

New Testament Quotations of the Septuagint in the Works of Justin Martyr

The topic of this study implies specific questions in textual criticism. The following problems are to be named:

1. Justin's *Dialog* is transmitted by only one archetype, and we cannot always be sure whether differences between the manuscript of Justin's *Dialog* and the Biblical text known to us result from a) the writer of the manuscript, b) the intention of Justin himself, c) textual plurality witnessed by early Christian exegetes but unknown in the manuscript tradition of the Septuagint.

2. Sometimes the text of Justin offers different versions of a quotation, whether close to the Septuagint or not. How should we explain this phenomenon?

3. Which Old Testament texts are the most important for Justin?

4. Which New Testament texts are known to him?

5. Can we establish a theory on the preferred Septuagint text-form within Justin's works?

6. Are there hints at testimony books similar to the Septuagint ms. 958¹ or Cyprian's *Ad Quirinium* or some of the Pseudo-Athanasiana?

7. What hermeneutics are at play when Justin quotes biblical texts which are also part of the New Testament?

1. The Textual Transmission and the Critical Editions

Justin's preserved² writings are transmitted only in cod. Parisinus gr. 450, copied in 1363 in Mistras.³ Another manuscript, British Loan 38 (formerly cod. Claromontanus 82, Musei Britannici, chartaceus) from 1541,⁴ is not an independent witness but a daughter manuscript of cod. Parisinus, cor-

¹ Cf. ZIEGLER, *Isaias*, 11.

² Eusebius of Caesarea, *H.e.* 4:18.1–10, GCS 9/1:364–368 offers a catalogue of Justin's works.

³ Cf. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10722125b/f242.item>. Secondary corrections (of a second hand?) are sometimes visible. Concerning secondary transmissions of Justin's apologies cf. SCHMID, "Textüberlieferung," 89–104.

⁴ www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_82951_f159r.

recting orthographic mistakes.⁵ The preserved text⁶ of the *Dialog* offers a lacuna in *Dial.* 74.3. Quotations of Hos 3:1f. and Job 1:6⁷ are missing as are statements on angels and demons; therefore *Dial.* 79.1,4; 85.6; 105.4 include blind cross-references. We note three shortenings made by the copyist: in his rendering of Gen 18–19, he only offers Gen 18:1–3; 19:27f.,⁸ in his rendering of Ex 2:23–3:16, he only offers the framing verses⁹; in *Dial.* 30.1, the quotation of Ps 18:8–15 would be expected.¹⁰

Perhaps some readings found only in Justin's texts are the result of a mistake on the part of the copyist.¹¹ In the "lemma" of Gen 18:33, the manuscript offers a repetition of the verb ἀπῆλθεν¹² instead of ἀπέστρεψεν or ὑπέστρεψεν as in the commenting text of *Dial.* 56.22.¹³ Similarly, the adding of μεγάλου (after ὄρους) in the rendering of Dan 2:34b in *Dial.* 70.1¹⁴ could be an addition by the copyist, influenced perhaps by Dan 2:35. In the quotation of Isa 8:4 in *Dial.* 77.2, the text offers αὐτόν instead of παιδίον and ἔλαβε instead of λήμψεται.¹⁵ Both variants are not relevant for Justin's christological application of this prophecy. Further, we have to note itacisms,¹⁶ or mistakes of grammar,¹⁷ and *homoiototeuta*. Furthermore, alternative textual forms in the case of repetitions of quotation can be the result of the copyist's error.¹⁸ Even some readings in which the text

⁵ MARCOVICH (ed.), *Iustini Martyris Dialogus cum Tryphone*, 5.

⁶ I compared the following editions: GOODSPEED, *Apologeten*; Marcovich (ed.), *Iustini Martyris Dialogus cum Tryphone*; BOBICHON, Justin Martyr.

⁷ ZAHN, Studien zu Justinus Martyr, 42.

⁸ *Dial.* 56.2, Bobichon I, 324.

⁹ *Dial.* 59.2, Bobichon I, 342.

¹⁰ SKARSAUNE, Proof, 175; MARCOVICH, *Dialogus*, 4; BOBICHON I, 254–256, adds Ps 18:2–15.

¹¹ There is no consensus concerning the evaluation of the manuscript. According to GOODSPEED, *Apologeten*, IX the quality is good whereas SIBINGA, *The Old Testament Text*, 13, complains about its "desperate condition."

¹² *Dial.* 56.19, Bobichon I, 332. This reading could be a harmonization between Gen 18:33b and Gen 18:33a.

¹³ Bobichon I, 324.

¹⁴ Bobichon I, 376. The allusions to Dan 2:34b in *Dial.* 76.1; 114.1, Bobichon I, 392, 490, are formulated without the adjective.

¹⁵ Bobichon I, 396.

¹⁶ Cf ἀνθίσει instead of ἀνθήσει in *Dial.* 86.4, Bobichon I, 422; ὑψιλῆ instead of ὑψηλῆ in *Dial.* 133.5, Bobichon I, 542.

¹⁷ Cf. διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὀνόματος τῷ Ναυῆ υἱῷ in *Dial.* 115.4, Bobichon I, 492.

¹⁸ In *Dial.* 102.7, Bobichon I, 460, Isa 53:9f. is rendered by οὐδὲ δόλον τῷ στόματι whereas parts of the Septuagint tradition (corrector of Siniaticus; Antiochene text) include the preposition ἐν before τῷ στόματι, in accordance with the MT. The verb εὐρέθη (after οὐδέ, LXX^{ANT}) is missing in *Dial.* 102.7, whereas it is offered in *1.Apol.* 51.2, PTS 38:103//SC 507:260//OECT:208//FC 91:160; *Dial.* 13.6, Bobichon I, 216.

of Justin is close to the so-called Antiochene text,¹⁹ could be the result of the influence of the Antiochene text at a late temporal level of textual transmission rather than proof of Justin's familiarity with that textual form. Sometimes we cannot decide whether a variant in the rendering of an Old Testament text is a real variant or only a mistake made by the copyist, e.g. in the case of Gen 22:17²⁰ or Isa 50:4.²¹

We could ask whether the copyist corrected ambiguous readings according to the Septuagint Text or according to the New Testament text. The text of Justin sometimes mirrors the different textual traditions between the Old and New Testament texts. One example is Ps 22:1f. and Mark 15:34, quoted as "from David / from Jesus".²² Most of the variants are meaningless with regard to theological concerns. Many of these variants are also witnessed in the diverging Septuagint tradition.²³

In other cases, we note mistakes made by the copyist. Rendering Gen 49:10 in *Dial.* 52.2, the manuscript of Justin offers $\xi\omega\varsigma \ \acute{\alpha}\nu \ \xi\lambda\theta\eta \ \tau\grave{\alpha} \ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha \ \alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}$ in accordance with the Septuagint text. The copyist does not realize that Justin polemizes against this reading in *Dial.* 120.4.²⁴ Justin prefers²⁵ the variant $\xi\omega\varsigma \ \acute{\alpha}\nu \ \xi\lambda\theta\eta \ \tilde{\omega} \ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$, which is of course due to his christological interests. This variant is also witnessed in the manuscript tradition of the Septuagint²⁶ and is necessary for the argument in *Dial.* 52.2 but was seemingly uncommon for the copyist when copying *Dial.* 52.2.

Sometimes Justin signals that he changes the textual form. That is true for Isa 3:10. The Septuagint tradition offers $\delta\eta\sigma\omega\mu\epsilon\nu \ \tau\omicron\nu \ \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$. The Jus-

¹⁹ This could be true for the variant $\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi$ instead of $\rho\acute{\omicron}\xi$ in the rendering of Isa 65:8 in *Dial.* 136.1, Bobichon I, 548. On the other hand, the rendering of Ps 18:6 in *Dial.* 69.3, Bobichon I, 374 (but not in *Dial.* 64.8, Bobichon I, 358) includes $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, which is missing in the Antiochene text, corresponding to the MT. Perhaps the copyist added it after the phrasing $\delta\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu \ \delta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$.

²⁰ *Dial.* 120.2, Bobichon I, 506, reads $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ instead of $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$, without parallel in the textual tradition of the Septuagint.

²¹ In *Dial.* 102.5, Bobichon I, 458, $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ is missing. Within the Septuagint tradition, cod. Alexandrinus reads $\sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, but, according to ZIEGLER, *Isaias*, 310, there is no manuscript without an addition after $\gamma\lambda\tilde{\omega}\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$.

²² Justin, *Dial.* 99.1, Bobichon I, 452.

²³ According to SIBINGA, *Old Testament Text*, 14, we should not argue by referring to the category "free quotations": this category, "frequently applied at first sight is no explanation or adequate description, but only marks the limit of our knowledge of biblical texts current at the time."

²⁴ Justin, *Dial.* 52.2; 120.4, Marcovich, 155.277//Bobichon I, 314.506.

²⁵ Cf. also *1.Apol.* 32.1; 54.5, PTS 38:78, 108//SC 507:212, 272// OECT:168, 220//FC 91:122, 170. This reading has its parallel in Targum Onqelos ("until the Messiah comes, whose is the kingdom"). According to SKARSAUNE, Proof, 25–29; ULRICH, *Justin, Apologien*, 426, Justin quotes a testimony book.

²⁶ P^b M^{mg} 9^{mg}-135-46-799 C''-128^{mg} 413^{mg} d 53'-56^{mg(vid)}-246 n 30'-85txt-343-344'txt t 44' 313 59 340.

tin manuscript quotes this text-form in *Dial.* 133.2. Later on, Justin refers back to this reading but changes to the variant ἄρωμεν τὸν δίκαιον in *Dial.* 136.2 and 137.3.²⁷

There are, however, also examples for distinct readings which cannot be characterized simply as mistakes. In the rendering of Exod 3:16 *fine* in *Dial.* 59.2, Justin's text offers ἐπισκέπτομαι instead of ἐπισκέμμαι.²⁸ Exod 32:6 and 1 Cor 10:7 read ἐκάθισεν λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἀνέστησεν παίζειν; Justin offers Ἐφαγε καὶ ἔπιεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἀνέστη τοῦ παίζειν, a reading without any theological relevance.²⁹ Is this a quotation by heart? In any case, the copyist did not change the text. The rendering of Isa 40:3 ("Prepare the way for the Lord") in the New Testament (Mark 1:3; Luke 3:4; Matt 3:3) offers the singular τὴν ὁδόν; in Justin's text the plural τὰς ὁδοὺς is offered.³⁰ In the rendering of Exod 3:5 ("loose the sandal from your feet"), the composite verb Ὑπόλυσαι instead of the simple verb is offered;³¹ Acts 7:33 reads λῦσον. There is no theological interest in using the composite verb instead of the *verbum simplex*, and the copyist did not find it necessary to harmonize his text with Acts 7:33. Therefore I would hesitate to suppose a general infidelity of the copyist toward Justin's text.

Concerning some distinct readings, we can ask at which level of textual transmission they arose. Analogies within the Septuagintal manuscript tradition or ancient Christian writings suggest an early stage of tradition, similar to harmonizations toward the (developing) Masoretic text.

In the following, I name emendations made by both modern editors of the *Dialogus*, Marcovich³² and Bobichon, comparing them with Goodspeed's edition. In the rendering of Ps 13:2 in *Dial.* 27.3, they read συνίων instead of the nonsensical συνιών (from σύνειμι);³³ in the quotation of Dan 7:28 in *Dial.* 31.7, they read ἕξις instead of λέξις.³⁴ In *Dial.* 61.5, they read ἀϋπνῶν (cf. Prov 8:34) instead of ὑπνῶν (cod. Paris gr. 450) or ἀργυπνῶν (LXX).³⁵ In the rendering of Jer 38[31]:15 in *Dial.* 78.8, they read Φωνή instead of Φωνῆ.³⁶ They change Ἐβεέκας to Ἐβεέκκα,³⁷ γεγένηκα to

²⁷ Bobichon I, 542.

²⁸ Bobichon I, 550, 552.

²⁹ *Dial.* 20.1, Bobichon I, 230.

³⁰ *Dial.* 50.3, Bobichon I, 310.

³¹ *I. Apol.* 62.3, PTS 38:120. SIBINGA, *Old Testament Text*, 37, hints at Symmachus.

³² Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 8–22, discusses relevant conjectures. Only a few of them are really important for the transmission of the biblical texts.

³³ Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 121; Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 113; Bobichon, *Justin*, I 248.

³⁴ Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 126; Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 17; Bobichon, *Justin* I 121.

³⁵ Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 9; Bobichon I, 176. Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 167: ὑπνῶν.

³⁶ Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 189: Φωνή; Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 205; Bobichon, *Justin* I 400.

³⁷ *Dial.* 58.8 (Goodspeed, 163; Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 170; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 340).

γεγέννηκα.³⁸ In *Dial.* 74.2, Marcovich and Bobichon add the third colon of Ps 95:2f.³⁹ In the rendering of Gen 18:33 in *Dial.* 56.19, Marcovich and Bobichon emend the omission of the second Ἀβραάμ in order to clarify who is speaking.⁴⁰ In *Dial.* 123.3, they emend the unclear εἰ δέ γε, which is a majuscule error from εἴδετε.⁴¹ In *Dial.* 11.3, Marcovich and Bobichon offer ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου which is in accordance with the Septuagint, instead of ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, though this reading is also witnessed by Codex Venetus.⁴² In some cases, both authors emend shortenings due to the following commentary text.⁴³

In other cases, Bobichon does not follow conjectures made by Marcovich to harmonize with the Septuagint; in these cases, Bobichon reinforces the text edited by Edgar Goodspeed.⁴⁴ Thomas Halton, reworking the translation of Thomas B. Falls, similarly does not follow Marcovich in some cases.⁴⁵

For the first apology, I have compared the editions made by Marcovich, Munier, Minns and Parvis, and Ulrich.

³⁸ *Dial.* 88.8 (Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 203; Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 224; Bobichon *Justin* I 482), following the corrector.

³⁹ Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 11; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 386, on the basis of *Dial.* 73.3; cf. already Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 184.

⁴⁰ Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 166; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 332. This emendation is missing in Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 159.

⁴¹ Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 242; Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 282; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 514.

⁴² Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 88 (explicitly referring to Codex Venetus); Bobichon I, 210. Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 103, offers ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

⁴³ In the rendering of Ps 21:6 in *Dial.* 101.1, both editors add καὶ ἐσώθησαν· ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισαν (Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 243; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 456, but not Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 215); in the rendering of Zech 3:1 in *Dial.* 115.2, both editors add κυρίου after ἄγγελος (Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 232; Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 268; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 492).

⁴⁴ This concerns the addition of αὐτόν after ἀποδιδράσκειν in Gen 35:7 (*Dial.* 58.8, Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 163; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 340; against Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 170), of γῆν before πόρρωθεν in Isa 33:17 (*Dial.* 70.3, Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 180; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 378; against Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 192), of κάτω in Dtn 32:22 (*Dial.* 119.2, Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 237; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 502; against Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 274), of τοῖς ἔθνεσιν in Dtn 4:19 (*Dial.* 121.2; Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 240; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 508; against Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 279), of Σπερῶ instead of Ἐγερῶ Jer 38,8[31]:27 (*Dial.* 123.5, Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 243; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 516; against Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 17.283), of προσδέξεται αὐτόν ἢ ψυχὴ μου and the article ὁ before ἐκλεκτός in Isa 42:1 (*Dial.* 123.8, Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 244; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 516; against Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 283, who refers to *Dial.* 135.2 where both is part of the text of Justin), of ὧν between θεός and αὐτῶν in Exod 6:3 (*Dial.* 126.2, Goodspeed, *Apologeten*, 247; Bobichon, *Justin* I, 524; against Marcovich, *Dialogus*, 288). SIBINGA, *Old Testament Text*, 133, presupposes that Justin did not read ὧν; in his eyes, this is secondary in Exod 6:3^{LXX}.

⁴⁵ *St. Justin Martyr, Dialog with Tryphon, Translated by Thomas B. Falls*, xi.

2. The Text of Justin and the Distinct Affiliations of the Septuagint Text

Early researchers were the first to underline the relative closeness of Justin's text to Antiochene readings.⁴⁶ This is true e.g. for Gen 32:28;⁴⁷ Ps 49:19, 21, 23;⁴⁸ 71:10, 17, 19,⁴⁹ 81:3;⁵⁰ 95:4;⁵¹ 98:6;⁵² 131:11;⁵³ Isa 3:15;⁵⁴ 5:18,⁵⁵ 25;⁵⁶ 30:3;⁵⁷ 58:5;⁵⁸ 65:1,⁵⁹ 2,⁶⁰ 11,⁶¹ 17–20;⁶² Lam 4:20;⁶³ Ezek 20:20;⁶⁴ 37:7.⁶⁵ Concerning the Twelve Prophets, Dominique Barthélemy emphasized the closeness to the so-called *kaige*-recension.⁶⁶

⁴⁶ Cf. BOUSSET, *Evangelicentitate*, 20–22.

⁴⁷ In *Dial.* 38.7, Bobichon I, 278, ἔτι is missing, in analogy to the Antiochene text.

⁴⁸ At the end of Ps 49:19, the text of Justin offers *δολιότητας* instead of *δολιότητα*; in Ps 49:21, Justin's text adds *τάς ἀμαρτίας σου*; in Ps 49:23, Justin's text offers *σωτήριόν μου* instead of *σωτήριον θεοῦ* (*Dial.* 22.10, Bobichon I, 238).

⁴⁹ In V. 10, the article *αἱ* before *νήσοι* is missing, in analogy to R L' 1219; in V. 17, Justin's text offers *ἔσται*, in analogy to Sa R' L' 1219, instead of *ἔστω*; in V. 19, Justin's text offers *εὐλογημένον*, in analogy to L' (not T), instead of *εὐλογητόν* (*Dial.* 34.6, Bobichon I, 268).

⁵⁰ Justin's text offers the dative *ὀρφανῶ και πτωχῶ*, in analogy to the Antiochene text and R, instead of the accusative (*Dial.* 124.2, Bobichon I, 518).

⁵¹ Justin's text offers *ὑπέρ* instead of *ἐπί* (*I.Apol.* 41.1, PTS 38:90//SC 507:236//OECT:188//FC 91:140; *Dial.* 73.3, Bobichon I, 382).

⁵² Justin's text offers *εἰσήκουσεν*, in analogy to L'', instead of *ἐπήκουσεν* (*Dial.* 64.4, Bobichon I, 356).

⁵³ Justin's text offers *ἐπὶ θρόνον* instead of *ἐπι θρόνον* (*Dial.* 68.5, Bobichon I, 370).

⁵⁴ Justin's text offers *ταπεινῶν* instead of *πτωχῶν* (*Dial.* 133.3, Bobichon I, 542).

⁵⁵ In analogy to 106 οἱ L''-46-33-764c 87-91 etc, *Dial.* 17.2, Bobichon I, 226, offers the addition of *αὐτῶν* after *τάς ἀμαρτίας*.

⁵⁶ Justin's text offers *ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη* instead of *τὰ ὄρη* (*Dial.* 133.5, Bobichon I, 542).

⁵⁷ In analogy to the Antiochene text, but also to the Bohairic version, *Dial.* 79.3, Bobichon I, 402, offers *Αἰγυπτίους* instead of *Αἴγυπτον*.

⁵⁸ In analogy to L''-86° 87 198 544; Barn 3.1; Clement, *Paed.* 3:90.1, GCS 12:285; Tertullian, *res.* 27.3, CCSL 2:956, Justin, *Dial.* 15.4, Bobichon I, 222, inserts *ἐγώ*.

⁵⁹ In analogy to O'' L''-233 403' 544, *I.Apol.* 49.2, PTS 38:100//SC 507:256//OECT:204//FC 91:156, offers the two verbs in reversed order (*Ἐμφανῆς ἐγενήθην ... εὐρέθη*).

⁶⁰ Justin's text offers *ἐπί* instead of *πρός* (*Dial.* 114.2, Bobichon I, 490).

⁶¹ *Dial.* 135.4, Bobichon I, 548, reads *τῶ δαίμονι* instead of *τῆ ψυχῇ*.

⁶² In V. 17, Justin's text offers *οὐδὲ μή* instead of *οὐδ' οὐ μή*; in V. 19 Justin's text adds the negation *οὐ*; in V. 20 the addition *νίός* (*Dial.* 81.1, Bobichon I, 406–408).

⁶³ In analogy to L' 147 233 544, *I.Apol.* 55.5, PTS 38:110//SC 507:276//OECT:224//FC 91:172, offers the preposition *πρός*.

⁶⁴ In analogy to O' L'' 233, *Dial.* 21.2–3, Bobichon I, 234, offers *ἔσται* instead of *ἔστω*.

⁶⁵ *I.Apol.* 52.5, PTS 38:104//SC 507:264//OECT:210//FC 91:164, reads *ὁστέον πρὸς ὁστέον*. The next analogy is *ὁστέον πρὸς ὁστέον ἕκαστον*, witnessed by L''.

⁶⁶ BARTHÉLEMY, *devanciers*, 203–212.

In some cases, these Antiochene readings are harmonizations to the Hebrew text. This is true for Exod 3:16;⁶⁷ Jonah 4:11;⁶⁸ Zech 2:16;⁶⁹ Isa 2:6;⁷⁰ 33:13;⁷¹ 49:6;⁷² 65:18;⁷³ 66:1.⁷⁴

Occasionally Justin is close to readings that are found both in the Antiochene text and in the Codex Alexandrinus. This is true for Ps 95:13;⁷⁵ 98:6;⁷⁶ 109:3;⁷⁷ Am 5:19;⁷⁸ Ez 37:8.⁷⁹ Concerning Ps 95:10, we find a closeness to the Sahidic tradition.⁸⁰

There are two phenomena within Justin's writings which are not to be integrated into the search for diverging Septuagint traditions.

Sometimes Justin charges the unbelieving Jews for changing texts in order to prevent Christian use of these texts for their propaganda.⁸¹ Each of these passages includes references to the cross of Jesus Christ which for Justin is the subject of prophetic announcements in the holy scriptures of Israel.⁸² Justin mentions an "Exposition of Ezra on the Law concerning

⁶⁷ In analogy to the manuscript classes d and t and to the Masoretic text, *Dial.* 59.2, Bobichon I, 342, offers τὴν γερουσίαν Ἰσραήλ instead of τὴν γερουσίαν τῶν υἰῶν Ἰσραήλ.

⁶⁸ *Dial.* 107.4, Bobichon I, 474, offers ἀνά μέσον, in analogy to מִבֵּין (MT).

⁶⁹ *Dial.* 115.2, Bobichon I, 492, offers ἐκλέξεται, which comes close to the MT; the Septuagint reads αἰρετιεῖ.

⁷⁰ In analogy to V-οII L''-46-33 C 301 403' 534 Syh, *Dial.* 24.3; 135.6, Bobichon I, 242, 548, offers οἶκον τοῦ Ἰακωβ instead of οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

⁷¹ In analogy to MT and LXX, cod. 410, *Dial.* 70.2, Bobichon I, 376, offers ἀκούσατε instead of ἀκούσονται.

⁷² *Dial.* 121.4, Bobichon I, 510, reads τὰς διασποράς which comes close to MT, not the singular.

⁷³ *Dial.* 81.1, Bobichon I, 406, offers ὅσα ἐγὼ κτίζω which is witnessed only in the Antiochene text and in cod. Venetus, but comes close to MT.

⁷⁴ *I.Apol.* 37.4, PTS 38:85//SC 507:226//OECT:180//FC 91:132, and *Dial.* 22,11, Bobichon I, 240, offer καὶ ἡ γῆ instead of ἡ δὲ γῆ (also witnessed in Acts 7:49). The text is introduced as a quotation from Isaiah.

⁷⁵ In analogy to the Antiochene text and Cod. Alexandrinus, *Dial.* 73.4, Bobichon I, 384, offers ἀπό instead of πρό.

⁷⁶ In analogy to L' A'', *Dial.* 64.4, Bobichon I, 356, offers the addition ὅτι before ἐφύλασσον. In *Dial.* 37.4, Bobichon I, 276, The addition is missing.

⁷⁷ At the end of the second stichos ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησιν τῶν ἁγίων, *Dial.* 63.3, Bobichon I, 352, offers the addition σου, in analogy to L' A.

⁷⁸ In analogy to V-39 A''-49'-233' L'' (86c); Hippolyt, *Daniel* 4:21.5, SC 14:86, Justin, *Dial.* 22.2, Bobichon I, 234, offers ἐκφύγη instead of φύγη.

⁷⁹ *I.Apol.* 52.5, PTS 38:104//SC 507:264//OECT:210//FC 91:164, reads ἀναφύησονται which comes close to A'' ἀνεφύοντο.

⁸⁰ *Dial.* 73.1, Bobichon I, 384, offers σαλευθήσεται instead of σαλευθήτω (LXX).

⁸¹ Justin, *Dial.* 72.1-73.1, Bobichon I, 380-382; In general, cf. HENGEL, "Die Septuaginta als 'christliche Schriftensammlung'," 193-196.

⁸² NYSTRÖM, *Apology*, 109, correctly describes the rationale of such proofs from prophecy: "Also in pagan mythology prophecy was the domain of the gods, and not just of any god, but of Zeus himself. Therefore, prophecy was held in high esteem and re-

Passover”⁸³ – this is surely a Christian apocryphon on Ezra. Furthermore, Justin suggested that Jews omitted Jer 11:19 (“I, like an innocent lamb, led to be slaughtered, did not know.”). In this case, he is wrong. This passage is part of every textual tradition of the Septuagint text known to us.⁸⁴ The motif of *κατάβασις κυρίου πρὸς τοὺς νεκρούς*, applied to Jeremiah by Justin,⁸⁵ is nowhere detectable in the Jeremiah tradition. Furthermore, we do not know old traditions of Ps 95:10 which include *ἀπὸ ξύλου*.⁸⁶ There are other controversial biblical passages where he does not insist on his reading, namely Gen 49:10f. (see below) and Ps 81:6f.⁸⁷ Such polemical variants are mostly without any text-critical value.⁸⁸

In other cases,⁸⁹ Justin changes texts for the sake of his argumentation. In his free retelling of Num 21:4–9, he renders the phrase “everyone who is bitten when he looks at it shall live” as direct speech including an admonition: Ἐὰν προσβλέπητε τῷ τύπῳ τούτῳ καὶ πιστεύητε ἐν αὐτῷ, σωθήσεσθε.⁹⁰ In his rendering of Ps 77:25 in *Dial.* 57.2, *ἄνθρωπος* is omitted.⁹¹ Perhaps Justin intended to describe Jesus, the divine logos, not merely as *ἄνθρωπος*.

spect, and in Greek literature a true prophecy never fails. ... Thus, when Justin presents prophecy, and in particular fulfilled prophecy, as the clinching proof of the truth of Christianity, it is an argument which pagans would respect and which Christians with a pagan background would find reassuring.”

⁸³ *Dial.* 72.1, Bobichon I, 380.

⁸⁴ Justin, *Dial.* 72.3, Bobichon I, 380–382, admits that this passage sometimes is part of textual tradition and was deleted only in recent times.

⁸⁵ *Dial.* 72.4, Bobichon I, 382.

⁸⁶ Sometimes the influence of 1Chr 16:32 (*βοήσει ἡ θάλασσα σὺν τῷ πληρώματι καὶ ξύλον ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ?*) is supposed, cf. SKARSAUNE *Proof*, 38, n. 41. On the reception history of this plus vde. also DOCHHORN, “Einleitung,” 9.

⁸⁷ *Dial.* 124.2f., Bobichon I, 518–520. The issue of debate is whether the singular *ἄνθρωπος* or the plural *ἄνθρωποι* is to be read. Only in the last case is an allusion to Adam and Eve possible.

⁸⁸ RAJAK, “Theological Polemic,” 140. According to GALLAGHER, *Scripture*, 176, Justin’s polemics presuppose that the Septuagint text known to him corresponds “more precisely with the original Hebrew text than the more recent Jewish texts.”

⁸⁹ Not every change is necessarily intentional. In the rendering of Deut 32:20, *Dial.* 20.4, Bobichon I, 232, offers the vituperation (*υἱοί*) *ἀσύνητοι* which is erroneously written instead of *οἷς* (SIBINGA, *Old Testament Text*, 99). The parallel quotations in *Dial.* 27.4; 119.6; 123.3 (Bobichon I, 250, 504, 514) do not offer this erroneous reading.

⁹⁰ Justin, *I.Apol.* 60.3, PTS 38:116/SC507:286 (*ἐν αὐτῷ* is combined with *σωθήσεσθε* by Munier, with *πιστεύητε* by Marcovich and ULRICH, *Justin, Apologien*, 451). The motive of *πίστις* is visible also in *Barn* 12.7. This motif, however, is well-known from New Testament miracle stories. It does not prove the dependency of Justin and *Barnabas* on a common source.

⁹¹ Bobichon I, 336.

As a conclusion of this section, we can formulate the following thesis: Where this proximity can be observed in a quotation of an Old Testament text that had not yet been received in the New Testament and in early Christian literature before Justin, it is conceivable that this reading can be traced back to Jewish models.

3. Possible Trajectories of Early Christian Testimony Books

Oskar Skarsaune distinguished between long LXX quotations and short non-LXX OT quotations. In his view, the latter are not taken from Biblical manuscripts and are not made by Justin himself, but “must be viewed as deposits of tradition”⁹² available for Justin in testimony books. The Septuagint used by Justin is “not a Christian, but a Jewish revision – at least his text of the Twelve Prophets, and possibly also in other books”.⁹³ Repeatedly “non-LXX texts which seem to be taken from testimony sources in the *Apology*, recur as longer, LXX quotations in the *Dialogue*”.⁹⁴ Justin used Romans, Galatians and Ephesians, Matthew, Luke, Acts and (only in the *Dialog*) Hebrews; the closeness to quotations in 1 Clement and the Epistle of Barnabas is to be traced back to testimony sources.⁹⁵

In my opinion, examples of early Christian testimony collections are most likely to exist where a certain reading against the Septuagint text is offered by several early Christian authors and the passage has not yet been received in this form in the New Testament.

Possible debatable examples are the rendering of Jer 9:26 where Justin and Barnabas use ἀκροβυστία instead of ἀπερίτμητα⁹⁶ in their characterization of non-Jews, and the rendering of Isa 42:7 where Justin and Barnabas read πεπεδημένους instead of δεδεμένους.⁹⁷ In Isa 52:10 (“all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation”) the text of Justin offers at the beginning the addition πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in analogy to some Septuagint manuscripts but also to Cyprian and to Eusebius of Caesarea.⁹⁸ This is perhaps a Christian ex-

⁹² SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 7.

⁹³ SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 20.

⁹⁴ SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 57.

⁹⁵ SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 98–113. There is no proof that Justin also used the letters to the Corinthians, the Gospel of John, 1 Peter, or 2 Clement.

⁹⁶ *Barn* 9.5 (ἀκροβυστία) // Justin, *1.Apol.* 53.11, PTS 38:107//SC 507:270//OECT:218//FC 91:168 (cf. SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 71f.; ULRICH, *Justin, Apologien*, 420). Justin’s text mentions the Jews and the non-Jews in reversed order. Justin’s tracing back this quotation to Isaiah instead of Jeremiah is a mistake.

⁹⁷ *Barn* 14.7 // Justin, *Dial.* 65.4, Bobichon I, 360.

⁹⁸ Justin, *Dial.* 13.2, Bobichon I, 214 par. S* 393 407 544 par. Cyprian, *Quir.* 2.4, CCSL 3:33.

pansion which announces that also non-Jews become addressees of God's salvation.

In *Dial.* 66.3⁹⁹, we observe the interpolation of Isa 8:4 in the quotation of Isa 7:10–17. In *Dial.* 77.3f.¹⁰⁰, Isa 8:4 is the basis of Justin's argument. He did not realize the character of the interpolation. According to Skarsaune, we have to assume that he has taken this passage from a Christian testimony book. It seemed to guarantee for Justin the correct text rather than the manuscripts available to him.¹⁰¹ But the character of a mixed quotation does not yet necessarily imply the use of a distinct source-text by the author Justin.¹⁰²

4. Justin and the Synoptic Gospels

4.1. Convergences between Justin and the Synoptic Gospels against LXX

We observe textual convergences concerning the quotations of Isa 7:14/Matt 1:23; Micah 5:1f./Matt 2:6; Jer 38[31]:15/Matt 2:15; Deut 6:5/Mark 12:29–30; Deut 6:13/Matt 4:10 par. Luke 4:8.

With regard to Isa 7:14, the following paragraph does not deal with the famous dispute as to whether *παρθένος* or *νεᾶνις* is to be read in Isa 7:14 but with the variants *ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει* and *ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται*. Justin offers the former reading only once in his apology.¹⁰³ He describes the latter casually as Jewish,¹⁰⁴ although he himself presupposes it several times.¹⁰⁵ The difference between the two readings probably had no meaning for him. The same is true with regard to the variants *καλέσεται*¹⁰⁶ vs. *καλέσουσιν* (cf. Matt 1:23).¹⁰⁷

In two places Justin quotes the text form of Micah 5:1f. as found in Matt 2:6.¹⁰⁸ He is not the only one to do so in the early days of Christiani-

⁹⁹ Bobichon I, 362–364.

¹⁰⁰ Bobichon I, 396.

¹⁰¹ SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 32–34, 44f., followed by ALLERT, *Revelation*, 160–161.

¹⁰² STRECKER, “Evangelienharmonie,” 315.

¹⁰³ Justin, *I.Apol.* 33.1, 4, PTS 38:80//SC 507:216, 218//OECT:172//FC 91:126.

¹⁰⁴ *Dial.* 43.8, Bobichon I, 292.

¹⁰⁵ *Dial.* 43.5; 66.2; 68.6; 71.3; 84.1, Bobichon I, 290, 362, 370, 380, 414. It is not necessary to assume a mistake on the part of the copyist.

¹⁰⁶ *Dial.* 43.4, Bobichon I, 290.

¹⁰⁷ *Dial.* 66.2, Bobichon I, 362.

¹⁰⁸ *I.Apol.* 34.1, PTS 38:82//SC 507:220//OECT:174//FC 91:128; *Dial.* 78.1f., Bobichon I, 398. He did not include *τὸν Ἰσραὴλ* at the end of this announcement, probably in order to dissociate Jesus from Israel.

ty.¹⁰⁹ Within the text of Matt 2:6, only ἡγούμενος witnesses the closeness of the New Testament tradition to cod. Alexandrinus. The negation οὐδαμῶς is also sometimes witnessed within the Septuagint tradition,¹¹⁰ whereas the readings ἐλαχίστη instead of ὀλιγοστός and ποιμαίνει instead of εἰς ἄρχοντα (cf. Hebrew לְמוֹתוֹתָיִם) in Matt 2:6 did not influence the manuscript tradition of the Septuagint.

In *Dial.* 77.8,¹¹¹ Justin quotes Jer 38[31]:15, following the New Testament text (cf. κλαυθμός καὶ ὀδρυσμός; παρακληθῆναι) but introduces it as a quotation from Jeremiah. The text-tradition of the Septuagint, however, also includes variants that are concordant with the New Testament text.¹¹²

In *1 apol.* 16.6, Justin quotes the first half of Deut 6:5 as given by Jesus; the textual form is the Markan one (ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου).¹¹³ In *Dial.* 93.2,¹¹⁴ Justin re-tells the inquiry of Jesus concerning the highest command of the law. Justin quotes Deut 6:5 according to the New Testament variants. His textual form comes close to Mark 12:29–30 with regard to the thoroughgoing genitive and ἰσχυς.¹¹⁵

The quotation of Deut 6:13 is part of Justin's retelling the story of Jesus' temptation.¹¹⁶ Thus it is understandable that he quotes Deut 6:13 in the form which is well-known to us from the New Testament (with προσκυνήσεις instead of φοβηθήσῃ; with the addition μόνω after καὶ αὐτῷ). Whereas μόνω is also witnessed by many Septuagint manuscripts,¹¹⁷ προσκυνήσεις is offered only by ms. 82.

4.2. Different Text-Forms within Justin's Work

We have to analyze the quotations from the first song of the Lord's Servant in Isa 42:1–4. Whereas *Dial.* 123.8 offers a mixed quotation, *Dial.*

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Irenaeus, *Epid.* 38, FC 8/1:77; Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* 13.2, CCSL 2:1384; Origen, *Princ.* 4:1.5, GCS 22:300; Pamphilus, *Apol. Orig.* 84, SC 464:152; Ambrose, *Luc.* 3:35, CCSL 14:94.

¹¹⁰ L 49' 407 C-239 26'.

¹¹¹ Bobichon I, 400.

¹¹² The nominative θρήνος καὶ κλαυθμός καὶ ὀδρυσμός is witnessed in many manuscripts (the genitive only in B-S-130 A-410 C-49* Arab) which are concordant with Matt 2:18, also with regard to the addition θρήνος. The verb παρακληθῆναι instead of παύσασθαι is witnessed also in B^{ms} A-410 V-233 36-311 -I C'-239-613 Bo Arab Cyr. Tht.

¹¹³ PTS 38:56//SC 507:174//OECT:118//FC 91:94.

¹¹⁴ Bobichon I, 440.

¹¹⁵ There is a difference between Rahlfs and Wevers: Ra writes καρδίας witnessed by S and A, Wevers writes διανοίας witnessed by B M^{ms} 963 108^{ms} f-129 n-458 85^{ms}-321^{ms}-344^{ms} z-18 83 509 Tht Dt^{sp} Bo. The Septuagint manuscripts 75'-127 55 offer ἰσχυς between the occurrences of ψυχῆς and δυνάμεως.

¹¹⁶ *Dial.* 103.6; 125.4, Bobichon I, 464, 522.

¹¹⁷ Cf. A Fa V 963 376 etc.

135.2 offers a text which comes close to the Septuagint. *Dial.* 123.8 deserves attention.

Justin, <i>Dial.</i> 123.8, Bobichon I 516–518	Isa 42:1–4	Matt 12:18–21
<p>Ἰακωβ ὁ παῖς μου, ἀντιλήψομαι αὐτοῦ· Ἰσραὴλ ἐκλεκτός μου,</p> <p>θήσω τὸ πνεῦμα μου ἐπ’ αὐτόν, καὶ κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει. Οὐκ ἐρίσει οὔτε κράξει, οὔτε ἀκούσεται τις ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ· κάλαμον συντετραμμένον οὐ κατεάξει καὶ λίνον τυφόμενον οὐ μὴ σβέσει, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀλήθειαν ἐξοίσει κρίσιν, ἀναλήψει καὶ οὐ μὴ θραυσθήσεται ἕως ἂν θῆ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κρίσιν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐλπιούσιν ἔθνη.</p>	<p>Ἰακωβ ὁ παῖς μου, ἀντιλήψομαι αὐτοῦ· Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου, προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχὴ μου· ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμα μου ἐπ’ αὐτόν, κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει. 2 Οὐ κεκράζεται οὐδὲ ἀνήσει, οὐδὲ ἀκουσθήσεται ἔξω ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ. 3 κάλαμον τεθλασμένον οὐ συντρίψει καὶ λίνον καπνιούμενον οὐ σβέσει, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀλήθειαν ἐξοίσει κρίσιν. 4 ἀναλάμψει καὶ οὐ θραυσθήσεται, ἕως ἂν θῆ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κρίσιν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι (Ziegler cj.: νόμῳ) αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν</p>	<p>ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ἠρέμισα, ὁ ἀγαπητός μου εἰς ὃν εὐδώκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου· θήσω τὸ πνεῦμα μου ἐπ’ αὐτόν, καὶ κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπαγγελεῖ. 19 Οὐκ ἐρίσει οὐδὲ κραυγάζει, οὔτε ἀκούσεται τις ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ. 20 κάλαμον συντετραμμένον οὐ κατεάξει καὶ λίνον τυφόμενον οὐ σβέσει, ἕως ἂν ἐκβάλῃ εἰς νίκος τὴν κρίσιν· 21 καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν.</p>

The quotation is introduced as quotation from Isaiah, not from Matthew. By using Ἰακωβ, Ἰσραὴλ, ἀντιλήψομαι, ἐκλεκτός, Justin follows the Septuagint tradition; by using θήσω, he follows Matthew, whereas ἐξοίσει again follows the Septuagint tradition. In the following, Justin’s text offers elements from Matthew (ἐρίσει, ἀκούσεται τις ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ· κάλαμον συντετραμμένον οὐ κατεάξει, τυφόμενον) but he does not adopt Matthew’s omission of ἀλλὰ εἰς ἀλήθειαν ἐξοίσει κρίσιν. ἀναλάμψει καὶ οὐ θραυσθήσεται.

In *Dial.* 135.2,¹¹⁸ introduced as quotation from Isaiah, Justin follows the Septuagint text including only minor variants (e.g. δέδωκα instead of ἔδωκα), κεκράζεται, omission of οὐδὲ ἀνήσει, συντρίψει instead of κατεάξει). The use of τυφόμενον, however, again reflects the influence of Matthew’s text. The ordering of ἐλπιούσιν ἔθνη, against the biblical pretexts, is concordant with *Dial.* 123.8.

¹¹⁸ Bobichon I, 546.

4.3. Convergences between Justin and LXX against the Synoptic Gospels

Justin quotes Ps 109:1 always according to the Septuagint (Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου).¹¹⁹ The variant ὑποκάτω (witnessed by early copies of Mark 12:36; Matt 22:44) instead of ὑποπόδιον is not important for him.

5. Justin and Paul

Justin does not mention Paul by name. According to Andreas Lindemann, however, this is not proof of Justin's unfamiliarity with the apostle. Taking into account the genre of Justin's writings, there is no need for him to name Paul explicitly.¹²⁰

5.1. Convergences between Justin and the Paul against LXX

Convergences can be studied in the quotations of Gen 15:6; Isa 52:5; Deut 27:16; Deut 21:23, and Ps 13:3.

In *Dial.* 92.3,¹²¹ Justin quotes Gen 15:6 as Old Testament text but in the form also offered in Rom 4:3 (δέ instead of καί, Ἀβραάμ instead of Ἀβράμ). Both phenomena are also witnessed in Philo of Alexandria's work,¹²² but there is no need to posit Justin's dependency on Philo. These corrections can be made independently. The form sometimes also re-occurs in the Septuagint tradition.¹²³

In *Dial.* 17.2, Justin quotes Isa 52:5, but διὰ παντός is omitted, as in Rom 2:4.¹²⁴ This omission is not witnessed in the Septuagint tradition.

Deut 27:26 is quoted in *Dial.* 95.1 according to the textual form of Gal 3:10 (τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά instead of τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου τούτου ποιῆσαι αὐτούς). The omission of ἄνθρωπος also occurs in cod. 426 and the Samaritan Pentateuch as well as in the Targum Onqelos, and thus is not originally Christian. The phrasing ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ occurs only in Christian writings. According to Oskar Skarsaune and Andreas Lindemann, Paul's letter to the Galatians is Justin's source.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ *I.Apol.* 45.2, PTS 38, 96//SC 507:248//OECT:198//FC 91:150; *Dial.* 32.6; 56.14, Bobichon I, 262, 328; cf. also *Barn* 12.10; *1 Clem* 36:5.

¹²⁰ LINDEMANN, *Paulus*, 366.

¹²¹ Bobichon I, 436.

¹²² With regard to δέ cf. Philo, *Mut. nom.* 177, LCL 275:232; with regard to Ἀβραάμ cf. Philo, *Migr.* 44 LCL 261:156; *Mut. nom.* 177 LCL 275:232.

¹²³ 53; 344*.

¹²⁴ Bobichon I, 226.

¹²⁵ LINDEMANN, *Paulus*, 362; SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 119.

In *Dial.* 96.1,¹²⁶ Justin quotes Deut 21:23 as a saying of the law but uses ἐπικατάρατος instead of κακατηραμένος and the article ὁ before κρεμάμενος, in analogy to Gal 3:13; likewise, ὑπὸ θεοῦ is omitted in Justin's text as in Paul. ἐπικατάρατος is not witnessed in the Septuagint tradition. Of course, θεοῦ is the rendering of אלהים, witnessed in most of the Hebrew manuscripts. Jerome rebukes the secondary omission of אלהים by Jews who accused Christians of illicit emendation of the biblical text.¹²⁷ Despite all polemics, Jerome's remark could be a reference to manuscripts without אלהים/θεοῦ as the textual basis for Paul and Justin. The article ὁ before κρεμάμενος occurs also in Septuagint manuscripts.¹²⁸

A special case is the quotation of Ps 13:3 in Justin,¹²⁹ whose expansions from Ps 5:10; 139:4; 9:28; Isa 59:7b.8 are close¹³⁰ to Paul's text in Rom 3:13–18. Concerning the textual history of Ps 13, Alfred Rahlfs stated that the expansions in the manuscripts of the Septuagint are influenced by Paul's text;¹³¹ according to Dietrich-Alex Koch, Justin's quotation proves the dependency of the apologist on Paul.¹³² Following a general line of diminishing New Testament influence on Septuagint tradition, other scholars regard Paul not as the author of this expansion but as witness for its existence in at least the first century. According to Ulrich Rösen-Weinhold, the long text of Ps 13 is witnessed in all textual affiliations; therefore the archetype has its origin in the second century at the latest. Further, there is no parallel with regard to the mere length of the addition, and the New Testament text-forms had only a limited influence on the Septuagint tradition.¹³³ Martin Karrer, Marcus Sigismund and Ulrich Schmid add arguments from the scribes' use of quotation markers: scribe D in Cod. Sinaiticus only remarks "from Psalm 13 and 52" and identifies the texts which are integrated from other Psalms as part of the tradition of Pss 13 and 52 known to him, and he does not expand the text of Ps 52 in accordance with Rom 3.¹³⁴ Justin's dependency on Paul is no counter-argument against the thesis of a pre-Pauline expansion of Ps 13.

¹²⁶ Bobichon I, 446.

¹²⁷ Jerome, *In Gal.*, CCSL 77 A:92.

¹²⁸ V 15-72-82-376 d 246 n 30'-343 t 318 18'-120-630*-669 646.

¹²⁹ *Dial.* 27.3, Bobichon I, 248.

¹³⁰ There are only small variants (συνιών, perhaps influenced by Ps 13:2, instead of ποιῶν χρηστότητα). The reading ἡχρεώθησαν instead of ἡχρεώθησαν has analogies in the Antiochene text. Ps 5:10 is presented in reversed order. In the quotation of Isa 59:7b.8, the text of Justin offers ἐγνωσαν in analogy to the expansion in Ps 13:3 and Rom 3:17, not οἶδασι (Isa 59:8^{LXX}).

¹³¹ RAHLFS, *Psalmi*, 30–31, 96.

¹³² KOCH, *Schrift*, 179–184.

¹³³ RÜSEN-WEINHOLD, *Septuagintapsalter*, 152.

¹³⁴ KARRER/SIGISMUND/SCHMID, "Beobachtungen," 148–149.

In the quotation of 3Kgdms 19:10, 18, Justin follows the text of Rom 11:3 (κάγω ὑπελείφθην μόνος instead of καὶ ὑπολέλειμαι μονώτατος; omission of λαβεῖν αὐτήν).¹³⁵ The omission of λαβεῖν αὐτήν could be a coincidence and therefore a non-variant; the analogy in wording κάγω ὑπελείφθην μόνος, however, is not co-incidental but is best explained by the thesis of Justin's dependence on Paul.¹³⁶ In the formulation of the divine answer, the feminine article τῆ before Βάαλ (instead of τῷ Βάαλ) is witnessed not only in Rom 11:4 and Justin's text, but also in the Antiochene text of 3Kgdms 19:18 which probably is the source of Rom 11:4.¹³⁷

5.2. Textual Diversity within Justin's Works

Textual differences between different quotations of the same biblical verse re-occur in quotations which are comparable to Paul. One example is the quotation of Isa 29:14, which is also found in 1 Cor 1:19. The text of Justin sometimes offers ἀφελῶ before τὴν σοφίαν,¹³⁸ and sometimes ἀπολῶ¹³⁹ in accordance with the Septuagint and with Paul. The reading κρύψω in *Dial.* 32.5 and 123.4 agrees with the Septuagint against Paul. The reading ἀθετήσω (1 Cor 1:19) may be a correction by a later copyist.¹⁴⁰

5.3. An Example for Convergence between Justin and the LXX against Paul

One of the three quotations of Isa 65:2¹⁴¹ – each one is introduced as quotation from Isaiah – offers a text in which the beginning follows the order of the Septuagint (ἐξέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν), not the reversed ordering as in Paul's use (ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου). The use of ἐπί instead of πρὸς underlines the closeness of Justin's text to the Antiochene text.¹⁴²

¹³⁵ *Dial.* 39.1, Bobichon I, 280.

¹³⁶ Cf. SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 95: "copied almost *verbatim*" (author's italics).

¹³⁷ KREUZER, "Übersetzung," 109 fn. 16. The feminine article also occurs in *Dial.* 46.6; 136.3, Bobichon I, 298, 550 and is thus a stable part of the textual tradition.

¹³⁸ *Dial.* 32.5; 78.11, Bobichon I, 262, 402.

¹³⁹ *Dial.* 123.4, Bobichon I, 514.

¹⁴⁰ SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 58.

¹⁴¹ *Dial.* 24.4, Bobichon I, 242. The quotations in *I.Apol.* 35.3; 38.1, PTS 38:82, 86//SC 507:222, 228//OECT:176, 180//FC 91:128, 134, do not contain the phrasing ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν. In *I.Apol.* 49.2, the text of Justin offers ἐπὶ τοῦ πορευομένου ἐν ὁδῷ οὐ καλῆ instead of οἱ οὐκ ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδῷ ἀληθινῇ. SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 65, ULRICH, *Justin, Apologien*, 397 suggest a quotation from a testimony book.

¹⁴² L' 233 198 544.

6. Convergence between Justin and the so-called Deutero-Pauline Epistles

There are hints that Justin also knew what we call the Deutero-Pauline Epistles.¹⁴³ In his *Dialog*, he twice¹⁴⁴ quotes Ps 67:19 according to the text-form found in Eph 4:8 which differs from the main line of the Septuagint text in some details: Ps 67:19 is formulated in the second, Eph 4:8 in the third person; Eph 4:8 offers *ἔδωκε* instead of *ἔλαβες*. Some readings of Eph 4:8 are witnessed also in the Septuagint manuscript tradition (*ἀνέβη*;¹⁴⁵ *ἡχμαλώτευσεν*;¹⁴⁶ *ἐν ἀνθρώποις*¹⁴⁷). In late Septuagint manuscripts, even *ἔδωκε* instead of *ἔλαβες* is witnessed.¹⁴⁸

7. Justin and the Letter to the Hebrews

In twelve cases,¹⁴⁹ Justin and Hebrews use the same Old Testament text. Justin's dependency on Hebrews cannot be proven by *Dial.* 63.4¹⁵⁰ – if I have not overlooked anything, the wording is identical with the Septuagint text. Similarly, the analogy of paraphrasing Ps 109:4 and Gen 14:18–20 in *Dial.* 19.4¹⁵¹ does not prove dependency but can be explained as independent use of two Old Testament texts by two learned authors. The quotation of Ps 109:4, however, deserves attention: in both Justin and Hebr 5:6; 7:17,19, this verse is quoted without the predicate *εἶ* after *σύ* (*Σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ*).¹⁵² Concerning the text form of Old Testament quotations, Justin does not regard Hebrews as authoritative. This can be exemplified by the quote of Jer 38[31]:31–32.

In *Dial.* 11.3, the text is introduced as a quotation of Jeremiah. The variant *λέγει* instead of *φησὶν* is well-known also in other Christian writings but also in the Septuagint tradition.¹⁵³ Justin continues following the Septuagint tradition but his variant *ἢ ἐπελαβόμεν* is not witnessed either in

¹⁴³ SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 100.

¹⁴⁴ *Dial.* 39.4; 87.6, Bobichon I, 280, 426.

¹⁴⁵ S' Sa La^G; *ἀναβάς* steht in B 119' 2047.

¹⁴⁶ S' Sa La.

¹⁴⁷ S' Sa Rs' Aug GaHi L' 55 2047.

¹⁴⁸ Bo Sah La^{R(s)}.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 107f.

¹⁵⁰ Against SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 107.

¹⁵¹ Bobichon I, 228.

¹⁵² *Dial.* 33.2; 63.3, Bobichon I, 264, 352–354. In later manuscript tradition of Hebrews, the predicate is added: Pap. 46 P 629 (Hebr 5:6); Pap. 46, D² K P 326 1175 (Hebr 7:17.19).

¹⁵³ The introductory *φησὶν* is witnessed only in B-106' C'.

Septuagint manuscripts or in Hebrews manuscripts.¹⁵⁴ The shortening of οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἦν to οὐχ ἦν is well-known in Christian literature but not in Septuagint manuscripts. Justin does not use the variants συντελέσω ἐπί and ἐποίησα as found in Hebr 8:8–9.

8. Justin and Luke-Acts

In the case of Luke, we observe Justin's reception of Lukan *Sondergut* in Dial. 103,8.

According to some recent publications, Acts is to be dated in the middle of the second century.¹⁵⁵ Mount states that we have no certain proof for the reception of Acts before Irenaeus.¹⁵⁶ In my view, however, we should consider an influence of Luke on Justin. In *1 apol.* 50, the motifs of vision of ascension, faith, power, and mission are combined.¹⁵⁷ This combination is best explained by positing Justin's dependency on Acts 1. Susan Wendel emphasizes that Luke did not use the argument of the "superiority of the Jewish Scriptures over non-Jewish traditions."¹⁵⁸

8.1. Convergences between Justin and Acts against the Septuagint

Justin quotes Ps 30:6 in the form of Luke 23:46 including παρατίθεμαι instead of παραθήσομαι.¹⁵⁹ Another example for convergence is Joel 3:1f.

Justin, <i>Dial.</i> 87,6, Bobichon I 426	Joel 3,1f.	Apg 2,17f.
Καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐκχεῶ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα,	Καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐκχέω ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐπύνια ἐνυπνιασθήσονται, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὀράσεις ᾄψονται,	ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, ..., ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὀράσεις ᾄψονται καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐπύνιοις ἐνυπνιασθήσονται

¹⁵⁴ ZIEGLER, *Ieremias*, 362, lists quotations in ancient Christian literature which come close to Justin's text. This closeness can, however, be the result of independent stylistic improvement.

¹⁵⁵ MÜLLER, "Reception," 330; GREGORY, *Reception*, 353; KLINGHARDT, "Markion."

¹⁵⁶ MOUNT, *Pauline Christianity*.

¹⁵⁷ *1.Apol.* 50.12, PTS 38:102//SC 507:260//OECT:208//FC 91:160.

¹⁵⁸ WENDEL, *Interpretation*, 279.

¹⁵⁹ *Dial.* 105.5, Bobichon I, 468.

καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου, καὶ προφητεύσουσι.	καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις ἐκχέω ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου	καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις ἐκχέω ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου, καὶ προφητεύσουσι.
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By the phrasing “and in another prophecy it is said”, Justin introduces his short version which is not proof of a similar short textual form of Joel 3.1f. At the beginning of the quotation, Justin follows the text known from the Septuagint; the accusative πνεῦμα is witnessed also in Aquila, Symmachus, Syra Harclensis and in the Akhmimic and (in part) in the Ethiopic version. The personal pronoun μου after δούλους and δούλας, witnessed in Justin’s text and in Acts 2:18, is missing in parts of the Septuagint tradition.¹⁶⁰ The concluding words καὶ προφητεύσουσι reoccur also within the Septuagint tradition.¹⁶¹ According to Dominique Barthélemy, Justin quotes the first half of a *kai-ge*-manuscript.¹⁶² According to Skarsaune, however, the introductory formula “and in another prophecy, it is said” refers to a testimony collection: if Justin had been familiar with Acts, he would have preferred the meaningful introduction of Acts 2:16 instead of this formula.¹⁶³

8.2. Convergences between Justin and the Septuagint against Acts

The quotation of Am 5:18–27 is text-critically complex. In his quotation of Amos 5:23, Justin offers ἀπόστησον, witnessed also by other Christian authors, instead of μετάστησον (LXX). The name of the second deity in Amos 5:26 is rendered Ῥαφάν (witnessed only in the Arabic version of Amos 5:26) instead of Ῥαιφάν; the Septuagint offers Ῥαιφάν in the main text; in Acts, there are some forms of the name including Ῥαιφάν but not Ῥαφάν. The pronoun αὐτῶν of the Septuagint tradition is missing in both Acts and Justin.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, Justin follows the Septuagint against Acts by naming the place of Israel’s exile as Damascus, not Babylon. According to Oskar Skarsaune, Justin had a *Dodekapropheton* ms. at his disposal.¹⁶⁵

The example of Isa 53:7 in *I apol.* 50.10¹⁶⁶ is also problematic. Similarly to Isa 53:7, the text of Justin offers κείροντος instead of κείραντος (Acts 8:32). In Acts 8:32, a few manuscripts (B, 33, 1739) also read κείροντος,

¹⁶⁰ W S*-V LaCAchSap Tert III 579, further in parts of the textual transmission of Augustine, *civ. Dei* 18.30.

¹⁶¹ 36-III-49’ 87mg-68-130’- LacSap Bo Symp Arm Th.

¹⁶² BARTHÉLEMY, *Devanciers*, 208.

¹⁶³ SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 123.

¹⁶⁴ It is, however, also missing in A-Q^{txt} L⁷⁻³⁶ C-68.

¹⁶⁵ SKARSAUNE, *Proof*, 124.

¹⁶⁶ PTS 38:102//SC 507:260//OECT:208//FC 91:160.

understandable as a correction to the Septuagint text. Concerning Isa 53:7, the reading is witnessed in some Septuagint manuscripts¹⁶⁷ but also in *Barn* 5.2 and *1 Clem* 16.7.

9. Conclusion

The results of this study can be summarized in the following way:

1. Justin's texts are transmitted in only one reliable manuscript. Therefore, a level of uncertainty remains. We do not know how often Justin's text was copied before the known manuscript. This manuscript was not free from mistakes. A general mistrust, however, is not justified.

2. Differences in the quotations of the same biblical verse are sometimes the result of quotation by heart.

3. Justin had texts of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Psalms, probably also a *Dodekapheton* and Genesis at his disposal, perhaps also Ezekiel. Verses of Leviticus and Numbers were known to him in another way.

4. He knew the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, as well as Acts, Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians. I am not sure that he knew the Letter to the Hebrews.

5. Some readings of Justin's text come close to the so-called Antiochene text. This might be a proof for the dissemination of this text-type even before Origen's time. These text-forms, however, are witnessed only in the "lemma" and not as part of Justin's commentary.

6. Of course, Justin never refers to a testimony collection. In his apologetic situation, this would not have made much sense. In some cases, we can debate the use of testimony books, but I am reluctant to do so. *Entia non sunt multiplicanda sine necessitate*.

7. In some cases, Justin followed the New Testament textual tradition, while in other cases he did not. A "New Testament" reading was not *per se* authoritative for him.¹⁶⁸

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¹⁶⁷ A' V 763-6-86c-233txt-456.

¹⁶⁸ I thank James Andrew Doole for improving my English.

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