

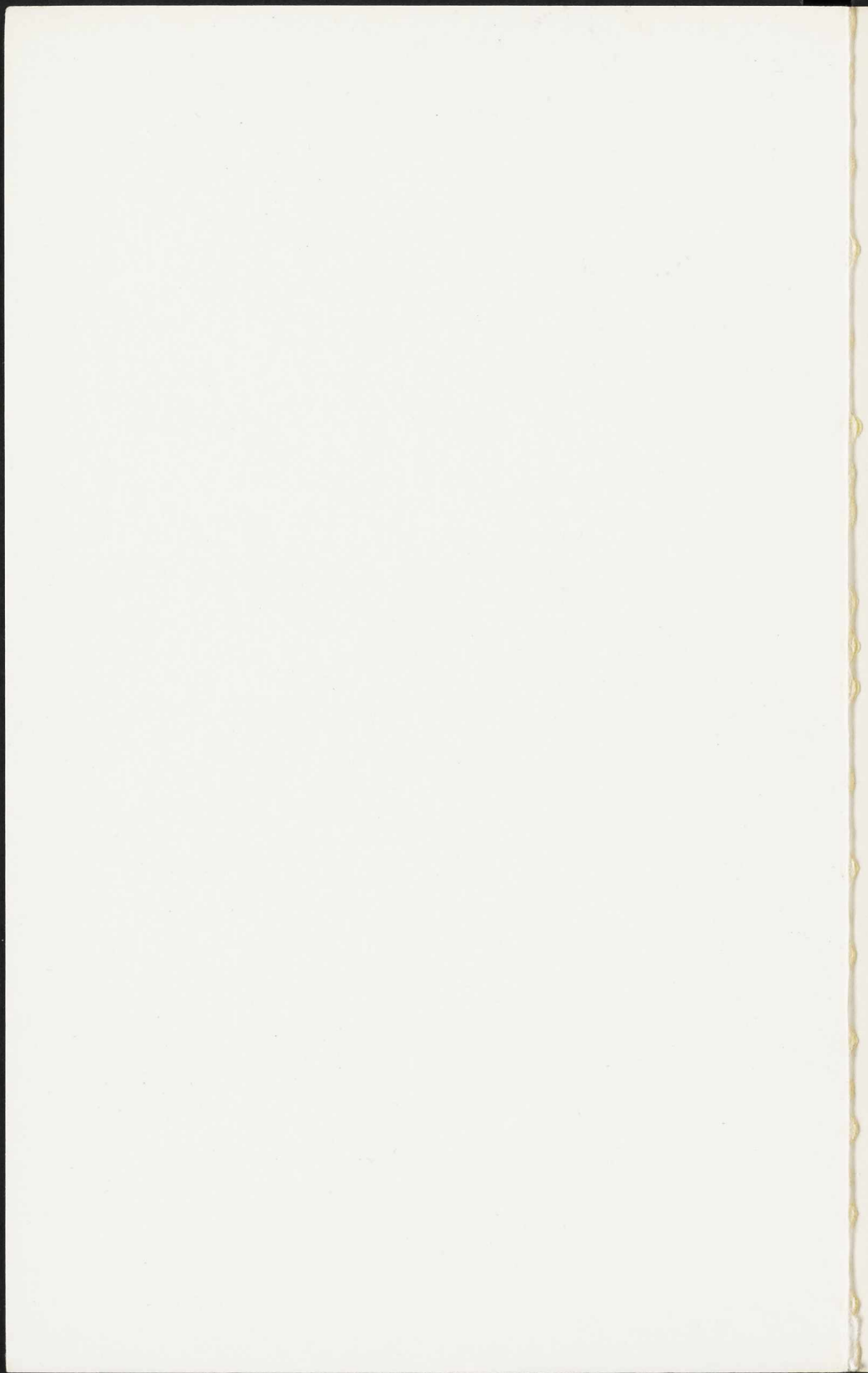
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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A STUDY OF THE CONTACTS THAT EXIST
BETWEEN ST. LUKE AND ST. JOHN

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Source analysis of the Gospel of Luke has usually resulted in the positing of three main documents or traditions (Mark, "Q," and "L") by most interpreters in the past as the basic sources which Luke used in the composition of his Gospel.¹ However, a number of recent studies of the Third Gospel have suggested that this analysis does not seem to do justice to all the phenomena that are to be found in the text of Luke.² As E.P. Sanders has observed, there now exists "strong evidence that the later Evangelists had traditions parallel to and independent of their primary sources."³

For example, there now exists considerable agreement that Luke exhibits less dependence on Mark/Matthew⁴ in his passion/resurrection narratives than elsewhere, and that at numerous places in chs. 22-24 (less than 25% of the verses in Luke 22-24 have a real parallel in either Mark or Matthew) Luke seems to be following an independent non-Markan/Matthean source.⁵ Thus H. Schürmann, in his source-critical study of Luke 22:7-38, has

1. E.g., see F.C. Burkitt, Gospel History and Its Transmission; B.H. Streeter, The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins; S. M. Gilmour, "St. Luke," in IntB, 8, pp. 10-19; Robert M. Grant, Historical Introduction to the New Testament, pp. 110-18; J.M. Creed, Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel; Stephen Neill, The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1961, pp. 104-27; G.M. Styler, "Excursus IV: The Priority of Mark" in C.F.D. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament, pp. 223-32.

2. E.g., see E. Osty, "Les points de contact entre le récit de la passion dans saint Luc et dans saint Jean," Mélanges J. Lebreton (RSR, 39, 1951); E.P. Sanders, The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition (SNTS, Monograph Series #9), esp. p. 289; or Vincent Taylor, The Passion Narrative of St. Luke (SNTS, Monograph Series #19), esp. pp. 3-38.

3. E.P. Sanders, op. cit., p. 289. Cf. also W. Marxsen (Mark the Evangelist, p. 26) who has observed that "there is considerable agreement today 'that the process of the origin of our Synoptic Gospels was certainly more complex than the oversimplifying abstraction of the two source theory' describes it."

4. Whether one takes some form of the "two source theory," some form of the theory that Luke had access to an earlier recension of Mark (or even an "Ur-Markus") than the one we possess (e.g., cf. R. Bultmann, Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition), or some form of the hypothesis of Matthean priority (e.g., cf. W.F. Farmer, The Synoptic Problem), most writers will grant that Luke used some written form of the Markan/Matthean tradition as one of his major sources in the writing of his gospel.

5. This thesis was first developed by A.M. Perry (The Sources of Luke's Passion Narrative) in 1920, and since then

assigned well over half of the Lukan material in this passage (esp. vss. 15-20a, 24-32, 35-38) to a non-Markan pre-Lukan source,⁸ P. Winter has urged that in his Passion narrative Luke "used beside the Marcan account another record, and it appears to me that this non-Markan record formed a coherent consecutive narrative,"⁷ while the late Dr. Vincent Taylor, in his last major contribution to New Testament studies, wrote that "with the exception of Lk. xxii 1-13 and 54b-61 (the denial) and xxiii 50-4 (the burial), together with Markan 'insertions' and 'additions', and other additions and modifications introduced by Luke himself when he composed the Gospel, the Lukan narratives of the Passion and resurrection were probably derived from an earlier non-Markan source or sources."⁸

Moreover, a careful comparison of Luke with the comparable passages in Mark and Matthew discloses that Luke frequently modifies, alters, or departs from the form of the tradition found in Mark/Matthew. H. Conzelmann, in his detailed application of the principles of redaction criticism to Luke,⁹ proceeded on the assumption that Luke's alterations of Mark discloses Luke's basic theological stance. However, T. Schramm, in a recent monograph, has argued against this hypothesis, and in a detailed study of many of the instances in which Luke altered his basic Markan source, has urged that many of the Lukan divergences from Mark were due to the influence of other variant traditions upon him and should not necessarily be regarded as evidence of Luke's own point of view.¹⁰ Schramm's monograph points up the need for a reconsideration of certain aspects of the Lukan question and discloses that in the final analysis redaction criticism cannot be isolated from literary criticism.

An examination of those passages in which Luke has altered or digressed from the form of the tradition found in Mark/Matthew also discloses that many of these Lukan passages contain a number of significant contacts with the Gospel of John (cf. esp. Luke 3:1-22; 4:14-30; 5:1-11; 7:36-38; 9:1-36; 19:37-40; 22:3-24:53 et. parr.). Thus E. Osty has not only identified over forty Lukan/Johannine agreements in the passion narratives alone, but he has also isolated a number of Johannisms in these same Lukan passages.¹¹ S. I. Buse, in another recent study, has pointed out that while the contacts between Matthew and John in the passion narratives are neither numerous or decisive, those between Luke and John in these same narratives are both close and quite numerous.¹² Raymond E. Brown, in his examination of

has been supported by such other writers as J. Jeremias (The Eucharistic Words of Jesus), P. Winter (The Treatment of His Sources by the Third Evangelist, in Studia Theologica, VIII, 11 (1954)), pp. 138-72), E. Osty (op. cit.), F. Rehkopf (Die lukanische Sonderquelle), and P. Benoit (The Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ).

6. H. Schurmann, Quellenkritisch Untersuchung des lukanischen Abendmahlsberiches Lk. xxii. 7-38, Part III, p. 139.

7. P. Winter, op. cit., p. 172.

8. Vincent Taylor, op. cit., p. 119.

9. Cf. H. Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke.

10. Cf. T. Schramm, Der Markus-Stoff Bei Lukas (SNTS, Monograph Series #14).

11. Cf. E. Osty, op. cit., esp. pp. 151-4.

12. Cf. S. I. Buse, "St. John and the Passion Narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke," NTS, VII (1960), pp. 65-76.

these same narratives, has urged that some of these Lukan/Johannine agreements are "too precise to be accidental," and on the basis of these agreements has suggested that "it is not impossible that Luke knew an early form of the developing Johannine tradition."¹³ In particular, the frequent instances in which Luke agrees with John against both Mark and Matthew suggest that we may have been wrong in thinking that the number of contacts which exist between Luke and John indicates a knowledge of Luke¹⁴ (or the traditions that lie back of Luke)¹⁵ by the fourth evangelist, for these latter theories do not seem adequate to us to explain the many divergences that Luke makes from the Markan/Matthean traditions¹⁶ in the direction of the Johannine tradition in those pericopes that Luke shares with all three of his co-evangelists (see below, Sec. I). For example, observe the following list of some of the agreements which Luke shares with John as opposed to both Mark and Matthew:

* Luke (3:15) and John (1:20) are the only gospels which suggest that some of the people were beginning to think that John the Baptist might be the Messiah, while Acts 13:35 is the only NT passage outside of John 1:20 and 3:38 that portrays John as denying that he was the Messiah.

* Only Luke (3:3) and John (1:28; 3:23; 10:40) suggest that John the Baptist had an extensive itinerant ministry in contrast to Mark 1:4 and Matt 3:1.

* Only Luke (4:14-16) and John 2:1-11) describe Jesus' opening activity in Galilee as occurring in the "hill country near Nazareth"¹⁷ instead of by the Sea of Galilee as do both Mark (1:16-20) and Matthew (4:12-22).

* Only Luke (5:1-11) and John (21:1-14) contain a description of a miraculous catch of fish.

* Luke (9:10-17) agrees with John (6:1-14) against both Mark and Matthew in recording only one miraculous feeding.

13. Raymond E. Brown, The Gospel According to John XII-XXI (Anchor Bible, 29A), p. 791. Cf. also R. Dunkerly ("Lazarus," NTS, 5 ((1958-59))), pp. 321-27), who suggests that because Luke 16:27-31 seems like a second ending to the Lukan parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31), that the present Lukan ending to this parable may well have been influenced by the Johannine tradition regarding Lazarus rather than vice versa.

14. E.g., cf. J. H. Bernard, St. John, ICC, pp. xcix-c; W. F. Howard, "St. John," in IntB, 8, p. 458; J. A. Bailey, The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John (SNT VII, 1963); S. Mendner, "Zum Problem 'Johannes und die Synoptiker,'" NTS 4 (1957-58), pp. 282-307; or C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, esp. pp. 34f., 96f., 844.

15. E.g., cf. Pierson Parker, "Two Editions of John," JBL, 75 (1956), pp. 303-14; E. Otsy, op. cit., pp. 146-54; M. -E. Boismard, "Saint Luc et la redaction du quatrieme evangile," RB, 69 (1962), pp. 185-211.

16. Although this writer presently believes that Luke used some written form of Mark as one of his primary sources in the writing of his gospel, inasmuch as this paper (with only a few exceptions) will examine only those agreements of Luke with John against both Mark and Matthew, the only assumption this paper will make with regard to the synoptic problem will be that Luke was not the earliest of the Synoptics and that Luke used some written form of Mark/Matthew as one of his major sources in attempting to write a "Vita Jesu."

17. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, The Gospel According to John I-XII

* Luke (19:38) and John (12:13) are the only evangelists who portray the crowd as acclaiming Jesus as their king in their accounts of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem.

* Luke (22:3) and John (13:27) are the only NT passages that attribute Judas' act of treachery to the fact that Satan had entered into him.

* Both Luke (22:31-34) and John (13:36-38) place Jesus' prediction of Peter's three-fold denial in the upper room instead of later on the way to the Mount of Olives as do both Mark (14:26-30) and Matthew (26:30-35).

* Luke (22:50) agrees with John (18:10) in asserting that it was the "right ear" of the servant of the high priest that was cut off.

* Luke and John both contain a double question concerning Jesus' messiahship and divine sonship (cf. Luke 22:67,70; John 10:24,36) in contrast to both Mark (14:61) and Matthew (26:63).

* Only Luke (23:3) and John (18:33-38) depict Jesus as answering the questions of Pilate in contrast to both Mark 15:4-5 and Matthew 27:14.

* Both Luke and John contain three assertions of Jesus' innocence by Pilate in quite similar language as well as the double demand, "crucify him, crucify him" (cf. Luke 23:20-23; John 19:4-6) in contrast to both Mark 15:13-14 and Matthew 27:22-23.

* Luke (23:10-16) agrees with John (19:1-3) in placing the scourging of Jesus (or the threat of scourging) as well as the mocking of Jesus prior to Pilate's affirming of his death sentence instead of afterwards as do both Mark (15:15-20) and Matthew (27:24-31).

* Luke 23:53 agrees with John 19:41 in asserting that the tomb in which Jesus was buried had never been used before, and both Luke and John use almost identical language in contrast to both Mark 15:46 and Matthew 27:60.

* Luke (24:4) agrees with John (20:12) in mentioning two angels at the tomb in contrast to Mark (15:5) and Matthew (28:2-4) who mention only one angel.

* Luke (24:13ff.) and John (20:11-31) both place Jesus' post-resurrectional appearances in Jerusalem and its vicinity instead of in Galilee as Matthew did (28:16-20) and as Mark apparently intended to do (16:7).¹⁸

* Both Luke 24:36 and John 20:19 depict Jesus as suddenly appearing to his disciples as they were gathered together in Jerusalem, and both contain the statement, "Jesus (himself) stood among them," in quite comparable language.

* Only Luke 24:40 and John 20:27 portray Jesus as inviting his disciples to touch his hands in order to convince them that he was really alive.

The presence of these and other agreements of Luke with John against both Mark and Matthew suggests the probability that a relationship of some type exists between these two gospels.

(Anchor Bible, 29), p. 98.

18. For a contrary opinion regarding Mark 16:7, see W. Marxsen, op. cit., esp. pp. 75-95.

Thus it has frequently been urged that these similarities demonstrate the dependence of John upon Luke or upon the traditions that lie back of Luke (cf. above, esp. footnotes 14-15). Samuel Sandmel has, however, rightly advised caution in the study of all such parallels when he wrote:

I am not denying that literary parallels and literary influence, in the form of source and derivation, exist. . . . However, I am speaking words of caution about exaggerations about the parallels and about source and derivation. . . . Thus, in the case of passages in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, the concession that parallel passages do exist falls short of determining whether the Chronicler borrowed from the author of Samuel-Kings, or vice versa. That determination rests on inherent probabilities which emerge from close study.¹⁹

Moreover, the continuing examination of the parallels that exist between John and the Synoptics has produced a growing hesitation on the part of a considerable number of writers to attribute any real dependence on the Synoptics to John.²⁰ P. Gardner-Smith and C. H. Dodd have been quite influential in this direction, and although they may have built on too narrow a foundation, the hypothesis of John's use of the Synoptics seems to have been rightly called into question.²¹ As D. Moody Smith, Jr., has observed:

It can no longer be assumed that the burden of proof lies solely on whoever questions or denies the relationship (i. e., John's dependence upon the Synoptics). Nor can one who affirms this relationship assume it and merely bring forth evidence to illustrate and support it. It is precisely the question of the relationship itself which is at issue.²²

Our own study of this problem has led us to question John's use of the Synoptics (esp. Luke) for the following reasons:

(1) When John is compared with the Synoptics (esp. Mark/Matthew), it is to be observed that not only does John contain few close verbal parallels with them,²³ but even the few Johannine

19. Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," JBL, 81 (1962), pp. 1-2.

20. E.g., cf. P. Gardner-Smith, Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels; C. H. Dodd, Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel; E. R. Goodenough, "John a Primitive Gospel," JBL, 64 (1945), esp. pp. 150-60; R. Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes (1957 ed.); B. Noack, Zur johanneischen Tradition, esp. pp. 89-109; B. M. F. van Iersel, "Tradition und Redaktion in Joh. 1:19-36," NovT, 3 (1959), pp. 245-67; I. Buse, "St. John and 'The First Synoptic Pericope,'" NovT, 3 (1959), pp. 57-61; Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., esp. pp. xlv-xlvii, 236-50, 788-91.

21. E.g., cf. Frederick H. Borsch, The Son of Man in Myth and History, p. 258, who urges that John's treatment of similar materials is poorly explained by literary hypotheses; P. Borgen, "John and the Synoptics in the Passion Narratives," NTS, 5 (1958-59), pp. 246-59, who acknowledges that it is improbable that any direct literary relationship exists between John and the Synoptics; or Pierson Parker, "Mark, Acts, and Galilean Christianity," NTS, 16 (1969-70), p. 302, who urges that the Gospel of John looks "like an independent repository."

22. D. Moody Smith, Jr., "John 12:12ff. And the Question of John's Use of the Synoptics," JBL, 82 (1963), p. 59.

23. Cf. D. Moody Smith, Jr., ibid., p. 63, who observes that

passages that can be compared exhibit "innumerable disagreements, additions, subtractions, and inexplicable departures from the comparable synoptic passages"²⁴ (cf. Sections II-VIII of this study).

(2) The few passages in John that are comparable to the Synoptics (esp. Luke) occur almost entirely in those sections of the gospel that probably comprised the primitive kerygmatic outline for the ministry of Jesus²⁵ (e.g., the pericopes describing the Jordan ministry of John the Baptist, the feeding of the five thousand, the entry, and the Passion²⁶/Resurrection narratives).

(3) With the exception of the mention of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus (although in entirely different contexts), there is a complete lack of any real parallels between John and the two sizeable sections of Luke (1:1-2:52; 9:51-18:14) that are unique to the third evangelist. Even in the passion narratives, there are no contacts between John and the peculiarly Lukan material (e.g., Luke 23:6-12, 28-31, 39-43) despite the fact that a considerable number of agreements exist between Luke and John in those passages that Luke shares with all three of his co-evangelists (cf. Sec. VII of this study).

(4) John seems to contain several passages (e.g., 1:34 ((John's assertion that the witness to Jesus at the beginning of his ministry had been given by John the Baptist rather than, as it is in the Synoptics, by a voice from heaven)),²⁷ 11:2,²⁸ 11:37,²⁹

"the various lists of verbatim or nearly verbatim parallels between John and the Synoptics (e.g., cf. J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. xcvi-xcviii; B. H. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-8; C. K. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6) never turn out to be very long."

24. Cf. F. Lamar Cribbs, "A Reassessment of the Date of Origin and the Destination of the Gospel of John," JBL, 89 (1970), p. 39.

25. Cf. C. H. Dodd, "Le kérygma apostolique dans le quatrième évangile," RHPR, 31 (1951), pp. 265-74; H. Balmford, "The Structure of the Fourth Gospel," StEv, II, pp. 25-33; or Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. xli-xliii.

26. E.g., cf. W. Marxsen (*op. cit.*, p. 31), who observes that "the passion narrative admittedly represents the first stereotyped written unit in the tradition of Jesus."

27. See my recent remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 41) in the JBL regarding John 1:34 about how unusual it is that John portrayed the witness to Jesus as "God's Chosen One" at the beginning of his ministry as being given by John the Baptist despite the contrary witness of the Synoptics (cf. Matt 3:17; Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22) and despite John's frequent appeal "to the witness of the Father" (5:37; 8:18; 12:30).

28. Cf. Sec. IV of this study for our treatment of the significance that John 11:2 ("It was Mary who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was ill") has with regard to the possible relationships that may exist between St. Luke and St. John.

29. Observe that John, at 11:37 ("Could not he who opened the eyes of the blind man have kept this man from dying?") and elsewhere (cf. John 4:46; 7:23; 12:9ff.), when referring to other miracles of Jesus, refers only to miracles which he had already described or mentioned in his gospel (cf. John 4:46; 7:23; 9:13-16; 12:9ff.). On the other hand, both Matthew (11:4f.) and Luke (7:22) refer to types of miracles that they do not elsewhere describe in their gospels but which are described in Mark 7:31-37 (e.g., Luke 7:22 refers to the healing of the deaf although

and 12:34 ((The Johannine inference that the title, "the Son of man," was a term that was largely unfamiliar despite the frequency with which this term occurs in the Synoptics))³⁰ that would seem to be incompatible with the hypothesis that John knew one or more of the synoptic gospels.

(5) John's failure to allude to certain aspects of the Synoptic traditions that could have strengthened such typical Johannine motifs as his extensive Exodus typology,³¹ his frequent references to the glory of Jesus as God's unique Son (cf. John 1:18,49; 3:16,18; 5:22-26; 10:36),³² and his repeated assertion of the Father's love for the Son³³ would also seem to be quite incompatible with the thesis that John knew the Synoptics (esp. Luke) or the distinctive traditions that lie back of the Third Gospel in particular.

Thus, even though the evidence that has been accumulating in recent years has not resolved the issue of John's relationship to the Synoptics, clearly the hypothesis that John used the Synoptics can no longer be assumed. In view, therefore, of the increasing uncertainty that exists with regard to John's knowledge of Luke, and taking consideration of the existence in Luke of certain phenomena that could possibly point in another direction, it seems to me that the Lukan agreements with John against Mark and Matthew need to be reexamined again in a climate of inquiry that is unhampered by any unquestioned assumption with regard to the possible relationships that may exist between the Gospels of Luke and John and which can consider all the relationships between these two gospels that are possible.

Moreover, when a study of the similarities that exist between Luke and John is enlarged to include the comparable Markan and Matthean passages, then it seems to me that an analysis of the various phenomena that such a study discloses makes imperative a reexamination of these Lukan/Johannine agreements against both Mark and Matthew. In particular, the fact that Luke agrees quite closely with Mark and Matthew in those pericopes that he

he never does actually describe any such healing, but Mark does at 7:32-35). However, John 11:37 contains no allusion to the synoptic tradition of Jesus' raising of the dead (cf. Matt 9:18ff.; 10:8; 11:5; Mark 5:35ff.; Luke 7:11ff.,22; 8:49ff.) or evinces any awareness of the existence of such a tradition in relating the grief over the death of Lazarus or elsewhere. Instead, John 11:37 portrays the Jews as asking only whether he who had opened the eyes of the blind man (cf. John 9:1ff.) could not have "kept this man from dying."

30. As Edwin D. Freed has shown ("The Son of Man in the Fourth Gospel," JBL, 86 ((1967)), p. 409), "there is no separate Son of man christology in the fourth gospel," and that in John "the various titles (esp. "Christ," "the Son of God," "the Son," and "the Son of man") are all used as variations for each other and for the name of Jesus."

31. Cf. F. Lamar Cribbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 40,44-47.

32. E.g., John makes no reference to the transfiguration of Jesus (cf. Matt 17:1-8; Mark 9:2-8; Luke 9:28-36) despite the fact, as Pierson Parker ("John the Son of Zebedee and the Fourth Gospel," JBL, 81 ((1962)), p. 43) has observed, that this Synoptic pericope "comes closer to the Johannine view of him than does almost any other event in the first three gospels."

33. As Alfred Plummer once remarked (St. Luke, ICC, p. 100), it seems quite "remarkable that St. John never uses ἡγάπησεν of Christ" (cf. Mark 1:11; 9:7; Matt 3:17; 17:5; Luke 3:22; Eph 1:6; Col 1:13; II Pet 1:17) despite the fact that John frequently

shares only with these two co-evangelists³⁴ (see below, Sec. I), but makes numerous divergences from the Markan/Matthean traditions in the direction of the Johannine tradition in almost every pericope that he shares with all three of his co-evangelists would seem to suggest that these Lukan/Johannine agreements against Mark/Matthew is a critical problem that should be reexamined.

The hypothesis of this paper therefore is that, contrary to the common reading of the evidence, possibly a better explanation of all the phenomena involved could be that the Lukan agreements with John against both Mark and Matthew may have been due to Luke's familiarity with some form of the developing Johannine tradition³⁵ or even to his acquaintance with an early draft of the original Gospel of John³⁶ rather than vice versa. This hypothesis is not advanced as final or conclusive, but it

refers to the Father's love for the Son (3:35; 5:20; 10:17; 15:9).

34. E.g., as such writers as J. C. Hawkins (Horae Synopticae, 2nd ed., 1909), Pierson Parker (The Gospel Before Mark, 1953), and Vincent Taylor (The Passion Narrative of St. Luke) have pointed out, in such passages from the triple tradition as Luke 4:38-44; 5:12-6:11; 8:4-56; and 9:23-36 that have no parallels in John, the percentage of Luke's verbal agreement with Mark in any single pericope is never lower than 51% and in some instances exceeds 75%. On the other hand, in those pericopes that Luke shares with John as well as Matthew/Mark (cf. Sections II, IV-VIII of this study), Luke's verbal agreement with Mark seldom exceeds 25% and often is less than 10% (cf. esp. Luke 19:37-40; 22:14-23, 31-34, 39-71; 23:1-5, 13-25, 32-38, 50-56; 24:1-12 et. parr.).

35. There is a growing recognition that behind the Gospel of John there stands a tradition that is quite primitive in origin. Thus C. H. Dodd (op. cit., p. 423) has argued that "behind the Fourth Gospel lies an ancient tradition independent of the other gospels, and meriting serious consideration as a contribution to our knowledge of the historical facts concerning Jesus Christ," A. J. B. Higgins ("The Words of Jesus According to St. John," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 49 ((1967)), p. 384) has urged that "there is a certain amount of evidence that Jesus did not only speak as the synoptics report him to have done, but also used 'Johannine' phraseology and ideas," while F. H. Borsch (op. cit., pp. 264-6) has written that the hypothesis towards which the recent "comparative study of the Johannine and synoptic traditions" is pointing is that "the Johannine traditions and those inherited by the synoptic evangelists became, for all practical purposes, separated at a relatively early date" and that "each of them in their way have preserved and developed authentic elements from the primitive strata."

36. There is a rather general consensus that the Gospel of John had a long literary history in the course of its development and that most probably the prologue, 6:52-59, the epilogue (21:1-25), and certain other passages in John were not part of the original gospel. Several other writers (e.g., M. -E. Boismard, op. cit., P. Parker, op. cit., Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., esp. pp. xxxiv-ix, W. Wilkens, Die Entstehungsgeschichte des vierten Evangeliums) have also urged that the Gospel of John went through one or more revisions or editions before it reached its present form, while such writers as E. R. Goodenough (op. cit., pp. 145-82), J. A. T. Robinson (Twelve New Testament Studies, pp. 98-9), Robert M. Grant (op. cit., pp. 159-60), W. F. Albright ("Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St.

is believed that the evidence that will be presented in this paper is strong enough to merit a reconsideration of the problem as well as to suggest that such a reading of the data could well represent a more reasonable reading of the evidence than has usually been advanced. It will therefore be the purpose of this paper, through an examination of the pericopes that Luke shares with all three of his co-evangelists, to suggest that possibly the best explanation of all the phenomena to be found in these passages³⁷ is that Luke knew and was influenced by some early stage of the developing Johannine tradition in his writing of his gospel.

I. A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

An examination of Luke discloses that four major blocks of Markan material are duplicated almost exactly in the comparable sections of Luke (Mark 1:1-3:19 = Luke 3:1-6:19; Mark 3:31-6:44 = Luke 8:4-9:17; Mark 8:27-9:41 = Luke 9:18-50; and Mark 10:13-16:8 = Luke 18:15-24:11). A further examination of these four blocks of material shared by Mark and Luke reveals that of the 71 pericopes to be found in these sections of these two gospels, 64 of these pericopes occur in exactly the same order in both Mark and Luke. On the other hand, while 67 of these Markan/Lukan pericopes are also to be found in Matthew, only 42 of these pericopes occur in the same order in Matthew as they do in Mark and Luke, with the order of pericopes found in Matthew 8:1-14:21 displaying in particular considerable variance from the order found in Mark 1:29-6:44/Luke 4:38-9:17. The following chart will illustrate this phenomenon of order found in the above sections of our Synoptic Gospels:

CHART I

The Order of Pericopes Found In Mark 1:29-6:44 & Parallels

John," in The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, In Honour of Charles Harold Dodd, pp. 153-71), and R. Gyllenberg ("Die Angänge der johanneischen Tradition," Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann ((1954)), pp. 144-8) have in recent years suggested that the Gospel of John may have originated a number of years earlier than even the tradition of the early church had suggested.

37. It is probably correct that if just the close parallels between Luke and John are considered, it is possible to argue that either the fourth evangelist or the final editor of the Fourth Gospel was influenced by Luke. However, it seems to this writer that this solution does not adequately take into account the many instances in which Luke departs from the order, vocabulary, and/or details of his primary Markan/Matthean source to either agree with John against both Mark and Matthew or else to take a middle position between John and Mark/Matthew, and that these Lukan divergences from his basic Markan/Matthean source occur at precisely those places where the Markan/Matthean tradition is found to be in distinctive disagreement with the comparable sections of the Johannine tradition (see below, esp. Sections II-IV, VI-VIII).

<u>Pericope</u>	<u>Matthew</u>	<u>Mark</u>	<u>Luke</u>
The healing of Peter's mother-in-law	8:14-15	1:29-31	4:38-39
The sick healed at evening	8:16-17	1:32-34	4:40-41
Jesus departs from Capernaum	-	1:35-38	4:42-43
The healing of a leper	8:1-4	1:40-45	5:12-16
The healing of a Paralytic	9:1-8	2:1-12	5:17-26
The call of Levi (Matthew)	9:9-13	2:13-17	5:27-32
The question about fasting	9:14-17	2:18-22	5:33-39
Plucking ears of grain on the Sabbath	12:1-8	2:23-28	6:1-5
The healing of the man with the withered hand	12:9-14	3:1-6	6:6-11
Jesus heals the multitudes	12:15-21	3:7-12	6:17-19
The calling of the Twelve	10:1-4	3:13-19	6:12-16
Jesus' true relatives	12:46-50	3:31-35	8:19-21
The parable of the sower	13:1-9	4:1-9	8:4-8
The reason for speaking in parables	13:10-15	4:10-12	8:9-10
The interpretation of the parable of the sower	13:18-23	4:13-20	8:11-15
The parable of the mustard seed	13:31-32	4:30-32	13:18-19
The stilling of the storm	8:23-27	4:35-41	8:22-25
The Gerasene Demoniac	8:28-33	5:1-20	8:26-39
Jairus' daughter and a diseased woman	9:18-26	5:21-43	8:40-46
The sending out of the Twelve	10:9-14	6:6b-13	9:1-6
King Herod hears of Jesus	14:1-2	6:14-16	9:7-9
The death of John the Baptist	14:3-12	6:17-29	-
The feeding of the five	14:13-21	6:30-44	9:10-17

The above chart discloses that the Lukan order of pericopes in Luke 4:38-9:17 is in close agreement with the Markan order, with 21 of the 24 pericopes that are to be found in these sections of Mark and Luke occurring in exactly the same order in both of these gospels. As J. Jeremias has observed,

Whenever Luke follows the Markan narrative in his own gospel he follows painstakingly the Markan order, pericope for pericope. Up to the passion narrative there are only two insignificant deviations, Lk. vi. 17-19; viii. 19-21.¹

On the other hand, the order found in Matthew 8:14-14:21 is at considerable variance with the order found in the comparable sections of Mark and Luke, with only 12 of the 24 pericopes occurring in the same order in Matthew as in Mark/Luke. In fact, there are only two instances in these sections of the Synoptic Gospels where even three consecutive pericopes occur in the same order in Matthew as compared with the order that is to be found in Mark and Luke (cf. Matt 9:1-17; 14:1-21; et. parr.).

Contrariwise, Luke is sometimes found to be closer to Matthew in the matter of details than it is to Mark. Thus, most of the questions found in Mark which suggest that Jesus was not completely omniscient (e.g., Mark 6:38; 8:12; 9:12, 16, 21, 33; 10:3) are lacking in both Matthew and Luke as well as most of the Markan statements that attribute human emotions to Jesus (e.g.,

1. Cf. J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus (1966), p. 98.

compare Mark 1:41,42; 3:5; 10:14,21; and 14:33 with the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke). Many of Mark's redundant phrases are also lacking in both Matthew and Luke (e.g., compare Mark 2:15,16,19; 10:27; and 12:14 with their Matthean and Lukan parallels), while, as E. P. Sanders has observed, a number of the barbarisms found in Mark are lacking in the parallel passages in Luke.² Similarly, Luke's Greek is sometimes better than the rough Greek to be found at places in both Matthew and Mark (e.g., compare Luke 5:29-30 with Matt 9:10-11 and Mark 2:15-16; Luke 5:36 with Matt 9:16 and Mark 2:21; or Luke 6:11 with Matt 12:14 and Mark 3:6). Matthew does contain certain legendary details that are not to be found in either Mark or Luke (i.e., Matt 14:28-32; 27:51-54; 28:2-4), while Mark contains some other details that are lacking in the other two Synoptists (e.g., compare Mark 1:13,29; 2:26; 3:17; 5:13; 9:3; 14:51; and 15:21 with the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke).

Nevertheless, it would seem clear, that despite the fact that Luke made a number of stylistic revisions and editorial modifications of his primary Markan/Matthean source, Luke made few major departures from Mark/Matthew in any of the 47 pericopes of the triple tradition that have no parallel in John (i.e., compare Luke 4:38-44; 5:12-6:19; 8:4-9:9; 9:21-48; 18:15-43; 19:28-35; 20:1-22:2; and 22:1-2,7-13 with the parallel passages in Mark and Matthew). For example, with the single exception of the eschatological discourse found in Luke 21:5-36 and parallels, the verbal agreement between Luke and Mark in these passages is exceedingly high, ranging from over 50% in Luke 5:12-6:19 to over 70% in Luke 20:1-44. As Vincent Taylor has written,

The percentage of Markan words in Lk. iv. 31-44 is 52, in Lk. v. 12-vi. 11 it is 53.6, and there are similar percentages in Lk. viii. 4-ix. 50 and Lk. xviii. 15-43, where it rises to 68. In these passages Luke's debt to Mark is generally recognised.³

E. P. Sanders, in a recent examination of "Mark 10:17-31 and Parallels," has not only pointed out the complexities with regard to the possible interrelationships between the Synoptics, but with regard to Luke has written,

Generally speaking, Luke has no material which is not in one of the other gospels. . . . Especially noteworthy is the fact that Lk.'s brevity results in its serving as a kind of common denominator for the other two. Thus the list of commandments in Lk. 18:20 includes only the items in both Mt. and Mk.; each of the other two has an additional commandment.⁴

An examination of those portions of the triple tradition that have no parallel in John would thus seem to be instructive

2. Cf. E. P. Sanders, *op. cit.*, p. 50, who observes that "omissions of barbarous words are found in Luke's parallels to Mk. 3:17; 10:46; 11:10; 12:42; 14:32,36,43; 15:22,34." Sanders then also points out that Luke also "translates barbarisms in his parallels to Mk. 2:4ff.; 3:18; 4:15,21; 5:41; 6:8; 9:5; 10:51; 12:14; 15:15,39."

3. Vincent Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

4. E. P. Sanders, "Mark 10. 17-31 and Parallels," in *The Society of Biblical Literature One Hundred Seventh Annual Meeting Seminar Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 260-1.

in helping us to see how Luke normally handled his basic Markan/Matthean source. And although the extent of this paper prohibits an examination of all 47 of these pericopes from the triple tradition, a brief perusal of a few typical pericopes from this tradition might be helpful in illustrating the fidelity with which Luke normally reproduced his Markan/Matthean source.

(1). The Healing Of a Leper⁵

Matthew 8:1-4

When he came down from the mountain great crowds followed him; and behold, a leper came to him and knelt before him, saying, "Lord, if you will, you can make me clean." And he stretched out his hand and touched him, saying, "I will; be clean." And immediately his leprosy was cleansed. And Jesus said to him, "See that you say nothing to anyone; but go, show yourself to the priest, and offer the gift that Moses commanded, for a proof to the people."

Mark 1:40-44

And a leper came to him beseeching him, and kneeling said to him, "If you will, you can make me clean." Moved with pity he stretched out his hand and touched him, and said to him, "I will; be clean." And immediately the leprosy left him, and he was made clean. And he sternly charged him, and sent him away at once, and said to him, "See that you say nothing to anyone; but go, show yourself to the priest, and offer for your cleansing what Moses commanded, for a proof to the people."

Luke 5:12-14

While he was in one of the cities, there came a man full of leprosy; and when he saw Jesus, he fell on his face and besought him, "Lord, if you will, you can make me clean." And he stretched out his hand, and touched him, saying, "I will; be clean." And immediately the leprosy left him. And he charged him to tell no one; but "go and show yourself to the priest, and make an offering for your cleansing, as Moses commanded, for a proof unto the people."

The amount of exact or close verbal agreement between Luke 5:12-14 and Mark 1:40-44 is quite high (66%) while that between Luke 5:12-14 and Matthew 8:1-4 is not quite as high (51%).⁶ All three accounts are about equal in length, although Mark's account contains a few more details than do either Matthew's or Luke's/ Matthew places this event right after Jesus' Sermon on

5. For help in making comparisons, we have underlined those Luke words that have a verbal parallel in Mark (or in both Mark and Matthew) and have placed two lines under those words that Luke shares only with Matthew. We have used the RSV for all of our English NT quotations.

6. If one eliminates the Lukan introductory statement to this pericope in vs. 12a, then the verbatim or near verbatim agreements between Luke 5:12b-14 and Mark 1:40-44 exceeds 84%.

the Mount, Mark makes no note of time, while Luke places it considerably before Jesus' Sermon on the Plain. All three accounts reproduce several phrases exactly (e.g., "If you will, you can make me clean," "I will; be clean"). On the other hand, Luke shares certain phrases with Mark that are not to be found in Matthew. Thus Luke and Mark have, "And immediately the leprosy left him," against the Matthean, "And immediately his leprosy was cleansed." Similarly, Luke and Mark both have, "And he charged him," while Matthew has, "And Jesus said to him." Again, the phrase, "for your cleansing," found in both Mark and Luke is lacking in Matthew. On the other hand, a couple of Markan words or phrases ascribing emotion to Jesus ("moved with pity," "sternly") are lacking in both Matthew and Luke. It should also be observed, that Luke 5:13b ("And immediately the leprosy left him") and Matthew 8:3b ("And immediately his leprosy was cleansed") each contains only one part of the total expression found in Mark 1:42 ("And immediately the leprosy left him, and he was made clean"). Luke's form of this pericope is thus observed to be extremely close to the Markan and only slightly less close to the Matthean.

(2). The Healing of the Man with the Withered Hand

Matthew 12:9-14

And he went on from there and entered their synagogue. And behold, there was a man with a withered hand. And they asked him, "Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath?" so that they might accuse him. He said to them, "What man of you, if he has one sheep and it falls into a pit on the sabbath, will not lay hold of it and lift it out? Of how much more value is a man than a sheep. So it is lawful to do good on the sabbath. Then he said to the man, "Stretch out your hand." And the man stretched it out, and it was restored whole like the other. But the Pharisees went out and took counsel against him, how to destroy him.

Mark 3:1-6

Again he entered the synagogue, and a man was there who had a withered hand. And they watched him, to see whether he would heal him on the sabbath, so that they might accuse him. And he said to the man who had the withered hand, "Come here." And he said to them, "Is it lawful on the sabbath to do good or to do harm, to save life or to kill?" But they were silent. And he looked around at them with anger, grieved at their hardness of heart, and said to the man, "Stretch out your hand." He stretched it out, and his hand was restored. The Pharisees went out, and immediately held counsel with the Herodians against him, how to destroy him.

Luke 6:6-11

On another sabbath, when he entered the synagogue and taught, a man was there whose right hand was withered. And the scribes and the Pharisees watched him to see whether he would heal on the sabbath, so that they might find an accusation against him. But he knew their thoughts, and he said to the man who had the withered hand, "Come and stand here." And he rose and stood there. And Jesus said to them, "I ask you, is it lawful on the sabbath to do good or to do harm, to save life or to destroy it?" And he looked around on them all, and said to him, "Stretch out your hand." And he did so, and his hand was restored. But they were filled with fury and discussed with one another what they might do to Jesus.

14 A comparison of Matthew 12:9-14, Mark 3:1-6, and Luke 6:6-11 discloses that with regard to order, Luke agrees with Mark in placing the plucking of the ears of grain on the sabbath (cf. Mark 2:23-28; Luke 6:1-5) and the healing of the man with the withered hand immediately after the call of Levi and the questions about fasting (cf. Mark 2:12-22; Luke 5:27-39) in contrast to Matthew who puts these two incidents much later (cf. Matt 9:9-17; 12:1-14). The Lukan form also agrees more closely with the Markan form of this pericope than it does with the Matthean. For example, except for Matthew 12:10a ("there was a man with a withered hand") and 12:13 ("Then he said to the man, 'Stretch out your hand.' And the man stretched it out, and it was restored"), there are few verbal agreements between Matthew 12:9-14 and Luke 6:6-11. Moreover, the significant saying found in Matthew 12:11-12 is lacking in both Mark 3:1-6 and Luke 6:6-11, although a similar saying is to be found in another context in Luke (14:5). Similarly, the Matthean phrase "whole like the other" (12:13c) is also lacking in both the Markan and the Lukan forms of this pericope.

On the other hand, every Markan detail except for the Markan claim that Jesus "looked around at them (the Pharisees) with anger, grieved at their hardness of heart" (Mark 3:5) is also to be found in Luke. Indeed, the verbal agreement between Mark 3:1-6 and Luke 6:6-11 is over 57%, and if one excludes the closing statement (Matt 12:14; Mark 3:6; Luke 6:11) which is quite different in Luke from the way it is expressed in either Mark or Matthew, then the verbal agreement between Luke and Mark exceeds 70%. Luke does, however, contain certain details not found in either Mark or Matthew. Thus Luke alone mentions that Jesus was teaching in the synagogue just prior to the occurrence of this healing miracle and that it was the right hand of this man that was withered. Also, Luke alone informs us that the scribes and the Pharisees "were filled with fury" when they witnessed Jesus healing this man on the sabbath day. Nevertheless, despite these variations, Luke demonstrates in this pericope real fidelity to his primary Markan/Matthean source.

(3). Jesus Blesses the Little Children

Matthew 19:13-15

Then children were brought to him that he might lay his hands on them and pray. The disciples rebuked the people; but Jesus said, "Let the children come to me, and do not hinder them; for to such belongs the kingdom of heaven." And he laid his hands on them and went away.

Mark 10:13-16

And they were bringing children to him, that he might touch them; and the disciples rebuked them. But when Jesus saw it he was indignant, and said to them, "Let the children come to me, do not hinder them; for to such belongs the kingdom of God. Truly, I say to you, whoever does not receive the kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it." And he took them in his arms and blessed them, laying his hands upon them.

Luke 18:15-17

Now they were bringing even infants to him that he might touch them; and when the disciples saw it they rebuked them. But Jesus called them to him, saying, "Let the children come to me, and do not hinder them; for to such belongs the kingdom of God. Truly, I say to you, whoever does not receive the kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it."

The verbatim agreement between Luke 18:15-17 and Mark 10:13-16 is impressive, exceeding 75%. In particular, Luke 18:17 agrees exactly with Mark 10:15. On the other hand, this saying is lacking in Matthew's version of this pericope, although Matthew does have a somewhat similar saying in a different context at 18:3. As Alfred Plummer once observed,

Where Lk differs either he has an expression peculiar to himself, as τὸ βρέφει (ver. 15) or προσεκαλέσατο (ver. 16) or he and Mk. agree against Mt. as in αὐτῶν ἀγνηταί (ver. 15) ἐρχεσθαι and τοῦ Θεοῦ (ver. 16), ὅς ἂν μὴ δέξηται, κτλ. (ver. 17). where Mt. varies considerably in wording. Only in the καί before μὴ κωλύετε (ver. 16) does Lk. agree with Mt. against Mk.

(4). The Rich Young Man

Matthew 19:16-22

And behold, one came up to him, saying, "Teacher, what good deed must I do, to have eternal life?" And he said to him, "Why do you ask me about what is good? One there is who is good. If you would enter life, keep the commandments." He said to him, "Which?" And Jesus said, "You shall not kill, You shall not commit adultery, You shall not steal, You shall not bear false witness, Honor your father and mother, and, You shall love your neighbor as yourself." The young man said to him, "All these I have observed; what do I still lack?" Jesus said to him, "If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me." When the young man heard this he went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions.

Mark 10:17-22

And as he was setting out on his journey, a man ran up and knelt before him, and asked him, "Good Teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?" And Jesus said to him, "Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone. You know the commandments: 'Do not kill, Do not commit adultery, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Do not defraud, Honor your father and mother.'" And he said to him, "Teacher, all these I have observed from my youth." And Jesus looking upon him loved him, and said to him, "You lack one thing; go, sell what you have, and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me." At that saying his countenance fell, and he went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions.

Luke 18:18-23

And a ruler asked him, "Good Teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" And Jesus said to him, "Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone. You know the commandments: 'Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honor your father and mother.'" And he said, "All these I have observed from my youth." And when Jesus heard it, he said to him, "One thing you still lack. Sell all that you have and distribute to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me." But when he heard this he became sad, for he was very rich.

The extent of the verbal agreement between Luke and Mark in this pericope is very high. If Mark is compared with Luke, then 63% of the Markan words are also to be found in Luke, even though

two Markan phrases ("Do not defraud," "And Jesus looking upon him loved him") are lacking in Luke, so that actually over 77% of the words in Luke 18:18-23 have a verbal parallel in Mark 10:17-22. On the other hand, while Luke normally also agrees with Matthew with regard to details, the verbal agreement between Luke and Matthew is not nearly so high (44.7%). In fact, while Luke frequently agrees with Mark against Matthew in small details of wording (e.g., in such phrases as "Good Teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?", "Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone," "all these I have observed from my youth," "one thing you lack," the form of the commandments), only once does Luke agree with Matthew against Mark with regard to wording (ἀκούσας in vs. 23). With regard to the form of the commandments found in Luke 18:20 and parallels, Luke's form agrees exactly with Mark's even though the form found in Matthew 19:18f. is the same as that which is to be found in Exod 20:3-17 and Deut 5:17-21. Luke does reverse the order of the first two commandments found in Mark and Matthew, placing the seventh commandment before the sixth, but the order of these two commandments found in Luke 18:20 is also the order that is to be found in Rom 13:9, Jas 2:2, and Cod. B of Deut 5:17. Both Matthew ("You shall love your neighbor as yourself") and Mark ("Do not defraud") contain one additional commandment that is not to be found in any of the others and both are lacking in Luke. Otherwise, the Lukan form of this pericope is quite similar to the Matthean and extremely close to the Markan. It is thus to be observed, that despite some editorial and stylistic modifications that Luke made of his Markan/Matthean source, Luke exhibits few important divergences from both Mark and Matthew in any of the 47 pericopes of the triple tradition that have no parallel in the Gospel of John.⁸

However, when one examines the other twenty pericopes from the triple tradition that do have a parallel in John (cf. Luke 3:1-6, 15-17, 21-22; 7:36-39; 9:10-17, 18-20; 19:35-40, 45-46; 22:3-6, 14-23, 31-34, 47-53, 54-62, 63-71; 23:1-5, 13-25, 26-32, 33-38, 46-49, 50-56; 24:1-11, and the parallels in Mark/Matthew and John), it is to be observed that with the exception of the Lukan version of Jesus' cleansing of the temple (19:45-46), Luke makes major alterations of his basic Markan/Matthean source in every one of the other nineteen pericopes that Luke shares with John as well as with Mark and Matthew in ways that are substantially different from the observable ways in which Luke modified his Markan/Matthean source in those sections of the triple tradition that have no parallel in John. In particular, the following types of phenomena that occur in these twenty pericopes of the triple tradition that also have a parallel in John should be carefully observed and studied.

(1) Luke frequently agrees with John against both Mark and Matthew in those pericopes that Luke shares with all three of his co-evangelists (cf. the Introduction of this paper).

(2) Luke makes a number of departures from the Markan/Matthean traditions at precisely those places in his narrative where the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine traditions are found to be in decisive disagreement with each other. For example,

7. Alfred Plummer, The Gospel According to St. Luke, ICC, p. 420.

8. The one exception to this in those sections of the triple tradition that have no parallel in John is the last part of the Olivet discourse (Luke 21:20-36) in which a number of the Lukan verses (esp. vss. 22, 23b-26a, 28, 34-36) have few words that are common to both Luke and Mark (or Luke and Matthew).

while Luke contains no distinctively different version of any of the forty-seven pericopes that he shares only with Mark and Matthew, Luke does contain unique versions of Jesus' calling of his first disciples (5:1-11), the anointing of Jesus (7:36-39), Jesus' prediction of Peter's three-fold denial (22:31-34), Jesus' trial before the Sanhedrin (22:66-71), the mocking of Jesus (23:6-12), the crucifixion of Jesus (23:33-43), and the post-resurrectional appearances of Jesus (24:13-52), and these are the very pericopes in which Mark/Matthew are found to be in decisive disagreement with the Gospel of John.

(3) In several instances Luke seems to take a middle position between the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine traditions. The following would seem to be some of the most important examples of this Lukan phenomenon:

* While both Mark and Matthew identify John the Baptist with Elijah (cf. Mark 1:2; 9:13; Matt 11:14; 17:13) and the fourth evangelist depicts John as denying that he was Elijah (1:21), Luke, as Raymond E. Brown has observed, "seems to hold a middle position, for outside of the reference in the infancy narrative (1:17), the Gospel of Luke proper never identifies John the Baptist as Elijah."⁹ Even the Elijah-motif found in the Markan/Matthean passion narratives (Mark 15:34-36; Matt 27:46-49) is missing in the parallel Lukan passage (cf. Luke 23:44-46).¹⁰ Furthermore, Acts also (in decided contrast to Mark/Matthew) never identifies John the Baptist with Elijah or associates him with Elijah in any way.

* While Mark/Matthew place most of Jesus' ministry in Galilee¹¹ and John places his ministry largely in Judea,¹² in Luke, "Jesus' ministry covers the whole of Jewish territory"¹³ (cf. Luke 4:14b, 15, 44; 5:17; 6:17; 7:17). As H. Conzelmann has observed, Luke could not only have Jesus "alternate without difficulty between Galilee and Judea,"¹⁴ but Luke also "breaks up Mark's scheme of the week in Jerusalem and replaces it by a longer period of activity in the city"¹⁵ (cf. also R. Bultmann, Synoptische Tradition, p. 386).

* With regard to Judas' kiss of betrayal (cf. Luke 22:47-49 et. parr.), Luke omits the Markan (14:44)/Matthean (26:48) claim that Judas' kiss was a prearranged sign, the "fact that an ostentatiously affectionate kiss (κατεφίλησεν) was given,"¹⁶ and does not even explicitly say that Judas "kissed him." Luke

9. Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., p. 48.

10. Cf. Hans Conzelmann, op. cit., p. 25.

11. E.g., cf. W. Marxsen, op. cit., esp. pp. 55-116; E. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus; R. H. Lightfoot, Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels.

12. E.g., cf. Adolf Schlatter, The Language and Home of the Fourth Evangelist, or M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, 3rd ed., esp. pp. 272ff. Cf. also W. Marxsen (op. cit., pp. 56f.), who in commenting on certain Markan passages (i.e., 10:46f.; 11:2f.; 14:3, 13ff., 49; 15:43) that imply that Jesus was familiar with Jerusalem prior to his one visit there described in Mark 11:1ff., has observed that "this means that if Mark had followed the material available to him it would have been quite possible for him to construct another outline, one similar perhaps to the Fourth Gospel."

13. Cf. Hans Conzelmann, op. cit., p. 41.

14. Ibid., p. 69.

15. Ibid., p. 62.

16. Alfred Plummer, op. cit., p. 511.

22:47-49 thus could possibly represent a middle position between Mark 14:44-45/Matthew 26:48-49, which explicitly describe Judas' kiss of betrayal, and John 18:3-7, which makes no mention of the incident.

* While Mark (14:53-65)/Matthew (26:57-68) tell of a night trial before Caiaphas and John (18:13-14, 19-24) tells of a night trial before Annas, Luke tells only of a trial before the whole council "when day came" (22:66).

* Luke's account of Jesus' trial before Pilate (23:1-5, 13-25) also seems to represent a middle position between the Markan (15:1-15)/Matthean (27:11-26) and the Johannine (18:28-19:16) accounts. Thus the Jerusalem Bible (NT, p. 133) has observed that Luke's account of Pilate's opening interview with Jesus "lies half-way between the less detailed and less dramatic accounts of Mk and Mt, and the prolonged interview in Jn."

(4) Luke also shares with John in a number of omissions of details or features that are to be found in the comparable passages in both Mark and Matthew. Following is a list of some of these Lukan/Johannine omissions of Markan/Matthean details or material.

* Only Luke (3:18-22) and John (1:29-34) fail to explicitly describe the baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist: Luke does this by omitting any reference to John when describing Jesus' baptism while the fourth evangelist does it by omitting any reference to the baptism itself.¹⁷

* The Markan (1:6)/Matthean (3:4) statements describing the food and clothing of John the Baptist are lacking in both Luke and John.

* Neither Luke or John contain the Markan (1:15)/Matthean (4:17) claim that when Jesus began his Galilean ministry, he came saying, "Repent, for the kingdom of God (or of heaven) is at hand."

* Luke (like John) does not name any of Jesus' brothers even though both Mark (6:3) and Matthew (13:55) do, despite the fact that Luke 4:22-24 is otherwise quite comparable to both Mark 6:1-16 and Matthew 13:53-58.

* Luke omits the Markan reference (6:3) to Jesus as "the son of Mary" at the comparable place in his gospel (cf. Luke 4:22-24), and agrees with John in referring to Jesus as "the son of Joseph" (cf. Luke 3:23; 4:22; John 1:45; 6:42) despite the contrary witness of the Lukan nativity narrative (cf. esp. Luke 1:26-38). This is especially interesting in view of the fact that while John contains no comparable pericope, he does refer to Jesus as "the son of Joseph" in the first chapter of his gospel (1:45) just prior to his description of Jesus' first Galilean

17. W. Marxsen (op. cit., p. 51) and H. Conzelmann (op. cit., pp. 21ff.) urge that Luke uses a "historicizing description (of John the Baptist) to convey a theological, i.e., heilsgeschichtlich point of view." Thus, they urge that Luke's alteration of Mark's account of Jesus' baptism by John was due to Luke's historicizing tendencies. We are suggesting another possible option: that at least some of Luke's alterations of his basic Markan/Matthean source were due to his knowledge of other traditions that were different from the Markan/Matthean, and that here (3:18-22) and elsewhere, in attempting to write an orderly "vita Jesu," Luke may have sought to mediate between these traditions at the points at which they were in conflict. Such a motive could possibly better explain the Lukan anachronism of

miracle (2:1-11) just as Luke refers to Jesus as "the son of Joseph" (4:22) just prior to his description of the first Galilean miracle of Jesus (4:31-36) that he records.

* Neither Luke or John contains any of the Markan/Matthean passages that depict a Mosaic ordinance as being set aside (e.g., cf. Mark 7:1-5,19; 10:2-9; Matt 15:1-2,20; 19:1-9).

* Luke (like John) omits the Markan/Matthean reference to David in his account of the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem (compare Luke 19:38 and John 12:13 with Mark 11:10 and Matthew 21:9) even though the Davidic concept is a central theme in the Lukan theology (cf. Luke 1:27,32,70; 2:4,11; 3:31; 6:3; 18:38-39; 20:41-43; Acts 1:16-20; 2:25,29,34f.; 4:25; 7:46; 13:22,33-37; 15:16f.), and despite the fact that in comparable passages, Luke reproduces every other Markan/Matthean reference to David (Mark 2:25/Matt 12:3 = Luke 6:3; Mark 10:47f./Matt 20:30f. = Luke 18:38f.; and Mark 12:35-37/Matt 22:42-45 = Luke 20:41-43).

* Luke (like John) lacks the Markan/Matthean place-names "Caesarea Philippi" (Mark 8:27/Matt 16:13) and "Gethsemane" (Mark 14:32/Matt 26:36) at the comparable place in his narrative, and agrees with John in referring to "Gethsemane" as "the place" (cf. Luke 22:40; John 18:2). This seems remarkable in view of the fact that in those passages Luke shares only with Mark and Matthew, he reproduces in almost every instance their place-names.¹⁸

* Luke (like John) does not contain the Markan/Matthean passage that describes the false witnesses who testified against Jesus (Mark 14:56-59; Matt 26:59-61) even though Acts 6:12-13 does tell of the false witnesses who testified against Stephen.

* Luke (like John) also lacks the Markan/Matthean description of the rage of the high priest (cf. Mark 14:63-64; Matt 26:65-66) over Jesus' affirmative response to his question, "Are you the Christ, the Son of God?" (Mark 14:61; Matt 26:63) even though Luke reproduced and sometimes heightened (cf. Luke 6:11; 20:20) every other Markan/Matthean description of the opposition of the Jewish authorities to Jesus (e.g., compare Luke 5:21-22

placing the arrest of John prior to Jesus' baptism than does Conzelmann's historicizing point of view.

18. Of the seventeen place-names to be found in the parallel passages in both Mark and Matthew that Luke shares with these two co-evangelists (e.g., Luke 4:16 = Mark 1:14/Matt 4:12; Luke 4:31 = Mark 1:21/Matt 4:13; Luke 6:17 = Mark 3:7-8/Matt 4:25; Luke 8:26 = Mark 5:1/Matt 8:28; Luke 9:18ff. = Mark 8:27/Matt 16:13; Luke 18:35 = Mark 10:46/Matt 20:29; Luke 19:28-29 = Mark 11:1/Matt 21:1; Luke 22:39f. = Mark 14:32/Matt 26:36; Luke 23:33 = Mark 15:22/Matt 27:33; and Luke 23:50 = Mark 15:43/Matt 27:57), only "Caesarea Philippi," "Gethsemane," and "Golgotha" are not to be found in the parallel passages in Luke. Luke's omission of "Gethsemane" (cf. Mark 14:32; Matt 26:36) and "Golgotha" (cf. Mark 15:22; Matt 27:33) may have been due to his tendency to omit Hebrew words and names, although Luke (23:33) at least reproduced the Greek equivalent for "Golgotha," which, however, is not true of his complete omission of "Gethsemane" from his text. However, Luke's omission of "Caesarea Philippi," a town located on the edge of heathenism and mentioned by both Mark (8:27) and Matthew (16:13) in their accounts of Peter's confession, would seem to be unusual, considering both Luke's definite gentile interests (cf. Luke 2:1,32; 3:1,38; 4:25-28; 6:17c; 7:1-10; 10:30-37; 17:11-19) and the way he elsewhere handled the place-names he found in his Markan/Matthean source.

with Mark 2:6-8/Matt 9:3-4; Luke 5:30 with Mark 2:16/Matt 9:11; Luke 6:11 with Mark 3:6/Matt 12:14; Luke 11:14-20 with Mark 3:22-26/Matt 12:24-28; or Luke 20:19-23 with Mark 12:13-15/Matt 22:15-18).

* Only in Luke (22:33-34) and John (13:36-38) does Peter fail to reply to Jesus' prediction of his three-fold denial (cf. Mark 14:30-31; Matt 26:34-35).

* Luke (22:60) and John (18:27) both lack the cursing and the swearing which Mark (14:71) and Matthew (26:74) assert accompanied Peter's third denial.

It is thus to be observed that this overview of some of the Lukan agreements with John against both Mark and Matthew provides us with a considerable amount of data that would seem to justify a reexamination of the relationship that may exist between Luke and John. And although the scope of this paper prohibits an examination of all the comparable passages, the following pericopes would seem to contain significant information that should be studied and analyzed.

II. THE MINISTRY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

(Luke 3:1-22 and Parallels)

Luke 3:1-22 is the first section of Luke's Gospel that we might well classify as belonging to the quadruple tradition (sections of the tradition that are to be found in all four of our canonical gospels). Most writers (e.g., Burkitt, Streeter, Gilmour, Creed, Styler, Bultmann, Gougel, Conzelmann) have regarded Mark and "Q" as the only sources Luke probably used in the composition of this section of his gospel. Yet Luke 3:1-22 exhibits a number of modifications, alterations, or departures from the form of the tradition found in Mark 1:1-11/Matt 3:1-17 in the direction of the Johannine tradition, digressions that stand in marked contrast to the fidelity with which Luke normally followed his basic Markan/Matthean source in those sections of the triple tradition that have no parallel in John. The following analysis of Luke 3:1-22 will deal only with those Lukan characteristics in these verses that would seem to have a bearing upon the problem under consideration.

(A). Luke's Dating of John's Ministry (3:1-2)

Of the seven different names mentioned by Luke in his dating of the ministry of John the Baptist, only the names of "Annas" and "Caiaphas" are of interest to us here. Mark does not give us the name of the high priest in his gospel, while Matthew (at 26:57 in a passage exactly parallel to Mark 15:53) identifies the high priest on the occasion of the trial of Jesus before the Jewish authorities as "Caiaphas." Luke and John, however, are our only NT writers to mention both "Annas" and "Caiaphas," and in both Luke and John, "Annas," as well as "Caiaphas," in some sense seems to have been regarded as the high priest (cf. Luke 3:2; John 18:13,15,19,24). Acts 4:6 also refers to "Annas the high priest and Caiaphas," so that Luke/Acts resembles the Johannine tradition in this regard. It might also here be observed that among our NT writings, only Luke/Acts and John apply

the term "rulers" (ἄρχοντες) to the Jewish authorities.¹

(B). The Geographical Extent of John's Ministry (3:3a)

("And he went into all the region about the Jordan.")

Luke's statement referring to the locale of John's ministry is decisively different from the comparable statements found in both Mark and Matthew.² In Mark, John is portrayed as conducting his ministry in "the wilderness" (of Judea), and "all the country of Judea and all the people of Jerusalem" went out to listen to him there (Mark 1:4-5). Thus Mark contains no suggestion of an itinerant preaching ministry by John the Baptist. Matthew 3:1 also depicts John as carrying out his ministry in "the wilderness of Judea," although Matt 3:5b depicts the people in "all the region about the Jordan" as going to John to be baptized by him. But this Matthean statement is quite different from the Lukan claim (3:3a) that John had gone "into all the region about the Jordan, preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins." As H. Conzelmann has written:

The expression (in Luke 3:3a) ἦλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου suggests the idea of itinerant preaching, and all the more so, in that it has no support in the parallel passages (in Mark and Matthew). It is true that Matthew makes a statement which seems very similar, but it has in fact a characteristic difference: all the region round about the Jordan comes to him. Matthew therefore presupposes a fixed locality by the Jordan, as Matt iii, 6 shows.³

Thus Luke's statements are decidedly different from Mark's and Matthew's. In Luke 3:2 John appears in the wilderness and in 3:3 John is then described as going into "all the region about the Jordan." Thus, according to Luke, John was a peripatetic prophet, preaching throughout the region of the Jordan valley. Similar phrases are to be found in the LXX of Gen 13:10,11 and II Chron 4:17, and in the latter passage this phrase referred to the Jordan valley at least as far north as Succoth.

Interestingly, the Gospel of John contains several geographical references to the ministry of John the Baptist that at least suggests an itinerant ministry over a rather sizeable area.⁴ It is true that the location of the place-name, "Bethany beyond the Jordan," is a matter of considerable dispute,⁵ although Raymond E. Brown does assert, on the basis of his evaluation of the evidence, that it was "not the town near Jerusalem (xi 18), but a site in the Transjordan of which no trace remains."⁶ If this is correct, then John has located the site of

1. Cf. Luke 18:18; 23:13,25; 24:20; John 3:1; 7:26,48; 12:42; Acts 3:17; 4:5,8,26; 13:27.

2. E.g., cf. Alfred Plummer, The Gospel According to St. Luke, ICC, p. 85; W. Marxsen, op. cit., pp. 50-52; H. Conzelmann, op. cit., pp. 18-20.

3. Ibid., p. 19.

4. E.g., cf. John 1:28,43; 2:1; 3:22-23,26; 10:40.

5. E.g., cf. J. H. Bernard, op. cit., pp. 41-42; C. H. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 248-50; or Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., pp. 44-54.

6. Ibid., p. 44.

Jesus' apparent baptism much further north than did Mark (1:5) and Matthew (3:5). But regardless of our evaluation of the evidence relating to John 1:28 (although John 1:43 and 2:1 would tend to support the more northern location for "Bethany beyond the Jordan"), such Johannine references as 3:23 and 10:40 would seem to indicate the existence in John of a tradition with relationship to the geographical extent of the ministry of John the Baptist that was considerably more extensive than the information found in Mark 1:1-11 and Matthew 3:1-12 would seem to suggest, details which C. H. Dodd has urged reflect valid historical traditions independent of the traditions found in Mark/Matthew.⁷ Luke 3:3a likewise seems to imply a more extensive itinerant ministry than is suggested in Mark 1:3-5/Matt 3:1-6, so that Luke has modified his Markan/Matthean source by depicting the Baptist as an itinerant preacher whose ministry covered the whole region of the Jordan valley.

(C). The Lukan Interpretation of John the Baptist

(Luke 3:3-6)

As we have already observed (cf. above, Sec. I-3), Luke has greatly modified the Markan/Matthean portrayal of John the Baptist. In Mark/Matthew, John is Elijah, the forerunner of the Messiah, the herald of the new eschatological age.⁸ But Luke, in his gospel proper, has eliminated every Markan/Matthean passage (i.e., Mark 1:2,6; 9:9-13; Matt 3:4; 11:14; 17:9-13) that would seem to identify John with Elijah. In fact, Elijah does not possess the major role in Luke that he is given by Mark/Matthew, while the Book of Acts does not mention Elijah at all.⁹ Even the Markan (1:6)/Matthean (3:4) description of John's mode of dress ("Now John wore a garment of camel's hair, and a leather girdle around his waist"), which possibly could have been suggestive of the description of Elijah found in II Kings 1:8, is lacking in Luke as well as in John. In fact, the only portion of the Markan (1:2-6)/Matthean (3:1-6) description of John the Baptist that Luke has retained in his gospel is Mark's/Matthew's quotation of Isa 40:3 which Luke lengthened by adding vss. 4-5 of Isa 40 to his quotation of Isa 40:3 and his retention of the Markan/Matthean claim that John came "preaching a baptism of repentance" (which in Luke 3:3b agrees almost verbatim with Mark 1:4b), while the additional Markan phrase, "for the forgiveness of sins," in these parallel passages (outside of Mark 1:4b), is to be found only in Luke 3:3b. John 1:23 also applies Isa 40:3 to the Baptist (although in John, unlike the Synoptics, but like the Qumran Essenes, the Baptist is depicted as applying Isa 40:3 to himself) and portrays John as conducting a ministry of baptism. Thus, in Luke's

7. Cf. C. H. Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-50.

8. Cf. the comments of H. Conzelmann (*op. cit.*, p. 22) in this regard.

9. While Matthew implicitly or explicitly refers to Elijah at 3:4; 11:14; 16:14; 17:3-4, 10-12; 27:56-59 and Mark at 1:2,6; 6:15; 8:28; 9:4-6, 11-13; 15:34-36, Luke retains the Markan/Matthean references to Elijah only at 9:8 (the perplexity of Herod), 9:19 (Peter's confession), and 9:30-33 (the Transfiguration), none of which identify John with Elijah. Even the reference to Elijah in the Markan/Matthean passion narratives (Mark 15:34-36/Matt 27:46-49) is lacking in Luke.

description of John the Baptist in 3:3-6, the only Markan/Matthean words or details not also found in John that are retained by Luke is the Markan phrase that John came "preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins."

Moreover, Luke's omission of Mark's quotation of Mal 3:1 at the comparable place in his gospel (although this quotation is also lacking in Matthew as well as in Luke and John) could be of some importance, for a study of Luke's handling of his basic Markan/Matthean source with regard to their use of the OT discloses a distinctive difference in Luke's use of the OT quotations found in Mark/Matthew in what we are calling the triple tradition (those passages that Luke shares with only Mark and Matthew) and his use of the OT quotations found in Mark/Matthew in what we are designating as the quadruple tradition (those passages Luke shares with all three of his co-evangelists). For example, consider the following chart that demonstrates how closely Luke followed Mark/Matthew in their use of the OT in those pericopes that we are designating as the triple tradition:

CHART III

Luke's Use of Mark's/Matthew's OT Quotations In the Triple Tradition

<u>OT Quotation</u>	<u>Matthew</u>	<u>Mark</u>	<u>Luke</u>
Psalms 2:7	3:17b	1:11	3:22b
Lev 13:49; 14:2ff.	8:4	1:44	5:14
Isa 6:9-10	13:13b	4:12	8:10b
Deut 6:5; Lev 19:18	22:37-39	12:30-31	10:27
Exod 20:12-16; Deut 5:16-20	19:19	10:19	18:20
Psalms 118:22-23	21:42	12:10-11	20:17
Deut 25:35	22:24	12:19	20:28
Exod 3:6	22:32a	12:26b	20:37b
Psalms 110:1	22:44	12:36	20:42-43
Dan 9:27; 12:11	24:15	13:14	-
Dan 7:13-14	24:30b	13:26	21:27
Psalms 41:9	26:24a	14:21a	22:22

An examination of the above chart discloses that Luke reproduced eleven of the twelve Markan/Matthean OT quotations found in the triple tradition, omitting only Mark's/Matthew's quotation of Dan 9:27/12:11 in his version of Jesus' Olivet discourse, the only pericope out of the forty-seven found in the triple tradition that Luke has altered in quite significant ways.¹⁰ Moreover, while most of these OT quotations occur in quite similar form in all three of the synoptists (except for Luke's free rendition of Exod 3:6 at 20:37b in contrast to the almost exact quotation of Exod 3:6 by Mark at 12:26b and Matthew at 22:32a), Luke's form is occasionally closer to the Markan form than it is to the Matthean. For example, while Matthew (at 19:19), in his listing of the commandments mentioned by Jesus in his conversation with "the rich young man," contains

10. Cf. V. Taylor's analysis of Luke 21:5-36 (op. cit., pp. 33-4).

one commandment ("You shall love your neighbor as yourself") that is lacking in Mark 10:19, Luke (18:20) agrees with the Markan form against the Matthean in that it also lacks this particular commandment. Luke's form of the commandments in this pericope also agrees with the Markan form against the Matthean. On the other hand, Luke (18:20) agrees with Matthew (19:18-19) against Mark (10:19) in that the Markan commandment, "Do not defraud," is lacking in both Luke and Matthew. Luke also agrees with the Markan form of the Great Commandment against the Matthean in containing the phrase, "and with all your strength" (Luke 10:27), which is also to be found in the Markan form of this saying (cf. Mark 12:30) but which is lacking in the Matthean form (cf. Matt 22:37). Otherwise, the Lukan form of these OT quotations is quite similar to the form in which they are to be found in both Mark and Matthew.

On the other hand, in those twenty Lukan pericopes that we are designating as belonging to the quadruple tradition, with the single exception of the condensed Lukan version of Jesus' cleansing of the temple (19:45-46),¹¹ Luke reproduces only those Markan/Matthean OT quotations found in these pericopes that are also to be found in the comparable pericope in John, as the following chart demonstrates:

CHART IV

Luke's Use of Mark's/Matthew's OT Quotations
In the Quadruple Tradition

<u>OT Quotation</u>	<u>Matthew</u>	<u>Mark</u>	<u>Luke</u>	<u>John</u>
Isa 40:3	3:3	1:3	3:4	1:23
Mal 3:1	-	1:2	-	-
Ezek 34:5-6	-	6:34	-	-
Zech 9:9	21:5	-	-	12:14
Psalms 118:26	21:9	11:9	19:38	12:13
Isa 56:7; Jer 7:11	21:13	11:17	19:46	-
Psalms 69:9	-	-	-	2:17
Zech 13:7	26:31	14:27	-	-
Psalms 42:6,11	26:38	14:34	-	-
Dan 7:13a	26:64b	14:62	-	-
Jer 32:6-15	27:9-10	-	-	-
Deut 31:6-7	27:24-25	-	-	-
Psalms 22:18	27:35	15:24	23:34	19:24
Psalms 22:7	27:39	15:29	-	-
Psalms 22:8	27:43	-	-	-
Psalms 22:1	27:46	15:34	-	-
Psalms 34:20	-	-	-	19:36
Zech 12:10	-	-	-	19:37

Thus, of the eighteen quotations from or allusions to the OT by one or more of our evangelists in the twenty pericopes that comprise the quadruple tradition, Luke contains only four,

11. Interestingly, W. Wilkens (*Die Entstehungsgeschichte des vierten Evangeliums*) and Raymond E. Brown (*op. cit.*, p. 118) have assigned the Johannine version of Jesus' cleansing of the temple (2:13-17) to one of the later stages in the literary development of the Fourth Gospel.

and three of these (i.e., Luke 3:4; 19:38; 23:34) are to be found in all four of our Gospels. Of the six OT quotations in the quadruple tradition found in both Mark and Matthew but not found in John (i.e., Mark 11:17/Matt 21:13; Mark 14:27/Matt 26:31; Mark 14:34/Matt 26:38; Mark 14:62/Matt 26:64b; Mark 15:29/Matt 27:39; Mark 15:34/Matt 27:46), Luke reproduces only the quotation of Isa 56:7/Jer 7:11 found in the Markan/Matthean version of Jesus' cleansing of the temple at 19:46. Neither does Luke contain the two OT quotations or allusions found only in Mark (1:2; 6:34), the three OT quotations found only in Matthew (27:9f.; 27:24f.; 27:43), the three OT quotations found only in John (2:17; 19:36,37), or the one OT quotation found in both Matthew (21:5) and John (12:14). Indeed, in those pericopes that Luke shares with both Mark/Matthew and John, outside of 19:46, Luke reproduces only those OT quotations that are to be found in the comparable passages in both Mark/Matthew and John. It is thus to be observed that Luke's handling of Mark's/Matthew's OT quotations is decidedly different in those pericopes that comprise the quadruple tradition from the consistent manner in which Luke reproduced the OT quotations found in his basic Markan/Matthean source in those pericopes that he shared only with Mark and Matthew.

(D). The Possibility That John the Baptist
Might Have Been the Messiah
 (Luke 3:15)

Luke (3:15) and John (1:19-25) are the only evangelists who suggest, in their accounts of the ministry of John the Baptist, the possibility that John was thought by some to be the Messiah. Luke goes farther than John does when he writes that "all men questioned in their hearts concerning John, whether perhaps he were the Christ." In John, it is only a delegation of priests and Levites sent by the Pharisees who questioned John about his identity, with the implication that some were wondering whether or not he was the promised Messiah. Interestingly, in both Luke (3:16) and John (1:26-27), John's proclamation of the Coming One comes right after this speculation about the possibility whether John the Baptist might be the Messiah or not (cf. Luke 3:15; John 1:19-25).

Moreover, the book of Acts (13:35) and the Gospel of John (1:20; 3:28) are our only NT writings that portray John as denying that he was the Messiah, with Acts 13:25c (οὐκ εἰμι ἐγώ) being quite comparable to John 1:20 (Ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός). Again, in both Acts and John, this denial of Messiahship by John the Baptist immediately precedes John's proclamation of "the Coming One" (cf. John 1:27b; Acts 13:25e).

(E). The Proclamation of John the Baptist
 (Luke 3:16 and Parallels)

Many writers have urged that John's form of this saying is dependent upon the various synoptic versions (esp. Mark and/or Luke), but the studies of Gardner-Smith, Dodd, Buse, and Brown have at least called this hypothesis into question. For example, John 1:26-27 agrees with Mark 1:7-8 and Acts 13:25 over against Matt 3:11 and Luke 3:16 in not mentioning a baptism with fire, and agrees with Acts 13:25 over against the various synoptic versions in its use of the singular form of "sandal" as well

as in its use of "worthy" (ἄξιός) instead of "fit" (ἱκανός) and in its omission of the phrase, "he who is mightier than I." On the other hand, John's phrase, "I am not even worthy to unfasten the strap of his sandal," is closest to the Lukan form ("I am not even fit to unfasten the straps of his sandals"), for all the others have distinct divergences from the form found in Luke and John (Matthew has "carry his sandals," Mark "stoop down and untie," and Acts "unfasten the sandal of his feet"). Yet, at the same time, John 1:26b ("among you stands one whom you do not know") has no parallel in any of the other versions of this saying, while the final phrase in the synoptic form ("he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit") does not occur in John until 1:33c. Thus, an examination of the five NT versions of this proclamation would seem to confirm the judgment of Raymond E. Brown that "it should be quite clear how difficult and complicated it is to seek to explain John's form of the saying as a borrowing from the Synoptic Gospels."¹²

However, when this same type of analysis is applied to Luke 3:16, it would seem to us as if a somewhat different conclusion might be possible. Luke's introductory phrase, "John answered them all" (ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων πᾶσιν ὁ Ἰωάννης), is almost identical to the words, "John answered them" (ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγων), with which the fourth evangelist began his version of the saying, but quite dissimilar to the Markan introductory phrase, "And he preached saying" (καὶ ἐκήρυσσε λέγων).¹³ Luke then agrees with both Matthew and John against Mark in making the opening phrase of John's proclamation to be a reference to John's baptism with water,¹⁴ while Luke's next phrase ("he who is mightier than I") is quite comparable to both Mark 1:7b and Matt 3:11b. Moreover, Luke's third phrase ("I am not even fit to unfasten the straps of his sandals") is, as we have already observed, considerably closer to John 1:27b than it is to either Mark 1:7c or Matt 3:11c. The next Lukan phrase ("he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire") is verbally identical to Matt 3:11d and quite close (except for the additional phrase, "and with fire") to both Mark 1:8b and John 1:33d, while Luke also agrees with Matthew in adding the material that is to be found in the following verse (Luke 3:17 = Matt 3:12). Thus Luke 3:16, with regard to the other NT forms of this saying, can be summarized in chart form as follows:

12. Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

13. Although Matthew does not contain an introductory phrase to this saying, at 3:7 he uses the words, "he said to them" (εἶπεν αὐτοῖς) to introduce the whole speech complex of 3:7-12. But this Matthean phrase is obviously not as close to Luke 3:16a as is John 1:26a.

14. The Lukan form of this phrase, "I baptize you with water" (Ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδατι βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς), is quite close to both the Matthean (ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετάνοιαν) and the Johannine (Ἐγὼ βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι) form, except that the Matthean phrase, "for repentance," is lacking in Luke 3:16, despite the frequency with which the term "repentance" occurs in the Lukan writings (cf. Luke 3:3,8; 5:32; 15:7; 24:47; Acts 2:38; 3:19; 5:31; 8:22; 11:18; 20:21).

CHART V: Luke 3:16 And Its Closest NT Parallels

<u>Luke 3:16</u>	<u>The Closest NT Parallels To Luke 3:16</u>
John answered them all	= John answered them (John 1:26a)
I baptize you with water	= I baptize with water (John 1:26b); I baptize you with water for re- pentance (Matthew 3:11a)
But he who is mightier than I is coming	= After me comes he who is mightier than I (Mark 1:7b; cf. also Matthew 3:11b)
The thong of whose sandals I am not even fit to untie	= The thong of whose sandal I am not worthy to untie (John 1:27b)
He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire	= He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire (Matthew 3:11d; cf. also Mark 1:8b)

An analysis of the above chart discloses that not only does every phrase in the Lukan form of this saying have a parallel in either Mark, Matthew, or John, but also demonstrates that Luke 3:16a,b,d is as close to John 1:26a,b,27b as Luke 3:16c,e is to Mark 1:7a,8b or Luke 3:16b,c,e is to Matt 3:11a,b,d. There would therefore seem to be some justification for thinking that Luke 3:16 could possibly represent a conflation¹⁵ of Matt 3:11, Mark 1:7-8, and John 1:26-27 or of the traditions lying back of Matt 3:11, Mark 1:7-8, and John 1:26-27 (or possibly a combination of written sources and oral tradition). E. P. Sanders' careful strictures with regard to claiming conflation for any particular passages when the dates of the possible sources are in doubt must, of course, be stringently observed,¹⁶ as well as his comment (p. 264) that "the total number of apparent conflations in a document must also be considered, to see if the hypothesis of conflation consistently explains the phenomena." Thus, while the data gained from our examination of the various NT versions of John's proclamation is not by any means sufficient to show that Luke 3:16 represents a conflation of Mark (or "Ur-Markus"), Matthew (or "Q"), and John (or the Johannine tradition), it would seem to suggest a possibility that might well be explored. We will therefore, in the course of this paper examine other pericopes shared by all four of our evangelists to see if these same phenomena occur elsewhere in these gospels.

(F). The Baptism of Jesus

(Luke 3:21-22 and Parallels)

We have already observed the Lukan anachronism of placing the arrest of John prior to Jesus' baptism as well as the fact

15. Cf. E. P. Sanders, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-71, and his treatment of "conflation" in the early Christian tradition. Notice especially his observation that "conflation was a common practice in the ancient world, and there is no shortage of examples of it in the Christian tradition" (p. 262).

16. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

that Luke and John are the only Gospels that fail to explicitly describe the baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist (cf. above, Sec. I-3). Otherwise, Luke 3:21-22 seems to be based on Mark/Matthew, although the verbal agreement between Luke and Mark/Matthew is considerably smaller (Luke 3:21-22 shares 18 words out of 43 with Mark 1:9-11 for a percentage agreement of 41.8%) than that which is to be found in virtually all the pericopes that comprise the true triple tradition, and is basically limited to the closing phrase which is to be found in all three Synoptic accounts ("And a voice came from heaven, 'Thou art my beloved Son; with thee I am well pleased'"), with the last ten words in the Lukan version being in exact verbatim agreement with Mark 1:11b (but not with Matt 3:17).

Yet Luke 3:21-22 possesses other differences or divergences from its Markan/Matthean source. Thus while Mark and Matthew inform us that "Jesus saw the Spirit descending upon him like a dove," the fourth evangelist tells us that John the Baptist "saw the Spirit descend as a dove from heaven," and Luke says only that this event took place, without indicating who saw it ("the Holy Spirit descended upon him in bodily form, as a dove"). The Lukan phrase, "in bodily form," is peculiar to Luke, with the other three evangelists saying simply that "the Spirit descended as a dove from heaven." On the other hand, Luke agrees with Mark/Matthew in asserting that "the heaven was opened" and that "a voice came from heaven" witnessing to Jesus as God's beloved Son. Nevertheless, despite these Lukan agreements with Mark/Matthew, it is clear that Luke 3:1-22 exhibits frequent Lukan alterations and modifications of his Markan/Matthean source and that Luke 3:1-22 also contains a number of important agreements with the Johannine tradition.

III. JESUS' CALLING OF HIS FIRST DISCIPLES

(Luke 5:1-11 And Parallels)

The Markan (1:16-20)/Matthean (4:18-22) and the Johannine (1:35-51) versions of Jesus' calling of his first disciples would seem to be in almost complete disagreement with each other. Mark/Matthew locate the event in Galilee; John apparently in the Transjordan. In Mark/Matthew the disciples-to-be are fishing; in John they are not. In Mark/Matthew Jesus calls Simon and Andrew together; in John Andrew finds Jesus first and then goes and brings his brother to Jesus (1:42). In Mark/Matthew the explicit call to "follow me" is given to Simon and Andrew; in John it is given only to Philip (1:43). Mark/Matthew and John would thus seem to be rendering completely independent accounts of Jesus' calling of his first disciples.

On the other hand, Luke's version (5:1-11) is different from both the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine. Luke 5:1ff. bears no resemblance to John 1:35ff., and except for the fact that Luke informs us that a number of men (including Peter, James, and John) "left everything and followed" Jesus, Luke's version bears little resemblance to the Markan/Matthean version either. Like Mark/Matthew, Luke does locate the incident on a seashore, but here the similarity ends. In Mark/Matthew, Jesus' call to "follow me" is given explicitly to Peter and Andrew and implicitly also to James and John; in Luke only Peter is addressed and Andrew is not even mentioned. In Mark/Matthew the disciples are fishing; in Luke they are washing their nets. In Mark/Matthew Jesus calls these men immediately; in Luke Jesus

first gets into a boat and teaches "the people from the boat." In Mark/Matthew there is no indication that anyone except Jesus and the four fishermen were present; in Luke it is clearly implied that others were present. Mark/Matthew explicitly depict Jesus as saying to Peter and Andrew, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men," while in Luke 5:1ff., this explicit call is not given.

Thus, a comparison of Luke 5:1-11 with the comparable pericopes in Mark/Matthew would seem to suggest that Luke appears to have replaced the Markan/Matthean version of Jesus' calling of his first disciples with his own distinctive version of this segment of the tradition. That Luke intended 5:1-11 to be his version of how Jesus gained his first disciples (even though he did mention Simon earlier at 4:38) is indicated by the fact that Luke's concluding statement in this pericope ("they left everything and followed him") is quite similar to the concluding statements found in both the Markan ("they left their father Zebedee . . . and followed him") and the Matthean ("immediately they left the boat and their father, and followed him") form of this incident.¹

Luke 5:1-11 would thus seem to be a distinctive Lukan version of Jesus' calling of his first disciples which Luke has set against the background of a miraculous catch of fish in terms that are somewhat comparable to a similar story found in John 21:1-14. Thus Luke (like John 21:1ff.) does not mention Andrew in this pericope (in contrast to both Mark 1:16 and Matthew 4:18), uses the double name, "Simon Peter" (5:8),² and portrays Jesus as addressing Simon alone (in contrast to both Mark and Matthew).³ In addition, both Luke 5:4-6 and John 21:4-6 portray the disciples, after fishing all night without catching anything, as casting their nets back into the water at the direction of Jesus and making a catch of a great quantity of fish, so that despite many differences,⁴ there nevertheless exists considerable similarity between Luke 5:1ff. and John 21:1ff.

Moreover, Luke 5:8 ("But when Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying 'Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord'") possibly suggests that the original setting for the Lukan version of the miraculous catch of fish was in a post-resurrectional context such as is found in John 21, for this vivid expression of Peter's sinfulness would seem more appropriately to belong to a time subsequent to his three-fold denial of Jesus rather than representing, as it does in Luke

1. Cf. Mark 1:20; Matthew 4:22.

2. While this is the only occurrence of this designation for Peter in Luke, observe not only that this double name also occurs five times in John 21:1-15 (vss. 2,3,7,11,15) but also that Luke does not actually relate Jesus' giving of the name "Peter" to Simon until 6:14.

3. Cf. J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, II, p. 688, who observed that Luke 5:10 (in contrast to Mark 1:17/Matt 4:19), which portrays Jesus as addressing Peter only ("Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men"), is "in remarkable correspondence with the giving of the commission, Pasce oues meas, to Peter alone, in Jn. 21:17."

4. For extensive listings of the agreements between Luke 5:1ff. and John 21:1ff., see J. H. Bernard, *ibid.*, R. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 545-46, or Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 1090.

5:8, merely a general confession of sinfulness that had been brought about by an unusual catch of fish. Thus Luke's version of this incident could have been but one of several events in the early Christian traditions that the synoptists have retrojected from a post-resurrectional setting back into a context earlier in Jesus' ministry.⁵

These factors, obviously, do not indicate that Luke knew John 21 or vice versa,⁶ for there are important differences between Luke 5:1-11 and John 21:1-14,⁷ differences that would appear to make any suggestion of a literary relationship between these pericopes seem quite dubious. Contrariwise, the impressive list of agreements between Luke 5:1-11 and John 21:1-14 could indicate Luke's familiarity with this pericope in oral form as it was developing within Johannine circles, or both Luke and the author of the Johannine epilogue may have been acquainted with similar but independent forms of this story from the diverse oral traditions of the early church, while the fact that John 21:1-14 possesses less of a miraculous element than does Luke 5:1-11⁸ could possibly indicate that the Johannine form of this pericope reflects a greater antiquity than does the Lukan.⁹

However, the important consideration to be observed in Luke's version of Jesus' calling of his first disciples is that Mark 1:16-20/Matt 4:18-22 represents the only pericope found in both Mark and Matthew between the opening of their gospels and Jesus' choosing of the twelve (i.e., Mark 1:1-3:19/Matt 3:1-10:4) which Luke failed to reproduce in at least somewhat comparable terms, and that Mark 1:16-20/Matt 4:18-22

5. Cf. the study by Frank W. Beare on this subject ("Concerning Jesus of Nazareth," JBL, 87 ((1968)), pp. 126-27).

6. This, however, does not affect the thesis of this paper, for we are only suggesting that Luke knew the developing Johannine tradition in some early form (or, at most, an early draft of the Gospel of John), and there is rather general consensus that ch. 21 was a later addition to the original gospel and belongs to one of the later stages in the literary development of this gospel.

7. Cf. Alfred Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 147 for a quite extensive listing of these differences.

8. Although John 21:11 informs us that the disciples caught 153 "large fish," Luke uses both the terms "nets" and "boats" in the plural in contrast to the singular usage of both terms in John 21:1ff. Moreover, while John 21:6-8 tells us that the catch of fish was so large they could not haul the net into the boat, Luke informs us that when the disciples attempted to haul the "great shoal of fish" which they had caught into their boats, the catch was so great that it "filled both of the boats, so that they began to sink" (5:6-7). In addition, while John 21:11 asserts that "the net was not torn," Luke 5:6 claims that "their nets were breaking" from the "catch of fish which they had taken" (5:9).

9. E.g., cf. R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte*, pp. 256ff., who points out that the tendencies of the later Synoptists as well as that of later Christian writers was to add details, novelistic coloring, and especially to heighten the element of miracle found in the earlier gospel miracle stories. This can not be laid down as a uniform principle, but the exaggerated element of miracle to be found in the apocryphal gospels as compared with our canonical gospels would seem to point in this direction (cf. also Stephen Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 273).

also represents the only pericope in this whole first major section of Mark/Matthew that is in decisive disagreement with the comparable section of John (1:35-51). It could therefore possibly be significant that this major Lukan departure (5:1-11) from the Markan/Matthean tradition occurs at precisely that place in the Lukan narrative where the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine traditions are found to be in decided disagreement, a phenomenon (cf. also Luke 7:36-38; 22:31-34, 39-46, 47-53, 65-71; 23:6-12, 39-43; 24:1ff. for other examples of this Lukan phenomenon) that could be indicative of Luke's awareness of the existence of another tradition (or traditions) in early Christianity that were different from the Markan/Matthean traditions with regard to Jesus' calling of his first disciples. Moreover, Acts 1:21-22 (which states that Jesus had a number of disciples from the time of "the baptism of John") would seem to be in rather substantial agreement with the Johannine tradition that Jesus had gained his first disciples on the two days following the Baptist's witness to Jesus (cf. John 1:35, 43) rather than with the Markan/Matthean traditions which assert that Jesus did not call his first disciples until after John had been cast into prison (cf. Mark 1:14; Matt 4:12).¹⁰

10. Cf. Pierson Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-304, who not only urges that Judean traditions lie back of Acts, but who also points out that John "usually sides with Acts (against Mark/Matthew) even when Luke's own gospel does not" (p. 300). Our own study of John and Acts has also disclosed a number of places in which Acts agrees with John against all the Synoptists (e.g., compare John 1:20/Acts 13:25a; John 1:26-27/Acts 13:25b; John 7:39a/Acts 19:2; John 10:23/Acts 3:11; John 20:19-29/Acts 13:31; or John 20:31/Acts 17:3). Thus both John and Acts place most of Jesus' ministry in Judea (cf. John 1:19-51; 2:13-3:36; 5:1-47; 7:1-20:31; Acts 1:18; 2:22; 3:11f., 26; 4:5-11; 10:36-39), report that Jesus performed "signs" in Jerusalem (cf. John 5:1ff.; 9:1ff.; Acts 2:22), describe the Jerusalem healings in quite similar terms (cf. J. Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles*, ((Anchor Bible, 31)), p. 25f.), and exhibit the same geographical progression (i.e., Jerusalem-Judea-Samaria; cf. John 3-4/Acts 2-8). John and Acts are also our only NT writings that refer frequently to the disciples as "witnesses" or which use the verb "believe" with considerable frequency (this verb occurs 98 times in John and 42 times in Acts, but only 101 times in all the rest of the NT, with Romans ((16 times)) and Luke ((12 times)) being the only other NT writings in which this verb occurs more than ten times). John 15:26-27 and Acts 5:32 are also our only two NT passages that refer to the twofold witness of the Holy Spirit and the disciples to Jesus, while John 6:69 and Acts 3:14 are our only NT passages that depict Peter as ascribing the title, "the Holy One," to Jesus. John and Acts both also assert that it is Jesus himself who will judge all men (cf. John 5:25-29; Acts 10:42; 17:31) and that it is Jesus himself, rather than the Son of man (as it is in the Synoptics), who will some day return (cf. John 14:3; 21:22f.; Acts 1:11; 3:20), while Acts 11:16-18 and 19:2 agree with John 7:39 that it is normal Christian experience to receive the Spirit when one believes, with Acts 19:2a agreeing verbally quite closely with John 7:39a.

IV. THE ANOINTING OF JESUS

(Luke 7:36-38 And Parallels)

Although Luke contains almost all of the pericopes to be found in both Mark 10:13-16:8 and Matthew 19:13-28:10,¹ and even though thirty of the thirty-two pericopes that Luke shares with both Mark and Matthew in these last major sections of their gospels (cf. Luke 18:15-43; 19:28-20:47; 21:5-23:5; 23:13-38, 44-56; 24:1-11 et. parr.) occur in the same order in all three of these gospels, Luke does not reproduce the Markan (14:3-9)/Matthean (26:6-13) version of the anointing at the comparable place in his narrative.² Instead, Luke inserts his own version of the anointing in an entirely different context (7:36ff.), a version that is in disagreement with the Markan/Matthean account in a number of important particulars (see below). On the other hand, Luke's version exhibits certain features that are similar to John's forms of the anointing (12:1-8), similarities that have prompted a number of writers to urge that John knew Luke 7:36ff. (or the traditions lying behind Luke 7:36ff.).³ However, it should be observed, that not only does John's account contain parallels to both the Markan/Matthean and the Lukan version, but Luke 7:36-38 also contains parallels to both the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine accounts, so that any judgment

1. Although Matthew 19:13-28:10 contains several pericopes (notably parables) not found in Mark (e.g., Matt 20:1-16; 22:1-14; 24:45-25:46; 27:3-10) and Mark 10:13-16:8 contains a couple of pericopes not found in Matthew (i.e., Mark 12:41-44; 14:51-52), Matthew and Mark share thirty-six pericopes in these last major sections of their gospels, and of these pericopes only four (the ambitious request of James and John ((in Matt 20:20ff., this request is made by their mother)), Jesus' cursing of the fig tree, the scribe's question concerning the greatest of the commandments, and the anointing of Jesus) are lacking in Luke 18:15-24:11.

2. Of the four Lukan omissions of pericopes found in both Mark and Matthew in these last major sections of their gospels (i.e., Mark 10:35-45/Matt 20:20-28; Mark 11:12-14, 20-24/Matt 21:18-22; Mark 12:28-34/Matt 22:35-40; Mark 14:3-9/Matt 26:6-13), the first of these Lukan omissions (the ambitious request) of Markan/Matthean material is possibly explicable on the basis of the observable Lukan tendency (e.g., cf. Robert M. Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 136; The Jerusalem Bible, NT, pp. 13-14) to omit all the Markan/Matthean statements that were derogatory to any of the Apostles (e.g., Mark 4:13; Mark 8:33/Matt 16:23; Mark 14:37/Matt 26:40; and Mark 14:50/Matt 26:56b are also lacking in Luke) and the second (the cursing of the fig tree) could possibly be due to Luke's tendency to omit any Markan/Matthean passages that might tend to cast doubt on the character of Christ (e.g., Mark 3:5, 21; 4:38b; 6:38; 7:24-30; 9:21; 10:14a; 11:15-16/Matt 12:24; 15:21-28; 21:12 are also lacking in Luke). Luke's omission of Mark 12:28-34/Matt 22:35-40 was possibly due to his antipathy towards the religious leaders of Judaism, for Luke nowhere casts a Pharisee or a Sadducee in a commendable role. However, there is no comparable discernible tendency in Luke that could possibly account for his omission of Mark 14:3-9/Matt 26:6-13 at the comparable place in his narrative.

3. E.g., cf. J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-14; J. A. Bailey, *op. cit.*; C. K. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 341ff.; or Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 449-54.

with regard to the relationship that may exist between Luke 7: 36ff. and John 12:1ff. needs to be carefully evaluated, as the following chart demonstrates.

CHART VI

A Comparison of the Various Versions Of the "Anointing of Jesus"⁴

<u>Item of Comparison</u>	<u>Mark/Matthew</u>	<u>Luke</u>	<u>John</u>
Date of the Anointing	After the Entry (two days before the Passover)	Sometime during the earlier ministry of Jesus	Before the Entry (six days before the Passover)
Place of the Anointing	<u>House of Simon the leper</u>	<u>House of Simon the Pharisee</u>	In Bethany
Who Anointed Jesus	<u>An unnamed woman</u>	<u>An unnamed "sinner" woman</u>	Mary of Bethany
Type of Container	<u>An alabaster jar</u>	<u>An alabaster jar</u>	A pound of
Type of Perfume	<u>Valuable perfume of pure nard</u>	Perfume	<u>Expensive perfume of pure nard</u>
Woman's Actions	Pours perfume on Jesus' head	Weeps on Jesus' feet, <u>dries them with her hair</u> , kisses and <u>anoints them</u>	<u>Anoints Jesus' feet and dries them with her hair</u>
Value of Ointment	"More than <u>300 denarii</u> " (Matt 26:9a has "a large sum")	Value not given	" <u>300 denarii</u> "
Jesus defends the woman	" <u>Let her alone</u> . . . She has done a beautiful thing to me."	-	" <u>Let her alone</u> " (Mark 14:6c/Matt 26:10c not in John)
A Saying about the poor	" <u>For you always have the poor with you</u> . . ."	No such saying in Luke	" <u>The poor you always have with you</u> . . ."
Purpose of the Anointing	"She has anointed my body beforehand for burying."	-	"Let her keep it for the day of my burial."
Jesus praises the woman	"Wherever the gospel is preached . . . what she has done will be told in memory of her."	"For she loved much"	No words of praise found in John

4. This chart has been adapted from a similar chart by Raymond E. Brown, *ibid.*, p. 450. In our chart we have underlined those words or phrases that are to be found in comparable form

A study of the above chart would seem to call into question the hypothesis that John knew the Markan/Matthean form of the anointing. John does agree with Mark/Matthew in emphasizing the value of the ointment (Matthew uses βαρυτίμου, Mark πολυτελοῦς and John πολυτίμου), and all three also agree in portraying Jesus as defending the woman and in depicting the anointing as a prophetic embalming of Jesus. John also shares a few brief exact or almost exact phrases with Mark ("300 denarii," "of pure nard," "let her alone"), while John 12:8 ("the poor you always have with you, but you do not always have me") is closer to the form found in Matthew 26:11 ("for you always have the poor with you, but you will not always have me") than it is to Mark 14:7 (which contains the additional words, "and whenever you will, you can do good to them," as a middle phrase in its form of the saying).

Yet the differences between John and Mark/Matthew are more numerous and important than are these few similarities. Mark/Matthew place the anointing after the entry into Jerusalem and John places it before. Mark/Matthew depict an unnamed woman as anointing the head of Jesus while John portrays Mary of Bethany as anointing his feet. John does not identify the house in which the anointing occurred (in contrast to Mark 14:3/Matt 26:6), although he identifies every person in this incident (Mary, Martha, Lazarus, Judas) except possibly the host, while the only person Mark/Matthew identifies is the host ("Simon the leper"), in whose house the dinner was held. John also does not contain the Markan (14:6)/Matthean (26:10) phrase, "for she has done a beautiful thing to me," and exhibits disagreements with Mark/Matthew even pertaining to details in which they are most similar (e.g., Matthew has "sold for a large sum," Mark "sold for more than three hundred denarii," and John "sold for three hundred denarii"). But possibly even more significant, as Raymond E. Brown has observed, is the fact that despite John's assertion (11:2) that Mary of Bethany was known as the woman who had anointed Jesus,

John does not report the praise of Mary of Bethany that is found in Mark 14:9 (also Matt 26:13). . . . If John was dependent on Mark, the omission of this phrase would be hard to understand, since 11:2 presumes that Mary was well known precisely because she anointed Jesus.⁵

On the other hand, an examination of the above chart also discloses that Luke 7:36ff. contains parallels to both Matthew 26:6-13 and Mark 14:3-9 as well as to John 12:1-8. Thus a comparison of all four accounts of the anointing demonstrates that while Luke agrees with John in depicting a woman as anointing the feet of Jesus and as wiping his feet with her hair (although Luke and John disagree as to the order of these actions), it also discloses that Luke agrees with Mark/Matthew in not identifying the woman as well as by referring to the perfume container as "an alabaster jar" and in identifying the dinner host (in Mark/Matthew the host is "Simon the leper," while in Luke the host is "Simon the Pharisee"). Interestingly (as is also the case in the parallel accounts of the feeding of the five thousand and the last supper ((cf. below, Sections V & VII))), Luke does not contain the notable features shared by Mark and John (e.g., "300 denarii," "of pure nard," "let her alone," a saying about the poor), so that while Luke sometimes agrees with

in any two or more of our various NT versions of the anointing.

5. Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

Mark/Matthew and sometimes with John, Luke never agrees with both.⁶

It perhaps is also worthy of notice that while John 12:1-8, unlike Luke 7:36-38, does not tell of the woman who anointed Jesus as also weeping at his feet, John 11:32-33 does, and John uses the identical word for "weeping" (κλαίουσιν) at 11:33 that Luke does at 7:38. Thus the only action of the "sinner-woman" as portrayed by Luke in 7:36-38 that is not to be found in either Mark 14:3-9/Matt 26:6-13 or John 11-12 is the Lukan assertion that this woman "kissed" Jesus' feet after wiping them with the hair of her head, as the following chart illustrates:

CHART VII

Luke 7:36-38 And Its Closest NT Parallels

<u>Luke 7:36-38</u>		<u>The Closest NT Parallels To Luke 7:36-38</u>
He went into the Pharisee's (<u>Simon's</u>) <u>house</u>	=	While he . . . was in the <u>house of Simon the leper</u> (Mark 14:3a; Matt 26:6)
and <u>sat at table</u>	=	as he <u>sat at table</u> (Mark 14:3b; Matt 26:7a)
And behold, a <u>woman</u> of the city,	=	a <u>woman</u> came (Mark 14:3c; Matt 26:7a)
who was a sinner		(peculiar to Luke)
brought <u>an alabaster</u> <u>flask of ointment</u>	=	came with <u>an alabaster</u> <u>jar of ointment</u> (Mark 14:3c; cf. Matt 26:7b)
and standing behind him = <u>at his feet</u> , <u>weeping</u>		Then Mary . . . fell <u>at his</u> <u>feet</u> When Jesus saw her <u>weeping</u> (John 11:32-33)
She began to wet <u>his</u> <u>feet</u> with her tears, and <u>wiped them with the</u> <u>hair of her head</u> . . . , and <u>anointed them</u> with ointment	=	And <u>anointed the feet of Jesus</u> and <u>wiped his feet</u> with <u>her hair</u> (John 12:3)

An examination of the above chart discloses that almost every phrase in Luke 7:37-38 (the only phrases peculiar to Luke 7:37-38 are "of the city," "who was a sinner," "wet his feet with her tears," "and kissed his feet") has a parallel in either Mark/Matthew or John, with vs. 37 having important parallels with Mark 14/Matthew 26 and vs. 38 significant parallels with

6. These phenomena appear to be similar to the third type of conflation identified by E. P. Sanders (op. cit., p. 263), who observed that "a conflator may construct a new narrative or speech by plucking phrases from here and there in his sources."

John 11:32-33/12:3. The similarities that exist between Luke 7:38 and John 12:3 are especially unusual and have convinced many writers (see above, esp. footnote #3) that John was influenced by Luke 7:38 (or the traditions lying back of Luke 7:38) in his writing of 12:1-8. Yet John 11:2 would seem to be quite incompatible with this hypothesis once the identification of the "sinner-woman" of Luke 7 with Mary of Bethany is brought into question. For this identification, which has frequently been made since the time of Tertullian (*de pudicitia* 11),⁷ was made on the basis of the similarity of Luke 7:38 to John 12:3, and the parenthetical explanation found at John 11:2. Thus, as J. H. Bernard once urged:

At Jn. 11:2 is a parenthetical explanation . . . that Mary of Bethany *ἰστὴ ἀλείψασα τὸν Κύριον μύρω καὶ ἐκμάξασα τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ταῖς θριξίν αὐτῆς*. Now this would not identify Mary of Bethany for the reader, if another woman had also "anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair." If we distinguish the woman of Lk. 7 from the woman of Jn. 12, this singular gesture may be attributed to two women, and thus the note of 11:2 would be useless for its purpose of identification. It is plain that the Fourth Gospel regards the ἁμαρτωλὸς of Lk. 7 as the sister of Lazarus and Martha.⁸

However, this identification is now being questioned, due not only to the many differences that exist between the Lukan description of the woman "who was a sinner" and the various NT portrayals of Mary of Bethany (cf. Matt 26:6-13; Mark 14:3-9; Luke 10:38-42; John 11:28-34; 12:1-8),⁹ but also to the fact that Luke never made this identification himself, even though he described both the unnamed "sinner-woman" and Mary of Bethany in his gospel. If, however, the "sinner-woman" of Luke 7 was a different person from Mary of Bethany, then John 11:2 would seem to be meaningless, unless John was not aware of the existence of any other tradition that portrayed another woman besides Mary of Bethany as also anointing Jesus' feet and wiping them with her hair when he wrote chs. 11-12 of his gospel. Moreover, in John there would seem to be nothing incongruous about the mere fact of Mary anointing Jesus' feet as a prophetic action,¹⁰ but the similar action of the "sinner-woman" in Luke 7 would seem to be quite anomalous.¹¹

7. Cf. J. B. Mayor's article, "Mary," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III, for a summary of those writers who have made this identification.

8. J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

9. E.g., cf. A. Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 209; Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 450; or A. Legault, "An Application of the Form-Critique Method to the Anointing in Galilee and Bethany," *CBQ*, 16 (1954), pp. 131ff., for examples of writers who have questioned this identification.

10. John 12:1-8 depicts the anointing as representing a prophetic preparation of Jesus' body for burial (e.g., cf. Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 454 or E. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 407f.), so that it would not have been incongruous in first century Palestine for someone to have anointed a person's feet as a prophetic action in symbolically preparing that body for burial.

11. There is no example from first century Palestine (outside of Luke 7:38) of the anointing of someone's feet as an expression of affection (cf. A. Legault, *op. cit.*, pp. 138f., who has pointed out the weaknesses in the proposed parallels that have been put forward by some writers).

Contrariwise, if the order of the details of the anointing in Luke 7:38 seems unusual, in John 12:3 the order seems completely incongruous. In Luke, the action of the "sinner-woman" in wiping away her tears with her hair and then anointing the feet of Jesus is at least comprehensible; in John, the action of Mary in wiping the ointment off Jesus' feet with her hair would seem to be totally anomalous. If John incorporated details from Luke 7 into his narrative, he hopelessly confused the lucid Lukan account without any apparent theological motif. But if Luke was influenced by some early form of John 12:1-8, then Luke has improved the difficult order that he found in the Johannine form of the anointing just as Luke often improved the awkward constructions he frequently found in his basic Markan/Matthean source (see above, Sec. I of this study).¹²

It would therefore appear, on the basis of the foregoing analysis of the several NT versions of the anointing, that the question which should be confronted is why Luke omitted Mark 14:3-9/Matt 26:6-13 from the comparable section of his narrative and substituted instead at 7:36ff., a quite different account of an earlier anointing. Our study of Luke 18:15-24:11 and the parallel sections of Mark/Matthew has disclosed that Luke reproduced thirty-two of the other thirty-five pericopes to be found in these latter sections of Mark and Matthew omitting only the three Markan/Matthean pericopes (Mark 10:35-44/Matt 20:20-28; Mark 11:12-14, 20-24/Matt 21:18-22; Mark 12:28-34/Matt 22:34-40) with which he may have found difficulties. Moreover, it should be noticed that while Mark and Matthew exhibit considerable disagreement in these three pericopes, the Markan/Matthean accounts of the anointing are so close that Mark 14:3-9 and Matthew 26:6-13 can virtually be treated as one version of the same incident. Neither does Mark 14:3-9/Matt 26:6-13 seem to contain any features that might have caused Luke to have had a problem with this particular pericope such as he may have found in Mark 10:35-44/Matt 20:20-28 and Mark 11:12-14, 20-24/Matt 21:18-22. Nor (or so it seems to us) could Luke's omission of Mark 14:3ff./Matt 26:6ff. have been due to Luke's desire to avoid doublets in his gospel, for no gospel contains more doublets than does Luke.¹³

On the other hand, Mark 14:3-9/Matt 26:6-13 does differ greatly from John 12:1-8, thus providing us with a phenomenon that we have encountered elsewhere in our study of Luke; namely, the only Markan/Matthean pericopes that occur in quite comparable terms in the first two gospels that Luke replaces with his own unique version at a different place in his narrative (cf. Luke 5:1-11; 22:31-34, 66-71; 23:6-12) are Markan/Matthean pericopes (cf. Mark 1:16-20/Matt 4:18-22; Mark 14:26-31/Matt 26:30-35; Mark 14:53-65/Matt 26:57-68; Mark 15:16-20/Matt 27:27-31) that stand in considerable disagreement with the comparable pericopes that are to be found in the Gospel of John (cf. John 1:35-51; 13:36-38; 18:19-24; 19:2-5).

12. This is especially true if Mark was Luke's primary source rather than Matthew.

13. E.g., Luke tells of two disputes among the disciples as to which one was greatest (9:46; 22:24), relates two instances of Jesus' raising of the dead (7:11-17; 8:49-56) and his cleansing of lepers (5:12-14; 17:11-18). Luke also twice tells of Jesus being entertained by publicans in their homes (5:29-32; 19:1-10), and relates three instances of Jesus healing on the sabbath (6:6-11; 13:10-17; 14:1-6) as well as four instances of Jesus casting out demons (4:31-36; 8:26-39; 9:37-43; 11:14).

Our examination of the various NT versions of the anointing has thus disclosed the following factors: (1) Mark 14:3-9 and Matthew 26:6-13 disagree with John 12:1-8 at many important points in their accounts of the anointing; (2) Luke 7:36-38 contains significant parallels to both Mark 14:3-9/Matt 26:6-13 and John 12:1-8; (3) Except for the Lukan phrase, "and kissed his feet," every other action that Luke ascribes to the "sinner-woman" has a parallel in either Mark 14/Matt 26 or John 11-12; and (4) there exist valid reasons for questioning the identification of the "sinner-woman" of Luke 7 with Mary of Bethany.

All of the foregoing factors prompt us to question John's use of Luke 7:36ff. (or the traditions lying back of Luke 7:36ff.) and to suggest that Luke possibly omitted Mark 14:3-9/Matt 26:6-13 from the comparable place in his narrative due to his awareness of the many differences that existed between the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine versions of the anointing and substituted instead at an earlier point in his gospel a story about a "sinner-woman" from the profuse traditions of the early church which Luke told in terms of Mark 14:3-9/Matt 26:6-13 and John 12:1-8 (or the traditions which stood back of Mark 14:3-9/Matt 26:6-13 and John 12:1-8). At least, there would seem to be some evidence that would appear to point in this direction, so that the possibility that Luke was influenced by some early form of the developing Johannine tradition in his writing of 7:36ff. rather than vice versa should perhaps be considered as a possible solution to this complicated problem that might well be worthy of being further explored by other writers in this field.

V. THE FEEDING OF THE FIVE THOUSAND

(Luke 9:10-17 And Parallels)

Even though Mark 6:30-44/Matt 14:13-21 would seem to be the basic source that Luke used in his composition of 9:10-17, Luke's account is not only more condensed than either Mark's or Matthew's, but Luke has also modified the Markan/Matthean account of this multiplication at several significant points and exhibits several contacts and agreements with John 6:1-14. Thus Luke not only agrees with John in containing an account of only this feeding, but Luke 9:10-17 also possesses several agreements with John 6:1-14, both with regard to certain details and similarities of wording. Thus, unlike those Lukan pericopes that belong to the pure triple tradition (those pericopes that have no parallel with any segment of the Johannine tradition), Luke 9:10-17 exhibits a number of significant diversions from the form of the tradition found in Mark/Matthew, so that the crucial questions of dependence and interrelationship assume paramount importance in these passages.

With regard to John's version of this multiplication, although a considerable amount of critical opinion now favors the viewpoint that John's account is independent of the others,¹

1. E.g., cf. E. D. Johnston, "The Johannine Version of the Five thousand - An Independent Tradition?", NTS, 8 (1961-62), pp. 151-54; A. M. Hunter, The Gospel According to John, pp. 3-5, 64; Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., pp. 236-44; Robert T. Fortna, The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source

there are numerous dissenting voices² and the issue is yet unresolved. Yet a comparison of John's account with the various synoptic versions would at least seem to call into question the hypothesis of Johannine dependence upon one or more of the synoptics, for John consistently disagrees with the Synoptists (esp. Mark/Matt) regarding the details of this multiplication, and the degree of verbal agreement is especially low. Thus in John, Jesus is described as showing concern over how the people were to be fed as soon as he saw them coming towards him, while in the Synoptics it is the disciples who are described as first showing concern, and then only near the end of the day (see below, however, for the modification of this in Luke 9:12). In the Synoptics the disciples take the initiative, in John the initiative is ascribed to Jesus. In the Synoptics, Jesus directs the disciples to give them something to eat; in John, Jesus asks Philip, "How are we to buy bread, so that these people may eat?" In the Synoptics it is the disciples who have the "five loaves and the two fish;" in John, Andrew finds a lad who had "five barley loaves and two fish." John contains none of the actions ascribed to Jesus by the Synoptists ("and taking the five loaves and two fish he looked up to heaven, and blessed, and broke the loaves, and gave them to the disciples to set before the people");³ instead John describes Jesus as taking the loaves, offering "thanks," and then distributing the loaves directly to the people (6:11). Even in the few instances in which John is close to Mark ("200 denarii worth of bread," "so also the fish"), there are differences either in details or in vocabulary. John's account bears little resemblance to Mark's and even less to Matthew's.

On the other hand, Luke's account has few phrases that do not have a parallel in at least one of the others. Luke's format is close to both the Markan and the Matthean, and Luke contains at least six phrases that are in close agreement with both the Markan and the Matthean accounts ("you give them something to eat," "make them sit down," five loaves and two fish," "and taking the five loaves and the two fish he looked up to heaven, and blessed and broke them, and gave them to the disciples to set before the crowd," "and all ate and were satisfied," "twelve baskets of broken pieces"). Contrariwise, Luke contains five phrases ("and country round about," "in a lonely place," "to go and buy," "in companies, about fifty each," "to set before the crowd") that are closer to Mark 6:30ff. than they are to Matt 14:13ff., while three additional Lukan phrases ("he cured those who had need of healing," "send the multitude away," "we have no more than") are closer to Matthew's version than they are to Mark's. Luke also agrees with Matthew against Mark in omitting certain details (e.g., the information found in Mark 6:31, 33, 34b) that are peculiar to Mark, while Luke is also lacking in certain Matthean details that are unique to Matthew (e.g., "when it was evening," "the day is now over," "they need not go away," "bring them here to me," "besides women and children"). However, unlike the pericopes in the pure triple tradition in which from 51% to 75% of the words in Mark and Matthew have a parallel in Luke, in this pericope only 26.1% of the words found in Mark 6:30-44 (77 words out of 295) and 38.4% of the words found in

Underlying the Fourth Gospel (SNTS Monograph Series, 11) esp. p. 226.

2. E.g., cf. E. K. Lee, "St. Mark and the Fourth Gospel," NTS, 3 (1956-57), pp. 50-58; A. Mendner, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-307; or C. K. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 96f.

3. Cf. Mark 6:41; Matt 14:19; Luke 9:16.

Matt 14:13-21 (76 words out of 198) have a parallel in Luke 9:10-17, while 52.9% of the words found in Luke 9:10-17 do not have a parallel in either the Markan or the Matthean versions of this multiplication.

Contrariwise, Luke not only agrees with John in recording an account of only this multiplication, but he also makes several departures in this pericope from the form of the tradition found in Mark/Matthew in the direction of the Johannine tradition so that at these places Luke is closer to John than he is to either Mark or Matthew. Following is an analysis of Luke 9:10-17 with particular attention being given to the Lukan departures from or modifications of Mark 6:30-44/Matthew 14:13-21 as well as the several Lukan contacts and agreements with the Johannine version of this multiplication (John 6:1-14).

(A). Luke 9:10

"On their return the apostles told him what they had done. And he took them and withdrew apart to a city called Bethsaida."

Luke 9:10a closely resembles Mark 6:30 (these two passages exhibit over 50% verbal agreement), with only two brief Markan phrases ("to Jesus," "and taught") lacking in Luke 9:10a. Both Mark and Luke also connect this miracle with the return of the Twelve from the evangelistic mission described in Mark 6:6b-13 and Luke 9:1-6. Matthew (14:13), on the other hand, infers that it was the news of the death of John the Baptist that led to their withdrawal to "a lonely place apart," while in John the chronological setting of this pericope is quite vague. However, in 9:10b, Luke departs from the form of the tradition found in Mark/Matthew and there are no verbal agreements between Luke 9:10b and Mark 6:31-33/Matt 14:13. For example, while Mark/Matthew assert that Jesus and his disciples withdrew to "a lonely place"⁴ to "rest,"⁵ Luke tells us that they withdrew "to a city called Bethsaida." Luke thus appears to be in disagreement with Mark/Matthew with regard to the geographical location of this multiplication, for both Mark (cf. 6:45,53) and Matthew (cf. 14:34) clearly locate this feeding on the northwestern shore of the sea of Galilee in contrast to Luke who evidently located it on the northeastern shore near the town of Bethsaida Julias. Moreover, the Lukan location of this miracle would seem to be in general agreement with the Johannine tradition, for John apparently also places the scene of this feeding on the northeastern shore of the sea of Galilee.⁶ Another detail that should be ob-

4. Luke does refer to the locale as "a lonely place" in vs. 12b, but this would seem to contradict the information contained in vs. 10. Could this be the result of Luke's attempt to reconcile two conflicting traditions in his construction of this pericope?

5. Only Mark 6:31 contains this reason for their withdrawal to this locale.

6. Cf. J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 171, who argues that all the data found in John would seemingly locate this feeding on "the north-eastern shore," although there are some textual variants of John 6:23 which would seemingly locate it near Tiberias on the southwestern shore (cf. the discussion of this by Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 232,257). The best witnesses to John 6:23, however, would seem to support the data found in John 6:1, 17, which seemingly locate this multiplication on the north-eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee across from Capernaum.

served with regard to these pericopes is the fact that Luke and John are our only evangelists who fail to mention that Jesus and his disciples withdrew to the locale of this multiplication by boat (cf. Mark 6:32/Matt 14:13).

(B). Luke 9:11

"When the crowds learned it, they followed him; and he welcomed them and spoke to them of the kingdom of God and cured those who had need of healing."

Luke 9:11 possesses little verbal resemblance to either Mark 6:33-34 or Matthew 14:13b,14, but it does contain two elements (Jesus' geographical relationship to the crowd and what Jesus did to/for the crowd) that provide us with some significant comparisons. In Mark 6:33 the second evangelist tells us that many people running on foot arrived at the locale of this multiplication ahead of Jesus and in vs. 34 Mark informs us that "a great throng" was already there when Jesus arrived. Matthew 14:14 agrees with Mark 6:34 by informing us that as Jesus "went ashore he saw a great throng," although the preceding verse in Matthew which asserts that the crowds "followed him on foot from the towns" seems difficult to harmonize with the information found in vs. 14. John, on the other hand, informs us that "a multitude followed" Jesus (6:2) and asserts that Jesus and his disciples were already at the locale of this feeding when they saw a multitude coming towards them (6:5). Luke 9:11 would thus seem to agree with John 6:1ff. in this regard rather than with either Mark 6:33-34 or Matthew 14:13-14, for Luke informs us that the crowds "followed him" (Jesus), and implies ("and he welcomed them") that Jesus was already at the locale of this feeding before the crowds arrived. With regard to the second element (what Jesus did to/for the crowd), the following factors should be observed: (1) Mark 6:34 informs us only that Jesus "began to teach them many things;" (2) Matthew 14:14b tells us only that Jesus "healed their sick;" (3) John 6:2 asserts that the reason the multitude "followed him" was because they had seen "the signs which he did on those who were diseased;" while (4) Luke 9:11 incorporates (albeit in entirely different wording) both of these features (teaching and healing) into the comparable section of his pericope. It might also be observed that Mark (6:34a) and Matthew (14:14b) are the only evangelists who inform us that when Jesus saw the crowds, he "had compassion on them," while only Mark (6:34) contains the allusion to Num 27:17/I Kings 22:17 ("because they were like sheep without a shepherd"), although Matthew does contain a similar statement at 9:36.

(C). Luke 9:12

"Now the day began to wear away; and the twelve came and said to him, 'Send the crowd away, to go into the villages and country round about, to lodge and get provisions; for we are here in a lonely place.'"

Luke 9:12 is one of the three verses in this pericope (cf. also vss. 16,17) that closely resembles both the Markan and the Matthean forms of this multiplication. The only significant Lukan variation from Mark/Matthew regards the time of day when the various evangelists depict this multiplication as having taken place. Mark 6:35 informs us that the hour was "now late" when the disciples became concerned about the multitude's lack of food while Matthew (14:15) depicted this as occurring in the

evening when the day was over. On the other hand, while John gave no indication of the time of day in his version of this feeding, in 6:16 he informs us that it was just then "evening" after Jesus had withdrawn again into the hills (6:15) and when "his disciples" had gone back "to the sea." Luke, in describing the time of day when this multiplication took place, used the phrase, "Now the day began to wear (decline) away" *λίγην*), thus placing this event probably late in the afternoon (cf. Jer 6:4; Luke 24:29; Polyb. 3, 93,7 for similar usages of this word). Thus, while Mark tells us that the hour was late and Matthew affirms that the day was over, John seems to infer that it was earlier in the day while Luke (9:12) seems to take a middle position between Mark/Matthew and John by seemingly placing it quite late in the day but before the day was over.

(D). Luke 9:13

"But he said to them, 'You give them something to eat.' They said, 'We have no more than five loaves and two fish - unless we are to go and buy food for all these people.'"

Luke 9:13 seems to stand closer to Matt 14:16 than it does to Mark 6:37-38. Mark 6:37b ("Shall we go and buy two hundred denarii worth of bread, and give it to them to eat") is lacking in both Matthew and Luke. Contrariwise, Luke 9:13c ("unless we are to go and buy food for all these people") agrees with both Mark 6:37 and John 6:5 against Matt 14:16 by informing us that the disciples had talked about the possibility of going and buying food for the multitude. Interestingly, Luke does not contain the notable features of this pericope that are shared by both Mark and John (e.g., the mention of "two hundred denarii worth of bread" and the specific mention of the distribution of the fish as well as the bread). In this regard, it perhaps should be noticed here that of the twelve close verbal agreements that exist between the Gospels of Mark and John (Mark 2:9 = John 5:8; Mark 2:12 = John 5:9; Mark 6:37 = John 6:7; Mark 6:39-40 = John 6:10; Mark 6:50 = John 6:20; Mark 14:3 = John 12:3; Mark 14:5 = John 12:5; Mark 14:6a,8b = John 12:7; Mark 14:7 = John 12:8; Mark 15:2 = John 18:33; Mark 15:9 = John 18:39; and Mark 15:17-18 = John 19:2-3),⁷ only Mark 15:2 ("Are you the King of the Jews?"),⁸ without which the account of Jesus' trial before Pilate could hardly have been told, is to be found in comparable form in the Gospel of Luke. It would therefore seem quite incredible to us, if Mark was indeed Luke's primary source and if John was actually acquainted with Mark but later than Luke, that Luke would have omitted precisely all of those Markan passages (except for 15:2) that John was later to incorporate into his gospel.

7. While Luke possesses only one of the twelve Markan passages that have a close verbal parallel in John, Matthew contains close verbal parallels to ten of these Markan/Johannine parallels (cf. Matt 9:6,7; 14:19,27; 26:7,9,11,12; 27:18,28f., and the parallel passages in Mark and John).

8. This phrase occurs in identical form in all four of our Gospels (cf. Matt 27:11; Mark 15:2; Luke 23:3; John 18:33).

(E). Luke 9:14a

"For there were about five thousand men"

All four evangelists tell us that there were "about five thousand men" (Matt 14:21 adds, "besides women and children") in the multitude that was fed, but while both Mark (6:44) and Matthew (14:21) supply us with this information at the very end of their respective pericopes, Luke (9:14) agrees with John (6:10) in mentioning this fact slightly past the middle of their comparable pericopes. Otherwise, the remainder of Luke 9:10-17 (i.e., vss. 14b-17) parallels Mark/Matthew quite closely, with the verbal agreement between Luke 9:14b-17 and Mark 6:39-44 being almost 47% and the verbal agreement between Luke 9:14b-17 and Matthew being almost 46%. Nevertheless, it is to be observed that Luke 9:10-17 (esp. vss. 10-14b) exhibits some of the same phenomena discovered in Luke 3:16 (see above, Sec. II) and Luke 7:36-38 (see above, Sec. IV); namely, that virtually every phrase in Luke 9:10-17 has a parallel in either Mark, Matthew, or John, and that there are some details and/or phrases in which Luke agrees with John over against both Mark and Matthew (as well as the fact, that like it is in Luke 7:36ff., the notable details that are shared by both Mark and John are again lacking in Luke).

VI. THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

(Luke 19:28-40 And Parallels)

While this pericope occupies a significant position in all the gospels (cf. Matt 21:1-11; Mark 11:1-10; Luke 19:28-40; John 12:12-19), John's account is almost entirely different from the Markan/Matthean and Luke's version (esp. vss. 37-40) differs substantially from all the others. John does share Ps 118:25 with all the Synoptists and Zech 9:9 with Matthew, and like all the Synoptists, John also views the event as a fulfillment of OT prophecy, but otherwise John and the Synoptists (esp. Mark/Matthew) have little in common.¹ Thus John places the entry after the anointing, Mark/Matthew place the entry before the anointing, while in Luke the anointing is found much earlier in an entirely different context. John contains no description of the preparation for the entry while all the Synoptists describe the preparation in quite similar terms. In John, a crowd went out from Jerusalem to meet Jesus, in Mark/Matthew the pilgrims join him on his way into Jerusalem, while in Luke the allusion to the "whole multitude of the disciples" is quite vague. In fact, John's account is so different from the Synoptics, that, as D. Moody Smith, Jr., has observed, "except for the OT quotations comparison is almost impossible."²

1. E.g., cf. C. H. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 152-56; D. Moody Smith, Jr., op. cit., pp. 58-64; Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., pp. 456-63.

2. Cf. D. Moody Smith, Jr., op. cit., pp. 60f.

Yet while John's account is substantially different from the Markan/Matthean, in several places Luke is found to be in close agreement with John against Mark/Matthew due to alterations that Luke made of his basic Markan/Matthean source. Verses 36-40 of Luke 19 in this regard should particularly be analyzed.

(A). Luke 19:36

"And as he rode along, they spread their garments on the road."

Even though Luke shares almost every word in vs. 36 with Mark 11:8a/Matt 21:8a, it is perhaps noteworthy that Mark 11:8b ("and others spread leafy branches which they had cut from the fields")/Matthew 21:8b ("and others cut branches from the trees") is lacking in Luke, for this Markan/Matthean detail is in disagreement with John 12:13 ("so they took branches of palm trees"), a phenomenon that is to be found elsewhere in Luke (cf. Sec. IX - 3, and esp. Chart XIII).

(B). Luke 19:37

"As he was now drawing near, at the descent of the Mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works that they had seen."

Unlike the first nine verses in Luke's version of the entry (19:28-36) which parallels both Mark 11:1-8 and Matthew 21:1-8 quite closely, in vs. 37 Luke departs from the form found in Mark/Matthew to the extent that virtually every word in vs. 37 differs from the wording that is to be found in the comparable verses in the other two Synoptists. In fact, while the verbal agreement between Luke 19:28-36 and Mark 11:1-8/Matt 21:1-8 ranges from 52 to 59%, the verbal agreement between Luke 19:37-40 and the comparable sections of Mark (11:9-10)/Matthew (21:9-11) is less than 10%, being basically limited to one phrase only ("Blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord"), and even this phrase is closer to John 12:13 than it is to either Mark 11:9 or Matthew 21:9 (see below). On the other hand, there exist certain similarities with regard to both thought content and details between Luke 19:37-40 (esp. vss. 37-38) and John 12:12-23. Thus Raymond E. Brown has called our attention to the parallelism that exists in theme "between John's emphasis on the Lazarus miracle as the cause of enthusiasm and Luke xix 37 where the disciples praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works that they have seen."³ Luke's use of the word "disciples" in vss. 37,39 is also almost unique among the Synoptists but it does exhibit certain similarities to John's use of the term as well as evincing a certain parallelism to John 12:16-19. In Mark/Matthew, the word "disciples" is used consistently to refer to the small, devoted group of Jesus' chosen followers.⁴ In Luke also (esp. in every passage that has a

3. Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

4. E.g., cf. Matt 8:23; 9:10; 10:1,5; 11:1; 13:36; 14:19,22; 20:17; 23:1; 26:20; Mark 3:7,32; 4:34; 6:1,45; 7:17; 8:1,10,34; 9:14,28; 10:10,46; 14:17,32.

Markan/Matthean parallel),⁵ Jesus' disciples are usually a small group, except in three non-Markan/Matthean passages where this term is used either to refer to "the seventy" (10:23) or to "a great crowd (or multitude) of his disciples" (6:17; 19:37,39).⁶ Contrariwise, John is the only evangelist to frequently use this term to refer to many besides the Twelve,⁷ and it is perhaps worthy of mention that not only does John use this word "disciples" in his version of the entry (12:16) but that John also depicts the crowd that went out to welcome him (12:18-19) as being very large and even describes the Pharisees as saying to one another, "You see that you can do nothing; look, the world has gone after him" (12:19). Thus, while Luke 19:37 departs completely from the form of the tradition found in Mark 11:9-10/Matt 21:9-11, Luke 19:37 does exhibit a certain parallelism in thought to John 12:17-19 by emphasizing "the whole multitude of the disciples" and by suggesting that it was certain "mighty works that they had seen" that was the cause of this outburst of enthusiasm for Jesus of Nazareth.

(C). Luke 19:38

"Blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord! Peace in heaven and glory in the highest!"

Luke 19:38a (Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου) is verbally closer to John 12:13b (εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ) than it is to Mark 11:9b/Matthew 21:9b (Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου). Thus Luke and John are not only here in close verbal agreement, but both also add ὁ βασιλεὺς to the Markan/Matthean phrase, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord." On the other hand, Mark's "Blessed is the kingdom of our father David that is coming" and Matthew's "Hosanna to the son of David" are lacking in Luke as well as in John. Luke 19:38 thus agrees with John 12:13 in omitting the Markan (11:10)/Matthean (21:9) reference to David even though every other reference to David found in both Mark and Matthew is also to be found in the comparable passage in Luke (see above, Sec. I, Item 4). Luke also agrees with John (in contrast to both Mark and Matthew) in describing the crowd as acclaiming Jesus as their king. Yet this agreement is no indication that John was influenced by Luke, for the kingship of Jesus was a frequent theme of John (cf. John 1:49; 12:12; 18:33,35ff.; 19:3,12,14f.,19,21). On the other hand, the kingship of Jesus was not an important emphasis in Luke, and every occurrence of this title in Luke has a parallel in either Mark/Matthew or John (Luke 19:38 = John 12:13; Luke 23:2-3 = Mark 15:2/Matt 27:11 = John 18:33; Luke 23:37 = Mark 15:32/Matt 27:42; and Luke 23:38 = Mark 15:26/Matt 27:37 = John 19:19). With regard to Luke 19:38b ("Peace in heaven and glory in the highest"), even though there is no comparable phrase in any of

5. Cf. Luke 6:1; 7:11; 8:9,22; 9:14,16,18,43,54; 11:1; 12:1; 12:1,22; 17:1,22; 18:15; 19:29; 20:45; 22:39,45; and the parallel passages in Mark and Matthew.

6. Cf. Pierson Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-99, to whom we are indebted for some of these insights regarding the use of the term "disciples" by our various evangelists.

7. Cf. esp. John 4:1; 6:60,66f.; 7:3; 8:30f.; 9:27f.; 11:45-48; 12:10-19; 18:38.

the other three accounts of the entry, this Lukan phrase has a possible parallel in John 12:23 where John refers to the glorification of Jesus right after his description of the crowd's welcoming of Jesus with palms on the occasion of his entry into Jerusalem.⁸

(D). Luke 19:39-40

"And some of the Pharisees in the multitude said to him, 'Teacher, rebuke your disciples.' He answered, 'I tell you, if these were silent, the very stones would cry out.'"

Verses 39-40 of Luke 19 have nothing in common with either Mark 11:1-10 or Matthew 21:1-11. And while John 12:12-19 has no passage comparable to Luke 19:39-40, it should be observed that Luke 19:39 and John 12:19 are our only NT passages that depict the Pharisees as being disturbed by the welcome that the multitude gave to Jesus upon the occasion of his entry into Jerusalem.⁹ Thus, with regard to this pericope as a whole (Luke 19:28-40 et. parr.), it is to be observed that while Luke follows the form of the tradition found in Mark/Matthew quite closely in those sections of the pericope that have no Johannine parallel (i.e., vss. 28-36), in those verses that do have a parallel in John (esp. vss. 37-39), Luke departs largely from the form of the tradition found in Mark/Matthew as well as exhibiting several important agreements with John against Mark/Matthew in these same verses.

VII. THE PASSION NARRATIVES

Fourteen of the pericopes that Luke shares with John as well as with Mark/Matthew occur in the Passion narratives (Luke 22:1-23:56 and parallels), and a large number of the Lukan departures from the Markan/Matthean traditions as well as a significant number of the Lukan agreements with John against both Mark and Matthew occur in these same pericopes. As the Jerusalem Bible (NT, p. 129) has observed:

Throughout the Passion narrative, Lk shows himself considerably less dependent on Mk than hitherto; on the other hand, there are many points of contact with Jn.

This observation of the Jerusalem Bible has been substantiated by the research of a number of recent writers.⁴ Thus S. I. Buse

8. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., p. 467.

9. Cf. Alfred Plummer, op. cit., p. 448.

VII

1. E.g., there is considerable agreement today that Luke exhibits less dependence on Mark/Matthew in his Passion narrative than elsewhere, and that at many places in his Passion account Luke seems to be following an independent non-Markan/Matthean source. This has been the conclusion of such recent writers as J. Jeremias (The Eucharistic Words of Jesus), P. Winter (On the Trial of Jesus), H. Schürmann (Quellenkritisch Untersuchung des lukanischen Abendmahlsberichtes Lk. xxii. 7-38), F. Rehkopf (Die lukanische Sonderquelle), or V. Taylor (op. cit.).

(as summed up by V. Taylor in his recent monograph on The Passion Narrative of St. Luke) has demonstrated that while "the agreements between Matthew and John are neither numerous nor of a decisive character . . . , those between Luke and John in parts at least of the Passion narratives are very close, so much so as to make sheer coincidence a most improbable supposition."³ F. Rehkopf agrees with Buse that Luke clearly has more agreements with John than do either Mark or Matthew,⁴ and Buse and Rehkopf also agree in urging that these extensive Lukan/Johannine agreements are due to the probability that Luke and John independently knew and made use of a pre-Lukan Passion tradition that was different from and earlier than Mark's.⁵ On the other hand, Otsy⁶ and Brown⁷ have suggested that because of the precise nature of some of these Lukan/Johannine agreements, it would seem possible that Luke may have been acquainted with some early form of the developing Johannine Passion tradition. At the least, it would seem to us that this is an urgent NT problem that needs careful discussion and analysis.

When the Lukan Passion narrative is analyzed, it is to be found that of the twenty pericopes in Luke 22:1-23:56, in only two of them (22:1-2, 7-13) does Luke closely follow the form of the tradition found in Mark/Matthew with no major divergences from or additions to the material found in the comparable Markan/Matthean pericopes. The other eighteen pericopes in Luke's Passion narratives either contain major departures from the comparable Markan/Matthean passages (as in Luke 22:14-23, 31-34, 39-46, 47-53, 54-62, 63-65, 66-71; 23:1-5, 13-25, 32-38, 44-49, 50-56) or else contain material that is peculiar to Luke (as in 22:24-27, 35-38; 23:6-12, 27-31, 39-43). Moreover, as the extensive studies of Jeremias and Taylor have disclosed, Luke makes at least fourteen deviations from the order of events found in the Markan/Matthean Passion narratives. In this regard, Jeremias urges that when it is recalled how carefully Luke followed the Markan order in the earlier sections of his gospel, then all these "deviations in the order of the material must therefore be regarded as indications that Luke is not following Mark," but is instead following "his special tradition."⁸ However, what Jeremias and Taylor in their analysis of this phenomenon seemingly have overlooked (as we shall attempt to demonstrate in our examination of these Lukan pericopes) is that eleven of these fourteen deviations in order from the order found in Mark/Matthew place Luke in close agreement with the order that is to be found in the Gospel of John. In this section we will therefore attempt to examine all of the Lukan pericopes in his Passion narratives that have any contacts or agreements with the Johannine Passion traditions and to observe the many Lukan departures from the

2. V. Taylor, *ibid.*, p. 23.

3. Cf. S. I. Buse, "St. John and the Passion Narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke," NTS, 7 (1960), pp. 65-76.

4. Cf. F. Rehkopf, *op. cit.*

5. This is certainly a possible explanation, although it does not seem to us that it either adequately explains the presence of the many exact or close verbal agreements between St. Luke and St. John (it would seem to us to be quite a coincidence that Luke and John would have independently quoted almost verbatim exactly the same passages from this supposed source) or the presence of definite Johannisms in Luke 22-24.

6. Cf. E. Otsy, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-54, and observe in particular the Johannisms that he claims to have found in the Lukan Passion narratives.

7. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 790-91.

8. Cf. J. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, pp. 98ff.

Markan/Matthean traditions in the direction of the Johannine traditions as well as to observe the material that is unique to Luke among our canonical gospels.

(A). The Treachery of Judas⁹

"Then Satan entered into Judas called Iscariot, who was of the number of the twelve; he went away and conferred with the chief priests and captains how he might betray him to them. And they were glad, and engaged to give him money. So he agreed, and sought an opportunity to betray him to them in the absence of the multitude."

(Luke 22:3-6)

Of the forty-four words in the Greek text of Luke 22:3-6, Luke has seventeen words in common with Mark 14:10-11 and five words in common with John 13:26b-27a (Luke 22:3-6 has nine words in common with John 13 if vs. 2 of John 13 is also considered as a possible parallel to Luke 22:3-6). With regard to the details found in Luke 22:3-6, "nothing of any moment"¹⁰ found in Mark 14:10-11 is lacking in Luke, although Luke 22:3-6 does exhibit a number of variations from Mark in matters of vocabulary and style. Thus Luke (22:3-6) does contain certain words ("conferred," "engaged") and phrases ("who was of the number," "in the absence of the multitude") that are peculiar to his version of this pericope. On the other hand, the unique details and material that are to be found in Matthew 26:14-16 (esp. vs. 15) are lacking in Luke.

Contrariwise, all of the specific details concerning Judas' treachery which are to be found in Mark and John are also to be found in Luke. Thus, while Luke contains all the details found in Mark 14:10-11 in vss. 4-6, in vs. 3 Luke also agrees with John in assigning Judas' treachery to the fact that Satan had "entered into Judas" (Luke 22:3; John 13:27). with Luke 22:3

(εἰσῆλθεν δὲ ὁ Σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν) being in virtual verbatim agreement with John 13:27 (εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἔκλεινον ὁ Σατανᾶς). It is thus to be observed, that with regard to his version of Judas' act of treachery, Luke contains only the details that are to be found in Mark 14 and John 13. Moreover, while Luke 22:3 is verbally closer to John 13:27 than it is to John 13:2, conceptually Luke 22:3 is also quite close to John 13:2. As Raymond E. Brown has observed,

John xiii 27 agrees verbally with Luke xxii 3 where we also hear that Satan entered into Judas; but, as already mentioned (cf. p. 564), the Lucan passage is closer to John xiii 2 in detecting a diabolic influence on Judas even before the meal began.¹¹

9. In our examination of the comparable pericopes in the Passion narratives, we will place a single underline beneath those words that Luke shares with Mark and a double underline beneath those words that Luke has in common with John. We will also notice those instances in which Matthew is noticeably different from Mark and in these instances whether Luke stands closer to Matthew or to Mark.

10. Cf. V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

11. Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 578.

Thus, when comparing Luke 22:3-6 with the comparable passages in the other gospels, the following factors are to be noticed: (1) Luke 22:4-6 contains all the details concerning Judas' treachery mentioned in Mark 14:10-11; (2) Luke agrees with Mark in that it also lacks the additional details that are to be found in Matthew 26:15; and (3) Luke and John are the only evangelists who ascribe the treachery of Judas to the instigation of Satan with Luke 22:3a being in virtual verbatim agreement with John 13:27a. It is thus to be observed that Luke 22:3-6 contains only the details to be found in both Mark 14:10-11 and John 13:2,27, adding none of his own, and lacking the details mentioned by Matthew at 26:15. We thus tend to agree with V. Taylor's judgment with regard to this Lukan pericope when he writes that "Mark is Luke's source" (for vss. 4-6) and that "in attributing the action of Judas to Satanic influence he appears to reflect Johannine tradition (Jn. xiii. 2), and this allusion may be his attempt to reconcile two different views."¹²

(B). The Last Supper

(Matt 26:20-29; Mark 14:17-25; Luke 22:14-23; John 13:1-30)

Despite the fact that Luke follows Mark/Matthew very closely in his account of the preparations for the Passover (compare Luke 22:7-13 with Mark 14:12-16/Matt 26:17-19),¹³ Luke diverges greatly from Mark/Matthew in his account of the Last Supper.¹⁴ In fact, while the verbal agreement between Luke 22:7-13 and Mark 14:12-16 according to the detailed analysis of both Schürmann and Taylor is over 65%, the verbal agreement between Luke 22:14-23 and Mark 14:17-25 is only 30.2% (51 words out of 169).¹⁵ Indeed, it is only in vss. 14b, 18-19a, and 22 that Luke is really close to Mark or Matthew at all. Thus Luke not only contains a lot of new material in his version of the Last Supper, but as Jeremias¹⁶ and Taylor¹⁷ have pointed out, Luke also makes a substantial number of revisions of the Markan/Matthean order in his account of the supper, a phenomenon that is in decided contrast to Luke's close adherence to the Markan/Matthean order in the earlier sections of his gospel. But what Jeremias and Taylor fail to point out is that several of these Lukan revisions of the Markan/Matthean order in this pericope place Luke in close agreement with the Johannine order as the following chart discloses:

12. Vincent Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

13. Cf. the extensive linguistic examination by H. Schürmann (*op. cit.*, Part I, *Der Paschamahlbericht Lk. xxii*) of Luke 22:7-13 who points out in detail the high degree of verbal agreement between Luke and Mark in this pericope and who ably argues that most of Luke's modifications of Mark 14:12-16 are merely matters of style.

14. Thus V. Taylor (*op. cit.*, p. 46) urges that a study of such passages in Luke as 4:31-44; 5:12-6:11; 8:4-9:50; 18:15-43; 20:1-21:19; and 22:7-13 "shows that when Luke draws upon Mark, he follows his source with considerable fidelity despite stylistic and other changes." And then Taylor adds that "it is obviously necessary to explain why, with certain exceptions, his procedure in xxii. 14 - xxiv is so different."

15. The verbal agreement between Luke 22:14-23 and Matthew 26:20-29 is even less, amounting to less than 28%.

16. Cf. J. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-99.

17. Cf. V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

CHART VIII

The Order Of Events in Mark 14:12-31,
Luke 22:7-34, & John 13:1-38

	<u>Mark 14:12-31</u>	<u>Luke 22:7-34</u>	<u>John 13:1-38</u>
1	Preparations for the Last Supper	Preparations for the Last Supper	-
2	The Supper begins	The Supper begins	The Supper begins
3	Jesus' prediction of Judas' betrayal	The institution of the Lord's Supper	Jesus washes his disciples' feet
4	The speculation of the disciples	Jesus' prediction of the betrayal	Jesus' prediction of the betrayal
5	Jesus' response to their questions	Jesus pronounces woe on his betrayer	-
6	Jesus pronounces woe on his betrayer	The speculation of the disciples	The speculation of the disciples
7	The institution of the Lord's Supper	A dispute concerning greatness	Jesus' response to their speculation
8	Jesus and his disciples leave for the Mount of Olives	Jesus predicts Peter's three-fold denial	Jesus predicts Peter's three-fold denial
9	Jesus predicts Peter's three-fold denial	Jesus' discourse with his disciples	Jesus' lengthy discourse with his disciples
10	They arrive at Gethsemane	Jesus and his disciples depart from the upper room	Jesus and his disciples depart from the upper room

The above chart discloses that although John 13 contains no account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, the order of events found in Luke 22:14-23 is closer to the order found in John 13 than it is to the order of events recorded in either Mark 14:17-25 or Matthew 26:20-29. Thus, while Mark/Matthew place Jesus' prediction of the betrayal right at the beginning of their respective pericopes before the institution of the Lord's Supper, John places the prediction of the betrayal after his description of Jesus' washing of his disciples' feet near the end of his version of this pericope while Luke also places it near the end of his pericope after the words of institution. In Mark/Matthew, the institution of the Lord's Supper occurs near the end of their respective pericopes just prior to their departing from the upper room while Luke places this event early in his pericope just as John places Jesus' washing of his disciples' feet early in his account of the Last Supper. Similarly,

while in Mark/Matthew, Jesus' prophecy of Peter's three-fold⁵¹ denial is not made until after their departure from the upper room for Gethsemane, in both Luke and John this prophecy occurs earlier prior to Jesus' departure from the upper room.

Moreover, a detailed examination of Luke 22:14-23 discloses not only Luke's many departures from the form of the tradition found in Mark/Matthew, but also the fact that, in addition to the agreements with regard to order that exist between Luke and John, certain other similarities exist between Luke 22:14-23 and John 13:1-30. Following is a brief summary of the relevant passages found in Luke 22:14-23.

(1). Luke 22:14

"And when the hour came, he sat at table, and the apostles with him."

Nearly every word found in Luke 22:14 differs from the comparable passages in Mark (14:17)/Matt (26:20), although the Lukan word ἀνέκεσεν is quite close to the Matthean ἀνέκειρο.¹⁸ Thus while Mark/Matthew began their pericopes by informing us that the Last Supper began "when it was evening," Luke (vs. 14) began his account by using the phrase, "and when the hour came" (Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα). This Lukan phrase is, however, quite similar to the Johannine phrase, "when Jesus knew that his hour had come" (ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἦλθεν αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα), with which John opened his account of the Last Supper (13:1b). Then while Mark 14:17b informs us that it was "the twelve" that came to eat the Last Supper with Jesus and Matthew 26:20b tells us that it was "the twelve disciples," Luke uses the term, "the apostles" (22:14c) while John uses the phrase, "the disciples" (13:5b), near the beginning of his account of the Last Supper.¹⁹ This Lukan usage is somewhat unusual, for although ἀπόστολοι is a characteristic Lukan word (6:13; 9:10; 11:49; 17:5; 24:10), except for Mark 4:10, in the passages that Luke shares with both Mark and Matthew, Luke reproduces every other Markan/Matthean usage of the term, "the twelve" (Luke 9:1 = Mark 6:7; Luke 18:31 = Mark 10:32/Matt 20:17; Luke 22:3 = Mark 14:10/Matt 26:14; and Luke 22:47 = Mark 14:43/Matt 26:47).

(2). Luke 22:15-16

"And he said to them, "I have earnestly desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer; for I tell you I shall not eat it until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God."

All of vs. 15 and most of vs. 16 (except for the last phrase, "in the kingdom of God") is peculiar to Luke. Schürmann and Taylor²⁰ are among those who point out that a gap seems to exist in Luke either before vs. 14 or 15 and that an original Lukan intro-

18. H. Schürmann (op. cit., pp. 104-10) urges that the Lukan word ἀνέκεσεν is a correction of the Markan (14:18) ἀνακειμένων . . . εἶπεν, although this can hardly amount to more than a suggestion. In this regard, Luke 22:14c seems to be closer to Matthew 26:20b than it is to Mark 14:18a.

19. Interestingly, John's only use of ἀπόστολος is in this pericope (13:16), where it is used in its etymological sense of meaning "a messenger."

20. Cf. esp. V. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

duction to 22:14-23 is either missing or has been replaced by 22:7-13. Vs. 15 also suggests the possibility (esp. if we omit the word "again" with a number of our ancient manuscripts) that Luke knew of a tradition or source that did not identify Jesus' Last Supper as a Passover meal as the Markan/Matthean tradition does. The remarks of V. Taylor are especially interesting with regard to vss. 15-16 of Luke 22 when he wrote,

Elsewhere (Behind the Third Gospel, pp. 37-40, 177-80) I have tentatively suggested that, influenced by Mk. xiv. 12, Luke abandoned the implication of his source, contained in the words, 'I have greatly desired to eat this Passover' (Lk. xxii. 15), that the Supper preceded the Passover, as in Jn. xviii. 28 and xix. 14, and adopted the Markan view that the Supper was the actual meal. . . . The agreement of Luke's special source with John regarding the date of the Supper before the Passover is another point of historical importance. The testimony of the Fourth Gospel . . . is unambiguous and, as we have maintained, in the words of Lk. xxii. 15, 'I have earnestly desired to eat this Passover meal before I suffer', Luke's source implied that the Supper preceded the Passover.²¹

Taylor's suggestion is strengthened by certain other indications found in the text of Luke that the third evangelist seemed aware of conflicting traditions as to whether the Last Supper was a Passover meal and as to whether Jesus was actually crucified on the Passover. For example, while Mark (14:1) began his Passion narrative by informing us that "it was now two days before the Passover" (Matthew makes a similar statement at 26:2), Luke modified this by writing, "Now the feast of Unleavened Bread drew near, which is called the Passover." Similarly, while Mark 15:6 and Matt 27:15 refer to the fact that "at the feast the governor was accustomed to release for the crowd any prisoner whom they wanted," this Markan/Matthean reference to the feast is lacking in the comparable Lukan passage (23:17-25).

(3). Luke 22:21-23

"But behold the hand of him who betrays me is with me on the table. For the Son of man goes as it has been determined; but woe to that man by whom he is betrayed." And they began to question one another, which of them it was that would do this."

Only vs. 22 of Luke 22 is really close to the parallel passages in Mark (14:18-21) and Matthew (26:21-24). Verse 21, although verbally unique to Luke, resembles and may be based on Mark 14:18b. But there is a decided difference between Mark 14:19/Matt 26:22 and Luke 22:23. In Mark/Matthew, the disciples do not question one another regarding Jesus' prediction that one of them would betray him (as in Luke 22:23), but rather, "one after another," they ask Jesus, "is it I?" which is quite different. Interestingly, John (13:22) informs us that after Jesus' prediction of the betrayal, "the disciples looked at one another, uncertain of whom he spoke." Then in vss. 24-25, John portrays Simon Peter as asking the beloved disciple (rather than Jesus directly as in Mark/Matthew) of whom Jesus was speaking. Thus, Luke seemingly agrees with John against Mark/Matthew in portraying the disciples as questioning one another instead of Jesus with regard to the identity of the betrayer. Finally, it should

21. Ibid., pp. 49, 133.

be observed (as we have already discovered in the parallel pericopes of the feeding of the five thousand and the anointing of Jesus) that the few significant details and/or words that are here shared by both Mark and John ("Truly, I say to you, one of you will betray me," "He who is dipping bread in the same dish with me") are again lacking in Luke.

(C). Peter's Three-Fold Denial Foretold

"Simon, Simon, behold, Satan demanded to have you, that he might sift you like wheat, but I have prayed for you that your faith may not fail; and when you have turned again, strengthen your brethren." And he said to him, "Lord, I am ready to go with you to prison and to death." He said, "I tell you, Peter, the cock will not crow this day, until you three times deny that you know me."

(Luke 22:31-34)

Luke's account of Jesus' prediction of Peter's three-fold denial, although quite different from the other three (cf. Matt 26:30-35; Mark 14:27-31; John 13:36-38) is actually closer to the Johannine account (both from the standpoint of conceptual similarity as well as the percentage of verbal agreement) than it is to either the Markan or the Matthean accounts. Verses 31-33 are largely peculiar to Luke, and, even with regard to vs. 34, Luke is not too close to the form of this saying that is to be found in Mark/Matthew. Indeed, Luke shares only 10 of 62 words in this pericope with Mark (16.1%) and just 9 of 62 words with Matthew (14.5%). Contrariwise, Luke shares 14 of the 62 words that he uses in this pericope with John 13:36-38 (22.6%).

But even more important than the percentage of verbal agreement are the features that Luke shares with John in this pericope against both Mark and Matthew. Thus Luke agrees with John in locating this prediction of Jesus in the upper room prior to their departure for the Mount of Olives instead of afterwards as do both Mark and Matthew as well as in his omission of the Markan (14:27)/Matthean (26:31) allusion to Zech 13:7 that the shepherd will be struck down and all the sheep will be scattered. Luke also agrees with John against Mark/Matthew in placing Peter's claim that he was willing to die for (with) Jesus prior to Jesus' prediction of his three-fold denial (cf. Luke 22:33; John 13:37) rather than afterwards as do both Mark (14:31) and Matthew (26:35). Luke and John both also lack the Markan (14:29)/Matthean (26:33) assertion by Peter that "even though they all fall away, I will not." Mark's (14:31)/Matthew's (26:35) description of Peter's vehement protest to Jesus' prophecy ("But he said vehemently, 'If I must die with you, I will not deny you'") is also lacking in both Luke and John.

But more importantly, Luke's version (22:34) of Jesus' prophecy ("the cock will not crow this day, until you three times deny that you know me") is verbally considerably closer to John 13:38²² (the cock will not crow till you have denied me three

22. As J. H. Bernard (*op. cit.*, p. 259) once observed, the Johannine version of this prophecy "is almost verbally identical with Lk 22:34, where the word *σήμερον* is added."

times") than it is to either Mark 14:30 ("this very night, before the cock crows twice, you will deny me three times") or Matthew 26:34 ("this very night, before the cock crows, you will deny me three times"). A comparison of the various versions of Jesus' prediction of Peter's three-fold denials would seem to disclose the following factors: (1) the significant features found in the Markan/Matthean form of this prediction ("this very night," "before the cock crows" ((in Mark - "before the cock crows twice")) are lacking in both Luke and John; (2) eight of the nine words found in John's version of Jesus' prediction are also to be found in the Lukan form of this saying; and (3) the only phrase in Luke 22:34b that is peculiar to Luke is the term, "this day." These factors relating to this prophecy of Jesus, plus the common omissions of Markan/Matthean material that Luke shares with John as well as Luke's agreement with John relating to the time and place where Jesus uttered this saying suggests to us that in the writing of this pericope, Luke possibly was influenced by some form of the developing Johannine Passion traditions.

(D). Jesus In Gethsemane

(Matt 26:36-46; Mark 14:32-42; Luke 22:39-46)

Although John contains no account of Jesus' agony in Gethsemane (cf. however, John 12:27-29; 18:11), Luke nevertheless departs considerably from the Markan/Matthean version of this pericope,²³ both with regard to the percentage of verbal agreement and the factual details that are contained in the various accounts. Thus, the amount of verbal agreement between Luke 22:39-46 and Mark 14:32-43 is only 25.8% and there are only three continuous Markan phrases of four words or more ("to the Mount of Olives," "remove this cup from me," "pray that you may not enter into temptation") that are also to be found in the Lukan account, with the number of agreements that exist between Luke 22:39-46 and Matthew 26:36-46 being even less (about 22.7%) than that which exists between Luke and Mark. Indeed, it is only in vs. 39, 42, and 46 that Luke resembles the Markan/Matthean account at all. Yet, at the same time, Luke 22:39-46 does exhibit certain similarities to and agreements with the Johannine tradition, as the following analysis will seek to demonstrate.

(1). Luke 22:39

"And he came out, and went as was his custom, to the Mount of Olives; and his disciples followed him."

Luke's introduction to this pericope (vs. 39) seems closer verbally to John 18:1 than it is to either Mark 14:26 or Matthew 26:30. Observe how the various evangelists describe Jesus' departure from the upper room:

- Matt 26:30 - "They went out to the Mount of Olives."
- Mark 14:26 - "They went out to the Mount of Olives."
- John 18:1 - "He went forth with his disciples."
- Luke 22:39 - "And he came out, and went . . . to the Mount of Olives; and the disciples followed him."

23. We can again consider Mark 14:32-42 and Matthew 26:36-46 as virtually one account as they exhibit a large degree of verbatim agreement throughout this pericope.

A comparison of the above passages discloses that Luke 22:39 seemingly contains features that are to be found in both Mark 14:26/Matt 26:30 and John 18:1. Thus, while Mark/Matt inform us that "they went out," Luke and John tell us that "he went (came) out." On the other hand, Luke agrees with Mark/Matthew against John in telling us that they went out to "the Mount of Olives." Contrariwise, Luke 22:39 is the only Synoptic passage that agrees with John in indicating that Jesus and his disciples had frequently gone to this garden prior to this final visit there that is described by all the evangelists in their passion narratives. Thus Luke 22:39 ("as was his custom") is quite comparable to John 18:2b ("for Jesus often met there with his disciples"), and is indicative of Luke's familiarity with a tradition that told of a greater acquaintance of Jesus with Jerusalem and its environs than is to be gained from the Markan/Matthean outline of Jesus' ministry.

(2). Luke 22:40

"And when he came to the place he said to them, 'Pray that you may not enter into temptation.'"

Like John, Luke also lacks the Markan/Matthean place-name, "Gethsemane," at the comparable place in his narrative (cf. Mark 14:32/Matt 26:36), and Luke (22:40) also agrees with John (18:2) in referring to the garden as "the place."²⁴ Yet, as H. Conzelmann has pointed out, "It is not an adequate explanation of the absence of the place-name, 'Gethsemane' in xxii, 40, to attribute it to an 'invincible aversion to Semitic place-names,'"²⁵ for as we have already pointed out (see above, Sec. I, footnote 22), in those passages that Luke shares with only Mark and Matthew, he reproduces in almost every instance their place-names. On the other hand, Luke 22:40b is quite similar to both Mark 14:36a and Matthew 26:41a.

(3). Luke 22:41-46

Outside of the fact that Luke mentions an angel at 22:42 and John refers to an angel at 12:29 and the fact that Luke mentions "the cup" at 22:42 and John at 18:11, there would seem to be no other possible contacts between Luke 22:39-46 and the Johannine tradition. On the other hand, Luke 22:41-46 is also quite different from the Markan/Matthean traditions with vss. 41 and 43-45 being peculiar to Luke, possibly coming to Luke from another source or tradition²⁶ to which he had access. Even in vs. 42, except for the words, "remove this cup from me," Luke's phraseology differs considerably from that found in the compara-

24. Thus Luke 22:40 refers to the garden as τοῦ τόκου and John 18:2 as τὸν τόκου.

25. Cf. H. Conzelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

26. Cf. V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72, who concludes that Luke 22:39-46 "is non-Markan in origin, with the possibility that verse 46b is a Markan addition to the narrative." Taylor then writes that "this conclusion must be distinguished from the more speculative suggestion that the narrative was used by the evangelist to connect the stories of the Last Supper and the arrest. The vocabulary does not favor the view that it is a free composition on the part of Luke; it is better explained as the Lukan embellishment of a pre-Lukan source, oral or written."

ble Markan/Matthean passages. All of these phenomena could possibly suggest that in this pericope Luke was attempting to harmonize two or more differing traditions with regard to Jesus' inner struggles prior to his final ordeal that was about to begin.

(E). The Betrayal of Judas

"While he was still speaking, there came a crowd, and the man called Judas, one of the twelve, was leading them. He drew near to Jesus to kiss him; but Jesus said to him, 'Judas, would you betray the Son of man with a kiss?'"

(Luke 22:47-48)

Luke's account of the betrayal of Judas (esp. if we include vss. 52-53, in which Luke shares twenty-six additional words with Mark 14:43) has a greater percentage of words in common with Mark (38.7% if we include only vss. 47-48 in our comparative analysis, but 47.5% if we also include vss. 52-53) than any other pericope in his Passion narrative except for 22:7-13 (the preparations for the Passover). Nevertheless, Luke's account of the betrayal exhibits several departures from the Markan (14:43-45)/Matthean (26:47-49) version of this pericope as well as a number of agreements with John 18:1-11. For example, Luke omits the Markan (14:44)/Matthean (26:48) claim that Judas' kiss of betrayal was a prearranged sign, and, in contrast to Mark/Matthew, Luke does not explicitly say that Judas "kissed him."²⁷ Luke 22:47-48²⁸ would thus seem to represent a middle position between Mark 14:44f./Matt 26:48f., which explicitly describe Judas' kiss of betrayal, and John 18:3-7, which makes no mention of this incident.

All four gospels also refer to those who accompanied Judas into the garden, but there are distinct differences with regard to this detail between Mark/Matthew, Luke, and John. Mark 14:43/Matt 26:47 inform us that with Judas there came "a (great) crowd . . . from the chief priests (and the scribes) and elders (of the people)." John's description is, however, quite different from and more specific than the Markan/Matthean, for in 18:3 John tells us that Judas procured "a detachment (lit., 'a cohort') of soldiers and some officers ('police') from the chief priests and the Pharisees." That John was referring to Roman soldiers in this passage is confirmed by vs. 12 when he again refers to this detachment of soldiers and their "captain" (or "tribune"), while in this same verse (vs. 12) John again also refers to "the Jewish officers." Thus, John is not only the sole evangelist who asserts that Roman soldiers were actually involved in the arrest of Jesus,²⁹ but he is also quite specific in his description of those who accompanied Judas into the garden

27. Cf. Alfred Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 511, who with regard to the Lukan account of Judas' betrayal comments: "Lk. omits that it was a prearranged sign; also the $\chi\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon$ 'Paββεί and the fact that an ostentatiously affectionate . . . was given" (cf. also V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74).

28. Even though Luke 22:47 does share twelve of nineteen words with Mark 14:43, vs. 48 of Luke 22 is peculiar to the third evangelist and has no words in common with Mark/Matthew.

29. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 808, 815-16.

to arrest Jesus. Contrariwise, the Markan/Matthean description of the crowd who accompanied Judas into the garden is quite general in nature and no specific persons or groups are identified. On the other hand, although Luke does not mention the presence of any Roman soldiers (like Mark/Matthew) among those who came with Judas, Luke is similar to John in that he is more specific than Mark/Matthew in identifying those who had accompanied Judas, and, like John, Luke also informs us that certain Jewish officers ("captains of the temple")³⁰ were among those who came with Judas to arrest Jesus.³¹ Thus, Luke seems to have modified the Markan/Matthean account of the betrayal and apparently agrees with John in informing us that some type of "Jewish officers" were among those who took part in the arrest of Jesus.

(F). The Arrest

"And when those who were about him saw what would follow, they said, 'Lord, whall we strike with the sword?' And one of them struck the slave of the high priest and cut off his right ear.³² But Jesus said, 'No more of this!' And he touched his ear and healed him. Then Jesus said to the chief priests and captains of the temple and elders, who had come out against him, 'Have you come out as against a robber, with swords and clubs? When I was with you day after day in the temple, you did not lay hands on me. But this is your hour, and the power of darkness.' Then they seized him and led him away, bringing him into the high priest's house."

(Luke 22:49-54a)

Luke 22:49-54a has parallels to both Mark 14:46-52/Matt 26:50-56 and John 18:7-12. Luke 22:49, 53b, and 54a have no parallel in either Mark or Matthew, although vs. 53b does exhibit a certain similarity (cf. below) to such Johanneine passages as John 7:30; 8:20; 12:23, 27; 13:1; and 17:1, while vs. 54a possesses a close resemblance to John 18:12, 28. Luke 22:51 (the healing of the slave's ear) is peculiar to Luke, having no parallel in any of the other gospels. On the other hand, Luke 22:52b-53a exhibits close verbal parallels to both Mark 14:48-49a (21 words out of 28) and Matthew 26:55 (20 words out of 28) while Luke 22:50 contains close verbal parallels to both Mark 14:47/Matt 26:51 (8 words out of 17) and John 18:10b (9 words out of 17). This comparison also discloses that the word order found in the last two phrases of Luke 22:50 ("struck the slave of the high priest and cut off his right ear") agrees more closely with the word order found in John 18:10 than it does with the word order found in Mark 14:47, as the following comparison demonstrates:

30. Cf. Acts 4:1 where Luke again refers to "the captain of the temple" in his account of the arrest of Peter and John (cf. also Acts 5:22, 24, 26).

31. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 808, who observes in this regard that "the Synoptic descriptions of the group involved in the arrest of Jesus are more general (than John), with Luke being the closest to John."

32. While Luke 22:50 uses *οὖς* for "ear" and Mark 14:47 and John 18:10 agree in using *ὠτίον* at the comparable place in their narratives, Luke 22:51 and John 18:26 agree in using the word *ὠτίον* in second reference to the "ear" of the "servant of the high priest."

Mark 14:47b

τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἀφείλεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὠτάριον

Luke 22:50b

τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τὸν δοῦλον καὶ ἀφείλεν τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ τὸ δεξιόν

John 18:10b

τὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως δοῦλον καὶ ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὠτάριον τὸ δεξιόν

Observe from the above verbal comparisons that Luke 22:50b not only exhibits close verbal agreements with John 18:10b, but Luke also agrees with John in asserting that it was the "right ear" of the servant of the high priest that was cut off, a detail that is lacking in both Mark and Matthew.

Moreover, while both Mark (14:46) and Matthew (26:50) depict Jesus as being seized immediately after Judas' greeting and before the sword incident (cf. Mark 14:47/Matt 26:51f.), in both Luke (22:54) and John (18:12) Jesus is not seized until after the sword incident. Luke also agrees with John in omitting the Markan (14:50)/Matthean (26:56) assertion that after Jesus was arrested all of his disciples "forsook him, and fled" (cf. John 18:15 for a statement that disagrees with Mark 14:50/Matt 26:56). As to where Jesus was taken after he was arrested, while Mark 14:53/Matt 26:57 merely inform us that "they led Jesus to the high priest" (Matthew identifies the high priest as Caiaphas), Luke 22:54 describes Jesus' captors as "bringing him into the high priest's house" while John 18:28 asserts that after Jesus had been sent from Annas to "Caiaphas the high priest" (vs. 24) that they then "led him from the house of Caiaphas to the praetorium."

Luke 22:53b ("But this is your hour, and the power of darkness") bears a close resemblance to John 13:27,30, where Judas is described as coming under the influence of Satan and going out "into the night" and John 13:1 where he speaks about Jesus' hour as having then arrived. Rehkopf urges that Luke's usage of "hour" in 22:53b is not just an historic reference to the time when Jesus was betrayed but refers to the predestined hour in God's redemptive plan when the Son of man was turned over into the hands of sinners and brought under the power of Satan.³⁴ But, as V. Taylor has aptly observed with regard to Luke 22:53b, "This concept is Johannine."³⁵ Contrariwise, as Raymond E. Brown has urged, "If John were drawing upon the Lucan account, the omission of such an appropriate saying would be inexplicable."³⁶

(G). The Denial

(Cf. Matt 26:57f., 69-57; Mark 14:54, 66-72; Luke 22:54-62; And John 18:15-18, 25-27)

While the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine versions of Peter's denials differ in a number of important particulars (cf. below), Luke 22:54-62 not only exhibits several important modifications and departures from the form of the tradition found in Mark/Matthew, but also a number of agreements (both conceptual

34. Cf. F. Rehkopf, op. cit., p. 81.

35. Cf. V. Taylor, op. cit., p. 76.

36. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., p. 817.

and verbal) with the Johannine version of Peter's three-fold denial of Jesus. Following is an analysis of Luke 22:54-62 with particular attention being paid to the Lukan departures from the form of the tradition found in Mark/Matthew and the Lukan agreements with John.

(1) Luke 22:54

"Then they seized him and led him away, bringing him into the high priest's house. Peter followed at a distance."

As observed in the previous section, Luke agrees with John against Mark/Matthew in not telling of the seizing of Jesus until after the sword incident, with the Lukan phrase, "they seized him," being verbally quite similar to the Johannine, "So the band of soldiers . . . seized Jesus" (18:12). Luke 22:54 also agrees with John 18:13 in using the verb "took" (ἔλαβον) in the phrase, "and led (took) him away," instead of the word ἀνήγαγον which is found in the comparable phrase in Mark 14:53 and Matthew 26:57. Again, as also noted above, only Luke 22:54 and John 18:28 tell of taking Jesus into (or out of) "the high priest's (Caiaphas') house." On the other hand, the last part of vs. 54 ("Peter followed at a distance") verbally agrees closely with Mark 14:54/Matt 26:58 although John 18:15 also mentions that "Simon Peter followed Jesus" into the courtyard of the high priest.

(2) Luke 22:55

"And when they had kindled a fire in the middle of courtyard and sat down together, Peter sat among them."

Only Luke 22:55 and John 18:18 ("Now the servants and officers had made a charcoal fire") describe the kindling of a fire in the courtyard of the high priest, even though the language is somewhat different (John is the only evangelist to refer to it as "a charcoal fire"). Mark 14:54 merely refers to a fire (lit., a "blaze") in the courtyard ("he was sitting . . . and warming himself at the fire") while Matthew 26:57-70 contains no reference to this fire. Contrariwise, Luke 22:55 then agrees with Mark 14:54 in describing Peter as sitting down with the others by the fire while John 18:18 portrays John as standing by the fire with the "servants and officers" and "warming himself."

(3) Luke 22:56

"Then a maid, seeing him as he sat in the light and gazing at him, said, 'This man also was with him.'"

Observe first that in Mark/Matthew Peter's denials follow both the mocking by the Jews and Jesus' trial before the Sanhedrin while in John the first of Peter's denials precedes Jesus' trial before the high priest (18:15-18) while the next two denials in John (18:25-27) follow John's version of this trial (18:19-24). On the other hand, Luke places all three of Peter's denials (22:56-62) before both the mocking (22:63-65) and the trial (22:66-71). With regard to the first accuser, while all four evangelists agree that she was "a maid," Luke 22:56 agrees exactly with Matthew 26:68 in this detail rather

than with Mark 14:66 which refers to her as "one of the maids" or John 18:17 which describes her as "the maid who kept the door." The Lukan form of the first accusation ("This man also was with him") is closer to the form found in Mark ("You also were with the Nazarene, Jesus")/Matthew ("You also were with Jesus the Galilean") than it is to the Johannine form ("Are not you also one of this man's disciples?"), although only Luke and John use the term, "this man," in their versions of the first accusation that was addressed to Peter.

(4) Luke 22:57-58

"But he denied it, saying, 'Woman, I do not know him.' And a little later some one else saw him and said, 'You also are one of them.' But Peter said, 'Man, I am not.'"

The Lukan form of Peter's first denial is different from all the others, while the form found in Mark/Matthew exhibits little resemblance at all to the form found in John. With regard to the second accuser and denial, Luke stands closest to the Johannine form (18:25). For example, while Mark 14:69 asserts that the second accuser was the same maid as before (Matt 26:71 claims that it was "another maid") and John informs us that it was "the servants and officers of the high priest" (cf. 18:18,25), Luke not only asserts that it was "someone else" (thus disagreeing with Mark 14:69), but by his version of Peter's second denial ("Man, I am not") indicates that this accuser was a man (thus agreeing partially with John in making the second accuser (s) to be masculine in gender). Luke's version of Peter's second denial actually agrees verbally (except for Luke's use of the word, "man") with John 18:25 ("I am not") rather than with either Mark 14:70 ("But again he denied it") or Matthew 26:72 ("I do not know the man").

(5) Luke 22:59-60

"And after an interval of about an hour still another insisted, saying, 'Certainly this man also was with him; for he is a Galilean.' But Peter said, 'Man, I do not know what you are saying.' And immediately, while he was still speaking, the cock crowed."

With regard to the third accuser(s), while Mark/Matthew inform us that it was "the bystanders," Luke, by using the phrase, "still another," seems to agree with John (18:26) who informs us that the third accuser was only one person ("one of the servants of the high priest") rather than with Mark/Matthew who use a plural noun in referring to the third accuser of Peter. Moreover, Luke's form (22:59) of the third denial seemingly contains elements and phrases to be found in both Mark 14:70/Matt 26:73 and John 18:26. It should also be observed that both Luke and John lack the cursing and swearing which both Mark (14:71) and Matthew (26:74) assert accompanied Peter's third denial. The final phrase in Luke 22:60 ("the cock crowed") is to be found in almost identical language in all four of our gospels.

(6) Luke 22:61-62

"And the Lord turned and looked at Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said to him, 'Before the cock crows today, you will deny me three times.' And he went out and wept bitterly."

John's version of Peter's denials ends with the crowing of the cock, so that John has no parallel to Luke 22:61f. On the other hand, while vs. 61a is peculiar to Luke, all three of the Synoptists agree in depicting Peter as recalling at this point in their narratives Jesus' prophecy of Peter's three-fold denial. Finally, while Luke's closing statement (vs. 62) is similar to Mark 14:72c, it is in verbatim agreement with Matthew 26:75c. Thus, outside of the presence of certain characteristic Lukan words in 22:54-62 which are quite indicative of Lukan editorial activity,³⁷ and a relatively few details that are peculiar to Luke (only in vss. 59a,61a), all of the remainder of Luke 22:54-62 exhibits close verbal parallels to either Mark 14:66-72, Matthew 26:69-75, or John 18:15-18,25-27.

(H). The Mocking of Jesus By the Jews

(Matt 26:67f.; Mark 14:65; Luke 22:63-65; John 18:22-23)

John's account of the maltreatment of Jesus by the Jewish authorities differs completely from the Markan/Matthean, with these accounts having nothing in common. Thus while Mark/Matthew depict the members of the council as spitting on Jesus, striking him repeatedly, and mocking him, John tells of only one officer slapping him with the back of his hand. On the other hand, the Lukan account of the mocking of Jesus by the Jews differs drastically from both the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine versions of this incident.³⁸ V. Taylor has given us an excellent summary of the many differences that exist between the Lukan and the Markan accounts (most of which also apply to Matt 26:67-68). Among the differences which Taylor noticed, the following perhaps should here be mentioned:

Numerically the amount of agreement (between Mark and Luke) is small. Not only so, the position of the incident in the two Gospels differs. . . . There are also differences in the contents of the two narratives. In Luke the mockers are the men who effected the arrest. In Mark they appear to be members of the court. . . . Further, in Mark Jesus is spat upon and buffeted; in Luke he is mocked and beaten.³⁹

37. Cf. V. Taylor, op. cit., p. 78; F. Rehkopf, op. cit., p. 97; or B. H. Streeter, op. cit., pp. 321-24.

38. As we have already observed at other places in this study (e.g., Jesus' calling of his first disciples, the anointing of Jesus, Jesus' prediction of Peter's three-fold denial), the only places in his gospel that Luke has replaced a Markan/Matthean version of an incident with his own unique version of that incident (and usually into another context) occurs at precisely those places where John is found to have a similar pericope, but one that is in decisive disagreement with the Markan/Matthean version. Thus this same phenomenon is again to be observed with regard to Luke 22:63-65 and its parallels in the other gospels.

39. V. Taylor, op. cit., p. 79.

When John 18:22-23 is compared with the several Synoptic accounts, some interesting comparisons can be made. Thus, while Mark/Matthew place the mocking after the trial before the high priest (Matthew identifies the high priest as Caiaphas) and before the denials and John places his maltreatment after the first denial and during his interrogation before Annas (in John, Jesus is not sent to Caiaphas until in vs. 24), Luke places the mocking after the denials but before the morning trial. In Mark/Matthew the mockers are presumably members of the council; in John Jesus is struck by "one of the officers" (in all probability one of those referred to in vss. 3,12, who had taken part in his arrest); while in Luke Jesus' mockers were also some of those who had taken part in the arrest of Jesus. In Mark/Matt Jesus is spat upon, beaten, and mocked; in John Jesus is only slapped; while in Luke Jesus is struck and mocked. Interestingly, Luke doesn't use any of the three expressions that Mark/Matthew use for describing the striking/beatings of Jesus (κολαφίζειν, ῥάπισαν, ῥαπίσμασιν ἔλαβον). On the other hand, Luke 22:63 does share the verbδέρεις with John 18:23. The verb παίσας is peculiar to Luke in this pericope (vs. 64), while the verb ῥάπισμα used by John at 18:22 is also used by Matthew at 26:67 in his version of the mocking of Jesus by the Jews.

(I). Jesus Brought Before The Council

(Matt 26:59-66; Mark 14:55-64; Luke 22:66-71;
And John 18:19-24)

The Markan/Matthean and the Johannine versions of Jesus' trial (or interrogation) by the Jewish authorities are in decisive disagreement with each other. Mark/Matthew place the trial before the mocking and Peter's denials; John places the interrogation of Jesus by Annas between the first and second denial. Mark/Matthew apparently depict Jesus as appearing before Caiaphas (cf. Matt 26:57); John portrays Jesus as being first brought before Annas. In Mark/Matthew the high priest explicitly asked Jesus if he was "the Christ, the Son of God" (Mark 14:61/Matt 26:63); in John Jesus is only questioned concerning his teaching (18:19-21). In Mark/Matthew false witnesses are brought forth to testify against Jesus and the whole Sanhedrin is depicted as condemning Jesus to death; in John there are no false witnesses nor is any sentence of death pronounced by the Jewish authorities. In Mark/Matthew the high priest becomes angry, tears his robes, and accuses Jesus of blasphemy; in John none of these features are to be found.

Luke's version of Jesus' trial before the Jewish council, while exhibiting certain similarities to both Mark/Matthew and John, nevertheless differs considerably from all the others. For example, while Mark/Matthew tell of a night trial before Caiaphas and John depicts a night appearance before Annas, Luke recounts only a trial before the council, "when day came" (22:66). Like Mark/Matthew, Luke portrays the Jewish authorities as inquiring of Jesus whether he was "the Christ" and "the Son of God" (vss. 67,70), but unlike Mark/Matthew (but like John 10:24,36), in Luke 22 these are two separate questions separated by other material. Moreover, Luke agrees with John against both Mark and Matthew in describing an appearance of Jesus before the Jewish authorities that does not include either a trial with false witnesses or the pronouncement of a death sentence. The phenomena that are to be found in Luke 22:66-71 are thus of such

a nature that each verse in this pericope would seem deserving of a detailed analysis.

(1) Luke 22:66

"When day came, the assembly of the elders of the people gathered together, both chief priests and scribes; and they led him away to their council."

Verse 66, which is the Lukan introduction to his description of a morning appearance of Jesus before the Sanhedrin, would seem to be a free Lukan composition with little evidence of any dependence by Luke upon his sources. Taylor lists seven words out of twenty in this passage that are characteristic of Lukan usage in Luke/Acts.⁴⁰ The term "chief priests" is common to the Passion narratives of both Mark/Matthew and John.⁴¹ The only words in vs. 66 that suggest dependence on Mark/Matthew are "scribes" and "council."⁴² The setting in Luke 22:66-71 of a morning appearance before the council could be based on Mark 15:1/Matt 27:1, or, as Easton and Taylor have urged, it could have been based on yet another tradition or source known to Luke that told of a morning appearance of Jesus before the Jewish authorities.

(2) Luke 22:66c-68

"And they said, 'If you are the Christ, tell us.' But he said to them, 'If I tell you, you will not believe; and if I ask you, you will not answer.'"⁴³

Of the seventeen words found in Luke 22:66c-67, while Luke shares only five with Mark 14:61 and just four with Matthew 26:62, Luke has fourteen of these words in common with John 10:24-25a. For example, the first question Luke depicts the Jewish authorities as asking Jesus (22:67a) at this morning trial (Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, εἰπὸν ἡμῖν) is verbally identical to the question John 10:24 portrays the Jews as asking of Jesus when he was in the temple on the occasion of the feast of the Dedication (εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, εἰπὲ ἡμῖν μαρτυρεῖς), except that the familiar Johannine word μαρτυρεῖς (cf. John 7:4,13,26; 10:24; 16:5,29; 18:20) is lacking in Luke 22:67. It should be observed, however, that not only does Luke never use this word,⁴³ but if Mark was one of Luke's sources, then Luke also eliminated a similar Markan statement ("And he said this plainly") from his account of Jesus' first passion prediction (compare Luke 9:21-22 with Mark 8:31-32) so that Luke 22:67 is as close to John 10:24 as Luke 9:21-22 is to Mark 8:31-32. Moreover, the response of Jesus to this question of the Jews is quite similar in both Luke and John, for while John 10:25 depicts Jesus as answering, "I told you, and you do not believe," Luke 22:67b portrays Jesus as replying to the Jewish authorities, "If I tell you, you will not believe." No such response is to be found in either Mark or Mat-

40. Cf. V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 81. Cf. also B. S. Easton, *St. Luke*, p. 339.

41. Cf. Matt 26:47,59; 27:1,3,12,41; Mark 14:43,53,55; 15:1,3,10,11,31; John 11:47,57; 12:10; 18:3,35; 19:6,15,21.

42. These words occur at Mark 14:53,55/Matt 26:57,59 in passages that are quite comparable to Luke 22:66.

43. This word "plainly" is also lacking in the Matthean vocabulary.

thew. Verse 68, which is peculiar to Luke, would merely seem to be an elaboration of Luke 22:67b.

(3) Luke 22:69

"But from now on the Son of man shall be seated at the right hand of the Power of God."

Verse 69, except for the opening phrase ("But from now on"), agrees almost verbatim with Mark 14:62b/Matt 26:64b. Luke 22:69 even has certain agreements with Mark/Matthew against the wording to be found in the LXX in their use of Psalm 110:1.⁴⁴ Yet certain differences also exist between Luke 22:69 and Mark 14:62/Matt 26:64, differences that would seem to support Schramm's thesis that in many places in his text, Luke seems to have been influenced by other non-Markan sources or traditions in addition to his basic Markan/Matthean source. For example, while Mark/Matthew portray Jesus at this point asserting to the high priest that in the future they will "see the Son of man seated at the right hand of Power," in Luke, "the fact of the sessio ad dextram is affirmed."⁴⁵ Thus, the Lukan claim in vs. 69a that Jesus' exaltation to the right hand of God was already beginning would seem to be in basic agreement with the Johannine tradition that the glorification of Jesus really began with his passion. Luke 22:69 ("But from now on the Son of man shall be seated at the right hand of the Power of God") can thus well be compared with either John 12:23 ("The hour has come for the Son of man to be glorified") or 13:31 ("Now is the Son of man glorified"). Inasmuch as no such statement is to be found in either Matthew or Mark, it is therefore to be observed that Luke and John are our only evangelists to assert that the glorification of Jesus had begun prior to his death and resurrection. It should also be noticed, that the Markan (14:62)/Matthean (26:64) quotation of Dan 7:13 ("and coming with the clouds of heaven") is also lacking at the comparable place in the Lukan text (vs. 69b), so that even though Luke has reproduced nine of the seventeen words found in Mark 14:62/Matt 26:64, Luke has nevertheless modified this Markan/Matthean statement in significant ways.

(4) Luke 22:70

"And they all said, 'Are you the Son of God, then?'
And he said to them, 'You say that I am.'"

Luke 22:70 has little in common with Mark 14:61a-62b/Matt 26:63b-64a. Indeed, in this verse, Luke shares only six of twenty words with Mark/Matthew. On the other hand, Luke 22:70 has nine words in common with John 10:36 and 18:37. Indeed, a comparison of Luke 22:70 discloses that the Lukan phrase (ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι) λέγετε, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι) clearly agrees more closely with John 18:37b (Σὺ λέγεις ὅτι βασιλεὺς εἰμι), than it does with either Mark 14:62a (ὁ δὲ ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ εἰμι) or Matthew 26:64a (Σὺ εἶπας). In fact, the only term found in John 18:

44. Cf. V. Taylor, Behind the Third Gospel, pp. 50-51.

45. Cf. A. Plummer, op. cit., p. 518, or V. Taylor, The Passion Narrative of St. Luke, p. 83.

37 ("a King") that is lacking in Luke 22:70 is a term that never occurs in Luke except in passages that have either a Markan/Matthean or a Johannine parallel (cf. Luke 19:38; 23:2-3, 37, 38 et. parr.). Moreover, in the Passion narratives, three Markan usages of the term "King" for Jesus (cf. Mark 15:9, 12, 18) and one Matthean usage of this term (cf. Matt 27:29) are lacking in Luke 23. Considering Luke's infrequent usage of the title, "King," in his Gospel and the fact that at least three Markan/Matthean usages of this term are lacking in Luke, Luke 22:70b can therefore be regarded as standing in virtual verbatim agreement with John 18:37.

(5) Luke 22:71

"And they said, 'What further testimony do we need?
We have heard it ourselves from his own lips.'"

In verse 71, Luke shares only five of fifteen words with Mark (14:63-64)/Matthew (26:65-66). Contrariwise, while there is no comparable passage in John, it should be observed that like John, Luke lacks any description of the rage of the high priest over Jesus' reply to his questions (cf. Mark 14:63-64/Matt 26:65), the high priest's charge that Jesus' reply amounted to blasphemy (cf. Mark 14:64/Matt 26:65), and the Markan/Matthean claim that the whole Sanhedrin condemned Jesus "as deserving death" (cf. Mark 14:64b/Matt 26:66). Moreover, the Lukan form of Jesus' third Passion prediction (18:31-33) lacks the Markan (10:33)/Matthean (20:18) phrase that they ("the chief priests and the scribes") will "condemn him to death," while, as Raymond E. Brown has observed, Acts 13:28 explicitly states that the Jerusalem authorities "could charge him with nothing deserving death."⁴⁶ Luke clearly seems to have modified the Markan/Matthean traditions with regard to the passion of Jesus, with Acts 13:28 being especially in decided disagreement with the tradition that is to be found in Mark 14:64 and Matthew 26:66.

The following factors can therefore be noticed with regard to Luke 22:66-71 and the comparable pericopes in Mark/Matthew and John: (1) The Markan/Matthean and the Johannine versions of Jesus' night appearance before the Jewish authorities are in almost complete disagreement; (2) Luke has omitted the Markan/Matthean account of a night trial before the high priest and replaced it with his unique account of a morning appearance before the council; (3) Luke has described this early morning appearance of Jesus before the council largely in terms of Mark 14:55-62/Matthew 26:59-64 and John 10:24-25, 36; 18:37; (4) Of the ninety-five words to be found in Luke 22:66-71, Luke shares 22 words with Mark, 21 words with Matthew, and 27 words with John; and (5), as we have already discovered elsewhere in our study of Luke (e.g., see our examination of such Lukan passages as 3:16; 7:36-38; 9:10-17; 22:3-6, 54-62, 63-65), virtually every phrase in Luke 22:67-71 has a close verbal parallel in either Mark, Matthew, or John, as the following chart discloses:

46. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 795-96.

Luke 22:67-71 And Its Closest NT Parallels

<u>Luke 22:67-71</u>	<u>The Closest NT Parallels</u> <u>To Luke 22:67-71</u>
And they said,	= The Jews . . . said to him, (John 10:24a)
"If you are the Christ, tell us."	= "If you are the Christ, tell us plainly." (John 10:24b)
But he said to them,	= Jesus answered them, (John 10:25a)
"If I tell you, you will not believe;	= "I told you, and you do not believe." (John 10:25a)
And if I ask you, you will not answer.	(This passage is peculiar to Luke)
But from now on the Son of man shall be seated at the right hand of the Power of God."	= "Hereafter you will see the Son of man seated at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mark 14:62/Matt 26:64).
And they all said, 'Are you the Son of God, then?'	(No close parallel in any of the other gospels, but see John 10:36)
And he said to them, "You say that I am."	= Jesus answered, "You say that I am a king." (John 18:37b)
And they said, "What further testimony do we need?"	= And the high priest said, "Why do we still need witnesses?" (Mark 14:63)

(J). Jesus Brought Before Pilate

(Matt 27:1-2,11-14; Mark 15:1-5; Luke 23:1-5;
And John 18:28-38)

Luke's account of Jesus' opening appearance before Pilate also seems to be closer to John's version than it is to either Mark's or Matthew's. For example, as the Jerusalem Bible (NT, p. 133) observes, Luke's account of Pilate's opening interview with Jesus (23:1-4) "lies half-way between the less detailed and less dramatic accounts of Mk and Mt, and the prolonged interview in Jn." Actually, in this first section of the Lukan account of Jesus' trial before Pilate (vss. 1-5), outside of verse 3 which exhibits close verbal agreement with both Mark 15:2 and Matthew 27:11 (sixteen of the nineteen words in Luke 23:3 are shared with Mark 15:2 and ten of these same words are also shared with Matthew 27:11), only three other words in this pericope are common to Luke and Mark/Matthew. Thus, outside of vs. 3, Luke 23:1-5 has little in common with Mark 15:1-5/Matt 27:1-2,11-14. On the other hand, Luke 23:3 not only also shares nine words with John 18:33,36, but Luke 23:2-4 also exhibits

certain other similarities to and agreements with the Johannine tradition (vss. 1 and 5 of Luke 23 are peculiar to Luke and, except for the occurrence of the word "Pilate" in vs. 1, Luke 23:1,5 has no words in common with any of the other Gospels).⁴⁷ Because of the importance of certain factors to be found in this Lukan passage, vss. 2-4 should be examined in detail.

(1) Luke 23:2

"And they began to accuse him, saying, 'We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding us to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king.'"

Only Luke provides us with the information found in vs. 2 that three separate charges were brought against Jesus by the Jewish authorities in their opening appearance before Pilate. However, the following factors with regard to this verse should be noted: (1) Only Luke (23:2) and John (18:29-31) depict the Jewish authorities as bringing accusations against Jesus to Pilate prior to Pilate's asking him, "Are you the King of the Jews?"; (2) While the first of the accusations that Luke portrays the Jewish authorities as bringing against Jesus ("We found this man perverting our nation") has no parallel in the Passion narratives of any of the other gospels, it is similar in form and content to a statement John portrays some of the Jews as making against Jesus at 7:12b ("He is leading the people astray"); (3) There is no parallel in any of the other Gospels to the second accusation against Jesus as found in Luke 23:2b; and (4) while there is no parallel in Mark/Matthew to the third accusation found in Luke 23:2c ("saying that he himself is Christ a king"), John 18:36 not only depicts Jesus as defending his kingship before Pilate, but John 18:37 then portrays Pilate as saying to Jesus, "So you are a king."

(2) Luke 23:3

"And Pilate asked him, 'Are you the King of the Jews?'
And he answered him, 'You have said so.'"

Luke 23:3 is in virtual verbatim agreement with Mark 15:2, although Matthew 27:11 is also quite comparable to Luke 23:3. The phrase, "Are you the King of the Jews?", is actually to be found in identical language in all four of our Gospels (cf. Matt 27:11b; Mark 15:2a; Luke 23:3a; John 18:33b), although, otherwise, John 18:33 is not too close to Luke 23:3. The final phrase in Luke 23:3 ("You have said so"), is also to be found in identical language in both Mark 15:2b and Matthew 27:11c, although otherwise Matthew 27:11 is not as close to Luke 23:3 as is Mark 15:2. Thus Matthew used, "the governor asked him," in contrast to the Markan/Lukan, "Pilate asked him," and "Jesus said to him," in contrast to the Markan/Lukan, "and he answered him." The verbal agreement between Mark 15:2 and Luke 23:3 is actually 84.2% in contrast to a 52.6% verbal agreement between Matt 27:11 and Luke 23:3 and a 36.8% verbal agreement between

47. There is uncertainty whether the Lukan phrase, "throughout all Judea," refers to all of Palestine or Judea proper. But in either case, we have here in Luke 23:5 an allusion to an extensive teaching ministry in southern Palestine that Luke could hardly have gained from his basic Markan/Matthean source.

(3) Luke 23:4

"And Pilate said to the chief priests and the multitudes, 'I find no crime in this man.'"

An examination of the Passion narratives of Mark and Matthew discloses that Mark/Matthew have no parallel to Luke 23:4, and except for the name "Pilate," Luke 23:4 has no words in common with the comparable sections of Mark and Matthew. On the other hand, Luke 23:4 does exhibit a close resemblance to John 18:38, for after Pilate's opening interview with Jesus, both Luke 23:4b ($\text{Οὐδὲν εὐρίσκω αἰτίον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ}$) and John 18:38b ($\text{Ἐγὼ οὐδεμίαν εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίαν}$) depict Pilate as immediately asserting his belief, in almost identical language, that Jesus was innocent of the charges which the Jews had brought against him. Contrariwise, Mark (15:14) and Matthew (27:23) do not portray Pilate as asserting Jesus' innocence until after the chief priests had stirred up the crowd to demand the release of Barabbas instead of Jesus (cf. Mark 15:11/Matt 27:20-21) and until after the crowd had cried out, "Crucify him" (cf. Mark 15:14/Matt 27:22). If the Johannine phrase found in 18:35 ("Your own nation and the chief priests"), which is quite similar to the Lukan phrase found in 23:4a ("the chief priests and the multitudes"), is included with John 18:38 in our comparison with Luke 23:4, then the percentage of verbal agreement between Luke 23:4 and John 18:35a,38b amounts to 58.9% (ten words out of seventeen).

(K). Jesus Brought Before Herod

(Luke 23:6-12)

Although this pericope is peculiar to Luke, inasmuch as it contains an account of a mocking of Jesus which in certain particulars resembles the mocking of Jesus by the Roman soldiers as described in John 19:1-5 (cf. below), certain observations should be made with regard to these Lukan/Johannine similarities. However, it should first be noticed that Luke 23:6-12 shares few distinguishing features, words, or phrases with the Markan (15:16-20)/Matthean (27:27-31) version of a mocking of Jesus by Roman soldiers which they place at the conclusion of Jesus' trial before Pilate.⁴⁸ Contrariwise, Luke 23:6-12 contains at least fifteen distinctive Lukan words and phrases⁴⁹ so that if this pericope is based on a written source, it would seem that Luke has freely edited that source.⁵⁰

48. Indeed, outside of Luke's usage of the word "scribes" (although this term is characteristic of Mark, Luke sometimes does use it in passages that have no Markan parallel as at 15:2 and 22:66, and neither Mark or Matthew use it in their account of the mocking) and the phrase, "and mocked him" (however, the wording of this phrase in Mark 15:20a/Matt 27:29b differs from the wording in Luke 23:11), Luke 23:6-12 has nothing in common with either Mark 15:16-20 or Matthew 27:27-31.

49. Cf. the recent analysis by V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

50. Cf. V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, II, p. 307, or V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 87, who acknowledges that with regard to Luke 23:6-12, "there is little to suggest the use of a source."

On the other hand, Luke 23:6-12 contains certain phenomena that place it closer to the Johannine version of the mocking than it is to either the Markan or the Matthean accounts. In this regard, the following factors should be noticed: (1) While the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine versions of the mocking of Jesus by the Roman soldiers differ considerably both as to content and to setting,⁵¹ Luke has replaced the Markan/Matthean version of the mocking with his unique account of a mocking of Jesus by Herod and his soldiers at an earlier point in his Passion narrative;⁵² (2) Luke (23:10-11) agrees with John (19:1-3) in placing the mocking of Jesus at a midpoint in his account of Jesus' trial before Pilate well before Pilate's pronouncement of a death sentence upon Jesus instead of afterwards as both Mark (15:15-20) and Matthew (27:27-31) do; (3) The second of Pilate's affirmations of Jesus' innocence occurs in both Luke (23:13-14) and John (19:4) immediately after their description of a mocking of Jesus (Luke 23:10-11; John 19:1-3); (4) Both Luke (23:9) and John (19:9) refer to the silence of Jesus in the context of the mocking of Jesus in quite similar language⁵³ in contrast to Mark (15:5)/Matthew (27:14) who make reference to the silence of Jesus earlier in their Passion narratives in connection with Jesus' first appearance before Pilate; (5) Luke 23:6-12 lacks the details that are common to both the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine versions of the mocking (the crown of thorns, the mock coronation, the phrase, "Hail, King of the Jews"); and (6) both Luke (23:10) and John (19:6) make reference to "the chief priests" in connection with their accounts of the mocking of Jesus.⁵⁴

(L). Pilate's Attempts To Release Jesus Fail

(Matt 27:15-26; Mark 15:6-15; Luke 23:13-25; John 19:6-16)

A comparative analysis of Luke 23:13-25 with Mark 15:6-15 discloses that in this passage, Luke shares only 29 of 163 words with Mark (or just 17.8%), and 15 of these words occur in just two of these verses (vss. 22,25). On the other hand, Luke 23:13-25 shares 28 words with John 19:6-16 (or 17.2%), including some key phrases and some significant parallelism in content as well as in the general format of these two respective pericopes (cf. below). For example, both Luke and John (in contrast to Mark/Matthew) contain three assertions by Pilate of Jesus' inno-

51. Cf. esp. J. H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 616-16 or Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 885-89 (esp. p. 887).

52. This is yet another example of a phenomenon that we have observed elsewhere in Luke (cf. Luke 5:1-11; 7:36-38; 22:31-34, 63-65, 66-71), i.e., the only Markan/Matthean pericopes that Luke has replaced with his own unique version of that incident in a different context are precisely those Markan/Matthean pericopes that have a parallel in John with which they are in decisive disagreement.

53. Thus Luke 23:9 uses the phrase, "he made no answer," while John 19:9 contains the words, "but Jesus gave no answer."

54. Cf. V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 87, who in pointing out a couple of these Lukan/Johannine similarities, remarked, that in doing so "some knowledge of Johannine tradition is implied." It would seem to us that at least some of these agreements in order between Luke 23:6-14 and John 19:1-9 are quite remarkable.

cence (cf. Luke 23:4,12,22; John 18:38; 19:4,6), twice depict Pilate as seeking to release Jesus in quite similar language (cf. Luke 23:16,20; John 18:39; 19:12), contain the double cry, "crucify, crucify" (Luke 23:21; John 19:6), and agree in placing the scourging of Jesus (or the threat of bodily chastisement⁵⁵) prior to Pilate's affirming of his death sentence (cf. Luke 23:16; John 19:1) instead of afterwards as both Mark (15:15-20) and Matthew (27:26-31) do. Thus, because of the existence of a number of significant Lukan/Johannine agreements in this section of their Passion narratives, the several episodes that comprise this section should be examined in detail.

(1) Pilate's Second Affirmation of Jesus' Innocence

"Pilate then called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people, and said to them, 'You brought me this man as one who was perverting the people; and after examining him before you, behold, I did not find this man guilty of any of your charges against him; neither did Herod, for he sent him back to us. Behold, nothing deserving death has been done by him; I will therefore chastise him and release him.'" him."

Luke 23:13-16 shares no words, concepts, or parallelism of format with either Mark or Matthew. On the other hand, this passage in Luke does exhibit certain similarities to and agreements with the Johannine tradition. Thus both Luke (23:14) and John (19:4) place Pilate's second affirmation of Jesus' innocence immediately after their accounts of the mocking of Jesus. Similarly, Luke 23:16 agrees with John 18:39 in portraying Pilate as offering to release Jesus before their first mention of Barabbas (cf. Luke 23:18; John 18:40) in contrast to Mark (15:7) and Matthew (27:16), who both mention Barabbas before they portray Pilate as saying to the Jews, "Do you want me to release for you the King of the Jews?" (Mark 15:9/Matt 27:17). Luke 23:13-16 also shares two comparable phrases ("and said to them," "release him") with John 19:4a,12.⁵⁶ Moreover, although John doesn't use the term "rulers" (ἀρχόντες) in his Passion narrative, it should be observed that Luke and John are the only evangelists who use this term,⁵⁷ and, as Zehnle has pointed out, they both use this term in quite comparable ways.⁵⁸ On the other hand, these few verses contain a number of the words and phrases that are characteristic of Luke, making

55. Luke (23:16,22) uses the word καίδεύσας (lit., "beating"), which is unique among the evangelists, a word that refers to the lesser type of Roman bodily chastisement. On the other hand, Mark/Matthew use the word φραγελλώσας (lit., "flogging") while John uses the Greek word for "scourging" (ἐμαστίγων).

56. Although the verbal agreement between Luke and John with regard to these two phrases is not exact, Luke's wording is closer to the Johannine form than it is to the Markan/Matthean (cf. Mark 15:9,14; Matt 27:17,23).

57. Cf. Luke 18:18; 23:13,25; 24:20; John 3:1; 7:26,48; 12:42; Acts 3:17; 4:5,8,26; 13:27.

58. Cf. Richard Zehnle, op. cit., p. 134.

it quite doubtful that Luke was in these verses (13-16) dependent upon a now non-extant source.⁵⁹ As Stanton once observed, Luke's account "bears strong marks of having been indited by the evangelist himself."⁶⁰

(2) The Barabbas Incident

"But they all cried out together, 'Away with this man, and release to us Barabbas' - a man who had been thrown into prison for an insurrection started in the city, and for murder."

(Luke 23:18-19)

Luke's version of the Barabbas incident (esp. if vs. 17, which is lacking in many mss., is regarded as unauthentic) is quite brief as compared with the Markan/Matthean version, and is injected quite abruptly into his text following vs. 16. If we are correct in rejecting vs. 17 as a later gloss, then Luke contains no explanation as to why the Jewish authorities could have demanded the release of Barabbas rather than Jesus. Yet this then would be but another detail lacking in Luke that is to be found in both Mark/Matthew and John and about which Mark/Matthew and John are in disagreement, with Mark/Matthew describing the releasing of one prisoner upon the occasion of the feast as being a practice of the governor and John portraying it as being a custom of the Jews (cf. Mark 15:6; Matt 27:15; John 18:39).

Moreover, despite the fact that Luke places the Barabbas incident after the mocking and Pilate's second assertion of Jesus' innocence while John places it after Pilate's first assertion of Jesus' innocence and before the mocking, there exist, nevertheless, some remarkable agreements with regard to order between Luke 23:15-18 and John 18:38-40. Observe, therefore, the following agreements that exist between Luke and John with regard to this section of their Passion narratives: (1) Luke (23:18-19) and John (18:39-40) both place the Barabbas incident after an assertion by Pilate of Jesus' innocence (cf. Luke 23:14; John 18:38) in contrast to Mark (15:6-11) and Matthew (27:15-21) who both place the Barabbas incident before any assertion by Pilate of Jesus' innocence; (2) In both Luke and John, Pilate's first attempt to release Jesus (Luke 23:16; John 18:39) immediately follows one of Pilate's assertions of Jesus' innocence (Luke 23:14; John 18:38) and immediately precedes the Barabbas incident; (3) In both Luke and John, the Jewish authorities are described as immediately responding to Pilate's attempt to release Jesus in quite similar language (see below); and (4) the Jews at once demand the release of Barabbas rather than Jesus in both Luke (23:18b) and John (18:40b) in contrast to the more extensive interchange between Pilate and the Jews that is to be found in both Mark 15:8-11 and Matthew 27:17-21.

Similarly, while Luke 23:18 is verbally quite different from both Mark 15:11 and Matthew 27:20-21,⁶¹ Luke 23:18 exhibits

59. Cf. V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

60. V. H. Stanton, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

61. Outside of the proper name "Barabbas," Luke 23:18 has only one word (*ἀπολυσόν*) in common with Mark 15:11/Matthew 27:20-21.

a close resemblance to John 18:40 as the following comparison demonstrates:

<u>Luke 23:18</u>	<u>John 18:40</u>
"But they all cried out together, 'Away with this man, and release to us Barabbas.'"	"They cried out again, 'not this man, but Barabbas.'"

An examination of the above passages discloses that the Lukan introductory phrase (ἀνέκραγον δὲ καμπληθεὶ λέγοντες) is quite comparable to the way in which John introduced the response of the Jewish authorities to Pilate's attempt to release Jesus (ἐκράγασαν οὖν πάλιν λέγοντες),⁶² but quite different from the form found in Mark/Matthew.⁶³ Moreover, the Lukan form of the response of the Jewish authorities to Pilate (Αἰρε τοῦτον, ἀπόλυσον δὲ ἡμῖν τὸν Βαραββᾶν) is also quite similar to the Johannine form (Μὴ τοῦτον ἀλλὰ τὸν Βαραββᾶν), especially if one includes the Johannine term Ἀρον, which occurs a little later in the Johannine Passion narrative (19:15). Indeed, if this Johannine expression is included,⁶⁴ then Luke 23:18 shares seven of its eleven words with this comparable section of the Johannine tradition. Thus Luke 23:16-18 exhibits a significant number of verbal and conceptual agreements with John 18:39-40; 19:15. Contrariwise, Luke 23:19 generally parallels Mark 15:7 rather than John 18:40c (which informs us only that Barabbas was a "robber") by asserting that Barabbas had taken part in an insurrection in Jerusalem and had committed murder, although the verbal agreement between Luke 23:19 and Mark 15:7 is not very high.⁶⁵ It is thus to be observed that Luke 23:18 stands in close agreement with John 18:40 while Luke 23:19 is basically parallel to Mark 15:17, with Luke 23:18-19 containing few words or details that are not to be found in either Mark/Matthew⁶⁶ or John.

(3) Pilate's Final Assertion of Jesus' Innocence

<u>Mark 15:13-14a</u>	<u>John 19:6</u>
"And they cried out again, 'Crucify him.' And Pilate said to them, 'Why, what <u>evil has he done?</u> '"	"When the chief priests and the officers saw him, they cried out, 'Crucify him, Crucify him!' Pilate said to them, 'Take him yourselves and crucify him, for <u>I find no crime in him.</u> '"

62. Cf. also John 19:12 (οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐκράγαζον λέγοντες), which also is quite comparable to Luke 23:18a.

63. Mark 15 contains no parallel to Luke 23:18a, while Matthew 27:21 introduces the Jewish response to Pilate with the phrase, "And they said" (οἱ δὲ εἶπαν).

64. Cf. E. P. Sanders (op. cit., p. 623), who gives examples of how a conflator may at times "construct a new narrative or speech by plucking phrases from here and there in his sources."

65. As V. Taylor (op. cit., p. 88) has observed, although Luke 23:19 possesses "a broad resemblance" to Mark 15:7, Luke 23:19 and Mark 15:7 "have only two words in common."

66. A comparison of Luke 23:19 with Matt 27:16 also discloses that Luke 23:19 stands considerably closer to Mark 15:7 ("among the rebels in prison, who had committed murder in the insurrection, there was a man called Barabbas") than it does to Matt 27:16 ("And they had then a notorious prisoner, called Barabbas").

Luke 23:20-22

"Pilate addressed them once more, desiring to release Jesus; but they shouted out, 'Crucify, crucify him!'" A third time he said to them, 'Why, what evil has he done? I have found in him no crime deserving death; I will therefore chastise him and release him."

Luke 23:20-22 contains impressive parallels to both Mark 15:13-14a/Matt 27:22-23 and John 19:6,12, with Luke sharing eight of his thirty-eight words in these verses with Mark/Matthew only (21.1%), ten of his thirty-eight words with John only (26.4%), and six additional words with both Mark/Matthew and John (16.0%). Luke's opening phrase in vs. 20 ("Pilate addressed them once more") is similar in form to the Markan phrase ("And Pilate again said to them") that introduces the final statement by Pilate in the Markan version of the Barabbas episode (Mark 15:12). Luke's second phrase in vs. 20 ("Pilate . . . , desiring to release Jesus") is, on the other hand, quite close to the opening phrase found in John 19:12 ("Pilate sought to release him"). Luke (23:21) then agrees with John (19:6) in containing the double demand, "Crucify, crucify him," just prior to Pilate's final assertion of Jesus' innocence in contrast to Mark 15:13 which contains only the single demand, "Crucify him" (in Matt 27:22, the form used is "Let him be crucified"). Luke 23:22a ("A third time he said to them"), by emphasizing the fact that Pilate had three times asserted his belief in Jesus' innocence, would also seem to exhibit a real parallel to the Johannine Passion tradition.

It would also seem to be significant that Luke 23:22 (Τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν οὗτος; οὐδὲν αἰτίον θανάτου εὖρον ἐν αὐτῷ) contains close verbal parallels to both Mark 15:14a/Matt 27:23a (Τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν) and John 18:38 (ἐγὼ οὐδεμίαν εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτίαν), except for the Lukan qualification, "deserving death" (a qualification which is peculiar to Luke, and which Luke had previously portrayed (see vs. 15) Pilate as adding ((see Pilate's earlier unqualified assertion, "I find no crime in this man," at 23:4)) following Jesus' trial before Herod). Inasmuch as John does not contain the Markan/Matthean phrase, "Why, what evil has he done?", and Mark/Matthew do not contain the Johannine phrase, "I find no crime in him," it would seem that Luke 23:22 ("Why, what evil has he done? I have found in him no crime deserving death") might well be the result of Luke's conflation of the similar, yet different, expressions of Pilate's belief in Jesus' innocence that are to be found in the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine Passion traditions.⁶⁷ In addition, it might also be noticed that Luke (23:22c) and John (19:12) are the only evangelists who portray Pilate as making one more attempt to release Jesus after his final assertion of Jesus' innocence.⁶⁸

67. Cf. E. P. Sanders' observation (op. cit., p. 263) that "a conflator faced by synonyms in his sources may utilize them both."

68. Contrariwise, Mark (15:12-15)/Matthew (27:17-21) contain no allusion to any attempt of Pilate to release Jesus after the Barabbas incident.

(4) Pilate Sentences Jesus to Death

"But they were urgent, demanding with loud cries that he should be crucified. And their voices prevailed. So Pilate gave sentence that their demand should be granted. He released the man who had been thrown into prison for insurrection and murder, who they asked for, but Jesus he delivered up to their will."

(Luke 23:23-25)

A comparison of Luke 23:23-25 with the comparable passages in Matthew (27:23b-26), Mark (15:14b-15), and John (19:13-16) discloses that Luke 23:23-25 has few verbal agreements with either Mark/Matthew or John. Indeed, in this episode, Luke shares only one of thirty-nine words with just Mark/Matthew, none with John only, and just four words ("Pilate," "Jesus," "crucify," "delivered up") with both Mark/Matthew and John. Luke's "loud cries" in describing the reaction of the Jewish authorities (or crowd) would seem to be closer to the Johannine, "they cried out" (19:15), than it is to the Markan/Matthean, "but they shouted all the more." With regard to what the crowd cried (shouted) out, Mark 15:14 agrees with John 19:15 in portraying them as saying, "crucify him," while Matthew (27:23) uses the phrase, "Let him be crucified," and Luke (23:23) the words, "that he should be crucified." Only Luke (vs. 24) informs us that Pilate actually "passed sentence" upon Jesus, although both Matthew 27:19 and John 19:13 depict Pilate as "sitting on the judgment seat" when he "delivered up" Jesus to be crucified. On the other hand, Luke agrees with John in lacking the Markan (15:15)/Matthean (27:26) account of the scourging/mockings of Jesus by the Roman soldiers at this point in his narrative. Luke 23:23-25 would seem to be a free Lukan composition of this segment of the tradition that at the same time exhibits certain similarities to both the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine versions of this episode.

(M). The Crucifixion

(Cf. Matt 27:32-56; Mark 15:21-41; Luke 23:26-49;
And John 19:17-30)

The literary situation with regard to Luke 23:26-49 and its parallels in the other Gospels would seem to be extremely complex.⁶⁹ In the first place, fifteen of the twenty-four verses in this section of Luke (i.e., vss. 27-32, 34, 37, 39-43, 46, 48) are either largely or entirely peculiar to the third evangelist. Thus, of the 230 words in these fifteen verses, Luke has only sixteen in common with Mark (7.0%) and fourteen in common with Matthew (6.1%). Indeed, in this whole section (Luke 23:26-49 and Parallels), Luke shares only 88 of 375 words with Mark (23.5%) and 82 of 375 words with Matthew (21.9%), with almost half of these words that Luke shares with Mark/Matthew (40 words) occurring in just five verses (vss. 26, 35, 38, 44, 49) of Luke 23:

69. Cf. V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-98; Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 897-931; J. Jeremias, Golgotha.

26-49. On the other hand, Luke also shares 42 words in this section with John (11.2%), with Luke 23:26-49 exhibiting close verbal parallels to John especially in vss. 33, 36, and 44.

Moreover, a detailed comparison of Luke 23:26-49 with the comparable sections of the other Gospels discloses that many of the details found in Mark/Matthew are lacking in both Luke and John. Thus both Luke and John lack the material found in Mark 15:23/Matt 27:34 (the offering of wine mingled with myrrh/gall to Jesus), Mark 15:29/Matt 27:39-40 (the railing of those who passed by), Mark 15:32/Matt 27:42b (the words of the chief priests, "Let the Christ . . . come down now from the cross, that we may see and believe"), Mark 15:34/Matt 27:46 (the cry of Jesus from the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"), and Mark 15:35-36/Matt 27:47-49 (the references to Eli-jah). Contrariwise, Luke 23:26ff. does contain certain Markan/Matthean details that are also lacking in John (the reference to Simon of Cyrene, the mocking of the chief priests/rulers, the darkness over all the land from the sixth hour to the ninth hour, the rending of the temple curtain, Jesus' final cry, and the reaction of the Roman centurion). Luke 23:26ff. also contain considerable material that is unique to Luke and which was probably drawn from some unknown source(s) or tradition(s). Moreover, Luke 23:26-49 (especially with regard to order) is quite independent overall of Mark/Matthew, and the various phenomena that are to be found in this section of Luke could well suggest that Luke 23:26-49 might well have been the result of an attempted blending by the third evangelist of several differing sources or traditions. The following episodes at least should be examined in some detail.

(1) The Journey to Golgotha

(Cf. Matt 27:32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26-32; John 19:17a)

Luke 23:26 is closely parallel to Mark 15:21/Matt 27:32, with Luke sharing eleven out of the nineteen words in vs. 26 with Mark 15:21 and six out of these nineteen words with Matt 27:32 (the Markan/Lukan phrase, "who was coming in from the country," is lacking in Matthew). This reference to Simon of Cyrene is lacking in John who claims that Jesus bore his own cross. On the other hand, while Mark/Matthew claim that they compelled Simon to carry Jesus' cross, Luke in particular emphasizes this fact, and V. Taylor could even write that "the statement that Simon carried the cross after Jesus is a correction of the tradition in Jn. xix. 17, that Jesus carried his own cross."⁷⁰ The remainder of this Lukan pericope (vss. 27-32)

70. V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Although this statement of Taylor may be stronger than the evidence warrants, it is true that Luke in particular emphasizes the fact that Jesus did not carry his own cross. But the fact that Luke here agrees with Mark/Matthew against John does not affect our thesis that John was one of the traditions that Luke was influenced by in the writing of his Gospel. Indeed, the fact that Luke sometimes agrees with John against both Matthew and Mark and sometimes with both Matthew and Mark against John could possibly indicate that Luke knew both of these differing traditions (Mark/Matthew and John) and was trying to moderate between them (cf. our conclusions, Sec. IX of this paper).

is peculiar to Luke although Luke does share the term, "two others" (vs. 32), with John 19:18.

(2) The Arrival at Golgotha

Mark 15:22-23

"And they brought him to the place called Golgotha (which means the place of a skull). And they offered him wine mingled with myrrh; but he did not take it."

John 19:17-18

"So they took Jesus . . . to the place called the place of a skull, which is called in Hebrew Golgotha. There they crucified him, and with him two others, one on either side, and Jesus between them."

Luke 23:33

"And when they came to the place which is called The Skull, there they crucified him, and the criminals, one on the right and one on the left."

A comparison of Luke 23:33 with Mark 15:22ff./Matt 27:33ff. discloses that Luke 23:33 has little in common with Mark/Matthew. Luke (vs. 33) does share ten of twenty-three words with Mark 15 (vss. 22, 24, 27), but only five of these words (καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, Κρανίου) occur in the same corresponding place in the Markan text (vs. 22) as they do in Luke, and six of these same Lukan words are also to be found in John (see below). Moreover, the Markan/Matthean claim that Jesus was offered "wine mingled with myrrh" to drink is lacking in the texts of both Luke and John. On the other hand, Luke 23:33 exhibits a number of close parallels to John 19:17-18, with the agreement between Luke and John with regard to the order of the material being especially remarkable, as the following chart demonstrates.

CHART X

The Agreement Between Luke 23:33 and John 19:17f. With Regard To Order

<u>The Order Of The Material</u>	<u>Luke 23:33</u>	<u>John 19:17-18</u>
The identification of the site of the crucifixion	ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίου	εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον Κρανίου τόπον ⁷¹
Followed immediately by the words that "there they crucified him." ⁷²	ἐκεῖ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν	ὅπου αὐτόν ἐσταύρωσαν

71. Cf. J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 1, who urges that John 19:17 should be translated, "to the place that is called 'The Skull,'" thus making it the virtual equivalent of Luke 23:33a (cf. also Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., p. 899).

72. In Mark/Matthew, this statement does not come until later in their narratives (cf. Mark 15:24/Matt 27:35).

The Order of
The Material

Luke 23:33

John 19:17-18

Followed immediately
by the reference to
the fact that two
others were also
crucified with him.⁷³

καὶ τοὺς κακούργους
ὃν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν
ὃν δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν

καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ
ἄλλους δύο
ἐντεῦθεν καὶ
ἐντεῦθεν μέσον
δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν

An analysis of the above chart discloses that Luke 23:33a ("And when they came to the place which is called The Skull, there they crucified him") shares six of its nine words with John 19:17b-18a ("to the place called the place of a skull . . . , there they crucified him"). Indeed, if the Johannine phrase, "which is called in Hebrew Golgotha," is omitted in our comparison of Luke 23:33a with John 19:17, then the verbal agreement between Luke and John becomes quite close, especially if the Johannine word order in P⁶⁶ is used. On the other hand, although Luke 23:33b ("one on the right and one on the left") agrees with the order of the material found in John 19:17-18, its wording generally agrees with the wording of a similar statement found in Mark 15:27/Matt 27:38. It is thus to be observed that Luke 23:33 is quite close to John 19:17b-18a, with Luke and John sharing the same order in the material, a considerable degree of verbal agreement, and the same omissions of Markan/Matthean material.

(3) The Casting of Lots for Jesus' Garments

(Cf. Matt 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; John 19:23-24)

John 19:24 is a direct quotation of Ps 22:18, while all the synoptists indirectly quote from this same OT passage. Of the seven Greek words found in Luke 23:34b (διαμεριζόμενοι δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἔβαλον κλήρον), six also are to be found in both Mark 15:24 and Matt 27:35 (but not in the same order) and five in John 19:24, with the form of the closing phrase in Luke 23:34b (ἔβαλον κλήρον) agreeing exactly with John 19:24b rather than with Mark 15:24/Matt 27:35.⁷⁴ Luke's statement is briefer than either Mark 15:24 or John 19:24b (cf. Matt 27:35b), with Luke 23:34b lacking the similar yet different statements that are to be found in Mark 15:24 ("to decide what each should take") and John 19:24 ("to see whose it shall be").

(4) The Mocking of Jesus

(Cf. Matt 27:39-44; Mark 15:29-32; Luke 23:35-43;
And John 19:29-30)

Mark/Matthew contain in considerable detail a description of the mocking of Jesus on Golgotha, first by "those who passed by"

73. In Mark/Matthew this fact is not mentioned until later in their Passion narratives (cf. Mark 15:27/Matt 27:38) in contrast to Luke 23:33 and John 19:18.

74. Matthew 27:35, like Luke 23:34, is quite brief, and (like Luke) lacks the Markan phrase, "to decide what each should take." Contrariwise, the closing Matthean phrase in vs. 35 (βάλλοντες

and then by the chief priests (Matthew possesses an additional phrase, "with the scribes and the elders"). John contains no allusion to the mocking of Jesus on Golgotha, although he does describe certain persons (presumably the Roman soldiers last mentioned in vs. 25⁷⁵) as offering Jesus "a sponge full of the vinegar on hyssop." Luke 23:35ff. lacks the mocking of Jesus by "those who passed by" (cf. Mark 15:29-30/Matt 27:39-40), but does describe the mocking of Jesus by "the rulers" in vs. 35, although his language is quite different from Mark 15:31-32/Matt 27:41-43, with Luke sharing only six of twenty-four words with Mark and just four of these same words with Matthew.

Luke then follows his description of the mocking of Jesus by "the rulers" by portraying some of the Roman soldiers as also mocking Jesus and offering him vinegar to drink (vss. 36-37). In the other gospels, the offering of vinegar to Jesus does not come until later in their Passion narratives (cf. Matt 27:48-49; Mark 15:36-37; John 19:29-30); nevertheless, there exist some interesting comparisons between the various gospels with relationship to this incident. In Mark/Matthew the vinegar is offered to Jesus by one of the bystanders; in John, although the agents are not identified ("they put a sponge full of the vinegar . . ."), they were probably some of the Roman soldiers,⁷⁶ while Luke explicitly asserts that Jesus was offered the vinegar by "the soldiers." In Mark/Matt, the bystander filled a sponge full of vinegar and put "it on a reed;" in John they put a sponge full of vinegar "on hyssop;" while Luke simply informs us that the soldiers offered "him vinegar," but does not tell us how they offered it to him. In Mark/Matthew (despite the confusion in the Markan text), this bystander is restrained by others from offering Jesus the vinegar to drink; in John, Jesus accepts the offered vinegar, while Luke does not inform us as to whether Jesus accepted the offered vinegar to drink or not (cf. vss. 36-38).

Moreover, with regard to the friends of Jesus who witnessed his crucifixion, while Mark/Matthew tell us only of certain women who looked "on from afar" (cf. Matt 27:55-56/Mark 15:40-41), Luke seems to agree with John in informing us that there were also some male "acquaintances" of Jesus who had watched his crucifixion (cf. Luke 23:49; John 19:25-27). As Raymond E. Brown has observed,

The agreement of John and Luke on this point should be evaluated in light of the fact that these are the two Gospels that mention appearances to the disciples in Jerusalem on the Sunday immediately after the Friday of the crucifixion.⁷⁷

*ληρον) agrees with Mark 15:24 rather than with Luke 23:34.

75. John 19 also mentions the presence of Roman soldiers in vss. 23, 32, and 34.

76. So Raymond E. Brown also concludes from the evidence (cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 909).

77. Raymond E. Brown, *ibid.*, p. 906. As Brown has also observed (p. 906), in contrast to Luke/John, "Mark xiv 50 and Matt xxvi 56 report that all the disciples fled when Jesus was arrested; correspondingly Mark and Matthew indicate that the first appearance of the risen Jesus to the disciples would or did take place in Galilee."

(5) Jesus' Last Words From the Cross

(Cf. Matt 27:46-47; Mark 15:34-35; Luke 23:34,39-43,46;
And John 19:26-30)

Although Luke describes three of Jesus' last words from the cross (vss. 34,43,46), all three are peculiar to Luke. On the other hand, the one cry of Jesus from the cross found in Mark 15:34/Matt 27:46 is not to be found in either Luke or John while the three last words found in John 19:26-30 have no parallel in any of the Synoptics. But this is the same phenomenon that we have discovered elsewhere in Luke; namely, that where Mark/Matthew and John contain completely differing traditions with regard to some segment of the tradition, that Luke has replaced the Markan/Matthean version of that incident with a unique version of his own (cf. Luke 5:1-11; 7:36-50; 19:37-40; 22:31-34, 63-65,66-71; 23:6-12; 24:lff., et. parr.). As V. Taylor's analysis⁷⁸ of these Lukan verses (i.e., vss. 34,39-43,46) discloses, Luke shares only five of ninety-eight words in these verses with Mark (the proper name, "Jesus," accounting for two of them), with the material in these verses being entirely peculiar to Luke.

(6) The Death of Jesus

(Cf. Matt 27:50-54; Mark 15:37-39; Luke 23:46-49;
And John 19:30)

Luke 23:46 has elements in common with both Mark 15:37/Matt 27:50 and John 19:30. Thus Luke agrees with Mark/Matthew in telling us that Jesus "uttered a loud cry" (although Luke's wording is somewhat different) just before he "breathed his last" (in this last phrase, Luke 23:46 agrees verbally quite closely with Mark 15:37). Contrariwise, Luke agrees with John in portraying Jesus as uttering his final word from the cross just before he died (cf. Luke 23:46a; John 19:30a). Moreover, as Raymond E. Brown has pointed out, the last words of Jesus as reported by John is close "in tone, at least, to the last words reported by Luke."⁷⁹ It should also be observed that Luke 23:46 and John 19:30 agree in referring to the spirit of Jesus in describing his death (cf. also Matt 27:50).⁸⁰ On the other hand, Luke 23:47 agrees with Mark 15:39/Matt 27:54 in reporting the praise of the Roman centurion, although Luke's wording is quite different, with only seven of the seventeen words in Luke 23:47 being also found in Mark 15:39 and just five of the seventeen words in Luke 23:47 being also found in Matt 27:54.

(N). The Burial of Jesus

(Cf. Matt 27:57-61; Mark 15:42-47; Luke 23:50-56;
And John 19:38-42)

78. Cf. Vincent Taylor, op. cit., p. 91.

79. Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., p. 930.

80. Thus Luke 23:46 ("Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit!") can well be compared to both Matt 27:50 ("Jesus cried again with a loud voice and yielded up his spirit") and John 19:30 ("And he bowed his head and gave up his spirit").

Although Luke agrees with Mark/Matthew against John in telling us that it was Joseph of Arimathea alone who took the body of Jesus down from the cross and buried it in a tomb (John 19:38-39 asserts that Nicodemus assisted Joseph of Arimathea in the burying of Jesus), Luke 23:53-54 nevertheless shares elements in common with both Mark 15:46/Matt 27:59-60 and John 19:41-42, as the following comparison demonstrates:

Mark 15:46

"And he brought a linen shroud, and taking him down, wrapped him in the linen shroud, and laid him in a tomb which had been hewn out of the rock; and he rolled a stone against the door of the tomb."

John 19:41-42

"Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new tomb where no one had ever been laid. So because of the Jewish day of Preparation, as the tomb was close at hand, they laid Jesus there."

Luke 23:53-54

"Then he took it down and wrapped it in a linen shroud, and laid him in a rock-hewn tomb, where no one had ever yet been laid. It was the day of Preparation, and the sabbath was beginning."

Observe that while Mark (15:46)/Matthew (27:60) assert that the body of Jesus was laid "in a tomb (Matthew has "in his own new tomb") which had been hewn out of the rock" and John (19:41) informs us that he was laid in "a new tomb where no one had ever been laid," Luke (23:53) seems to incorporate both of these features into his version of Jesus' burial when he tells us that Jesus was laid "in a rock-hewn tomb, where no one had ever yet been laid."⁸¹ Luke (23:54) also agrees with John (19:42) against Mark/Matthew by referring to "the day of Preparation" immediately after his description of the burial of Jesus (Mark mentions "the day of Preparation" at 15:42 prior to his description of the burial at 15:46, while Matthew does not refer to it at all in this pericope) and by omitting the Markan (15:46)/Matthean (27:60) passage that tells of Joseph of Arimathea rolling "a stone against the door of the tomb" after he had laid the body of Jesus in it. Luke 23:53-54 would thus seem to be a conflation of elements that are to be found in both the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine versions of the burial of Jesus.⁸²

Our study of the Lukan Passion narrative with relationship to the Passion narratives of Mark/Matthew and John would seem therefore to disclose the following factors: (1) Luke in his Passion narrative exhibits considerably less dependence upon the Markan/Matthean traditions than he does elsewhere in his gospel; (2) In these same passages Luke exhibits a large number of contacts and agreements with John (including both close ver-

81. Cf. J. H. Bernard's comment (*op. cit.*, II, p. 655) on John 19:41: "Thus Jn. agrees with Lk. in saying that the tomb had not been used before, and he uses almost the same words, substituting οὐδέποτε for οὐκ."

82. Thus V. Taylor (*op. cit.*, p. 101), in his analysis of this same pericope, concludes that this "investigation has shown that in the account of the burial Luke's source is Mark, without any clear sign of a second source except a knowledge of Johannine tradition."

bal agreements as well as agreements with regard to order of events) against both Mark and Matthew; (3) Luke 22-23 seems to contain a number of Johannisms (i.e., concepts and/or terms that in the NT occur with considerable frequency in the Johannine literature but seldom elsewhere); (4) Luke 22-23 contains a number of pericopes (e.g., 22:3-6, 47-53, 54-62, 66-71; 23:18-25, 32-38, 50-56) in which, outside of certain stylistic changes, there are no specific details that are not to be found in either Mark/Matthew or John; and (5) much of the peculiarly Lukan material in chs. 22-23 (i.e., Luke 22:15-20, 31-33, 43-44; 23:1-2, 6-12, 27-31, 39-43) occurs at those places in his narrative where the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine Passion traditions are found to be in decided disagreement.

VIII. THE RESURRECTION NARRATIVES

(Cf. Matt 28:1-20; Mark 16:1-8; Luke 24:1-53; And John 20:1-31)

Mark and Matthew contain resurrection traditions that are quite different from the traditions found in John, while the Lukan resurrection narrative is clearly different from both the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine. In fact, only in 24:1-10 does Luke's account possess any similarity to Mark/Matthew, and even in these verses Luke rarely agrees with both Mark and Matthew. Thus Luke (24:1) seems to take a middle position with Matthew (28:1) between Mark (16:2) and John (20:1) with regard to the time of day when the women went to the tomb (Luke states that it was "at early dawn," Matthew says "toward the dawn," Mark "when the sun had risen," and John "while it was still dark"). On the other hand, Luke (24:4) agrees with John (20:12) in mentioning two angels at the tomb (cf. also Acts 1:10) in contrast to Mark (16:5) and Matthew (28:2-4) who mention only one angel. Yet this is contrary to Luke's usage elsewhere, for in the other instances of similar difference (the Gerasene demoniacs and the blind men at Jericho)¹ where one synoptist (Matthew) mentioned two and the other synoptist (Mark) only one, in both instances Luke agreed with Mark in mentioning only one. The language of John 20:12 ("two angels in white") is even closer to Acts 1:10 ("two men . . . in white robes")² than it is to Luke 24:4 ("two men . . . in dazzling apparel").

Luke's description (24:5-7) of the words the angels said to the women is different from both the Markan (16:6-7) and the Matthean (28:5-7), while Luke (24:8-10), Matthew (28:8-10), and John (20:18) all disagree with Mark's statement (16:8) that after the women "fled from the tomb," they "said nothing to anyone." Thus, outside of Luke's basic agreement with Matthew regarding the time when the women arrived at the tomb and the fact that all the Synoptists tell of certain women, who went to the tomb early on the first day of the week (cf. Matt 28:1; Mark 16:1-2; Luke 24:1) and who found the stone "rolled away from the

1. Cf. the analysis by Alfred Plummer, op. cit., p. 547.

2. Thus the Greek of John 20:12 (δύο ἀγγέλους ἐν λευκαῖς) exhibits a basic resemblance to the Greek of Acts 1:10 (ἄνδρες δύο . . . ἐν ἑσθήσεσι λευκαῖς).

tomb" and the tomb empty (cf. Matt 28:2-5; Mark 16:3-6; Luke 24:2-3), Luke's resurrection narrative bears little similarity to either the Matthean or the Markan,³ while Luke 24:13ff. has no counterpart in either Matthew or Mark.

Yet Luke 24 does exhibit a number of verbal and conceptual contacts with John 20. Thus both Luke and John begin their resurrection narratives with identical wording ($\tau\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\tau\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon$), and they also agree in making the assertion, in quite comparable language (cf. Luke 24:2; John 20:1b), that when the women arrived at the tomb (although John 20:1ff. mentions only Mary Magdalene, John 20:2b ("we do not know where they have laid him")) would seem to imply that there were other women who had gone to the tomb with Mary Magdalene), they found that the stone had already been "rolled away from the tomb." In addition, neither Luke nor John mention the fact (in contrast to Mark 16:4/Matt 27:60) that the stone "was very large," nor do they place any emphasis on this fact, as do both Mark (16:4) and Matthew (27:60; 28:2). Moreover, while Luke 24:1-11 does contain some material peculiar to Luke (esp. in vss. 5-7), when Luke 24:1-11 is compared with both Mark 16:1-8/Matt 28:1-10 and John 20:1-12, then it will be found that outside of vss. 5-7,⁴ Luke 24:1-11 contains few phrases that do not have a parallel in either Mark 16/Matt 28 or John 20, as the following chart discloses.

CHART XI

Luke 24:1-11 And Its Closest NT Parallels

<u>Verse #</u>	<u>Luke 24:1-11</u>	<u>The Closest NT Parallels To Luke 24:1-11</u>
1	But on the first day of the week	Now on the first day of the week (John 20:1a)
	at early dawn	toward the dawn (Matt 28:1a)
	they went to the tomb	they went to the tomb (Mark 16:2a)

3. Cf. the analysis of Luke 24:1-11 by V. Taylor (*op. cit.*, pp. 103-109). Thus, Taylor not only points out that Luke 24:1-11 shares only 37 out of 163 words with Mark 16 (22.7%), but also the fact that "the substance of the two narratives in Luke and Mark varies considerably." Taylor then goes on to argue that, "in view of the fidelity with which Luke records sayings in his sources, it is difficult to believe that he has transformed the Markan message in this drastic way," and then urges that Luke 24:1-11 must therefore be based on a non-Markan source with just a few Markan insertions (p. 108). But this argument is based on the fidelity with which Luke followed his Markan source in the pure triple tradition. There are, however, other options that are available, including the one advanced by Schramm that at many places Luke modified his basic source due to the influence of other differing traditions upon Luke. This option would seem possible with regard to Luke 24:1-11, especially in view of the many contacts that Luke 24:1-11 seems to have with John 20:1-18.

4. Interestingly, the words of the angels in John 20:13 bears no resemblance to the angelic message found in Mark 16:6-7/Matt 28:5-7, a phenomenon we have encountered elsewhere in Luke.

<u>Verse #</u>	<u>Luke 24:1-11</u>	<u>The Closest NT Parallels</u> ⁸³ <u>To Luke 24:1-11</u>
	taking the spices which they had prepared	bought spices, so that they might go and anoint him (Mark 16:1b)
2	And they found the stone rolled away from the tomb	And saw that the stone had been taken away from the tomb (John 20:1b)
3	But when they went in they did not find the body	(Mark 16:5-6 and John 20:2, 6-8 both exhibit a certain similarity in both form and vocabulary to Luke 24:3)
4	While they were perplexed about this	(No close parallel exists to Luke 24:4a in any of the other gospels)
	Behold, two men stood by them in dazzling apparel	And she saw two angels in white (John 20:12a)
5-7	(These verses are peculiar to Luke)	
8	And they remembered his words	(Verse 8 is also peculiar to Luke, although a similar expression is to be found at John 2:22b). ⁵
9	And returning from the tomb	So they departed quickly from the tomb (Matt 28:8a)
	they told all this to the eleven and to all the rest	Mary Magdalene went . . . to the disciples . . . ; and she told them that he had said these things to her. ⁶ (John 20:18)
10	(Luke's naming of the women who had gone to the tomb)	(Luke's list seems to be the closest to Mark 16:1, al- though even here there are some important differences)
11	But these words, seemed to them an idle tale, and they did not believe them.	This verse is peculiar to Luke, having no words in common with either Mark or Matthew (but cf. John 20: 25c). ⁷

5. In John 2:22b, John informs us that after his resurrection, "his disciples remembered that he had said this," a statement that is quite comparable to the Lukan expression, "And they remembered his words" (Luke 24:8).

6. Thus Luke 24:9 agrees with both Matthew 28:8 and John 20:18 that the women returned from the tomb and told the disciples all they had heard in decided contrast to Mark 16:8 which asserts that the women "said nothing to anyone."

7. However, Luke 24:11b ("and they did not believe them") does bear a slight resemblance to the words of Thomas found in John 20:25c ("I will not believe").

An analysis of Luke 24:1-11 discloses the fact that while Luke shares 37 of 163 words with Mark 16:1-8 (or 21.4%), Luke 24:1-11 also has 28 words in common with John 20:1-18 (or 17.2%). Indeed, if vs. 12 of Luke 24 should ever prove to be an authentic part of the Lukan resurrection narrative,⁸ then the number of Greek words that Luke 24:1-12 has in common with John 20:1-18 rises to 41 out of 181 for an even higher number of words than Luke 24:1-12 has in common with either Mark 16:1-8 or Matthew 28:1-10.

Luke 24 (as well as Acts 1:6-11 and Acts 13:31) also agrees with John 20 in placing all of Jesus' resurrection appearances in Jerusalem or its vicinity in contrast to Mark 16:1-8 and Matthew 28:1-20. Moreover, Acts 13:31 (which claims that Jesus appeared to his disciples over a period of "many days") would seem to agree even more closely with John 20 than does Luke 24. In addition, Luke 24:13-53 seems to follow the same basic format as does John 20:11-29 (albeit with distinctive and unique resurrection traditions), by following up the discovery of the empty tomb with a personal manifestation of Jesus (in Luke 24:13-32, Jesus appears to two disciples on the road to Emmaus and in John 20:11-18 Jesus manifests himself to Mary Magdalene), and this manifestation of Jesus is then followed in both Luke (24:33ff.) and John (20:19ff.) by an appearance of Jesus to his gathered disciples in Jerusalem on the evening of the same day. In addition, both Luke 24:36 and John 20:19 depict Jesus as suddenly appearing to his disciples, as they were gathered together in Jerusalem, and both contain the statement, "Jesus (himself) stood among them," in quite comparable language.

Indeed, if the "so-called Western non-interpolations" in Luke 24:36,40 should be found to be an authentic part of the Lukan narrative (as Aland, Jeremias, Snodgrass, the 26th. Edition of the Nestle/Aland Greek New Testament and the 2nd Edition of the UBS text have urged, an argument that is supported by the witness of P⁷⁵ to the longer text of Luke 24:3,6,9,12,36,40,51,52), then Luke 24:36-40 exhibits a remarkable parallelism to John 20:19-20,26b-27. Although Raymond E. Brown regards Luke 24:36b,40 as later additions to the Lukan text, he has, nevertheless, called our attention to the close parallels that exist between Luke 24:36-40 and John 20:19-20, when he wrote,

A direct parallel to John xx is found in the Western Non-interpolations of Luke xxiv 36 and 40, namely, "'Peace to you,' he said" and "And when he had said this, he showed them his hands and his feet." Except for the Lucan reference to the feet . . . , this is verbatim the same as the end of vs. 19 and the beginning of vs. 20 in John xx.⁹

8. There seems to be an increasing tendency by some NT scholars to accept as authentic the so-called "Western non-interpolations" of Luke 24. E.g., vs. 12 of Luke 24 (plus five other previously questioned texts of Luke 24) will be accepted without reservation in the twenty-sixth edition of the Nestle/Aland New Testament. Cf. also Kurt Aland, "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri" II, NTS 12 (1965-66), pp. 193-210, J. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-59, or Klyne Snodgrass, "Western Non-Interpolations," JBL, 91 (1972), pp. 369-79.

9. Raymond E. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 1028. Brown also goes on to state that "since these verses are essential to John's account but are not really essential to Luke, we may suppose that at a late stage in the editing of Luke someone added these words

If we set these passages down in two parallel columns, then the extensive similarity between Luke 24:36-40 and John 20:19ff. becomes readily apparent.

CHART XII

A Comparison of Luke 24:36-40 and John 20:19-20,27Luke 24:36-40

As they were saying this
Jesus himself
stood among them,
 (vs. 36a)

and he said to them,
"Peace be with you."
 (vs. 36b)

(Vss. 37-38)

"See my hands and my feet,
 that it is I myself;
 handle me, and see;
 for a spirit has not flesh and
 bones as you see that I have."
 (vs. 39)

And when he had said this,
he showed them his hands
and his feet.
 (vs. 40)

John 20:19-20,27

On the evening of that day
 . . . , Jesus came and
stood among them¹⁰
 (vs. 19a)

and said to them,
"Peace be with you."¹¹
 (vs. 19b)

(No close parallel in John)

Then he said to Thomas,
 "Put your finger here,
 and see my hands;
 and put out your hand, and
 place it in my side;
 do not be faithless, but
 believing."
 (vs. 27)

When he had said this,
he showed them his hands
and his side.
 (vs. 20a)

An examination of the above passages discloses that Luke and John are in agreement about the following factors: (1) Jesus appeared suddenly to his gathered disciples in Jerusalem (cf. Luke 24:33,36a; John 20:19a) on the evening of the day he arose from the dead (cf. Luke 24:29; John 20:19); (2) Luke 24:36a and John 20:19a are in virtual verbatim agreement regarding the manner of Jesus' appearance to his gathered disciples; (3) This is followed in both Luke 24:36b and John 20:19b by the statement that Jesus said to the disciples, "Peace be unto you;" (4) This is followed in both Luke (24:37-38) and John (20:24-25) by questionings on the part of the disciples (as in Luke) or by Thomas (as in John) concerning the reality of Jesus' resurrec-

taken from an early form of the Johannine tradition." But if Luke 24:36,40 (as well as vs. 12) should turn out to be an authentic part of Luke 24, then the possibility increases that Luke may have been influenced by some early form of the Johannine tradition in the writing of his gospel.

10. Cf. also John 20:26b for another Johannine statement that stands in close verbal agreement with Luke 24:36a.

11. Cf. John 20:26c ("and said, 'Peace be with you'") for another Johannine statement that agrees closely with Luke 24:36b.

tion; (5) Both Luke (24:39) and John (20:27) depict Jesus as inviting the disciples (in John, the invitation is addressed to Thomas) in quite similar language to "see my hands" and to touch him; and (6) both Luke 24:40 and John 20:20 contain the statement, in virtual verbatim language, that "when he had said this, he showed them his hands." Indeed, the only real disagreement between these two latter passages is that while Luke adds the phrase, "and his feet," John adds instead, "and his side." It thus seems to us, that whether one accepts vss. 12, 36b, and 40 of Luke as authentic or not, that Luke 24 does exhibit a number of important agreements and contacts with John 20, with the material in these Lukan verses in question merely increasing the number of verbal and conceptual contacts that exist between the Lukan and the Johannine resurrection narratives.

IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our examination of the Lukan agreements with John against both Mark and Matthew has disclosed the existence in Luke of certain phenomena that may be summarized as follows.

(1) Although Luke normally follows his basic Markan/Matthean source quite closely, Luke nevertheless exhibits a large number of agreements with John against both Mark and Matthew in those sections of his narrative that he shares with John as well as with Mark and Matthew (e.g., the extent of the Baptist's ministry, one multiplication, the place of Jesus' prediction of Peter's three-fold denial, a double question concerning Jesus' messiahship and divine sonship, three assertions by Pilate of Jesus' innocence, the double cry, "crucify, crucify him," two angels at the tomb, the locale of Jesus' post-resurrection appearances).

(2) In a number of places Luke seems to take a middle position between the Markan/Matthean and the Johannine traditions (e.g., the identity of John the Baptist, the locale of Jesus' ministry, Judas' kiss of betrayal, Jesus' trial before the Sanhedrin, the time of day when the women came to the tomb).

(3) Luke omits a number of the Markan/Matthean passages, phrases, or details that are in disagreement with the information contained in the comparable pericopes in John, as the following chart demonstrates:

CHART XIII

Details About Which Mark/Matthew And John Are In Disagreement And Which Are Lacking In Luke

<u>Mark/Matthew</u>	<u>John</u>	<u>Comparable Passage In Luke</u>
Identified John the Baptist with Elijah (cf. Mark 9:9-13/ Matt 17:9-13)	Depicts John as saying, "I am not" (Elijah) (1:21)	3:1-6 and 9:36-38

<u>Mark/Matthew</u>	<u>John</u>	<u>Comparable</u> <u>Passage In</u> <u>Luke</u>
"Shall we go and buy two hundred denarii worth of bread?" (Mark 6:37)	"Two hundred denarii would not buy enough bread for each of them to get a little." (6:7)	9:12-14
Locates Peter's confession of faith in "Caesarea Philippi" (Mark 8:27/ Matt 16:13)	Locates Peter's confession near Capernaum (cf. 6:24-25)	9:10-22
"More than three hundred denarii" (Mark 14:5)	"Three hundred denarii" (12:5)	7:37
"All the disciples forsook him, and fled" (Mark 14:50/Matt 26:56)	"Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple." (18:15)	22:53-54
Pilate scourged Jesus just before delivering him to be crucified. (Mark 15:15/Matt 27:26)	Pilate scourged Jesus earlier during his trial (19:1)	23:15-26
One bystander offers Jesus vinegar, but others said to him, "Wait." (Mark 15:34-36/ Matt 27:46-49)	Jesus is offered vinegar and he takes it (cf. 19:29-30)	23:44-66

(4) Although Luke never substitutes his own version of an incident for a Markan/Matthean pericope in any of the 47 pericopes that he shares with only Mark and Matthew, in several instances in those sections of his gospel that Luke shares with all three of his co-evangelists, he substitutes his own unique version of an event (cf. Luke 5:1-11; 7:36-50; 22:31-34, 63-65, 66-71; 23:6-12, 39-43; 24:5-7, 13ff. et. parr.) in place of the form of the incident described in Mark/Matthew (and usually at another place in his narrative), and these instances in Luke occur at precisely those places in his narrative where John is found to be in decisive disagreement with Mark and Matthew.

(5) The Gospel of Luke contains at least nine passages (i.e., 3:16; 7:37-38; 22:3, 59, 67-70; 23:3-4, 22, 53; 24:1-3) in which a Markan/Matthean phrase or detail that is not to be found in John and a Johannine phrase or detail that is not to be found in either Mark or Matthew are to be found joined together in a single statement or saying in the comparable pericope in Luke.¹

1. A considerable number of scholars today believe that several passages found in Papyrus Egerton 2 are the result of the conflation of Synoptic and Johannine statements in these passages (e.g., cf. Robert M. Grant, The Formation of the New Testament, pp. 115-19; F. -M. Braun, Jean Théologien, I, pp. 87-94; or Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., pp. lxxxiii, 138, 229-30). Yet these nine Lukan passages exhibit some phenomena that would seem to resemble the phenomena found in Papyrus Egerton 2.

(6) Although Luke follows the Markan/Matthean order with great fidelity in those sections of his narrative that have no parallel in John, in those portions of his text that he shares with all three of his co-evangelists, Luke frequently agrees with the order found in John against the order of events that are to be found in Mark/Matthew, (see above, Sections I, VII, & VIII, noticing especially Charts I, VIII, & IX).

(7) A considerable number of close verbal parallels also exist between Luke and John (e.g., Luke 3:16a,b,d = John 1:26a, b,27b; Luke 7:38b = John 12:3b; Luke 9:32 = John 1:14; Luke 16:8b = John 12:36; Luke 19:38 = John 12:13; Luke 22:3 = John 13:27; Luke 22:34 = John 13:38; Luke 22:58b = John 18:17b; Luke 22:67a = John 10:24b; Luke 22:67b = John 10:25a; Luke 22:70b = John 18:37b; Luke 23:3 = John 18:33; Luke 23:4 = John 18:38b; Luke 23:18 = John 18:40; Luke 23:21 = John 19:6a; Luke 23:22b = John 19:6b; Luke 23:23a = John 19:15; Luke 23:33 = John 19:17; Luke 23:33b = John 19:18; Luke 23:34b = John 19:24; Luke 23:53b = John 19:41b; Luke 24:1a = John 20:1a; Luke 24:2 = John 20:1c; Luke 24:4 = John 20:12a; Luke 24:36a = John 20:19c; Luke 24:36b = John 20:19d; Luke 24:40 = John 20:20). In addition to the parallel passages that we have examined in the course of our study, the following close verbal parallels that exist between Luke and John should be noticed:

St. Luke

St. John

οὐ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς λῦσαι
τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων
αὐτοῦ (3:16^a)

καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν
δώδεκα² (6:13)

εἶδον τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ
(9:32)

τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτός³
(16:8b)

οὐ φωνήσει· σήμερον ἀλέκτωρ
ἕως τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ
εἰδέναί (22:34b)

οὐ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω
αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ
ὑποδήματος (1:2^b)

Οὐκ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δώδεκα
ἐξελεξάμην (6:70^b)

ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ
(1:14)

υἱοὶ φωτός
(12:36)

οὐ μὴ ἀλέκτωρ φωνήσῃ
ἕως οὐ ἀρνήσῃ με τρίς
(13:38^b)

2. Mark/Matthew never use the verb "to choose" (ἐξελέξατο) of Jesus' selection of the twelve. But Luke does use this verb ("to choose") of the selection of the twelve at Acts 1:2 as well as here at Luke 6:13. This same verb is also the one John uses in all of his references to Jesus' selection of the twelve (cf. John 6:70; 13:18; 15:16).

3. See the observation of James H. Charlesworth ("A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in IQS III, 13 - IV, 26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Fourth Gospel," NTS, 15 ((1968-69)), p. 414) that Luke's use of "the sons of light" at 16:8 is "peculiarly non-Lucan and appears to belong to his sources."

καὶ ἀφεῖλεν τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ
τὸ δεξιόν (22:50)

Ἐὰν ὑμῖν εἴπω, οὐ μὴ
πιστεύετε (22:67b)

Καὶ ἦν ἡδὴ ὥσει ὥρα
ἔκρη (23:44)

τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν
σαββάτων (24:1a)

καὶ ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τὸ
ὠτόριον τὸ δεξιόν (18:10)

Εἶπον ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐ
πιστεύετε (10:25a)

ὥρα ἦν ὥς ἔκρη
(19:14b)

τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν
σαββάτων (20:1a)

An analysis of these verbatim or nearly verbatim parallels that exist between Luke and John discloses not only that many more such parallels exist between Luke and John (over 30) than exist between either Mark and John (14) or Matthew and John (10), but also that these Lukan/Johannine parallels agree more closely with regard to details and vocabulary than do any of John's parallels with either Mark or Matthew.⁴ Moreover, these close verbal parallels that exist between Luke and John stand in marked contrast to the manner in which John handled his only known extant source, the OT, for John's quotations in almost every instance exhibit considerable variation from every known text of the OT.⁵ Hence, despite the possibility that some of John's OT quotations may stand closer to the form of the OT text found at Qumran⁶ than they do to either the LXX or the MT, D. Moody Smith, Jr., would still seem to be correct when he writes that John's "quotations are consistent only in their inconsistency with any known text."⁷ Yet several of the parallels that exist between Luke and John exhibit almost exact verbatim agreement (this is especially true of Luke 3:16a,d/John 1:26a,27b; Luke 19:38/John 12:13; Luke 22:3/John 13:27; Luke 22:34b/John 13:38b; Luke 22:67a/John 10:24b; Luke 22:70b/John 18:37b; Luke 23:44/John 19:14b; Luke 23:53/John 19:41b; and Luke 24:1a/John 20:1a) in contrast to the many variations that exist between all of John's

4. E.g., Raymond E. Brown (*op. cit.*, pp. 236-50), in his comparison of John's version of the feeding of the five thousand (6:1-14) with Mark's (6:30-44), observes that even in those places where John is close to Mark, "there is no identity; the vocabulary is different . . . and the ability of the sum to suffice differs" (cf. Mark 6:37 and John 6:7).

5. E.g., cf. C. Goodwin, "How Did John Treat His Sources," JBL, 73 (1954), pp. 61-75; B. Noack, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-89; or Robert M. Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

6. See J. de Waard ("A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament" ((*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah IV*))), who urges that the OT quotations found in John 12:40 and 13:8 are closer to the form of the OT text found at Qumran than they are to either the LXX or the MT.

7. D. Moody Smith, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 63.

OT quotations and every known text of the OT. Especially when one considers the high view of the OT which is to be found in John (cf. John 1:45; 5:39; 7:22-23; 10:34-36),⁸ then it seems unlikely to us that John would have frequently used Luke more exactly than he used the OT. On the other hand, many of these Lukan/Johannine verbal parallels are actually quite similar (cf. above, esp. Section VII) to the manner in which Luke normally handled his basic Markan/Matthean source (e.g., verbal agreement reaching 75% or more in single sayings or sentences, the substitution of characteristic Lukan words or phrases for Markan/Matthean words at places, and the improving of the Greek grammar or structure where it was rough in his primary source).

(8) The Lukan/Johannine agreements occur mainly between Luke and the Judean narratives of John and, except for the contacts between Luke 9 and John 6, they resemble what Pierson Parker has suggested was the first edition of John.⁹ E. Lohmeyer has also urged that Luke's Gospel reflected the traditions of the primitive community in Jerusalem,¹⁰ while our own study has disclosed that a considerable number of contacts do exist between Luke/Acts and these Johannine Judean narratives. The additional fact (see above, Sec. III, footnote #10) that John frequently agrees with the Judean narratives of Acts against all the Synoptists suggests the possibility that the Johannine tradition may be Judean in origin.¹¹

(9) The Lukan/Johannine agreements against Mark/Matthew also occur almost entirely between Luke and the narrative sections of John (i.e., the narratives describing John the Baptist, the first disciples, a couple of signs, the anointing, the entry, the passion and resurrection), passages that if joined together would seem to resemble what could have been an early form of the

8. Cf. Pierson Parker, "John the Son of Zebedee and the Fourth Gospel," JBL, 81 (1962), pp. 38-39, who observes that "the saying, 'The Scripture cannot be broken,' puts our author, and Jesus himself, in line with the strictest Jewish conception of verbal inspiration."

9. Cf. Pierson Parker, "Two Editions of John," JBL, 75 (1956), pp. 303-14.

10. Cf. E. Lohmeyer, *Galiläa und Jerusalem*.

11. There is increasing evidence from other directions also that the *Sitz im Leben* for the Johannine tradition was possibly Judea. Thus James H. Charlesworth (op. cit., pp. 416-18), on the basis of the parallels that exist between John and LQS III-IV, has written that "it now appears that it is increasingly probable that we should look to Palestine for the milieu which gave birth to Johannine theology" (cf. also J. A. T. Robinson, op. cit., pp. 98ff.; K. Schubert, *The Dead Sea Community*, pp. 152-3; J. Reuss, *Die Qumran-Funde und die Bibel*, pp. 114-19). J. de Waard (op. cit.) has also presented evidence (see above, Sec. IX, n. 6) that indicates that John may have known the form of the OT text found at Qumran. Raymond E. Brown (op. cit., p. lxi) has also pointed out that "in passages like 3:4; 4:6, 12; 7:38; and 12:41, John may be citing the Palestinian Targums rather than the Hebrew Bible," while other writers have produced evidence which would seem to indicate that the author of John was familiar with Jerusalem and Judea prior to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 (e.g., cf. W. F. Albright, op. cit., pp. 158-60; J. Jeremias, *Die Wiederentdeckung von Bethesda*; C. H. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 244-5; Raymond E. Brown, op. cit., pp. xlii-xliii; or E. Stauffer, "Historische Elemente im vierten Evangelium," *Homiletica en Biblica*).

gospel. Indeed, these Johannine passages that contain agreements with Luke against Mark/Matthew comprise a narrative that is remarkably similar to W. Wilkens' delineation of the first literary stage in the development of the fourth gospel (i.e., an actual gospel consisting of a collection of signs as well as much of the present narrative material).¹²

All of the foregoing considerations would seem to suggest that the relationship which may exist between the Gospels of Luke and John stands in need of careful re-examination. Indeed, it seems to this writer at the present time that possibly a better explanation¹³ of all the phenomena we have examined

12. Cf. Wilhelm Wilkens, Zeichen und Werke: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des 4. Evangeliums in Erzählungs- und Redestoff (1969). For a contrary position, see R. Bultman, op. cit., and most recently, Robert T. Fortna, op. cit. On the other hand, E. Schweizer (Ego eimi) and E. Ruckstuhl (Die literarische Einheit des Johannesevangeliums) have produced strong stylistic-statistical arguments against any theory of the extensive usage of sources by John, while E. Kasemann ("Ketzer und Zeuge, zum johanneischen Verfasser-problem," ZTK, 48 ((1951)), pp. 292-311) has reacted against Bultmann's extensive formulation of his source theory (see also, D. Moody Smith, Jr., The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel). Similarly, Raymond E. Brown (op. cit., pp. xxix-xxxii) concluded his critique of Bultmann's theory by writing that "we cannot help but judge that the theory suffers under almost insuperable difficulties." Fortna has, however, greatly refined the application of the source-critical method to John, although it does not seem to us that he has completely answered the stylistic research of Schweizer and Ruckstuhl, for some of the stylistic characteristics would more naturally be found in the narrative material and vice versa, and 19% of Ruckstuhl's Johannine characteristics are found in what Fortna claims was John's narrative source, although this source comprises only about 32% of the present gospel. Moreover, the many divergences that John makes from every extant text of the OT demonstrates the difficulty that any writer faces in attempting to reconstruct a supposed source from the present gospel. Yet, as D. Moody Smith, Jr., has written in his review of Fortna's monograph (JBL, 89 ((1970)), p. 501), "at the very least, Fortna has isolated the Johannine tradition and in so doing has shown its independence of the synoptic gospels." Interestingly though, Fortna's reconstruction of the supposed narrative source underlying the fourth gospel (a collection of signs, the Baptist narratives, the anointing, the entry, ch. 13, the passion, and other narrative material) is quite similar both to Wilken's first stage of John's literary development and our own delineation of those Johannine passages with which Luke is in agreement against both Mark and Matthew.

13. All the phenomena that we have discovered in the text of Luke suggests that any adequate theory with relationship to the origin of Luke will be more complex than any conceivable version of "the two source theory." We thus agree with E. P. Sanders (op. cit., p. 279) when he writes that "I rather suspect that when and if a new view of the Synoptic problem becomes accepted, it will be more flexible and complicated than the tidy two-document hypothesis."

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 in this study¹⁴ might well be the hypothesis that Luke was influenced by some early form of the developing Johannine tradition in the writing of his gospel rather than vice versa. Moreover, Luke's frequent omission of Markan/Matthean pericopes or details that are in decided disagreement with the comparable passages in John (cf. above, Sec. IX, Items 3-4) and the several instances in Luke of what appears to be a possible conflation of Markan/Matthean and Johannine phrases or details by the third evangelist (cf. above, Sec. IX, Item 5) suggests the additional possibility that perhaps one of Luke's motives in his seeking to write a "vita Jesus" was his attempt to reconcile the differing Markan/Matthean and Johannine traditions, and thus to write, as Luke himself declared in the preface of his gospel (Luke 1:1-4), "an orderly account" of the "things which have been accomplished among us."

Our examination of the text of Luke in comparison with the comparable passages in Mark/Matthew and John would therefore seem to warrant the following conclusions: (1) Any theory relating to the origin and composition of the Gospel of Luke would certainly appear to need to be more complex than the usual exposition of the "two source hypothesis;" (2) Luke's frequent departures from or alterations of his primary Markan/Matthean source suggests that, in addition to Mark (or Matthew), Luke knew and was influenced by other differing traditions in the writing of his gospel; (3) All the phenomena we have attempted to analyze in this paper would also seem to suggest that among those non-Markan/Matthean traditions or sources that Luke knew and which influenced him in the writing of his gospel was some early form of the developing Johannine traditions; (4) It thus seems likely that Luke made use of at least four important traditions (either written or oral) or sources (Mark/Matthew, a "Q" source or sources, special Lukan traditions (or possibly even a "Proto-Lukan source")), and some early form of the Johannine tradition) in the writing of his "vita Jesu," and (5) the possibility that the Gospel of Luke may have been "the mediating

14. This conclusion is based upon a number of factors, among which at least the following should again be noted and summarized: (a) While Luke normally followed the Markan/Matthean traditions quite closely in the pure triple tradition, in those pericopes that Luke shares with all three of his co-evangelists, Luke frequently departs from the form of the tradition to be found in Mark/Matthew to either agree with John against Mark/Matthew or to take a middle position between John and Mark/Matthew; (b) In the quadruple tradition, Luke frequently omits Markan/Matthean details or pericopes that contain information that is in definite disagreement with material to be found in the comparable Johannine passages; (c) In those pericopes that Luke shares only with Mark/Matthew, the verbal agreement between Luke and Mark/Matthew is quite high, ranging from a low of 51% to as high as 79%, while in those pericopes that Luke shares with John as well as with Mark/Matthew (except for Luke 19:45-46 et. parr.), Luke's verbal agreement with Mark/Matthew averages less than 20%, only once exceeds 40% (at 23:50-56), and is frequently less than 10%; and (d) in those pericopes that Luke shares with all three of his co-evangelists, Luke not only exhibits over thirty close verbal agreements with John, but in these same pericopes Luke sometimes has almost as many words in common with John (cf. above, esp. Sections VII-VIII) as he does with Mark/Matthew as well as using certain words or concepts that outside of the few occurrences in Luke/Acts that have a Johannine parallel are almost peculiar to John in the NT and which can reasonably be described as Johannisms.

Gospel" of the early church, a gospel that attempted to reconcile the differing traditions that had developed in the first forty-fifty years in primitive Christianity, and thus to present to the world of that day (ca. A.D. 75-90) an orderly account of the life of Christ that would at the same time seek to do justice to the valid viewpoints contained in the various traditions that had developed by that time within the different segments of primitive Christianity.

Thus, if the above arguments are found to have any validity, then the possibility that Luke knew and was influenced by some early form of the developing Johannine traditions (or perhaps even by an early edition of the original Gospel of John) in his writing of his "Vita Jesu" will not only be found to be an hypothesis deserving of consideration by NT scholarship, but will also be found to be an hypothesis that can make a contribution to our understanding of the development of the life and thought of early Christianity which could throw additional light upon some of the many complicated problems yet confronting the student of our canonical gospels.

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"For no thought is contented. The better sort,-
 As thoughts of things divine,-are intermix'd
 With scruples, and do set the word itself
 Against the word:
 As thus,-'Come, little ones'; and then again,-
 'It is as hard to come as for a camel
 To thread the postern of a needle's eye.'"
 (Shakespeare's *King Richard II*, V, 5)

"The cancellings, the negations are never
 ultimate, are never one last wipe
 that clears the lens, a farewell
 to supersession, finale of ruin."
 (R. Howard, "Prose for Borges,"

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A recent work on the Servant parables included seven pericopes in this category and investigated them on all three levels of the transmission (Jesus, community, evangelist).¹ This present study is exclusively interested in the level of the historical Jesus and most especially concerned with the meaning of these parables for Jesus himself as distinct from any later meaning in the usage of the primitive communities. It seeks to take seriously recent suggestions that Jesus had a radically different functional purpose for his parables than that which interested the primitive church. Above all it wishes to delineate as carefully as possible which parables are to be included as Servant parables and to study the unity and diversity within this theme.²

I. The Theme of the Servant.

The first and most important point is the exact delineation of the theme: what parables are to be included in the category of Servant parables? Alfons Weiser's book studied seven parables: the Wicked Husbandmen (Mark 12:1-9; Matt 21:33-41; Luke 20:9-16), the Great Supper (Matt 22:1-14; Luke 14:16-24), the Unmerciful Servant (Matt 18:23-35), the Servant's Reward (Luke 17:7-10), the Doorkeeper (Mark 13:33-37; Luke 12:35-38), the Overseer (Matt 24:45-51; Luke 12:42-46), and the Talents (Matt 25:14-30; Luke 19:12-27). His criterion is not that explicitly clear (pp. 45-46) but seems to include both theme (the centrality of the master-servant relationship) and term (for instance, the use of *δοῦλος*). Thus he distinguishes: (i) Servant parables properly so called: the Unmerciful Servant, Servant's Reward, Doorkeeper, Overseer, Talents; (ii) Servant parables in a looser sense: Wicked Husbandmen, Great Supper; (iii) parables which include servants but are excluded from the study: Wheat and Darnel, Prodigal Son, Going to Judgment (servants not central); the Vineyard Workers (*τοὺς ἐργάτας* in Matt 20:8) and the Unjust Steward (*οἰκονόμον* in Luke 16:1) which pertain to the subject matter "weder terminologisch noch thematisch."

This classification is not secure enough to form the basis for a thematic study. Too much emphasis on the presence or absence of any special word for servant is peculiarly vulnerable to criticism on the level of the historical Jesus where *ipsisima verba* are probably out of the question. One also notes the wide variety of power and authority given to the servant in

the parables of rabbinic Judaism: he can be a household slave or a very important court official.

The criterion suggested in this paper involves two axes: a master-servant relationship or superior-subordinate relationship and a moment of critical reckoning between them. Servant parables are those whose central story line concerns such a relationship at some instance of critical confrontation between master and servant. No point will be made concerning the use of this or that term for the servant, or for the master either. The term used for the servant or master may be of some significance on the traditional or redactional levels of the transmission (for example, the servants in the Wicked Husbandmen or the Great Supper) but it cannot be presumed to be of significance for Jesus and then used as a norm for selecting Servant parables.

In the light of this criterion nine parables will have to be studied. These can be indicated in comparison with those used by A. Weiser. The Great Supper is excluded because it does not center on the common theme of master-servant reckoning. Master and guests are central and the servants are simply functional messengers in the story. The Wicked Husbandmen (but as in Gos Thom 93:1-15) will be accepted but the critical confrontation is between master and tenants (as servants or subordinates) and not between the master and those servants who function merely as messengers. Six of Weiser's parables will be kept as they focus on the twin axes of the theme: the Doorkeeper, Unmerciful Servant, Overseer, Talents, with the Throne Claimant (Luke 19: 12b, 14-15a, 27) as a separate problem, and the Servant's Reward. But two more parables will have to be added as well: the Unjust Steward (as Luke 16:1-7) and the Vineyard Workers (as Matt 20: 1-13) since, whatever the term used for the subordinate, these both involve a master-servant or superior-subordinate relationship at a crisis of reckoning.

The order in which these parables will be studied is important for the present understanding of their thematic unity. It is not implied that Jesus created them in this order or uttered them in this sequence. No matter in what order they are studied their thematic unity reflects backwards and forwards from one to the other. Taken together they form a musical harmony, as it were, in which no single one is heard adequately until all are heard fully.³

II. The Development of the Theme.

The first cluster of parables (=Group A) to be studied consists of the Doorkeeper, the Overseer, the Talents, and the Throne Claimant. These will be seen individually and then later a comparative structural analysis of them will be added.

1. The Doorkeeper (Mark 13:34-37; Luke 12:36-38).

This parable is contained in a rather changed format in two independent versions: one helps to terminate Mark's eschatological chapter, and the other is now part of Luke's teaching of the disciples in 12:22-48. Despite their independent development in the tradition and despite their final redactional modifications the narrative lineaments of a coherent story can be discerned behind both versions.⁴ Both accounts now appear as third-person narratives imbedded in second-person injunctions. In Luke the second-person admonition of 12:35 moves through 12:36a (καὶ ὑμεῖς ὄμοιοι) into the third-person parable in 12: 36b-38. In Mark the relationship of second-person and third-person is more complicated. It begins with second-person admonition in 13:33 and then moves into the third-person parable in 13:34. But in 13:35-36 the two viewpoints are intertwined: ὑπογρηθεῖτε ... οἰδατε, ἔρχεται; and, reversed, εἰρήν,

καθεύδοντας. In both cases the return of the master is associated with the coming of the Son of Man: see Mark 13:26 and Luke 12:40. But in both cases the present versions and situations of the story contain some rather unlikely elements. In Mark a doorkeeper is expected to keep watch night and day for a departed (ἀπόδουτος) master who may return at any time. In Luke the servants (all of them?) have only to watch for a master returning that night from a feast but when and if they do their duty, they will be served at table by the grateful master. Clearly the association of returning master and coming Son of Man has changed the story so as to render some of its elements quite unlikely.⁵ The basic story is still quite visible behind these changes. The master departs for a night-time feast; he enjoins the servant (doorkeeper) to watch so as to expedite his returning entrance; the later that return is the more difficult will it be for the servant to be awake but also the more important will it be that he be awake. This accepts the situation of the night-time feast in Luke rather than the vague and general ἀπόδουτος of Mark.⁶ It accepts the singular servant, the doorkeeper, of Mark rather than the plural servants of Luke.⁷ Finally, it prefers the timing of the return in Luke (second or third watch) to the fourfold possibility given in Mark: one will hardly return from a night-time feast at sunset. The story is coherent, possible, and even mildly amusing. There is the inference that the returning master will need even more assistance, and therefore watchfulness, the later the hour at which he seeks to find his house.⁸ The implicit threat of punishment in Mark 13:36 (μή) appears in Luke as reward at the eschatological banquet, but, no doubt, this theme of sanction is basic to the entire situation at least implicitly.

2. The Overseer (Matt 24:45-51; Luke 12:42-46).

This parable comes from Q.⁹ It balances a positive and negative possibility within the imagined situation of the same single servant. The positive (good or faithful) and negative (bad or faithless) reactions of the servant are carefully integrated so that the hearer can easily imagine both possibilities. It is the temptation afforded by the master's delay in returning that might turn a good servant into a bad one. Hence, Matt 24:48 and Luke 12:45a are crucial for the integrity and realism of the narrative. It may well fit into the problem of the parousia's delay but it did not derive therefrom. Without its presence the change of the good servant into an evil one is left unexplained and the parable loses much of its persuasive force. The presence of κακός in Matt 24:48 (not in Luke 12:45) may be an indication of a tendency to break the parable into a story concerning two servants, one good (ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος) and one bad (ὁ κακὸς δοῦλος).

The positive reaction in Matt 24:45-47=Luke 12:42-44 has three moments: the commission (45=42), the return (46=43), and the reward (47=44). The alternative and negative possibility in Matt 24:48-51=Luke 12:45-46 has three corresponding points: the omission (48-49=45), the return (50=46a), and the punishment (51=46b).¹⁰ It should be noted how carefully the parable stays within the realistic possibilities of such a master-servant relationship.

3. The Talents (Matt 25:14-30; Luke 19:12-27).

Two originally separate parables have been fused, and not too happily, in Luke 19:12-27. The parable of the Talents (or whatever was the original unit of money) appears in 19:12a,13,15b-26, and that of the Throne Claimant in 19:12b,14-15a,27. The rewarding of the servants by their appointment over various

cities in 19:17,19 represents an intrusion from the Throne Claimant theme into the subject of the Talents parable.¹¹ There is no trace of the Throne Claimant parable in Matt 25:14-30 and it is quite unlikely that he would have carefully removed it had he found it already fused in the Q text.¹² Therefore, Luke and Matthew did not find this parable in Q but in their own special sources.¹³ The Throne Claimant parable can be left aside for the moment and the two versions of the Talents parable compared.

It is clear that there is a common narrative behind the separate versions in Matthew and Luke. This can be shown in two major areas. The structure of the story and the sequence of the elements are completely parallel: situation (25:14-15=19:12a,13), return and reckoning (25:19=19:15b), first servant rewarded (25:20-21=19:16-17), second servant rewarded (25:22-23=19:18-19), third servant punished (25:24-30=19:20-26). Secondly, there are striking similarities in the incident of the third servant, in sequence, in concepts, and most especially in vocabulary. Notice the following common phrases in 25:24-29 and 19:20-26: *ἔπελζων ὅπου (ὅ) οὐκ ἔσπειρας; φοβηθεῖς/έφοβοῦμην; πονηρὸς δοῦλε; ἤδεις ὅτι; τὰ ἀργύρια μου τοῖς τραπεζίταις/μου τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τράπεζαν; καὶ ἔλθων ἐγὼ ... σὺν τόκῳ; ἀρατε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ... καὶ δότε τῷ ἔχοντι; τῷ ἔχοντι δοθήσεται; τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος καὶ ὃ ἔχει ἀρῶσεται.* The basic parable shows clearly through the variants, and even the minor differences do not destroy the general similarity.¹⁴

Two differences are of more importance. First, there is the presence of Matt 25:16-18 with no parallel in Luke. It tells what the three servants did while the master was away. Is this original or did Matthew add it himself? The content of 25:16-18 is not specifically Matthean either in concept or vocabulary and must therefore have come to him in his special source for this parable.¹⁵ Indeed, the dramatic value of 25:16-18 within the unfolding of the narrative argues for its originality. It has two functions. The contrast between the first two servants and the third is immediately established, and questions are immediately posed for the hearer's mind: why did he do this (to be answered in 25:24-25) and what would happen about it (to be answered in 25:26-28). The result of 25:16-18 is to draw the hearer immediately into the world of the parable so that already one is taking sides and wondering what will happen.¹⁶

A second question concerns the original ending of the parable. One can immediately omit Luke 19:27 since it is part of the Throne Claimant parable and could not have been the original ending of the Talents story. One must also omit Matt 25:30 (no Lukan parallel) because of both its allegorical and eschatological application and its Matthean vocabulary.¹⁷ Neither is the original ending to be found in the common Matt 25:29=Luke 19:25-26. This was originally an independent logion: see Mark 4:25=Matt 13:12=Luke 8:18. Its paradoxical nature (who has nothing will lose it) does not apply that well to the present situation because, (i) only the first servant, and not the second one, receives any increment from the third servant's failure, and (ii) this latter does in fact have something to be taken away from him.¹⁸ This leaves Matt 25:28=Luke 19:24 as the original ending. This has the compositional advantage of returning the parable to its beginning so that Matt 25:28 recalls 25:20 and also the inaugural 25:15. This is visible also in Luke where his 19:24 can recall 19:16 and also 19:13. However, the real ending in the pre-Lukan narrative was 19:27, of course, and this concerned the citizens of the Throne Claimant.

The main story is quite clear. Two servants are rewarded¹⁹ for their work and a third is punished for his prudent if useless inactivity.²⁰ The structural rhythm of the story still

appears quite clearly in the Matthean account and we can conclude with a glance at its careful choreography, noting especially the main verbs.

	<i>Scene 1</i>	<i>Scene 2</i>	<i>Scene 3</i>
Situation:	25:14 (ἐκάλεισεν)	25:15d (ἀπεδήμησεν)	25:19 (συναίρει λόγον)
Servant 1:	25:15a	25:16	25:20-21
Servant 2:	25:15b	25:17	25:22-23
Servant 3:	25:15c	25:18	25:24-28

In Scene 1 there is one main verb: ἔδωκεν. In Scene 2 there are two main verbs: ἐκερδισεν (16=17) and ἐκρυψεν (18). In Scene 3 these last two verbs beget two others: ἐκέρδησα (20=22) leads to καταστήσω (21=23) and ἐκρυψα (25) leads to ἄρατε (28b).

4. The Throne Claimant (Luke 19:12b,14-15a,27).

The category of Servant parable will have to include this story as well. It concerns a superior-subordinate (ἄνθρωπος τις εὐγενής and πολῖται) relationship in a critical confrontation. The very fact that it could be so easily fused with the other Servant parable of the Talents points it already towards this category.

The historical background to the parable is well known. Archelaus seeks rule over Judea and goes to Rome to plead for it; fifty Jewish delegates follow him to dispute his request; he is successful and returns to take a bloody revenge for their opposition.²¹ It was already clear from the master in the Talents parable (see Matt 25:24,26=Luke 19:21,22) that Jesus was interested in realistic rather than idealistic masters. So there should be no surprise at this use of Archelaus here. There is no presumption in this group of parables that general morality is under discussion. Such terms as good or bad, reward or punishment, pertain exclusively within the master-servant relationship which forms the thematic parameter.

III. The Reversal of the Development.

The four parables investigated so far have a certain normalcy about them: good (faithful, successful) servants are rewarded, and bad (faithless, unsuccessful) servants are punished, and each can be presumed to have known and expected such an outcome. In the Doorkeeper punishment is left implicit in Mark 13:36 and reward noted explicitly in Luke 12:38. In the original version the sanctions may have been totally implicit. In the next two parables there is an explicit division into good rewarded and bad punished. This is carefully balanced and evenly stressed in the Overseer and the Talents parables. So also with the Throne Claimant. The citizen-servants who had opposed his accession were punished for their infidelity upon his return. Whatever the meaning and intention of these parables, they all seem to move in a quite expected and normal manner. It makes little difference to this normalcy whether the point is that the servant should recognize his situation and act accordingly or the point is the promise and threat of reward and punishment. In either case we move within a horizon of expected order and orderly expectation. The servant can only know how to act on the presumptive correlation of good with reward and bad with punishment.

There is, however, a second cluster of parables (=Group B) in which this horizon of expected normalcy is not so apparent and in which this development of the theme in Group A is questioned, probed, and finally contradicted.²² This cluster in-

cludes the Unmerciful Servant, the Servant's Reward, the Unjust Steward, the Wicked Husbandmen, and the Vineyard Workers. The Unmerciful Servant begins with a bad servant who is not going to be punished due to the master's pity. But when he fails to act accordingly with his own debtor, the master reverses his original decision and punishes him quite fully. This parable has clearly deviated from the expected normalcy of Group A on one level and yet reverted to it again on a second level. One agrees that this is how it could (would? should?) be. The parable serves as a good transition from Group A to Group B. The Servant's Reward introduces a flat contradiction to the previous development in Group A: even good servants are not rewarded, it would seem. The Unjust Steward and the Wicked Husbandmen move even more basically away from the expected normalcy. In both cases bad servants are not punished but seem rather to do better as such than as good servants. In the former case the gain is somewhat amusing (Via: "picaresque") but in the second instance it is quite lethal. But it is with the Vineyard Workers that this group reaches its clearest and most complete reversal of the preceding situations in Group A: good servants do not get what they expected while bad servants get more than they deserved. The contrast is at its sharpest and can be seen most clearly between the normalcy of the Talents in Group A and the surprise of the Vineyard Workers in Group B.

At this point it is already clear that something rather disturbing is happening to the theme of the master-servant relationship at its moment of reckoning. If we are dealing with a constant and coherent world in which good is rewarded and bad punished, the former group of parables stand well in their complacency. But this latter group brings this very complacency and order and world into question. It is all very well to tell parables in which servants must recognize their situation and act accordingly as long as it is quite clear what such prudent activity entails.²³

5. The Unmerciful Servant (Matt 18:23-35).

The parable appears only in Matthew where it forms the climax of his advice to a divided community.²⁴ Its Matthean function is quite clear: if they do not forgive their brethren God will withdraw his forgiveness from them. Whatever may be its practical and tactical value within a disturbed community, its content is somewhat more problematic when it is abstracted from this context and taken as a basic statement concerning God.²⁵ It is one thing to advise forgiveness of others on the model of God's forgiveness of us (Luke 6:36; Matt 5:48). Is it exactly the same to state emphatically that God does not forgive us our unforgiveness? Or, minimally, is God not also bound by the ideal just given in Matt 18:21-22?²⁶

The parable itself is a small masterpiece of dramatic staging. A glance at the structure makes this evident.²⁷

	Scene 1	Scene 2	Scene 3
Introduction:	18:23-25	18:28	18:31
Words:	18:26	18:29	18:32-33
Action:	18:27	18:30	18:34

The precise literary economy of this sequence can be noted at three main points. (i) The three scenes are bound closely together by the introductory situation of each: *master* and *servant* in 18:23-25, *servant* and *fellow-servant* in 18:28, *fellow-servants* and *master* in 18:31. (ii) The almost verbatim agreement of 18:26 and 18:29 counterpoints the very different reactions they engender in 18:27 and 18:30. (iii) The conclusion

in 18:32-34 is especially appropriate from a dramatic and literary viewpoint: since 18:30 was not modelled on 18:27 (so 18:32-33), then and instead, 18:27 will be remodelled on 18:30 (so 18:34).

Apart from the concluding 18:35 in which Matthew interprets the parable for his context, the dramatic unity of the narrative is flawless and shows no signs of internal changes of any importance. The ordinary human reaction to such a story would be that the servant got what he deserved and should certainly have known better in such a situation. The emphasis is not on the master's mercy but on the servant's lack of mercy or even common sense and on his sheer stupidity in displaying his lack at that time.

6. The Servant's Reward (Luke 17:7-10).

It has been argued that, (i) the original version of this parable included only 17:7,9; (ii) the Q version had 17:7,9, 10ac; and (iii) the Lukan redaction added in 17:8,10b and rephrased the given version of 17:9 using $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\nu \epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ and $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\alpha\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$.²⁸

The parable begins with $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\xi} \upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$. All the NT examples of such logia expect and demand the answer: Nobody! But this can engender either a negative or a positive result. If negative, the sequence is: Which of you would ...? Nobody would! If positive, the sequence is: Which of you would not ...? Nobody would not! (= Everybody would!).²⁹ Secondly, such logia have a general formal pattern of: Situation, Circumstances, and Action. Although the line of demarcation is not always absolutely clear, these three successive moments are usually distinguishable. Leaving aside Luke 17:7-10 for the moment, the other six instances of $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\xi} \upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ can be outlined as indicated in the table below. It is clear that such terse logia as Matt 6:27= Luke 12:25 or even Matt 7:9-10=Luke 11:11-12 are almost too short to warrant this formal division, but the sequence is already evident in Matt 12:11=Luke 14:5. It has the Situation: $\alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma \theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\iota \pi\rho\acute{o}\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\nu \epsilon\nu$; the Circumstances: $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\nu \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\tau\epsilon\sigma\eta$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \sigma\acute{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\nu \epsilon\iota\varsigma \beta\acute{o}\theta\upsilon\nu\omicron\nu$; and the Action: $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\chi\iota \kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$. This structural pattern may also assist in the interpretation of the parable in Luke 11:5-8.³⁰ It can be outlined as follows:

Texts	Situation	Circumstances	Action
Matt 6:27	6:27a	6:27b	6:27c
=Luke 12:25	=12:25a	=12:25b	=12:25c
Matt 7:9-10	7:9a,10a	7:9b,10b	7:9c,10c
=Luke 11:11-12	=11:11a,12a	=11:11b,12b	=11:11c,12c
Matt 12:11	12:11a	12:11b	12:11c
=Luke 14:5	=14:5a	=14:5b	=14:5c
Luke 11:5-8	11:5a	11:5b-7	11:8
Luke 14:28-30	14:28a	14:29-30	14:28b
Matt 18:12-13	18:12a	18:12b	18:12c-13
=Luke 15:4-6	=15:4a	15:4b	15:4c-6

Thirdly, the NT examples are in single format in some cases but in double or parallel format in other instances. Examples of the single form (Matt 6:27=Luke 12:25) and the double form (Matt 7:9-10=Luke 11:11-12) appear with the negative result (Which of you would act like this? Nobody would!). Examples of the single form (Matt 12:11=Luke 14:5; Luke 11:5-8) and of the double form (Matt 18:12-13=Luke 15:4-6 & 8-9; Luke 14:28-30 & 31-32) also appear with the positive result (Which of you would not act like this? Nobody would not! = Everybody would!).

When Luke 17:7-9 is placed against this formal background

there are two obvious anomalies. (i) The double format is not very parallel: 17:7-8 is long and concrete while 17:9 is short and abstract. (ii) There is a confusion of negative and positive results, from 17:7 (nobody would!) to 17:8 (nobody would not! = everybody would!) and 17:9 (nobody would!).

This form-critical problem draws attention to the possibility of redactional change in 17:7-9. As indicated above, A. Weiser argued that 17:8 was a redactional creation of Luke and that the vocabulary indicated this. But while the vocabulary of 17:9 was just as Lukan as that of 17:8 he maintained that here Luke had only rephrased an original verse. The only reason for postulating this pre-Lukan verse, which is now completely lost since the present main words (ἔχει χάριν ... τὰ διαταχθέντα) are all Lukan, is that there should be a double format to the parable, and 17:9 is the "Apodosis" of 17:7. However, a glance at the data given above shows that the single format is as frequent as the double one in such logia. Therefore, it seems far better to argue that all of 17:8-9 is a Lukan creation whose overall effect is a softening (eschatological banquet as reward in 17:8b) of the harsh saying in 17:7.

The rest of the argument of A. Weiser referred to above is quite persuasive. The Q version of 17:10 would have contained the opening οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς and the closing phrase λέγετε ὅτι ... πεποιθήκαμεν. The intermediary 17:10b is a Lukan insert to bring 17:10ac into line with his own 17:9. This means that the original logion was 17:7; that Q had 17:7, 10ac, and that Luke added in 17:8-9, 10b. At this stage it is clear that originally we did not have a parable but a proverb in 17:7. It is also clear that this distinction is somewhat fluid, a single image (proverb) can easily be developed into a narrative image (parable).

7. The Unjust Steward (Luke 16:1-7).

This parable concerns a master (ἀνθρωπὸς τις ἦν πλούσιος) and a steward (οἰκονόμον) at a time of critical reckoning for this latter. This must be considered as another Servant parable.³¹

There is already a scholarly consensus that a variety of applications have been appended to the parable of the Unjust Steward in 16:1-13.³² But the consensus breaks down completely when one discusses where the original parable ended and the additions began. Scholars have argued for an original ending at 16:9³³ or 16:8b³⁴ or 16:8a³⁵ or 16:7³⁶. There are two obvious objections to the parable as an example of alms-giving (16:8b, 9), even allowing for a transition from material to spiritual levels. (i) If it is the master's money, should one give alms from somebody else's property? (ii) If it is not the master's money, should one give alms by reducing larger amounts of usury to smaller quantities? The problem of 16:8a is equally well known. (i) If the κύριος is the master of the parable, is it really likely he would have praised the steward? (ii) If it is Jesus himself, we are already out of the parable and into commentary by the tradition.³⁷

Some recent studies have argued that the steward was not doing anything unjust in 16:5-7 but was simply reducing his own usurious profits within the agency which the master had farmed out to him.³⁸ This may well be true and would probably not change the central drive of the story in any case, but it does not pay sufficient attention to the pivotal function of 16:2.³⁹ Whatever is happening in 16:5-7, there was already a problem between master and steward in 16:2 ("wasting his goods"). When 16:2 and 16:5-7 are read together within the literary economy of the story one has a picture of laziness organizing itself under crisis. The steward has not obtained sufficient return for the master and is therefore being re-

moved (16:2). In such a situation he may as well get some terminal benefits from the master's losses and so he ingratiate himself with the debtors (16:5-7). When he is later out of a job they will, hopefully, feel grateful for his help and maybe even a little responsible for his firing (16:3-4).

The parable is a carefully formed mini-drama in 16:1-7. It is as elegantly constructed as was that of the Unmerciful Servant. There are again three scenes but here each scene is an internal diptych:

Scene 1 (16:1-2): Master and Steward.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| (a) 16:1a (relationship given:
οἰκονόμῳ) |  | 16:2a (accusation retold:
ἀκούω) |
| (b) 16:1b (accusation made:
διεβλήθη) | | 16:2b (relationship gone:
οἰκονομεῖν) |

Scene 2 (16:3-4): Steward and Self.

- (a) 16:3a=16:4a (τί ποιῶ & ἔγνω τί ποιῶ)
 (b) 16:3b=16:4b (ὅτι ... οἰκονομῶν & ἵνα ... οἰκονομῶν)
 (c) 16:3c=16:4c (problem & solution)

Scene 3 (16:5-7): Steward and Debtors.

- (a) 16:5a=16:7a (ἕνα & ἑτέρω)
 (b) 16:5b=16:7b (πόσον ὀφείλεις in both)
 (c) 16:6a=16:7c (ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἐκατόν in both)
 (d) 16:6b=16:7d (δέξαι σου τὰ γράμματα καὶ γράψον in both)

The construction is quite clear and only a few comments are needed on Scene 1 in 16:1-2. The chiasmic structure of this unit is important in setting up both the problem and the avenue of solution: ἀπόδος τὸν λόγον τῆς οἰκονομίας. The steward is dismissed for incompetence and yet is allowed to set up the "accounting" at which he now has nothing to lose and everything to gain by further but calculated incompetence. The cleverness of the steward consisted not only in solving his problem but in solving it by means of the very reason (low profits) that had created it in the first place. In the light of all this the parable ends quite adequately at 16:7, and the rest, including 16:8a, is commentary. But once again the pattern of the earlier Group A of Servant parables is being challenged: a bad servant, from 16:2 as well as 16:5-7, is not really punished.

8. The Wicked Husbandmen (Mark 12:1-8; Matt 21:33-39; Luke 20:9-15a; Gos Thom 93:1-15).

The understanding of this parable was argued in detail elsewhere⁴⁰ and this will be presumed here. The original version is basically what is found in Gos Thom 65 (=93:1-16), with no allusions to Isa 5:1-7 and no citation of Ps 118:22-23.⁴¹ It concerns an absentee landlord who sends servants for the rent of his property. When the tenants reject the messengers he, rather naively, presumes they do not recognize them or accept their authority, and so he sends his son whom he thinks they will accept: compare Gos Thom 93:9 ("perhaps they did not recognize him") with 93:12-13 ("Perhaps they will respect my son"). Seeing their chance to possess the vineyard by killing the heir, they move swiftly to accomplish this design. The parable is quite similar to that of the Unjust Steward but the humorous has here given way to the murderous.

This must also be considered a Servant parable because it concerns a master-servant or superior-subordinate (ἄνθρωπος ... γεωργοῖς) at a moment of critical reckoning.⁴² Once again, however bad and evil servants are not only not punished but seem even to be rewarded in their evil design.

The construction consists of an opening which gives the Situation (93:1-3) and this is followed by three Scenes. Scene 1 concerns the first servant (93:4-9), Scene 2 is the second servant (93:10), Scene 3 is the son (93:11-15). The balanced harmony of Scenes 1 and 3 give the story its realistic plausibility and also its literary and dramatic unity:

Scene 1: First Servant.

He sent his servant.
they would have killed him.
The servant came.
His master said: 'Perhaps they
did not recognize him.'

Scene 3: Son.

Then the owner sent his son.
they killed him.
(No parallel!)
He said: 'Perhaps they will
respect my son.'

Both story and construction end the parable where it does in Gos Thom 93:15 and no more is needed.

9. The Vineyard Workers (Matt 20:1-13).

The story concerns a vineyard owner (ἀνθρώπου οἰκοδεσπότη) who hires workers (ἐργάτας) for a day's work (20:1). It must be considered as part of the theme of the Servant parables.⁴³

Where exactly did the original parable end. There is a consensus that 20:16 does not belong to the original version.⁴⁴ But most scholars have accepted 20:1-15 as the basic story. It will be argued here that the original ended with the rhetorical question of 20:13.⁴⁵ It would actually make very little conceptual difference if 20:14 were original, but the question of the presence or absence of 20:15 is rather crucial. The contrast of ὀφθαλμός πονηρός (see Mark 7:22 and Matt 6:23) and ἔγὼ ἀγαθός has necessarily brought moral considerations into the very climax of the parable itself, and the commentators rely heavily on 20:15 for their interpretation and application of the parable.⁴⁶ But for the following four reasons 20:15 should be considered as an addition by Matthew to the original story.

(i) Language. The combination of ἀγαθός and πονηρός is present in all but one of Matthew's uses of ἀγαθός: Matt 5:45; 7:11, 17-18; 12:34-35; 22:10; 25:21, 23, 26. This combination, present also in Matt 20:15, is not typically characteristic of Mark (see, for instance, 3:4) or Luke (see, for example, 8:8, 15). Secondly, the very use of πονηρός itself is characteristically Matthean, and especially as ὁ πονηρός or τὸ πονερόν.⁴⁷

(ii) Context. There is a close contextual and conceptual relationship between Matt 19:16-30 and 20:1-16. This shows explicitly in the repetition of 19:30 in 20:16. In Mark 10:17-18=Luke 18:18-19 Jesus was addressed as διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ and refused to accept this title with the comment, τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός. But Matt 19:16-17 very carefully rephrased all this so that Jesus is addressed simply with διδάσκαλε and responds with τί με ἑρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός. In other words, Jesus does not refuse the title of ἀγαθός in Matthew and the phrase εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός could now refer to himself as God's representative. It is the "good" Jesus of 19:17 who will return as Son of Man in 19:28 and will dispense judgment as the ἔγὼ ἀγαθός of 20:15. Thus, 20:15 is a Matthean recapitulation of 19:17 and is intended to bind the parable more firmly into its present contextual position and meaning.

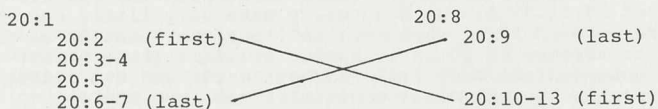
(iii) Concepts. It is not at all clear that the action of the master is "good." It is certainly not unjust (20:2=13), but most people would not call it "good" except in a rather perverse way. Most people would call him "good" and generous if, having given the last hired one denarius, he had increased the pay proportionately for the others.

(iv) Aesthetics. Not only is a rhetorical question a very good ending for a parable since it draws the hearer more deeply and immediately into its world, but the question in 20:13 (οὐκ ἀδικῶ σε· οὐχὶ δηναρίου συνεφώνησάς μου) explicitly and chiasmatically recalls the opening commitments of 20:2,4 (συμφωνήσας... ἐκ δηναρίου ... δίκαιον) and this concludes the story both logically and dramatically. In summary, then, 20:15 must be removed from the original version and, most likely, so also should 20:14. Its function was probably to prepare for 20:15 (note the θέλω in both verses).

Once again we can note the construction of 20:1-13. There are two scenes differentiated by the balance of the initial 20:1 (πρῶτ' ... μισθώσασθαι ἐργάτας) in 20:1-7, and the opening 20:8 (ὁψίας ... ἐργάτας ... μισθόν) of 20:8-13. In the former scene five groups are hired but only three groups receive any emphasis and the vocabulary contacts already indicate this: compare 20:2-4 with 20:7. This also serves to close off the untiy of the first scene in 20:1-7. The second scene appears to open in 20:8a in expected harmony with 20:1. But 20:8b introduces already an unexpected note: ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἕως τῶν πρώτων. This already points to the reversal of expectations which ensues in 20:9-13, and it also cuts down the groups under discussion to two: the first and the last. The rest are forgotten. The reversal can be diagrammed as follows:

Scene 1 (20:1-7).

Scene 2 (20:8-13)



This reversal is high-lighted by a comparison with the Talents in Matt 25:14-30. There the order is always the good servants first and the bad servants last. The Vineyard Workers followed this sequence in the first scene and reversed it in the second one.⁴⁸

The story of Jesus went out of its way to avoid the intrusion of morality.⁴⁹ There is no injustice on the part of the master (20:2,4,13) and there is no culpable laziness to be punished on the part of the servants (20:6-7). Can one imagine a perfectly reasonable situation in which perfectly reasonable expectations are rudely overthrown? The reversal is sharpened not only by the contrast of first and last but also by the contrast of "day" in the ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀργοί of 20:6 with that in the τὸ βάρος τῆς ἡμέρας in 20:12. The owner, whose motivation is not discussed and is irrelevant in any case, is not one who is especially generous but one who violates expectations.⁵⁰ But what comes across most forcibly within the theme of the Servant parables is that the normalcy of Group A is here completely overthrown.

IV. The Structure of the Reversal.

For the purpose of the present analysis we shall concentrate on the eight Servant parables and leave aside the Servant proverb in Luke 17:7. The purpose is to see how the reversal of the theme's development is reflected in the structure of the two groups of parables and to underline the subject-structure relationship involved.⁵¹

10. Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Structures.

A certain amount of attention has been paid in the preced-

ing analysis to the structure of the Servant parables in terms of sequence of elements. The next step is to study the interplay of paradigmatic and syntagmatic structures within the theme of the Servant.

This distinction, which might also be expressed as the difference between structuralist and structural analysis, has been summed up by Alan Dundes⁵² as follows:

"Lévi-Strauss is certainly aware of the distinction between Propp's syntagmatic structure and his paradigmatic structure. In fact, Lévi-Strauss's position is essentially that linear sequential structure is but apparent or manifest content, whereas the paradigmatic or schematic structure is the more important latent content. Thus the task of the structural analyst, according to Lévi-Strauss, is to see past or through the superficial linear structure to the 'correct' or true underlying paradigmatic pattern of organization."

The main purpose of this section is to move from syntagmatic into paradigmatic structure within the Servant theme.

11. The Structure in Group A.

The four parables in this group move within the horizon of expected normalcy: good servants are rewarded and/or bad ones are punished. This normalcy of world is reflected in a very marked homogeneity of sequential structure. In fact the functional elements of this Group "fit into one consecutive story" as was also true in Propp's analysis of the Russian fairy-story.⁵³ This homogeneity can be indicated under three rubrics: development, elements (functions), and expansion.

(i) Development. The master-servant reckoning is developed in Group A along two lines. The story involves action by the servant and reckoning by the master, but it is the action which begets the reckoning so that the former begins and the latter terminates the story development. The "problematic" or "complicating element"⁵⁴ in Group A always concerns the action, not the reckoning. In the Doorkeeper, it is the *night*-time with its danger of sleep that creates the tension of interest. In the Overseer it is the *delay* in the return which engenders the problem. In the Tenants it is the *decision*, the choice of how and what to do with the entrusted money, that develops the story. Finally, in the Throne Claimant, it is the *danger* of such an action that renders the story of tensive interest, even in its present residual fragmentation. It is an all or nothing situation. So, in Group A, action begets expected reckoning in all cases, but the story interest was created by divergent possibilities of action and problem. Secondly, the space in which the story can unfold its tensive problematic is furnished by the fact that the master departs leaving the servant on his own and then returns to see and judge what has happened.

(ii) Elements. Within this basic pattern the choice and sequence of elements are remarkably homogeneous:⁵⁵

	<i>Doorkeeper</i>	<i>Overseer</i>		<i>Talents</i>	<i>Throne Claimant</i>
<i>Command</i>	Mark 13:34b	24:45	-	25:14-15c	-
<i>Departure</i>	Mark 13:34a	-	24:48	25:15d	19:12
<i>Activity</i>	Luke 12:36b	24:46b	24:49	25:16-18	19:14
<i>Return</i>	Mark 13:35	24:46a	24:50	25:19	19:15a
	Luke 12:36a				
<i>Reward</i>	Luke 12:38	24:47	-	25:20-23	-
<i>Punishment</i>	Mark 13:36	-	24:51	25:24-28	19:27

(iii) Expansion. Despite this homogeneity of thematic development and elemental sequence, variety is still present in the four parables because of the process of expansion from the Doorkeeper (sanctions implicit originally?), to the Throne

Claimant (bad punished), to the Overseer (good rewarded *or* bad punished), to the Talents (good rewarded *and* bad punished). This latter parable brings this development to its fullest format and its most careful construction.

12. Structure in Group B.

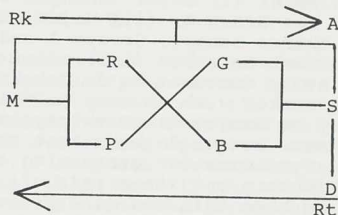
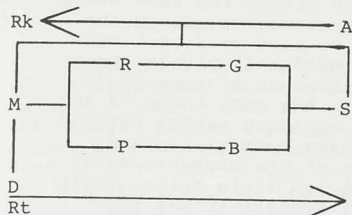
There are three major structural differences between Group A and Group B. In Group A normalcy of world was reflected in harmony of sequence and homogeneity of development. In Group B the questioning of this normalcy is reflected in the total lack of sequential homogeneity. Each of the four parables is carefully constructed within its own closed unity but there is no common pattern or sequence of elements discernible across all four of them. There is, of course, a structural resemblance between the triadic outline of the Talents in Group A and some of the parables in Group B, but not much can be made of this because of its general folkloric background and its presence in other parables as well, for example, the Sower.⁵⁶ In other words, as soon as the normalcy of world in Group A is questioned in Group B, the sequential homogeneity of Group A disappears and no other sequential harmony appears within Group B itself.

The second major difference is that these parables create their narrative space in the second and opposite possibility to that in Group A. Now it is the servant who departs and then returns to the master to report. The Unmerciful Servant (προσ-ηγέθη in Matt 18:24) and the Unjust Steward (φονήσας in Luke 16:2) are called before their respective masters. The Wicked Husbandmen moves a step further along this line: master and servants (tenants) stay in their initial positions and messengers go backward and forward between them.⁵⁷ But in the Vineyard Workers it is again the servants who depart (ἀπέστειλεν in 20:2; ὑπάγετε in 20:4,7) and return to the master (κάλεσον in 20:8). Indeed, even the Servant proverb in Luke 17:7 follows this pattern of Group B (ἐλθέτω).

The third difference is that the parables in Group B have located their problematic ("complicating element") at the opposite end of the narrative to those in Group A. There action begot expected reckoning, but here reckoning begets unexpected action. In Group B the reckoning appears at the start of the story and it is its presence that introduces the interest and tension of developmental possibilities.⁵⁸ The initial and causal function of the reckoning is immediately clear in the Unmerciful Servant (Matt 18:23), the Unjust Steward (Luke 16:1-2), and the Wicked Tenants (Mark 12:2). It is not so immediately evident in the case of the Vineyard Workers, but it is very definitely present. The exact amount of the future reckoning is noted at the very start of the story in Matt 20:2 and is referred to again in general terms in 20:4. This places the reckoning before the eyes of the workers and of the hearers from the very start and so creates the expectation which will be reversed at the story's conclusion (note the ἐνόμισαν of 20:9).

13. Comparative Structure of the Groups.

It is now clear that these parables are best described as parables of Reckoning. The comparative structure of the two groups shows how the thematic development concludes by questioning and then reversing itself. The two structures are outlined on the next page, using these abbreviations: M=Master; S=Servant; R=Reward; P=Punishment; G=Good; B=Bad; D=Departure; Rt=Return; A=Action by servant; Rk=Reckoning by master. A glance at the two structures makes it evident how they unfold along various sets of binary opposites.



V. The Interpretation of the Structure.

The final and most important point is what all this means. This can be assessed more readily by placing these Servant parables against two backgrounds. The first one is the general background of oral tradition in folklore and in myth. The second one is that of the biblical tradition itself.

14. Servant Parables and Oral Tradition.

The preceding analysis raises certain questions concerning the parables of Jesus as the compositions of an oral poet, and it may be helpful to put them in the wider framework of oral poetics.

(i) Oral Poetics. Could it be that Jesus told the parable of the Talents, for example, over and over again with minor variations within the same general content and structure and that the tradition might have preserved two or more such individual tellings?⁵⁹ If such were the case, and one were searching for an "original" version, one would expect to come up regularly against several equally valid "original" versions. In actual practice this seldom happens. One is usually forced to choose between the available versions because of standard traditio-critical principles and not just because of a drive towards an archetypal version. There is, however, an even more difficult problem. If Jesus told the same parable over and over again, could it be that the tradition preserved one version which was not any concrete ("original") telling but a structural outline or skeletal story? In other words, when traditional and redactional layers are removed from the Talents, is what remains as the "original" version the structural outline of a multiform and many-times-told parable of the historical Jesus?⁶⁰

Before attempting any answer to the problem two facts must be noted. This must be considered a very real possibility and well within the traditions of oral deliverance and oral remembrance. For people raised in a writing culture the term *ipsissima verba* means exactly what it says. When we apply the phrase to an oral tradition we tend to presume it means precise verbal fidelity to an original with some allowance for the limits of memory and recall. But the evidence would indicate that people who are operating within a tradition of oral deliverance and remembrance, even if there is also a tradition of writing available in their culture, may even use a term such as *ipsissima verba* where they actually mean what we would describe as *ipsissima structura*. The problem is not that they cannot recall the original properly but that they have no such concept of a dominant "original" at all.⁶¹ Secondly, the data we have is not nearly sufficient for any apodictic answer. What is given here should be considered as tentative and intended to provoke discussion rather than to close the question.⁶²

The data of the Servant parables indicates a negative

answer to the above question. In these parables, at least, Jesus makes (i) major changes of content within the same structure: see Group A; (ii) major changes of structure within the same theme: compare Groups A and B; but we have no direct evidence that he makes (iii) minor changes of detail within the same story content. We do not know how often or if ever again Jesus worked with so many parables within the same theme,⁶³ and it may be dangerous to extrapolate from this one rather striking case. But we do know that the primitive communities had obvious reasons for preserving the theme of the master-servant relationship and its crisis of reckoning, so it is quite likely that we have this one case preserved not because it was the only one of its kind but because it was the one most wanted for retention. In so far as one can generalize from the case of the Servant parables, then, it would seem that the parabolic creativity of Jesus consisted in variations of structure within the same theme and in variations of content within the same structure *but not* in variations of detail within the same content. No doubt it took such a restless probing of structure⁶⁴ to express adequately the challenge Jesus was offering to his tradition.⁶⁵

(ii) Myths. This may be clarified somewhat by a comparison between Jesus' parabolic system on the Servant theme and the standard development within a mythic system. There is one very obvious similarity and one even more striking divergence. Both will represent a point of transition to the next and final stage of this presentation. The similarity consists in the fact that the message of both parabolic and mythic system⁶⁵ resides in the structure itself. It is therefore necessary to have many variations in content in order to make the structure as obvious as possible. If one merely repeated the same story content with but minor changes of detail the emphasis would be on basic content and not on basic structure. In the words of C. Lévi-Strauss⁶⁶:

"The question has often been raised why myths, and more generally oral literature, are so much addicted to duplication, triplication, or quadruplication of the same sequence. If our hypotheses are accepted, the answer is obvious: The function of repetition is to render the structure of the myth apparent."

The difference between Jesus' parabolic intention and the usual mythic function is just as important. Edmund Leach,⁶⁷ following Lévi-Strauss, has drawn attention to the mythic system's function of mediating between contradicting opposites. Jesus' parabolic system, on the other hand, does not intend to mediate contradiction but to create it. It does not quell the fire it finds but casts upon the earth the fire that was not there.⁶⁸

(iii) Folklore. It is at this point that Jesus' parabolic system (only on the Servant theme?) is most clearly distinguishable from folklore (more narrowly, oral literature) in general. Folklore stabilizes society, but Jesus' Servant parables subvert society. Two quotations from W. R. Bascom⁶⁹ are illustrative:

"In addition to the obvious function of entertainment or amusement, folklore serves to sanction the established beliefs, attitudes, and institutions, both sacred and secular, and it plays a vital role in education in nonliterate societies."

"There is no difficulty, of course, in finding instances in folklore where laziness, complacency, or the lack of ambition and initiative are condemned, but are there any which suggest that the individual destroy or even disregard the institutions and conventions of his society?"

The function of oral literature and of Jesus' parables could hardly be more opposed to one another.

(iv) "Fictions." Frank Kermode⁷⁰ summed up what we have been discussing in one terse phrase: "Myths are the agents of stability, fictions the agents of change." In this sense,

15. Servant Parables and Biblical Tradition.

Throughout this century the assertion that Jesus proclaimed an eschatological message has become gradually more and more axiomatic. But within the tradition whence Jesus came one must distinguish an older prophetic eschatology and a more contemporary apocalyptic eschatology.⁷¹ For our present purpose this distinction rests on two contrasts. (i) Prophetic eschatology was concerned with an ending of world, while apocalyptic eschatology looked to the ending of *this* world. (ii) The former had no concept of another "world" above or beyond this one, while the latter could only accept the ending of this one so easily because it envisaged a far better one elsewhere. It is also clear that behind these two views there are radically different views of time at work.⁷²

Scholarship has tended with wide consensus to describe Jesus' message as apocalyptic eschatology. But this consensus has become extremely problematic recently for two reasons. (i) It is no longer at all certain that Jesus ever spoke of the future coming of the Son of Man (Conzelmann, Käsemann, Vielhauer, Perrin, Koester, for example⁷³). (ii) Other sayings with a clear future orientation have been steadily removed from the historical Jesus and assigned to either tradition or redaction.⁷⁴ The question that this inevitably raises is whether Jesus is speaking out of the ancient prophetic eschatology precisely in order to oppose and deny the current apocalyptic eschatology.⁷⁵ He was not announcing that God was about to end the world (i.e., for us, the planet), but he was proclaiming God as the One who shatters world repeatedly and always. If, for instance, he forbade calculations of the signs of the end, it was not calculations nor signs he was opposed to, but end. God is the One who poses permanent and unceasing challenge to man's ultimate concern and thereby keeps world free from idolatry and open in its uncertainty.⁷⁶

When Jesus was read in the light of apocalyptic eschatology it was expected that his message would show up in the very form of his announcement.⁷⁷ So also when, to the contrary, he is interpreted as the proclaimer of *permanent eschatology*, there should be some signs of this message in the very form and structure of his language.⁷⁸ This shows especially in paradox because this is to language what eschaton is to world and the former is an appropriate linguisticity for the latter. In recent research this heightened paradoxicality has been noted in two areas of Jesus' language, areas in which he might be described as moving strands of wisdom tradition into conjunction with prophetic and against apocalyptic eschatology.⁷⁹ This paper adds a third area to this research. The eschatology of language goes outward in widening ripples from proverb to parable to parabolic theme.

There is a supreme and double irony in the Servant theme. The motif of the departing and returning master fitted perfectly into the apocalyptic expectation of the coming Son of Man in the primitive community. Yet this motif in Group A was *already* subverted by Jesus in Group B where it is now the servant who departs and returns. Secondly, the eschatology of Group A is one in which action begets expected reckoning. But this is subverted in Group B in which the reckoning begets unexpected action, and that is a different eschatology.

Be prudently ready for the advent of God. But, unfortunately, the advent of God is that which shatters prudence. Or, as W. H. Auden put it even more tersely, "The Real is what will strike you as really absurd."

¹A. Weiser, *Die Knechtsgleichnisse der synoptischen Evangelien* (StANT 29; Munich: Kösel, 1971). For my review see *JBL* 92 (1973) 136-37. See also W. J. Harrington, "The Parables in Recent Study (1960-1971)," *BibThB* 2 (1972) 233-36.

²This study will presume the traditional and redactional investigations of A. Weiser but will attempt to redo completely the level of the historical Jesus.

³This comparative and cumulative reading on a musical analogy is like the reading of the thematically united myths in C. Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," *Structural Anthropology* (New York: Doubleday, 1967) 202-28, and in *The Raw and the Cooked* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969) 1-32. See also the comments of J. Lacan ("The insistence of the letter in the unconscious," *Structuralism* [ed. J. Ehrmann; New York: Doubleday, 1970 = *Yale French Studies* 36-37 (1966)] 101-37): "But one has only to listen to poetry ... to know in fact that all discourse aligns itself along the several staves of a score" (p. 112). Even more to the general thesis of this paper is his statement: "One thing this structure of the signifying chain makes evident is the possibility I have, precisely insofar as I have this language in common with other subjects, that is insofar as it exists as a language, to use it in order to say something quite other than what it says. This function of the word is more worth pointing out than that of 'disguising the thought' (more often than not indefinable) of the subject; it is no less than the function of indicating the place of the subject in the search for the truth" (p. 113).

⁴See the detailed and very persuasive analysis of A. Weiser, *Knechtsgleichnisse*, 131-53, 161-77, and especially 174-75. As a parable of Jesus it called for readiness before the coming consummation of the Kingdom according to this author. So also his "Von der Predigt Jesu zur Erwartung der Parusie. Überlieferungsgeschichtliches zum Gleichnis vom Türhüter," *Bleb* 12 (1971) 25-31.

⁵It is here presumed, with almost all the commentators, that parables are "possible" stories, either of typical and recurrent cases or of likely and imaginable occurrences. This "principle of realism" makes reconstruction of the *functional elements* of the original parable somewhat easier than is the case with other logia. Parables, as realistic possibilities, fit into the category of "feigned history." See the comment of J. R. R. Tolkien (*The Fellowship of the Ring* [New York: Ballantine, 1965] xi): "I cordially dislike allegory in all its manifestations, and always have done so since I grew old and wary enough to detect its presence. I much prefer history, true or feigned, with its varied applicability to the thought and experience of readers. I think that many confuse 'applicability' with 'allegory'; but the one resides in the freedom of the reader, and the other in the purposed domination of the author."

⁶So J. Jeremias (*The Parables of Jesus* [rev. ed.; New York: Scribner's, 1963] 54) as against A. Weiser (*Knechtsgleichnisse*, 174) who gives the "Grundform" with: "wie wenn jemand sein Haus verlässt." In assessing original elements one might ask concerning each, "que se passerait-il si cette notation n'était pas dans le texte?" So F. Bovon, "Le structuralisme français et l'exégèse biblique," *Analyse structurale et exégèse biblique* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1971) 20.

⁷The similarities in theme and vocabulary between Mark 13:34-36 and the Gethsemane incident in 14:32-42 do not prove that the doorkeeper in 13:34b (= Peter, renamed Simon in 14:37!) must be a Markan redactional precision. The failure of the Three in general and of "Simon" in particular (14:34,37, 40,41) is a Markan creation: see W. H. Kelber, "Mark 14:32-42: Gethsemane," *ZNW* 63 (1972) 166-187. This creation has, of course, influenced the Markan redaction of the Doorkeeper parable, but it did not furnish him with it in the first place.

⁸Hence "night" is as important as "return" and it is the former that renders the latter critical. See J. Dupont, "La parabole du maître qui rentre dans la nuit (Mc 13,34-36)," *Mélanges bibliques en hommage au R. P. Bêda Rigaux* (eds. A. Descamps and A. de Halleux; Gembloux: Duculot, 1970) 89-116.

⁹See the detailed analysis of A. Weiser, *Knechtsgleichnisse*, 178-225, and especially the comparison of the Jesus and Q parables on p. 203. He argues that Matthew is closer to the Q text than Luke but that most of this latter's changes are stylistic.

¹⁰The Q text is still visible behind Matt 24:51a=Luke 12:46b. The addition in 24:51b is Matthean. One might consider διχοτομήσει αὐτόν as some sort of misunderstanding of the original Aramaic. See J. Jeremias, *Parables*, 57; and also M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (3rd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967) 256-67. The most likely original would have intended: "And he will divide (for) him his portion and set him with the faithless ones."

¹¹As J. Jeremias (*Parables*, 59) noted, the presence of 19:24-25 after 19:17 is rather "meaningless." The fusion is pre-Lukan since such is not his usual method of literary composition.

¹²Note how Matthew had taken the vengeful owner of 21:41 (ἀπολέσει) and introduced him as the vengeful king of 22:7 (ἀπώλεσεν). See R. J. Dillon, "Towards a Tradition-History of the Parables of the True Israel (Matthew 21,33-22,14)," *Bib* 47 (1966) 1-42.

¹³So also A. Weiser, *Knechtsgleichnisse*, 226-72. As usual this analysis is presumed for the traditional and redactional levels.

¹⁴For example, Matthew has three servants who get five, two, and one talent (25:15) and produce five more, two more, and the same one talent, respectively. Luke has ten servants who get one mina each (19:13), but only three reappear at the reckoning and they have produced ten, five, and the same one mina, respectively. The threesome is original. There are also three in *The Gospel of the Nazarenes*, 18: see E. Hennecke & W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* (2 vols.; London: Lutterworth, 1963-65) 1. 149. Minas rather than talents seem more original on the principle of realism, and note also the ὀλίγα of Matt 25:21,23), but the Matthean proportions (5/5; 2/2; 1) seem more likely than the Lukan ones (1/10; 1/5; 1). Finally, Matthew has the third servant bury the talent while Luke has him hide it away in a napkin. Most likely the idea of burial was necessitated by the change from mina to talent, and so is secondary. This disagrees with A. Weiser, *Knechtsgleichnisse*, 248. There does not seem to be any real indication that his action in Luke is more careless than in Matthew. In both cases the master accuses him of stupidity and failure rather than of carelessness in hiding the money. Significantly, the structure of Matthew has held firm

even while the details may have changed.

¹⁵A. Weiser (*Knechtsgleichnisse*, 236-38) concludes on linguistic and conceptual grounds that these verses were in Matthew's source.

¹⁶It might be conjectured that the advent and fusion of Luke 19:14 into this original parable caused the elimination of the equivalent there to Matt 25:16-18.

¹⁷See A. Weiser, *Knechtsgleichnisse*, 254; and J. Jeremias, *Parables*, 60.

¹⁸On this logion as a generalizing addition to the parable see A. Weiser, *Knechtsgleichnisse*, 253; J. Jeremias, *Parables*, 62; C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (rev. ed.; New York: Scribner's 1961) 115-17; D. O. Via, *The Parables* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967) 114-15. The function of Luke 19:25 is connective (see also the preparatory 19:24a). Obviously, the logion was added before the two variants of the parable had gone their separate ways.

¹⁹The original reward is already obscured by eschatological coloring in Matt 25:21,23 and by the Throne Claimant intrusion in Luke 19:17,19 (minas, cities). In the light of Matt 25:28 and Luke 19:24 it might be conjectured that the reward was to retain charge and responsibility for the full amount they had gained and to continue to trade therewith. This would be what was originally behind Matt 25:21a,23a and Luke 19:17a,19a.

²⁰The parable has been interpreted as an attack by Jesus on the prudent exactitude of Pharisaic piety. See E. Kamlah, "Kritik und Interpretation der Parabel von den anvertrauten Geldern: Mt. 25,14ff.; Lk. 19,12ff.," *KerDogma* 14 (1968) 28-38; and J. Dupont, "La parabole des talents (Mat. 25:14-30) ou des mines (Luc 19:12-27)," *RTPhil* 19 (1969) 376-91. But surely this piety was extremely active, and a Pharisee would see himself represented by the prudent and achieving servants rather than by the safe and inactive one. It has also been suggested that the parable is not from Jesus at all. See P. Fiedler, "Die übergebenen Talente. Auslegung von Mt 25,14-30," *Bileb* 11 (1970) 259-73. For the legal background see J. D. M. Derrett, "Law in the New Testament: The Parable of the Talents and Two Logia," *ZNW* 56 (1965) 184-95 = *Law in the New Testament* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1970) 17-31. But the parable is itself a closed literary unit and no amount of data can change the fact that within the parable's world the first two servants are rewarded as good and the third is punished as bad.

²¹J. Jeremias, *Parables*, 59; and also M. Zerwick, "Die Parabel vom Thronanwärter," *Bib* 40 (1959) 654-74.

²²It is precisely this basic presumption of normalcy in the master-servant relationship which characterizes the rabbinical parables on this theme. See the examples in A. Weiser, *Knechtsgleichnisse*, 22-41. But note his comments on pp. 114-17 concerning Luke 17:7-10. These should be widened to include the use of this entire Servant theme by Jesus.

²³In this sense Jesus is upsetting the conventions and expectations of his own theme. E. D. Hirsch (*Validity in Interpretation* [New Haven: Yale U., 1967] 263) quotes the comment of Schleiermacher: "'Uniqueness in speech shows itself as a deviation from the characteristics that determine the genre.'" See also the comments on Aristotle's term *peripeteia* by F. Kermode

(*The Sense of an Ending* [New York: Oxford U., 1967] 18, 53) as a "falsification of one's expectation of the end" or a "falsification of expectation, so that the end comes as expected, but not in the manner expected."

²⁴So W. G. Thompson, *Matthew's Advice to a Divided Community* (AnBib 44; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970). But it should be considered (on the analogy of 1 Cor 8: see p. 59, note 40) that (i) 17:24-27 may refer to two specific groups within the community: 17:25b,26 (no!) and 17:25a,27 (yes!), and that (ii) 18:1-14 warns the former to be humble and not to scandalize the latter, while (iii) 18:15-35 warns the latter to forgive the former if they are sinned against (scandalized) by them.

²⁵Once again the analysis of A. Weiser (*Knechtsgeleichnisse*, 75-104) is presumed here. He says that the original parable of Jesus meant that each should forgive others as God had forgiven him. But if the teaching was simply this the parable should have the forgiven servant in turn forgive his brother servant. When H. Conzelmann (*An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* [New York: Harper & Row, 1969] 284) claims that, "the parable of the unmerciful servant is the basis of the demand that we for our part should practice forgiveness of sins," he ignores the OR ELSE inherent in the parabolic narrative.

²⁶One finds oneself in complete agreement with the statement of E. Linnemann (*Jesus of the Parables* [New York: Harper & Row, 1966] 123) that, "Only experience can show that mercy is the way the world is ordered"; and with that of D. O. Via (*Parables*, 143) that, "it is not that our forgiveness of others wins God's forgiveness for us but rather that his forgiveness confers upon us the capacity to forgive. The one who has really experienced forgiveness *will* forgive." But do these assertions really arise from *this* parable with *this* ending?

²⁷Taken from W. G. Thompson, *Divided Community*, 211. One might have expected 18:35 to have concluded with, "if you do not forgive your brother as your Father in heaven has forgiven you," rather than with, "if you do not forgive your brother from your heart."

²⁸So A. Weiser, *Knechtsgeleichnisse*, 107-14.

²⁹J. Jeremias, *Parables*, 103, 158. The OT examples in Isa 42:23; 50:10; Hag 2:3 seem also to require the answer; Nobody!

³⁰The Situation is the simple 11: 5a, τὸς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐξεῖ φίλον. The Circumstances are a diptych involving the friend speaking (εἶπη) from outside the house in 11:5b-6 and the other person answering (εἶπη) in 7 inside. The Action is in 11:8. But the format has been broken in that 11:8 is no longer a question but a statement (λέγω ὑμῖν) and this renders the analysis problematic. This λέγω ὑμῖν is here taken as a changed version of the original conclusion which was still part of the whole question introduced by the initial τὸς ἐξ ὑμῶν. The sense would be: Which of you would not give in because of his importunity even if not out of friendship? This disagrees with the analysis of J. Jeremias (*Parables*, 158-59) who ends the rhetorical question at 11:7 and interprets it as meaning: Which of you would refuse such a request (especially in view of oriental hospitality)? But 11:7 is intended as a perfectly reasonable initial refusal (more a grumbling protest) and that is why it is given in some detail. See also E. Güttgemanns ("Struktural-generative Analyse der Parabel 'Vom bittenden Freund' (Lk 11,5-8)," *LingBib* 2 [1970] 7-11) who speaks of the

"'Unmöglichkeit' der Antwort (v.7)." But the real impossibility is in 11:8 and this is underlined by the chiasmic structure of the verse: (a) οὐ δώσει, (b) ἀναστής, (c) δὲ ... φίλον / δὲ ... ἀναΐδειαν, (b') ἐγερθεὶς, (a') δώσει. In a word: Who would not eventually give in?

³¹As against A. Weiser, *Knechtsgleichnisse*, 46. His omission is very strange especially in view of E. Kamlah, "Die Parabel vom ungerechten Verwalter (Luk. 16,1ff.) im Rahmen der Knechtsgleichnisse," *Abraham Unser Vater* (Fs. O. Michel, eds. O. Betz et al.; Leiden-Köln: Brill, 1963) 276-94. But compare Matt 24:45 (δοῦλος) with the parallel Luke 12:42 (οἰκονόμος), and note that Luke uses δοῦλος thereafter in 12:43,45,46. If Luke changed δοῦλος into οἰκονόμος here (see A. Weiser, 178, 219-22), might he not also have done it in 16:1,3,8? Hence the omission of the Unjust Steward from the Servant parables is hardly permissible.

³²The classical statement is that of C. H. Dodd (*Parables*, 17): "We can almost see here notes for three separate sermons on the parable as text." He ended the parable at 16:7. But see also D. R. Fletcher, "The Riddle of the Unjust Steward. Is Irony the Key?" *JBL* 82 (1963) 15-30.

³³B. A. Hooley & A. J. Mason, "Some Thoughts on the Parable of the Unjust Steward (Luke 16,1-9)," *AusBR* 6 (1958) 47-59; M. Krämer, "Ad parabolam de villico iniquo: Lc 16,8,9," *VD* 38 (1960) 279-91; R. R. Caemmerer, "Investment for Eternity. A Study of Luke 16:1-3," *ConcTM* 34 (1963) 69-76; F. E. Williams, "Is Almsgiving the Point of the 'Unjust Steward'?" *JBL* 83 (1964) 293-97; P. Bigo, "La richesse comme intendance dans l'Evangile. A propos de Luc 16,1-9," *NRT* 87 (1965) 267-71; M. Krämer, "Aenigma parabolae de villico iniquo: Lc 16,1-13," *VD* 46 (1968) 370-75; R. H. Hiers, "Friends By Unrighteous Mammon: The Eschatological Proletariat (Luke 16:9)," *JAmAcRel* 38 (1970) 30-36.

³⁴A. Descamps, "La composition littéraire de Luc XVI,9-13," *NT* 1 (1956) 49-53; R. G. Lunt, "Expounding the Parables: III. The Parable of the Unjust Steward (Luke 16:1-15)," *ExpT* 77 (1966) 132-36.

³⁵J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Story of the Dishonest Manager (Lk 16:1-13)," *TS* 25 (1964) 23-42; F. J. Moore, "The Parable of the Unjust Steward," *AnglTR* 47 (1965) 103-5; D. O. Via, *Parables*, 156-57.

³⁶J. Jeremias, *Parables*, 45-46, 181-82.

³⁷See I. H. Marshall, "Luke xvi.8-Who Commended the Unjust Steward?" *JTS* 19 (1968) 617-19. Actually, however, ending the story at 16:8a (without 8b) would not change the present interpretation too much.

³⁸J. D. M. Derrett, "Fresh Light on St. Luke XVI: I. The Parable of the Unjust Steward," *NTS* 7 (1961) 198-219 = *Law in the New Testament*, 48-77; "'Take thy bond ... and write fifty' (Luke xvi.6). The Nature of the Bond," *JTS* 23 (1972) 438-40.

³⁹H. Drexler, "Zu Lukas 16:1-7," *ZNW* 58 (1967) 286-88.

⁴⁰J. D. Crossan, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen," *JBL* 90 (1971) 451-65.

⁴¹Any interpretation of this parable on the level of the historical Jesus must first establish the exact content of its original version. For example, if the punishment was not in

the original, the parable could not have referred to the possible results of Zealotry: see J. E. & R. R. Newell, "The Parable of the Wicked Tenants," *NT* 14 (1972) 226-37.

⁴²A. Weiser (*Knechtsgleichnisse*, 49-57) studies this parable and that of the Great Supper even though they are "nicht eigentliche Knechtsgleichnisse" (p. 45). But it is the servant-messengers and not the servant-tenants he is interested in. This is a graphic example of the difficulty of studying the parables on all three levels at the same time (synchrony versus diachrony?). Jesus was not interested in the servant-messengers but the evangelists were very much so. Does one classify the parable according to Jesus' interests or to theirs?

⁴³Despite A. Weiser (*Knechtsgleichnisse*, 46) who finds it pertains neither to the terminology nor the theme of the subject. It is included in E. Kamlah, "Knechtsgleichnisse," 285-86.

⁴⁴C. H. Dodd, *Parables*, 94; J. Jeremias, *Parables*, 34-35, 136-38; E. Linnemann, *Parables*, 85-86; D. O. Via, *Parables*, 148. The basic reason is its reflection (with οὕτως ἔσονται) of Matt 19:30 from Mark 10:31.

⁴⁵On questions, and answers, at the conclusion of parables see R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) 182-83.

⁴⁶C. H. Dodd (*Parables*, 94) speaks of the "employer, out of sheer generosity and compassion for the unemployed ... a striking picture of the divine generosity"; J. Jeremias (*Parables*, 139) says that, "God is depicted as acting like an employer who has compassion for the unemployed and their families"; E. Linnemann (*Parables*, 86) comments that, "The master of the house is able, however, to show that justice has been satisfied: what appeared as a breach in the ordered system of justice was in truth the appearance of goodness, and goodness cannot be disapproved." See also the emphasis on generosity in C. L. Mitton, "Expounding the Parables. VII. The Workers in the Vineyard (Matthew 20:1-16)," *ExpT* 77 (1966) 307-11.

⁴⁷Matthew: 24; Mark: 2; Luke-Acts: 12-8; John: 3; rest of the NT: 26. Note for example, its insertion in Matt 9:4 over Mark 2:8=Luke 5:22 or in Matt 15:19 over Mark 7:21. Note especially the use of ὁ πονερός in Matt 13:19 as against ὁ σατανᾶς in Mark 4:15 and ὁ διάβολος in Luke 8:12.

⁴⁸This 20:8b is more than a device to have the first around to witness what happens to the last. Their presence could have been presumed in parabolic economy even if not explicitly mentioned. Indeed, it would seem that 20:12 shows that the last are still around when the first are paid. In any case, there is a more profound reason behind 20:8b than merely keeping the first around and Matthew's addition of 20:16 to this parable is not too far off the mark.

⁴⁹Compare the rabbinical parable in J. Jeremias, *Parables*, 138-39. In this case there is a sound reason for the "inequality" of reward.

⁵⁰There could be no total reversal of salary without the point of the parable shifting drastically. The owner does not pay the last the most and the first the least. In such a story the hearers would probably focus on the "injustice" of the owner. Jesus must tell a story which is quite possible and which does not raise irrelevant moral considerations. It is

expectations that are to be reversed, thus the ἐνδοξα in 20:10. See D. O. Via (*Parables*, 154) who concludes that, "Our very existence depends on whether we will accept God's gracious dealings, his dealings which shatter our calculations about how things ought to be ordered in the world." They shatter also our very ideas of graciousness.

⁵¹Recall Susan Sontag's prefatory summary of Roland Barthes' thesis in "Writing Degree Zero" (*Writing Degree Zero & Elements of Semiology* [Boston: Beacon, 1967] xvii): "For Barthes a language and a style are 'objects,' while a mode of *écriture* (writing, personal utterance) is a 'function.' Neither strictly historical nor irredeemably personal, *écriture* occupies a middle ground; it is 'essentially the morality of form.'"

⁵²In his "Introduction" to the second edition (1968) of the English translation (1958) of V. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale* [1928] (Austin: University of Texas) xii. See also the distinction and discussion of symbolic, paradigmatic, and syntagmatic consciousness as "(perhaps) the three imaginations of the sign" in R. Barthes, *Critical Essays* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, 1972) 205-11.

⁵³V. Propp, *Morphology*, 25, 64.

⁵⁴I am very grateful to Prof. Robert Tannehill whose written reply to a first draft of this paper drew my attention to this feature which I had not then considered. I am not certain if he would agree, however, with the use to which I have put his suggestion here and below.

⁵⁵The Doorkeeper can only be reconstructed from both versions. The Overseer and the Talents follow the Matthean texts to avoid undue complication of the outline. The Throne Claimant is, of course, from Luke.

⁵⁶C. L. Mitton, "Threefoldness in the Teaching of Jesus," *Expt* 75 (1964) 228-30. Recall the "Law of Three" as noted classically (1908) by Axel Olrik, "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative," *The Study of Folklore* (ed. A. Dundes; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965) 129-41.

⁵⁷The master here is an absentee landlord and not a departing and returning master. So Gos Thom 93:1-4 as against the ἀπεδηύσεν of Mark 12:1=Matt 21:33=Luke 20:9. Hence there is no returning master in this parable either. So Gos Thom 93:16 as against Mark 12:9=Matt 21:40=Luke 20:16. One presumes that the whole logic of the story is that the master must operate at a distance and through intermediaries in attempting to "bring" the tenants to him.

⁵⁸Prof. Robert Tannehill has noted in his above-mentioned reply that the principles of V. Propp (*Morphology*, 67) demand that one define a "function according to its consequences" and that "identical forms adapt themselves to different functions." Therefore, a reckoning which initiates a story is functionally different from one which terminates it.

⁵⁹R. W. Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic, and Word of God* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966) 163.

⁶⁰A. B. Lord (*The Singer of Tales* [New York: Atheneum, 1971] = Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 24; Harvard U., 1960) 100-2) asserts that, "In oral tradition the idea of an original is illogical." But this presumes that the *only* type of

oral poetry is epic narrative which is metrical, musical, and very traditional in story, theme, and formula. It must be noted, to the contrary, that Jesus' parables are neither metrical nor musical (hence no necessity for fixed formulaic patterns), are short and dramatic rather than long and epic, and are specifically anti-traditional in intention. Any application of the Parry-Lord methodology to Jesus' parables must respect these differences.

⁶¹See especially A. B. Lord (*Singer*). Yugoslav poet-singers working in an epic tradition of oral narrative poetry claim they can hear and repeat thousands of lines "word for word" (pp. 26-29). But when one hears such a "repetition" it is a creative act of fidelity to the basic story with its general structure and sequence of elements and not a case of *ipsissima verba* (pp. 103-5, 223-34).

⁶²The problem is still present for theories holding that Jesus' words were taken and remembered as sacred tradition, for example, B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript* (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis XXII; Lund: Gleerup, 1961) and *Tradition and Transmission in Early Christianity* (Coniectanea Neotestamentica XX; Lund: Gleerup, 1964). What was accepted as "sacred tradition" for the parables: words or structure?

⁶³See J. D. Crossan, "The Seed Parables of Jesus," *JBL* 92 (1973) 244-66. Especially interesting in this regard is the recent article by D. Ellena, "Thematische Analyse der Wachstums-gleichnisse," *LingBib* 23/24 (1973) 48-62.

⁶⁴J. Piaget (*Structuralism* [New York: Basic Books, 1970] 5-6) describes structure as, "comprised of three key ideas: the idea of wholeness, the idea of transformation, and the idea of self-regulation." A structure is a "system closed under transformation."

⁶⁵A. B. Lord (*Singer*, 155) states apodictically that, "oral poets who are not traditional do not exist." But, once again, there are other types of oral poetry besides traditional epic narrative. There is not only Greece and Yugoslavia, there is also Israel.

⁶⁶"Structural Study of Myth," 226.

⁶⁷*Genesis as Myth and Other Essays* [Cape Editions, 39; London: Cape, 1969] 11) summarized it as follows: "despite all variations of theology, this aspect of myth is a constant." The reversed structures of the Abraham and Jephthah sacrifice stories (Gen 22:1-18; Judg 11:30-40), noted on pp. 37-38, are an interesting analogue to the development of the Servant theme.

⁶⁸In such a situation the anti-traditional oral poet would be rather like his writing brother as cited in H. Marcuse (*One-Dimensional Man* [Boston: Beacon, 1964] 192) who says: "Understanding of my poetry presupposes the collapse and invalidation of precisely that universe of discourse and behavior into which you want to translate it."

⁶⁹"Folklore and Anthropology" and "Four Functions of Folklore," *The Study of Folklore*, 33 and 297, respectively.

⁷⁰*The Sense of an Ending*, 39. Note also the "ficciones" of world-dissolution ("fulminación") in Jorge Luis Borges.

⁷¹G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (2 vols.; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1962 & 1965) 2. 99-125, 301-8.

⁷²R. W. Funk, "Apocalyptic as an Historical and Theological Problem in Current New Testament Scholarship," *Apocalypticism* (ed. R. W. Funk = *JThCh* 6; New York: Herder & Herder, 1969) 175-91.

⁷³For a recent summary of the discussion see Wm. O. Walker, Jr., "The Origin of the Son of Man Concept as Applied to Jesus," *JBL* 91 (1972) 482-90.

⁷⁴For example, Mark 9:1. See N. Perrin, "The Composition of Mark ix,1," *NT* 11 (1969) 67-70.

⁷⁵N. Perrin (*The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus* [The NT Library; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963] 178, 185) had already noted this point.

⁷⁶This would answer my own question ("Seed Parables," 265, note 82): "The question might be raised whether Jesus is anti-apocalyptic or anti-eschatological. Or, in other words, is the eschatology of Jesus radically different from any in late Judaism and/or the primitive church?"

⁷⁷J. M. Robinson, "The Formal Structure of Jesus' Message," *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation* (ed. W. Klassen & G. F. Snyder; Essays in Honor of O. A. Piper; New York: Harper & Row, 1962) 91-110. Take, for example, Luke 11:20. How does this represent a tension of temporal succession from present exorcism to future kingdom? Is it not rather a tension of paradoxical simultaneity? Exorcism is eschaton. The action of God is an ending of world, of the sufferer's world of demonic possession, in this case. And if (an) exorcism can be (an) eschaton then, as Ezra Pound said in Canto 92,

"Le Paradis n'est pas artificiel

but is jagged

For a flash,

for an hour.

Then agony,

then an hour,

then agony."

⁷⁸In discussing the conjunction of form and content in Pascal's *Pensées*, Lucien Goldmann ("Structure: Reality and Concept," *The Language of Criticism and the Science of Man: The Structuralist Controversy* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1970] 98-110) commented: "For Pascal's message is that Man is great in that he searches for absolute values but small in that, without ever ceasing to search, he knows that he can never approach these values. The only form to express this content is, of course, one which does not prove the contrary; which doesn't show either a man who has abandoned the search or one who has approached the goal. The fragment is such a form."

⁷⁹Proverbs: W. A. Beardslee, "Uses of the Proverb in the Synoptic Gospels," *Interpr* 24 (1970) 61-76; *Literary Criticism of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1970) 30-41; "Proverbs in the Gospel of Thomas," *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honor of A. P. Wikgren* (ed. D. E. Aune; NovTSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1972) 92-103. Parables: J. D. Crossan, "Parable and Example in the Teaching of Jesus," *NTS* 18 (1971-2) 285-307. See also N. Perrin, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Message of Jesus," *SBL 1972 Proceedings*, 2. 543-72.

S 114 The Parables of Jesus, Kafka, Borges, and Others,
with Structural Observations

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Introduction and Summary

"Parable" did not cease with Jesuanic parables, nor did it originate there. Kafka and Borges have been identified by many critics as parablers, and the first part of the paper explores aspects of their work (and that of other recent parablers) and possible interconnections. Several features of "parables in general" are highlighted as specially relevant in comparative study.

A. The Assembling of Generic Families

The introduction of modern writers of fiction in discussions focussed on Jesus' parables is based on two reasons, one directed forward and the other backward. The forward orientation comes from my conviction that we can best comprehend genres or literary performances when we comprehend the literary history to which they give rise. On the one hand we will look toward new works influenced, on the other toward new receptions and new impacts of the materials in new situations. (Doty, 1972, 15.)

Generic trajectories, further, must be charted. Roger Fowler identifies three main phases: a) the assembling of the genre-complex, until a formal type emerges from repeated use of several independent motifs together; b) this pattern is self-consciously used and varied (at this level there is repetition and stereotype in opposition to underlying actual events in the first level); c) a tertiary phase, which may involve burlesque or an antithetic or symbolic modification of the second phase. (Fowler, 1971, 212.)

At any rate: "A literary work is not an object which stands by itself and which offers the same face to each reader in each period," (Jauss, 1970-71, 10) and all post-New Criticism critics take into account the variability of readings in varying chronological and social contexts. Study of the parables of Jesus has been primarily directed to the initial transmissions of the parables by early Christianity, whereas the emphasis in the first part of this paper is upon the wider contours of "parable" as such.

The backward orientation of the work comes from Borges' article on "Kafka and his Precursors," (Borges, 1965, 111-13) especially as developed by Funk (1972) and Monegal (1972, espec. 120 f.; see also Belitt, 1972, 280 f.) Borges highlights the relation between perception and reality: "Kafka's idiosyncrasy... is present in each of these writings [Zeno's paradoxes, a Chinese fable, two Kierkegaard parables, stories by Bloy and Dunsany, a poem by Browning], but if Kafka had not written we would not perceive it; that is to say, it would not exist." (Borges, 1965, 113.)

The point is that literary works may affect our perception of other works to such an extent that the earlier work is read by us through glasses tinted by the later work, and there is probably no escaping this hermeneutical spiral. Hence in this sense Kafka's parables "create" Jesus' parables: meaning that Kafka's parables so influence our comprehension of "parable" that we cannot pretend to read Jesus' parables in a context-free way.

Borges develops the idea further in his later statement in the same article that: "The fact is that each writer creates his precursors. His work modifies our conception of the past, as it

will modify the future." (Borges, *ibid.*) And, in fact, an author may be said to create himself in so far as his earlier or later works exist in the framework of his total oeuvre.

Borges makes a different point in the material following the sentences quoted: "The first Kafka of *Be-trachtung* is less a precursor of the Kafka of the shadowy myths and atrocious institutions than is Browning or Lord Dunsany." (Borges, *ibid.*) Monegal, 1972, treats this passage in his analysis of Borges' "aesthetics of reading" and the identification of the universe as a vast book.

A writer may be said to assemble his precursors in such a way as to demonstrate affinities not previously noticed; so Funk notes (1972, 30):

Kafka's precursors have little in common among themselves; it is only in Kafka that they are brought together, only in him that their affinities come to light. This is because Kafka modified the way we read his precursors; had Kafka not taught us to read them, we would not know the real tradition to which they belong.

The task of assembling members of a genre-sharing group of writers is usually assigned to the literary critic, working discursively and analytically. Borges suggests that authors themselves do this task, whether or not intentionally. Genre classification, under this propaedeutic role, is intended to alert the reader/interpreter to:

- a) the associational complexes in which a work appears;
- b) its ability to serve the author's intentions and/or the audience's expectations; and
- c) the preperceptions about the type of writing which the interpreter carries forward out of his own context, and which hinder or aid interpretation. (Doty, 1972, 29.)

For Borges, I suspect, such analysis is less interesting as a workbench exercise than as an occasion to identify and enjoy materials that charm him and that are in their own ways constitutive of Borges. His concept of a universal literature in which: "...the identity or plurality of men matters not at all ...", seems to demand a personal approach to literature that has its focus upon idiosyncratic enjoyment rather than classification in the elaborately encrusted maps of "Western Classics."

See, for instance, the complaint of a student at the University of Buenos Aires that his professor chose for class discussion: "...what is most important for Borges and not what is most important in that literature." (Christ, 1969, 44, quoted by Coleman, 1972, 359.)

B. Kafka's Dream-Like Stories

Kafka's parables, having a dream- or nightmare-like ambience, also have the curiously condensed qualities of dreams: they begin, and often end, strictly in the middle of things; actors are most frequently anonymous, abstract "theys," as in the opening of "Couriers" (Kafka, 1946, 175): "They were offered the choice between becoming kings or the couriers of kings..."

Kafka's dreams (mentioned in his published diaries) are studied from a Freudian point of view--not very profitably--in Hall and Lind, 1970.

The logics of the plots are condensed and locked on; "Couriers" continues:

The way children would, they all wanted to be couriers. Therefore there are only couriers who hurry about the

world, shouting to each other--since there are no kings--messages that have become meaningless. They would like to put an end to this miserable life of theirs but they dare not because of their oaths of service. What children? Which kings? Or when, where, why?--it is only the Why? that Kafka engages. "They" are trapped by decisions made long ago, and by "their oaths of service" which bind them in the intractable logic of dreams.

Echoes of *The Trial* and *Amerika* crowd in (Kafka creating Kafka?), especially when we confront this sense of blind obligation. Kafka himself, in one of the most direct comments on "the existential fallenness" emphasized by modern interpreters, concludes "The Great Wall and the Tower of Babel" with this meditation:

Human nature, essentially changeable, unstable as the dust, can endure no restraint; if it binds itself it soon begins to tear madly at its bonds, until it rends everything asunder, the walls, the bonds and its very self. (Kafka, 1946, 27; cf. the "chains" in "Paradise," *ibid.*, 31.)

And in "Diogenes" (*ibid.*, 95), person C is "terribly ordered about by B" since he thinks person A has explained everything to B--but really A has only been told that, not why. A man lies helpless while a vulture eats his feet (149); people in a small town submit to orders from the capital (161). A man who has eluded "the first watchman" runs back "horrified" to confess: "I suppose I really oughtn't to have done it..." (81). He still cannot accept his freedom when the watchman is silent, and so he has to ask: "Does your silence indicate permission to pass?"

A similar turn appears in the story of a man trying to find a train station; the policeman says: "from me you want to know?...give it up!" and turns away (quoted in Harnisch, 1972, 423)--perhaps what Kafka meant by "wanton behavior" in "In the Caravansary," 113.

We are given no historical background, and even when some sort of actual referents seem to be implied, as in "The News of the Building of the Wall" (Kafka, 1946, 21-22), we are left to construct them as we will or can.

Cf. Auden, 1962, 159-60: "Though the hero of a parable may be given a proper name...and a definite historical and geographical setting, these particulars are irrelevant to the meaning of parable. To find out what, if anything, a parable means, I have to surrender my objectivity and identify myself with what I read." If the critic "...tries to interpret a parable, he will only reveal himself. What he writes will be a description of what the parable has done to him; of what it may do to others he does not and cannot have any idea."

In the final story of the collection, "My Destination," Kafka's master knows his destination clearly: but the destination is "Away-From-Here," "...a truly immense journey" that may or may not be a dream. (Compare endings of several stories in which the protagonist falls back into a dream or reverie; "An Imperial Message," 15, ends: "But you sit at your window and dream it to yourself.")

Time seems similarly unimportant--except as paradoxical time. The messenger in "The News of the Building of the Wall" appears "...late, some thirty years after its announcement"; and the messiah ("The Coming of the Messiah," 81) "...will come only when he is no longer necessary; he will come only on the day after his arrival; he will come, not on the last day, but on the

very last"--this sounds like an eschatological conjugation of the verb forms of a language to be invented after its use is past.

If time is handled by paradox, so are other items: many of the stories involve messengers or messages--that either come too late or are not comprehended. In fact a major theme might be identified as communication or non-communication, as in the Tower of Babel stories. The clearest statement is that of "Couriers," already quoted above. The soldiers who terrify the townspeople in one of the longer stories, "The Refusal," "...speak a dialect utterly incomprehensible to us..." (167), and the stones used in "The Building of the Temple" are inscribed with "...the clumsy scribblings of senseless children's hands, or rather the entries of barbaric mountain dwellers." (47.)

Barrenecha, 1967, 76, notes: "Borges' own narratives often point to the uselessness of Man's attempt to decipher a divine message in which he cannot distinguish the fundamental from the accessory." Precisely the same point is to be made with respect to Kafka's stories.

Incomprehension--and the incomprehended past, traditions still honored even though those handing on the traditions do not know anything more than that the forefathers had originally founded them as important. Compare the "...ancient traditions that had recommended the place" in "The Building of a City" (105); and most striking of all, the suggestion that accidents shape history and tradition:

Leopards break into the temple and drink to the dregs what is in the sacrificial pitchers; this is repeated over and over again; finally it can be calculated in advance, and it becomes part of the ceremony. (93.)

The inexplicable is encountered in "Prometheus," where the final part leaves us (after four versions of the Prometheus myth) with the sheer "inexplicable mass of rock" to which the hero was clamped, and suggests that all the versions fail to deal with the pure facticity of the situation: "The legend tried to explain the inexplicable." (83.)

Paradox and oxymora (figures of speech in which opposite or contradictory ideas are combined) are part of the center of Kafka's stories, and I will suggest later that an element of reversal is crucial to parables-as-such. Three examples (perhaps the most obvious) show these figures:

---the coat of arms of the city that is to be destroyed by five successive blows from a gigantic fist is...a closed fist (37-39);

---a tiger, brought to the animal trainer for evaluation of the possibilities of taming it, "...yawned a little, gazed wearily at its new surroundings, and immediately fell asleep" (153);

---a dragon, instead of menacing, approaches civilly and offers itself to the man (151).

Two items about the Sirens turn these familiar stories from Western mythology on their heads:

---the first has two reversals: it is the silences of the Sirens rather than their singing that is truly compelling--and rather than their appeal to Ulysses, Kafka relates that "...all that they wanted was to hold as long as they could the radiance that fell from Ulysses' great eyes." (91.)

---the second suggests that the famous songs were not meant as seductive lures, but were the Sirens' wailing laments that they had claws and sterile wombs. (93.)

Precisely this alteration of traditional stories strikes me as extremely interesting and creative: it is the sort of viewing that makes possible new appropriations of our received

heritage, and that shows forth the possible alternatives to the original story tellers. In this sense Kafka recreates his own past. "Abraham" becomes a new figure (41-45), and "Prometheus" is presented in four possible alternatives to his original judgment (83); the marvelous tale of the Krakau rabbi who goes to Prague to find the treasure (that turns out to be buried under his own hearth) is changed by Kafka into a terrifying story of a doorkeeper who guards all too well, shutting the door finally as the seeker is about to die. ("Before the Law," 61.)

The use of paradox and reversal of the expected is central to the Kafka parables, and provides one of the key aspects of the structure of many of them. It is this element that I take to be crucial to a number of Jesus' parables as well, and to which I turn in the last part of the paper. First we turn to the magical post-Kafka world of Jorge Luis Borges, in which stories within stories are what the stories are really about.

C. Borges' Stories within Stories by a Universal Author

One apparent problem has to be cleared at the outset, namely Borges' statement in the preface to Doctor Brodie's Report that:

I want to make it quite clear that I am not, nor have I ever been, what used to be called a preacher of parables or a fabulist and is now known as a committed writer. (1972, x.)

If this were strictly true, we should have to say quits. But: a) note that a section of Labyrinths (1964; one of the first of his works translated into English) is entitled "Parables" (235-49), and b) Borges is surely referring to the role of the "preacher" or "fabulist" according to one specific definition of parable or fable as moralistic story. He does not state that he does not write parables, but that he does not aim, through his stories, at moral instruction. (He seeks: "...to be entertaining or moving but not persuasive," ibid.) Since I too find the "moral tale" aspect of "parable" to be restrictive (see below), I feel it still appropriate to proceed with study of Borges' parables. However, in further qualification, I have to note that I take the pieces included there to be more on the order of meditations or sketches than parables.

An exception: "A Problem" (244-45), which provides a striking parallel, in its chronicle of three possibilities open to Don Quixote when he discovers that he has killed a man, to Kafka's "Prometheus." It would be interesting to know if the story is a direct revision or simply one of Borges' many studies of the perspectival character of truth. (See Pearce, 1971; Berger and Luckmann, 1966; and Douglas, 1970, for helpful insights into the relationship between realities and our perceptions of them.) I note striking affinities between Kafka's "My Destination" and Borges' "Borges and Myself." After writing this section, I found that Kinzie, 1972, thinks that "The intentionally laconic proposals [of the latter story] are...meant to echo Kafka's even shorter 'Prometheus'..." (40), and notes the similar use of "an iteration with cosmic proportions..." (ibid., note 10). Belitt, 1972, 283, also notes the parallelism.

We may begin with mention of the dream theme that initiated discussion of Kafka: Borges' stories not only continue the oneiric quality in their narrations, but expand upon it. And Borges makes the dream into a central figure in his treatment of

reality, to the point where he can state that "...after all, writing is nothing more than a guided dream." (1972, xi.) Ronald Christ suggests that "Borges and Myself": "...is the successful completion of the priest's endeavor in 'The Circular Ruins.' Borges has managed to dream a man and project him into the real world, and we know it because 'Borges' exists among us." (1972, 76.) Or, in the author's own questioning reflection: "...which of us is writing this page [the dreamed Borges or the dreamer Borges] I don't know." (1970, 99.)

Dreams--or reveries. Or imagination. Surely an important "message" from this author who does not wish to be known as a giver-of-messages: the importance of the imaginative faculty. Barrenechea concludes her book on Borges with reference to "...the creative joy of the author who sees in the imaginings of others as well as in his own the true force capable of overcoming the limitations of the human condition." (1965, 145.) Wheelock refers to Borges' emphasis upon the re-creative aspects of dreaming: "Like the primitive man's orgiastic return to chaos [i.e., return to chaos as a means of coming into contact with the fecund capacities of the originating matrix of being--as Eliade has chronicled], dreaming is a way of renewing the world." (1969, 59.)

Cf. Bachelard, 1971, espec. the theme of poetry as a means of renewal, and reverie as a means of recognizing the poetic dimension of our own consciousness (159).

Dreams...and mirrors, multiple levels of appearance, and labyrinths: a set of themes for which Borges has great fondness, and a set of factors especially suited to the questioning of the nature of reality evoked in parables. At this point I think especially of Jesus' parables having to do with raising fundamental questions about one's heritage, received tradition, and categories of moral:immoral. In many of these parables it seems that the reader is caught up into a dramatic encounter that locks onto his own situation in a way demanding judgment. The judgment demanded most often is a judgment about categories of right and wrong: the unjust steward comes out praised, and one is led to ask about how such categories as just:unjust have come to be. The parable of the Good Samaritan forces a conjunction of "good" + despised outcast = "Samaritan," a pairing of what Jesus' hearers would have considered opposite values.

Borges works not so much in polar oppositions as in subtle contrasts; he pursues the multiple layers of interpretation and hence of reality as they become sedimented around events. Robert Coover has used a similar technique in *Pricksongs & Descants* (1969). In "The Babysitter," we experience one story as it is retold by several narrators; in "The Magic Poker," the story starts over and over again from different times and different vantage points.

Cf. also "In a Train Station," where the conclusion is also the introduction to the next repetition of a cyclical narration. On disruption of usual understandings of narrative time in Coover, see Gass, 1970, 104.

Lawrence Durrell worked with a similar layering of interpretations in *The Alexandria Quartet*: in those four novels we are constantly learning of the arbitrariness of perspectives by which the different characters experience their common life. And of course Proust set models for this sort of layering in *The Remembrance of Times Past*.

The way time is manipulated and its aspects represented is a crucial aspect of fiction. A narrator creates time in which his characters live, and hence time is one aspect of the "narrated world" of the story as opposed to the "reported world"

of the news account or of the (secondary) interpretation.

Cf. Weinrich, 1964.

Fabulists have consistently experimented with time, and I wonder if such manipulation of time isn't characteristic not only of fable but also of parable.

And I do not see how to differentiate parable from fiction in general. See Gütgemanns, 1972, espec. the discussion where the problem is also left unanswered, and Magass, 1973, espec. 17-18.

At any rate, the manipulation of temporal aspects seems to characterize most narratives by contemporary fiction writers. Borges is one of the clearest exemplars, in so far as he not only develops stories in which temporal horizons cross back and forth

Cf. "The Meeting;" and in "Emma Zunz:" "The arduous events are outside of time, either because the immediate past is as if disconnected to the future, or because the parts which form these events do not seem to be consecutive." (Borges, 1964, 134.)

but has explicitly written "A New Refutation of Time."

Borges, 1964, 217-34; cf. Burgin, 1969, espec. 39, where Borges refers to "...the idea of different times, no? Of different time schemes. Psychological time." Barrenechea suggests that Borges is a writer for whom "time is a mental process," (1965, 105) and that "...Borges succeeds in shaking the reader's security in his own temporal rhythm" (105-6). See also Stabb, 1970, 37 ff.

Reality is available to us to the extent that our culture has oriented us to its definitions of reality; Borges seems to make a similar point about time. Especially in his essays that reconstruct what may have happened in the past, he presses home the observer-oriented aspects of temporal horizons.

Stevick, 1973, 341, points to the same perception in several modern writers, noting, for instance, "...the atemporality of such fiction as Barthelme's...", an a-temporality that serves to challenge usual perceptions in order to make available for fiction the use of several temporal levels simultaneously. Time-as-convention is emphasized as a new insight: "...an obsession with time is a convention which we never particularly noticed as a convention when a great deal of fiction was written that way. There is a perverse kind of time sense at work in new fiction, centering around a fascination with the junk of our culture, both linguistic and material."

Borges strikes me as a modern parabler, especially in so far as he seeks to reassemble the literary traditions of the past, asking us to review and re-evaluate some traditional literary themes of myth and narrative--part of our sacred traditions. Furthermore, his stories (almost entirely brief and compact) usually manage at some point to break the expectations evoked in us by the primary story line. At times the surprise, "O. Henry" endings were accomplished rather mechanically, and in the Preface to Doctor Brodie's Report (1972, xi), he demonstrates his own resolution to get beyond this mechanism: "I have given up the surprises inherent in a baroque style as well as the surprises that lead to an unforeseen ending. I have, in short, preferred to satisfy an expectation rather than to provide a startling shock." It may be, however, that the "shock" now only comes earlier in the stories, as in the "gothic" tales of Isak Dinesen, since the stories in the most recent volume strike me as distinguished from the earlier stories more by

their simplicity of narrative presentation and lack of arcane references than by omission of the reversal-at-the-end (cf. "The End of the Duel," "The Gospel According to Mark," "Juan Moura," and "The Meeting," in which a final reversal or disclosure still determines the impact of the story).

I have tried my own hand at short story writing, and find the surprise ending to be comparatively easy. A fiction of lasting and widely-recognized value can hardly depend on such a trick alone; I suspect that the reason one tires of O. Henry, but can re-read Kafka and Borges again and again is that these authors write with a surface density, tension, and complexity that reinforce the reversal endings and that provide a rich fabric that remains evocative beyond recognition of the end reversal. I have tried to keep this in mind when reflecting on the reversal--if it is merely a mechanical device whose meaning is exhausted within the parable, we merely have a clever story! On the other hand there is a danger of over-universalizing the parables, as Clark recognizes (Batson, Beker, and Clark, 1973, 142); cf. also Crites, 1971, 310: "So long as the story retains its primary hold on the imagination, the play of immediacy and the power of abstraction remain in productive tension. But when immediacy and abstract generality are wrenched out of the story altogether, drained of all musicality, the result is...demonic."

D. Other Contemporary Writers, and Characteristics of Parables

The scope of a paper such as this is easily overreached, and my discussion of "others" than Kafka and Borges must be severely compressed. Lacking explicit definition from the outside, I run the risk of advancing personal favorites; nonetheless, we may at least have a few benchmarks, and hope for continued elaboration of the parabolic mode in choices made by others whose sight of the parable ranges more extensively than mine.

In my undergraduate course on parables, I regularly spend several hours just canvassing and evaluating definitions. Approximately twenty elements are suggested by dictionary and handbook accounts, the most frequent bearing on unreality and fabrication, or upon moral tale. The writers I discuss here were chosen more on the basis of my own implicit notions of "how a parable presents itself" than by these definitions. I have frequently disdained the "moral" aspect, since I and others have felt for a long time the necessity to guard Jesus from moralism (perhaps over-reacting to Jülicher and his followers). But in the wider purvey of literature, the term may be assumed to carry little weight further than "not-simply-entertaining," or as a differentiation from having "in-meaning" only. (See Via, 1967, on in- and through-meanings.)

My first candidate would be my favorite among contemporary novelists, John Hawkes, whose novels and plays are too long to qualify as parables.

The Cannibal, 1949; the Beetle Leg, 1951; The Goose on the Grave and The Owl, 1954 (now in Chivari, 1969); The Lime Twig, 1961; Second Skin, 1963; The Innocent Party (plays), 1966; Lunar Landscapes, 1969; Blood Oranges, 1971.

Hawkes writes, however, with an almost overly-sharp attention to the parabolic nature daily events have--when they are recognized as such. Everything sounds all right on the surface (I am often reminded of the plays by Harold Pinter), but the reader is caught up into intermeshing webs of complicity and soon realizes that he has been drawn into a multiform world that has subtle modifications of reality, personhood, and experienced-chronology.

Donald Barthelme would probably rate as parabler more quickly than Hawkes; several of the short stories in *City Life* (1970), *Unspeakable Practices, Unnatural Acts* (1968), and *Come Back, Dr. Caligari* (1964), seem almost overly-parabolic. "Paraguay," for instance (1970, 19-32), discussed the personal self in terms of the contemporary language of physical objects; this is a mystical land that lays an uneasy coating on our usual perceptions of population and progress. "On Angels" (*ibid.*, 135-40) seems almost directly inspired by the Prometheus and Don Quixote revisions of Kafka and Borges noted earlier (cf. also "The Phantom of the Opera's Friend"). "Brain Damage" leads to questions about the very nature of "normal" mental health: "...This is quite a nice University you have here. A University constructed entirely of three mile-high sponges!" (*ibid.*, 153.) And "The Glass Mountain" quite unhinges the rescue of the beautiful enchanted princess (as well as the convention of prettiness in such tales: "The sidewalks were full of dogshit in brilliant colors: ocher, amber, Mars yellow, sienna, viridian, ivory black, rose madder." *Ibid.*, 66.) Barthelme's "novel," *Snow White* (1967) similarly unhinges that tale: the heroine has become a pouty lover to six men and the novel ends on a note that suggests the author's clear awareness of the need to reassemble the traditional affects and appearances of the modern novel:

THE FAILURE OF SNOW WHITE'S ARSE
REVIRGINIZATION OF SNOW WHITE
APOTHEOSIS OF SNOW WHITE
SNOW WHITE RISES INTO THE SKY
THE HEROES DEPART IN SEARCH OF
A NEW PRINCIPLE

HEIGH-HO (181.)

"Sentence" refers to "novels in which the final chapter is a plastic bag filled with water, which you can touch, but not drink..." (116.) Some of the best stories are in the 1968 collection, especially "The Balloon" that fills the entire sky over a large city, "The Indian Uprising," and "Can We Talk," where the narrator's day begins with the discovery that the bank has painted all money yellow, and ends with him "Dancing on my parquet floor in my parquet shorts. To Mahler." (102.)

Robert Coover, after a brilliant novel, *The Origins of the Brunists* (1966), has written a novel I dislike, though it was generally well received (1968), and then an extremely fine collection of stories, *Pricksongs & Descants* (1969). Again there is a fascination with "the tradition," with the received literary tradition that both provides contentual bits and categories and that is to be re-done. "The Babysitter" is perhaps the most successful story from the point of invention: the story/stories are told from overlapping and contradictory points of view, and we never quite know if the sitter is killed, has sex with her boyfriend, is raped by her employer, or kills the baby in the bath. Cass notes that: "...our author says yes to everything; we've been reading a remarkable fugue--the stock fears and wishes, desires and dangers of our time done into Bach." (1970, 106.) Other stories in this volume share a similar use of disoriented reality and multiple perspective.

Additional writers could easily be cited--notably William

H. Gass, who not only has created some exemplary fictions, but has published a volume of criticism (1970) often critical of Coover, Barthelme, and similar authors. My point in introducing the authors cited has not been to list contemporary "way-out" writers who are using novel modes in remaking our categories of fiction,

Sometimes the William Burroughs/Norman Mailer gush-style works too headily into Barthelme, for instance, some of his stories breaking the narrative line too completely for my taste.

but to give some direct examples

Many other examples in: the several volumes of New American Review; Fiction; TriQuarterly 26(1973)--

"Ongoing American Fiction I," with perceptive critical articles by Charles Newman, Philip Stevick, Robert Onopa, and Gerald Graff.

of writers who use parabolic contents and developments, and who, in the very shapes and structures of their fictions, are busily re-assembling the modern fiction traditions. "De-bunking" will be discussed in the next section: here already I wanted to point to its role in contemporary fiction. At least since Eliot's famous essay of 1917, modern writing has been in a severe crisis with respect to the uses to be made of the past. But perhaps fiction-writers reflect the larger cultural situation: I find it hard to think of a discipline or an aspect of cultural activity in which there has not been this problem of balancing the new and the old.

Moving toward a definition of parable as a literary term, it can be noted that several of the critics in the TriQuarterly "Prose for Borges" issue (1972, ed. Charles Newman, Mary Kinzie, and N. T. di Giovanni) actually use the term parable in their discussion. These references demonstrate how little agreement there is in using the term! For example, John Wright speaks of "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius" as a "...parable on the evolution of human culture." (Wright, 1972, 344.) In the next sentence, however, he writes that: "It looks like a partly satiric, mock-utopian science-fiction story, and within certain limits that is what it is: a sardonic, learned tale..." The same writer refers to "The Man on the Threshold" as: "...an astonishingly direct and perfect parable of 'aesthetic reality'" (351), but this time he seems to refer primarily to the story-within-a-story device used by Borges.

I am somewhat more sympathetic to Ben Belitt's use of the term, although not at the point where he refers to parable's "...usual sense of enigmatic preachment..." (Belitt, 1972, 291), nor when he states that "...the total canon of...Borges constitutes a 'syntopticon' of parables, a Kabbalah or [Maimonides'] Book of Splendor..." (286.)

In the section of the article focussed primarily on Kafka, Belitt states that: "The parable, then, is a hermetic directive to the 'elect' through which action is turned into fable."

Ibid., 270. The subsequent paragraph is instructive on the relation between fable and parable as Belitt sees it: "The parables of Jesus--flung, as it were, in handfuls, as if the Sower took no account of where they fell--show us fable at all stages of completion, incompleteness, compression, and suspension. At times the 'plots' that we have come to expect of fable have been so compacted or abbreviated that there is little likelihood of putting them to edifying use. Even a full-dress parable--like the parable of the Sower--

which takes its time and proceeds by stages so implicit in their imagery that they may be construed dialectically--aroused the instant consternation of the Disciples, to whom, said Christ, it was 'given to know,' and required the detailed exposition of the teller. Lacking the glosses of the master, the purport of Christ's parables apparently remained inaccessible. The hoped-for transformation of perception did not occur."

I am intrigued by the suggestions that: "It is the essence of parable to avoid showdowns...and leave the issue suspended" and that: "...parables are a species of nonfunctional 'wisdom'--that is to say, one does not acquire the wisdom of parable in order to deplete or discredit it."

Ibid., 272; the rest of the paragraph is an exposition of "On Parables." In summary, parables--according to Belitt's reading of Kafka--are: fabulous, unknown, imprecise, useless, exceptional, truisms, parabolizations of existence, and, as insights, serve as "an epistemology of loss." Barrenechea's observation that Borges has fashioned stories out of the literary matter of essays (1965, 131) surely applies to "On Parables" of Kafka.

Parable is pattern, orientation, direction, permission--not a form of knowledge that can be regulated or charted.

Barthes, 1972, has some similar observations about cultural myths: "Truth to tell, what is invested in the concept is less reality than a certain knowledge of reality; in passing from the meaning to the form, the image loses some knowledge: the better to receive the knowledge in the concept. In actual fact, the knowledge contained in a mythical concept is confused, made of yielding, shapeless associations. One must firmly stress this open character of the concept; it is not at all an abstract, purified essence; it is a formless, unstable, nebulous condensation, whose unity and coherence are above all due to its function." (119); and: "What must always be remembered is that myth is a double system; there occurs in it a sort of ubiquity: its point of departure is constituted by the arrival of a meaning." "Myth is a value, truth is no guarantee for it; nothing prevents it from being a perpetual alibi..." (123.)

Perhaps we are best remanded back to discussion of parable as metaphor--a line of approach already forwarded by Robert W. Funk, 1966. (See the review articles of Perrin, 1967a, 1972.) This time, however, I let William H. Gass be mentor, as when he discusses the use of metaphor as a means of learning a new vision; or, metaphor is seen as a scientific tool:

In a sense yet to be fully discovered, the technique of the artist is like that of the scientist. He invariably views the transactions of life through a lens of concept: through the shrew, the wife, through the wife, the dog; and through the dog, the cold and persistent wind. (Gass, 1970, 62.)

Belitt's suggestion that we do not acquire the wisdom of parable in order to use such knowledge as the scientist uses "facts" finds a parallel in Gass's comments about the indirectness of metaphor; indirectness or circumlocution or Funk's "penumbral focus" or Kafka's "fabulous yonder"--the manner in which parable is both utterly realistic and yet teases our minds to consideration of the super-realistic:

Metaphor is a manner of inferring; a manner of setting

down as directly and briefly and simply as possible whatever is necessary for the inference desired, although the conclusion may require premises that are neither brief or plain and do not seem direct, since direction, in both art and metaphor, is often indirection elsewhere; for it is as much a matter of concern there to seek the severe straight way as it is in science and mathematics to seek the same. But metaphor is more than a process of inference; it is also a form of presentation and display.

(Ibid., 63.)

Gass continues (p. 65) to speak of metaphor as "a kind of model-making," and he means by this that metaphors enable one to create models of possible situations of "...predictions which mere observation is helpless to do...".

Ibid. Cf. Weinrich, 1968, 101: "Metaphern, die einem festgefügtten Bildfeld angehören, haben häufig den Wert von Denkmodellen."

Parable as metaphor, not just functioning with metaphoric diction...parable as model-making: and the parabler joins other artists in standing at the edge of the possible, image-ing the future/the possible in diction that then becomes the way the future/the possible is experienced.

Before turning to the final section of this paper, and in lieu of extensive discussion at this point, I conclude this section with structural and thematic areas that may be profitably explored in conjoint analysis of Jesuanic and non-Jesuanic parables. To explore any of these areas in detail would amount to another paper in itself; and perhaps the areas simply represent the areas in which I feel least competent! They are not all of the same weight, and for some of them (such as the first), the agenda would first demand recapitulation of substantive probes already made in the history of parable exegesis.

For analyzing Jesus' parables, and especially these parables as representing only one instance of parables-in-general (parable-as-genre), the following may be explored:

1. Secularity. Commentators have noted that Jesus does not usually turn to religious language or custom to image or to shape his parables; other parablers are not harnessed with the anticipation that they use religious thematics--and in this case one must ask whether they are "religious parablers" in a broad sense, or what aspects of their parables are religious or secular with respect to their particular contexts.

Some authors who are not necessarily parablers are suggested by Coleman, 1972, 357: "And so, like Hawthorne, Melville, and Emerson, Borges' texts register metaphysical auras without being at all religious...". "Secularity" can perhaps be modulated into "realism," and we have then the question of how parablers use the commonsense "world" as parabolic material. I suspect that we also have to learn to deal not only with realism and sur-realism, but with what I term super-realism, as seen in any number of contemporary fiction writers.

Compare the category of "feigned history" of Tolkein, introduced by Crossan, 1973, 35. I was struck by some remarks on the diction of the Hellenistic diatribe, in a 1925 article by Nock ("Diatribe Form in the Hermetica," in Nock, 1972, I): "...a similitude in the manner of the diatribe..." (27); "...the pictorial character appropriate to the diatribe, which loved comparisons with everyday phenomena" (29); "...that lack of sympathy with popular belief and practice which is also

a mark of the diatribe..." (29-30). Points of contrast are probably more extensive than points of similarity, but Nock's observations lead me to reflect on the relation of parable and diatribe both in subject matter (everyday phenomena, popular belief and ethics) and with regard to their functional use in the Hellenistic literary milieu.

2. Reversal. I have discussed Borges' alleged rejection of the surprise ending, and this element will be explored further in the next section of this paper. Here the element is listed as a structural possibility; and it may be broadened considerably: are there structural characteristics of parables that can be graphed or otherwise analyzed visually?

3. Humor. The role of (intended) humor, and then related modes: irony, sarcasm.

Cf. Funk, 1966, 195, on "comic criticism," discussed below.

4. Revaluation of Traditions. To what extent are parables normally used (as we have seen that Israelite and Jesuanic parables are frequently used) to restructure a revered tradition? Does "use" of this sort mean that parables are didactic devices? Would the parable ever function to reinforce a "normal" world view?

5. Universality. Is the parable as "aesthetic object" necessarily a timeless entity? Is the identity of the parabler crucial to the parables as such? Or are there certain parables that gain/lose emphasis when directly linked to the identity of their parabler/s? (It is striking that dictionary definitions of parable often emphasize their universality and "timelessness.")

6. Application. The term is chosen because of the convention by which biblical critics identify passages supposedly appended to Jesus' parables, but the issue is a wider one (and involves, for instance, the question of didactic or other intention raised above). Should one say that the "normative parable" is application-free? (the hearer being left free to supply his own meaning-context and response). Does the parable normatively "leave the issues suspended"? (Belitt, 1972, 272.) Or does one differentiate between parables usually left application-free, and those that are often/usually fitted with applications? If the hearer, as part of the mechanism of the parabolic narrative, finds himself having been drawn up into the parable,

See Funk, 1966, 133, and, on the parable as drama (and by extension, "game" as in game theory), see Eichholz, 1961; 1963, 20 f. On the reader's role in Borges' stories: Wheelock, 1969, 16; and on the dialogic element, Linnemann, 1966, *passim*.

can one affirm with Linnemann (1966, 24) that: "The parable narrative is all the narrator says to his original listeners"? (putting emphasis upon "original" rather than her stress on "all.")

7. Narrative world. Harald Weinrich's distinction between narrated- and reported-world (1964) has found many echoes in the Bonn "Generative Poetics" research team.

See especially Güttgemanns, 1972; the distinction is usually introduced at a preliminary level of analysis. The distinction might be pursued profitably as a means of understanding the ways parables may seem complete in themselves: but is successful creation of a fictional universe anything specific to parable as a type of fiction?

Intrigued though I am by the distinction, I do not see immediate gain: but we had to be reminded by Via that the parables of Jesus have structural plots, and per-

haps in this case it is enough to be reminded of the fictionality of the parables. It is this type of "re-minding" that has led me to be especially interested in narrative criticism in general, and through that to the morphological/structural analyses of Propp (as 1968 and 1972) and now contemporary structuralism; bibliography of recent works by Breymayer and Ellena in Gerber and Güttgemanns, 1972, 197-247--1096 items; and Güttgemanns, 1972, 85 n. 7.

Parable criticism has more to learn from narrative criticism than even Dan Via taught us in exploring the development of plots, roles of actors, "functions" taking place in the story (actions or "moves"), and the possible comparative analysis of sequence of functions in world literature.

E. Reversal Element/s in Jesus' Parables.

For some time I have been attracted to the structural element in the parables of Jesus that causes a reversal of the auditors' expectations. There are many examples that might be cited, and I have listed some I find striking in an appendix, which may be consulted at this point. One may add or subtract examples according to one's own literary analyses.

Others seem to have been struck by this pattern, notably Robert W. Funk, who referred to "comic criticism" which functions "to debunk the 'going' understanding of the everyday situation" and "to open the way for a radically new disposition to reality, a disposition that is marked by the tragicomical." (1966, 195 f.) Comic criticism is part of the construction of the parables whereby: "The 'logic' of everydayness is broken upon the 'logic' of the parable." (213.)

In attempting to expose ironical contours of several parables, Wolfgang Harnisch also speaks of a comic element--which Harnisch sees most clearly in the contrast between the Unjust Judge's lack of fear before God and man (Lk 18:2, 4b) and his obvious fear that the importunate woman will hit him in the face (5b).

The article (Harnisch, 1972, 421-36) gives references to other studies of irony (most notably those of Beda Allemann) and of irony in the teaching of Jesus. Unfortunately it does not take us very far: irony may be used as a didactic device to sharpen the narration, and as part of the mechanism by which parables speak of "the real world" in such a way as to refer to a possibly-real world that, however, makes sense only to one who accedes to the parabolic logic. The hearer is stranded from the real world in order to view more personally its estrangement.

Dan Via's path-breaking book on the parables incorporates a reversal element into a structural analysis of the main tragic./comic narrative patterns of the parables as individual aesthetic wholes.

Via, 1967; additions and modifications in Via, 1971. Crossan, 1973a, uses "reversal" to refer to the structural reversal in his group B of the servant parables, a reversal of a pattern established in group A: he is not referring to the larger context, however, but specifically to the structural variation of two groups of parables having the same formal identifiers (conflict between servant./master; reckoning).

Accepting Via's analyses in general, I am still concerned to press further toward a grasp of the phenomenon of the reversal

itself: can we attain greater linguistic precision in describing the technique of the reversal itself, within the narrative structures of the parables?

Already Paul Fiebig spoke of the inconsistency (Inkonsistenz) of the parables, by which he meant the disjuncture between the parable and the subject or situation that evoked the parabolic narrative, a disjuncture that he saw especially in rabbinical parables. Fiebig ascribed this to the tendency of Jewish literature (?) to avoid generalizations and to speak in concrete, specific terms, as well as to speak around the subject matter rather than directly to it; the conclusion, instead of drawing a simple one-to-one conclusion, then making a specific remark, leaving the hearer to draw his own conclusions, or shifting attention from the actual topic to only one element of it (or to ancillary aspects--Nebentöne).

Of the several references to Fiebig in the Bibliography, I am afraid I have lost specific page references in my notes; I believe this material is in 1912a, as is Fiebig's emphasis upon the variable relationship of subject and parable, which leads him to an important formal statement: "It is entirely false to want to exegete all of the parables according to exactly the same schema." (93.) On Fiebig's contributions, see Jones, 1964, 64-79.

A similar argument is presented independently by Günter Haufe, 1972, who suggests that the imagic part of the Unjust Judge finds its material correspondence not in parabolic exposition but in Jesus' makarisms; and I think we might refer back to the earlier discussion to point to the inconsistency of Kafka's parables: evoked by the disjuncture in the author's experienced being-in-the-world mediated in parabolic narrative.

P. G. Wodehouse rather playfully remarked that "...a parable is one of those stories in the Bible which sounds like a pleasant yarn but keeps something up its sleeve which then suddenly pops up and leaves you flat." (Quoted in Hunter, 1960, 74.) What it is which is hidden in the sleeve of the parable's garment may be regarded as that element which jabs through the pretensions of the audience, as that which works loose the fabrics of "business as usual," and as that which causes the listener a momentary or permanent disorientation. In a seminar several years ago, I came to the conclusion that it may not be inappropriate to term the jarring element in certain of the parables the "immoral" factor. By this I refer to the way the contemporary audience's social, legal, and moral expectations were not only not met, but reversed in the course of the story. There is an "immoral" reversal which cannot be anticipated: no pious father could have been expected to have welcomed openly a profligate son whose religious purity had been seriously compromised (Prodigal Son); an unclean foreigner (Good Samaritan) rather than the anticipated pious layman, tends the traveler's wounds.

Some parables break customary models of behavior: the Unjust Steward and the Unjust Judge are, of all things, praised for dealings that appear quite shady. The riffraff who are invited to enter into the Marriage Feast have no "right" to be invited; similarly it seems "unfair" to exclude half of the wedding group just because they were having such a good time that they fell asleep and let their batteries run down (Ten Maidens). The one-talent man gets a raw deal (Talents), as do the Laborers in the Vineyard--at least they get raw deals according to standard union demands!

It is not my intention in these illustrations to suggest that an "immoral" aspect or an unusual turn of

events dominates the parable to the extent that it excludes other interpretive possibilities; and I am not suggesting that one may not explain through careful historical-critical elaboration that the apparent immorality was a possible morality--my primary focus is upon striking surface appearances of immorality or reversal.

The Mustard Seed parable makes its point by mocking a revered traditional image of Israel's national fulfillment, the cedar (see Funk, 1973); Leaven turns what is a negative image in rabbinic thought into a positive image. That there should be Weeds in Wheat was not unusual, but entirely ignoring them "until the harvest" seems odd (see Doty, 1971). Finally, the parables of the Treasure and the Pearl imply a lack of fair play on the part of the discoverer, who "should" have reported his find; and one wonders how often a responsible shepherd would have left most of his flock in questionable safety, in order to seek out one stray Lost Sheep.

The previous note is again relevant; analysis of surface structure must always go hand in hand with analysis that specifies the actual boundaries of the legally- or morally-permitted; as in the last two parables mentioned, the critic must remain sensitive to what would have been striking to the original auditors as well as to what is striking in his own interpretive context.

To highlight the "immoral" principle at work, we may note that several other parables may be called, in contrast, strictly "moral." In these parables, which frequently explain or illustrate a discursive point, everything comes out as we would have expected; there is no abrupt reversal of everyday logics. The Unmerciful Servant gets his deserved fate, and the Last Judgment eventuates just as it should, as does the denouement of the Rich Man and Lazarus. The Pharisee and the Publican do not surprise us with their behavior, nor do the Tower Builder or the King Going To War. Seed Grows Secretly, and various soils produce crops according to their discernible and logical nature (Sower).

Perhaps the suggested contrast between immoral and moral parables, or between those that sustain customary expectations and those that spring customary expectations, is an accidental dichotomy. However that may be, and I am more and more convinced of the self-conscious skill of Jesus as Parabler, identification of the reversal-of-the-expected provides an insight into how some parables are constructed. Crossan's three-fold thematic division (revelation, revolution, and resolution; 1973b) may then be correlated with this patterning, most of my examples falling into his second category: "...radical reappraisal of position and life demanded by the revelation...verbalized in parables which contain incidents of situational reversal...". (Quoted from the typescript, p. 22.)

W. Malcolm Clark writes of "conflict heightening and restructuring" in Israelite prophets, and points to this device as resulting: "...in a genuine transformation of the tradition which keeps the traditional elements but alters their structural elements." My sense that this device is also part of parabolic dynamics is strengthened when Clark uses the story of Naboth's vineyard (1 Kings 21) and Nathan's story of the lambs (2 Sam 12) to illustrate the "self-conviction device." (Batson, Beker, and Clark, 1973, 99 ff., 105 f.) Speaking in terms that recall Georg Eichholz' analysis of the theatrical involvement of the parables (1961), Clark notes that: "A situation is created in which the person is led along step by step in an analysis in

which he wholeheartedly concurs, until at a final point he suddenly finds that unknowingly and unwillingly he has 'convicted' himself." (105.) Expectations of the prophet's discourse (read: the parabler's discourse) are radically transmuted; the "tradition" itself is placed into question, as seen in Jesus' table-fellowship.

See Perrin, 1967b; and cf. Clark's references to the work of Amos Wilder, Batson, Beker and Clark, 1973, 73, 142 ff.

That which tradition defined as holy may, after the presentation of the oracle or parable, turn out to be defiling. (107.) Or the oracle/parable may free parts of the tradition for re-appropriation in new contexts leading to action: "Neither objective happened to change the 'situation,' but the oracle acts as a catalyst which enables the person to put the pieces back together in a different way." (108.) We may speak of a consistent "debunking factor" (127) that shook open the religious fabrics of Israel in such a way as to dethrone ossified ideologizations and to cast new threads of interconnection and response. And, in prophetic oracle as in parable, the hearer may not along in agreement--up to a crucial point of departure from what he wants to hear or expects to hear:

What takes place is analogous to what has been suggested as the essence of good poetry, which leads the reader along in a building sequence of expectations so that immediately before the end of the line he can predict the final word or meaning with certainty, only to discover that the poet has used this very expectation to say something different and bring the reader to a type of insight which he would not otherwise have experienced. (105.)

The metaphoric insight is notoriously difficult to specify: I think Clark is pointing here to the successful "plus" moment that Crites calls the "luminous" symbolic moment when the three narrative tracks of sacred story, mundane story, and the temporal form of existence itself cross (1971, 305), or to Ricoeur's symbolic intersection of the cosmic (religious), oneiric (psychic), and the poetic.

See Sinyard, 1970, 38 f.; and see Crossan, 1973b, on poetic metaphor.

Such intersection is doubtless the key to the "realism" theme mentioned earlier: the point is not to be found in Jesus' arbitrary manipulation of realistic, everyday images, but in his creative juncturing of these features within a rich religious and psychic matrix of his own historicity.

On Kafka's frequent reference to daily events as material for the transformations of his fiction, see Brod, 1960, 84, 102, 129. On realism in Jesus' parables, see Crossan, 1973a, 35.

It is the powerful, evocative, fusion/crisis that sparks the parabolic insight--which however I understand as a holistic experience including emotion, intellect, aesthetic and ethical commitment rather than merely as an "intellectual" insight. Parable opens up the remarkable-ness of the perceived world, it highlights and focusses what is "there" in a new gestalt leading to action and re-perception.

Cf. Magass, 1973, 17: "Der Alltag scheint wohl vertraut zu sein, die Alltagswelt hat aber auch unentdeckte Stellen. Die Gleichnisse haben dann u.a. die Aufgabe, im Anschluss an die Bekanntheit der Alltagswelt, die Erzählweise Jesu mit der fremden und erstaunlichen Welt zusammenstossen zu lassen."

In conclusion, I define the reversal element in this way: One of the structural literary characteristics of parabolic nar-

rative is the reversal of expectations brought by the auditors/readers to the parabolic encounter; the reversal happens toward the end of the narrative, in such a way as to shatter "normal" or "moral" expectations, and to open up further expectations by casting out a line to the future, which may or may not sufficiently attract the auditors/readers so as to structure a renewed perception of the pre-parabolic universe. The mechanisms involved may include re-interpretation of traditional logics (perceptions, morals, metaphors), or re-structuring dialogic encounters so that the auditor escapes from the parabolic situation feeling that he has been drawn up into a narrated world whose "fictionality" becomes a replacement for his previous "reality." Shattered by the parabolic logic, the auditor's world can now only be rejected, affirmed, or re-assembled into new configurations that may not be shared by the majority of his contemporaries. If the parable establishes a "bridge,"

Cf. "Verschränkung," Linnemann, 1964, 35, which I understand as: "In the parable there is an 'interlocking' of the narrator's judgment and the listener's judgment on the question at hand." Cf. Linnemann, 1966, 27 and index.

it is a crystal bridge that he knows to be solid, but which may only appear to another as the abyss being spanned.

This section of the paper has not sought to argue a verse-by-verse proof or to convince readers of a startlingly new element of parabolic construction. I have suggested that a constructional element of reversal can be identified in many parables, and have shown some examples in an appendix and in the text. Hopefully this identification has seeded further explorations of constructional elements, pointed out some of the implications and uses of the device, and pointed beyond its own contours toward structural/generic analysis of parables as such. Writing the paper has given me new insight into the career of the parabler, who seems primarily to be the soul who sees positively and hopefully beyond the experienced strictures of his own context toward a future assembled both from the best of past traditions and with openings to anticipated change ahead. He is not just Lévi-Strauss's bricoleur, but a truly world-shaping and -evoking artist.

5 July 1973

Appendix"Immoral" Parables

parable	reversal/unusual element (from auditor's perspective)
Mustard Seed (Mk/Mt)	mockery of traditional metaphors in Dan, Ezek
Weeds in Wheat (Mt)	seems unnatural to ignore the weeds until harvest
Leaven (Mt/Lk)	negative image (leaven = sin) for positive comparison with basileia
Treasure, Pearl (Mt)	implied lack of sincerity--either agent should have reported find to original owner
Lost Sheep (Mt/Lk)	in Mt & Thomas: more concern for the one found than right duty to the ninety-nine
Laborers in Vineyard (Mt)	customary pattern of earning is upset
Marriage Feast (Mt/Lk)	unusual (immoral) to invite the riffraff
Ten Maidens (Mt)	seems "unfair" to exclude the five "foolish" ones
Talents (Mt/Lk)	seems unfair to the one-talent person; obligation to invest and make profit
Good Samaritan (Lk)	unclean foreigner does the positive act
Prodigal Son (Lk)	1) father going out; 2) to unclean son; 3) in spite of elder brother
Unjust Steward & Unjust Judge (Lk)	<u>paradigms</u>

"Moral" Parables
(come out just as one expects)

Mt:	Unmerciful Servant, Seed Growing Secretly, Last Judgment
Mk/Mt/Lk:	Sower
Lk:	Tower Builder, Rich Man and Lazarus, Pharisee and Publican
Mt/Lk:	House Builder

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"WHAT ARE WE LOOKING FOR?"
TOWARD A DEFINITION OF THE TERM
"CHRISTIAN PROPHET"

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"I think I know what 'time' is until you ask me to define it." Augustine's quip is appropriate to the subject of our Seminar. We can converse adequately about time without a labored definition of what it is. But is the same really true of "early Christian prophecy"? After attempting to say concretely what I mean by the term, I'm not so sure.

As its first major task, the SBL Seminar on Early Christian Prophecy will explore the phenomenon of prophecy in the Hellenistic world prior to and apart from its manifestation in early Christianity. Each major body of relevant materials will be investigated in terms of the data and understanding(s) of prophecy it offers, in order to bring to sharper focus the manifestations of the prophetic phenomenon in the world into which Christianity was born. But before the materials can be divided up an allotted to researchers, some kind of common understanding of what we are looking for in the broad spectrum of materials offered by our period would seem to be necessary. We wish to sift our materials to see what we can learn of "prophecy" from them; but what do we mean by "prophecy"? The Seminar also needs an initial statement to serve as a common reference point in the group's ongoing attempt to define (or characterize) early Christian prophecy. We do not now have such a commonly-accepted definition. The terms "prophet", "prophecy", "oracle of the risen Lord", and "prophetic" are used in a variety of ways. To facilitate communication between its members and progress along a common front, the Seminar needs to agree on a working definition of "prophecy" and related terms. This essay is intended solely as a first step in the formation of such a working definition.

For the purposes of this discussion, we are concerned with one phenomenon, the person of which is *προφῆτης* or *προφῆτις*, the action of which is *προφητεύω*, the product of which is *προφητεία*. (This latter term is also used to embrace the phenomenon as a whole, of course.) In this essay, the terms are used interchangeably to describe the same phenomenon, depending on whether it is seen from the point of view of the performer, the action, or the product. The adjective *προφητικός* may be used in any of these connections, or all of them together.

Kinds of Definition

The many varieties of statements included under the broad heading "definition" may be reduced to two basic types: nominal definitions and real definitions. A nominal definition explains the meaning of a word, phrase, symbol, or expression (in the

jargon of logic, a "notation"). A real definition defines a thing rather than a notation.

Obviously, a real definition of prophecy is among the ultimate goals of this Seminar. We hope to bring the phenomenon ("a necessary weasel-word")¹ itself into clearer view, to make our characterizations of it more in accord with reality, more true. But for our present purpose in beginning the work of this Seminar, a mutually-acceptable nominal definition is what we need, something analogous to defining terms at the beginning of a book, or akin to the Messina conference's adopting a terminology to be used in research on Gnosticism. Hypothetically, such a set of definitions could be completely artificial and arbitrary, in the Alice-in-wonderland style of "a word means just what I want it to mean--no more and no less." This Carrollian approach to definition would work just as well as any other, so long as everyone using the definitions adhered to them as the ground rules of a particular language game. Inasmuch as reality resists being captured completely in words, a residuum of such arbitrariness may be inherent in any definition. Nonetheless, to curb the proliferation of yet more in-group jargon, we need to avoid this kind of arbitrariness and formulate our working definitions as closely as possible to the understanding of the phenomenon as we presently perceive it. That is, even a nominal definition should not clash with what is currently judged to be the real definition.

Various approaches, not altogether mutually exclusive, present themselves for the formulation of a nominal definition. (Of course some of these may also be useful for the making of real definitions.)

1. Ostensive Definition--The most basic definitional procedure is to physically show or point to an object while naming it, without engaging in further elaboration of a word by other words. This approach has a certain usefulness for physical objects or events present both to the speaker and the hearer ("This is a chair"; "that was a hiccup".), but is out of the question as a direct approach to defining abstractions such as "prophecy" and phenomena of the past such as "early Christian prophecy." Still, something analogous to this approach might be utilized for our purpose by adopting an instance of the literary deposit of early Christian prophecy (e.g. the Apocalypse) or a description of an early Christian prophet (e.g. Agabus in Acts) as "definitive" and measuring the "prophetness" of all else by this.² But though by mutual agreement we might adopt (e.g.) the Apocalypse as the definitive example of what we mean by early Christian prophecy, it could not be "definitive" in any absolute sense without some amplification by other non-ostensive (=propositionally-formulated) definitions, for the question could not be suppressed: "What is it about the Apocalypse which constitutes it as prophecy?" To deal with this question, other approaches to definition must be used.

2. Etymology--Two approaches to definition are oriented to the word to be defined itself. The first of these regards the linguistic antecedents of the word as decisive, or at least very important, in determining its meaning: witness the gener-

ations-long debate concerning the derivation of אֲבִי in OT circles, and the introductory sections of many TWNT articles, including the one on προφῆτης. But while the usefulness of etymological considerations is not here contested, the meaning of a word is not determined by its genealogy, but by its usage. "Bow-legged" girls are rarely "cute", etymological considerations to the contrary notwithstanding. And exertions to relate προφῆτης to πρόφητις, and to prove that the προ- in each case is to be understood "originally" in a spacial, not temporal sense may arrive at a correct result, but on inadequate grounds. Etymology may offer some help in illustrating the meaning of a word arrived at on other grounds, but cannot be normative in deciding what a word "really" means. A word means what it comes to mean in a particular historical context. So to the extent that our definition is related to the word-group προφῆτ-, we must relate even our preliminary definition to the way this word group was used in its Hellenistic settings, not to a priori etymological considerations.

3. Label-approach--This is a term formulated ad hoc to characterize a second type of approach to definition which is oriented (in our case) to the word group προφῆτ- itself. This approach is oriented to the occurrence of a word rather than to a phenomenon. Or it assumes that the phenomenon to be defined will always be so labeled in the material being dealt with. If we were to adopt this approach, we would ransack our materials for the words προφῆτης, אֲבִי, etc., and draw our conclusions on prophecy in the Hellenistic world by an analysis of texts in which these words occur. This is the procedure for making a dictionary, which is concerned with the usage of a word in a given period. This is both the strength and weakness of such works as the TWNT. This approach may proceed in two directions. On the one hand, a "least common denominator" may be sought which will embrace all the known occurrences of the word. The resulting definition is frequently too general to be very useful. Or, on the other hand, this procedure can become a kind of positivistic abdication of the task of definition, which in effect says "the word προφῆτης denotes in a given period those persons who are so labelled." Although like all tautologies it cannot be falsified, such an approach is useful only for determining how a particular word was used in a given time and place, and is only minimally helpful in understanding a particular phenomenon which may occur in connection with a given word or apart from it. In our case, the immense variety of figures designated by προφῆτης hampers the usefulness of this approach. There are some strengths to this approach: it has a kind of neatness and defensibility in that it doesn't call anyone a prophet who is not so designated in the sources, and it allows for relative ease of research with a concordance or computer. But: if the Seminar is interested in studying a phenomenon in the Hellenistic world and in early Christianity, and if it is not willing to assume that this phenomenon was always bound in a 1:1 correlation to a word or word group, this approach to the materials is of limited value.³

4. Content--This approach to definition starts with the product, with "prophecy." A certain kind of message is assumed to be "prophetic", so that whoever delivers such a message is considered a prophet. There is usually a covert ostensive definition at work in this procedure. E.g., the social justice passages in Amos are taken as definitive; preaching or writing of a similar content is "prophetic", as in the Social Gospel's use of "prophetic" and "prophet" (though rarely "prophecy" and "prophecy"!); a usage widely influential in American Christianity's use of "prophetic" terminology. On the other hand, Daniel may be used as a covert ostensive definition, defining prophecy materially as apocalyptic speculation. Fundamentalist publications, millennialist Bible study groups and conferences on 'prophecy' use the term in this way. But this whole approach to definition would be better seen as an unconscious ostensive definition of the prophetic phenomenon. Thus unless the Seminar is willing to decide in advance that a certain product is "prophecy," this approach too has only a limited usefulness in our project.

5. Functional--This approach is the one here proposed as most appropriate for study of the phenomenon of early Christian prophecy. The prophet is defined in terms of his essential function, his function which constitutes him as a prophet. Here too, immediate objections present themselves: How does one determine what is "essential," what is the "constitutive" function which makes one a prophet? How does one determine who is to be included in the category from which this "essential function" is to be abstracted? Is there again not some kind of covert pre-definition at work which selects specimens from whom the "essential function" is then (re-)abstracted? Would it be better to simply arbitrarily describe a function we wish to study in abstraction from any concrete manifestations, label it "prophecy", and then go looking for it in the sources?

In order to take these valid objections into consideration, and to have as sound a beginning point as possible, the following procedure is proposed:

- (1.) Since it is Christian prophets of the first few generations who are the subjects of our primary interest, our definition should be formulated beginning with those who are specifically called prophets in the earliest Christian literature as a basis. This means that we must begin with the "label-approach" discussed above, despite its limitations as an exclusive approach.
- (2.) With the question of function in mind, the group labeled as prophets in this literature should be used as a kind of sample group for the purpose of formulating a working definition. No attempt should be made to embrace every instance of the word group prophecy. A "core" group should be sought, with peripheral and derivative usages of the word allowed to fall under the table. This would mean that for our purposes the group would include the prophets mentioned in Acts and the Pauline correspondence, the Apocalypse, Mark 13 par., Matt. 7, the Didache, and Hermas. There is enough variety in this group to keep the resulting definition from being too narrow, yet enough commonality of

function to keep the definition from having to be so broad and vague as to be meaningless.

(3.) This core group should be analyzed to determine which function(s) they have in common, which function(s) they have which differentiates them from other functionaries, i.e. which function(s) constitute them as prophets.

(4.) This prophetic function should then be described as our normative working definition, and whoever performs it should be considered a prophet for our purposes, whether or not he bears this label in the sources, especially if some reason can be shown why the term is absent.⁴

Particular Issues in Defining Early Christian Prophecy

Before we proceed to attempt to formulate a definition, a few issues particularly involved in the definition of early Christian prophecy need to be considered:

(1.) Since we are interested in investigating a phenomenon defined basically in functional terms, the definition should avoid the debate revolving around "office and charisma in the early church".⁵ That is, the definition should not define prophecy as an office, anti-office, or non-office. These categories are useful for other issues, but not helpful for ours. To be sure, in speaking of early Christian prophets we are referring to a recognizable group within the early church, not to an anonymous or abstract function which may occur erratically and "disembodied." As "prophecy", however defined, was an identifiable function, so "prophet" was an identifiable figure. But whether he is to be identified in terms of an "office" is a question which may be bypassed in our present working definition. The later work of the Seminar may deal with this question, but the working definition should leave this question open.

(2.) Since the Seminar intends to study early Christian prophecy, the working definition of "prophet" should be formulated on the basis of Christian sources themselves. This will leave open the question of the "uniqueness" of the phenomenon, i.e. whether or to what extent something identical, similar, or analogous to it was present before and/or alongside it in the Hellenistic world. But of course even if Christian prophecy should prove to be unique in some features,⁶ the definition should not be composed only around these features, unless it is they which constitute Christian prophecy as prophecy. Otherwise, no light at all will be shed on the phenomenon from non-Christian sources, from which it is unlikely Christian prophecy was completely discontinuous. On the other hand, basing our definition on Christian sources, even if the supposedly unique features of Christian prophecy not be made constitutive of the definition, is preferable to beginning with a definition based on all the multitude of sources from the Hellenistic world, then proceeding to study the phenomenon in early Christianity with the tacit assumption that it is a sub-variety of the general phenomenon.

(3.) The definition should be a definition, not a characterization. This means it should be brief, giving only the essential, sine qua non function(s) of the prophet. To define is obviously to mark out limits, to be both inclusive and exclusive. The definition should both include all those the Seminar deems to be prophets, and exclude all those not so regarded. This is different from a description. Presumably features common to many or even all prophets might be omitted from a definition. The later, on-going task of the Seminar will be to flesh out this definition into a characterization, or group of characterizations, of the phenomenon of early Christian prophecy in all its varieties in as precise detail as is possible.⁷ But the present task is only to agree on a basic working definition.

A Proposed Definition

On the basis of the above considerations, I would propose the following definition:

A PROPHET IS AN IMMEDIATELY-INSPIRED SPOKESMAN FOR THE (OR A) DEITY OF A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY, WHO RECEIVES REVELATIONS WHICH HE IS IMPELLED TO DELIVER TO THE COMMUNITY.

The definition is formal and functional; prophecy as such is not defined by its content, however much one may be able to identify common elements in the content of the prophecies of a particular community.

The intent of each element of the definition needs to be made as clear as possible:

"PROPHET": As indicated above, framing the definition in terms of the person is intended to define also the action and the product. "To prophesy" is the constitutive action of such a prophet; "prophecy" is his product.

"IMMEDIATELY-INSPIRED": The reference to "inspiration" is intended to express the claim that a spirit or power from or identical with the deity causes the prophet to speak. This claim to inspiration is a sine qua non of prophecy. But since the terms "inspired" and "inspiration" are also used in weaker derived senses, a hyphenated term is necessary to indicate the claim that what is being said or written is the present, immediate voice of the deity.

The degree or manner of inspiration does not have to be included in the definition. This may range from ecstasy in the sense that the prophet completely loses consciousness, speaking in a trance, to a quite sober kind of inspiration in which the deity reveals his message to and through the normal consciousness of the prophet. The definitive aspect here is simply that the prophet claims to speak that which is directly revealed to him to speak.

"Immediately-inspired" is thus intended to exclude the manipulation of devices such as casting lots or examining the

livers of dead animals in order to deduce thereby a message from the deity, but not necessarily to exclude techniques which induce the state of inspiration. Nor, as the discussion below will indicate, does "immediate-inspiration" exclude the utilization of sources, traditional materials, or the reflections of the prophet himself which are inseparably involved in the delivery of what he has received to the community.⁸

"SPOKESMAN": The speech function is constitutive for the prophet. He may perform other functions in the community, but without the kind of speaking in behalf of the deity described above, there is no prophecy. His product is a spoken or written (or occasionally acted-out) message from the deity, an oracle or series of oracles.

"DEITY": The prophet speaks as the voice of some supernatural being, who may be thought of in many different ways. The common element in these conceptions is that the deity, however conceived, has something to say to a particular community or to individuals in it. The postulation of the prophetic phenomenon has the twin corollaries of a deity who speaks and a community who hears, or should do so.

"IMPELLED TO DELIVER": The message is not to or for the prophet himself. He is essentially a messenger. He is different from the mystic in that (a.) he doesn't necessarily seek the deity, but is sought by him and (b.) his "communion" with the deity (=the experience of inspiration) is not an edifying end in itself for the prophet, but is the means of receiving the message for the community. Therefore "the community" is a necessary part of any definition of "prophet", though not of "mystic".

This aspect of the prophetic phenomenon by which the prophet is impelled to deliver his message to the community also differentiates prophets from magicians and fortunetellers of whatever sort (even if these are also called *προφῆται* !). Not every claim to be in touch with the supernatural world and to dispense information therefrom should be called "prophecy," in the functional sense which we are proposing. While it is not disputed that social-anthropological studies of various types of shamans, witch doctors, magicians, and fortunetellers may be helpful inasmuch as they may be somewhat related phenomena, we should be very wary of lumping together the prophetic phenomenon we are interested in studying with all these, without careful distinctions. The function of gazing into a crystal ball and locating lost asses, and the function of declaring the immediately-revealed will of God to Saul, are two different functions, even if related and united in the same man. But only the latter is prophecy in the sense in which we are interested in investigating it.

In order to make "perfectly clear" some specific items that are intended to be included, and some that are specifically excluded, in the proposed definition, the following points need to be elaborated:

To be included are all those who perform the described function, even though the word group *προφῆται* - is not used by or

of them. The definition excludes all those who do not perform the described function, even if the word group *προφητ* - is used by or of them. There are certainly instances of the latter.⁹ The present writer's opinion is that there are instances of the former as well--also in the NT--, but this is one of the moot points upon which the future work of the Seminar will shed some fresh light.

To be included is the possibility of the use of material in the prophet's message which he has taken from tradition. The formula "if he uses tradition, he is not a prophet" has become all too common in discussions of Christian prophecy. The following quotations are not isolated instances:

"All prophecy rests on revelation, I Cor 14:30. The prophet does not declare what he has taken from tradition or thought up himself."¹⁰

"Weil die Prophetie nicht wie die 'Lehre' aus der Tradition schöpft, sondern auf Offenbarung beruht, ..."¹¹

"Die Verkündigung orientiert sich primär an dem überlieferten Wort Gottes, während die prophetische Rede unmittelbar aus der Dynamik des heiligen Geistes hervorbricht."¹²

It is true that prophets are related to the tradition in a different way than teachers and preachers who make no claims to direct inspiration, but this way of stating the matter is inaccurate and misleading. Not only do a priori psychological considerations weigh against it--the prophet who takes nothing "from tradition" or from "what he has thought up himself" will have little left to say--, but an examination of, e.g., our most extensive prophetic corpus in the NT reveals much that comes from tradition and earlier sources.

The better way to state the point is in terms of the way traditional materials are used by prophetic and non-prophetic figures. The prophet presents all that he utters as a prophet as the immediately-inspired present address of the deity to his community. This message may well include material taken from tradition and the prophet's own reflection, consciously or unconsciously, with or without re-interpretation, but it is not presented as material which a past authority once said, but as what the deity now says. The same material may be presented by the non-inspired teacher or preacher, but with the formal and functional difference that this claim to immediate inspiration is not made.

In regard to e.g. identifying oracles of Christian prophets in the synoptic tradition this would mean that, just as the formula "not from Jesus, therefore from a Christian prophet" is to be rejected, so also the formula "it contains words of the historical Jesus, therefore it is not from a Christian prophet" is likewise to be rejected.¹³

The definition also intends to mark itself off over against three related phenomena in early Christianity as specifically excluded, although they are sometimes understood as prophetic:

(1.) The specific phenomenon of early Christian prophecy is to be distinguished from the general "prophetic" character which the early *πνευμα*-filled Christian community possessed.

It was a universal assumption of early Christianity that all Christians possess the Spirit. There were many circles in which the late-Jewish equation $\pi\psi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha = \pi\psi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha \tau\tilde{\iota}\varsigma \pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ had an enduring influence. The emergence of a community in which every member possessed a kind of "prophetic" potential was a different situation from either the OT or Judaism, and makes the identification of specific figures as prophets more difficult to delimit from their environment. But there is ample evidence that even those early Christians who affirmed that all Christians were empowered by the Spirit did not regard every Christian as a prophet.¹⁴ Our definition is intended to include only prophets in the strict sense of the word.¹⁵

(2.) Similarly, the specific phenomenon of early Christian prophecy is to be distinguished from the general phenomenon of the Risen Lord's speaking through the tradition of his words. Since the earliest days of NT form criticism,¹⁶ it has been rightly urged that the tradition of Jesus' words, containing both authentic and secondary material, was often heard in the early church not as the remembered words of a great figure of the past, but as the present word of the exalted Lord. This would have been true regardless of whether the tradition was repeated by a genuinely prophetic figure or not--it was something inherent in the nature of the tradition, when combined with the community's faith in Jesus as the risen Lord. Yet even this valid point must not be overplayed, for surely the church would always have some who despite the generally accepted theology would think of the tradition of Jesus' words in terms resembling Acts 20:35. And this general phenomenon must not be equated with, or confused with, Christian prophecy. A clear distinction must be maintained between the voice of the risen Lord which was generally heard in the whole diverse tradition of Jesus' words, and the particular event of Christian prophecy as defined above.

(3.) And finally, the specific phenomenon of early Christian prophecy is to be distinguished from the general phenomenon of the living Christ who speaks in Christian preaching as understood in several major streams of Christian theology.¹⁷ This popular theological conception of Christian preaching may be expressed as "Christ speaks in the sermon of every country priest."¹⁸ But this is an understanding of the nature of the preaching event and of the text which is heard in the sermon, and moves on another plane, involving other categories than those we are using in dealing with a particular religions-geschichtlich phenomenon of the first few Christian generations. The exponents of this understanding of the preaching event would affirm that it may happen irrespective of whether the preacher understands himself in prophetic terms as we have defined them above. Indeed, this 'prophetic' understanding of preaching usually assumes that the preacher does not understand himself as such a prophet, and that nothing like "immediate-inspiration" is involved. It is a matter of the sovereignty of the Word itself, or of the exalted Christ himself, having nothing to do with prophecy as a specific phenomenon in early Christianity.

Yet this understanding of the general phenomenon of Christian preaching has caused some blurring of the lines which separate it from prophecy per se. Thus for instance, when C. K. Barrett speaks of John 16:8 as referring to "the spirit-inspired utterances of Christian preachers,"¹⁹ should one conclude that he regards this text as referring to Christian prophets as we have defined them, or only that the Spirit, in the view of the Fourth Gospel, is active in the "normal" preaching activity of the church? This latter view, advocated especially by Bultmann and others in his wake,²⁰ may have partially blinded two generations of NT scholars from seeing that John in fact wishes to portray the ministry of Christian prophets (in the strict sense) who were active in his own community.²¹ In any case, the widespread use of terminology which speaks of the Holy Spirit or the living Christ as active in the general preaching ministry of the church, both in the first century and later, has contributed to some confusion and imprecision in delineating the contours of the prophetic phenomenon in the strict sense. But the general phenomenon is not included in the above definition, and researchers are asked to be wary of allowing the general theological understanding of preaching from blurring their perception of the primary phenomenon which is the object of our study.

¹Lou Silberman, "Prophets and Philosophers: The Scandal of Prophecy" in Interpreting the Prophetic Tradition, ed. Harry Orlinsky (New York: KTAV, 1969), p. 84. Silberman's essay is important for the continuing work of this Seminar in that he presses for a real, and not merely utilitarian-nominal definition of prophecy: "Thus the question cannot be avoided: what do we mean when we speak of prophets and prophecy? Is it at all possible to give these words any substance within our contemporary universe of discourse?" (p. 94)

²The danger of this approach is illustrated by e.g. David Hill's article, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Revelation of St. John," NTS 18/4 (July 1972), p. 410, in that he proposes to let I Cor 14 be definitive for what a Christian prophet was, and thus questions whether the author of the Apocalypse should be considered a prophet.

³This would thus seem to be a weak spot in the 1972 Tübingen dissertation of Theodore M. Crone, Early Christian Prophecy: A Study of Its Origin and Function. Crone scans the materials looking for the word prophet, and when he fails to find it e.g. at Qumran, in Josephus' description of the Essenes, or in the rabbi descriptions of their own functions, he assumes that the phenomenon (however defined) was absent as well. His principle is illustrated on pp. 138-39: "We must base our understanding of first century Jewish prophecy on the reports of those individual figures to whom the term προφήτης was applied." This means that his analysis of prophecy in the NT is mostly a discussion of texts in which the word προφήτης occurs--a procedure which may allow important source material to be omitted (John? Paul?) if prophecy is defined in some functional way. What would happen to research on apocalyptic if it were restricted to texts in which ἀποκάλυψις occurs? to Θεὸς ἀνέειρε research if it were restricted to the occurrences of the term? The problem is illustrated with particular sharpness in the Fourth Gospel. To be sure, only Caiaphas prophesies in the Fourth Gospel (so Eduard Schweizer), but this is a result obtained by counting the occurrences of προφητεύω, not by asking what the Fourth Gospel may have to tell us about a phenomenon.

⁴As can be done among the rabbis and at Qumran, for example. Also for the Fourth Gospel?

⁵For a concise history of this debate from Sohm/Harnack to the present, see Ulrich Brockhaus, Charisma und Amt: Die paulinische Charismalehre auf dem Hintergrund der frühchristlichen Gemeindefunktionen (Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1972), pp. 1-89.

⁶My present opinion is that Christian prophecy is in fact unique in that inspired spokesmen speak in the name and person of an exalted κύριος-figure who is also considered to be identical with a historical figure of their recent past. All

supposed parallels to date seem to me not to be instances of the same phenomenon. Whether this opinion will be substantiated by our continuing research is of course an open question. But the definition of prophecy we are presently looking for should in any case not be determined by this or any other supposed unique feature of Christian prophets, for this is what makes them Christian, not what makes them prophets as such.

7 Such a characterization, a list of more-or-less common features and identifying marks of early Christian prophets would not only be a valuable attainment in itself, but would have helpful by products as well, e.g. the identification of prophetic oracles in the synoptic tradition of Jesus words would be rendered a more defensible task.

8 Cf. Johannes Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962) pp. , and Bartholomäus Henneken, Verkündigung und Prophetie im 1. Thessalonicherbrief, Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien #29 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1969), pp. 90-91.

9 E.g. Plato uses the word-group προφητ- of those not inspired and making no claim to inspiration, cf. TDNT 6:788.

10 Gerhardt Friedrich, art. "προφήτης" TDNT 6:853.

11 Joseph Schmidt, art. "Propheten. B., im NT", in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche 8:799.

12 Henneken, Verkündigung und Prophetie, p. 113.

13 Thus Hans Conzelmann, with characteristic Knappheit: "Inspiration" oder menschliche Vermittlung ist keine Alternative," in Der erste Brief an den Korinther (Meyer Series) p. 231.

14 E.g. both Paul and Luke consider every Christian to possess the Spirit (Acts 2:38, 19:1-7; I Cor 12:3, 13), and both associate the Spirit with prophecy (Acts 2:17-18, especially if, as is likely, Luke's own addition of καὶ προφητεύουσιν is to be read with the best texts, 13:1-2, 19:6, 21:10-11; I Thess 5:19-20, Rom 12:6, I Cor 14 throughout, esp. v. 37), but both distinguish the general gift of the Spirit from the specific manifestation of prophecy (Acts 13:1, 11:27-28, 15:32, 21:9-11; I Cor 12:29, 14:29).

15 An example of the blurring of this important distinction is offered in Eduard Schweizer's discussion of the church in the background of the Gospel of Matthew. After arguing, correctly, I believe, that Matthew's church was not hostile to charismatic phenomena, Schweizer comments that "In its preaching the Church is a Church of prophets." ("Law Observance and Charisma in Matthew," NTS 16 [April 1970], p. 226) Surely he

intends only to assert that prophets in the strict sense were active in Matthew's church, and that in general the preaching of such a church would be characterized by a kind of authority associated with the community's belief in its possession of the Spirit, not that every sermon preached in the community was immediately-inspired in the sense of our definition, or that every preacher in the community made such a prophetic claim for himself in the strict sense. Some room must be left for Matthew's "scribes", and for Matthew himself.

¹⁶Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, 279-80; Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the NT, 2:124; The History of the Synoptic Tradition, pp. 127, 142-43, 348; Günther Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, pp. 17-18; and especially Oscar Cullmann, "The Tradition," in The Early Church, pp. 57-99 and "Paradosis and Kyrios" in Scottish Journal of Theology 3/2 (1950), pp. 180ff.

¹⁷E.g. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Act and Being, p. 142; Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics I/1, pp. 91, 205f, 235, 320; Karl Adam, The Spirit of Catholicism, 22-23, 58, 159; and several essays by Rudolf Bultmann.

¹⁸Cf. Karl Adam, The Spirit of Catholicism, 22-23, and Eduard Lohse's reference to the preaching ministry of the church which he sees portrayed in the Johannine portrayal of the Paraclete, "die Vollmacht der vom Geist gewirkten Verkündigung," and "In dem vom Geist gewirkten Wort, das der Gemeinde verkündigt wird, handelt also der erhöhte Herr selbst, der das Wort seiner Zeugen als sein Wort sprechen lässt." ("Deus dixit-- Wort Gottes im Zeugnis des Alten und Neuen Testaments," Evangelische Theologie 25 [1965], p. 581)

¹⁹C. K. Barrett, The Gospel according to St. John (London, 1956), ad loc.

²⁰Rudolf Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments (Tübingen, 3. ed. 1958) p. 441: "Für Johannes ist der Geist...die Kraft der Erkenntnis und der Wortverkündigung in der Gemeinde." Eduard Schweizer, "πνεῦμα, E. the NT," TDNT, 6:443; Siegfried Schulz, Komposition und Herkunft der Johanneischen Reden (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 147; Günther Bornkamm, "Der Paraklet im Johannesevangelium," Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem 70. Geburtstag, ed. Walther Eltester (Berlin, 1957) p. 28; Hans Conzelmann, An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament (London, 1969), p. 350.

²¹I have attempted to marshal the evidence supporting this view in a forthcoming article.

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PREFACE -- ISSUES AND METHODOLOGY

The gospel of Mark has provoked a recent series of attempts to define who Mark's opponents are and what is the major issue of the book. Kelber and Weeden have each put a torchlight of a major Markan interest on the gospel. For Kelber the major interest is eschatology, for Weeden, Christology. They have said, from this light and from various reflections we can see what were the shadows Mark fought. For Kelber, Mark speaks against those who have no proper theology of suffering and eschatology; for Weeden, Mark speaks against those who use their own miracle doing as a basis for power. Such torchlights give successor critics an edge; it is always easier to say "Neti, Neti" (not this, or this) when the forest has some illumination. There do seem to have been opponents; it is not clear that Mark's major issue is Christology or eschatology.¹

The question of Mark's major aim is indeed important since understanding of aim makes a difference in interpretation of the gospel. Weeden and Kelber are also right in looking at Mark's portrayal of the characters of the gospel. The presentation of figures -- their stated assumptions and the roles they play in relation to each other -- shows at least Mark's picture of them. To seek further perspectives on these issues, two methods will be applied singly and jointly. The first is the common logic of subordination. This would ask, for example, "Is emphasis on eschatology or Christology an end in itself for Mark, or is it a means toward another end?" If it is a means toward another end, then the other end is a more major point for Mark. A second method is the establishment of normative forms for blocks of Markan material (establishing the normative use of miracles cycle, eschatological saying, etc.).² The methodological point here -- and one related to the presuppositions of both form and redaction criticism -- is that one must judge an author's use of material by showing the present materials' difference from normative types³ or usage. Where the differences correspond to what would seem Markan interests, the difference is one more piece of evidence that the usage here may be Markan. Thus when one sees an eschatological expression or structure used for paraenesis and the paraenesis corresponds to Markan interests, one assumes the author Mark at work, using eschatology for paraenesis.

Since Weeden spoke most concentratedly on the material covered by Kelber in the first section of Mark, this paper will not treat that section in detail (although it does give a variant analysis of that crux, chapter 4).

9:30-10:45 (the section of Markan teaching which follows the coming-and-ascent-of-the-heavenly-healer oriented structure of 1-9:13) is a key⁴ passage when studying Markan aims. There both concepts normally associated with eschatology and christological titles are used in arguing for community oriented ethical teaching. Since both eschatology and Christology thus perform supportive roles in 9:30-10:45, this section is a useful place to explore what Mark uses these points to support and what Mark seems to oppose.

This author, as Kelber, sees the issue of the temple as important for Mark. The temple is a topic treated especially in chapters 11, 12 and 13. However, it is not clear to the author that the temple is denigrated. Rather, Mark would seem to be trying to cope with eschatological traditions associated with Jesus -- traditions that Jesus acted out the fall of the temple and prophesied that the endtime would follow three days after the fall of the temple.

Chapter 13:5-27, which answers the question of the relation of the temple to Jesus and the endtime, is another key section for the issues of signs, eschatology and opponents. Structural analysis of this section would suggest that Mark is not only treating questions of time (as would be expected

if the issue were mainly eschatology). He is using a structure, usually employed in describing the future, to speak to questions of assertion of power -- a similar issue to that treated in 9:30-10:45. Thus here again, eschatological commonplace is used for paraenesis. Structural analysis (plus knowledge of the OT) would also cast doubt on the assertion that the figures of 13:5,6 and 21,22 are the same and are necessarily Christian.

I. Beyond Miracles and Suffering, Beyond Eschatology to Ethics

Miracles

Weeden's View of Mark's Opposition to Miracle-Based Power; The Problem of Mark's Healing-Oriented Presentation of Jesus' Ministry; Mark's Structural Use of Healing Stories; Mark Rationalizes the Successive Cycles of Healings to Argue for Going Out

Suffering

The General Argument that Mark Argues for Suffering; The Markan Picture of the Disciples as Accepting Suffering; Mark may even try to Temper a Rush to Suffering; Reinterpretation of Suffering in Terms of Service

Eschatology

Kelber's View of Mark's Opponents as Having No Eschatology; Mark Presents the Disciples as Believing in Eschatology and Jewish Opposition to this Eschatology; Eschatology Plus an Idea of the Importance of Suffering, Focussed into an Idea which may be used to Argue for Service; Reversal of Power -- An Eschatological Saying used as an Argument for not Seeking Worldly Power

Disciple Relationship to Jesus

"Not understanding" and Other Problems of Disciple Relationship to Jesus; The Material of Difference -- the Markan Contexts and Sayings of 9:33-50; Judas and Peter -- More Material of Condemnation

EXCURSUS: Are the Disciples Blind

EXCURSUS: Mk. 4

II. The Issue of the Temple in Mark and the Role of Mk. 13

III. Mk. 13:5-27 -- Structure for Paraenesis

The Problem of Source; The Little Apocalypse; Flugblatt -- Redaction Style; The Problem of Vocabulary

Mk. 13 -- The Periodization of the End

The Structure: Time Notices, Tribulations, Claims of Power, Semi-Conclusions Affirming the Future of the Elect; Mark as User of Apocalyptic Allusion, The Danielic Precedent; The Use of Material which Reproduces History Back to the Time of the Supposed Author; Prophetic Paraenesis; The Function of Repetitious History; Appropriate Paraenesis -- Go Out and Preach; Negative Paraenesis; The Assertion about the Son of Man in Mk. 13:26: Correction of the Idea of Messiah; The Issue of One Circumstance or Two for vss. 6 and 21,22.

EXCURSUS: Authority

IV. Hypothesis for Situation

Summary -- Leading to Questions of Situation; Prophecy, Signs Source and Endtime Battle; As John So Mark -- Church Leaders Afraid to Affirm Jesus, Healing Causes Belief; The Model of Jesus the Healer; The Disciples as Associates of the Jews and Betrayers of Jesus; Summary.

I. BEYOND MIRACLES AND SUFFERING, BEYOND ESCHATOLOGY TO ETHICS

Weeden and Kelber⁵ argue that Mark and his opponents differ on fundamental points of Christian understanding -- miracles (Weeden), suffering and eschatology (Kelber) -- and that Mark wrote his gospel to attack these opponents. Mark does indeed differ from opponents. However, he would seem to differ from them on somewhat different bases than those argued by Kelber and Weeden. Further, Mark is not merely writing polemic. Mark wishes to convince his audience.⁶ Mark uses what he and his addressees have in common -- a heritage of belief, structures and sayings -- to lead his audience from one understanding to another. Because the common bases are important Mark can use them to speak against certain ways of acting (for this, the disciples and Jews become models) and for certain other ways of acting (where Jesus and his words are the model).

The discussion with Kelber and Weeden will be presented in three parts. Part one will present the major differences from Kelber and Weeden. The section will first cite Mark's use of healing stories for his own purposes and his view of the disciples (who are figures for Mark's opponents) as assuming a belief in suffering for endtime power. However, it then will be noted that Mark shows the Jews opposing both Jesus' healings and his eschatological belief as blasphemy⁷ -- and that Mark uses community recognized presentations of miracles, suffering and eschatology to argue for further points.⁸ On these bases it would be argued that Mark is seeking to convince and not merely to polemicize.

The second part of this discussion will be an analysis of the "not understanding" material cited by Weeden and Kelber as supporting their views. Many of the examples they cite serve form-critically analysable usage. The normal usage of such material must be noted in order to see what Mark does with the material.

The third phase of the argument will be a clarification of a basic agreement with Kelber and Weeden. Mark is indeed fighting some power in the church. The paper earlier will have shown what Mark is arguing for -- as well as intimations of what Mark is arguing against. It will now discuss the particular presentation of Jesus in disagreement with the disciples -- evident in 9:30-10:45 and in the Peter and Judas stories.

WEEDEN'S VIEW OF MARK'S OPPOSITION TO MIRACLE-BASED POWER

Weeden suggests (by analogy with Paul's opponents in II Corinthians) that Mark wrote his gospel to speak against "theios aner" opponents and their miracle-based power.^{8a} Weeden argues that the miracle stories belong to Mark's opponents and are only used by Mark to speak against his opponents. Weeden also argues that such "theios aner" materials are absent from (or reduced) in the latter part of the gospel and that this shows Mark's fundamental opposition to such materials and their users. Three passages are crucial for Weeden's analysis that Mark is against the disciples as miracle doers: the miracle story of 9:14-29 (where the disciples cannot do a healing), the power story of 9:38-39 (where the disciples exclude other miracle doers) and the presentation of the sign doers in 13:22. Each of these passages must be treated in relation to context and comparable passages. In each of the passages, the central issue seems not "the disciples themselves as healers" (in fact, two do not show the disciples as healers), but other issues in which Mark is fundamentally interested.

THE PROBLEM OF MARK'S HEALING-ORIENTED PRESENTATION OF JESUS' MINISTRY

The major problem with Weeden's argument is that Mark makes the accounts of Jesus' healings the bulk of the first part of his gospel. Mark also portrays the disciples as commissioned to do (3:14-15, 6:7), doing (6:13) and telling Jesus of their healings. Weeden would reply by saying Mark uses this material to speak against the disciples' miracle-based power. Where

Mark speaks positively of healings, Weeden sees him betrayed by his use of a source which disagreed with him. However, although it would be agreed with Weeden that Mark is using a structure and further argued that the commissioning of disciples and telling of their deeds was a normative part of such structure,⁹ Mark has additional features which show him as a user of healings: to convince, not to convict. Mark uses healings to enclose and insert his own teaching. He also enlarges the normative content of healing stories to show Jewish resistance to healings. Mark further uses prophetic confessional sayings to support healing and argue for "going out".

MARK USES HEALINGS BOTH TO STRUCTURALLY OUTLINE 9:30-10:45 AND WITHIN 9:30-10:45 -- AS WELL AS TO OUTLINE THE CONTROVERSY STORIES; THE OBJECT OF 9:38-39 IS TO ARGUE FOR HEALERS

Weeden and others argue that there is a reduction in number of miracles after the confession of Peter -- and that this shows Mark's opposition to such materials. If however, Mark had a miracle cycles model for Mk. 1-9:8 (containing healing stories and culminating in the transfiguration), then the healings which occur after this section would be put in by Mark. Mark uses healings to connect 9:30-10:45 with the miracle cycles of 1-9:8 and with the Jerusalem material.

The argument is usually made that 8:22-26 is a jointure to Mark's teaching section¹⁰ (Perrin, Kelber and others), but even arguing this, miracles are still transitions between sections of the gospel. Further, by such argument, Mark would have one additional miracle in his special teaching section -- since 9:14-29 is no longer a transitional miracle.

Mk. 9:14-29, the story of the healing of a man with a dumb spirit, is the transition from the miracle cycles to the Markan teaching section.

Jesus is shown as a man of power whose advice is to use prayer in difficult cases. The story of the disciples' lack of power is a backdrop for Jesus' teaching -- this is a healing situation to stress the importance of prayer (as in 11:22-23, cf. 14:38).¹¹ Healing is still the ideal; Jesus does it and the disciples (and associated scribes)¹² cannot do it. They are put in the category of a generation with little faith (cf. 6:6 -- "unbelief").

9:30-10:45 is joined to the Jerusalem section by the healing of the blind Bartimaeus (10:46-52). Here discipleship ("following") occurs because of healing.¹³ (Cf. 8:34, which makes 10:46-52 a good link to the Jerusalem section.)

Noting the use of miracles to introduce and end 9:30-10:45, one may also suggest that miracles are used to introduce and end the controversy stories of 2:1-3:6. The three center controversy stories do not have miracles. They are surrounded by controversy stories with miracles.¹⁴

Mk. 9:38-39 shows the disciples forbidding a man who is using Jesus' name for exorcism -- forbidding him because he is not following them. Jesus commands them not to forbid, rationalizing this by a saying. The Markan meaning of the story and saying are made clear by the preceding and following material. Disciple forbidding of healing is placed after a story about disciple forbidding of children. Jesus' rationale for not forbidding healers is reinforced by succeeding sayings which argue for seeing help where there is no opposition -- and promise reward for the least giving of help to bearers of the name. Mark makes the issue "forbidding healers" the fulcrum for this set of sayings.¹⁵

In view of Mark's major use of healings, Mark cannot be considered against healing or healers. Even the passages Weeden cites do not show Mark against healing or healers. In 9:14-29, the disciples (who are not able to do exorcism in the presence of the scribes) serve as precipitating foil for the Markan Jesus' saying on prayer for the doing of healing. In 9:38,39, Mark makes forbidding of exorcists a central issue reinforced by sayings about recognizing any possible allies. The disciples are indeed

portrayed (as are the scribes from Jerusalem, 3:22) as hinderers of exorcists not under their jurisdiction. However, Mark does not explicitly oppose power based on healing ability -- or speak of disciples' own power aspirations based on their ability to heal.¹⁶ (Power from healing is certainly not given play as is power from suffering or leaving all¹⁷ as in 10:35-40, see below.) Mk. 13:22 will be discussed in the final chapter, but it may not even talk of Christians as sign doers.

MARK RATIONALIZES THE SUCCESSIVE CYCLES OF HEALINGS (BY USE OF PROPHECY-RELATED SAYINGS AND BY SHOWING JEWISH REJECTION OF JESUS) TO ARGUE FOR GOING OUT

THE SEEKING MOTIF The miracle cycles were used to show the appearance of Jesus the healer to various groups in the church (Jews, Gentiles) -- and to justify the doing of healing in Jesus' name for and by members of the groups. A motif which is common in these cycles (but not in the stories of John or those of Luke-Acts which do not have a Markan model) is the seeking of healing by those who would be healed.

It might be argued that the motif of "seeking" is Markan since this motif is used in Mark even in the stories outside the bounds of the recognized cycles (1-9:13) -- in 9:17, "Teacher, I have brought my son to you."; in 10:47, "Jesus, son of David, have mercy on me."; in 10:51, "What do you want me to do for you?" The seeking of help by Gentiles might also seem a Markan means to show why Jesus went to the Gentiles.

However, the two healing stories which occur in Dupont-Sommer's collection of Qumran writings are healings of foreigners. Further, in these stories the foreigner seeks healing (Nabunai, Pharaoh). (Cf. II Ki. 5 -- Naaman, the Syrian.) Thus, the healing of foreigners in response to the seeking of healing by foreigners would be recognized as a legitimate set of motifs to be associated with the work of a great healer. The Gentile world also furnishes models of those who do not seek but are sought out to do healing. In Tacitus' account of Vespasian, the fact that Egyptians seek Vespasian out to do healings makes his doing of healings more impressive. (Cf. Indians who seek healings from Apollonius' Indian teachers).¹⁸ Thus, it may not necessarily be argued that "seeking" is a Markan motif.

MARKAN RATIONALE OF SUCCESSIVE JEW AND GENTILE CYCLES If on the basis of the above parallels one makes the assumption that "seeking" is a common motif, the continuity of the motif provides a plumbline to discern what Mark does with the miracle cycles. In the stories of healings, both Jews and Gentiles seek and respond to healings.¹⁹ Mark, however, modifies the effect of the cycles. He shows that healings among the Jews bring about Jesus' death. The Jewish leaders do not accept Jesus' doing of healings (2:6-7, 3:1-6) -- on the same basis they do not accept other Christian customs. After the healing controversies, they depart to destroy Jesus (3:6). The Jews also say that Jesus' formula for healing is blasphemy²⁰ (2:7; cf. blasphemy accusation associated with confession, 14:64). Mark shows Jewish leaders (cf. Jesus' own, 3:21) accusing Jesus -- his healings are done through Beelzebul.²¹ Mark then has Jesus reply and reject the Jews by a saying against those who reject the Holy Spirit (a point usually associated with confession-prophecy, cf. 12:36, 13:11) -- making a blasphemy accusation vs. the Jews and in favor of healers (3:38-39). Mark would seem to speak in 3:38-39, as in 9:38-39, against any hindering of exorcists (of whom Jesus is an example) -- any exorcism is against Satan.²²

The use of material associated with confession or prophecy (cf. Lk. 12:10, Acts 2:4) suggests that Mark transferred arguments from such a context to argue for healings. Mark's use of confessional arguments to support healings would also argue that he is trying to get his audience to make the same leap -- from their own understanding which saw prophecy-confession as important. Mark's Jesus uses a saying about prophets to explain why Jesus was only a healer in his own country (he was unable to do

"dynamis" there; only healings were possible). The prophetic lack of welcome becomes a prelude for the pre-Markan saying about leaving the area that does not welcome you and staying where you are welcomed (6:10-11).²³ Mark further shows what happens to prophets (the death of John) when under the jurisdiction of a Jewish king. Mark would also seem to enlarge the normal "amazement after healing" motif to show the healed going out to proclaim (1:45, 5:20, 7:36) and witness (1:44).²⁴

In the final miracle cycle, Mark again introduces the Pharisees and scribes from Jerusalem (7:1-5)²⁵ -- quibbling about disciple eating habits (as in 2:23-24). Mark's Jesus defends the disciples by rejecting the observances of the Pharisees as hypocritical -- and then clears the deck of the major issue for Jews going into Gentile territory -- clean and unclean. Mark enlarges a pre-Markan saying about speech²⁶ to declare all foods (and thus all people, cf. Acts 10:15ff.²⁷) clean. Mark moves to the healing of the Syrophenician woman's child -- where the Gentiles are shown seeking healing from Jesus in spite of his rebuff. Jesus' portrayed reluctance to heal Gentiles reemphasizes the Gentile seeking. Contrast with official Jewish rejection of healings already spotlights this Gentile seeking. The Jews are also shown asking Jesus for a sign (8:11) -- even at the end of a series of healings. (To the reader of "Q" or the Johannine "signs source", this would have seemed in utter antipathy to those writings' identification of healings as signs.) Thus in the band of miracle cycles, Mark has shown Jewish rejection of Jesus and prepared for and shown Gentile mission.

Mark here rationalizes, for his own purposes, successive events of a known structure -- miracle cycles used to show Jesus' epiphanies to do healings for both Jews and Gentiles. The original epiphany cycles would have needed no rationale for Jesus' leaving one group to go to another. Mark explains and historicizes the transition between the cycles²⁸ by showing the opposition of Jewish leaders (and even Jesus' own) to Jesus' healings. Mark uses a number of sayings (certain of which seem to be taken from speech-confessional "Sitze im Leben") to give justification for healing and the healers' transition from Jews to Gentiles. Jesus' transition from Jews to Gentiles makes Jesus' life a model for what Mark would have Jesus' followers do. The motif of going from one group to another is Markan and seen again in 10:29-30 (cf. 13:14, the command to leave Judea -- see below). Mark does not play down the miracles. What he does do is modify their "all the world sought healing from Jesus" quality -- and put Jesus' command, to "leave those who do not receive you", in a context of Jewish leaders and community which did not accept Jesus' healings or teachings. The enmity of Jewish leaders is a Markan motif, not only here but (of course) in the Jerusalem section of the gospel.

Mark has not only used healing stories to introduce presentation of Jesus' teaching (as in 2:1-3:6 and around 9:30-10:45). He has also used miracle cycles as a vehicle for material showing the opposition of the Jews to Jesus, the transfer of Jesus' ministry from Jews to Gentiles, and Jesus' teaching on these subjects. Mark particularly draws on sayings, usually associated with a prophetic-confessional milieu, to argue for healings. He would thus seem to be drawing from and arguing toward a milieu where confessional speech was accepted -- to support healers and gain support from the healers' miracle cycles which showed Jesus healing both Jews and Gentiles.

THE GENERAL ARGUMENT THAT MARK ARGUES FOR SUFFERING

Mark is generally said to correct a miracle-oriented concept of power by an ideal of suffering which was not accepted by his opponents. Kelber joins Weeden and others in seeing Mark against opponents who have no ideal of suffering. These commentators rightly see Mark joining a structure which showed miracle based power to one which showed the death of Jesus. These critics also rightly recognize that Mark adds material about the suffering Son of Man to Peter's confession of Jesus as the Messiah and the transfiguration picture of Jesus as a God acclaimed Son.

THE MARKAN PICTURE OF THE DISCIPLES AS ACCEPTING SUFFERING

The problem, however, with saying that the disciples-opponents do not accept suffering is that Mark presents the disciples as accepting a demand for suffering. The second of the disciples' seeking-for-power stories (10:35ff.) hinges on the issue of suffering as the basis for power. James and John ask to sit beside Jesus in his glory. Jesus effectively asks whether they are able to suffer as he does. They say yes. Thus Mark presents the disciples as acknowledging the necessity of suffering as prerequisite for power.²⁹ Mark also portrays Peter's (and others') willingness to die (14:31). The Jews, in contrast, are made the instigators of Jesus' testing and suffering. They also test Peter (14:66-72) and mock suffering on account of Christian expectation (15:29).

MARK MAY EVEN TRY TO TEMPER A RUSH TO SUFFERING

Mark generally does not present suffering as an end in itself or as a way to gain power. Suffering is "for me" or for the gospel or the word. Suffering is, at most, the way of the prophets because of Jews. Specifically, sufferers are not promised special reward (10:40). [In contrast, mere servers of those who bear the name of Christ are promised reward (9:41 -- and cf. 10:44).]

One may even argue that Mark would seek to temper a headlong rush into martyrdom. W. Kelber was right that the Gethsemane story is a Markan creation.³⁰ The major motif -- and a strange one if Mark is arguing for suffering -- of the story is Jesus' prayer that the hour might pass away, the cup might be removed. This motif is repeated in Jesus' command to Simon, "Pray that you may not enter testing; the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak." The model of Jesus' prayer shows that this saying to Peter is not merely "ironic forecast". Mark's prayer of Jesus is a model. The exact point of the prayer is reinforced in the speech to Peter -- a command seemingly made up of two sayings, a part of the Lord's Prayer and a general saying tacked on for justification. One should not seek testing.³¹

Mark may also use prophetic history to warn his audience. If one may understand Mark to argue against being united with the Jews, then Mk. 12's enlargement of the typical account of Jewish persecution of the prophets becomes a double edged warning -- a true prophet is killed by the Jews and the Jews (if one unites with the Jews) are to be punished. Power in Jerusalem will go to the Gentiles. According to Mk. 13, martyrdom has been (9) a part of the Christian tradition. However, from Mark's now, the time of martyrdom's time is over. One must leave the place of difficulty -- and (10) get on with the business of preaching. If one stays, one's suffering will only be a part of the general Jewish catastrophic punishment. (Further, if one does not affirm Jesus, one loses the Son of Man's affirmation in glory, 8:38.) In 13, Mark also speaks against planned testimony related to martyrdom -- and uses the OT motif of betrayal by relatives as further warning (13:11-12). The earlier advice to go out is even more valid when seen in terms of the endtime situation. The flesh is weak -- and even Jesus' death is very barren for Mark. The Jews affirm a revolutionary rather than Jesus.

THE REINTERPRETATION OF SUFFERING IN TERMS OF SERVICE

The Markan use of suffering to explain service is a third type of argument that suffering was an accepted ideal in the community Mark addresses. Mk. 9:30-10:45 is organized around two motifs -- that of the Son of Man suffering and that of the last being first. Mark begins the section with the two motifs stated successively in two different pericopes. He ends the section with the two motifs tied together.³² 9:30-32 (the beginning pericope of the Markan teaching section on power) states that the Son of Man will suffer and be delivered into the hands of men. Following this, 9:33-35 presents the statement that if anyone would be first, he must be last and servant of all.

In 10:41-45 (the final pericope of the teaching section),³³ a statement about the suffering of the Son of Man is turned by Mark's Jesus into a statement of service. Jesus replies to those who are indignant about people who have sought power. Service is set as the ideal -- that which makes men first in the end (10:44). The proof for this is that the Son of Man came to serve -- and this is tied to the point that the Son of Man is to die (10:45). 10:43-45 thus unites the motifs of first and last (here great and servant) with servant and suffering Son of Man themes (45), the two sets of themes introduced in 9:30-35.³⁴ Mark has used the idea of suffering to promote service. It would be argued that he would not do so unless his audience accepted suffering.

The tying of the idea of the suffering Son of Man to the idea of service (as noted above) shows Mark putting his major Christological title to the service of a particular point. It has been noted elsewhere that Mark subordinates the ideas of Messiah and King of the Jews to the idea of the Son of Man who will suffer (8:29,31) or come in power (14:61,62).³⁵ In 10:41-45, a saying about the suffering Son of Man is coupled with a saying about last being first -- in a presentation rationalizing why Jesus' followers should not seek power. The idea of suffering is turned into that of service. Since 10:41-45 is the culmination of a section of Mark where Mark is presenting his own message without dealing with a major set structure, one must see his use of Son of Man here as even more important than that in those passages elsewhere where he supplements a confession of Jesus as Messiah by a description of the Son of Man. In 10:45 he shows why the idea of Son of Man is so important for him that he emphasizes it above ideas of Messiah and King of the Jews. Mark has associated the Son of Man idea with suffering. Mark turns the concept of suffering toward the idea of serving as opposed to seeking a high post. Son of Man as servant is the pinnacle of Markan Christology. For Mark, the idea of the suffering Son of Man who serves and does not seek power would be the new standard to be accepted. This idea would be at least arguable to his audience because they accept the idea of suffering (as well as the eschatological ideas of last and first and heavenly judgment). This is why Mark would add a passion (8:31) prediction to the confession motif usually found with the ascension of the heavenly figure. The "Suffering Son of Man" has to come in at this point to enable Mark to argue for service in 9:30-10:45.³⁶

KELBER'S VIEW OF MARK'S OPPONENTS AS HAVING NO ESCHATOLOGY

W. Kelber suggests that Mark's major interest is eschatology and that Mark wrote his gospel against opponents who had no idea of resurrection or eschatology. Kelber argues this latter point largely on the basis of Mk. 9:10 and 9:32. In the first case, the disciples are said to question what "rising" means and, in the second, not to understand the saying about dying and rising in three days.

9:10, however, seems a question about time (since the statement of 9:9 and the question and answers of 9:11 and 12 are phrased in terms of time) and not "if" or lack of understanding. The disciples are not questioning the idea of resurrection -- an idea known to Herod (6:16) and the disciples (8:28) in relation to John. Vs. 9:32 thus also does not quarrel with the point of rising itself (cf. also discussion of the temple, below).

Kelber rightly argues that Mark is speaking against those who want power and Kelber does see the importance of their association with Jewish messianism.³⁷ However, what he does not seem to see is that Mark portrays the disciples as wanting endtime power -- and assuming the relation of their present leadership in suffering and authority to future heavenly power. Mark shows the Jewish opposition to the community's fundamental idea of Jesus' heavenly power -- and can call on desire for heavenly power after suffering to speak to the need for present service. For his argument, Mark also uses eschatological sayings and eschatological threats.

MARK PRESENTS THE DISCIPLES AS BELIEVING IN ESCHATOLOGY AND JEWISH
OPPOSITION TO THIS ESCHATOLOGY

The major problem with Kelber's argument may be seen in 10:28-45. Mark portrays the disciples as seeking a power in glory like Jesus'. Mark shows James and John as assuming that "Jesus will have endtime power" and seeking the same for themselves. The other disciples are jealous of James and John. Thus, they all desire endtime power. Mark's use of the "low and high" (another eschatological theme, see below) argument in reply shows him speaking directly to the desires of his addressees. His change from "suffering" to "servant" motif gives them room to move without change of theology.

In contrast, Mark presents the Jews calling Jesus' claim of Messiahship (14:61; accepted by Peter, 8:29) and speech about the future Son of Man (accepted by the disciples, 10:37; cf. 8:38 as below) blasphemy (14:64).³⁸ The Jews bring about suffering because of confession of Jesus as the Messiah and his future role in heaven. Mark's presentation shows how fundamental are the differences between Jews and Christians. Jewish non-acceptance of Jesus' belief gives a basis for argument that association now with the Jews is betrayal of Jesus -- and for Mark's argument that Christians should leave the place where their preaching and deeds are not accepted.

ESCHATOLOGY PLUS AN IDEA OF THE IMPORTANCE OF SUFFERING FOCUSED INTO
A NEW IDEAL WHICH MAY BE USED TO ARGUE FOR SERVICE

Mark also uses eschatological ideas (including resurrection judgment) to argue for his points of service and not seeking power. The concepts of "the disciples suffering as Jesus did" and "the Son of Man as heavenly affirmer of those who suffer for affirming Jesus" would be argued to be church tradition accepted by Mark's audience. The concepts are used by Mark, however, to give a basis for his concept of the "suffering Son of Man" (which is then used to argue for service).

LOCATION The first of the "suffering Son of Man" sayings occurs in 8:31. The saying immediately precedes a statement about following Jesus in suffering and a statement about the relation between disciples' action on earth and the Son of Man's action in heaven.

ORIGINAL USE In a discussion of the Pilate trial and the crucifixion narrative,³⁹ it has been suggested that a confessional context (the seeming "Sitz im Leben" for the trial and death story) ought to have had an "urging" to following or confession. Just such an "urging" would seem to be at the base of 8:34-38. In 8:34-38, there is the "out of place" note of crucifixion (proper if used following the trial and crucifixion narrative) in addition to an urging to follow and an assumption that those who confess will have reward in heaven.⁴⁰ (Vs. 38 was originally a statement of "holy law" which spoke of heavenly acknowledgment of earthly acknowledgment at the time of persecution.)⁴¹

THE ORIGINAL OF 8:34-38 AS THE JAMES AND JOHN POSTURE The one other place where assumption that following Jesus in death means reward afterward is the James and John story of 10:35ff. (Cf. 10:28 -- the similar Peter story -- following Jesus in leaving all wealth.) Because of the similarity of the disciples' position in 10:35ff. (where the disciples are shown seeking power even if it may come through suffering) and the presentation of 8:34-38, and because of the uniqueness of these passages in Mark, it would be argued that at the base of 8:34, 35 and 38 were statements of Mark's addressees. From the original of 8:38, a statement of affirmation, the opponents would argue that reward will follow the suffering undergone on earth, and that this reward will be through the witness of the Son of Man. This is what Mark disagrees with.

MARKAN USAGE Mark changes the statement of 38 from one of reward to one which does not necessarily imply reward. Mark adds to this his typical note about "this generation", i.e. the Jews. "This generation" is that before which one is ashamed of Jesus and his word. Mark precedes 38 by a statement showing that the reason for such shame is desire for worldly power. In 35, he also carefully adds that loss of life must be "for my sake and the gospel's". Mark then moves to his Christological task. Mark precedes what is in 8:34-38 by a statement about the suffering Son of Man -- thus fusing the two ideas of "suffering leader and followers" and "Son of Man in power". He puts a "suffering Son of Man" statement before the statements about "the suffering of men" and "acknowledgment by Son of Man" -- so that the statement about the "suffering Son of Man" will be easily accepted because of its effective explanation by the other two recognized statements. He does this in preparation for what is going to be his transfer from "Son of Man suffering" to "Son of Man serving". The ideas of the suffering of Jesus (and his life as a model for his followers) and the testimony of the heavenly Son of Man (that is, eschatology), both ideas which were important to the church, are fused by Mark into the concept of suffering Son of Man.⁴² Mark affixes this Christological understanding to the confession of Peter.⁴³ Then Mark can use the suffering Son of Man model for the idea of service in 9:30-10:45. The disciples are to follow Jesus in service as well as suffering. Thus ideas of suffering and eschatology which the audience accepted are used to convince the audience about ethics.

THE REVERSAL OF POWER -- AN ESCHATOLOGICAL PHRASE USED AS AN ARGUMENT FOR NOT SEEKING WORLDLY POWER

In Mk. 10:43-45, Mark used the combination of last and first with that of suffering Son of Man to go beyond the idea of suffering to that of service. One side of the focus was Son of Man; that is, Christology is used for ethics. The other, the idea of last and first, is an expression of eschatological reversal.

Is. 40:4 uses the last-first motif to forecast the change which occurs with the Lord's coming. Is. 41:2 shows the trampling of the nations -- with the raising up of Israel (41:10ff.). The contrast is also made of persons (I Sam. 2:1-10 and Lk. 1:51-53).⁵³

In Mk. 10:44 (as well as 9:35 and 10:31), Mark uses this eschatological motif to argue for an ethic of not seeking power or being upset with those who seek it. However, in contrast to normative apocalyptic (which uses the concept "high" generally about the nations and "low" about an individual or Israel), in Mark it is used about an internal community relationship -- the high and the low in the Christian community. One notes the typical change from eschatological threat aimed against outsiders because they are against the community to eschatological threat used against members of the community to bring about ethical behavior.⁵⁴

Mk. 10:44 is one more in the group of presentations where Mark uses eschatology for ethics. Mark has been shown to take the accepted motifs of following Jesus in suffering and being rewarded by the Son of Man in the endtime (eschatological-martyr motifs) and turn these motifs into the idea of a suffering-dying Son of Man -- an idea which is useful in the Markan ethics of service. It will also be argued below that the presentation of the future given in 13 actually also carries the paraenetic intent of showing the claiming of earthly power as an evil. Thus eschatology is a point which Mark relies on himself and his audience having in common. It, as miracles and suffering, is not the major point of Mark's argument but is one more point used by Mark for the purposes of paraenesis. The argument based on subordination (of one theme to another for an author's purpose) has also given a basis for arguing what Mark's major aim is -- that of ethics (and not Christology or eschatology). It further has given additional arguments for the development of Son of Man Christology from the

concept of heavenly Son of Man to that of suffering Son of Man and serving Son of Man. Since this development occurs only in Mark's elaboration of the miracle-transfiguration section and in his ethical teaching section, it would be suggested that this development is that of Mark. The change of Christological concepts shows that Weeden indeed is right about Markan interest in Christology, but it would be argued that Mark had an aim beyond Christology.

Thus Mark argues for healers and against Jewish and disciple opposition to them -- as well as enlarging healer cycles to argue for going to the Gentiles. Mark shows the disciples accepting the demand for suffering and believing in the Son of Man who will come in power (as well as showing Jewish opposition to this doctrine). Mark also assumes the viability, for his audience, of arguments based on miracles and suffering and eschatology. He would seem to use structures and sayings related to healings, following in suffering, and eschatological belief to argue against Jewish authorities and for going to the Gentiles and not seeking authority but rather becoming a servant. Thus Mark does not use a different set of basic assumptions than do his addressees -- but he is indeed arguing with someone.

NOT UNDERSTANDING -- AND OTHER PROBLEMS OF DISCIPLE RELATIONSHIP TO JESUS

The above arguments have given intimations that all is not well in Mark's community. Having first discussed the bases Mark and his community may speak to each other upon (and where the paper disagrees with Weeden and Kelber), the paper will now move to our common view that Mark indeed has opponents (whose characteristics are portrayed as those of the disciples). However, first the paper must meet, in their general concatenation, the "not understanding" arguments which are so strong a part of Weeden and Kelber arguments.

Kelber and/or Weeden make a general assumption (as noted earlier) that because the disciples are said not to understand the powers of Jesus (twice in regard to the sea stories -- 4:38-41, 6:51; twice in relation to the feeding stories -- 6:52; 8:17-21), the sayings of Jesus in regard to suffering (8:32) and the sayings of Jesus in regard to rising (9:10, 9:32, see above) that the disciples are therefore portrayed as opponents of Jesus on these points. However, as has been noted, the problem with such assertions is that, in each case, Mark makes the disciples exemplars of (or end acknowledging) the above points. Indeed, they are shown as not only understanding the points, but going beyond the points to "their own" expression of how these points may affect them. They proclaim Jesus as the Christ after healings, they accept the ideal of suffering, they understand the idea of resurrection, they assume Jesus' heavenly power, and for themselves they seek heavenly power with Jesus after suffering. Recognition of this difficulty leads one back to the stories in which the motif of "not understanding" plays several roles. To analyze these one must compare the passages with what is to be expected form-critically and redactionally (i.e. how Mark usually enlarges such presentation).

Kelber's issue of "not understanding" in regard to 9:10 and 9:32 is indeed important. However, the issues would not seem to be rising and suffering but a question of time. The context of 9:10 and the answers to it, as noted above, are about "time" (and may be related to the Markan interest in time of events expressed in Chapters 12 and 13). The reply to 8:31 (parallel to 9:31) does seem to highlight another major difference between⁵⁵ Jesus and Peter. The major difference between the two statements is the agent of rejection -- 8:31, by elders, chief priests and scribes; 9:31, by men. Peter's rebuke (vs. not understanding in 9:32) would be against understanding the chief priests, etc. as agents.

The "not understanding" in 6:52 and 8:17-21 is of quite a different type. It is related to a "progression of argument",⁵⁶ Such "not understanding" (related in type to the parable "not understanding" of 4:10-13) gives the writer an opportunity to add a story or explanation. The "not

understanding" which occurs in relation to the feeding stories continues the question of who Jesus is from one cycle to the next.⁵⁷ Revelation of "who Jesus is" would normally occur at the end of an epiphany cycle. However, when one has a series of three epiphany cycles -- with an ascension and confession only at the end, one needs some way to carry the question of identity from one cycle to the next. In 8:14, however, one notes the suspicion Jesus seems to have that the disciples are learning testing from Jewish leaders.⁵⁸ One should also note that the disciples are accused of hardness of heart (6:52, 8:17) as are the Jews (3:4, 10:5). This is what God does to enemies (cf. Pharaoh) and shows the glory of God because God is forced to act again.

A similar formal answer may be given to the questioning expressed in relation to the epiphany cycles and where the disciples do not recognize Jesus' power. In the epiphany sea stories which stand at the beginning of the cycles, it is a role of the disciples to be amazed at but not to identify the heavenly figure's deeds (4:38-41, 6:51). The disciples' amazement underlines the coming of the heavenly figure for those in the audience who are already aware of who the figure is. There is also a recognizable underlining function for the disciples' questioning about how Jesus can know (5:31) or can feed (6:37, 8:4, cf. 8:16). This is a part of the pre-miracle presentation which emphasizes how difficult and thus how great the task or accomplishment is. Such underlinings are the typical accoutrements of epiphanies and healings. It should, however, be noted that these motifs are enlarged by "lack of faith" or "not understanding" statements. Lack of faith is an important issue for Mark -- who sees it as a characteristic of this generation.

A related problem is the motif of fear in Mark. In Mk. 9:32, the disciples are afraid to ask Jesus about a saying. In 9:34, they are afraid to reveal what they have been talking about. In 10:32, the disciples are afraid and amazed either at the divine figure walking before them (cf. 9:6) or at the idea of exile and suffering. One part of the Markan use of fear would seem to be based on the (form-critically analysable) motif of amazement after great deeds or before the revelation of the heavenly figure (cf. the comparable Jg. 13:22). Mark seems to combine this motif with the fear occurring when one knows one has opinions differing from those one is with (cf. study of authority, below). Again here one may (with Kelber and Weeden) notice that Mark sets the disciples on a course opposed to Jesus.

In the material discussed above, there are thus two categories of material -- the first, the formally analysable features of miracle cycles; the second, Markan additions showing that the disciples do not know the time of the end, do not have faith, have a tendency towards power's vices and may be standing in alignment with Jewish leaders. These are points which Mark has been (or will be) shown to present Jesus in opposition to the disciples. Thus this paper agrees with Kelber and Weeden that "not understanding" motif is important -- but would ask for more careful analysis and a recognition that Mark is using known motives which he strengthens for his own purposes.

THE MATERIAL OF DIFFERENCE

Mark not only portrays the disciples as "not understanding", he also portrays them as not acting in accord with the commands of Jesus. Further, they are shown betraying him (for money) and denying him because of public opinion. Jesus has already set eschatological retribution for such deeds. Thus again Mark uses eschatological usages to speak on ethical points.

THE MARKAN CONTEXTS AND THE SAYINGS OF 9:33-50 9:30-10:45 not only turns emphasis from suffering to service. The section also encompasses a group of passages where the disciples are shown doing what Jesus did not want them to do.⁵⁹ The stories in Mk. 9:36-10:16 show the disciples as continuing to exclude children (10:13) even after Jesus' words on the reception

of children (9:37, cf. 9:42). The disciples also forbid exorcists (9:38ff.). This section is followed by a discussion of the Jewish law on getting rid of wives (cf. II Cor. 6:14).⁶⁰ Jesus' sayings argue for openness rather than exclusion -- putting the disciples in opposition to Jesus' sayings. The section 9:33-50 serves as a particular argument for Mark's interest in the problems of hindering and exclusion. The Markan contexts-for-sayings here show the disciples forbidding those who seek Jesus or who act in his name. Here, Mark would also seem to modify the impact of certain sayings which might be used for exclusion. Analysis of this section shows the techniques of the author Mark at work.⁶¹

CONTEXT TO REINFORCE 9:33-34 is a Markan context showing the disciples discussing who was greatest and their embarrassment in the face of Jesus -- a typical Markan note about those in authority. Jesus speaks to them using a saying about first and last -- an eschatological saying used again to support an important Markan concern. The contextual verse 9:36 shows Jesus presenting a child. This is the basis for 37, a saying on reception of children "in my name" -- reinforced by heavenly allusion (him who sent me). This saying and story serve as context for the situation, major saying and reinforcing sayings of 38-41. The setting verse of 9:38 shows the disciples forbidding those who cast out demons in Jesus' name -- forbidding them to do so because they are not following the disciples, that is, forbidding on the basis of jurisdiction. Jesus' saying commands "not forbidding". His rationale for this command (9:39b) is followed by two sayings which give meaning to his rationale -- that those who do not speak against you (or give even the least aid to you because you bear the name of Christ) are effectively for you. The series sets wide limits of help:

9:39 For no one who does.....

9:40 For he that is not against us is for us

9:41 For whoever gives you a cup of water.....

Mark thus reinforces importance of not forbidding exorcists by both general Jesus sayings about reception of children and by general sayings arguing for recognition of who your friends are.

CONTEXT TO DENY Vs. 42 might be understood as the opposite side of 38. As 38 says whoever "receives" receives God, so 42 says whoever "hinders" is under threat of eschatological punishment. Since hindering was actually the point of both the "children" and "exorcist" stories, this curse is a further statement on the subject of 33-41 as well as an introduction to 42-50 and its curses. The easy argument for explanation of the succession of passages from 42 to 50 is that it is according to "Stichwort" principles (sins, fire, salt). However, if one uses such an argument only considering how sayings travelled, one forgets that the combination of passages by "Stichwort" is not only a method of remembering but also a method of associating ideas. In Mk. 4 (see excursus and cf. also 9:33-42 above) parables are used to explain or reinterpret one another -- and it is a middle passage which does not agree with the "more Markan passages by which it is surrounded and interpreted".⁶² These two recognitions help also in work with the material of 9:42-50. The beginning and end verses have to do with not separating anyone from the community (42) and being at peace (50). Both verses 42⁶³ and 47 (the culmination of 43-47) have in common the idea of stumbling and the threat of the endtime. However, verses 43-48 emphasize the idea of cutting off with the aim of purity and the threat of hell -- which, at least, sounds like asceticism and at most (especially viewing it from the Pauline idea of church as a body, cf. I Cor. 5:5, also the exclusion of II Cor. 13:2,3) is a basis of exclusion from the community. The sayings have no context which would identify them as Markan. When 43-48 is put in the context of 42, however, the meaning of exclusion is lost. Exclusion cannot be meant since the preceding passages have said the opposite. At most an ethical meaning is left for the individual. The emphasis of 33-37 was on reception and that of 38-41 was on openness to those who act in the name of Jesus. The points of reception and openness would seem to be Markan. 43-48, however, could be used for exclusion. Mark modifies this passage by putting the passage in a context (42) which makes

the possibility of exclusion a "non sequitur". Mark uses a strong community eschatological form of threat (cf. 14:21) to overpower the addressees, verse 47,⁶⁴ which put hell in contrast to the Kingdom of God (cf. addressees 4:26ff., 30ff.). Both are using eschatology.

JUDAS AND PETER -- MORE MATERIAL OF CONDEMNATION The stories of Judas and Peter (which are a major part of the Jerusalem material) show how the disciples betrayed Jesus and do not acknowledge him under pressure of public opinion. Each of these deeds is judged by a word of Jesus. It would be agreed with Weeden and Kelber that the passages are Markan in their present form.

Judas (who in Mark -- and John -- is specifically labeled as one of the twelve, 14:10, cf. 14:20) betrays Jesus to a Jewish authority (14:10). Mark presents Jesus' judgment on such betrayal in 14:21 -- a threat rather like 9:42. [In these "better for a man" threats of condemnation, evil actions produce a situation where never being born or being cast into the sea is better than the endtime fate of the evil man -- deniers or a substitute for it. (Cf. I En. 38:2 on deniers, M Hag. 2:1 on speculators on divine affairs.)) In view of 9:42 and the strongly OT allusive additions about betrayal after the statement about persecution in 13:11-12, 14:21 would be speaking to the situation of betrayal not only of the Son of Man but in the situation of the church Mark is addressing (cf. 9:36). The story becomes a nail to hang a community curse for the present or recent past situation of betrayal within the community.

Peter swears to die rather than deny Jesus (that is, he understands the demand of 8:38, the demand of the church). However, Peter, because of guards and bystanders, does deny the community and that he knows Jesus. That is, public face (the Achilles heel of authority, see below) and fear of Jews mean that Peter denies. In Mark, by such denial, Peter already stands condemned (8:38) -- Peter is ashamed of Jesus and the Son of Man when he comes will be ashamed of Peter.

These passages⁴⁴ describe disciples under pressure who betray Jesus (and therefore would their fellows) and deny him and being part of the community. This is in contrast to earlier seeking of secondary power under him and also seeking to exclude from (or limit) the community. The disciples are thus shown as the well known combination of seekers of power who deny and betray those who do not have power. They do this because of lack of endurance and public pressure (and money? 10:23ff.). Heavenly judgment is already their fate -- even by the standards of the community they lead.⁴⁵ Eschatology is again used for speech about community ethics.

EXCURSUS: ARE THE DISCIPLES BLIND

Weeden presents the problem of miracle doing and understanding, "Why does everyone recognize that Jesus can do miracles and yet the disciples not know who Jesus is." Weeden's answer is that the disciples are "unperceptive". Yet even the Pharisees (who are carefully presented as being present at healings) demand a sign and are told that no sign will be given to this generation. What does Jesus or Mark mean? Is there some difference between recognizing an exorcist and recognizing a Messiah and one who does signs and wonders as in Mk. 13?

To get at the difference between the types of miracles, as well as why the Pharisees would not recognize Jesus and his power from healings, it is useful to look at the Jg. 6 and 13 and Tobit presentations of angelic comings. Recognition in these presentations occurs only as the angel ascends. One from heaven may appear suddenly and make great announcements or give method for healings, but the being is not recognized as the powerful one from heaven until his departure. The epiphany is commonplace. Then, in Tobit, the follower of the being is taught to heal and actually is able to do healings, but this does not bring recognition. The departure to heaven at the end of the visit (in Judges accompanied by the consumption of a meal offering) is the time of recognition. In Mark, the meals at the end of miracle cycles (emphasized by the addition of Elisha-like multiplication of food as in II Kings 4:24-44, with Moses motifs added) are apparently expected to serve for illumination of who Jesus is. The feedings are not only Moses- or Elisha-like miracles but they also mark the end of the cycle (where recognition usually occurs) and are considered that part of the cycle which allows the followers to recognize Jesus. Thus once the first cycle is over and the disciples have witnessed a feeding miracle, they are expected to understand (because they have seen a feeding) Jesus' coming on the water (6:52). Again when the second feeding story is over, the disciples are reproached with reference to the loaves in that they apparently do not understand the power of Jesus (8:18-21). In each case a feeding is the point with reference to which the disciples are expected to recognize Jesus' power and are reproached when they do not. However, such reproaches serve more to tie the cycles together (allowing for several cycles since Jesus is not identified at the end of the first cycle) than as a negative point against the disciples -- for the disciples do recognize Jesus as a figure like Moses or Elijah. Further, the disciples recognize him at that point in the story which would have been his ascension in a regular cycle (the transfiguration) and where such affirmation would have been expected. However, Mark enlarges the motif of "not understanding" by that of "hardness of heart". Mark would also speak against the use of signs⁴⁶ as proofs of prophecy⁴⁷ or messiahship.

What would be signs -- feedings and fig tree curse -- are not seen by the Pharisees (and are not called signs by Mark). The Pharisees see healings and still want signs from heaven (8:11, cf. 15:32 where priests and scribes are mockingly still speaking in expectation of signs; and 13:22 where signs done by pseudo-messiahs deceive the elect). For the reader of "Q" or the "signs gospel" (where healings are identified as signs) the pharisaic seeking of signs would be a rejection of the healings as signs.

SIGNS OF HEAVEN

San. 98a furnishes one of the major first or second century examples of what must have been a commonplace -- the demand for miracles to prove the truth of a prophecy. R. Jose b. Kisma (younger T-2, i.e. 90-130) is asked when the Messiah will come. He says when this gate falls down, is rebuilt, falls down again and again is rebuilt and falls down a third time. Before it can be rebuilt, the Son of David will come. His questioners then ask him to give a sign and, though he protests that they have said they would not ask a sign, he makes the waters of the Paneas turn to blood. A sign is demanded of a prophet (even one who is not a Messiah, cf. Mk. 13:22) and the sign is

like that of Moses, turning water into blood.⁴⁸ An example of a messianic sign is Theudas' claim (c.48) that he would part the water for his followers (Jos. Ant. 20:97). This is another sign of Moses. This is the kind of sign the Pharisees were seeking -- one very different from the healings Jesus was doing. Mark's Jesus refuses to produce on demand the messiah-prophet proving kind of miracle, saying that there will be none for this generation. Such a proclamation speaks not only to the Pharisees, but to the situation of Mk. 13 (as Kertelge effectively if not explicitly points out by placing treatment of 8:11-12 next to treatment of 13:21-23).⁴⁹ For Mark, there are no valid signs of the end. No one knows when the end will come.

EXCURSUS: MK. 4

Mk. 4 is a crucial chapter both for Weeden and Kelber. Mk. 4:14-20 would seem to be Mark's explanation⁵⁰ (vs. Weeden) of the parable of 4:3-8. The use of Satan plus the use of topics used elsewhere in Mark (stumbling because of tribulation and persecution in the name, cherishing of riches, multiplication of converts) suggest Mark as author. However, the passage is not one of history (vs. Kelber who talks of a "period of failure" in discussing 15-19), in contrast to the parable of the tenants in 10 or the forecast of the future in 13. Both the parable and the explanation are treating different types of people rather than a succession of events. Thus one type of person cannot understand, for the words are grabbed away by Satan (a personification of and crossover from 4:11-12 where lack of understanding is an endtime fate). Another group endures for a while but cannot endure tribulation or persecution because of the word. A third group is waylaid by cares of this world and delight in riches, etc. The final group are those who hear the word and bear fruit a hundredfold -- a term for converting people (cf. the promise to Peter in 10:30). Thus those who are turned away are contrasted to those who do gain converts. The argument of Kelber that the major point of the whole section (1-32) is the consoling automatic growth of 26-32 does not seem correct. Rather, there would seem to be three parables of seeds and growth (4:3-8, 26-29, 30-32) -- one of which (4:3-8) Mark stresses at the expense of the other two.

It would be agreed with Weeden that 26-29 and 30-32 are the texts of Mark's opponents-addressees.⁵¹ The parables introduce their subject by "the kingdom of God is like", a phrase similar to that used in the Gospel of Thomas and which would be like that "the kingdom of heavens" used so often in Matthew (13:24,31,33,44,45, 47,52, 18:23, 20:1, 22:2, 25:14).

Mark does not feel that he can neglect the "present" last two parables which emphasize secret and automatic growth. However, Mark can do what he has done when he has played down passages which he would keep but does not agree with. He can give emphasis to a preceding parable and add extra material so that the parables-whose-import-is-to-be-lessened seem much less important, and the audience does not realize that they differ in intent from the parable which has been so carefully explained. Thus, the two parables which emphasize secret growth are put in the shade by an explained parable which emphasizes the action of individuals.

The short parables, 4:21-25, which are added to the major parable bear out the intent of the first parable. A lamp should be set out and a secret should be brought to light (a possible "secret" saying which is surrounded to give it the meaning of the importance of letting the light shine -- as in the preceding saying -- and "giving" as in the following saying). The final saying of the group not only emphasizes giving, but says that those who give will be given more, and yet more will be given. Apparently the one who has little (and does not give will not receive more and), even what he has will be taken away. There is little consolation of history here.

II. THE ISSUE OF THE TEMPLE IN MARK AND THE ROLE OF MK. 13

In the Mk. 14 trial before the high priest, Jesus is said to forecast the fall of the temple and its rebuilding three days later by his own power. This would be a major issue for Christians and Jews (cf. 15:29) after the fall of the temple. Mark answers the issue in 14 by saying that witnesses to the charge were false and disagreed among themselves (14:56-58). Kelber and others are certainly right that Chapter 13 is placed where it is because its contents relate to the fall of the temple. In fact, Chapters 11-13 could be called the section of the prophecies of Jesus about the temple and Jerusalem.

Mark has already (typically) defused the issue of "three days" (before it is raised) by his "three day" statements in relation to Jesus' death and resurrection in 8:31, 9:31, and 10:34. There the point of "three days" is not spoken of in relation to the temple as it is in Jn. 2:19 (cf. Mk. 15:29 and Acts 6:14) where Jesus' destruction and rebuilding of the temple in three days is the issue. Mark has bypassed the argument of the early church (except in the remnantal mocking of 15:29) which is evident in Jn. 2:19 to the point where "three days" refers only to Jesus and not the temple.⁶⁵ (This speaks against the argument of Kelber that the reason "rising in three days" occurs in 8:31, 9:31 and 10:34 is because the disciples did not understand the resurrection.)

Chapter 11 tells of Jesus' coming to the city and his prophetic acting out of (overthrowing the tables of the temple) and insuring words about the fall of the temple. The miracle of the fig tree is a framing and proleptic (but unlabeled) sign in proof of Jesus' prophetic action in the temple. Jesus sees the temple, sees a fig tree, finds it fruitless and curses it. He comes again to the temple, finds it not fulfilling its functions and overthrows its present functions (a prophetic-proleptic act). The group (Jesus and his disciples) goes back and finds the fig tree destroyed. Jesus then makes the promise that whatever anyone says with faith will happen (that is the temple will be destroyed because of Jesus' prophetic acting out).⁶⁶ The presentation of a prophetic action forecasting the fall of the temple and the promise that all the disciples ask for will be fulfilled are combined here with a demonstration that Jesus' curse is fulfilled in his absence. Mark separates Jesus from the actual fall of the temple, but shows Jesus insuring that the fall will occur. Jesus is the prophet of God's action and God's action will come.⁶⁷

Chapter 12 again has a forecast of change to occur -- here about the tenants of the vineyard and the giving of the vineyard to others -- with an explanation of the Jewish loss of Jerusalem as by God's action. The Jews had not been good tenants, they were the killers of the prophets (a common Christian motif taken over from passages like Neh. 9). God brings about punishment -- the destruction of the Jews and the coming of Gentile power.

The apocalyptic history of Chapter 13⁶⁸ is given in explanation of yet another statement by Jesus -- that the buildings of Jerusalem will fall. Part of the function of the presentation is to show Jesus separating himself from the fall of Jerusalem and also to show his heavenly equivalent, the Son of Man, coming far after the fall of the city. This defeats both the idea that Jesus forecast himself (or the Son of Man) as causing the fall of the city and the idea that the endtime would follow three days after the fall of the temple. Mk. 13, like Jn. 2:21, is trying to speak to the problem that Jesus spoke of the fall of the temple and of its raising. There seems no effort to denigrate the temple (going in and out is not denigration, it is frequentation). The problem is that the fall of the temple is considered the event of the end and Mark disagrees with that assertion. Chapters 11, 12 and 13 provide Mark's "how" (following and because of prophetic mimicry of God's action), "why" and "when" of the fall of the temple.

III. Mk. 13:5-27 -- STRUCTURE FOR PARAENESIS

Mk. 13:5-27 has been used as a major place to ascertain the opponents of Mark and to argue for the priority of eschatology or Christology. Mark is also argued to have a source for this material. Weeden and Kelber have assumed a source (little apocalypse -- 7-8, 14-20, 24-27; cf. recent form-critical-redaction use of a larger source -- Pesch) without careful discussion of the techniques and assumptions of apocalyptic composition. However, it is a doubtful double assumption that Mark has taken over a large body of material and that redaction critics may ignore the material and its structure without detriment to the task of ascertaining what Mark's aims are. If one considers Mark as an author, methodologically what one must do (before one posits a certain group of opponents in a chapter) is to first discuss the structure of the chapter as a whole, the materials out of which the presentation is made and how the structure and use of materials is typical of comparable material. Secondly, one must ask what Mark's purpose was in the composition of Mk. 13. Only then should one speak to the question of opponents. This discussion will first speak to certain problems found when one argues for a source. Secondly, it will try to carry out the above ideal program.

THE PROBLEM OF SOURCE

The common assumption underlying the theory of a source for Mk. 13 has been that Mark does not have a major concern with the endtime and 13:5-27 does. Where there is paraenesis in Mk. 13, it is then assumed that Mark is modifying a previous apocalyptic source. The assumption is that Mark would not use such an extensive forecast without having a source. The idea of a source has also been used to explain what has been seen as the disjointedness of the tradition. The attempt has been made to find a "smooth" earlier tradition which does not have odd jointures and materials. The problem with this answer is that the so called source has the same problems as Mk. 13 proper. There are several minor and major points against either the "little apocalypse" or the source Pesch posits.

THE LITTLE APOCALYPSE

The commonly asserted source is that of the "little apocalypse" (Mk. 13:7-8, 14-20, 24-27). There would seem to be several major assumptions about such a source. It uses OT motifs to present the evils of the endtime. Its major focus was the leaving of Judea in connection with some particular event. It ends with the coming of the Son of Man. The vocabulary of the source is not seen to be Markan.

The reason for Mark's change of the piece is said to be paraenesis -- he desires to speak out against false preachers and to speak about persecution. This accounts for his use of apocalyptic materials when his interests do not lie in an apocalyptic vein. In answer to this point, it will be suggested that Mark does have paraenetic interests, but this does not mean he has no interest in a definition of when events take place (cf. discussion of the fall of the temple, above).

Mk. 13:7-8 is argued to be part of Mark's apocalyptic source because 13:7-8 is allusive to the OT and does not specifically refer to a Markan interest. An apparently undealt with problem with such an argument is that earthquakes -- which are generally used as characteristics of divine epiphany or final endtime events -- occur in the posited source before the abomination of desolation, a particular event. Is the argument actually that Mark's source used a source or how does one account for such a usage?

Another question is whether one should consider 13:14-20 as part of a source when it uses paraenesis. It has generally been argued that the paraenesis about martyrdom in 13:11 is Markan because it reflects Markan interests and uses little biblical allusion. In contrast, the teaching about fleeing Judea (13:14-18) is thought to be non-Markan (and part of a

source) because it does not refer explicitly to Galilee or proven Markan interests, but rather to the general "Judea" and "mountains".⁶⁹ However, both Mk. 13:9-13 and 14-20 refer to the OT and have Markan interests as their concern. The use of OT allusion is a reason why Pesch, for example, would claim vs. 12 as well as vs. 8 as part of a source. (He would also recognize that if one allows 13:20 in a source one had better include 13b.) As Mk. 13:9-13 uses a point which the church would accept (persecution) plus scripture to speak to Markan interest, Mk. 13:14ff. does the same. The call to go out without possessions (13:15,16) resembles the charge of 6:8 of going out without anything for the journey (cf. 10:28), a point which is part of the church's teaching. The paraenesis is also put in a scriptural context. I Mac. 1:54 and 2:28 (and possibly Ezek. 7:15,16) have been used to elaborate the motif of "abomination of desolation" found in Dan. 11. These passages explain what seemed strange to many critics, the reference to Judah and the mountains. The paraenesis about leaving is consonant with Markan interest (see above).

Mk. 13:24-27 is also considered part of the source. However, 24-27 is not a necessary unit; there are two parts, 24-25 and 26-27. Further there is no reason to consider the two parts part of a source, for at least 26-27 appears Markan. Vss. 26 and 27 are one of the statements of the glory of the Son of Man⁷⁰, here used by Mark as one of his expressions of safety for the elect as in 13:13,20. Vss. 24 and 25 are an example of angelic prophecy (noun, verb -- passive or descriptive, modifiers) using a change of situation verb⁷¹ (cf. Matt. 27:51b-52). 24-25 is complete in itself as a description of the endtime. There is no necessary literary relationship between 25 and 26 (or to other parts of the supposed source). Indeed the "then" may be used in apocalyptic writing for a change of topic.

FLUGBLATT -- REDACTION STYLE

Pesch criticizes the literary critics for setting up a source.⁷² However, he would set up a rather sizeable source for Mk. 13. He also bases his postulation of a source on the idea that there must be a fundamental difference between revelation of the future and paraenesis. His source looks very like the "little apocalypse" with the addition of material about those who lead astray, plus signs of the end and statements of salvation. Thus his source contains Mk. 13:13b and 20a (which the present writer assigns to Mark -- and even Pesch notes that 20a may be Markan). His argument for a non-Markan origin for 13:13b (by contrast of the usage of "end" in 13b and 4 and 7) does not seem valid. Also, for example, the expression "being saved", which he uses as arguing for a source, occurs in a Markan contextual saying, 10:26. Pesch does not explain the anomaly of the "earthquake" usage better than the "little apocalypse" suggestion would. Pesch also suggests that the materials of Mk. 13:6 and 21-22 were originally presented in parallel form. However, to do this he cuts off much material from these verses, all indeed which would suggest that the material might be Markan. One further problem would be that he does not explain the combination of elements better than he would if he postulated Mark as the author of Mk. 13. Pesch particularly does not recognize the importance of Dan. 11 and II Thes. 2 to the discussion of Mk. 13 -- which means that he does not recognize the importance of having prophets or boasters occurring immediately before the coming of the end (rather than at the beginning of such a writing). Pesch is correct on the importance of the back-referencing of paraenesis about persecution.

THE PROBLEM OF VOCABULARY

The difference between general Markan vocabulary and that used in Mk. 13 is sometimes used as an argument for a source. Pesch has made a major argument for his "source" from the use of language not found elsewhere in Mark (earlier noted by Perrin) and the use of OT allusion.⁷³ OT allusions are, however, the language of apocalyptic. These occur in Mk. 13 and, for example, in Revelation. It is not unusual that one has a large number of words in Mk. 13 which are not found elsewhere in Mark. The use of OT

materials for prophecy in a work which is not generally composed of prophecy means that the vocabulary of the piece of prophecy may differ from that used elsewhere in the work (cf. the change in vocabulary of various parts of the testaments of the XII Patriarchs). All one is saying (when one uses the argument of vocabulary) is that the composer of this work is writing prophecy. It also is not odd that the same words found in OT allusive material are the ones Mark has in common with the book of Revelation (according to Perrin). The major words in common are star, abomination, tribulation, hate, wars, earthquakes, moon, grow dark, end. These words are typical of apocalyptic writing and if taken from the group of words in Mk. 13 not used elsewhere in Mark, bring down the "unique word usage" average⁷⁴ to levels occurring elsewhere in Mark. A number of other unique words such as "parents" occur in allusive passages. Thus word usage does not seem a valid point against Markan authorship, if one admits that Mark as an author may use apocalyptic language and OT allusion for his own purposes.

MARK XIII -- THE PERIODIZATION OF THE END

If one cannot identify a source and see how Mark has changed it, how then does one identify what Mark is trying to do? One possibility is to seek the structure of the piece, recognize how similar structures have been used and look for the emphases of the structure to see what Mark is doing.⁷⁵

THE STRUCTURE

THE TIME NOTICES The most important tools in ascertaining the structure are the time notices.⁷⁶ Their use alerts one that the presentation is not merely discussing events of one period occurring simultaneously, but that the author is emphasizing successive events. These are:

- 6 (first event)
- 7 and when...this must take place but the end is not yet⁷⁷
- 8 this is but the beginning of the sufferings

14 but when you see

21 and then if anyone says to you

24 but in those days after that tribulation⁷⁸

26 and then

27 and then.

Time notices are a common usage of apocalyptic structure of history. Cf. Dan. 7:2ff.: the first, then (4), after this (6), after this (7); Dan. 11: event (2), then (3), when (4), then (5), after this (6), etc.; IV Ez. 13:31 (event), 32 (when this, then), 38 (then), 49 (when), 50 (then). The point is to define the relation of one event to another. This would also seem to be Mark's purpose.

TRIBULATIONS In addition to using the time notices as structure, Mark also produces structure by setting off the supposed present from the time of the Son of Man by separate descriptions of tribulation. These are:

- 13:7-13 wars of nation vs. nation
earthquakes and famines
persecution and testimony
brother vs. brother and death
- 14-21 a period of tribulation as has never been seen
- 24-25 cosmic destruction on the earth.

Cf. II Bar. 32:6 for a scheduled increase in tribulations after the fall of Zion, "For there will be a greater trial than these two tribulations when the mighty one will renew his creation."; Sib. Or. III, 72 -- fire before end.

CLAIMS OF POWER Each section of tribulation is also differentiated from other sections by statements of claims (specific or understood) of power -- "I am he (6), setting up of sacrilege (14), and those who claim to be or point out prophets and messiahs (21-22). That these claims are similar

had already effectively been recognized by Hartman.⁷⁹ These are each arrogant claims of power. Each claim would seem to be followed by a period of tribulation.

SEMI-CONCLUSIONS AFFIRMING THE FUTURE OF THE ELECT Not only is each of the claims of power followed by a period of tribulation, but each of the periods of tribulation is ended by a semi-conclusion -- a saying as:

He who endures to the end will be saved (13:13)

and:

And if the Lord had not shortened the days

no human life would be saved

but for the sake of the elect whom he chose

he shortened the days (13:20)⁸⁰

which occur after the first and second thirds of the prophecy. They present a problem and suggest a structure since each posits the salvation of the enduring elect. However, in each case, although one would expect the time expressed to be the end of the presentation of tribulation, the tribulation continues. What the passages imply is that there are periods of suffering which come to an end (and can be endured) and these are succeeded by a new period (marked by a time statement). 13:27 again is an endurance-rescue note, a final collection of the elect by angels -- the last in a series of such statements of the affirmation of possibility for the elect. Here the promise is reinforced by the use of the heavenly Son of Man who will send his angels. These statements would seem another evidence that Mark is thinking in terms of a succession of periods with a similar pattern of claim of power followed by tribulation. At the end of each period, Mark has Jesus prophesy the possibility of safety.

The above arguments suggest a structure of:

claim 5-6 "I am He"

situation of tribulation 7-13a

semi-conclusion of salvation 13b

claim 14a setting up of desolating sacrilege (vs. God - Dan. 11)

situation of tribulation 14b-19

semi-conclusion of salvation 20

claim 21-23 prophets and Messiahs, signs

situation of tribulation 24-25

salvation and final conclusion (26-27).

The author carefully separates 15-20 from 24-25. 24-25 is a tribulation which is claimed (24) to be after that tribulation (i.e. the one named in 19). The tribulation in 19 is set off from 21-22 by vs. 20 (a semi-conclusion) and the time statement of 21. This means for the author that 21-22 is not the end of the tribulation of 19 but is a new beginning of a period. What this also means is that 24-25 is the tribulation to be associated with the final period which is 21-27. In 21-27, the coming of the Son of Man and his sending of angels (26-27) is the statement of possibility of salvation. It comes from heaven, not by earthly power. The warning of 21 is important lest the claimants of 21 be understood as part of the cycle of 14-20. Vs. 23 is an interjection (rather than a cutoff note) to emphasize the importance of 21-22. Such an announcement in terms of the genre of revelation is a sign of the writer's now -- what one is in, a time preceding final heavenly portents and tribulation (associated with the coming of a heavenly figure -- with Kelber). Thus Mark 13:5-27 would seem to have a definite structure which includes 13:5-6 and 21-22 as fundamental points. If these points are Markan, one has an argument for Markan authorship of the whole.⁸¹

MARK AS USER OF APOCALYPTIC ALLUSION

If Mark, however, is using a recognizable structure for his own writing and does not use a specific extensive source, why does Mark use apocalyptic allusions? It has been argued above (II) that Mark is trying to establish distances between the time of Jesus, the time of the fall of the temple and

the endtime. In Mk. 13, Mark uses prophetic history to accomplish this end and, as an author, uses the apocalyptic arsenal of allusion. The basic study on the arsenal of allusion and its use in various pieces of apocalyptic was done by Hartman.⁸² We have added an emphasis on writer's use of particular structures for allusion.⁸³ The typical writer about last things uses a framework of the evils of the present and the blessedness of the future. Usually he is speaking to one structure (based on an OT passage which has been used to talk about the end) by the same or another structure from the OT. So that his reader may know the scriptural structure he is using, he alludes to the text and then he is free to add motifs from the OT or other apocalyptic literature to represent the picture of history he sees. He very rarely quotes except allusively. He uses words, phrases and poetic structure which are similar to known passages, but one rarely finds an extended passage from the OT.

If such writers are not only writing about the endtime but about history and are speaking out of the mouth of a supposed speaker (i.e. pseudepigraphically), they normally carry the history back to the time of the supposed speaker. This allows the author to authenticate the history of the future by proper analysis of past history. (Cf. Philo, V.M. II, 288, "since confidence in the future is assured by fulfillment in the past".) The use of time remarks and warnings about the future also places the supposed writer in the past in relation to the reader. Such history further allows an author to show what is good and bad in present history by defining similar points in the past as either good or bad. Thus, evaluation of the past gives a basis for present evaluation of what one should do (a point which may well speak to the question of Mark's use of warnings about actions which would seem to have taken place in his past).

The author alludes to OT passages and motifs for his description of past, present and future. What has made critics think that writers are actually taking over a source is that the motifs used do not necessarily describe what the author is discussing, but rather the author has used the OT or other motif which corresponds to his topic. This would probably be because of convention -- because the author feels that his audience will only accept motifs which are from the general arsenal of motifs (or so that when the material was circulated the description might not correspond too closely to the actual situation).

THE DANIELIC PRECEDENT

As in several forecasts of the future (cf. IV Ez. 11, 12, II Bar. 37-40, 53), Mark's major model for a structure of prophetic history is Daniel. In 13:14, Mark alludes specifically to the abomination of desolation (from Dan. 11) and Dan. 11-12 serves as his reference for an answer to the question which brings forth the prophecy of 13, when will the great buildings fall. The abomination of desolation is the reference around which other elaborations of Dan. 11 are oriented. From here Mark must build a history which goes back to the time of Jesus and forward to speak to the question asked.

The problem which Mark seems to be answering by his use of the Dan. 11-12 model is the relation between the fall of the temple and the endtime.⁸⁴ The forecast which is commonly reported of Jesus -- that he would destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days -- would be one which assumed closeness between the fall of the temple and the endtime. Jesus' forecast in Mk. 13:2 that there will not be one stone on another brings forth the question of when these things will be and also seems to presume a relationship between the fall of the temple and the end. Mark wants to show the difference between the two. When Mark uses Dan. 11 as a basic structure, he would be speaking to a prophecy like II Thes. 2 which uses the presentation of Dan. 11:36-39 (of one who exalts himself against every God) and understands it as speaking about the fall of the temple. The temple-related boasting is that event which will precede the end. Possibly the attempt had been made, using the prophecy of II Thes. 2 (or one like it), to identify

the figure who boasted in Daniel with either Titus or Vespasian and thus forecast the end and the coming of the Messiah following the boasting in the temple.

The point at issue would be the proclamation of Titus as emperor by his soldiers (Jos. B.J. 6:6:1) in the ruins of the temple.⁸⁵ Vespasian, in whose name Titus is acting, is known as a doer of healings (see Tacitus Hist. 4:81) and is proclaimed by Josephus as well as the Romans as the world ruler forecast by prophecy. [The suggestion that Mk. 13:14 means the setting up of a statue in the temple attempted by Caligula seems invalid. The issue in Mark is "what follows the fall of the temple" and Mark would not equate Caligula with the fall of the temple. Cf. also II Bar. 70 which, as Mark, does not explicitly mention the fall of the temple but which also dates after the fall of the temple (c. 100).]

The structure of history used in Dan. 11-12 is used by passages like II Thes. 2 and as biblically precedented is one which Mark's audience would accept as valid. The structure is also one which would serve Mark's own understanding of history -- that the destruction of the temple is not followed immediately by a messianic figure. In Dan. 11, the basic structure is that of a succession of kings rising and falling -- with the interplay of armies. Each king has his specific features. The Daniel passage presents a succession of setting up of abomination (11:31), difficulty and possibility of cleansing and existence (32-35), king who exalts himself vs. gods (36-39), followed by attack of other kings (40-45) and tribulation -- announcing and leading to delivery of people by Michael (12:1-4, title -- Michael shall rise, trouble as never before, your people shall be delivered). This is a structure which allows Mark, by saying that the fall of Jerusalem is what is referred to by the abomination of desolation (11:31), to set up a distance between the time of the fall of Jerusalem and the endtime. Dan. 11-12 also, as noted, uses time notices (11:27,35) and a statement of salvation after difficulties (12:1).

The Dan. 11-12 structure does not allow for the immediate succession of abomination of desolation and coming of the endtime. The time of the setting up of the abomination of desolation (in the temple) is, according to Danielic structure, not the same as the time of the figure who exalts himself and does signs and wonders. It is another one of a series of settings up of power. The boastings and signs and wonders refer to a later period after the abomination of desolation (which is equivalent to the fall of the temple). These boastings (claims) and signs and wonders are a stage between the fall of the temple and the endtime. Any person claiming that he is the Messiah and that this is the endtime is indeed one of these false boasters which precede the coming of the true heavenly figure.

If one does see Mark using Dan. 11-12 against those who understood a prophecy like II Thes. 2 as speaking about the fall of the temple, then one has another argument against a "little apocalypse" source corrected by Mark.⁸⁶ The idea of a source which contained 14-20 and 24-27 does not take into account what Mark was doing. Whereas the people Mark was talking to would have been saying:

signs, wonders and boasting = time of fall of the temple

the end follows such events = the Messiah comes,

Mark is correcting⁸⁷ the idea by returning to the structure of Dan. 11 -- which had an event which could better be identified with the fall of the temple and Titus and Vespasian. Then Mark says that this event, in Dan. 11, was separated from the end by a presentation of boasting and that the end would be accompanied by coming tribulation from which the righteous would be saved. The abomination of desolation, then, is Mark's own addition and not part of the "little apocalypse". It is a part of the structure which he uses to correct his opponents-discussants. Mark (using Daniel) would agree with his opponents that a boasting would precede the end. He separates this, however, from the fall of the temple and equates the phenomena

of signs and wonders (as in II Thes. 2) with what is happening in his present. He also goes back to Daniel to remind his audience that no earthly power was expected to overthrow worldly powers to bring about the good endtime, but one like Michael from heaven accompanied by a heavenly cataclysm. This means that rather than Mk. 13:24-27 and 14-20 being in Mark's source, they are what he is adding to an historical-prophetic understanding of the situation which others had established. The structure of Daniel 11 also gives Mark the opportunity to carry the motif of "claims" back before the fall of the temple -- since the abomination of desolation is not the first claim in Dan. 11.

If Mark does have in mind an opponents' idea of the endtime like that in II Thes. 1,2, one should also note that he has changed the endtime away from a heavenly battle between the Lord Jesus and his angels and the powers of darkness (cf. Conzelmann who cites I QM 1 as the type⁸⁸ of what Mark might have had before him). Mark would seem to see the world destroyed (without speaking of agent) and the angels used by the Son of Man to save the elect. This is another reason to argue for a pattern of tribulation and possibility of salvation.

USE OF MATERIAL WHICH REPRODUCES HISTORY BACK TO THE TIME OF THE SUPPOSED AUTHOR

It is a commonplace in pseudepigraphic writing of history that the author begins his history at the time of the supposed author and has that figure foretell the goods and evils of each period from his time to the end of history. I En. 93ff., for example, starts from the time of Enoch and enumerates the righteous and evil periods to the endtime.⁸⁹ In the Assumption of Moses, Moses prophesies from his time to the present.⁸⁹ A claim that the history given in Mk. 13 is of this type may seem peculiar in view of the common association of such periodization with a figure of the far past (working around recognized OT presentation of peculiar periods). However, here Jesus is the one who is past and in a situation of farewell discourse (typical for patriarchal revelations) may now forecast the time between his death and the immediate present -- to gain authority for revelation about the present and future, to establish his own distance from the event.

What the author of Mk. 13 needs is a preceding structure to unite the time of Jesus with that of the fall of the temple. He sees in history an orderly pattern of a period of boasting followed by a period of tribulation (as in Dan. 11). Having already added the abomination of desolation and the tribulation which followed it, he adds the claims "in my name" (cf. Deut. 18:20) which had occurred earlier and the difficulties which had followed these. Mark uses various OT allusions which fit what Mark understands as having happened. For the time of ills, he not only uses typical apocalyptic wars, etc. but he has added the feature of persecutions with an OT basis (Ps. 119) and elaborated by an OT allusive verse. Mark gives prophetic paraenesis both about the difficulties following claims "in my name" and those following the abomination of desolation. The use of an extended time structure and paraenesis gives him the opportunity to speak through both on points of time and paraenesis.

PROPHETIC PARAENESIS

At the end of the preceding section, it was suggested that Mark might have added paraenesis to prophetic history. Paraenesis seems common to Christian forecasts of the future.⁹⁰ II Thes. 2 shows paraenesis (1,2 we beg you not to be quickly shaken, 3 Let no one deceive you in any way) with presentation of prophecy of the future and a saying that he (Paul) has told people of this before (5). The Revelation of John shows statement of the future (as 2:10) together with warning that Jesus will come with his angels. It may be argued that Mark, when he uses paraenesis, is participating in the common usage of his period.

Such paraenesis, however, is only about the near future of the writer. Why does Mark use paraenesis about periods before his time? One may note other histories which show the pattern of past events to portray events of the endtime. One may also note histories which outline past events as good and evil to give teaching about the present.

THE FUNCTION OF REPETITIOUS HISTORY

The setting up of historical presentation so that one has two or more successive sets of similar points (each of which has events in common, yet is particular) is done in a number of works presenting history and the endtime.⁹¹ What are the functions of such histories and how would such a presentation be useful to Mark?

The understanding of history behind such presentations would seem to be that the pattern of evil followed by good periods -- which occurred in the time of the temple (or the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the Maccabees) -- would be repeated in the endtime. Baltzer notes several examples of what he calls a "Doppelschema" of "Unheilzeit-Heilzeit" in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.⁹² The present author has noted this phenomenon in the histories of II Bar. 67-74, VAE 29:5-7 (cf. I En. 93:8-10, 91:12-17, T.L. 17:7-18:14).⁹³ Certain writings not only use a pattern of history where good alternates with evil; they see the type of events which occur in one time occurring in another time. The forecast of R. Jose b. Kisma uses a triple pattern of building and fall of the wall (see above). I En. 90:13-18 would seem to be such a presentation where vss. 13, 14, 15 are one set of successive events (attack, carrying of record of evils to Lord, Lord of sheep comes in wrath). These are followed by a similar (but heightened) set of events -- 16, 17, 18. These are followed by 19ff. as the picture of final judgment.⁹⁴ The Assumption of Moses speaks of the time surrounding the fall of the temple -- showing the sins of one period followed by punishment, intercession and a good period. It is prophesied that a similar series of events will occur in the time before the endtime. The events of an earlier period -- which prophets had apparently seen as events preceding a blessed endtime⁹⁵ -- are shown as parallel to what will occur in the future.

In Mk. 13, Mark would seem to explain history in a related manner. Mark distinguishes each of two seeming "sets of similar events occurring before the end" by characteristics which would normally appear in descriptions of the end. Earthquakes generally occur as part of divine epiphanies and after the wars of the end (see discussion of "little apocalypse" above). The tribulation of 13:19 is said to be such as had never occurred "from the beginning of creation". In Is. 13:10, 34:4, Joel 2:10, commotions such as wars and earthquakes are made part of the accoutrements of the end. In Is. 13:13, the earth being shaken is placed parallel to the heavens trembling -- what happens when Jahweh comes. The description of a period being "worse" than any other is an apocalyptic commonplace for description of the evil endtime directly before the coming of a heavenly period of blessedness (Dan. 12:1, Ass. Mos. 8:1, II Bar. 69:1, etc.). However, in Mark 13 such presentations are set off from the end. Each of the preceding periods of ills or descriptions of endtime events are presented as a time which it is possible to get through before the following one occurs.

Mark would seem also to correct or explain earlier prophecies. In 13:6-8 Mark uses the situation where wars were claimed as that which preceded the end (cf. IV Ez. 13:31) as an illustration of how there can (apparently) be false claims of what precedes the end. He proves the claims wrong by continuing his presentation of events. Mark states that Jesus prophesied that such was just the beginning of troubles, moves on to persecutions (a point which the people have experienced) and on to the abomination of desolation (another event apparently proclaimed as preceding the end). In setting up the structure of several periods of the end (with statements of power, tribulations and semi-conclusions)⁹⁶ Mark (as other examples of repetitious history) would speak to a situation where events

typical of the end had occurred and had been proclaimed as events of the end. What he adds (somewhat as Dan. 11 and 12) are statements of safety at the end of each set of events. Thus he adds an emphasis that although these events had occurred, the elect had been saved by endurance and God's will.

APPROPRIATE PARAENESIS -- GO OUT AND PREACH

Mk. 13 is not only a presentation of history and the future as prophecy, but (as noted) it uses a marked amount of paraenesis even within the structure of apocalyptic history. Advice is given on what to do in past evils. The question then is what is the role of paraenesis in what is actually history. Why does Mark, for example, give advice about persecution if he is in the days of the false prophets portrayed in 13:21,22?

What Mark seems to be doing is twofold. He explains what happened in the past (claims followed by tribulation). Further by giving paraenesis to that past about what should have been done then (as though he were speaking from past to future, a point which would authenticate the prophecy), Mark gives his audience "catch up" clues as to what still needs to be done.⁹⁷ His audience had not understood the relationship of persecution and testimony. [Note as above that Mark generally speaks of persecution because of "my name" or for "the gospel" etc. (4:17, 8:35, 13:9,13; cf. 10:29); cf. also "saltiness" in 9:50).⁹⁸ The audience knew their lot was to follow Jesus to the cross; this was standard teaching. Now they are told, in relation to Mark's presentation of persecution and difficulty, that certain things had been supposed to be done. The point of the persecution was that the gospel was to be preached to all nations. That is, persecution and spread of knowledge were related (cf. Dan. 11:33). The people had seen the fall of the temple but they had not realized that the fulfillment of their known command (to take nothing with them when they went to preach) meant they were to leave Judea with nothing (and so to preach to the world) as the people were advised to leave Judea by the Maccabees in the time of the abomination of desolation. This was not the time for suffering but for going out -- out from the punishment of the Jews (cf. Mk. 12:9).

Endurance and salvation had occurred as was prophesied. The audience is now informed that the end will not occur until the gospel has been preached to all the world. The prophecy would almost seem to presume that the readers get the message of 13:10 for the culminating message of the passage (13:27) is a promise that the angels will gather the elect from the four winds and the ends of the earth. That is, if they do go out (as would be implied in their doing what was left to be done) they will be gathered. (13:27 is not the typically apocalyptic saying of every one being brought to Jerusalem as Is. 66:20.) Mk. 13:27 promises them salvation even if they are at the ends of the earth. Mk. 13 is indeed the most pertinent of the private teachings because it can specifically speak to Mark's present.

NEGATIVE PARAENESIS

The paraenesis of Mk. 13 not only tells what needs to be done, it also gives its audience negative evaluation of those they might consider reliable. In 13:12, Mark illuminates the paraenesis of 13:9-11 with OT allusive material to which Mark has particularly added the idea that members of families turn each other over to death. That is, these allusions are not to rebellion and upsettiness in society (as in Micah or the presentation of Mishnah Sotah 9) but rather speak of betrayal. In view of the strong condemnation of betrayal associated with the forecast about Judas (cf. 9:42?), here in 13 a statement about betrayal by close relations would seem a warning-reminder of who one's real relations are. (Cf. 3:34,35; 9:39.)

THE ASSERTION ABOUT THE SON OF MAN IN MK. 13:26 AS A CORRECTION OF THE IDEA OF MESSIAH

It is commonly noted that Mk. 8:31 and 14:62 show a Markan supplementation of the idea of Messiah by that of Son of Man. Mk. 13:21-27 is a third place in the gospel where Mark relates-corrects one concept by the other. In Mk. 13, a contrast is made between false claimants of earthly power (and particularly in 13:21,22 of false Christs and prophets who come after the fall of the temple) and the Son of Man who comes after heavenly signs. In Mk. 8, Mark has had Jesus effectively accept the title of Messiah but then discuss the Son of Man. In 13, Mark separates the idea of Messiah (as it occurs in the claims of 13:21,22) from that of the Son of Man. He does so historically -- setting cosmic tribulation between claims of messiahship and the coming Son of Man and considering any claim to be Messiah after the fall of the temple just one more example of claimants of earthly power in a series of power holders and claimants who are followed by tribulation. The community's affirmation of Jesus, as Messiah and future Son of Man, speaks against any acceptance of these claims. The Messiah was Jesus who lived before the beginning of the prophecy. Jesus also said there would be no signs. Thus there is not only a time separation between false messiah (with signs) and the end, but also between true Messiah and false.

THE ISSUE OF ONE CIRCUMSTANCE OR TWO FOR VSS. 6 AND 21,22

A major issue raised in the discussion of opponents and eschatology is whether vss. 6 and 22 speak to the same historical circumstance. Vs. 6 has been presented as a preliminary view of 21,22 or as one of a pair of "framing devices". Conzelmann⁹⁹ (followed by Weeden) sees 6 as referring to 21-22 because it uses the word "go astray" and because he argues that vss. 5-8 are merely sketching the basic situation of the world. However, the use of time statements (discussed above) and, in particular, the "this is the beginning of the sufferings" in 13:8 would suggest that for Mark, vss. 6-8 were representation of history and that vs. 6 may be better interpreted as the first component of an historical chain: "many will", "and when" (see above on structure). An alternate to the view of Conzelmann is that used by Kelber which suggests that 6 and 21-22 are "framing devices", emphasizing a particular Markan interest. The result of this interpretation is that Mark is seen as opposing Christian messiahs in 21-22.¹⁰⁰ Still another view is that 21-22 immediately followed vs. 6 in a source and describe the same event (Pesch).¹⁰¹ Against these views, it may be argued (in addition to the time argument) that vs. 6 presents a different picture from that of 21-22 in nomenclature ("I am he") and number (many, vs. elect), as well as not suggesting the doing of signs and wonders by the figures being opposed.¹⁰² The major common features are the verb "lead astray" and the use of warning. In answering the suggestion of Pesch, it would be argued that he distorts his case by taking out the points of individuation in these verses. The commonplace of apocalyptic structures of history (discussed above), which use repetition with individuation, makes it even less likely that vss. 6 and 21-22 are seen as representing the same event.

The question then is why two separate but similar warnings are given about different periods in prophetic history. Is history seen repeating itself; are past events listed to give advice to later men? The presentation of parallel past periods of evil is used in Israel's recounting of her past and seeing the past as a series of similar events or cycles at which points Israel has gone astray and been subject to wrath (Neh. 9, Ps. 106, Dan. 9:20ff., Ezek. 20). C.D. 2:14ff. shows an example which Dupont-Sommer calls the "lessons of history". There each of the periods of history provides another example of what the author sees as wrong (walking in the stubbornness of their heart). We have shown that Mk. 13:5-27 represents history by prophecy using a repetitive but individuated structure which describes history as periods of claim of power succeeded by evils like the endtime which the elect will endure or be saved out of. As noted, Jesus is made a pseudepigraphical prophet speaking from his own time into the

future. Mark's Jesus forecasts Mark's past so that past evils are parallel to present. Mark makes the claimants of the past (who have been shown invalid) parallel to and warned against as are the events of the present. Setting the events of vs. 6 and 21-22 in a similar position structurally to the abomination of desolation (which no Jew would accept as a positive event), Mark makes doubly evident that these were not good events. The sequences of Neh. 9 type histories and the structure of Mark might also suggest that the evil claims brought about the extreme evils which followed such claims.

In 13, Mark has used apocalyptic history to speak about what were major issues for him -- claims of power and going to the Gentiles. Mark is certainly interested in opposing those who claim endtime power -- but such claimants are merely put in the category of boasters who will occur before the endtime. Mark's major interests are in putting them in their right place (as an earthly evil) and getting on with the business of preaching to the Gentiles before the endtime comes. The endtime is close, the boasters of Daniel have occurred and what must be done is preaching (or the endtime will not come). In the earlier part of the gospel, Mark used eschatological sayings to speak against the uses and seeking of power. In 13, he uses the structure of apocalyptic history to speak about claims of power and the tribulation which follows them. The final excursus will enquire into Mark's view of authority-Power.

Chapter 13:5-27 is presented as the answer to the disciples' question about the fall of the great buildings (and the implication that that event is related to the end). Jesus' answer is presented in the form of structured prophecy of history (claim, tribulation, assurance of safety) with paraenesis to give advice about time sequence and action. The prophecy sets Jesus at a distance from the fall of the temple and the fall of the temple at a distance from the coming of the Son of Man. This would be a reply to the claim that Jesus said he would bring about the fall of the temple. By giving advice about past situations which is relevant to present situations, Jesus gives advice about what should be done in the interval before the end (preaching openly before power, leaving Judea) and warns against those who although related may betray their fellows to death. The end is not here (and will occur not by earthly power, but only by heavenly). There is still time before, and indeed the end will not occur until, the gospel has been preached to the whole world. In truth, the angels expect the elect to be out over the world. That is where they will rescue the elect from. The structure of the prophecy also contributes to Mark's paraenesis. By placing those who have claimed authority in the Jewish community -- "I am he", Messiah -- in a place parallel in structure to the (Roman) abomination of desolation who stood where he should not, Mark makes all such claims recognizably invalid (as well as warned against).

AUTHORITY

From the presentation of the controversy stories and the trials of Jesus, it might seem that Mark's major opponents are the Jews. However, Mk. 13 alerts one to the issue that it is not only those of the Jewish or Jewish-Christian communities whom Mark is opposing, but also the general (Roman, Christian) setting up of images of power. Indeed, in Chapter 13, a major point seems to be made against power claims (Christian, Roman, etc.). What is Mark's view of power and authority in the rest of the gospel?

The gospel of Mark presents both a negative and a positive view of authority. Authority is what the disciples seek and what the secular and religious authorities have and find in need of support. On the other hand, the gospel constantly stresses that Jesus has authority (not as the scribes). To discuss what Mark understands as the role of authority, three types of passages will be noted: passages concerning Jesus' authority, passages concerning secular and religious power and passages concerning the disciples.

JESUS' AUTHORITY

From the beginning of the gospel,¹⁰³ Jesus is shown as having authority (exousia) in teaching (1:22), to command spirits (1:27), (as Son of Man) to forgive sins (2:10). The power of healing and preaching is handed on to the disciples twice (authority over demons and being sent to preach, 3:15; authority over unclean spirits, 6:7; and deeds done which show that the authority included preaching of repentance, casting out of demons and anointing the sick to heal them, 6:12-13). Power in the endtime is not Jesus' to give (10:40). The question of authority is raised by the chief priests, scribes and elders (11:28) regarding Jesus' right to do "these things" (apparently deeds in the temple and preaching). However, Jesus does not have to answer because he puts the Jewish authorities in a situation where they fear the people (11:32).

CIVIL POWER

Mark sets up Gentile men of authority in contrast to the servant ideal which he advocates. Gentile exercise of power is almost put in "quotation marks", οἱ δονούντες ἄρουν τῶν ἐθνῶν κατακυριεύουσιν (10:42). The Gentiles are not to be emulated. Further, especially in view of the positive regard which Mark is often said to have of civil rulers, his presentation of them is almost scornful. Civil rulers act because of regard for face. Herod may be sorry about killing John the Baptist, but because of oaths and guests, he has it done (6:26). Indeed, the whole business came about because Herod did not want certain news bruited abroad which would give him a bad reputation (6:17-18). Pilate may say about Jesus, "What evil has he done", but when Pilate wishes to satisfy the crowd, he has Jesus crucified.

In Mk. 13, Mark marks the setting up of false power and its temporary nature. As noted in the above study of 13, all post-Jesus earthly claims and establishment of power are shown transitory (although Mark recognizes the transfer of power from Jew to Gentile as God caused, 12:9). Indeed, Mark does not speak positively about Roman authority at any time. Only the individual Roman centurion who declares Jesus the Son of God is treated positively.

JEWISH RELIGIOUS POWER

The Jewish religious authorities are seen in a similar yet worse light (in that they actively seek to get rid of Jesus) than the Romans and other civil authorities. They likewise are shown particularly afraid of public opinion. In 11:18, the chief priests and scribes fear Jesus because the

multitude was astonished at his teaching. In 11:32, they do not reply to Jesus because they fear the people who say John is a prophet. In 12:12 they try to arrest Jesus, but fear the multitude. In 14:2, they are said to say, "Not during the feast, lest there be a tumult of the people". They further seek places of honor, salutations (the scribes 12:38-40). The Pharisees and the Herodians are even presented as putting Jesus to the test by making as an entree to their question the statement (which Mark would undoubtedly see as well defining Jesus and contrasting with the Pharisees), "Teacher, we know that you are true and care for no man, for you do not regard the position of men but truly teach the way of God." (Contrast 8:33 and Jn. 12:43.) Mark thus seems to put emphasis on the authority-fear-of-the-people weakness and contrasts it with what Jesus does. (Note again, that there seems to be an exception to Mark's presentation of Jewish leaders as of Roman, the ruler of the synagogue of 5:22.)

THE DISCIPLES

The disciples also have the fear part of the syndrome -- they are afraid of others. They do not speak honestly either to Jesus (9:32,34 and elsewhere) or about Jesus before others (14:66ff.). The contrast to this is the freedom of speech before authority counselled in 13:11. They also seek places of authority (10:37) and Jesus compares their search to what the Gentiles seek. Jesus opposes their seeking of power (and others' worrying about their seeking of power) with a servant motif leading into his final statement of the 9:30-10:45 teaching section that the Son of Man came to serve. Jesus however does not sound indignant (as do the disciples when they hear about the attempted power grab), but rather states what their future will be and sets the role of those who will be great as one to be modeled on his own servant role. The other disciples have no reason to be jealous. Thus Mark is not so much opposing the disciples as opposing a power structure which sees itself continuing from this age to the next. The way of Jesus, who does have ultimate authority, is one of service in behalf of others.

IV. HYPOTHESIS FOR SITUATION

SUMMARY -- LEADING TO QUESTIONS OF SITUATION

This paper has argued that Mark uses healing cycles for his own purposes and that he validates healer's ways by using materials usually used about speech, prophecy and confession. Mark speaks of disciples (and to addressees) who believe that they should follow Jesus in suffering in order to attain heavenly glory.¹⁰⁴ The cycles show that disciples were also expected to have a heritage of healing. Relying on such beliefs and heritage, Mark uses them as a basis for arguing for "going out from the Jews" and for "service" rather than power. In opposing complementarity to his addressees' beliefs, Mark presents the Jews condemning as blasphemy two major Christian bases. In the miracle section (1-9:13), Jewish leaders condemn as blasphemy Jesus' healing techniques and do not recognize Jesus' healings as signs. In the Jerusalem section, the Jews condemn as blasphemy belief in Jesus' heavenly power -- and deliver Jesus to be killed. However, the disciples are shown not only as followers of Jesus but as associates of Jews -- in whose presence they do not heal or affirm Jesus. In the central teaching section (9:30-10:45), the disciples are also shown as seekers of power and as hinderers of those who seek Jesus or those who heal in his name. In the Jerusalem section, the disciples (as in the tradition) betray and deny Jesus. For the deeds of hindering, betrayal and denial, Mark stresses the evil by presenting community eschatological curses ("the Son of Man will be ashamed", "it were better for a man....").

Mark also has a particular interest in enumerating or explaining the successive events of history. He speaks to the issue of the "three days" prophecy (that Jesus would rebuild the temple three days after its fall). In Mk. 12, Mark enlarges a common statement about persecution of the prophets -- parablewise stressing Jesus as the seal of the prophets (the son), the punishment of the Jews for killing the prophets and the change of times to that of the Gentiles. Mk. 13 speaks about the time prior to the fall of the temple as a time of martyrdom and the time following the abomination of desolation as the time when one should flee. (13:14ff. almost serves as a set of directions for the situation of Gentile control described in 12:9, the time of Jewish punishment and the rule of the Gentiles.) Chapter 13 also stresses that prophets-messiahs who do signs after the abomination of desolation are false prophets-messiahs and that the Son of Man comes from heaven. What kind of church situation would lead to this type of presentation?

PROPHECY, SIGNS SOURCE AND ENDTIME BATTLE

The preceding two chapters have discussed Mark's remodelling of prophecies and sayings about history. Mark stresses the reinterpretation of a "three days" forecast which has not proved true; Jesus has not returned after the fall of the temple.¹⁰⁵ Mark also treats the issues of Gentile takeover in Jerusalem and the coming of prophets and messiahs who do signs. Such concerns give one torchlight on the situation of Mark's church. Mark is talking in a period when the fall of the temple has occurred and new messiahs are proclaimed.

Discussion of Mark's portrayal of the disciples (cf. first chapter) gives another light on the situation of the gospel. Mark says they believe in and are willing to follow a Jesus who will attain endtime power through suffering and death. They were also originally commissioned to do healings. The Jews, in contrast, are presented as opposed to healings and the idea of Jesus' endtime power. The Jews also do not recognize Jesus' healings as signs and mock his suffering. Such a combination of presentation (predication and opposition) of disciples and Jews suggests a group of addressees who believe in healings as signs and in a figure who died but will receive endtime glory. Mark's use of sayings, which have a prophetic-confessional "Sitz im Leben", to support other interests may also suggest that this community worked with an image of themselves and Jesus as prophets.¹⁰⁶

Mark's addressees thus have a model of and possibly a writing about a prophet who does signs (including healings), suffers and will receive heavenly glory. This picture would resemble the one that Fortna suggests for a Gospel of Signs¹⁰⁷ -- a suffering prophet-messiah who did signs (including healings), whose death was a path to glory. The model of a prophetic-messianic "signs source" -- containing the signs and death of Jesus -- would explain why Mark has a large death section (with many resemblances to John -- especially the Pilate trial) even though Mark is attempting to change emphasis from suffering to service. Since Mark does not proclaim Jesus as doer of prophetic signs, Mark replaces these signs with healings cycles (a motif acceptable in terms of the "signs source which has used healings as signs", Jn. 4:54).¹⁰⁸ The use of a source which used signs¹⁰⁹ to proclaim Jesus as Messiah (cf. Jn. 20:30) would speak to the supplementations of affirmation of Jesus as messiah in Mark.

Mk. 13 shows Mark meeting a situation where messiahs are doing signs (13:22) and convincing the elect. One may argue that when Jesus did not come after the fall of the temple, prophecy-believing Christians would have wondered if Jesus was the messiah since his prophecy had proved false. In Mark, the Jews are presented as mocking Jesus the supposed sign-doer. He does no signs and he could not get himself off the cross -- although he claimed he could rebuild the temple. Mk. 13's elect (who believe in sign-doing prophets-messiahs) would seem to be moving to messiahs who could do signs. If Conzelmann and this writer are correct that Mark is substituting Mk. 13:26,27 for a commonly understood endtime battle, this adds another facet to the situation and may explain why Mark's Jesus speaks for avoidance of tribulation. If there is an idea of an endtime battle (cf. IV Ez. 13:33-35; -- especially related to Jewish revolution, cf. Mk. 15:7) and one who does signs is seeking to lead Jews vs. Gentiles as part of this situation, then staying in such tribulation with the messiah might seem a way of attaining endtime glory with the messiah. As was noted, Mark says that there will be no signs in this generation and that those who do signs are false prophets. He also sets up the time when the Gentiles take over Jerusalem as a time for almost deuteronomical punishment of the Jews for killing the prophets (12:9). This time is not the time of the great endtime battle of the righteous versus the unrighteous, but only a situation of Jews being punished. Then Mark treats the period of Gentile power in 13:14ff. as the time when his addressees should "get out". This, unlike the time of 13:9, is not a time for martyrdom. Mark's audience would thus have intense eschatological expectation which Mark would try to put in deuteronomical (as well as Danielic) perspective.

AS JOHN SO MARK -- CHURCH LEADERS AFRAID TO AFFIRM JESUS; HEALING CAUSES BELIEF

Mark's church might not only use a "signs source" model similar to that used by the gospel of John. The internal church situation which Mark portrays would also seem to be similar to Martyn's analysis of the circumstances for which the gospel of John was written.¹¹⁰ Martyn postulates a situation where Jewish Christians have a choice -- either be thrown out of the synagogue or curse (reject) the Minim or Nazarenes as worthy of destruction (the curse of the fourth and fifth parts of the 12th benediction). Martyn shows John speaking of Jewish leaders who believe in but dare not affirm Jesus openly and of those who are thrown out of the synagogue because of affirmation of belief resulting from healing (Jn. 9). Martyn sees affirmation of Jesus as the messiah-prophet as the major issue for John. This is what the Jews oppose.

When Mark shows Jesus' confession of himself as messiah and of the future Son of Man, Jews declare Jesus to have spoken blasphemy and be liable or worthy (*εὐχόμενοι*) of death. Mark then shows Christian leaders in association with Jews and denying Christian association. Peter (although he has affirmed Jesus as messiah) is asked if he was with the Nazarene (cf. the 12th benediction -- Nazarenes?). Peter denies being

"of them" to those who have already (or are related to those who have) beaten Jesus. (Cf. the Gospel of John's description of authorities who believe and deny because they fear -- "because they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God".) This comes all too close to what Jesus says (in unexplained forewarning) of Peter, "You are on the side of men" (8:33, cf. 12:13 where this is the opposite of what is said about Jesus). There is thus an issue of Messiahship and a view of Christian leaders associated with the Jews who do not affirm Jesus before the Jewish authorities. In contrast, belief and preaching take place because of healing. The Jews decide to destroy Jesus on account of and after his healing (3:6). The disciples also forbid exorcists who work "in the name" but outside their jurisdiction. Mark, as John, speaks to a situation where Christian leaders are associated with the leaders of Judaism. Christians who want to stay Jews disown Jesus and the group of those who are associated with him. These Christians also forbid (and the issue is disassociation in the Markan context) exorcists using the name of Jesus. [Mark's Jesus curses these acts and one may even argue that these curses are given to counteract (12th benediction) Jewish curses.]

THE MODEL OF JESUS THE HEALER

It was noted above that Mark spoke to the situation of his present by the reinterpretation of past prophecies or understandings of history. Mark also presents a new model for action -- Jesus the healer. This model enables Mark to give a model for future action by the community of Jesus' followers. It also enables Mark to speak to the situation of church leaders who do not affirm Jesus and forbid healers. Jesus is portrayed as the healer who is persecuted. He gives a model for going to the Gentiles -- out of a situation where one is not accepted if one acts as Jesus did.

If Martyn's Johannine exemplary figure is the poor healed man who believes after healing, Mark's Jesus becomes the image of the poor healer (who really has to be quite careful about his proceeding in Israel and finds uncontrolled acceptance among the Gentiles). He indeed has power, but people see him in contrast to the scribes (1:22) as having authority. He tries at times not to let anyone proclaim him for what he is -- and even tries to send off his healed people to be certified as healed by the priests. However, the more he tries to hide the more he is proclaimed -- and the Pharisees and scribes come after him. When he goes to the Decapolis he can tell people to go preach him after being healed (5:19-20), but back at the synagogue he again strictly charges people not to tell. He plays the good Jew and refuses to heal Gentiles, but is forced into it by "seeking" -- although he keeps on telling people not to speak or even go into town. Jesus portrays the poor healer in the midst of disciples and Jews. Since Jesus is also an authoritative figure, once in a while he speaks secretly to his disciples. However, his disciples deny him and turn him over to the Jews. The story speaks to Christians in a Jewish country -- to show them what is happening in their own group and the importance of the healer Jesus as a model for their next action. Jesus was not accepted as a prophet and was killed by the Jews. The Christians are now in a similar revolutionary situation. They should take the healer's path and go to the Gentiles lest they die with or at the hands of the Jews. Jesus heals without fanfare and leaves where he is not wanted. However, his healing does cause identification and conversion -- and when actually asked, he will affirm that he is acting as and from God. He does not seek stable power, but advocates a theology of service and aid to those who need it when they need it. Thus Mark defends the unwanted healers and establishes a new path by telling the story of Jesus the healer.

Mark has always been known as a story teller -- adding notes of emotion to drab story. Mark's path is that of making real the plight of a healer by showing Jesus going through the problems of the stray healer. One sees Mark taking motifs normally associated with a folk story or known saying and putting them to his own use. It is common to command demons and healed persons to do something -- Mark uses this motif to show the

healer's dilemma in a Jewish land (do you allow people to proclaim you when you know it will set up controversy and rejection¹¹¹) and the possibility of healing for preaching. It is typical that the disciples of a prophet serve as a foil for his powers; Mark makes them into opponents -- although they seem friends. Mark uses motifs of prophecy to explain what healers do and why they should not be hindered -- prophets in their own lands become healers because "mighty works" are not possible.

THE DISCIPLES AS ASSOCIATES OF THE JEWS AND BETRAYERS OF JESUS

The other side of Mark's story is condemnation of Christian leaders for association with Jews. The implication of the ties of Christian leaders with Jews is a gradually built affair. Mark not only has the common forecasts that Peter and one of the disciples would deny and betray Jesus, he also has the almost "unaccounted for" negative comments which Jesus makes to Peter and the disciples:

- that they beware the leaven of the Pharisees and Herod (8:15)
- being on the side of men (8:33)
- as part of the generation which has no faith (9:19)

Such statements give warning to the reader to expect and watch out for what disciples do in the rest of the gospel. The scribes¹¹² (who have been questioning to themselves about Jesus as a blasphemer for using a typical healing word, 2:6,7) talk to the disciples in 2:16 questioning Jesus' eating with sinners. (Those with him, whether family or friends are also united with the scribes in their diagnosis of possession, 3:21-22.) After the Pharisees ask for a sign, Jesus warns the disciples, "Beware" the leaven of the Pharisees and Herod (8:15, cf. 13:5,9 and the continuing note that Pharisees and Herod take counsel to destroy Jesus, 3:6, 12:13; Pharisees and scribes, 11:18, 14:1). Peter, as this paper has argued, rebukes Jesus for saying that the chief priests and scribes will reject the Son of Man -- and is told by Jesus that he (Peter) is on the side of men (8:32-33). In 9:14,19 the disciples are presented in discussion with the scribes and are then labelled or included as part of a generation without faith. In the Jerusalem section, Mark shows Jesus in conflict with the various sects of Judaism, but in 14:10 Judas goes off to the high priests to betray Jesus -- and does so to a group from the chief priests, scribes and elders (14:43). Peter is in the courtyard of the high priest (when the chief priests, scribes and elders were together to condemn Christ -- an eschatological belief as blasphemy) with the guards. The guards are then said to receive Jesus with blows. Peter denies his knowledge of Jesus to a maid who comes by. The condemnation of Jesus had been on the basis of his declaration of himself as the Messiah. Peter denies even association with the community and knowledge of Jesus because of fear.¹¹³

Mark may be argued to turn the story of a prophet into a community manifesto. The basic argument of the manifesto would be:

- a. the fundamental bases of our faith are firm -- but these are not what you have understood them to be. Jesus did healings (not signs for prophecy). He suffered but did not advocate suffering for endtime power. Rather his aim was service and preaching. He does indeed have endtime power; if you deny Jesus, you will be denied and if you hinder brethren, you will be punished.
- b. however, the leaders are weak in their faith and have relationships with the Jews who were the major opponents of our leader Jesus, the healer. They also hinder healers.
- c. these leaders are actually betrayers, but will receive their proper fate in the endtime. Do not worry about power -- what we need to do is leave this situation and go to the Gentiles. This does not entail loss -- for this is the time of the Gentiles and of the punishment of the Jews.

In this manifesto Mark underlines the antipathy of the Jews to Jesus and the disciples in both the miracle and trial sections -- so that the audience can see the clear wrong of staying in, and of their leaders' association with, the Jewish community.

The particular difficulties within the community are defined in 9:30-10:45, the section of the gospel which is uniquely Markan -- with no basis in previous structuring. 9:30-10:45 becomes the flagpole of Markan accusation that the leaders of the community exclude those who act "in the name" (especially exorcists), are ambivalent toward wealth and seek power. In contrast to this, Jesus is presented as not seeking power (or with the fears of leaders), not in awe of wealth (but arguing for poverty, 9:21-22) and arguing for inclusiveness. Here also the concept of Jesus' suffering is turned into a model for service.

Mark presents his view of the historical situation in his reorientation of the "three day" forecast (that Jesus would rebuild the temple after its fall) and his presentation of the Jews as killers of the prophets which is enlarged to show the punishment of the Jews as related to the coming of the Gentiles to Jerusalem (12:9). In 13, Mark shows what Christians have done and should do by his presentation of pre-temple-fall martyrdom and post-temple command to flee. For action in the future he sets up the model of Jesus the healer who went out when not accepted. Mark argues that healing and preaching are what Jesus did and are important. This is now the responsibility of the disciples -- for the Son of Man (as Michael in Dan. 11) will not come until the right time -- not until the whole world is preached to. Mark would be saying that this is not the time of the end, the time for power. This is the time for lowliness and spread of the gospel.¹¹⁴

Mark uses the picture of Jesus the healer and the forms of Christological and eschatological affirmation and structures to argue for "going out" from the Jews and not seeking endtime power through suffering. The use of Christology or eschatology for ethical paraenesis may seem like turning the poetry of Christian belief into pragmatic propaganda. However, as a social-gospel poet said:¹¹⁵

If the objection be urged that this is to turn poetry into propaganda, it may be recalled that functional art is no less art for having a purpose. The stars are no less beautiful, because they are going somewhere -- and are on fire!

1. Since this paper is a working paper, the major discussion will be with members of the seminar. Other works will be discussed when they show a way of looking at a point which is relevant pro or con the arguments of the paper. The paper is limited by size -- both in regard to extensive discussion of certain points and extensive bibliographic reinforcement.

It is a testimony to the possible effectiveness of a task-force system that the members are able to present different points of view -- and yet without personal antipathy to present these views so that the group may get at exact points of difference between members. I must speak in particular appreciation of Ted Weeden who, through many conversations this year, has been most supportive of my work -- even though he realizes that some of his theses and mine are on a collision course. I would also thank Nils Dahl, Lars Hartman, and Edward Rewolinski for good critical reading of the text.

2. It may be argued that all writers use the logic of subordination. The problem is that recent writings have emphasized certain features as central without careful study of the effective relationship of their particular feature to other features. A study of the structures and forms Mark uses is a helpful correlative with subordination.

The author's basic analysis of pre-Markan structures was done in "The Coming and Ascent of a Heavenly Healer -- Tobit and Mark", a paper presented at the 1971 meeting of the SBL (hereafter - "Coming") and in Kelber, Kolenkow and Scroggs, "Reflections on the Question: Was There a Pre-Markan Passion Narrative", a paper in the SBL Papers: 1971, Vol. 2, 503-86 (hereafter - "Reflections"). Cf. also the author's thesis, II Bar. 53, 56-74: Structure and Substance (Harvard University: 1971) (hereafter - "II Bar.>").

3. A methodological false path in recent redactional studies has been the attempt to show Markan emphases by (basically) treating Matthew and Luke as normative where they differ from Mark. This method does allow one to see points which one might otherwise neglect, but at most one sees what Matthew and Luke are or are not interested in and not what Mark is or is not interested in (unless one believes with Farmer that Mark used Matthew). Thus one might watch out for terms like "truncated structure", "deficit", "lack" (of birth stories and ending) and "staying away from" when one talks about how Mark is constructed.

4. This section forms the intermediate material between the miracle and Jerusalem sections and would seem to be Markan in origin and interest -- with no previous structure at its base.

5. T. Weeden, Mark: Traditions in Conflict. Philadelphia: 1971; W. Kelber, "The History of the Kingdom in Mark -- Aspects of Markan Eschatology", SBL Proceedings: 1972, II, 63-95.

6. Perrin suggests that Mark's use of the titles "Christ" and "Son of God" was to establish rapport with his readers ["The Christology of Mark", JR 51 (1971), 172]. Thus Perrin would also seem to assume that Mark is working with an audience which has beliefs which Mark uses so that he may reorient his audience's ideas. At this point, Kelber seems closer to our view than Weeden for Kelber works more with the possibility of trying to convince people by use of their own material rather than trying to prove them wrong. However, as we will also argue, Mark also uses opponents-church material against those to whom he is talking.

7. The point would be that Mark is trying to convince the addressees that they ought not to unite with the Jews because the Jews oppose them on basic issues.

8. The question may be asked whether the use of material as a basis for argument further means that one expects one's addressees to likewise accept one's presuppositions. This question may be answered "yes" if the material

is used in combination with any kind of playing down of the possible opponents' actions in relation to such a point.

8a. Weeden follows U. Luz ("Das Geheimnisthema der Markanischen Christologie", ZNW 56, 1965, 25). Weeden also picks up the argument of D. Georgi *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2 Korintherbrief* (Neukirchen: 1964). Georgi says that there were Hellenistic, Jewish and Christian missionaries. Georgi shows the common assumption between them that the person working for the God is to be treated as the God or the one he is proclaiming. What the person wants done should be done. The misfortune of the one seeking to build a temple to Serapis was identified as Serapis' misfortune (199). Both Jesus (Mk. 1:15) and his disciples (Lk. 10:9,11, cf. Mt. 10:7, Lk. 9:2) announce the coming of the Kingdom of God. "Sie (the disciples) waren wie Jesus selbst Boten der Endzeit" (209). Georgi, however, does not mention the synoptic gospels after p. 218 (at least according to his "Stellenverzeichnis"). That is Georgi does not relate the opponents of II Corinthians explicitly to those persons who originally used the miracles and transfiguration story, except by implication. Weeden takes up Georgi's implication and makes it explicit -- making the opponents of II Corinthians the same as the opponents of Mark.

9. Kolenkow, "Coming". The following statements in the present article on features of miracle cycles (practitioner's authorization, structural basis for Mk. 1-9:13, separate epiphanies) are explained in detail in "Coming". The paper suggests that there are three epiphany cycles (each composed of sea-epiphany, exorcism and healings, feeding), one surrounding the other two and all completed by the transfiguration. These were used to show Jesus' epiphanies to various groups and the authorization of healings by Jesus' followers. These are the basis of Mk. 1-9:13. (The normative form was found by a study of the angel epiphany in Tobit and its base in Jg. 6 and 13. Cf. also Lk. 24.)

10. The cycles are not over at that point. 8:22-26 belongs to the miracle cycles (cf. also P. Achtemeier, "Towards the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catena", JBL 89, 1970, 286) and occurs before the transfiguration-ascension of those cycles.

As noted, miracles have been commonly noted as jointures. Obviously, it makes a difference to interpretation whether one sets one's section boundaries at 8:27 or at 9:30. This author sees the section 8:27-9:13 as a part of that section based in the coming and ascension of a heavenly healer with confession of witnesses. The confession motif is why there is so much emphasis on Christology here. 9:30-10:45 concentrates, unlike 8:27ff., on ethical teaching. It, as will be argued, begins and ends with a combination of statements about Son of Man suffering and statements about first and last. (See below.) 9:14-29 and 10:46-53 each show disciples in a crowd (unlike 8:22-26).

11. Cf. also 10:27, 12:24, 13:20 -- on the power of God. The situations where prayer is advised show the importance of these situations to Mark and his addressees. (Mk. 11:22-23 may even advise prayer for self-production of events of the end rather than seeking of signs from Jews.)

12. E. Trocmé (*La formation de l'évangile selon Marc*. Paris: 1963, 77) also notes the association of scribes and disciples at this point. It would be agreed with Trocmé vs. Weeden (Mark, 20) that Mark has a conflict with Jews. Mark tries to separate believers from Jews. It will be seen that the present author (although her methods are not the same and many individual points differ) has many agreements with Trocmé. It may be argued that this passage shows an attempt (comparable to 3:2) to get Jesus to do healings. This attempt, however, is cooperated in by the disciples.

13. The story begins with the disciples with a great crowd (cf. 9:14). It is not the disciples (cf. 10:14) who rebuke the seeker, but the many. After Jesus welcomes, they (undifferentiated) join with the seeker saying "Be of

good comfort" -- thus affirming, with Jesus, the seeker. It is possible that Mark is saying the Jewish crowd fosters exclusion. Mark now shows the ideal situation where Jesus' command turns the group from an exclusive to a welcoming community to healed persons who follow Jesus.

14. Another example of a saying introduced by a miracle story occurs in Matt. 12:22-30, Lk. 11:14-23. It is one of the few places where Matthew and Luke agree on a setting for a "Q" passage. Is this an argument for a shortened Mark? Note that the explanation about "unclean spirits" corresponds to an earlier emphasis on exorcism of unclean spirits (1:23,26, 5:2,8, 7:25).

15. The Markan context for sayings argues for the particular Markan interest here and speaks against a mere "Stichwort" association of saying. The use of extra sayings seems to be emphatic (cf. 4:21-25).

16. Trocmé (La formation, 91) even speaks of Mark talking to a group which itself does little healing.

17. Leaving all (riches) is reinterpreted in terms of going out, a Markan motif.

18. Prayer of Nabonidus I 1-5, Gen. Apoc. 20. The first story may intend healing to cause conversion of Gentiles. Tacitus. Hist. IV:81; Suet. VIII:7; Philostratus, Life of Apollonius, III:38,39.

19. 1:37 may show Peter using "response" as an argument for staying in one place. (Cf. comments by Kelber and Weeden suggesting that this passage shows the disciples in opposition to Jesus.)

20. "Forgiveness of sins" is a normal healing formula. Cf. Nabonidus.

21. Markan interest is not generally seen in the controversy stories and Beelzebul story. It is argued that Mark is against the disciples as miracle doers and thus Mark could not argue for miracle doing. However, there has been a certain movement in this direction. N. Perrin ("Towards an Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark", *Christology and a Modern Pilgrimage*, Perrin Festschrift, Claremont: 1972, 22) argues that 2:10 and 28 are Markan statements about the authority of the Son of Man. (Note that 9:30-10:45, as 2:1-3:6, not only is encircled by miracle stories but also connected with the bulk of the section by sayings about the Son of Man.) H. W. Kuhn (*Ältere Sammlungen im Markusevangelium*, SUNT 8, Göttingen: 1971, 83, 88, cf. 82) notes the ending miracle controversy story as Markan. E. Trocmé (Jesus as Seen by his Contemporaries, Philadelphia: 1973, from 1971, French, 87) also notes that the controversy stories in 2:1-3:6 may well be Markan -- especially in contradistinction to those of chapter 12 which are more like rabbinic controversies. He says the issues in 2:1-3:6 are more Christian-Jewish or inner Christian issues. Weeden (with others) has noted Markan interest in the Beelzebul story as related to statements against Jesus' family.

It is also usually argued that Jewish opposition to Jesus is a motif from the early church, whereas this may be a late motif in Mark as in John. On John's being written in the situation of Jewish persecution, cf. J. Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, New York: 1968, passim; T. A. Burkill, *New Light on the Earliest Gospel*, Ithaca: 1972, 229. The Markan additions and contexts for material show a strong attempt to set various Jewish groups against Jesus. The explicit study of the anti-Jewish material as Markan is the subject of another piece now being prepared by this author. Study of this problem is also being done by R. Mulholland. Cf. also footnote 25.

Form criticism's problem has been that it has tried to establish date of material by noting comparative amounts of encrustation of additional

material to established forms. It says the more encrusted, the later the form is. Unfortunately, because forms and "Sitze im Leben" continue in the life of the church, an encrusted form and a pristine form may be of the same date. Pristineness of form does not prove an early date. The Jewish-Christian conflict was not merely existent in the early church.

22. It is possible to say that the sayings were originally associated with healing (so Bultmann) and then used for speech. However, to this author, emphasis on the Holy Spirit (especially where analogy to evil spirit must be drawn for the audience) seems to suggest that the original motif was not of healing but of speech. The use of a number of other speech and prophetic sayings to argue for Markan points here also suggests this origin. To this "lack of welcome" passage compare also 14:65, the Jewish mockery of Jesus as a prophet. On the use of similar sayings for both eschatological and healing purposes, cf. Mk. 9:23 (that all things are possible to him who believes) and 11:23.

23. The story does not merely prefigure the eventual rejection of Jesus by his people (vs. Lightfoot, R. H. *History and Interpretation in the Gospels*. London: 1935, 182; Burkill, T. A. *Mysterious Revelation*. Ithaca: 1963, 138).

24. Cf. T. Budesheim, "Jesus and the Disciples in Conflict with Judaism", ZNW 62 (1961), 196ff. on the witness-motif enlargement. Note that emphasis on preaching (1:21-22) is immediately succeeded by an exorcism.

25. Cf. 3:22. R. Mulholland (working on a thesis at Harvard) argues that the controversy stories which mention the Pharisees, scribes, Herodians etc. use certain patterns and show Markan redaction or characteristics. Similar controversies (without labels on opponents) appear in the Gospel of Thomas. Cf. Burkill, *Mysterious Revelation* 125 #117 on Mark's use of "palin" (2:1, 2:13, 3:1), based on Turner, "Markan Usage: Notes Critical and Exegetical on the Second Gospel, IX", JTS 29 (1928, 283ff.). On the stories speaking about the Pharisees versus disciples, even Bultmann suggests that the stories are constructed (perhaps by Mark) for the sayings (History of the Synoptic Tradition, Oxford: 1963, 18,19). If these are Markan in authorship, their interest would correspond with what would seem to be a Markan point -- the identification of the disciples with Jesus versus the Jews in the beginning of the gospel. The contexts for sayings would seem to be Markan and the contexts are where the conflict occurs.

26. For the saying about what comes out of a man, cf. lists such as Rom. 1:29. The saying is found in the Gospel of Thomas 14, in association with a saying about going out, similar to Lk. 10:8,9. R. Mulholland is right that Mk. 7:1-23 is a Markan composition.

27. Cf. A. Kolenkow, "What is Common? -- The Problem of Association with Gentiles in Mark and Luke-Acts", unpublished paper. Mark does not seem to face the issue of the problem of going to the Gentiles in 5:1ff. Possibly the stories of 7:24ff. originally were the only ones which emphasized Gentiles (note the seventy basket feeding story -- often argued to be one for Gentiles, the conclusion of that cycle of miracle stories).

In 5:1, did Mark remove the original exorcism story of the cycle and add one which was suitable for a Gentile location, the Decapolis? If one takes out chapter 4's parables (4:1-33) Mark emphasizes that Jesus' effective rejection of his family was followed (4:35, "on that day") by Jesus' going across the sea. (5:21 is necessary to get him back for the Jewish healings in his own country, 6:1.) An argument for the statement that the stories of 7:24ff. were originally the only ones which emphasized Gentiles is that Mark feels he has to rationalize the change from Jew to Gentiles healings between and in the final two cycles. (Such hypotheses would run parallel to the arguments of Kelber, Marxsen, et al. on the importance of geography for Mark. Mark has Jesus move from one place to another, cf. 1:38, 6:11, 13:10.)

28. Ridiculing of seekers may be a known motif -- cf. *Vespasian* (Tacitus. Hist. IV 81) and possibly the story of II Ki. 5:10-14.
29. If the disciples believed in following in suffering, they probably also used a confessional trial source of the type used by Mk. 15. Mark has not just added a passion source to correct those who only had a miracles source. If the addressees are a part of a revolutionary Jewish Messianic community (as would seem likely to this writer), such a community would not have any antipathy against a story of a martyrdom before Rome. What the Jews would not like would be calling Jesus the endtime figure (cf. Mk. 14:63).
30. "Reflections", 537-543.
31. Why does Mark speak against seeking confrontation leading to death? Mark's major aim would seem to get the gospel preached. Witness is indeed a way of doing so. However, if one's aim is only suffering as Jesus suffered in order to get heavenly power, then the gospel may not get preached. Dead men do not preach except to the spirits. Mark has stressed how Jesus left an area where he was not accepted -- and Jesus' command to his disciples that they do likewise. Mark 13, to be discussed below, carries both motifs -- that the purpose of "standing before authorities" is witness (13:9) and that, in a time when nothing can be done, one should flee (13:14). Vs. Lohmeyer (*Markus*, 318). It does not seem clear that the endtime is the concern of the Gethsemane story. Cf. cited PR 136, however.
32. (What Tyson saw as a Markan combination of two points -- Son of Man suffering with disciples as assertive -- has a third component, that of last-first and servant, which turns the idea of suffering Son of Man into servant Son of Man and thus against the disciples' seeking power.) Tyson, J. "The Blindness of the Disciples in Mark". JBL 80 (1961), 264, followed by Weeden, *Mark*, 34.
33. Note that Mk. 10:31 also uses the first last motif as the final saying following the Peter "question-correction" -- and that this is followed by the transitional 10:32-34.
34. Cf. also Perrin ("Christology", 186), who says that 10:45 links discipleship to Son of Man Christology.
35. Kolenkow, "Reflections", 553 and "Coming".
36. Weeden raises an interesting question -- of the proclamation to crowds of secret teaching. This author actually sees something quite different -- that Mark's special teaching is never presented to the crowd. The "suffering Son of Man - three days" teaching is always presented to the disciples (cf. 9:31). Mk. 13 is only presented to the disciples. The explanation of Mk. 4 is given to the disciples. 9:33-50 is presented as house teaching and 10:23-45 would seem to be secret travel teaching. Thus it would seem that Mark uses the device of secret teaching to give his own teaching.
37. However, Mk. 13 does not necessarily portray Christian messiahs or signs. Mk. 13:5-6 and 21-22 do not speak of the same people and one should always beware of Deut. 18:20 when one talks about prophets "in my name" (see below on Mark 13). The issues seem more desire for "sidekick" power (cf. 10:37) and Christian affirmation of Jewish messiahs (13:22).
38. This gives another reason for arguing Markan production of the priestly trial narrative. He wants to show the Jews opposing the disciples' affirmation. Jesus' confession (that the Son of Man is in heaven and will come with power), 14:61, has Jesus use the disciples' confession (cf. Acts 7:56 and Weeden's argument) in the face of Jewish condemnation. The audience would find the confession a "natural" and they were used to the structure of confession from the Pilate trial (cf. Kolenkow, "Reflections", 556). However, confrontation of Christian affirmation and Jewish rejection of it as blasphemy is bound to be shocking.

39. Kolenkow, "Reflections", 556 and additional material to be published.
40. The association of a set of sayings which would be like that which is expectable of the "opponents" -- and also like what would be expected after a confessional passion narrative -- is another argument that the opponents also used the passion narrative used by Mark.
41. Perrin, N. Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus (N.Y.: 1967), 185-191. Note allusion to "this generation" which in 9:19 associates Jews and disciples (cf. 8:12).
42. To speak to F. Hahn (The Titles of Jesus in Christology. N.Y.: 1969, 41), the reason the suffering Son of Man tradition did not continue in the tradition of the church is that Mark and his emphases also were little reflected in church tradition. Very few spoke of the suffering Son of Man as did Mark -- and Mark only did for a specific purpose.
43. This precedes the transfiguration (cf. Kolenkow, "Coming"). In angelic cycles, the point before departure is the time of revelation and confession by witnesses of who the figure is.
44. The Gethsemane story might seem of this group. However, it actually would be another example of a story where the disciples cannot do something and are advised to pray. The disciples are to do as Jesus does.
45. It may be argued (for the cases of hindering, betraying and denying) that Mark's citation of community curses means that he seeks ban of people in the community who act this way (as in I Cor. 5:5; cf. H. Conzelmann, Der erste Brief an die Korinther, Göttingen: 1969, 118). Mark may be setting his community's ban versus those who are under similar ban threat from the Jews. (Is 8:33 a handing over to Satan? Cf., however, Jn. 6:70.) One may ask how does Mark combine this with his non-exclusion policy. The Jewish idea of the ban was to bring back. Cf. 10:41-43.
46. In "Q", one sees an attempt to show that healing miracles prove Jesus the "one to come" (Matt. 11:3, Lk. 7:19-22. Cf. also John 4:54, 6:2). However, "Q" in Luke (11:16, cf. Matt. 12:38) would show that one needed a sign from heaven on top of an exorcism.
47. Jn. 6:14 shows Jesus regarded as a prophet because of the sign of feeding. Cf. Jn. 2:18.
48. The forecast he makes is what will be called (cf. discussion of chapter 13) an "alternating" forecast -- a succession of evil and good periods, which evil and good periods have similar characteristics. Fall and rebuilding must succeed each other until after the third fall when before rebuilding the son of David will come. Cf. II Bar. 32:3-5.
49. Kertelge, K. Die Wunder Jesu im Markusevangelium. Munich: 1970, 26.
50. Note use of separate introduction and "disciple only" address.
51. Kelber's emphasis on "kingdom" as an exclusively Markan point seems difficult. See also the work of Kuhn (Ältere Sammlungen, 126). However, Kuhn would seem not to notice the real differences between the types of parables and relies too much on accepted theories. Even Bultmann, who tries to tie the judgment to the saying of 26ff., admits that the main point of the parable is the "growing by itself" and that this idea is of no use in the exposition of Mk. 4:26-29 (History, 200-01). The parallel made with I Clem. 23:4 is shown, by its shortened form in II Clem. 11:2, to have no judgment scene necessary. Rather with V. Taylor, both Mark and I Clement show an exegetical tendency to which parables were exposed (The Gospel According to St. Mark. London: 1966, 268).

52. This is at least the fourth theological-ethical use Mark has made of his suffering Son of Man statements -- to speak for service, to speak of betrayal, to speak vs. the leaders of Judaism, and now to defuse the issue of the temple forecast.
53. The use in the apocalyptic of the post 70 period may be shown by II Bar. 48:35:
and honor shall be turned into lowliness
and strength shall be humiliated into nothingness.
Cf. II Bar. 70:3,4, 82:3-9.
54. This is an idea already seen as accepted by the disciples. Cf. the argument of Peter, 10:28.
55. Cf. also *ῥαπνοία* in 8:32.
56. The Markan presentation may be compared with that of IV Ezra. There Ezra keeps asking questions which would be those of the opponents of the author (cf. 7:76) and Ezra gets answers which treat him very negatively (cf. 4:1ff., 5:36ff., 7:19ff.). The continued questions and replies allow for a series of separately presented revelations. It is only when Ezra affirms God's statements (close to the end of the series, 8:4-36) that God affirms Ezra. The tradition of this kind of presentation is to treat Ezra as though he were asking the questions of the worst enemies of Judaism. However, it is not doubted that Ezra is a just man (cf. 8:48-51, 61-62) and that he finally affirms God as God would be affirmed. It is on the basis of such affirmation that Ezra then finally receives several visions of the future.
57. The occurrence of "not understanding" in 8:17-21 is one sign that it is Mark himself who has enclosed two cycles by a third (cf. Kolenkow, "Coming"). There would be no need for such a motif just before the confession but a good reason for having it after the present 3:20 where it would lead into the next cycle.
58. The introductory statement by Jesus in the third almost feeding story (8:15) rings not as though the disciples have no idea who Jesus was but as though Jesus feels they are trying to put him to the test -- as had the Pharisees and Herodians (cf. 8:17) to make sure that there had been and could be a multiplication. Note the combination of testing and hardness of heart accusation in 3:2-5, 10:2-5.
59. Johannes Weiss early saw it as a place where Jesus and the disciples were opposed (*Das Älteste Evangelium*. Göttingen: 1903, 257ff.). It is too simple to see 9:30-10:52 as an attempt to lead Jesus aside from suffering as does J. Schreiber (*Theologie des Vertrauens*. Hamburg: 1967, 196). The argument gives no explanation of the particular teaching used here.
60. The only time the Pharisees come into Mk. 9:30-10:45 is when they are seeking a decision on exclusion -- and Mark has Jesus speak to them against the Mosaic teaching of divorce. Thus Mark here is associating Pharisaic questioning with disciple questioning and exclusion (cf. Mk. 3:21 where Mark presents associates saying "he is beside himself" and then presents scribes saying "He is possessed by Beelzebul"). Was there a problem of remarriage after divorce -- possibly a situation where one had left an unbelieving or Gentile believing wife -- and Mark is arguing against this (cf. Paul's argument in I Cor. 7:10-16).
61. Sayings about the "name" occur in inclusiveness, healing and persecution situations and would seem particularly important to Mark.
62. Cf. also our studies of Markan insertion of the confession of Peter and the trial before the high priest.

63. Is the significance of this saying (as the Test. Ab.A) that violent death precludes endtime punishment?

64. Thus again one may argue that the opponents had a strong post-death doctrine.

65. C. H. Dodd (The Parables of the Kingdom, London: 1938, 10) and J. Jeremias (New Testament Theology, New York: 1971, 286) speak too easily of "interchangeability". This is vs. Marxsen (Mark the Evangelist, New York: 1969, 167-68) who says the original was "body", not "temple" and G. Strecker who argues that the "after three days" in the passion forecast was not Markan because of 14:58, 15:29 and the use of "anistanai" ("The Passion and Resurrection Prediction in Mark's Gospel", Interpretation 22, 1968, 421-42). J. Schreiber (Theologie des Vertrauens, Hamburg: 1967, 106) suggests "after three days" occurs only in Mark or in Markan redaction.

66. Also Weiss, Lagrange, Victor, Schneiwind, Johnson, Taylor and others.

67. The Pharisees then ask, not having seen the fig tree, by what authority he does these things. (Cf. Jn. 2:18, "What sign do you have to show us for doing these things." The word sign is the right word -- but Mark is interested in authority -- and also has said that no sign will be given.) Mark uses the story to show how to avoid direct declaration.

68. The type of prophetic (blessing testament) material presented in Mk. 13 ought to occur in a post meal location (cf. II En. 56, Jn. 14-17). In Mark, however, this prophetic material occurs before the meal. This author would suggest that Mark has composed Mk. 13 and set it before the last meal to offset what may have been an extended last supper discourse (a remnant of which now occurs in Mk. 14:25).

69. For a variant analysis of Jewish history using Judea, cf. Eusebius Hist. III 5:2-5. He speaks of thousands driven away from Judea so that they went to preach to the heathen -- leaving Jerusalem and Judea to the judgment of God. Is Eusebius reflecting here on the synoptic apocalypse use of "Judea"?

70. Vs. Weeden. Cf. Perrin who argues that 26-27 is Markan on the basis that there was a consistent picture of the Son of Man in Judaism (Rediscovering, 174).

71. Cf. Kolenkow, II Bar., 49ff.

72. Marxsen (Mark, 161-166) claims both a Jewish and a Christian source. Pesch, R. Naherwartungen, Düsseldorf: 1968, 21-47.

73. R. Pesch, Naherwartungen, 211. Perrin, N., The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus. Philadelphia: 1963, 131.

74. That is, the percentage of words which are not used elsewhere in Mark as noted by Perrin.

75. Vs. Marxsen who "dares" anyone to believe "that Mark composed or reproduced such a welter of views for the sole purpose of furnishing an apocalypse". (Mark, 165).

76. This is noted by Marxsen (Mark, 169) although he keeps the idea of a source and by Perrin ("Towards", 34) who moves toward the idea of no source. This author subtracts vs. 10 from the list as referring to an event in the future of the time described.

77. Cf. Dan. 11:27 "for the end is yet to be at the time appointed"
11:35 "for it is yet for the time appointed"

Both these phrases would seem to separate the time described from the end and may have served as a model for Mark.

78. 13:19 might seem like 13:24, but it is only a mark of time comparable to that of 13:14 -- unlike 13:24 which sets off the time described specifically from the tribulation previously described.

79. Prophecy Interpreted. Lund: 1966, 202. "II Ths 2 describes as a single phenomenon what the eschatological discourse divides into three, viz. those who come and say 'I am' (Mk. 13,6 par.), the abomination of desolation (13,14ff. par.) and the false Christs and prophets who make misleading signs and wonders (Mk. 13,22 par.)." Hartman recognizes the importance of the parallel between abomination of desolation and the two other sets of claims. The idea peculiar to the present author is that these three similar points are by structure intended by Mark to represent parallel figures. The Daniel figure does not need to be warned against.

80. Cf. Schreiber, Theologie, 144, "Diese Betonung (13:20) passt zu einer Parusievorstellung, vgl 13, 26ff." Pesch (Naherwartungen) uses 13:13 and 13:20 as part of the structure of his source. Semi-conclusions are found in Dan. 12:1 and Ezek. 7:16. Hartman has noted the motif in Dan. 11:32, 35, 12:1. (Prophecy, 171).

81. The parallelism of encouragement in 13:13,20,27 is another argument that Mark does not use a source in 13:20.

82. Hartman, Prophecy, passim.

83. Kolenkow, II Bar., passim.

84. Cf. also II Bar. 3:19 which is answered in II Baruch's extended prophecy of history, 56-74.

85. Also S. G. F. Brandon, The Trial of Jesus of Nazareth, N.Y.: 1968, 73, 74. Pesch, Naherwartungen, 143.

86. Although this author did not remember the presentation of Bacon (The Gospel of Mark: Its Composition and Date, New Haven: 1925) when she wrote this section, nevertheless Bacon's treatment of Mk. 13 (with its emphasis that Mark looks back on events of 66-70, that Mk. 13 is dependent on II Thes. 2, that both passages have the same Danielic base and structure and particularly that Mark goes back to Dan. 11 to correct II Thes. 2 and Mark as an adder of material to the structure from Daniel) is the closest work to that of the author. Bacon is one of the few really conscious of the process of correcting apocalyptic presentation by means of referring to the same or other structure of apocalyptic writing. Bacon differs from this author in that he sees Paul's anti-Christ associated with Dan. 11:31 rather than 11:36. He also does not treat the use of structures for paraenesis.

87. For the idea of correction, cf. possibly Rev. 13:11ff. as a correction of Mk. 13, saying that it is not correct to use the Son of Man in a Dan. 11 pattern. The beast who works great signs and deceives all who dwell on earth is the beast of Dan. 7 and followed in Rev. 14 by the Son of Man. Note the parallel to Mark also in Rev. 13:9 (cf. Mk. 4:9,23) and calls for endurance at each stage (Rev. 13:10, 14:11,12, referring to 13:16).

88. It is in contrast with a simple understanding of this type that a theologian of history as Mark brings the full force of an understanding of history such as Dan. 11 to bear on the problem. Cf. Conzelmann, H., "Geschichte und Eschaton nach Mk. 13", ZNW 50 (1959), 21.

89. Indeed, where the history given does not go back to the time of the supposed author (as in VAE 25-29 where the history only goes back to Moses) the material or structure is suspect as originally belonging to another work with a supposed author of a date corresponding to where the history begins.

90. Vs. Hartman, Prophecy, 201, who notes himself that II Chron. 15:7 contains prophecy.

91. Hartman seminar, Harvard, 1970.

92. Baltzer, K. Das Bundesformular², Neukirchen: 1964, 165, 170.

93. Kolenkow, II Bar., 44, 45.

94. With Hartman (discussion), vs. Charles (ad loc.).

95. Mark has an emphasis on the right order of events also in 9:11-13.

96. This would also "explain" the rationale of evils after "salvation".

97. Marxsen (Mark, 182) also suggests that Mark might be giving paraenesis for the present from the past. "Whoever is still in Judea should know it is high time for him to flee." Vs. Weeden.

98. Were they interpreting "following Jesus in suffering" as being participants in Jewish revolution? If so, Mark says they need the "name" saltiness.

99. Conzelmann, "Geschichte", 217.

100. One must note (against both Kelber and Weeden) that "in my name" does not necessarily refer to Christians. The reference is to Deut. 18:20 about the "prophet who presumes to speak a word in my name which I have not commanded him to speak". If they deceive the elect, the figures would more likely be Jewish.

101. Pesch, Naherwartungen, 113.

102. The "placate" and other imperatives are part of the "prophetic present" address (cf. 5 and 14), picking up interest with direct paraenesis (as 9, cf. 15ff.). They do not just represent (as Weeden argues) an interest in Christology. They serve too many uses -- from warnings, to directions, to 23 where the emphasis is on proof. These warnings are the common-places of forecast.

103. Perrin ("Christology", 183) sees Mk. 1:16-3:6 as a section on the authority of Jesus. He adds 2:28. "The Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath".

104. The use of the James and John story right after the forecast of the passion is not meant in contrast to 10:33-4 (as Tyson, see above) but builds upon it. The disciples have understood (cf. 10:28) that lack in this world means power in the next. They now want it certified.

105. It may indeed seem late to have the "after three days" resurrection emphasis not occur until after the fall of the temple. However, there would be no need for the emphasis to exist until after the fall of the temple meant that the original forecast had not come true. Paul does not mention "after three days"; I Cor. 15:4 speaks only of "on the third day". John shows a use of the "three days" reinterpreted to mean "temple of his body" -- possibly the first sign of a change, taking advantage of the "third day" time of resurrection. The differences in time spans of the death and resurrection narratives in John and Mark show that there was not general agreement on the "three day" boundaries at this time. John also shows a tradition that crucifixion means ascension (without resurrection). Matthew shows a tradition that resurrection began with the crucifixion. If Mark is the author of 8:31, 9:31 and 10:33ff. and the passion narrative is part of Mark's source (see below), then the difference between the passion narrative and the forecasts on the "three days" is accounted for in that the "after

three days" is Mark's particular emphasis and the "third day" of the passion narrative is pre-Markan. [vs. G. Strecker, "The Passion and Resurrection Prediction in Mark's Gospel", *Interpretation* 22 (1968), 421-22; ZTK 64 (1967), 16-39; discussed by Perrin, "Towards", 17,18].

106. Prophet-minded addressees may also explain the suitability of eschatological structure for Markan teaching in 13:5-27. Mark's Jesus speaks against any final knowledge of when the endtime is and who has power then (13:32, 10:40, cf. 10:27). No earthly person (vs. the pseudo-prophets of 13:22) can tell when the end is or who has power then. It is not Mark's opponents but Mark who has no definitive dating for the endtime. The Markan addressees (according to this author) would have had a heritage of:

- signs (including healings)
- rules of discipleship (6:7-11)
- rules for exclusion (9:43-48)
- parables on the automatic coming of the kingdom (with emphasis on the smallness of the group, 4:26-29, 30-32)
- account of the trial and passion -- followed by an urging that the community follow Jesus in suffering and a statement of affirmation by the Son of Man for following thus (the basis of 8:34-38)
- eschatological sayings such as "last and first".

107. *The Gospel of Signs*. Cambridge: 1971, 228-234. [Note that emphasis on healings as showing special power may be one reason for emphasis on foreknowledge (and not "seeking") in John and Luke-Acts, mentioned above.] The understanding of Mark as speaking against a presentation of the signs and death of a prophet argues against Mark being the first to join healings and death material -- and also explains why John would use signs and death material if he did not know Mark. Mark uses a similar structure, but speaks against the understanding of healings as signs and an emphasis on suffering as a way to glory -- being lifted up to glory. (Did Mark know John or a form of a signs source which already had sayings like Jn. 1:51, 3:13-15, 17:1-5, 17:22?) Note the Johannine use of the "Q" master-servant material to speak for service (13:13-16, cf. 21:15-19) and about following in suffering (15:20). These are not associated with Son of Man sayings as is the servant motif in Mark. The Johannine view of history may, in general, be seen as differentiated from the Markan in that John seeks surcease in heaven; Mark emphasizes action on earth as still necessary.

108. Fortna would seem to be thinking in this direction when he suggests that the signs source was the earliest model of a gospel using miracles and a story of Jesus' death (221,229) and then suggests that one should look more closely into the relationship of the synoptics and John (226).

109. P. Achtemeier ("The Origin and Function of the Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae", JBL 91, 1972, 199) argues the resemblance between the sources of miracles for John and Mark. The signs Jesus does are not called signs. Cf. the feedings (see excursus, "Are the Disciples Blind") and the fig tree story which might be considered the sign for Jesus' prophetic temple action (see below under temple).

110. Martyn, *History*, passim. Martyn notes that the similarity of issues presented in both Mark and John in relation to healing -- sabbath healing and sinner as doer of healing. One must note the whole ambiguous situation in John of the relation of authorities and healers: 7:25-32, 45-51 (Nicodemus), 8:31 (believing Jews who continue in my word), 9:27 (the ambiguous irony of there being leaders who are confronted with a believer who really puts the question to them); the division of 10:19-21; cf. Joseph of Arimathea, a disciple who fears the Jews and is associated with Nicodemus.

111. It has often been said that the "messianic secret" motif is Markan. Budesheim ("Jesus and the Disciples in Conflict with Judaism", ZNW, 62, 1971, 195ff.) says further that both this and the enlargement of "amazement" motif

associated with Mk. 1:43-45 are Markan. This paper would argue that the almost too realistic features (of Jewish refusal of Gentile seekers, prayer to evade suffering, and Jewish refusal of Jesus for a person who has murdered in the insurrection) are part of Mark's presentation of a healer who has to work among and is persecuted by Jews (some of whom have a revolutionary orientation). This would be an answer to the problem noted by E. Hobbs ("Norman Perrin on Methodology in the Interpretation of Mark", Perrin Festschrift, 91).

112. Weeden admits (Mark, 20; with Bultmann's support, plus Trocmé) that there is Markan redactional emphasis on Jewish authorities (and these passages, as Weeden does not note, often associate disciples with Jews). However, Weeden does not see Mark's emphasis against the Jewish establishment -- citing Mark's occasional support of the Mosaic law and 1:44 where Jesus would seem to order obeying of Jewish custom. Weeden's specific citations show what was the common tradition of Judaism and Christianity -- and indeed what would seem the Christian argument that they are the true Jews. 7:10-13 shows that the Jews do not keep their law, 10:17-19 speaks of one lack -- i.e. one needs giving all one has to the poor; and 12:28ff. shows that the scribes have to approve of Jesus because he does know the law, but that he disapproves of them (38ff.) because they seek the accoutrements of authority. Trocmé rightly sets the Jews in opposition to Jesus in Mark but does not see as extensive alignment of Jews and disciples as this author (La formation, 70ff.). Cf. S. Schultz, "Markus und das Alte Testament," ZTK, 58 (1961), 185-97. On Peter as a "mock up" for the opponents of Mark in a church situation cf. G. Klein, "Die Verleugnung des Petrus" ZTK 58 (1961), 312ff. T. Budesheim ("Jesus and the Disciples", 195-199) does not see the relationship between Jews and disciples -- thus seeing only one part of Mark's argument. Weeden and Kelber are correct that Mark's major point (in contrast to John) is against Christian leaders. Opposition to the Jews is a way of speaking against leaders who are now in alliance with Jews -- and for getting the community to leave the community of the Jews and go to the Gentiles. Mark does not want them to get involved with Judaism any further but to recognize their essential antipathy to the Jews and to beware leaders who are betraying them because of a desire not to offend the Jews.

113. However, if there is any chance that Mark has used a signs source as has John, then one must watch very carefully for agreements between Mark and John. John knows emphasis on Judas' betrayal and Peter's denial. However, John does not have the community curses on betrayers and deniers, nor does he have the Markan gradual growth of presentation showing disciples' association with Jewish leaders or the unexplained warnings about such association. It is also unclear whether blasphemy accusation was a part of the signs source or part of a situation common to John and Mark. What one can say is that Mark emphasizes it in relation to the miracles section and to the (known Markan) trial before the high priest. What one must also note is that John has many categories of people -- secret believers among the Jews, Peter, beloved disciple, other disciple. This spreads the burden which Mark puts on the twelve only. One should note both John's rehabilitation of Peter and Mark's calling Peter "Satan" when John puts the label "devil" on Judas in the comparable Jn. 6:70. Perrin (reply to Kelber, Kolenkow and Scroggs paper, 1971) is right that Peter serves as an anti-model to Jesus. One may argue that this was true in John's source as well.

114. They will meet Jesus after they have gone out to heal and then participate with him in a heavenly oriented meal. Cf. Georgi's argument that 16:7 refers back to Galilee and this author's particularized argument that 14:28 refers back to 6:34.

115. A. E. Cross, Thunder over Jerusalem; Poems of Justice. New York: 1936, 12.

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Werner Kelber's provocative paper, "The History of the Kingdom in Mark, Aspects of Markan Eschatology," presented to the Task Force on Mark last year¹, has evoked an understandable desire on my part to respond to his thesis. As a critique of some of the central elements of my own interpretation of Mark and as a reaction against some of my postulations, Kelber's carefully formulated position has forced me to reexamine my own thinking and in some cases address myself more carefully to material I did not treat adequately in Mark--Traditions in Conflict. It is with this stimulus provoked by Kelber's paper that I wish to respond to his position and pursue some parts of my own thesis more thoroughly.

I. Werner Kelber's Reconstruction of the Markan Sitz im Leben

As I understand Kelber we part company over the reconstruction of the character of the heresy which drives Mark to produce his polemic. The theological debate in Mark's community, according to Kelber, rages over what constitutes a proper eschatological creed, a debate now enjoined vigorously in the author's community as a result of the recent fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple. Jerusalem heretics have interpreted the fall of the temple as the signal that the day of the long-sought kingdom has dawned.

But the fall of the temple produced no change in the suffering existence of the Christian community. These Jerusalem apostles of this false eschatology, "Christian prophets who arrogated to themselves the authority and identity of the Messiah Jesus" (p. 81), "declaring themselves...the Jesus redivivus" (p. 81), Mark felt compelled to unmask on two accounts: temporal and geographical. They had raised the false temporal expectation that the end would dawn and the kingdom irrupt with the fall of the temple. They had raised the false geographical expectation that the locale for the kingdom's irruption was Jerusalem.

This aberrant eschatology of the heretics, Kelber argues, led also to an aberrant christology. In the bliss of eschatological fulfillment, the Markan opponents were "unlikely to have focused on either the past crucifixion or the resurrection on the third day. There was no room in their theology for a dying Christ who had subsequently risen from the dead, to return at some future point in history" (p. 34).

Mark, Kelber contends, attacks the imminent eschatological position of his opponents keyed to the destruction of the temple by composing "a history of the Kingdom along the lines of Jesus' biography" (p. 86). In this "history of the Kingdom" Mark first establishes by way of 1:14f., the conflict with satanic forces and the execution of miraculous acts (1:21-8:26) that the kingdom irrupted in Jesus' ministry and "its history is still in progress" (p. 86). In developing his kingdom theology, in which he sees the kingdom not in the condition of "stationary perfection" but in conflict (and process?) moving inexorably toward its final consummation in the Parousia, Mark offers solace to those whose faith rested on the eschatological heresy now discredited by its failure to produce after the fall of Jerusalem. He historicizes the glorious reality of the kingdom first of all in Jesus' Galilean ministry. Then, having well established the existence of the kingdom in Jesus' own ministry, Mark turns his attention to buoying the confidence of his readers that the kingdom is soon to burst once again in all its glory, again in Galilee with the Parousia. Thus the Markan community is to understand that it lives between the two glorious epochs of kingdom manifestation: Jesus' time and the time of imminent parousia. The interim time is a time of suffering and persecution but not a time for abandoning hope. Rather, the church is to be encouraged that it lives in the "shadow of its [kingdom] hiddenness" (p. 85). This realization makes it possible for the faithful to bear suffering, in fact, to integrate it in their lives, because they know that "tension and conflict are the very symptoms of an existence in the shadow of the kingdom" (p. 85).

Against grounding Christian hopes in Jerusalem as the geographical locale, a hope which has proved futile with the fall of the city, Mark centers the hope of the Christian Zion in Galilee where the kingdom first emerged in public view in Jesus' ministry--the only place it can be experienced again.

Kelber argues that the heretical eschatology originated with the Church at Jerusalem and was rooted in a tradition traced to the disciples, a tradition which "makes no allowance for a dying, rising Messiah." Mark repudiates "the orthodoxy of the mother church of Jerusalem prior to A.D. 70" (p. 88) by showing the so-called antecedents of this position, "in rejecting a suffering Messiah and not knowing what to do with a risen Messiah" (p. 87), were completely out of harmony with the mission of Jesus. In Kelber's reconstruction of the Markan *Sitz im Leben* the heart of the problem is not a false christology with exchatological overtones, as I have proposed, but a heretical eschatology with christological overtones.

II. Mark 1:14-15 and the Eschatological Character of the Kingdom

I should now like to respond critically to Kelber's thesis. Kelber begins with 1:14-15 as the key hermeneutical point of departure (1:14f).² Opting for the position set forth by C. H. Dodd, Kelber contends that the connotation of the verb *εγγίζω* is intended to stress not the kingdom's imminent arrival but its presence, a connotation

which he argues is reinforced by the conjunction of the ~~Mark's~~ saying to the kingdom-saying. The point of 1:14-15a is the announcement of a "realized Galilean Kingdom." In Mark 1:15a Kelber argues, in a departure from traditional exegesis, the call for repentance and faith is really to be interpreted not as a call for preparation for the arrival of the kingdom but as a statement of "the consequences to be drawn from the Kingdom's arrival."

I am not convinced by Kelber's exegesis of Mark 1:14-15. He himself admits that the case for the interpretation of ~~εγγίσσει~~ remains uncertain. More seriously, he ignores an important point of Marxsen, namely that in the Gospel past and present time-periods are not sharply differentiated in the evangelist's mind. While the Gospel describes events that seem to have been played out in the past of the reader, they are really contemporaneous events. The Jesus of the Gospel is not the Jesus of the past but the risen Jesus of the present readers' existential situation. The Gospel is not a chronicle of the past but preaching for the present. In this regard I find Marxsen persuasive in arguing that the message of 1:14f. is not a report of a past announcement of the historical Jesus to his contemporaries but a kerygmatic announcement directed to the reader of the evangelist's day. It is intended by the evangelist to have a contemporaneous, spontaneous freshness. The time which is fulfilled is the time of the reader. The kingdom is about to dawn in his day. The *kairos* is in the "now" of the reader not in the past of the Jesus of the public ministry.³ When 1:14-15 is interpreted in this fashion, the discrepancy which Kelber admits lies in his interpretation as 1:14f. is countered by the future expectation of the fulfillment of time (13:33)⁴ and the imminent arrival of the kingdom (9:1) no longer exists.

Turning to the call for repentance and faith in 1:15, against Kelber I see this to be a call for a new behavioral and attitudinal stance in preparation for the kingdom. Moreover my contention is that the heart of the issue in 1:14-15 really lies in this call for repentance and faith. For the call is to repentance and faith in the gospel. In a lengthy discussion in Mark--Traditions in Conflict I have argued that the term "gospel" in Mark has immense importance for our evangelist. It is used as a direct referent to Jesus himself. Jesus and the gospel are synonymous. Jesus is the entire content of the gospel which he preaches. Thus following Marxsen's study the meaning of "preaching the gospel of God (1:14) is that Jesus' gospel is himself, the Jesus who lives and preaches throughout the Markan narrative."⁵ Consequently, I view the emphasis in 1:14f. quite differently from Kelber. The central point is that Jesus comes preaching first of all himself ("preaching the gospel of God": christology) and calls for repentance (from false christology) and belief in the Jesus (gospel) who lives and preaches throughout the subsequent narrative, because the eschatological time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is soon to irrupt into history (1:15; cf. 9:1; 13:24-27).

Kelber asserts that the conclusion one must draw from 1:14f. is that "the basis of Markan religious concerns is not christology but the eschatology of the realized Galilean Kingdom" (p. 64). Not at all. What is central to Mark is authentic christology made imperative by the imminence of

the kingdom.⁶ That this is Mark's intended understanding of 1:14-15 is underscored by the difference in emphasis he gives to the eschatological and christological motifs through the moods of the verbs associated with each. The verbs (*πληροθῆναι, ἐγγίζειν*) highlighting the eschatological motif are cast in the indicative mood. So rendered, the implication is that the eschatological theme is one which must be proclaimed. But there is no indication that this eschatological proclamation requires the reader necessarily to make a decision on eschatological matters per se. The verbs (*μετανοεῖν, πιστεύειν*) setting forth the christological motif are struck in the imperative mood. The force of this rendering is that the reader is drawn to recognize that the christological motif is not only a matter for proclamation (1:14) but is a matter which demands a decision-making response from the reader. Eschatological proclamation is the setting for christological proclamation and decision. More on this below.

III. The Exorcisms of Jesus in Mark 1-3 and Kingdom Theology

With regard to Kelber's position on the fact that the kingdom is clearly present in the exorcisms of Jesus in 1:16-3:12, I find J. M. Robinson's position, which Kelber disagrees with, still more persuasive: the cosmic struggle which ensues between Jesus and the satanic forces establishes not the public arrival of the kingdom in Mark's drama but, rather, the close proximity of the new age. Kelber's mistaken reading of the intent of Markan theology at this point strikes at the heart of a crucial methodological and hermeneutical issue which needs to be addressed before continuing.

It is necessary that we who are involved in redaction criticism sharpen our analytical probings and be more conscious of the distinction which must be made among (1) the theological bias of the sources which Mark draws upon, (2) Mark's own peculiar theological intent and (3) the effect that the theological position of the sources may have of an unintentional nature upon Mark's position once these sources are put to work by the evangelist for his own purpose. We need to differentiate as clearly as possible at which point Mark (1) evidently accepts the theological interests of his sources, (2) unconsciously accepts them against his interests, (without realizing perhaps the full ramifications of such acceptance), (3) consciously draws upon them to discredit them (with the result that in doing so his own theological interests may be compromised). It is as the result of giving further attention to this methodological and hermeneutical point that I find myself in disagreement with Kelber in his interpretation of 1:21-3:12. It is accepted now among a growing number of scholars that 1:21-3:12 is a collection of stories with a strong theios-aner bent. My position is that Mark has no interest in this position but introduces it to attack the kerygma of his theios-aner opponents.

Recently support for this position has appeared in an article by Thomas L. Budesheim, "Jesus and the Disciples in Conflict with Judaism." In an examination of Mark 1-3 Budesheim discovers that many of the narratives originally and independently served apologetically as an early Jewish Christian defense for deviation from the law and Jewish cultic practices in the face of heavy attack from Jewish authorities.

ties. In a later period these stories were collected with other stories (1:16-20, 21-28; 2:1-12; 3:7-19) by a redactor (not Mark!) whose purpose it was to combine the former with the latter, along with appropriate redactional changes in his material, to produce a narrative composite which could meet the needs of a new theological and existential crisis--a crisis that could not be adequately addressed by the various stories in their original disconnected state. According to Budesheim this redactor picked up the "campaign of polemic against the Jewish position" in his received material and by altering the material to suit his own theological purpose he shaped it into an aretology in which Jesus is presented as a theios-aner in the tradition of Moses, but superior to Moses. Similarly the disciples, whom the redactor introduced into prominent position, are fashioned into a disciple-gestalt which parallels the theios-aner profile of Jesus. In this way, in what amounts to a Geschichtsverlauf Jesu, Jesus and his disciples are "exalted to a position of superiority over the Law and the tradition, a movement only incipient in the redactor's traditional materials."⁷

Budesheim contends that the Sitz im Leben of the collection of Mark 1-3--a Sitz im Leben also reflected in materials with a similar theological bent through the twelfth chapter (particularly in chapters 7, 10, 12)--is the crisis of a Hellenistic Christian group that has been forced to turn its back finally and completely on Judaism. It justifies this break by appealing to Jesus, its theios aner par excellence, as the inaugurator of the break. Subsequently, Budesheim argues, Mark took up the tradition coming from this group, "making it palatable to the theological tastes of his community by redactional correction and expansion (most notably the incognizance motif added to the secrecy motif and the theologia crucis added to, or superimposed upon the motif of theologia gloriae respectively)."⁸

In the face of Budesheim's striking thesis, Kelber's assumption that the reference to the cosmic struggle in Mark 1:21-3:12 is an indication of Mark drawing upon material intentionally to press a realized eschatology of the presence of the kingdom does violence to the intent of Mark. The realized eschatology present in these stories is better explained (following Budesheim) as the central interest of Mark's theios-aner opponents, not Mark. Reverberations of such an eschatology echo in Mark only because he has used their material in his polemic against them.⁹

IV. Mark 4:1-34 -- the Heart of the Conflict over Kingdom Theology.

This issue regarding the conflict between the theological interests of pre-Markan material and Markan theology brings us to the passage which in the present discussion is crucial for both Kelber and myself: Mark 4. How one interprets it determines in large measure whether one sides with Kelber or this author. In Mark-Traditions in Conflict I argued that the parable of the sower (4:3-9), its interpretation (4:14-20), the parable of the seed growing by itself (4:26-29) and the parable of the mustard seed (4:30-32) belonged to a collection prior to the appearance of the Gospel. I drew this conclusion to a large extent on the generally accepted position that the interpretation of the

parable of the sower was affixed to the parable before Mark and on the linguistic study of Jeremias in which he argued that Καὶ ἔπειτα, found at 4:9, 26, 30 is a clause used by a collector(s) before Mark to link the aforementioned parables together. I contended that Mark was responsible for introducing the secrecy theme of 4:11f. and the sayings on the exposed lamp light (4:21-23) and the shared measure (4:24f.)--again on the linguistic argument (suggested by Jeremias and now supported by a number of scholars) that Καὶ ἔπειτα αὐτοῖς is a Markan introductory statement. However, I departed from the traditional position by arguing that, while Mark inserted 4:11f., he borrowed it from the repertoire of sayings which belonged to those Christians circulating the collection of parables. I argued further that this saying served as the hermeneutical theologoumenon for their own preaching (in this I was guided by the arguments of Schweizer). Likewise I contended that the theological and linguistic character of 4:33f. had sufficient non-Markan characteristics, and so functionally supported the position represented in the rest of the non-Markan material in the chapter, that it logically should be assigned to the same repertoire from which Mark drew 4:3-8, 11-12, 14-20, 26-29, 30-32. I concluded that the material had come to Mark's hands via his theios-aner opponents.¹¹

Kelber has taken sharp exception to my analysis of chapter four and argued that my investigation of the chapter was so preoccupied with extricating the Markan opponents' theology that I ignored a careful study of the Markan theological purpose in composing the chapter. Kelber asserts that the chapter was shaped by Mark by selecting the parable of the sower with its interpretation already attached (4:3-8, 10, 14-20), inserting 4:11f. between the parable and the interpretation and then appending "two sayings collections (vss. 21-23; 24-25) and two parables (vss. 26-29; 30-32), as well as the adjustment of vs. 10 and possibly vs. 13" (p. 68).

A. Kuhn's Theory on the Pre-Markan Parable Collection

Kelber's criticism that I did not stringently carry out an exegesis of the chapter to expose Markan literary and theological interests has weight. I wish to correct that failure at this point. Since I wrote Mark, H.-W. Kuhn's book Ältere Sammlungen im Markus-evangelium has appeared. Kuhn's work has helped me to document what was insufficiently documented before. Kuhn's purpose is to investigate sections of the Markan Gospel--several which have previously been considered to have been collections of material in circulation prior to Mark's writing--to determine if there are form-critical characteristics in the component parts of material in these sections which might support the position that someone or some community prior to Mark deliberately gathered and shaped the component parts into a composite, giving the a distinctive and discernible theological gestalt which separately they did not possess. When Kuhn finds the results to be positive, he attempts to reconstruct the Sitz im Leben out of which such a "composite" theological interest might have emerged.

In his investigation of the Markan parable chapter Kuhn begins with the parable of the mustard seed (4:30-32). A comparison of the Markan and Lucan version of the parable leads Kuhn to believe with others that there was a different version of the parable which Luke found in Q and reproduced at

this point. Kuhn theorizes that the Q form of the parable was the earlier form and suffered alteration to produce the Markan version. Two notable changes created a shift in the emphasis from what can be discerned in Lucan presentation of the Q version. First, the form of the parable has been expanded with the addition of the phrases *μικρότερον ὢν πάντων τῶν σπέρματων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὅσον πάντων τῶν ἁλῶν*. Second, the narration of the parable in Luke is set in the aorist tense, whereas the Markan narrative is placed in the present tense. Failing to find any discernible Markan traits in Mark 4:30-32, Kuhn posits that the expansion of the parable from its earlier form to its present state in Mark was the work of someone before Mark. The apparent motivation for this alteration was to have the parable speak to the contrast between the diminutive size of the seed and the enormous shrub produced from the seed. The point of the expansion is that while prospects for the coming of the kingdom look extremely meager in the present, the glorious expansiveness of the future kingdom will be beyond all expectations to which the present points. The point of the earlier Q version lies not in the contrast underscored by the pre-Markan editor but in the final state of the kingdom, a motif which has been borrowed from the Old Testament (Ps. 104:12; Ez. 17:23f.; 31:5-7; Dan. 4:10-12, 17f.).

Kuhn contends that the Christian who edited the original parable must have found himself in a community which was growing disconsolate over the miserable state of Christian existence. The original form of the parable was inadequate to speak effectively to the situation. He altered the parable so that it both recognizes the meagerness of the present situation and underscores by contrast the glorious expectation of the future kingdom.¹²

In investigating the parable of the seed growing by itself (4:26-29), Kuhn explains the thematic tension existing between vss. 26, 29 and vss. 27, 28 of the parable as due to the secondary insertion by a later Christian commentator.¹³ The message of the parable originally (vss. 26, 29) was the encouragement of patient forbearance. The intent of the redactor is to place the stress on the automatic, inevitable coming of the kingdom, human activity or the lack of it notwithstanding. The fashioner of the revised parable concedes to his hearers that they cannot understand the fact of the coming of the kingdom when they look at things from their worldly situation. But the kingdom comes like the growth of the seed which the farmer did not understand.¹⁴ Since he can find no discernible Markan traits in 4:26-29, Kuhn attributes the expansion of the parable to a Christian before Mark.¹⁵

In his treatment of 4:3-8, 14-20 Kuhn subscribes to the generally held position today that the parable and its interpretation were linked before they came into Mark's hands. He contends that the reason the interpretation was created was not to provide paraenetic instruction on dedication to God's word, as often argued, but to speak to the problem of the failure of Christian preaching. This is why the interpreter has expanded the discussion of the failure of the seed to grow successfully in his interpretation over the already extensive attention this theme received in the parable itself.¹⁶ Kuhn reasons that the interpretation was penned by one who found himself in a community faced with the problem of the failure of Christian preaching. The narrator's intention is to console his hearers with the explanation that the failure of their preaching cannot be laid to

their fault but to the fault of the hearers. The hearers are either unfit for it or not sufficiently strong to remain rooted in the faith. Moreover, he comforts his community, such failure is as normal as the failure of the farmer. The community should be strengthened and encouraged by its success among true believers, despite the failure of others to respond.¹⁷

When the results of the individual investigations of the three parables are examined together Kuhn finds that, in spite of any formal or thematic differences existing among them, the parables share enough commonality at several significant points to support the thesis that they were a part of a collection existing prior to Mark. All three describe a process in ordinary, daily life; and thematically, all three are seed parables, depicting the sowing-to-maturation/harvest process. All three tend to resist the description of the extraordinary or contrived. All three parables resist the use of poetic license as one might find in telling an illustrative story or in an allegory. In all three the material is treated in even-handed fashion.

The most striking link among them is that all these parables are expanded and altered from their original state and at approximately the same point in the narration in order to speak to the present situation of the Christian community in which they were used.¹⁸ In each case the expansion reveals a community faced with negative circumstances for which it needs a word of hope or encouragement. In their original state none of the parables were adequate to describe the present situation of the community or offer the adequate word of encouragement. Consequently, redactors in the community expanded all three to speak to the dire situation in which their church found itself.

To illustrate: there is no question in the original narration of the parable of the sower that the emphasis is on the negative description of the failure of the seed to grow in different types of soil. The description of failure is far more extensive than the meager reference to the success that some seed had. Yet the interpreter of the parable felt even this disproportionate emphasis on failure, in contrast to success, in the original parable was not enough. He expanded on the description of failure, thereby underscoring the theme of failure in even starker terms. The concern for the resistance to Christian preaching was obviously the critical problem in his community. He addressed himself to it by admitting the experience of failure in the interpretation. But he also showed that it was a natural, unavoidable experience. The community should take heart in the fact that the elect few have received and borne much fruit and continue to do so through receptive ears.

In the parable of the mustard seed, the redactor has accentuated the contrast between the seed and the shrub it grows into to acknowledge both the meager situation of the Christian present and to build confidence that the future holds possibilities beyond all expectations to which the present points. The point of the expansion of the parable of the seed growing by itself is to admit that in the present one cannot recognize any evidence for the coming of the kingdom. Yet, one should recognize that it comes, nevertheless, with or without human activity and in a way not understood by man.

The *Sitz im Leben* of the expanded parts of the parables, Kuhn concludes, is the *Sitz im Leben* for the collection. This does not mean that the same redactor was responsible for the ex-

pansion in each parable.¹⁹ But the three were gathered and expanded by the community to speak to the problem of the failure in Christian mission, the unintelligibility of the present and the meager situation in which the community finds itself.²⁰

Kuhn finds additional support for his position that the three parables in expanded form were a part of a collection before Mark through the help of formidable linguistic evidence. First, the natural, linking *Stichworte* for all three parables are the words *σπείρειν* and *σπέρρος*. The generally recognized Markan material in 4:21-25, in which these words do not appear, breaks the thematic and stylistic continuity in 4:14-30 produced by the repetition of these *Stichworte* throughout the rest of the passage. Second, Jeremias' persuasive argument, followed now by a number of scholars, that in Mark 4 *καὶ ἔλεγεν* (vss. 2, 9, 26, 30) represents a pre-Markan connective and *καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς* (vss. 11f., 21-25) represents a Markan connective, Kuhn finds provides impressive support for his hypothesis. *καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς* (4:13) Kuhn argues, was the connective used to tie the parable of the sower to its interpretation before the collection was formed.²¹

While I have found Kuhn's basic argument regarding the existence of a pre-Markan collection of three expanded parables convincing, there is a crucial point at which I believe he has erred in his analysis. That lies in the question of what the community which created the collection understands to be the current status of the kingdom vis-à-vis its own *Sitz im Leben*. Against Kuhn, I believe that all three parables speak of the fact that the kingdom is already present, albeit in diminutive form in the present. Kuhn claims that the point of the parables of the seed growing by itself and the mustard seed speaks only of the coming kingdom. They do speak of the coming kingdom, but they also speak in my opinion to the fact that the kingdom is present in the time of the hearers. The thematic development of the expanded parable of the mustard seed places the hearers in the community of the redactor between the time of sowing and the maturation of the seed, between the first stage of the irruption of the kingdom and its future full-blown manifestation.²² Thus the contrast which the redactor has accentuated between the diminutive state of the mustard seed in its initial sowing and its future grand and glorious state as the shrub of the parable is created to assure the hearers that, while the kingdom's presence now is so meager as to be almost unnoticeable, its future state will be as expansive and magnificent as its present state is diminutive. (Apparently Kelber interprets the meaning of the expanded parable in the same vein, p. 70.)

Similarly I disagree with Kuhn on his interpretation of the message of the redactor of 4:26-29. I interpret the message as a statement of faith that the kingdom is present, though again in diminutive form. For once again the thematic development of the parable places the hearers between the time of sowing and final harvest, in the interim of the growth process.²³ Consequently the case the redactor is trying to make is that the kingdom, human perception to the contrary, is growing. It is growing automatically, with or without the aid of human activity and in a way incomprehensible to the human mind. In Kelber's words, "Christians who live under the impact of the irruption of the kingdom can rest assured that its concealed present will irresistibly progress toward its consummation" (pp. 69f.).

Likewise I find the interpretation of the parable of the sower places the hearer squarely in the midst of the time between sowing and harvest.²⁴ In fact, unlike the other parables, the

message of 4:20 suggests the harvest had already begun. The interpreter, as I read his work, announces to his hearers that despite the failure of Christian preaching among many, signs of the presence of the kingdom are manifesting themselves in the response of the good seed (the elect). (Again Kelber p. 69, appears to side with me against Kuhn.)

Consequently, against Kuhn (and with Kelber), I find the message of the parable collection to be: (1) the kingdom is present, though sometimes hardly recognizable (parable of the mustard seed); (2) while one cannot understand how the kingdom in its present state will grow into the full scale kingdom one hopes for, it grows nevertheless without human aid or understanding (parable of the seed growing by itself); and (3) despite the failure of the preaching (a clear and natural reality), there is nevertheless evidence of success which points unmistakably to the budding presence of the kingdom (parable of the sower and its interpretation). Conversely, against Kelber (and with Kuhn), I ascribe the kingdom theology in Mark 4 to this parable collection created by a community before Mark wrote. In fact, I detect clear evidence that Mark's point of view is not represented by the theological interests of the community responsible for producing the collection.

B. Markan Theology Vis-à-Vis the Parable Collection

Support for the assertion that Mark's theological interests are not those of the community which compiled the parable collection can be found by examining two passages which Mark inserted in their respective positions in the parable complex: 4:11-12 and 4:21-25. It is commonly agreed that 4:21-25 represents not only a Markan redactional insertion but also a facet of Markan theology. It is also generally argued that Mark 4:11-12 is to be viewed in a similar vein. As already indicated I concur with the position that Mark is responsible for inserting 4:11-12 in its present context. I do not agree that it represents the Markan theological position. But more on this shortly. Let us examine 4:21-25 first to indicate how theologically it stands out of character with the interest of the theology of the parable collection.

There is no reference to the kingdom in 4:21-25, present or future. The question of kingdom is not even implicitly the issue, as shall become evident shortly. The point of emphasis in 4:24-25, moreover, differs sharply from that in the expanded sections of the parables. The purpose of the expansion of the parables is to offer consolation and encouragement to Christians faced with the dire circumstances of their present. There is no hint that the advocates of the expansion material either challenge or are interested in raising any question about the dedication and faithfulness of the hearers in meeting and fulfilling the demands of discipleship. The issue of the individual responsibility and accountability of each Christian in exercising his/her discipleship is not engaged. The elect are not held accountable for the success or failure of the Christian mission. The mission grows independent of them. Its failure in a number of cases, while disturbing, is not examined by the creators of the collection from the question of whether the hearers have fulfilled their responsibility as Christian evangelists. The failure is presented solely as an inevitable fact. Much the same as the farmer can never expect to receive one hundred-percent yield from his sowing, so Christians must expect failure in the evangelism of the Christian message.

The emphasis in 4:24-25, by contrast, is not on solace but on admonition and warning. Here clearly the question of individual responsibility and accountability upon the part of the hearers is raised in the strongest terms.²⁵ This concern for the responsibility and accountability of all Christians coincides with the strong stress Mark places upon responsibility and accountability in discipleship elsewhere in his Gospel (cf. 8:34-38; 9:33-37, 40f., 42-50; 10:29-31; 42-45).

That the theological interests of the parable collection are not primarily those of Mark can be further documented by re-examining the role and purpose of Mark 4:11f. in the parable chapter. Since the publication of Mark--Traditions in Conflict three separate studies of 4:11f. have appeared²⁶ which serve to corroborate my earlier conclusions with regard to the origin of the passage, its relationship to the rest of the material in the parable chapter and Mark's purpose in introducing it into the parabolic discourse. In two of the studies J. W. Pryor and Günter Haufe have independently arrived at the judgment which I had reached with respect to 4:11f. and its relationship to Markan theology and literary purpose. Mark 4:11f. does not come from the pen of Mark. It stands in sharp tension with Mark's theology and the subsequent course of the Markan drama. Markan parables are not always obscure. The disciples, contrary to the pronouncement of 4:11, prove to be inexplicably dense. Outsiders have greater perspicacity than 4:11 would lead us to expect. The sharp behavioral and attitudinal distinction between outsiders and insiders promised the reader in 4:11f. never materializes as such in the rest of the drama.²⁷

Haufe's investigation is particularly productive with penetrating insights.²⁸ Not only does Haufe find that 4:11f. creates a dissonance with the theological pattern of the rest of Mark's drama, but he finds it inconsonant with the intent of Jesus' parabolic teaching. Jesus taught in parables to enlighten not to confound people. Consequently, the tradition reflected in 4:11f. could not have derived from Jesus or Mark, though, Haufe admits, Mark is responsible for introducing it into his Gospel in its present location.

Haufe sets out then to find the specific early Christian Sitz im Leben which would account for the creation of the logion. He discounts from the outset the possibility that it emerged in the same Christian circle which produced the interpretation of the parable of the sower. The allegorical interpretation of the parable of the sower which follows the logion does not disclose a specific secret, nor does the point of the logion that Jesus fundamentally has given the secret of the kingdom of God harmonize satisfactorily with the apparent necessity for Jesus to disclose in private the meaning of a particular parable. Moreover, the logion does not point to any positive function which parables might have for the disciples. Yet, the latter is the unavoidable presupposition which lies behind the allegorical interpretation of the parable of the sower.

In search of the Sitz im Leben which accounts for the creation of the parable Haufe turns first to Jeremias' argument that the term μυστήριον in 4:11 should be translated as "riddle." Haufe accepts Jeremias' conclusion but does not think he has seen the full force of the intent of this term in the passage. Drawing upon the full implications of two terms associated with μυστήριον, μυστήριον and τὰ πάντα, Haufe argues that the point of the passage is not that the essential content of Christian preaching is

promulgated in incomprehensible parables. No, rather, the passage must be interpreted apologetically as a description of an actual life situation in which the entire Christian message has struck some as meaningless riddles. Support for this interpretation is grounded in the reference to οἱ ἄλλοι in the passage. οἱ ἄλλοι occurs practically as a terminus technicus in rabbinic and Christian circles for heathen or unbelievers. In rabbinic thought the expression was used to refer to those outside the synagogue, in the profane world. For Paul (I Thess. 4:12; I Cor. 5:12f.; Col. 4:5) it designates the non-Christians.²⁹ Apparently it was used in the same way in pre-Pauline Hellenistic-Jewish Christianity. The use of the term in the context of 4:11, Haufe argues, helps us to sharpen our understanding of the Sitz im Leben which inspired the passage. Namely, an early Christian community has found itself sharply separated from unbelievers, the non-Christian world. This state of affairs developed as a result of the outright rejection of the Christian message by the surrounding world. The consequence of this is that the community is faced with a practical and theoretical problem. How should Christians relate to a non-Christian world which is hostile to it, and how is the unbelief of the surrounding world to be theologically explained?³⁰

Haufe posits that this experience of rejection and hostility to the Christian message probably can be dated at the earliest when a Christian community recognized itself clearly separated from the synagogue and understood this fact as a theological problem. More specifically, the theological awareness articulated in 4:11f. probably stemmed originally from a Palestinian Jewish-Christianity, likely in transition to Hellenistic Jewish-Christianity, which had founded its kerygma on Jesus' preaching of the kingdom--a preaching, as a result of Easter, appropriately modified christologically to locate the irruption of the kingdom of God in the person of Jesus.³¹ This christologically defined kingdom theology of this early Christian group was, to the group's dismay, rejected by Judaism. To account for the rejection the community turned to the apocalyptic concept of mystery and its radical anthropological dualism. Under this construct Judaism's failure to understand and accept the Christo-centric kingdom preaching was attributed to the fact that such preaching is in actuality an apocalyptic mystery which is understood only by the elect. To outsiders the mystery remains eternally hidden. Since their Jewish opponents rejected the kerygma this Palestinian Jewish-Christian community identified them as "outsiders."³²

This community, forced to explain its existential dilemma, turned resourcefully, furthermore, to the Targum version of Isaiah 6:9f. (Mk. 4:12) as the scriptural proof-text and theological rationale for the cleft which had occurred between itself (the elect) and unbelievers. Thus: not only do unbelievers not understand (4:11) the Christian kerygma, but they are intentionally prevented from understanding it, in order that there will be no possibility of them turning around and being forgiven (4:12c). God himself has predetermined who the elect and the outsiders are. The cause of the radical division is divinely instigated. One shares no personal responsibility or accountability for being cast in either one group or the other. That onus lies solely in the province of God. There is no possibility for one to alter her/his preordained place in life.

Haufe is not dissuaded from his predestination interpretation of 4:12 by the fact that the exact meaning of μὴ γινώσκουσιν remains somewhat uncertain. It could, in correspondence with one conno-

tation of its Aramaic equivalent in the Targum text, be also understood in such a way as to give an interpretation to the Markan passage quite the opposite of Haufe's position. But against Jeremias, who advocates the opposite position, Haufe contends that the interpretation of *מִן* in 4:12 carries the connotation of "in order that not" of the Aramaic *מִן*. The meaning of 4:12 is not that the outsiders are prevented from understanding "unless" they repent and are forgiven. Rather, the outsiders are prevented from understanding "in order that" they "not" repent and be forgiven.³³ In support of this point, Haufe draws attention to the fact that Matthew understood the Markan text in this way and reinforced that understanding with a full rendering of the LXX version of Isaiah 6:9f., in which case *מִן* carries the full force of its Hebrew equivalent *מִן*: "in order that not." Luke apparently had problems with the Markan emphasis and chose to delete the Markan *מִן*-clause.

Haufe contends, moreover, that his predestination interpretation of the Markan passage is strengthened by the way in which the Christian community used Isaiah 6:9f. elsewhere. In Acts 28:26f. and John 12:37ff. this Isaianic text is used in the service of a theological apologetic and polemic. It serves to explain why the Church has encountered opposition to and rejection of its message by the Jewish community. It polemizes against unbelieving Jews, condemning them to the place of outsiders in retaliation for their rejection. The attempt of the Christian community to deal theologically in essentially the same way with Jewish opposition to the Christian message can be found in Q (Matt. 8:12f./Lk. 13:28.; Matt. 12:38-42/Lk. 11:29-32). Haufe also sees the same hermeneutic working in Paul's thinking in I Thessalonians 2:14-16,³⁴ in Mark 3:28f.; 8:38; 12:1ff., and a variation of it in John 8:43f. and Revelation 2:9; 3:9.

A careful reading of Mark exposes the tension which exists between the theological hermeneutic of 4:11f., as Haufe has elucidated it, and the theological thrust which surfaces elsewhere in the drama. Contrary to what one would expect as a result of this hermeneutic, the reader is confronted time and again with the demand for individual responsibility for one's salvation throughout the Gospel (e.g. 4:24f.; 8:34-38; 9:42-48; 13:13, 33-37). Furthermore, rather than maintaining the sharp differentiation between the theological castes of "the elect" and "the outsiders" as 4:11f. enunciates, our evangelist tends to blur the distinction. For example, on one occasion Jesus extols the act of anyone (presumably including unbelievers) who offers a cup of water to one who is a Christian. That person will be assured of his reward (9:41). In the context of the same incident Jesus, in indignant reaction to the discriminatory practice of his disciples, says: "he that is not against us is for us" (9:40, RSV). If it were in Mark's interest to remain theologically consistent with the position of 4:12, one would expect that he would have selected the more narrowly exclusive form of the same saying instead of the version he used, i.e.: "He who is not with me is against me" (Matt. 12:30/Lk. 11:23).³⁵

The dissonance which exists between Markan theology and the theology of 4:11f. can be heard most stridently when the proclamations of 1:14f. and 4:11f. are placed along side each other. The thrust of 1:14f. leaves the hearer with no other conclusion but that the responsibility for the decision to repent and believe lies with the individual, not God, that the prophetic plea is addressed to all, that all who hear are understood to have the capacity to respond with repentance and faith. By contrast,

the proclamation of 4:11f. tells us that the individual shares no part in the decision to repent or not repent, believe or not believe. In fact belief is available only to the few upon whom God bestows it. Those predestined to be outsiders are intentionally obstructed from repenting or believing. What must be guarded against is the possibility that they might repent and consequently have to be forgiven (4:12c).

On the other hand a comparison of the theological interests of the parable collection and the theological perspective of 4:11f. exposes how compatible theologically the two pieces of material really are. First of all, the attention on the mystery of the kingdom in 4:11 resonates well with the attention directed to the mystery of the kingdom in the expanded sections of the parables of the seed growing by itself and the mustard seed. In 4:27f. how the kingdom grows remains a mystery. In 4:31f. the accentuated contrast reveals the mystery of the strange paradox that as the mustard shrub begins from the smallest seed so the future, glorious kingdom of God, begins in an extremely diminutive state. Kelber's translation of 4:11a would serve well as the summary proclamation of the redactors of 4:26-29, 30-32 to their troubled hearers: "To you the mystery has been given which concerns the Kingdom of God" (p. 68f).

Likewise the community's selection of the parable of the sower and its interpretation, argues for the fact that it identified itself with the position of the interpretation. Namely, it views itself as the elect set against those who have rejected the Christian kerygma. This failure of Christian evangelism has shaken them. To rationalize the failure away they treated the failure as an inevitable consequence of the nature of things. Finding solace in the apocalyptic perspective which sees a radical division between those who are ordained the elect (responding to the message of God) and those who belong to the world (blind and unresponsive to God's message), the community has pictured itself as the elect. Those who have failed to respond to its message it has identified as the lost of the world.³⁶

When the theological intent of 4:11f. is recognized to cohere more compatibly with the theological interests of the parable collection than with the pulsation of Markan theology throughout his narrative,³⁷ then the real dissonance which exists between the theologians of the parable collection and Mark crystallize into the sharpest focus. J. W. Pryor, keenly sensitive to this dissonance, categorizes the theological perspective represented by the parable of the sower, its interpretation and 4:11f. as "privilege theology." He labels Markan theology in the chapter represented by 4:23-25, as "insight and warning theology." I would identify them slightly differently, namely a theology of "special privilege" and a theology of "special responsibility."³⁸

Both the theologians of the collection and Mark implicitly assume that they are numbered among those specially called by God through Christ into the community of the elect. By virtue of this call of God they understand themselves to be placed in a special relationship to God. However, they differ over what this special relationship before God/Christ entails with respect to its implication for one's appropriate behavioral and attitudinal posture. That is, does the special relationship Christians have before God mean that the categorical difference between themselves and others is that they enjoy the benefits of special privilege? Or does the nature of this relationship categorically differentiate them from others because by definition the relation-

ship requires of them special responsibility?³⁹ The theologians of the collection claim their special relationship affords them a privileged status. God, in their theological rationale, has predetermined who will be receptive and who will be antagonistic toward *o Xeyos* (4:14-20). Consequently, no matter how often "the word" is addressed to those predestined to have unresponsive ears, it will produce no positive response. Like poor soil that is by definition lacking in nutrients to sustain growth of seed, so ears deprived of the conditions for receptivity by God cannot react positively to the Christian message. When the message stimulates a positive response, it is due to God ordaining that positive response. Like good ground, ears predetermined by God to be receptive and produce a harvest of faith can not, by definition, make any other response. Everything lies in God's hand. Neither the believer nor unbeliever has control on his response. Nor does the believer who, as the mouthpiece of God, proclaims the word contribute to or bear responsibility for the success or failure of Christian preaching. The theologians of the collection assume that they have been called into a special relationship and as a consequence have a privileged status unavailable to those whom God has not called into special relationship.

Mark's rely to the special relationship that a Christian now has to God/Christ is that this special relationship demands responsibility (4:24f.). In Mark's view there is no guarantee that once called as a member of the elect that one's status will remain so permanently. The elect, too, can falter and fall (13:6, 22). The burden for the continuation in this special relationship, a relationship initiated and made possible by God (10:26), lies primarily with the believer. It is only in so far as the Christian does the will of God (3:31-35) that he/she continues among the elect. That means living out the life of Christ (8:34.; 10:42-45), witnessing to the faith in hostile situations (13:9-12), and enduring despite the incurring of pain and personal sacrifice (10:28f., 39; 13:12f.). The emphasis is clearly placed upon the obligation of the believer to do the will of God. And she/he will be held accountable for her/his response to the demands of the faith (8:38; 9:42-48).

One can even argue that this same onus of obligation is placed upon Jesus by God in the Markan drama in much the same way as God places it upon the believer (8:31 vis-à-vis 8:34ff.). Only as Jesus does the will of God (14:35f.) can he be the Son of God and be properly recognized as such (15:39).⁴⁰ For Jesus to do otherwise would place him, like Peter, on the side of Satan (8:33).

The best example of the fact that Mark holds that special relationship to God requires special responsibility and does not entail exercising special privilege lies in his portrayal of the Twelve. As the elect in his drama the disciples lose their spiritual birthright by choosing to flaunt what they believe to be their special privilege (e.g. 9:38f.; 10:13f., 35-37). rather than accepting and fulfilling their special responsibility. They refuse to accept the demands of discipleship, reject Jesus and, thereby, jeopardize their right to salvation.⁴¹

The contrast between the two theological perspectives upon which this discussion is focused is strongly underscored in the enigmatic saying of 4:25. The placement of the saying of 4:24 before 4:25 clearly affects the way in which one interprets this difficult text. By deleting 4:24 one could easily interpret 4:25 in support of the theological position which lies behind the parable collection:

For to him who has [one called into special relationship and thereby enjoying special privilege] will more be given, but from him who has not [one preordained to be excluded from the special relationship] even what he has [received, *ὁ λόγος*] will be taken from him [because it is already predetermined that he shall not be able to retain "the word", since he does not belong to the elect and, consequently, cannot enjoy the special privilege of retaining *ὁ λόγος*].

On the other hand the placement of 4:24 before 4:25 reverses the meaning connoted by 4:25 when 4:24 is not linked to it. When 4:25 is interpreted in the light of 4:24 the emphasis lies on responsible use of what has been entrusted to the believer. If he/she exercises responsible stewardship, he/she will be given more. If one is derelict in her/his stewardship, what she/he has been entrusted with will be taken away.⁴² The Q version of Mark 4:25 was understood in this latter sense as is exhibited by its placement at the end of the parable of the talents/pounds (Matt. 25:14-30/Lk. 19:12-27).⁴³

Given practically identical theological profiles reflected in 4:11f. and the parable collection, several further steps in the present argumentation are logically called for which will advance the discussion to new levels. First, the results thus far make it probable that both the parable collection and Mark 4:11f. sprang from the same *Sitz im Leben*. Both pieces of material were produced and disseminated by the same Christian group in an effort to explain sociologically and interpret theologically the crises of its own history as a Christian body.⁴⁴ Second, by fitting together the clues to the original *Sitz im Leben* already derived from both pieces of tradition,⁴⁵ one is able to sharpen significantly the description and understanding of this early Christian group which circulated the material.

C. The Community behind the Parable Collection.

The community responsible for the parable collection quite likely began as a Palestinian Jewish-Christian group whose gospel (*ὁ λόγος*)⁴⁶ was the proclamation that the kingdom of God had irrupted into history. This irruption, it was proclaimed, began in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, the Messiah, and continues to manifest itself in the proclamation of the gospel and the response of those who believe in the gospel. In the course of its evangelistic enterprise the community met unexpected resistance and outright hostility from an increasing number of Jews. The hostility became so intense that a break with and irreconcilable separation from Judaism resulted, the consequence of which may have led this congregation to flee Palestine and move out into a more receptive Hellenistic environment.⁴⁷ The shock of the failure of its preaching among Jews and the resultant ostracism from Judaism forced the community to search for an explanation of the sociological consequences and theological implications of its history.

Drawing upon certain parables already a part of its preaching repertoire (the parable of the sower, the pre-redacted form of the parable growing by itself and the pre-redacted form of the parable of the mustard seed), this Christian group created the interpretation of the parable of the sower and altered the other two parables (4:26-29, 30-32) in order to provide an adequate explanation for the unexpected course of its own history. That explanation: despite the assurance of the irruption of the kingdom

of God in Jesus, it is inevitable that not all ears which hear the proclamation of this message will respond (4:14-20). For it is now clear that God has determined who will respond and who will not. Those destined to be the elect are given a privileged status, unavailable to others, to receive and understand the mystery of God. Those who do not respond positively have been preordained by God to be outsiders. For them the mystery of God will forever appear as veiled riddles. Consequently, the community should not be distraught over the failure it has experienced in its preaching. Like the farmer who in the course of sowing knows that his seed will fall upon ground which by nature cannot possibly produce (4:3-9), likewise, the Christian must recognize that he cannot expect anything except rejection of the kerygma by those whose ears have been sealed shut by God.

Furthermore, the theologians of the community reasoned, the Church must recognize that as the irruption of the kingdom was an act of God so also its bursting forth into full actualization is an act of God. Nothing a Christian does can affect the course of this final consummation. It will happen automatically (4:26-29).

The Christian must not be discouraged by the seemingly meager state of the kingdom in the present. Like the mustard seed which starts as the smallest seed and grows to an enormous bush, so the kingdom will in the future be transformed from its diminutive state into a glorious, expansive realm (4:30-32). As a proof-text for their theological rationale the theologians of the community turned to Isaiah 6:9f. (4:12). The Isaiah passage, they proffer, serves as the theological confirmation for the fact that the Christian message must remain unintelligible to those whom God has marked as "outsiders." In fact understanding is purposely denied them so that they cannot repent and be forgiven. It may well be that the success envisaged in 4:32 of the birds of the air nesting in the great tree in the future was interpreted by these theologians as a prefiguration of a promising Gentile mission, a mission which had already produced receptive ears for the kerygma.⁴⁸

Finally the theologians anchored the authority and authenticity of their position in what they claimed was the pattern of Jesus' own ministry, a report passed down by the disciples. Jesus' teaching, while directed to all, was received by outsiders as riddles because the understanding of his teaching was concealed from them. But to his disciples, who stood in privileged position to him as the elect, he explained everything (4:11, 33f.).⁴⁹

If this is the explanation for the origin of 4:3-9, 11-12, 14-20, 26-29, 30-32, 33-34, and if it, in its theological perspective, stands in such tension to Markan theology, then why did the evangelist incorporate it into his Gospel?⁵⁰ The answer I tendered in Mark--Traditions in Conflict was that this material, along with controversy and miracle stories found in the first half of the Gospel, belonged to Mark's theios-aner opponents. I argued that Mark introduced his opponents' material into his drama in order to attack the theological position it advocates.⁵¹ On the basis of the data extrapolated in the present study, this thesis has found new support, and, consequently, a further elaboration and refinement of the thesis is appropriate at this point.

First, let us return to the conclusions of Budesheim with regard to the history of the development of the material found in Mark 1-3. It will be recalled that Budesheim has discovered that

most of the individual stories found in Mark 1-3 were gathered and transformed into a collection the intention of which was to promulgate Jesus as a theios-aner like Moses but whose authority replaces that of Moses. This transformation was necessitated by events which have forced a Hellenistic Christian group to turn its back finally and completely on Judaism. Such an existential crisis required a convincing theological rationale. The compiler(s) of this collection of stories created the rationale by linking the individual stories and superimposing upon them a theios-aner imprint, by portraying Jesus in the collection as the original instigator of the break with Judaism, and by exalting Jesus and the disciples in the collection as theioi andres who stand above the Law and cultic tradition. The transformation was not too difficult to effect in that many of the original stories independently circulated in the service of an early apologetic against Jewish authorities who were attacking a Jewish-Christian group for its deviation from the Law and cultic practices. Budesheim went on to argue that this theios-aner Christian community based its authority upon the Twelve and traced its tradition back to them. The Sitz im Leben extrapolated from the pre-Markan material of Mark 1-3 by Budesheim coincides with the Sitz im Leben found in our study to be behind the pre-Markan materials of Mark 4:1-34. The thesis in Mark--Traditions in Conflict is corroborated. Mark in his effort to repudiate his theios-aner opponents, who trace their authority to the disciples of Jesus, draws upon their material in order to unmask their position as heresy.

D. The Character and Function of the Markan Polemic

In a previous discussion on Mark 4:1-34, I outlined the way in which I envisioned Mark turned this material of his opponents against them in the course of his redaction.⁵² As a result of the current study, that outline can be filled in more fully now. There are four aspects of his opponents' theology which Mark sought either to correct or discredit by the incorporation of the theios-aner material in 4:3-9, 11-12, 14-20, 26-29, 30-32, 34-34. The four aspects are (1) the opponents' claim for a realized eschatology in their view of the irruption of the kingdom of God into history, (2) the opponents' claim that their special relationship as the elect entitled them to special privilege and relieved them of responsibility and accountability, (3) the opponents' claim to a secret gospel whose meaning is veiled to all but the elect, (4) the opponents' claim that the court of authority for their position and the authenticity of their tradition was the Twelve. We shall examine how Mark responds to each of these claims.

Mark corrected his opponents' realized-eschatological interpretation of the kingdom's irruption into history by immersing the parable collection in the context of a drama with a predominantly imminent-eschatological theme. Already we recognized the presence of this motif at the outset of the Markan drama in the initial proclamation of the Markan Jesus to the Markan community (1:14f.). I have already discussed in detail how emphatically Mark views the history from Easter to the Parousia as a negative period with no positive omens, at least as regards the presence of Jesus and the manifestation of the kingdom.⁵³ Likewise, Mark's description of the public ministry is perceived from the angle that the kingdom has not yet irrupted into history. J. M. Robinson sensed this with regard to Mark's portrayal of the cosmic clash between satanic forces and Jesus.⁵⁴ Kelber himself admits that the explicit eschatological emphasis in the most transparent presentation of Markan theology in the drama of Jesus'

public ministry (8:27-10:52) is futuristic and not realized eschatology.⁵⁵ Mark's success in shifting the interpretation of the eschatology with regard to the kingdom parables from the realized stance of his opponents' position to the imminent/futuristic pattern of his own theology can be attested in part by Kuhn's conclusions regarding the eschatological slant of the collection. In his painstaking attempt to extrapolate the theological position of the parable collection, apparently Kuhn was unable to divest himself of the influence of Markan eschatology on the material and, consequently, missed the realized-eschatological emphasis of the collection to which Kelber has correctly drawn our attention.⁵⁶

Mark attacked and discredited the special-privilege theology of his opponents in 4:1-34 through the use of a number of techniques. First, he immersed the parable collection and the theological hermeneutic (4:11f.) of his opponents in the midst of a narrative that time and again places the onus upon the disciples and others for the responsibility for responding to and maintaining the special relationship to which God has called all humankind (e.g. 1:14f.; 3:31-35; 4:24f.; 8:34-38; 9:42-48; 10:41-45; 13:9-13, 33-37). This can be demonstrated most clearly in the immediate material which frames 4:1-34. It is no accident that the parable collection, with its message of special privilege, is preceded by 3:31-35, where in the strongest terms Jesus states that the determinative criterion for whether one belongs to the family of Jesus or not is whether or not one does the will of God. Similarly, Mark has framed the parable collection on the other side by stories in an emerging drama that point out clearly that the disciples, who according to the parable collection stand in special relationship to Jesus (4:33f. cf. 4:11), lose that relationship because they perceive it as conferring special privilege rather than special responsibility (cf. e.g. 8:35-38; 9:33-41; 10:13-17, 35-45; 14:32-42, 66-72).⁵⁷

Inserted within this parable collection, as has already been noted, is also a strong emphasis on individual responsibility and accountability for the maintenance of this special relationship with God (4:24f.). That this Markan intrusion, along with help from the insertion of 4:11f., 13, has had its desired effect is attested by the fact that most exegetes have described the message of the interpretation of the sower as paraenetic instruction.⁵⁸ Departing from the purpose of the interpretation in the pre-Markan collection, which served only as an explanation for the failure of the Christian mission was experiencing (so Kuhn), commentators on the passage in its Markan setting declare its purpose is to warn and admonish hearers not to treat "the word" in a half-hearted or superficial manner.⁵⁹

Earlier I have discussed rather fully the way in which I see Mark attacking and discrediting the secrecy kerygma of his opponents. In that discussion I argued that the opponents' concept of a secret gospel was *ὁ κρυπτός*, the term that runs throughout the interpretation of the parable of the sower (4:14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20) and is found in the conclusion to the parable source (4:33).⁶⁰ In view of the results of the present discussion I would like to refine and press my conclusions further.

Mark 4:11f. did not originally belong in the opponents' repertoire between the parable of the sower and its interpretation. Linguistic evidence (the Markan link-clause: *καὶ ἐρεγὲν αὐτοῖς*) makes no other conclusion possible. Wherever it belonged in relationship to the parable collection, Mark is responsible for its

present location.⁶¹ The reason Mark introduced his enemies' hermeneutical principle at this point is understandable when its function in Mark's polemic is fully recognized. By inserting the principle at 4:11f. Mark sought to achieve four goals: (1) divert the thrust of the hermeneutical principle from the question of discerning the mystery of the kingdom of God to the phenomenon of the reverse actualization of the hermeneutic in the performance of the disciples vis-à-vis Jesus' public ministry, (2) vitiate the integrity of the hermeneutical principle by causing practically every facet to be actualized in the reverse way to which the hermeneutic prescribed, (3) shift the identity of the antagonists against which the hermeneutic is directed from recalcitrant Jews, the antagonists of the original formulation of 4:11f., to recalcitrant disciples, (4) turn the concept of a secret gospel upon its advocates by having Jesus reveal publicly secret instruction provided the disciples in private and by borrowing the opponents' secrecy motif to squelch the theios-aner christology when it is advocated in the course of the drama. Let us explore how Mark accomplishes these goals.

Attention is intended to be directed in the original formulation of the hermeneutic in 4:11ff. on providing the rationale for why it is that the proclamation of the kingdom of God receives such a negative response and why the kingdom has not manifested itself in full glory. The answer the theological rationale offered is that the message of the kingdom is intentionally hidden from the outsiders, the unbelieving Jews. The Christians, however, know the mystery of the kingdom as the parables of Jesus point out. The kingdom irrupted in Jesus, remains hidden in its present meager existence, but will soon burst forth into full universal glory in accordance with the will of God. In this context Maacke's suggestion for the translation of 4:11 has a ring of accuracy about it: "To you the (now still) hidden kingdom of God is given; to those, however, who stand outside, it becomes the laughing-stock."⁶² Mark's insertion of the rationale at its present point, along with the insertion of 4:13 and the creation of the subsequent unfolding drama, radically shifts the reader's attention. The suggestion in 4:13, dramatically realized in the rest of the gospel, turns the attention to the unexpected, namely the failure of the disciples from the outset to understand Jesus. This development forces the reader to see in the question of mystery more than just the kingdom and its initial irruption in the person of Jesus. Now the attention is directed primarily, as it is throughout the drama, to Jesus himself (christology) and not to the question of the kingdom.⁶³ The mystery is now the nature of Jesus, not the irruption and manifestation of the kingdom.

That Mark achieves his second goal of vitiating the integrity of the hermeneutic by causing practically every facet of it to be actualized in reverse has been discussed in Mark--Traditions in Conflict. The subsequent Markan drama shows in fact that it is the disciples who fail to understand Jesus, whose hearts are hardened, who finally totally reject him and, consequently, are denied rehabilitation. Contrary to the dictate of the hermeneutic (4:11f.), Jesus does not teach only in parables, and it is not his intention for his teaching to be enigmatic. Contrary to the dictate of the hermeneutic, Jesus' message is lucid, and it is understood by so-called "outsiders."⁶⁴

That Mark shifts the identity of the antagonists from the recalcitrant Jews to recalcitrant disciples should by this point be obvious. As already suggested, the Twelve turn out to be the real opponents' of Jesus' life and message in the Markan drama.

While the Jews are responsible for his death, a fact well underscored in the pre-Markan material, Mark is not as concerned to accentuate their antipathy in his drama as he is that of the disciples. Mark has advanced the messianic drama to a level beyond that of his opponents, to a level in which his opponents, through their surrogates (the disciples), have now become classed with the antagonists (the Jews) in their own aretalogy.

The way in which Mark invalidates the opponents' claim that Jesus taught a secret gospel which they have had passed down to them I have detailed in Mark--Traditions in Conflict. Suffice it to say here that the message which Jesus shares with the disciples in private, whether it be in a boat, in a house or on a mountain is in essence no different from that which he communicates to the crowds. When Jesus does enforce secrecy in the gospel, it is in the effort to silence theios-aner christology or the results of theios-aner activity which might lead to the advocacy of theios-aner christology.⁶⁵

Finally, let us turn to Mark's intention of incorporating his opponents' material in 4:1-34 to attack the court of authority to which the heretics appealed. As I have previously argued, the theios-aner sojourners in Mark's community traced their tradition and authority to the Twelve.⁶⁶ As Budesheim has shown the tradition they passed on had not only elevated Jesus into a great theios-aner but had produced a disciple-gestalt, modeled after Jesus himself, in which all the disciples were portrayed as theioi andres. The opponents took refuge in this tradition so that any attack upon them would in effect be an attack upon the disciples and Jesus himself. Mark outmaneuvered them in his polemic by taking their aretalogy, which included the parable collection, and creating a drama in which (1) the protagonist, Jesus, repudiates theios-aner christology and advocates instead Markan servanthood christology and in which (2) the antagonists are not just the Jews, as was the case for the theios-aner aretalogy but, more culpably, the disciples who refuse to accept anything else but a theios-aner christology and discipleship.

It is obvious from this lengthy discussion of Mark 4:1-34 that I disagree with Kelber in his interpretation of the creation of the passage and the source of the kingdom theology found there. It is a critical passage to his position, and as in the case of 1:14 f. and 1:16-3:21, I find he has read Mark incorrectly.

V. Presence of Markan Kingdom Theology after 4:34

Kelber's interpretation of Markan Kingdom Theology in 4:35-8:21; 8:27-10:52; 11:1-22; 13:1-37 deserve the same careful examination pursued in the discussion with him on the parables of chapter four. But to do so would expand this paper beyond the bounds appropriate for the consideration of the Markan Task Force at this point. Recognizing this I shall offer some brief comments on Kelber's interpretation in these other sections to indicate how my argument might be pursued if I had time and space to address myself fully to Kelber's position.

With regard to 4:35-8:21, again I cannot agree with Kelber's assessment of the Markan point of view in this section. Once more I believe Kelber has confused the theological bent of the pre-Markan material in this segment with Mark's own position. If Paul Achtemeier is correct, and I find his thesis quite

attractive, Mark has introduced in 4:35-8:21 two catenae of miracle stories belonging to his theios-aner opponents. Achtemeier uncovers from his study of this material the fact that the opponents had a eucharistic theology in which they celebrated the presence of the risen Lord with them at the eucharistic meals. These catenae played an important part in the liturgy involving the celebration of that meal. Advocates of this theological position made no identification of the eucharistic meal with the death of Jesus. That was the position of Paul and Mark. These theioi andres concentrated rather on the activity of Jesus (the great theios aner of the public ministry) and the continuing presence of Jesus (the glorified risen Lord) in their eucharistic celebrations.

Mark, as one readily recognizes, was opposed to this eucharistic theology built upon the miracle catenae of his opponents. Achtemeier argues that he attacks and corrects this theology through several techniques. He grounds the eucharistic interpretation solidly in the death of Jesus. He relocates his opponents' material back into the public ministry. In so doing he deemphasizes it by its relocation, by the insertion of other material in the midst of it and by placing the stress in the feeding narratives not on the bread but on the fish.⁶⁷ It strikes me that what Kelber finds as the continuation of kingdom theology, with the manifestation of the presence of the kingdom in 4:35-8:22, is really the reverberations of the eucharistic theology of Mark's opponents which he has corrected, deemphasized but not fully expunged. This eucharistic theology of the catenae obviously is no more than another variation of the kingdom theology found behind the parable collection. Strikingly the two theological motifs blend in the Markan Last Supper (14:22-25), in which Mark has Jesus unmistakably proclaim that one can understand the eucharist only in terms of the death of Jesus and in which Jesus states unequivocally that the period after his death is a negative period when he will not partake with the community again in the meal until he does so in the kingdom of God. This event in the Markan chronology is still in the future of his readers.⁶⁸

With regard to Mark 8:22-10:52, this section of the Gospel I find to be one of the least supportive of Kelber's interpretation of the Markan problem. Kelber states (and I agree) that "the central section 8:22-10:52 more than any other part of the Gospel bears all the marks of a circumspectly designed theological composition" (p. 74). To put it in a nutshell, if one wants to put his finger on the pulse-beat of Markan thought, no other section of the Gospel offers greater access to it.

Two significant points emerge out of a study of 8:22-10:52 that formidably argue against Kelber's profile of the Markan problem. First, Kelber claims that the central issue joined between Mark and his opponents is eschatological. Yet the question that introduces the discussion and pulsates throughout the section is not "When will the end be, or the kingdom come?", but "Who do men/you say that I am?" (8:27ff.) The central theme of the section is christology, not eschatology. The christological issue manifests itself in the passion predictions and in the discussion on the nature of discipleship (8:34-38, 9:33-37; 10:17-31, 35-45), as well as in other passages in this mid-section of the Gospel (9:7, 11-13). The eschatological issue actually stands in corollary relationship to the christological motif and is usually introduced in this section as an outgrowth or by-product of a christological/discipleship discussion (cf. 8:27-9:1; 10:17-31, 35-40).

Second, when the eschatological issue is raised in 8:22-10:52, the emphasis is on futuristic eschatology (a fact Kelber acknowledges, p. 75). If, as Kelber claims, Mark has created a schema in the Gospel in which the kingdom is covertly present in the public ministry of Jesus and overtly to be manifested in the future parousia, then why does Mark not articulate this schema in this section in which he has, with such careful composition, revealed his theological hand? No reference is made here to the covert presence of the kingdom in Jesus' ministry. The stress is on a future manifestation of the kingdom, future both for the Markan reader (9:1) and the Jesus of the public ministry (8:38).⁶⁹

The problem with Kelber's hypothesis is that the implication that the kingdom is present in the ministry of Jesus is not articulated by Mark himself but comes from the theological perspective of Mark's opponents and echoes in their material lodged in the first half of the Gospel. Mark's interest, as already stated, is not to affirm this theological position but to discredit it. He tolerates it in the first half of his Gospel in muted and corrected form because he uses it to set up a straw-man argument by which he can undermine his opponents' position and then present his own. Thus the passage 8:22ff. is a watershed passage. Having set up the opponents' position for the reader, he proceeds to attack it, exposing it as the heresy it is. At the same time he trumpets the authentic character of his own theology.

With regard to Mark 13, I agree with Kelber that the temple setting is important for Mark as the setting for the discourse in this chapter. But I am not yet convinced that the temple and Jerusalem for Mark are symbolic theological references to the theological position of the Jerusalem Church.⁷¹ Kelber is probably correct in arguing that the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple was an event of great magnitude for the Markan Christian. I would argue, however, that it triggered a theological crisis in the Markan community in a somewhat different way than Kelber envisions. Prior to the fall the community was divided over the realized eschatology of Mark's theios-aner opponents and the imminent eschatology of Mark. Mark (or those of his persuasion) had insisted that the community not yield to the false christology and eschatology of the theios-aner Christians. He intensified his efforts to convince the community of a suffering christology/discipleship with an imminent eschatology. The fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple buoyed the expectations of those siding with the Markan position that their view was correct and that now the end would quickly ensue. But the end did not occur. A crisis of faith arose. Markan theology was caught in a credibility gap. Mark's supporters began to question whether Mark had not been wrong all along and his opponents, with their theios-aner christology and eschatology, right.

Mark was pressed to respond to the crisis. He did so by writing his christological polemic, the Gospel. Chapter 13 plays a major role in this polemic. In this chapter, by locating the discourse in the temple setting and in the context of the destruction of the temple, Mark shows first that the fall of the temple was a momentous event in the events leading to the end. It is, however, like other events only an indication that the end is drawing near (13:14-20). One cannot place confidence in the fall of Jerusalem as the final event which triggers the end any more than any other catastrophic event (13:7-8). For no one

knows the exact time the end will occur (13:32). One can only be sure that it will come very soon (13:29f., 33-37).

Second, Mark clearly points to the fact that the major problem in the end is christological, not eschatological as Kelber suggests. This is borne out by the fact that Mark from the outset of the discourse shifts the attention from a singularly eschatological problem (13:4) to a christological/discipleship one (13:5f., 9-13, 21-23).⁷²

Third, he shows by the way in which he has structured themes of his message into a history (13:5-23) of two distinct, non-concurrent epochs, the present-this-worldly scene and the future-other-worldly scene (13:24-27) the problem his church faces. The present is a negative period when Jesus is absent, the Christian suffers, and false christological claims are rampant. The future-other-worldly is the period the Christian hopes for. It is then that Jesus returns in his glory, the elect are united with him, the kingdom is a reality.

Finally, it is hard for me to understand how Kelber can argue on the one hand that the opponents see themselves as Jesus redivivus or proclaim others as such and at the same time are guilty of having a weak resurrection theology--not making allowance for a risen Messiah (p. 86f.). It occurs to me that anyone who could see oneself as Jesus redivivus or others as such must have a fairly well developed understanding of the resurrection.

Addendum

Kelber has argued that the Markan heretics represent the Jewish-Christian Church in Jerusalem. If the Jewish-Christian community in Jerusalem ever served as a factor in the evolution of the material that comes to us by way of Mark, it is a factor at least two developmental stages prior to the present state of the Markan composition. As a result of the present study of the parable section of Mark 4, Budesheim's reconstruction of the history of the material in Mark 1-3, and my earlier suggestions in Mark--Traditions in Conflict, I am persuaded that the early Christian group that is the parent group to the opponents in Mark is not the Church at Jerusalem but the Stephen group. The recent work of K semann on Matthew 7:12-23,⁷³ in which he identifies the theios-aner group there as representative of the interests of the Stephen party, and Georgi's recent comments about the history-of-religion explanation for the early Christian development of aretalogies reinforces this thesis. To quote Georgi:

We have to assume for Stephen and his friends, a notion of freedom from the law and sovereignty and liberty of God's creatures beginning with Jesus himself. We find these notions also in the controversy-stories of the gospel-tradition. I conclude from this that the Hellenistic-Jewish Christians did not only use the Jewish wisdom-tradition but turned also to the Hellenistic philosophical tradition and adopted the form of the apophthegm. Jesus was now made to enter a rather international battlefield of controversy and competition.

The next step was made by those Christians (Hellenistic Jews also) who saw in Jesus a θεϊος  νρ and described his function as a miraculous one.

These Christian propagandists slowly compiled material for Jesus-aretalogies.⁷⁴

Georgi's explanation fits well with what Budesheim saw as the development of the tradition prior to Mark. But how then does one explain the exalted position the disciples receive in this tradition, a point I believe Budesheim has also recognized correctly. And, if it is the Stephen party that is behind the Markan theios-aner opponents, why does it not elevate Stephen in its tradition, as Paul's disciples later elevated Paul (Colossians, Ephesians, the Pastorals etc.). While I cannot marshal all the evidence for my thesis at this point, I would like to float the following as a "trial balloon."

If any trust can be placed in the historical reliability of Acts, it would appear that from the beginning the early Christian community was a factional and divided community. The factions in the movement's early period consisted of the disciples, led by Peter, and the family of Jesus, led by James. This is certainly suggested in Acts and supported by Paul (Gal. 1:18-2:12; I Cor. 15:5-7), the Gospel of Thomas (Log. 12-13) and the systematic exclusion of the family of Jesus from the Gospels, a fact that makes their sudden central position in the leadership of the early Church a strange phenomenon. It may well be that the division between the disciples and the family lay in their interpretation of the event of Jesus vis-a-vis the Jewish cult and the Law. The James party apparently took a hard line, the disciples represented by Peter advocated a more liberal position. It may well be that the disciples were a faction that looked favorably upon bringing Hellenistic Jews into the Church who had a less constructionist view toward the interpretation of the Law and practice of Jewish customs. The Church became divided over the issue and a schism developed. The Stephen group was formed and began to preach its more radical interpretation of the law, arguing the supremacy of Jesus now over Moses. The result was that it immediately drew hostile reaction from Jewish authorities which led finally to the execution of Stephen and the flight of the Stephen supporters from Jerusalem. The incident embarrassed and angered the James Party. Its already problematic mission to win its fellow Jews to the new eschatological movement inspired and instigated by Jesus had now been made far more difficult, and, from its point of view, unnecessarily so. In its attempt to win a favorable hearing the James Party had tried to minimize the fear of the Jews that Jesus' teaching in any way detracted from the Law and cultic practices.⁷⁴ The Stephen group's radical setting aside of the Law and cultic practices ruptured the rapprochement the James party was trying to achieve with Palestinian Judaism.

In the events which followed the persecution of the Stephen group a power struggle took place in the Jerusalem Church. The reactionary position of the James party gained control over the more moderate position of the disciples and the disciples were forced out of control of the Church. Peter and the disciples were caught in a dilemma, wanting to preserve harmony in the Church and not wishing to alienate either the Hellenists or the James party. This attitude on Peter's part is suggested by his interest in the Hellenists' mission at Antioch. His willingness to set aside strict observance of Jewish practice in his visit with the Hellenists illustrates his tolerance and support of their mission. Likewise, his subsequent hypocrisy in withdrawing from fellowship with the Hellenists when the members of the James party arrived at Antioch indicates his respect for their position. The act of hypocrisy further dramatizes how powerful the James

party had become: namely, Peter was prepared to jeopardize his integrity among the Hellenists rather than risk outright confrontation with the James party.⁷⁵

It is my hypothesis that the Stephen party, after its flight from Jerusalem, was faced with both the problem of the rejection of Judaism and the antipathy of the conservatives at Jerusalem who opposed them in their "aberrant" interpretation of the kerygma. Consequently, the family of Jesus became as much the adversaries of the Stephen group, as it sought to find a new identity and meaning within a new Hellenistic environment, as the Jewish authorities who had executed its leader. In the course of working out who they were and how to explain theologically and sociologically their plight, the members of the Stephen party adopted the customs of their new Hellenistic environment and adapted their kerygma to a new style of propaganda, as Georgi has suggested. They soon recognized, as they charted a new path for themselves, that they needed to ground their authority in such a way as to meet effectively the charges of heresy hurled at them by the Jerusalem Church and to provide authentic continuity with Jesus himself. The latter point was particularly important in their propaganda mission to enter Jesus into the competition with other heroes of the Hellenistic world. Since the Stephen party was befriended by the disciples, it decided to build its tradition using the disciples as the court of authority for the tradition. So as Budesheim has helped us to see, it was necessary for the Stephen group not only to elevate Jesus above the Law and Moses (above Judaism and the kerygma of the Church at Jerusalem) but also construct a disciple-gestalt to serve as a historical continuity between its kerygma and the historical Jesus and to serve as a prototypical basis for its claims that its members were great theioi andres in the tradition of Jesus, the great theios aner and his disciples.

This hypothesis must be worked out in detail, but if it has any validity a number of answers may be suggested for unanswered questions regarding the early history of the Christian movement and the development of its various traditions. For example, the strong anti-family-of-Jesus stories in Mark 3:31-35 and 6:1-6 could reflect an early polemic of the Stephen group against the James party. Likewise the polemic against the Son-of-David christology which surfaces after Mark 10:45 may go back to an attack of the Stephen party on this christology.⁷⁶ Similarly, the paucity of information in the Gospels about the relationship of Jesus' family to Jesus in the events of the public ministry and the resurrection might be explained as a systematic omission of any favorable information about the family by the group (and its descendents) that provides us with a significant part of the narrative material, the Stephen group. We are dependent primarily upon the sayings tradition, particularly the Gospel of Thomas, for our positive assessment of the relationship of the family of Jesus (James and Judas [Thomas]) to Jesus.⁷⁷

Footnotes

Book of Seminar Papers (The Society of Biblical Literature: One Hundred Eighth Annual Meeting) ed. Lane C. McGaughey, I (1972), 63-95.

Kelber shares my concern with the fact that the hermeneutical point of departure is crucial for shaping the way in which the exegete interprets the Markan purpose. But he does not explain in detail why one should begin with 1:14f. as the proper point of departure, except for a passing reference to K.-G. Reploh's suggestion that the passage represents the key for understanding the Gospel (n. 5) and his argument that 1:14f. is the first thing on the evangelist's agenda after the introduction. I have found Keck's argument that 1:1-16 constitutes the Markan introduction to carry considerable weight ("Introduction to Mark's Gospel," NTS, XII [1966], 352-370). While mentioning Keck's position, Kelber does not engage it seriously (n. 1). Keck's position needs to be addressed more carefully, for where one marks the limits of the introduction does affect the way in which one reads the Gospel, as Kelber himself recognizes.

Willi Marxsen, Mark the Evangelist, trans. by R. A. Harrisville et al. (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1969), pp. 65f., 130-138. Cf. also Aloysius M. Ambrozic, The Hidden Kingdom: a Redaction-Critical Study of the References to the Kingdom of God in Mark's Gospel. (The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series, II; Worcester, Mass.: Heffernan Press, 1972), p. 11; Harald Weinacht, Die Menschwerdung des Sohnes Gottes im Markusevangelium (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1972), pp. 91-110.

⁴"The History of the Kingdom," p. 65

⁵Mark--Traditions in Conflict (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), pp. 89f., 97. Cf. also Ambrozic, Kingdom, pp. 12f., Weinacht, Die Menschwerdung, pp. 91f., 110.

⁶Kelber, notes (n. 10) the correspondence which Rudolf Pesch saw between the call to belief in 1:15 and the warning not to believe in 13:21. The issue as I see it in 13:21 is clearly christological, against Kelber (pp. 84ff.). The warning is against being seduced by a false christology (cf. my Mark, pp. 72ff.). The admonition in 1:15 is a call to faith in the true christology Mark sets out to pen.

Ambrozic, Kingdom, pp. 15-25 and *passim*, argues in similar way to Kelber that Mark understands the Kingdom to be present with Jesus' proclamation (1:14f.), but hidden. I believe Ambrozic is guilty, as is Kelber, of confusing Mark's opponents' theology with the evangelist's theology. Cf. below.

⁷ZNW, LXII (1971), 190-209.

⁸Budesheim, "Jesus and the Disciples," p. 205. With regard to the pre-Markan redactor's activity, Budesheim points, for example, to 1:41-45 where he argues that the account before its initial redaction did not pit Jesus against the cultic practices. The pre-Markan redactor produces this tension by introducing the phrase *eis μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ*. This insertion has the effect of turning Moses against the priests. The redactor's interest is to portray Jesus as a theios aner who has an authority surpassing

the authority of the Jewish tradition. Likewise, Budesheim claims that the pre-Markan redactor was responsible for the insertion of the controversy between Jesus and the Pharisees (2:5b-10b) into the healing of the paralytic (2:1-5a, 10c-12). Again the point is to exalt Jesus as a theios aner with an authority on the level and surpassing that of Moses. The pre-Markan redactor is also responsible for 1:22 and 27b. His intention in framing the exorcism story with these comments on Jesus' teaching clearly enunciates that not only did Jesus teach, but he taught a new teaching with an authority exceeding that of the Jewish authorities. Jesus demonstrates in his teaching and deeds that he is a theios aner who, in authority, replaces even the great theios aner, Moses (pp. 190-202). Budesheim does not discuss all the material which falls within Mark 1-3 (e.g. 1:29-39). One can draw only inferences from the rest of his argument as to how he might treat material not discussed. This failure may be due in part to the fact that his article constitutes the drawing together of some of his insights spelled out in more detail in his unpublished dissertation, "Discipleship and Christology," (Univ. Heidelberg, 1970). The present author has not been able to secure a copy of the dissertation to determine how Budesheim develops aspects of his thesis to which he gives only suggestive clues in his article.

⁹Budesheim, "Jesus and the Disciples," p. 209. H.-W Kuhn, Ältere Sammlungen im Markusevangelium (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), pp. 53-98, following the suggestion of K. L. Schmidt and others, sees a pre-Markan collection of stories also, but he limits the collection to 2:1-28. Kuhn argues that the stories were brought together essentially on the basis of the concept of the Son of man and its theological implications within the individual narratives. Kuhn asserts that Mark is responsible for adding 3:1-6. He apparently sees no pre-Markan connection between the material in chapter one and the "collection" of chapter two. Nor does he see the imprint of a disciple-gestalt and theios-aner theology as does Budesheim. Kuhn is acquainted with Budesheim's dissertation and indicates at several points (pp. 12, 196, 210) that he is not persuaded by Budesheim's argument in that work. Since the dissertation is not available to this author, it is difficult to know whether Budesheim addresses himself to the material in Mark 1-3 in the same way there as he does in the article. If he does, Kuhn does not respond to the argument regarding Mark 1-3. In response to the dissertation Kuhn is particularly critical of what he sees as Budesheim's movement toward the suggestion that there may have been an UrMarkus of some sort which Mark drew upon. I, too, am leery of moving too quickly in this direction. But in view of the work of Budesheim, the work of Paul Achtemeier on miracle catenae ("Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae," JBL, LXXXIX [1970], 265-91; "The Origin and Function of the Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae," JBL, XCI 1972, 198-221) and Dieter Georgi's suggestion that Mark might have had access to an aretalogy from which he drew to create his Gospel ("The Records of Jesus in the Light of Ancient Accounts of Revered Men," Book of Seminar Papers [The Society of Biblical Literature: One Hundred Eighth Annual Meeting], ed. Lane C. McGaughy, [1972], 527-542), I believe that the UrMarkus question may need to be reentertained.

¹⁰Cf. below for a full discussion of Mark's procedure and my discussion in Mark, pp. 159-168.

¹¹Mark, p. 147. Recently a flurry of articles have appeared on Mark 4:11f. the theses of which move in the direction of my own position and in some cases provide support for my position. J. W.

Pryor, "Markan Parable Theology," ET, LXXXIII (1972), 242-245, argues that 4:11f. belonged originally to the parable of the sower and its interpretation and stands in tension to Markan Theology. Klaus Haacker, "Erwägungen zu MC IV 11," Nov Test, XIV (1972), 219-225, theorizes that 4:11f. was the first interpretation of the parable of the sower. Mark was responsible for adding 4:13-20. Günter Haufe, "Erwägungen zum Ursprung der sogenannten Parabeltheorie," EVT, XXXII (1972), 413-421, contends that 4:11f. not only was not created by Mark but stands in theological dissonance to the evangelist's theological interests. Cf. below for discussion of these theses. Schuyler Brown, who has also written most recently on 4:11 ("The Secret of the Kingdom of God" [Mark 4:11], JBL, XCII [1973], pp. 60-74) has in my opinion not advanced the discussion as significantly as has Pryor, Haacker and Haufe. Brown argues that 4:11 was introduced by Mark and that its function is to set forth Jesus' "didactic" secret instruction regarding the kingdom of God in distinction from Jesus' "kerygmatic" secret instruction regarding his christological identity. Brown contends, following a basically Wredian approach, that the disciples (despite their problems with comprehension) are the custodians of this secret kingdom-of-God instruction in behalf of the Christian community. Brown has failed to take seriously Mark's intentional denigration of the disciples (cf. my Mark, pp. 20-51). The disciples are the antagonists in the Markan drama. True, they are custodians of a so-called secret message. But in this role they are surrogates for Mark's opponents. Mark, rather than applauding the concept of secret instruction, opposes it in favor of unbridled openness (cf. below and Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 138-158). Brown asserts, also, that Mark 4:11 is an authentic saying of Jesus (p. 63), a position he neither defends nor do I find defensible.

With regard to 4:33f. being non-Markan, further support for my position comes from Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, pp. 73f.; Brown, "The Secret of the Kingdom of God," pp. 64f. (mixture of Markan and non-Markan elements); Haufe, "Erwägungen," p. 414 (4:34a may be Markan); Pryor, "Parable Theology," pp. 244f. (4:33a,b may be Markan).

¹²Ältere Sammlungen, pp. 99-104. Cf. also Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, pp. 122-134, who shares Kuhn's interpretation of the meaning of 4:30-32 (though apparently does not know Kuhn's work), but unconvincingly argues for 4:32 as Markan and consequently ascribes to Mark the theological position the redacted form of the parable now advocates. Cf. also J. D. Crossan's position below, n. 21.

¹³Tension manifests itself in the tautology found in vss. 28 and 29. Verse 29 appears as repetition of what already is a natural conclusion to the parable (vs. 29). Dissonance is detected in the way the farmer shifts from an active role in the process (vs. 26) to the role of spectator (vss. 27f.) to the role of active participant again (vs. 29). In vs. 29 the allusion to Joel 3:13 and the words *παραύω* and *ἐπινομός*, words associated with judgment in early Christian literature, point to the fact that the theme of judgment lies behind this verse. The motif of judgment is lacking in vs. 28. Kuhn, Ältere Sammlungen, pp. 104-107.

¹⁴One of the more convincing reasons for accepting Kuhn's position is that he makes a good case (Ältere Sammlungen, pp. 107f.) for the possibility that the structure and stylistic development and hermeneutical concern reflected in the subject matter of vss. 27 and 29 stand in close parallelism to the Q version of the para-

ble of the mustard seed, which formally offers clues to the original version of the Markan parable before it underwent expansion.

¹⁵Cf. n. 21 for J. D. Crossan's argument to the contrary.

¹⁶Kuhn rejects the paraenetic-instruction interpretation on several grounds. First, whether man is allegorically identified as the soil or the seed, conditions are so fixed that those who would be admonished or warned in such a paraenetic explanation would be so locked into their situation that they could not change if they wanted to. The condition of the soil is predetermined, and the seed cannot determine where it will be cast or alter its environment once it has been sown. Likewise, Kuhn contends that the use of the present of *παρεπιει* and the aorist of *ἀκούει* to refer to the unfruitful and the use of the aorist of *παρεπιει* and the present of *ἀκούει* to refer to the fruitful exposes the interpreter's interest in making a sharp distinction between two groups, much as one finds in apocalyptic thought, the elect and the outsiders. Employing the tenses in this way this interpreter indicates that the elect are those in whom the sowing process has been fully achieved and the harvest manifest. They continually receive and hear the word. In the case of the outsiders the sowing process is never achieved. The outsiders hear once but do not continue to hear and produce. The interpreter is not interested in speaking to the specific problem of each of those who are unresponsive to "the word" but in illustrating the sharp dichotomy in the behavioral and attitudinal position of the two distinct groups. Cf. Ältere Sammlungen, pp. 115ff.

¹⁷Ältere Sammlungen, pp. 112ff.

¹⁸Cf. Ältere Sammlungen, pp. 122-27. Brown, "The Secret of the Kingdom," p. 67, has also drawn attention to the element of contrast which is common to all three parables.

¹⁹Kuhn points out that differences of style and formal characteristics in the expansion material may point to the activity of more than one redactor being involved in expanding the three parables. But this does not alter the judgment that the work took place among the same Christian group. If the parable collection is seen form-critically as a whole, the way in which the individual parables are treated, the similarity in perspective in the redactional activity, confirm this. Cf. Ältere Sammlungen, p. 126.

²⁰Ältere Sammlungen, p. 126. Brown, "The Secret of the Kingdom," p. 67, contends that the element of growth in the parables points to a missiological interpretation which was applied to the parables.

²¹Ältere Sammlungen, pp. 129-131. Cf. Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, p. 50. In the course of typing the final draft of this paper J. D. Crossan's article, "The Seed Parables of Jesus," *JBL*, XCII (1973), 244-266, appeared and came to my attention. Crossan has carried out a form-critical and redaction-critical study of the parables of Mark 4, the conclusions of which study stand in tension with some of the findings of Kuhn and my own position. Following much the same methodology as Kuhn, but reversing the order of investigation (Crossan moves from the parable of the sower to that of the seed growing secretly to the mustard-seed parable), Crossan makes the following points with regard to each of the parables.

With respect to the parable of the sower, he declares that the redactional alteration of the original parable is limited to 4:5b, 6b and 8b. The information provided in 4:5b, 6b, is redundant and produces "divergent images" in the respective passages. Mark 4:8b (*ἀναβαλόντων μὲν ἀβύσσου*) is secondary because it is a belated way of specifying what has already been noted in 8a. Crossan argues that the modification of the parable of the sower at 4:5b and 6b occurred when the interpretation of the parable was created. The additions of 4:5b and 6b were composed to bring the message of the parable into full correspondence with the interpretation at 4:16 and 4:17. With the addition of 4:5b and 4:6b the original parable coheres with the time and growth factors of the interpretation, factors of keen interest to the missiological concerns of the community which found the need to produce the allegorical interpretation. It was the same concern, Crossan contends, that led to the additional citation of the time-growth notation in 4:8b.

In regard to 4:26-29, Crossan argues (like Kuhn) that 4:28 is redactional intrusion in the original parable. As in the case of the redactional phrases of 4:5b, 6b, 4:28 produces a conflict of images between the original parabolic theme and its expanded form. In Crossan's judgment the expanded form leaves the reader in doubt as to whether the subject of the parable is the seed or the farmer. (Crossan apparently does not view the redactional section to include parts of 4:27, as does Kuhn.) Crossan contends, also, that the Joel allusion is secondary, because it shifts the picture from a positive image of God's involvement as the farmer in 4:26 to a negative presentation of his role as judge in 4:29.

With regard to 4:30-32, Crossan shares Kuhn's position that the sharp contrast between the diminutive size of the seed and the enormous bush is a feature introduced into the original parable by a redactor. Crossan, however, departs from Kuhn's conclusion with respect to the redactor. Unlike Kuhn, who saw no evidence of Markan influence in this parable, Crossan spots such influence in the way in which the redactional material has been introduced. Turning to the recent findings of several Markan scholars (Donahue, Perrin, Quesnell, Elliott), Crossan draws attention to the Markan "insertion" technique of copying "the final expression which his source had before the insertion after the addition as well" (p. 256). The repetitive clause that gives Markan redaction away in this particular case is *ὅταν σπάρῃ* etc.

Having examined the insertions in each of the parables, Crossan draws the following conclusion with regard to the common character of the redaction and the identity of the redactor:

The most striking thing about all these insertions is their formal and material similarity. All stress a growth process during the passage of time and presumably all have the situational function of inculcating patience and perseverance and of warning against complacency and laziness....Granted this similarity in all the insertions and granted that Mark effected one of them himself, the conclusion seems inevitable: Mark himself made all the additions to the parables [p. 257].

The conclusion that Mark is responsible for the redactional insertions is not so inevitable to me. Nor am I convinced that the purpose of these additions is exactly as Crossan has outlined for us. The leap Crossan makes from the argument that Mark is

responsible for the redaction of the parable of the mustard seed to the conclusion that Mark is responsible for the expansion of the other parables is a leap which falls short of its mark. Towards the end of his discussion of Mark 4, Crossan declares, "...the pre-Markan editor put together the three parables and the interpretation of the sower...." If that is true, as most exegetes now contend, then how can Mark be responsible for the additions in Mark 4:5b, 6b and 8b? For Crossan has argued persuasively that these additions were necessitated by virtue of the concern of the redactor who affixed the interpretation of the parable of the sower to bring the original parable into closer correspondence to the interest of the interpretation.

Furthermore, I fail to find any indication that the purpose of the redactional insertion was to emphasize the themes of patience, perseverance and warning against complacency and laziness. It is true that these are important themes. But I find no dominant interest in these themes in the redactional expansion of the parables of Mark 4. The purpose of the redaction appears to have been to convince the Christian of the predetermined character of existence and to assure the believer that he need not be concerned about his own faith and the future of the kingdom of God. The Christian community bears no responsibility for the failure of the Christian message among some hearers (parable of the sower and its interpretation). The kingdom is present, though in diminutive form. It grows automatically. Human activity can neither add nor detract from its growth (parable of the seed growing by itself). While the kingdom exists only in diminutive form now, it will burst forth inevitably into its future glorious state (parable of the mustard seed). The themes of perseverance and patience do not seem to characterize the mood of the redactor(s) of these parables. One might even argue that complacency rather than being warned against could even be tolerated by the theological position which lies behind the redacted parables. (Additional support for this interpretation of the theological purpose behind the expansion of the parables is provided later in this paper.)

The strongest point of Crossan's argument is his drawing attention to the possible Markan practise of insertion in 4:30-32. Curiously, John Donahue, Crossan's primary authority for this redactional procedure of Mark, does not even list our passage among the extensive list of passages which he has identified as exhibiting this Markan redactional characteristic (cf. John Donahue, "The Markan Trial Narrative," chap. II, pp. 22-24, 65-67, unpublished dissertation: University of Chicago). Did Donahue find that 4:31f. failed to meet the criteria?

Donahue lists three criteria which a passage must meet to qualify as exhibiting the Markan insertion technique: "(a) close verbal agreement (b) a superfluous or tautological quality to one of the phrases and (c) synoptic alteration" (p. 65). Donahue argues further that such insertions are insertions of material which are "very important to the major themes of Mark's gospel" (p. 24). Furthermore, the insertions function "(a) to call attention to his Mark's use of 'free floating' material, that is material which is not necessarily part of the context in which it is found; and (b) to illumine and give an added dimension to the context in which the inserted material is finally placed" (p. 25).

There is serious doubt as to whether the insertion of 4:31-32a can meet these criteria of a Markan insertion. Functionally, while the phrase *μικρότερον ὅν πάντων τῶν σπέρματων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*

tends to illumine the reference to the mustard seed, it hardly is of sufficient compass to be labeled as "free floating material." Nor does the emphasis on the paradoxical contrast between the present size of the kingdom (mustard seed) and its future state (the bush) qualify as a very important, major theme in Mark's Gospel.

It is true that on the surface it would appear that there is synoptic alteration of the tautological expression in 31a and 32a. But that can be accounted for because Luke has chosen to follow the Q rather than the Markan version of the parable and Matthew's interest was to conflate the Markan and Q versions. It is not at all clear that *ὅς ἐστιν σπαραγὴ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* and *ἀπὸ ὧν σπαραγὴ* are so tautological and superfluous. (The Semiticism in Luke 13:18 is more characteristic of a tautological and superfluous passage.) Whatever tautological or superfluous elements may appear to be present can be explained on the basis of the probable cause for the expansion of the original parable. I agree with Crossan that the Thomas version of the parable is the most original (however, without the phrase "smaller than all seeds"). I contend that it was the interest in bringing more explicit eschatological emphasis to the conclusion of the parable through more direct allusion to suggestive Old Testament passages (cf. Ez. 17:23f.; 31:5-7; Dan. 4:10ff.) that required substantial changes throughout the parable. To fit better the Old Testament images the reference to shade or shelter of branches was expanded to the image of a large shrub where birds could nest. Choosing the image of a large shrub rather than tree (as was done later to pick up the actual Old Testament image) was done at the outset to remain more faithful to reality. A mustard seed grows into a shrub not a tree. In the interest of sharpening and accentuating the contrast between initial sowing and final product -- a contrast not sufficiently suggested by the image of a shrub -- the shrub was described as the greatest of all shrubs. This hyperbolic depiction required the diminutive characterization of the seed, "the smallest of all seeds," in order to complete the contrast in true antithetical parallelism. Once this characterization of the seed was added to the clause, "which when it is sown on the ground," the flow of the narration of the growth-process had been interrupted and it was necessary for the narrator to go back and pick up the concept of sowing again ("and when it is sown") before continuing with the growth-process. The Q (Lk.) version represents a later development than the version we find in Mark. In the Q version the problem encountered in using a bush to indicate enormous size is solved by moving more closely to the Old Testament image and using the image of a tree. As a result there is no longer need for stressing explicitly the enormous contrast between the seed and the end-product of growth. That is implicit now in the two contrasting images.

Likewise the branches in the Q version have moved from the center of the contrast in the original parable (Thomas) to a subordinate role as a part of the tree. In the process they have lost their function of providing shade and now taken on a different function: the place of habitation. The Matthean version is a later attempt to conflate the Markan and Q versions of the parable. Matthew in this conflation has been influenced by Q in reducing the centrality of the branches in the parabolic contrast and in restricting their function to places for habitation.

Not only does 4:31-32a not represent a Markan insertion but the entire expanded form of the parable represents a pre-Markan theological concern to speak to the contrast between the present

diminutive state of the kingdom and its future, full-blown, glorious expansiveness. Subsequent discussion will show that this concern is not an essentially Markan theological interest.

²²Kuhn, Ältere Sammlungen, p. 126, contends that μικροτερον does not refer back to the beginning of Jesus' preaching as the time when the seed was sown, nor does it mean that the community is to find its place between the time of sowing and harvest. μικροτερον may not refer back to Jesus but the way the parable now reads the sowing is clearly an event in the past from the point of view of the hearers. Cf. Ernest Best, The Temptation and the Passion (SNTS Monograph Series, II: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 65f.; Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, pp. 119f., 133f.

²³Kuhn, Ältere Sammlungen, p. 126, agrees at this point that in this instance the community is situated between the time of sowing and the harvest, though he does not see the sowing as the terminus a quo of the Kingdom.

²⁴Cf. Siegfried Schulz, Die Stunde der Botschaft (Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1967), pp. 151ff.; Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, p. 102.

²⁵Cf. J. Gnilka, Die Verstockung Israels (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1961), p. 40; K. G. Reploh, Markus-Lehrer der Gemeinde (Stuttgarter Biblische Monographien IX: Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 69f.; Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, pp. 104f.

²⁶See n. 11.

²⁷G. Haufe, "Erwägungen," pp. 413f. J. W. Pryor, "Parable Theology," pp. 242-244. I disagree with Pryor about the original relationship of 4:3-8 and 4:11-12. In arguing that they were linked before Mark he ignores the linguistic evidence that καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς in 4:11 is a Markan connecting clause. Pryor also errs in his linguistic analysis of Markan and pre-Markan connective clauses at 4:21, 24, 26, 30 (p. 244).

²⁸What follows is a condensation of Haufe's discussion ("Erwägungen," pp. 413-421).

²⁹Haufe, "Erwägungen," p. 416, apparently attributes Colossians to Paul. I disagree. Colossians was not written by Paul, but a disciple of Paul. Cf. also Gnilka, Die Verstockung, p. 83f.; Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, p. 53.

³⁰Cf. also Reploh, Markus, pp. 66; Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, p. 105.

³¹Cf. also Gnilka, Die Verstockung, pp. 44; Reploh, Markus, p. 65f.; Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, p. 94.

³²Cf. also Reploh, Markus, pp. 65-67.

³³Gnilka, Die Verstockung, pp. 48f., argues for the same meaning for the consequent understanding of 4:12. However, he argues that, while God enforces blindness on outsiders so that they cannot repent, God does so for only a set length of time. Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, pp. 68-72, 85, also recognizes that 4:12 requires the interpretation which Haufe attributes to it. The passive form of the logion is one of the strongest clues for this reading for him (p. 85). Ambrozic assigns this interpretation to Mark's own theology with the result that he is impaled on

the horns of a dilemma over the ambiguity between what the verse calls for and what is in fact its reverse dramatic actualization in the Gospel. He argues on the one hand that Mark intentionally introduced the hard predestination saying. On the other hand he contends that Mark holds open in the rest of his drama the possibility for the "outsider" to turn and respond to the Kerygma. He further argues (1) that the absence of 4:12c in the echo of the predestination theme in 8:18 means that the disciples are not condemned to blindness, (2) that the crowds in Mark's Gospel are not "outsiders" because Jesus never officially called them, and (3) that the "outsiders" meant in the Gospel are those in Mark's day who reject the Christian message. Ambrozic has succumbed to dubious reasoning in an attempt to back out of an exegetical corner.

34Haufe, "Erwägungen," pp. 420f., believes Paul modified his position after I Thessalonians. Roms. 9-11 represents a more moderate line on the theological explanation for the Jewish rejection of the Christian message.

35Further confirmation for the dissonance between the hermeneutical theory and the way in which the theory is actualized in the drama can be seen in the contrasting responses of the crowd and the disciples to Jesus. Cf. Mark--Traditions in Conflict pp. 20-51.

36So Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, pp. 71f., with regard to the same theological intent of 4:11f. and 4:13-20, but Ambrozic, as noted above, mistakenly thinks 4:11f. is consonant with Mark's own theological perspective. Haacker, "Erwägungen," pp. 220-222, has recognized the close relationship which exists between the theological concern of 4:11f. and 4:3-8. Haacker contends that 4:11f. was produced originally as an interpretation of the parable of the sower, in which case it sought to explain the problem of the failure of Christian preaching, the problem the parable addressed. Haacker argues, unconvincingly, that 4:11f. was attached as the first step in interpreting the sower and that its function became obscured later when Mark provided his own interpretation of the parable (4:14-20) and turned 4:11f. to the service of providing a clue to the interpretation of all parables and not just the parable of the sower. Haacker, I believe, has perceived correctly the full intensity and thrust of the theological/existential intonation to which 4:11 points in his translation of the passage: "To you the (now still) hidden kingdom of God is given; to those outside, it becomes the laughing-stock." Cf. below for implications of this translation in the Markan opponents' theology and Mark's response to it.

37Haufe, despite his perceptive insights with regard to the theological grounding of 4:11f., fails to see how compatible the theological position advocated by 4:11f. is to the theological perspective which emanates from the parable collection. Apparently Haufe is also unaware of Kuhn's work on the parables of Mark 4.

38Pryor makes an erroneous linguistic judgment about the relationship of 4:26-29, 30-32 to Markan redactional procedure (cf. above n. 27). He fails to see that 4:26-29, 30-32 also fits well with the intent of 4:3-8, 14-20 and supports the same privilege theology. Apparently Pryor is unaware of Kuhn's work on Mark 4.

³⁹I am indebted to my colleague Jesse H. Brown for the suggestion of the construct: special relationship/special privilege/special responsibility. He has helped me to see that one of the major problems ancient Israel faced, particularly during the time of the prophets, was how to answer a troublesome question: Does the special relationship Israel has with God mean that it has had conferred upon it and now enjoys special privilege vis-à-vis other nations? Or does its special relationship require of it a special responsibility to God not demanded of other nations. This construct strikes me as an appropriate way to schematize the theological conflict which permeates the parabolic discourse of Mark 4.

⁴⁰Cf. Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 52ff., 165ff. where I show the Markan Jesus defining his messianic role in terms of the role of a suffering servant as God has willed and in fact meets the demands of that messianic role and is consequently identified as the messiah by his living out the role to its final consummation in the crucifixion.

⁴¹Cf. Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 44-51, 64-69.

⁴²Cf. Reploh, Markus, pp. 69f.

⁴³Matthew's shift of Mark 4:25 from its Markan location after the interpretation of the parable of the sower to a location following the Matthean version of Mark 4:11f. suggests that Matthew understood the meaning of the saying in an analogous way to what I have posited for the theologians of the collection. Luke, on the other hand, preserves the Markan location of the saying. While Luke does not reproduce Mark 4:24 in full, it appears that he understands the meaning of Mark 4:25 just as Mark intended. This judgment is supported by the fact that the third evangelist introduces the words "thinks that he" to Mark 4:25 and substitutes the adverb "what" for "how" with reference to one's stance toward hearing (Lk. 8:18).

If any stock can be put in Marxsen's suggestion that Mark on occasion composes backwards, introducing commentary on a passage just prior to introducing the passage (Mark, pp. 30-33), then the explanation of Mark's interpretation of 4:25 is reinforced. Mark 4:24 is the Markan commentary on the meaning of 4:25.

⁴⁴Haacker, "Erwägungen," pp. 219-225, senses the theological and sociological correlation between 4:11f. and 4:3-9 but incorrectly argues that 4:11f. was linked to the parable of the sower before Mark (n. 36). Haacker thinks it is possible that Deuteronomy 28:37f. served as the basis for the creation of the parable of the sower and 4:11, or that these may have served as the Christian explication of the Deuteronomic text. This is a provocative suggestion. The community which created the parable collection may have found Deuteronomy 28:38 (reference to sowing and poor harvest) a scriptural testimony to its own plight which the members illustrated in their parables of sowing. Deuteronomy 28:37 may have provided the proof-text rationale. The framer of 4:11b reproduced the LXX *ἐν ἀνύμνῳ καὶ παραβολῇ* as *ἐν παραβολαῖς* (4:11b). In doing so he saw "riddle" and "parable" in the LXX text to be synonymous terms directing attention to enigmatic teaching.

⁴⁵Cf. the discussion above.

⁴⁶The community's term for gospel was probably *ὁ λόγος* (Mark--Traditions in Conflict, p. 151).

⁴⁷Cf. J. Dupont, "Les paraboles du seneve et du levain," NRT LXXXIX (1967), pp. 908f. (cited by Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, pp. 132f.); Schulz, Botschaft, p. 154. Ambrozic disagrees with this interpretation but does so because the position is not consistent with his understanding of Mark (Hidden Kingdom, p. 133). This particular understanding of 4:32, however, fits well the interests of the theologians of the community behind the parable collection.

⁴⁹Mark 4:33f. belongs to the parable collection and consequently to the community producing the collection. Cf. Mark--Traditions in Conflict, p. 147 and n. 11 above.

⁵⁰The collection could well have begun with 2a as some have argued (cf. recently, Ambrozic, Hidden Kingdom, pp. 74f.) and included some kind of transitional question or statement which linked the parable of the sower with its interpretation.

⁵¹Mark--Traditions in Conflict, p. 160.

⁵²Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 148-158.

⁵³Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 81-90.

⁵⁴The Problem of History in Mark (Naperville: Allenson, Inc., 1957), pp. 33-38.

⁵⁵"Kingdom in Mark," p. 75. In conceding this Kelber, nevertheless, still contends that, though the kingdom in this section is explicitly spoken of in terms of the future, it is understood to be implicitly present.

⁵⁶That Mark has been at least partly successful in shifting the eschatological emphasis of the collection from realized to futuristic eschatology is also illustrated by the confusion among contemporary exegetes as to whether the parables now advocate realized or futuristic eschatology. For example, there is disagreement over whether Mark 4:26-29 should be correctly titled "The Parable of the Seed Growing Secretly" (realized eschatology) or "The Parable of the Patient Husbandmen" (futuristic eschatology). Cf. Joachim Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 151.

⁵⁷The Markan schema for debunking this privilege theology I have documented in Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 26-51. While 4:35-41 does not itself stand in sharp contrast to the privilege position, it is the initial story (after the presentation of that position) in a series of stories that leads to the final climactic point in 8:14-21 where the disciples' so-called privileged status is made to look ludicrous. As the drama continues to the final act, it becomes obvious that the disciples' insistence on their privileged position turns out to be the cause of their own undoing.

The practice of correcting a theios-aner privilege theology by combatting it with a theology of responsibility was not unique to Mark. E. Käsemann has shown that Matthew employed the same procedure in attacking the prophetic enthusiasm of the theoi andres condemned in Matthew 7:21-23 (New Testament Questions of Today, trans. W. J. Montague Philadelphia: Fortress Press, [1969])

pp. 83-87). One of the striking similarities between the response of Matthew and Mark to this group is that they both insist that unless one does the will of God one places himself/herself beyond hope of salvation (cf. Matt. 7:21-23 vis-a-vis Mk. 3:31-35).

⁵⁸Cf. e.g. Gnllka, *Die Verstockung*, p. 40f.; Reploh, *Markus*, pp. 69f.; Haacker, "Erwägungen," p. 225; Schulz, *Botschaft*, pp. 152ff.; Ambrozic, *Hidden Kingdom*, pp. 101f. Reploh recognizes the paraenetic influence 4:24f. has on 4:14-20, though he sees the purpose of 4:24 as pointing in a somewhat different direction. Ambrozic contends that 4:11f., 13 forces the reader to look for special meaning in each of the descriptions of the fate of "the word" in 4:14-20. Attention is no longer directed primarily to the harvest.

⁵⁹E. Schweizer, *Mark*, pp. 96f., recognizes the possibility of the interpretation Kuhn advocates but rejects it.

⁶⁰Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 150ff.

⁶¹*καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς* in 4:11 is a Markan connecting clause and as such formidably argues for viewing 4:11 as a Markan insertion.

⁶²"Erwägungen," p. 222. Haacker argues that *μυστήριον* qualifies *βασιλεία* in 4:11 (pp. 219f.).

⁶³This view is supported by a large number of commentators who insist that the person of Jesus is the mystery in mind. Before the incorporation of the material into Mark's Gospel Jesus was one element in the mystery which dealt with the history of the kingdom. The thrust of 4:11f., 13 and the subsequent drama has magnified the importance of Jesus in the eyes of the reader and minimized the question of the kingdom and its unfolding history, the question which was at the center of the pre-Markan parable collection. Matthew and Luke tend to restore the original meaning of the verse by pluralizing the word "secret," thereby shifting the emphasis to inquiry about the kingdom rather than subsuming the interest in the kingdom under the concept of secret. Cf. Haacker, "Erwägungen," pp. 219f.

⁶⁴Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 148ff.

⁶⁵Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 153ff.

⁶⁶Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 148f., 160ff.

⁶⁷Paul Achtemeier, "The Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae," pp. 198-221.

⁶⁸Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 114f.

⁶⁹It would do an injustice to the transfiguration to contend that it supports the fact that the kingdom is present in Jesus' public ministry. Its function in the Gospel is not to interpret the present but to provide a proleptic experience of the future.

⁷⁰Cf. Mark--Traditions in Conflict, pp. 52-69.

⁷¹If Jerusalem has all the rich implications that Kelber suggests, if it stands antithetically to Galilee as the place of

theological bankruptcy in Mark's time, then it strikes me that Mark would have underscored this in chapter 13, his chronicle of theological history from the death of Jesus to the parousia. But there is no mention of Galilee in chapter 13 as the citadel of authentic theology or as the place to flee when the city of heretical theology falls.

⁷²Kelber's argument that the issue in chapter 13 is eschatology and not christology is more like a Lucan interpretation of Mark (Lk. 21:8 vis-à-vis Mk. 13:5f.) than a reflection of what Mark understands the issue to be.

⁷³New Testament Questions, pp. 83ff.

⁷⁴"The Records of Jesus", pp. 540f.

⁷⁵This position may be reflected in Matthew 4:17-20. Cf. Käsemann's discussion of origin of the perspective advocated in this passage (New Testament Questions, pp. 85-97)

⁷⁶A number of the insights offered in the reconstruction were drawn from Ernst Käsemann (New Testament Questions, pp. 82-107).

⁷⁷W. O. Walker, Jr., "The Origin of the Son of Man Concept as Applied to Jesus," JBL, CI (1972), pp. 489ff., has proffered this.

⁷⁸Cf. the reconstruction of the various Christian fronts, particularly the Thomistic party, by Helmut Koester in J. M. Robinson, H. Koester, Trajectories Through Early Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), pp. 114-157.

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The text. GrSeth comes second in Codex VII, after ParaShem and before ApocPet, Silv and 3StSeth. Its twenty-one papyrus pages are completely intact, without a missing letter, and copied in the clear handsome hand used in the entire codex.¹ The pages measure 28.7 cm. in height and 17 cm. in width,² with the number of lines per page ranging from thirty-four to thirty-nine.

The present text is a translation from Greek into Sahidic Coptic, a translation that, at times, shows misunderstandings of the Greek,³ some careless errors in the Coptic⁴ and, on a few points, betrays the theological stance of the translator⁵.

The name of the tractate: "the second treatise..." would lead us to assume that some work preceded it.⁶ The most logical solution would be the Paraphrase of Shem, appearing immediately before in Codex VII.

In the early stages of the investigation Jean Doresse⁷ and Henri-Charles Puech⁸ assumed that GrSeth and ParaShem belonged together either as a continuous whole or as two parts of the same work. The title at the end (70,11f.): "The Second Treatise of the Great Seth" would have to be understood in conjunction with the title at the beginning of the first tractate: "The Paraphrase of Shem" (1,1).⁹ If the two tractates are one entity, the two titles are its alternate designations, and some confusion between Shem and Seth is presupposed. If the two tractates are parts of a single work, ParaShem is the first treatise, followed by a closely allied second treatise.

The first seventy pages of Codex VII are, however, definitely not an undifferentiated whole. The formal ending of ParaShem (49,9) followed by a blank space before GrSeth begins, precludes this option. But the second alternative seems more attractive. We have reports of series of books in the name of Seth¹⁰ as well as a Paraphrase of Seth¹¹ which could, as Doresse suggests, refer to ParaShem (ParaShem seems to be closely connected to the work Hippolytus describes). If Hippolytus' title is the more original one, then both books at one time would have been attributed to Seth.

On close analysis, this second alternative must be rejected as well. The tractates are entirely different. ParaShem has an elaborate mythology characterized by three original powers; GrSeth presupposes a cosmogony similar to that of ApocryJn. ParaShem is an apocalyptic revelation; GrSeth is a hortatory teaching. In the first, Shem receives the revelation from Derdekeas (who does not appear in GrSeth); in the second gnostics receive the revelation from Jesus Christ. ParaShem is, at best, marginally Christian; GrSeth is Christian gnostic.

Further, the differences in Coptic usage show conclusively that the two tractates were translated independently from the Greek, another indication of their independence one from the other.

GrSeth departs from standard Sahidic in its frequent use of **πι**, **τι** and **νι** for the article, and its preference for **ντε** in genitive constructions. The demonstratives **πη**, **τη** and **νη** are used with the relative and **νδι** occasionally refers to the object of the verb. ParaShem, on the other hand, employs the archaic verbal prefix **ερ'** for the past relative, and **παι'**, **ται'** and **ναι'** followed by the imperfect as the imperfect relative. GrSeth frequently uses **εδ'** (perfect relative), the full negative **ν... αν** and **δε** to introduce final clauses, usages uncommon in ParaShem. Finally, the key concept, **ποχοειν ετε μντεϣ αρηϣ** ("the infinite light", ParaShem 2,27 et al.) appears in GrSeth as **ποχοειν ναταρηϣ** (59,8).

We can thus say that the two tractates were not originally part of a two-volume work, but that the decision to place them together, if not arbitrary, was due to the simple logic of placing second in a codex a treatise whose title contained the denomination "second."

No other tractate in the Nag Hammadi corpus gives indication of being the preceding "First Treatise." Failing ParaShem as the original preceding work, the conclusion must be that the postulated first treatise, if indeed there was one,¹² has been either lost or renamed.

Summary of GrSeth. GrSeth begins in the spiritual world (49,10-50,1), the realm of the Supreme God and the Mother. The speaker, to be identified later with Jesus Christ, asserts that he originates from this celestial region and that he is the revealer (i.e., he brings forth the "word").

The speaker calls together the heavenly church and presents his plan: he is to come forth to reveal "the glory" (i.e., gnosis) to those on earth who are kin to the celestial beings (50, 1-24). The heavenly church then gives its approval to the plan (in contrast to Sophia's procedure in the following section).

50,24-51,20 is a digression: Sophia on her own came forth earlier to make preparations (cosmic spheres? bodies?) for the gnostics in the lower world. But her creation came to nought and now the gnostics stand in need of the speaker's revelation.

The speaker takes over a human body, casting out the person already in it (51, 20-34). This appearance of the Image of Man in the cosmos causes consternation among the archons and their minions.

51,34-52,10 is an explanatory passage in which the speaker asserts that his earthly revelation was only partial; although becoming a "Christ" (for the disciples? for the orthodox Christians?), he did not tell them who he really was.

52,10-53,12 resumes the theme of the disturbance of the archons. A split arises among them. The archon Adonaios, who had earlier been instructed about the redeemer by Sophia of Elpis, joined himself to the savior; the rest, not possessing gnosis of the supreme god, Man, thought that "man" was their own creation.

The disturbance among the archons demonstrates to their angels that the archons know nothing of Man (53,12-27) and the archons fear lest their angels rebel.

53,27-54,14 tells how this fear was overcome. The Cosmocra-
tor, Jaldabaoth, mocks earthly man (Ps 8,5) and the angels join in
his laughter, thus turning themselves away from the Savior's rev-
elation.

At 54,14 a myth breaks in which is parallel to the one be-
ginning at 49,10, but in this version we have no assertion of the
Cosmocra-
tor that he is greater than Man; rather the plan used to
overcome the Savior is the passion, stated to be caused by the
archons.

54,14-23 tells of the speaker's origin and commission as did
49,10-50,24. He descends into the cosmos (54,23-32; cp. 51,
20-34), causing consternation among the archons (54,32-55,15; cp.
51,20-34 and 52,10-53,12). Again Adonaios is said to know Christ
because of Elpis.

The section 55,15-56,13 contains GrSeth's main passion sec-
tion, most probably of a standard Christian-gnostic docetic vari-
ety. Within this we have the teaching that Simon of Cyrene was
crucified in place of Jesus (56,4-13), quoted by the Church Fathers
as Basilides'.

56,13-57,7 has Christ in the height laughing at the archons'
foolishness, then descending through the cosmic spheres. It seems
to have originally followed 55,15, since the foregoing myth has
no passion section.

The Savior rescues the Son of Majesty (the Savior's double,
most probably) and brings him to the celestial bridal chamber
(57,7-27). A section follows on the ascent of the gnostic soul
(57,27-58,17).

58,17-59,9 is another passion section, handled completely
differently from 55,15-56,13. Here the emphasis is thrown on the
allegorical meaning of details in Mt's passion for the life of
the individual gnostic.

59,9-19 ends the first or "dogmatic" portion of GrSeth with
a christological summary: Christ unites himself with the gnostics;
he teaches them his mind (*ἐννοια*), especially concerning the
archons' destruction; Christ identifies himself with the Father,
the supreme god.

The second, more homiletic part of the tractate is concerned
with gnostic unity on earth despite persecution by orthodox Chris-
tians and the archons.

The gnostics are persecuted not only by the ignorant but by
"those who think they are advancing the name of Christ" (59,19-
60,12) as well. These are the orthodox whose church is formed by
the archons as an imitation of the celestial church. Its central
doctrine is the crucifixion of Christ (60,13-61,28). The true
Christian is the gnostic whose earthly life is patterned on the
love and unity existent in the celestial church (61,28-62,27).

An anti-OT section follows -- figures from Judaism are
called laughingstocks because they never had knowledge of Christ
(62,27-64,1; 64,1-12). 64,12-65,2 contrasts Jaldabaoth with the
supreme god, demonstrating the ignorance of the former by his
own assertions (Is 45,5f. and 46,9; Ex 20,5). A vilifying refer-
ence is then made in direct address to the opponents accusing them

of blindness because they do not realize that evil men (or, perhaps, the archons) crucified Christ (65,2-18). The speaker identifying himself as Christ, the Son of Man, then exhorts the gnostics not to give way to "femaleness" and its vicious consequences (65,18-33).

At 65,33 the text becomes a narration of the wedding which took place among the heavenly church before the foundation of the world. Jesus performs the wedding -- the pattern of perfect union. A similar union takes place on earth among the gnostics (67,19-68,16) because of the revelation brought by Christ.

68,16-25 contrasts this to the false unity of Jaldabaoth's realm. Another direct address to the opponents intervenes and 68,27-69,20 continues the discourse on the realm of Jaldabaoth. The text relates that the archons, at the instigation of an Ennoia (Elpis), form a counterfeit union which is the orthodox christian church (cp. 60,13ff)

The tractate ends with a summary given by Christ to the readers in 69,20-70,1. Another short address to the opponents intervenes and the last section (70,3-10), with echoes of the beginning of the tractate, calls its hearers to rest.

Outline of GrSeth.

I. The "doctrinal" section -- 49,10-59,19

The first myth -- 49,10-54,14

The savior's origin -- 49,10-50,1
 The plan of redemption -- 50,1-24
 The work of Sophia -- 50,24-51,20
 Incarnation of the savior -- 51,20-34
 Identification of the savior with Christ -- 51,34-52,10
 Cosmic effects of the savior's descent -- 52,10-53,27
 Victory of the Cosmocrator -- 53,27-54,14

The second myth -- 54,14-58,17

The savior's origin -- 54,14-23
 Appearance of the savior in the world -- 54,23-32
 Disturbance among the angels -- 54,32-55,15
 The passion of the savior -- 55,15-56,13
 Savior's descent through the spheres -- 56,13-57,7
 The Son of Megethos is brought to the bridal chamber -- 57,7-27
 The gnostic's ascent -- 57,27-58,17

The "Matthean" passion and Christological summary -- 58,17-59,19

II. The "homiletic" section -- 59,19-70,12

Persecution of the gnostics -- 59,19-60,12
 The imitation church -- 60,13-61,28
 Union among gnostics -- 61,28-62,27
 The laughingstocks -- 62,27-64,1
 Ignorance in OT figures, Jaldabaoth and those who crucified Christ -- 64,1-65,18
 Moral exhortation -- 65,18-33
 The heavenly wedding -- 65,33-67,19

Earthly union among gnostics -- 67,19-68,16
 The imitation Father -- 68,16-25
 Address to opponents -- 68,25-27
 The disobedience of the archons -- 68,27-69,20
 Summary, ending and title -- 69,20-70,12

Sources. The tractate may be justly divided into two sections, with the break coming at 59,19. The first section, 49,10-59,19, manifests the overall thrust of a myth of the descent-ascent of the Savior whose central point, for the redactor, is found in the long passion section: 55,15-56,13. This first section itself, however, is composed of elements which, on close analysis, articulate only poorly one with another and throughout which the hand of the redactor is evident, trying to effect a smooth continuation.

The first clear manifestation of sources is found at 54, 14ff. where the descent of the Savior from the spiritual world is retold in terms and especially in development strikingly similar to the myth in 49,10-54,14:13

The father is at rest.	"And the perfect Majesty is at rest in the ineffable light..." (49,10-12)	"The whole greatness of the Fatherhood of the Spirit was at rest in his places." (54,14-17)
The speaker is with him.	"For I exist with all the greatness of the Spirit,..." (49,17f.)	"And I am he who was with him. ..." (54,17f.)
The word or thought is produced.	"...Since I brought forth a word to the glory of our Father... the word within him ...which is the word from us." (49,20-32)	"...since I have an Ennoia of a single emanation from the eternal ones and the undefiled and unmeasurable incomprehensibilities." (54,18-22)
The speaker is commissioned by the heavenly church.	"Let us gather a church...I conceived a plan about the Ennoias which came out of the undefiled Spirit...And they all had a single mind...Willingly did I come forth to reveal the glory to my kindred and my fellow-spirits." (50,4-24)	Apparently contained in 54, 18-22 (above).
The speaker descends into the cosmos.	"I visited a bodily dwelling. I cast out the one who was in it first, and I went in." (51,20-24)	"I placed the Ennoia in the world..." (54,23-25)

The plan of the archons suffers disturbance.

"And the whole multitude of the archons became troubled... There was a great disturbance in the whole earthly area, with confusion and flight, and (in) the plan of the archons." (51,24-31; 52,10-14)

"...having disturbed them and frightened the whole multitude of the angels and their ruler ($\alpha\rho\chi\omega\nu$)... And there came about a disturbance and a battle surrounding the Seraphim and Cherubim, since their glory will be dissolved..." (54,23-35)

Adonaïos and/or his race is persuaded.

"And some were persuaded, when they saw the wonders which were being accomplished by me. And all those who have come down, who belong to the same race as he who fled from the throne (those of the race of Adonaïos) flee to the Sophia of Elpis since she had earlier given the sign concerning us and the ones with me." (52,14-25)

"...others again (said): 'The plan will certainly not materialize.' For Adonaïos knows me because of Elpis... and the plan which they devised about me to do away with their Error and their senselessness. I did not succumb to them as they had planned." (55,5-15)

The archons use an alternate plan.

53,12-54,14: The voice of the Cosmocrator mocks man's smallness.

55,15ff.: The archons attempt to crucify Christ.

Despite the similarities in form, the myths are distinct. Aside from the passion insertions in #1, differences in terminology and expression occur:

word (49,17ff.)

ennoia (54,19)

descent by taking on an earthly body (51,20-24)

"I placed the small ennoia in the cosmos." (54,23-25)

The speaker's mere presence is the source of consternation (52,10ff.)

The speaker visits them all with fire and flame.

The archons and angels are mentioned.

The angels and their archon, and Seraphim and Cerubim (54,37) are mentioned.

The archons' plan is a ruse to mock man (53,12-54,14)

The archons' plan is the crucifixion of Christ (55,14-56,20).

The myths are definitely parallel and, most probably,

spring from a single source-myth. The differences in terminology lead us to believe that they existed separately before their incorporation into GrSeth.

This hypothetical source-myth can be disengaged in outline by the comparison of the two myths on the preceding page. What follows will attempt to show that the original mythic outline contained no passion references and, most probably, no christological ones.

The passion insertions in #1. 49,25-27: "It is slavery that we shall die with Christ!" This insert breaks the discourse on the word as imperishable thought and was probably occasioned by "kindred" ($\omega\beta\eta\rho\ \eta\tau\omega\varsigma\epsilon = \sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$) in lines 19f. which reminded the glossator of Paul's baptismal teaching in Rom 6.¹⁴ In the course of copying the manuscript it must have been woven into the text a few lines down.

52,29f.: "... (since they have brought every kind of punishment upon me)." This clause interrupts the theme of flight, placing the punishment of Christ in the perfect tense while 52,30ff. shows the archons still in indecision over what counsel they should decide concerning him. Perhaps there is an echo of 55,16f.: "Those who were there punished me."

53,24f. "(I died not in reality)..." Despite the difficulty of interpreting the surrounding context: 53,23-27, it is certain that a passion reference is completely out of place, for the context speaks about rebellion among the angels. Further, this clause is an almost exact doublet of 55,18: "I was not dying in reality..." placed here, it seems, to bring the first myth into accord with the second.

These three references to the passion in #1 break into the text and can be easily separated. They seem to be crude attempts to bring the first myth closer to the passion-centered second myth. It seems quite probable, then, that the first myth had no passion references at the time it was worked into the scheme of GrSeth and that the second myth was already centered around the passion of Christ at the time the editor received it.

The christological references in #1. References to Christ seem also to have been added to #1 before its incorporation into GrSeth as the introductory section. Two reasons present themselves:

1. The three references to Christ in #1 (49,17-50,1; 50,25-51,20¹⁵; 51,34-52,10) have the same pattern:
 - when disengaged, the surrounding section continues logically;
 - they each begin with explanatory $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ and end with an echo of the gospel of John (49,32-50,1; 51,18-20; 52,3-10);
 - they add material to explicate teachings not found in the myth or not developed fully, and this on two central issues:

---teaching an explicit christology: Christ is identified with the speaker of the narrative (*passim*); he is equal to the Father (49,17-20; cp. 59,17-19 in another redactional passage); he brings forth a word or revelation (49,20-32; 51,13-18; 52,5-7); he is from above and alien to this world (49,17-20; 51,34-52,10); he does the will of the Father or of the celestial church (50,21-24; cp. 57,3-6; 59,17-19; 62,10f.);

---reflecting the gnostics' self-understanding: they are closely united with Christ (49,32-50,1; 51,18-20; cp. 62,6-13); they exist in the world because of Sophia but are redeemed (50,25-51,20; cp. "protected" in 56,21-57,6 and 62,6-13) through Christ; the gnostic knows who Christ really is but others, even Christians, do not (51,34-52,10; cp. 58,30ff.; 59,22-26; 60,15-25; etc.).

2. Apart from passion references (one short insert in 55,9f. and the long "passion narrative" in 55,15-56,14) myth #2 has no christological references at all and yet, in a shorter version, #2 contains every element of #1 but the last: Jaldabaoth's mockery of man (53,12-54,14).¹⁶ Aside from these, #2 could be read as a non-Christian descent-ascent of the redeemer myth.

When the material with no parallel in #2 is separated out from #1, #1 appears as an expanded version of #2 with the addition of its closing section. It is impossible to ascertain when in the course of its existence #1 received its christological additions. Its three passion inserts might well have been glosses which became part of the text in the process of copying after #1 was incorporated into GrSeth.

The passion references in #2. The only explicit references to Christ in #2 are in the context of his (pseudo) sufferings.

55,9f. "(And I was in the mouth of lions)..." is a short insert breaking the surrounding sentence structure, probably recalling Ps 22,21.¹⁷

55,15-56,13, the longest of the three passion sections in GrSeth,¹⁸ contains the substitutionary passion doctrine (attributed to Basilides by Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* I, 24, 4 and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 24,3) as its central element. This special Basilidean material (56,4?-13) seems to have been added to a standard Christian-gnostic passion narrative:

--the crucifixion of Simon is nowhere else alluded to in GrSeth;

--the remarkable exegesis of 56,4-13 is quoted by two hereseologists and can be assumed to have circulated among gnostics;

--the surrounding passion section, 55,15-56,20, appears to be teaching a simple docetic passion.

The continuation of the second myth. After the passion section in #2, the second myth continues with the descent of the savior through the spheres (56,13-57,7),¹⁹ changing his forms and conquering his enemies. In 57,7-13 the savior rescues the Son of Megethos and brings him to the "height." Following is a short section (57,13-27) which we see as coming from another source (cf. below), identifying the aforementioned height with the wedding of the wedding robe.

57,27-58,17 continues on from 57,13. The theme of the "height" is resumed but now the subject of discourse is the gnostic's ascent to the height. The distinctive vocabulary of the second myth reappears:

error (πλάνη)	55,15 and 33	56,17; 57,29 (only again in 65,10)
form (ἰδέα)	56,25	58,4
gate (πύλη)	56,26f.	58,10f.
pass by (παράχειν)	56,28	58,10
transfer (ὁσωτῆ εβोल= παράχειν?)	56,24	57,30 and 32
shame (ψιπνε)	55,20 and 22; 56,30	58,8 and 8f.
fear (ζοτε)	56,30f.	58,2; 9f. and 11 ²⁰

These words, with the sole exception of πλάνη, once again, appear only in myth #2. They appear neither in the passion nor the wedding sections of #2. Apart from considerations of vocabulary, excision of the passion and wedding sections gives us a myth that follows in an orderly manner: the savior is sent, enters the realm of the archons, descends through their spheres, rescues the Son of Megethos (possibly his double), and opens the way for the ascent of the individual gnostics.

It is our conclusion, then, that a single myth underlies #1 and #2, a myth of a redeemer figure who descends and ascends. This figure is not identified with Christ in the original base myth and no reference is made to any sufferings he undergoes. Rather he descends without being detected.

#1 and #2 probably existed independently before their incorporation into GrSeth -- important differences in terminology do occur. The first myth was fitted with christological references, probably cut off after Jaldabaoth's mockery of man, and used as the introduction to the tractate. The second myth, fitted with a long passion narrative either before or at the time of editing, supplied the central teaching for the whole first half of GrSeth: the substitutionary passion of Christ. Since #2 begins in the celestial regions and ends with the gnostics' perfection in the third glory (58,11-13), it seems likely that #2 contains all or most of the elements in the complete original myth.

The aim of the entire tractate is clear enough: opposition to orthodox Christianity, especially to its central doctrine of Christ's real sufferings and death. An original myth, in two versions, was pressed into service as a framework for GrSeth's anti-orthodox teaching.

The "Matthean" passion account. 58,17-59,9 is an allegorical treatment of Mt's passion, interpreting its details in terms of gnostic illumination.²¹ The section probably contains a prior source:

--58,17 ends the second myth. Without a transition we are immediately returned to a passion narrative in the third person singular;

--its treatment of the passion differs completely from the foregoing docetist and substitutionary account; the sustained allegory is singular in all of GrSeth;

--lower beings called *Exousiai* are named, their only appearance in the tractate; nowhere else is a veil (*καταπέτασμα*) mentioned.

The central teaching of the first half of the tractate (49,10-59,19) is the substitutionary passion of Christ. Apparently the editor, having access to another interpretation of the passion different from the Basilidean and docetist ones already used, added this section as a sort of appendix. His hand is evident in the conclusion to this section (59,9-19) which seems to function as a conclusion to the entire first half of GrSeth.

The laughingstock section. A very patterned²² piece, 62,27-64,1 gives the appearance of a litany (more accurately, a counter-litany). This type of consistent pattern is unique in GrSeth. The title "Hebdomad" for Jaldabaoth is used in this section alone; in fact, when the editor himself copies the pattern (64,17-30), he substitutes "the Archon", a title used of Jaldabaoth previously (54,27).

Although concentrating on OT figures, the piece is a product of Christian gnosticism for the OT extends from "Adam to Moses to John the Baptist." It fits the general attitude of GrSeth, disdain for the orthodox who worship a lesser (i.e., the OT) god.

Wedding sections. Twice references of some length are made to the celestial wedding and related concepts (bridal chamber, mystery): 57,13-27 and 65,33-67,19. GrSeth uses this motif for its own purpose, the demonstration of gnostic unity, and passes over other possible applications such as eschatology, the soul finding its completion, etc. These two sections are quite possibly connected with the Valentinian school, but the absence of other Valentinian teachings shows us that the wedding motif, a central teaching in the latter half of GrSeth, is probably borrowed from without and incorporated into the tractate's own synthesis.

It is evident from the text itself that the first wedding section (57,13-27) is inserted. The distinctive vocabulary appearing in 55,15-57,13 continues on in 57,27-58,17 (cf. table above) and the theme of the "height" is again resumed.

The second, longer wedding section (65,33-67,19) begins abruptly after an ethical discourse (65,18-33) which has only a casual, almost forced connection (unity among gnostics leads into celestial unity) with what follows. Jesus is the leader of the heavenly wedding, but he is probably, in the source, a different figure from GrSeth's Jesus Christ.

The material in GrSeth which appears to have had previous existence comprises, then, the two descent myths 49,10-54,14 and 54,14-55,15; 56,13-57,13; 57,27-58,17; the passion sections 55,15-56,4; 56,4-13 and 58,17-59,9; the laughingstock piece 62,27-64,1 and the wedding sections 57,13-27 and 65,33-67,19. Taken together, these constitute over half the text as we have it. Following our analysis, the redactor went to the trove of gnostic traditions, incorporated material from different traditions (56,4-13 is Basilidean; the two wedding sections might be Valentinian; the celestial world parallels that of ApocryJn), and wove them into a tractate for his own purpose.

Redactional analysis. The investigation of sources pursued above showed the blocks of material the redactor used and the generally matter-of-fact way he often strung them together (e.g., the sudden change to the second descent myth in 54,14; the wedding section's beginning in 65,33).

The redactor, however, has made an attempt at continuation, and this in three ways:

1. The pre-existent material has been arranged in a sort of progression in the overall development of the tractate:

- the first descent myth is used as an introduction;
- the second descent myth (54,14-58,17) is used as a context for the two passion sources (55,15-56,4 and 56,4-13);
- the first wedding section (57,13-17) is so placed as to explain the meaning of the "height" to which Christ brings the Son of Megethos (the immediately preceding passage) and to which the gnostics are going (the immediately following passage);
- the laughingstock section (62,27-64,1) probably fits, at least in the redactor's mind, into the general theme of persecution developed in the section 59,19-65,33;
- the second wedding section (65,33-67,19) begins the long explicit presentation on unity in 65,33-69,20, with the celestial wedding functioning as the paradigm of earthly unity;
- the second passion section (58,17-59,9) gives no apparent reason for its place in the progression of the tractate. The redactor placed it after the completion of myth #2 which was centered in the passion as a sort of epilogue.

2. The redactor has filled his work with explanatory passages which give needed information (e.g., the Sophia digression in 50,25-51,20) or explain the source material in a christological sense (e.g., 51,34-52,10; 59,9-19).

3. The redactor has several themes which he highlights and which help give unity to the tractate:

--the interpretation of the passion. 55,15-56,13 58,17-59,9; 65,8-13 and the longer sections; references to the passion appear again in 49,25-27; 52,29f.; 53,24f.; 55,9f.; 60,21-25 and probably in 69,11;

--the theme of unity. 65,33-69,20 is the section where this theme is developed -- in three steps: the heavenly union, union among gnostics on earth and the false union of the archons' church --, but the same theme appears elsewhere: 57,13-27 (the mystery is not fragmentary but undivided and universal); 60,16-21; 62, 12-27;

--a polemic against the false church of the archons: 59,19-60,3; 60,13-29; 61,7-28; 68,27-69,20.

Thus the general attitude of the redactor emerges. Concerned in a strife with orthodox Christianity, which he sees as the great earthly opponent, the gnostic redactor seeks to show that true unity (the authentic church) cannot be based on the ignorant work of the archons but only on the true paradigm, the unity of the heavenly world. Orthodoxy's central doctrine, the real passion of Christ, fills him with disdain and proves that orthodox Christianity can only be the archons' instrument to subjugate those liberated by Christ.

There can be no question that, theologically, he is a gnostic -- his sources show that clearly. The OT is the work of Jaldabaoth (cf. the laughingstock section and its sequence), a further proof that orthodoxy, which had accepted the Jewish scriptures, is under the domain of the archons. He accepts the NT or parts of it (Mt, Mk, Jn and some Pauline epistles) but his quotes are clearly interpreted in gnostic fashion.

The form and purpose of GrSeth is summed up at the beginning of its conclusion:

Now these things I have presented to you..., O perfect and incorruptible ones, concerning the incorruptible and perfect mystery and the ineffable One. (69,20-26)

The redactor has cast his tractate in the form of a revelation discourse of Christ (cf. 49,20ff.; 50,21-24; 51,11-21). The actual addressees are the gnostic adherents and the literary addressees, the "perfect and incorruptible ones" of 69,23f., are the same.

The purpose for which GrSeth was written is plainly polemical. The entire first part (49,10-59,19) details the true history of Jesus Christ, centered in his docetic passion and makes this point against orthodox Christianity. It is not another gospel different from the ones used by the orthodox, but a "true interpretation" of those gospels. The second part of GrSeth, 59,19-70,10, is a refutation of orthodoxy's claim to be the true church.

The exact role GrSeth was written to play is difficult to determine. We can say with some certainty that it is not a piece calculated to win Christians for the gnostic fold --

orthodoxy is treated with the greatest disdain. Nevertheless it appears to be a piece of polemic. Perhaps GrSeth was written to be read by gnostics as an apologetic work -- perhaps, even, as a control against the newly converted falling back into mainline Christianity (cf. 61,14-23).

The translator. We can say with relative certainty that GrSeth existed in Coptic translation before being incorporated into the library. Codex VII was copied by one hand, but major grammatical differences appear between one tractate and another (cf. the comparison of ParaShem and GrSeth above). For the purpose of this analysis, we will separate the two functions of translator and copyist and try to ascertain some of the peculiarities of each.

The translator has made mistakes in his rendering of the Greek. In 50,19f. we have $\epsilon\varsigma\ \psi\omicron\sigma\omicron\eta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \sigma\upsilon\delta$ literally: "Since it (their mind) is from one...." The translator has missed the idiom: $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \mu\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ("unanimous"), rendering the words into a Coptic that makes no sense.

50,13f. The word $\dagger\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ ("remind" or "suggest") might be an attempt to render $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\nu\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ literally. "To make a plan" would fit the context exactly.

50,34: $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\ \bar{\psi}\omicron\rho\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ("Since she [Sophia] was first, she came forth...."). The Coptic throws an unwonted emphasis on Sophia's priority, while the context demands only: "She came forth first...." ($\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\bar{\psi}\omicron\rho\eta\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$). Most likely the translator strove after a literal rendering of something like: $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\eta$ (or: $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$) $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\lambda\ \theta\epsilon$.

51,1 has $\acute{\zeta}\epsilon\nu\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\varsigma$ ("monads") parallel to $\acute{\zeta}\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$. The translator mistook the accusative plural of $\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\eta}$ ($\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, "dwellings") for $\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\varsigma$.

52,3-5 is awkward: $\bar{\eta}\pi\iota\bar{\delta}\alpha\rho\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\nu\ \nabla\alpha\chi\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\ \epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \nabla\omicron\sigma\chi\rho\varsigma$. The idea is clear enough, especially in light of the $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \delta\epsilon$ construction: "I claimed to be Christ, but they did not fully understand what this meant." The translator has turned a complementary infinitive ($\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota$) into a causative infinitive $\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$.

52,17-25. The Copt seems to have erred twice in this section. The text as it stands reads: "And they are fleeing, all those who have come down with the race, from him who had fled from the throne to the Sophia of Elpis, since she had earlier given the sign concerning us and all those who are with me -- those of the race of Adonaios."

By translating back into Greek, we get: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \omicron\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$ (read: $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$,) $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \phi\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\alpha\acute{\nu}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \sigma\omicron\phi\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$. . . $\omicron\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon$.

By positing a misreading of $\sigma\upsilon\nu\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$ for an

original *συγγενείς* on the part of the translator and his mistaken assumption that *τοῦ φουραντος* was the object of the verb *φεύγουσιν* rather than a genitive modifying *συγγενείς*, we read: "And all those who have come down, who belong to the same race as he who fled from the throne (those of the race of Adonaios), flee to the Sophia of Elpis."

62,15f.: "...and he shall not learn all wisdom..." The context speaks of unity of mind and disagreement and this line makes no sense. The Vorlage appears to have been read as *καὶ οὐ φρονήσει πάντα*, with *πάντα* confused with *τὰ αὐτά*. If this is acceptable, the meaning fits perfectly into the context: "...and he will not live in agreement because he brings division and is not a friend."

66,3 *ΔΥΔΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ* ("It [the wedding] was perfected..."). *ΔΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ* translates *τελειώω* which can mean "perform" in Greek; *ΔΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ* has no such meaning in Coptic.

69,11 *ΡΕΥΖΩΤΒ* ("murderer"). The section 60,13-35 is roughly parallel to 68,32-69,20 and *ΡΕΥΖΩΤΒ* is paralleled by *ΡΕΥΜΟΟΧΤ* ("dead man" in 60,22). "Murderer" is an entirely new concept for GrSeth at this point, but "dead man" makes perfect sense, considering GrSeth's polemic against the real passion of Christ. Perhaps a word like *νεκρός* was confused with a form of the verb *νεκρῶω* ("to kill").

The translator has interpreted in the way he has handled Greek words in his text. 49,10 and 54,14 begin parallel myths, with the supreme god, named at the beginning of each myth. 49,10f. has *μέγεθος* ("greatness" or "majesty") but the translator has chosen to render this by *ΜΝΤΝΟΘ*, its Coptic equivalent, in 54,14.²³ Three further times *μέγεθος* appears, in contexts that clearly mean it to be the name of the highest god (50,9f.; 54,6f.; 57,7f.). Nine times the translator renders it by *ΜΝΤΝΟΘ*, clearly wanting it to mean an attribute of the supreme god (49,17f.; 53,5) or of the spiritual world (50,32; 51,17; 52,34 and 36; 61,1; 70,8).

By simply refusing to translate *σοφία* by *ΜΝΤΝΟΘ* (as he does in 62,2) the Copt judges that the aeon Sophia is meant in 66,28-32 and 67,2-5 and the trinity of father, mother and son (or brother) receives an additional member.²⁴

On the basis of the above examples, we can infer certain things about the translator:

-- his knowledge of the Greek language was less than fluent;

-- he strove to render the text (Had it by that time become a sacred text?) literally, even when he did not fully understand its meaning;

-- he tried to overcome certain ambivalencies in the text by leaving *μεγεθος* and *σοφια* in Greek, and thus making them proper names.²⁵

The copyist. It is impossible to ascertain when the passion references that break into the text entered (cf. above discussion on the passion references in myth #1). We know only that the scribe who wrote the present text copied them uncritically.

On the whole there seem to be few scribal errors. A first line on 51 might well have dropped out, for the present first five lines are an incomplete sentence. The opening words on the page: "...and the confusion..." have no apparent connection with the closing lines on the preceding page: "...their glory." The hypothetical missing line would have been something like: "Some fled from the disturbance..."

In 55,27 the scribe has written *ΔΙ ΜΠΙΚΑΣ* ("to take the earth") instead of *ΔΙ ΜΚΑΣ* ("to suffer") and in 55,32 he has written one *ΔΥΩΩΠΕ* where two are required. 60,25 has *2ΩΤΘ* for *2ΩΤΠ*, a natural sound misspelling; 68,14 has *ΕΧΑΔΙ* for either *ΕΧΝΑΔΙ* or *ΕΑΘΔΙ*.

Conclusion. The history of the tractate includes at least these steps:

-- individual sources with prior existence either in other texts or independently;

-- the edition of these sources into a tractate and, probably at this stage, the addition of the greater part of GrSeth's second half; ²⁶

-- the translation into Coptic, probably with very few emendations (The translation seems to be very literal):

-- a scribe copied the translated text into Codex VII.

The point of greatest creativity was the editing. Here the sources were taken out of their original context and GrSeth received its form as an anti-orthodox piece.

Indications are of a fairly late date in the history of Christian gnosticism. Judaism has no independent function in the tractate -- it is used as a symbol for the Christianity of the orthodox church. No indications of any first-hand knowledge of Judaism, either in its mainline or heterodox forms, is evident other than a "Christian" reading of the OT. Further, the points of similarity between Judaism and Christianity are seen as the worship of Jaldabaoth (second half of the tractate, *passim*.) and the law (64,1; cf. 61,11-13).

By the time of GrSeth's editing, orthodoxy must have seemed to gnostics clearly a religion of the OT law.

The call for unity against the orthodox church and the indications given that mainline Christianity was actively persecuting these gnostics show the strength of the great church. The bitter polemic carried out in this document seems to show that these gnostics were very much on the defensive. If Gaffron is right that gnosticism, although not naturally lending itself to community existence, became more like the Christian church, the more it took a defensive position against that church,²⁷ GrSeth's call to unity based on the heavenly model would weigh in favor of a later date for the editing.

An important indication about the history of Christian gnosticism is found in the content of the library itself. For whatever reason these documents were collected, they show as a whole an eclectic taste in gnostic and related literature. The collector(s) saw a great enough similarity among these tractates to include them in one library.²⁸

It is here that GrSeth can, perhaps, offer a particular insight. The tractate borrows from different systems: 56,4-13 is Basilidean; the wedding sections seem to have some affinity with Valentinianism; the two initial myths seem similar to the cosmology of the Apocry Jn; the rebuke of Jaldabaoth and the conversion of Adonaios (=Sabaoth) is found in HypArch and OnOrgWld. From these GrSeth constructs its own loose system in opposition to orthodox Christianity.

Questions naturally arise. Did the growing conquest of orthodoxy tend to break down gnostic sect barriers -- was it a case of unity (an important theme in GrSeth) against the common enemy? Or, perhaps, are the hereseologists, especially Epiphanius, mistaken in attributing hard-and-fast sect divisions to Christian gnosticism, at least during its later period? ²⁹

Footnotes

1. The same hand copied XI,3 and 4; cf. M. Krause, "Zum koptischen Handschriftenfund bei Nag Hammadi," Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo. XIX (1963), p. 111, fnnt. 1.
The text may be found in The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex VII. (Leiden: Brill, 1972). No translation has been published to date.
2. Ibid. p. 109.
3. E.g., cf. 50,19f.; 52,3-5; 52,17-25; 53,20-27.
4. E.g., cf. 55,1-5; 55,27 and 32; 57,1.
5. E.g., cf. 49,10 (Megethos); 66,28-32 (Sophia). Both are left in Greek, the translator's indication of a personal title.
6. ⲥ in the initial position in a piece is fairly unusual; cf. Stern, Koptische Grammatik, para. 684.
7. The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, p. 149.
8. Encyclopédie Française XIX, 42-49.
9. There is no instance of completely different titles appearing at the beginning and end of the same work in the Nag Hammadi corpus, although expansion of the title seems to have occurred in GEgypt III,2 and IV,2.
10. Epiphanius, Panarion 26,8,1; 39,5,1; 40,7,4.
11. Hippolytus, Refutatio V,22.
12. Need second logos mean the second book in a series (the obvious solution discussed in the paper)? Might it not refer to a second revelation to mankind, intended as a fulfillment or, perhaps, as a corrective to the first revelation? λόγος might not mean treatise at all; this meaning is rather late (cf. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Dictionary, p. 807). Seeing the revelatory nature of the document and its propensity for johannine language, logos might well be used in the sense of the OT prophets and Jn: a divine revelation.
13. Parallel passages of some length are not unknown in the Nag Hammadi corpus. II(NatArch) 86,26ff. is a shorter statement of the material in 96,4-144,17 (cf. Roger A. Bullard, The Hypostasis of the Archons, p. 49). Close parallels between tractates themselves are present: the versions of ApocryJn and GEgypt, NatArch and OnOrgWld, Eug (in two versions) and SJC (in two versions).
14. This appears the most likely explanation. Even if other possible interpretations were acceptable,

such as: it is slavery to believe Christ's death a model for Christian existence or, it is slavery to die a martyr's death, we are still left with a reference, quite extraneous to the context, to Christ's real passion.

15. 50,25-51,20 is a digression on the previous work of Sophia -- preparing bodies or dwellings for the elect. This digression is constructed like the other two inserts and can be termed "christological" because its only reason for being in the text is to explain why the redeemer had to come. The tractate's concern is the descent-ascent of the savior and gnostic salvation; the formation of the cosmos is assumed and here alluded to.
16. The second myth substitutes the passion as the archons' plan to conquer the redeemer.
17. Cf. also Dan 6 and the description of Jaldabaoth as the lion-headed god in ApocryJn (BG 37,20f.).
18. The others are 58,17-59,9 and 65,8-13.
19. Explanatory $\alpha\alpha\rho$ appears four times in this passage and 57,3-7 has echoes of Jn. This section seems to have been worked over by the redactor.
20. Note that 58,7-13 speaks of the ascent of the gnostic soul in vocabulary paralleling that of the savior's descent in 56,20-57,3:

56,31: "I was not ashamed."	58,7-9: "Since they did not put me to shame, they were not put to shame."
56,30: "...and I was not afraid..."	58,9f.: "Since they were not afraid before me..."
56,26f.: "When I was at their gates..."	58,10f.: "...they shall pass by every gate..."
56,28: "...I passed them by..."	58,10f.: "...they shall pass by every gate..."
56,20-22: the savior comes to the glorious height.	58,11-13: "And they shall be perfected in the third glory."
21. The elements of the Matthean crucifixion narrative that seem to be the bases of comparison for GrSeth are:

58,17-21: "When they had fled from the fire of the seven powers, and the sun of the powers of the archons set, darkness took them."	Mt 27,45: "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land until the ninth hour."
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58,22-24: "And the world became poor when he was restrained with many fetters."

Mt. 26,50: "Then they came up and laid hands on Jesus and seized him."
27,2: "...and they bound him and led him away..."

58,24-26: "They nailed him to the tree and they fixed him with four nails of brass."

Mt 27,35: "And when they had crucified him..."

58,26-28: "The veil of his temple he tore with his hands."

Mt 27,51a: "And behold, the curtain of the temple was torn in two, from top to bottom;..."

58,28-30: "It was a trembling which seized the chaos of the earth,..."

Mt 27,51b: "...and the earth shook, and the rocks were split;..."

58,30-33: "...for the souls which were in the sleep below were released. And they arose."

Mt 27,52: "...the tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep were raised,..."

58,33-59,3: "They went about boldly, having shed zealous service of ignorance and unlearnedness beside the dead tombs..."

Mt 27,53: "...and coming out of the tombs after his resurrection they went into the holy city and appeared to many."

22. The pattern has the following elements:

--an OT figure or figures are called laughing-stocks;

--the reason given is that the Hebdomad made some counterfeit claim about them to make himself stronger than the gnostics;

--the refrain: "We are innocent before him, for we have not sinned."

23. 54,14-16 blends three names of the supreme god into one title: $\dagger\text{MNTN}\overline{\text{O}}\delta\ \text{THPC}\ \overline{\text{NTE}}\ \dagger\text{MNT}\overline{\text{E}}\text{I}\overline{\text{W}}\text{T}\ \overline{\text{NTE}}\ \text{NIN}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}$. Seeing the genitives, the translator probably thought that $\mu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\theta\overline{\text{O}}\varsigma$ (= $\text{MNTN}\overline{\text{O}}\delta$) was more clearly represented as an attribute of $\text{NVE}\overline{\text{O}}\text{HA}$.

24. Gr Seth uses the abstractions $\text{MNT}\overline{\text{E}}\text{I}\overline{\text{W}}\text{T}$ (fatherhood, cf. 61,29) and $\text{MNT}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{D}}$ (motherhood, cf. 67,30) as titles of the supreme god and his consort.

25. The translator seems to be doing the same thing in 68,30. He leaves $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\overline{\text{O}}\iota\alpha$ in Greek. The context and parallels (52,21f. and 55,8f.) show that he is hypostasizing $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\overline{\text{O}}\iota\alpha$ and equating the word with Sophia of Elpis. GrSeth uses $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\overline{\text{O}}\iota\alpha$ with various meanings.

26. The first half of the tractate is composed mostly of prior-existing sources.
27. Studien zum Koptischen Philippusevangelium unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sakrament. (Bonn: 1969) pp. 91f. and the whole section: "Der einzelne und die Gemeinschaft" on pp. 91ff.
28. Epiphanius (+ c.403), during whose lifetime the library was collected, still insists on sharp sect divisions.
29. GrSeth presumes a wide and divergent knowledge of gnostic lore on the part of its readers, for the tractate refers in passing to doctrines expressed more fully elsewhere. The celestial world and the cosmos are presumed; Megethos and the Mother, neither of whom function, Jaldabaoth and his archons are all presumed to be known; even the fall-of-Sophia myth in 50,25-51,20 is used only for the purpose of setting the stage for the descent of the savior. Presumed as well are the rebuke of Jaldabaoth and the conversion of Adonaios, while the "Son of Light" and the "Son of Megethos" are mentioned but do not function.

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