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Pelplin 2016

On the cover: St. Mark, relief on the pulpit by Mateusz Scholler at Pelplin Cathedral,
a former Cistercian abbey

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Skład, druk i oprawa:
Drukarnia Wydawnictwa „Bernardinum” Sp. z o.o., Pelplin

ISBN 978-83-7823-693-1

ABBREVIATIONS

AmJourTh	– American Journal of Theology
AnBib	– Analecta Biblica
Bib	– Biblica
BiKi	– Bibel und Kirche
BiRe	– Biblical Researche
BZ	– Biblische Zeitschrift
DBS	– Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément, Paris.
ETL	– Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
ExpT	– Expository Times
HE	– <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> by Eusebius of Caesarea
HibJ	– Hibbert Journal
HTR	– Harvard Theological Review
JBL	– Journal of Biblical Literature
JTS	– Journal of Theological Studies
NovT	– Novum Testamentum
NRTh	– Nouvelle Revue Théologique
NTS	– New Testament Studies
RB	– Revue Biblique
RBL	– Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny
ScottJourTh	– Scottish Journal of Theology
SNTU	– Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt
StudTheolVars	– Studia Theologica Varsaviensia
TheolRund	– Theologische Rundschau
StudKrit	– Studien und Kritiken
ThLZ	– Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThStKr	– Theologische Studien und Kritiken
TrinJourn	– Trinity Journal
ZNW	– Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZThK	– Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

PREFACE

The 20th century was the age of Biblicists' special interest in the genesis of the Gospels. It was then that the Formgeschichte and Redaktionsgeschichte schools came into existence together with numerous synoptic theories whose purpose was to explain the sources and literary dependencies of the first three Gospels. On one hand, more and more literature appeared on the genesis of the Gospels. On the other hand, however, conflicting opinions multiplied. After doing research on the creation of Gospel of Matthew which resulted in the book *The Influence of the typology and texts of the Old Testament on the redaction of Matthew's Gospel* published in 1993, the next logical step for me was to start working on the problem of the creation of St Mark's Gospel. Studies on the Gospel of Matthew led me to the conclusion that Matthew was inspired by the Hexateuch, and that the composition and selection of the texts in his Gospel were closely connected with the structure and content of the Pentateuch. However, a vast majority of contemporary Biblicists place the Gospel of Matthew after the Gospel of Mark, considering the latter to be the source for the former. I therefore found it necessary to address the question whether the Gospel of Mark had actually preceded the Gospel of Matthew. The present book tries to answer this question by looking at how the Gospel of Mark came into being.

The book is divided into two main parts. Part One is devoted to theories on the literary dependencies of the synoptic Gospels, presenting arguments put forward by Biblicists for and against a given theory. Since it is not possible to present all the detailed literary data supporting each stance, I focus on the presentation of at least certain types of argumentation. I will show that despite the existence of very strong arguments against the priority of Mark's Gospel Biblicists find it hard to accept the priority of Matthew, mainly due to the absence of many of Matthew's texts in the Gospel of Mark.

Special attention is paid in this book to the problem of the Q source playing a very important role in the two-source hypothesis, which rejects the priority of Matthew. A great deal has been written on Source Q, but it is necessary to keep in mind that its existence is not as certain as it may seem

at first glance. My doubts about the Q source were raised by the great French Biblicist from the first half of the 20th century J.-M. Lagrange, who said that “la source Q est un nonsense, une non-chose. Il faut nécessairement la compléter... Elle s’annexe... tout l’ensemble de Mt”.¹

By presenting arguments in favour and against some synoptic theories I wish to make the reader aware of the difficulties posed by them. Instead of solving a given problem they often create new ones, and instead of explaining the difficulties they evade them. In some cases one may get the impression that the arguments rely not on literary data, but on the given author’s assumptions. First an assumption is made and then the literary data are interpreted in accordance with it. The sheer number of contradictory synoptic theories seems to prove this.

Part Two of this book is devoted to the literary genre of Mark’s work. It presents the factors which may have influenced its redaction, the goal he wanted to achieve, as well as the differences between his Gospel and that of Matthew. A proper assessment of Mark’s redaction assumptions makes it possible to look at the knotty literary issues of his Gospel from a slightly different angle and to explain why it differs from the Gospel of Matthew. In this part of the study I relate to the most important arguments against the priority of the Gospel of Matthew. Towards the end of this part I present all the differences in the composition of the two Gospels in question. As for the differences in the structure of individual pericopes, only some cases are analysed, the issue being too broad to deal with in this book.

¹ M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon saint Matthieu*, Paris 1927, p. XLIII

PART I

The problem of the origin of Mark's Gospel in the tradition of the early Church and in modern biblical theology

1. The tradition of the early Church

The authors of the Gospel do not provide their names and, except for Luke, do not refer to the circumstances in which the Gospels came into being. The Evangelists' names are known from the tradition that goes back to the middle of the second century AD. Here is what Luke the Evangelist says in the prologue to his Gospel:

Many have undertaken to compile a narrative of the events which have been fulfilled in our midst, precisely as those events transmitted to us by the original eyewitnesses and ministers of the word. I too have carefully traced the whole sequence of events from the beginning... (Lk 1:13). It implies that Luke was not the first to try "to compile a narrative" about Jesus on the basis of the testimony of eye-witnesses.

The oldest extra-biblical testimony about the creation of the Gospels is the excerpt from the work of Papias titled *Explanation of the Speeches of Lord* from the years 90–160 AD given by Eusebius of Caesarea (230–339 AD). Papias, the bishop of Hierapolis, had been a listener to John and Polycarp's companion. In the preface to his books he said that the information they contain came from the disciples of the presbyters who were the disciples of the apostles. However, the testimony about the Gospels of Mark and Matthew is attributed by him directly to the presbyter. Here is the testimony of Papias about the Gospel of Mark:

And the Elder said this also: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately all that he remembered of the things said and done by the Lord, but not however in order. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him, but afterwards as I said, Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs (of the hearers), but not as though he were drawing up a connected account of the Lord's oracles. So then Mark made no mistake in thus recording some things just as he remembered them, for he made it his one care to omit nothing that he had heard and make no false statement therein. (HE 6,14.5–7)

The mention by Papias of the creation of the Gospel of Matthew goes as follows: "Matthew had compiled a collection of sayings (logia) in the Hebrew

tongue and each person translated them as he was able". Papias did not comment on the sequence of the Gospels. According to some scholars, it is not certain whether the word "logia" in his testimony about the Gospel of Matthew refers to the whole Gospel or only to the speeches of Jesus. F. Schleiermacher was the first to express such doubts. According to him, Papias referred here to the speeches.¹ His opinion was adopted by M.–J. Lagrange², L. Vaganay³, and L. Grelot⁴, among others. J. Munck⁵, the R. Gryson⁶ and B. Orchard⁷ are of the opposite opinion. R. Bartnicki⁸ claims that whether Papias had in mind the collection of logia or the whole Gospel it is still an unresolved issue.

Similarly, the meaning of the expression *hebraidi dialektō* is not clear, as it is uncertain whether Papias meant the Hebrew or the Aramaic language here. According to J. Carmignac⁹, the discovery made in Qumran of the works written in Hebrew in the first century AD allows us to claim that the Gospel of Matthew may have been written in Hebrew. P. Grelot¹⁰ rejects such an opinion, emphasizing that the adverb *hebraisti* always appears with Aramaic words in the Gospel of Saint John (5 times), and only twice with Hebrew words in the Apocalypse.

J. Kürzinger¹¹ raises the question whether Papias used the expression *hebraidi dialektō* to refer to any language at all. He believes that in the first century AD the word *dialektos* could mean both "language" and "style". He claims that the context of this very word in the excerpt from Papias points to the latter meaning, since Papias wants to explain certain problems of the style (and probably of the content as well) of Mark's Gospel which was not

¹ F. Schleiermacher, "Über die Zeugnisse des Papias von unseren beiden ersten Evangelien", ThStKr 5 (1832), pp. 737–768.

² M. J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon S. Luc* (EB), Paris 1921, p. LXXXI.

³ L. Vaganay, "Matthieu", DBS 5, pp. 940 ff.

⁴ L. Grelot, *L'Origine dei Vangeli, Controversia con J. Carmignac*, Città del Vaticano 1989, p. 73.

⁵ J. Munck, "Presbyters and Disciples of the Lord in Papias", HTR (1959), pp. 223–243.

⁶ R. Gryson, "A propos du témoignage de papias sur Matthieu", ETL 41 (1965), pp. 530–547.

⁷ B. Orchard, "The Historical Tradition", [in] B. Orchard – H. Riley, *The Order of the Synoptics. Why Three Synoptic Gospels?*, Macon, Georgia 1987, pp. 111–226.

⁸ R. Bartnicki, *Evangelie synoptyczne. Geneza i interpretacja*, Warszawa 1993, p. 20.

⁹ J. Carmignac, *La naissance des Évangiles Synoptiques*, Paris 1984.

¹⁰ J. Grelot, *L'Origine die Vangelli. Controversia con J. Carmignac*, Città del Vaticano 1989, pp. 74–76.

¹¹ J. Kürzinger, "Die Aussage des Papias von Hierapolis zur literarischen Form des Markusevangeliums", BZ 21 (1977), pp. 245–64; J. Kürzinger, *Papias von Hierapolis Und die Evangelien des Neuen Testaments*, Regensburg 1983.

compatible with the Hebrew style of Matthew or with the Greek style of writing a biography as exemplified by the Gospel of Luke.

The next oldest testimony about the creation of the Gospels is the text of Justin the Martyr (100–165 AD), also given by Eusebius. Justin came from a Greek family. He was born in Flavia Neapolis (Sychem) in Palestine and at the age of about thirty he was baptised in Ephesus. From 138 he lived in Rome. In the *First Apology*, in chapter 33, Justin quotes excerpts from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, and he also uses the word “Gospel” (in the singular and plural) several times. In the *Dialogue with Trypho*, in chapters 98–106, he quotes the four Gospels several times, calling them “Memoirs of the Apostles and those who followed them”. In *Dialogue* 106:8–11 he refers to the excerpt in Mk 3:16–17 as “the Diary of Peter.”

The first Christian writer to mention all the four Gospels and their authors is St Irenaeus, the bishop of Lyon (about 200 AD). In his work *Adversus haereses* (in Eusebius, HE 5, 8, 24) we can read: “Matthew wrote his Gospel for the Hebrew in their language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel and founding the Church in Rome. And after the death of these Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing the things preached by Peter. Then Luke, fellow of Paul, wrote in a book the Gospel preached by him.”

The mention of the Gospel of Luke by Irenaeus is the oldest we have.

The testimony of Irenaeus about the Gospel of Mark is not fully congruent with the testimony of Clement of Alexandria (about 150–215 AD). The excerpt from the Latin translation of Clement’s work *Adumbrationes in epistulas canonicas* reads: “Mark, the follower of Peter, while Peter was preaching publicly the gospel at Rome in the presence of certain of Caesar’s knights and was putting forward many testimonies concerning Christ, being requested by them that they might be able to commit to memory the things that were being spoken, wrote from the things which were spoken by Peter the Gospel which is called according to Mark.” Clement of Alexandria claimed that the Gospel of Mark had been written during the life of Peter. From his other work *Hypotypōseis* given by Eusebius (HE 6,14,5–7) one can learn that

From among Gospels these became first written which have genealogies. With Mark it was so: When Peter had preached the word publicly in Rome and announced the Gospel by the Spirit, those present, of whom there were many, besought Mark, since for a long time he had followed him and remembered what he had been said, to record his words. Mark did this and communicated the Gospel to those who made request of him. When Peter knew of it, he neither actively prevented nor encouraged the undertaking.

The approach of Peter to the Gospel written by Mark is, however, presented differently by Eusebius: "They say that, when the Apostle knew what had been done, the Spirit having revealed it to him, he was pleased with the zeal of the men, and ratified the writing for reading in the Churches" (HE 2, 15, 12).

It is proper to add that Origen (about 185–253 AD), the successor of Clemens of Alexandria at the Christian school in Alexandria, did not put the Gospels including genealogy in the first place in the chronology. In his text found in Eusebius one can read: "First has been wrote [the Gospel] according to Matthew... And second, that according to Mark, who did as Peter instructed him, whom also he acknowledged as a son in the Catholic Epistle in these words, She that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you, and Mark my son."

Little was added by Eusebius to the information provided by Origen. His opinion on the Gospels in *The History of the Church (Historia Ecclesiastica* – HE) goes as follows: "Matthew first taught the Hebrews, and when he decided to go to others, he wrote down in his native language the Gospel which was to be the compensation of his absence for those whom he parted. Then Mark and Luke redacted their Gospels" (HE 3, 24,5–8).

New information on the creation of the Gospels appears in the work of St Jerome (around 342–420), *Commentarius in Matthaeum, Praefatio*: "At the start is Matthew... Second, Mark, the interpreter of the Apostle Peter and the first Bishop of the Church of Alexandria, who himself did not see the Lord the Saviour, but narrated those things which he heard his master preaching, with fidelity to the deeds rather than to their order."

The information provided by St Augustine on the synoptic Gospels in his work *De Consensu Evangelistarum* goes back to 400 AD, so it is quite late. It is worth mentioning, however, on account of its novelty. According to St Augustine, the Evangelists took advantage of the already existing Gospels, and the Gospel of Mark came into being as a result of shortening the Gospel of Matthew. Here is the excerpt containing the afore-mentioned piece of information: "Mark seems to have followed Matthew as a kind of camp-follower and abridger." One can see that the tradition of the early Church regarding the names of three Evangelists is unequivocal, although it reveals certain hesitation when it comes to the order of the Gospels and the time of their creation. The most common opinion is that the first Gospel was written by Matthew in Hebrew, that Mark passed on the oral teaching of Peter, and that the third Gospel was that of Luke. Saint Augustine confirmed the traditional order, but according to him each subsequent Evangelist took advantage of the already existing canonical Gospels. The opinion of St Augustine was not questioned until modern times.

2. The Theory of the Dependence of Mark's Gospel on the Oral Tradition

In the late 18th century G. Herder¹² opted for the opinion that all the three synoptic Gospels were written directly on the basis of the oral tradition. He claimed that around 35–40 AD the preaching of the Gospel had already taken the established form, i.e. there existed the oral Gospel (*Evangelium orale*) in Aramaic containing the events from the baptism of Jesus to his Ascension. It was passed on faithfully in accordance with the custom of the Jews of that time of mainly oral teaching. That oral Gospel was then written down in Aramaic (the Gospel of the Nazarites) and in Greek in various environments. The Evangelists wrote their Gospels independently of other canonical Gospels. Such a point of view was adopted by J. C. L. Gieseler.¹³ According to him, none of the Evangelists took advantage of any written version of the Gospel; the oral transmission in Aramaic and then in Greek was the basis of all the Gospels.

Herder's hypothesis was later slightly modified by A. Ebrard.¹⁴ To explain strong similarities in the vocabulary of some parallel texts in the synoptic Gospels he accepted the existence of written fragments as the second source of the Gospels apart from the tradition. G. Wetzel¹⁵ expected such fragments to be the work of Hellenists, the listeners of the apostle Matthew in Jerusalem. The fragments in question are mentioned by St Luke in the prologue to his Gospel.

F. Godet¹⁶ believed that the canonical Gospels came into being independently of one another at more or less the same time: around 64 AD

¹² J. G. Herder, *Von Gottes Sohn, der Welt Heiland. Nach Johannes Evangelium. Regel der Zusammentimmung unserer Evangelien aus ihrer Entstehung und Ordnung*, 1979.

¹³ J. C. L. Gieseler, *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die frühesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien*, Leipzig 1818.

¹⁴ A. Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*, 1841–1842.

¹⁵ G. Wetzel, *Die synoptischen Evangelien: eine Darstellung und Prüfung der wichtigsten über die Entstehung derselben augetreten Hypothesen mit selbständigem Versuch zur Lösung der Synopt. Evangelienfrage*, 1883.

¹⁶ F. Godet, *Introduction au Nouveau Testament*, vol. II, 1904, pp. 810–827.

Mark wrote down in Rome the teaching of Peter who faithfully stuck to the Jerusalem catechesis, some educated Christians of Jewish origin connected the Jerusalem catechesis with Matthew's logia, while Luke in Syria connected the Jerusalem catechesis with the fragments of logia and testimonies about Christ available to him.

E. Jacquier¹⁷ believed that apart from the oral tradition the creation of the Gospels was also influenced by written sketches of early oral catechesis. A. Wright¹⁸ claimed that before the written Gospels had come into being, there existed certain collections of stories about Jesus (Mk) and collections of Jesus' teachings (logia) delivered orally to catechumens so as to be learned by heart. The collections were getting bigger with the time passing. The earliest form of the collection of stories (proto-Mk) was probably included by Luke in his Gospel. The second stage of its development (deutero-Mk) was used by Matthew and the third (trito-Mk) constitutes the Gospel of Mark. The collection of teachings probably developed in a similar way. Luke used in his Gospel the teaching of Paul, too.

The oral tradition hypothesis was adopted at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries mainly by Catholic scholars, among others by: R. Cornely, S. J.¹⁹, J. Knabenbauer, S. J.²⁰, T. Soiron OFM.²¹ M.-J. Lagrange²² claimed that logia mentioned by Papias were the Gospel of Matthew in Aramaic which is almost identical with the Gospel of Matthew in Greek. The Gospel of Mark came into being after the Gospel of Matthew in Aramaic and was based on the oral tradition transmitted by Peter. Mark might have known the Gospel of Matthew in Aramaic, but did not take advantage of it. The order common with Mt 14–17 can be explained by the influence of the Jerusalem tradition which was well-known to Peter. Luke knew the Greek Gospel of Mark and took advantage of it, whereas he probably did not know the Gospel of Matthew.

The oral tradition hypothesis was revived in the second half of the 20th century and was supported by J. Doeve²³, P. Gaechter²⁴ and J. M. Rist.²⁵

¹⁷ J. Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du NT*, vol. II, Paris 1905.

¹⁸ A. Wright, *A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*, 1906, pp. IX-XXIX.

¹⁹ R. Cornely, *Historica et critica Introductio in U. T. libros sacros*, vol. III, 1897, pp. 184–189.

²⁰ J. Knabenbauer, *Commentarius in Ev. Sec. Marcum*, Paris 1907, p. 19.

²¹ T. Soiron, *Die Logia Jesu*, Münster 1916.

²² M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon St. Matthieu*, Paris 1923.

²³ J. Doeve, *La formation des évangiles. Probleme synoptique et Formgeschichte* (Rech-Bib), Bruges 1957, pp. 70 ff.

²⁴ P. Gaechter, *Matthäusevangelium*, Innsbruck 1965, p. 18.

²⁵ J. M. Rist, *On the Independence of Matthew and Mark* (MS SNTS 32), Cambridge 1978.

There are two main objections against this hypothesis: it explains neither the great differences in the composition among the synoptic Gospels nor the strong similarities in the literary form of some fragments and, especially, the occurrence of the same rare words, expressions and grammatical forms in parallel texts. For example the word *afiēmi* appears in the whole NT only in parallel places Mt: 9:2.5/ Mk 2:5.9/ Lk 5:20.23; *epiblēma* appears only in parallel places Mt 9:16/Mk 2:21/Lk 5:36.; similarly, the expression *katagelōn autou* in: Mt 9:24/Mk 5:40/Lk 8:53. According to J. C. Hawkins²⁶, there exist 17 such exceptional cases in the threefold tradition (Mt-Mk-Lk), 37 examples in parallel texts Mt-Mk, 7 in parallel texts Mk-Lk, and 18 in parallel texts Mt-Lk.

²⁶ J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, Oxford 1909, pp. 57–63.

3. The Theory of the Priority of Mark's Gospel

G. C. Storr²⁷ (in 1772) was the first to claim that the Gospel of Mark was the basis for the Gospel of Matthew and that of Luke. In the first half of the 19th century his theory already had many supporters among Protestant scholars, whereas Catholics still held on to the traditional view. C. Lachmann was the scholar who greatly contributed to the growing popularity of this theory when he demonstrated that Matthew and Luke kept the same order of pericopes only when their texts agreed with Mark's. Lachmann believed it was a strong argument in favour of the priority of Mark. His thesis was supported with new arguments by C. G. Wilke.²⁸

Storr's hypothesis became the starting point for the two-source (Mk and Q) hypothesis. However, not all scholars accepting the priority of the Gospel of Mark assume the existence of Source Q. Among them are the following Biblicists: J. Jeremias²⁹, S. Petrie³⁰, A. Farrer³¹, G. Schille³², A. W. Argyle³³, H. Ph. West³⁴, H. Th. Wrege³⁵, M. D. Goulder³⁶, J. Drury.³⁷

²⁷ G. C. Storr, *Dissertatio hermeneutica de Parabolis Christi*, Tübingen 1779; G. C. Storr, "De fontibus Evangeliorum Matthei et Lucae", [in] *Commentationes theologicae*, Tübingen 1794.

²⁸ C. G. Wilke, *Der Urevangelist oder eine exegetisch-kritische Untersuchung des Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses der drei Evangelien*, Dresden-Leipzig 1838.

²⁹ J. Jeremias, "Zur Hypothese einer schriftlichen Logienquelle Q", *ZNE* 29 (1930), pp. 147–149.

³⁰ S. Petrie, "'Q' is only what you make it", *NTS* 3 (1959), pp. 28–33.

³¹ A. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q", [in] *Studies in the Gospel*, Festschrift R. H. Lightfoot, ed. D. Nineham, Oxford 1955, pp. 55–86.

³² G. Schille, "Bemerkungen zur Formgeschichte des Evangeliums. II Das Evangelium des Matthäus als Katechismus", *NTS* 4 (1957–58), pp. 101–114.

³³ A. W. Argyle, "Evidence for the View that St. Luke Used St. Matthew's Gospel", *JBL* 83 (1964), pp. 390ff.

³⁴ H. P. Wets, *A Primitive Version of Luke in the Composition of Matthew*, *NTS* 14 (1967–68), pp. 75ff.

³⁵ H. T. Wrege, *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der Bergpredigt* (WUMT 9), Tübingen 1968.

³⁶ M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, London 1974; M. D. Goulder, *Luke. A New Paradigm*, Sheffield 1989; M. D. Goulder, "Is Q a Juggernaut?" *JBL* 115 (1996), pp. 667–681.

³⁷ J. Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel*, Atlanta 1976.

3.1. Arguments for the Priority of Mark's Gospel and their Critical Assessment

3.1.1. Almost the whole material of the Gospel of Mark appears in the Gospel of Matthew and a lot of it in the Gospel of Luke

Out of 677 verses from the Gospel of Mark as many as 470 verses appear in the two remaining synoptic Gospels, 159 are shared only with the Gospel of Matthew and 20 only with the Gospel of Luke. It hence follows that only 28 verses from the Gospel of Mark do not occur in the other Gospels. As for the Gospel of Matthew, out of its 1072 verses 432 are shared with the Gospel of Mark and that of Luke, 107 are in common with the Gospel of Mark, and 203 with the Gospel of Luke. The Gospel of Luke seems to be the most original, since out of its 1152 verses only 428 are shared with the two remaining Gospels, 173 with the Gospel of Matthew and 120 with the Gospel of Mark.

Counterargument

Out of 677 verses from the Gospel of Mark as many as 470 verses appear in the two remaining synoptic Gospels, 159 are shared only with the Gospel of Matthew and 20 only with the Gospel of Luke. Only twenty-eight of Mark's verses are not present in the other Gospels. Here are some examples:

Mt –	Mk 1:21–28	Lk 4:31–37
Mt –	Mk 4:26–29	Lk –
Mt 14:3–12	Mk 6:17–29	Lk –
Mt –	Mk 7:32–36	Lk –
Mt 15:32–39	Mk 8:1–10	Lk –
Mt –	Mk 8:22–26	Lk –
Mt –	Mk 8:98–41	Lk 9:49–50
Mt –	Mk 12:41–44	Lk 21:1–4

P. Rolland³⁸ enumerates as many as thirty-four pieces of Mark's text which do not appear in Luke:

1. Description of John the Baptist (Mk 1:5–6)
2. Endeavours of the relatives of Jesus (Mk 3:20–21)

³⁸ P. Rolland, *Les premiers Évangiles. Un nouveau regard sur le problème synoptique* (LD 116), Paris, pp. 50–51.

3. The parable of the seed (Mk 4:26–29)
4. The end of teaching in parables (Mk 4:33–34)
5. The death of John the Baptist (Mk 6:17–19)
6. Jesus walks on the water (Mk 6:45–52)
7. Miracles at Gennesaret (Mk 6:53–55)
8. Controversy about the tradition of the Pharisees (Mk 7:1–13)
9. The teaching on true impurity (Mk 7:14–23)
10. A Canaanite woman (Mk 7:24–30)
11. The healing of a deaf and mute man (Mk 7:31–37)
12. The feeding of the four thousand (Mk 9:1–10)
13. The Pharisees ask for a sign (Mk 8:11–13)
14. The leaven of the Pharisees (Mk 8:14–21)
15. A blind man at Bethsaida (Mk 8:22–26)
16. Jesus reprimands Peter (Mk 8:32–33)
17. Questions concerning Elijah (Mk 9:11–13)
18. “If your hand causes you to sin” (Mk 9:43–48)
19. The question of divorce (Mk 10:1–12)
20. Ambition of James and John (Mk 10:35–40)
21. Jesus curses a fig tree (Mk 11:12–14.20–25)
22. False prophets (Mk 13:22–23)
23. The gathering of the chosen (Mk 13:27)
24. No one knows the day (Mk 13:32)
25. The anointing at Bethany (Mk 14:3–9)
26. Announcement of the dispersal of the disciples (Mk 14:27–28)
27. The end of the prayer in the Garden (Mk 14:39–42)
28. A young man ran away naked (Mk 14:51–52)
29. Night session of the Sanhedrin (Mk 14:55)
30. False testimonies
31. The Crowning with Thorns (Mk 15:16–20)
32. “People going by kept insulting him” (Mk 15:29–30)
33. “Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?” (Mk 15:34–36)
34. Silence of the women (Mk 16:8).

Luke omits a large portion of text appearing in Mk 6:45–8:26, which deserves our special attention. The opponents of the theory of the priority of Mark perceive the omission as one of its weak points.

In the past the advocates of the priority of the Gospel of Mark tried to explain the lack of a large part of Mark's material in the remaining synoptic Gospels with the existence of a shorter version of this Gospel preceding the canonical one, the so-called Ur-Mark. Some of Mark's texts do not occur in Matthew and Luke because they did not appear in the Ur-Mark. The existence

of such a shorter Gospel of Mark was postulated by K. A. Kredner³⁹ and, initially, H. G. Holtzmann.⁴⁰ J. Weiss⁴¹ even assumed the existence of several sources of the Gospel of Mark, namely (a) a set of Peter's stories, (b) a set of polemics with opponents, (c) a set of short dicta, (d) pericopes taken from the Logia, (e) additions taken from the tradition.

Currently, the Ur-Markus hypothesis is not supported by anyone, and the lack of certain fragments from the Gospel of Mark in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke is thought to be the result of conscious editorial decisions. The Evangelists did not follow their sources slavishly. Some texts were altered or even deleted by them, while others were added. Such activity of the Evangelists is referred to as "their own contribution". It is assumed that the logion *The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath* (Mk 2:27) was deleted by Matthew and Luke because of being too liberal. The logion about the salting with fire (Mk 9:48) was deleted by Luke because it was incomprehensible (neither this logion nor the pericope including it appear in the Gospel of Matthew).⁴² The pericope "Jesus and the Pharisees" (Mk 7:1–23) was eliminated by Luke because it was too closely connected with the Jewish tradition, and the pericope "Blasphemy of the Scribes" (Mk 3:20–21 and 8:32–33) because it was abusive of Christ.⁴³ The story about the healing of a deaf and mute man (Mk 7:31–37) was replaced by Matthew with the recapitulation of Jesus' wonder-working activity (Mt 15:29–31), and the narrative about the healing of a blind man at Bethsaida (Mk 8:22–26) with the one about the healing of two blind men (Mt 9:27–31).⁴⁴

3.1.2.

The general layout of the synoptic Gospels

The Gospel of Mark does not include the narrative about the infancy of Jesus which appears in the remaining synoptic Gospels, though in two entirely different versions. Starting from the description of John the Baptist's activity, which is present in the Gospel of Mark, all the synoptic Gospels have a very similar composition.

³⁹ K. A. Kredner, *Einleitung in das NT*, Halle 1863.

⁴⁰ G. H. Holzmann, *Die Synoptischen Evangelien: ihr Ursprung und geschichtlicher Charakter*, Leipzig 1863.

⁴¹ J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium: ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Marcusevangeliums und der ältesten evangelischen Ueberlieferung*, Göttingen 1903.

⁴² Cf. K. Romaniuk, *Co to jest źródło Q?*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 8.

⁴³ Cf. E. Osty, *L'Évangile selon saint Luc* (Bible de Jérusalem), Paris 1953, pp. 11–14.

⁴⁴ K. Romaniuk, op. cit, p. 8.

It is generally emphasised that the descriptions of Easter events in Matthew and Luke correspond with each other up to Mk 16:8⁴⁵, that is to say to the text which, according to some exegetes, ended the Gospel as redacted by Mark.⁴⁶

Counterargument

It is not true that starting from the pericope about the activity of John the Baptist all the synoptic Gospels are constructed similarly. For example, in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark in the part from the description of John the Baptist's activity to the significance of the Sabbath (Mt 12:1–8/ Mk 2:23–28), the order of the shared pericopes differs in most cases. The narrative about Jesus' infancy is not the only one that is present in the Gospel of Matthew and missing from the Gospel of Mark. This also holds true for the Sermon on the Mount. It is plausible that Mark deleted these sections for editorial reasons.

As for the description of the Easter events, the lack of concordance between the synoptic Gospels paved the way for the hypothesis of the double ending of the Gospel of Mark; it was found that the Gospel of Mark originally ended where its concordance with Matthew did (i.e. at Mk 16:8). But this mode of establishing the Gospel's ending does not warrant the conclusion that the subsequent pericopes were added at a later stage, because the lack of concordance between pericopes also occurs in the preceding parts of the Gospels.

3.1.3. The order of pericopes

In some parts of the synoptic Gospels pericopes appear in the same order in all of them. For example, in the fragment Mt 9:1–17 the order of pericopes agrees with Mk 2:1–22 and Lk 5:17–39. Similarly, the order of pericopes is the same in the following parts of the three synoptic Gospels: Mt 16:13–17:23; Mk 8:27–9:32; Lk 9:18–46, and in Mt 19:13–28; Mk 10:13–29; Lk 18:15–29; and also in Mt 22:41–23:12; Mk 12:35–40; Lk 20:41–47; Mt 24:1–22; Mk 13:1–20; Lk 21:5–24. Several such fragments can also be found in the narrative about the Passion of Jesus.

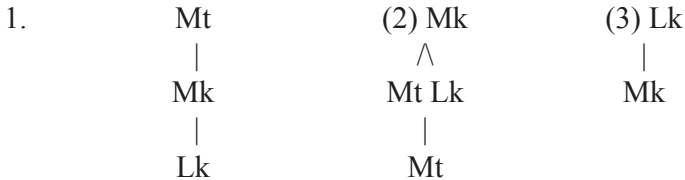
⁴⁵ Cf. R. Bartnicki, *Ewangelie synoptyczne ...*, p. 55.

⁴⁶ Cf. J. Kudasiewicz, "Ewangelie synoptyczne", [in F. Gryglewicz (ed.), *Wstęp do Nowego Testamentu*, Poznań-Warszawa 1969, p. 144.

One of the first scholars in modern times to become interested in the order of pericopes in the synoptic Gospels was C. Lachmann (1835).⁴⁷ He came to the conclusion that there were only minor differences in the order of pericopes between the Gospel of Mark and the remaining synoptic Gospels and that the former influenced the order of pericopes in the latter. Ten years later Burkitt⁴⁸ ascertained that whenever the order of pericopes was not the same in all the three Gospels, then either in Matthew or in Luke it was congruent with Mark's. Never is the order of pericopes the same in Matthew and Luke and simultaneously different from Mark. For advocates of the priority of the Gospel of Mark this fact is a convincing argument in favour of their hypothesis.

Counterargument

The argument presented above was questioned by Butler⁴⁹, who called it "a schoolboy error." According to him, the partial agreement of the order of pericopes in the threefold tradition can be explained in three different ways; the Gospel of Mark may not be the first one, but it can simply be an indirect link between the Gospel of Matthew and that of Luke. The dependence can be presented schematically like this:



Since the third solution has been excluded by Butler, only the first two can be taken into account, each with the same degree of the probability.

3.1.4.

The simplicity of language and style in the Gospel of Mark

An argument for the priority of the Gospel of Mark, according to many Biblicists, is its simple language with numerous Aramaic features which seems to be inferior to that of the remaining synoptic Gospels.⁵⁰ Mark usually

⁴⁷ C. Lachmann, "De Ordine Narrationum in Evangeliiis Synopticis", [in] *Studien und Kirchen* 1835, pp. 570 ff.

⁴⁸ F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, Edinburgh 1906, p. 36.

⁴⁹ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew. A Critique of the Two-Document Hypothesis*, Cambridge 1951, pp. 67–21.

⁵⁰ On the topic of language and style of Mark, see: E. J. Pryke, *Redactional style in the Marcan Gospel. A Study of syntax and vocabulary as guides to redaction in Mark*, Cambridge 1978.

links sentences with the conjunction *kai* (and), in the simplest possible way (parataxis). Out of 88 pericopes of this Gospel as many as 80 begin with *kai*. It is a lot when compared with the Gospel of Matthew, where only 38 out of 139 pericopes start with *kai*. Parataxis is a feature characteristic of the Semitic languages, but it also occurs in Koine. Mark often uses the “*praesens historicum*”, which practically does not appear at all in the Gospel of Luke. Matthew, in texts parallel to Mark's, uses the simple past instead of the “*praesens historicum*”. Streeter⁵¹ emphasises the fact that Mark uses offensive words avoided by the other Evangelists, preserves some of the Aramaic vocabulary, and his manner of writing is, in general, rather casual. According to Streeter, the difference between the Gospel of Mark and the remaining synoptic Gospels resembles the difference between the spoken and the written word.

Counterarguments

Opponents of the priority of Mark's Gospel, e.g. Butler⁵², explain that its inferior style stems from its dependence on the oral teaching of Peter.⁵³ According to Léon-Dufour⁵⁴, the “presentable” style of Mark is not necessarily older than the hieratic style of Matthew. He claims that the archaism of style and thought characteristic of Matthew's Gospel can hardly be explained with its dependence on Mark. A comparison of episodes with the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21–28/Mk 7:24–30) or of the sentence about taking the bridegroom away (Mt 9:15/Mk 2:10) support this point of view.

Analysing Mk 1:14–15 and the parallel text in Mt 4:17, Butler⁵⁵ stresses that here Matthew's vocabulary is archaic as compared with Mark's. The expression *to euaggelion* (Mk 1:15) started to be used in its absolute sense probably only after the Ascension of Christ. The expression “God's gospel” (Mk 1:14) appears in 1 Pt 4:17 and in Paul (six times), and it is definitely later than Matthew's expression “the good news of the kingdom” (Mt 4:23). The mention of “the fulfillment of the time” (Mk 1:15), which is not present in the Gospel of Matthew, resembles a mention in Gal 4:4; Eph 1:9; Jn 7:8; as well as the ones in Lk 21:24 and Acts 9:23. Similarly, the expression “to believe in the Gospel” (Mk 1:15) fits the environment of the Church

⁵¹ B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins*, London 1924, p. 163.

⁵² B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew ...*, pp. 68–69.

⁵³ The influence of Peter on the Gospel of Mark will be discussed in Part II, Chapter 3.

⁵⁴ X. Léon-Dufour, “Les Évangiles Synoptiques”, [in] *Introduction à la Bible*, vol. II, Tournai 1959, pp. 285–286.

⁵⁵ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew ...*, pp. 123–124.

preaching the Gospel rather than the environment of Jesus. Matthew refers for example to the faith in Jesus (cf. 18:6; 27:42).

To explain the occurrence in the Gospel of Matthew of texts more archaic in character than those in the Gospel of Mark, K. Parker⁵⁶ introduces an additional (apart from Q) source K, common for the Gospels of Matthew and Mark.

It should be emphasised that most Biblicists who accept the literary relatedness between the Gospel of Mark and the Q source (i.e. Matthew's and Luke's texts absent from the Gospel of Mark, to be discussed later in this book) believe that the latter is older and more original than the former. Such an opinion results from the comparison of both texts. For example, Burney⁵⁷ points out that certain logia having the form of antithetic parallelisms in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke lose this feature in the Gospel of Mark because of the added material.

E. P. Sanders⁵⁸ rejects the existence of the so-called "linguistic tendencies" with which some Biblicists tried to support the priority of the Gospel of Mark. He believes that the Semitic tinge of a given text points neither to its earlier nor later origin.

3.1.5.

A comparison of the contents of some pericopes, e.g. that of the confession of Peter in Mk 8:29 and parallels

According to Mark, Peter said to Jesus: *You are the Messiah!* (Mk 8:29). According to Matthew he said: *You are the Messiah... the Son of the living God!* (Mt 16:16) and according to Luke: *The Messiah of God* (Lk 9:20). Thus Mark conveyed Peter's answer in a less developed version than did Matthew. Many Biblicists treat this as a strong argument for the priority of Mark, because it is assumed that each next Evangelist must have supplemented his predecessor.⁵⁹

Counterargument

Rolland⁶⁰, however, cites an opposite example where the answer of Jesus is less developed in the Gospel of Matthew than in the Gospel of Mark. In

⁵⁶ K. Parker, *The Gospel before Mark*, Chicago 1953.

⁵⁷ F. C. Burney, *The Poetry of our Lord. An Examination of the Formal Elements of Hebrew Poetry in the Discourses of Jesus Christ*, Oxford 1925, p. 8.

⁵⁸ E. P. Sanders, *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition*, Cambridge 1969.

⁵⁹ Cf. R. Bartnicki, *The Synoptic Gospels ...*, p. 56.

⁶⁰ P. Rolland, *Les premiers Évangiles ...*, p. 81.

the Gospel of Matthew Jesus tells the Canaanite woman that *It is not right to take the food of sons and daughters and throw it to the dogs* (15:26). In the Gospel of Mark the answer goes as follows: *Let the sons of the household satisfy themselves at the table first. It is not right to take the food of the children and throw it to the dogs* (Mk 7:27). Matthew's variant is, according to Rolland, closer to the Palestinian environment and reflects the oldest tradition. Mark's variant expresses universalist tendencies in the Church that are characteristic of the later period. It is highly improbable that Matthew would have removed the word "first" if it had appeared in his source.

Also, a comparison between Jesus' answers to Peter's question: *Here we have put everything aside to follow you. What will there be for us?* (Mt 19:27) in the Gospel of Matthew and in the Gospel of Mark indicates that the text of Matthew is older. In the Gospel of Matthew Jesus says, among other things: *Moreover, everyone who has given up home...* (19:29). In Mk 10:30 Jesus adds: *for me and for the gospel*. Matthew's text reflects the Semitic way of thinking, whereas the word "the gospel" is characteristic of the Gospel of Mark and is very often used by St Paul.

An interesting example of Mark's "improving" Matthean text for the purposes of its correct interpretation can be found in the description of Jesus' trial before the Sanhedrin. According to Matthew, false witnesses accused Jesus of saying: *I can destroy God's sanctuary and rebuild it in three days* (Mt 26:61). The false testimony in the Gospel of Mark appears in the following form:

I will destroy this temple made by human hands, and in three days I will construct another not made by human hands" (Mk 14:58). Matthew's version is undoubtedly more original. Anxious that Jesus' intention might be misunderstood by the reader, Mark rephrases his statement.⁶¹

Boismard points out that the three synoptics begin the story about the activity of Jesus with the mention of the activity of John the Baptist, quoting the text of Is 40:30. There is, however, a significant difference here between the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Mark. In the former, the text about John the Baptist is in harmony with the Matthean tradition. The quotation is introduced with a stereotypical formula. In the latter the same topic appears to be exceptional because it is the only case where a distinct quotation from the OT is used directly by the author of a Gospel. Other examples of evident quotations from the OT in the Gospel of Mark are put into the mouth of Jesus (Mk 7:6,10; 11:17; 12:10,25,36; also 10:6-7 and 10:19), or into the mouth of his interlocutor (Mk 10:4). Most quotations uttered by Jesus either do not

⁶¹ P. Rolland, *Les premiers Évangiles ...*, p. 84.

have an introductory formula, or such a formula is short and does not refer to the name of the author of the quotation (Mk 9:13; 11:17; 14:21). It is only here that Mark uses the term “the prophet” with an article. On the whole, Mark seldom uses the word “prophet” in his Gospel – only 5 times, whereas in the Gospel of Matthew it appears 34 times and in the Gospel of Luke 29 times. The term “the prophet” with an article is used by Matthew (here and in 2:17; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17.39; 24:15; 27:9) and Luke (here and in 4:17.27). Therefore, one ought to accept that the text introducing John into an evangelical story in the canonical Gospel of Mark must have been redacted under the influence of some intermediate version of the Gospel of Matthew.⁶²

Rolland⁶³ claims that the primary position of the Gospel of Matthew in relation to the Gospel of Mark is exemplified by, among others, the pericope “The Disciples and the Sabbath”. According to Matthew (12:1), the disciples pulled off the heads of grain and ate them because they felt hungry. It perfectly harmonises with the answer of Jesus who exculpates the disciples by reminding that David and his comrades, when feeling hungry, ate sacred breads which they were not allowed to eat. Mark, however, does not say that the disciples felt hungry and says: *It happened that he was walking through standing grain on the Sabbath, and his disciples began to pull off heads of grain as they went along* (2:23). Jesus’ reference to what David had done would not fit this context. That is why Mark probably rephrased Matthew’s text while ignoring a certain incoherence of his pericope. But why did he rephrase it? According to Rolland, Mark wanted to present “the fault” of the disciples in a way that was more comprehensible to the Romans: unnecessary plucking of the heads of grain is unacceptable in any culture.

Rolland⁶⁴ also claims that in many cases a text by Matthew is more coherent and more suitable for the Jewish environment than a parallel excerpt from the Gospel of Mark. Mt 3:3/Mk 1:2–3 is a good example here. Matthew writes: *It was of him that the prophet Isaiah had spoken when he said: “A herald’s voice in the desert...”* Mark only mentions Isaiah in his introduction to the quotation from this author: *In Isaiah the prophet it is written*, but he adds to it a quotation from prophet Malachi (3:1). Mark’s text seems to be a slightly inaccurate and extended version of the Matthean text. Another example is the phrase in Mt 4:17, *Reform your lives! The kingdom of heaven is at hand!* In Mk 1:15 it is extended in the following

⁶² M.-É. Boismard, “Influences mattheennes sur l’ultime redaction de l’évangile de Marc”, [in] M. Sabbe (ed.), *L’Évangile selon Marc. Traduction et redaction*, Gembloux, 1974, p. 100.

⁶³ P. Rolland, *Les premiers Évangiles ...*, p. 79.

⁶⁴ P. Rolland, *Les premiers Évangiles ...*, pp. 77–78.

way: *This is the time of fulfillment. The reign of God is at hand! Reform your lives and believe in the gospel!* Some elements of this logion that appear only in the Gospel of Mark resemble the teaching of Paul; cf. Gal 4:4; Eph 1:9–10; Phil 1:27; Rom 1:16. It is rather improbable that Matthew might have consciously removed these Paulinisms. It is much more probable that they were added by Mark.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the answer of Peter in Mt 16:16 mentioned above was omitted not only by Mark, but also by Luke. Peter's answer in the Lucan version is also shorter than in the Matthean one.

3.2

Three arguments against the priority of the Gospel of Mark

According to D. L. Dungan⁶⁵, there are three main arguments against the priority of the Gospel of Mark: (1) certain characteristic editorial features of Mark appear neither in the Gospel of Matthew nor in the Gospel of Luke; (2) features typical of the language of Matthew and Luke appear in parallel texts in the Gospel of Mark⁶⁶; (3) the order of pericopes in the Gospel of Mark is similar to that in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke when their orders are similar, and where they differ, Mark concurs with either Matthew or with Luke.

⁶⁵ D. L. Dungan, "Response to Two-Sources Hypothesis", [in] *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, ed. D. L. Dungan, Leuven 1990, pp. 203–204.

⁶⁶ Cf. D. Peabody, *Mark as Composer*, Macon, GA 1987.

4. The two-source hypothesis

The assumption that the Gospel of Mark was the source of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke does not solve all the difficulties posed by the synoptic problem, e.g. the similarities between Matthew and Luke in the fragments which were not adopted from Mark. C. H. Weisse⁶⁷ tried to explain this problem by assuming the existence of one more source, apart from the Gospel of Mark, of the synoptic Gospels. To him such a source could have been the logia mentioned by Papias and defined by F. Schleiermacher as a collection of Jesus' dicta and speeches.

The concept of another source apart from the Gospel of Mark was elaborated and developed by H. I. Holtzmann⁶⁸ and P. Wernle.⁶⁹ According to them, at the basis of the synoptic Gospels lay the Gospel of Mark, some collections of Jesus' speeches compiled by an unknown author and then extended several times, as well as Matthew's and Luke's own materials. The collection of speeches was labelled by Wernle as source Q. Before the Gospel of Mark there had been no written sources. The two-source hypothesis, or the Q source theory, almost completely supplanted the Griesbach hypothesis popular in the Protestant environment at the time and became a kind of dogma. In the Catholic environment, on the other hand, it raised doubts for a long time. In its decree of 26th June 1912, the Papal Biblical Committee stated that the theory did not comply with the tradition of the Church. However, with the passing of time it proved to be more attractive also for Catholic Biblicists and was supported by such scholars as H. J. Vogels, M. Meinertz, I. Wikenhauser, J. Schmidt, J. Levie, L. Moraldi, K. H. Schelkle, H. Schürmann and R. Schanckenburg.

⁶⁷ C. H. Weisse, *Die evangelische Geschichte, kritisch und philosophisch betrachtet*, Leipzig 1838; idem, *Die Evangelienfrage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium*, 1856.

⁶⁸ H. J. Holtzmann, *Die synoptischen Evangelien, Ihr Ursprung und geschichtlicher Charakter*, Leipzig 1863.

⁶⁹ P. Wernle, *Die synoptische Frage*, Freiburg 1899.

4.1.

Arguments in favour of the Q source and their critical analysis

4.1.1.

The existence of texts common for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, but not present in the Gospel of Mark

In the Gospel of Matthew there are 203 verses shared with Luke which do not appear in the Gospel of Mark. Matthew and Luke, then, must have used a source which was not known to Mark.⁷⁰

Counterarguments

In order to accept the thesis presented above, one ought to make the following assumptions: (1) that the Gospel of Mark was the first one, (2) that Luke did not know the Gospel of Matthew. Meanwhile, there is strong literary evidence presented in the preceding chapter of this study negating the priority of the Gospel of Mark. It is worth mentioning that not all texts from the Gospel of Mark appear in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. W. Bussmann⁷¹ believed that to explain the lack of the fragment Mk 6:45–8:26 in the Gospel of Luke as well as other differences between the synoptics, one should accept the existence of other written sources apart from source Q, the oldest of which, G, called by him a historical document, preceded all the synoptic Gospels and was the source for them all. The document in question contained the Passion and Resurrection narratives as well as some narratives about the public life of Jesus.

According to D. B. Peabody⁷², the lack of the pericopes Mk 4:26–29; 7:32–36 and 8:22–26 in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke is one of the three strongest arguments against the two-source hypothesis. Biblicists also put

⁷⁰ The most frequent arguments for the Q theory have been presented by, among others, W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, London 1975, p. 63 ff.; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Priority of Mark and 'Q' Source on Luke", [in] *Jesus and Mans's Hope* vol I, ed. D. G. Buttrick, Pittsburgh 1970, pp. 131–170.

⁷¹ W. Bussmann, *Synoptische Studien*: I. *Zur Geschichtsquelle* (1925), II. *Zur Redenquelle* (1929), III. *Zu den Sonderquellen* (1931).

⁷² D. B. Peabody, "Response to Multi-Stage Hypothesis", [in] *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, ed. D. L. Dungan, Leuven 1990, p. 221.

forward convincing arguments against the thesis that Luke was not familiar with the Gospel of Matthew.

4.1.2.

The problem of doublets in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke

Sometimes the same text appears twice in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke and only once in the Gospel of Mark. In the Gospels where it appears twice, once it is found in the Markan and once in the non-Markan context, e.g. Mk 4:25/Mt 13:12./Lk 8:18 and Mt 25:29/Lk 19:26. Advocates of the two-source hypothesis believe this proves that Matthew and Luke took advantage of both the Gospel of Mark and another source.

Hawkins⁷³ provides a list of 22 doublets in the Gospel of Matthew: (1) Mt 5:29–30 and Mt 18:8/Mk 9:43.45.47; (2) Mt 5:32 and 19:9/Lk 16:18/Mk 10:11.12; (3) Mt 7:16–18 and 12:33–35/Lk 6:43–45; (4) Mt 10:15 and 11:24/Lk 10:12; (5) Mt 10:22 and 24:29/Mk 13:13/Lk 22:17; (6) Mt 10:22b and 24:13/Mk 13:13b; (7) Mt 10:38 and 16:24/Mk 8:34/Lk 14:27 and 9:23; (8) Mt 10:39 and 16:25/Mk 8:35/Lk 9:24 and 17:33; (9) Mt 12:39 and 16:4/Lk 11:29/Mk 8:12; (10) Mt 13:12 and 25:29/Mk 4:25/Lk 8:18 and 19:26; (11) Mt 17:20 and 21:21/Lk 17:6/Mk 11:23; (12) Mt 19:30 and 20:16/Mk 10:31/Lk 13:30; (13) Mt 20:27 and 23:11/Mk 10:43–44 and Mk 9:35; (14) Mt 24:42 and 25:13/Mk 13:35; (15) Mt 4:23 and 9:35/Mk 1:39 and 6:6b/Lk 4:44; (16) Mt 9:27–31 and 20:29–34/Mk 10:46–52/Lk 18:35–43; (17) Mt 9:32–34 and 12:22–24/Lk 9:14–15 (18) Mt 12:38–39 and 16:1–2/Lk 11:16/Mk 8:11–12; (19) Mt 3:2 and 4:17/Mk 1:4 and 1:14–15/Lk 3:30; (20) Mt 3:10 and 7:19/Lk 3:9; (21) Mt 9:13 and 12:7; (22) Mt 16:19 and 18:18.

Hawkins also mentions one doublet in Mk 9:35 and 10:43–44/Mt 22:26–27 and 23:11. According to him, there are 11 doublets in the Gospel of Luke: (1) Lk 8:16 and 11:33/Mk 4:21/Mt 5:15; (2) Lk 18:17 and 12:2/Mk 4:22 and 10:26; (3) Lk 8:18 and 19:26/Mt 23:12 and 25:29/Mk 4:25; (4) Lk 9:3 and 10:4/Mt 10:10.11–12.14/Mk 6:8.10–11; (5) Lk 9:23 and 14:27/Mt 10:38 and 16:24/Mk 8:34; (6) Lk 9:24 and 17:33/Mt 10:39 and 16:25/Mk 8:35; (7) Lk 9:26 and 12:9 and 12:9/Mk 8:38 and 10:33; (8) Lk 9:46 and 22:24/Mt 18:1/Mk 9:34; (9) Lk 11:43 and 20:46/Mt 23:6–7/Mk 12:38–39; (10) Lk 12:11–12 and Lk 21:14–15/Mk 13:11/Mt 10:19–20; (11) Lk 14:11 and 18:14/Mt 23:12. In an appendix to this list Hawkins adds one more logion “Heed carefully what you hear!”, which appears in Mt 11:15 and 13:9 and 13:43/Mk 4:9 and 4:23/Lk 8:8 and 14:35. Some of these doublets consist of only

⁷³ J. C. Hawkins, *Horae* ..., pp. 80–107.

a few words. Hawkins believes that only six doublets in the Gospel of Matthew (No. 2, 7, 10, 1, 11, 12) and two in the Gospel of Luke (No. 2 and 7) suggest the use of two sources, while the remaining ones in the Gospel of Matthew derive from the same source (3, 5, 6, 17) or are a repetition of Matthew's own text.⁷⁴

Also Vaganay distinguishes two kinds of doublets: editorial ones ("doublets-répétition") as well as source ones ("doublets-source"), i.e. those whose one element appears in a Matthean context, and the other in another context. Rolland stresses the fact that doublets appearing only in the Gospel of Matthew or only in the Gospel of Luke, i.e. the ones not indicating the second source, can be divided into two types: (1) doublets in the Markan tradition; (2) doublets in the double tradition (Q). Here are several examples⁷⁵:

	Mt 12:24	Mk 3:22	
	Mt 9:34		
Blasphemy against the Spirit:	Mt 12:31	Mk 3:28–29	
	Mt 12:32		Lk 12:10
The sign from heaven:	Mt 16:1	Mk 8:11	
	Mt 12:38		Lk 11:29
The scandal:	Mt 18:6	Mk 9:42	
	Mt 18:7		Lk 17:1–2
The divorce:	Mt 19:9	Mk 10:11	
	Mt 5:32		Lk 16:18
The first and the last ones:	Mt 19:30	Mk 10:31	
	Mt 20:16		Lk 13:30
To have faith:	Mt 21:21	Mk 11:23	
	Mt 17:20		Lk 17:6
False fame:	Mt 24:23	Mk 13:21	
	Mt 24:26		
The lamp under a bed:	Mt 5:15	Mk 4:21	Lk 8:16
			Lk 11:33
Nothing is concealed:	Mt 10:26	Mk 4:22	Lk 8:17
			Lk 12:2
With us or against us:	Mt 12:30	Mk 9:40	Lk 9:50
			Lk 11:23
The haughtiness of the Scribes:	Mt 23:6–7	Mk 12:38–39	Lk 20:46
			Lk 11:43".

⁷⁴ J. C. Hawkins, *Horae* ..., p. 81.

⁷⁵ P. Rolland, *Les premières évangiles* ..., p. 49.

Counterarguments

Kilpatrick⁷⁶ reckons that the doublets in the Gospel of Matthew do not at all prove that it is based on two sources. D. L. Dungan shares his point of view. According to him, doublets were created by Matthew himself or, possibly, by Luke and were introduced for specific theological or apologetic purposes.⁷⁷ Some Biblicists believe that the existence of doublets in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke can pose certain difficulty in accepting the Q source. Grant⁷⁸, for example, claims that doublets in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke are clear evidence of the presence of Q in the Gospel of Mark. If, however, Mark knew Q, the question arises why he adopted so little from it and why the adopted texts differ so much from the original. Advocates of the two-source hypothesis try to explain it in the following manner: Q was well-known and carried great authority in the Church contemporary to Mark, so there was no need to take it over en bloc.⁷⁹

On analysing 22 doublets from the list of Hawkins, Butler⁸⁰ comes to the conclusion that they constitute a strong argument against the priority of the Gospel of Mark. Let us look at the following three examples to see how Butler justifies his opinion:

Mt 5:32	Mt 19:9
<i>egō de legō humin hoti pas ho apoluōn tēn gunaika autou parektos logou porneias poiei autēn moicheuthēnai Kai hos ean apolumenēn gamēsē Moichatai.</i>	<i>legō de humin hoti hos an apolusē tēn gunaika autou mē epi porneia kai gamēsē allen, moichatai. [kai ho apolelumenēn gamēsas moichatai]</i>

The last sentence in 19:9 (in the brackets) is missing from many manuscripts and can be considered a *homoeoteleuton*. The most important difference is the fact that in 19:9 there is no mention of the results of the divorce concerning women, whereas in 5:32 there is no reference to the results of the divorce concerning men. The text of 19:9 is not necessary in the context and was added after the fragment ending with an inclusion; cf. verse 4 *at the beginning the Creator made them male and female* – verse 8

⁷⁶ G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel according to Matthew*, Oxford 1946, p. 92.

⁷⁷ D. L. Dungan, "Response to Two-Source Hypothesis ...", p. 203.

⁷⁸ F.C. Grant, *The Growth of the Gospels*, New York 1933, pp. 129–130.

⁷⁹ Cf. W. Bousset, "Wellhausens Evangelienkritik", *Theologische Rundschau* 9 (1906), p. 44; W. Sanday, "Conditions under which the Gospels were written in their Bearing upon some Difficulties of the Synoptic Problem", [in] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, ed. W. Sanday, Oxford 1911, p. 13.

⁸⁰ B.C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew* ..., pp. 138–146.

but at the beginning it was not that way. It should be assumed that Mt 5:32 is an original logion and 19:9 is a secondary one and a cross-reference.

Mt 7:16–20	Mt 12:33
<p>apo tōn karpōn epignōsesthe autous. mēti sullegousin apo akanthōn stafoulas ē apo tribolōn suka; 17. houtōs pan dendron agathon karpous kalous poiei, to de sapron dendron karpous ponērous poiei. 18. ou dunatai dendron agathon karpus ponērous enegkein, oude dendron sapron karpous kalous enegkein. 19. pan dendron mē poioun karpon kalon ekkoptetai kai eis pur balletai. 20. ara ge apo tōn karpōn autōn epignōsesthe autous.</p>	<p>ē poiēsate to dendron kalon kai ton karpon autou kalon, ē poiēsate to dendron sapron kai ton karpon autou sapron; ek gar tou karpou to dendron ginōsketai.</p>

The text of Mt 7:16–20 is necessary in its context as opposed to 12:33. Besides, 7:16–20 forms a literary whole ending with an inclusion; cf. verse 16: *You will know them by their deeds* and verse 20: *You can tell a tree by its fruit*. The text in 12:33 seems to be a short abstract of the other one.⁸¹

Mt 13:12	Mt 25:29
<p>hostis gar echei, dothēsetai auto kai perisseuthēsetai hostis de ouk echei, kai ho erthēsetai ap' autou.</p>	<p>tō gar echonti panti dothēsetai kai perisseuthēsetai tou de mē echontes kai ho echei arthēsetai ap' autou.</p>

The logion in Mt 13:12 *To the man who has, more will be given* corresponds to its context. It is preceded by Christ's answer: *To you has been given a knowledge of the mysteries of the reign*, and followed directly by Christ's statement that the people do not understand him. Mt 25:29, in contrast, is not necessary in its context and it is actually hard to determine whether it is a commentary of Christ himself or of "the master" from the parable. Mt 25:29 is a reference to 13:12.⁸²

Even Tuckett⁸³, a follower of the two-source hypothesis, admits that the existence of doublets is one of the weakest arguments in favour of Q, as doublets can be explained differently.⁸⁴

⁸¹ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew ...*, pp. 139–140.

⁸² B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew ...*, p. 142.

⁸³ C. M. Tuckett, "The Existence of Q", [in] *The Gospel behind the Gospel. Current Studies on Q*, ed. R. A. Piper, Leiden New York-Köln 1995, p. 27.

⁸⁴ I will return to the problem of doubles in Part II, Chapter 4.8.

4.1.3.

Texts common for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke appear in different contexts

Streeter⁸⁵ supports the thesis about the existence of Q with the argument that after the pericope describing the temptation of Jesus the fragments common for the two Gospels in question never appear in the Gospel of Luke in the Markan context, in which they are found in the Gospel of Matthew. This is supposed to prove that Luke did not adopt them from the Gospel of Matthew, but from another source.

Counterarguments

The above argument is criticised by Butler.⁸⁶ According to him, it is evident that in Q fragments Luke used Q texts adopted from the Gospel of Matthew and not from another source. As evidence he cites texts from the Gospel of Luke composed of the fragments of Matthew's doublets from various contexts, among them Lk 10:12. The text of Lk 10:12 is composed of the excerpt in Mt 10:15 and its doublet – Mt 11:24 (No. 4 on the Hawkins list).⁸⁷

Mt 10:15	Lk 10:12
<i>amen legō humin, anektoteron estai gē Sodomōn kai Gomorrōn en hēmera kriseōs en tē polei ekeinē.</i>	<i>legō humin hoti Sodomois en tē hēmera ekeinē anektoteron estai ēn tē polei ekeinē.</i>
Mt 11:24	
<i>plēn legō humin hoti gē Sodomō anektoteron estai en hēmera kriseōs ē soi.</i>	

The excerpt Lk 10:12 together with its immediate context 10:3–11 (taken from the missionary sermon – Mt 10:8–16; Mk 6:7–13) appears in a non-Matthean context (the Mission of the Seventy-two – a text not present in Mark either). Butler points out that Lk 10:12 is followed directly by the logion “It will go ill with you, Chorazin!” (Lk 10:13–15) (Q text) which in the Gospel of Matthew directly precedes the second part of the doublet in question (Mt 11:24). According to Butler, it is virtually impossible that the order in Q could be the same as in the Gospel of Luke, that is to say, that Matthew might have broken up the Q fragment represented by Lk 10:3–16 (containing the Mission of the Seventy-two and the

⁸⁵ B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* ..., p. 186.

⁸⁶ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew* ..., pp. 24 ff.

⁸⁷ Cf. J. C. Hawkins, *Horae* ..., p. 85.

logion “It will go ill with you, Chorazin!”) and used the logion Lk 10:12 in two different contexts. Butler’s opinion is confirmed by the fact that Mt 11:21–24 possesses a poetic form as it is composed of two parts, both ending with a refrain – *I assure you, it will go easier for Tyre and Sidon than for you* (verse 22); *I assure you, it will go easier for Sodom than for you* (verse 24). Therefore, it can be assumed that the refrain is in its proper position in Mt 11:24 and not in Lk 10:12, which is parallel to Mt 10:15. Anyway – as Butler mentions – the logion “It will go ill with you, Chorazin!” has nothing in common with the Mission of the Seventy-two, whereas it fits well into the Matthean context. The analysis presented above shows that Luke must have made use of a source containing both Mt 10:9–15 and Mt 11:21–24.⁸⁸

And here is another example put forward by Butler.⁸⁹ The pericope about the controversy over casting out a devil by Jesus in Lk 11:14–23 is parallel to Mt 12:23–32, but the narrative about casting out a devil opening the former pericope (Lk 11:14) is parallel to Mt 12:22–32. The narrative about the exorcism at the beginning of the pericope Mt 12:22–32 is, according to the Hawkins list, a doublet of No. 17 (Mt 9:32).⁹⁰

Mt 9:32–34 (A)	Lk 11:14–15	Mt 12:22–24 (B)
<p>32. <i>autōn de erchomenōn idou prosēnegkan auto kōfon daimonidzomenon.</i></p> <p>33. <i>kai ekblēthentos tou daimoniou elalēsen ho kōfos. kai ethaumasán hoi ochloi legontes Oudepote efanē houtōs en tō Israēl.</i></p>	<p>14. <i>kai ēn akballōn daimonion kōfon. egeneto de tou daimoniou eksethontos elalēsen ho kōfos. kai ethaumasán hoi ochloi.</i></p> <p>15. <i>tines de eks autōn eipán en Beelzeboul tō archonti tōn daimoniōn ekballei ta daimonia.</i></p>	<p>22 <i>tote prosēnegkan auto daimonidzomenos tufflon kai kōfon. kai etherapeusen auton, hōste ton kōfon lalein kai blepein.</i></p> <p>23. <i>kai eksistánton pantes hoi ochloi kai elegon, Mēti houtos estin ho huíos Daveid; 24. hoi de Farisaioi akousantes eipon houtos ouk ekbalei ta daimonia ei mē en tō Beelzeboul archonti tōn daimoniōn.</i></p>

⁸⁸ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew* ..., p. 25.

⁸⁹ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew* ..., pp. 25–27.

⁹⁰ Cf. Hawkins, *Horae*..., pp. 95–96.

Encountering the second element of the doublet (Mt 12:22–23) in the pericope about the controversy, Luke replaced it with the first element (Mt 9:32–33).

The advocates of the Q theory may, as Butler says, explain it in a different way, claiming that Luke in 11:14–23 preserved the original order of Q texts. Matthew broke up the Q text Mt 9:32–33 and in 12:22–23 repeated verses which had already been used. There is, however, a convincing point against such a solution: in the Lucan pericope, verse 11:16 (a sign from heaven) is parallel to Mt 12:38 and in the Gospel of Matthew it directly follows the controversy about casting out devils and precedes the logion about the sign of Jonah. In the Gospel of Luke the controversy over casting out devils is directly followed by the logion about “seven other spirits” and two of Luke’s own verses, and only then there appears the logion about the sign of Jonah. Thus it should be agreed that there exists literary inter-dependence between Lk 11:16 and Mt 12:28 and that Luke must have moved the request for a sign, because it appears to be in the correct place not in his Gospel but in the Gospel of Matthew.⁹¹

4.1.4.

Luke’s version of pericopes parallel to the Gospel of Matthew is more original

Followers of the Q theory cite many texts of Luke which seem to be more original in comparison with the parallel texts of Matthew (i.e. belonging to Q). For example, according to Styler⁹², the expression *mē arksēsthe* used by Luke in 3:8 seems to be more original than the Matthean expression *mē doksēte* (Mt 3:9).

Commenting on Lk 11:49, Tuckett⁹³ says that it is the only place in the Gospel of Luke, besides Lk 7:35 (Mt 11:19), which also belongs to Q, where wisdom is personified. In Mt 11:19 wisdom is identified by Jesus with himself. Due to this Tuckett reckons that Matthew had a habit of replacing “wisdom” with the person of Jesus (!). Here is the text of Lk 11:49 and the parallel text Mt 23:34:

Lk 11:49 *That is why the wisdom of God has said, “I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of these they will persecute and kill”;*

⁹¹ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew* ..., p. 27.

⁹² G. M. Styler, “La priorità di Marco”, [in] C. F. D. Moule, *Le origini del Nuovo Testamento*, Brescia 1971, p. 310.

⁹³ C. M. Tuckett, “The Existence of Q ...”, p.39.

Mt 23:34 *For this reason I shall send you prophets and wise men and scribes. Some you will kill and crucify, others you will flog in your synagogues and hunt down from city to city;*

Among the texts which are said to be more original in the Gospel of Luke than in the Gospel of Matthew are also Lk 6:20–23; 7:35; 11:2–4; 11:30, etc.

Counterarguments

Goulder interprets the case of Lk 11:49 in an completely different way. According to him, the text was changed by Luke⁹⁴, who had previously mentioned the prophets of the OT and thus partly referred the people mentioned in the text of Matthew, i.e. “prophets, wise men and scribes”, to the people sent by God in the OT. This entailed the change of “I” into “God’s Wisdom”, because in the OT it was not Jesus who had sent them, but God.

In his book *Luke: A New Paradigm*⁹⁵ Goulder devoted a lot of attention to differences appearing in parallel texts Mt/Lk. He claims that Luke’s version is never more original than Matthew’s, and that the differences between Matthew and Luke always derive from Luke.

Other scholars believe that Luke had access to sources unknown to Matthew and under their influence he changed Matthew’s texts.⁹⁶

4.1.5.

Luke was not familiar with Matthean additions to Markan texts in the Markan material

According to Tuckett⁹⁷, Luke did not know Matthew’s additions to Mark’s texts in the Markan material. If he had known them, why would he have deleted them? Cf. Mt 12:5–7; 14:28–31; 16:16–19; 27:19,24. Tuckett adds, however, that this very argument assumes the priority of Mark. In his opinion, Augustine’s view on the order of the Gospels poses a similar problem, namely why would both Mark and Luke shorten Matthew’s texts?

Counterarguments

The deletion of Mt 12:5–7 poses no problem for Augustine’s view. Mark and Luke omitted some of Matthew’s texts for the sake of the addressees of their Gospels.

⁹⁴ M. D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, Sheffield 1989, p. 523.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁹⁶ W. R. Farmer, “A Fresh Approach to Q”, [in] *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults. Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty. Part One*, ed. J. Neusner, Leiden 1975, pp. 39–50.

⁹⁷ C. M. Tuckett, “The Existence of Q ...”, p. 25.

Mt 12	Mk 2:23–28	Lk 6:1–5
<p>1 Once on a Sabbath Jesus walked through the standing grain. His disciples felt hungry, so they began to pull off the heads of grain and eat them. 2 When the Pharisees spied this, they protested: “See here! Your disciples are doing what is not permitted on the Sabbath.” 3 He replied: “Have you not read what David did when he and his men were hungry, 4 how he entered God’s house and ate the holy bread, a thing forbidden to him and his men or anyone other than priests? 5 Have you not read in the law how the priests on temple duty can break the Sabbath rest without incurring guilt? 6 I assure you, there is something greater than the temple here. 7 If you understood the meaning of the text, ‘It is mercy I desire and not sacrifice,’ you would not have condemned these innocent men.</p>	<p>23 It happened that he was walking through standing grain on the sabbath, and his disciples began to pull off heads of grain as they were along. 24 At this the Pharisees protested: “Look! Why do they do a thing not permitted on the Sabbath?” 25 He said to them: “Have you never read what David did when he was in need and he and his men were hungry? 26 How he entered God’s house in the days of Abiathar the high priest and ate the holy bread which only the priests were permitted to eat? He even gave it to his men”.</p>	<p>1 Once on a sabbath Jesus was walking through the standing grain. His disciples were pulling off grain-heads, shelling them with their hands, and eating them. 2 Some of Pharisees asked: “Why are you doing what is prohibited on the Sabbath?” 3 Jesus said to them: “Have you not read what David did when he and his men were hungry – 4 how he entered God’s house and took and ate the holy bread and gave it to his men, even though only priests are allowed to eat it?”</p>
<p>8 The Son of Man is indeed Lord of the Sabbath.”</p>	<p>27 Then he said to them : “The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. 28 That is why the Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath”.</p>	<p>5 Then he said to them, “The Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath.”</p>

Mark deleted Jesus’ second argument justifying the apostles, because while writing for pagans he did not want to dwell on the Sabbath, which did not concern them. Luke, predictably, followed Mark as he also wrote for pagans. It should be emphasised that Luke shortened not only Matthew’s text, but also that of Mark – he omitted the verse Mk 2:27.

If one accepts the priority of the Gospel of Mark, then the deletion by Matthew of the logion Mk 2:27 becomes a greater problem than does, in the light of the Augustinian position, the deletion of the logia Mt 12:5–7 by Luke.

The deletion of the text of Mt 14:28–31 by Mark was probably the result of Peter's preaching.

Mt 14	Mk 6
<p>26 When the disciples saw him walking on the water, they were terrified. "It is a ghost!" they said, and in their fear they began to cry out. 27 Jesus hastened to reassure them: "Get hold of yourselves! It is I. Do not be afraid!" 28 Peter spoke up and said, "Lord, if it is really you, tell me to come to you across the water." 29 "Come!" he said. So Peter got out of the boat and began to walk on the water, moving toward Jesus. 30 But when he perceived how strong the wind was, becoming frightened, he began to sink and cried out, "Lord, save me!" 31 Jesus at once stretched out his hand and caught him. "How little faith you have!" he exclaimed. "Why did you falter?" 32 Once they had climbed into the boat, the wind died down. 33 Those who were in the boat showed him reverence, declaring, "Beyond doubt you are the Son of God!"</p>	<p>49 When they saw him walking on the lake, they thought it was a ghost and they began to cry out. 50 They had all seen him and were terrified. He hastened to reassure them: "Get hold of yourselves! It is I. Do not be afraid!"</p> <p>51 He got into the boat with them and the wind died down. They were taken aback by these happenings, 52 for they had not understood about the loaves. On the contrary, their minds were completely closed to the meaning of the events.</p>

Peter probably did not mention this event while preaching the Gospel and Mark respected it. Mark might have had another reason, too, namely the composition of the first part of his Gospel, where the theme is Jesus' dignity. Another topic appearing here is the need of faith. The excerpt deleted by Mark contains the speech about Peter's despair. Although it matches this part of the Gospel, it was eliminated because it was more important for Mark to show that the apostles did not understand Jesus. Peter, at the end of the first part of the Gospel, will confess his faith in Jesus the Messiah. According to Mark, however, at that time Peter and the apostles did not yet know the secret of the Person of Jesus (the Messianic secret). After the description of Peter's bravely leaving the boat to walk on the lake, it would have been difficult to write that "their minds were completely closed."

The pericope about Jesus' walking on the water is not present in the Gospel of Luke. John refers to Jesus' walking on the water, but makes no mention of Peter walking on the lake (cf. Jn 6:17ff). Why does Luke ignore the episode with Peter? Due to his respect for the first of the apostles, the Evangelist probably did not want to mention Peter's faith and lack of faith simultaneously.

It is not difficult to explain why Mark and Luke deleted the verses Mt 27:19-24.

Mt 27:19 *While he was still presiding on the bench, his wife sent him a message: "Do not interfere in the case of that holy man. I had a dream about him today which has greatly upset me."*

Mt 27:24 *Pilate finally realised that he was making no impression and that a riot was breaking out instead. He called for water and washed his hands in front of the crowd, declaring as he did so, "I am innocent of the blood of this man. The responsibility is yours."* 25 *The whole peoples said in reply: "Let his blood be on us and our children."*

The episode with Pilate's wife may have seemed unimportant to Mark and Luke, but it also might have suggested that Pilate had been guided more by his wife's dream than by factual arguments in favour of Jesus' innocence. The verses Mt 27:24–25, on the other hand, were deleted by Mark because of their anti-Judaic character. As regards verse 19, Luke shared Mark's opinion and as for verse 24, he did not include it because he did not accept Pilate's exculpation. Verse 25, in turn, might have seemed to Luke too general and unfair on the Jewish people. Was it really true that the whole nation cried out "Let his blood be on us"?

4.1.6.

Vocabulary similarities in the Double Tradition of Mt-Lk

According to some Biblicists⁹⁸, the dependence of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke on source Q is demonstrated by the similarity of vocabulary in the texts of the double Mt-Lk tradition. In the sermon of John the Baptist (Mt 3:7b–10/Lk 3:7b–9), for example, out of 63 words in Mt and 64 words in Lk as many as 60 are the same; in the logion about two masters (Mt 6:24/Lk 16:13) out of the total of 28 words 27 are the same.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Cf. A. Paciorek, *Q – Ewangelia Galilejska*, Lublin 2001, p. 25.

⁹⁹ These examples come from J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, vol. I. New York – Doubleday 1981, p. 76.

Counterarguments

This argument matters only if one assumes that source Q indeed existed. The similarity of words in common Mt -Lk texts can much more easily be explained by direct literary dependence.

4.2.

Problems with the Q Source

The Q source is nowadays subject of intensive research and still poses a serious challenge.¹⁰⁰ Special sessions of exegetes are organised within the framework of “The International Q Project”¹⁰¹ to exchange opinions and develop further research. Such sessions were held in 1989¹⁰², 1990¹⁰³, 1991¹⁰⁴, 1992¹⁰⁵, 1993¹⁰⁶, 1994.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ See: H. Biggs, “The Q Debate since 1955”, *Themelios* 6 (1981), pp. 18–28; J. P. Brown, “Mark as Witness to an Edited Form of Q”, *JBL* (1961), pp. 29–44; J. P. Brown, “The Form of Q Known to Matthew”, *NTS* 8 (1961–62), pp. 27–42; R. A. Piper, “In quest of Q; The Direction of Q Studies”, [in] *The Gospel behind the Gospels. Current Studies on Q*, ed. R. A. Piper, Leiden – New York – Köln; J. P. Brown, “Q Bibliography: 1981–1989”, *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 28 (1989), pp. 23–37; idem, “Q Bibliography Supplement I: 1990”, *SBLSP* 29 (1990), pp. 11–13; idem, “Q Bibliography Supplement II: 1991”, *SBLSP* 30 (1991), pp. 1–7; idem, “Q Bibliography Supplement III: 1992”, *SBLSP* 31 (1992), pp. 1–4; idem, “Q Bibliography Supplement IV: 1993”, *SBLSP* 32 (1993), pp. 1–5; T. R. W. Longstaff, P. A. Thomas, *The Synoptic Problem. A Bibliography, 1716–1988*, Macon and Leuven 1988; C. E. Carlston – D. Norlin, “Statistic and Q – Some Further Observations”, *NovT* 41 (1999), pp. 108–123; J. M. Asgeirsson (ed.) *From Quest to Q*. Festschrift James M. Robinson, ed. Leuven 2000; D. E. Orton (ed.) *The Synoptic problem and Q. Selected Studies from Novum Testamentum*, Leiden-Boston-Cologne 1999; D. C. Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus. Scripture in Q*, Harrisburg, PA 2000.

¹⁰¹ C. Heil, “Das Internationale Q-Projekt”, *BiKi* 54/2 (1999) XXIII.

¹⁰² See: M. J. Robinson, “The International Q Project Work Session 19 November 1989”, *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 499–501.

¹⁰³ See: M. J. Robinson, “The International Q Project Work Session 19 November 1990”, *JBL* 110 (1991), pp. 494–498.

¹⁰⁴ See: M. J. Robinson, “The International Q Project Work Sessions 12–14 July – 22 August, 22 November 1991”, *JBL* 111 (1992), pp. 500–508.

¹⁰⁵ See: M. J. Robinson, “The International Q Project Work Sessions 31 July – 2 August, 20 November 1992”, *JBL* 112 (1993), pp. 500–506.

¹⁰⁶ See: M. C. Moreland, J. M. Robinson, “The International Q Project Work Sessions 6–8 August, 18–19 November 1993”, *JBL* 113 (1994), pp. 495–499.

¹⁰⁷ See: M. C. Moreland, J. M. Robinson, “The International Q Project Work Sessions 23–27 May, 22–26 August, 17–18 November 1994”, *JBL* 114 (1995), pp. 475–485; Other texts connected with the International Q Project: S. Carruth, A. Garsky (eds.), *The Database of the International Q Project Q 11, 2b–4*, Leuven: Peeters 1996; S. Carruth, A. Garsky (eds.),

4.2.1.

Lack of historical evidence proving the existence of Source Q

The first problem is posed by the fact that the Q source has not been preserved till our times. Its advocates, however, do not perceive it as a problem claiming that, for instance, the Gospel of the Hebrews mentioned in the works of the Church Fathers also got lost. The same is true about the letter of St Paul which he himself refers to. When the Gospel of Mark came into being, and then the other ones, the Q collection stopped attracting interest and fell into oblivion with the passing of time. They emphasise the fact that in the early Church the Gospel of Matthew, broader than the Gospel of Mark, was more often commented and used.

The authors of the two-source hypothesis, C. H. Weisse, H. J. Holtzmann, P. Wernle and others, identified the Q collection with the logia of Matthew mentioned by Papias. This is believed highly improbable nowadays, for two reasons: 1) In the ancient Christian literature Matthew is thought to be the author of the Gospel and not of the collection of Jesus' speeches; 2) If Matthew was the author of Q, why did he not refer to Jesus' miracle-working which he must have witnessed?¹⁰⁸

The way in which the advocates of the Q source explain why it got lost does not seem convincing at all. The existence of the Gospel of the Hebrews and the third letter of St Paul are referred to in ancient Christian documents, whereas not a single mention exists of source Q. The Gospel of Mark was less often used in the early Church yet it did not get lost. It was adopted en bloc, according to the Q theory, by the next two Evangelists, yet it was still rewritten and read. It is hard to believe that such an important collection of Jesus' preaching, one of the two oldest if it had really existed, might have been forgotten by the early Church. The final arguments for the existence of the Q source are, according to its advocates, the similarities and differences among the synoptic Gospels. They claim that source Q must have existed because otherwise it would not be possible to account for them.¹⁰⁹ As a matter of fact, they can be explained otherwise.

The Database of the International Q Project Q 4,1–13,16: The Temptation of Jesus – Nasara, Leuven: Peeters 1996.

¹⁰⁸ K. Romaniuk, *Co to jest źródło Q*, pp. 13 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. C. M. Tuckett, "The Existence of Q ...", p. 20.

4.2.2.

Texts belonging to Q

Theoretically, texts belonging to Q can be defined in two ways: (1) by taking into consideration the agreement of the Gospel of Matthew with the Gospel of Luke against the Gospel of Mark (if it is assumed that Mark is literarily independent of Q), and (2) by taking into account the agreement among the three Gospels (if it is assumed that Mark is literarily dependent on Q.) In the latter case, Q will comprise those texts of Matthew and Mark which are not present in the Gospel of Luke, as well as the texts of Luke and Mark not appearing in the Gospel of Matthew. The two ways in question are presented by M. Devisch¹¹⁰ as follows:

agreement	Mk independent of Q	Mk dependent of Q
<i>Mt – Mk – Lk</i>	<i>Mt Mk Lk</i>	<i>Mt Mk Lk</i>
<i>Mt – Lk ++ Mk</i>	<i>Mk Mk Mk</i>	<i>Mk/Q Mk/Q Mk/Q</i>
<i>Mt – Mk ++ Lk</i>	<i>Q Mk Q</i>	<i>Q Mk Q</i>
<i>Mt – Lk ++ Mk</i>	<i>Mk Mk Q/Lk</i>	<i>Q/Mk Q/Mk Lk/Q</i>
<i>Lk – Mk ++Mt</i>	<i>Q/Mt Mk Mk</i>	<i>Mt/Q Q/Mk Q/Mk</i>

It is clearly visible now that defining Q is conditioned mainly by the initial assumption about the literary dependence or independence of the Gospel of Mark from Q. It should be added that the dependence of the Gospel of Mark on Q is possible, taking into consideration the occurrence of certain texts from this Gospel also in Q. This will be discussed later in this study.

Attempts to reconstruct the Q source have been made by, among others, T. W. Manson, A. Polag¹¹¹, W. Schenk¹¹², F. Neirynck¹¹³, J. S. Kloppenborg¹¹⁴, J. A. Fitzmyer.¹¹⁵ At first they believed that the order of pericopes in Q was better reflected in the Gospel of Matthew.¹¹⁶ Later, however, the opinion

¹¹⁰ M. Devisch, "La relation entre l'évangile de Marc et le document Q", [in] M. Sabbe (ed.), *L'Évangile selon Marc. Tradition et rédaction*, Gembloux 1974, p. 61.

¹¹¹ A. Polag, *Fragmenta Q. Textheft zur Logienquelle*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1979.

¹¹² W. Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle der Evangelisten: Q – Synopse und Rekonstruktion in deutscher Übersetzung mit kurzen Erläuterungen*, Düsseldorf: Patmos 1981.

¹¹³ F. Neirynck, *Q-Synopsis. The Double Tradition Passages in Greek* (Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia, 13), Leuven 1988.

¹¹⁴ J. M. Robinson, P. Hoffman, J. S. Kloppenborg, (eds), *The Critical Edition of Q. Synopsis including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas*, Leuven: Peeters 2000.

¹¹⁵ J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, pp. 77–79.

¹¹⁶ Cf. P. Ewald, *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage und der Weg zu seiner Lösung: Eine akademische Vorlesung nebst Exkursen*, Leipzig, 1980, p. 33; A. S. Barnes, "Suggestions on the Origin of the Gospel according to St. Matthew", *JTS* 6 (1905), pp. 187–203.

prevailed that the original order of pericopes in Q was closer to their order in the Gospel of Luke.¹¹⁷ An argument in favour of Luke, according to the advocates of this viewpoint, is the fact that Luke basically keeps the order of pericopes as in the Gospel of Mark, and therefore one can assume that he treated the structure of Q in the same way. Yet can the Gospel of Luke (or Matthew) really be a good guide in this case? K. Romaniuk rightly claims that a reconstruction of the order of pericopes in Q is impossible due to the editorial changes made by the Evangelists.¹¹⁸

According to Fitzmyer¹¹⁹, the Q source contains the following pericopes:

- “1. Lk 3:7–9/Mt 3:7b–10b: Preaching of John the Baptist (A)
2. Lk 3:16b–17/Mt 3:11–12: Preaching of John the Baptist (B)
3. Lk 4:2b–13/Mt 4:2b–11a: The temptation of Jesus
4. Lk 6:20–23/Mt 5:3.6.4.11–12: The beatitudes
5. Lk 6:27–33/Mt 5:44.39–42.46–47: Love of one’s enemies (A)
6. Lk 6:35b–36/Mt 5:45.48: Love of one’s enemies (B)
7. Lk 6:37a.38b/Mt 7:1–2: Avoiding judgment (A)
8. Lk 6:39bc/Mt 15:14b: Avoiding judgment (B)
9. Lk 6:40–42/Mt 10:24–25; 7:3–5: Avoiding judgment (C)
10. Lk 6:43–45/Mt 7:16–20 (cf. 12:33–35): A tree and its fruit
11. Lk 6:46–49/Mt 7:21. 24–27: Hearing and doing the words of Jesus
12. Lk 7:1b–10/Mt 8:5–10. 13: The healing of the centurion’s slave
13. Lk 7:18–23/Mt 11:2–6: John the Baptist’s deputation
14. Lk 7:24–28/Mt 11:7–11: The testimony of Jesus
15. Lk 7:31–35/Mt 11:16–19: Christ’s verdict
16. Lk 9:57–60/Mt 8:19–22: Three candidates for discipleship
17. Lk 10:2–12/Mt 9:37–38; 10:7–16: The mission of the seventy-two
18. Lk 10:13–15/Mt 11:21–23: The impenitent towns
19. Lk 10:16/Mt 10:40: The disciples represent Jesus
20. Lk 10:21–22/Mt 11:25–27: Jesus’ prayer of thanksgiving
21. Lk 10:23–24/Mt 13:16–17: The privilege of disciples

¹¹⁷ Cf. T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, London 1949, pp. 17–18; L. Cerfaux, “L’utilisation de la source Q dans Luc”, [in] *L’évangile selon Luc: Mémorial Cerfaux*, Gembloux: Ducolot 1973, p. 63; R. A. Edwards, *Sign of Jonah in the Theology of the Evangelists and Q*, London 1971, p. 70; Fitzmyer, “Priority of Mark, and the ‘Q’ Source in Luke”, [in] *Jesus and Man’s Hope*, vol. I, ed. D. G. Buttrick, Pittsburgh 1970, pp. 146–147.

¹¹⁸ K. Romaniuk, *Co to jest źródło Q?*, p. 16: “The reconstruction of the primitive order of each periscope [in Q] is in fact impossible. The order in which the chapters and verses succeed one another in Lk is by no means a criterion for the original order, because it is already known that Luke was making far-reaching transformations of his sources so as to promote his own thesis. Still less reliable is Mt, who – as it was pointed out above – likes to group periscopes on similar topics into larger collections”.

¹¹⁹ J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, pp. 77–79.

22. Lk 11:2–4/Mt 6:9–13: The Lord's Prayer
23. Lk 11:9–13/Mt 7:7–1: Efficacy of prayer
24. Lk 11:14–23/Mt 12:22–30: The polemic about Beelzebul
25. Lk 11:24–26/Mt 13:43–45: The unclean spirit's comeback
26. Lk 11:29–32/Mt 12:38–42: The sign of Jonah
27. Lk 11:33–35/Mt 5:15; 6:22–23: Logia about the light
28. Lk 11:39–40. 42–44. 46–52/Mt 23:25–26. 6–7. 29–30 + 23:13. 34–35:
Logia against the Pharisees
29. Lk 12:2–9/Mt 10:26–33: Courage under persecution
30. Lk 12:10/Mt 12:32: On the Holy Spirit (A)
31. Lk 12:11–12/Mt 10:19–20: On the Holy Spirit (B)
32. Lk 12:22b–31/Mt 6:25–33: “Do not be anxious about your life”
33. Lk 12:33b–d.34/Mt 6:19–21: The treasure in heaven
34. Lk 12:39–40. 42b–46/Mt 24:43–51: Logia about vigil and faith
35. Lk 12:51.53/Mt 10:34–36: The secret mission of Jesus
36. Lk 12:58–59/Mt 5:25–26: Reconciliation with your opponent
37. Lk 13:18–21/Mt 13:31–33: The parable of the mustard seed and the yeast
38. Lk 13:24–29/Mt 7:13–14; 25:10–12; 7:22–23 and 8:11–12: Entering the
Reign of God or being rejected from it
39. Lk 13:34–35/Mt 23:37–39: Woe to Jerusalem
40. Lk 14:16–21/Mt 22:2–10: The parable of the royal banquet
41. Lk. 14:26–27/Mt 10:37–38: The demands of discipleship
42. Lk 14:34–35/Mt 5:13: The pericope on the salt
43. Lk 15:4–7/Mt 18:12–24: The parable of the lost sheep
44. Lk 16:13/Mt 6:24: Servants and masters
45. Lk 16:16–17/Mt 11:12–13; 5:18: Two logia about the law
46. Lk 16:18/Mt 5:32: On the divorce
47. Lk 17:3b–4/Mt 18:21–22: On forgiveness
48. Lk 17:5–6/Mt 17:20: Faith compared to the mustard seed
49. Lk 17:23–24/Mt 24:26–27: The day of the Son of Man (A)
50. Lk 17:26–27/Mt 24:37–38: The day of the Son of Man (B)
51. Lk 17:33/Mt 10:39: The day of the Son of Man (C)
52. Lk 17:33–35/Mt 24:40–41: The day of the Son of Man (D)
53. Lk 17:37b/Mt 24:28: The day of the Son of Man (E)
54. Lk 19:13. 15b–24. 26/Mt 25:14–30: The parable of the talents
55. Lk 22:28b. 30b/Mt 19:28: Eschatological payment to “the Twelve”

Some Biblicists try to divide the Q collection according to the subject matter of the pericopes. Here is the division made by Kloppenborg¹²⁰:

¹²⁰ J. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q. Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections. Studies in Antiquity and Christianity*, Philadelphia: Fortress 1987, p. 92.

“Q 3:7–9.16–17	1. John the Baptist’s announcement of Coming One
Q 4:1–13	2. The temptation of Jesus
Q 6:20b–49	3. Jesus’ inaugural speech
Q 7:1–10.18–28	4. Jesus, John and “this generation”
(16:16); 7:31–35	
Q 9:57–62; 10:2–24	5. The disciples and their mission
Q 11:2–4.9–13	6. On prayer
Q 11:14–52	7. The controversy with Israel
Q 12:2–12	8. On the courage of preaching
Q 12, (13–14.16–21)	9. Concern for material goods
22–31. 33–34	
Q 12:39–56	10. Being ready in the face of the end
Q 13:18–19.20–21	11. The parable of the growth
Q 13:24–30.34–35	12. Two routes
14. 16–24.26–27	
17:33; 14:33–34	
Q 15:3–7; 16:13	13. Parables and logia
17–18; 17:1–6	
Q 17:23–37	14. The eschatological sermon
19:12–27; 22:28–30”	

According to B. W. Bacon, J. P. Brown, G. Stracker, and B. Weisse, not only speeches, but also some narrative fragments featuring exclusively in the Gospel of Matthew or exclusively in the Gospel of Luke belong to Q. Such an opinion is generally rejected nowadays. Its opponents include P. Feine, J. Behm, W. G. Kümmel¹²¹ and M. Devisch.¹²² It should be noted, however, that Catchpole¹²³ attributes to Luke many additions in Lk 10:2–16. He believes that the prohibition of greeting anyone while on a journey appearing only in Lk 10:4b and the logion Mt 10:5b were present in Q. According to him, the pre-Q tradition when Lk 10:12–16 is concerned contained Q 10:3.4.5–7.8–12. Later Q 10:2.13–15.16 (and Mt 10:5b) were added to these texts.

Because of the difficulties in reconstructing the structure of Q, some exegetes, such as J. Jeremias¹²⁴, T. R. Rosché¹²⁵, and H. T. Wrege¹²⁶, claim

¹²¹ P. Feine, J. Behm, W. G. Kümmel, *Enleitung in das Neue Testament*, Berlin 1965 (13), p. 62.

¹²² M. Devisch, “Les logia et leurs problèmes”, *ETL* 51 (1975), p. 86.

¹²³ D. R. Catchpole, “The Mission Charge in Q”, *Semeia* 55 (1992), pp. 147–172

¹²⁴ J. Jeremias, “Zur Hypothese einer schriftlichen Logienquelle”, *ZNW* 29 (1930), pp. 147–149.

¹²⁵ T. R. Rosché, “The Words of Jesus and Future of the “Q” Hypothesis”, *JBL* 79 (1960), pp. 210–220.

¹²⁶ H. T. Wrege, *Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der Bergpredigt*, Tübingen 1968.

that the Q source never existed in the written, but only in the oral, tradition. E. Linnemann¹²⁷ doubts that Q existed at all.

4.2.3.

Q texts also appear in the Gospel of Mark

A knotty problem with the acceptance of Q is posed by the fact that certain texts appear both in the Gospel of Mark and in Q.

A. Titius¹²⁸, author of the first study on the relationship of the Gospel of Mark to the source of Jesus' sermons in the synoptic Gospels, claimed that not only the doublets and similarities against Mark had a common non-Mark source, but also the logia from the Gospel of Mark which in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke appear in a different order. J. Weiss¹²⁹ shared this point of view. All the material of Jesus' speeches in the Synoptic Gospels, including those which in the Gospel of Mark take a different form than in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, was referred by him to a common source previous to the Gospel of Mark. He was convinced that Mark's text was secondary in relation to Q, and that it was virtually impossible to understand the speeches of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark without the use of Q. To explain why Mark did not incorporate the whole of Q into his Gospel, J. Weiss claimed that this was not necessary because the Q source was well-known in his Church. F. Nicolardot¹³⁰ regards as belonging to Q the following texts showing agreement of the Gospel of Matthew with the Gospel of Luke against Mark, which appear in the Gospel of Mark as well: Mk 1:2a–3:9; 2:18,23; 3:22b–30; 4:2–35; 6:7–12; 8:11–12; 8:34–9:1; 9:19,35–37b; 9:41–10:1; 10:14–16,29–31,42–45; 11:23–26; 12:38–39; 13:9–14,21; 13:34–14:1; 14:21.

Among the most significant texts of the Gospel of Mark regarded as common with Q by all the advocates of the Q theory, are (1) the Preaching of John the Baptist (Mk 1:7–8); (2) the Temptation of Jesus (Mk 1:12–13); (3) the Controversy over Beelzebul (Mk 3:22–30); (4) the Parable of the mustard seed (Mk 4:30–32); (5) the Mission of the Twelve (Mk 6:7–11). The following texts, on the other hand, evoke controversy: (1) the Baptism (Mk 1:9–11); (2) Jesus in Nazareth (Mk 6:1–6a); (3) the Greatest Commandment (Mk 1:9–11); (4) Condemnation of the scribes (Mk 12:38–40);

¹²⁷ E. Linnemann, "Is there a Gospel of Q?", *BiRe* 11/4 (1995) pp. 18–23, 42–43; E. Linnemann, "The Lost Gospel of Q – Fact or Fantasy?", *TrinJourn* 17/1 (1996), pp. 3–18.

¹²⁸ A. Titius, "Das Verhältnis der Herrenworte in Markusevangelium zu den Logia des Matthäus", [in] *Theologische Studien*. (Fs. B. Weiss) Göttingen 1987, pp. 284–331.

¹²⁹ J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangelium und der älteste evangelischen Überlieferung*, Göttingen 1903, pp. 372–380.

¹³⁰ F. Nicolardot, *Les procédés de rédaction des premiers Évangiles*, Paris 1908, p. 297.

(5) Various statements (Mk 4:21–25; 8:38; 9:42–50).¹³¹ According to R. Laufen¹³² there are 25 texts common for both Mk and Q. W. Schenk¹³³ also mentions 25 such texts:

Mk	Mt	Mk	Mt
1:2	11:10	8:11	12:39
1:7–8	3:11	8:34	10:38
1:13	4:11	8:35	10:39
1:16n; 1:1–13n	9:19–22	8:38	10:32
3:22–26	12:22–28	9:50	5:13
3:28–29	12:32	10:11b	5:22
4:21	5:15	10:31	20:16
4:22	10:26	11:23	17:20
4:30–32; 6:8–9	10:9–10	12:38–39	23:6
6:10	10:11	13:11	10:19–20
6:11	10:14		

M. Devisch¹³⁴, an advocate of the two-source hypothesis, admits that the occurrence of the same texts in the Gospel of Mark and in Q makes it difficult to accept the Q theory. According to him, however, it is necessary to remember that it is neither easy to reconstruct the Q source nor to distinguish between the tradition and redaction in the Gospel of Mark. C. M. Tuckett also agrees that the overlap of texts from Mark and Q would undermine the two-source hypothesis if this was to prove that Mark was familiar with Q. But, according to him, this problem is still under investigation.¹³⁵

Huby¹³⁶ and Léon-Dufour¹³⁷ hold the view that Q texts common with the Gospel of Mark clearly show that the two-source hypothesis is inadequate

¹³¹ Cf. F. Neirynck, “Assessment”, in: *Mark and Q. A Study of the Overlap Texts*, ed. H. Fleddermann (BETL 122), Leuven 1995.

¹³² R. Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferung der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums*, Bonn 1980, pp. 81–92.

¹³³ W. Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle der Evangelien, Q – Synopse und Rekonstruktion in deutscher Übersetzung mit kurzen Erläuterungen*, Düsseldorf, 1981, p. 137.

¹³⁴ M. Devisch, “La relations entre l’évangile de Marc et le document Q”, [in] M. Sabbe (ed.) *L’Évangile selon Marc. Tradition et redaction*, Gembloux 1974, p. 60.

¹³⁵ Cf. C. M. Tuckett, “Mark and Q”, [in] C. Focant (ed.), *The Synoptic Gospels: Source criticism and the new literary criticism*, Leuven 1993, pp. 153, 175.

¹³⁶ J. Huby, *L’évangile et les évangiles*, Paris 1929.

¹³⁷ X. Léon-Dufour, “Bulletin d’exégèse du Nouveau Testament. Autour de la question synoptique”, *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 43 (1954), pp. 549–584; idem, “Les évangiles synoptiques”, [in] A. Robert, A. Feuillet (eds.) *Introduction à la Bible, vol. II, Nouveau Testament*, Tournai-Paris, 1959, pp. 143–334; idem, *Les évangiles et l’histoire de Jésus*, Paris 1963; idem, *De Jésus aux Évangiles. Tradition et Redaction dans les évangiles synoptiques*, Fs. J. Coppens, Gembloux-Paris 1967, pp. 5–16.

to explain the synoptic problem; one should therefore accept the existence of various sources as the basis of the synoptic Gospels. Fuchs¹³⁸ and F. Kogler¹³⁹, similarly, believe that texts common for the Gospel of Mark and Q indicate that the present version of the Gospel of Mark derives from some earlier form of this Gospel. According to Grant¹⁴⁰, large differences in Mark's texts deriving from Q result from the fact that Mark quoted them from his memory.

For Sanders¹⁴¹, texts common for Mk and Q constitute a proof against the priority of the Gospel of Mark. The overlap of the texts in question led Goulder¹⁴² to the conclusion that Q had never existed.

4.2.4.

The relation of Q to the Gospel of Mark

The texts common for the Gospel Mark and Q raise the question of their literary interdependence: did Q influence the Gospel of Mark or was it the other way round?¹⁴³ The majority of advocates of the Q theory do not accept any literary interdependence between Q and the Gospel of Mark, among them P. Wernle¹⁴⁴, B. Streeter¹⁴⁵, W. Bussmann¹⁴⁶, W. Grundmann¹⁴⁷, W. G. Kümmel¹⁴⁸, V. Taylor¹⁴⁹, E. Güttgemans¹⁵⁰, and W. Schenk.¹⁵¹

The principal argument for the independence of the Gospel of Mark from Q is, according to them, the fact that in the Gospel of Mark there are very few Q texts. The doublets in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke which

¹³⁸ A. Fuchs, *Die Entwicklung der Beelzebulkontroverse bei den Synoptikern*, Linz 1980; A. Fuchs, "Versuchung Jesu", *SNTU* 9 (1984), pp. 95–159.

¹³⁹ F. Kogler, *Das Doppelgleichnis vom Senfkorn und Sauerteig in seiner traditionsgeschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Würzburg 1988.

¹⁴⁰ F. C. Grant, *The growth of the Gospels*, New York 1933, p. 11.

¹⁴¹ E. P. Sanders, "The Overlaps of Mark and Q and the Synoptic Problem", *NTS* 19 (1972–73), pp. 453–465.

¹⁴² M. D. Goulder, "On Putting Q to the Test", *NTS* 24 (1978), pp. 218–134.

¹⁴³ See: I. Dunderberg, "Q and the Beginning of Mark", *NTS* 24 (1978), pp. 218–234.

¹⁴⁴ P. Wernle, *Die synoptische frage*, Friburg-Leipzig-Tübingen 1899, pp. 208–215.

¹⁴⁵ B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels ...*, pp. 186–191.

¹⁴⁶ W. Bussmann, *Synoptische Studien, t. II. Zur Redenquelle*, Halle 1929, pp. 157–203.

¹⁴⁷ W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, Berlin 1959, p. 9.

¹⁴⁸ W. G. Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Heildeberg, 1966, p. 87.

¹⁴⁹ V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London 1957, 1966, p. 87.

¹⁵⁰ E. Güttgemans, *Offene Fragen zur Formgeschichte des Evangeliums. Eine methodologische Skizze der Grundlagenproblematik der Form – und Redaktionsgeschichte*, München 1970, pp. 226–227.

¹⁵¹ M. Devisch, "La relations entre l'évangile de Marc et le document Q", [in] M. Sabbe (ed.), *L'Évangile selon Marc. Tradition et rédaction*, Gembloux 1974, p. 82.

are said to be proofs of Mark's dependence on Q do not, in their opinion, indicate such dependence at all, because the Markan logia which are part of the given doublet do not appear in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke in the context of Q. Another argument may be the fact that Q texts in the Gospel of Mark differ significantly from Q texts in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Generally speaking, advocates of the independence of the Gospel of Mark from Q try to minimise the similarities between the Gospel of Mark and Q, or attribute them to the influence of oral tradition.

M. Devisch¹⁵² claims, however, that it is difficult to find a positive argument in favour of mutual literary independence of the Gospel of Matthew and Q. Without such dependence it is very difficult to explain the similarities between Markan Q texts and Q texts in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Therefore, many advocates of the two-source hypothesis accept the literary interdependence between the Gospel of Mark and Q, but there is no agreement among them as to which is older.

Some scholars maintain that Q was literarily dependent on the Gospel of Mark. According to Wellhausen¹⁵³, for example, it is highly improbable that Mark, knowing Q, would not have included it en bloc in his Gospel, especially the speeches of Jesus. He supports his opinion with the argument that Jesus' logia, scattered in the Gospel of Mark in different contexts, make well-structured sermons in Q, which points to their more advanced editorial stage. Jülicher¹⁵⁴, by contrast, believes that source Q came into being before the Gospel of Mark, but was developing in such a way that some of its texts (editions) were later than the Gospel of Mark. Mark did not include Jesus' speeches in his Gospel because the Q source was well-known and used in his Church.

Titius¹⁵⁵, Weiss¹⁵⁶, Nicolardot¹⁵⁷ and Larfeld¹⁵⁸, among others, opt for the dependence of the Gospel of Mark on Q. The same opinion is also shared

¹⁵² M. Devisch, "La relations entre l'évangile de Marc et le document Q", [in] M. Sabbe (ed.), *L'Évangile selon Marc. Tradition et redaction*, Gembloux 1974, p. 82.

¹⁵³ J. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in drei ersten Evangelien*, Berlin 1905, pp. 73–89.

¹⁵⁴ A. Jülicher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Tübingen 1894.

¹⁵⁵ A. Titius, "Das Verhältnis der Herrenworte im Markusevangelium zu den Logia des Matthäus", [in] *Theologische Studien*. (Fs. B. Weiss), Göttingen 1987, pp. 284–331.

¹⁵⁶ J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangelium und der älteste evangelischen Überlieferung*, Göttingen 1903, pp. 372–380.

¹⁵⁷ F. Nicolardot, *Les procédés de redaction des premiers Évangiles*, Paris 1908, pp. 215–216.

¹⁵⁸ W. Larfeld, *Die neutestamentlichen Evangelien nach ihrer Eigenart und Abhängigkeit untersucht*, Gütersloch 1925.

by Bacon¹⁵⁹, who considers the Gospel of Mark to be based on some S source comprising all texts attributed to Q. According to Schmithals¹⁶⁰, the Gospel of Mark is dependent on earlier “Grundschrift” and the initial form of Q as well as Q1. Schenk¹⁶¹, on the other hand, claims that the Gospel of Mark is based on an earlier version of this Gospel and on Q.

Defenders of the priority of the Gospel of Matthew, among them Jameson¹⁶², Champan¹⁶³, Butler¹⁶⁴, Farmer¹⁶⁵ and Dungan¹⁶⁶, believe that the overlapping of the texts attributed to Q with the Gospel of Mark indicates the latter's secondariness in relation to the Gospel of Matthew. Butler begins his book about the priority of the Gospel of Matthew with an analysis of five common Mt-Q texts. Let us examine two of his analyses, namely that of the parable of the mustard seed and the controversy over the expulsion of devils. Let us focus on the differences between the parallel texts.¹⁶⁷

Mk 4:30–32	Mt 13:31–33	Lk 13:18–21
30 He went on to say: “What comparison shall we use for the reign of God? What image will help to present it? 31 It is like mustard seed which, when planted in the soil, is the smallest of the earth's seeds,	31 He proposed still another parable: “The reign of God is like (homoia estin ē basileia tōn ouranōn) a mustard seed which someone took (kokkō sinapeōs, hon labōn anthrōpos) and sowed in his field. 32 It is the smallest seed of all,	18 Then he said: “What does the reign of God resemble? (tini homoia estin hē basileia tou theou) To what shall I liken it? 19 It is like mustard seed which a man took (kokkō sinapeōs, hon labōn athrōpos ebalen) and planted in his garden.

¹⁵⁹ B. Bacon, *Studies in Matthew*, London 1930, p. VIII.

¹⁶⁰ W. Schmithals, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, Gütersloch 1979; *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, Berlin 1985.

¹⁶¹ W. Schenk, *Der Einfluss der Logienquelle auf das Markusevangelium*, ZNW 70 (1979), pp. 141–156.

¹⁶² H. G. Jameson, *The Origin of the Synoptic Gospels, A Revision of the Synoptic Problem*, Oxford 1922, pp. 94–95, 119–129.

¹⁶³ J. H. Chapman, *Matthew, Mark and Luke. A Study in the Order and Interpretation of the Synoptic Gospels*, ed. J. M. T. Barton, London 1937, pp. 20–93.

¹⁶⁴ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew ...*, pp. 2–22.

¹⁶⁵ W. R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem. A Critical Analysis*, New York – London 1964, pp. 141–143.

¹⁶⁶ D. L. Dungan, *Mark – the Abridgement of Mathew and Luke*, [in] *Jesus and Man's Hope*, Pittsburg 1970, pp. 51–97.

¹⁶⁷ Underlining in the Mt column shows Mt-Lk agreement against Mk, **bold** shows Mt-Mk agreement against Lk. Underlining in the Lk column shows Lk-Mk agreement against Mk, **bold** shows Mt-Mk agreement against Lk. Underlining in the Lk column shows Lk-Mk agreement against Mt. See: B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew ...*, pp. 2, 9.

32 yet once it is sown, springs up to become the largest of shrubs, with branches big enough for the birds of the sky to build nests in its shade."	yet when fullgrown it is largest of plants. It becomes so big a shrub that the birds of the sky come and build their nests in its branches."	It grew and became a large shrub and the birds of the air nested in its branches.
	33 He offered them still another image: "The reign of God is like yeast which a women took and kneaded into three measures of flour. Eventually the whole mass of dough began to rise."	20 He went on: "To what shall I compare the reign of God? It is like yeast which a woman took to knead into three measures of flour until (heōs) the whole mass of dough began to rise."

Butler points out that Luke's fragment does not appear in the Markan context, and that there are quite significant agreements between the Gospels of Matthew and Mark against Luke, as well as between the Gospels of Matthew and Luke against Mark, while there is hardly any correspondence between Mark and Luke against Matthew; the formula introducing the parable in Lk 13:18 *tini homoia estin hē basileia tou theou* can be explained not as literary influence, but as reminiscence, and the same holds true for the word *ebalen* in Lk 13:19. Butler reminds that Streeter¹⁶⁸ gave the following explanation for this fact: Mark's version of the parable is probably independent of Q, while Luke adopted the parable from Q in its pure form. Matthew combined the Q version (from the Gospel of Luke) with Mark's version. Such an explanation – Butler maintains – faces the problem of showing why Mark's version is the most harmonious in terms of rhythm. Was it possible then for this version to have arisen as a result of connecting two sources which do not have rhythm? On the other hand, it is understandable why Luke changed "the field" (Mt) into "the garden". To sum up, according to Butler, the differences between the Gospels of Luke and Matthew do not indicate dependence on any independent source, but are the result of editorial changes. The dependence of Luke on Mark is confirmed by Luke's usage of the word *heōs* in the indicative. Such syntax is used by Luke here and in Acts 21:26, while Matthew uses it here and in 1:25, 2:9, 5:25, 24:39.

Similarly to the pericope mentioned above, the controversy over casting out the devil appears in the Gospel of Luke in a non-Markan context.

¹⁶⁸ B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* ..., p. 246.

Mk 3:23–30	Mt 12:25–32	Lk 11:17–23; 12:10
<p>23 <i>kai proskalesamenos autous en parabolais elegen autois:</i> <i>pōs dunatai satanan ekballein;</i> 24 <i>kai ean basileia ef' heautēn meristhē, ou dunatai stathēnai hē basileia ekeinē:</i> 25 <i>kai ean oikia ef' heautēn hē meristhē,</i> <i>ou dunesētai hē oikia ekeinē stēnai.</i> 26 <i>kai ei ho satanas anestē ef' heauton kai emeristhē, ou dunatai stēnai alla telos echei.</i></p> <p>27 <i>all' ou dunatai oudeis eis tēn oikian tou ischourou eiselthōn ta skeuē autou diarpasai, ean mē proton ton Ischuron dēsē, kai tote tēn Oikian autou diarpasei.</i></p> <p>28. <i>Amēn legō humein hoti panta afethēsetai tois huiōis tōn anthrōpō ta hamartēmata kai blasfēmia, hosa ean blasfēmēsōsin:</i></p>	<p>25 <i>eidōs de tas enthumēseis autōn eipen autois;</i> <i>pasa basileia meristheia kath' heauthēs erēmoutai, kai pasa polis ē oikia meristeheisa kath' heautēs stathēsetai.</i></p> <p>26 <i>kai ei ho satanas ton satanan ekballei, ef' heauton emeristhē: pōs oun stathēsetai hē basileia autou:</i> 27 <i>kai ei egō en Beeldzeboul ekballō ta daimonia, hoi huiōi humōn en tini ekballousin: dia touto autoi kritai</i> <i>esontai humōn.</i> 28 <i>ei de en pneumati thou egō ekballō ta daimonia, ara efthasen ef' humas hē basileia tou theou.</i> 29 <i>ē pōs dunatai tis eiselthein eis tēn oikian tou ischourou kai ta skeuē autou harpasai, ean mē proton dēsē ton ischuron;</i> <i>kai tote tēn oikian autou diarpasei.</i> 30 <i>Ho mē ōn met' emou kat' emou estin, kai ho mē sunagōn met' emou skorpionzei.</i> 31 <i>Dia touto legō</i></p>	<p>17 <i>autois de eidōs autōn ta dianoēmata eipen autois:</i> <i>pasa basileia ef' heautēn dimeristheisa erēmoutai, kai oikos epi oikon piptei.</i></p> <p>18 <i>ei de kai ho satanas ef' heauton diemeristhē, pōs stathesētai hē basileia autou; hoti legeite en Beeldzeboul ekballein me ta daimonia.</i> 19 <i>ei de egō en Beeldzeboul ekballō ta daimonia, hoi huiōi humōn en tini akballousin; dia touto autoi humōn kritai esontai.</i> 20 <i>ei de en daktulō theou ekballō ta daimonia, ara efthasen ef' humas hē basileia tou theou.</i> 21 <i>hotan ho ischuros kathōplismenos fulassē tēn heautou aulēn, en eirēnē estin ta huparchonta autou:</i> 22 <i>epan de ischuroteros autou epelthōn nikēsē auton, tēn panoplian autou airei, ef' hē epepoithei, kai ta skula autou diadidōsin.</i> 23 <i>Ho mē ōn met' emou kat' emou estin, hai ho mē sunagōn met' emou</i></p>

<p>29 hos an blasfēmēsē eis to pneuma to hagion, ouk echei afesin eis ton aiōna, alla enochos estin aiōniou hamertēmatos. 30 hoti elegōn: pneumata ekatharton echei.</p>	<p>humin, pasa hamartia kai blasfemia afethēsetai tois anthrōpois, hē de tou pneumatos blasfemia ouk afethēsetai. 32 kai hos ean eipē logon kata tou huiou tou anthrōpou, afethēsetai auto: hos de d' an eipē kata tou pneumatou tou hagiou, <u>ouk afethēsetai auto</u> oute en toutō aiōni oute en tō mellonti.</p>	<p>skorpidzei.</p> <p>12:10 Kai pas hos erei logon eis ton huion tou anthrōpou, afethēsetai autō: tō <u>de eis hagion pneuma blasfēmēsanti ouk afethēsetai.</u></p>
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Butler claims that Lk 11:18b may be a reminiscence of Mk 3:30, the words *eis to hagion pneuma blasfēmēsanti* in Lk 12:10 are a reminiscence of Mk 3:29, whereas the expression *ef' heautēn* in Lk 11:17 may have been adopted from Mt 12:26. Thus it is evident that the agreement between Luke and Mark against Matthew is minimal. Butler points out that in the introduction to the above-mentioned piece of text the excerpt Lk 11:14 is parallel not to Mt 12:22–23, but to its doublet in Mt 9:32–33, and in Lk 11:16 it is parallel to Mk 8:11 (Mt 16:1). Furthermore, he demonstrates that in Luke's variant of the alleged Q text there are certain expressions characteristic of Matthew: *dia touto* (only one more example in Lk 11:49 = Mt 23:34; 12:22 = Mt 6:25; 14:20); cf. Mt 23:34; 6:25; 13:31; 13:13; 13:52; 14:2; 18:23; 21:43; 24:44. The word *sunagein* (Lk 11:23) is a favourite one of Matthew, and it seldom appears in the Gospel of Luke. Besides, the structure of this fragment seems to be much more harmonious in the Gospel of Matthew than in the Gospels of Mark and Luke. According to Butler, Q in this case entirely overlaps with the text in the Gospel of Matthew, it is Matthew's text.¹⁶⁹

The analysis of five common Mk-Q texts allows Butler to infer that the similarity between Matthew and Luke in texts common with Mark (but different in the Gospel of Mark from the other synoptic Gospels), which the advocates of the two-source hypothesis believe to be the result of Matthew's

¹⁶⁹ Cf. B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew ...*, p. 12.

connecting Mark's text with Q, can easily be explained if one assumes that Luke's text derives directly from Matthew.¹⁷⁰

4.2.5. Differences in Q texts

The existence of the Q source is supposed to account for the agreements between the Gospels of Matthew and Luke against Mark and, initially, it seems to fulfil the task. The matter becomes more and more complicated, however, when texts common for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke are compared with each other. It turns out that there are some differences between them, too. In some fragments of Q the differences in question reach 50% and concern the order of pericopes, their structure and vocabulary.¹⁷¹ J. Jeremias¹⁷² pointed to two such differences which, in his opinion, question the very existence of the written version of the Q source: 1) Differences in the Lord's Prayer between the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke; 2) Differences in the order of some logia between the same Gospels, e.g. the logia collected in Lk 13:22–30 have their parallel logia in as many as five places of the Gospel of Matthew: 7:13–14; 25:10–12; 7:22–23; 8:11–12; 19:30 (20:16). The logia from the Matthean Sermon on the Mount appear in the Gospel of Luke not only in the parallel sermon on the plain, but also in many other places of this Gospel.

The question arises why the texts common for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke are different if they supposedly originated from the same Q source.

Advocates of the Q source offer two possible solutions to this problem: 1) source Q was subjected to subsequent redactions, and Matthew and Luke used different versions of the source; 2) Matthew and Luke made far-reaching changes in the Q text, they probably deleted and added some elements or changed the order of pericopes.

Even P. Wernle¹⁷³ was convinced that the source called by him Q had been reworded several times, hence one could refer to Q1, Q2, Q3, Qj (the work of the Judaizers), Qmt (used by Matthew) and Qlc (used by Luke). A. von Harnack¹⁷⁴ claimed that Q consisted of several documents.

¹⁷⁰ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew ...*, p. 23.

¹⁷¹ Cf. V. Taylor, "The Elusive Q", *ExpTim* 46 (1934–1935), p. 70.

¹⁷² J. Jeremias, "Zur Hypothese einer schriftlichen Logienquelle Q", *ZNW* 29 (1930), pp. 147–149.

¹⁷³ P. Wernle, *Die Synoptische Frage*, 1899.

¹⁷⁴ A. Von Harnack, *Sprüche und Reden Jesu. Die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas*, Leipzig 1907, pp. 125–127.

C. S. Patton¹⁷⁵ distinguished three subsequent redactions of Q: Q1, Q2, Q3. W Bussmann¹⁷⁶ considered it necessary to differentiate two sources in Q: QA and QB. To explain why the Q texts in the Gospel of Mark differ from the Q texts in the Gospel of Matthew and that of Luke (the last two being similar to each other), A. E. J. Rawlinson¹⁷⁷ put forward the hypothesis that Mark had relied on a Q review which was well-known in Rome and which he called QR. The same standpoint was adopted by Honey.¹⁷⁸ E. Hirsch¹⁷⁹, in turn, mentions three stages in the development of the Q source. According to him, Luke made of the final, third redaction. Q. J. P. Brown¹⁸⁰ connects each synoptic Gospel with another redaction of Q, therefore we have QMt, QMk, QLk. Brown¹⁸¹ claims that the agreement between QMk and QMt in the places where they differ from QLk can be explained by the existence of the review QRev which was known to Matthew and Mark, but not to Luke. The existence of such a review is also accepted by Lambrecht.¹⁸² Texts Mk 13:9–13 were, according to him, taken from QMk, which also contained Mt 10:5b–42, 5:13–15.25–34, and 7:1–5. H. Schurmann¹⁸³ distinguishes four redactions of Q. S. Schulz¹⁸⁴ and A. Polag¹⁸⁵, on the basis of their thorough analyses, distinguish two layers in Q, namely the kerygma of the oldest communities from the area of Palestine and Syria and the kerygma of younger communities from Syria. P. Vielhauer¹⁸⁶ came to the conclusion that the Q source must have contained earlier and later material but did not propose

¹⁷⁵ C. S. Patton, *The Source of the Synoptic Gospels*, New York 1915.

¹⁷⁶ W. Bussmann, *Synoptische Studien*, vol. I Halle, 1925; vol. II. Halle 1929, vol. III, Halle 1931.

¹⁷⁷ A. E. J. Rawlinson, *St. Mark. With Introduction, Commentary and Additional Notes*, London 1925, ²1927, pp. XXXIV–XL.

¹⁷⁸ T. E. F. Honey, “Did Mark Use Q?”, *JBL* (1943), pp. 319–331.

¹⁷⁹ E. Hirsch, *Frügeschichte des Evangeliums*. 1 Buch. DasWerdendes Markusevangeliums; 2. Buch. Die Vorlagen des Lukas und das Sondergut des Matthäus, Tübingen 1941.

¹⁸⁰ J. P. Brown, “Mark as Witness to an Edition Form of Q”, *JBL* 78 (1959), pp. 24–44; idem, “An Early Revision of the Gospel of Mark”, *JBL* 78 (1959) 215–227; idem, “Synoptic Parallels in the Epistles and For-History”, *NTS* 10 (1964), pp. 27–48.

¹⁸¹ J. P. Brown, “An Early Revision of the Gospel of Mark”, *JBL* 78 (1966), pp. 321–360.

¹⁸² J. Lambrecht, “Die Logia-Quelle von Markus 13”, *Biblica* 47 (1966), pp. 321–360.

¹⁸³ H. Schürmann, “Beobachtungen zum Menschensohn-Titel in der Redequelle. Sein Vorkommen in Abschluss und Einleitungswendungen”, [in] *Jesus und der Menschensohn – Festschr. A. Vögtle*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1975, pp. 124–147.

¹⁸⁴ S. Schulz, *Q – Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten*, Zürich 1972.

¹⁸⁵ A. Polag, *Die Christologie der Logienquelle*, Neukirchen 1977, pp. 17.

¹⁸⁶ P. Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur. Einleitung in das Neue Testament, die Apokryphen und die Apostolischen Väter*, Berlin 1981.

clear criteria of reconstructing its literary layers. J. S. Kloppenborg¹⁸⁷ distinguishes three stages in the development of Q: (1) sapiential instructions; (2) later additions; (3) additions of a biographical character.

4.2.6.

Lack of important themes of the synoptic tradition in the Q source

The Q source contains, according to the advocates of this theory, about 1/5 of the Gospel of Matthew and about 1/6 of the Gospel of Luke, nearly 250 verses in total. It is amazing that in such a large collection of the evangelical tradition there are no allusions to the Passion and the Resurrection of Jesus, and that it contains very few parables and only one description of a miracle (Lk 7:1–10) as well as few legal texts (only Lk 16:16 and 17:3.4) and polemics of Jesus.¹⁸⁸ The Q source consists mostly of short logia containing sapiential maxims and admonitions.

Advocates of the two-source hypothesis argue that the content of the collection is connected with a definite “Sitz im Leben”, i.e. the purpose of the collection and its literary genre. This begs the question about the environment of the Q source. But here one encounters certain problems. If sapiential maxims and admonitions prevail in Q, then one may infer that the collection came into being for parenetic purposes, for the purpose of admonishing, instructing and encouraging. W. D. Davies¹⁸⁹, however, is strongly opposed to such a suggestion. On the basis of E. G. Selwyn's¹⁹⁰ research he claims that Q does not possess essential elements of a classical catechetical scheme. Also Käsemann¹⁹¹ maintains that moral teaching could not have been the purpose of the collection, because then it would have definitely contained a mention of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus, which were closely connected with the Christian morality. Another question to be raised here is why a collection of this type includes such narratives as the one about the teaching of John the Baptist, that about the sign of Jonah and the one about Beelzebub.

¹⁸⁷ J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q. Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections*, Philadelphia 1987.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. K. Romaniuk, *Co to jest źródło Q?*, pp. 17ff.

¹⁸⁹ W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, Cambridge 1964, pp. 366–368.

¹⁹⁰ E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, London 1946.

¹⁹¹ E. Käsemann, *Zum Thema der urchristlichen Apokalyptik (Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen)*, II, Tübingen 1964, p. 115.

Some scholars believe that the purpose of the collection was to supplement with ethical teachings the kerygma contained in the Gospel of Mark about the forthcoming reign of God. The kerygma in question focused on the story of the Passion and Resurrection. At some stage in the life of a Christian commune it was necessary to provide definite rules of conduct and encourage the people to follow them.¹⁹² Nevertheless, it is difficult to agree with the opinion that the Q collection came into being as a supplement to the Gospel of Mark. If it had been meant as a supplement, why was the pericope about the sign of Jonah (Mt 12:28–40/Lk 11:16.29–32) included in it? A similar pericope had already appeared in the Gospel of Mark (8:11–13) and it was included in the Gospel of Matthew and in a shortened form in the Gospel of Luke (Mt 16:1–4/Lk 12:54–56). Why is the account of the multiplication of loaves present in Q? There was a similar one in the Gospel of Mark (therefore Matthew has two such accounts).

Another “Sitz im Leben” of Q suggested by scholars is the liturgy of the community.¹⁹³ During Eucharistic meetings the words of the Lord were given to participants and commented upon, and the events from Jesus’ life were contemplated. Over time, some collections of Jesus’ teaching proved to be necessary. If, however, such a collection had been of a liturgical character, it would not have contained so little about the miracles of Jesus. It is unlikely that Jesus’ miracles were not mentioned during Eucharistic meetings. If liturgical character is understood as inspiration for a common prayer, the Q collection does not correspond to such a “Sitz im Leben”, either, because it contains texts of a polemic character, e.g. the pericope about the sign of Jonah, about Beelzebub, the threats of punishment against Galilean cities, the logia against the Pharisees, or sympathy for Jerusalem.

According to yet another opinion, the collection of logia was supposed to serve Christian missionaries and apologists, and its “Sitz im Leben” was to be the missionary work. Such a view was held by Taylor¹⁹⁴, among others. Yet one encounters difficulty here, since it is impossible to imagine the preaching of the Gospel without the mention of the Death and Resurrection of Jesus. It is well-known from the Acts of the Apostles that those themes were essential in the propagation of the Good News.

¹⁹² Eg. T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, London 1937, p. 9.

¹⁹³ Cf. K. Romaniuk, *Co to jest źródło Q?*, p. 26.

¹⁹⁴ V. Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition*, London 1935, p. 182.

According to F. G. Downing¹⁹⁵, Q resembles the “bios” of a Cynic philosopher. However, this opinion has been criticised by C. M. Tuckett.¹⁹⁶

Some scholars compare the Q collection with the Coptic apocryphal Gospel of Thomas, which was discovered in 1945 in the Gnostic library in Nag-Hammadi and supposedly contained 114 logia of Jesus.¹⁹⁷ A great many of those logia resemble the logia of Jesus from the canonical Gospels. According to H. K. Mc Arthur¹⁹⁸, the similarities between the Gospel of Thomas and Q are so significant that Q should be identified with that apocryphal text. Yet not all scholars agree with such a thesis. There are differences between the Q collection and the Gospel of Thomas, too. In the latter only the instructions of Jesus appear, whereas the former also contains narrative pericopes, such as the account of the activity of Saint John the Baptist, the account of the temptation of Jesus or of the healing of the centurion's slave as well as polemic statements against the Pharisees. Besides, the Gospel of Thomas is clearly Gnostic. Taking into consideration the differences between the two collections, J.M. Robinson¹⁹⁹ does not identify one with the other. He considers the Q collection to be a set of sapiential instructions (*logoi sofōn* – words of sages) and defines it as a later stage in the development of the literary genre represented by the Gospel of Thomas.

The fact that the Gospel of Thomas has Gnostic features is, for such scholars as S. L. Davies²⁰⁰, an argument that it goes back to 2nd century AD, and therefore neither its identification with Q nor its influence on Q is possible. It is much more likely that the synoptic Gospels influenced the Gospel of Thomas. J. D. Crossan²⁰¹, H. Koester²⁰² and B. H. Mc Lean²⁰³, among others, opt for the influence of the Gospel of Thomas on Q, whereas

¹⁹⁵ F. G. Downing, *Christ and Cynics. Jesus and Other Radical Preachers in First Century Tradition*, Sheffield 1984; idem, “Quite like Q. A genre for Q: The ‘Lives’ of Cynic Philosophers”, *Bib* 69 (1988) 196–225; idem, “A Genre of Q and Socio-Cultural Context for Q. Comparing Sets of Similarities with Sets of Differences”, *JSNT* 55 (1994) pp. 3–26.

¹⁹⁶ C. M. Tuckett, “A Cynic Q?”, *Bib* 70 (1989), pp. 349–376.

¹⁹⁷ See: B. Chilton, “The Gospel according to Thomas as Source of Jesus’ Teaching”, [in] D. Wedham (ed.), *The Jesus Tradition outside the Gospels*, Sheffield 1984.

¹⁹⁸ H. K. Mc Arthur, *The Gospel According to Thomas* (New Testament Sidelight – Festschr. A. Purdy) Hartford 1960, pp. 44 ff.

¹⁹⁹ J. M. Robinson, “LOGOI SOPHON: On the Gattung of Q”, [in] *Trajectories through Early Christianity*, ed. J. Robinson & H. Koester, Philadelphia 1971, pp. 71–113.

²⁰⁰ S. L. Davies, *The Gospel of Thomas and Christian Wisdom*, New York 1983, p. 33.

²⁰¹ J. D. Crossan, *In Fragments: Aphorisms of Jesus*, San Francisco 1983.

²⁰² H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, Philadelphia 1990, pp. 84–86.

²⁰³ B. H. Mc Lean, “On the Gospel of Thomas and Q”, [in] R. A. Piper (ed.), *The Gospel Behind the Gospels, Current Studies on Q*, Leiden – New York – Köln, 1995, p. 325.

Kasser²⁰⁴ and C. Tuckett²⁰⁵, for example, believe in the dependence of the Gospel of Thomas on the synoptic tradition.

Although Q contains no account of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus, i.e. the essential elements of the evangelical proclamation, many Biblicists consider it to be the primary gospel. P. Wernle²⁰⁶ was positive that the Q source was the oldest version of Jesus' teaching and as such could be called "the Gospel of Jesus".²⁰⁷ A. Jülicher²⁰⁸ reckoned that the Q source had originally been only a collection of instructions, which later, under the influence of Mark's Gospel, took the form of a semi-gospel (*Halbevangelium*) and complemented the Gospel of Mark during catechesis. According to B. W. Bacon²⁰⁹, the author of Q wished to present Jesus as "God's Wisdom" and as the suffering Servant of Jahveh, which is proved by the quotation from Is 42:1–4 placed in Mt 12:18–21.

This quote is the key to understanding the whole document. Developing J. M. Robinson's²¹⁰ suggestions, H. Koester²¹¹ comes to the conclusion that Q is a kerygmatic document which can be called the "Sapiential Gospel." According to D. Dormeyer²¹² and J. S. Kloppenborg²¹³, the Q source seems to be a special kind of a biography, i.e. the "Sayings Gospel", because it contains the account of John the Baptist's activity as well as the accounts of the temptation of Jesus and of the healing of the centurion's slave, all of which are short narrative excerpts. Dormeyer claims that the author of the collection imitated Hellenistic collections and collections from the time of the second temple as well as biographies of the Old Testament, e.g. of David, Gideon and Moses.

²⁰⁴ R. Kasser, *L'Évangile selon Thomas: Présentation et commentaire théologique*, Neuchâtel 1961.

²⁰⁵ C. M. Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and Gospel Tradition: Synoptic Tradition in the Nag Hammadi Library*, Edinburgh 1986.

²⁰⁶ P. Wernle, *Die synoptische Frage*, Leipzig Freiburg Tübingen 1899, pp. 228–230.

²⁰⁷ Cf. also: M. Borg, *The Lost Gospel Q: The Original Sayings of Jesus*. Introduction T. Moore, (eds.) M. Powelson, R. Riegert, Berkeley 1996.

²⁰⁸ A. Jülicher, *Enleitung in das Neue Testament*, Tübingen 1906, pp. 348, 364.

²⁰⁹ B. W. Bacon, "Nature and Design of Q, the Second Synoptic Source", *HibJ* 22 (1923–24), pp. 680–686.

²¹⁰ J. M. Robinson, *LOGOI SOFON: Zur Gattung der Spruchquelle Q. Zeit und Geschichte, Dunkesgaben an R. Bultmann*, Tübingen 1964, pp. 77–96.

²¹¹ H. Koester, "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels", *HTR* 73 (1980), p. 113.

²¹² D. Dormeyer, *Das Neue Testament in Rahmen der antiken Literaturgeschichte. Eine Einführung*, Die Altertumswissenschaft, Darmstadt 1993, p. 219.

²¹³ J. S. Kloppenborg, *Conflict and Invention. Literary, Rhetorical, and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q*, Valley Forge, Pa 1995; idem, *Excavating Q. The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel*, Minneapolis 2000.

A. Paciorek defines the Q source as the “Galilean Gospel”.²¹⁴ The title “Gospel” is justified, in his opinion, by the fact that certain Apocrypha which are not of the narrative character are also called gospels, e.g. the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Philip, the Gospel of the Truth. Then, following J. Robinson, he refers to the usage in Q of the word *euaggelizesthai* (Q 7:22 *the poor have the good news preached to them*), which he thinks indicates that the author of the collection considered its content to be the gospel.²¹⁵ Paciorek also accepts the argumentation of Dormeyer referred to above. Considering the Q document's links with Galilee (geographical names and images of both rural and town life, etc.), Paciorek is convinced that this gospel must have been written in Galilee.²¹⁶ As for the time of its creation, he believes it may have been in the fifties or in the early sixties, whereas its final redaction might have taken place just after the year AD 70.²¹⁷

It is difficult, however, to agree with the opinion that Q is an early gospel, even assuming that “a gospel” as a literary genre could also contain collections of instructions without narrative parts. Since the Q document contains very few narrative texts, it does not fit among the canonical Gospels. On the other hand, by virtue of having narrative texts, Q does not fit in with the Gospel of Thomas, either. The hypothesis that the narrative parts were added later is not plausible, for it cannot logically explain why the account of the activity of John the Baptist and the account of the healing of the centurion's servant were added. If Q had preceded the Gospel of Mark, then the very important pronouncement of Jesus in Nazareth should have been included in it. And if Q had not preceded the Gospel of Mark, then the account of John's activity, already present in the Gospel of Mark, should not have been included in it. Why was the author of Q more interested in the activity of John the Baptist than in the miracles of Jesus? Why did he omit the miracles of Jesus which Jesus himself indicated as the signs of his Messianic dignity (cf. Mt 11:2–6 and Lk 7:18–23)? Which parts of the Q collection apart from the blessings containing a promise of the Kingdom of Heaven (for the poor and persecuted – Q 6:20. 22–23) constitute the Gospel? In fact, such blessings cannot be the Gospel if they are not connected with the message about the Resurrection of Jesus. Without the account of the Passion

²¹⁴ A. Paciorek, *Q – Ewangelia Galilejska*, Lublin 2001, p. 235.

²¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 234.

²¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 145 and 236. Document Q against the background of the missionary activity of Jesus is also discussed in P. Chittanapilly, “The Q and Galilean Jesus Movement: A Social Historical Perspective”, *Bible Bhashyam* 27/3 (2001), pp. 174–194 and *Bible Bhashyam* 27/4 (2001), pp. 286–308.

²¹⁷ A. Paciorek, *Q – Ewangelia Galilejska*, p. 173.

and Resurrection of Jesus, this “*euangelion*” is no longer a gospel and lacks conviction. What would be the purpose of such a “gospel” and who would it serve?

Another hypothetical possibility is that Q was a collection of notes taken live by a disciple while Jesus was teaching. This hypothesis is not acceptable, either. If such notes had been taken live, then there would not be so many differences between e.g. the Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel of Matthew and the parallel sermon on the plain in the Gospel of Luke. Nobody would have dared to subject the actual sermons of Jesus taken down live to such invasive revision. Furthermore, should the author of the notes or somebody else have added to them the accounts of John the Baptist’s activity and of the temptation of Jesus, why would he not have later added an account of the paschal events?

4.3.

Agreement between the texts of Matthew and Luke against Mark (minor agreements)

There are numerous texts in the Gospel of Matthew shared by the Gospels of Mark and Luke in which minor elements of Matthew’s and Luke’s texts correspond to each other but differ from Mark’s. E. A. Abbot²¹⁸ enumerates 230 such cases. Hawkins²¹⁹ gives 21 examples, 11 of which have been rejected by Lagrange²²⁰, who in turn adds 11 new ones. The examples refer both to individual words and to short excerpts like the following ones: the passage about the predecessor of Jesus (Mt 3:1ff. = Lk 3:1ff./Mk 1:1ff.), the text about the fasting and temptation of Jesus in the desert (Mt 4:1–11 = Lk 4:1–13/Mk 1:12–13), the defence of Jesus against the accusation of his dealings with Beelzebub (Mt 12:23ff. = Lk 11:15 ff/Mk 3:22ff.), parts of the sermon against the scribes and the Pharisees (Mt 23:1ff. and paral.), parts of the eschatological sermon (Mt 24–25 and paral.)

Interesting examples of agreements between the Gospels of Matthew and Luke against Mark are given by Boismard in his philological analysis of Mk 1:32–34.²²¹

²¹⁸ E. A. Abbot, *Diatessarica*, II, 1901, pp. 307–324.

²¹⁹ J. C. Hawkins, *Horae* ..., pp. 201 ff.

²²⁰ M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon St. Luc*, 1927, pp. LXX–LXXIII.

²²¹ M.-É. Boismard, “Étude sur Mc 1,32–34”, [in] *The Four Gospels 1992, Festschrift – Frans Neirynck*, ed. F. van Segbroeck, vol. I, Leuven 1992, pp. 987–995.

Mt 8	Mk 1	Lk 4
16 As evening drew on, they brought him (prosēnegkan autō) many who were possessed. He expelled the spirits by a simple command and cured all who were afflicted,	After sunset, as evening drew on, they brought him (eferon pros auton) all who were ill, and those possessed by demons. Before long the whole town gathered outside the door. 34 Those whom he cured, who were variously afflicted, were many, and so were the demons he expelled. But he would not permit the demons to speak, because they knew him.	40 At sunset, all who had people sick with a variety of diseases took them to him (ēgagon autous pros auton), and he laid hands on each of them and cured them. 41 Demons departed from many, crying out as they did so, "You are the son of God!" He rebuked them and did not allow them to speak because they knew that he was the Messiah.

In the above text Mark says that the sick were brought to Jesus: *eferon pros auton*. Matthew, however, uses another expression in the parallel text: *prosēnegkan autō* (8:16), while Luke in his parallel text uses *ēgagon autous pros auton* (4:40). The advocates of the two-source hypothesis explain this change thus: Matthew and Luke considered the Markan expression "they brought" to be inappropriate, because many sick people were probably able to come on their own, and therefore they changed the expression. Boismard claims that this is theoretically possible, but the matter seems to be much more complicated when one takes into account other parallel texts in which the verb "to bring" appears in the Gospel of Mark. There are seven such texts²²²:

Mk	Mt	Lk
1:32 <i>eferon</i>	8:16 <i>prosēnegkan</i>	4:40 <i>ēgagon</i>
2:3 <i>ferontes</i>	9:2 <i>proseferon</i>	5:18 <i>ferontes</i>
9:19 <i>ferete</i>	17:17 <i>ferete</i>	9:41 <i>prosagage</i>
11:2 <i>ferete</i>	21:2 <i>agagete</i>	19:30 <i>agagete</i>
11:7 <i>ferousin</i>	21:7 <i>ēgagon</i>	19:35 <i>ēgagon</i>
12:15 <i>ferete</i>	22:19 <i>epideiksate</i>	20:24 <i>deiksate</i>
15:22 <i>ferousin</i>	27:33 <i>elthontes</i>	23:33 <i>hote ēlthon</i>

In Mk 2:3 and paral., a paralytic carried on a stretcher is referred to. All the synoptics use the same word. In Mk 9:19 and paral. it is an epileptic able to walk who is mentioned and for this reason Luke uses another verb. The excerpt Mk 11:2.7 and paral. is about a donkey which the disciples were to bring to Jesus. The verb used here by Mark is inappropriate, whereas Matthew and Luke use a correct word so one can assume that it was they

²²² M.-É. Boismard, "Étude sur Mc 1,32–34", p. 991.

who made the change. In Mk 12:15 and paral., on the other hand, the situation is utterly different: Christ's order is "to bring" the coin and Mark uses the proper verb. The question arises here why Matthew and Luke, independently of each other, changed "to bring" into "to show." In Mk 15:22 and paral. the idea is to "bring" Jesus to Golgotha and so the usage of the verb *ferrein* is a mistake here. Yet it is hard to explain why Matthew and Luke, independently of each other, use the same verb "to come", which is not the most obvious choice. Boismard claims that the two-source hypothesis is not in a position to account for this. Neither can it explain why in the next four cases Matthew and Luke use exactly the same new word to replace the one used by Mark. It is more appropriate to assume that it was Mark who made changes introducing one of his favourite words – *ferrein* – even into contexts where it did not fit.

In 1:33 Mark says that "The whole town was gathered at the door." Matthew and Luke do not mention a "door". What is more, in two other cases where Mark refers to the door, namely in 2:2 and 11:4, the mention of it is skipped by Matthew and Luke in their parallel texts. In Mk 3:20 one can read that because of a great crowd Jesus had no time for eating. In Mk 6:31 it is said that the disciples had no time for eating due to a crowd. In Mk 8:1 again there is a mention of a crowd: this time the crowd gathered around Jesus had nothing to eat. In parallel texts in the Gospel of Matthew and Luke there is no mention of a crowd. Similarly, there is no reference to the crowd in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke in texts parallel to Mk 2:15 and 3:9, where the crowd is mentioned. Boismard therefore asks how it was possible that both Matthew and Luke, independently of each other, removed the mention of the door and of the crowd. According to him, it is more logical to conclude that Mark expanded on his sources to make his accounts more vivid.²²³

Although R. H. Gundry accepts the two-source hypothesis, he claims that minor agreements pose a serious problem which should not be ignored. He is positive that the agreements between the Gospels of Matthew and Luke against Mark clearly show, due to their number, accumulation in certain texts, and character, that Luke made use of the Gospel of Matthew. With such agreements in mind, Gundry analyzed, among other passages, the narrative of the healing of an epileptic (Mt 17:14–20/Mk 9:14–29/Lk 9:37–43):

²²³ M.-É. Boismard, "Étude sur Mc 1, 32–34", p. 992.

Mt 17	Mk 9	Lk 9
<p>14 As they approached the crowd, a man (anthrōpos) came up to him and knelt before him. 15 "Lord", he said (legōn), "take pity on my son, who is demented and in a serious condition. For example, he often falls into the fire and frequently into the water.</p> <p>16 I have brought him to your disciples but they could not cure him (ouk ēdunēthēsan)."</p> <p>17 In reply Jesus said (apokritheis de ho Iēsous eipen): "What an unbelieving and perverse lot you are! How long must I remain with you? How long can I endure you? Bring him here to me!" 18 Then Jesus reprimanded him, and the demon came out of him. That very moment the boy was cured (etherapeuthē). 19 The disciples approached Jesus at that point and asked him privately, "Why could we not expel it?" 20 "Because you have so little trust," he told them. "I assure you, if you had faith the size of a mustard seed, you would be able to say to this mountain, 'Move from here to there,' and it would move. Nothing would be impossible for you.</p>	<p>14 As they approached the disciples, they saw a large crowd around, and scribes in lively discussion with them. 15 Immediately on catching sight of Jesus, the whole crowd was overcome with awe. They ran up to greet him. 16 He asked them, "What are you discussing among yourselves?" 17 "Teacher," a man in the crowd replied (apekrithē), "I have brought my son to you because he is possessed by a mute spirit. 18 Whenever it seizes him it throws him down; he foams at the mouth and grind his teeth and becomes rigid. Just now I asked your disciples to expel him, but they were unable to do so (ouk ischusan)." 19 He replied by saying to the crowd, "What an unbelieving lot you are! How long must I remain with you? How long can I endure you? Bring him to me." 20 When they did so the spirit caught sight of Jesus and immediately threw the boy into convulsions. As he fell to the ground he began to roll around and foam at the mouth. 21 Then Jesus questioned the father: "How long has this been happening to him?" "From childhood," the father replied.</p>	<p>37 The following day they came down (kathelthontōn) from the mountain and a large crowd met them. Suddenly a man (anēr) from the crowd exclaimed (legōn): "Teacher, I beg you to look at my son; he is my only child. 39 A spirit takes possession of him and with a sudden cry throws him into a convulsion and makes him foam at the mouth, then abandons him in his shattered condition.</p> <p>40 I asked your disciples to cast out the spirit but they could not." 41 Jesus said in reply: "What an unbelieving and perverse lot you are! How long must I remain with you? How long can I endure you? Bring your son here to me." 42 As he was being brought, the spirit threw him into convulsions on the ground. Jesus then rebuked the unclean spirit, cured the boy, and restored him to his father. 43 And all who saw it marveled at the greatness of God.</p>

<p>21 <i>[This kind does not leave but by prayer and fasting.]</i>"</p>	<p>22 <i>Often it throws him into fire and into water. You would think it would kill him. If out of the kindness of your heart you can do anything to help us, please do!</i>" 23 <i>Jesus said, "If you can"? Everything is possible to a man who trusts."</i> 24 <i>The boy's father immediately exclaimed, "I do believe! Help my lack of trust!"</i> 25 <i>Jesus, on seeing a crowd rapidly gathering, reprimanded the unclean spirit by saying to him, "Mute and deaf spirit, I command you: Get out of him and never enter him again!"</i> 26 <i>Shouting, and throwing the boy into convulsions, it came out of him; the boy became like a corpse, which caused many to say, "He is dead."</i> 27 <i>But Jesus took him by the hand and helped him to his feet.</i> 28 <i>When Jesus arrived at the house his disciples began to ask him privately, "Why is it that we could not expel it?"</i> 29 <i>He told them, "This kind you can drive out only by prayer."</i></p>	
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Gundry²²⁴ points to the numerous Mt-Lk versus Mk similarities appearing in the analyzed text. He says:

"Both Matthew and Luke use the genitive absolute with *(kat)elthontōn* at the beginning of a sentence. Both show Jesus with a crowd rather than with the disciples. Both skip the text Mk 9:14–16. Both replace the Markan expression 'one from the crowd' with another one (Matthew: *anthrōpos*;

²²⁴ R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art*, Grand Rapids 1982, p. 353.

Luke: *anēr*). Both introduce the man's utterance with *legōn* and have him ask for help at once. Both use *ouk ēdunēthēsan* instead of Mark's *ouk ischusan*. In the introduction to Jesus' reply they both add "Jesus", skip "to them" and change "says" into "said". In the description of the unfaithful generation they both add "and deceitful" and in the command to bring the boy they add "here." Both Matthew and Luke omit the text Mk 9:20–24. They also skip the mention of Jesus seeing the gathering of the crowd and the mention of the boy's convulsions and of the fact that Jesus picked up the boy. Both Evangelists call the unclean spirit a demon (though Luke uses the Markan term, too). They both describe the healing (Matthew: *etherapeuthē*; Luke: *iasato*) and refer it to the boy using the word *pais*."

According to Gundry, the key point is that Matthew's texts concordant with Luke's against those of Mark have features typical of Matthew and sometimes directly contradictory with Luke's own characteristic features. All this leads to the conclusion that Luke adopted them from the Gospel of Matthew. Let us examine at least two of the examples given by Gundry²²⁵:

Mt 10	Mk 3	Lk 6
1 Then he summoned his twelve disciples and gave them authority to expel unclean spirits and cure sickness and disease of every kind. 2 The names of twelve apostles are these: first Simon, now known as Peter, and his brother Andrew; James Zebedee's son, and his brother John; Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew the tax collector; James, son of Alpheus, and Thaddaeus; Simon the Zealot Party member, and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him.	13 He then went up the mountain and summoned the men he himself had decided on, who came and joined him. 14 He named twelve as his companions whom he would send to preach the good news; 15 they were likewise to have authority to expel demons. 16 He appointed the Twelve as follows: 17 Simon to whom he gave the name Peter; James, son of Zebedee; and John, the brother of James (he gave these two the name Boanerges, or "sons of thunder"); 18 Andrew, Philip, Bartholomew,	12 Then he went out to the mountain to pray, spending the night in communion with God. 13 At daybreak he called his disciples and selected twelve of them to be his apostles: 14 Simon, to whom he gave the name Peter, and Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, 15 Matthew and Thomas, James son of Alphaeus, and Simon called the Zealot, 16 Judas son of James, and Judas Iscariot, who turned traitor.

²²⁵ See R. H. Gundry, "Matthean foreign bodies in agreements of Luke with Matthew against Mark. Evidence that Luke used Matthew", [in] *The Four Gospels 1992, Festschrift Frans Nairynck*. Ed. by F. Van Segbroeck, Leuven 1992, pp. 1464–1480.

	<i>Matthew, Thomas, James son of Alphaeus; Thaddaeus, Simon of the Zealot party, 19 and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him.</i>	
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Luke in 6:13 agrees with Mt 10:1 against Mk 3:13–14 when he omits *hina hōsin met’ autou* (i.e. “to be with him” as his companions.) The omission of these words by Matthew is, in Gundry’s opinion, well-founded, because directly after giving the names of the Twelve Matthew says that *These twelve Jesus sent out* (10:5). Mark refers to the sending of the Twelve not when mentioning their choice, but several chapters further, in 6:7. In the Gospel of Luke, similarly to the Gospel of Mark, Jesus sends out the Twelve after a period of staying together (cf. Lk 9:2). Thus Luke should have kept the above-mentioned Markan words. Their omission can be explained only by the influence of the Gospel of Matthew on the Gospel of Luke.

Luke in 6:14, similarly to Mt 10:2 but against Mk 3:16–18, puts the name of Andrew in the second position (Mark places this name in the fourth position). Luke, similarly to Matthew, adds to the name of Andrew the label “his brother” and skips the surname *Boanerges* given by Jesus to Jacob and John, and – like Matthew – links the names of Peter, Andrew, Jacob and John with the conjunction *kai*. Gundry points out that the changes in the order of the names in the Gospel of Matthew are consistent with their order in the narrative of the calling of the first disciples in Mt 4:18–22, which is absent from Luke, but not with the list of the apostles given by Luke in Acts 1:13 (where Andrew’s name is the fourth). These changes appearing in the Gospel of Luke are typical not of Luke, but of Matthew.

Mt 14	Mk 6	Lk 9
<i>13 When Jesus heard this, he withdrew by boat from there to a desert place by himself. The crowds (hoi ochloi) heard (akousantes) of it and followed him on foot from the towns. 14 When he disembarked and saw the vast throng, his heart was moved with pity, and he cured their sick.</i>	<i>33 People saw them leaving, and many got to know about it (eidon autous hupagontas kai epegnōsan polloi). People from all the towns hastened on foot to the place, arriving ahead of them. 34 Upon disembarking Jesus saw a vast crowd. He pitied them, for they were like sheep without a shepherd; and he began to teach (didaskein) them at great length.</i>	<i>10 The apostles on their return related to Jesus all they had accomplished. Taking them with him, he retired to a town called Bethsaida, 11 but the crowds (hoi ochloi) found (gnontes) this out and followed him. He received them and spoke to them of the reign of God, and he healed all who were in need of healing.</i>

According to Mk 6:34, Jesus pitied the crowds which were like sheep without a shepherd. The comparison of a crowd to sheep without a shepherd appears in the Gospel of Matthew earlier, in 9:36, directly after Mk 6:6b where such a comparison is not present (it is absent from the Gospel of Luke, too). Hence the comparison is omitted by Matthew in 14:14 parallel to Mk 6:34, and is also skipped by Luke in his parallel text 9:11. One ought to add that the comparison in question was not previously used by Luke and its omission can only be explained, according to Gundry, by the influence of Matthew. Gundry claims that such a conclusion is confirmed by the following agreements of Matthew with Luke against Mark: the usage of *hoi ochloi* (Mt 15:13; Lk 9:11) instead of *polloi* (Mk 6:32), Matthew's and Luke's use of the participle in the aorist (Mt – *akousantes*; Lk *gnontes*) instead of the double construction with the verb (*eidon... kai epegnosan* – Mk 6:33), the omission of the mention of the crowds outdistancing Jesus (Mt 14:14 and Lk 9:11 against Mk 6:33–34), the omission of Markan *didaskēin* (although Luke, in contrast to Matthew, does say that Jesus taught), and addition of the mention of healings.

Many advocates of the two-source hypothesis, among others Wernle, Hawkins and Schmid, consider the agreement of Matthew with Luke against Mark to be entirely accidental. Others, e.g. Streeter, try to explain it by means of textual criticism, claiming that the agreement may have resulted from the subsequent harmonization of the texts. Still others believe that Luke did not use the text of the Gospel of Mark as known to us, which gave rise to the formation of the theories of Proto-Mark (supported by hardly anyone nowadays) and Deutero-Mark. The latter is promoted by A. Fuchs²²⁶, C. Niemand²²⁷ and F. Kogler²²⁸, among others.

J. Carmignac²²⁹ puts forward another explanation of the agreement in question. According to him, two sources in Hebrew – the gospel of Mark in Hebrew and the collection of speeches – were the basis for all the synoptic Gospels. These two sources were later connected into one work, namely the full Gospel of Mark (Marc Complété) which, in turn, became the basis for the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew and the Gospel of Luke. The canonical

²²⁶ A. Fuchs, *Sprachliche Untersuchung zu Matthäus und Lukas. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik*, (AnBib 49), Roma 1971.

²²⁷ C. Niemand, *Studien zu den Minor Agreements der synoptischen Verklärungsperikopen. Eine Untersuchung der Literarkritischen Relevanz der gemeinsamen Abweichungen des Matthäus und Lukas von Markus 9,2–10 für die synoptische Frage*, Frankfurt – Bern – New York – Paris, 1989.

²²⁸ F. Kogler, *Doppelgleichnis vom Senfkorn und Sauerteig in seiner traditionsgeschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Würzburg 1998.

²²⁹ J. Carmignac, *La naissance des Évangiles Synoptiques*, Paris 1984.

Gospel of Mark is identical to the Hebrew Gospel of Mark. The Gospel of Luke was influenced by the Hebrew Gospel of Mark, the full Gospel of Mark, the collection of Hebrew speeches and the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew.

One case of minor agreements is the lack of certain formulas and Markan sentences in the texts of Matthew and Luke adopted from the Gospel of Mark. The defenders of the two-source hypothesis encounter a particular problem here, because the inspired author is generally believed to have added elements to his text rather than deleted them. Therefore a longer text seems to be later.

This problem became the subject of, among others, a study by J. D. G. Dunn²³⁰, an advocate of the two-source hypothesis. He provided a list of thirty cases where Mt and Lk, or only Mt, is more developed than Mk. Here are the examples in question: Mk 1:2; 1:14b–15; 1:34; 2:27; 3:11–12; 3:17b; 3:20–21; 3:29–30; 4:10–12; 4:34; 5:43; 6:52; 7:2–4; 7:15; 7:17; 7:19; 7:24b; 7:36; 8:17b–18; 8:35c; 9:10; 9:28; 9:30b; 9:32; 10:29c; 11:17; 14:51–52; 14:58; 15:21; 15:42b; 16:8. Dunn claims that in some cases the Markan additions definitely have editorial features characteristic of Mark. Mk 1:1; 1:14b–15; 8:35c; 10:29c and 13:10 prove that *to euaggelion* is a Markan term and that it was Mark who introduced it into the synoptic tradition. The same can be said about examples of the Messianic secret so characteristic of the Gospel of Mark. The additions in Mk 3:11–12; 4:34; 5:43; 7:24b; 7:17; 7:36; 8:26(?); 9:0; 9:28.30b; 10:10 and 16:18 are undoubtedly an expression of Mark's reflections on the Messianic secret. Another feature characteristic of Mark is emphasizing "the obduracy" of the disciples, a theme which appears in: Mk 6:52; 8:17b–18; 9:32 and 16:8.

Dunn believes that Matthew, or both Matthew and Luke, do not have Mark's additions because they were not present in the tradition available to them. He is convinced that in the early Church the oral tradition existed alongside the written version of the Gospel. Matthew and Luke were aware that Mark had extended the text but they did not accept those editorial changes.²³¹ V. Fusco²³² refers to the influence of the oral tradition, too. It is, however, hard to accept that Matthew and Luke were, independently of each other, faithful to the oral tradition which was rather fluid. It is much more likely that Mark simply added to the text of Matthew certain sentences which were not accepted by Luke who followed Matthew.

²³⁰ J. D. G. Dunn, "Matthew's awareness of Markan redaction", [in] *The Four Gospels 1992. Festchrift Frans Nairynck*, ed. F. Van Segbroeck, vol. I, Leuven 1992, pp. 1349–1359.

²³¹ J. D. G. Dunn, "Matthew's awareness ...", p. 1355.

²³² V. Fusco, "L'accorde mineur Mt 13,1a/Lc 8,10a contre Mc 4,11a", [in] J. Delobel (ed.), *Logia. Les paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus, Mémorial Joseph Coppens*, Louvain 1982.

F. Neirynck, a great defender of the two-source hypothesis, tries to diminish the problem of minor agreements. According to him, these agreements can be explained by the editorial changes introduced by Matthew and Luke (independently of each other), or by the influence of Q or of the oral tradition, or by the deterioration of the text, or, finally, by the harmonization of the text.²³³ As for the deterioration of the text as an argument accounting for minor agreements, it is proper to mention the work of E. Burrows, *The Use of Textual Theories to Explain Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark*.²³⁴ The author came to the conclusion that this argument can be accepted only in some cases. F. Bovon²³⁵ and P. J. Friedrichsen²³⁶ think that Luke used another copy of the Gospel of Mark, where there were small differences in comparison with the canonical Gospel.

X. Léon-Dufour²³⁷ calls the agreements between the Gospels of Matthew and Luke against Mark a stumbling block for the theory of direct dependence of the Gospel of Matthew on the Gospel of Mark.

D. B. Peabody comments on the agreements in question as follows: "The so-called 'minor agreements' of Matthew and Luke against Mark within the material shared by all the three Evangelists (especially when such agreements are analyzed together within a given pericope and include both positive and negative agreements) remain the most important literary evidence against the view that Mt and Lk independently made use of Mark. It is worthwhile

²³³ Cf. F. Neirynck, "Two-Source Hypothesis", [in] *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, ed. D. L. Dungan, Leuven 1990, p. 10: "On many occasions it has been argued that numerous minor agreement are in fact not so striking and that for most of so-called significant agreements a satisfactory explanation can be given. Nevertheless the objection is raised again and again: you can be right with your explanation of the individual agreements but, as a whole, the phenomenon of the minor agreements remains unexplained. If this is something more than a polite way of avoiding the "textual discussion", such a reaction reveals that the minor agreements are taken as one phenomenon; and I have no objection, at least in this sense: the minor agreements share one common characteristic, they are all post-Markan". Cf. also: F. Neirynck, *The Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark: With a Cumulative List*, Leuven 1974; F. Neirynck, *The Minor Agreements in a Horizontal-Line Synopsis* (Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia 15), Louvain 1991.

²³⁴ E. Burrows, "The Use of Textual Theories to Explain Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark", [in] *Studies in NT Language and Text*, ed. J. K. Elliot, Leiden 1976, pp. 87–99.

²³⁵ F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, I Teilband, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1989, p. 20.

²³⁶ P. F. Friedrichsen, "The Matthew-Luke Agreements against Mark: A Survey of Recent Studies 1974–1989", [in] *L'évangile de Luc. Problèmes littéraires et théologiques, Mémorial L. Cerfaux*. Revised and enlarged edition, ed. F. Neirynck, Louvain 1989, p. 30.

²³⁷ X. Léon-Dufour, "Les Évangiles Synoptiques", p. 285.

to add that if these ‘minor agreements’ demonstrate that Mt and Lk were not independent of each other, then there is no need for ‘Q’ at all.²³⁸”

A. Ennulat²³⁹, after an analysis of minor agreements in sections Mk 1:1–15; 1:16–3:19; 3:20–35; 4:1–34; 4:35–8:26; 8:27–10:52; 11:1–13:37; and 14:1–16:8, concludes that before the Gospels of Matthew and Luke there must have taken place a revision of the Gospel of Mark.

The most complex argumentation against the existence of the Q source (while accepting the priority of the Gospel of Mark) has been worked out by M. D. Goulder.²⁴⁰ Minor agreements are for him the number-one argument against the existence of Q. It is worth adding that the latest modifications to the two-source hypothesis have come about mostly in connection with an attempt to explain the difficulty posed to this theory by minor agreements. J. S. Kloppenborg²⁴¹, for example, includes the texts with minor agreements among the fragments of Sondergut. M. Sato²⁴² and D. Kosch²⁴³ accept the possibility that there existed a Proto-Matthew and Proto-Luke review of Q. H. Koester²⁴⁴ opts for the existence of Proto-Mark, whereas A. Ennulat²⁴⁵ opts for the existence of Deutero-Mark.

4.4.

Conflations in the Gospel of Mark

Mark often repeats a previously expressed idea with different words, while Matthew, in the parallel location, uses one part of such a conflated expression while Luke uses the other. Here is the best-known example of such conflation:

²³⁸ D. B. Peabody, “Response to Multi-Stage ...”, p. 220.

²³⁹ A. Ennulat, *Die “Minor Agreements”. Untersuchungen zu einer offenen Frage des synoptischen Problems*, Tübingen 1994.

²⁴⁰ M. D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, Sheffield 1989.

²⁴¹ J. S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes & Concordance*, Sonoma 1988.

²⁴² M. Sato, *Q and Prophetie. Studien zur Gattungs – und Theologiegeschichte der Quelle Q*, Tübingen 1988.

²⁴³ D. Kosch, *Die Eschatologische Tora des Menschensohnes. Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der Stellung Jesu zur Tora in Q*. Freiburg/Sch-Göttingen 1989.

²⁴⁴ H. Koester, “History and Development of Mark’s Gospel”, [in] *Colloquy on New Testament Studies: Time for Reappraisal and Fresh Approaches*, ed. B. Corley, Macon, Ga. 1983, p. 48.

²⁴⁵ A. Ennulat, *Die “Minor Agreements”. Untersuchungen zu einer offenen Frage des synoptischen Problems*, Tübingen 1994, pp. 123–128.

Mt 8:16	Mk 1, 32	Lk 4, 40
<i>As evening drew on (opsias de genomenēs)</i>	<i>After sunset, as evening drew on (opsias de genomenēs, hote edu ho hēlios)</i>	<i>At sunset (dunontos de tou hēliou)</i>

Farmer claims that the linguistic form of the above conflation proves the secondary nature of the Gospel of Mark relative to Matthew. The word *opsias* in the genetivum absolutum with *ginomai* at the beginning of a sentence appears very rarely: only ten times in the whole Bible, six times in the Gospel of Matthew (8:16; 14:23; 20:8; 26:20; 27:57) and four times in the Gospel of Mark (1:32; 6:47; 14:17; 15:42), and the interesting thing is that in the Gospel of Mark it always appears in texts that are parallel with the Gospel of Matthew and contain this expression, too. In the Gospel of Matthew the expression in question always appears in the same form, while in the Gospel of Mark this form occurs only in the above-quoted case (Mk 1:32). One can therefore conclude that the expression *opsias de genomenēs* is characteristic of the Gospel of Matthew, and Mark evidently must have used it in 1:32 under the influence of Matthew.²⁴⁶

Here is another example:

Mt 8:3	Mk 1:42	Lk 5:13
<i>Immediately the man's leprosy disappeared (kai eutheōs ekatharisthē).</i>	<i>The leprosy left him then and there, and he was cured (kai ekatharisthē)</i>	<i>Immediately the leprosy left him. (Lepra apēlthen)</i>

More complex conflations also occur. P. Rolland²⁴⁷ provides, among others, the following example:

Mt 26:39	Mk 14:35–36	Lk 22:41–42
<i>And fell prostrate in prayer. "Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass me by."</i>	<i>And fell to the ground praying that if it were possible this hour might pass him by. He kept saying, "Abba (O Father), you have the power to do all things. Take this cup away from me."</i>	<i>Then went down on his knees and prayed in these words: "Father, if it is your will, take this cup from me."</i>

²⁴⁶ W. R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, New York 1964, pp. 155–156.

²⁴⁷ P. Rolland, *Les Premiers évangiles ...*, p. 28.

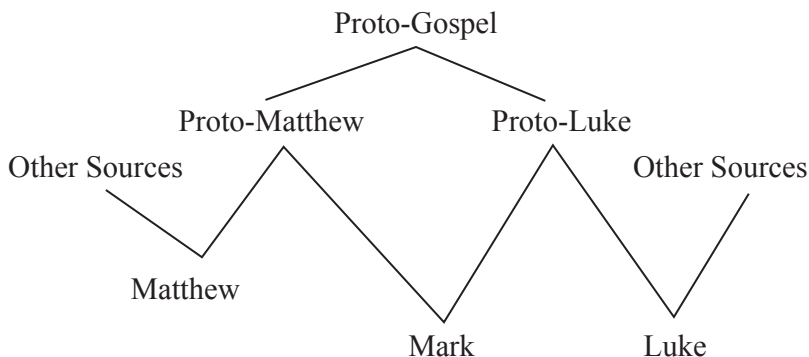
P. Rolland²⁴⁸ lists as many as 106 conflations in the Gospel of Mark:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1) Mk 1:4–5/Lk 3:3/Mt 3:6 | 42) Mk 5:38/Mt 9:23/Lk 8:52 |
| 2) Mk 1:12–13/Mt 4:1/Lk 4:1 | 43) Mk 5:39/Mt 9:24/Lk 8:52 |
| 3) Mk 1:28/Lk 4:37/Mt 4:24 | 44) Mk 5:41–42/Lk 8:54/Mt 9:25 |
| 4) Mk 1:32/Mt 8:16/Lk 4:40 | 45) Mk 6:31/Lk 9:10/Mt 14:13 |
| 5) Mk 1:32–34/Mt 4:24/Lk 4:40–41 | 46) Mk 6:33/Mt 14:13/Lk 9:11 |
| 6) Mk 1:38/Mt 8:18/Lk 4:34 | 47) Mk 6:39/Lk 9:14/Mt 14:19 |
| 7) Mk 1:42/Lk 5:13/Mt 8:3 | 48) Mk 8:27/Lk 9:18/Mt 16:13 |
| 8) Mk 1:43–44/Lk 5:14/Mt 8:4 | 49) Mk 8:34/Lk 9:23/Mt 16:24 |
| 9) Mk 2:3/Lk 5:18/Mt 9:2 | 50) Mk 9:9–10/Mt 17:9/Lk 9:36 |
| 10) Mk 2:6/Lk 5:21/Mt 9:3 | 51) Mk 9:14–15/Mt 17:14/Lk 9:37 |
| 11) Mk 2:7/Lk 5:21/Mt 9:3 | 52) Mk 9:18 and 22/Lk 9:39/Mt 17:15 |
| 12) Mk 2:8/Lk 5:22/Mt 9:4 | 53) Mk 9:25/Lk 9:42/Mt 17:18 |
| 13) Mk 2:13–14/Lk 5:27/Mt 9:9 | 54) Mk 9:31/Lk 9:43/Mt 17:22 |
| 14) Mk 2:15/Mt 9:10/Lk 5:29 | 55) Mk 9:33–34/Lk 9:46/Mt 18:1 |
| 15) Mk 2:18/Mt 9:14/Lk 5:33 | 56) Mk 9:35–36/Mt 18:1/Lk 9:47 |
| 16) Mk 2:19/Lk 5:34/Mt 9:15 | 57) Mk 10:22/Lk 18:23/Mt 19:22 |
| 17) Mk 2:21/Mt 9:16/Lk 5:36 | 58) Mk 10:22–23/Mt 19:22/Lk 18:24 |
| 18) Mk 2:22/Lk 5:37/Mt 9:17 | 59) Mk 10:27/Mt 19:26/Lk 18:27 |
| 19) Mk 2:24/Mt 4:25/Lk 6:17 | 60) Mk 10:29/Mt 19:29/Lk 18:29 |
| 20) Mk 3:8/Mt 4:25/Lk 6:17 | 61) Mk 10:46/Lk 18:35/Mt 20:29 |
| 21) Mk 3:31–32/Mt 12:46/Lk 8:19 | 62) Mk 10:49/Lk 18:40/Mt 20:32 |
| 22) Mk 4:2/Mt 13:3/Lk 5:3 | 63) Mk 10:51/Lk 18:40/Mt 20:32 |
| 23) Mk 4:8/Mt 13:8/Lk 8:8 | 64) Mk 11:2/Mt 21:9/Lk 19:38 |
| 24) Mk 4:10/Lk 8:9/Mt 13:10 | 65) Mk 11:9–10/Mt 21:9/Lk 19:38 |
| 25) Mk 4:11/Mt 13:11/Lk 8:10 | 66) Mk 11 and 15/Mt 21:12/Lk 19:45 |
| 26) Mk 4:14–15/Mt 13:19/Lk 8:11 | 67) Mk 11:11 and 19/Mt 21:17/Lk 21:37 |
| 27) Mk 4:15/Lk 8:12/Mt 13:19 | 68) Mk 11:27/Mt 21:23/Lk 20:1 |
| 28) Mk 4:19/Mt 13:22/Lk 8:14 | 69) Mk 12:2/Lk 20:10/Mt 21:34 |
| 29) Mk 4:36/Lk 8:22/Mt 8:23 | 70) Mk 12:2–5/Lk 20:10–12/Mt 21:36 |
| 30) Mk 4:37/Mt 8:34/Lk 8:23 | 71) Mk 12:6/Lk 20:13/Mt 21:37 |
| 31) Mk 4:39/Lk 8:24/Mt 8:26 | 72) Mk 12:14/Mt 22:17/Lk 20:22 |
| 32) Mk 4:40–41/Mt 8:26/Lk 8:25 | 73) Mk 12:15/Lk 20:24/Mt 22:19 |
| 33) Mk 5:2–3/Mt 8:28/Lk 8:27 | 74) Mk 12:26/Mt 22:31/Lk 20:37 |
| 34) Mk 5:7/Mt 8:29/Lk 8:32 | 75) Mk 12:26/Lk 20:37/Mt 22:31 |
| 35) Mk 5:12/Mt 8:31/Lk 8:32 | 76) Mk 12:28 and 32/Mt 22:34/Lk 20:39 |
| 36) Mk 5:15/Mt 8:33/Lk 8:35 | 77) Mk 13:1/Lk 21:5/Mt 24:1 |
| 37) Mk 5:21/Lk 8:40/Mt 9:1 | 78) Mk 13:11/Lk 12:11/Mt 10:19 |
| 38) Mk 5:23/Lk 8:50/Mt 9:18 | 79) Mk 13:33 and 35/Lk 21:36/Mt 24:42 |
| 39) Mk 5:24/Lk 8:42/Mt 9:19 | 80) Mk 14:1/Mt 26:2/Lk 22:1 |
| 40) Mk 5:34/Lk 8:48/Mt 9:22 | 81) Mk 14:1/Lk 22:2/Mt 26:4 |
| 41) Mk 5:37 and 40/Lk 8:51/Mt 9:25 | 82) Mk 14:11/Lk 22:6/Mt 22:7 |

²⁴⁸ P. Rolland, *Les premiers Évangiles* ..., pp. 110–122.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 83) Mk 14:12/Mt 26:17/Lk 22:7 | 95) Mk 14:68/Lk 22:57/Mt 26:70 |
| 84) Mk 14:12–13/Mt 26:17/Lk 22:8 | 96) Mk 14:71/Mt 26:74/Lk 22:60 |
| 85) Mk 14:16/Mt 26:19/ Lk 22:13 | 97) Mk 15:26/Lk 23:38/ Mt 27:37 |
| 86) Mk 14:17–18/Mt 26:20/Lk 22:14 | 98) Mk 15:32/Lk 23:35/Mt 27:42 |
| 87) Mk 14:18/Mt 26:21/Lk 22:15 | 99) Mk 15:41/Mt 27:55/Lk 23:49 |
| 88) Mk 14:20/Lk 22:23/Mt 26:23 | 100) Mk 15:42/Mt 27:57/Lk 23:54 |
| 89) Mk 14:30/Lk 22:34/Mt 26:34 | 101) Mk 15:43/Mt 27:58/Lk 23:52 |
| 90) Mk 14:35–36/Mt 26:39/Lk 22:42 | 102) Mk 15:46/Mt 27:59/Lk 23:53 |
| 91) Mk 14:37/Lk 22:46/Mt 26:40 | 103) Mk 16:1–2/Mt 28:1/Lk 24:1 |
| 92) Mk 14:45/Lk 22:47/Mt 26:49 | 104) Mk 16:2/Lk 24:1/Mt 28:14 |
| 93) Mk 14:65/Mt 26:67/Lk 22:64 | 105) Mk 16:3–4/Mt 28:2/Lk 24:2 |
| 94) Mk 14:66–67/Mt 26:69/Lk 22:56 | 106) Mk 16:8/Mt 28:2/Lk 24:9 |

For Griesbach, conflation was a sufficient reason to place the Gospel of Mark in the final position. According to P. Rolland²⁴⁹, conflation can be explained by assuming intermediate redactions:



F. Neirynck tries to solve the afore-mentioned difficulty by claiming that conflation in the Gospel of Mark are something more than a mechanical connection of two expressions, namely that they are a characteristic feature of Mark's style. Neirynck does not call them "conflation" but "double-step expressions" in which the second element serves to make the idea more precise. He is convinced that in many cases one can explain why Matthew chooses one part of a given expression and Luke the other.²⁵⁰

The opponents of the two-source hypothesis, on the other hand, consider the conflation in the Gospel of Mark to be a powerful argument proving that Luke must have known the Gospel of Matthew. After all, it is unlikely

²⁴⁹ P. Rolland, *Le premiers Évangiles*, p. 29.

²⁵⁰ Cf. F. Neirynck, "Two-Source Hypothesis", pp. 8–10; idem, "Les expressions doubles chez Marc et le problème synoptique", *ETL* 59 (1983), pp. 303 ff.

that Matthew and Luke, independently of each other, always selected the other part of a Markan expression.

4.5. A Modification of the Q theory by R. Bartnicki

On the basis of a critical-literary analysis of the text in Mt 9:35–11:2, R. Bartnicki²⁵¹ came to the conclusion that prior to the Gospel of Mark there must have existed a document that was a source for all the three synoptic Gospels. Bartnicki calls it the “S” source. Apart from that source, there must have existed another document which both Matthew and Luke made use of. Q might have been that very document. R. Bartnicki is absolutely positive that the assumption of the priority of Mark and of the Q source does not explain all the similarities and differences between the synoptic Gospels.

²⁵¹ R. Bartnicki, *Uczeń Jezusa jako głosiciel ewangelii. Tradycja i redakcja Mt 9,35–11,1*, Warszawa 1985; idem, “Najnowsze rozwiązania problemu synoptycznego”, *RBL* I/XLII (1980), p. 31.

5. The Theory of the Gospel of Mark's Dependence on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke

An analysis of the similarities and differences between the Gospels led Henry Owen²⁵², an English Biblicist from the second half of the 18th century, to reject the traditional thesis that the correct chronological order of the synoptic Gospels was Mt-Mk-Lk and encouraged him to move the Gospel of Mark into the last position. A little later Johann Jacob Griesbach²⁵³ came to the same conclusion. It was he who compiled the first modern synopsis, i.e. a collation of parallel texts from the first three Gospels in parallel vertical columns, thus initiating a surge in research on the synoptic problem. One of Griesbach's main arguments for putting the Gospel of Mark in the last position was the phenomenon of conflation presented above in the chapter on the two-source hypothesis. Initially, Griesbach's theory found a wide following among protestant scholars but later it gave way to the two-source hypothesis. Nevertheless, in the nineteen sixties it found a great defender in W. R. Farmer.²⁵⁴

In his book *The Synoptic Problem* (New York 1964), Farmer justifies his position in sixteen "steps". First he states that the similarities between the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke validate the assumption of their literary inter-dependence (step I), and that there are only six acceptable basic patterns expressing that inter-dependence (steps II-IV). Then he argues (steps V-VI) that there exist literary phenomena which are the easiest to explain when we make an assumption that the Gospel of Mark is the third. Here are the phenomena in question: (1) the order of pericopes and their content;

²⁵² H. Owen, *Observations on the Four Gospels Tending Chiefly to Ascertain the Time of their Publications, and to Illustrate the Form and Manner of their Compositions*, London 1764.

²⁵³ J. J. Griesbach, *Commentatio qua Marci evangelium totum e Mathaei et Lucae commentariis decerptum esse demonstratur*, Jena 1789.

²⁵⁴ W. R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, New York 1964; idem, "The Lachmann Fallacy", *NTS* 14 (1967–1968), pp. 441 ff.; idem, "Modern Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis", *NRS* 23 (1976–1977), pp. 257 ff.; idem, *Jesus and the Gospel. Tradition, Scripture and Canon*, Philadelphia 1982.

(2) agreement of the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke against Mark (minor agreements); (3) the relationship between the order and the degree of similarity in the Gospels of Matthew and of Mark on one hand, and the Gospels of Luke and of Mark on the other. Mark strives to achieve closer similarity with the Gospel of Matthew when his order of pericopes resembles that in Matthew and differs from that in Luke. When, however, his order of pericopes is consistent only with Luke's, he tries to achieve a closer similarity of content with Luke.²⁵⁵

The third of the above arguments, i.e. the one concerning the relationship between the agreement in the order of pericopes and the similarity of vocabulary, is developed in more detail by Farmer in step VIII. He claims that the phenomenon in question can hardly be explained when the priority of Mark is assumed. Why does Luke, without knowing the Gospel of Matthew, stick closely to Mark's vocabulary when his order of pericopes agrees with Mark against Matthew? And why does Matthew do the same? The Augustinian position, according to Farmer, only partially explains that phenomenon. Even if we assume that Luke, when choosing the Markan order, sticks closely to Mark, it is still difficult to understand why Mark sticks more closely to Matthew's vocabulary when following Matthew's order of pericopes than when abandoning it. Farmer maintains that the Griesbach theory can account for this: it was natural for Mark to stick more closely to the vocabulary of the Evangelist whose order of pericopes he imitated in a given section.

Farmer believes that although Luke knew the Gospel of Matthew, he wrote his own because the Gospel of Matthew did not meet the requirements of the Hellenistic historiography. This means that it did not have a proper chronological framework, it contained repetitions and described events in isolation from the chronology and circumstances, and, moreover, some events were presented in an incorrect order. For example, it is difficult to deduce from the Gospel of Matthew why Jesus left Nazareth at the beginning of his activity in Galilee, because his conflict with the inhabitants of Nazareth is introduced only later. Luke, by contrast, shifts the description of this conflict to the very beginning.

In steps XIII-XV Farmer presents external arguments, (i.e. the tradition of the ancient Church) which, in his opinion, clearly corroborate the priority of the Gospel of Matthew relative to the Gospel of Luke and that of Mark, and that the Gospels of Matthew and Luke were written before the Gospel of Mark.

²⁵⁵ W. R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, p. 211.

Farmer puts forward two arguments to explain the omission of the narrative of Jesus' infancy. Firstly, in the earlier Gospels those narratives were inconsistent with each other, and, secondly, Mark wanted to adapt his Gospel to the schema of the apostles' speeches included by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles (cf. Acts 1:22). The Sermon on the Mount was omitted by Mark because of the great differences between this sermon and the sermon on the plain in the Gospel of Luke. As for the extensive central part of the Gospel of Luke, Mark omits it because Matthew did not have it.

Later in his work Farmer labelled the Griesbach hypothesis as modified by himself "the two-gospel hypothesis". According to the tradition of the Church, the Gospel of Mark was written in Rome and reflected the teaching of Peter. However, to understand why it came into being, one must, according to Farmer, reflect on the two remaining Gospels. The Gospel of Matthew is connected with the environment of the Jerusalem community, while the Gospel of Luke reflects the problems of Hellenistic communities established by Paul. Mark wanted to connect both traditions, realizing that neither of the two Gospels could become the basic document of Christian teaching. Besides, Mark wanted to harmonise the accounts which in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke differ from one another.

The Owen-Griesbach theory is also subscribed to by the English Benedictine B. Orchard²⁵⁶, D. L. Dungan²⁵⁷, H. H. Stoldt²⁵⁸, C. S. Mann²⁵⁹ and H. Riley.²⁶⁰

Orchard takes a very original approach when trying to explain the similarities in the order of pericopes among the three synoptics. Let us remember that, according to Farmer²⁶¹, Mark alternately made use of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke:

Mt 3:1–4:22	Mk 1:1–20	
	Mk 1:21–3:19	Lk 4:3–6:16
Mt 12:22–13:35	Mk 3:20–4:34	
	Mk 4:35–5:43	Lk 8:22–56

²⁵⁶ B. Orchard, *Matthew, Luke and Mark*, Manchester 1976; idem, *A Synopsis of the Four Gospels in Greek, Arranged according to the Two-Gospel Hypothesis*, Macon 1983.

²⁵⁷ D. L. Dungan, "Mark – the Abridgement of Matthew and Luke", [in] *Jesus and Man's Hope*, ed. D. Hadidian, vol. I. Pittsburgh 1970, pp. 51–97; idem, "Theory of Synopsis Construction", *Bib* 61 (1980), pp. 325 ff.

²⁵⁸ H. H. Stoldt, *Geschichte und Kritik der Markushypothese*, Göttingen 1977.

²⁵⁹ C. S. Mann, *Mark. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Garden City, NY 1986, pp. 270–272.

²⁶⁰ H. Riley, *The Making of Mark: An Exploration*, Macon 1989, pp. 50–51.

²⁶¹ W. R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, p. 233.

Mt 13:53–58	Mk 6:1–6	
	Mk 6:7–16	Lk 9:1–9
Mt 14:3–7:23	Mk 6:17–9:32	
	Mk 9:33–40	Lk 9:46–50
Mt 18:6–19:12	Mk 9:42–10:12	
Mt 19:13–22:46	Mk 10:13–12:37	Lk 18:15–20:44
Mt 23:1–25:46	Mk 12:38–13:37	Lk 20:45–21:38
Mt 26:1–28:8	Mk 14:1–16:8	

This strange jumping from one Gospel to the other is explained by Orchard in the following way: the Gospel of Matthew came into being about 43–44 AD in Jerusalem and was highly respected, whereas the Gospel of Luke came into being about 63 AD, for the Hellenic communities established by Paul. The Gospel of Luke differed from that of Matthew and to be accepted by the Church, and also by the Judeo-Christians, it needed the support of Peter. Peter gave such support when he used it together with the Gospel of Matthew while teaching in Rome. Peter made use of both Gospels alternately and Mark, who was his secretary, knew exactly which fragments and in what order Peter referred to in his speeches. He then kept the same order in his Gospel.

Counterarguments

Rolland²⁶² believes the Griesbach hypothesis is not acceptable as it suggests that Mark pursued two contradictory goals: he wanted to combine the Gospels of Matthew and Luke so as to obtain a more complete version and, simultaneously, he wanted to shorten it considerably. On analyzing the relationship between the Gospel of Mark and Gospel of Luke, Rolland comes to the conclusion that the Gospel of Mark cannot have been dependent on Luke. This is proved, for instance, by Luke's order of pericopes which is secondary relative to the Gospel of Mark, and by the structure of some pericopes in the Gospel of Luke which are clearly based on Markan elements, e.g. the pericope of the imprisonment of John the Baptist (Lk 3:19–20/Mk 1:14), the appointment of the first disciples (Lk 5:1–11/Mk 1:16–20) and Jesus' pronouncement in Nazareth (Lk 4:16–30/Mk 6:1–6).²⁶³

According to M.-E. Boismard²⁶⁴, the key argument against the two-gospel hypothesis is the occurrence in the synoptic Gospels of "major" doubles, i.e.

²⁶² P. Rolland, *Le premiers évangiles* ..., p. 30.

²⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 89.

²⁶⁴ M.-E. Boismard, "Théorie des niveaux multiples", [in] *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, ed. D. L. Dungan, Leuven 1990, p. 235.

narrative sections or Jesus' logia that appear twice in somewhat different forms. One form occurs in all the three synoptic Gospels and the other only in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The two-gospel hypothesis contradicts itself here. On the one hand it claims that in the "minor" doubles (conflations) Mark combined elements from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, and on the other it says that Mark removed the "major" doubles which he encountered in those two Gospels. Boismard is not convinced, either, by the way in which Farmer explains why Mark deleted so much material from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

C. M. Tuckett²⁶⁵ says that although Farmer refers to the Griesbach theory as "simpler" than the two-source hypothesis, he in fact accepts the existence of some unknown sources which Luke must have used so as to make some of the texts shared with Matthew more archaic in character. Tuckett also emphasises the fact that some texts of the double Matthew-Luke tradition, i.e. parts of Q, reveal a Jewish character (cf. Mt 5:18/Lk 16:17; Mt 23:23d/Lk 11:42). Moreover, the so-called "Wisdom Christology" which is often considered to be the characteristic element of the Q source, does not, in fact, appear in the Lucan material except for Q, so it cannot be called Lucan (cf. Mt 11:19/Lk 7:35; Mt 23:34/Lk 11:49).

²⁶⁵ C. M. Tuckett, "Response to the Two-Gospel Hypothesis", [in] *Interrelations of the Gospels*, ed. D. L. Dungan, Leuven 1990, p. 62.

6. Multi-Stage Hypothesis

Due to the fact that the hypotheses concerning the creation of the Gospels from the turn of the 19th century did not fully explain the synoptic problem, F. Schleiermacher²⁶⁶ put forward the opinion that the synoptic Gospels had been based on many documents written independently of one another and containing stories about Jesus and his maxims reported by witnesses of his life. Such documents circulated in the early Christian communities. Over time they became part of certain collections, e.g. narratives of Jesus' miracles or sets of his instructions. Each Evangelist compiled the documents available to him into a whole without knowing how they were arranged by another Evangelist. Schleiermacher also claimed that the logia which Papias referred to were not the whole Gospel, but a collection of Jesus' maxims and speeches compiled by Matthew. The collection was later combined by an unknown author with other documents to create the Gospel of Matthew. C. Lachmann²⁶⁷ opined that before that there had existed collections of narratives about Jesus and the collections of his statements, which afterwards were included in the Gospel. In the Gospel of Mark, the oldest in his opinion, one can distinguish five such collections: 1:1–39; 1:40–3:6; 6:7–8:26; 8:27–16:8.

Weiss²⁶⁸, similarly, distinguished five collections (previous to the Gospel) in the Gospel of Mark. Achtemeier²⁶⁹ distinguished in the Gospel of Mark two earlier collections of Jesus' miracles.

According to E. Hirsch²⁷⁰, the Gospel of Mark came into being in the following way: the document containing the preaching of Peter (Mk1) was joined with the Jerusalem "Gospel of the Twelve" into one document (Mk2).

²⁶⁶ F. Schleiermacher, *Ueber die Schriften des Lukas: erster Teil*, 1817.

²⁶⁷ C. Lachmann, "De ordine narrationum in evangeliiis synopticis", *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1835), pp. 570–590.

²⁶⁸ J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium: Eine Beitrag zum Verständnis des Marcusevangeliums und der älteste evangelischen Ueberlieferung*, 1903.

²⁶⁹ P. J. Achtemeier, *Toward the Isolation of the Pre-Markan Miracle-Catenae*, JBL 89 (1970), pp. 256–291.

²⁷⁰ E. Hirsch, *Frühgeschichte des Evangeliums*, vol. I, Tübingen 1941.

Then Mk1 and Mk2 were compiled and extended with certain glosses. Matthew used Mark's text before it was extended with the said glosses. Luke, on the other hand, used Mk2 in his Gospel.

According to L. Vaganey²⁷¹, the foundation of the synoptic Gospels was a gospel in Aramaic, the work of Matthew. It was similar to the Gospel of Mark but also contained the double tradition present for instance in Lk 3–7, and five speeches characteristic of the Gospel of Matthew. This Gospel was then shortened by Mark who adapted it to the preaching of Peter, whose teaching was based mainly on the oral Jerusalem catechesis. Apart from the two above sources, i.e. the Aramaic gospel and the Gospel of Mark, there also existed a document containing the material of the Lucan travel section (Lk 9:51–18:14) called by Vaganey the Supplement (S). The Canonical Gospels of Matthew and Luke came into existence on the basis of oral tradition, the Aramaic Matthew, the Gospel of Mark and the Supplement. The theory presented above has been questioned on the grounds that it refers to three or even four sources about which nothing is known. Also, the relationship of the Aramaic Matthew to the Supplement has not been made clear.²⁷²

According to W. L. Knox²⁷³, the Gospel of Mark is a collection of ten documents ("tracts"). The Gospels of Matthew and Luke were created on the basis of the Gospel of Mark, the Q source and other documents.

X. Léon-Dufour²⁷⁴ believes that Mark is dependent neither on Matthew nor on Luke, for otherwise it would not be possible to explain so many omissions, additions and archaisms present in his Gospel. Also, Matthew and Luke are independent of each other. If Luke had known the Gospel of Matthew, there would not have appeared in his Gospel a completely different narrative of Jesus' infancy, a different genealogy, or numerous differences in the narratives about the appearances of Jesus after his Resurrection and a different form of the Lord's Prayer. Léon-Dufour admits, however, that apart from the numerous differences between the Gospels of Luke and Matthew there exist several Mt-Lk agreements against Mark that are difficult to account for: both omit five episodes of Mark and shift the pericope on

²⁷¹ L. Vaganay, "La question synoptique", *ETL* 28 (1952) 238 ff.; idem, *Le problème synoptique de travail*, Paris 1954.

²⁷² See: J. Levie, "L'Évangile araméen de St. Matthieu est-il la source de l'évangile de St. Marc?" *NRTh* 76 (154), pp. 689–715; P. Vielhauer, "Zum synoptischen Problem. Ein Bericht über die Theorien Léon Vaganays", *ThLZ* 80 (1955), pp. 647–652.

²⁷³ W. L. Knox, *The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, vols. I, II, Cambridge 1953.

²⁷⁴ X. Léon-Dufour, "Les Évangiles synoptiques", pp. 275 ff.

cleaning out the Temple, they delete certain Markan elements and add clearly archaic ones.

R. Devresse²⁷⁵ believes that the redaction of the Gospel of Mark was influenced by: the Proto-Matthew gospel dependent on the common source (C) and Proto-Luke (independent of the C source). The Gospel of Matthew was dependent on Proto-Matthew and Q, whereas the foundation for the Gospel of Luke was C, Proto-Luke and Q.

The existence of a common source (C) for all the synoptic gospels is also accepted by A. Gaboury.²⁷⁶ The C source (an ancient gospel) would comprise the pericopes which in all three Gospels appear in the same order (Mk 1:1–13 and 6:14–16:8). Apart from this source, Mark made use of small fragments known to the other synoptics, too, but included by them in their Gospels in different contexts, namely documents B, A1 and A2. Matthew and Luke used documents I and II as well. This theory was assessed positively by X. Léon-Dufour.²⁷⁷

Gaboury's hypothesis has been questioned by P. Rolland.²⁷⁸ He maintains that, due to their quite random content, documents C, I and II cannot constitute separate documents. For example, document I contains only the following pericopes: (1) the Evangelical sermon (Mt 5:3–7:27/Lk 6:20–49); (2) the Servant of the centurion (Mt 8:5–13/Lk 7:1–10); (3) the Question concerning John the Baptist (Mt 11:1–5/Lk 7:18–30); and (4) the Wayward children (Mt 11:16–19/Lk 7:31–35). It is hard to understand why the B document, a collection of narratives about miracles, also contains the missionary sermon (Mt 10; Mk 6:7b–13/Lk 9:1–6), whereas the A1 document, a collection of controversies, includes the pericope of the Mission of the Twelve (Mt 13:53–58). Another argument against the theory in question is, for instance, the fact that the last pericopes of document A2 (Mt 12:22–13:52/Mk 3:20–4:34/Lk 8:1–21) appear in the Gospels Mt-Mk-Lk within the same framework as document A1. The only explanation to this is the suggestion that the Evangelists must have known documents A1 and A2 as one document. It hence follows that the Gospels of Mark and Luke originate not from many documents, but from one.

Benoit²⁷⁹ believes that between the Aramaic Matthew and the first three canonical Gospels there must have been an intermediate redaction stage of

²⁷⁵ L. Devresse, *Les Évangiles et l'Évangile*, Paris 1963.

²⁷⁶ A. Gaboury, *La structure des évangiles synoptiques. La structure-type a l'origine des Synoptiques*, Leiden 1970.

²⁷⁷ X. Léon-Dufour, *De Jésus aux évangiles*, Paris, pp. 5–16.

²⁷⁸ P. Rolland, *Le premiers Évangiles ...*, pp. 223–231.

²⁷⁹ P. Benoit, *L'Évangile selon saint Matthieu* (Bible de Jérusalem), Paris 1972.

the three Gospels (Pre-Mt; Pre-Mk; Pre-Lk). The Pre-Mark Gospel influenced the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, the Pre-Matthew Gospel influenced the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, while the Pre-Luke Gospel influenced the Gospels of Mark and Luke. There also existed an S document which exerted influence on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

M.-E. Boismard²⁸⁰, like other advocates of the theory of many sources, says that the problem of similarities and differences between the synoptic Gospels is too complicated to be explained by direct relationships. The derivation of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke directly from the Gospel of Mark does not account for all the literary phenomena, and the same is true about the priority of Matthew in relation to the Gospels of Mark and Luke. Sometimes the priority must be assigned to Matthew, sometimes to Mark or Luke.

Initially, Boismard maintained that the Gospel of Mark was the result of three subsequent redactions of a proto-document (A), which indirectly influenced also the other two synoptic Gospels as well as the Gospel of John. Apart from document A there were two other documents (B and C), which influenced all the Gospels indirectly, and the Q document which led to the creation of the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John. The A document became the foundation for document B as well as for Gospel Mt-i (indirect) and Proto-Lk. Gospel Mk-i came into being not only under the influence of the B document, but of documents A and C (which exerted an impact on Proto-Lk). Gospel Mk-i, in turn, influenced the creation of all the three synoptic Gospels. The above-mentioned Mt-i (document A rephrased under the influence of Q) was a source for Proto-Lk and the Gospels of Matthew and Mark.

Later Boismard simplified his theory, assuming only two sources: Proto-Mt and Proto-Mk, which influenced all the synoptic Gospels, as well as the possible existence of Proto-Lk, and of even earlier sources like Proto-Mt and Proto-Mk.²⁸¹ The theory of many sources, as Boismard emphasises, explains what the two-source hypothesis cannot account for, first of all the Mt-Lk agreements against Mk (minor agreements). According to the multi-stage theory, these agreements originate from a common source, which might be Proto-Mt, Proto-Lk or even another one. In addition, this theory explains the conflation in the Gospel of Mark which are another weak point of the

²⁸⁰ P. Benoit, M.-É. Boismard, *Synopse de Quatre évangiles en français avec parallèles des apocryphes et des Peres*, vol. II, Commentaire, Paris 1972; idem, "The Two-Source Theory at an Impasse", *NTS* 26 (1979–80), pp. 1 ff.

²⁸¹ M.-É. Boismard, "Théorie des niveaux multiples", [in] *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, ed. D. L. Dungan, Leuven 1990, pp. 2312–243.

two-source hypothesis. According to Boismard, confections result from Mark connecting two sources: the first used by Matthew and Mark and the second used by Luke and Mark. Furthermore, the multi-stage theory explains why Matthew and Luke do not have certain pericopes present in the Gospel of Mark and why Luke deletes the section Mk 6:45–8:21, which also poses great difficulty for the two-source hypothesis.

During a Biblical Days symposium in 1971 Boismard put forward the thesis that the Gospel of Matthew (or rather Proto-Mt) had influenced the redaction of some texts of Mark, namely: 1:2–3; 3:7–8; 7:9–13 and 11:25. In his later commentary to the synoptic Gospels he added the following texts to the afore-mentioned ones: Mk 1:5.8.15.32.40–45; 2:10.19b.28; 3:6; 4:8.11.16.18.20.24b; 6:2b–6a; 7:22; 8:27.37; 9:22.41; 10:2.6–8a.11; 12:18.23.28–31; 13:11; 14:13.47.54; 15:3–5.41.

Among other texts of Matthew clearly demonstrating their priority to the Gospel of Mark are, according to Boismard, such pericopes as: The Centurion's Servant (Mt 8:5–10.13); A Man with a Shrivelled hand (Mt 12:9–13), the opinion of Herod about Jesus (Mt 14:1–2); the logion about the teaching in parables (Mt 13:10–11a.13); The Question of Fasting (Mt 9:14–17). In all these texts the sentence structures are closer to Hebrew than to Greek.²⁸² From the point of view of style and theological reflection, the relations between the synoptics are not fixed, either. Sometimes the influence of Matthew on the Gospels of Mark and Luke is clearly visible and sometimes one notices the impact of Mark or Luke on the Gospel of Matthew. The influence of Matthew on the Gospels of Mark and Luke is, in Boismard's opinion, revealed for example in the pericope about the leper (Mt 8:1–4 and paral.): touching with an extended hand is a typical Matthean gesture; similarly, the injunction to remain silent in both the Gospel of Matthew and of Mark is characteristic of Matthew.

Boismard's hypothesis was criticised by, among others, P. Rolland²⁸³, who questions first of all Boismard's idea of the Q document. The document is supposed to explain common Mt-Lk texts, while – according to Boismard – Mark had access to the tradition ascribed to Q through Matthew and Proto-Lk. He claims that in the Gospel of Mark there are no Q texts only because Mark chose not to include them. Yet Boismard should have explained why Mark did not want to have in his Gospel the Sermon on the Mount which was present in the intermediate Matthew and in Proto-Lk, and why he omitted

²⁸² Cf. M. Lowe and D. Flusser, "Evidence Corroborating a Modified Proto-Matthean Synoptic Theory", *NTS* 29 (1983), pp. 25–47.

²⁸³ P. Rolland, *Le premiers Évangiles* ..., pp. 232–244.

many texts about John the Baptist, the sermon against the Pharisees etc. Rolland thinks that most of the arguments against the hypotheses of Griesbach and Vaganay also apply to Boismard's hypothesis. According to Rolland, this hypothesis leaves unexplained a great gap in Lk as compared with Mk. If the Gospel of Luke were dependent on the Gospel of Mk-i, then it would have included the texts Mk 6:45–8:26 present in the latter, especially as the readers of pagan origin would have appreciated them.

P. Rolland²⁸⁴ agrees with Boismard that the Gospel of Mark was drawn up on the basis of sources that were also well-known to Matthew and Luke. He also shares Boismard's view that the synoptic Gospels were not directly dependent on one another and that there existed the Q source. He claims, however, that before the synoptic Gospels there existed four documents: the Gospel of the Twelve (D), the Hellenistic Gospel (H) which was an extended translation of the previous one into Greek, Paul's Gospel (P) and the Q source (the Gospel of Those Fearing God). The oldest source was the Gospel of the Twelve, which gave rise to texts of the threefold tradition. The Gospel of Mark came into being on the basis of the Hellenistic Gospel (H) and Q, while the Gospel of Luke was based on Paul's Gospel (P) and Q.

Counterarguments

Peabody²⁸⁵ points out that many arguments put forward by advocates of the multi-stage hypothesis are based on analyses of linguistic similarities among the synoptic Gospels, whereas, as has been proved by Stoldt²⁸⁶, it is virtually impossible to define the characteristic linguistic features of a given document if it is relatively short.

Advocates of the multi-stage hypothesis do not pay due attention to the possibility of editorial changes. The multiplication of sources and intermediate redactions of documents is intended to explain the similarities and differences among texts, the assumption being that the differences prove a lack of direct literary inter-dependence. But is such an assumption justified? After all, it is generally accepted that the Evangelists introduced changes both in the vocabulary and in the composition of texts and they also selected their material. According to the Papal Biblical Committee's *On the Historical Truth of the Gospels (Instructio de historica Evangeliorum veritate)* of 1964, the editorial work of the Evangelists meant, among other things, their choosing the material that met the needs of the addressees of a given Gospel.

²⁸⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 232–244.

²⁸⁵ D. B. Peabody, "Response to Multi-Stage ...", pp. 217 ff.

²⁸⁶ H. H. Stoldt, *Geschichte und Kritik der Markus-Hypothese*, Göttingen 1977.

R. Bartnicki writes: “The Evangelists had at their command materials existing earlier in either written or oral form. They selected from that material, deleting some descriptions or words. The fact of selecting is clearly evidenced by the two endings of the Gospel of John (Jn 20:30; 21:25). The same can be observed in the Gospel of Mark which, despite having a narrative character, contains only two speeches: parables (Mk 4) and the eschatological sermon (Mk 13). Luke deleted some narratives of Mark, e.g. Jesus feeds the four thousand.”²⁸⁷ R. Bartnicki²⁸⁸ mentions as many as eighteen kinds of editorial activity of the Evangelists: stylistic corrections, clarifications, omissions, adaptations of a metaphor, shifting of pericopes, transposition within pericopes, reduction of two narrative moments to one, the addition of a “roaming” logion, inclusion of a logion from the tradition, inclusion of a narrative from another tradition, shortening of the source document, joining two separate pericopes, summaries, geographical clues, references to the Old Testament, dramatization of a scene, theological interpretation of the tradition, addition of a logion having editorial and theological character.

²⁸⁷ R. Bartnicki, *Ewangelie synoptyczne* ..., p. 113.

²⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 115–119. See also: H. Zimmermann, K. Kleichs, *Neutestamentliche Methodenlehre, Darstellung der historisch-kritischen Methode*, Stuttgart 1982, pp. 226–234.

7. Theory of the Dependence of Mark's Gospel on the Gospel of Matthew

7.1. The dependence of Mark's Gospel on the Aramaic or Hebrew Gospel of Matthew

According to Vanutelli²⁸⁹, the three synoptic Gospels derive from one common source, namely the Greek translation of the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew (M) close to the canonical Gospel of Matthew but not identical with it (e.g. without the Sermon on the Mount.) The differences result from the editorial work of each Evangelist. Luke also made use of the Gospel of Mark. They all used other sources as well. Vosté²⁹⁰ accepted the existence of the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew and considered the Gospel of Mark to be dependent on it. He believed the Greek Gospel of Matthew was dependent on the Gospel of Mark, and that Luke used both the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. Cerfaux²⁹¹ believes that all the three synoptic Gospels originate from the Greek Gospel of Matthew, which was preceded by the Gospel of Matthew in Aramaic.

In contemporary Bible studies, Tresmontant²⁹² seems to be an advocate of the priority of the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew. According to him, the Gospel of Matthew is a literal translation of the Hebrew Gospel. The Gospel of Luke came into being in connection with the second translation of the Gospel of Matthew from Hebrew, whereas the Gospel of Mark is the next translation of the Hebrew Gospel and at the same time its abridgement.

²⁸⁹ P. M. Vanutelli, *De Evangeliorum origine*, Roma 1923; idem, "Les Évangiles synoptiques", *RB* 22 (1925), pp. 32 ff., pp. 311 ff., 23 (1926), pp. 27 ff.; idem, *Questiones de synopticis evangeliiis*, Roma 1939.

²⁹⁰ J. – M. Vosté, *De synopticorum mutua relatione et dependentia*, 1928.

²⁹¹ L. Cerfaux, "A propos des sources des troisieme évangiles: Proto-Luc ou Proto-Matthieu", *ETL* 27 (1951), pp. 369 ff.; 28 (1952), pp. 629 ff.

²⁹² C. Tresmontant, *Le Christ hébreu. La langue et l'âge des Évangiles*, Paris 1983.

7.2.

The dependence of Mark's Gospel solely on the Greek Gospel of Matthew and on the preaching of Peter

Despite numerous new hypotheses spreading in Protestant biblical studies, Johann Leonhard Hug²⁹³ still believed that the best solution to the synoptic problem was the synoptic Gospels' literary dependence consistent with St Augustine's opinion, i.e. assuming the order Mt-Mk-Lk. According to Hug, Mark changed the order of many Matthean pericopes to improve the chronology of the described events. The editorial objectives of Matthew were different from those of Mark. Matthew intended his work to be quasi-historical evidence, whereas Mark wrote a history. Luke considered the Markan order to be more concordant with history, he therefore arranged his material, which was also present in Mark's Gospel, according to Mark's plan. Each Evangelist had his own objective to which he subordinated his Gospel. Hence the large differences among them.

The Augustinian hypothesis was later defended by John Chapman²⁹⁴ and B. C. Butler. Let us review the latter's arguments.

Butler was convinced that at the basis of the Gospel of Mark were the Gospel of Matthew and Peter's notes. In his book *The Originality of St Matthew. A Critique of the Two-Document Hypothesis* (Cambridge, 1951), he first tries to prove that Q texts from the Gospel of Mark can basically be identified with the Gospel of Matthew. Then he analyzes four of Matthew's doublets and their use by Luke, concluding that Luke must have adopted them not from Q, but from the Gospel of Matthew.²⁹⁵ In the third chapter of his book Butler attempts to demonstrate that there exist literary data testifying to the literary dependence of the sermon on the plain from the Gospel of Luke on the Sermon on the Mount from the Gospel of Matthew. Let us look at three examples of such dependence.²⁹⁶

(1) In 6:23 Luke uses the word *misthos* (a prize) which is also present in the parallel text in Mt 5:12. It appears ten times in the Gospel of Matthew, once in the Gospel of Mark and only three times in the Gospel of Luke. Apart from 6:23, the same word is present in 6:35, where, however, it can be explained by the dependence on Mt 5:46, and also in 10:7, where it is used

²⁹³ J. L. Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1808.

²⁹⁴ J. Chapman, *Matthew, Mark and Luke*, 1937.

²⁹⁵ Three of these analyses are presented in Chapter 4.1.2.

²⁹⁶ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew* ..., pp. 38–39.

instead of the Matthean *trofē* (though *trofē* seems to be more suitable). Besides, the word in question appears once in the Acts.

(2) In the first “woe” 6:24, which is not present in Matthew, Luke uses the word *apechō* (to receive.) Generally, however, Luke uses the word *apolambanein* to express receiving, cf. 16:25. The word *apolambanein* appears in this sense only in the Gospel of Luke (5 times). The use of the word *apechō* by Luke in this sermon is undoubtedly an influence of Matthew’s sermon, where it appears three times (Mt 6:2.5.16).

(3) The logion about the love of one’s enemy starts in the Gospel of Luke with the following words: To You who hear me, I say (*Alla humin legō tois akouousin*): Love your enemies (6:27). In Matthew the same logion begins with *You have heard the commandment, ‘You shall love your countryman but hate your enemy.’ My command to you is: love your enemies* (Mt 5:43). Butler believes that in his introduction to the logion on the love of one’s enemy Luke deleted the mention of the Law, which was of no interest to the listeners of his Gospel, but kept the mention of “hearing” (*Hkousate hoti eppethē*) and the formula “I say to you” (*egō de legō humin*).

In the fourth chapter Butler tries to prove with vocabulary analysis that literary dependence between the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke is also visible in sixteen other pericopes, e.g. in Mt 8:11–12 and Lk 13:28–29; Mt 9:35–37; 10:1 and Lk 8:1–2; Mt 8:19–22 and Lk 9:57–62, etc. Then, in the fifth chapter, Butler criticises the argument of Q- theory supporters based on the order of pericopes. Butler starts with the statement that only in one case does Mark not have a pericope parallel to the Gospel of Matthew (Jesus in the synagogue in Capernaum – 1:21–28.) Other pericopes which do not seem parallel are, in fact, composed of material common with the Gospel of Matthew and hence he raises the question whether Mark excluded certain texts from the Gospel of Matthew and whether Matthew included Markan narratives in the larger whole.²⁹⁷

Butler analyzes this problem using as an example five texts from the Gospel of Mark and parallel texts from the great speeches of Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew. He finds in those texts clear literary connections. The first of the analyzed texts is Mk 12:37b–40 and Mt 23:1–8 parallel to it.

²⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 72.

Mt 23	Mk 12
<p>1 Then Jesus told the crowds and his disciples: 2 "The scribes and the Pharisees have succeeded Moses as teachers; 3 therefore, do everything and observe everything they tell you. But do not follow their example. 4 Their words are bold but their deeds are few. They bind up heavy burdens, hard to carry, to lay on other men's shoulders, while they themselves will not lift a finger to budge them. 5 All their works are performed to be seen. They widen their phylacteries and wear huge tassels. 6 They are fond of places of honor at banquets and the front seats in synagogues (prōtoklisian en tois deipnois kai tas prōtokathedrias en tais sunagōgais), 7 of marks of respect in public (kai tous aspasmous en tais agorais) and of being called 'Rabbi'. 8 As to you, avoid the title 'Rabbi'. One among you is your teacher, the rest are learners.</p>	<p>37b The majority of the crowd heard this with delight. 38 In the course of his teaching he said: "Be on guard against the scribes, who like to parade around in their robes and accept marks of respect in public (kai aspasmous en tais agorais), 39 front seats in the synagogues, and places of honor at banquets (kai prōtokathedrias en tais sunagōgais kai prōtoklisias en tais deipnois. 40 These men devour the savings of widows and recite long prayers for appearance' sake; it is they who will receive the severest sentence."</p>

According to Butler, Mark's text here is secondary relative to Matthew's, which is proved by the following²⁹⁸:

1) From the literary point of view, the Matthean piece of text constitutes a whole made up of three parts and it is hard to believe that it might have been composed out of excerpts from other sources.

2) Mt 23:5b–10 is a synthetic parallel, poetical in character.²⁹⁹ The parallel text in the Gospel of Mark is a piece of prose.

3) Instead of *They widen their phylacteries and wear huge tassels* (Mt 23:5) Mark has *who like to parade around in their robes* (Mk 12:38b). Mark apparently altered the Matthean sentence so as not to go into the details of the Pharisees' vanity when writing for readers unfamiliar with the Jewish customs. It is very unlikely that Matthew would have extended and altered Mark's text.

4) Mark's replacement of the Matthean word *filousin* with *tōn thelontōn* impairs the syntax.

²⁹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 74–76.

²⁹⁹ C. F. Burney, *The Poetry of our Lord. An Examination of the Formal Elements of Hebrew Poetry in the Discourses of Jesus Christ*, Oxford 1925, p. 89.

5) Mark's text is an extract, which is indicated by the introductory formula: *In the course of his teaching he said* (Mk 12:38). A similar formula introduces a similar caution in Mk 4:2.

Also in the eschatological sermon Mk 13 and Mt 24–25, in the speech in parables Mk 4:1–34 and Mt 13, in Mk 9:33–42 and Mt 18:1–4 as well as in Mk 11:27–33 and Mt 23–27, methods of literary criticism yield evidence proving, Butler believes, that it was Mark who altered and deleted Matthew's texts rather than the other way round.

In chapter nine Butler analyses 22 doublets from the Gospel of Matthew and infers that they do not indicate literary dependence of this Gospel on the Gospel of Mark or on any other source. Matthew simply repeats his own texts, which is demonstrated by the significant similarity in the vocabulary and by the fact that one part of a doublet matches its context better the other.

In chapter ten Butler focuses on Aramaisms in the Gospel of Matthew. He points out that Matthew is the only Evangelist who uses the term "kingdom of the heavens" (thirty-two times). The noun for "heavens", in the plural, is hardly ever used in Greek. In the Gospel of Mark, except for places parallel to the Gospel of Matthew, this term appears only in 12:25 (and in the Gospel of Luke only in 10:20 and 12:33). The frequent usage of *idou* by Matthew is also an evident Semitic feature. Excluding quotations, the word appears in this Gospel 58 times. In Mark's Gospel it appears only 6 times, exclusively in places parallel to the Gospel of Matthew. According to Butler, it is hard to accept that Matthew would have included *idou* in texts adopted from Mark. Yet another Semitic feature which Butler points to is Matthew's usage of *tote* to mean "afterwards", i.e. in a sense not very compatible with Greek. Matthew uses *tote* 89 times and in more than 50 cases the meaning of the word is "afterwards." Out of the 6 times this word appears in the Gospel of Mark, 5 are in texts parallel to those of Matthew. In Luke's Gospel there are 14 examples of *tote* and 6 of them appear in texts parallel to the Gospels of Matthew or Mark (the influence of the Septuagint.) Butler considers it unlikely that a Greek copyist might have added to the Gospel of Mark a Greek word in a wrong sense as many as 45 times. It is much more likely that those words were deleted by Mark. The fact that the Gospel of Matthew was addressed to the Jews does not account for such Semitic features, after all its language was Greek.³⁰⁰

Butler also points to some other Semitic features in the Gospel of Matthew, namely the so-called inclusions (or placing the same sentence at the beginning and at the end of a text.) According to Butler, there are

³⁰⁰ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew* ..., p. 150.

11 evident inclusions in the Gospel of Matthew. Seven of them appear in texts having their parallels in the Gospel of Mark, yet Mark retains only one of them (Mk 11:33). The hypothesis that Mark ruined Matthew's inclusions seems more acceptable than the thesis that a Greek copyist may have added to the Greek Gospel of Matthew one part of an inclusion in the Semitic style.³⁰¹

I fully agree with St Augustine's position assuming the priority of the Gospel of Matthew, which was shortened and redrafted by Mark. I also fully accept the tradition concerning the influence of St Peter's teaching on the Gospel of Mark. I am positive that Butler's arguments for the secondariness of the Gospel of Mark relative to the Gospel of Matthew are well grounded and cannot be rejected. Nevertheless, I also understand the objections of those opposed to the priority of the Gospel of Matthew. Butler's arguments need to be supplemented. First of all, it ought to be explained why Mark shortened his source to such a considerable degree and changed its composition.

³⁰¹ *ibid*, p. 151.

PART II

Secondariness and originality

1.

Elements of the typology of Moses and Joshua in the Gospel of Mark as an argument for its dependence on the Gospel of Matthew

It appears that research on the influence of the typology of Moses and Joshua on the structure of the Gospel of Matthew has cast new light on the problem of the dependence of the Gospel of Mark on the Gospel of Matthew, because some elements of this typology are also to be found in the Gospel of Mark.

The first scholar to bring attention to the typology of Moses in the Gospel of Matthew and to the resemblance of its structure to that of the Pentateuch was Bacon.¹ According to him, the Gospel of Matthew was to be a new Torah. The same conclusion was reached by, among others, Kilpatrick², Davies³ and Burridge.⁴ J. Gnilka⁵ believes that it certainly does not belong to the ancient literary genre of “bios”. A detailed comparative analysis of the Gospel of Matthew and the Hexateuch reveals that the typology of Moses and, connected with it, the typology of Joshua and the conquest of the Promised Land, permeates the Gospel of Matthew, its subject matter and its structure down to almost minute details.⁶ The Gospel of Matthew is not a biography of Jesus nor a collection of legends, but a well-thought-out work remaining in a close relationship to the Hexateuch. The relatedness of the Gospel of Matthew to the Hexateuch is also assumed by Farrer⁷ and Buchanan.⁸ Matthew’s intention was to give the Church – the new people of God – a new Hexateuch.

The typology of Moses has its source in Dt 18:15, where Moses announces: *A prophet like me will the Lord, your God, raise up for you from among your*

¹ B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and the Law*, JBL 47 (1928), p. 223.

² G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel according to Matthew*, Oxford 1946, p. 107.

³ W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, Cambridge 1966, p. 188.

⁴ R. A. Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, Cambridge 1992, p. 211.

⁵ J. Gnilka, *Teologia Nowego Testamentu*, Kraków 2002, p. 225.

⁶ See A. Kowalczyk, *Rodzaj literacki Ewangelii Mateusza*, *Studia Theol. Vars.* 34/1 (1996), pp. 115–153; *Typological Cycles of Episodes in the Gospel of Matthew and Matthew as the New Hexateuch*, *Estratto da “Angelicum”* LXXVII (2000) pp. 223–274.

⁷ A. Farrer, *St. Matthew and St. Mark*, London 1954, p. 179.

⁸ G. W. Buchanan, *The Gospel of Matthew*, Lewinston/Queenston/Lampeter 1969, vol. 2, p. 1034.

own kinsmen; to him you shall listen. Israelites contemporary to Jesus were awaiting such a prophet and a new exodus. The commune of Jerusalem was convinced that Jesus was that prophet. Peter, in his second speech placed by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, tries to convince the inhabitants of Jerusalem that Jesus is the Messiah and a prophet like Moses (cf. Acts 3:22–23); the text about a prophet like Moses is also quoted by deacon Stephen in his speech to the Sanhedrin (cf. Acts. 7:37).

What Matthew focuses on in the life of Jesus are the resemblances to the life of Moses and the exodus from Egypt. Already in his infancy Jesus was persecuted, had to leave his homeland, and later God made great signs and worked miracles through him. Matthew places in his Gospel two kinds of Jesus-Moses resemblances: material and numerical. An example of the former is the already mentioned persecution of the Child Jesus by Herod, and the Sermon on the Mount, wherein Jesus, as did God on Mount Horeb, proclaims the Law. Numerical resemblances consist in Matthew describing in his Gospel certain events as many times as were similar events mentioned in the story of the exodus in the Pentateuch or in the story of the conquest of the Promised Land in the Book of Joshua. For example, Matthew writes twice about the miraculous feeding of the people on the desert, because in the Book of Exodus the author writes twice about the miraculous feeding of the people with quails; Matthew tells about ten controversies of Jesus with his opponents, because the people ten times opposed Moses on the desert.

Matthew does not pay much attention to the chronology of the described events, but goes instead by correspondences with the Hexateuch. This typology explains why Matthew divided the activity of Jesus into two parts: the first part in Galilee (4:12–18:35), the second part in Judea (19:1–27:56). The Gospel of John reveals that this division does not correspond to the historic reality, but stems from Matthew's editorial purpose: first Jesus is shown as the new Moses who leads his people from the "Galilee of pagans" to the new Promised Land whose symbol is Jerusalem, and only then presents him as the new Joshua who by his death on the cross conquers for his people the promised land of the heavenly kingdom. After crossing the Jordan near Jericho Jesus became a new Joshua. His stay in Jericho is clearly marked by Matthew. Also, the typology of Joshua was well-known to Jews in the times of Jesus. In presenting the teachings of Jesus, Matthew goes by the order of certain themes in the Pentateuch.

Broadly speaking, the composition of the Gospel of Matthew can be presented as follows:

- 1) Genealogy
- 2) Birth of Jesus and fulfilment of prophecies in his infancy
- 3) Testimony of John the Baptist

- 4) Beginning of the messianic activity of Jesus: the baptism and the temptation
- 5) Activity in Galilee
- 6) Activity in Judaea
- 7) Death and Resurrection

However, if we want to reflect on the content of this Gospel in more detail, we must draw on correspondences with the Hexateuch:

- 1) New Book of the Genesis (the Genealogy) (1:1–17).
- 2) New Book of Exodus (1:18–9:34)
 - a. The birth of Jesus and fulfilment of prophecies in his infancy (1:8–2:23; cf. Ex 1–2)
 - b. Testimony of John the Baptist – the announcement of the new exodus (3:1–12)
 - c. Beginning of the messianic activity of Jesus: the baptism and the temptation (3:13–4:11)
 - d. Jesus reveals his power, begins his teaching and the formation of the new people (4:12–25)
 - e. The Sermon on the Mount – the new Book of the Covenant (Mt 5–7; cf. Ex 19–23)
 - f. Four parallels with Ex 24–29: the sacrifice and the testimony, the people of the Covenant and the feast, the place of residence of God, the vocation to the service of God (8:1–12)
 - g. Jesus fulfils the three requests of Moses more perfectly than God did during the Exodus (8:23–9:34; cf. Ex 34:5–10)
 - g1. So that God goes among the people (Jesus is God among the people, because he bears sway over nature, over the world of spirits, and has the power of the remission of sins) (8:23–9:8)
 - g2. So that he forgives sins (9:1–13)
 - g3. So that he makes Israel his own heritage (9:14–17)
 - h. Jesus fulfils the assurance of God from the time of the Exodus about the working of miracles (*I will work such marvels as have never been wrought in any nation* – Ex 34:10) (9:18–34)
- 3) A new Book of Leviticus (9:35–10:42)
 - a. Summary. Logion on the sheep without a shepherd (9:35–38)
 - b. Choice of the Twelve (to exercise the religious vocation) (10:14; cf. Ex 40:12–15 and Lv 8)
 - c. The Missionary Sermon (10:5–42; cf. Nm 13:17–20)
- 4) A new Book of Numbers (11:1–13:53)
 - a. John the Baptist's deputation and Jesus Christ's testimony about John (11:1–15)

- b. Jesus reproaches the people for their disbelief in his and the Baptist's vocation (11:16–24; cf. Nm 20:1–13)
- c. Only Jesus knows the Father. Appeal to those who are weary (11:25–30; cf. Nm 11:4–12:16)
- d. Four parallels with Nm 15–17: Sabbath, conspiracy, blasphemy, sign (12:1–42)
- e. Sermon on the parables about the reign of God (13:1–53; cf. Nm 33:50–35:34)
- 5) A new Book of Deuteronomy (13:54–18:35)
 - a. Further testimonies about Jesus' sonship of God and parallels with Dt 1–31 (13:54–17:27)
 - b. Ecclesiological discourse (Mt 18; cf. Dt 1:9–33)
- 6) A new Book of Joshua (19:1–27:56)
 - a. Who will enter into the kingdom of God (19:1–20:16)
 - a1. Indissolubility of marriage and voluntary celibate (19:1–12; cf. Dt 24:1–4)
 - a2. The kingdom of God belongs to those who are like children (19:13–15)
 - a3. He will win eternal life who keeps the commandments. Danger of riches (19:16–30)
 - a4. The heavenly kingdom as a gift of God (20:1–16)
 - b. The third prophecy of the Passion and four parallels with Jos: leadership, "You will know the road", sacred site, curse (20:17–21:22)
 - c. Controversies (battles) of Jesus with his opponents in the temple (21:23–23:39; cf. the number of the battles of Joshua after the crossing of the Jordan)
 - d. Eschatological sermon (Mt 24–25; cf. Dt 27:11–26; 29:8–22; 30:1–20)
 - e. Events before the Passion (26:1–35)
 - f. The Passion and Death of Jesus (26:36–27:56) and the burial of Jesus (27:56–66), without parallel in the Book of Joshua.
- 7) Resurrection of Jesus and commission of the apostles (28:1–20)

The Gospel of Mark does not show such close connections with the Hexateuch and with the typology of Moses and Joshua. First of all, it conspicuously lacks the episodes of the persecution of the child Jesus by Herod and the Sermon on the Mount. The speeches of Jesus which in Matthew constitute the equivalent of the collections of the Law from the Pentateuch are shortened in the Gospel of Mark, which blurs the division of the text, so distinct in the Pentateuch and in the Gospel of Matthew, into narrative and legal blocks. Finally, the order of pericopes in the Gospel of

Mark does not always correspond with the order of similar pericopes in the Pentateuch. Mark did not intend to give the Romans a new Hexateuch, or show Jesus against the background of the story of the Exodus as closely as Matthew, nor did he wish to compare the law of Jesus with the law of Moses.

Yet in the Gospel of Mark one can find many elements of the typology, the same ones that we can see in the work of Matthew: the division of the activity of Jesus into two parts, (1) in Galilee (1:9–9:50), (2) in Judea, certain numerical similarities to the story of the Exodus in the Pentateuch, and in many cases similarities in the order of passages to the Gospel of Matthew where the order of themes corresponds to that in the Pentateuch.

Let us first look at the numerical similarities. The description of the activity of Jesus from the pericope on the Baptism in the Jordan (Mt 3:1) to the ecclesiological speech, i.e. to the end of the eighteenth chapter, is covered by Matthew in forty two topographical episodes (Jesus moved from place to place forty-two times). The next chapter begins with the words: *When Jesus had finished this discourse, he left Galilee and came to the district of Judea across the Jordan* (19:1). Here the activity of Jesus is presented as that of a new Moses. The number 42 is not accidental. According to Nm 33:1–49, during the Exodus from Egypt Israelites stopped at as many places on their way from Ramses to the River Jordan. Thus this number is of typological significance. In the Gospel of Mark, from the Baptism of Jesus to the pericope about the outrage (Mk 9:42–50), followed by the mention about the passage of Jesus to Judea: *From there he moved on to the districts of Judea and across the Jordan* (Mk 10:1), there are also 42 topographical episodes. This is all the more worthy of attention as the Gospel of Mark is 395 verses shorter than the Gospel of Matthew – it consists of 677 verses – and has a partly different composition.

In the Gospel of Matthew, from the pericope on the Baptism in the Jordan to the end of the eighteenth chapter, there are seven episodes of the victory of Jesus over unclean spirits: (1) 4:3–11; (2) 8:16; (3) 8:28–34; (4) 9:32–34; (5) 12:22–24; (6) 15:21–28; (7) 17:14–21. Just as many victories were scored by Moses over pagan tribes: (1) Ex 14:23–31; (2) Ex 17:8–18; (3) Nm 21:1–3; (4) Nm 21:21–31; (5) Nm 21:32; (6) Nm 21:33–35; Dt 3:1; (7) Nm 31:1–12. Also in the Gospel of Mark 1:9–10:31 there are seven episodes of Jesus' victories over unclean spirits: (1) 1:13; (2) 1:23–28; (3) 1:32–34; (4) 5:1–17; (5) 7:24–30; (6) 9:14–29; (7) 9:38. Matthew places in his Gospel two descriptions of the miraculous feeding of the people with bread and fish. In the Pentateuch two mentions can be found about the miraculous feeding of the people on the desert with quails: Ex 16:13 and Nm 11:31–32. Mark, as opposed to Luke and John, also writes about two miraculous feedings.

Let us add that in the remaining two numerical cycles of the Exodus typology there are slight differences between the Gospels of Matthew and of Mark. Matthew has twelve episodes of opposition to Jesus (8:34; 9:3–8; 9:11–13; 9:14; 12:1–8; 12:9–14; 12:24; 12:38–42; 13:57–58; 15:1–14; 16:1–4) while Mark has one less (2:7; 2:26; 2:18; 2:24; 3:1–6; 3:21; 3:22–30; 5:17; 6:3; 7:1–5; 8:11). Matthew has five mountain episodes (4:8–11; 5:7; 4:23; 5:29; 7:1–8) while Mark has two less (3:13; 6:46; 9:2–8). When it comes to numerical similarities to the typology of Joshua, in the Gospel of Matthew (19:1–27:61) there are two such cycles: five thaumaturgical episodes (20:29–34; 21:14; 21:18–22; 27:45; 27:51–53) and twelve battle episodes (13:3–9; 21:12–13; 21:15–17; 21:23–27; 21:28–32; 21:33–46; 22:1–14; 22:15–22; 22:23–33; 22:34–40; 22:41–46; 23:1–36). Mark has four thaumaturgical episodes (10:46–52; 11:12–14; 20:22; 15:33; 15:38) and eight battle episodes (11:15–18; 11:27–33; 12:1–12; 12:13–17; 12:18–27; 12:28–34; 12:35–37; 12:38–40).

Let us pass on now to those passages of the Gospel of Mark where the order is identical with that of the parallel passages in the Gospel of Matthew, which in turn come, in most cases, in the same order as the parallel passages in the Hexateuch.

The Paralytic at Capernaum (Mk 2:1–12/Mt 9:1–8), cf. Ex 34:9

The narrative about the cure of the paralytic in the Gospel of Matthew is the last of the set of three narratives about miracles (Storm on the Lake, Expulsion of the Demons in Gadara, and the Cure of the Paralytic at Capernaum) (Mt 8:23–9:8) whose theme is the dignity of Jesus. These miracles are presented by Matthew so that the reader could find out for himself who Jesus is. Incidentally, the Evangelist puts this question in the mouths of witnesses to the miracle: *What sort of man is this...* (Mt 8:27). The power of Jesus over nature, over the world of spirits, and his power to forgive sins, testifies that Jesus is the Son of God. That is precisely how Jesus is called by unclean spirits. Thus God stood among his people as Jesus. This section is related to the first of three requests by Moses concerning the renewal of the Covenant after the apostasy at the base of Mount Horeb (Ex 34:9). Moses asked God (1) to go in the midst of the people; (2) to forgive their sins; (3) to adopt them as his heritage. Matthew believes the activity of Jesus to be a new Exodus, and tries to show that the requests of Moses are fulfilled perfectly by Jesus.

The Call of Levi – Matthew (Mk 2:13–17/Mt 9:9–13), cf. Ex 34:9

This pericope corresponds to the second request of Moses in Ex 34:9 about the forgiveness of faults. Matthew shows that God in Jesus forgives

sinners. It ends with the words of Jesus: *Go and learn the meaning of the words, "It is mercy I desire and not sacrifice". I have come to call, not the self-righteous, but sinners* (Mt 9:13).

The Question of Fasting (Mk 2:18–22/Mt 9:14–17), cf. Ex 34:9

Jesus says that the time of his activity should not be the time of fasting, for it can be compared to the time of a wedding: *How can wedding guests go in mourning so long as the groom is with them?* (Mt 9:15). The wedding then is an image of God's Covenant with Israel. The prophet Hosea announces: *I will make a covenant for them on that day ... I will espouse you to me forever* (Hos 2:20–21). Matthew shows in this pericope that Israel, through the "espousal" of Jesus the Son of God, becomes God's "heritage" (property), whereby the third request of Moses in Ex 34:9 gets fulfilled.

**The disciples and the Sabbath (Mk 2:23–28/Mt 12:1–8)
cf. Nm 16–17 and A man with a Withered hand (Mk 3:1–6/Mt 12:9–14),
cf. Nm 16–17**

These two pericopes belong, in the Gospel of Matthew, to the block embracing five pericopes (12:1–42): (1) The Disciples and the Sabbath (polemic about the Sabbath), (2) A Man with a Withered hand (the second polemic on the matter of the Sabbath), (3) The Mercy of Jesus (Jesus the Servant of God), (4) Blasphemy of the Pharisees, (5) The Sign of Jonah (polemic on a sign from heaven). All these pericopes, except for the third, are linked with one theme: the fight of the Pharisees against Jesus. The whole of this block is related to the narrative about Korah's rebellion in Nm 16–17.

In the first of the above pericopes, Christ rejects the Pharisees' accusations of law-breaking on the part of his disciples and he evokes his dignity and his authority: *I assure You, there is something greater than the temple here* (Mt 12:6), and *The Son of Man is indeed Lord of the Sabbath* (12:8). At the end of the second controversy concerning Sabbath we can read that the Pharisees held a council on how to put Jesus to death, for they could not withstand his authority. So they plot against Jesus. The source of Korah's rebellion is the rejection of the authority of Moses and Aaron. In Nm 16:3 we read: *They stood before Moses, and held an assembly against Moses and Aaron, to whom they said, "Enough from you! The whole community, all of them, are holy; the Lord is in their midst. Why then should you set yourselves over the Lord's congregation?"* Korah's rebellion ends with defeat, whereas Jesus' answer to the Pharisees' plot is his departure for another place (cf. 12:15). The typology does not work in this case, because Matthew explains the humble comportment of Jesus in the next pericope, where he quotes the prophecy from

the Book of Isaiah about the humble Servant of the Lord: *The bruised reed he will not crush...* (Mt 12:20; cf. Is 42:1–4). In the fourth pericope Jesus is accused by Pharisees of healing with the power of demons (12:24). Jesus in turn charges them with blasphemy. Moses accused the rebels of blasphemy in Nm 16:30: *...then you will know that these men have defied the Lord*. In the last pericope, the Pharisees demand a sign. The term “the sign” (*sēmeion*) appears further in the story about the rebellion of Korah, in Nm 17:25.

In Mt 12:1–42, Matthew wants to show that the situation that had occurred in the story of the Exodus happened again in the life of Jesus, namely a plot against the leader sent by God. Out of this whole block Mark uses only two pericopes, in parallel with the structure of the Hexateuch, and places one of the remaining pericopes (about the blasphemy of the Pharisees) elsewhere, while omitting the ones about “Jesus the Servant of the Lord” and about the sign.

Jesus at Nazareth (Mk 6:1–6/Mt 13:53–58), cf. Dt 1:26–46

In the Gospel of Matthew, the narrative about the teaching of Jesus at Nazareth corresponds with Dt 1:26–46. The Books of Deuteronomy contains two speeches where Moses refers to the history of the Exodus and encourages his people to observe the Law; these are followed by the Deuteronomical Code, the final injunctions of Moses, and the mention of his death. In his reflections on the past Moses focuses on the appointment of elders (Dt 1:9–18), the revolt at Kadesh-Barnea after the return of twelve scouts (1:26–46), the wars on the east side of the Jordan (2:24–3:7), God’s revelation at Horeb (5:1–33), and the idolatry at Horeb (9:7–21). In Mt 13:54–17:27 there are pericopes whose contents are linked with all the above-mentioned events except the first one. The rebellion at Kadesh-Barnea resembles the rejection of Jesus by the inhabitants of Nazareth (Mt 13:53–58). After the return of the scouts the Israelites lose faith in the power of Jahveh and want to return to Egypt, and thus invalidate God’s plan. The inhabitants of Nazareth do not believe in the supernatural power of Jesus and cancel God’s plan of salvation in relation to themselves: Christ does not work many miracles when among them. An equivalent of Moses’ wars against pagans is, in the times of the new Exodus, the expulsion of demons by Jesus. In this section Jesus expels the demons twice (15:21–28; 17:14–21). A parallel to the revelation at Horeb is, in the Gospel of Matthew, the transfiguration of Jesus upon the mountain (17:1–8). The idolatry at Horeb can be associated with the polemics of Jesus with the Pharisees about tradition – Jesus reproaches them for having cancelled the law of God for the sake of tradition (Mt 15:1–9). In both cases we are dealing with a false notion of worship. The first event described in the Book of Deuteronomy was already referred

to by Matthew in the eschatological speech (18:1–19:1). From the whole Mt 13:54–17:27 passage Mark only preserved, as compared with the structure of the Gospel of Matthew and the Hexateuch, the text on Jesus teaching at Nazareth. The pericope about the expulsion of the devil from the daughter of the Canaanite woman is placed by Mark in another context (cf. Mk 7: 24–30); also transferred to another context is the narrative about the Transfiguration of Jesus (cf. Mk 9:2–8) as well as the second narrative about the expulsion of the devil (Mk 9:14–29). The pericope about the controversy over tradition (Mt 15:1–9) is transferred by Mark to 7:1–13.

**Herod's opinion on Jesus and the death of John the Baptist
(Mk 6:14–29/Mt 14:1–12), cf. Dt 1:37**

The first of these pericopes does not have a distinct parallel in the Hexateuch but thematically links with the second (both are about John the Baptist), and this in turn relates to Dt 1:37 where we can read that by God's decision it was not Moses that was to bring the people into the Promised Land. Matthew can see that during the new Exodus the situation is repeated: John the Baptist identified Jesus in front of his disciples, but himself did not become his disciple.

**Jesus feeds five thousand, Jesus walks on the water, other miracles
(Mk 6:30–56/Mt 14:13–15:28), cf. Dt 4:34**

In the Gospel of Matthew, these passages belong to the block 13:54–17:27 already discussed above. One ought to add that in the parallel fragment in the Hexateuch, that is to say in the Book of Deuteronomy, the theme of "signs and miracles" occurs four times (Dt 4:34; 6:26; 7:19; 11:3). In Dt 4:34 we can read: *Or did any god venture to go and take a nation for himself from the midst of another nation, by testings, by signs and wonders, by war ...* It seems that Matthew tries to demonstrate in this block that testings, signs, wonders and wars also took place during the second Exodus. The block Mt 13:54–17:27 can be divided into four sections, each of which describes some testing, some sign, some miracle or some war. The first section (Mt 14: 13–15:28) includes Jesus feeding five thousand (the testing), Jesus walking on the water (the sign), other miracles (the wonders), the expulsion of the demon from the daughter of the Canaanite woman (the war).

**Jesus feeds four thousand, Pharisees ask for a sign, the leaven of the
Pharisees (Mk 8:1–21/Mt 15:32–16:12), cf. Dt 4:34**

These pericopes belong, in the Gospel of Matthew, to the already discussed block Mt 13:54–17:27, to the second section (Mt 15:29–16:20)

where the following pericopes are found: Jesus feeding four thousand (testing), Pharisees asking for a sign (sign).

**The first prophecy of the Passion and Resurrection
(Mk 9:31–33/Mt 16:21–23), cf. Dt 4:34.**

In the Gospel of Matthew this pericope belongs to the third section of the Mt 13:54–17:27 block. It is the equivalent of the “testing” in Dt 4:34.

Jesus transfigured, the coming of Elijah, the healing of the possessed boy (Mk 9:2–29/Mt 17:1–21), cf. Dt 4:34.

This fragment in the Gospel of Matthew also belongs to the block Mt 13:54–17:27, to the third section. Relative to Dt 4:34, the transfiguration of Jesus is “the sign”, and the expulsion of the devil from the boy is “the war”.

**Second prophecy of the Passion
(Mk 9:30–32/Mt 17:22–23), cf. Dt 4:34.**

This pericope, together with that of “Paying the Temple Tax” (which is not found in the Gospel of Mark), constitutes in the Gospel of Matthew the fourth section (Mt 17:22–27) of the said block which relates to Dt 4:34. The second prophecy of the Passion is “the testing”, and the temple tax is “the sign”.

Against ambition (Mk 9:33–37/Mt 18:1–5), cf. Dt 1:9–18.

This pericope opens the ecclesiological sermon (Mt 18:1–19:1) which consists of: (1) the pericope “Against ambition”: by answering the apostles’ question *Who is of greatest importance in the kingdom of God?* (Mt 18:1), Jesus teaches the need to humble oneself; (2) Caution against corrupting the little ones; (3) Not despising the little ones; (4) The parable about the straying sheep; (5) The course of action in the face of contestation – the judgment of the Church is God’s judgment; (7) Logion about praying in concord with others; (8) Peter’s question How often must I forgive him? (18:21); (9) The parable about a merciless official. This speech relates to the fragment of the speech of Moses in Dt 1:9–18. The theme of this fragment is the appointment of leaders by Moses: (a) Moses proposes to the people that they chose their leaders (1:9–14); (b) The appointment of leaders (1:15); (c) Moses instructs the leaders to administer justice to the people (Dt 1:16–17). The last part of this fragment contains two themes in common with the ecclesiological sermon, its fifth part (Mt 18:15–17) – in both cases the manner of resolving a contestation is presented – as well as with the sixth part (Mt 18:18) – in both cases the issued judgment is “God’s judgment”. Christ says: ...*whatever*

you declare bound on earth shall be held bound in heaven, and whatever you declare loosed on earth shall be loosed in heaven (Mt 18:18); Moses says: *In rendering judgment, do not consider who a person is; give ear to the lowly and to the great alike.* (Dt 1:17). Besides, Moses in this last part speaks about “brothers/kinsmen”, “lowly” and “great”: *Listen to complaints among your kinsmen* (Dt 1:16); *In rendering judgment, do not consider who a person is; give ear to the lowly and to the great alike* (Dt 1:17). The term “brother/kinsman” is used in the fifth part of Matthew’s sermon, “little ones” (lowly) are the subject of the second, third and fourth parts, while “great” appears in the question of the apostles in the first part. Thus in the ecclesiological sermon there are as many as five elements in common with Dt 1:9–18.

Mark has in his Gospel only the first (Mt 18:3–5) and second part (Mt 18:9–18) of Matthew’s sermon.

The question of divorce (Mk 10:1–12/Mt 19:1–9), cf. Dt 24:1–4.

The danger of riches (Mk 10:17–31/Mt 19:16–30), cf. Dt 30:15–20.

Ambition of James and John (Mk 10:35–45/Mt 20:20–28, cf. Jos 3:1–6.

The blind Bartimaeus (Mk 10:46–52/Mt 20:29–34), cf. Jos 3:1–6.

Jesus curses a fig tree (Mk 11:12–14/Mt 21:18–19), cf. Jos 6:26.

Cleansing of the Temple (Mk 11:15–19/Mt 21:12–17), cf. Jos 5:15.

The above six passages from the Gospel of Matthew belong to the fourth narrative block after the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 19–23). This block has six themes in common, in the same order, with the Book of Deuteronomy and the Book of Joshua (in all). (1) Christ forbids divorces (Mt 19:1–9) while the author of Dt allows divorces (Dt 24:1–4). (2) The young man asks Christ how one ought to act to win eternal life (Mt 19:16–22) while Moses taught that eternal life could be assured through obedience to the Law (Dt 30:15–20). The noun “life” appears in this text four times. (3) Jesus sets himself as an example of a superior: *Such is the case with the Son of Man who has come, not to be served by others, but to serve...* (Mt 20:28) while the Israelites concluded that disobedience to Joshua would result in death (Jos 3:1–6). Both cases concern the understanding of leadership. (4) The two blind men healed near Jericho will follow Christ along a road they have not seen before (Mt 20:29–34) while, after crossing the Jordan (near Jericho), the Israelites would know the way they had not seen before (that you may know the way to take, for you have not gone over this road before – Jos 3:4). (5) Jesus drives out vendors from the temple; He demands reverence for the holy place (Mt 21:12–13) while the captain of the host of the Lord ordered Joshua to remove his sandals from his feet, for the place on which he was standing was holy (Jos 5:15). (6) Jesus curses the fig tree symbolizing Israel

(Mt 21:18–22) while Joshua imposed the oath on Jericho (Jos 6:26). These parallels show that Matthew composed the fourth narrative block after the Sermon on the Mount (19:1–21:22) according to the Book of Deuteronomy.

Parallelness of Pericopes in Mk – Mt – Hexateuch

Mk	Mt	Hexateuch
<i>The Paralytic at Capernaum (2:1–12)</i>	9:1–8	Ex 34:9
<i>The Call of Levi (2:13–17)</i>	9:9–13	Ex 34:9
<i>The Question of Fasting (2:18–22)</i>	9:14–17	Ex 34:9
<i>The Disciples and the Sabbath (2:23–28)</i>	12:1–8	Nm 16–17
<i>The Man with a Withered Hand (3:1–3)</i>	12:9–14	Nm 16–17
<i>[Jesus at Nazareth (6:1–6)]</i>	13:53–58	Dt 1:26–46
<i>Death of John the Baptist (6:14–29)</i>	14:1–12	Dt 1:37
<i>Jesus Feeds Five Thousand, Jesus Walks on the Water, Other Miracles (6:30–56)</i>	14:13–36	Dt 4:37
<i>[Jesus and the Pharisees. (7:1–23)]</i>	15:1–20	
<i>The Canaanite Woman (7:24–30)</i>	15:21	Dt 4:34; 10:19
<i>[Jesus Feeds Four Thousand, The Sign, The Leaven of the Pharisees (8:1–21)]</i>	15:32–16:12	Dt 4:34
<i>First Teaching on the Paschal Events (8:31–33)</i>	16:21–23	Dt 4:34
<i>[The Doctrine of the Cross (8:34–9:1)]</i>	16:24–28	
<i>Jesus Transfigured, Elijah, The Possessed Boy (9:2–29)</i>	17:1–21	Dt 4:34
	17:22–23	Dt 4:34
<i>Second Teaching: Passion and Resurrection (9:30–32)</i>	18:1–5	Dt 1:9–18
<i>Against Ambition (9:33–37)</i>	18:6–11	Dt 1:9–18
<i>{In the Name of Jesus (0:38–41)}</i>		
<i>Outrage (9:42–50)</i>	19:1–9	Dt 24:1–4
<i>[The Question of Divorce (10:1–12)]</i>	19:16–30	Dt 30:15–20
<i>[The Danger of Riches (10:17–31)]</i>	20:24–28	Jos 3:1–6
	20:29–34	Jos 3:1–6
<i>Leadership is Service (10:41–45)</i>		
<i>The Blind Bartimaeus (10:46–52)</i>	21:18–19	Jos 6:26
	21:12–17	Jos 5:15
<i>Jesus Curses a Fig Tree (11:12–14)</i>		
<i>Cleansing of the Temple (11:15–19)</i>		

Thus we can see that 20 passages in the Gospel of Mark (i.e. 152 verses, that is to say almost a quarter of the whole Gospel of Mark) are in the same context as the parallel passages in the Gospel of Matthew, whose position in the structure of the Gospel (with two exceptions) is connected with subsequent themes in the structure of the Hexateuch. Only in one case (Mk 3:49–9, 1/Mt 16:24–28) do the texts of Mark and Matthew not have an equivalent in the Hexateuch. In one case (Mk 9:38–41), the text of Mark is found between two pericopes parallel to the Gospel of Matthew, but it does not itself have any parallel in the Gospel of Matthew. In two cases (Mk 9:33–37; 9:42–50) the location of texts in Mark and their equivalents in Matthew is not in agreement with the structure of the Hexateuch. In one case (Mk 11:12–14) the location does not correspond to the structure of the Hexateuch but the equivalent text of Matthew is concordant with this structure. Apart from that, there are four fragments (in square brackets), consisting of 53 verses, which in the Gospel of Mark appear in an order parallel to that in the Gospel of Matthew but whose position in the structure of the Gospel of Matthew is determined by passages on the same topics in the Hexateuch. Thus we can affirm that out of the 677 verses of the Gospel of Mark, 208 (i.e. almost one-third) reflect the structure of the Gospel of Matthew and that of the Hexateuch.

If we agree that Matthew really composed his Gospel according to the subsequent themes of the Hexateuch, then we must also agree that it was not Matthew that adopted the order of the above-mentioned passages from Mark, but it was Mark who borrowed it from Matthew. Mark did not set out to create a new Hexateuch, therefore what makes his Gospel similar to the Hexateuch must have come from Matthew.

2.

Controversy about the literary genre of the Gospel of Mark

What kind of text is the Gospel of Mark? Ever since the so-called Enlightenment period, a great many misunderstandings have arisen concerning this Gospel as well as the remaining ones. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Tübingen school of biblical theology, which had adopted Hegel's theory of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, claimed that the Gospel of Luke was Paul's thesis, the Gospel of Matthew was its Judaic antithesis, and the Gospel of Mark was their Catholic synthesis. For the originators of the two-source hypothesis, C. H. Weisse and C. G. Wilke, the Gospel of Mark was one of two sources containing the oldest material about the "historic" Jesus. H. J. Holtzmann believed that the Gospel of Mark was a collection of not yet theologically explored testimonials about Jesus, containing a historic core but at the same time "naive". In the year 1901, W. Wrede argued against "the simplicity" of the Gospel of Mark, pointing out that also in this Gospel fully-fledged theological thought is to be found. For the Formgeschichte School, Wrede's arguments were not convincing enough for the Gospel of Mark to be recognised as a true literary work.

According to Bultmann⁹, the Gospel of Mark is the fruit of a long process that took place within an early Christian community. After the death of Jesus the community remained under the spell of his activity and his teaching, and during its meetings the words of Jesus and different events from his life were evoked. Thereby short oral pieces appeared spontaneously, belonging to different literary genres. These can be divided into two groups, representing the tradition of words and the tradition of events. Nothing certain can be said about Jesus on their basis. The characteristic features of the nascent traditions of words and of facts were anonymity, the tendency towards embellishment, theatrical style as well as the replacement of narration with direct speech, repetitions, and preoccupation with miraculous events accompanied by disregard for the chronology. These small orally-disseminated compositions were liable to changing their form and intersecting with one

⁹ R. Bultmann, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliumas*, Göttingen 1921.

another, giving rise to different pieces dealing with the same miracles or teachings of Jesus. Over time, small written compositions began to appear, and even whole collections of them came into being. In the rich oral tradition and the pre-gospel written forms, Bultmann distinguished two manners of presenting Jesus, two basic theological traditions: Palestinian and Hellenistic. The latter, connected with the Christian communities having a Greek cultural background, was promoted by Paul and Mark. It was characterised by mythologisation of the Person of Jesus or – in other words – the emphasis on his divinity and the redeeming role of his Death and Resurrection. According to Bultmann, as the oral tradition developed, it naturally tended to be recorded in the written form. The task of composing the written Gospel was first carried out by Mark. He was not the true author of the Gospel. His work consisted in collecting the already existing small literary forms and their sets into one book, in combining them through slight modifications into one cohesive story. The Gospel of Mark must be included in the category of “low literature”.

This manner of thinking of the oral tradition and the rise of the Gospel of Mark contains a number of doubtful precepts, some of which are unacceptable. One of them is depriving the oral tradition of any historical value. It is not clear why Bultmann assumes that this tradition is not rooted in the teaching of Jesus and in the teaching of the Twelve. He also a priori puts this tradition beyond the control of eye-witnesses to the life of Jesus, and especially of the apostles, who felt called upon to give their testimony, as transpires from the speech of Peter at Cornelius’ house (cf. Acts 10:34–43). Bultmann’s thesis about the community’s spontaneous and anonymous creation is based on discrepancies between the Gospels, but these differences can be explained otherwise. Finally, it should be emphasised that Bultmann’s vision of the tradition’s linear and mono-directional development, whose crowning is the written gospel, is at odds with the results of reflections on the oral tradition by later scholars, such as Werner Kelber.¹⁰ Today it is generally believed that compositions disseminated orally could not only expand, but could also get shortened.

The opinion that the Gospel of Mark is a collection of legend-like and theologically undeveloped narratives, had many followers among biblical theologians until the mid-twentieth century, and even beyond. W. Knox refers to The Gospel of Mark as having been written in the style of “a poor writer of Greek reproducing popular stories in a very bald and simple form”.¹¹

¹⁰ W. Kelber, *Tradition orale et écriture*, Paris 1991.

¹¹ W. Knox, *The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, I, St. Mark*, Cambridge 1953, p. 1.

This view on the Gospel of Mark was opposed by the Redaktionsgeschichte school. Deep theological thought was discovered in it by, among others, J. Robinson¹², H. Koester¹³ and Minette de Tillesse.¹⁴ G. Dambricourt¹⁵ believes that the Gospel of Mark is a text introducing a catechumen into Christianity, and may be directly connected with the administering of baptism. This opinion is shared by C. Martini. According to him, the Gospel of Mark is “a manual of the catechumen”.¹⁶

The biographical character of the Gospel was defended by W. Votaw.¹⁷ He differentiated two kinds of biography: historic and popular. Each had a different aim. Popular biography aimed at popularising the presented person and some definite teaching. Examples of such a biography were, according to him, writings about the life of Socrates (469–399 BC), Apollonius of Tyana (10–97 AD) and Epictetus (50–130 AD). He included the Gospels in this genre. An especially close resemblance to the Gospels was perceived by Votaw in the writings of Socrates’ disciples: Plato’s *Dialogues* and Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*.

Completely different conclusions were drawn by J. Bowman.¹⁸ He believed that the key section of this Gospel was the description of the last supper, and that everything Jesus did before the last supper is in one way or another connected with it. According to Bowman, Mark the Evangelist conceived of the activity of Jesus as a new exodus, and he did not write a biography of Jesus, but a paschal haggadah, a tale about the new exodus intended to be read aloud during the Christian-Jewish Paschal supper.

The 1970s saw a growing interest in parallels between the Gospels and Greco-Roman literature. D. L. Barr¹⁹ pointed to the Gospels’ similarities to

¹² J. M. Robinson, “The Literary Composition of Mark”, [in] M. Sabbe (ed.), *L’Évangile selon Marc. Tradition et rédaction*, Louvain 1974, pp. 15–16.

¹³ H. Koester, “One Jesus and Four Gospels”, [in] *Trajectories through Early Christianity*, Philadelphia 1971, pp. 187–189, 197.

¹⁴ C. Minette de Tillesse, “Structure théologique de Marc”, [in] *The Four Gospels* 1992. Festschrift Frans Neirynck, ed F. Van Segbroeck. Vol. 1. Leuven 1992, pp. 905–934.

¹⁵ G. Dambricourt, *L’initiation chrétienne selon Marc*, Paris 1970.

¹⁶ C. Martini, *L’itinerario spirituale dei dodici nel vangelo di Marco*, Rome 1976, p. 5.

¹⁷ W. Votaw, “The Gospels and Contemporary Biographies”, [in] *AmJourTheolog* vol. 19 (1915), pp. 47–73, 217–249; idem: *The Gospels and Contemporary Biographies in the Greco-Roman World*, Philadelphia 1970.

¹⁸ J. Bowman, *The Gospel of Mark. The New Christian Jewish Passover Haggadah*, Leiden 1965.

¹⁹ D. L. Barr, *Towards a Definition of the Gospel Genre: A Generic Analysis and Comparison of the Synoptic Gospels and the Socratic Dialogues by means of Aristotle’s Theory of Tragedy*, Ph.D. Diss. at Florida State University 1974.

the dialogues of Socrates, G. G. Bilezikian²⁰ to those with the Greek tragedy, R. Frye²¹ to those with the dramatic narrative, while D. O. Via²² juxtaposed them with the tragicomedy.

At the same time there was an increasingly strong reaction against dismissing the Gospels as biographical texts. G. N. Stanton²³ stressed that the Gospels provide a great deal of information on the life of Jesus and held the view that they are closer to the Greco-Roman biographic literature than to Jewish writings of the Pirqa Aboth kind, rabbinic writings, or Gnostic writings. The early Church, he said, was evidently interested in including biographic material in its own teaching. He argued that many of the Greco-Roman *bioi*, like the Gospels, are characterised by a lack of concern for chronology and by psychological depth of the hero. Nevertheless he refrained from calling the Gospels biographies, but merely classified them as biographic literature.

Referring to Bultmann's concept of myth, C.H. Talbert²⁴ ascertained that the presence of myth in the Gospels does not negate their biographic character, because a similar concept of "immortals" appeared in Greco-Roman biographies. The ancient literary genre of *bioi* can be divided, according to Talbert, into two kinds: "cultic" and "social", depending on the function it was supposed to serve. The Gospels were to fulfil the same cultic role as the biographies of philosophers and rulers; they were written in compliance with the "composition rules" adopted by the authors of biographies. The Gospel of Mark was defined by Talbert as a biography aimed at protecting the hero against being improperly understood, the Gospel of Luke and Acts as "the life story of the founder" and of his successors, whereas the Gospel of Matthew was described as a life story aimed at ensuring the correct interpretation of the hero's teachings.

Talbert's ideas met with a lively interest among scholars, which does not mean that they were fully embraced; the existence of parallels between the Gospels and classical literature was rejected by David E. Aune.²⁵

²⁰ G. G. Bilezikian, *The Liberated Gospel: A Comparison of the Gospel of Mark and Greek Tragedy*, Grand Rapids 1977.

²¹ R. M. Frye, "A literary Perspective for Criticism of the Gospels", [in] *Jesus and Man's Hope*, vol 2, Pittsburgh 1971, pp. 207–219.

²² D. O. Via, *Kerygma and Comedy in the New Testament: A Structuralist Approach to Hermeneutic*, Philadelphia 1975.

²³ G. N. Stanton, *Jesus of Nazareth in New Testament Preaching*, Cambridge 1974, pp. 76–136.

²⁴ C. Talbert, *What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels*, Philadelphia 1977.

²⁵ D. E. Aune, "The Problem of the Genre of the Gospels: A Critique of C. H. Talbert's 'What is a Gospel?'" [in] *Gospel II: Studies of History and Tradition in the Four Gospels*, ed. R. T. France and D. Wenham, Sheffield 1981, pp. 9–60.

R. A. Burridge²⁶ dismissed the argument that ancient *bioi* differed among themselves only with their purpose, pointing out that many such works had numerous aims. Besides, Burridge questioned Talbert's ability to cogently define what the Gospels were, even though he was convincing enough in exposing the weakness of Bultmann's arguments.

While criticizing Talbert, D. E. Aune²⁷ did not rule out the possibility of classifying the Gospels as biography; according to him, the Gospels, the fruit of the teaching of the Church, had undergone a process of improvement in literary terms.

In the year 1982, in his book on the literary genre of the Gospels, P. L. Shuler²⁸ defended their biographic character. In the same year, at a symposium in Tübingen, R. Guelich²⁹ rejected Talbert's and Schuler's theses and opted for the view that the Gospels do not have any parallels in the Jewish and Greco-Roman literature. Guelich evoked the hypothesis strongly promoted by Dodd about the existence of a certain schema in the kerygma proclaimed by the early Church – an essential element in the process which produced the written Gospels. According to him, this schema contained the story of the activity of Jesus and his death, and the teaching that it was God working through Jesus Christ. Thus the Gospels are “the narrative form” of the teaching of the Church.³⁰ The oral tradition contributed not only the individual passages, but also the Gospels' general framework. In his commentary to the Gospel of Mark, published later, Guelich used the adjective “biographic” with reference to the literary genre of the Gospels, with the qualification that while structurally they belong to the broad category of Hellenic biography, materially they stand on their own.³¹

The inclusion of the Gospel of Mark in the category of biography was opposed by Standaert.³² He emphasised that it does not include elements which characterised biographies in the Hellenic times: praise of the ancestors, the story of the hero's birth and childhood, the story of his career, enumeration of his heroic deeds, a catalogue of his virtues or a comparative reckoning of his vices and virtues, stories about his adventures, a physical characteristic,

²⁶ R. A. Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, Cambridge 1992, p. 85.

²⁷ D. E. Aune, *The Problem of the Genre*, p. 45.

²⁸ P. L. Shuler, *A Genre for the Gospels: The Biographical Character of Matthew*, Philadelphia 1982.

²⁹ R. Guelich, “The Gospel Genre”, [in] *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien: Vorträge vom Tübingen Symposium 1982*, ed. P. Stuhlmacher. WUNT 28, Tübingen 1983, pp. 183–219.

³⁰ R. Guelich, *The Gospel Genre*, p. 213.

³¹ See: R. Guelich, *Mark 1–8,26*, Dallas 1989, p. XIX–XXII.

³² B. Standaert, *L'Évangile selon Marc, Composition et genre littéraire*, Brugge 1978.

various details concerning his private life, or memories of the sorrow and suffering brought about by his death. According to Standaert, the Gospel of Mark is a historic narrative, a speech conforming to the literary conventions of the time, and also a drama. It can also be called a paschal haggadah intended to be read aloud in full on the eve of the Pascha, introducing catechumens into the ritual of baptism.³³

N. Perrin³⁴ defined the Gospel of Mark as an “apocalyptic drama” having the same aim as The Apocalypse of Saint John, i.e. preparation for the imminent parousia.

C. Minette de Tillesse³⁵ held the opinion that Mark was not a compiler, but the true author of the work wherein he wished to deliver a definite theological proclamation; moreover, he is the author of the literary genre of the “gospel”; when it comes to the composition of his work, he is not indebted to any earlier work. A significant role in the structure of the Gospel of Mark is played by the *summaria*.³⁶ Following C. H. Dodd³⁷, de Tillesse stressed that the *summaria* mark stages of the activity of Jesus; put together, they would produce an overall summary of that activity. He nevertheless points out that after the confession of faith by Peter the *summaria* disappear almost completely. According to de Tillesse, the first *summarium* (1:14–21) is really about the calling of the Church, the second *summarium* (3:7–19) is about the founding of the Church, and the third (6:6b–13) about the mission of the Church.

Norman R. Petersen represents the so-called “new criticism”, which – as he puts it – through the use of the narrative method of enquiry tries to go beyond mere assessment of the linguistic and stylistic cohesion of the text, identification of sources and the redactions of these sources. His reflections on the characteristic features of the Gospel of Mark and its central theme contain several new elements as compared with historic criticism. First of all, Petersen states that the Gospel of Mark can be called a “polemical narrative”.³⁸ Here he comes close to the opinion of Kingsbury, who perceived

³³ B. Standaert, *L'Évangile selon Marc*, pp. 492–497.

³⁴ N. Perrin, *The New testament. An Introduction. Proclamation and Parenesis. Myth and History*, New York 1974, pp. 143–167.

³⁵ C. Minette de Tillesse, “Structure théologique de Marc”, [in] F. Van Segbroeck (ed.), *The Four Gospels 1992. Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, Vol. I. Leuven 1992, p. 905.

³⁶ See also: G. Van Oyen, *De summaria in Marcus en de compositie van Mc 1,14–8,26*, Leuven 1987.

³⁷ C. H. Dodd, “The Framework of the Gospel Narrative”, *ExpT* 43 (1931–32), pp. 396–400.

³⁸ N. R. Petersen, “‘Literarkritik’, the new Literary Criticism and the Gospel according to Mark”, [in] *The Four Gospels 1992. Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, p. 836.

the Gospel of Mark as an instance of “corrective Christology”.³⁹ The literary features of this Gospel indicate, according to Petersen, that the Evangelist wrote his work with the aim of correcting his contemporaries’ misconceptions about Messiah, expressed in written form in Mark’s sources. The first such feature of this Gospel is that Mark tells about the times of Jesus in which Jesus talks about the times of Mark (Mk 13). The second one is that the erroneous understanding by the disciples of Jesus – in his times – of the messianic secret and God’s kingdom was extended into misconceptions about messiahs and their prophets in the times of Mark. The third feature is its stressing the lack of continuity between the times of Jesus and the times of Mark by the fact that in Jesus’ story about the times of Mark some of the disciples have the correct understanding of those secrets even before meeting Jesus in Galilee after his Resurrection, where all errors were to be corrected. The main theme of the whole story is the disciples’ incomprehension of Jesus in his times. The problem is solved (i.e. the incomprehension is overcome) in 16:1–8, namely in the meeting of Jesus with his disciples in Galilee. A special role is played in the Gospel of Mark by the eschatological sermon (Mk 13), where the theme of the incomprehension both by the contemporaries of Jesus and of Mark is further developed, with the provision that in the latter case the solution of the problem involves the second coming of Jesus.

Michael Goulder⁴⁰ was of the opinion that the Gospel of Mark is a midrash emulating the compositions of the Old Testament and intended as a *Lectio Continua* during half of the liturgical year, whereas the Gospel of Matthew is a midrash based on the Gospel of Mark.

I believe that the Gospel of Mark is neither a piece of “low literature” nor a biography, nor is it a work which can be compared with any genre of the Greco-Roman literature. Let me point out that nowhere did the ancient Christian writers refer to the Gospels as biographies, but at most as “memoirs”, and that Mark himself calls his work a “Gospel”, not a biography. I agree with those scholars who believe that Mark’s work – when it comes to its literary genre – is completely original.

³⁹ J. D. Kingsbury, *The Christology of Mark’s Gospel*, Philadelphia 1983, pp. 25–45.

⁴⁰ M. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Mathew*, London 1974; idem: *The Evangelist Calendar: A Lectionary Explanation of the Development of Scripture*, London 1978.

3. A new concept of a work on Jesus

3.1. The influence of the preaching of Peter

The Formgeschichte school, which has had a great impact on today's biblical theology, did not link the rise of the Gospel of Mark with the preaching of Peter. According to the school, this Gospel is a result of the development of tradition from the Palestinian to the Hellenic period.⁴¹ According to the tradition of the ancient Church on the other hand, Mark in his Gospel handed down the preaching of St Peter in Rome. The content of this Gospel confirms that tradition: it contains numerous Latinisms, explanations of Jewish customs, and translations of Aramaic words used in the text. In the Gospel of Mark the name of Simon Peter appears as many as 25 times, most frequently of all the Gospels. The story about the calling of the first disciples, which Mark (1:16–20) shares with Matthew, is followed in the Gospel of Mark by the long passage (18 verses) about Jesus' activity in Capernaum (1:21–39), of which Matthew (8:14–16) has only 5 verses but in a different context. This text appears to be Peter's recollection of Jesus' first doings after he, his brother Andrew, and Zebedee's sons were called by him on the shore of the Galilean lake. It is sometimes called by Biblicists "the day of the preaching in Capernaum".⁴²

An interesting study on the Gospel of Mark aimed at detecting traces of Peter's live speech of was carried out by Orchard.⁴³ He defined three criteria of live speech: (1) "repetitions, prolixity and digressions"; (2) *obiter dicta*; (3) *lapsus linguae*. An example of the first criterion is the text Mk 3:13–17 (cf. Mt 10:1–4):

⁴¹ See R. H. Fuller, *A Critical Introduction to the New Testament*, London 1966, p. 105.

⁴² The influence of Peter on the Gospel of Mark is admitted, among others, by Lagrange, but he believes it is impossible to determine precisely which fragments come from Peter; cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Marc*, Paris 1911, p. CI.

⁴³ B. Orchard, "Mark and the Fusion of Tradition", [in] *The Four Gospels: Festschrift Frans Nairynck*, Leuven University Press, 1992, pp. 779–800.

Mt 10	Mk 3
<p>1 Then he summoned his twelve disciples and gave them authority to expel unclean spirits and cure sickness and disease of every kind. 2 The names of the twelve apostles are these: first Simon, now known as Peter, and his brother Andrew; James, Zebedee's son, and his brother John; 3 Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew the tax collector; James, son of Alphaeus, and Thaddaeus; 4 Simon the Zealot Party member, and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him.</p>	<p>He then went up the mountain and summoned the men he himself had decided on, who came and joined him. 14 He named twelve as his companions whom he would send to preach the good news; 15 they were likewise to have authority to expel demons. 16 He appointed the Twelve as follows: 17 Simon to whom he gave the name Peter; James, son of Zebedee, and John, the brother of James (he gave these two the name Boanerges, or "sons of thunder"); 18 Andrew, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Thomas, James son of Alphaeus; Thaddaeus, Simon of the Zealot party, 19 and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him.</p>

Another example of repetitiousness, verbosity and digressions is Mk 7:3–4. An example of the second criterion cited by Orchard is Mk 3:22–30 (cf. Mt 12:24–32):

Mt 12	Mk 3
<p>24 When the Pharisees heard this, they charged, "This man can expel demons only with the help of Beelzebul, the prince of demons." 25 Knowing their thoughts, he said to them: A kingdom torn by strife is headed for its downfall. A town or household split into factions cannot last for long. 26 If Satan is expelling Satan, he must be torn by dissension. How, then, can his dominion last? 27 If I expel demons with Beelzebul's help, by whose help do your people expel them? Let them be the ones to judge you. 28 But if it is by the Spirit of God that I expel demons, then the reign of God has overtaken you. 29 "How can anyone enter a strong man's house and make off with his property unless he first ties him securely? Only then can he rob his house. 30 He who is not with me is against me, and he who does not gather with me scatters. 31 "That, I assure you, is why every sin,</p>	<p>22 while the scribes who arrived from Jerusalem asserted, "He is possessed by Beelzebul," and "He expels demons with the help of the prince of demons." 23 Summoning them, he then began to speak to them by way of examples: "How can Satan expel Satan? 24 If a kingdom is torn by civil strife, that kingdom cannot last. 25 If a household is divided according to loyalties, that household will not survive. 26 Similarly, if Satan has suffered mutiny in his ranks and is torn by dissension, he cannot endure; he is finished. 27 No one can enter a strong man's house and despoil his property unless he has first put him under restraint. Only then can he plunder his house. 28 "I give you my word, every sin will be forgiven mankind and all the blasphemies men utter, 29 but whoever blasphemes against the Holy spirit will never be forgiven He carries the guilt of his sin</p>

every blasphemy, will be forgiven, but blasphemy against the Spirit will not be forgiven. 32 Whoever says anything against the Son of Man will be forgiven, but whoever says anything against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age or in the age to come.	without end.” 30 He spoke thus because they had said, “He is possessed by an unclean spirit.”
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A text answering to the third criterion is Mk 1:2: *In Isaiah the prophet it is written: “I send my messenger before you... 3 a herald’s voice in the desert, crying: ‘Make ready the way of the Lord...’”* The quotation in the second verse does not come from the Book of Isaiah, but from the Book of Malachi (3:1). The Book of Isaiah (40:3) is the source of the quotation in the third verse. As many as seven such examples are cited by Orchard.

A comparative linguistic study of the Gospel of Mark and the Epistles of Peter’s by P. Rolland⁴⁴ reveals that both Mark and Peter sometimes used the same words and expressions that happen to be very rare in the New Testament.⁴⁵ Among the most significant is the use by them of the word *dōresthai* (to make a gift), which appears only in 2 P 1:3.4 and Mk 15:43); the use of the expression *ap’archēs ktiseōs* (at the beginning of creation), which appears only in 2 P 3:4, Mk 10:6 and 13:19; the use of the word *polutelēs* (very dear), which appears only in 1 P 3:4, Mk 14:3 and 1 Tit 2:9; the use of the word *sumbainein* (to come), which appears only in 1 P 4:12; 2 P 2:22; Mk 10:32 and 1 Cor 10:11; the use of the word *lanthanein* (to be enclosed, not to know), which appears only in 2 P 3:5–8, Mk 7:24, Hb 13:2, Lk 8:47, and in Acts 3:10; 20:19; 21:35. Rolland cites 12 such words and expressions.

Yet the preaching of Peter certainly did not correspond in its form with the Gospel of Mark; it was lively, adapted to the situation, to what the listeners already knew about Jesus. It is difficult to imagine that Peter, whenever he spoke, might have said about Jesus everything that the Gospel of Mark contains, that he would present the events from the life of Jesus always in the same way, using the same words, or that he would always present them in the same order. Surely there were certain topics that Peter often returned to, that were dominant, and others that were secondary. Of

⁴⁴ P. Rolland, “Marc, Lecteur de Pierre et de Paul”, [in] *The Four Gospels* 1992. Festchrift Frans Neirynck, pp. 775–779.

⁴⁵ For the influence of the Judaic environment on the Gospel of Mark, see: F. Manns, “Le milieu sémitique de Marc”, *Liber Annus*. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem 48 (1998), pp. 125–142.

help in determining these topics can be his sermon at the house of Cornelius in Caesarea, which Luke summarises for us in Acts 10:34–43.

It contains the following themes:

a) Universality of salvation:

I begin to see how true it is that God shows no partiality. Rather the man of any nation who fears God and acts uprightly is acceptable to him (Acts 10:34–35).

b) God sends the message of peace through Jesus Christ:

This is the message he has sent to the sons of Israel, the good news of peace proclaimed through Jesus Christ (10:36a).

c) Proclamation of Jesus as the Lord:

...who is Lord of all (10:36b).

d) The mention of John the Baptist:

I take it you know what has been reported all over Judea about Jesus of Nazareth, beginning in Galilee with the baptism John preached (10:37).

e) The mention of the activity of Jesus in Galilee and Judea:

God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and power. He went about doing good works and healing all who were in the grip of devil (10:38).

f) Apostles as the witnesses:

We are witness to all that he did in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem (10:39a).

g) Testimony on the Death and Resurrection of Jesus:

They killed him, finally, hanging him on a tree, only to have God raise him up on the third day and grant that he be seen, not by all, but only by such witnesses as had been chosen beforehand by God – by us who ate and drank with him after he rose from the dead (10:39b–41).

h) Apostles commissioned by Jesus to preach and to bear witnesses:

He commissioned us to preach to the people and to bear witness that he is the one set apart by God as judge of the living and the dead (10:42).

i) The mention of the teaching of prophets that everyone who believes in Jesus has forgiveness of sins:

To him all the prophets testify, saying that everyone who believes in him has forgiveness of sins through his name (10:43).

This short speech cannot be compared with the 677-verse-long Gospel of Mark, but it is worth pointing out that both share certain features.⁴⁶ (1) Peter does not mention the birth of Jesus in his sermon, and neither does Mark write

⁴⁶ The links between the structure of the Gospel of Mark with that of Peter's sermon at the house of Cornelius is also pointed out in J. Bowman, *The Gospel of Mark. The New Christian Jewish Passover Haggadah*, Leiden 1965, p. 92.

about it. (2) Peter does not refer to the teaching of Jesus about the kingdom of God, and Mark devotes less space to the theme of God's kingdom than does Matthew. (3) Peter does not speak about the new morals, while Mark pays little attention to the theme of the morals. (4) Peter emphasises the role of the apostles as witnesses. The theme of testimony appears in the speech at Cornelius' house as many as three times. Mark, by omitting the story about Jesus' infancy, gives his Gospel the character of a testimony.

Passages about the role of the apostles as witnesses in the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Mark

Mt	Mk
4:18–22 <i>The calling of the first disciples</i> 5:1 <i>When he saw the crowds he went up on the mountainside. After he had sat down his disciples gathered around him.</i> 5:13–14 <i>You are the salt of the earth... You are the light of the world.</i> [no parallel text] 8:14 <i>Jesus entered Peter's house...</i> — [no parallel text] 8:23 <i>He got into the boat and his disciples followed him.</i> — 9:9–13 <i>the Calling of Matthew</i> 9:19 <i>Jesus stood up and followed him, and his disciples did the same.</i> — — 9:37 <i>he said to his disciples: "The harvest is good but labourers are scarce.</i> 10:1–4 <i>The calling of the Twelve</i> 10:5 <i>Jesus sent these men on mission as the Twelve, after giving them the following instructions...</i>	1:16–20 <i>The calling of the first disciples</i> [no parallel text] [no parallel text] 1:21 <i>they came to Capernaum</i> 1:29 <i>Immediately upon leaving the synagogue, he entered the house of Simon and Andrew with James and John.</i> 1:36 <i>Simon and his companions managed to track him down...</i> 3:7 <i>Jesus withdrew toward the lake with his disciples.</i> 4:35 <i>That day as evening drew on he said to them, "Let us cross over to the farther shore."</i> 5:1 <i>They came to Gerasene territory on the other side of the lake.</i> 2:13–17 <i>The Calling of Levi</i> — 5:31 <i>His disciples said to him, "You can see how this crowd hems you in..."</i> 5:37 <i>He would not permit anyone to follow him except Peter, James, and James's brother John.</i> [no parallel text] 3:13–19 <i>The calling of the Twelve</i> 6:7 <i>Jesus summoned the Twelve and began to send them out two by two...</i>

<p>11:1 When Jesus had finished instructing his twelve disciples...</p> <p>12:1 His disciples felt hungry, so they began to pull off the heads of grain and eat them.</p> <p>12:49 Then, extending his hand towards his disciples, he said, "There are my mother and my brothers."</p> <p>13:10–11 When the disciples got near him, they asked him, "Why do you speak to them in parables?" He answered: "To you has been given a knowledge of the mysteries of the reign of God, but it has not been given to the others."</p> <p>13:16 But blest are your eyes because they see and blest are your ears because they hear.</p> <p>[no parallel text]</p> <p>13:18 Mark well, then, the parable of the sower.</p> <p>13:36 Then, dismissing the crowds, he went home. His disciples came to him with the request, "Explain to us the parable of the weeds in the field."</p> <p>13:51 Have you understood all this?" "Yes," they answered...</p> <p>[no parallel text]</p> <p>[no parallel text]</p> <p>[no parallel text]</p> <p>14:15–16 As evening drew on, his disciples came to him with the suggestion: "This is a desert place and it is already late..."</p>	<p>[no parallel text]</p> <p>2:23 It happened that he was walking through standing grain on the Sabbath, and his disciples began to pull off heads of grain as they went along.</p> <p>–</p> <p>4:10–11 Now when he was away from the crowd, those present with the Twelve questioned him about the parables. He told them: "To you the mystery of the reign of God has been confided. To the others outside it is all presented in parables..."</p> <p>[no parallel text]</p> <p>4:13 He said to them: "You do must understand this parable?"</p> <p>[no parallel text]</p> <p>[no parallel text]</p> <p>[no parallel text]</p> <p>4:34 To them he spoke only by way of parable, while he kept explaining things privately to his disciples.</p> <p>6:1 He departed from there and returned to his own part of the country followed by his disciples.</p> <p>6:30–32 The apostles returned to Jesus and reported to him all that they had done and what they had taught. He said to them, "Come by yourselves to an out-of-the-way place and rest a little."... So Jesus and the apostles went off in the boat by themselves to a desert place.</p> <p>6:35–37 It was now getting late and his disciples came to him with a suggestion... "You give them something to eat," Jesus replied.</p>
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<p><i>Jesus said to them: "There is no need for them to disperse. Give them something to eat yourselves."</i></p> <p><i>14:22–27 Jesus walks on the water.</i></p> <p><i>14:28–33 Peter walks on the water.</i></p> <p><i>14:34 After making the crossing they reached the shore at Gennesaret.</i></p> <p><i>15:15 Then Peter spoke up to say, "Explain the parable to us." "Are you, too, still incapable of understanding?" he asked.</i></p> <p><i>15:23 His disciples came up and began to entreat him, "Get rid of her. She keeps shouting after us."</i></p> <p><i>15:32–39 Jesus feeds the four thousand</i> –</p> <p><i>16:5–12 The leaven of the Pharisees</i></p> <p><i>16:13–20 Peter the Rock</i></p> <p><i>16:21–23 First prophecy of Passion and Resurrection</i></p> <p><i>16:24–28 Doctrine of the cross</i></p> <p><i>17:1–8 Jesus Transfigured</i></p> <p><i>17:9–13 The coming of Elijah</i></p> <p><i>17:22–23 Second prophecy of Passion and Resurrection</i></p> <p><i>17:24–27 Paying the Temple Tax</i></p> <p><i>18:1–7 Against ambition</i> [no parallel text]</p> <p><i>18:21 Then Peter came up and asked him, "Lord, when my brother wrongs me, how often must I forgive him?"</i></p> <p><i>19:10–12 The question of divorce</i></p> <p><i>19:13 At one point, children were brought to him so that he could place his hands on them in prayer. The disciples began to scold the.</i></p> <p><i>19:23–26 The danger of riches</i></p> <p><i>19:27–30 Reward for poverty</i></p> <p><i>20:17–30 Third prophecy of Passion and Resurrection</i></p>	<p><i>6:45–52 Jesus walks on the water.</i> [no parallel text]</p> <p><i>6:53 After making the crossing they came ashore at Gennesaret, and tied up there.</i></p> <p><i>7:17–18 When he got home, away from the crowd, his disciples questioned him about the proverb. "Are you, too, incapable of understanding?" he asked them.</i> –</p> <p><i>8:1–9 Jesus feeds the four thousand</i></p> <p><i>8:10 He dismissed them and got into the boat with his disciples to go to the neighbourhood of Dalmanutha.</i></p> <p><i>8:14–21 The leaven of the Pharisees</i></p> <p><i>8:27–30 The faith of Peter</i></p> <p><i>8:31–33 First prophecy of Passion and Resurrection</i></p> <p><i>8:34–9:1 Doctrine of the cross</i></p> <p><i>9:2–8 Jesus Transfigured</i></p> <p><i>9:9–13 The coming of Elijah</i></p> <p><i>9:30–32 Second prophecy of Passion and Resurrection</i> –</p> <p><i>9:33–37 Against ambition</i></p> <p><i>9:38 John said to him, "Teacher, we saw a man using your name to expel demons and we tried to stop him because he is not of our company."</i> [no parallel text]</p> <p><i>10:10–12 The question of divorce</i></p> <p><i>10:13 People were bringing their little children to him to have him touch them, but the disciples were scolding them for this.</i></p> <p><i>10:23–27 The danger of riches</i></p> <p><i>10:28–30 Reward for poverty</i></p> <p><i>10:32–34 Third prophecy of Passion and Resurrection</i></p>
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<p>20:20–23 <i>Sons of Zebedee</i> 20:24–28 <i>Leadership as service</i> —</p> <p>21:1–10 <i>Triumphal entry into Jerusalem</i> —</p> <p>— —</p> <p>21:20 <i>The disciples were dumbfounded when they saw this. They asked, “Why did the fig tree wither up so quickly?”</i> 23:1 <i>Then Jesus told the crowds and his disciples...</i> —</p> <p>[no parallel text]</p> <p>24:1 <i>Jesus left the temple precincts then, and his disciples came up...</i> 24:3 <i>While he was seated on the Mount of Olives, his disciples came up to him privately and said...</i></p> <p>26:1 <i>Now when Jesus had finished all these discourses, he declared to his disciples...</i> 26:8 <i>When the disciples saw this they grew indignant, protesting “What is the point of such extravagance?”</i> 26:17 <i>On the first day of the feast of Unleavened Bread, the disciples came up to Jesus and said...</i></p> <p>26:20 <i>When it grew dark he reclined at table with the Twelve.</i> 26:26 <i>During the meal Jesus took bread...</i> 26:30 <i>Then after singing songs of praise...</i></p>	<p>10:35–40 <i>23 Sons of Zebedee</i> 10:41–45 <i>Leadership as service</i> 10:46 <i>They came to Jericho next, and as he was leaving that place with his disciples and a sizable crowd...</i></p> <p>11:1–10 <i>Triumphal entry into Jerusalem</i> 11:11 <i>He inspected everything there, but since it was already late in the afternoon, he went out to Bethany accompanied by the Twelve.</i> 11:14 <i>His disciples heard all this.</i> 11:19 <i>When evening drew on, Jesus and his disciples went out of the city.</i> 11:21 <i>Peter remembered and said to him: “Rabbi, look! The fig tree you cursed has withered up.”</i> —</p> <p>11:27 <i>They returned once more to Jerusalem.</i> 12:43 <i>He called his disciples over and told them: “I want you to observe that this poor widow...”</i></p> <p>13:1 <i>As he was making his way out of the temple, one of his disciples said to him...</i> 13:3 <i>While he was seated on the Mount of Olives facing the temple, Peter, James, John, and Andrew began to question him privately.</i> —</p> <p>—</p> <p>14:12 <i>On the first day of Unleavened Bread, when it was customary to sacrifice the paschal lamb, his disciples said to him...</i></p> <p>14:17 <i>As it grew dark he arrived with Twelve.</i> 14:22 <i>During the meal he took bread...</i> 14:26 <i>After singing songs of praise...</i></p>
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26:31–35 <i>Peter's denial foretold</i>	14:27–31 <i>Peter's denial foretold</i>
26:36–46 <i>The prayer in the Gethsemane garden</i>	14:32–42 <i>The prayer in the Gethsemane garden</i>
26:47–56 <i>Jesus arrested</i>	14:43–50 <i>Jesus arrested</i>
26:69–75 <i>Peter's denial</i>	14:66–72 <i>Peter's denial</i>
28:16–20 <i>Commission of the apostles</i>	16:12 <i>Later on, as two of them were walking along on their way to the country, he was revealed to them</i>
	16:14 <i>Finally, as they were at table, Jesus was revealed to the Eleven.</i>
	16:19 <i>Then, after speaking to them, the Lord Jesus was taken up into heaven...</i>

As we can see, the Gospel of Mark, even though much shorter than the Gospel of Matthew, has 6 more passages mentioning the presence of disciples with Jesus. Among the passages that are absent from the Gospel of Matthew, two are worth pointing out:

Mk 4:34 *To them he spoke only by way of parable, while he kept explaining things privately to his disciples.*

Mk 5:37 *He would not permit anyone to follow him except Peter, James, and James's brother John.*

In the first, Mark underlines the fact that Jesus was preparing his disciples for their future ministry, and in the second that he was preparing them for the role of witnesses who would testify to his deeds. Mark clearly sets off the disciples from the crowd; cf. 2:15; 3:9; 5:31; 6:45; 8:34; 9:14; 10:46.

Matthew in his Gospel writes about just one appearance of Jesus before his disciples after the Resurrection. Mark, on the other hand, writes about two instances of Jesus revealing himself to his disciples: during a journey and at the table. He also writes about Jesus being taken to heaven, an event which was most likely witnessed by his disciples.

According to B. Rigeau⁴⁷, 76% of the material of the Gospel of Mark contains words and deeds of Jesus that were witnessed by his disciples.

It is worth pointing out that Mark uses the phrase “the Twelve” more often (11 times) than do the other synoptic Evangelists. In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus summons the twelve disciples and gives them power over unclean spirits, etc. (cf. Mt 10:1), while Mark writes: *He then went up the mountain and summoned the men he himself had decided on, who came and joined him.* (Mk 3:13–14). According to Mark, Jesus “appoints” the Twelve. They are to be not only his disciples, but they receive certain tasks to fulfil.

⁴⁷ B. Rigeaux, *Testimonianza del Vangelo di Marco*, Padova 1968, p. 147.

They have been “appointed” primarily in order to accompany him, that is to say to bear witness to his deeds.

Towards in the end of his sermon Peter speaks about the necessity of faith. Mark stresses the necessity of faith more than Matthew does. The verb “to believe” appears in the Gospel of Matthew four times (including twice when cautioning against false messiahs – “do not believe”), but ten times in the Gospel of Mark (including once in the warning against false messiahs). It is characteristic that in the Gospel of Mark, as opposed to the Gospel of Matthew, the theme of faith appears at the beginning and at the end of the Gospel:

Mt	Mk
4:17 <i>From that time on Jesus began to proclaim this theme: “Reform your lives! The kingdom of heaven is at hand.”</i> 28:19–20 <i>go therefore, and make disciples of all the nations. Baptize them...</i>	1:15 <i>“This is the time of fulfilment. The reign of God is at hand! Reform your lives and believe in the gospel!”</i> 16:16 <i>The man who believes in it and accepts baptism will be saved; the man who refuses to believe in it will be condemned.</i>

Hence it follows that the lack of the infancy narrative in the Gospel of Mark and the shortening by Mark of the material from the Gospel of Matthew referring to Jesus’ teaching about the Kingdom of Heaven and about the new morals must be attributed to the impact of Peter’s preaching, wherein the importance of faith and of testimony is emphasised.

Certain features shared by the Gospel of Mark and the sermon of Peter at the house of Cornelius are also noted by J. Bowman.⁴⁸

The sermon of Peter at the house of Cornelius indicates that the miracles of Jesus and his exorcisms were an important element of Peter’s preaching in Rome. Peter in his sermon expresses his confidence that his listeners know those events: *I take it you know what has been reported all over about Jesus of Nazareth, beginning in Galilee with the baptism John preached; of the way God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and power. He went about doing good works and healing all who were in the grip of the devil...* (Acts 10: 37–38). These events could not have been known to the Romans, therefore they had to be narrated. It was also necessary to show the conflict of Jesus

⁴⁸ J. Bowman, *The Gospel of Mark. The New Christian Jewish Passover Haggadah*, Leiden 1965, p. 28: “Papias spoke of Peter’s preaching and Mark as setting down what he remembered of such preaching in the Gospel. We have one such example of Peter’s preaching in Acts 10:34–43, but it would be going too far to say that the Gospel of Mark is just an extension of such a sermon;”.

with the chief priest and the Pharisees in order to explain the death of Jesus on the cross: *They killed him, finally, hanging him on a tree...* (Acts 10:40).

All that had already been written by Matthew. Mark did not have to take notes of Peter's sermons as he had the material in written form: the Gospel of Matthew. It sufficed to remove from this Gospel the infancy narrative and to shorten the material referring to the Kingdom of Heaven and the new morals. But Mark made even greater changes: he modified the order of the pericopes.

When talking about the influence of Peter on the Gospel of Mark, one ought to mention one characteristic feature of this Gospel, namely the feelings of persons, especially of Jesus. Mark is the only Evangelist to write that Jesus healed a leper because he was "moved with pity" (Mk 1:40), that he looked "with anger" at those present in the synagogue (Mk 3:5), that the apostles were ashamed about "the way they had been arguing about who was the most important" (Mk 9:34); only Mark writes that Jesus "became indignant" because the disciples were scolding the children wanting to come to him (Mk 10:14), and he adds that Jesus looked at the young man "with love" (Mk 10:21). There are as many as twelve such instances. It is therefore very probable that Mark's additions reflect the live narrative of Peter, the witness of those events. And the same could be said of other details added by Mark in the narrative pericopes, e.g. in Mk 1:33; 2:12; 2:13; 3:9; 3:20, etc. Matthew did not pay attention to the feelings of persons or to the details of the reported events, because the inspired author of the Pentateuch had not paid attention to them either, and Matthew tried to be faithful to the style of the Pentateuch.

Mark probably wrote his Gospel still during the lifetime of Peter, at the very latest in the second half of the year 64 AD.

3.2.

The gospel as a literary genre

In Matthew's gospel the order of pericopes is closely connected with the composition of the Hexateuch. Mark had another idea for his work, and did not intend it to be a new Hexateuch.

To define Mark's conception and his work's literary genre, one ought to begin with its title. Mark was the only Evangelist to call his own work a Gospel: *archē tou euaggeliou Iesou Christou [huiou theou]* (Mk 1:1).

The term *euaggelion* appears frequently in Paul's epistles, as many as 57 times, but in Peter's epistles only once, in the Gospel of Matthew four times, and in the Gospel of Mark eight times; Luke uses the term twice, in Acts, and

it is used just once in the Apocalypse. The verb *euaggelizō* appears in the letters of Paul 21 times, in the letters of Peter three times, in the Gospel of Matthew once, in the Gospel of Luke 10 times, and in the Apocalypse twice.

As we can see, the term *euaggelion* is used by Mark twice as often as by Matthew. In Mark's Gospel it is found at the beginning of his work (cf. 1:1) and at the end. In the Gospel of Matthew, in the pericope about the commission of the apostles, Jesus speaks about teaching: *go, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations*. (Mt 28:19). In the Gospel of Mark Jesus speaks about preaching good news: *Go into the whole world and proclaim the good news to all creation*. (Mk 16:15). Matthew begins the account about Jesus beginning his teaching with these words: *From that time on Jesus began to proclaim this theme: "Reform your lives! The kingdom of heaven is at hand."* (Mt 4:17). In the Gospel of Mark the account about the teaching activity of Jesus begins with the words: *After John's arrest, Jesus appeared in Galilee proclaiming the good news of God: "This is the time of fulfilment. The reign of God is at hand! Reform your lives and believe in the gospel!"* (Mk 1:14–15).

The term to *euaggelion* in the absolute sense appears in the New Testament only in Mk (1:15; 8:35; 10:29; 14:9; 16:15) and in Paul (Rom 1:16; 10:16; 11:28; 1 Cor 4:15; 9:14; 9:18; 9:23; 15:1; 2 Cor 8:18; 11:4; Gal 1:6; 1:11:2,2; 2:5; 2:14; Eph 3:6; 3:15; 6:19 etc.). Matthew uses it four times: three times with the substantive "kingdom" – *to euaggelion tes basileias* (4:23; 9:35; 24:14) and once with the pronoun *to euaggelion touto* (26:13). The term "the gospel of Jesus Christ" does not appear outside Mk 1:1, but there is one occurrence of the term "the gospel of our Lord Jesus" (2 Tes 1:8). The term "Gospel of Christ" is used many times by St Paul: 1 Cor 9:12; 2 Cor 2:12; 9:13; 10:14; Gal 1:7; Phil 1:27; 1 Tes 3:2, but only once by Luke in Acts 15:19. The term "Gospel of God" is used several times in the New Testament: Mk 1:14; Rom 1:1; 15:16; 2 Cor 11:7; 1 Tes 2:2; 2:8; 2:9; 1 Pt 4:17. Paul occasionally uses the phrase "my Gospel" (Rom 16:25; 2 Tes 2:8), and "our Gospel" (2 Cor 4:3; 1 Tes 1:5; 2 Tes 2:14). The term "gospel" appears in the New Testament also with other qualifying phrases: "Gospel of the divine mercy" (Acts 20:24), "Gospel of his Son" (Rom 1:9), "Gospel of the glory of Christ" (2 Cor 4:4), "Gospel of our salvation" (Eph 1:13), "Gospel of peace" (Eph 6:15). With each of these qualifiers the term "gospel" means the same good news because, as St Paul writes, there is only one gospel: *I am amazed that you are so soon deserting him who called you in accord with his gracious design in Christ, and are going over to another gospel. But there is no other* (Gal 1:6–7). The above qualifiers just point to a certain aspect of the same Gospel proclaimed by the Church.

In the New Testament, the verb form of “Gospel” is also used, in the sense “to proclaim”, “to preach”:

1 Cor 9:16 *Yet preaching the gospel (euaggelidzōmai) is not the subject of a boast; I am under compulsion and have no choice. I am ruined if I do not preach (euaggelisōmai) it!*

Acts 5:42 *Day after day, both in the temple and at home, they never stopped teaching and proclaiming the good news of Jesus the Messiah (euaggelidzomenos ton Christon, Iēsoun).*

Acts 8:4 *The members of the Church who had been dispersed went about preaching the word (euaggelidzomenoi).*

Acts 11:20 *However, some men of Cyprus and Cyrene among them who had come to Antioch began to talk even to the Greeks, announcing the good news of the Lord Jesus (euaggelidzomenoi ton kurion Iēsoun) to them.*

Acts 15:35 *Paul and Barnabas continued in Antioch, along with many others, teaching and preaching the word of the Lord (euaggelidzomenoi meta kai heterōn pollōn ton logon tou kuriou).*

According to many exegetes, *to euaggelion* is a Markan term and it was he who introduced it into the synoptic tradition.⁴⁹ I am convinced that this term was not introduced by Mark; it had been used by Matthew, and its Aramaic equivalent had been used by Jesus, whereas Mark specially emphasised it.

Mark wanted to give the Romans the teaching of Jesus, his good news. It is necessary to remember, however, that the good news of Jesus should not be separated from facts from his life: the Gospel of Jesus becomes also the Gospel about Jesus.

Mark created a new literary genre. The composition and the content of Mark's work were influenced by the concept of Jesus' teaching as the preaching of “the Gospel”, i.e. “the Good News”. This idea arose in connection with the missionary activity of the Church among pagans. The young Church in Jerusalem preached to the Jews of that day primarily the fulfilment of prophecies in Jesus. We can see this in Peter's sermons to Jews after the descent of the Holy Spirit (see Acts 2:14–36; 3:12–26), and in the Gospel of Matthew. For pagans to believe in Jesus, they needed to be told about his unusual works, and first of all about his death, resurrection and ascension; to get them interested in Jesus one had to demonstrate to them

⁴⁹ See W. Marxen, *Mark the Evangelist*, Nashville, Abingdon 1969; R. A. Guelich, “The Gospel Genre”, [in] P. Stuhlmacher (ed.) *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien*, Tübingen 1983, pp. 183–219.

who Jesus was for them and what he could and wanted to give them; in other words, to present Jesus and his teaching as good news for them.

Peter finishes his sermon at the house of Cornelius with the assurance that through faith in Jesus we receive the remission of sins: *To him all the prophets testify, saying that everyone who believes in him has forgiveness of sins through his name* (Acts 10:43).

Paul finishes his sermon in the synagogue in Antioch, addressed not only to Jews but also to those “who reverence our God” (i.e. gentiles), on a similar note: *You must realize, my brothers, that it is through him that the forgiveness of sins is being proclaimed to you, including the remission of all those charges you could never be acquitted of under the law of Moses* (Acts 13:38).

Paul’s speech in the synagogue in Antioch is considered to be an example of a kerygma preached to a pagan community, so it deserves some reflection. It consists of the following parts: (1) The choice of Israel and a brief outline of the history of the chosen people from the exodus from Egypt until David (Acts 13:17–22), (2) Jesus as fulfilment of God’s promises regarding the Saviour (Acts 13:23), (3) Activity of John the Baptist (Acts 13:24–25), (4) the Death and Resurrection of Jesus in compliance with the Scriptures (Acts 13:26–30), (5) the disciples bear witness to the Resurrection of Jesus (Acts 13:38–39), (6) Remission of sins in the name of Jesus (Acts 13:38–39), (7) Caution against rejection of the Gospel (Acts 13:40–41). Paul calls Jesus the Saviour (13:23) and his work salvation (13:26). The good news, according to him, is the fulfilment of “the promise given to Fathers” (13:32–33). Paul does not mention where and when Jesus was born, and says nothing about the new law. When many Jews of Antioch rejected the Gospel, Paul addressed the pagans, explaining his mission among them with the text from the Book of Isaiah 49:6: *I will make you a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the ends of the earth*. So what was the content of the Gospel preached to the pagans? Its content was the salvation in the name of Jesus, who was crucified and rose from the dead. Thus we arrive at the same conclusion as in the case of Peter’s sermon at the house of Cornelius.

The Gospel of Mark was influenced not only by the catechesis of Peter, but also by the manner of preaching “the good news” to pagans by Paul and probably other Christian missionaries. This explains the lack in this Gospel of the narrative about the infancy of Jesus and of many parables and ethical instructions. Going by its editorial assumptions alone, the work of Mark was not meant to play the same role as the work of Matthew.

It should be pointed out that the canonical books about the life and the teaching of Jesus began to be called “the Gospels” only in the 2nd century AD. Saint Justin (100–167 AD) in the *First Apology* (LXVII, 3; LXVI, 3)

calls these books “memoirs of the Apostles”, and in the *Dialogue* (CVI, 3) “memoirs of Peter”.

3.3.

The impact of the Old Testament prophecies about preaching the good news

The verbal form of *euaggelidzo* – *euaggelidzesthai* – appears in the Septuagint in Is 40:9; 52:7; 60:6; 61:1 and in Ps 95:3, and means the announcement of good news about the eschatological salvation. Thus in the Old Testament there are not only prophecies about Messiah, but also about the preaching of the Gospel. Those prophecies were well known to the early Church. In the introduction to his Epistle to Romans, St Paul writes: *Greetings from Paul, a servant of Christ Jesus, called to be an apostle and set apart to proclaim the gospel of God which he promised long ago through his prophets, as the holy Scriptures record* (Rom 1:1–2).

There is evidence that, influenced by those prophecies, Mark re-phrased some of the text of the Gospel of Matthew. In the latter we can read: *From that time on Jesus began to proclaim this theme: “Reform your lives! The kingdom of heaven is at hand.”* (Mt 4:17). The parallel text in the Gospel of Mark is: *After John’s arrest, Jesus appeared in Galilee proclaiming the good news of God: “This is the time of fulfilment. The reign of God is at hand! Reform your lives and believe in the gospel!”* (Mk 1:14–15). Mark supplemented the Matthean text with, among others things, a reference to the gospel and the fulfilment of time. The themes of fulfilment of time and those who bring “the good news” are to be found in the prophecy about the gospel in Is 40:1–11:

Is 40:2 *Speak tenderly to Jerusalem, and
proclaiming to her
that her service is at an end...*

Is 40:9 *Go up onto a high mountain,
Zion, herald of glad tidings (ho euaggelidzomenos);
Cry out at the top of your voice,
Jerusalem, herald of good news(ho euaggelidzomenos)!*

The participle form *euaggelidzomenos* also appears in Is 52:7:

*How beautiful upon the mountains
are the feet of him who brings glad
tidings (euaggelidzomenou),
Announcing peace, bearing good news,*

announcing salvation (euaggelidzomenos agatha)...

Preaching the good news is also mentioned in Is 61:1:

The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me,

because the Lord has anointed me;

He has sent me to bring glad tidings (euaggelisasthai)

to the lowly...

Thus the theme of “the herald of the good news” is of special interest to Mark. This herald is first of all Jesus, and then the apostles. As we noted above, in the first *summarium* of the activity of Jesus, Mark, as opposed to Matthew, presented Jesus as the evangeliser (cf. Mk 1:15). The theme of the apostles is also dealt with in Mark somewhat differently than in Matthew. Let us compare the pericopes about the appointment of the apostles in the Gospels of Matthew and of Mark:

Then he summoned his twelve disciples and gave them authority to expel unclean spirits and to cure sickness and disease of every kind (Mt 10:1).

He then went up the mountain and summoned the men he himself had decided on, who came and joined him. He named twelve as his companions whom he would send to preach the good news; they were likewise to have authority to expel demons (Mk 3:13–15).

We can see that in the Gospel of Matthew Jesus does not choose the Twelve but summons them. The Twelve have already accompanied him, they are after all the new people whom Jesus leads to a new promised land. In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus chooses and appoints the Twelve. He appoints them so that they accompany him and so that he may send them. Matthew does not write about this. For Mark the apostles are not just a symbol of the new people and later its leaders, but first of all they are witnesses to Jesus and preachers of the gospel. Mark’s emphasis on the apostles’ role of evangelisers is a link with the prophecy about proclaiming the good news in Is 40:9.

In the Gospel of Matthew we can read that *Jesus sent these men on mission as the Twelve* (10:5), but there is nothing about their missionary activity. Mark writes about their activity: *With that they went off, preaching the need of repentance* (Mk 6:12). Matthew does not write about the apostles’ report on their activity, whereas Mark mentions such a report: *The apostles returned to Jesus and reported to him all that they had done and what they had taught* (Mk 6:30). To the final missionary order Mark also adds the result, which does not appear in Matthew: *The Eleven went forth and preaching everywhere* (Mk 16:20). Mark stresses the activity of the apostles because it is a fulfilment of the prophecy about the herald of the good news from Is 40:9 and 52:7.

The cure of the possessed man in the synagogue in Capernaum is the first miracle described by Mark (1:21–28), while Matthew does not have this

account, and Luke places it in 4:33–37. Let me note the question asked – according to Mark – by the witnesses to this miracle: *What does this mean? A completely new teaching in a spirit of authority!* (Mk 1:27). And this is what we can read about God coming with power in the prophecy about the Gospel in Is 40:9b–10:

Is 40:9b *Cry out at the top of your voice,
Jerusalem, herald of good news!
Fear not to cry out
And say to the cities of Judah:
“Here is your God!
Is 40:10 Here comes with power
The Lord God...”*

Therefore, if Mark knew the Old-Testament prophecy about the gospel and took it into account during his redaction of certain texts, then should we not admit the possibility that it also influenced Mark’s selection of pericopes and the composition of his Gospel? It is worth noting the epithet “The Holy One of God” used by the unclean spirit with reference to Jesus in the narrative about the cure of the demoniac in Mk 1:23–28. This title appears in the Gospels only in three places: in the above-mentioned text Mk 1:23–28, in the parallel narrative in Lk 4:33–37, and in Jn 6:69, where Peter calls Jesus “God’s Holy One”. After Chapter 40 in the Book of Isaiah, the appellation “Holy” or “Holy One” with reference to God occurs twice: in Is 43:15 and 57:15. Moreover, in this part of the Book of Isaiah, there are 12 occurrences of “Holy One of Israel” (Is 41:14.20; 43:3.14; 47:4; 49:7; 54:5; 55:5; 60:9.14). It is probable that Mark included the pericopes with such an appellation for Jesus under the influence of the context of prophecies about the gospel in the Book of Isaiah.

Mark knew the content of the teaching of Jesus, he even had access to it in writing in the work of Matthew, but was everything in the teaching of Jesus good news? It contained rules of behaviour, cautions, and polemics with opponents. The Old-Testament prophecies about the gospel could have served Mark as prompts what to write about. Anyway, it is also likely that even before Mark those prophecies may have inspired those preaching the gospel among the gentiles, including Peter.

Let us now take a closer look at the content of those prophecies.

In the prophecy in Is 40:1–11, the good news is identified with the announcement of the arrival of God with power:

Is 40:9b *Cry out at the top of your voice,
Jerusalem, herald of good news!
Fear not to cry out*

*And say to the cities of Judah:
“Here is your God!*

Is 40:10 *Here comes with power
The Lord God...”*

In the prophecy in Is 52:7–12, the good news is the preaching of peace, happiness, salvation, and the reign of God:

Is 52:7 *How beautiful upon the mountains
are the feet of him who brings glad tidings,
Announcing peace, bearing good news
(euaggelizomenos agatha),
announcing salvation (sotērian), and saying to Zion,
“Your God is King!”*

Is 52:10 *The Lord has bared his holy arm
in the sight of all the nations;
All the ends of the earth will behold
the salvation of our God.*

Is 52:12 *Yet not fearful haste will you come out,
nor leave in headlong flight,
For the Lord comes before you,
and your rear guards is the God of Israel.*

The gospel prophecies of the Old Testament suggested to Mark the following leading themes: (1) the arrival of God with power, (2) the inauguration of the reign of God, (3) the gift of peace, happiness and salvation.

3.3.1. The arrival of God with power

The theme of “arrival of God with power” is identified with the proclamation of Jesus as the Lord in Peter’s sermon at the house of Cornelius, and appears in a large number of pericopes of the Gospel of Mark, first of all in narratives about the miracles and exorcisms of Jesus. It is characteristic that out the 64 pericopes removed by Mark from Matthew’s material only four are about Jesus’ miracles, whereas Mark included three narratives of his own which Matthew did not have: the cure of a demoniac in Capernaum (Mk 1:23–28), the cure of a deaf-mute (Mk 7:31–37), the cure of a blind man (Mk 8:22–26). It should be pointed out that Mark did not remove any of Matthew’s texts where the divinity of Jesus is the main theme.

Pericopes in the Gospel of Mark indicating supernatural powers of Jesus or showing directly the mystery of his person (with their position in the structure of the Gospel)

1. (1) *Here begins the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God* (1:1).
2. (2) The Baptism of Jesus. *You are my beloved Son* (1:11).
3. (3) The Temptation. *He was with the wild beasts, and angels waited on him* (1:13).
4. (6) The teaching at Capernaum. *He taught with authority* (1:22).
5. (7) Cure of Demoniac. *I know who you are – the holy One of God!* (1:24).
6. (8) Peter's Mother-in-law (1:29–34).
7. (9) Other miracles (1:32–34).
8. (11) Leper (1:40–45).
9. (12) Paralytic at Capernaum. *That you may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins...* (2:10).
10. (14) The Question of Fasting. *How can the guest at a wedding fast as long as the groom is still among them?* (2:19).
11. (15) The Disciples and the Sabbath. *That is why the son of man is lord even of the Sabbath* (2:28).
12. (16) Man with a Withered Hand (3:16).
13. (17) The Mercy of Jesus. *Unclean spirits would catch sight of him, fling themselves down at his feet, and shout, "You are the Son of God!"* (3:11).
14. (31) Storm on the Sea. *They kept saying to one another, "Who can this be that the wind and the sea obey him?"* (4:41).
15. (32) Exorcism of the Gerasene demoniac. *"Why meddle with me, Jesus, Son of God Most High?"* (5:7).
16. (33) The Daughter of Jairus; the Woman with a Hemorrhage (5:35–43).
17. (34) Jesus at Nazareth. *"Where did he get all this? What kind of wisdom is he endowed with? How is it that such miraculous deeds are accomplished by his hands?"* (6:2).
18. (36) Mission of the Twelve (6:7–13).
19. (39) Jesus Feeds Five Thousand (6:32–44).
20. (40) Jesus Walks on the Water (6:45–52).
21. (41) Other Miracles (6:53–56).
22. (44) Canaanite Woman (7:24–30).
23. (45) Healing of Deaf-mute (7:31–37).
24. (46) Jesus Feeds Four Thousand (8:1–9).
25. (48) The Leaven of the Pharisees (8:14–21).
26. (49) Blind Man at Bethsaida (8:22–26).
27. (51) First Teaching of the Paschal Event (8:31–33).
28. (52) The Doctrine of the Cross. *...If anyone in this faithless and corrupt age is ashamed of me and my doctrine, the Son of man will be ashamed of him when he comes with the holy angels in his Father's glory* (8:38).

29. (53) Jesus Transfigured (9:7).
30. (54) A Possessed Boy (9:14–29)
31. (55) Second Teaching: Passion and Resurrection (9:30–32).
32. (56) Against Ambition and Envy. *And whoever welcomes me welcomes, not me, but him who sent me* (9:37).
33. (64) Third Teaching: Passion and Resurrection (10:32–34).
34. (67) The Blind Bartimaeus (10:46–52).
35. (73) Parable of the Tenants (12:1–12).
36. (77) The Son of David (12:35–37).
37. (84) Last Act of the Drama. *Then men will see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with great power and glory* (13:26).
38. (96) Jesus before the court. *Are you the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed One?* (14:62).
39. (106) The declaration of the centurion. *Clearly this man was the Son of God!* (15:39).
40. (108) Empty tomb (16:1–8).
41. (109) Jesus appears to his disciples (16:9–14).
42. (111) The Ascension (16:19).

The kerygmatic theme of the mystery of Jesus – who is Jesus? – is the main issue of the Gospel of Mark.⁵⁰ The Evangelist develops this theme first of all by means of stories about the great works of Jesus: about his miracles and exorcisms. In the first part, up to the first announcement of the passion and resurrection (8:31–33), the theme appears in almost every other pericope, whereas in the second part of the Gospel (from Mk 8:33 on) it appears in almost every fourth pericope. It is possible that the emphasis Mark puts on Jesus' teaching "with power" (*kat'eksousian*) in Mk 1:27 is a reminiscence of Is 40:10: Here comes with power the Lord God (*idou kurios meta ischuos erchetai*). The arrival of God with power in Is 52:12 is related to the image of the exodus: The Lord will walk at the head of the people. Perhaps Mark took over from Matthew the idea of Jesus' activity as one journey from Galilee to Jerusalem.

3.3.2. The reign of God

The arrival of God is connected with the inauguration of the reign of God. According to A. M. Ambrozic⁵¹, the essence of the good news in the Gospel

⁵⁰ M. Laconi, "La vita pubblica", in: C. M. Martini (ed.), *Il Messaggio della salvezza*, vol. 4, Torino-Leumann 1969, p. 218.

⁵¹ A. M. Ambrozic, *St. Mark's Conception of the Kingdom of God*, Würzburg 1970.

of Mark is expressed with the words *this is the time of fulfilment. The reign of God is at hand* (Mk 1:15). F. Mussner⁵², J. M. Robinson⁵³, J. Schniewind⁵⁴ and A. Pilgaard⁵⁵ are of the same opinion. Pilgaard says that although the term “the reign of God” appears in the Gospel of Mark only 14 times, it constitutes a very important element of its structure. This theme is acknowledged to have so great a role in the Gospel of Mark despite the fact that Mark has curtailed it as compared with Matthew by removing as many as 10 parables about the reign of God that are found in Matthew’s Gospel. From the sermon on parables about the reign of God in Mt 13, Mark removed the parables about the weed, about leaven, about the treasure and the pearl, and about the net. From the further part of the Gospel of Matthew he removed the parable about two sons (Mt 21:28–32) in which it is said that tax collectors and prostitutes will be the first to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, the one about the king’s feast in which it is said that the invited were not worthy (Mt 22:1–14), the parable of the Ten Virgins where it is said that the virgins who did not possess the lights were not admitted (Mt 25:1–13), the parable about the talents in which Jesus teaches that the kingdom will be closed to those who have ignored the lord’s expectation (Mt 25:14–30). Apart from these parables, Mark removed two other texts in which Jesus speaks about the kingdom: the parable about the cure of the centurion’s servant (Mt 8:5–13) and the parable about the Last Judgment (Mt 25:31–46). From the sermon about the kingdom in Mt 13 Mark only kept one parable – about the mustard seed – but he added a parable that Matthew did not have – that of the sowing (4:26–29). Moreover, in Mark there are two other texts (taken from the Gospel of Matthew) that tell about the kingdom: “Jesus blesses children” (simplicity as a condition for entering the kingdom) (Mk 10:13–16), and “How hard it is for the rich to enter the kingdom of God” (Mk 10:23–26).

The theme of the reign of God in the Gospel of Mark

1. 1:15 *This is the time of fulfilment. The reign of God is at hand! Reform your lives and believe in the gospel!*
2. 4:11 *He told them: “To you the mystery of the reign of God has been confided. To the others outside it is all presented in parables...”*

⁵² F. Mussner, “Gottesherrschaft und Sendung Jesu nach Mk 1,14 f.”, [in] *Praesentia salutis. Gesammelte Studien zu Fragen und Themen des Neuen Testaments*, Düsseldorf 1967, p. 85.

⁵³ J. M. Robinson, *The Problem of History in Mark*, London 1962, p. 23.

⁵⁴ J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, München 1968, p. 43.

⁵⁵ A. Pilgaard, “Guds rigebegrebet i Markusevangeliet” (The Concept of the Kingdom of God in the Gospel of Mark), *Dansk Teol Tids* 43 (1/1980), pp. 20–35.

3. 4:26 *He also said: "This is how it is with the reign of God. A man scatters seed on the ground..."*
4. 4:30 *He went on to say: "What comparison shall we use for the reign of God? What image will help to present it? It is like mustard seed..."*
5. 9:1 *He also said to them: "I assure you, among those standing here there are some who will not taste death until they see the reign of God established in power."*
6. 9:47 *If your eye is your downfall, tear it out! Better for you to enter the kingdom of God with one eye than to be thrown with both eyes into Gehenna...*
7. 10:14–15 *Jesus became indignant when he noticed it and said to them: "Let the children come to me and do not hinder them. It is to just such as these that the kingdom of God belongs. I assure you that whoever does not accept the reign of God like a little child shall not take part in it."*
8. 10:23–25 *Jesus looked around and said to his disciples, "How hard it is for the rich to enter the kingdom of God!" The disciples could only marvel at these words. So Jesus repeated what he had said: "My sons, how hard it is to enter the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God."*
9. 12:34 *Jesus approved the insight of this answer and told him, "You are not far from the reign of God."*
10. 14:25 *I solemnly assure you, I will never again drink of the fruit of the vine, until the day when I drink it new in the reign of God."*

As we can see, Mark basically omitted texts that bear upon the eschatological kingdom, as well as texts directed against the Jews who – according to Jesus – have rejected the kingdom. He concentrates instead on those statements of Jesus that refer to the development of the kingdom on earth and on the conditions for entering it. What is characteristic is that Mark weakens the connection between the coming of the kingdom during the lifetime of some of the disciples and the image of the parousia present in the parallel text in the Gospel of Matthew:

Mt	Mk
16:27 <i>The Son of Man will come with his Father's glory accompanied by his angels. When he does, he will repay each man according to his conduct.</i>	8:38 <i>If anyone in this faithless and corrupt age is ashamed of me and my doctrine, the Son of Man will be ashamed when he comes with the holy angels in his Father's glory.</i>

16:28 <i>I assure you, among those standing here there are some who will not experience death before they see the Son of Man come in his kingship.</i>	9:1 <i>He also said to them: I assure you, among those standing here are some who will not taste death until they see the reign of God established in power.</i>
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Mark clearly transformed the theme of the kingdom under the influence of Is 52:7: *How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who brings glad tidings, announcing salvation and saying to Zion, "Your God is King!"*

It should be noted that the texts about God's kingdom in the Gospel of Mark come in a coherent order: first we have an announcement of the nearness of the kingdom, then come texts about the mystery of the kingdom, and finally texts about the conditions for entry into the kingdom.

3.3.3.

Peace, Happiness and Salvation

According to the Old-Testament prophecy about Gospel, the purpose of the "arrival of God" is the salvation of the people. Mark writes about the salvation in eschatological sense using the verb "to be saved" or its equivalent four times, including three times in texts parallel with the Gospel of Matthew.

Mk 8:35 *Whoever would preserve his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for my sake and the gospel's will preserve it. Cf. Mt 16:25.*

Mk 10:26 *They were completely overwhelmed at this, and exclaimed to one another, "Then who can be saved?" Cf. Mt 19:25.*

Mk 13:13b *Nonetheless, the man who holds out till the end is the one who will come through safe.*

Mk 16:16 *The man who believes in it and accepts baptism will be saved; man who refuses to believe in it will be condemned.*

Jesus bestows peace, happiness and salvation by setting us free from sin, from illness, from the demon, and from the consequences of a false interpretation of the Law. It is exceptional for Mark to remove a pericope from the Gospel of Matthew that deals with Jesus' healing or exorcising. He adds other similar pericopes, so that in total he has no fewer of them than Matthew. He removes the narrative about the cure of the servant of the centurion (Mt 8:5–13), the recapitulation of the wonderworking activity of Jesus (Mt 9:35–38), and the mention of healing the suffering ones by the Sea of Galilee (Mt 15:29–31), but he includes the pericope on the mercy of Jesus (Mk 3:7–12), and the narrative about the healing of a deaf-mute (Mk 7:31–37) and about the healing of a blind man (Mk 8:22–26).

The use of the verb “to save” (*sōdzō*) in the Gospel of Matthew and in the Gospel of Mark

Mt	Mk
1:21 <i>he will save (sōsei) his people from their sins.</i>	—
8:25 <i>“Lord, save (sōson) us! We are lost!”</i>	3:4 <i>Is it permitted to do a good deed on the sabbath – or an evil one? To preserve (sōsai) life – or to destroy it?”</i> — 5:23 <i>“My little daughter is critically ill. Please come and lay your hands on her so that she may get well (sōthe) and live.”</i>
9:21 <i>“If only I can touch his cloak,” she thought, “I shall get well (sōthēsomai).”</i> 9:22 <i>“Courage, daughter! Your faith has restored you to health (sesōken).”</i>	5:28 <i>“If I just touch his clothing,” she thought, “I shall get well (sōthēsomai).”</i> 5:34 <i>He said to her, “Daughter, it is your faith that has cured (sesōken) you. Go in peace and be free of this illness.”</i> [see 13:13]
10:22 <i>But whoever holds out till the end will escape death (sōthēsetai).</i> 14:30 <i>“Lord, save (sōson) me!”</i>	— 6:56 <i>All who touched him got well (esōdzonto).</i> 8:35 <i>Whoever would preserve (sōsai) his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for my sake and the gospel’s will preserve (sōsai) it.</i> 10:26 <i>“Then who can be saved?”</i> 10:52 <i>Jesus said in reply, “Be on your way. Your faith has healed (sesōken) you.”</i>
16:25 <i>Whoever would save (sōsai) his life will lose it...</i>	13:13 <i>the man who holds out till the end is the one who will come through safe (sōthēsetai).</i>
19:25 <i>“Then who can be saved?”</i>	13:20 <i>Indeed, had the Lord not shortened the period, not a person would be saved (esōthē).</i>
24:13 <i>The man who holds out to the end, however, is the one who will see salvation (sōthēsetai).</i>	15:30 <i>Save yourself now...</i> 15:31 <i>“He saved (esōsen) others but he cannot save himself!”</i>
24:22 <i>Indeed, if the period had not been shortened, not a human being would be saved.</i>	16:16 <i>The man who believes in it and accepts baptism will be saved (sōthēsetai)</i>
27:40 <i>Save yourself, why don’t you?</i> 27:42 <i>“He saved (esōsen) others but he cannot save himself!”</i> 27:49 <i>Let’s see whether Elijah comes to his rescue (sōsōn).</i>	

Matthew has one episode where Jesus uses the word “to save” in the context of an act that delivers from evil a concrete person (cf. Mt 9:22). Mark has three such episodes (cf. Mk 3:4; 5:34; 10:52). Also, in 6:56, Mark writes: *All who touched him got well (esōdzonto)*. This text is absent from Matthew. The first Evangelist does not have any mention of salvation in the pericope about the last appearance of Jesus to the apostles (cf. Mk 16:16). Thus we can see that Mark was more interested in the theme of salvation than Matthew was.

Moreover, Mark writes many times (in parallel to Matthew) about the manner of or conditions for salvation without using the term “salvation” or the verb “to be saved”. The theme of salvation certainly includes the story of the Passion, because Jesus – through his passion and death on the cross – saved his people, as well as texts saying what one should do to be saved. Here are the passages from the Gospel of Mark referring to salvation:

1. First Teaching of the Paschal Events (Mk 8:31–32).
2. The Doctrine of the Cross – the conditions of imitating Jesus (Mk 8:34–38).
3. Second Teaching: Passion and Resurrection (Mk 9:30–32).
4. Depravation – difficulty of salvation (Mk 9:42–50).
5. Conditions for everlasting life (Mk 10:17–22).
6. Dangers of Riches (Mk 10:23–27).
7. Everlasting life as the prize for renunciation of riches (Mk 10:28–31).
8. Third Teaching: Passion and Resurrection (Mk 10:32–34).
9. The Son of man gives his life in ransom for the many (Mk 10:45).
10. Parable of the Tenants. *The stone rejected by the builders has become the keystone of the structure* (Cf. Mk 1–12).
11. Question about the Temple and the coming of Christ (Mk 13:1–37).
12. The narrative of the passion and resurrection of Christ (Mk 14–16).

More loosely connected with the theme of salvation are the following pericopes:

1. Against Ambition and Envy (Mk 9:33–37).
2. Prize for a drink of water (Mk 9:38–41).
3. The Zebedee’s sons – one should serve (Mk 10:35–45).
4. The Widow’s Mite – one should be merciful (Mk 12:41–44).

Mark’s special interest in the theme of salvation stems without doubt from the prophecies about the gospel, where the topic of the good news is salvation.

Mark, who wrote his Gospel with the Romans in mind, did not concern himself with the attitude of Jesus to the Law, but he preserved all four of Matthew’s texts about Jesus’ negative attitude to the Jewish tradition

concerning the Sabbath and the ritual uncleanness: the plucking of heads of grain on Sabbath (Mt 12:1–8/Mk 2:23–28), the cure on Sabbath (Mt 12:9–14/Mk 3:1–6), the controversy over the tradition and true uncleanness (Mt 15:1–20/Mk 7:1–23), and the caution against the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Mt 16:5–12/Mk 8:14–21). He kept these texts in order to show that Jesus liberated his people from that arduous tradition.

The Deutero-Isaiah, in the already mentioned prophecy about preaching the good news, forecasts that *all the ends of the earth will behold the salvation of our God* (Is 52:10). Probably in connection with this prophecy Mark wanted to emphasise that all nations would in the future find out about the mystery of Jesus. Accordingly, Mark merges two logia which in the Gospel of Matthew are found in different contexts, namely the logion about the lamp (Mt 5:14–16) and the logion about the hidden thing (Mt 10:26), into one logion: *Is a lamp acquired to be put under a bushel basket or hidden under a bed? Is it not meant to be put on a stand? Things are hidden only to be revealed at a later time; they are covered so as to be brought out into the open* (Mk 4:21–22).

Prophecies about the good news are found in the context of the so-called “Book of Consolation” (Is 40–66). Let us take a look at the subject matter of this book. It is characteristic that it begins – like the Gospel of Mark – with the prophecy about “the voice in the wilderness” (cf. Is 40:3). It also contains images of the Passion of Jesus (the Song about the Servant of Jahveh). Could it not also have served Mark as a source of inspiration for his choice of texts to include in his Gospel?

**Themes of the first two parts of the Book of Consolation:
“The Lord’s Glory in Israel’s Liberation” and “Expiation of Sin.
Spiritual Liberation of Israel”**

[The vocation of the prophet]

Is 40:2 *proclaim to her that her service is at an end*

40:3 *A voice cries out:*

In the desert prepare the way of the Lord!

Make straight in the wasteland a highway for our God!

40:8 *the word of our God stands forever*

[Announcement of appearance of God]

40:9 *Go up onto high mountain,
Zion, herald of glad tidings;*

Cry out at the top of your voice,

*Jerusalem, herald of good news!
... and say to the cities of Judah:
Here is your God!*

40:10 *Here comes with power
The Lord God
Who rules by his strong arm;
Here is his reward with him,
His recompense before him.*

40:11 *Like a shepherd he feeds his flock;
In his arms he gathers the lambs...*

[Power of the Creator]
[The omnipotence of God inspires hope]
[The vocation of Cyrus]
[God is with the Israel]
[The miracles of the new exodus]
[Lord is one and only God]
[Announcement of the victory of Cyrus]

The first song of the Servant of the Lord 42:1–9
42:1 *Here is my servant whom I uphold,
my chosen one with whom I am pleased,
Upon whom I have put my spirit;
he shall bring forth justice to the nations.*

42:7 *To open the eyes of the blind,
to bring out prisoners from confinement,
and from the dungeon, those who live in darkness.*
[Hymn of the victory of Lord]

Blindness of the nation and punishment
42:18 *You who are deaf, listen,
you who are blind, look and see!*

42:19 *Who is blind but my servant,*

[Liberation of Israel is a work of God's omnipotence]
[The Lord our God is one]

[The fall of Babylon]
[Miracles of the new exodus]
[Ingratitude of Israel]
[Benediction for Israel]
[Lord is one and only God]
[Satire on idolatry]
[God's message to Israel]
[Song of joy]
[The omnipotence of God]
[Announcement of the mission of Cyrus]
[Prophecy of salvation]
[The highest power of the Creator]
[Conversion of pagans]
[Evidence of God's activity]
[The Lord is God of everyone]
[The fall of Bel]
[God is incomparable]
[The Lord rules the future]
[Song of the fall of Babylon]
[Only God is the Lord of the future]
[Cyrus is called by the Lord]
[The Lord is the guide of Israel]
[Song for exodus from Babylon]

The Servant of Lord and his work

The second song of the Servant of God; his divine call and his hard task 49:1–7

[Liberation of Israel from exile]

The third song of the Servant of Lord: the Lord supports his Servant facing persecutions 50:4–9

50:6 *I gave my back to those who beat me*

[Imitation of the Servant of Lord]
[The salvation of the sons of Abraham is certain]
[The judgment of the Lord over the world]
[Arm of the Lord will awake]
[Lord is an omnipotent consoler]
[Salvation]

[Wake-up signal for Jerusalem]
[Slavery of the people of Israel]

52:7 Lord and Jerusalem are waking 52:7–12
*How beautiful upon the mountains
are the feet of him who brings glad tidings,
Announcing peace, bearing good news,
announcing salvation, and saying to Zion,
“Your God is King!”*

52:8 *...For they see directly, before their eyes,
The Lord restoring Zion.*

52:10 *...All the ends of the earth will behold
the salvation of our God.*

52:11 *Depart, depart, come forth from there,*

The fourth song of the Servant of Lord: his passion, death and glory
52:13–53:12

[The glorious future of Jerusalem]
[The love of God]
[New Jerusalem]
[Meal for the poor ones]
[New Covenant]

[Proximity and greatness of the Lord]
[Effectiveness of the word of the Lord]
[The ending of the book: a joyous return from slavery]

The great influence of the Book of Isaiah on the Gospel of Mark is recognised by R. Scheck.⁵⁶ He tries to show that in each of the first eight chapters Mark introduced references to that book. According to R. E. Watts⁵⁷, the Gospel of Mark was influenced by prophecies about a new exodus from the Book of Isaiah.

⁵⁶ R. Scheck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark I-VIII*, Vellejo 1994.

⁵⁷ R. E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Marc*, Grand Rapids, Baker 2000.

3.4.

The influence of Ps 96 (95)

The good news also features in Ps 96 (95).

Ps 96:2 *Sing to the Lord; bless his name;
announce (euaggelizesthe) his salvation day after day.*

96:3 *Tell his glory among the nations;
among all peoples, his wondrous deeds.*

In this psalm the good news is the news about salvation, and it is connected with the preaching of God's miracles to all people. Mark strongly emphasised the fact that miracles accompanied the preaching of the Gospel by the apostles. Only in the Gospel of Mark does Jesus say: *Signs like these will accompany those who have professed their faith: they will use my name to expel demons, they will speak entirely new language* (16:17). Mark ended his work with the words: *The Lord continued to work with them throughout and confirm the message through the sign which accompanied them* (16:20). The parallel pericope in Matthew contains nothing about the working of miracles.

Mark's adoption of the idea of a work on Jesus as "gospel" and his putting it in the perspective of the prophecies about the preaching of good news and of Psalm 96 (95) entailed the need to rephrase his basic source, which was the Gospel of Matthew. Mark is less interested in the fulfilment of Scriptures through Jesus, but attaches great weight to God being revealed through his actions, because the content of prophecies about the good news was primarily the revelation of a God who saves. In the Gospel of Mark the apostles are "heralds of the good news". He stresses that Jesus chose the Twelve so that they accompanied him, but also that Jesus gave them private teaching. In Mark's version of the sermon, in the parables about the kingdom, we can read: *By means of many such parables he taught them the message in a way they could understand. To them he spoke only by way of parable, while he kept explaining things privately to his disciples* (Mk 4:33–34). Matthew in his version of the sermon does not write about instructing the apostles in private.

3.5.

Editorial changes introduced with the addressees in mind

According to the ancient tradition of the Church, Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome and for the Romans (pagans or Christians of pagan origin). Clement

of Alexandria defined the addressees of the Gospel of Mark quite precisely: they were certain officers of the Caesar who listened to Peter's speeches. For the sake of those addressees Mark removed from Matthew's material the texts which he thought might not interest them and at the same time were not essential for understanding the Gospel, as well as those which were likely to be misunderstood.

3.5.1. Removal of texts about Jesus' attitude to the Old Testament Law

The observance of the law of Moses was the road to salvation for the Jews in the times of Jesus. Every devout Israelite prayed with the words of Psalm 119:17–19:

*Be good to your servant, that I may live
and keep your words.*

*Open my eyes, that I may consider
the wonders of your law.*

*I am a wayfarer of earth;
hide not your commands from me.*

There were basically two schools of interpreting the Law in those days: the school of the Pharisees and the school of the Sadducees. Jesus had reservations about each of them. All the synoptic Evangelists wrote that Jesus had warned his own disciples against the teachings of both: *Be on the lookout against the yeast of the Pharisees and Sadducees*. (Mt 16:6 and paral.) At first his disciples thought that this referred to the bread, but later they understood that it was about the teachings of the Pharisees and the Sadducees. We know from Acts that the opponents of Jesus' disciples in Jerusalem accused the deacon Stephen of fighting the Law, cf. Acts 6:11; *They persuaded some men to say, "We have heard him speaking blasphemies against Moses and God."*

Thus Jesus' attitude to the Law was a crucial issue which could not be ignored by the commune of Jerusalem in their preaching of the Gospel. However, in the context of the preaching of the Gospel to pagans, this problem was no longer so relevant.

Almost all of Jesus' pronouncements on the Law were assembled by Matthew in the Sermon on the Mount (chapters 5–7). It contains the following texts bearing upon the Law: the old Law and the new (5:17–20), a new interpretation of the fifth commandment (Mt 5:17–26), a new interpretation of the sixth commandment and the teaching on the divorce

(Mt 5:27–32), a new interpretation of the eighth commandment (Mt 5:35–37), a new interpretation of retaliation (Mt 5:38–42) and a new interpretation of the commandment of love (Mt 5:43–48).

By omitting the above texts Mark does not deprive the reader of the opportunity to get acquainted with the most important ethical instructions of Jesus contained therein, such as the teaching on loving one's neighbour and the indissolubility of marriage. The speech on the commandment of love is to be found in Mk 12:28–34 (the text parallel to Mt 22:34–40), while the speech on the indissolubility of marriage is presented in Mk 10:1–12 (the text parallel to Mt 19:1–19).

Mark preserved, however, some texts about the Jewish customs, the interpretation of the Law, and the attacks of Pharisees and Sadducees on Jesus, namely The Question of Fasting (Mt 9:14–17/Mk 2:18–22), The Disciples and the Sabbath (Mt 12:1–7/Mk 2:23–28), Blasphemy of the Pharisees (Mt 12:22–27/Mk 3:22–27), The Sin against the Spirit (Mt 12:31–37/Mk 3:28–30), Jesus and the Pharisees (Mt 15:1–9/Mk 7:1–13), The True Uncleanliness (Mt 15:10–20/Mk 7:14–23), The Leaven of the Pharisees (Mt 16:5–12/Mk 8:10–13), Paying Tax to the Emperor (Mt 22:15–22/Mk 12:13–17), The Great Commandment (Mt 22:34–40/Mk 12:28–34), Hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees (Mt 23:1–12/Mk 12:38–40).

Why did Mark keep these texts? For various reasons. In the pericope Question of Fasting (Mt 9:14–17/Mk 2:18–22) there is the statement of Jesus on his dignity. The theme of his dignity is also found in the pericope on the tax (Mt 22:15–22/Mk 12:13–17). The text about the great commandment (Mt 22:34–40/Mk 12:28–34) was without doubt preserved by Mark because of its importance. The pericopes: The Disciples and the Sabbath (Mt 12:1–7/Mk 2:23–28), Jesus and the Pharisees (Mt 15:1–9/Mk 7:1–13), The True Uncleanliness (Mt 15:10–12/Mk 7:14–23) show Jesus as saviour from awkward prescriptions of the Law, but simultaneously they are necessary for understanding the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees and scribes. This conflict is also shown in: Blasphemy of the Pharisees (Mt 12:22–27/Mk 3:22–27), The Leaven of the Pharisees (Mt 16:5–12/Mk 8:10–13), and Hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees (Mt 23:1–12/Mk 12:38–40).

3.5.2.

Reduction of arguments for Messianic dignity of Jesus based on the Old Testament

Because the Romans to whom Mark addressed his Gospel did not know the Old Testament, Mark tried to prove Jesus' divine and Messianic dignity

primarily by presenting his extraordinary works. He did not omit prophecies, but did not invoke them so often as did Matthew, who has as many as 41 direct Old-Testament references in his Gospel. Mark quotes the Old Testament only 16 times. Out of these sixteen quotations, two appear only in his Gospel: Mk 1:2–3 (Mal 3:1; Is 40:3) and Mk 14:49 (Zec 14:7).

3.5.3

Removal of the pericope on Paying the Temple Tax (Mt 17:24–27)

Mt 17:24 *When they entered Capernaum, the collectors of the temple tax approached Peter and said, Does your master not pay the temple tax? "Of course he does," Peter replied. Then Jesus on entering the house asked, without giving him time to speak: "What is your opinion, Simon? Do the kings of the world take tax or toll from their sons, or from foreigners?" When he replied, "From foreigners", Jesus observed: "Then, their sons are exempt. But for fear of disedifying them, go to the lake, throw in a line, and take out the first fish you catch. Open its mouth and you will discover there a coin worth twice the temple tax. Take it and give it to them for you and me."*

As the temple tax did not apply to Romans, Mark did not want to distract his readers with problems which were of little consequence in his milieu.

3.5.4.

Reduction of anti-Judaistic elements

One can easily imagine that both Peter and Paul, while speaking in Rome to pagans who had a negative attitude to Jews, would tend to avoid – as far as this was possible – topics which could present the Jewish nation in an unfavourable light. The evidence that anti-Jewish sentiments were present in the Roman community can be found in St Paul's epistle to the Romans. The apostle devotes a substantial passage to this issue, the whole of the eleventh chapter. He gives the Christians of pagan origin to understand that they should not look down on Jews; cf. especially 11:17–21: *If some of the branches were cut off and you, a branch of the wild olive tree, have been grafted in among the others and have come to share in the rich root of the olive, do not boast against the branches. If you do boast, remember that you do not support the root; the root supports you. You will say, "Branches were cut off that I might be grafted in." Well and good. They were cut off because of unbelief and you are there because of faith. Do not be haughty on that*

account, but fearful. If God did not spare the natural branches, he will certainly not spare you.

In practically all synoptic Gospels, up to his triumphal entry into Jerusalem Jesus is admired by the people and received with joy, the only exception being the inhabitants of Nazareth. It is merely the leaders of the people: Pharisees, Sadducees, scribes and Herodians that show enmity to Jesus. It must be added, however, that in the Gospel of Matthew Jesus severely judges not only the leaders of the people but also the contemporary generation of Jews (cf. Mt 11:16–24). In the Gospel of Matthew, during the trial before Pilate “the whole of the people” demands the death of Jesus (Mt 27:25). When comparing the Gospel of Mark with the Gospel of Matthew we notice that Mark removed from the Gospel of Matthew, due to the anti-Judaistic expressions contained therein, either long fragments of the text or just the anti-Judaistic accents.

(1) In the pericope on the Blasphemy of the Pharisees, Mark (3:22–30) left out, among others, the words: *How can you utter anything good, you brood of vipers, when you are so evil? The mouth speaks whatever fills the mind* (Mt 12:34).

(2) Mark omitted Jesus’ statements against the Jews who were witnesses of his miracles, which in the Gospel of Matthew can be found after Jesus’ testimony about John the Baptist: Mt 11:16 *What comparison can I use to describe this breed? They are like children squatting in the town squares, calling to their playmates: 17 “We piped you but you did not dance! We sang you a dirge but you did not wail!” 18 In other words, John appeared neither eating nor drinking, and people say, “He is mad!” 19 The Son of Man appeared eating and drinking, and they say, “This one is a glutton and drunkard, a lover of tax collectors and those outside the law!” Yet time will prove where wisdom lies.” 20 He began to reproach the towns where most of his miracles had been worked, with their failure to reform: 21 “It will go ill with you, Chorozain! And just as ill with you, Bethsaida! If the miracles worked in you had taken place in Tyre and Sydon, they would have reformed in sackcloth and ashes long ago. 22 I assure you, it will go easier for Tyr and Sidon than for you on the day of judgment. 23 As for you, Capernaum, “Are you to be exalted to the skies? You shall go down to the realm of death!” If the miracles worked in you had taken place in Sodom, it would be standing today. 24 I assure you, it will go easier for Sodom than for you on the day of judgment.”*

(3) Mark omitted the first of the requests for the sign made by the scribes and Pharisees in the Gospel of Matthew, because in reply to it Jesus calls his contemporary Jews an evil and unfaithful generation. Mt 12:38 *Some of*

the scribes and Pharisees then spoke up, saying, "Teacher, we want to see you work some sign." 39 He answered: "An evil and unfaithful age is eager for a sign! No sign will be given it but that of the prophet Jonah. 40 Just as Jonah spent three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so will the Son of Man spend three days and three nights in the bowels of the earth. 41 At the judgment, the citizens of Nineveh will rise with the present generation and be the ones to condemn it. At the preaching of Jonah they reformed their lives, but you have a greater than Jonah here. 42 At the judgment, the queen of the South will rise with the present generation and be the one to condemn it. She came from the farthest corner of the earth to listen to the wisdom of Solomon; but you have a greater than Solomon here.

(4) Mark removed the pericope about the return of the unclean spirit (Mt 12:43–45) which comes after the first request of the Pharisees for the sign and naturally links with it. It ends with a renewed condemnation of Jews contemporary to Jesus. Mt 12:43: *When the unclean spirit departs from a man, it roams through arid wastes searching for a place of rest and finding none. 44 Then it says, "I will go back where I came from," and returns to find the dwelling unoccupied, though swept and tidied now. 45 Off it goes again to bring back with it this time seven spirits more evil than itself. They move in and settle there. Thus the last state of that man becomes worse than first. And that is how it will be with this evil generation.*"

(5) In the pericope on the new demand for the sign (Mt 16:1–4) Jesus calls Jews "an evil, faithless age", while in Mk 8:11–13 Jesus says: *Why does this age seek a sign? I assure you, no such sign will be given it!*

(6) From the narrative about the miraculous cure of the epileptic Mt 17:14–21: *What an unbelieving and perverse lot you are!*, Mark leaves out the word "perverse". The phrase "the faithless and corrupt age" is used by Mark in the pericope on "The Doctrine of the Cross (Mk 8:34–38/ Mt 10:32–39), even though it does not appear in the parallel text in Matthew. In this context, however it may refer to people in general, not only to Jews.

(7) Mark removed the parable about two sons (Mt 21:28–32), to which Jesus adds his criticism of the high-priests and elders for their lack of faith in his mission (cf. Mt 21:31). *Jesus said to them, "Let me make it clear that tax collectors and prostitutes are entering the kingdom of God before you. 32 When John came preaching a way of holiness, you put no faith in him; but the tax collectors and the prostitutes did believe in him. Yet even when you saw that, you did not repent and believe in him.*

(8) In the parable about the tenants (12:1–12), Mark left out the words: *For this reason, I tell you, the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a nation that will yield a rich harvest (Mt 21:43).*

(9) The parable of the wedding banquet (Mt 22:1–14) can refer not only to Jewish leaders, but in the context of Mt 21:8–32 it takes on an anti-Judaistic sense. For this reason it was removed by Mark.

(10) The 39-verse-long speech against the scribes and Pharisees filling the whole of chapter 23 in the Gospel of Matthew, where Jesus calls the leaders of Israel “frauds”, “blind guides” and “viper’s nest”, was reduced in the Gospel of Mark to 3 verses (cf. Mk 12:38–40). Mark’s pericope contains no words of condemnation against the scribes and Pharisees nor a single instance of “woe”, a word so characteristic of the speech of Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew. Neither is there any threat of punishment to Jerusalem that appears in Mathew: *Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, murderess of prophets and stoner of those who were sent to you!... “You will find your temple deserted.”* (Mt 23:37–39).

(11) In the narrative about the trial before Pilate, Mark (15:1–17) omitted the following fragment: *He called for water and washed his hands in front of the crowd, declaring as he did so, I am innocent of the blood of this just man. The responsibility is yours.” The whole people said in reply, “Let his blood be on us and on our children”* (Mt 27:24–25).

3.5.5.

Removal of passages about humility and poverty

Because Mark wrote his gospel for the Romans, and specifically for Roman officers, he tried to avoid expressions in which Jesus presents humility, poverty, and meekness as virtues.

(1) This is probably the reason why he did not include the eight Beatitudes from the Sermon on the Mount, all the more so that such blessings as *How blest are the poor in spirit, Blest too are the sorrowing, Blest are the lowly* came from the biblical tradition unfamiliar to the Romans.

(2) Mark left out two pericopes from the Sermon on The Mount in which Jesus teaches about true riches (Mt 6:19–34).

(3) Mark omitted the first part of the pericope about the conditions for following Jesus, in which Jesus speaks about his poverty (Mt 8:18–22). *Seeing the people crowd around him, Jesus gave orders to cross to the other shore. 19 A scribe approached him and said, “Teacher, wherever you go I will come after you.” 20 Jesus said to him, “The foxes have lairs, the birds in sky have nests, but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head.” 21 Another, a disciple, said to him, “Lord, let me go and bury my father first.” 22 But Jesus told him, “Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead.”*

(4) In the sermon on missionary activity (Mt 10:9–10/Mk 6:8–9) Mark introduced changes that weakened the appeal for poverty:

Mt	Mk
10:8–10 <i>The gift you have received, give as a gift. Provide yourselves with neither gold nor silver nor copper in your belts; no travelling bag, no change of shirt, no sandals, no walking staff.</i>	6:8–9 <i>He instructed them to take nothing on the journey but a walking stick – no food, no travelling bag, not a coin in the purses in their belts. They were, however, to wear sandals. “Do not bring a second tunic”...</i>

(5) Mark left out the logion about the praise of the childlike: *Father, Lord of heaven and earth, to you I offer praise; for what you have hidden from the learned and the clever you revealed to the merest children* (Mt 11:25).

(6) Mark left out the logion on humility: *Take my yoke upon your shoulders and learn from me, for I am gentle and humble of heart* (Mt 11:29).

(7) Mark omitted the pericope on the humble Servant of the Lord with the quotation from Is 42:1–4, which Matthew refers to Jesus: Mt 12:15 *Jesus was aware of this, and so he withdrew from that place. 16 Many people followed him and he cured them all, though he sternly ordered them not to make public what he had done. 17 This was to fulfil what had been said through Isaiah the prophet:*

18 *“Here is my servant whom I have chosen,
my loved one in whom I delight.*

*I will endow him with my spirit
and he will proclaim justice to the Gentiles.*

19 *He will not contend or cry out,
nor will his voice be heard in the streets.*

20 *The bruised reed he will not crush;
the smouldering wick he will not quench
until judgment is victorious.*

21 *In his name, the Gentiles will find hope.”*

(8) Mark left out the final fragment of the pericope on corrupting the innocent (Mt 18:6–11) in which Jesus defends the little ones: Mt 18:10 *See that you never despise one of these little ones. I assure you, their angels in heaven constantly behold my heavenly Father’s face.*

(9) A likely reason for Mark’s removing from the ecclesiological sermon the parable of the stray sheep was that it emphasised God’s will to save the little ones:

Mt 18:12 *What is your thought on this: A man owns a hundred sheep and one of them wanders away; will he not leave the ninety-nine out on the hills and go in search of the stray? 13 If he succeeds in finding it, believe*

me he is happier about this one than about the ninety-nine that did not wander away. 14 Just so, it is no part of your heavenly Father's plan that a single one of these little ones shall ever come to grief.

3.5.6. Emphasis on the messianic secret

Of the fourteen miracles described by Mark, four contain the prohibition on revealing the miracle; these are: (1) A Leper 1:40–45; (2) The Daughter of Jairus 5:21–43; (3) Healing of a Deaf-mute 7:32–37; (4) A Blind Man at Bethsaida 8:22–26. Minette de Tillese⁵⁸ points out that they are found at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the list of miracles:

1. Peter's Mother-in-law (1:29–31),
2. A Leper (1:40–45),
3. A Paralytic at Capernaum (2:1–12)
4. A Man with a Withered Hand (3:1–6)
5. The Storm on the Sea (4:35–41),
6. The Daughter of Jairus (5:21–43)
7. The Woman with a Hemorrhage (5:25–34),
8. Jesus Feeds Five Thousand (6:34–44),
9. Jesus Walks on the Water (6:45–52),
10. Healing of Deaf-mute (7:32–34),
11. Jesus Feeds Four Thousand (8:1–10),
12. A Blind Man at Bethsaida (8:22–26),
13. The Blind Bartimaeus (10:46–52),
14. Jesus Curses a Fig Tree (11:12–23).

The effect of such distribution of the prohibitions, according to Minette de Tillese, is that the first part of the Gospel of Mark evolves in the spirit of a “secret epiphany”.

Of the five mentions of exorcisms in the Gospel of Mark, three contain a prohibition on revealing the dignity of Jesus: Mk 1:23–27; 1:34; 3:11–12. There is no such prohibition in Mk 5:25 and 9:25–26.

In two cases Jesus forbids the apostles to reveal his dignity: after Peter's confession “You are the Messiah” (Mk 8:30), and after the Transfiguration (Mk 9:9).

A passage that specifically refers to the Messianic secret is the logion about the teaching in parables, with a quotation from Is 6:9–10:

⁵⁸ C. Minette de Tillese, *Le secret messianique dans l'Évangile de Marc*, Paris 1968, p. 63.

Mt 13	Mk 4
<p>10 When the disciples got near him, they asked him: "Why do You speak to them in parables?" 11 He answered: "To you has been given a knowledge of the mysteries of the reign of God, but it has not been given to the others. 12 To the man who has, more will be given and he grows rich; the man who has not, will lose what little he has. 13 "I use parables when I speak to them because they look but do not see, they listen but do not hear or understand. 14 Isaiah's prophecy is fulfilled in them which says: "Listen as you will, you shall not understand, look intently as you will, you shall not see. 15 Sluggish indeed is the people's heart. They have scarcely heard with their ears, they have firmly closed their eyes; otherwise they might see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and turn back to me, and I should heal them."</p> <p>16 "Blest are your eyes because they see and blest are your ears because they hear.</p>	<p>10 Now when he was away from the crowd, those present with the Twelve questioned him about the parables. He told them: "To you the mystery of the reign of God has been confided. To the others outside it is all presented in parables,</p> <p>12 so that they will look intently and not see, listen carefully and not understand, lest perhaps they repent and be forgiven."</p> <p>13 He said to them: "You do not understand this parable? How then are you going to understand other figures like it?"</p>

According to Mark, he who listens to the Gospel possesses a secret which is not possessed by those outside, i.e. non-Christians, and Christ taught in parables so as not to be understood in full.

Christ uses this text from Isaiah to explain the situation that arose in his time: the teaching of Jesus would not be accepted by the people and would even provoke resistance, it would make their hearts even more obdurate. Obviously it was not God's intention to provoke blind obduracy among the people, but on the contrary, the words of the prophecy were intended to warn against such blindness. By quoting Is 6:9–10, Matthew softens its surprising and paradoxical form. According to Matthew, Christ teaches in parables because Jews are not willing to understand. But here we can see a certain inconsistency. The quotation properly answers the question why Jews do not understand, but not why Christ teaches in parables. In the Gospel of Mark, the quotation is more in harmony with the posed question and simultaneously points more clearly to the mystery.

Towards the end of the sermon on parables Mark will once again underline the privileged role of the disciples and the issue of the mystery, but will

weaken the paradoxical “lest”: *By means of many such parables he taught them the message in a way they could understand. To them he spoke only by way of parable, while he kept explaining things privately to his disciples* (Mk 4:33–34). Matthew does not have this text.

More often than other synoptics Mark writes about the disciples’ incomprehension of the teaching of Jesus and of his Person. There are six such cases in the Gospel of Mark. In 4:40 Jesus, after the appeasing the storm, rebukes the apostles for their lack of faith (Matthew has a similar reprimand in 8:26); in 6:51–52 Mark writes explicitly about “the closing of the mind” by the apostles: *They were taken aback by these happenings, for they had not understood about the loaves. On the contrary, their minds were completely closed to the meaning of the events* (Matthew does not have these words, cf. Mt 14:33). In Mk 7:18 Jesus reproaches the disciples for their lack of understanding: *Are you, too, incapable of understanding?* (a similar reprimand is present in Mt 15:16). In Mark 8:17–19, Jesus says to the apostles: *Aware of this he said to them, “Why do you suppose that it is because you have no bread? Do you still not see or comprehend? Are your minds completely blinded? Have you eyes but no sight? Ears but no hearing? Do you remember when I broke the five loaves for the five thousand, how many baskets of fragments you gathered up?”* And after reminding them of the two feedings of people on the desert, Jesus adds: “do you still not understand?” (Mk 8:21). In a parallel place Matthew writes only: *Jesus knew their thoughts and said, “Why do you suppose it is because you have no bread? How weak your faith is! Do you not remember the five loaves among five thousand and how many baskets-full you picked up?... Why is it you do not see that I was not speaking about bread at all?...* (Mt 16:8–11). Matthew adds that the apostles “finally realised” this (16:12). Mark did not say anything about the understanding. Three apostles – witnesses of the transfiguration – do not understand the words of Jesus about the Resurrection; cf. Mk 9:10 (Matthew does not mention this). The disciples “marvel” when they hear that it is hard for the rich to enter the kingdom of God; cf. Mk 10:24. In a parallel text Matthew states similarly: “the apostles were completely overwhelmed” (Mt 19:25).

The mystery was indicated by W. Wrede⁵⁹ as the characteristic feature of the Gospel of Mark. He claimed that the theory of the Messianic secret was invented by the early Christian community to justify the fact that Jesus had not called himself a messiah. According to W. Wrede, Jesus never spoke of

⁵⁹ W. Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien, zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums*, Göttingen 1901.

himself as Messiah and in reality did not consider himself to be the Messiah; it was the early community that proclaimed him the Messiah and the Lord. The community also put into Jesus' mouth the prohibitions on revealing his messianic dignity until the time of the Resurrection; cf. e.g. Mk 9:9. According to Wrede, one can try to explain in various ways Jesus' prohibitions in the Gospel of Mark on revealing his messianic dignity addressed to unclean spirits, those he had healed, and his disciples, yet the problem as a whole cannot be explained at the historical level, but only at the literary one: he claims that the prohibitions are not historically true but were invented by Mark.

Wrede's hypothesis of the messianic secret in the Gospel of Mark was received favourably by many biblical scholars, especially by advocates of differentiating in the Gospels between what is history and what is myth, but it also met with serious criticism.

Scholars such as W. Bousset⁶⁰, M. Dibelius⁶¹, R. H. Lightfoot⁶² perceive the theory of the Messianic secret as an attempt by the early Church to account for "the historic failure of Jesus", that is to say they give it an apologetic sense. Like Wrede, they do not attribute Jesus with real Messianic dignity.

Wrede's claim that the Messianic secret was an invention of the early Church aimed at justifying Jesus' silence on the subject of his own dignity as Messiah, was rejected by H. J. Ebeling.⁶³ First of all, he tried to prove that the Messianic secret is a literary phenomenon, and then show that Mark's intention was to emphasise the messianic dignity of Jesus: despite Jesus' prohibition on revealing his messianic dignity, he was considered Messiah and the Son of God.

The historicity of prohibitions on revealing the Messianic dignity of Jesus is accepted by F. Hauck⁶⁴, U. Pisanelli⁶⁵, F. Gils⁶⁶, J. Schniewind⁶⁷, V. Tylor.⁶⁸

⁶⁰ W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, Göttingen 1921.

⁶¹ M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, Tübingen 1962, p. 231.

⁶² R. H. Lightfoot, *History and interpretation in the Gospels*, London 1935, p. 64.

⁶³ H. J. Ebeling, *Das Messiasgeheimnis und Botschaft des Markus-Evangelisten*, Berlin 1939.

⁶⁴ F. Haucki, *Das Evangelium Markus*, Leipzig 1931, p. 104.

⁶⁵ U. Pisanelli, *Il segreto messianico nel Vangelo di S. Marco* (Quaderni esegetici), Rovigo 1953.

⁶⁶ F. Gils, "Le secret messianique dans les évangiles. Examen de la théorie de E. Sjöberg", [in] *Sacra Pagina* (Congres International Lovain 1958), Paris-Gembloux, vol. II, p. 118.

⁶⁷ J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (Neue Test. Deutsch), Göttingen 1960, pp. 6 and 21.

⁶⁸ V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London 1952, p. 122.

According to them, Jesus wished in some cases to conceal his messianic dignity so as not to upset the Romans, or possibly not be wrongly understood, for messiah was understood by Jews in a political sense.

According E. Percy⁶⁹, the messianic secret is the fruit of deep reflection by the early Church on the messianic dignity of Jesus. The messianic work consisted first of all in the death and resurrection of Jesus, hence – according to Percy – it made no sense to talk about his messianic dignity until he died and rose from the dead.

T. A. Burkill⁷⁰ believes that the Messianic secret was part of God's plan of salvation. The secret explains to us why Jesus was renounced by the Jews. Mark, however, is not consistent in presenting the secret because throughout his Gospel Jesus is the powerful Son of God. G. H. Boobyer⁷¹ is of a similar opinion.

Wrede's argument about the non-historic character of the Messianic secret was opposed by J. Robinson⁷² and X. Léon-Dufour.⁷³ According to them, one cannot formulate any statements about the historicity of the secret without conducting research into the sources of the Gospels and the traditions lying at their bases.

E. Heanhen⁷⁴ thinks that the Messianic secret was invented by Mark in order to show why the witnesses of the Son of God's glory revealed in Jesus did not acknowledge him as the Son of God.

J. D. G. Dunn⁷⁵ believes that the motif of the Messianic secret was adopted by Mark from the tradition, but was also developed by him.

In my opinion, Mark underlined the Messianic secret more than Matthew did because he was writing for the Romans. The readers of his Gospel could have challenged him by asking why the Jews contemporary to Jesus who saw his miracles did not believe in his messianic dignity? The messianic secret was in some sense an answer to this question: Jesus did not wish to be recognised.

⁶⁹ E. Percy, *Die Botschaft Jesu*, Lund 1953, pp. 271–299.

⁷⁰ T. A. Burkill, "St. Mark's Philosophy of History", [in] *NTS* III (1956–1957), pp. 142–148; idem, *Mysterious Revelation. An Examination of the Philosophy of St. Mark's Gospel*, Ithaca 1963.

⁷¹ G. H. Boobyer, "The Secrecy Motif in St. Mark's Gospel", [in] *New Testament Studies* VI, 1959–1960, pp. 225–260.

⁷² J. M. Robinson, *Le kerygme de l'Église et de Jésus*, Paris 1963.

⁷³ X. Léon-Dufour, *Les évangiles et l'histoire de Jésus*, Paris 1963.

⁷⁴ E. Heanhen, *Der Weg Jesu. Eine Erklärung des Markus-Evangelium und der kanonischen Parallelen*, Berlin 1966, pp. 132–135.

⁷⁵ J. D. G. Dunn, "Matthew's awareness of Markan redaction", [in] *The Four Gospels* 1992, Festschrift Frans Neirynck, p. 1355.

3.6. Composition

If the Gospel of Mark is a truly literary work, it should have a well-ordered composition, yet its composition still remains a great problem for scholars.⁷⁶ J. M. Robinson wrote in 1956 that a detailed explanation of Markan composition is still far from complete.⁷⁷

In order to define this gospel's structure, some Biblicists rely on geographical data, others on the subject matter of particular pericopes, and still others on both geographical data and the subject matter of pericopes. A representative of the first group is V. Taylor.

V. Taylor⁷⁸ distinguishes in the Gospel of Mark the following groups of texts: (1) 1:21–39; (2) 2:1–3:6; (3) 4:35–5:43; (4) 1:1–13; (5) 3:19b–35; (6) 4:1–34; (7) 6:30–56; (8) 7:1–23; (9) 7:24–37; (10) 8:1–26; (11) 8:27–9:29; (12) 9:30–50; (13) 10:1–31; (14) 10:32–52; (15) 11:1–25; (16) 11:27–12:44; (17) 13:5–37; (18) 14:1–16:8. Some of them were redacted by Mark on the basis of the oral tradition. These are: 1:1–13; 9:30–50; 10:1–31; 10:32–52; 11:1–25. Some of them are based on personal testimony, probably that of Peter. These are: 1:21–39; 4:35–5:43; 6:30–56; 7:24–37; 8:27–9:29. According to Taylor⁷⁹, the Gospel of Mark can be divided into the following parts:

- I. Introduction 1:1–13.
- II. Activity in Galilee 1:14–3:6
- III. The peak of the activity in Galilee 3:7–6:13.
- IV. Activity beyond Galilee 6:14–8:26.
- V. Caesarea Philippi: journey to Jerusalem 8:27–10:52.
- VI. Activity in Jerusalem 11:1–13:37.
- VII. The narrative of the Passion and Resurrection 14:1–16:8 (9–20).

One representative of the Biblicists who go by the subject matter of pericopes is M. Laconi. He believes that the Gospel of Mark – except for

⁷⁶ On the composition of the Gospel of Mark see: D. E. Orton (ed.) *The Composition of Mark's Gospel. Selected Studies from Novum Testamentum*, Leiden – Boston – Cologne 1999.

⁷⁷ J. M. Robinson, "Mark's Understanding of History", *Scott. Journal of Theology* 9 (1956), p. 393.

⁷⁸ V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London 1972 (1952), pp. 90–102.

⁷⁹ V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, pp. 107–111.

the last three chapters containing narratives about the passion and resurrection of Jesus – consists of twelve clear-cut groups of literary texts⁸⁰:

1. 1:1–13: Introduction to the activity of Jesus.
2. 1:14–45: Beginning of his activity.
3. 2:1–3:6: Five conflicts with the Pharisees.
4. 3:7–35: Movement around Jesus.
5. 4:1–34: A small book of the parables.
6. 4:35–6:6: A small book of the miracles.
7. 6:7–29: The preaching of Jesus and his fame is spreading.
8. 6:30–8:26: The section on the loaves.
9. 8:27–10:52: The revelation of the mystery of Jesus.
10. 11:1–26: The activity of Jesus in Jerusalem.
11. 11:27–12:44: Five conflicts with the Pharisees and the Sadducees in Jerusalem.
12. 13:1–27: The eschatological sermon.

According to Laconi, the evident inner cohesion of these groups of texts suggests that they existed before the redaction of the Gospel of Mark. The Evangelist only arranged them in an order befitting his own plan. The shared theme of all the groups, according to Laconi, is not the teaching of Jesus but his Person (Who is Jesus?). Laconi stresses that all these groups, almost intact and in basically the same order (except for one), are present in the Gospel of Matthew. The plan of the Gospel of Mark is as follows:

The introduction: 1:1–13 The presentation of the Son of God

The first part: 1:14–3:35 The mysterious power of the word of Jesus

The second part: 4:1–6:29 The mysterious power working through Christ

The third part: 6:30–8:26 “The section on bread”. The bread of Christ’s teaching and of his work of redemption

The fourth part: 8:27–10:52 The revelation of the sorrowful and glorious mysteries of Christ

The fifth part: 11:1–13:37 The ending of Christ’s message

The sixth part: chapters 14–16 Messianic events

B. Rigaux⁸¹ takes into consideration both the geographical data and the themes of pericopes. He distinguishes the following parts in the Gospel of Mark:

1:1–13 Introduction.

1:14–8:26 Jesus in Galilee and in its neighbouring areas.

⁸⁰ M. Laconi O.P., “La vita pubblica”, [in] C. M. Martini (ed.), *Il Messaggio della salvezza*, vol. IV, Torino-Leumann 1969, pp. 210–216.

⁸¹ B. Rigaux, *Testimonianza del vangelo di Marco*, Padova 1968, p. 20.

8:27–10:52 Confession in Caesarea and the triple announcement of his death and resurrection.

11:1–13:37 Jesus in Jerusalem.

14:1–16:8 The narrative about the Passion and Resurrection.

According to C. Minette de Tillesse⁸², the easiest to define in the Gospel are its two parts: (1) The section on the loaves (Mk 6:31–8:26), and (2) the three announcements of the Passion (Mk 8:27–10:52), because at the level of redaction they constitute two distinct sections. In order to define further parts one needs to refer to non-divisible text series and summaries. The part preceding the section on the loaves consists of five indivisible editorial sections (1:14–6:6a): 1:21–39 (24 hours in Capernaum); 2:1–3:6 (five controversies); 3:20–35 (inclusion); 4:1–34 (the speech in parables); 4:35–5:43 (the journey around the lake). The text in 1:14–15 contains the programme of this first part of the Gospel (1:14–6:6a), whose characteristic theme is the calling. Here, there are three stereotyped descriptions of the callings. The characteristic theme of the second part is the triple announcement of the Passion.

The emphasis on the calling means that the central position in the Gospel of Mark is occupied by the Church engaged in evangelisation. Jesus preaches the gospel and the Church evangelises from the beginning. The text in 3:7–19 is the biggest *summarius* in the Gospel of Mark, and from it begins the new stage of Jesus' activity; it also defines the topic of the second section (3:7–6:6a). After the five controversies Jesus departs from the crowd and begins the formation of God's new people (the institution of the Twelve).⁸³ Jesus renounces his family and his fellow-citizens: from now on his family will be those who listen to the Word of God. In the sermon in parables he divides the listeners into his disciples and those "from outside". Thus the chapters Mk 1:1–10:52 contain the first four sections. In the chapters 11:1–16:8 Minette de Tillesse distinguishes two sections: (1) 11:1–12:44 (the Messianic triumph), and (2) 13:1–16:8 (the Passion of Christ and of the Church). Each of these sections begins with a subsequent stage of founding the Church. Here are the prologue and the six sections of Mk⁸⁴:

“1:1–13 prologue

1:14–3:6 the first section: the calling of the Church

3:7–6:6a the second section: the institution of the Church

⁸² C. Minette de Tillesse, “Structure théologique de Marc”, [in] *The Four Gospels* 1992. Festschrift Frans Neirynck, p. 905.

⁸³ The summary Mk 3:7–19 is considered as a beginning of the new stage also by other Biblicists, e.g. by Marxen; cf. W. Marxen, *Der Evangelist Markus*, Göttingen 1956, p. 39.

⁸⁴ C. Minette de Tillesse, “Structure théologique de Marc”, p. 917.

- 6:6b–8:26 the third section: the mission of the Church (section on the loaves)
 8:27–10:52 the fourth section: the confession of the Church
 11:1–12:44 the fifth section: the triumph of the Church
 13:1–16:8 the Passion of Christ and of the Church”

Apart from these six sections, Minette de Tillese, like many other Biblicists, distinguishes two clear parts in the Gospel of Mark which are separated with the confession of Peter, closely linked with the first announcement of the Passion (8:27–31). The confession of Peter is an essential element of the structure of this Gospel, it is, as it were, its cornerstone.⁸⁵ The dominant theme in the whole of the first part (Mk 1:14–8:26) is the question: “Who is this man?” The demons know, but Christ forbids them to speak. This is the part in which the Messianic dignity of Jesus is mysteriously revealed in Galilee and its crowning is the great revelation (8:27–30). According to de Tillese, the miracles in this part are presented in the order of their magnitude, from the smallest to the greatest.⁸⁶ Starting from Peter’s confession of faith in the Messianic dignity of Jesus, the theme changes radically; it now becomes the Passion. The announcement of the Passion is, according to Mark, closely connected with the confession of faith: to believe in Jesus means to believe in the Messiah crucified, because that is the messiah the Scripture tells about. In fact the whole Gospel is an introduction to the Passion. The bi-part structure of the Gospel of Mark is also reflected in the topography of Jesus’ activity: the first part is connected with Galilee and its surroundings, the second part with Jerusalem.

De Tillese also points to the important role played in the structure of the Gospel of Mark by the three Christophanies: the baptism of Jesus (1:9–11), the transfiguration (9:2–8) and the crucifixion (15:33–39); they are, as it were, a recapitulation of the message of the Gospel and the key to the interpretation of all the other parts. He also calls them “a Messianic enthronement”. Mark, according to de Tillese, emphasises the fact that the secret of the reign of God (1 Cor 2:7–8) consists in the double enthronement of Jesus: (1) in glory and power, (2) on the cross. Mark does not show the resurrected Jesus – the passage in Mk 16:9–20 is a later addition – in order to suggest that the Messianic destiny is fulfilled on the cross (both for Christ and for the Church). “All the Gospel – writes Minette de Tillese – only explains the theological and Messianic content of the crucifixion of Jesus.

⁸⁵ Cf. C. Minette de Tillese, “Structure théologique de Marc”, p. 918; *Le secret messianique dans l’évangile de Marc*, Paris 1968.

⁸⁶ C. Minette de Tillese, *Le secret messianique*, p. 63.

And vice versa, the crucifixion is a key to the secret that reveals all the theological wealth of Mark”.⁸⁷

According to J. Redermakers⁸⁸, a representative of structuralism, the key elements of the structure of the Gospel of Mark are: (1) the six double *summaria* on Jesus and his disciples: 1:14–20; 3:7–19; 6:6b–13; 8:31–9:1; 10:32–45; 14:1–11; (2) the six long blocks of text focused on the activity and words of Jesus, defined by inclusions:

- “1:21–28 and 3:1–6: two acts of Jesus at the synagogue, on Sabbath;
- 3:20–35 and 6:1–6a: two fragments referring to the family of Jesus, «his own kin»;
- 6:14–16 and 8:27–30: question referring to Jesus: Is he John the Baptist, Elijah, or a prophet?
- 8:34–9 and 10:23–31: self-renunciation required by Jesus for the sake of «me and the Gospel»;
- 10:46–52 and 12:35–37 (38–44): Jesus reveals himself as The Son of David;
- 14:3–9 and 15:42–47: announcement of the burial of Jesus and fulfilment of this announcement”.⁸⁹

Other elements of the structure are geographic references, which make it possible to link the above-mentioned six sections with the sites of Jesus’ activity:

- “1:14–3:6: All of Galilee, Capernaum and the synagogue;
- 3:7–6:6a: the Sea of Galilee and the boat of the disciples;
- 6:6b–8:30: the villages of Galilee, Syro-Phenicia and the Dekapolis;
- 8:31–10:31: «on the way» and «at home»;
- 10:32–12:44: the road to Jerusalem, Jerusalem and the temple;
- 14:1–15:47: the town of Jerusalem, the garden of Gethsemani, and Calvary⁹⁰”.

Radermakers gives the particular parts of the Gospel of Mark the following titles:

- “1:1: the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God;
- 1:2–13: John the Baptist and Jesus, the baptism of water and of the spirit;
- 1:14–3:6: the reign of God is at hand, teaching with power – controversies;
- 3:7–6:6a: the family of Jesus, the reign of God in the parables, and resistance to the powers of evil;

⁸⁷ C. Minette de Tillesse, *Le secret messianique*, p. 931.

⁸⁸ J. Redermakers, “L’Évangile de Marc. Structure et Théologie”, [in] M. Sabbe (ed.), *L’Évangile selon Marc. Tradition et redaction*, Gembloux 1974, pp. 221–239.

⁸⁹ J. Radermakers, *L’Évangile de Marc*, p. 235.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

6:6b–8:30: the question referring to Jesus and the section on the loaves;
 8:31–10:31: the way of the Son of Man and his disciples to enter the reign of God;
 10:32–12:44: the judgement of the Son of David over Jerusalem;
 14:1–15:47: trial of Jesus, blasphemy of the Son of Man and recognition of the Son of God;
 16:1–8: the open tomb and the pronouncement of the young man dressed in a white robe;
 16:9–20: the final addition”.⁹¹

According to Radermakers, this analysis of the Gospel of Mark also indicates that the Evangelist used two types of structure: a concentric one (ABC-D-C’ B’ A’), as for example in the five Galilean controversies (2:1–3:6) or in the passage on the family of Jesus and on the sin that will never be forgiven (3:20–35), as well as a “lattice” structure (A B C – D E F – A’ B’ C’), as for example in the section on loaves (6:30–8:26) or in the first part of the narrative on Passion: from the Passover supper to the apprehension of Jesus (14:17–52). It is also evident that the Gospel of Mark has “the centre”, falling upon the third and fourth section (8,27–9:13), around which the Gospel was built in a concentric manner. At the same time Radermakers claims that chapter 13 does not fit into the structure of the Gospel of Mark.⁹² He claims that other structures must also be taken into consideration, e.g. of the catechetical type consisting of four parts:

- “a historic dimension of Jesus the Son of God entering the human reality (1:1–3:6);
- the summoning and gathering of the Christian community at the Eucharist (3:7–8:21);
- imitating Jesus or presentation of the Christian morality (8:22–10:52);
- Christian life with reference to Jesus transcending God’s Temple and submitting himself to the Father (11:1–16:8)”⁹³

Redermakers’ exclusion of chapter 13 from the structure of the Gospel of Mark weakens his structure proposal, and his adoption of yet other structures shows that he himself is not sure of its correctness.

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² J. Lambrecht thinks similarly, cf. “Die redaction der Markus-Apokalypse”, *Anal. Bibl.* 28, Roma, Pont. Ist. Bibl. 1967.

⁹³ J. Redermakes, *L’Évangile de Marc*, p. 237.

The concentric structure of the main part of the Gospel of Mark is endorsed by G. Leonardi.⁹⁴ The main part consists, according to him, of five sections: 4:23–9:35; 9:36–12:45; 13:1–17:23; 17:24–20:34; 21:1–26:1.

F. G. Lang⁹⁵ is of the opinion that the Gospel of Mark belongs to the literary genre of “dramatic narrative” and he divides it into a historical-salvific prologue (1:1–13) followed by five acts and the epilogue (15:40–16:8). The five acts: (1) *propositio* (1:14–3:6); (2) *peripeteia* (3:7–8:22) (ending with the misunderstanding of Jesus by his disciples); (3) *recognitio* (8:23–10:52) (at the beginning the dignity of Jesus is recognised by Peter, and at the end it is recognised by a blind one); (4) *solutio* or *katastrophē* (11:1–13:37); (5) *pathos* (14:1–15:39) (it begins with a plot against Jesus and ends with the confession of the centurion under the cross); the epilogue (15:40–16:8) (the “*deus ex machina*” appearance of the angels dissolves the drama).

Standaert⁹⁶ claims that the Gospel of Mark has a structure concordant with the rules of rhetoric formulated by Quintilianus. According to Quintilianus, a speech should consist of five parts: (1) *introductio*; (2) *narratio*, that is to say the presentation of the data, (3) *argumentatio*, (4) *refutatio*, that is to say the drawing of conclusions, (5) *conclusio*. Standaert perceives five such parts in Mark’s Gospel. The first thirteen verses are the introduction. *Narratio* is the part of from 1:14 to 6:13. Here the most important themes appear which will be developed later: the identity of Jesus and the command to follow him. The plot of the drama begins to evolve. The part 6:14–10:52 is the *argumentatio*. It begins with the basic question: Who is Jesus? It falls into three sections: the section on the loaves (6:30–8:21) whose main theme is the dignity of Jesus, the 8:27–8:13 section, built concentrically, whose theme, beside the dignity of Jesus, is the revelation to the apostles of their calling to imitate Jesus, and finally the third section 9:30–10:45 dedicated to the requirements Jesus puts before his disciples. The fourth part 11:1–15:47 concerning Jesus’ activity in Jerusalem, the Passion and his death, constitutes the dissolution of the drama. The narrative on the Resurrection of Jesus in 16:1–8 provides the epilogue. Standaert believes that the pivotal point of the Gospel is the pericope on Herod’s opinion about Jesus (6:14–16), around which the other pericopes are arranged concentrically. Moreover, he claims that also other parts have a concentric structure.

⁹⁴ G. Leonardi, *Vangelo secondo Matteo. Traduzione, struttura, analisi letteraria e narrativa, messaggio e problemi introduttori*, Reggio Emilia 1998.

⁹⁵ F. G. Lang, “Kompositionsanalyse des Markusevangeliums”, *ZThK* 74 (1977), pp. 1–24.

⁹⁶ B. Standaert, *L’Évangile selon Marc, Composition et genre littéraire*, Brugge 1978.

Here I do not agree with Standaert, however. In my opinion the Gospel of Mark does not correspond to the canons of Quintilianus. Why should the narratives about the activity of Jesus in Jerusalem and about the Passion be accepted as the drawing of conclusions? The claim of the concentric construction of the Gospel is also hard to accept. If we do have to indicate the central point of the Gospel, then there are other more obvious ones – namely the profession of faith by Peter in 8:29 or the Transfiguration of Jesus in 9:2–8.

G. Segalla⁹⁷ distinguishes in Mark's Gospel the prologue (1:2–15) and the epilogue (15:40–16:8), and two main parts, each consisting of three sections. The first part is about the mystery of Jesus revealed to but not understood by the crowds and by the "Twelve" (1:14–8:21[26]), the second part tells about Jesus' journey to Jerusalem and about his mysterious death (8,[22]27–15:39). Section 1 (1:14–3:6): the prelude, Jesus and the disciples, Jesus and the crowds, Jesus and Pharisees; Section 2 (3:7–6:6a). In the face of the mysterious dignity of Jesus, the lack of faith and the rejection; Section 3 (6:6b–8:21)[26] the mission of Twelve and their incomprehension of Jesus; Section 4 (8,[22]27–10:52). During the journey Jesus instructs his disciples about his and their tragic future; Section 5 (11:1–13:37). Jesus in Jerusalem is proclaimed a humble Messiah, clears the temple, teaches, polemicises; Section 6 (14:1–15:39[47]) – the conclusion of the tragedy – the Passion and death of Jesus.

Unfortunately, even though the author defines the themes of the sections in rather broad terms, these definitions do not always match the content of the given section. For example, in Section 4 Jesus not only instructed his disciples about his and their own tragic future, but also was transfigured on the mountain, healed the epileptic, taught the need of humility (the controversy over priority – Mk 9:33–37), warned against corrupting the little ones, taught on the indissolubility of marriage, blessed children, spoke about the danger of riches, taught what leadership should be, and healed the blind man near Jericho.

J. Mateos and F. Camacho⁹⁸ divide the Gospel of Mark into the introductory section (1:1–13) and two parts: (1) the activity of Jesus (1:14–13:37), (2) Passion – death – resurrection (14:1–16:8). They subdivide the first part into cycles and sections (without titles):

First cycle (1:14–8:26)

Section One(1:16–3:12)

Section Two (3:20–6:6)

⁹⁷ G. Segalla, *Evangelo e Vangeli*, Bologna 1994, pp. 120–141.

⁹⁸ J. Mateos / F. Camacho, *Il Vangelo di Marco. Analisi linguistica e commento esegetico*, vol. I. Assisi 1997, pp. 40–52.

Fragment (6:7–33)

Section Three (6:34–8:26)

Second cycle (8:31–9:29)

Section Four(8:31–9:29)

Section Five (9:30–10:31)

Sixth Six (10:32–11:11)

Section Seven (11:12–12:44)

Section Eight (13:1–37)

The lack of titles for each section indicates that the Biblicists were not able to find any common theme for the pericopes in these sections.

J. Kudasiewicz⁹⁹ divides the Gospel of Mark into two basic parts:

Prologue (1:1–13).

1. Progressive revealing of the mystery of the Messiah (1:14–8:30);
 - a. Jesus and the Israeli people (1:14–3:6);
 - b. Jesus and his disciples and relatives (3:7–6:6a);
 - c. Jesus is revealed to his disciples (6:6b–8:30).
2. Explanation of the mystery of the Son of Man and his work (8:31–16:8);
 - a. The way of the Son of Man (8:31–10:52);
 - b. Son of Man is revealed in Jerusalem (11:1–13:37);
 - c. Passion and resurrection of the Son of Man (14:1–16:8).

The ending (16:9–20).

Material of the Gospel of Mark in the Gospel of Matthew

Mk	Mt	Mt
<i>John the Baptist (1:1–8)</i>	3:1–12	
<i>The Baptism of Jesus (1:9–11)</i>	3:13–37	
<i>The Temptation (1:12–13)</i>	4:1–11	
<i>The first pronouncement (1:14–15)</i>	4:12–17	
<i>Calling of the First Disciples (1:16–20)</i>	4:18–20	
<i>Teaching at Capernaum (1:21–22)</i>	—	
<i>Cure of the Demoniac (1:23–28)</i>	—	
<i>At Peter's House (1:29–31)</i>	8:14–15	
<i>Other Miracles (1:32–34)</i>	8:16–17	
<i>In the environs of Capernaum (1:35–39)</i>	—	
<i>Healing of a Leper (1:40–45)</i>		8:1–4
<i>The Paralytic at Capernaum (2:1–12)</i>	9:1–8	
<i>The Calling of Levi (2:13–15)</i>	9:9–13	
<i>The Question of Fasting (2:18–22)</i>	9:14–17	

⁹⁹ J. Kudasiewicz, *Ewangelie synoptyczne dzisiaj*, Ząbki 1999, p. 156.

<i>The Disciples and the Sabbath</i> (2:18–22)		12:1–8
<i>A Man with a Withered Hand</i> (3:1–6)		12:9–14
<i>The Mercy of Jesus</i> (summary)(3:7–12)	—	
<i>Choice of the Twelve</i> (3:13–19)		10:1–4
<i>The Great Movement</i> (3:20–21)	—	
<i>Blasphemy of the Scribes</i> (3:22–30)		12:22–30
<i>Jesus and his Family</i> (3:31–33)		12:46–50
<i>The Parable of the Seed</i> (4:1–9)		13:1–9
<i>The Purpose of the Parables</i> (4:10–13)		13:10–17
<i>Explanation of the Parable of the Seed</i> (4:14–20)		13:18–23
<i>Logion on the Lamp</i> (4:21)		5:14–15
<i>“Things are hidden only to be...”</i> (4:22)		10:26
<i>The Parable of the measure</i> (4:24)		7:2
<i>“To those who have”</i> (4:25)		13:12
<i>Seed Grows of Itself</i> (4:26–29)	—	
<i>The Mustard Seed</i> (4:30–32)		13:31–32
<i>The End of Teaching</i> (4:33–34)	—	
<i>The Storm on the Sea</i> (4:35–41)		8:23–27
<i>Expulsion of the Devils in Ger.</i> (5:1–20)		8:28–34
<i>Woman with a Hemorrhage</i> (5:21–34)	9:18–22	
<i>The Daughter of Jairus</i> (5:35–43)	9:23–26	
<i>Jesus at Nazareth</i> (6:1–6)		15:53–58
<i>Mission of the Twelve</i> (6:7–13)	10:5–16	
<i>Herod’s Opinion about Jesus</i> (6:14–16)	14:1–12	
<i>Death of John the Baptist</i> (6:17–19)	14:3–12	
<i>Return of the Disciples</i> (6:30–33)	—	
<i>Jesus Feeds Five Thousand</i> (6:34–44)	14:13–21	
<i>Jesus Walks on Water</i> (6:45–52)	14:22–33	
<i>Other Miracles</i> (summary)(6:53–56)	14:34–46	
<i>Jesus and the Pharisees</i> (7:1–13)	15:1–9	
<i>The True Impurity</i> (7:14–23)	15:10–20	
<i>A Canaanite Woman</i> (7:24–30)	15:10–20	
<i>Healing of a Deaf-mute</i> (7:31–37)	—	
<i>Jesus Feeds Four Thousand</i> (8:1–9)	15:32–39	
<i>The Pharisees Ask for a Sign</i> (8:10–13)	16:1–4	
<i>The Leaven of the Pharisees</i> (8:14–21)	16:5–12	
<i>A Blind man at Bethsaida</i> (8:22–26)	—	
<i>The Messiah</i> (8:27–30)	16:13–20	
<i>1st Teaching on the Paschal Events</i> (8:31–33)	16:21–30	
<i>The Doctrine of the Cross</i> (8:34–38)	16:24–28	
<i>Jesus Transfigured</i> (9:2–8)	17:1–8	
<i>On the Coming of Elijah</i> (9:19–13)	17:9–13	
<i>A Possessed Boy</i> (9:14–29)	17:14–21	
<i>2nd Teaching on Passion and Resur.</i> (9:30–32)	17:22–23	
<i>Against Ambition and Envy</i> (9:33–37)	18:1–5	
<i>In the Name of Jesus</i> (9:38–41)	—	

<i>Corruption of the little ones (9:42–50)</i>	18:6–18	
<i>The Question of Divorce (10:1–12)</i>	19:1–12	
<i>Jesus Blesses the Children (10:13–16)</i>	19:13–15	
<i>The Rich Man (10:17–22)</i>	19:16–22	
<i>The Danger of Riches (10:23–27)</i>	19:23–26	
<i>Prize for poverty (10:28–31)</i>	19:27–30	
<i>3rd Teaching on Passion and Resur. (10:32–34)</i>	20:17–19	
<i>Ambition of James and John (10:35–40)</i>	20:20–23	
<i>Leadership is a Service (10:41–45)</i>	20:24–28	
<i>The Blind Bartimaeus (10:46–52)</i>	20:29–34	
<i>Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (11:1–11)</i>	21:1–11	
<i>Jesus Curses a Fig Tree (11:12–14)</i>		21:18–19
<i>Cleansing of the Temple (11:15–19)</i>	21:12–17	
<i>The Faith and Prayer (11:20–26)</i>	21:20–22	
<i>The Authority of Jesus (11:27–33)</i>	21:23–27	
<i>Parable of the Tenants (12:1–12)</i>	21:33–46	
<i>Tax to the Emperor (12:13–17)</i>	22:15–22	
<i>The Sadducees and the Resurrection (12:18–27)</i>	22:23–33	
<i>The Great Commandment (12:28–34)</i>	22:34–40	
<i>The Son of David (12:35–37)</i>	22:41–46	
<i>Hypocrisy of Jesus' Opponents (12:38–40)</i>	23:1–38	
<i>The Widow's Mite (12:41–44)</i>	—	
<i>Questions about the Temple (13:1–4)</i>	24:1–3	
<i>Beginning of Calamities (13:5–8)</i>	24:4–8	
<i>Persecution of the Disciples (13:9–13)</i>	24:9–14	
<i>The Supreme Tribulation (13:14–23)</i>	24:15–22	
<i>Last Act of the Drama (13:24–27)</i>	24:23–31	
<i>A Lesson from the Fig Tree (13:28–32)</i>	24:32–35	
<i>Need for Watchfulness (13:33–37)</i>	24:42–44	
<i>The Official Decision (14:1–2)</i>	26:3–5	
<i>The Anointing at Bethany (14:3–9)</i>	26:6–13	
<i>The Betrayal (14:10–11)</i>	26:14–16	
<i>Passover Preparation (14:12–16)</i>	26:17–19	
<i>The Betrayer (14:17–21)</i>	26:20–25	
<i>The Holy Eucharist (14:22–25)</i>	26:26–30	
<i>Peter's Denial Foretold (14:26–31)</i>	26:31–35	
<i>The Agony in the Garden (14:32–42)</i>	26:36–46	
<i>Jesus Arrested (14:43–52)</i>	26:47–56	
<i>Jesus before the Sanhedrin (14:53–65)</i>	26:57–68	
<i>Peter's Denial (14:66–72)</i>	26:69–75	
<i>Jesus before Pilate (15:1–5)</i>	27:1–2. 11–14	
<i>Jesus rejected by his people (15:6–15)</i>	27:15–26	
<i>The Crowning with Thorns (15:16–20a)</i>	27:27–31	
<i>The Way of the Cross (15:20b–22)</i>	27:32–34	
<i>The Crucifixion (15:23–28)</i>	27:35–38	
<i>Derision on the Cross (15:29–32)</i>	27:39–44	

<i>The Death of Jesus (15:33–37)</i>	27:45–50	
<i>After the Death of Jesus (15:38–41)</i>	27:51–56	
<i>The Burial (15:24–47)</i>	27:57–61	
<i>The Women at the Tomb (16:1–8)</i>	28:1–8	
<i>Jesus is appeared to his own (16:9–14)</i>	28:9–10	
<i>The Last Order (16:15–18)</i>	28:16–20	
<i>The Ascension (16:19–20)</i>		

We can see that changes in the order of the pericopes as compared with the Gospel of Matthew were introduced by Mark nearly exclusively in the first part of his Gospel, i.e. in the pericope on the Mission of the Twelve (Mk 6:7–13). In the remaining part of the Gospel there is only one change. The frequency of editorial changes in the Gospel of Mark as compared with the Gospel of Matthew is consistent with the frequency of the theme of the mystery of Jesus. Hence it follows that Mark changed the order of the pericopes in order to emphasise the theme of the dignity of Jesus (Who is Jesus?). The first part of the Gospel – in Mark’s intention – was to show who Jesus was. It seems that the first part ends with the pericope on the Transfiguration of Jesus, where the Heavenly Father for the second time reveals Jesus to be his Son. There are as many as eleven texts where the dignity of Jesus is referred to directly:

1. *Here begins The Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God (1:1).*
2. *The Baptism of Jesus. You are my beloved Son (1:11).*
3. *The Temptation. He was with the wild beasts, and angels waited on him (1:13).*
4. *Cure of the Demoniac. I know who you are – the holy One of God! (1:24).*
5. *The Paralytic at Capernaum. That you may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins (2:10).*
6. *The Disciples and the Sabbath. That is why the Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath (2:28).*
7. *The Mercy of Jesus. Unclean spirits would catch sight of him, fling themselves down at his feet, and shout, “You are the Son of God!” (3:11).*
8. *The Storm on the Sea. Who can this be that the wind and the sea obey him? (4:41).*
9. *Expulsion of the Devils in Gerasa. Why meddle with me, Jesus, Son of God Most High? (5:7).*
10. *The Doctrine of the Cross. ...the Son of Man will be ashamed of him when he comes with the holy angels in his Father’s glory (8:38).*
11. *Jesus Transfigured. This is my Son, my beloved. Listen to him (9:7).*

In the part beginning with the confession of faith by Peter, special emphasis is put on the theme of the Passion of Jesus:

1. The first Teaching on the Paschal Event (8:31–33).
2. The Doctrine of the Cross. *If a man wishes to come after me, he must deny his very self, take up his cross, and follow in my steps* (8:34).
3. The Dialogue about the Coming of Elijah. *He told them: "Elijah will indeed come first and restore everything. Yet why does Scripture say of the Son of Man that he must suffer much and be despised?"* (9:12).
4. Second Teaching: Passion and Resurrection (9:30–32).
5. Third Teaching: Passion and Resurrection (10:32–34).
6. Leadership is a Service. *The Son of Man has not come to be served but to serve – to give his life in ransom for the many.*" (10:45).
7. Parable of the Tenants. *But those tenants said to one another, 'Here is the one who will inherit everything. Come, let us kill him, and the inheritance will be ours.'* (12:7–8).

In the narrative on the Passion and resurrection of Jesus, Mark explains the sense of the Passion of Jesus three times: in 14:21 *The Son of Man is going the way the Scripture tells of him*; in 14:24 *"This is my blood, the blood of the covenant, to be poured out on behalf of many*; in 14:49 *But now, so that the Scriptures may be fulfilled"*.

Taking into consideration the above themes, the Gospel of Mark can be divided into two main parts:

1. Jesus is the powerful Son of God who comes so that man could be saved. With him the reign of God comes near (1:1–9:8);
2. The Passion and death of Jesus are of salvific character. Jesus is the suffering Messiah. Conditions for entering the kingdom of God (9:8–16:20).

The division of the Gospel into two parts described above is confirmed by the inclusions. At the beginning of the first part, in the narration on the Baptism, there is theophany and the words of the heavenly Father which reveal the dignity of Jesus: *You are my beloved Son. On you my favour rests* (1:11); at the end of the first part there is the Transfiguration of Jesus – revelation of his divine dignity and the words of the heavenly Father: *This is my Son, my beloved. Listen to him* (9:11). The second part begins with the first announcement of the Passion and resurrection (Mk 8:31) and it ends with the narrative of the Passion and resurrection. Both parts overlap in the small fragment (Mk 8:31–9:8), because the theme of Passion appears before the Transfiguration of Jesus (in the first teaching on the Passion – 8:31–33). This imprecision probably stems from the fact that Mark wished to preserve the historic connection of the first teaching of Passion with Peter's confession of faith.

The theme of the dignity of Jesus as well as the theme of the Passion of Messiah are considered the basis for the division of the Gospel of Mark into two parts by W. Grundmann¹⁰⁰, K. Gutbrod¹⁰¹ as well as by the just mentioned C. Minette de Tillesse and J. Kudasiewicz.¹⁰² But they believe the ending of the first part is the confession of the messianic dignity of Jesus by Peter (Mk 8:27–30).

It seems that a more detailed plan of the Gospel of Mark is not possible. The congruence of the composition of this Gospel with that of the Gospel of Matthew indicates that Mark did not intend to introduce any major changes (particularly in the second part) in the order of the pericopes taken from Matthew. The difficulties in determining the structure of the Gospel of Mark result from the fact that Mark partly copied the order of the pericopes from the Gospel of Matthew, which— as we know —was based not on the logical connections between the pericopes, but on references to the Pentateuch.

3.7.

The influence of the Gospel of Matthew

What is it then that Mark took over from Matthew? He took over from him the idea of a work bordering on a biography, of a new Exodus divided into two parts (Jesus in Galilee and in Judea). In the Gospel of Mark, like in the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus calls up his apostles in Galilee, he teaches first in Galilee, then he leads his chosen people to Judea, teaches in Jerusalem, and there becomes crucified and resurrects from the dead. Mark, similarly to Matthew, wrote about only one journey of Jesus to Jerusalem.¹⁰³ However by removing the Sermon on the Mount he made it clear that he had no intention of closely following the composition of the Pentateuch. Why did Mark reject the idea of writing a new Torah in favour of a work presenting

¹⁰⁰ W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, Berlin 1962, p. 11.

¹⁰¹ K. Gutbrod, *L'Evangelo del segreto messianico*, Torino 1971, p. 29.

¹⁰² J. Kudasiewicz, “Ewangelie synoptyczne”, [in] F. Gryglewicz (ed.) *Wstęp do Nowego Testamentu*, Poznań-Warszawa 1969, p. 140. In his book *Ewangelie synoptyczne dzisiaj*, Ząbki 1999, pp. 154–155, J. Kudasiewicz, expresses the opinion that the main theme of the first part of the Gospel is not only the dignity of Jesus but also the reign of God, while the main theme of the second part of the Gospel, besides the Passion of Messiah, is entrance into the reign.

¹⁰³ Geddert divides the Gospel of Mark into two main parts: (1) Teaching in Galilee, (2) The Journey to Jerusalem. Cf. T. J. Geddert, *Mark*, Scotlandale, Pa. – Waterloo, Ont. 2001.

the activity of Jesus as a new Exodus? Was it only due to the influence of Matthew? Also in this case we are probably dealing with the influence of the Old-Testament prophecies about Gospel. In the prophecies in Is 40:1–11 and Is 52:7–12, the picture of God intervening on behalf of his people is strongly coloured with the typology of the Exodus.

It appears that Jesus himself lent his activity the significance of a new Exodus. This is attested by his calls addressed to various people: *Come after me!*; cf. Mk 1:17.20; 2:14; 8:34; 10:21.28. It is a call to imitate Jesus, but not exclusively. In some cases it is clear that the called-upon should join the group that follows Jesus, for example in Mk 10:21: *After that, come and follow me!* In Mk 8:34 the coming after Jesus and following him are not tantamount: *If a man wishes to come after me, he must deny his very self, take up his cross, and follow in my steps.* The conception of Exodus as dissociating oneself from the sinful world was not too hard for pagans to understand. Therefore Mark adhered to this conception, but did not apply it as strictly as Matthew did.

Mark took over from Matthew also the division into the narrative parts and the sermons, but tended to shorten the sermons; next, he copied the brevity of the narrative fragments, the conciseness of the teaching of Jesus, and the loose connections between the pericopes. Mark also borrowed from the Gospel of Matthew the order of pericopes in the second part of his Gospel, starting from Mk 6:7–13.

4. Objections to the dependence of Mk on Mt in the light of the redactional assumptions of Mark and Matthew

4.1. The lack of a large part of Matthew's material and changes in the structure

Biblicists tend to think that it is easier to find an explanation for Matthew's extending the Gospel of Mark than to account for Mark's shortening the Gospel of Matthew.¹⁰⁴ For example, X. Léon-Dufour¹⁰⁵ claims that, assuming the primacy of the Gospel of Matthew, it is hard to explain the numerous omissions, additions and archaic expressions in the Gospel of Mark.

According to Rolland, the author of one of the latest works on the synoptic problem, the Gospel of Mark cannot be dependent on the Gospel of Matthew because it cannot be explained why Mark discarded half of Matthew's material and ruined the splendid composition of the Gospel of Matthew; nor can one explain why he left out the quotations with which Matthew interpreted the deeds of Jesus (Mt 4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13:14–15; 13:35; 21:4–5; 27:9–10). Rolland points out that certain favourite expressions of Matthew, like “Wailing will be heard there, and the grinding of teeth”, (Mt 8:12; 13:42.50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30), “the brood of vipers” (Mt 3:7; 12:34; 23:33), “the end of the world” (Mt 13:39.40.49; 24:3; 28:20), “the kingdom of heavens”, (Mt 3:2; 4:17 etc.), “to give orders” (Mt 8:18; 14:9.19.28; 18:25; 27:58.64), “people of little faith”, (Mt 6:30; 8:26; 14:31; 16:8), “the judgment” (Mt 5:21.22; 10:15; 12:18.20.36.41; 23:23.33) do not appear at all in the Gospel of Mark. Rolland believes that one must have “the mentality of an iconoclast” to throw out such important texts.¹⁰⁶ With this I cannot agree. When Mark's redaction assumptions are taken into

¹⁰⁴ Cf. A. Paciorek, *Q – Ewangelia Galilejska*, Lublin 2001, p. 19. Léon-Dufour, “Les Évangiles synoptiques”, [in:] A. Robert, A. Feuillet (eds.) *Introduction à la Bible II*, Tournai 1959, p. 275.

¹⁰⁵ X. Léon-Dufour, “Les Évangiles synoptiques”, p. 275.

¹⁰⁶ P. Rolland, *Les premiers Évangiles ...*, p. 72.

account, all the omissions of Matthew's material in his Gospel can be justified, as well as the differences in the structures of these Gospels.

Mark wrote for other addressees than Matthew did, and that is why some of Matthew's texts did not fit into his Gospel. I have already referred to those texts above, in the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addressees. It was because of his addressees that Mark omitted Matthew's favourite expressions such as "the grinding of teeth" or "the brood of vipers".

Another reason for Mark's omitting some texts is the literary genre of his work. The purpose of his work was to promote the faith in Jesus, hence it could not contain texts on the teaching of morality. The conception of his Gospel did not allow him to pursue the theme of ethics to the same degree as it was the case in the Gospel of Matthew. In view of the kerygmatic character of his work, Mark did not devote too much attention to the teaching of Jesus about the reign of God. The content of his work was not dictated by the Pentateuch but by prophecies about preaching the Gospel.

When it comes to Mark's ruining the composition of Matthew's work, it too can be explained. Mark did not tamper with it without a reason, he merely adapted it to the purpose of his work. Matthew wrote a new Hexateuch in close correspondence to the first Hexateuch (and especially the Pentateuch), while Mark wrote his Gospel with (to some extent) reference to the Old-Testament prophecies about the preaching of the Good News. The composition of the Gospel of Matthew did not match Mark's new conception of the work. The changes in the structure will be discussed in more detail below.

4.2.

Omission of the Infancy Narrative and the Temptation of Jesus

There are two reasons why Mark omitted the Infancy Narrative and the temptation. Firstly, the conception of a work based on Old-Testament prophecies about the preaching of the Good News entailed limiting its content to the public activity of Jesus and basically to only those events which were witnessed by the apostles – "heralds of the Good News". Besides, the Good News announced by the prophecies included, among other things, the coming of God with power. Matthew's narrative about the birth of Jesus, which includes the story about the escape of the Holy Family to Egypt as well as that about the temptation, where it is said that Jesus was taken by Satan to the top of the temple and to a high mountain, does not sit very well with the image of Jesus as the powerful Son of God.

Secondly, Mark wrote a piece whose literary genre can be defined as the gospel. That is in fact what he called it: *Here begins the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God* (1:1). It therefore follows from his redaction plan that it was meant to contain the teachings of Jesus. These teachings, however, required confirmation with Jesus' deeds. Thus the Gospel of Jesus was bound to also become the Gospel about Jesus, about his salvific activity, and especially about his death and Resurrection. The infancy narrative did not reveal any salvific deeds of Jesus.

We need to remember that Peter, when proclaiming Jesus as the Lord at the home of Cornelius, did not mention any events from Jesus' childhood or his being tempted after his baptism in the Jordan.

4.3. Omission of the Sermon on the Mount

Mark not only removed the Sermon on the Mount itself, but did not include in his Gospel even one of its 21 pericopes. The only exception are a few verses which can be found in different contexts: in the logion on salt (Mt 5:13/Mk 9:50), the logion about a lamp (Mt 5:14/Mk 4:21), the logion about forgiveness (Mt 6:14–15/Mk 11:25–26), the logion about the measure (Mt 7:1–2/Mk 4:21), and one sentence from the ending of the sermon about the people being spellbound (Mt 7:28–29/Mk 1:22). The presence of these verses from the Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel of Mark is proof that Mark knew that sermon. It should be added here that Luke, either in his own parallel sermon or anywhere else in his Gospel, does not have the logion about forgiveness (Mt 6:14–15).

What is especially significant here is the fact that the verse ending the Sermon on the Mount is present in the Gospel of Mark. It is also present in the Gospel of Luke, although not in Matthew's context but in that of Mark:

Mt	Mk	Lk
<i>The Sermon on the Mount 7:28–29 Jesus finished this discourse and left the crowds spellbound at this teaching. The reason was that he taught with authority and not like their scribes.</i>	<i>The teaching at Capernaum 1:22 The people were spellbound by his teaching because he taught with authority, and not like the scribes.</i>	<i>The teaching at Capernaum 4:32 They were spellbound by his teaching, for his words had authority.</i>

Boismard¹⁰⁷ provides yet another argument for Mark knowing the Sermon on the Mount. He points out that in the context of the mention about the withering of the fig tree in the Gospels of Matthew and of Mark there is the logion about the power of faith and the efficacy of prayer (Mt 21:20–22; Mk 11:20–24). In the Gospel of Mark it links with another one, about the necessity of forgiveness (11:25–26). Matthew does not have this logion. It contains, however, expressions that are very similar to those which appear in Mt 5:23 and 6:14.

Mt	Mk
5:23 <i>If you bring your gift to the altar and there recall that your brother has anything against you,</i>	11:25 <i>When you stand to pray, forgive anyone against whom you have a grievance</i>
6:14 <i>If you forgive the faults (paraptōmata) of others, your heavenly Father will forgive yours.</i>	<i>so that your heavenly Father may in turn forgive you your faults (paraptōmata).</i>

The expression “to have anything against someone” – *echei ti kata sou* – appears only in this context. The word *paraptōmata* appears only here, and 16 times in the writings of St Paul. The formula “my Father in heaven” appears only in the Gospel of Matthew: 6 times in his own texts (Mt 5:16; 6:1; 7:21; 16:17; 18:14.19) and 6 times in texts which have parallels in the Gospels of Mark or of Luke (Mt 5:45; 6:9; 7:11; 10:32.33; 12:50). It is very similar to other formulae, namely “your heavenly Father”, which too appears only in the Gospel of Matthew (5:48; 6:14.26.32; 15:13; 18:35). Thus it is a typically Matthean formula. The question arises therefore how we could explain its use by Mark. Boismard rightly suggests that Mark adopted it from the text of “Our Father” from the Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel of Matthew, where the necessity to forgive transgressions (the fifth request) also appears. “Our Father” is the context closest to the Markan logion. Mark doubtless knew the Sermon on the Mount, and he connected the two logia about forgiveness present there into one while only changing the epithet in the second one (Mt 6:23) from “your heavenly Father” to “your Father in heaven”, which is used by Matthew at the beginning of the prayer “Our Father”.

¹⁰⁷ M.-É. Boismard, “Influences matthéennes sur l’ultime rédaction de l’évangile de Marc”, [in:] M. Sabbe (ed.), *L’Évangile selon Marc. Tradition et rédaction*, Gembloux 1974, pp. 93–101.

Mt 21	Mk 11
<p>20 The disciples were dumbfounded when they saw this. They asked, "Why did the fig tree wither up so quickly?" 21 Jesus said: "Believe me, if you trust and do not falter, not only will you do what I did to the fig tree, but if you say to this mountain, 'Be lifted up and thrown into the sea,' even that will happen. 22 You will receive all that you pray for, provided you have faith."</p>	<p>21 Peter remembered and said to him, "Rabbi, look! The fig tree you cursed has withered up." 22 In reply Jesus told them: "Put your trust in God. 23 I solemnly assure you, whoever says to this mountain, 'Be lifted up and thrown into the sea,' and has no inner doubts but believes that what he says will happen, shall have it done for him. 24 I give you my word, if you are ready to believe that you will receive whatever you ask for in prayer, it shall be done for you.</p> <p>25 When you stand to pray, forgive anyone against whom you have a grievance so that your heavenly Father may in turn forgive you your faults."</p>

The logion on forgiveness as the condition for the prayer being heard does not fit well into the Markan context, because the main theme of the preceding logion is the miraculous power of strong faith. It is due to this faith that the prayer becomes fruitful – *I give you my word, if you are ready to believe that you will receive whatever you ask for in prayer, it shall be done for you* (Mk 11:24). Matthew ends with the logion: *You will receive all that you pray for, provided you have faith* (Mt 21:22). Mark adds the logion about the need for forgiveness, and he does so because he has left out the Sermon on the Mount and the last sentence of Matthew's text (11:24) also referred to prayer. In the Sermon on the Mount, the logion on forgiveness is a supplement to the fifth request: *and forgive us the wrong we have done* (Mt 6:12).

The contexts of the logion on forgiveness Mt 6:14/Mk 11:25

Mt 6	Mk 11
<p>11 Give us today our daily bread, 12 and forgive us the wrong we have done as we forgive those who wrong us. 13 Subject us not to the trial but deliver us from the evil one. 14 "If you forgive the faults of others, your heavenly Father will forgive you yours. 15 If you do not forgive others, neither will your Father forgive you.</p>	<p>22 In reply Jesus told them: "Put your trust in God. 23 I solemnly assure you, whoever says to this mountain, 'Be lifted up and thrown into the sea,' and has no inner doubts but believes that what he says will happen, shall have it done for him. 24 I give you my word, if you are ready to believe that you will receive whatever you ask for in prayer, it shall be done for you.</p>

	<p>25 <i>When you stand to pray, forgive anyone against whom you have a grievance so that heavenly Father may in turn forgive you your faults.</i>"</p>
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In the chapter on the editorial changes connected with the addressees of Mark's gospel, I said it was quite understandable why Mark had omitted the pericopes from the Sermon on the Mount which reflected Jesus' attitude to the Law. That referred to the following texts: Jesus and the Law (Mt 5:17–20), the new interpretation of the fifth commandment (Mt 5:17–26), the new interpretation of the sixth commandment and the regulation on divorce (Mt 5:27–32), the new interpretation of the eighth commandment (Mt 5:35–37), the new interpretation of the law of retaliation (Mt 5:38–42), and the new interpretation of the commandment of love (Mt 5:43–48). It was also said that the omission of the eight Beatitudes could be put down to Mark's tendency to omit texts about humility and poverty. The Beatitudes could be understood by the Romans as praise of indigence, weakness and suffering, and could become a hindrance to their evangelisation. The same was said about the pericopes on "True riches" (Mt 6:19–24) and "Excessive cares" (Mt 6:25–34).

The omission of the remaining parts of the Sermon on the Mount is connected with Mark's idea of his work as a "gospel" and a kerygma. Mark aimed –as did Peter in his speech at the house of Cornelius – at bringing about the faith in Jesus. This purpose could be served not only by strictly kerygmatic themes but also by narratives about the working of miracles and the controversies with the scribes and Pharisees, and the narrative about the Passion and death of Jesus, because it is followed by resurrection. But this purpose is not served by texts containing rules of conduct and various prohibitions and injunctions, even if some of them were thought by Mark to be indispensable in his Gospel. Thus Mark removed the pericope about the tasks of the disciples (Mt 5:13–16), the caution against performing religious acts for people to see (Mt 6:1–18), the caution against judging others and against hypocrisy (Mt 7:1–6), the golden rule (Mt 7:12), the logion "Enter through the narrow gate" (Mt 7:13–14), the caution against the false apostles (Mt 7:15–20), the caution against self-delusion (Mt 7:21–23) and the encouragement to implement the teaching of Jesus (Mt 7:24–28). The fifth chapter of the Sermon on the Mount is basically a commentary to the Law, while the sixth and seventh chapters contain only prohibitions and injunctions.

A. M. Hunter¹⁰⁸ rightly observes that at the beginning was the kerygma, whose core in turn was the truth expressed by St Paul in 1 Cor 15:1–11.

¹⁰⁸ A. M. Hunter, *Introducing the New Testament*, Norwich 1972 (1. ed. in 1945 year), p. 24.

According to him, the oldest Gospel was not the Sermon on the Mount, but the preaching of the cross, the empty tomb and the redemptive work of God.

4.4.

Omission of the prayer “Our Father” (Mt 6:9–13)

The prayer “Our Father” in the Gospel of Matthew is part of the Sermon on the Mount, and the reason for its omission is the same as in the cases presented above, but it deserves a closer look as its absence from the Gospel of Mark may nevertheless seem surprising. It must be stressed that this prayer appears in the Sermon on the Mount in the context of commands and prohibitions: *When you are praying, do not behave...* (Mt 6:5). *Whenever you pray, go to your room* (Mt 6:6). *In your prayer do not rattle on...* (Mt 6:7). *Do not imitate them.... This is how you are to pray* (Mt 6:8–9). The text of the prayer is followed by the instruction, closely connected with it, on the need to forgive.

It should be added here that Mark omitted not only the prayer “Our Father” but also all texts about prayer. He did not include in his Gospel the text about persistence in prayer (Mt 7:7–11) from the Sermon on the Mount, or the text about communal prayer from the ecclesiological sermon: Mt 18:19 *Again I tell you, if two of you join your voices on earth to pray for anything whatever, it shall be granted you by my Father in heaven. 20 Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in their midst.*

4.5.

Omission of many parables about the reign

Advocates of the primacy of Mark’s Gospel claim that it is impossible for Mark, if he knew the Gospel of Matthew, not to have included all those beautiful parables about the kingdom. From Matthew’s sermon in parables about the Kingdom of Heaven in the thirteenth chapter, the following parables were omitted by Mark: about the weed and its explanation (Mt 13:24–30.36–43), about the leaven (Mt 13:33–35), about the treasure (Mt 13:44), about the pearl (Mt 13:45), about the net (Mt 13:47–50), and about the new and the old (Mt 13:51–52). In order to understand his reasons for the removal

of these parables, it is necessary to analyse all the changes introduced by Mark to this sermon. We can see that in his parallel sermon he preserved only four pericopes from Matthew's sermon: the parable of the seed (Mt 13:3–9/Mk 4:3–9), the purpose of the parable (Mt 13:10–15/Mk 4:10–13), the explanation of the parable about the seed (Mt 13:18–23/Mk 4:14–20) and the parable of mustard seed (Mt 13:31–32/Mk 4:30–32). Besides, he included in his sermon three logia from other contexts: the logion of the lamp (Mt 5:14/Mk 4:21), "Nothing is concealed" (Mt 10:26/Mk 2:22–23), as well as the logion of the measure (Mt 7:2/Mk 4:24). He also added his own pericope, namely the parable of the seed that grows of itself (Mk 4:26–29). From the texts added by Mark it follows that what he wanted to stress in the idea of the kingdom of God were two elements: the victorious development of the kingdom and the need of faith. Victory is the theme of the logion of the lamp (Christ did not come to this world to remain unknown) and of "Nothing is concealed" (Christ will be known to all men); the victory of Christ is also the theme of the parable of the seed that grows of itself (the kingdom of God will grow of itself). The need of faith is the theme of the parable of the measure. Among Matthew's parables preserved by Mark, the first is about the need of faith and at the same time about the rise of the kingdom, while the second is about the rise of the kingdom.

The Good News of Christ, according to Mark, includes the good news about the coming of God's kingdom, whose rise and final victory nothing can stop. To enter it, however, one must believe in it. Other aspects of the kingdom are of less interest to Mark. Only one of the parables omitted by him tells about the development of the kingdom, i.e. the parable of the leaven. But in its place Mark puts the parable of the seed that grows of itself, thus also about the growth of the kingdom and its inner power; in the other parable it is said overtly that the victory of the kingdom is not dependent of the actions of man. The remaining cast-off parables are about the problem of the evil (the parable of the weed and of the net) and the highest value of the kingdom (the parables of the treasure and of the pearl). Thus the removal of the above parables was motivated by Mark's intention to focus the reader's attention on the kingdom of God as a reality which Christ initiated on earth and which would grow and develop unstoppably.

This thesis is confirmed by Mark's removal of the parable of the Kingdom of Heaven from the ecclesiological sermon (cf. Mt 18:23–35), the parables of the Kingdom of Heaven from Matthew's chapter 20 (verses 1–16) and chapter 22 (verses 1–14), and the parables of the Kingdom of Heaven from the eschatological sermon (cf. Mt 25:1–13). In the first of these parables Jesus teaches that mercy should be shown to one's neighbour as God shows

mercy to us. In the second of the above parables, Jesus shows his Father as the farmer who gives the same pay to every worker, irrespective of the hours of their work, because He is good. The third parable tells about the rejection of the invitation to Messianic feast. In the fourth Jesus teaches about the need to be watchful, because his second coming will be unexpected. Thus we can see that apart from the second parable – which nevertheless does not refer to the earthly reality – none of these parables has as its theme “the good news”, and none without exception is about the development of the kingdom.

4.6. Removal of the epithet “the Son of the living God” in Mk 8:29

As it has already been mentioned, many Biblicists think that the epithet “the Son of the living God” in Mt 16:16 was added by Matthew and was not in reality uttered by Peter in that scene. As proof of this they cite its absence from the parallel text Mk 8:29. Its lack in this text, they claim, indicates priority of the Gospel of Mark.¹⁰⁹ This opinion does not seem correct to me. The historicity of Matthew’s form of Peter’s statement is confirmed by Jesus’ reaction to it. Jesus not only confirms its truth, but also says that it was inspired by the heavenly Father. The appeal to God’s inspiration would not be necessary if it was only a question of Jesus’ Messianic dignity, after all some people thought of Jesus as a prophet. The divinity of Jesus was a secret which had to be revealed by God. In the narrow context of the confession of Peter Matthew placed the Transfiguration of Jesus on the mount, where the heavenly Father overtly reveals the divinity of Jesus and confirms Peter’s words: *This is my beloved Son, on whom my favour rests. Listen to him* (Mt 17:5). It should be pointed out that the epithet “the Son of God” was already known to the apostles before Peter’s confession. The heavenly Father had called Jesus thus after his baptism in the Jordan (cf. Mt 3:17).

Mark stressed that Jesus was not understood by his contemporaries, not even by the apostles, who did not fully discover his secret. If they deeply believed that Jesus was the Son of God, would they have left him on his own in the Gethsemane and would they not have been able to believe in his Resurrection? Under the inspiration of God, Peter professes to Jesus’ sonship of God but he is not aware of the full significance of his confession. Mark

¹⁰⁹ Cf. R. Bartnicki, *Ewangelie synoptyczne*, p. 56.

knows this and hence removes it so as not to confuse the reader. Peter's statement was historic but attributing the apostles with the faith in the Divinity of Jesus (during his public activity) would belie history. Mark wanted to present the recognition of the secret of Jesus by the apostles faithfully in the historic sense. Let me point out here that in the story of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan Mark presented the words of the heavenly Father differently from Matthew:

Mt 3	Mk 1
<i>17 With that, a voice from the heavens said, "This is my beloved Son. My favour rests on him."</i>	<i>11 Then a voice came from the heaven: "You are my beloved Son. On you my favour rests."</i>

As we can see, in Matthew's narrative the heavenly Father reveals the secret of Jesus' sonship of God to John, or possibly to all the witnesses of the baptism, while in Mark's narrative the heavenly Father addresses his words to Jesus.

The removal of the epithet "the Son of living God" by Mark in the pericope on the confession of Peter is connected with Mark's emphasising the Messianic secret. The apostles' misunderstanding of Jesus is one of the elements of the Messianic secret. Mark was simply faithful to this rule in the analysed pericope.

4.7.

Removal of the prophecy about the primacy of Peter

From the dialogue of Jesus with the apostles on the way to Caesarea Philippi Mark removed the announcement of the primacy of Peter (Mt 16:13–19).

Mt 16	Mk 8
<i>13 When Jesus came to the neighbourhood of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples this question: "Who do people say that the Son of Man is?" 14 They replied, "Some say John the Baptist, others Elijah, still others Jeremiah or one of the prophets." 15 "And you," he said to them, "who do you say that I am?" 16 "You are the Messiah," Simon Peter answered,</i>	<i>27 Then Jesus and his disciples set out for the villages around Caesarea Philippi. On the way he asked his disciples this question: "Who do people say that I am?" 28 They replied, "Some, John the Baptist, others, Elijah, still others, one of the prophets," 29 "And you," he went on to ask, "who do you say that I am?" Peter answered him, "You are the Messiah!"</i>

<p><i>"the Son of the living God!" 17 Jesus replied, "Blest are you, Simon, son of John! No mere man has revealed this to you, but my heavenly Father. 18 I for my part declare you, you are 'Rock,' and on this rock I will build my church, and I will build my church, and the jaws of death shall not prevail against it. 19 I will entrust to you the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Whatever you declare bound on earth shall be bound in heaven; whatever you declare loosed on earth shall be loosed in heaven." 20 Then he strictly ordered his disciples not to tell anyone that he was the Messiah.</i></p>	<p><i>30 Then he gave them strict orders not to tell anyone about him.</i></p>
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Mark removed this text because the theme of "authority in the Church" is not part of the kerygma. Mark wrote his work so as to lead the pagans to believe in Jesus and the presence of God's kingdom on earth. Moreover, it would not be wise to talk to Roman officers about the authority of Peter, a newcomer from a country conquered by Rome. This could even be dangerous for him. Would not the emperor take an interest in somebody who, while living in the shadow of his palace, possessed "the keys of the kingdom"? Besides, it is quite probable that Peter, whose teaching Mark delivered, was reluctant to mention his own person, especially in connection with being distinguished by Jesus. In the Gospel of Mark there is no mention either that Peter walked on the lake (cf. Mt 14:22–33; Mk 6:45–52).

The announcement of the primacy of Peter was also removed by Luke.

4.8.

An explanation of the doubles in the Gospel of Matthew

As stated above, the existence of doubles in the Gospels of Matthew and of Luke, according to advocates of the Q theory, is a proof that Matthew and Luke made use of two sources. In other words, because the Evangelists came across the same texts in the Gospel of Mark and in source Q, in the other context they would copy it for the second time. On the basis of an analysis of the relationship between the Gospel of Matthew and the Pentateuch we must come to a different conclusion. The doubles in the Gospel of Matthew tie in with the topics that were doubled in the Pentateuch.

a) In the Sermon on the Mount there is a logion about the removal of the cause of sin (Mt 5:29–30) and the same logion reappears in the ecclesiological sermon (Mt 18:8–9). Matthew used this logion for the second time because it makes an excellent parallel with the caution against idolatry in Dt 13:2–9. One should bear in mind that Matthew redacted the ecclesiological sermon basing on the Book of Deuteronomy. It is not idolatry that is the shared theme here but the ruthlessness in removing the threat of sin.

b) The Gospel of Matthew refers twice to the issue of divorce: the first time in the Sermon on the Mount (5:31–32), in connection with the commandment “You shall not commit adultery!”, where the marriage law from Dt 24:1–4 is quoted, and the second time in Mt 19:1–9. Matthew returns to the issue of divorce in connection with the redaction of pericopes on parallel topics from the Book of Deuteronomy. The pericope in Mt 19:1–9 is a kind of commentary on the marriage law in Dt 24:1–4.

c) In the Sermon on the Mount there are two passages devoted to prayer (Mt 6:5–15 and 7:7–11). In the first instance, the text about the prayer relates to the law on worship in Ex 20:22–26, and in the second case it relates to the law on worship in Ex 23:14–19.

d) In the missionary sermon Jesus foretells the persecution of his disciples and encourages them to withstand (Mt 10:17–22). The persecution of the disciples is also a theme in the eschatological sermon (Mt 24:9–13). Also in this case Matthew reiterates the theme in connection with the Old Testament text which serves him as a kind of “guide” in the redaction of the eschatological sermon, namely in connection with Dn 11:14–35. This text is about the persecution of “the holy covenant” (Dn 11:28–30).

e) Opponents of Jesus twice demand of him a sign, and each time Jesus replies that they will not be given any sign except for the sign of Jonah (Mt 12:38–42 and 16:1–4). Both of these controversies are related to the Pentateuch texts about the rebellion of Korah where the earth opening up and swallowing Korah’s band is a sign of Moses’ mission (Nm 16 and Dt 11:6).

Let us take a look at the order in which parallel texts and their duplicates appear in the Gospel of Matthew and in the Old Testament.

Mt	OT
a) 5:29–30	
b) 5:32	
c) 6:5–15	c) Ex 20:22–26
cc) 7:7–11	cc) Ex 23:14–19
d) 10:17–22	
e) 12:38–42	e) Nm 16

<i>ee) 16:1–4</i>	<i>ee) Dt 11:6</i>
<i>aa) 18:8–9</i>	<i>a) Dt 13:2–9</i>
<i>bb) 19:1–9</i>	<i>b) Dt 24:1–4</i>
<i>dd) 24:9–13</i>	<i>bb) Dt 24:1–14</i>
	<i>d) Dn 11:28–30</i>

As we can see, duplicates in the Gospel of Matthew do not precede the duplicates of the given parallel texts in the OT. Hence it follows that Matthew included the given text again when he came across it for the second time in the structure of the Pentateuch, or – as in the cases a) and d) – when he found for the first time a text to which a passage already present in the Gospel could serve as a commentary. Let me point out that the order of duplicates in the Gospel of Matthew corresponds to the order of duplicates in the Pentateuch.

4.9.

The cause of differences in the vocabulary and structure of the pericopes

As it was stated above, differences in the composition and the vocabulary between the Gospels were viewed by some Biblicists as an argument for the existence of their numerous sources or intermediate redactions, which consequently leads to the rejection of the Mt-Mk-Lk literary interdependence. I return here to this problem once again, but from a slightly different angle. I intend to show that introducing changes was the rule in the Evangelists' editorial work. First, however, let me provide two examples of wrong conclusions drawn from similarities and differences in vocabulary or the grammatical form of words.

The first example. When analysing the pericopes on the mustard seed (Mk 4:30–32 and paral.), Kogler¹¹⁰ claims that there must have existed a Deutero-Mark, which was used by Matthew and Luke. The evidence for this, according to him, is among other things the replacement of the word *speirō* (to sow) in MT and Mk with *ballō* (to cast) in Lk.

¹¹⁰ F. Kogler, *Doppelgleichnis vom Senfcor und Sauertaig in sejner traditions-geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Würzburg 1998.

Mt 13:31	Mk 4:30–31	Lk 13:18–19
<p><i>Allēn parabolēn parethēken autois legōn, Homoia estin hē basileia tōn ouranōn</i></p> <p><i>kokkō sinapeōs, hon labōn anthrōpos espeiren en tō agro autou.</i></p>	<p><i>Kai elegen, pōs hmoiōsōmen tēn basileian tou theou, ē en tini autēn parabolē thōmen;</i></p> <p><i>31 hōs kokkō sinapeōs, hos hotan spare epi tēs gēs,</i></p>	<p><i>Elegen oun, Tini homoia estin hē basileia tou theou, kai tini hmoiōsō autēn;</i></p> <p><i>19 homoia estin kokko sinapeōs, hon labōn anthrōpos ebalen eis kēpon heautou</i></p>

Kogler believes that the editor of the Deutero-Mark replaced the word *speirō*, which is found in the Gospel of Mark, with *ballō*, which was preserved by Luke. Matthew, under the influence of Mark, used the word *speirō*, but he kept Deutero-Mark's aoristus indicativus (Mark has aoristus subjunctivus passivus). But is the existence of a Deutero-Mark really necessary to account for these differences? A simpler explanation would be as follows: Luke changed the word used by Matthew and Mark, but as for its grammatical form, he followed Matthew.

Another example. M. É. Boismard¹¹¹, after comparing the introductions to the narratives about the feeding of five thousands in Mt 14:13–14; Mk 6:30–34; and Lk 9:10–11, concluded that the two-source hypothesis and the Griesbach hypothesis (and, one may suppose, also the hypothesis of St Augustine) do not pass the test, because the texts in question differ considerably in their content and vocabulary. In the Gospel of Matthew, this introduction is 36 words long, the one in the Gospel of Mark has 89 words, and in the Gospel of Luke it consists of 39 words. Only three words (*eis*, *kat'idian*, *kai*) appear simultaneously in all three Gospels, which in the Gospel-of-Matthew introduction represent 8.33% of all the words, in the Gospel of Mark – 3.37%, and in the Gospel of Luke – 7.69%. Boismard stresses that the introductions in Matthew and Luke are simple enough, but the one in Mark is rather complicated. For example, in the introduction in Mark some themes are repeated. Boismard then shows that the beginnings of the introductions in the Gospel of Mark (verse 30) and in the Gospel of Luke (verse 10a) are very similar (75% shared words), while this beginning is absent from the Gospel of Matthew. Later, however, Luke departs from Mark and comes close to Matthew, and there are even cases of Luke-Matthew agreement against Mark, e.g. Matthew and Luke do not have the Mk 6:31 text consisting of as many as 25 words. These data show, according to

¹¹¹ M. – É. Boismard, "Introduction au premiere recite de la multiplication des pains", [in] *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, ed. D. L. Dungan, Leuven 1990, p. 244.

Boismard, that Lk 10b–11 does not originate from Mark, and that one should distinguish two stages in the Matthew tradition: proto-Matthew (where the texts of Matthew and Mark differ) and the final redaction of Matthew, which is dependent on Mark. The Gospel of Luke is dependent on proto-Matthew and on Mark, and possibly also on proto-Mark. Mark is not dependent on proto-Matthew.

I believe that the differences in the content, vocabulary and the grammatical form of words cannot serve as proof that the Evangelists did not know a given document. They changed texts not only to render them better adapted to the evangelical teaching, or to improve their literary form –which we already know – but they also changed them for the sake of change. This is the conclusion an analysis of parallel texts points to.

Also relevant here is research by Longstaff.¹¹² He demonstrates that in the *summarium* of the cures at the house of Peter in Mk 1:32–34, out of the 46 words in the Gospel of Mark 31 words (67.3%) are found in the Gospel of Matthew or in the Gospel of Luke, and only 7 (22.6%) are found in all the three Gospels; what is even more significant according to him is that Matthew and Luke seldom, together, follow Mark in spite of the fact that out of 18 Matthew's words as many as 14 (77.8%) are to be found in Mark, and out of 52 Luke's words Mark has 20. In other words: if Matthew adopts a word from Mark, then usually it is not copied by Luke; if Matthew has a word other than Mark in the given case, then Luke most of the time chooses the Markan word. Longstaff adds that this kind of alternation in copying has not been explained by any of the advocates of the two-source hypothesis.

A similar alternation in the use of the sources is pointed out by Longstaff in Mk 3:1–6 and parallel texts.¹¹³ In the Mk 3:1–2 fragment, Mark is by far closer to Matthew than to Luke. Yet in Mk 3:3–5a, beginning with the words *kai legei tō anthrōpō* and ending with *kai periblepsamenos autous met'argēs*, Mark is closer to Luke. In this fragment, out of 35 words in Mk, 26 words (74.3%) also appear in Lk, and only 4 of these (11.4%) are present in Mt. In the final part of the fifth verse, that is to say in the description of the cure, there is a high degree of vocabulary agreement between all three Evangelists, but even here some differences appear, namely Mt-Mk agreement against Lk, Mk-Lk agreement against Mt, and Mt-Lk agreement against Mk (Mark skips the pronoun *sou*). In the sixth verse Mark parallels Mt (12:14), but

¹¹² T. R. W. Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark? A Study in the Synoptic Problem*, Missoula 1977, p. 144.

¹¹³ T. R. W. Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark?*, pp. 153 ff.

both differ from Lk (6:11). Out of the 15 Markan words, 9 (60%) are found in the Gospel of Matthew.

A similar alternation of similarities and differences between the Gospels was pointed out by Longstaff in Mk 11:15–19 and parallel texts. Here is their list:

- “1. Mk 11:15a is present in Mk only;
- 2. Mk 11:15b has an exact parallel in Lk, but it is not exactly parallel to Mt;
- 3. Mk 11:15c has an almost exact parallel in Mt, but it is not found in Lk;
- 4. Mk 11:16 is only present in Mk;
- 5. Mk 11:17 has exact parallels in Mt and Lk, but the parallel in Mt seems to be slightly more exact.

- 6. Mk 11:18a has an exact parallel in Lk, but it is not found in Mt;
- 7. Mk 11:18b–19 is only present in Mk”.¹¹⁴

Here is yet another clear example of such alternation provided by Longstaff. This time it concerns Mk 14:12–21 and parallel texts.

- “1. Mk 14:12a is parallel to Mt 26:17a;
- 2. Mk 14:12b is parallel to Lk 22:7;
- 3. Mk 14:13c ff. is closer to Mt 26:17b ff. than to Lk 22:8–9;
- 4. Mk 14:13a is parallel to Lk 22:8a;
- 5. Mk 14:13b is parallel to Mt 26:18a;
- 6. Mk 14:13c–16 is closer to Lk 22:10c–13 than to Mt 26:18b–19;
- 7. Mk 14:17–21 is closer to Mt 26:20–23 than to Lk 22:14–23”.¹¹⁵

According to Longstaff, it is difficult to explain on the basis of the two-source hypothesis why Matthew treats the Markan text liberally, while Luke copies the source exactly, but follows Mark when Luke begins to treat it liberally.

The alternation of similarities and differences between the Gospels noted by Longstaff points to a direct literary interdependence of the Gospels and suggests that while using their sources the Evangelists introduced to them changes for the sake of change, in order to differentiate their texts from their sources.

What is significant in this case is the fact that in the Gospels such inversion takes place in parallel texts. This phenomenon was noted in the context of synoptic research by G. Howard¹¹⁶ back in 1978. First he showed that inversion as a stylistic element is, like parallelism, characteristic of the biblical literature of the OT and it can also be found in the NT. Next he

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 180–181.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 192.

¹¹⁶ G. Howard, “Stylistic inversion and the synoptic tradition”, pp. 375–389.

presented various kinds of inversion in parallel texts in the synoptic Gospels. The first kind is the reversal of the order of words in the text, e.g. in Mt 9:6 and Lk 5:24: *epi tēs gēs aſienai hamartias* – in Mk 2:10: *aſienai hamartias epi tēs gēs*. The second kind of inversion in parallel texts is the shifting of a word or a group of words to a further position, e.g. Mt 26:56: *pantes aſentes auton efugon* – in Mk 14:50: *aſentes auton efugon pantes*. Also, in Mt 19:3: *peiradzontes auton kai legontes*, *Ei eksastin anthrōpō apolusai tēn gunaika autou kata pasa aitian* – in Mk 10:2: *epērōtōn autou ei eksestin andri gunaika apolusai, peiradzontes auton*. The third kind of inversion described by Howard is more complicated: the change in the order of words is accompanied by a change of their sense in the context in which they appear, e.g. Mt 21:23: *didaskinti hoi archiereis kai hoi presbuteroi tou laou* – in Lk 20:1: *didaskontas autou ton laon en tō hierō kai eaggelidzomenou epestēsan hoi archiereis kai hoi grammateis sun tois presbuterois*. The fourth kind of inversion concerns fragments of parallel narratives. As an example of this, Howard quotes Mk 11:18 and Lk 19:47–48:

Mk 11:18	Lk 19:47–48
<i>kai ēkousan</i> <i>hoi archiereis kai grammateis,</i> <i>kai edzētoun</i> <i>pōs autoun apolesōsin,</i> <i>efobountō gar auton,</i> <i>pas gar ho ochlos</i> <i>ekseplēsseto</i> <i>epi tē didache autou.</i>	<i>kai en didaskōn to kath'hēmeran</i> <i>en tō hierō. Hoi de archiereis kai</i> <i>hoi grammateis edzētoun</i> <i>auton apolesai</i> <i>kai hoi prōtoi tou laou, kai</i> <i>ouch heuriskon to ti poiēsōsin,</i> <i>ho laos hapas</i> <i>eksekremato</i> <i>autou akouōn.</i>

Mark's text above talks first about listening and then about teaching. In the parallel text in Lk it is the other way round: first it tells about teaching and then about hearing it. This change also involves a change in meaning. In Mk it is the high-priests and the scribes who hear it, in Lk Jesus is listened to carefully by all the people. Mark effectively says that the people admired the teaching of Jesus, while Luke says that Jesus who was teaching was admired by the people.

The research on inversion in parallel texts led Howard to discover that the Evangelists introducing differences into the texts they adopted from their sources did so, among other means, through inversion.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 381.

I think that the phenomenon of inversion is very significant for the synoptic problem, so it is proper to add here a few other interesting examples not cited by Howard, e.g. Mt 4:24–25 and Mk 3:7–8:

Mt 4	Mk 3
<p>24 As a consequence of this, <u>his reputation</u> traveled the length of Syria. They carried to him all those afflicted with various diseases and racked with pain: the possessed, the lunatics, the paralyzed. He cured them all.</p> <p>25 <u>The great crowds that followed him came from Galilee</u>, the Ten Cities, Jerusalem and Judea, and from across the Jordan</p>	<p>7 Jesus withdrew toward the lake with his disciples.</p> <p><u>A great crowd followed him from Galilee</u>, and an equally great multitude came to him from Judea, Jerusalem, Idumea, Transjordan, and the neighborhood of Tyre and Sidon, because <u>they had heard what he had done</u>.</p>

Matthew begins by saying that the news (*hē akoē*) about Jesus had spread all over Syria, Mark instead finishes his fragment by saying that great crowds who had heard (*akountes*) about his doings came to Jesus. Matthew mentions Syria before Galilee, Mark does not mention Syria, but after Galilee he mentions Tyre and Sidon. Matthew first mentions Jerusalem and then Judea. Mark, inversely, first mentions Judea and then Jerusalem.

Mt 15	Mk 7
<p>3 In reply he said to them: "Why do you for your part act contrary to the commandment of God for the sake of your 'tradition'? 4 For instance, God has said, 'Honor your father and your mother,' and, 'Whoever curses father or mother shall he put to death.' 5 Yet you declare, 'Whoever says to his father or mother, Any support you might have had from me is dedicated to God, 6 need not honor his father or his mother.' This means that for the sake of your tradition you have nullified God's word.</p> <p>7 "You hypocrites! How accurately did Isaiah prophesy about you when he said:</p> <p>8 "This people pays me lip service but their heart is far from me. 9 They do me</p>	<p>6 He said to them:</p> <p>"How accurately Isaiah prophesied about you hypocrites when he wrote,</p> <p>"This people pays me lip service but their heart is far from me. 7 Empty is the reverence they do me because they teach</p>

<i>empty reverence, making dogmas out of human precepts.”</i>	<p><i>as dogmas mere human precepts.’</i> <i>8 You disregard God’s commandment and cling to what is human tradition.”</i></p> <p><i>9 He went on to say: “You have made a fine art of setting aside God’s commandment in the interest of keeping your traditions! 10 For example, Moses said, ‘Honor your father and your mother’; and in another place, ‘Whoever curses father or mother shall be put to death.’ 11 Yet you declare, ‘If a person says to this father or mother, Any support you might have had from me is korban’ (that is, dedicated to God), 12 you allow him to do nothing more for his father or mother. 13 That is the way you nullify God’s word in favor of the tradition you have handed on.</i></p>
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We can see that the fourth commandment of the Decalogue and the command from Ex 21:17 are quoted by Matthew at the beginning of the fragment, whereas Mark quotes them at the end.

An interesting example of inversion is found in the narrative on the cure of the demoniac in Gerasene, in Mk 5:1–20 and Lk 8:26b–29.

Mk 5	Lk 8
<p><i>3 The man had taken refuge among the tombs; he could no longer be restrained even with a chain. 4 <u>In fact, he had frequently been secured with handcuffs and chains, but had pulled the chains apart and smashed the fetters.</u> No one had proved strong enough to tame him. 5 Uninterruptedly night and day, amid the tombs and on the hillsides, he screamed and gashed himself with stones. 6 Catching sight of Jesus at a distance, he ran up and did him homage, 7 shrieking in a loud voice, “Why meddle with me, Jesus, Son of God Most High? I implore you in God’s name, do not torture me!” (Jesus had been saying to him, “Unclean spirit, come out of man!”)</i></p>	<p><i>27b For a long time he had not worn any clothes; he did not live in a house, but among the tombstones.</i></p> <p><i>28 On seeing Jesus he began to shriek; then he fell at his feet and exclaimed at the top of his voice, “Jesus, son of God Most High, why do you meddle with me? Do not torment me, I beg you.” 29 By now Jesus was ordering the unclean spirit to come out of the man. <u>This spirit had taken hold of him many a time. The man used to be tied with chains and fetters, but he</u></i></p>

	<i>would break his bonds and the demon would drive him into places of solitude.</i>
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Mark writes about chains and fetters before he mention exorcism, whereas Luke writes about them after this mention while changing the order of words in the parallel sentence; in the first place he mentions the chains. In view of the fact that in the second part of the narrative, from Jesus' question about the name of the demon, the texts in Mt and in Lk are in striking agreement, it is impossible for the inversion to have occurred accidentally during oral or written transfer.

Here are three other examples of the inversion of small fragments:

Mt Mk	Mt Mk	Mt Mk
A) 15:3–6	A) 19:4–6	A) 21:12–13 (14–17)
B) 15:7–9 B) 7:6–8	B) 19:7–8 B) 10:3–5	B) 21:18–19 B) 11:12–14
A) 7:9–13	A) 10:6–9	A) 11:15–17 (18–19)

Inversion is a very frequent phenomenon in the synoptic Gospels. Thus in the parallel texts in Mt 17:1–19:30 and Mk 9:2–10:31, inversion is found in 88.89% of these texts; in 19 cases it involves the order of words, and in two cases it involves the order of small fragments. When it comes to the inversion of words, the most frequent is inversion of the AB-BA type, occurring as many as 17 times. Inversion of the ABC-CBA type occurs just once, in Mt 19:3 and Mk 10:2:

Mt 19:3	Mk 10:2
<i>Kai prosēlthon autō Farisaioi <u>peiradzontes auton</u> kai legontes ek eksestin <u>apolusai</u> tēn <u>gunaika</u> autou kata pasan aitian</i>	<i>Kai proselthontes Farisaioi epērōtōn auton ei eksestin andri <u>gunaika</u> <u>apolusai</u>. <u>peiradzontes auton</u>.</i>

Inversion of the ABCD-BADC type occurs in these texts once:

Mt 18:8	Mk 9:43
<i>Ei de ē heir sou ē ho pous sou skandalidzei se, ekkopson auton kai bale apo sou. Kalon <u>soi</u> <u>estin</u> <u>eiselthein eis tēn dzōēn</u> <u>kullon ē chōlon</u>,</i>	<i>Kai ean skandalisē se ē cheir sou, apokopson autēn, kalon <u>estin</u> <u>se</u> <u>kullon</u> <u>eiselthein eis dzōēn</u>,</i>

The first of the two inversions of a small fragment in the analysed Mt 17:1–19:30 and parallel text, is found in Mt 17:11–12 and Mk 9:12–13:

Mt 17	Mk 9
<p>11 In reply he said: "Elijah is indeed coming, and he will restore everything.</p> <p>12 I assure you, though, that Elijah has already come, but they did not recognize him and they did as they pleased with him. <u>The Son of Man will suffer at their hands in the same way.</u>"</p>	<p>12 He told them: "Elijah will indeed come first and restore everything. Yet why does Scripture say of the Son of Man that <u>he must suffer much and be despised</u>? 13 Let me assure you, Elijah has already come. They did entirely as they pleased with him, as the Scriptures say of him."</p>

Matthew writes about the suffering of the Son of Man after stating that Elijah has already come, while Mark writes about it before stating so.

The second small-fragment inversion in Mt 17:1–19:30 and Mark's parallel text, is found in Mt 19:4–8 and Mk 10:3–9:

Mt19	Mk 10
<p>4 He replied, "Have you not read that at the beginning the Creator made them male and female 5 and declared, 'For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and cling to his wife, and the two shall become as one'? 6 Thus they are no longer two but one flesh. Therefore, let no man separate what God has joined."</p> <p>7 They said to him, "Then why did Moses command divorce and the promulgation of a divorce decree?"</p> <p>8 "Because of your stubbornness Moses let you divorce your wives," he replied; "but at the beginning it was not that way.</p>	<p>3 In reply he said, "What command did Moses give you?"</p> <p>4 They answered, "Moses permitted divorce and the writing of a decree of divorce."</p> <p>5. Jesus told them: "He wrote that commandment for you because of your stubbornness. 6 At the beginning of creation God made them male and female; 7 for this reason a man shall leave his father and mother 8 and the two shall become as one. They are no longer two but one flesh. 9 Therefore let no man separate what God has joined."</p>

The quotations from Gen 1:27 and 2:24 justifying the indissolubility of marriage are placed by Matthew at the beginning of the passage, and in the Gospel of Mark they come at the end.

Occasionally, inversion occurs in a very broad context. Let us look at parallel texts in Mt 4:12–22 and Mk 1:14–21:

Mt 4	Mk 1
<p>12 When Jesus heard that John had been arrested, he withdrew to Galilee. 13 He left Nazareth and went down to live in <u>Capernaum</u> by the sea near the territory of Zebulun and Naphtali 14 to fulfill what had been said through Isaiah the prophet: 15 “Land of Zebulun...”</p> <p>From that time on Jesus began to <u>proclaim</u> this theme: “<u>Reform your lives! The kingdom of heaven is at hand.</u>”</p> <p>18 As he was walking along the Sea of Galilee he watched two brothers,</p>	<p>14 After John’s arrest, Jesus appeared in Galilee proclaiming the good news of God:</p> <p>This is the time of fulfillment. 15 <u>The reign of God is at hand! Reform your lives and believe in the gospel!</u>”</p> <p>16 As he made his way along the Sea of Galilee, he observed Simon and his brother...</p> <p>21 shortly afterward they came to <u>Capernaum</u>, and on the Sabbath he entered the synagogue and began to teach.</p>

Matthew writes about the arrival of Jesus in Capernaum at the beginning of the fragment, and Mark at the end. Matthew writes about the teaching of Jesus before the call for reform, and Mark does so after this call. In Matthew, Jesus first speaks about the reform and then about the imminent coming of the kingdom, and in Mark it is the other way round.

The above examples of inversion confirm Howard’s opinion that the Evangelists consciously changed the order of words, and even of whole fragments.

Here are several examples of word change by the Evangelists. For example, the word *akoē* (the news) appears twice in the Gospel of Matthew (2:42; 13:14), once in the Gospel of Mark (1:28), but does not appear at all in the Gospel of Luke.

Mt 4:23–25: *Jesus toured all of Galilee. He taught in their synagogues, proclaimed good news of the kingdom, and cured the people of every disease and illness. As a consequence of this, his reputation traveled the length of Syria...* Mark does not have this *summarium*. The description of the activity of Jesus in Galilee begins in his Gospel thus: *After John’s arrest, Jesus appeared in Galilee proclaiming the good news of God* (Mk 1:14). However, many elements from the summary in Matthew are found in Mk 3:7–10: *Jesus*

withdrew toward the lake with his disciples. A great crowd followed him from Galilee... In this text the word *akoē* does not occur, but it appears in Mk 1:28, in the narrative on the cure of the demoniac in the synagogue of Capernaum, which Matthew does not have, and which comes after the pericope of the calling of the first disciples, so it appears in the place parallel to the summary in Mt (i.e. in Mk 1:28 *From that point on his reputation spread throughout the surrounding region of Galilee*). Thus we can see that one of the Evangelists transferred the word *akoē* that he came across in his source into another context.

Another example. The word *kuklō* (around) appears 3 times in the Gospel of Mark (3:34; 6:6; 6:36) and once in the Gospel of Luke, but does not appear in the Gospel of Matthew.

The text of Mk 3:34 in the triple tradition is found in the pericope on the family of Jesus, except that Luke does not have a fragment parallel to this verse:

Mt 12:49	Mk 3:34
<i>kai ekteinas tēn cheira autou epi tous mathētas autou eipen idou ē mētēr mou kai hoi adelfoi mou.</i>	<i>kai periblepsamenos tous peri auton <u>kuklō</u> kathēmenous legei ide hē mētēr mou kai hoi adelfoi mou.</i>

The text of Mk 6:6 is found in the double Mt/Mk tradition in the context of the narrative on the mission of the Twelve.

Mt 9:35	Mk 6:6b
<i>Kai periēgen Ho lēsous tas poleis pasas kai Tas kōmas, didaskōn en tais</i>	<i>Kai periēgen Tas kōmas <u>kuklō</u> didaskōn.</i>

The Mk 6:36 text is found in the triple tradition in the narrative on the feeding of five thousand:

Mt 14:15	Mk 6	Lk 9:12
<i>opsias de genomenes prosēlthon autō hoi mathētai legontes <u>erēmos estin ho topos</u> kai hē hōra ēdē parēlthen apoluson oun tous ochlous hina apelthontes</i>	<i>35 Kai ēdē hōras pollēs genomenes prosēlthontes autō hoi mathētai autou elegon hoti <u>erēmos estin ho topos</u> kai ēdē hōra pollē 36 apoluson autous, hina apelthontes</i>	<i>hē de hēmera ērksanto klinein prosēlthontes de hoi dōdeka eipan autō apoluson ton ochlon, hina poreuthentes</i>

<i>eis tas kōmas agorasōsin heautois brōmata</i>	<i>eis tous <u>kuklō</u> agrous kai kōmas agorasōsin heautois ti fagōsin</i>	<i>eis tas <u>kuklō</u> kōmas kai agrous katalusōsin kai heurōsin epistimon, hoti hōde en <u>erēmō topō esmen.</u></i>
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It is impossible for the difference in the usage of the word *kuklō* in three parallel texts in the Gospel of Matthew and Mark above to have been accidental; instead one should conclude that Mark (if he was second) consistently added it, or Matthew (if he was second) consistently removed it. What we are dealing with here is conscious modification of the text. Let us note that the mention of the desert (*erēmos estin ho topos*) which Matthew and Mark have at the beginning of the fragment in an identical form, is placed by Luke at the end in a modified form. Especially interesting are the differences in Mk and Lk in the fragment parallel to the words *hina apelthontes eis tas kōmas* in Mt. Luke must have known the formulation *hina apelthontes* occurring in Mt and Mk, yet he used another formulation, *hina poreuthentes*, and then – for the sake of differentiating himself from his sources – he included, apart from Matthew’s and Mark’s word *kōmas*, the Markan words *kuklō* and *agrous*, while applying inversion.

Similarly, the word *agrous* (village) mentioned above is removed (or added) by the next Evangelist. In the NT it appears 9 times: once in the Gospel of Matthew (19:29), five times in the Gospel of Mark (5:14; 6:36; 6:56; 10:29; 10:30), and three times in the Gospel of Luke (8:34; 9:12; 15:15). When it comes to Mark’s five above-mentioned texts with the word *agrous*, four of them have parallels in Mt and three in Lk¹¹⁸:

Mt	Mk	Lk
8:33 —	5:14 <i>agrous</i>	8:34 <i>agrous</i>
14:15 —	6:36 <i>agrous</i>	9:12 <i>agrous</i>
14:34–36 —	6:56 <i>agrous</i>	—
19:29 <i>agrous</i>	10:29 <i>agrous</i>	18:29 —
—	10:30 <i>agrous</i>	—
—	—	15:15 <i>agrous</i>

It is worth noting here that *agrous* does not appear simultaneously in the same parallel text in the three Gospels. Thus it seems that the last of the Evangelists tried not to use this word if it had already appeared in two sources.

¹¹⁸ A dash without a reference indicates that the Evangelist does not have a parallel text.

An interesting difference in short parallel texts is found in Mt 9:6; Mk 2:10–11, and Lk 5:24:

Mt 9:6	Mk 2	Lk 5:24
<i>hina de eidēte</i> <i>hoti eksousian echei</i> <i>ho huios tou anhrōpou</i> <i>epi tēs gēs</i> <i>afienai hamartias –</i> <i>tote legei tō paralutikō</i> <i>egeire aron sou</i> <i>tēn klinēn</i>	<i>10 hina de eidēte</i> <i>hoti eksousian echei</i> <i>ho huios tou anhrōpou</i> <i>afienai hamartias</i> <i>epi tēs gēs –</i> <i>legei tō paralutikō</i> <i>11 soi legō,</i> <i>egeire aron</i> <i>ton krabaton sou</i>	<i>hina de eidēte</i> <i>hoti ho huios tou anhrōpou</i> <i>eksousian echei</i> <i>epi tēs gēs</i> <i>afienai hamartias –</i> <i>eipen tō paralelumenō</i> <i>soi legō.</i> <i>egeire kai aras</i> <i>to klinidion sou</i>

According to the two-source hypothesis, Matthew and Luke took over these texts from Mark; according to the theory of the priority of Matthew, Mark and Luke took over these texts from Matthew. But in this case it is not so important who took over these texts from whom. What matters is that these texts, consisting almost exclusively of the same words, differ in the order of these words. It is hard to accept that the Evangelists, while copying this short text from their source or sources, shifted the words around by accident. It must be assumed that they shifted them so as to differentiate them from the source. It is worth pointing out that Luke in the fourth and fifth line follows Matthew, but in the seventh line he follows Mark.

4.10.

Why is the language of Mark inferior to that of Matthew

This issue was touched upon above in the chapter on the priority of Mark's Gospel, where it was said that the literary inferiority of Mark's language as compared with Matthew's was due to the influence of Peter's preaching. The comparatively numerous Semitisms in the vocabulary of Mark (12 words), such as *Boanērges* (sons of the thunder) (Mk 3:17), *Talitha koum* (little girl, get up!) (Mk 5:41), *korban* (that is dedicated to God) (7:11), *ephphatha* (be opened) (7:34) etc., as well as parataxis, are markers of Peter's live speech. Now I am going to look at this problem from the point of view of the Evangelists' tendency to introduce the changes that were discussed in the preceding section. Mark made use of the Gospel of Matthew, but he did not intend to copy the texts of that Gospel literally. At the same time he

listened to Peter preaching and perhaps made some notes which he later collated against Matthew's texts, but not in order to co-ordinate them but to supplement them. The differences between Matthew and Peter did not bother him, after all his editorial principle was to introduce changes.

In Mt 21:13/Mk 11:17/Lk 19:45–46 there is a difference between Matthew and Luke against Mark which well illustrates Mark's free handling of Matthew's text.

Mt 21	Mk 11	Lk 19
12 Jesus entered the temple precincts and drove out all those engaged there in buying and selling. He overturned the money changers' tables and the stalls of the dove-sellers, 13 saying to them: "Scriptures has it, 'My house shall be called house of prayer,' but you are turning it into a den of thieves."	17 Then he began to teach them: "Does not Scripture have it, 'My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples' – but you have turned it into a den of thieves."	45 Then he entered the temple and began ejecting the traders 46 saying: "Scripture has it, 'My house is meant for a house of prayer' but you have made it a den of thieves."

All three Synoptics quote the text of Is 56:7b and adopt the expression "the den of thieves" from the prophecy of Jer 7:11. Here is the text of Is 56:7b: *Their holocausts and sacrifices will be acceptable on my altar, for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples*, and the text of Jer 7:11: *Has this house which bears my name become in your eyes a den of thieves? I too see what is being done, says the Lord*.

When quoting from the Book of Isaiah, Mark adds the words "for all peoples". These words were present in the original text, but their removal by Matthew was for a reason: Jesus was speaking about the destruction of the temple. We can see that Luke followed Matthew, therefore he acknowledged that Matthew's "correction" was justified. The inclusion of these words by Mark testifies that he had behind him some great authority (St Peter), and that he did not feel particularly bound by the text of Matthew. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know why Mark (or Peter) did not follow Matthew but the original text of the quotation. Surely it was not a question of accurate rendering of the original text, but rather of presenting the Jewish people in a favourable light in the Roman environment.

The downgrading of the Greek vocabulary and the Greek syntax is no doubt connected with the community to whom Mark addressed his work. Surely, Roman officers were not experts on literary Greek. It should be

pointed out that in one case Mark explains to his addressees the meaning of a Greek word, namely the word *aulē* – in Latin *praetorium* (Mk 15:16).

Cases of downgrading the language as compared with Matthew and Mark are also found in the Gospel of Luke. Here is what Léon-Dufour¹¹⁹ wrote: “What is amazing about the language of Luke is not its superiority over the language of Mark, but its instability (inconstance) in vocabulary, syntaxis and style. Semitic expressions suddenly appear in place of good Greek expressions in Mk: the impersonal plural [Vaganay, 203] (Lk 5:38=Mt 9:17) against a personal sentence (Mk 2:22), the paratactic “and” [Vaganay, 201] in Lk 6:6 (against Mt 12:9=Mk 3:1) or Lk 23:44 (against Mt 27:45=Mk 15:33), or an exotic expression (Lk 20:20) against a classical one (Mk 12:13)”.

What is the reason for this instability? I believe that it is the Evangelists’ tendency to introduce changes, even if those changes might adversely affect the style.

4.11.

Why Mark departs from the order of pericopes in the Gospel of Matthew

According to Styler¹²⁰, it is hard to understand why Mark, if he was dependent on the Gospel of Matthew, so often departed from the order of pericopes in that Gospel. In point of fact, it is not at all hard to understand Mark’s changing the order of some of the pericopes if we make allowance for his editorial assumptions: Mark was not writing a new Torah but a gospel, emphasising in the first place the secret of the Person of Jesus. As we know, the change of the order of the pericopes takes place only in the first part of the Gospel (up to the pericope on the Transfiguration of Jesus).

4.12.

Does Matthew change Mark’s formulations for the worse?

Styler claims that Matthew tried to improve certain expressions of Mark, a clear example of which may be the text about the purpose of teaching in

¹¹⁹ X. Léon-Dufour, “Les Évangiles Synoptiques”, p. 282.

¹²⁰ G. M. Styler, “La priorità di Marco ...”, p. 310.

parables (Mk 4:10–12/Mt 13:10–15), difficult to accept in Mark's version because it seems to imply that Jesus taught in parables so as not to be understood. Further he maintains that in some fragments "Mark includes evocative yet vague expressions, while the parallel texts in the Gospel of Matthew try to give the reader a more edifying message. But we get the impression that Matthew did not understand the heart of the problem; cf. Mk 8:14–21 and Mt 16:5–12. According to Matthew, the "leaven" that the disciples should beware of is "the teaching of the Pharisees and the Sadducees".¹²¹ Another example of Matthew's incomprehension of Mark is Mk 2:18/Mt 9:14. Mark begins by saying that the disciples of John and the Pharisees were fasting, and in the next sentence he writes: *So they came to him and asked: «Why do John's disciples and those of the Pharisees fast?»* Styler believes that this question could not have been asked by the fasting disciples of John and the Pharisees, but by someone else; Mark did have someone else in mind. Yet Matthew changed the initial sentence and clearly indicated that it was the disciples of John who asked the question.

According to Styler, the argument that leaves no doubt about the priority if the Gospel of Mark is the presence of passages "in which Matthew went astray due to misinterpretation, even though he displays familiarity with the authentic version, which is the version of Mark".¹²² An example of this can be the narrative on the death of John the Baptist in Mk 6:17–29/Mt 14:3–12. The narrative of Mark is broader. According to him, John the Baptist died as it were against the will of the tetrarch, as a result of Herodias' intrigues. From the narrative of Matthew, on the other hand, it follows that Herod wanted John killed, which does not tally very well with the introduction to Matthew's narrative and verse Mt 14:9 (Herod was saddened by the request for the head of John the Baptist). There is no such inconsistency in the Markan narrative. Styler also points out that, unlike Mark, Matthew treats the narrative of John the Baptist's death – included in the Gospel as a reminder of an event from the past – as a narrative about the current events and begins the next pericope with the words: *When Jesus heard this, he withdrew by boat from there* (Mt 14:13).

When it comes to Jesus' answer to why he teaches in parables, the more difficult version provided in the Gospel of Mark may be connected with the Messianic secret, which is also highlighted in other texts of this Gospel. Matthew's corrections of the Markan text are not the only possible explanation here.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p. 313.

¹²² *ibid.*, p. 315.

Is it therefore possible that Matthew, in the text 16:5–12, did not understand the significance of the words of Jesus?

Mt 16	Mk 8
<p>6 When Jesus said to them, “Be on the lookout against the yeast of the Pharisees and Sadducees,” 7 they could think only, “This is because we have brought no bread.” 8 Jesus knew their thoughts and said, “Why do you suppose it is because you have no bread? How weak your faith is! 9 Do you still not understand? Do you not remember the five loaves among five thousand and how many baskets-full you picked up? 10 Or the seven loaves among four thousand and how many hampers-full you retrieved? 11 Why is it you do not see that I was not speaking about bread at all but warning you against the yeast of the Pharisees?” 12 They finally realized he was not issuing a warning against yeast [used for bread] but against the Pharisees’ and Sadducees’ teaching.</p>	<p>15 So when he instructed them, “Keep your eyes open! Be on your guard against the yeast of the Pharisees and yeast of Herod,” 16 they concluded among themselves that it was because they had no bread. 17 Aware of this he said to them, “Why do you suppose that it is because you have no bread? Do you still not see or comprehend? Are you minds completely blinded? 18 Have you eyes but no sight? Ears but no hearing? 19 Do you remember when I broke the five loaves for the five thousand, how many baskets of fragments you gathered up?” They answered, “Twelve.” 20 When I broke the seven loaves for the four thousand, how many full hampers of fragments did you collect?” They answered, “seven”. 21 He said to them again, “Do you still not understand?”</p>

In the above text of Mark we again have to do with the Messianic secret. Mark omits the explanation of Jesus, but instead emphasises the incomprehension of Jesus by the apostles. The theme of the incomprehension appears in his text not only at the end of the narrative, but also earlier, in verses 17b and 18a (which are absent from Matthew’s narrative). Mark rephrased the whole narrative around the Messianic secret. He wanted to focus the reader’s attention not on the problem of the yeast, but on the secret of Jesus (who had the power of multiplying breads). In order to focus on the Messianic secret Mark gave up on a logical ending to the narrative. Jesus’ explanation in Matthew’s narrative of what “yeast” means is not artificial, nor is it false. Styler’s suggestions that Matthew did not understand Mark’s text are groundless.

Another example: Mk 2:18/Mt 9:14.

Mt 9	Mk 2
<p>14 Later on, John’s disciples came to him with the objection (<i>Tote proserchontai autō hoi mathētai ioannou legontes</i>),</p>	<p>18 Now John’s disciples and the Pharisees were accustomed to fast (<i>kai erchontai kai legousin autō</i>). People came</p>

<i>"Why is it that while we and the Pharisees fast, your disciples do not?"</i>	<i>to Jesus with the objection, "Why do John's disciples and those of the Pharisees fast while yours do not?"</i>
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Styler's conclusion that Matthew did not understand Mark is not convincing. If Matthew wanted to improve on Mark, then why did he not mention the fact that the disciples of John the Baptist and the Pharisees were then fasting? Why did he write that only the disciples of John the Baptist approached Jesus? Matthew – if he was second – changed both the introduction and the question. It is equally possible that Mark changed the text of Matthew: first, in the introduction, he stated precisely that the disciples of John the Baptist and the Pharisees were keeping a fast, and then he rephrased the question of John the Baptist's disciples as a question addressed to Jesus by the Jews.

The third example: the narrative of the death of John the Baptist in Mk 6:17–29/Mt 14:3–12.

Mt 14	Mk 6
<p>3 Recall that Herod had had John arrested, put in chains, and imprisoned on account of Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip. 4 That was because John had told him, "It is not right for you to live with her." 5 Herod wanted to kill John but was afraid of the people, who regarded him as a prophet. 6 Then on Herod's birthday Herodias' daughter performed a dance before the court which delighted Herod so much 7 that he swore he would grant her anything she asked for. 8 Prompted by her mother she said, "Bring me the head of John the Baptist on a platter." 9 The king immediately had his misgivings, but because of his oath and the guests who were present he gave orders that the request be granted. 10 He sent the order to have John beheaded in prison. 11 John's head was brought in on a platter and given to the girl, who took it to her mother. 12 Later his disciples presented themselves to carry his body away and bury. Afterward, they came and informed Jesus.</p>	<p>17 Herod was the one who had ordered John arrested, chained, and imprisoned on account of Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip, whom he had married. 18 That was because John had told Herod, "It is not right for you to live with your brother's wife." 19 Herodias harbored a grudge against him for this and wanted to kill him but was unable to do so. 20 Herod feared John, knowing him to be an upright and holy man, and kept him in custody. When he heard him speak he was very much disturbed; yet he felt the attraction of his words. 21 Herodias had her chance one day when Herod held a birth dinner for his court circle, military officers, and the leading men of Galilee. 22 Herodias' own daughter came in at one point and performed a dance which delighted Herod and his guests. The king told the girl, "Ask for anything you want and I will give it to you." 23 He went so far as to swear to her: "I will grant you whatever you ask, even a half of my kingdom!" 24 She went out and said to her mother, "What shall I ask for?" The</p>

	<p><i>mother answered, "The head of John the Baptist." 25 At that the girl hurried back to the king's presence and made her request: "I want you to give me, at once, the head of John the Baptist on a platter." 26 The king bitterly regretted the request; yet because of his oath and the presence of the guests, he did not want to refuse her. 27 He promptly dispatched an executioner, ordering him to bring back the Baptist's head. 28 The man went and beheaded John in the prison. He brought in the head on a platter and gave it to the girl, and the girl gave it to the mother. 29 Later, when his disciples heard about this, they came and carried his body away and laid it in a tomb.</i></p>
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Which of the two narratives about Herod's actions is more inconsistent? Matthew's story where Herod would be happy to put John to death (cf. Mt 14:5) and is later saddened when the daughter of Herodias asks for John's head (cf. Mt 14:9), or the narrative of Mark where Herod defends John and gladly listens to him (cf. Mk 6:20) but later, albeit with sorrow, orders his beheading (cf. Mk 6:26–27)? There are inconsistencies in both stories. It is not quite improbable that not only Herodias, but also Herod would happily put John to death. Matthew writes about the intentions of Herod, whereas Mark writes about the intentions of Herodias and emphasises her guilt.

Styler's second criticism concerning Matthew's narrative about the death of John the Baptist is also unjust. Matthew, unlike Mark, treats this narrative as a story about the current events because he puts it in a different context, i.e. in the context of current events. Mark includes this narrative in his Gospel as a reminder of an event from the past.

5. Why Luke only partly uses the Gospel of Matthew

Advocates of the Q hypothesis believe that without the Q source it is not possible to explain why Luke has a different order of pericopes¹²³ from Matthew, why he does not use the text of Matthew where Matthew has no parallel text in the Gospel of Mark, e.g. in the narratives about the birth of Jesus and his post-Resurrection appearances¹²⁴, why he did not include the Sermon on the Mount from the Gospel of Matthew, why he has a different text of the “Our Father” prayer¹²⁵, etc. According to them, it is impossible for Luke to have known the Gospel of Matthew, therefore in order to account for the texts shared by these Gospels it is necessary to assume the existence of some common source other than the Gospel of Mark. But these Biblicists do not in turn heed opposite arguments, such as that of minor agreements, which show that Luke must have known the Gospel of Matthew.¹²⁶ Also, advocates of the multi-source hypothesis claim that the completely different narratives of Jesus’ infancy in the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke, as well as differences in the Sermon on the Mount, etc., show that there is no direct literary inter-dependence between the Gospel of Matthew and that of Luke.¹²⁷

¹²³ Cf. F. Neirynck, “The Argument from Order and St. Luke’s Transpositions”, *ETL* 49 (1973), pp. 784–815; G. M. Styler, “La priorità di Marco ...”, p. 310.

¹²⁴ G. M. Styler, “La priorità di Marco ...”, p. 310.

¹²⁵ Cf. A. Paciorek, *Q – Ewangelia Galilejska*, Lublin 2001, pp. 22–23.

¹²⁶ On the literary dependence of the Gospel of Luke on the Gospel of Matthew, see: A. J. Mc Nicol, *Beyond the Q Impass – Luke’s Use of Matthew. A Demonstration by Research Team of the International Institute for Gospel Studies*, Valley Forge, Pa. Trinity Press International 1996.

¹²⁷ Cf. X. Léon-Dufour, “Les Évangiles synoptiques”, pp. 275ff.

I will try to respond to all these criticisms. Among contemporary Biblicists in favour of the opinion that Luke knew the Gospel of Matthew are W. R. Farmer¹²⁸, A. W. Argyle¹²⁹, E. P. Sanders¹³⁰, and H. A. Guy.¹³¹

5.1.

Why the order of pericopes in the Gospel of Luke differs from that in the Gospel of Matthew

Styler, among others, views the differences in the order of pericopes in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke as one of the three key arguments against the claim that Luke knew the Gospel of Matthew.¹³² In my opinion, however, differences in the order of pericopes cannot be used as an argument here. Firstly, if the Gospel of Matthew were to be replaced with the Q source, the same problem would remain: namely, why should the order of some pericopes be different in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke if they have used the same source? Secondly, assuming that Luke borrowed the order of pericopes from Matthew, the question is why he did not follow Mark if he knew his Gospel. In my opinion, the differences in the composition stem from the Evangelists' editorial assumptions; each of them had a different conception of his work and gave it, consciously, a different structure.

5.2.

Why Luke's infancy narrative differs from Matthew's

It was not Luke's intention to supplement the Gospel of Mark with texts from Matthew or to add new texts. Luke had a somewhat different conception of his work than the other two Evangelists. Matthew wrote a new Hexateuch, Mark – a gospel, and Luke sought to present the Messianic events.

¹²⁸ W. R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, New York 1964.

¹²⁹ A. W. Argyle, "Evidence for the View that St. Luke Used St. Matthew's Gospel", *JBL* 83 (1964) pp. 390–396.

¹³⁰ E. P. Sanders, "The Argument from Order and Relationship between Matthew and Luke", *NTS* 15 (1968/69), pp. 249–261.

¹³¹ H. A. Guy, "Did Luke Use Matthew?", *ExpT* 83 (1972), pp. 245–247.

¹³² The other two most important arguments, according to him, are: (1) Luke sometimes has a more original version than Matthew, (2) Luke often omits Matthew's texts, and then he follows Mark.

In the prologue to his work he writes: *Many have undertaken to compile a narrative of the events which have been fulfilled in our midst, precisely as those events were transmitted to us by the original eyewitnesses and ministers of the word. I too have carefully traced the whole sequence of events from the beginning, and have decided to set it in writing for you, Theophilus, so that Your Excellency may see how reliable the instruction was that you received* (Lk 1:1–4). According to him, the first of these events was the prophesy to Zacharias of the birth of John the Baptist. Matthew wanted to show that already in Jesus' infancy the prophecies were fulfilled. All the events of the infancy of Jesus told by Matthew are connected with some text from the OT. Luke, in his redaction of the infancy narrative, follows other assumptions: he is not interested in the fulfilment of prophecies or the Mosaic typology in the infancy of Jesus, but in the role of Mary in God's plan of Salvation. The massacre of infants in Bethlehem on Herod's order was the fulfilment of a prophecy, as was the flight of the holy family to Egypt, and both these events are connected with the typology of Moses, but they do not have the character of good news. Luke wants to keep his narrative of the coming of Jesus the Lord and Saviour in the spirit of optimism and joy. Joy is one of the themes characteristic of his Gospel.

5.3.

Why Luke has a different genealogy of Jesus

In his genealogy of Jesus, Luke lists the generations from Jesus to Adam (76 names), while Matthew covers the time from Abraham to Jesus (40 names); these genealogies are arranged in a mutually reverse order, and in the part from David to Joseph (in Lk – 42 names, in Mt – 27 names) only two names are the same. This raises a question about the differences in the parts of the genealogy which should be in agreement with one another.

The difference in the David-to-Joseph part is explained in a threefold manner. Julius Africanus, the Christian apologist who wrote at the turn of the 3rd century, tried to resolve this problem by invoking the Mosaic law of the levirate, whereby in the case of an Israelite who died without leaving a descendant, his brother was obliged to marry the widow and extend the clan of the deceased. The child from such a marriage had two genealogies: natural and legal. According to another hypothesis that was well-known in the antiquity, which can be found in St Augustine's work *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, the genealogy in the Gospel of Matthew was Joseph' natural

genealogy, whereas the genealogy in the Gospel of Luke was the legal genealogy of Joseph and the natural one of Mary. This is possible, if we accept that Joseph was included in Mary's family by adoption. According to Annius of Viterbo writing at the turn of the 16th century, Matthew included in his Gospel the genealogy of Joseph, while Luke put in the genealogy of Mary.

Luke's extending the genealogy of Jesus to Adam is explained like this: For Matthew, it sufficed to represent Jesus as the descendant of Abraham and David, because it was their descendents that the Messianic prophecies referred to, whereas Luke, who presents Jesus as "the light to the Gentiles" (Lk 2:32), includes in the history of Salvation all the generations starting from the first man.

Some Biblicists believe that the 76 names in the genealogy of Luke ought to be divided into eleven groups of seven names, with David and Abraham serving as cut-off points in this division. By means of such a structure Luke allegedly sought to convince the reader that Jesus opened the twelfth period in the world's history, his mission being the salvation of all people.

I believe one can point to yet another reason for those differences.

Matthew divides the genealogy of Jesus into three parts of fourteen generations each. Fourteen is the numerical value of the name David. The letters of this name have the following value: dalet (4) + waw (6) + dalet (4) = 14. It is generally believed that Matthew divided the genealogy of Jesus into three parts of fourteen generations each in order to show that it is marked with the sign of David, that Jesus is the long-awaited Son of David, a perfect David.

The above number-interpretation method tested on the genealogy in the Gospel of Matthew produces very interesting results when applied to the genealogy in the Gospel of Luke. In the Lucan genealogy from Adam to Jesus there are 76 generations. Number 76 is the sum of two numbers, 61 and 15. Number 61 is the sum of letter-numbers in the word ADWN (*Adon* – the Lord): aleph (1) + dalet (4) + waw (6) + nun (50) = 61. Number 15 is the sum of letters in the word IH (*Jah* – abbreviation for the name of God): iod (10) + he (5) = 15. *Adon* appears, among other uses, as the title of God both in the singular and in the plural, with or without the possessive pronoun "ai" (*Adonai* – my Lord), and is translated into Greek as *kyrios*; for example, it appears, in the singular and without the pronoun, in Ex 23:17 (*kyriou tou theou sou*), as well as in Ps 114:7; Mal 3:1; Jos 3:11.13, etc. *Jah* is an abbreviation of God Jahveh and is also translated as *kyrios*; it appears in Ex 15:6; 17:6; Ps 89:9, etc.¹³³ With the abbreviation *Jah*

¹³³ F. Zorell SJ, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti*, Roma 1968, p. 297.

in mind, Jews did not express number 15 as $10 + 5$, but as the sum of the letters waw (6) + teth (9).¹³⁴ Therefore the key word in Jesus' genealogy in Luke is *Adon Jah*, that is to say "Jahveh the Lord".

Can we be sure, however, that Luke conceived of number 76 as $61 + 15$, and of these numbers in turn as sums of the numbers which yield the name of God? Was he familiar with the numeric values of the Hebrew letters? The answer to this last question should not be too difficult. Luke, according to what he writes in the Prologue, collected the materials for his Gospel among eye-witnesses, that is to say Christians of Jewish origin in Palestine. The issues connected with a numerical interpretation of the genealogy as presented by Matthew could not have been alien to him. When it comes to breaking up number 76 and its components, one should assume that Luke not so much discovered the name by sub-dividing the numbers as that he was already familiar with the name of God and its numerical value and simply spotted it among the listed generations. Luke may have become interested in the name Adon simply because it occurs in the Hebrew text of Psalm 110:1, which Jesus quotes in the synoptic Gospels when addressing the issue of his dignity as the Son of God. It occurs in the Gospel of Luke in 20:41–44: *Jesus then said to them: "How can they say that the Messiah is the son of David? Does not David himself say in the psalms, «The Lord (Masoretic Text: Jahveh) said to my lord (MT: Adonai): Sit at my right hand while I make your enemies your footstool.»"* This Psalm is also quoted by Jesus during his trial before the Sanhedrin (cf. Lk 22:59). The appellation of Adon is therefore exceptional, because it is the Old-Testament title of God which Jesus applies to himself. When Luke (or anyone else in the Jewish community) substituted numbers for the letters of this name, he obtained 61. Number 15 was the sum of letter-numbers in the abbreviation for God's name, well-known to Jews. The name Jahveh is applied to Jesus in all the synoptic gospels when they quote the text of Is 40:3–5. In Lk 3:4–6, it goes as follows: *A herald's voice in the desert, crying, 'Make ready the way of the Lord (MT: Jahveh), clear him a straight path....'*

Besides, an even simpler way to discover the name Adon Jah in the number 76 was to subtract from it number 15, whose meaning Luke certainly knew, and then substitute letters for the resulting number 61.

Thus it is quite plausible that Luke drew up the genealogy of Jesus all the way back to Adam in order to show that Jesus is not only the long-awaited Son of David, but also the true God.

¹³⁴ P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, Rome 1923, p.13.

That Luke was really interested in the number of names in the genealogy of Jesus is corroborated by the fact that in the part from Abraham to David he adopted a variant of the genealogy that differed slightly from Matthew's. In this part – basically identical in both genealogies – there is one difference: according to Matthew, Aminabad was a son of Aram and a grandson of Ezrom (1:3–4), whereas according to Luke Aminabad was a son of Admin, a grandson of Arni and a great-grandson of Ezrom (3:33). Luke replaced Aram with two names: Arni and Admin. These names are absent not only from 1 Chr 2:9–10, but also from the genealogy of David in Ru 4:19. The name Aram, omitted by Luke, appears in the genealogy in the Septuagint, both in 1 Chr 2:9–10 and in Ruth 4:19. Hence Luke must have chosen the variant from the Septuagint so as to obtain number 76.

In Ti 3:9, St Paul advises his disciple: *See to it that you abstain from stupid arguments and genealogies, and from all controversies and quarrels about the law. They are useless and have no point.* It can therefore be assumed that the matter of the origin of Jesus was the topic of heated debates in the early Christian communes. The primary reason why Matthew's genealogy is controversial is its relatively small number of generations. In the period from the Babylonian slavery until Jesus, that is to say in the period of 587 years, there are merely 14 generations. This amounts to 41 years per generation. In the Lucan genealogy, this period embraces 21 generations, which means that one generation spans about 27 years. Did Matthew consciously reduce the number of generations to obtain the three-times-fourteen pattern, or did he have such numbers in his documents? The source for the first part of the genealogy were the texts in Rut 4:12.18–22 and Chr 1:28; 2:2–5.9:15; for the second part, 1 Chr 3:5.10–17; for the third, 1 Chr 3:17–19. This last source does not include all the names. In the part from David to the Babylonian slavery, Matthew differs from his sources as to the number of kings, namely he leaves out the names of four kings: the son, the grandson and the great grandson of Joram (cf. 1 Chr 3:11–12 and Mt 1:8). Maybe Matthew left out these kings for they were rejected by God, but that may have been the cause of the controversy. It is generally believed that the genealogy of Jesus was composed by Matthew artificially.

It is therefore plausible that the debate around the genealogy as we know it from the Gospel of Matthew aroused Luke's interest in the problem of the genealogy of Jesus and he may have become acquainted with other sources which allowed him to compose the genealogy of Jesus in a less controversial way. Anyway, it cannot be ruled out that the genealogy which Luke included in his Gospel was known in the Christian community of Jerusalem as was that of Matthew.

5.4.

Why Luke's sermon parallel to Matthew's Sermon on the Mount was largely changed

According to proponents of the Q hypothesis as well as advocates of the multi-source theory, the differences between the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5–7) and the Sermon on the Plain (Lk 6:20–49) indicate that Luke did not know the Gospel of Matthew. L. Sabourin¹³⁵ puts forward two arguments for the claim that there is no direct literary relationship between Matthew's sermon and that of Luke but both used the Q source: 1) the parallel texts in both sermons, except for verse 6:31 and verses 6:32–36, have the same order; 2) the common material almost always corresponds better with the context of Luke than with that of Matthew. These arguments are not too strong, however. The similar order of the parallel texts can equally well testify to a direct literary relationship, while the indication that some of the pericopes do not fit very well into The Sermon on the Mount betrays incomprehension of the editorial goals of this sermon. It will certainly appear incohesive if we try to determine its composition on the basis of the topics of the successive pericopes. In that case it will be difficult, for instance, to account for the location of the pericope on the prayer "Ask, and you will receive" (Mt 7:7) after the pericope "Do not give what is holy to dogs or toss your pearls before the swine" (Mt 7:6) instead of after the instruction about the prayer in Mt 6:5–15. As we know, in his redaction of the sermon Matthew went by the topics of the orders and prohibitions in the first collection of the Law in the Book of Exodus, that is to say in the so-called Codex Sinaiticus (Ex 19–23). The repetition of the prayer theme in the sermon is connected with the repetition in the said Codex of the rules on worship; cf. Ex 20:22–26 and 23:10–19. The location of all the pericopes in the Sermon on the Mount is justified by parallels with the Codex Sinaiticus.

It is in the Sermon on the Plain that certain pericopes do not seem to be connected with their context. First of all, it is difficult to say what is the principal theme of this sermon. According to C. M. Martini¹³⁶, in the Sermon on the Plain Luke presents the idea of new perfection. The International

¹³⁵ L. Sabourin, *Il vangelo di Matteo. Teologia e esegesi*, vol. I, Marino 1975, p. 350.

¹³⁶ C. M. Martini, "Introduzione ai vangeli sinottici", [in] C. M. Martini (ed.), *Il Messaggio della salvezza*, vol. IV, Torino 1969, p. 78.

Bible Commentary by W. R. Farmer, ed.¹³⁷ perceives it to be a lecture on what it means to be a disciple of Christ. These descriptions match the first part of the sermon, but do not fit into subsequent parts, especially the parables about two blind men (Lk 6:39) and about the student who is no better than his teacher (Lk 6:40). Besides, it would be inexplicable for Luke to have excluded from among the rules on new perfection the fulfilment of God the Father's will which the Sermon on the Mount tells about (cf. Mt 7:21–23). Luke, doubtless, knew that instruction, because he adopted the first sentence from it (cf. 6:46).

Butler resorts to vocabulary analysis to back up his opinion about the literary dependence of the Lucan sermon on the Sermon on the Mount. Among other examples he provides the following¹³⁸: in 6:23 Luke uses the word *misthos* (the prize) which also appears in the parallel text, in Mt 5:12. In the Gospel of Matthew it appears ten times, in the Gospel of Mark only once, and in the Gospel of Luke it appears three times: apart from the above-mentioned verse, Luke uses it in 6:35 (where it can be explained with dependence on Mt 5:46) and in Lk 10:7, where it is used instead of Matthew's *trofē* (even though *trofē* would be more suitable); besides these contexts, it appears in the Acts of the Apostles once.

I find Butler's arguments convincing. Moreover, the fact that many of the pericopes from the Sermon on the Mount that are absent from the Sermon on the Plain are found in the Gospel of Luke in other contexts, implies that Luke knew this sermon. Let us see which pericopes from the Sermon on the Mount are to be found in the Gospel of Luke:

	Mt	Lk
The logion on the salt	5:13	14:34–35
The logion on the light	5:14–16	8:16; 11:33
The Old Law and the New	5:17–18	16:16–17
	5:19–20	—
Against Anger	5:21–24	—
"Settle with your opponent"	5:25–26	12:57–59
Occasions for Impurity	5:27–30	—
Divorce	5:31–32	16:18

¹³⁷ W. R. Farmer (ed.), *Międzynarodowy Komentarz do Pisma Świętego*, Warszawa 2000, p. 1257.

¹³⁸ B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St Matthew ...*, pp. 38–39.

On Oaths	5:33–37	—
The love of Enemies (second part)	5:46–48	—
Alms	6:1–4	—
Prayer	6:5–6	—
“Our Father”	6:7–15	11:1–4
Fasting	6:16–18	—
True Riches	6:19–21	12:33–34
“The eye is the body’s lamp”	6:22–23	11:34–36
God or money	6:24	16:13
“Do not worry about your livelihood”	6:25–34	12:22–32
The pearls before the swine	7:6	—
The Power of Prayer	7:7–11	11:9–13
Two gates	7:13–14	13:23–34

It seems that – apart from the arguments based on vocabulary analysis – the literary dependence of the Sermon on the Plain on the Sermon on the Mount can also be demonstrated through an analysis of these sermons’ composition and proper description of their redactional foundations.¹³⁹

It has been said that the Sermon on the Mount was redacted by Matthew in accordance with the first collection of the Law in the Pentateuch (Ex 19–23).

The new law in the Sermon on the Mount is preceded by three pericopes: the Beatitudes, the pericope about the task of the people, and the declaration by Jesus about the fulfilment of the Law. The Decalogue and the first collection of the Law in the Pentateuch is also preceded by similar themes. In the Beatitudes (5:1–12) Christ reveals to whom the Kingdom of Heaven belongs. Before the Decalogue Jahveh reveals that the Israeli people will be his property: *you shall be my special possession, dearer to me than all other people* (Ex 19:5). Then Jesus defines the task of the new chosen people: They must be the salt of the earth, the light of the world and the city on the mount (5:13–16). Also Jahveh defines the task of the chosen people with these words: it has to be “a kingdom of priests” and “a holy nation” (Ex 19:5–6). After defining the tasks of the people Matthew places Jesus’ declaration that he has not come to abolish the Law: *Do not think that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets* (Mt 5:17). After the definition of the tasks and duties of the chosen people the author of the Books of Exodus places the declaration of the people that they will be faithful to the Law (Ex 19:8). The collection of the new law in the Sermon on the Mount begins with six antitheses (*You have heard the commandment imposed on your*

¹³⁹ For the dependence of the sermon on the plain on the Sermon on the Mount, see M. A. Matson, *Luke’s Rewriting of the Sermon on the Mount*, Atlanta, Georgia 2000.

forefathers... What I say to you is) of which two refer directly, and one indirectly, to the commandments of the Decalogue; one (about the talion principle) is clearly linked with the rule on retaliation in the Book of Covenant (Ex 21:23–25) and the other (about the loan) has an equivalent in the Book of the Covenant (Ex 22:24–26).

After concluding the section containing the antitheses Matthew refers to the first collection of regulations in the Book of the Covenant on the acts of worship (Ex 20:22–26), by including Jesus' instructions concerning religious duties (lest they be performed for one's own glory) (6:5–18). The next theme in the Sermon on the Mount is earthly treasures. Christ warns against accumulating them and neglecting the spiritual ones (Mt 6:19–21), against greed (The eye is the body's lamp – 6:22–23; No man can serve two masters – 6:24), and against excessive concern for material things (Mt 6:25–34). True riches are the theme of the whole collection of regulations in the Book of the Covenant, just after the first collection of regulations about worship and the collection of the family and penal law (cf. Ex 21:33–22:14). Further in the sermon comes the logion If you want to avoid judgment, stop passing judgment (Mt 7:1–5), and Do not give what is holy to dogs (Mt 7:6). In the Book of the Covenant, after the regulations about earthly riches, there is a collection of various regulations (Ex 22:15–23:9) in which we can find two somewhat similar prohibitions appearing in the same order: You shall not revile God, nor curse a prince of your people (Ex 22:27); You shall be men sacred to me. Flesh torn to pieces in the field you shall not eat; throw it to the dogs (protect what is sacred) (Ex 22:30). Then Matthew returns to the topic of "acts of worship", and precisely to the theme of prayer and the search for God (Mt 7:7–11). In the Book of the Covenant, there are again regulations about worship, namely about the feast of the Unleavened Bread, the feast of the grain and the offering of the first fruits (Ex 23:14–19) Acts of worship are in a way a search for God; in Dt 4:29 we can read: *Yet there too you shall seek the Lord, your God; and you shall indeed find him when you search after him with your whole heart and your whole soul.* Matthew's return to the theme of prayer cannot be explained in any other way than as a parallel with the Book of the Covenant. It must be stressed that the said second collection of regulations about worship in Ex 23:14–19 is the last collection of laws in the Book of the Covenant. And in the Sermon on the Mount after the second pericope about prayer comes "the golden rule" – *Treat others the way you would have them treat you; this sums up the law and the prophets* (7:12), which is an evident recapitulation of all the preceding regulations of the new law.

After the golden rule Matthew places Jesus' caution against the choice of the wide gate in life (7:13–14) and the caution against false prophets

(7:15–20). In the Book of the Covenant, after the regulations about feasts, God's promise is found: *See, I am sending an angel before you, to guard you on the way and bring you to the place I have prepared* (Ex 23:20). Thus in the above cautions by Jesus and in the Old Testament promise the same two themes appear, of the gate and of God's messenger (the prophet – the angel). To the cautions in 7:13–20 Matthew adds the caution: *None of those who cry out, 'Lord, Lord,' will enter the kingdom of God but only the one who does the will of my Father in heaven* (7:21–23), where Jesus presents himself as the Judge (*When that day comes, many will plead with me – 7:22*). In the Book of the Covenant the promise to send the angel is combined with the caution: *Be attentive to him and heed his advice. Do not rebel against him, for he will not forgive your sin. My authority resides in him* (Ex 23:21). Thus the angel is presented here as a judge. In both texts (in Mt and in Ex) there is also the mention of a name (in Mt 7:22, *ou tō sō onomati eprofēteusamen*, and in Ex 23:21, *to gar onoma mou estin ep' auto*). The Sermon on the Mount ends with the parable of building a house on the rock, in which Jesus encourages those listening to him to put his teaching into practice (Mt 7:24–27). The Book of the Covenant ends with the encouragement to put the Law into practice (Ex 23:22–31).

In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus several times juxtaposes his own teaching with the old Law by using formulas like *You have heard the commandment imposed on your forefathers... What I say to you is* (Mt 5:21–22). In fact the whole collection of the new law is constructed on the principle of juxtaposition. The comparison – it was so, and now it has to be otherwise – is the redaction principle behind of the whole sermon.

The composition of Luke's sermon is not so clear-cut. It is usually divided into three or four parts. Mauro Laconi¹⁴⁰ divides the sermon into three parts: (1) Resignation (*il distacco*): Beatitudes (verses 20–26); (2) Kindness (verses 27–42); Forgive and love your enemies: verses 27–36; b) Do not judge: verses 37–38; c) Improve yourself first: verses 39–42; (3) the Conclusion: fulfil the teaching of Christ (verses 43–49): a) building wisely or building stupidly: verses 47–49. Feliks Gryglewicz¹⁴¹ divides the sermon into four parts: (1) the beatitudes and threats (verses 20–26); (2) rules referring to love, especially love of one's enemies (verses 27–38); (3) cautions against false teachers (verses 39–45); (4) conclusion (verses 46–49). In the International Bible Commentary¹⁴² the sermon is also divided into four parts,

¹⁴⁰ M. Laconi, *La vita pubblica*, p. 362

¹⁴¹ F. Gryglewicz, *Ewangelia według św. Łukasza. Wstęp – Przekład z oryginału – Komentarz*, Poznań – Warszawa 1974, p. 155.

¹⁴² W. R. Farmer (ed.), *Międzynarodowy Komentarz*, p. 1257.

but somewhat differently: (1) the introduction evoking the announcement uttered in Nazareth about the salvation of the poor and the sadness of men worldwide (cf. 4:16–30); (2) renunciation of retaliation (6:27–36); (3) renunciation of condemnation (6:37–42); (4) the ending.

Such divisions of the sermon do not, however, match the content of particular parts too well. If the division is to fit the contents of the sermon better, it must be more detailed: 1) Beatitudes and woes (verses 20–26); 2) Rules concerning love of one’s neighbour (love even your enemies) (verses 27–38); 3) the Caution against false teachers (verses 39–40); 4) the Caution against hypocrisy (verses 41–42); 5) Evidence of true godliness (the Tree and its fruit) (verses 43–45); 6) the Call for fulfilment of the teaching of Jesus (verses 46–49).

The order of shared material in both sermons is as follows:

	Lk	Mt
Beatitudes	6:20a–23	5:3–12
Love of one’s enemy	6:27–28	5:43–45
Do not repay evil with evil	6:29–30	5:38–42
Golden rule	<u>6:31</u>	7:12
<i>If you love only those who love you</i>	<u>6:32–36</u>	5:46–48
<i>Do not judge</i>	6:37–38	7:1–2
The Caution against hypocrisy	6:41–42	7:3–5
The tree and its fruit	6:43–45	7:16–20
Not the words but the deeds	6:46	7:21–23
Call for fulfilment of the teaching	6:47–49	7:24–27

We can see that in Luke’s sermon, as compared with Matthew’s, the pericopes on “Love of enemies” and “the golden rule” are in different locations. In the Gospel of Matthew, “Love your enemies” succeeds the “Do not repay evil with evil” pericope, while “the golden rule” pericope succeeds the ones on “If you love only those who love you”, “Do not judge” and “the caution against hypocrisy”. The changes in the order of the pericopes are not accidental but are closely connected with their context.

In Matthew’s sermon the “Do not repay evil with evil” pericope succeeds the Old Testament law of “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth” (Mt 5:38), so it is in its proper place. The pericope about love of enemies also fits into Matthew’s context, because it succeeds verse 43 containing the speech about love of one’s neighbour and hatred of enemies. Luke does not quote in his own sermon either the Old Testament law of the talion or the commandment of love of one’s neighbour. It is therefore logical that in his sermon the more general advice on love of enemies precedes the more detailed case of how to behave when someone strikes you on the cheek.

The golden rule – *do onto others as you would have them do onto you* (Lk 6:31) – in Luke’s sermon opens the pericope about doing good not only to those who do good to you, so it now stands in its proper place. It might have closed this pericope but Luke placed it at the beginning because he wanted to sum up the instruction in it with the appeal: Be compassionate, as your Father is compassionate (6:36).

While the “do not judge” pericope (Lk 6:37–38) can in some sense be linked with the theme of love of one’s neighbour, this does not hold true for the subsequent pericopes starting with the one about “two blind men”.

The fragment of the Sermon on the Plain from part 3 to part 6 (starting from Lk 6:39) does not have as logical a composition as parts 1 and 2. Yet it appears that also in this fragment there is a common unifying theme, namely “false godliness”. This conclusion can be drawn from a comparison of the composition of Luke’s sermon with that of the Sermon on the Mount. It should be pointed out that in The Sermon on the Mount the teaching about love of one’s neighbour (Mt 5:43–48) is followed by a collection of pericopes in which Jesus warns against doing good deeds for show, i.e. against false godliness (cf. Mt 6:1–18).

Most of these pericopes Luke removed from his Gospel, but the theme itself seemed important to him and he took it up. False godliness is perceived by him in the activity of “blind” guides and undereducated teachers. He talks about them in the parables in 6:39–40.

The caution against false teachers (Lk 6:39–40) is not found in Matthew’s material, but there is the caution against false prophets (Mt 7:15–16a). In the Sermon on the Mount it directly precedes the text about the tree and its fruit (Mt 7:16b–20). The caution against false teachers in the Gospel of Luke also precedes – but not directly – the text about the tree and its fruit (Lk 6:43–45). Luke probably thought that the theme of the false prophets – easily understood in the Jewish environment – would not be intelligible to Greeks, so they must be cautioned instead against false teachers who promote false godliness.

How can one, according to Luke, recognise the false teachers? This is what the next pericopes are about: by hypocrisy (Lk 6:41–42), by bad fruit (Lk 6:43–45) and by the words which are not followed up by the deeds (Lk 6:46–49).

The composition of the Sermon on the Plain, not very clear-cut in itself, can be accounted for in the light of the Sermon on the Mount. One must conclude from this that it was not Matthew who built his sermon on the basis of some source shared with Luke; in other words, that he did not add any new texts to those which Luke read in the common source, but that it was Luke who rephrased the sermon of Matthew.

This conclusion is confirmed by further analysis of the composition of both sermons. If we accept that the fragment of the Sermon on the Plain starting from 6:39 is held together by the theme of “caution against false godliness”, then the whole sermon can be divided into two parts, each consisting of two sections: 1) the part positive in character – the Beatitudes (verses 20–23) and Rules concerning love of one’s neighbour (love even your enemies) (verses 27–38), and 2) the part negative in character – the Woes (verses 24–26) and Cautions against false godliness (verses 39–49). Thus in this sermon two attitudes are juxtaposed: affirmative and negative. The juxtaposition of two attitudes is also present in the Sermon on the Mount, first of all in the form of antitheses such as *You have heard the commandment imposed on your forefathers, ‘You shall not commit murder... What I say to you is...* (Mt 5:21–22). Luke probably knew these antitheses, but in his own sermon employed the feature of juxtaposition differently.

The parables in Lk 6:39–40 deserve special attention. We know that these parables are absent from the Gospel of Matthew. First of all we need to ask why after the caution against false teachers Luke included the fragment about the tree and its fruit rather than the caution against hypocrisy (Lk 6:41–42). Matthew combines the caution against hypocrisy with the logion banning the passing of judgment on one’s neighbour, whereby he refers it to persons whom Jesus clearly condemns, calling them “hypocrites”, and in the next caution even “dogs” and “swine” before which pearls are not to be tossed (Mt 7:6). By transferring the caution against hypocrisy into another context Luke weakens it considerably by associating it with persons whom Jesus does not condemn but instructs: Do not condemn... Pardon, and you shall be pardoned... (Lk 6:37). These words do not appear in Matthew’s logion. Luke shifted this caution probably for two reasons: 1) he wanted the “do not judge” caution to refer to the disciples of Jesus, while in the sermon of Matthew it referred to the enemies of Jesus; 2) to associate hypocrisy above all with false teachers.

Who are those false teachers? Luke calls them “blind” and “students” who would be “above their teacher”.

In the Gospel of Matthew, in Chapter 23 Jesus refers “blind” to the Pharisees and scribes, e.g. *It is an evil day for you, blind guides!* (Mt 23:16). He also calls them “frauds”, e.g.: *Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, you frauds!* (Mt 23:13). It is difficult to dismiss the impression that Luke was familiar with Jesus’ speech against the scribes and Pharisees even though he did not include it in his own Gospel, and that in his Gospel those false teachers are Christians of the Jewish origin who, influenced by Judaism, spread confusion in the Christian communes established by St Paul (cf. 2 Cor 11:4).

The students who want to be above their teachers are probably those from the Greek communes which rejected the authority of Paul the Apostle and followed the teaching of the judaizers (cf. Gal 3:1–5).

In the light of the above interpretation of the parables of the blind men and the student, the Sermon on the Plain becomes coherent enough. The content of the sermon can be defined as: (1) the essence of Christianity (true godliness) and (2) the caution against false godliness. Such a sermon was not the right context for pericopes from Matthew's sermon: about salt (Mt 5:13), about light (Mt 5:154–16), the Law and prophets (Mt 5:17–18), "settle with your opponent" (Mt 5:25–26), the prohibition of divorce (Mt 5:31–32), "Our Father" (Mt 6:7–15), true treasure (Mt 6:19–21), and others which Luke transferred to other contexts.

5.5.

Why Luke does not follow Matthew when Mark does not follow Matthew, and why Luke omits Matthew when he follows Mark

Streeter¹⁴³ believes that it cannot be explained why Luke – assuming that he knew the Gospels of Matthew and Mark – preserves the location of a pericope shared with Matthew only when in Matthew it agrees with Mark's order. According to Streeter, it would be silly to imagine that Luke had studied both Gospels and when including Matthew's texts that were rejected by Mark he removed them from the Matthean context, where they fitted well.

For Styler¹⁴⁴, the third most important argument against Luke's literary dependence on Matthew is the fact that Luke consistently skips Matthew's texts in all the cases where he follows Mark.

For a better understanding of the problem of the order of pericopes let us take a look at their order in, for example, Mt 5:1–12:14 and the parallel fragments.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* ..., p. 183.

¹⁴⁴ G. M. Styler, *La priorità di Matteo*, p. 310.

¹⁴⁵ The **bold** type means that the pericope belongs to the threefold tradition, the *italic* or underlined means that the pericope belongs to the double tradition, and normal type means that the pericope is found only in this Gospel.

Mt	Mk	Lk
5–7 The Sermon on the Mount	—	
8:1–4 The Leper		
8:5–13 The Centurion’s Servant	—	
8:14–17 Peter’s Mother-in-law	1:29–34 Peter’s Mother-in-law	4:38–41 Peter’s Mother-in-law
—	1:35–39 In the vicinity of Capernaum	—
	—	4:42–44 Jesus leaves Capernaum
	—	5:1–3 Jesus teaches from the boat
	—	5:4–11 Abundant Fishing
8:18–22 Conditions for following Jesus	1:40–45 Cure of a Leper	5:12–16 Cure of a Leper
8:23–27 Calming of the Tempest	—	
8:28–34 Expulsion of the Demons in Gadara		
9:1–8 The Paralytic at Capernaum	2:1–12 The Paralytic at Capernaum	5:17–26 The Paralytic at Capernaum
9:9–13 The Call of Matthew	2:13–15 The Call of Levi	5:27–32 The Call of Levi
9:14–17 The Question of Fasting	2:18–22 The Question of Fasting	5:33–39 The Question of Fasting
9:18–26 A Dead Girl; a Woman with a Haemorrhage		
9:27–31 Two Blind Men	—	—
9:32–34 A possessed Mute	—	—
9:35–38 Mission of the Twelve	—	—
10:1–4 Choice of the Twelve		
10:5 Missionary Sermon		
10:17–23 Announcement of Persecution	—	
10:24–33 Courage in Persecution	—	—
10:34–39 To Follow Jesus	—	
10:40–42 The Reward	—	
11:2–6 The Baptist Deputation	—	

11:7–15 Christ's Testimony to John	—	
11:16–19 The Wayward Children	—	
11:20–24 The Impenitent Towns	—	
11:25–29 Jesus and his Father	—	
11:28–30 "Come to me"	—	—
12:1–8 The Disciples and the Sabbath	2:23–28 The Disciples and the Sabbath	6:1–5 The Disciples and the Sabbath
12:9–14 A Man with a Withered hand	3:1–6 A Man with a Withered hand	6:6–11 A Man with a Withered hand
	<u>3:7–12 The Mercy of Jesus</u>	
	3:13–19 Choice of the Twelve	6:12–16 Choice of the Twelve
	***	<u>6:17–19 The Mercy of Jesus</u>
		6:20–49 The Sermon on the Plain
		7:1–10 Centurion from Capernaum

		7:18–23 The Baptist's Deputation
		7:24–30 Christ's Testimony to John
		7:31–35 The Wayward Children

	4:35–41 Calming of the Tempest	8:22–25 Calming of the Tempest
	5:1–20 Expulsion of the Devils in Geraza	8:26–39 Expulsion of the Devils in Geraza
	5:21–45 A Dead Girl; a Woman with a Hemorrhage	8:40–56 A Dead Girl; a Woman with a Hemorrhage
	***	***
	6:7–13 The Missionary Sermon	9:1–6 The Missionary Sermon
	***	***
	8:34–35 To Follow Jesus	9:23–27 To Follow Jesus
	***	***
	9:37 and 40 The Reward	—
		9:57–62 Conditions for following Jesus

		10:13–15 <i>The Impenitent Towns</i> *** 10:21–22 <i>Jesus and his Father</i>
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It must be made clear that the assumption of Q does not explain this literary phenomenon better than the assumption of the priority of the Gospel of Matthew. The problem that Streeter sees with Luke excluding Matthew's pericopes non-parallel to the Gospel of Mark only to include them in other less suitable contexts, applies also to the situation where Luke would use the Q source instead the Gospel of Matthew.

This problem can be explained in the following manner: Luke, writing for pagans, adopted Mark's work as the basis of the structure of his Gospel. The first stage of his redaction involved the taking-over from the Gospel of Mark the successive pericopes (without changing their order) and rephrasing them. The result of this stage was a collection of pericopes arranged in Mark's order, so in the cases where Mark's order of pericopes agreed with the Gospel of Matthew, it also agreed with the order in Matthew. I wish to remind the reader that Mark – when rephrasing the Gospel of Matthew – changed the order of pericopes in numerous cases in the part up to the narrative of the death of John the Baptist (Mt 14:1–2/Mk 6:14–29), while in the next part he left the order basically unchanged. The second redaction stage involved adding to this set Matthew's material which was not parallel to Mark, and his own material. At this stage Luke did not try to find the proper Matthean contexts for Matthew's pericopes but followed these editorial goals: (1) breaking up long speeches, (2) the creation of short thematically coherent sections. For example, the pericope "Jesus and his Father" (Mt 11:25–27) and the logion "But blest are your eyes" (Mt 13:16–17) taken from a different context were put by Luke into his own text about the return of seventy two disciples (Lk 10:17–20), to create a small section on the activity of disciples (Lk 10:17–24).

This redaction mode of the Gospel of Luke also helps us understand why Luke omitted Matthew's material in the texts in where he followed Mark. Here it is necessary to add, however, that a certain role in skipping Matthew's material may have been played by the fact that the style and the content of Markan pericopes appealed to Luke better. It must be kept in mind that Mark and Luke wrote their Gospels for the same kind of addressees.

6. Explanation of the differences in the composition of Mt and Mk

While adopting the order of pericopes in the Gospel of Matthew as the basis for comparison, I will try to explain the lack of a given pericope or its transfer to a different location in the Gospel of Mark, as well as Mark's inclusion of his own pericope or the inclusion of a Matthean pericope from another context.

Omissions and translocations of Matthew's pericopes

Mt	Mk	Mk
John the Baptist (3:1–12)	1:1–8	
The Baptism of Jesus (3:13–17)	1:9–11	
The Temptation (4:1–11)	1:12–13	
Jesus in Capernaum (4:12–17)	1:14–15	
The First Disciples Called (4:18–22)	1:16–20	
The Mission of Preaching (4:23–25)	—	
The Sermon on the Mount (5–7)	—	
“You are the salt” (5:13)		9:50
“You are the light” (5:14)		4:21
“If you forgive the faults of others” (6:14–15)		11:25
“If you want to avoid judgment” (6:14–15)		4:24
The Leper (8:1–4)		1:40–45
The Centurion's Servant (8:5–13)	—	
Peter's Mother-in-law (8:14–17)	1:29–34	
Conditions for Following Jesus (8:18–22)	—	
Storm on the Lake (8:23–27)		4:35–41
Expulsion of the Demons in Gadara (8:28–34)		5:1–20
A Paralytic at Capernaum (9:1–8)	2:1–12	
The Calling of Matthew (9:9–13)	2:13–17	
The Question of Fasting (9:14–17)	2:18–22	
A Dead Girl; a Woman with a Hemorrhage (9:18–26)		5:21–43
Two Blind Men (9:27–31)	—	
A Possessed Mute (9:32–34)	—	
Summary of the Teaching (9:35–38)	—	
The Choice of the Twelve (1:1–4)		3:13–19

The Missionary Sermon		6:7–13
Commissioning of the Twelve (10:5–16)		
Prophecy of the Persecutions (10:17–23)	—	
Courage in the Persecutions (10:24–33)	—	
To Follow Jesus or to Be Against him (10:34–39)	—	
The Reward (10:40–42)	—	
John the Baptist's Deputation (11:2–6)	—	
Christ's testimony to John (11:7–15)	—	
The Wayward Children (11:16–19)	—	
The Impenitent Towns (11:20–24)	—	
Jesus and his Father (11:25–27)	—	
"Come to me" (11:28–30)	2:23–28	
The Disciples and the Sabbath (12:1–7)	3:1–6	
A Man with a Withered Hand (12:9–14)	—	
The Mercy of Jesus (12:15–21)	3:22–27	
Blasphemy of the Pharisees (12:22–30)	3:28–30	
Sin against the Holy Spirit (12:31–37)	—	
The Sign of Jonah (12:38–42)	—	
The Return to Sin (12:43–45)	3:31–35	
The True Family of Jesus (12:46–50)	4:1–9	
The Sermon in the Parables		
Parable of the Seed (13:1–9)	4:10–13	
Purpose of the Parables (13:10–17)	4:14–20	
Explanation of the Parable of the Seed (13:18–23)	—	
The Weeds (13:24–30)	—	
The Mustard Seed (13:31–32)	4:30–32	
Parable of the Leaven (13:33)	—	
First Ending of the Teaching in Parables (13:34–35)	—	
Explanation of the Parable of the Weeds (13:36–43)	—	
The Treasure and the Pearl (13:44–46)	—	
Parable of the Net (13:47–50)	—	
Second Ending of the Teaching in Parables (13:51–52)	—	
Jesus at Nazareth (13:53–58)	6:1–6	
Death of John the Baptist (14:1–12)	6:14–29	
Jesus Feeds Five Thousand (14:13–21)	6:34–44	
Jesus Walks on the Water (14:22–33)	6:45–52	
Other Miracles (14:34–36)	6:53–56	
Jesus and the Pharisees (15:1–9)	7:1–13	
The True Impurity (15:10–20)	7:14–23	
The Canaanite Woman (15:21–28)	7:24–30	
Jesus Heals the Suffering (15:29–31)	—	
Jesus Feeds Four Thousand (15:32–39)	8:1–9	
The Pharisees and the Sadducees (16:1–4)	8:10–13	
The Leaven of the Pharisees (16:5–12)	8:14–21	
Peter the Rock (16:13–20)	8:27–30	

First Prophecy of Passion and Resurrection (16:21–23)	8:31–33	
Doctrine of the Cross (16:24–28)	8:34–9:1	
Jesus Transfigured (17:1–8)	9:2–8	
The Coming of Elijah (17:9–13)	9:9–13	
The Possessed Boy (17:14–21)	9:14–29	
Second Prophecy of the Passion (17:22–23)	9:30–32	
Paying the Temple Tax (17:24–27)	—	
The Ecclesiastical Sermon		
Against Ambition (18:1–5)	9:33–37	
Avoiding Scandal (18:6–11)	9:42–48	
The Straying Sheep (18:12–14)	—	
Fraternal Correction (18:15–18)	—	
The Power of United Prayer (18:19–20)	—	
The Duty of Pardon (18:21–22)	—	
The Merciless Official (18:23–35)	—	
The Question of Divorce (19:1–9)	10:1–12	
Voluntary celibacy (19:10–12)	—	
Jesus Blesses the Children (19:13–15)	10:13–16	
The Danger of Riches (19:16–22)	10:17–22	
The Reward for Voluntary Poverty (19:27–30)	10:28–31	
The Labourers in the Vineyard (20:1–16)	—	
Third Prophecy: Passion and Resurrection (20:17–19)	10:32–34	
Mother of James and John (20:20–23)	10:35–40	
Leadership is a Service (20:24–28)	10:41–45	
The Two Blind Men at Jericho (20:29–34)	10:46–52	
Triumphal entry into Jerusalem (21:1–11)	11:1–11	11:15–19
Cleaning out the Temple (21:12–17)		
Jesus Curses a Fig Tree (21:18–22)	11:12–14 and 11:20–24	
The Authority of Jesus (21:23–27)	11:27–33	
Parable of the Two Sons (21:28–32)	—	
Parable of the Tenants (21:33–46)	12:1–12	
The Wedding Banquet (22:1–14)	—	
Paying Tax to the Emperor (22:15–22)	12:13–17	
The Sadducees and the Resurrection (22:23–33)	12:18–27	
The Great Commandment (22:34–40)	12:28–34	
The Son of David (22:41–46)	12:35–37	
The Sermon against the Scribes and Pharisees		
Hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees (23:1–12)	12:38–40	
“Woe to you scribes and Pharisees” (23:13–36)	—	
Jesus laments over Jerusalem (23:37–39)	—	
The Eschatological Sermon		
Destruction of the Temple (24:1–3)	13:1–4	
Beginning of Calamities (24:4–8)	13:5–8	
Persecution of the Disciples (24:9–14)	13:9–13	
The Final Test (24:15–22)	13:14–23	

The Coming of the Christ (24:23–31)	13:24–27	
The Example of the Fig Tree (24:32–35)	13:28–31	
The Time of the Coming is not known (24:36–41)	13:32	
The Need for Watchfulness (24:42–44)	13:33–37	
The Parable of the Faithful Servant (24:45–51)	—	
The parable of the Ten Virgins (25:1–13)	—	
The Parable of the Silver Pieces (25:14–30)	—	
The last Judgment (25:31–46)	—	
The Last Prophecy of the Passion (26:1–2)	—	
The Conspiracy (26:3–5)	14:1–2	
The Anointing at Bethany (26:6–13)	14:3–9	
The Betrayal of Judas (26:14–16)	14:10–11	
Passover Preparation (26:17–19)	14:12–16	
The Betrayer (26:20–25)	14:17–21	
The Holy Eucharist (26:26–30)	14:22–25	
Peter's Denial Foretold (26:31–35)	14:26–31	
The Agony in the Garden (26:36–46)	14:32–42	
Jesus Arrested (26:47–56)	14:43–52	
Jesus before the Sanhedrin (26:57–68)	14:53–65	
Peter's Denial (26:69–75)	14:66–72	
Jesus led to Pilate (27:1–2)	15:1	
The End of Judas (27:3–10)	—	
Jesus before Pilate (27:11–14)	15:2–5	
Jesus rejected by his People (27:15–26)	15:6–15	
The Crowning with Thorns (27:27–31)	15:16–20	
The Way of the Cross (27:32–34)	15:20–22	
The Crucifixion (27:35–38)	15:23–28	
Jesus Insulted on the Cross (28:39–44)	15:29–32	
The Death of Jesus (27:45–50)	15:33–37	
After the Death of Jesus (27:51–56)	15:38–41	
The Burial (27:57–61)	15:42–47	
Precautions of the Chief Priests (27:62–66)	—	
The Women at the Tomb (28:1–8)	16:1–8	
Jesus Appeared to the Women (28:9–10)	—	
Tale of the Guards and Chief Priests (28:11–15)	—	
Commissioning of the Eleven (28:16–20)	—	

We already know that changes in the composition of the Gospel of Mark as compared with the Gospel of Matthew affect almost exclusively the first part of the Gospel of Mark up to the pericope on the commissioning of the Twelve (Mk 6:7–13), and we also know that the main purpose of those changes was to emphasise the theme of the dignity of Jesus. In the first part, which ends with the confirmation of the Divine Filiation of Jesus on the mount of Transfiguration, Mark seeks to show who Jesus is. Eleven texts in this part directly address the dignity of Jesus.

Differences in the composition of Mk in relation to Mt 1:1–8:22

Mt	Mk
John the Baptist (3:1–12)	1:1–8
The Baptism of Jesus (3:13–17)	1:9–11
The Temptation (4:1–11)	1:12–13
Jesus in Capernaum (4:12–17)	1:14–15
The First Disciples Called (4:18–22)	1:16–20
The Mission of Preaching (4:23–25)	—
Verse 23: <i>Jesus toured all of Galilee. He taught in their synagogues</i>	
—	1:21–22 The Teaching in Capernaum
—	1:23–28 Cure of a Demoniac
The Sermon on the Mount (5–7)	—
The Leper (8:1–4)** ¹⁴⁶	**1:40–45
The Centurion's Servant (8:5–13)	—
Peter's Mother-in-law (8:14–15)	1:29–31
Other Miracles (8:16–17)	1:32–34
—	1:35–39 In the environs of Capernaum
	Verse 39: <i>So he went into their synagogues preaching</i>
8:1–4**	1:40–45 A Leper **
Conditions for Following Jesus (8:18–22)	—

In the summary which follows the pericope about the calling of first disciples, Jesus is presented by Matthew in the fullness of his fame: crowds come to him from all directions, he is talked about throughout the province of Syria. Between the temptation of Jesus in the desert and almost general acknowledgement of his wonderworking powers, the Evangelist does not include a single description of his miracle. This is surprising. What made Matthew resort to so great an ellipsis? In point of fact he needed this summary of the great works of Jesus as a parallel to the text on the great works of God in Ex 19:4: *You have seen for yourselves how I treated the Egyptians and how I bore you up on eagle wings and brought you here to myself.* With these words, before revealing the Decalogue, Jahveh reminds the people of the signs and wonderwork of the exodus, his right to them, his own redemptive power before which all enemies must stoop. It must be kept in mind that after this summary in the Gospel of Matthew comes the Sermon on the Mount, namely the revelation of the new law. Like the author of the Book of Exodus, Matthew wants to expose, before the revelation of the Law, the power and authority of the Legislator.

¹⁴⁶ Two asterisks indicate transposal of the given pericope.

Mark does not have the Sermon on the Mount and does not feel bound by any parallels with Ex 19:4, and sees at the same time that in terms of the chronology of Jesus' activity such a summary should not come directly after the calling of the first disciples. That is why he removes this summary and puts in its place five pericopes on Jesus teaching and working miracles in Capernaum and its environs (Mk 1:21–39), of which the first two derive from the Gospel of Matthew (cf. Mt 8:14–17) while the other three are his own. The beginning of the summary of Matthew, in a rephrased form, is used by Mark at the end of the five above-mentioned pericopes (cf. 1:39), whereas the remaining part of this summary is included by him in the pericope on the Mercy of Jesus (Mk 3:7–12).

Mark's division of the Mt 4:23–25 summary into two parts

Mt 4	Mk
<p>23 Jesus toured all of Galilee. He taught in their synagogues, proclaimed the good news of the kingdom, and cured the people of every disease and illness. 24 As a consequence of this, his reputation travelled the length of Syria. They carried to him all those afflicted with various diseases and racked with pain: the possessed, the lunatics, the paralyzed. He cured them all. 25 The great crowds that followed him came from Galilee, the Ten Cities, Jerusalem and Judea, and from across the Jordan</p>	<p>1:39 So he went into their synagogues preaching the good news and expelling demons throughout the whole of Galilee.</p> <p>3:7 ...A great crowd followed him from Galilee, and an equally great multitude came to him from Judea, Jerusalem, Idumea, Transjordan, and the neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon, because they had heard what he had done.</p> <p>3:10 Because he had cured many, all who had afflictions kept pushing toward him to touch him. 11 Unclean spirits would catch sight of him, fling themselves down at his feet...</p>

The splitting of Matthew's summary and the inclusion of both parts into different contexts is logical. In the Gospel of Matthew the summary opens the description of the activity of Jesus, and in the Gospel of Mark each part of the summary succeeds a set of stories about the teaching and wonderwork of Jesus.

Transposal of the narrative on the cleansing of a leper (Mt 8:1–4/Mk 1:40–45)

In the discussed fragment of the Gospel of Mark one of the stories about the miraculous cures, namely the cure of the leper (Mk 1:40–45), has been moved, relative to the structure of the Gospel of Matthew, to a further location. This transposal is possible to explain. Let us point out that Mark adds to Matthew's story of the cure of the leper the words: *The man went off and began to proclaim the whole matter freely, making the story public. As a result of this, it was no longer possible for Jesus to enter a town openly. He stayed in desert places; yet people kept coming to him from all sides* (Mk 1:45). After such information Mark could not place the next miracles of Jesus in Capernaum, at Peter's home. The Markan addition here is perhaps not only of historic significance, but also has a symbolic dimension: After healing the leper Jesus allows him to return to the town, while he himself must remain in the desert.

Removal of the narrative on the cure of a centurion's servant at Capernaum (Mt 8:5–13)

Mt 8:5 *As Jesus entered Capernaum, a centurion approached him with this request:* 6 *"Sir, my serving boy is at home in bed paralyzed, suffering painfully."* 7 *He said to him, "I will come and cure him."* 8 *"Sir", the centurion said in reply, "I am not worthy to have you under my roof. Just give an order and my boy will get better.* 9 *I am a man under authority myself and I have troops assigned to me. If I give one man the order, 'Dismissed,' off he goes. If I say to another, 'Come here,' he comes.* 10 *If I tell my slave, 'Do this,' he does it."* 10 *Jesus showed amazement on hearing this and remarked to his followers, "I assure you, I have never found this much faith in Israel.* 11 *Mark what I say! Many will come from the east and the west and will find a place at the banquet in the kingdom of God with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,* 12 *while the natural heirs of the kingdom will be driven out into the dark. Wailing will be heard there, and the grinding of teeth."* 13 *To the centurion Jesus said, "Go home. It shall be done because you trusted."* *That very moment the boy got better.*

The motive for the removal of this narrative was probably the tendency, evident in the Gospel of Mark, to soften anti-Jewish accents, which has already been discussed here. In this narrative Jesus rates his own nation very critically: *I assure you, I have never found this much faith in Israel. Mark what I say! Many will come from the east and the west and will find a place at the banquet in the kingdom of God with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, while the natural heirs of the kingdom will be driven out into the dark. Wailing*

will be heard there, and the grinding of teeth. (Mt 8:10–12). Mark does not want to spread this negative opinion among pagans.

The removal of this pericope is also connected with the Messianic secret, which consists, among other things, in emphasising the lack of faith among the apostles. The praise expressed by Jesus of the centurion's strong faith did not go well with the Messianic secret. It is worth noting here that Mark also removed the praise of the faith of the Canaanite woman; cf. Mt 15:28 and Mk 7:29:

Mt 15:28	Mk 7
<i>"Woman, you have great faith! Your wish will come to pass." That very moment her daughter got better.</i>	<i>29 Then he said to her, "For such a reply, be off now! The demon has already left your daughter." 30 When she got home, she found the child lying in bed and the demon gone.</i>

Inclusion of the pericope on Jesus leaving Capernaum (Mk 1:35–39)

Because Mark, for reasons presented above, left out Matthew's summary of Jesus' preaching and curing (Mt 4:23–25), he now includes a short summary phrased on the basis of the first verse of Matthew's summary (Mt 4:23: *Jesus toured all of Galilee. He taught in their synagogues*). The second part of Matthew's summary was used by Mark in his redaction of the "Mercy of Jesus" summary (Mk 3:7–13).¹⁴⁷ Before this short summary Mark has the description of an event which took place on the day after the miraculous cure of Peter's mother-in-law and numerous other cures in Capernaum. It is very probable that this description came into being on the basis of Peter's own account. The events at Peter's home described by Matthew were supplemented by Mark with an account that must have come from Peter himself.

Removal of the pericope on "Conditions for Following Jesus" (Mt 8:18–22)

Mt 8:18 Seeing the people crowd around him, Jesus gave orders to cross to the other shore. 19 A scribe approached him and said, "Teacher, wherever you go I will come after you." 20 Jesus said to him, "The foxes have lairs, the birds in the sky have nests, but the Son of man has nowhere to lay his head." 21 Another, a disciple, said to him, "Lord, let me go and bury my

¹⁴⁷ See the table "Mark's division of the Mt 4:23–25 summary into two parts".

father first.” 22 But Jesus told him, “Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead.”

The pericope consists of two parts. The first part (verses 18–20) was removed by Mark because of its praise of poverty.¹⁴⁸ The strict requirements set by Jesus in the second part call for a word of comment, because Mark will omit them. It is necessary to add that in his own pericope about the conditions for following Jesus (Mk 8:34–38/Mt 10:32–39) he also does not include Jesus’ statements that could be seen to put family ties to a test: *Do not suppose that my mission on earth is to spread peace... I have come to set a man at odds with his father; a daughter with her mother; a daughter-in-law with her mother-in-law... Whoever loves father or mother, son or daughter, more than me is not worthy of me* (Mt 10:34–37).

Differences in the composition of Mk relative to Mt 8:23–12:14

Mt	Mk
Storm on the lake (8:23–27)**	**4:35–41
Expulsion of the Demons in Gadara (8:28–34)**	**5:1–20
A Paralytic at Capernaum (9:1–8)	2:1–12
Calling of Matthew (9:9–13)	2:13–17
The Question of Fasting (9:14–17)	2:18–22
12:1–7	2:23–28 The Disciples and the Sabbath
12:9–14	3:1–6 A Man with a Withered Hand
A Dead Girl; a Woman with a Hemorrhage (9:18–26)**	**5:21–43
Two Blind Men (9:27–31)	—
A Possessed Mute (9:32–34)	—
Summary of the Teaching and the logion of a Harvest (9:35–38)	—
—	3:7–12 The Mercy of Jesus (summary)
The Choice of the Twelve (10:1–4)	3:13–19
Commissioning of the Twelve (10:5–16)	**6:7–13
Prophecy of the Persecutions (10:17–23)	—
Courage in the face of Persecutions (10:24–33)	—
<i>“Nothing is concealed that will not be revealed...” (10:26)</i>	**4:22

¹⁴⁸ See the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addressees.

Follow Jesus or Be against him (10:34–39)	—
The Reward (10:40–42)	
John the Baptist's Deputation (11:2–6)	—
Christ's Testimony to John (11:7–15)	—
The Wayward Children (11:16–19)	—
The Impenitent Towns (11:2–24)	—
Jesus and his Father (11:25–27)	—
"Come to me" (11:28–30)	—
The Disciples and the Sabbath (12:1–7)**	—
A Man with a Withered Hand (12:9–14)**	**2:23–28 **3:1–6

**Translocation of the narrative of the storm on the lake (Mk 4:35–41),
the Expulsion of the Demons in Gadara (Mk 5:1–20)
as well as the Daughter of Jairus and a Woman with a Hemorrhage
(Mk 5:21–43)**

The shifting of these narratives to a further position is connected with Mark's rearrangement of the order of pericopes in terms of the dignity of Jesus and the theme of faith. According to Mark, the reproach about the lack of faith that Jesus makes toward the apostles during the storm on the lake appears too early. Also the apostles' question *Who can this be...* (Mk 4:41) (Mark wishes that the reader would ask himself this question) fits better at the end of the set of narratives about the miracles rather than at the beginning. Let us look at the themes of the pericopes in the whole of the Mk 2:1–6:6 passage¹⁴⁹:

Mk 2:1–12 A Paralytic at Capernaum (forgiveness of sins is evidence of the divinity of Jesus)

Mk 2:13–17 The Calling of Levi (Jesus came to call the sinners)

Mk 2:18–22 The Question of Fasting (Jesus is "the bridegroom")

Mk 2:23–28 *The Disciples and the Sabbath* (Jesus is lord of the Sabbath)

Mk 3:1–6 *A Man with a Withered Hand*

Mk 3:7–12 The Mercy of Jesus (summary) (Jesus is the Son of God)

Mk 3:13–19 Choice of the Twelve

Mk 3:20–21 Relatives of Jesus (according to his relatives, Jesus is out of his mind)

Mk 3:20–21 Blasphemy of the Scribes (according to the scribes Jesus is possessed)

Mk 3:31–35 Jesus and his family

¹⁴⁹ The titles underlined or marked with special font mean that these pericopes appear in this same order as in the Gospel of Matthew.

Mk 4:1–34 The teaching in parables

Mk 4:35–41 The Storm on the Sea (Jesus demands faith from disciples)

Mk 5:1–20 Expulsion of the Devils in Gerasa (Jesus is the Son of God Most High)

Mk 5:21–43 The Daughter of Jairus; the Woman with a Hemorrhage (Jesus praises the woman's faith)

Mk 6:1–6 Jesus at Nazareth (Jesus is surprised at the lack of faith among the Nazarethans)

In the narrative about the cure of the paralytic Jesus suggests to the scribes that he possesses God's authority to forgive sins. In the narrative on the calling of Levi Jesus suggests to the scribes that he is a doctor for those who are not healthy (sinners). In the pericope on fasting Jesus suggests to the disciples of John and to the Pharisees that he is "a bridegroom" of the chosen people (the Messiah). In the narrative "The Disciples and the Sabbath" Jesus reveals to the Pharisees that he is the Son of Man, lord of Sabbath. Thus we can see that in four successive pericopes Jesus presents to the witnesses of his own deeds the problem of his dignity – who he is. This theme will be resumed in the pericope "The Mercy of Jesus", where we find out that the family of Jesus regarded him as mentally ill. In the next pericope, "The Blasphemy of the Scribes", Mark provides the scribes' opinion about Jesus. According to them, Jesus is possessed and he expels the demons with the power of Beelzebub. Jesus demonstrates that such accusation does not make sense because Satan cannot fight against himself. In the next pericope Mark defends Jesus with his own words, when Jesus says that his nearest family are those who do the will of God.

After the teaching in parables Mark returns to the theme of the dignity of Jesus by including the narratives dealing with it: "The Storm on the Sea" and "Expulsion of the Devils in Gerasa". In the first of them Mark shows the reaction of the disciples of Jesus to the miracle worked by him. Their reaction is awe and the question: *Who can this be?* Jesus criticises their lack of faith. Beside the theme of the dignity of Jesus, a new theme appears here, namely the necessity of faith in Jesus. In the second narrative Mark writes that the demon knew the dignity of Jesus as he called him the Son of God Most High. Thus we can now see that in those two narratives Mark logically develops the topic of the dignity of Jesus. So far he only presented Jesus' suggestions, the scribes' opinion about Jesus, the opinion of Jesus' family, and now he presents the attitude of Jesus' disciples towards him, and the knowledge the demons had about Jesus. The development of this topic can also be presented like this: first there is the scribes' surprise (*Why does the man talk in that way?*) (Mk 2:7), then a suspicion of his insanity (Mk 3:21),

next the condemnation of Jesus as a possessed man (Mk 3:22), followed by fear and a question about the secret of Jesus asked by people friendly towards him (the disciples) (Mk 4:41), and finally the disclosure of the secret by the demons (Mk 5:7).

This very theme – the development of the topic of the dignity of Jesus and the necessity of having faith in him – is the reason for shifting the pericope about the daughter of Jairus and the woman with a hemorrhage (Mk 5:21–43). Jesus praises the woman for her faith (*Daughter, it is your faith that has cured you. Go in peace and be free of this illness*) (Mk 5:34). Jairus, who has been informed that his daughter is dead, is comforted by Jesus: *Fear is useless. What is needed is trust* (Mk 5:36).

The Mk 2:1–6:1 fragment ends with the pericope about Jesus in Nazareth voicing his surprise at the lack of faith among the inhabitants of Nazareth (see Mk 6:6).

The question can now be asked why the fragment dedicated to the dignity of Jesus and to faith in him (Mk 2:1–6:1) contains the speech in parables, which has nothing to do with these topics. The parables are about the kingdom of God. In fact Mark could not remove the speech from this fragment because it had to come before the pericope on the Commissioning of the Twelve to Galilee (cf. Mk 6:7–13). In accordance with the prophecies about the preaching of the Gospel, the Twelve were to preach to the Galileans the good news that the kingdom of God was at hand.

In the Gospel of Matthew, the speech in parables comes after the commissioning of the Twelve. This is connected with the structure of his Gospel being related to the structure of the Pentateuch. And besides, the commissioning of the Twelve in his Gospel comes after the Sermon on the Mount.

Differences in the composition of Mk as compared with Mt 10:1–13:58

Mt	Mk
The Choice of the Twelve (10:1–4)	3:13–19
—	3:20–21 Strained relations with his relatives
The Missionary Sermon	6:7–13**
Commissioning of the Twelve (10:5–16)**	—
Prophecy of the Persecution (10:17–23)	—
Courage under Persecution (10:24–33)	—
To Follow Jesus or Be Against him (10:34–42)	—
The Reward (10:40–42)	—

The Baptist's Deputation (11:2–6)	—
Christ's Testimony to John (11:7–15)	—
The Wayward Children (11:16–19)	—
The Impenitent Towns (11:20–24)	—
Jesus and his Father (11:25–27)	—
"Come to me" (11:28–30)	**2:23–28
The Disciples and the Sabbath (12:1–7)**	**3:1–6
A Man with a Withered hand (12:9–14)**	—
The Mercy of Jesus (12:15–21)	3:22–27
Blasphemy of the Pharisees (12:22–30)	3:28–30
Sin against the Holy Spirit (12:31–37)	—
The Sign of Jonah (12:38–42)	—
The Return to Sin (12:43–45)	3:31–35
Jesus and his Family (12:46–50)	—
The Sermon in the Parables	4:1–9
Parable of the Seed (13:1–9)	4:1–13
Purpose of the Parables (13:10–17)	4:14–20
Explanation of the Parable of the Seed (13:18–23)	4:21 The Logion of the Lamp**
Mt 5:15**	4:22 "Things are hidden"***
Mt 10:26**	4:24 The Parable of the Measure**
Mt 7:2**	4:25 "To Those Who Have" **
Mt 13:12**	4:26–29 Seed Grows of Itself
—	—
The Weeds (13:24–30)	4:30–32
The Mustard Seed (13:31–32)	—
Parable of the Leaven (13:33)	—
First Ending of the Teaching (13:34–35)	—
Explanation of the Parable of the Weed (13:36–43)	—
The Treasure and the Pearl (13:44–46)	—
Parable of the Net (13:47–50)	—
Second Ending of the Teaching in Parables (13:51–52)	4:33–34 The End of the Teaching in Parables
—	4:35–41 The Storm on the Sea**
Mt 23–27**	5:1–20 Expulsion of the Devils in Gerasa**
Mt 8:28–34**	5:21–34 The Woman with a Hemorrhage**
Mt 9:20–22**	5:35–43 The Daughter of Jairus**
Mt 9:18–19.23–26**	6:1–6
Jesus at Nazareth (13:53–58)	—

**Removal of the narratives of Two Blind Men (Mt 9:27–31)
and Possessed Mute (Mt 9:32–34)**

Mt 9:27 *As Jesus moved on from there, two blind men came after him crying out, “Son of David, have pity on us!”* 28 *When he got to the house, the blind men caught up with him. Jesus said to them, “Are you confident I can do this?”* “Yes, Lord,” they told him. 29 *At that he touched their eyes and said, “Because of your faith it shall be done to you”;* 30 *and they recovered their sight. Then Jesus warned them sternly, “See to it that no one knows of this.”* 31 *But they went off and spread word of him through the whole area.* 32 *As they were leaving, suddenly some people brought him a mute who was possessed by a demon.* 33 *Once the demon was expelled the mute began to speak, to great surprise of the crowds. “Nothing like this has ever been seen in Israel!” they exclaimed.* 34 *But the Pharisees were saying, “He casts out demons through the prince of demons.”*

In the Gospel of Matthew these narratives follow the pericopes: “The Question of Fasting” (Mt 9:14–17) and “A Dead Girl and Woman with a Hemorrhage” (9:18–26). The pericope of the daughter of Jairus has – as we know – been moved by Mark to a further position for the purpose of logical development of the theme of the dignity of Jesus in the whole fragment from 2:1 to 6:6. It was out of the question to leave the two narratives about the cures in their original location, i.e. after the pericope “The Question of Fasting” (Mk 2:18–22), because it would clearly upset the logic: in the part from chapter 2:1 to 3:6 Mark has grouped texts in which Jesus suggests that he is more than a man. In the above narratives about the cures, Jesus suggests nothing about himself. Besides, in the first of these cure narratives Jesus is addressed as “Son of David”. It is not this kind dignity of Jesus that Mark has in mind in the whole of the 2:1–6:6 fragment. In the first pericope of this fragment, Jesus is presented as the one who has the power to forgive sins (he is therefore equal to God); in the sixth pericope – “The Mercy of Jesus” (Mk 3:7–12) – unclean spirits call Jesus “the Son of God”, while in the pericope on “the Expulsion of the Devils in Gerasa” (Mk 5:1–20) the unclean spirits call Jesus “Son of God Most High”. A pericope with the appellation “the Son of David” clearly does not fit into this context.

In the narrative of the cure of two blind men Matthew emphasises the problem of faith. Jesus demands of the blind men that they have faith. Mark takes up the problem of faith much later, only in the pericope on “The Storm on the Sea” (Mk 4:35–41), and develops it further. The removal of the text of Mt 9:27–31 is beneficial for the composition of his Gospel.

The second narrative about cure does not fit into the Markan fragment 2:1–6:6, also because that narrative contains a speech about the blasphemy

of the Pharisees addressed at Jesus. Mark writes about such blasphemies in the sixth pericope after the one on “the Question of Fasting”; cf. Mk 3:22–30 “Blasphemy of the Scribes”, i.e. in the immediate context. The pericope on “Blasphemy of the Scribes” in the Gospel of Matthew is found in a more remote context (sixteen pericopes further); cf. Mt 12:22–30.

One may ask why Mark did not shift the two narratives about the cure together with the pericope on the daughter of Jairus and the woman with a hemorrhage, after which they appear in the Gospel of Matthew. When it comes to the first one, the likely reason is that he did not want to multiply the teaching on the need of faith in the immediate context. When it comes to the second one – he did not want to repeat in the immediate context the same blasphemy of the scribes.

It cannot be ruled out that Mark, similarly to Matthew, tried to preserve the typological number of episodes in the activity of Jesus.

Removal of the *summarium* about teaching and the logion on harvest (Mt 9:35–38)

Mt 9:35 *Jesus continued his tour of all the towns and villages. He taught in their synagogues, he proclaimed the good news of God's reign, and he cured every sickness and disease. 36 At the sight of the crowds, his heart was moved with pity. They were lying prostrate from exhaustion, like sheep without a shepherd. 37 He said to his disciples: "The harvest is good but labourers are scarce. Beg the harvest master 38 to send out labourers to gather his harvest."*

The content of this summary does not fit into Mark's text for several reasons. (1) Mark had already written about Jesus teaching in the synagogues earlier, in not too distant a context: *So he went into their synagogues preaching the good news and expelling demons throughout the whole of Galilee. (Mk 1:39)*. Matthew does not have this text. (2) Matthew's summary goes not only upon the theme of the dignity of Jesus, which for Mark, in the fragment 2:1–6:6, is very important. (3) The logion on harvest diverts the reader's attention from the secret of Jesus. Mark decided to compose a different summary (see 3:7–12). It had to be longer, because he had removed the first, longer, summary of Matthew (Mt 4:23–25), and it had to emphasise the theme of the dignity of Jesus. In the redaction of that summary Mark used the content of Matthew's first summary.

The summary in Mk 3:7–12 as compared with the summary in Mt 4:23–25, removed by Mark

Mt 4	Mk 3
<p>23 Jesus toured all of Galilee. He taught in their synagogues, proclaimed the good news of the kingdom, <u>and cured the people of every disease and illness.</u> 24 As a consequence of this, <u>his reputation travelled the length of Syria.</u> They carried to him all those afflicted with various diseases and racked with pain: the possessed, the lunatics, the paralyzed. He cured them all. <u>25 The great crowds that followed him came from Galilee, the Ten Cities, Jerusalem and Judea, and from across the Jordan.</u></p>	<p>7 Jesus withdrew toward the lake with his disciples. <u>A great crowd followed him from Galilee, 8 and an equally great multitude came to him from Judea, Jerusalem, Idumea, Transjordan, and the neighborhood of Tyre and Sidon, because they had heard what he had done.</u> 9 In view of their numbers, he told his disciples to have a fishing boat ready for him so that he could avoid the press of the crowd against him. 10 <u>Because he had cured many, all who had afflictions kept pushing toward him to touch him.</u> 14 Unclean spirits would catch sight of him, fling themselves down at his feet, and shout, "You are the Son of God!", 12 while he kept ordering them sternly not to reveal who he was.</p>

Translocation of the pericope on the Commissioning of the Twelve (Mt 10:5–16/Mk 6:7–13)

In the Gospel of Matthew, after the pericope on "the Choice of the Twelve" (Mt 10:1–4/Mk 3:13–19) and before the pericope on "the Baptist's Deputation" (Mt 11:2–6) comes the missionary sermon (Mt 10:5–42) containing five pericopes, of which Mark places in his own Gospel only the first, on "the Commissioning of the Twelve" (Mk 6:7–13). Yet he does not join it with "the Choice of Twelve", but with the narrative on "Jesus in Nazareth" and with the "Death of the Baptist" narrative.

Composition of Mk 3:13–6:29 as compared with Mt 5:1–14:12

Mt	Mk
<p>The Sermon on the Mount (5–7) The Choice of the Twelve (10:1–4) <u>The Missionary Sermon (10:5–16)</u> The Baptist's Deputation (11:2–6) The Sermon in the Parables (13:1–52) Jesus at Nazareth (13:53–58) Death of John the Baptist (14:1–12)</p>	<p>The Choice of the Twelve (3:13–19) The Sermon in the Parables (4:1–34)</p>

	The Storm on the Sea (4:35–41) Expulsion of the Devils in Gerasa (5:1–20) The Daughter of Jairus; a Woman with a Hemorrhage (5:21–43) Jesus at Nazareth (6:1–6) <u>Mission of the Twelve and Missionary Sermon (6:7–13)</u> Herod' Opinion about Jesus (6:14–16) Death of John the Baptist (6:17–29)
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The above translocation is connected first of all with the fact that Mark removed the Sermon on the Mount and the first longer speech of Jesus (the sermon in parables) appears in the Gospel of Mark only after the choice of the Twelve. It would not have been right if Jesus, when commissioning the Twelve, ordered them to preach the good news without having first delivered a single speech. Another reason for shifting this pericope is that in the Mk 2:1–6:6 fragment Mark arranged the pericopes in terms of the theme of the dignity of Jesus and the necessity of faith. In his Gospel, “Commissioning of the Twelve” comes after the “Jesus at Nazareth” pericope, which closes the set of pericopes emphasising the necessity of faith.

Removal of the prophecy of the persecution (Mt 10:17–23)

Mt 10:17 Be on your guard with respect to others. They will haul you into court, they will flog you in their synagogues. You will be brought to trial before rulers and kings, to give witness before them and before Gentiles on my account. 19 When they hand you over, do not worry about what you will say or how you will say it. When the hour comes, you will be given what you are to say. 20 You yourselves will not be the speakers; the Spirit of your Father will be speaking in you. 21 Brother will hand over brother to death, and the father his child; children will turn against parents and have them put to death. 22 You will be hated by all on account of me. But whoever holds out till the end will escape death. 23 When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next. I solemnly assure you, you will not have covered the towns of Israel before the Son of Man comes.

This is the first of the four pericopes removed by Mark from the missionary sermon. The removal of them all is understandable in the light of our reflections on the literary genre of Mark's work. The prophecy of persecutions is not the good news he wrote about. But Mark had yet another reason for removing them, namely to eliminate repetition.

Matthew once again writes about persecutions in the eschatological sermon (cf. Mt 24:9–14), he even repeats the logion on hate and perseverance

but divides it into two parts, the first part appearing in verse 9, and the second part in verse 14. In his own Gospel, Mark includes the prophecy of persecutions in the eschatological sermon, where he places the logion from Mt 10:22:

Mt	Mk
10:22 <i>You will be hated by all on account of me. But whoever holds out till the end will escape death.</i>	
24:9 <i>They will hand you over to torture and kill you. 10 Indeed, you will be hated by all nations on my account.</i>	13:13 <i>Because of my name, you will be hated by everyone. Nonetheless, the man who holds out till the end is the one who will come through safe.</i>
24:13 <i>The man who holds out to the end, however, is the one who will see salvation.</i>	

Removal of the call for courage under persecution (Mt 10:24–33)

Mt 10:24 *No pupil outranks his teacher, no slave his master. 25 The pupil should be glad to become like his teacher, the slave like his master. If they call the head of the house Beelzebub, how much more the members of his household! 26 Do not let them intimidate you. Nothing is concealed that will not be revealed, and nothing hidden that will not become known. 27 What I tell you in darkness, speak in the light. What you hear in private, proclaim from the housetops. 28 Do not fear those who deprive the body of life but cannot destroy the soul. Rather, fear him who can destroy both body and soul in Gehenna. 29 Are not two sparrows sold for next to nothing? Yet not a single sparrow falls to the ground without your Father's consent. 30 As for you, every hair of your head has been counted; 31 so do not be afraid of anything. You are worth more than an entire flock of sparrows. 32 Whoever acknowledges me before men I will acknowledge before my Father in heaven. 33 Whoever disowns me before men I will disown before my Father in heaven.*

Mark has kept only one verse from this pericope, but in a different context:

Mt 10:26	Mk 4:22
<i>Nothing is concealed that will not be revealed, and nothing hidden that will not become known.</i>	<i>Things are hidden only to be revealed at a later time; they are covered so as to be brought out into the open.</i>

Moreover, a logion parallel to the one in Mt 10:33 can be found in Mark's pericope about the doctrine of the cross (Mk 8:34–38):

Mt 10:33	Mk 8:38
<i>Whoever disowns me before men I will disown before my Father in heaven.</i>	<i>If anyone in this faithless and corrupt age is ashamed of me and my doctrine, the Son of Man will be ashamed of him when he comes with the holy angels in his Father's glory.</i>

Matthew does not have this logion in the parallel text on the doctrine of the cross (Mt 16:24–28), which shows that Mk 8:34–38 certainly originates from Matthew's pericope on courage under persecution, which Mark did not include in his Gospel.

Mark removed this pericope because he did not want to pursue the theme of persecutions.

Removal of the pericope “To Follow Jesus or to Be Against him” (Mt 10:34–39)

Mt 10:34 *Do not suppose that my mission on earth is to spread peace. My mission is to spread, not peace, but division.* 35 *I have come to set a man at odds with his father; a daughter with her mother; a daughter-in-law with her mother-in-law:* 36 *in short, to make a man's enemies those of his own household.* 37 *Whoever loves father or mother, son or daughter, more than me is not worthy of me.* 38 *He who will not take up his cross and come after me is not worthy of me.* 39 *He who seeks only himself brings himself to ruin, whereas he who brings himself to nought for me discovers who he is.*

In the first part of this pericope (verses 34–37) Jesus announces that he will become the cause of division even within families. In the second part Jesus talks about the necessity of taking up one's cross and following him. The first part does not sit very well within the theme of the good news. The announcement in Mt 10:21 of divisions in the family was also removed by Mark.

The reason for the removal of the second part is perhaps Mark's tendency to eliminate repetitions, considering that a similar call for self-denial can be found in the pericope on “The Doctrine of the Cross” in Mk 8:34–35, parallel to Mt 16:24–28.

Mt	Mk 8
<i>10:38 He who will not take up his cross and come after me is not worthy of me. 39 He who seeks only himself brings himself to ruin, whereas he who brings himself to nought for me discovers who he is.</i>	

16:24 ... <i>"If a man wishes to come after me, he must deny his very self, take up his cross, and begin to follow in my footsteps. 25 Whoever would save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for me sake will find it. ..."</i>	34 ... <i>"If a man wishes to come after me, he must deny his very self, take up his cross, and follow in my steps. 35 Whoever would preserve his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for my sake and the gospel's will preserve it. ..."</i>
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Removal of the pericope on "The Reward" (Mt 10:40–42)

Mt 10:40 *He who welcomes you welcomes me, and he who welcomes me welcomes him who sent me. 41 He who welcomes a prophet because he bears the name of prophet receives a prophet's reward; he who welcomes a holy man because he is known to be holy receives a holy man's reward. 42 And I promise you that whoever gives a cup of cold water to one of these lowly ones because he is a disciple will not want for his reward.*

The motive behind the removal of this pericope is to eliminate repetition. A logion parallel to the one in Mt 10:42 appears in Mk 9:38–41, in a pericope that Matthew does not have (but Luke does).

Mt 10	Mk 9
42 <i>And I promise you that whoever gives a cup of cold water to one of these lowly ones because he is a disciple will not want for his reward."</i>	41 <i>Any man who gives you a drink of water because you belong to Christ will not, I assure you, go without his reward.</i>

Removal of the pericope on "The Baptist's Deputation" (Mt 11:2–6) and "Christ's Testimony to John" (11:7–15)

Mt 11:2 *Now John in prison heard about the works Christ was performing, and sent a message by his disciples to ask him, 3 "Are you 'He who is to come' or do we look for another?" 4 In reply, Jesus said to them: "Go back and report to John what you hear and see: 5 the blind recover their sight, cripples walk, lepers are cured, the deaf hear, dead men are raised to life, and the poor have the good news preached to them. 6 Blest is the man who finds no stumbling block in me."*

Mt 11:7 *As the messengers set off, Jesus began to speak to the crowds about John; "What did you go out to the wasteland to see – a reed swaying in the wind? 8 Tell me, what did you go out to see – someone luxuriously dressed? Remember, those who dress luxuriously are to be found in royal palaces. 9 Why then did you go out – to see a prophet? A prophet indeed, and something more! 10 It is about this man Scripture says, 'I send my messenger ahead of you to prepare your way before you.' 11 I solemnly assure you, history has not known a man born of woman greater than John*

the Baptist. Yet the least born into the kingdom of God is greater than he. 12 From John the Baptist's time until now the kingdom of God has suffered violence, and the violent take it by force. 13 All the prophets as well as the law spoke prophetically until John. 14 If you are prepared to accept it, he is Elijah, the one who was certain to come. 15 Heed carefully what you hear!"

The question asked by the disciples of John the Baptist may suggest that John did not recognise the Messiah in Jesus. But it was not so. John's disciples taking part in this deputation probably wanted to bring to Jesus' attention the situation of their teacher. Mark chose to pass over this event so as not to lead the reader into this error. Besides, Mark may have decided that the narrative about John's deputation was too closely linked with the Jewish community to be delivered to Romans. It has to be kept in mind that Mark's intention was to write a Gospel of Jesus Christ, and not a history of his activity.

Removal of the pericopes on "The Wayward Children" (Mt 11:16–19) and "The Impenitent Towns" (Mt 11:20–24)

Jesus was critical towards the Jews of his time who witnessed his miracles, so Mark preferred to remove this text for the sake of his Roman addressees.¹⁵⁰

Removal of the pericope on "Jesus and his Father" (Mt 11:25–27)

Mt 11:25 On one occasion Jesus spoke thus: "Father, Lord of heaven and earth, to you I offer praise; for what you have hidden from the learned and the clever you have revealed to the merest children. 26 Father, it is true. You have graciously willed it so. 27 Everything has been given over to me by my Father. No one knows the son but the Father; and no one knows the Father but the Son – and anyone to whom the son wishes to reveal him.

Mark removed this logion because it emphasised the privileged role of "the lowly" in God's plans.¹⁵¹

Removal of the "Come to me" pericope (Mt 11:28–30)

Mt 11:28 Come to me, all you who are weary and find life burdensome, and I will refresh you. 29 Take my yoke upon your shoulders and learn from me, for I am gentle and humble of heart. Your souls will find rest, 30 for my yoke is easy and my burden light.

¹⁵⁰ See the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addressees.

¹⁵¹ See the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addressees.

Humility is not a feature which Mark would like to expose in Jesus. In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus is first and foremost the Son of God, full of power.¹⁵²

Removal of the pericope on “Jesus the chosen servant” (Mt 12:15–21)

Mark’s motive for the removal of this pericope is the same as in the case of the pericope in Mt 11:28–30.¹⁵³

Inclusion of the pericope on “The Mercy of Jesus” (Mk 3:7–12)

Mk 3:7 Jesus withdrew toward the lake with his disciples. A great crowd followed him from Galilee, 8 and equally great multitude came to him from Judea, Jerusalem, Idumea, Transjordan, and neighborhood of Tyre and Sidon, because they had heard what he had done. 9 In view of their numbers, he told his disciples to have a fishing boat ready for him so that he could avoid the press of the crowd against him. 10 Because he had cured many, all who had afflictions kept pushing toward him to touch him. 11 Unclean spirits would catch sight of him, fling themselves down at his feet, and shout, “You are the Son of God!” 12 while he kept ordering them sternly not to reveal who he was.

In the table “Mark’s division of the Mt 4:23–25 summary into two parts” it was shown that in his summary (Mk 3:7–12) Mark used the content of Mt 4:24–25. The inclusion of this summary at this particular point of his Gospel is connected, as it was pointed out above, with the arrangement of pericopes in the Mk 2:1–6:6 fragment around the theme of the dignity of Jesus and the theme of faith. In the summary Jesus is called by demons “the Son of God”.

Inclusion of the pericope on “The Tensions with Jesus’ Relatives” (Mk 3:20–21)

Mk 3:20 He returned to the home with them and again the crowd assembled, making it impossible for them to get any food whatever. 21 When his family heard of this they came to take charge of him, saying, “He is out of his mind”; while the scribes who arrived from Jerusalem asserted, “He is possessed by Beelzebub,” and “He expels demons with the help of the prince of demons.”

This is Mark’s own text. After presenting Jesus’ suggestion concerning himself and the attitude of the scribes and the Pharisees to Jesus, Mark shows that Jesus is misunderstood also by his relatives. This pericope is connected

¹⁵² See the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addresses.

¹⁵³ See the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addresses.

with the theme of the Messianic secret and is an introduction to the next pericope, in which Jesus is accused by the scribes of being possessed.

Removal of the pericope on “The Sign of Jonah” (Mt 12:38–42)

Mark removes this text because of its strong anti-Jewish character.¹⁵⁴

Removal of the pericope on “The Return to Sin” (Mt 12:43–45)

The motive for the removal of this pericope is – as in the preceding case – the condemnation by Jesus of the Jews of his time.¹⁵⁵

**Inclusion of the logion of a lamp (Mt 5:15)
and the logion “Nothing is concealed” (Mt 10:26)**

Mk 4:21 *He said to them: “Is a lamp acquired to be put under a bushel basket or hidden under a bed? Is it not meant to be put on a stand? 22 Things are hidden only to be revealed at a later time; they are covered so as to be brought out into the open. 23 Let him who has ears hear me, hear!”*

The parable of the lamp was redacted by Mark on the basis of Matthew’s two texts: Mt 5:15 and Mt 10:26:

Mt	Mk 4
5:15 <i>Men do not light a lamp and then put it under a bushel basket. They set it on a stand where it gives light to all in the house.</i>	21 <i>“Is a lamp acquired to be put under a bushel basket or hidden under a bed? Is it not meant to be put on a stand?</i>
10:26 <i>Nothing is concealed that will not be revealed, and nothing hidden that will not become known.</i>	22 <i>Things are hidden only to be revealed at a later time; there are covered so as to be brought out into the open</i>

The parable of the lamp is included by Mark in connection with the theme of the reign of God in the prophecies about the preaching of the good news in Is 52. Cf.:

Is 52:7 *How beautiful upon the mountains
are the feet of him who brings glad
tidings,
Announcing peace, bearing good news (euaggelizomenos agatha),
announcing salvation, and saying to (sotērian),
Zion,
“Your God is King!”*

¹⁵⁴ See the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addresses.

¹⁵⁵ See the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addresses..

Is 52:10 *The Lord has bared his holy arm
in the sight of all the nations;
All the ends of the earth will behold
the salvation of our God.*

Mark wishes to convince the reader that the kingdom of God which Jesus inaugurates, imperceptible at the beginning to the great ones of this world, will in the future shine for all the nations, because a light is not lit so as to be hidden. The victory of the kingdom of God is certain.

**Inclusion of the logion on the measure (Mt 7:2) and the logion
“To the man who has” (Mt 13:12)**

Mk 4:24 *He said to them another time: “Listen carefully to what you hear. In the measure you give you shall receive, and more besides. 25 To those who have, more will be given; from those who have not, what little they have will be taken away.”*

The logia Mt 7:2 and 13:12 were included by Mark in a slightly changed form and joined into one parable.

Mt	Mk 4
7:2 <i>Your verdict on others will be the verdict passed on you. The measure with which you measure will be used to measure you.</i>	24 <i>“Listen carefully to what you hear. In the measure you give you shall receive, and more besides.</i>
13:12 <i>To the man who has, more will be given until he grows rich; the man who has not, will lose what little he has.</i>	25 <i>To those who have, more will be given; from those who have not, what little they have will be taken away.”</i>

These logia are linked by Mark with the theme of faith, which he takes up in the 2:1–6:6 fragment. In the Markan context they provide an answer to the critical opinions of Jesus’ relatives, scribes and Pharisees, and simultaneously serve as an admonition to those readers of the Gospel who reject it.

**Removal of the parable of the weeds and its explanation
as well as four other parables**

from the sermon of the kingdom of heaven (Mt 13:24–30.32–52)

From the sermon of the kingdom Mark removes the parable of the weeds (Mt 13:24–30) and its explanation (Mt 13:36–42) as well as the four parables: of the leaven (Mt 13:32–35), of the treasure (Mt 13:44), of the pearl (Mt 13:45–46) and of the net (Mt 13:47–52). They were removed by Mark because he wished to focus the reader’s attention on the theme suggested by the already mentioned prophecies of Isaiah 52:7.10, namely about the

victorious development of the kingdom. The problem of evil (the parables of the weeds and of the net) does not fall within the scope of the good news about the kingdom.

Removal of the first ending of the teaching in parables (Mt 13:34–35)

Mt 13:34 *He spoke to them in parables only, to fulfil what had been said through the prophet:*

*“I will open my mouth in parables,
I will announce what has lain hidden
Since the creation of the world.”*

The removal of the first ending of the teaching in parables was necessary because Mark had removed all the pericopes that came after this ending. In his Gospel, Jesus does not first speak to the crowds and later, at home, to his disciples. Let me point out that in the first ending Matthew based the teaching in parables on the prophecy from the Old Testament which was not as significant for the Romans as it was for the Jews. Because Mark had removed the first ending of the teaching and did not mention the fact that Jesus commented on it to the disciples when back at home, in his ending he wrote: *To them he spoke only by way of parable, while he kept explaining things privately to his disciples* (Mk 4:34).

There can be no doubt that Mark knew the first ending, because in “his own” ending he adopted two elements from it: the fact that Jesus spoke to the crowds and that he did not teach without parables:

Mt 13	Mk 4
34 <i>All these lessons Jesus taught the crowds in the form of parables.</i>	33 <i>By means of many such parables he taught them the message in a way they could understand.</i> 34 <i>To them he spoke only by way of parable, while he kept explaining things privately to his disciples.</i>

Change in second ending of the teaching in parables (Mt 13:51–52; Mk 4:33–34)

Mt 13:51 *“Have you understood all this?” “Yes,” they answered; 52 to which he replied, “Every scribe who is learned in the reign of God is like the head of a household who can bring from his storeroom both the new and the old.”*

Mk 4:33 *By means of many such parables he taught them the message in a way they could understand. 34 To them he spoke only by way of parable, while he kept explaining things privately to his disciples.*

The second ending of the teaching in parables, as written by Matthew, did not suit Mark for at least of two reasons. Firstly, one could conclude from it that the disciples understood Jesus well. Mark preferred to write that Jesus explained everything to them separately. Secondly, in that ending Jesus addressed an instruction to the scribes, but the instruction was superfluous when the Gospel was preached to the Romans.

Removal of the “Jesus Heals the Suffering” pericope (Mt 15:29–31) and inclusion of the narrative “Healing of a Deaf-mute” (Mk 7:31–37)

Mt 15:29 *Jesus left that place and passed along the Sea of Galilee. He went up onto the mountainside and sat down there. 30 Large crowds of people came to him bringing with them cripples, the deformed, the blind, the mute, and many others besides. They laid them at his feet and he cured them 31 The result was great astonishment in the crowds as they beheld the mute speaking, the deformed made sound, cripples walking about, and the blind seeing. They glorified the God of Israel.*

Mk 7:31 *He then left Tyrian territory and returned by way of Sidon to the Sea of Galilee, into the district of the Ten Cities. 32 Some people brought him a deaf man who had a speech impediment and begged him to lay his hand on him. 33 Jesus took him off by himself away from the crowd. He put his fingers into the man's ears and, spitting, touched his tongue; 34 then he looked up to heaven and emitted a groan. 35 He said to him, “Ephphatha!” (that is, “Be opened!”) 35 At once the man's ears were opened; he was freed from the impediment, and began to speak plainly. 36 Then he enjoined them strictly not to tell anyone; but the more he ordered them not to, the more they proclaimed it. 37 Their amazement went beyond: “He has done everything well! He makes the deaf hear and the mute speak!”*

It seems that Mark's replacement of Matthew's pericope with his own (Luke does not have a pericope parallel to Mark's) is connected with a certain theological concept. It should be noted that in the immediate context Mark includes his own pericope on the cure of the blind (Mk 8:22–26), which comes last before the confession of faith by Peter (Mk 8:27–30). As we know, the confession of Peter (together with the transfiguration of Jesus on the mount) closes the first part of the Gospel dedicated to the dignity Jesus (and to the mystery of the God's kingdom). The restoration of hearing and the restoration of eyesight acquire in this case a symbolic significance: he can truly hear and see who has been touched by Jesus. It should be stressed that in these two pericopes Jesus healed by the touch: the deaf-mute was healed by the touching of his ears, the blind was healed by the touching of his eyes with saliva and the laying of hands. Also in the pericope on the

leaven of the Pharisees Jesus' symbolic speech occurs in such context. Let us take a look at the structures of the Mt 14:13–15:39 and Mk 6:34–8:9 passages:

Mt	Mk
Jesus Feeds Five Thousands (14:13–21)	6:34–44
Jesus Walks on the Water (14:22–33)	6:45–52
<u>Other Miracles (14:34–36)</u>	<u>6:53–56</u>
Jesus and the Pharisees (15:1–9)	7:1–13
The True Impurity (15:10–20)	7:14–23
The Canaanite Woman (15:21–28)	7:24–30
<u>Jesus Heals the Suffering (15:29–31)</u>	—
—	Healing of a Deaf-mute (7:31–37)
Jesus Feeds Four Thousand (15:32–39)	8:1–9
The Pharisees and Sadducees (16:1–4)	8:10–13
The Leaven of the Pharisees (16:5–12)	8:14–21
—	A Blind Man at Bethsaida (8:22–26)
Peter the Rock (16:13–20)	8:27–30

Inclusion of the Narrative on the Healing of a Blind Man (Mk 8:22–26)

Mk 8:22 *When they arrived at Bethsaida, some people brought him a blind man and begged him to touch him. 23 Jesus took the blind man's hand and led him outside the village. Putting spittle on his eyes he laid his hands on him and asked, "Can you see anything?" 24 The man opened his eyes and said, "I can see people but they look like walking trees!" 25 Then a second time Jesus laid hands on his eyes, and he saw perfectly; his sight was restored and he could see everything clearly. 26 Jesus sent him home with the admonition, "Do not even go into the village."*

It was said above that Mark had given a symbolical meaning to this cure and included it at the end of the first part of his Gospel that deals with the dignity of Jesus. The whole truth can be seen "clearly and perfectly" when we have been touched by Jesus.

Removal of the Pericope on "Paying the Temple Tax" (Mt 17:24–27)

The topic of this pericope is the dignity of Jesus, but for Mark it was probably too strongly connected with the Jewish community, and for that reason it could not be included in a Gospel intended for the Romans.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ See the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addresses.

**Removal of the Parable of “The Straying Sheep”
(Mt 18:12–14)**

In this parable Jesus says that every “little one” has a great value in the eyes of God. Mark prefers to talk about it to the Romans after they have accepted Jesus as the Lord.¹⁵⁷

**Removal of the Pericope on “Fraternal Correction”
(Mt 18:15–18)**

Mt 18:15 *“If your brother should commit some wrong against you, go and point out his fault, but keep it between the two of you. If he listens to you, you have won your brother over. 16 If he does listen, summon another, so that every case may stand on the word of two or three witnesses. 17 If he ignores them, refer it to the church. If he ignores even the church, then treat him as you would a Gentile or a tax collector. 18 I assure you, whatever you declare bound on earth shall be held bound in heaven, and whatever you declare loosed on earth shall be held loosed in heaven.”*

Luke does not have this text, either. The reason for the removal: this theme is not part of the kerygma. Mark removes it as he does other prohibitions and orders of Jesus.

**Removal of the Pericope “The Power of United Prayer”
(Mt 18:19–20)**

Mark wants to focus the reader’s attention of the kerygma, hence he removes many of Christ’s instructions concerning the rules of conduct.

**Removal of the Pericope on Forgiveness (Mt 18:21–22)
and the Parable of the Merciless Official (Mt 18:23–35)**

These instructions concern the rules of conduct and as such they do not fit the literary genre of Mark’s work.

Removal of Jesus’ Instruction on Voluntary Celibacy (Mt 19:10–12)

Due to the weight of the problem Mark includes in his Gospel Jesus’ discussion with the Pharisees on the indissolubility of the marriage (Mt 19:1–9/Mk 10:1–12), but he does not deem it necessary to include Jesus’ instruction on voluntary celibacy. Multiplication of non-kerygmatic themes would weaken the principal message of his Gospel.

¹⁵⁷ See the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addresses.

**Division of the Pericope on the Infertile Tree
(Mt 21:18–22/Mk 11:12–24 and 20–23)**

Mt	Mk
<p>21:1–11 Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem <i>21:10 As he entered Jerusalem the whole city was stirred to its depths, demanding, “Who is this?” 11 And the crowd kept answering, “This is the prophet Jesus from Nazareth in Galilee.”</i></p> <p>21:12–17 Cleaning out the Temple <i>21:12 Jesus entered the temple precincts and drove out all those engaged there in buying and selling. 21:17 With that he left them and went out of the city to Bethany, where he spent the night.</i></p> <p>21:18–22 Jesus Curses a Fig Tree <i>21:18 At dawn, as Jesus was returning to the city, he felt hungry. 19 Seeing a fig tree by the roadside he went over to it, but found nothing there except leaves. He said to it, “Never again shall you produce fruit!”;</i></p> <p><i>And it withered up instantly. 20 The disciples were dumbfounded when they saw this. Asked, “Why did the fig tree wither up so quickly?” 21 Jesus said: “Believe me, if you trust and do not falter, not only will you do what I did to the fig tree, but if you say to this mountain ‘Be lifted up and thrown into the sea,’ even that will happen. 22 You will receive all that you pray for, provided you have faith.”</i></p>	<p>11:1–11 Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem <i>11:11 He entered Jerusalem and went into the temple precincts,</i></p> <p><i>He inspected everything there, but since it was already late in the afternoon, he went out to Bethany accompanied by the Twelve.</i></p> <p>11:12–14 Jesus Curses a Fig Tree <i>11:12 The next day when they were leaving Bethany he felt hungry. 13 Observing a fig tree some distance off, covered with foliage, he went over to see if he could find anything on it. When he reached it he found nothing but leaves; it was not the time for figs. 14 Then addressing it he said, “Never again shall anyone eat of you fruit!” His disciples heard all this.</i></p> <p>11:15–19 Cleansing of the Temple <i>11:15 When they reached Jerusalem he entered the temple precincts and began to drive out those who were engaged in buying and selling...</i></p>

	<p>11:20–24 The Faith and the Prayer</p> <p>11:20 <i>Early next morning, as they were walking along, they saw the fig tree withered to its roots. 21 Peter remembered and said to him, “Rabbi, look! The fig tree you cursed has withered up.” 22 In reply Jesus told them: “Put your trust in God.</i></p> <p>23 <i>I solemnly assure you, whoever says to this mountain, ‘Be lifted up and thrown into the sea,’ and has no inner doubts but believes that what he says will happen, shall have it done for him.</i></p> <p>24 <i>I give you my word, if you are ready to believe that you will receive whatever you ask for in prayer, it shall be done for you.</i></p>
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Mark separates the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem from the cleansing of the temple. In his Gospel the latter event takes place on the day after and follows the narrative about the cursing of the fig tree. He changed Matthew’s chronology probably because he wanted to deliver his own conclusions concerning those events.

The triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem is, according to Mark, an especially distinct sign of the fulfilment of the prophecies about the good news. Jesus is enthusiastically greeted by the people as the King sent by God. The prophecies about the good news could not fit that day better:

*Go up onto a high mountain,
Zion, herald of glad tidings;
Cry out at the top of your voice,
Jerusalem, herald of good news!
Fear not to cry out
and say to the cities of Judah;
Here is your God!
Here comes with power
the Lord God... (Is 40:9–10)*

Mark did not want to connect the scene of the cleansing of the temple with this joyful day. On that day Jesus only “inspected everything there”. The cursing of the fig tree on the next day is a symbolic fulfilment of the court over the temple, an announcement of its fall. It is followed by the cleansing of the temple. Jesus does not find in the temple the fruit of godliness which he should find there. He speaks of this clearly: *Does not Scripture*

have it, *'My house shall be called house of prayer for all peoples'?* (Mk 11:17). This time Jesus fulfils the judgment over the temple publicly. In the Gospel of Mark, the apostles discover that the tree is withered only on the next day, which may also have a symbolical meaning. Mark suggests that the fall of the temple did not have to be fulfilled at once, i.e. during the earthly life of Jesus or soon after his Resurrection.

Inclusion of the logion on forgiveness (Mt 6:14–15/Mk 11:25)

Mt 6:14 *If you forgive the faults of others, your heavenly Father will forgive you yours. 15 If you do not forgive others, neither will your Father forgive you.*

Mk 11:25 *When you stand to pray, forgive anyone against whom you have a grievance so that your heavenly Father may in turn forgive you your faults.*

In the Gospel of Mathew, the logion on forgiveness is found in the Sermon on the Mount. Mark removed the Sermon on the Mount but wished to keep this logion and that is why he attached it to Jesus' instruction about the power of the prayer with faith. Earlier in the Gospel of Mark Jesus speaks about prayer when talking about the inefficacy of exorcisms: *He told them, 'This kind you can drive out only by prayer'.* (Mk 9:29). However in this case the logion on forgiveness clearly did not fit the context. Come to think of it, neither does it fit very well into the context of the prayer with faith, which in fact testifies to the secondariness of the Gospel of Mark.

**Removal of the Parable of Two Sons (Mt 21:28–32)
and of the Wedding Banquet (Mt 22:1–14).**

The first of these two parables refers to the chief priests and the people's elders. Christ reproaches them for their lack of faith in his mission. In the context of the former, the latter parable can be also be understood as criticism of the elders of Israel. That is why Mark removed both of them.¹⁵⁸

**Removal of a major part of the Speech against the Scribes
and Pharisees (Mt 23:1–39)**

Mark preserves only a few verses from this speech in his Gospel: Mk 12:38 *In the course of his teaching he said: 'Be on guard against the scribes, who like to parade around in their robes and accept marks of respect in public, 39 front seats in the synagogues, and places of honor at banquets. 40 These men devour the savings of widows and recite long prayers for*

¹⁵⁸ See the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addresses.

appearance' sake; it is they who will receive the severest sentence.' The reason for its removal is its anti-Judaic character.¹⁵⁹

Why did Mark not leave out the whole speech? Probably because the acts mentioned in this fragment were not characteristic only of the scribes or of the Jews in general. In this case Mark departed from the rule of removing all instructions concerning the morals, perhaps because the vanity and haughtiness talked about in this speech could have been an obstacle to the readers' acceptance of the Gospel. Besides, Mark had to explain to his readers the reasons for Jesus being accused before Pontius Pilate and for his death. One of the reasons was Jesus' conflict with the scribes and Pharisees. Hence it was necessary to present the scribes: who they were and why they were opposed to Jesus.

Inclusion of the Pericope on "The Widow's Mite"
(Mk 12:41–44)

Mk 12:41 Taking a seat opposite the treasury, he observed the crowd putting money into the collection box. Many of the wealthy put in sizable amounts; 42 but one poor widow came and put in two small copper coins worth a few cents. 42 He called his disciples over and told them: "I want you to observe that this poor widow contributed more than all the others who donated to the treasury. 44 They gave from their surplus wealth, but she gave from her want, all that she had to live on."

Mark may have provided this example of the Jewish woman's deep faith in order to offset the bad example of the scribes. It cannot be ruled out, either, that to end his account of the public teaching of Jesus Mark wanted to present as an example a person who gave away to God everything she had. Mark suggests to the reader that the words of Jesus must be accepted with faith, without trying to keep anything for oneself. The Evangelist is aware of how many things the readers of his Gospel will have to renounce. In the speech of Jesus that follows next they will find out about the persecutions that await his disciples.

Removal of three Parables from the Eschatological Sermon
(Mt 24:45–25:30)

and of the Pericope on the Last Judgment (Mt 25:31–46)

Mark removed from Matthew's eschatological sermon the parable of the faithful and unfaithful servant (Mt 24:45–51), the one of the ten virgins (Mt 25:1–13), and that of the silver pieces (Mt 25:14–30); he also left out

¹⁵⁹ See the chapter on the changes made for the sake of the addresses.

Jesus' speech about the last judgment (Mt 25:31–46). In all these parables and the speech about the judgment Jesus teaches about the responsibility for one's own life. Mark left out (with small exceptions) all texts about the judgment and the punishment because the purpose of his work was to inspire faith in Jesus and bring the good news to the reader. It is worth pointing out that the texts mentioning eternal damnation that Mark has preserved in his Gospel are all connected with the theme of faith. In the pericope on the blasphemy of the scribes who claimed that Jesus expelled devils with the authority of devils, Jesus says: Mk 3:28 *I give you my word, every sin will be forgiven mankind and all the blasphemies men utter, 29 but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will never be forgiven. He carries the guilt of his sin without end.* In the pericope on "the Temptations to Sin" Jesus threatens with Gehenna those who would become the cause of sin for one of the simple believers (cf. Mk 9:42–48).

Removal of the Last Prophecy of the Passion (Mt 26:1–2)

Mt 26:1 *Now when Jesus had finished all these discourses, he declared to his disciples, 2 "You know that in two days' time it will be Passover, and that the Son of Man is to be handed over to be crucified."*

Mark knew that the apostles had refused to believe in the possibility of Jesus' death on the cross and therefore decided to remove this sentence.

Removal of the Pericope on the End of Judas (Mt 27:3–10)

Mark was not writing a biography of Jesus. The account of the death of Judas was, according to him, superfluous in the preaching of the good news. This pericope is also absent from the Gospel of Luke.

Removal of the Pericopes on "The Precautions of the Chief Priests" (Mt 27:62–66) and

"The Tale of the Guards and Chief Priests" (Mt 28:11–15)

One could expect that the guards, witnesses to the Resurrection of Christ, would become his confessors. Their acceptance of money for their silence about the Resurrection must be an unpleasant surprise to the reader of the Gospel. According to Mark, and also to Luke, they were not worthy of mention. But it is also possible that Mark, writing for the Roman officers, did not want to present Roman soldiers in a bad light.

**Removal of the Pericope on Jesus Appearing to the Women
(Mt 28:9–10)
and Inclusion of the Pericope on Jesus Appearing to his Followers
(Mk 16:9–14)**

Mt 28:9 *Suddenly, without warning, Jesus stood before them and said, “Peace!” The women came up and embraced his feet and did him homage. 10 At this Jesus said to them, “Do not be afraid! Go and carry the news to my brothers that they are to go to Galilee, where they will see me.”*

Mk 16:9 *Jesus rose from the dead early on the first day of the week. He first appeared to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven demons. 10 She went to announce the good news to his followers, who were now grieving and weeping. 11 But when they heard that he was alive and had been seen by her, they refused to believe it. 12 Later on, as two of them were walking along on their way to the country, he was revealed to them completely changed in appearance. 13 These men retracted their steps and announced the good news to the others; but the others put no more faith in them than in Mary Magdalene. 14 Finally, as they were at table, Jesus was revealed to the Eleven. He took them to task for their disbelief and their stubbornness, since they had put no faith in those who had seen him after he had been raised.*

Probably Mark wanted to improve, from the historic point of view, on Matthew’s concise account of the Sunday of the Resurrection, where there is no mention of Jesus appearing to his disciples in Jerusalem. Matthew’s Pericope on the Resurrection of Jesus is probably composed from the angle of the typology of the Exodus. According to Mark, Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene, and she announced the Resurrection to the apostles. This account is confirmed by John the Evangelist (cf. Jn 20:11–18). According to Mark, the appearance of Jesus to the women was not of much significance, the more so that the recommendation for the apostles to go to Galilee was received by the women – in Mark’s account – through the intervention of an angel (cf. Mk 16:6–7).

CONCLUSION

A review of the theories on the origin of the Gospel of Mark and the literary relationships between the synoptic Gospels has led me to the conclusion that Mark based his redaction on the Gospel of Matthew. St Augustine was right to place the Gospel of Matthew in the first position in terms of the chronology, and the Gospel of Mark as second. I have been persuaded to embrace this opinion by Butler's arguments based on a literary analysis of these Gospels and by new arguments stemming from the proper recognition of their editorial foundations. Matthew was under a strong influence of the typology of the Exodus, Moses and Joshua, and his Gospel is closely related to the Pentateuch and partially related to the Book of Joshua. Matthew intended his work to be a new Torah and a new Book of Joshua, in other words a new Hexateuch. In his work he tried to prove that the "signs and miracles" of the Exodus were repeated as it were in the life of Jesus, through whom the Messianic prophecies were fulfilled. Matthew looked to the Pentateuch for a model of the structure and style of his own work.

Mark again wrote about the life and the teaching of Jesus because the work of Matthew did not meet the needs of evangelization in Rome. What was needed there was a concise text conveying the kerygma. The antithesis "You have heard the commandment... But what I say to you is", which is the basis of many texts in the Gospel of Matthew, did not work when it came to preaching the Gospel in a new, non-Jewish, environment. What became the basis of the Gospel of Mark was the teaching of Peter, and because Peter had used Matthew's work, it also became a source for Mark. The second Evangelist did not wish to be completely original, and it was sufficient for him to adapt the structure of Matthew's work and remove many "needless" texts from it. It should be emphasised that Mark wanted to provide his addressees with a work written as a new literary genre, the genre of gospel. Matthew did not call his own book a "Gospel", though what he delivered was a gospel; according to him, his work was a new Hexateuch, and it was only Mark who wrote the "Gospel" as a new literary genre. That is why he took into account the prophecies about the preaching of good news from the

Book of Isaiah 40:1–11 and 52:7–12, and from Ps 96:2–3. There he found themes of the good news which were in fact already present in Peter's teaching, namely the coming of God with power, the kingdom of God, peace, happiness, and salvation. He wanted to pass on to his readers the good news already announced by God in the OT, and finally delivered by Jesus. But it is necessary to remember that the good news would not have been fully "good news" if deprived of the narrative elements, stories about the deeds of Jesus, and especially about his death and Resurrection, and, what goes with it, the presentation of the reasons for Jesus' conflict with the Pharisees, scribes and the elders of the Jewish people. The Kerygma delivered to the Romans had to be rooted in historic realities.

Mark begins his Gospel with the prophecies from the Book of Malachi 3:1 and from the Book of Isaiah 40:3. The latter prophecy is found in the context of prophecies about the preaching of good news. Although Mark knew the narrative about the infancy of Jesus, he did not include it in his Gospel because that theme is not part of the kerygma, and neither is it found in Peter's speech at the home of Cornelius or in the prophecies about the preaching of good news. The omission of the narrative of the infancy of Jesus is also connected with Mark's conception of his work as a testimony, which is the primary feature of the teaching of Peter. The main theme of the first part of the Gospel of Mark, up to Peter's confession of faith (or up to the Transfiguration on the mount) is the secret of the person of Jesus, i.e. his divine dignity. Mark wanted first of all to lead his addresses to faith in Jesus, the Son of God full of power. Hence he rephrased the parallel part of the Gospel of Matthew in this light. The second part of the Gospel of Mark remains almost unchanged relative to the Gospel of Matthew because it well serves the purpose of the second part: to present God's plan of salvation and Jesus' main work of salvation – his death and Resurrection. Mark had a clear tendency to shorten Jesus' speeches that are found in the Gospel of Matthew, and to eliminate moral instructions and many of the parables of the kingdom. He did this for two reasons: He did not want to depart too far from the kerygma and from the subject matter of prophecies about the preaching of good news. When it comes to the parables of the kingdom of God (which the prophecies tell us about), Mark removed many of them so as not to obscure the main theme, the divinity of Jesus.

Thus the literary foundations of Mark required a shortening of the Gospel of Matthew and its partial rephrasing. I have tried to show in this book that both the changes in the composition and the omission of many of Matthew's texts in the Gospel of Mark can be accounted for without moving the Gospel of Mark to chronologically first position or multiplying its sources.

I have devoted special attention to the Q source hypothesis, which enjoyed great popularity in the 20th century and is still subscribed to today. In Part Two of this book I take up polemics with the arguments most often put forward against the priority of the Gospel of Matthew. I have tried to address all of them.

Why – despite so many problems with endorsing the Q source hypothesis, most of which were already raised by Butler – is it so hard for many Biblicists to accept the priority of the Gospel of Matthew? I believe there are basically only two reasons: the absence in the Gospel of Mark of the narrative of the infancy of Jesus and the lack of the Sermon on the Mount. The other arguments are not of lesser significance. In point of fact, the lack of these texts can be explained on the grounds of Mark's literary foundations. The Evangelists not only added something to what they found in their sources but they also removed things from them. Even Matthew does not have all the texts of Mark. What the given Evangelist adopted from his sources depended largely on his conception of his work and its literary foundations; because Mark set out to write a completely different work from Matthew's, those differences were bound to be large. The narrative of the infancy of Jesus and the Sermon on the Mount were not part of the kerygma and did not belong to the subject matters of prophecies about the preaching of the Gospel, so consequently they were removed by Mark.

The defender of the two-source hypothesis C. M. Tuckett¹⁶⁰ says that arguments for the existence of the Q source are mostly negative, aimed at excluding the dependence of Luke on Matthew. I hope that my arguments showing that Luke must have known the Gospel of Matthew will be found convincing. I wish to point first of all to the minor agreements and conflations, and also to the new argument of correlations between Luke's Sermon on the Plain and the Gospel of Matthew. The evidence for misinterpretation of the literary data by proponents of the two-source hypothesis is the fact that they keep introducing modifications to their own theory whenever they encounter a new problem, and this renders it "unscientific".

The secondariness of the Gospel of Mark relative to the Gospel of Matthew is confirmed not only by the ancient tradition of the Church, but also by critical-literary studies of these Gospels.

¹⁶⁰ "As we have seen, they are mostly negative arguments, trying to refute the possibility that Luke knew Matthew". C. M. Tuckett, "The Existence of Q", [in:] *The Gospel behind the Gospel. Current Studies on Q*, ed. R. A. Piper, Leiden – New York – Köln, 1995.

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Part I

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* * *

The literary foundations of Mark's Gospel dictated a shortening of the Gospel of Matthew and its partial rephrasing. Changes to the composition of the Gospel of Mark as well as the absence in it of many of Matthew's texts can be explained without positing Mark's primacy among the Evangelists, and without resorting to multiplying the sources.

Why, despite so many problems with accepting the existence of the Q-source, is it so hard for many Biblicists to recognise the primacy of the Gospel of Matthew? Basically, there appear to be only two reasons: the absence from Mark's Gospel of the narrative of Jesus's infancy and the lack of the Sermon on the Mount. But the absence of these texts can be explained on the basis of the literary foundations of Mark's Gospel. The Evangelists not only added to what they had found in their sources but they also removed things from them. Even Matthew does not have all of Mark's texts. What the Evangelists chose to take from their sources depended on their conceptions of the works they were setting out to write and their literary foundations. Because Mark was writing a completely different work from Matthew's, those differences were bound to be great. The Gospel of Matthew was intended to be a new Hexateuch, hence it had to contain the story of a new Exodus and a new conquest of the promised land, and had to include a new Messianic law, whereas the Gospel of Mark, conceived of as a book about the good news, had to contain a summary of the kerygma. Mark made use of the Gospel of Matthew, but in his redaction he was inspired by the teaching of St Peter and the Old-Testament prophecy about the Gospel. The narrative of the infancy of Jesus and the Sermon on the Mount were not part of the kerygma or subject of the prophecies on the teaching of the Gospel. For this reason they were removed by Mark.



ISBN 978-83-7823-693-1



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