–84.

⁸⁸ It is generally regarded that the *floruit* of Aristobulus of Alexandria was near the end of Ptolemy Philometer’s reign (155–145 BCE). See J. Cornelis de Vos, “Aristobulus and the Universal Sabbath,” in *Goochem in Mokum, Wisdom in Amsterdam: Papers on Biblical and Related Wisdom Read at the Fifteenth Joint Meeting of the Society of Old Testament Study and the Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap* (ed. George J. Brooke and Pierre van Hecke; *OtSt* 68; Leiden: Brill, 2016) 138–54; S.A. Adams, “Did Aristobulus use the LXX for His Citations?” *JSJ* 45 (2014) 1–14; Carl R. Holladay, “Testimonia,” in *Aristobulus* (ed. and trans. Carl R. Holladay; vol. 3 of *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*; SBLTT 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 114–26; A. Yarbro Collins, “Aristobulus (Second Century B.C.): A New Translation and Introduction,” *OTP* 2:831–42. The tradition that Aristobulus was from Paneas is attributed to a mistake in translating on the part of Rufinus in his Latin version of Eusebius’s *Ecclesiastical History* (Holladay, “Testimonia,” 202 n. 14).

⁸⁹ The Aristobulus material preserved by Clement is spread out among several references in the *Stromateis* and *Exhortation to the Greeks*. Clement does not follow the same pattern when quoting Aristobulus, as at times he names Aristobulus as the source of the material (such as in *Strom.* 6.3.32.5–6.3.33.1), but other times quotes the material with no attribution to any author (such as *Strom.* 6.16.137.4–6.16.138.4). It is only from the material preserved by Eusebius that we can identify some of the Aristobulus material in the writings of Clement. For a full list of the various fragments of Aristobulus found in the surviving writings of Clement, see Holladay, “Testimonia,”

Preparation of the Gospel.⁹⁰ In this work, sections of Aristobulus' lost writings are quoted in three books: book seven (7.13.7–7.14.1),⁹¹ book eight (8.8.38–8.10.18a),⁹² and book thirteen (13.11.3–13.12.16). This final passage is the focus in what follows.

There are three distinct blocks of Aristobulus fragments in book thirteen of *Preparation of the Gospel*. The first block and the third block⁹³ of the Aristobulus fragments are similar to the Sinaiticus fragment in structure, sequence, and subjects covered. Both the first block of text from Aristobulus (13.12.3–13.12.8) and the first of the Sinaiticus fragment (lines 7–15) begin with a section that focuses on the creation of the world through God speaking. Sequentially, both fragments next contain a section where each editor (Eusebius and Sophronius) interjects that he is moving on to another part of the work that he is quoting (*Praep. ev.* 13.12.9; Sinaiticus fragment, line 16). The third and last block of Aristobulus text (13.12.9–13.12.16) and the third and last section of the Sinaiticus fragment (lines 16–26) both end with a focus on the Sabbath, and both texts have an emphasis on the importance of a specific number: Aristobulus focuses on the number seven and *Jason and Papiscus* focuses on the number eight.

Beyond this surface similarity between the two works, there is a line from the Aristobulus fragments preserved in *Preparation of the Gospel* that is repeated in the Sinaiticus fragment.⁹⁴ In the first block of Aristobulus material (13.12.3), we read, “Just as Moses in the Law has said, the entire beginning of the universe was accomplished through God’s words.”⁹⁵ In the first section of text from the Sinaiticus fragment of *Jason and Papiscus* (line 11–12), we read, “By the word of God, the beginning of the entire universe took place, as also the scripture of Moses declares.”⁹⁶ Comparing the two lines, it seems clear that the line from *Jason and Papiscus* has been altered to better reflect Christian concerns. The fragment from

43–44. There is also a fragment of Aristobulus recorded in Eusebius' *Hist. eccl.* (7.32.16–7.32.19), which Eusebius states was preserved in bishop Anatolius of Laodicea's work *On the Pascha*. This quotation deals exclusively with astronomical observations made during Passover.

⁹⁰ Edition consulted: Eusebius, *Die Praeparatio Evangelica* (ed. Karl Mras; vol. 8 of *Eusebius Werke*; GCS 43.1; Berlin: Akademie, 1954).

⁹¹ This quotation is repeated in the Aristobulus material in book thirteen.

⁹² The fragments in this section consist of Aristobulus attempting to explain the references (primarily from the book of Exodus) to God's hands, arms and other anthropomorphic terms.

⁹³ The second block of text (13.12.5–13.12.8) from Aristobulus is taken up with the quotation of a poem called *Sacred Legend* (Ἱερὸν Λόγον); Aristobulus attributes the poem to Orpheus. The poem is also referred to in Aristotle's *De an.* 1.518 and Cicero's *Nat. d.* 1.38. The quotation from *Sacred Legend* concerns the creation of the world by God (identified as “Zeus” in *Sacred Legend*), and Aristobulus uses it to further his claims that the writings of Moses influenced the writings of the Greeks.

⁹⁴ The line in question, found in *Praep. ev.* 13.12.3, does not have a parallel in the material preserved by Clement of Alexandria.

⁹⁵ *Praep. ev.* 13.12.3: καθὼς και διὰ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἡμῖν ὄλην τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ κόσμου θεοῦ λόγου εἶρηκεν ὁ Μωσῆς. . . .

⁹⁶ γὰρ διὰ λόγου θεοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου γίνεται, ὡς και ἡ γραφὴ Μωυσέως μηνύει. Section 6 in the Appendix, lines 11–12.

Jason and Papiscus does not refer to the “Law” of Moses, but rather the “scripture of Moses.” The focus for Aristobulus is the “entire beginning” of the universe: the entire act of divine creation that began with, as Aristobulus writes, “God’s words.” *Jason and Papiscus* is concerned with “the word of God,” the Logos, not the “words” of God. This changes the emphasis in the sentence. The Christian perspective found in *Jason and Papiscus* views the Logos as part of God and with God before creation. Thus, for the author of *Jason and Papiscus*, the focus shifts from “the entire beginning of the universe” to “the beginning of the entire universe,” as the author of *Jason and Papiscus* has previously revealed the belief that “all things came to be”⁹⁷ through Christ as Logos. While both works claim to be citing a writing by Moses, the sections in question are currently unknown outside of the Aristobulus fragments and the Sinaiticus fragment.⁹⁸

In an often overlooked section from *Against Celsus*, Origen compares and contrasts *Jason and Papiscus* with Aristobulus (and Philo). Celsus writes, “At any rate, the allegories (Jews and Christians) have written about (Jewish and Christian myth), these are far more shameful and absurd than the myths; none of them at any point fit together since they join together strange and entirely nonsensical foolishness. I know of a work of this type named *The Dispute of Papiscus and Jason*, which does not deserve laughter but rather pity and hatred.”⁹⁹ To Celsus, *Jason and Papiscus* was merely one example of an entire genre of written works that he found offensive: Jewish and Christian attempts to demonstrate the validity of their “myths” through the use of rhetorical allegory. Origen gives us further insight into this section with his reply to Celsus: “By this, (Celsus) appears to refer to the writings of Philo, or to writers older still, such as Aristobulus. But I surmise that Celsus has not read the books, since it appears to me that in many sections they are so convincing even Greek philosophers would have been captivated by what they say. . . .”¹⁰⁰ Origen’s attitude changes completely when he replies to Celsus’ singling out of *Jason and Papiscus* as an example of a writing “of this type (Jewish and Christian rhetorical allegory).” In response to this, Origen writes, “out of all of these with a style of writing which contains allegory and narrative (Celsus) has chosen one whose style is not impressive . . . it is very basic . . . able to be of help to . . . the masses and the simple minded, but would not excite the wise. . . .”¹⁰¹

On first impression, Origen’s negative attitude toward *Jason and Papiscus* is baffling. However, when viewed in light of the relationship between *Jason and Papiscus* and Aristobulus as revealed in the Sinaiticus fragment, a clearer picture emerges. Origen praises Aristobulus and Philo as “convincing” and “captivating” but criticizes *Jason and Papiscus* as “not impressive” and “basic” because he

⁹⁷ Section 6 in the Appendix.

⁹⁸ See section V.A above, for other occurrences of Mosaic material in the Sinaiticus fragment.

⁹⁹ Section 1.1 in the Appendix.

¹⁰⁰ Section 1.2 in the Appendix.

¹⁰¹ Section 1.2 in the Appendix.

considers *Jason and Papiscus* to be a work that simply copied the style of the earlier Alexandrian allegorists.¹⁰² Origen later writes that the dialogue contains “nothing worthy of hatred” and that it “does not even arouse laughter.”¹⁰³ Origen had no problem with the Christian themes of *Jason and Papiscus*, but he did have a problem with what he considered to be the dialogue’s embarrassing level of rhetorical unoriginality.¹⁰⁴

Origen’s comparison of *Jason and Papiscus* to the writings of Aritobulus and Philo is a further indication of certain similarities between the three sources. In Celsus Africanus’ Latin summary of *Jason and Papiscus*, Papiscus is described as an “Alexandrian Jew,”¹⁰⁵ and Jason’s reply to Papiscus (as preserved in the Sinaiticus fragment) appears structured as a point-by-point refutation of a (now lost) monologue by Papiscus.¹⁰⁶ This could indicate that Papsicus’s lost statement shared several similarities with the writings of Aristobulus in particular and the Alexandrian tradition of allegorical interpretation in general. While there are many connections that one could point to between *Jason and Papiscus* and Alexandria, this does not simply mean that *Jason and Papiscus* was written in Alexandria. Rather, what the Sinaiticus fragment reveals is that *Jason and Papiscus* was written in a way that made use of the Alexandrian tradition of allegorical interpretation of Jewish scripture. This effort was so successful that learned Christian figures such as Clement of Alexandria¹⁰⁷ and Sophronius of Jerusalem¹⁰⁸ accepted the tradition of Lukan authorship of *Jason and Papiscus*. With this acceptance also came the assumption that *Jason and Papiscus* represented a written account of an actual,

¹⁰² There are strong indications that an Alexandrian school of rhetoric and allegorical teaching was in existence in the 1st cent. CE. The writings of Philo of Alexandria indicate he was part of (or a product of) a school of allegorical writers. On many occasions, Philo refers to other allegorists and freely makes use of their material to the point where it is difficult to differentiate between Philo’s original work and the allegorists he quotes. See David M. Hay, “Philo’s References to Other Allegorists,” *SPhilo* 6 (1979–1980) 41–75.

¹⁰³ Section 1.2 in the Appendix.

¹⁰⁴ This is further demonstrated by Origen’s claim that only “the masses and the simple minded” would enjoy the dialogue. Origen assumed this group would have no experience with the Alexandrian style of rhetoric and would find the dialogue compelling. Origen contrasts this by writing that the dialogue “would not excite the wise,” because he considered “the wise” erudite enough to see the dialogue as Origen did: a weak attempt to copy the Alexandrian style as exemplified by Aristobulus and Philo.

¹⁰⁵ Section 4 in the Appendix.

¹⁰⁶ It is important to point out that the Sinaiticus fragment begins with Papiscus asking Jason, “I would like to learn for what cause you honor the first day after the Sabbath.” This may be an indication that Papiscus had just finished explaining why the Sabbath was important to Judaism and offered Jason the opportunity to explain the Christian holy day. Written accounts of rhetorical discussions often follow this same pattern of one discussant finishing his thoughts and then politely giving a topic to the other discussant. Cicero and Cato’s discussion in book 3 of Cicero’s *On Moral Ends* (*De finibus*) is an excellent example (Cicero, *On Moral Ends* [ed. Julia Annas; trans. Raphael Woolf; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001] 68–116).

¹⁰⁷ Section 5 in the Appendix.

¹⁰⁸ Section 6 in the Appendix.

historical event: a religious debate between Jason the Christian and Papiscus the Alexandrian Jew.

■ Afterword

The Sinaiticus fragment has proven invaluable in expanding our knowledge of *Jason and Papiscus*. As all good fragments do, it has also raised new questions. These include questions regarding the tantalizing similarities between *Jason and Papiscus* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the relationship between the dialogue and the Alexandrian allegorists. It has confirmed the tradition of Lukan authorship of the dialogue, but also raised questions about how or why this tradition started. The new section involving the Logos and its role in creation is interesting and open to interpretation regarding its meaning and possible origin.

■ Appendix of Full Quotations of All Currently Known Fragments of and References to *Jason and Papiscus* including the Sinaiticus Fragment¹⁰⁹

1.1. Origen, *Against Celsus*, 4.50–52.¹¹⁰ A quotation from the pagan Celsus' now lost book, the *True Doctrine* (*Ἀληθής λόγος*). Greek; Northern Mediterranean; ca. mid-second century CE.

(50) οἱ ἐπιεικέστεροι Ἰουδαίων καὶ Χριστιανῶν πειρῶνται πως ἀλληγορεῖν αὐτά, ἔστι δ' οὐχ οἷα ἀλληγορίαν ἐπιδέχεσθαι τινα ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς εὐηθέστατα μεμυθολόγηται. . . . (51) Αἱ γοῦν δοκοῦσαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀλληγορίαι γεγράφθαι πολὺ τῶν μύθων αἰσχιους εἰσὶ καὶ ἀτοπώτεραι, τὰ μηδαμῆ μηδαμῶς ἀρμοσθῆναι δυνάμενα θαυμαστῆ τι καὶ παντάπασιν ἀναισθητῶ μωρία συνάπτουσαι. . . . (52) Οἷαν δὴ καὶ Παπίσκου τινὸς καὶ Ἰάσονος ἀντιλογίαν ἔγνω, οὐ γέλωτος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐλέους καὶ μίσους ἀξίαν. "Ἐμοίγ' οὖν οὐ ταῦτ' ἐλέγγχειν πρόκειται ἔστι γὰρ παντὶ που δῆλα, καὶ μάλιστα εἴ τις ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ἀνάσχοιτο αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν συγγραμμάτων.

(50) The more reasonable Jews and Christians try somehow to allegorize [their myths], but [their myths] are incapable of being explained in this way and are plainly very stupid fables. (51) At any rate, the allegories they have written about them, these are far more shameful and absurd than the myths;

¹⁰⁹ Although mentioned in Bovon and Duffy's publication of the Sinaiticus fragment (Bovon and Duffy, "Greek Fragment," 459 n. 13), we do not consider it possible, as J. E. Bruns claimed, that a fragment of *Jason and Papiscus* could be found in the writings of Anastasius of Sinai (J. E. Bruns, "Altercatio Jasonis et Papisci, Philo, and Anastasius the Sinaite," *TS* 34 [1973] 287–94). While interesting, Bruns' theory is based entirely on speculation. Anastasius never mentions *Jason and Papiscus*; the existence of the document in Anastasius' *Hodegos* is entirely the creation of Bruns. Bruns points out one of the most damning pieces of evidence against his theory himself, "[the writing in question] was written about 685 [CE] in the desert, where Anastasius had to rely on his memory (Bruns' emphasis) for the many patristic and conciliar texts he cites and which are often enough, not surprisingly, found to be inaccurate" (Bruns, "Altercatio," 292).

¹¹⁰ Greek text from *Origenes: Contra Celsum Libri VIII* (ed. M. Marcovich; VCSup 54; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 267–69.

none of them at any point fit together since they join together strange and entirely nonsensical foolishness. . . . (52) I know a work of this type named *The Dispute of Papiscus and Jason*, which does not deserve laughter, but rather pity and hatred. It is not my duty, however, to refute this nonsense for it is obvious to everyone, I presume, if anyone would have the patience and endurance to read the sections for themselves.

1.2. Origen, *Against Celsus*, 4.51–52.¹¹¹ Origen's response to Celsus. Greek; Caesarea; mid-third century CE.

(51) Ἔοικε δὲ περὶ τῶν Φιλωνος συγγραμμάτων ταῦτα λέγειν ἢ καὶ τῶν ἔτι ἀρχαιοτέρων, ὅποιά ἐστι τὰ Ἀριστοβούλου. Στοχάζομαι δὲ τὸν Κέλσον μὴ ἀνεγνωκέναι τὰ βιβλία, ἐπεὶ πολλαχοῦ οὕτως ἐπιτετευχθαί μοι φαίνεται, ὥστε αἰρεθῆναι ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἑλληνισι φιλοσοφοῦντας ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων. . . . (52) Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐπιλεξάμενος ἀπὸ πάντων συγγραμμάτων τῶν περιεχόντων ἀλληγορίας καὶ διηγήσεις μετὰ οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτου λέξεως, τὸ εὐτελέστερον καὶ δυνάμενον μὲν τι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπλουστέρους πίστεως χάριν συμβαλέσθαι οὐ μὴν οἷόν τε καὶ τοὺς συνετωτέρους κινήσαι. . . . Οὐδὲν δ' ἦττον ἐβουλόμην πάνθ' ὄντινον ἀκούσαντα δεινολογοῦντος Κέλσου καὶ φάσκοντος τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον σύγγραμμα Ἰάσονος καὶ Παπίσκου ἀντιλογίαν περὶ Χριστοῦ οὐ γέλωτος ἀλλὰ μίσους ἄξιον εἶναι λαβεῖν εἰς χεῖρας τὸ συγγραμμάτιον καὶ ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ἀνασχέσθαι ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵν' αὐτόθεν καταγῶ τοῦ Κέλσου, μὴδὲν εὐρίσκων μίσους ἄξιον ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ. Ἐὰν δ' ἀδεκάστως τις ἐντυγχάνῃ, εὐρήσει ὅτι οὐδ' ἐπὶ γέλωτα κινεῖ τὸ βιβλίον, ἐν ᾧ ἀναγεγραπται Χριστιανὸς Ἰουδαίῳ διαλεγόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραφῶν καὶ δεικνύς τὰς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προφητείας ἐφαρμόζειν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καίτοι γε οὐκ ἀγεννῶς οὐδ' ἀπρεπῶς τῷ Ἰουδαϊκῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἱσταμένου πρὸς τὸν λόγον.

(51) By this, [Celsus] appears to mean the writings of Philo, or of writers older still, such as Aristobulus. But I surmise that Celsus has not read the books, since it appears to me that in many sections they are so convincing even Greek philosophers would have been captivated by what they say. . . .

(52) Next, out of all of these with a style of writing which contains allegory and narrative he has chosen one whose style is not impressive. It is very basic and, indeed, it is able to be of help to the faith of the masses and the simple minded, but would not excite the wise. . . . Nevertheless, I could wish that all who hear Celsus' clever rhetoric asserting that the book called *The Dispute of Jason and Papiscus about Christ* deserves not laughter but hatred could take the little writing into his hands and have the patience and endurance to listen to its contents. He would then condemn Celsus, for there is nothing worthy of hatred in the writing. For if one reads it impartially, one will discover that the book does not even arouse laughter, in a writing in which a Christian discusses with a Jew by means of Jewish scripture and teaches that the messianic prophecies suit Jesus, and yet in a manner not ignoble nor unbecoming the character of a Jew, the other man opposes his argument with his reply.

¹¹¹ Greek text from *Origenes* (ed. Marcovich), 269.

2. Jerome, *Comments on Galatians (Ad Galatas)* 2.3.13b–14.¹¹² Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; Rome; late fourth century CE.

Memini me in Altercatione Iasonis et Papisci, quae graeco sermone conscripta est, ita repperisse: λοιδορία θεοῦ ὁ κρεμάμενος, id est maledictio Dei qui appensus est. Dicebat mihi Hebraeus qui me in Scripturis aliqua ex parte instituit quod possit et ita legi: quia contumeliose Deus suspensus est.

I remember in *The Dispute of Jason and Papiscus*, which is written in the Greek language, this expression: λοιδορία θεοῦ ὁ κρεμάμενος, “He that is hanged is cursed of God.” A Hebrew teacher, who taught me in some aspects of the Scriptures, told me that the passage could be read also in this way: “Because in disgrace, God is suspended.”

3. Jerome, *Hebrew Questions on Genesis (Hebraicarum Quaestionum in Genesim)* verse 1:1).¹¹³ Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; Bethlehem; late fourth century CE.

Genesis 1:1 **In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram.** *Plerique existimant, sicut in Altercatione quoque Jasonis et Papisci scriptum est, Tertullianus in libro contra Praxeam disputat: necnon Hilarius in expositione Cuiusdam Psalmi affirmat, in Hebraeo haberi: In filio fecit Deus coelum et terram; quod falsum esse ipsius rei veritas comprobatur. Nam et Septuaginta interpretes, et Symmachus, et Theodotion, in principio, transtulerunt. Et in Hebraeo scriptum est, BRESITH (בראשית); quod Aquila interpretatur, in capitulo; et non BABEN (בבן) quod appellatur, in filio. Magis itaque secundum sensum quam secundum verbi translationem de Christo accipi potest. . . .*

Genesis 1:1 **In the beginning, God created heaven and earth.** The majority believe, as it is written in *The Dispute Between Jason and Papiscus*, and as Tertullian in his book *Against Praxeas* contends, and as Hilary also asserts in the exposition of a certain psalm, that in the Hebrew it is “[i]n the son, God made heaven and earth.” The fact of the matter proves that this is a mistake. The Septuagint and Symmachus and Theodotion translated it as “[i]n the beginning” and in the Hebrew it is written BRESITH; Aquila interpreted this as “in the chapter.” It is not (the Hebrew word) BABEN which would mean “[i]n the son.” So, the verse can be applied to Christ more in its intention than in the translation of the word. . . .

4. Celsus Africanus, *Ad Vigilium Episcopum de Iudaica Incredulitate*.¹¹⁴ An introduction to a Latin translation of *Jason and Papiscus*. Latin; Africa; end of the fifth century CE.¹¹⁵

illud praeclarum atque memorabile gloriosumque Iasonis Hebraei Christiani et Papisci Alexandrini Iudaei discrepationis occurrit, Iudaici cordis obstinat-

¹¹² Latin text from Jerome, *Commentarii in Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Galatas* (ed. Giacomo Raspanti; CCSL 77A; Turnhout: Brepols, 2006) 90.

¹¹³ Latin text from *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Opera Omnia* (ed. J. P. Migne; 3 vols.; PL 23; Paris, 1845) col. 985–87.

¹¹⁴ Attributed to Cyprian. Latin text from *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia* (ed. G. Hartel; 3 vols.; CSEL 3; Vienna: Geroldi, 1871) 3:128.

¹¹⁵ For the reasons behind this dating, see Harnack, “Aristo,” 121.

am duritiam Hebraei admonitione ac leni increpatione mollitam, uictricem in Papisci corde Iasonis de spiritus sancti infusione doctrinam, qua Papiscus ad intellectum ueritatis admissus et ad timorem Domini ipso Domino miserante formatus et Iesum Christum Dei filium credidit et ut signaculum sumeret deprecatus Iasonem postulauit. Probat hoc scriptura concertationis ipsorum, quae collidentium inter se Papisci aduersantis ueritati et Iasonis adserentis et uindicantis dispositionem et plenitudinem Christi Graeci sermonis opera signata est. . . .

That noble, memorable, and glorious Dispute occurred between Jason, a Hebrew Christian and Papiscus an Alexandrian Jew; the obstinate heart of the Jew was softened by the admonition and gentle chiding of the Hebrew, and the teaching of Jason on the giving of the Holy Spirit was victorious in the heart of Papiscus. Papiscus, brought thereby to a knowledge of the truth and the fear of the Lord through the mercy of the Lord, believed in Jesus Christ the son of God and asked to receive the seal from Jason. This is proven by the written account of their contest; they encounter each other, Papiscus opposing the truth, Jason asserting and vindicating the commission and fullness of Christ. The account is written in the Greek language.

5. John of Scythopolis (formerly attributed to Maximus Confessor), *Notes on the Mystic Theology of the Areopagite*, column 421.¹¹⁶ Greek; Palestine; early sixth century CE.

Ἀνέγνων δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὰ οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἐν τῇ συγγεγραμμένῃ Ἀρίστονι τῷ Πελλαίῳ διαλέξει Παπίσκου καὶ Ἰάσονος, ἣν Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν ἕκτῳ βιβλίῳ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων τὸν ἅγιον Λουκᾶν φησιν ἀναγράψαι.

And I have also read about the seven heavens in the writing by Ariston the Pellaian, the *Dialogue of Papiscus and Jason*, which Clement of Alexandria in the sixth book of his *Hypotyposes* states St. Luke wrote down.

6. Sophronius, Bishop of Jerusalem, *Homily on the Feast of the Circumcision*. Greek; Jerusalem; 625 CE.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Greek text from “S. Maximi Scholia in Lib. De Mystica Theologia,” in S. *Dionysii Areopagitae Opera Omnia quae Exstant et Commentarii quibus Illustrantur* (ed. J. P. Migne; PG 4; Paris, 1857) col. 421.

¹¹⁷ Greek text taken from Duffy, “New Fragments,” 16–18, and compared to new digital images of *Sinaiticus graecus* 1807 by the current author. The critical apparatus for the text is as follows: In footnotes to the Greek text, the first words are Duffy’s alteration to the text (indicated by “D”), the second words are the original Greek from the Sinaiticus text (indicated by “S”). Duffy’s Latin remarks on various sections from the text are also included and are also from “New Fragments.” Note: the numbering of folios does not follow Duffy’s numbering, as the folio numbers written on the pages of *Sinaiticus graecus* 1807 are exactly one folio side behind Duffy’s numbering. When Duffy refers to “folio 7 recto” the *Sinaiticus* pages have “folio 6 verso” and so on. Line numbering begins at the start of the fragment, with the introductory discussion to *Jason and Papiscus*, not the top of the manuscript page.

(6r)¹¹⁸ και μεθ' ἕτερα· Λουκᾶς οὖν ἡμᾶς ὁ φανότατος ταύτην μυσταγωγεῖ¹¹⁹ τὴν λαμπροφανῆ και ἐπέραστον εἶδησιν, οὐκ εὐαγγελίῳ τῷ θεῖῳ ταύτης τυπώσας τὴν μήνυσιν, οὐκ ἀποστολικαῖς αὐτὴν ἐγγραψάμενος πράξειςιν,¹²⁰ ἀλλ' ἐν ἐτέρῳ¹²¹ αὐτοῦ διαμνημονεύσας συγγράμματι, ὅπερ και χαρακτηρὶ (5) διαλογικῶ τεκτηνάμενος Ἰάσωνος ἐπονομάζει και Παπίσκου Διάλογον.

Και μετ' ὀλίγα· ἐν τούτῳ¹²² γοῦν, φησίν, τῷ συγγράμματι, ὡς ἐκ προσώπου Παπίσκου συν- (6v)¹²³ θεῖς¹²⁴ τὴν ἐρώτησιν, (Begin Fragment of *Jason and Papiscus*) Πάπισκος εἶπεν· “ἤθελον μαθεῖν διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν τὴν μίαν τῶν σαββάτων τιμωτέραν ἔχετε” Ἰάσων εἶπεν· “ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς ἐνετείλατο διὰ τοῦ Μουσεῶς λέγων, ‘ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ποιῶ τὰ (10) ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα.’ ἔσχατόν ἐστιν τὸ σάββατον, ἡ δὲ μία τῶν σαββάτων πρώτη ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ διὰ λόγον¹²⁵ θεοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντός κόσμου γίνεται, ὡς και ἡ γραφὴ Μουσεῶς μνηνεῖ, καθὼς λέγει ὁ θεός· ‘γενηθήτω φῶς, και ἐγένετο φῶς.’ ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐξεληθὼν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ και τὸ φῶς ποιήσας ἦν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δι’ οὗ και τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἐγένετο.” και (15) ἕτερα ἀγαθὰ φήσας ἐπάγει λέγων “ἐνθεν οὖν γνῶθι, ἄνθρωπε, ὅτι κατὰ πάντα δικαίως τιμῶμεν τὴν μίαν τῶν σαββάτων ἀρχὴν οὖσαν τῆς πάσης κτίσεως, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐφανερῶθη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς και ὅτι τηρῶν τὰς ἐντολάς και τὰς γραφὰς ἔπαθεν, και παθῶν¹²⁶ ἀνέστη πάλιν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκ νεκρῶν και ὄφθεις¹²⁷ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, τουτέστιν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, εἰς (20) οὐρανοὺς ἐπορεύθη. και ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν αἰῶνων¹²⁸ ἡμέρα, εἰς ὀγδοῦδα πίπτουσα και μέλλουσα ἀνατέλλειν¹²⁹ τοῖς δικαίοις ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, φῶς αἰῶνιον εἰς (7r)¹³⁰ τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἡ τοῦ σαββάτου πίπτει εἰς κατάπαυσιν διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν τῆς ἐβδομάδος. διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν ἡμεῖς τὴν μίαν τῶν σαββάτων τιμῶμεν πολλὴν ἡμῖν φέρουσαν ἀγαθῶν παρουσίαν.” (End Fragment of *Jason and Papiscus*) Και ταῦτα μὲν Λουκᾶς ὁ θεσπέσιος τοῦ Ἰάσωνος και Παπίσκου Διάλογον συγγράφων ἐδίδαξεν, ὡς κυριακὴ ἡμέρα . . . φεγγῆς¹³¹ και διάσημος και τῶν ἄλλων ἡμερῶν πρώτη τῷ χρόνῳ καθέστηκεν, και τῆς ἐνσάρκου τοῦ σωτῆρος γεννήσεως ἡμέρα γνωρίζεται και τῆς αὐτοῦ¹³² ἐκ νεκρῶν (30) ἀναστάσεως,

¹¹⁸ I.e. Duffy 6v.

¹¹⁹ D ὁ φανότατος ταύτην μυσταγωγεῖ : S ὁ φανότατον ταῦτα μυσταγωγῆ.

¹²⁰ D πράξειςιν : S μήνυσιν. Regarding this word from the Sinaiticus fragment, Duffy remarks, “ut vid. (apparently)” and “e praeunte (preceding) τὴν μήνυσιν.”

¹²¹ D ἐν ἐτέρῳ : S ἐνεστέρω.

¹²² D τούτῳ : S τοῦτο.

¹²³ I.e. Duffy 7r.

¹²⁴ In the entire New Testament, this particular word occurs only in the writings of Luke.

¹²⁵ D διὰ λόγου : S διαλόγου.

¹²⁶ D παθῶν : S –ῶν.

¹²⁷ D ὄφθεις : S ὠφθεις.

¹²⁸ ἡ τῶν αἰῶνων : Duffy notes “bis scr. (repeated by mistake in the text).”

¹²⁹ D ἀνατέλλειν : S ἀνατέλειν.

¹³⁰ I.e. Duffy 7v.

¹³¹ D ἡμέρα . . . φεγγῆς : S ἡμερφεγγεῖς. Duffy remarks, “ab (perhaps) περιφεγγῆς vel (or) πρωτοφεγγῆς?”

¹³² D αὐτοῦ : S –ῆς.

ὡσαύτως¹³³ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀπ' οὐρανῶν¹³⁴ αὐτοῦ δευτέρας ἀφίξεως, ἥτις καὶ ἀδιάδοχος ἔστιν καὶ ἀπέραντος, οὔτε¹³⁵ εἰς τέλος πώποτε λήγουσα, οὐδὲ ἑτέραν¹³⁶ μετ' αὐτὴν παραπέμπουσα πάροδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν τιμὴν καὶ τὸ σέβασμα ὑπὲρ τὰς πολλὰς ἡμέρας κληρώσασσα, ὡς μυρίων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν παρουσίαν ἀπαρόδευτον τίκτουσα.

Among other things, Luke certainly and clearly initiates us into this illuminating and lovely knowledge. The meaning of this typology is not in the divine Gospel, nor is it in what he wrote about the Acts of the Apostles, but it is recorded in another work of his, and which, having been devised in the form of a dialogue, he named it the *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*. And after a little bit, he says in this tractate how the character Papiscus [Begin Fragment] posed the question, Papiscus said, “I would like to learn for what cause you honor the first day after the Sabbath.” Jason answered, “In this way, God commanded this through Moses, saying: ‘Behold! I am making the last things just as the first!’ The last [day of the week] is the Sabbath, but day one after the Sabbath is first, for on it, by the word of God, the beginning of the entire universe took place, as also the scripture of Moses declares, just as God spoke, ‘let there be light and there was light.’ The Logos which came forth from God and made the light was Christ,¹³⁷ the son of God through whom all things came to be.”¹³⁸ And when he had said other good things, he resumed, saying:¹³⁹ “Thereupon now know this, man, that above all we rightly honor the first of Sabbaths [Sunday] as being the beginning of all creation, because on it, the Messiah¹⁴⁰ was made manifest upon the Earth and by keeping the commandments and [fulfilling] the scriptures he suffered, and after he had suffered he arose. He rose again from the dead on it [Sunday, i.e. the “first day”] and after he was seen [by] his disciples, that is to say [by] his apostles, he went up to heaven. And that it is the day of the coming age of ages; it falls on the eighth but is about to raise up¹⁴¹ the righteous in incorruption, in the Kingdom of God, the eternal light in the eternal, amen.¹⁴² For the day of the Sabbath falls into rest, because it is the seventh day.¹⁴³ This, then, is the reason we honor the first of Sabbaths [Sunday], since it presents us with such

¹³³ D ὡσαύτως : S ὡς αὐτοῦ.

¹³⁴ D ἀπ' οὐρανῶν : S ἀπὸ ἄνω. Regarding this word from the Sinaiticus fragment, Duffy remarks “i.e. (such as) ἀνθρώπων, pro (instead of) οὐνών.”

¹³⁵ D οὔτε : S οὐδὲ.

¹³⁶ D ἑτέραν : S ἑτέρα.

¹³⁷ Literally, Χριστός means “messiah,” or “anointed one,” but given the context of this work, we assume it is a reference to Jesus of Nazareth, also known as Jesus Christ or “the Christ.”

¹³⁸ See Section V.C above.

¹³⁹ Was this sentence in the original text or did Sophronius insert this as an abridgement of information from the text?

¹⁴⁰ ὁ Χριστός, i.e., “the Messiah,” or, simply, “Christ.”

¹⁴¹ There are numerous images of the Messiah’s descent from heaven being described as a “light dawning” (ἀνατέλλειν) in Jewish texts. See T. Levi 18, Ben Sira 24, 1 En. 42.

¹⁴² The wording here (φῶς αἰώνιον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν) is similar to a formula (τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν) found in Gal 1:5, 1 Tim 1:17, and 1 Clem. 50:7.

¹⁴³ There is some interesting playfulness present here in the comparison of the “rising” eighth day and the “falling” seventh day.

an abundance of good things.” [End Fragment] And these things Luke the “divinely sweet” [author] of the *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus* taught by [his] writing. Since the Lord’s Day is a day that brings light, and it is obvious that it was established first [out of] the other days in time and was known as the day of the incarnation of the savior and of his resurrection from the dead. And also likewise, [it is the day of] his second coming from the heavens. And it also is perpetual and unending, neither into the end at any time ceasing, nor is any other day like it. And for this reason, it receives the honor and reverence from us above the other days, just as it bears the presence of a myriad of good things to come for us.

■ Images of the Text

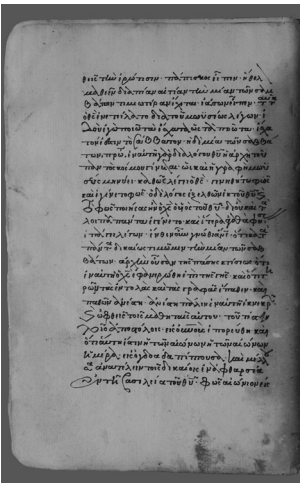
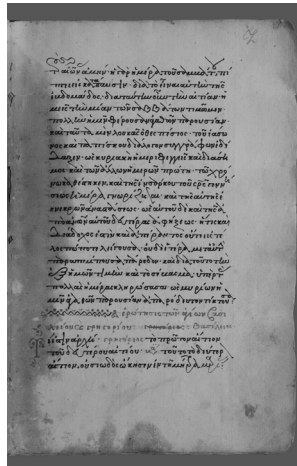
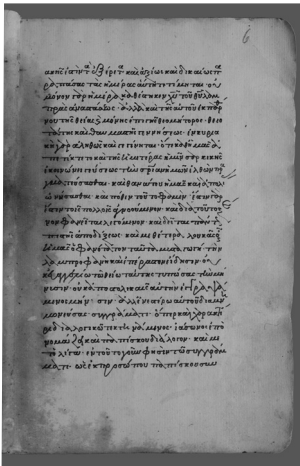


Image 1 (top left)
Sinaiticus graecus 1807, folio 6
recto

Image 2 (bottom left)
Sinaiticus graecus 1807, folio 6
verso

Image 3 (top right)
Sinaiticus graecus 1807, folio 7
recto

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