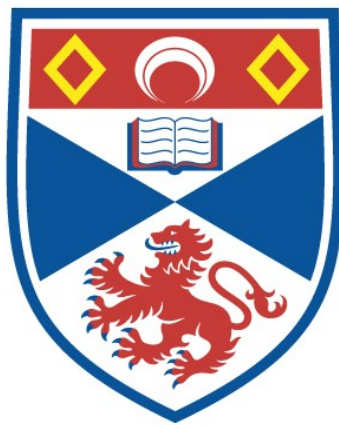


# THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRIST IN ST. MARK'S GOSPEL

**Alexander Abercromby Morrison**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



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THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRIST IN ST. MARK'S GOSPEL,

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being a Thesis presented by

ALEXANDER ABERCROMBY MORRISON, M.A., B.D.,

to the University of St. Andrews

in application for the Degree of Ph.D.





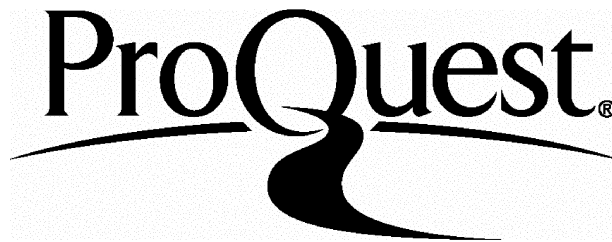
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D E C L A R A T I O N

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I hereby declare that the following Thesis  
is based on the results of experiments carried  
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The Research was carried out in -

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## C A R E E R

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I matriculated in the University of St. Andrews in October, 1930, and followed a course leading to graduation in Arts in June, 1934, and thereafter a course leading to graduation in Divinity in June, 1937.

In October, 1937, I commenced the Research on the Doctrine of the Christ in St. Mark's Gospel which is now being submitted as a Ph.D. Thesis.

I was appointed in 1937 to a Berry Research Scholarship of £160 for one year.



C E R T I F I C A T E

I certify that ALEXANDER ABERCROMBY MORRISON has spent nine terms at Research Work in the University of St. Andrews, of which three terms were spent in the University of Heidelberg while a matriculated Research Student at the University of St. Andrews, that he has fulfilled the condition of Ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews), and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying Thesis in application for the Degree of Ph.D.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRIST IN ST. MARK'S GOSPEL.

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## THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRIST IN ST. MARK'S GOSPEL.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE PROBLEM.

To propose the doctrine of the Christ in St. Mark's Gospel as a subject for investigation is an act which in the eyes of many would probably require justification from the charge of sheer needlessness. They would say at once that there is no problem at all. For it is asserted again and again that in this Gospel we have something so essentially simple and straightforward, that the question of doctrine doesn't really arise, that what we have in St. Mark is the plain and unadorned narrative of the life of Jesus without any of the complications of theology to make things difficult. But this simplicity is in point of fact more apparent than real, and behind the seeming straightforward structure of his Gospel there lurk difficulties which have to be faced.

It is now almost fifty years since these difficulties received a particularly vivid double exposition. The reconstructions of Schweitzer and Wrede were artificial in the extreme, and that of Schweitzer can be safely /



safely said now to have only historical value, while that of Wrede has its chief followers in the school of Formgeschichte. But that must not blind us to the fact that their criticisms of what went before are both valid and sound.<sup>1</sup>

Wrede bases his attack on the element of mystery in the Gospel. I will deal with this more fully later, suffice it for the moment to say that I shall endeavour to show that an element of importance in St. Mark is a great incomprehensible numinousness, to which even Wrede does not do justice in ascribing to the Gospel-writer a theory of a Secret Messiah. But still less justice is done by explaining away the injunctions to secrecy as safeguards against a false Messianism.

Schweitzer's main criticism was on the apparent lack of order in the narrative of the Galilean Ministry. And in this he has the support not only of the 'Form-Critics', for such more moderate scholars of recent times as Rawlinson<sup>2</sup> and Streeter<sup>3</sup> hold that we can only get /

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<sup>1</sup> For these criticisms see especially:-  
Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*,  
(E.T.), pp. 331ff.  
Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*,  
pp. 14-22.

<sup>2</sup> *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, Intro. pp. xixff.

<sup>3</sup> *The Four Gospels*, p. 424.



get an outline of the journeyings of Jesus from St. Mark chs. i-viii by reading into the text much more than is actually there.

But this leads us to a second justification of this study. The 'Formgeschichtliche Schule' have also an important element of truth in their attack on the idea of the Gospel as a simple story. Karl Schmidt<sup>1</sup> has shown how the framework of the narrative is secondary to the story of the single event, and Dibelius<sup>2</sup> and Bultmann<sup>3</sup> proceed to treat the single event or saying as the only thing of account, regarding the framework as something of no historical value. But they render themselves open to the charge of oversimplification just as much as those who see nothing but a simple straight narrative.<sup>4</sup> For even the Second Gospel will not /

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<sup>1</sup> Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu.

<sup>2</sup> Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums.

<sup>3</sup> Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition. The works of Dibelius and Bultman are quoted throughout in their second and greatly expanded editions. I felt that that of Dibelius was too important for my subject to quote in its English translation, "From Tradition to Gospel".

<sup>4</sup> Much of the best work on the Gospels has been marred by this attempt to make one key open every door. The 'Form-Critics' are guilty, so are Schweitzer and Wrede in their quoted works, and one of the finest books on the Gospels of the 20th Century, Hoskyns and Davey's *The Riddle of the New Testament* similarly has the weakness of trying to find allusions to the Old Testament everywhere.



not admit of so easy a solution as Dibelius would give for its Form. This is recognized by Dibelius himself, and he does make allowance for what he calls a 'Deutung der Tradition', which he ascribes to the influence of the 'Theory of the Secret Messiah', following Wrede.<sup>1</sup> But he scarcely gives enough importance to the passages he quotes, and there are others too.

A concrete instance may not be out of place here. In the opening chapter of our Gospel (Mk. i, 1-39) we have what we can only describe as a summary, and a summary too of very important points at the beginning of the life of Jesus. The Activity of the Baptist, the Baptism of Jesus, the Temptation, the First Preaching, the Call of the Disciples, such things as these are hastened through with the barest mention. They must be told for this is the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ ἀρχαίως ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτισμοῦ Ἰωάννου. <sup>2</sup> But they are only touched upon. The whole aim of the Evangelist is to get on to something else as quickly as possible. Even the miracle of vv. 23-26 is told with none of the 'breiter Erzählung' which Dibelius marks as /

<sup>1</sup> Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, (2nd. edn.), pp. 227ff.

<sup>2</sup> Acts I, 22. It seems certain that for the Apostolic Preaching the Gospel began with the Baptism by John.



as typical of the Novellen.<sup>1</sup> It is simply told as quickly as possible because a reference to the healing activity of Jesus was necessary to complete the picture.

One might compare this section of the Gospel to the Prologue of a Greek tragedy, not part of the drama so much as the necessary setting for it. It is scarcely credible that such meagre mention is due to lack of material, that St. Mark for instance only knew the tradition that Jesus was tempted, without the details of the temptations. Here we have then evidence on purely formal grounds that St. Mark is no mere retailer of tradition, that his work is neither a simple chronicle nor a collection of single incidents.

But this leads to the third and most important justification for this study. What do we mean when we speak of the historical value of the Gospels? For there may be said to be two kinds of historical accuracy, accuracy of individual detail and accuracy of general impression. The two need not go hand in hand. For it is possible to give an account in which every detail is correct but the whole picture quite misleading, and on the other hand it might even be possible to give a true impression by inventing details to fit the part.

The /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 73ff.



The theory of verbal inspiration would, of course, claim for all the Gospels both historicities to an absolute degree. But passing it by, it does seem to me that criticism of the Gospels has been much too pre-occupied with historicity of detail, that there has been much more discussion on the fidelity of St. Mark as a narrator of incidents than on his fidelity as a portrait-painter. The history of criticism of the Marcan structure illustrates how this literalness has tended too much to dominate thought. I am thinking especially of the first half of the Gospel around which most controversy has raged.

The question has been debated as to whether we can find in the first eight chapters an accurate itinerary of the movements of Jesus, directed by initial success, then by growing opposition of the Pharisees or danger from Herod. This view has had its champions, but as I have already pointed out, has been more and more abandoned even by more moderate scholars; its chief weakness is that it involves so much reading between the lines.<sup>1</sup> If this was what St. Mark meant to say he certainly might have made it more plain. The so-called /

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<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson, loc. cit., gives a particularly good summary of the objections to a 'Marcan Hypothesis'.

so-called 'Marcan Hypothesis' is really a tour de force, an attempt to find behind the Gospel-writer something of which he preserved fragments without understanding.

And notwithstanding the severity of his criticisms, Schweitzer is just as big a sinner when it is a question of making detail the all-important point in historical accuracy. For almost all by him is made to turn on one verse, (Matt. x, 23),<sup>1</sup> and on that verse being in its correct historical setting. He was writing before Form-Criticism, but even if we were to accept the detailed discourse as all spoken at this time, it is still a far cry from that to the making of its non-fulfilment the turning point of the ministry of Jesus. It is again an attempt to get behind the Gospel narratives to something they have preserved evidence of for us, we can only say accidentally, without understanding.

Here the question of what we mean by historical value is posed for us in its acutest form. Both these theories agree in this, that they treat the Gospels essentially as quarries of raw material from which to hew what we can build for ourselves into a statue of Jesus. Both allow to the Gospels historicity /

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<sup>1</sup>

op. cit., pp. 357ff.



historicity of detail but prefer to draw their own conclusions as to significance. And this is a dangerous thing for two reasons especially, first that the material is after all very scanty, and second that the life we are dealing with was such an unusual one that we must beware of bringing in our own preconceptions of what life should be. This treatment of the Gospels will not do.

The attitude of the Form-Critics is a more logical one. Rejecting the framework as secondary, they renounce all attempts to write of the life of Jesus and concentrate on the single incident. There they are by no means all sceptics. Dibelius is willing to allow a great deal of authenticity, in particular, to what he calls the 'Paradigms',<sup>1</sup> as also does Albertz<sup>2</sup> who deals solely with them. But once again the whole emphasis seems to be on historicity of detail rather than of significance, and the question does arise if, once we suspect the historical value of what is the construction of the Evangelists, Bultmann is not the more logical in going on to deny the accuracy of the oral tradition too,<sup>3</sup> for /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 56ff.

<sup>2</sup> Die synoptischen Streitgespräche.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition, (2nd ed.). pp. 50f.

for it also was motivated by the same theological purpose.

I might liken the position of St. Mark in the hands of the scholars to that of a witness being interrogated by a tribunal of experts. They want to get from him only the bald facts, and it is they who are to draw the conclusions. But as the investigation proceeds it becomes clear that the witness has his own ideas about the meaning of events and that he will persist in obtruding these. Some of the tribunal are in favour of continuing their examination, trusting their detective powers to get behind the ideas of the witness, others throw up their hands in despair saying, "This fellow is so prejudiced that I can make nothing of him!" What I wish to plead is that they pay attention to what the witness thinks. He does not appear foolish, nor have they any evidence that he is trying to deceive them. Perhaps in this way we might learn most after all.<sup>1</sup>

For if it be true that the Gospel is much too sketchy to be treated as a chronological narrative, and if /

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There are of course honourable exceptions and one might mention especially:-

Hoskyns and Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament*;  
Richardson, *The Miracle Stories of the Gospels*;  
Dodd, *History and the Gospel*.



if it will not fit into the neat categories of the Form-Critic, we are left with the position that the structure is theological in its form. So, in fact, said Wrede. But it does not follow that because it is theological it is unhistorical as Wrede found it to be. We must be prepared to consider, too, that there is evidence for us about the life of Jesus in the very theological motivating of the framework. If this be so we have in this way fresh evidence to help us in the greatest of all New Testament problems. And after all, if we reject what has a theological purpose as unauthentic, we must finish by rejecting the whole New Testament, and by saying that nothing at all can be known about the Jesus of History. For where in the New Testament does the theological purpose not reign supreme?

In this study I seek in this spirit to examine the testimony of St. Mark as to the significance of the life of Jesus. I have chosen St. Mark; he is only one of the Evangelists. What follows then will not be a study of the Jesus of History, but only of the evidence of that one Gospel-writer. But I put it forward as an example of an approach to the Gospels which must not be left out of consideration as we review the nature /

nature of our evidence for the Jesus of History.

Most German scholars, following Wrede, do in fact regard the framework of the Gospel as theologically inspired. But the essence of Wrede's position is that such a framework must be a later addition in its thought as well as in its detail; the element of secrecy is brought in in order to make for Jesus claims which he never made for himself. But the question must be raised if St. Mark's christology might not be based on fact, if what has a definite theological bias might not by that very fact bring us nearer to a true portrait of Jesus than a mere bald chronicle would. And the onus probandi must rest on those who find the theology of the Gospel-writers unauthentic. The question must be left open until we have found what their theology actually is, and then, unless it does actually lead us into obvious inconsistencies and absurdities, we must be prepared to say that they, after all, are the men best qualified to judge.

Two reasons especially make this quest an important one. First, we must recognize that this is what the Gospel-writers themselves would consider of importance. They were not historians, they were not presenting /



presenting posterity with material for a biography. They had a Gospel to proclaim, and accordingly they would be much more concerned with correctness of theology than with accuracy of detail. There is, of course, the possibility that they were writing with intent to deceive, but to start on that assumption would be contrary to all the canons of scientific thinking. And if it should prove that they are deceivers we must renounce the quest of the historical Jesus as an impossible one.

An example of this point, that it is theology with which the writers of the Gospels are concerned, may not be out of place here. It is a well-known fact that in the Gospels we have two traditions of the date of the Last Supper and Crucifixion relative to the Jewish Passover. The bulk of the Synoptic material equates the Last Supper with the Passover meal, while the Fourth Gospel along with elements of the Synoptic tradition makes the death of Jesus at the time of the killing of the Passover lamb. The historical problem will probably never be solved. But the point in which the Evangelists were interested was that Jesus by his death had instituted the New Covenant which fulfilled and superseded /



superseded the Old. But whether he did so by holding his sacramental meal on the same evening as that of the Old Covenant, or by giving his life at the time of the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb, was not a point in which they were particularly interested provided that the connection was established, and this indifference reveals itself in the uncertainty, one could say the carelessness, of the tradition.

But there is a second reason which should be added. It is sometimes said too facilely that the Gospels are not biographies, as if the mark of a biography were the chronicling of a string of events in a life, and not rather the study of the significance of a life. Not only the Christian believer, but also the scientific historian, is more concerned with the interpretation of events than the events themselves. That is unless the historian is a mere annalist, content to record a sequence of happenings without any clue to their significance. Students of the Jesus of History have tended to prefer to make their own interpretation, but in view, above all, of the small number of unusual data which we have in this case, we cannot afford to neglect the interpretation of his contemporary or near-contemporary /

near-contemporary historians, as we draw our conclusions. The Christology of the Evangelists is valuable evidence to the pure historian also, or at least is possible valuable evidence until we have proved the contrary.

The examination I make will proceed as far as possible on purely formal grounds, looking first for what seems by form and structure to bear the emphasis in the Gospel. That the Passion-Story has the biggest emphasis, that everything is leading up to the Cross is a matter beyond dispute. But the difficulty is that saying that does not help us with the unsolved problems of the first half of the Gospel. It in itself gives us less difficulty than does the Galilean ministry. So it is to the first half of the Gospel that we must first turn, and it is on the first half of the Gospel that we must spend most time, remembering all the time that we must find an interpretation which will lead to the Cross, but hoping also that we may be able as a result to define more closely who it was that died and rose again according to St. Mark, and why it was that he must die. And in this Galilean section of the Gospel I find two great moments, places where the Gospel-writer seems to go out of his way /



way to labour the point. The second of these, in fact, seems to me to be the climax of the whole part of the Gospel; it is emphasised to such a pitch as to suggest that all that has gone before is leading up to it, and to it I turn first as giving us the first clue we need for the understanding of Marcan thought.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MIRACLES OF THE LOAVES.

#### The Miracles as the Turning point of the Gospel

If we want to find what the point is of any story, the obvious place to look at is the end, to see if any particular emphasis there gives us the clue. And in the first half of the Gospel according to St. Mark there is an obvious ending which a study purely of the structure of the Gospel will show, the great section which centres round the two miraculous meals, the Feeding of the Five Thousand and the Feeding of the Four Thousand.

A short summary of events should make this clear.

1. Mk. vi, 30-44. The Return of the Disciples and the Feeding of the Five Thousand.
2. Mk. vi, 45-56. The Walking on the Sea and Return to Galilee. (Note reference to previous miracle in v. 52).
3. Mk. vii, 1-23. Dispute with Pharisees on eating with Unwashed Hands.
4. Mk. vii, 24-30. Healing of Syro-phoenician Woman's Daughter with Conversation on Children's Bread.
5. /



5. Mk. vii, 31-37. Healing of Dumb Man (with 'spittle' motif.)
6. Mk. viii, 1-10. Feeding of Four Thousand.
7. Mk. viii, 11-21. Dispute with Pharisees on Sign and Conversation with Disciples on Leaven of Pharisees. (Note reference to both Feeding Miracles.)
8. Mk. viii, 22-26. Healing of Blind Man. (again with 'spittle' motif.)

There are certain very impressive features about this complex of incidents, which in the end render it impossible to treat them merely as a series of episodes strung together by loose connections, and which suggest rather the grouping due to a dominant theological thought. Some of them it is true are not very strong arguments in themselves, but their cumulative effect seems to me to be very cogent.

1. What seems to be practically the same miracle is duplicated. That of course is in itself not a strong argument. It may be just a freak, and in point of fact there does seem to be a great deal of weight behind the argument that we are here dealing with a duplicated source. On the other hand we shall see possible theological reason behind the duplication of the /

the healing miracles in this section also, and in any case we must ask ourselves why, even if we should assume two sources, St. Mark should feel obliged to set down both side by side.<sup>1</sup>

One positive answer has of course been given to this in Christian tradition.<sup>2</sup> It is that the Feeding of the Five Thousand represents the feeding of the Jews, and that of the Four Thousand the Gentiles. The traditional argument is that the fragments in the first miracle are taken up in twelve *κοφίνοι* (vi, 43), which are baskets of a Jewish type, corresponding to the Twelve Tribes, while in the second they are gathered in seven *στυπίδες*, (viii, 8), a more common basket, corresponding to the Seven Churches. And this distinction between the types of baskets is maintained in Mark viii, 19f., where reference is made back to the miracles. To my mind what makes this argument worthy of consideration is /

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<sup>1</sup> We must remember that the canons of Pentateuchal criticism do not apply to the Gospels. In the Pentateuch we expect to find two variants of the same story from different sources, simply set down side by side, and this seems to have misled some into thinking that a duplication in the Gospels too needs no further explanation than merely saying 'duplicate source'.

<sup>2</sup> As old as St. Augustine, according to Richardson, (The Miracle Stories of the Gospels, pp. 97f.) who lays a good deal of stress on this argument.



is the fact that between the two miracles comes the incident of the Syro-phoenician Woman, who successfully makes the claim that the Gentiles should share in the children's bread. But I regard it as rather of confirmatory value should stronger arguments point in the same direction.

2. A more important fact, one which in fact I feel would require some other explanation if not this one, is that of the two cross-references to the miraculous meals in other stories, - Mark vi, 52,

οὐ γὰρ συνῆκαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρτοις, ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν πεπρωμένη,

and still more the longer one in Mark viii, 19-21,

Ὅτι τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους ἐκλαα εἰς τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους, πόσους κοφίνους πλήρεις κλασμάτων ἤρατε; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ; Δώδεκα. Ὅτι δὲ τοὺς ἑπτὰ εἰς τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους, πόσων σφυρίδων πλήρώματα κλασμάτων ἤρατε; καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Ἑπτὰ. καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Οὕτως συνίετε

These show quite clearly that the explanation of the Gospel provided by Form-Criticism will not apply here.

Dibelius indeed does recognise this,<sup>1</sup> but his explanation scarcely does justice to the uniqueness of this section in this point. For such cross-references are not a common thing. Any others in the Gospel are of the nature of prophecies of the death and resurrection of /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 230f.

of Jesus, in which category we can include the fore-telling of Peter's denial, (xiv, 30-31).<sup>1</sup> The fact that it occurs twice here with reference to the miracles of feeding seems to give a quite especial significance to them.

And this view is strengthened by the fact that both deal with the failure of the disciples to understand. We shall see in the next chapter that 'understanding' is one of the central themes of the Gospel. We could in fact see in them also a different type of cross-reference, this time to Mark iv, 12, for vi, 52c, ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ καρδιά αὐτῶν πεπωρωμένη, and viii, 18, πεπωρωμένη ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν; ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες οὐ βλέπετε; καὶ ὦτα ἔχοντες οὐκ ἀκούετε; both share with iv, 12, ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσι καὶ μὴ ἴδωσι, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσι καὶ μὴ συνίωσι, a reference to Isaiah vi, 10. In the earlier passage of course the disciples are not included in the condemnation, which is spoken against the people as a whole, but it seems that now on the matter of these two meals, the disciples too have been found /

<sup>1</sup> Apparent exceptions are the 'intertwined stories', where one story is set in the middle of another, giving sometimes the appearance of a cross-reference. But there the purpose of the Gospel-writer is quite different.



found wanting.

3. Lohmeyer has acutely pointed out the important place which the ideas of eating and drinking hold in the Gospels;<sup>1</sup> as he says, these simple daily actions are mentioned much more often there than elsewhere in the New Testament. Apart from the great importance given to the Sacramental Meal, the Last Supper, the Gospels abound with incidents which have their setting at meals, with parables and discourses dealing with food and kindred subjects and so on. In fact it would be much easier to count those which have not this connection than those which have.

Now in the section under consideration, this motif seems to reach its climax in the Gospel. It is not merely that we have the two miraculous meals, though that itself takes on a new significance in the light of this point made by Lohmeyer. But the subject of bread is even more to the foreground as a symbol of the work of Christ. The long dispute of vii, 1 - 23 is on the subject of eating with unwashed hands and it is surely not fanciful to see in it something more than a controversy on a particular point, a symbol of a contrast/

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<sup>1</sup> Das Abendmahl in der Urgemeinde, in Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. LVI, Pt. III, pp. 217ff.



contrast between the religion of Jesus and that of the Pharisees in general. At least it might be fanciful were it not for other incidents in the section. In the miracle of vii, 24-30 where the question at stake is whether the Gentiles shall share in the healing activity of Jesus, the question is formulated in the words οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν κτήν λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων καὶ τοῖς κυριακοῖς φαγεῖν. His gifts are bread. Are the Gentiles to share in that bread? And the reply of course is in kind.

Again in viii, 14-21 the keywords are <sup>Ἡρώδου.</sup> φαγεῖτε ἀπὸ τοῦ σίτου τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τοῦ σίτου Ἡρώδου. The 'leaven of the Pharisees' and the 'leaven of Herod' are surely contrasted with the bread with which Jesus himself feeds the people. It seems the most natural conclusion that these occurrences are grouped here together with the two miracles as commentaries and elucidations of them.

In fact I would be inclined to suggest myself that they might well have come, not from a duplicate, but a single source, that their arrangement together might well have been pre-Marcian. This does not mean however that we have to drop the hope of finding one of the kernels of Marcian theology in them. For pre-Marcian does not necessarily mean non-Marcian, and if we can once /



once establish that Mark had a definite Christological purpose, then we must add that that would have influenced his selection, as well as his arrangement, of material. We shall actually see that this approach brings the Marcan Christology closer to the Johannine, and until we have reason to think otherwise, we are in such suggestions merely multiplying the number of early Christians who shared this doctrine of the Christ.

4. An examination of the form of the actual narratives of the miraculous meals themselves is also of importance. For while it is true, as Rawlinson points out,<sup>1</sup> that St. Mark certainly understood these stories as miracles, it is certainly also true that they are not told for the sake of relating the miraculous. This point again is clearly made by Lohmeyer.<sup>2</sup> For the stories are really lacking in the typical traits of the miracle-story as given by Dibelius.<sup>3</sup> Lohmeyer for instance is surely right in claiming that the 'raising eyes to heaven' is a ritual act, and not a trait of a wonder-worker as Dibelius would have it.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit. pp. 84f.

<sup>2</sup> Das Evangelium des Marcus, (in Meyer's Commentary) pp. 121ff.

<sup>3</sup> op. cit., ch. IV.

<sup>4</sup> Lohmeyer, op. cit. p. 127n.8 as against Dibelius, op. cit., p. 87.

And even Dibelius himself admits the lack of any such distinctive traits in the second miracle.<sup>1</sup> As Lohmeyer beautifully describes it, the picture of Jesus here is the picture of the pious paterfamilias ("der fromme Hausvater") presiding at the family meal.<sup>2</sup>

And this again brings us to the importance of this family meal in the Gospels. We think not only of the Last Supper, but also of such a verse as Luke xxiv, 35, *καὶ ὡς ἐγνώσθη αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ κλιδοῦ τοῦ ἀφ' οὗ*, which suggests that this must have been a characteristic action of Jesus. The Jesus of these miraculous meals is the Jesus of these associations and not the miracle-worker first and foremost.

5. Richardson is very illuminating indeed on the subject of the two miracles of healing.<sup>3</sup> He points out that the two form a natural pair referring back to such prophecies as Isaiah xxix, 18, and xxxv, 5, where the giving of sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf is foretold. And he emphasises the connection with Mark viii, 18. The rebuke of Jesus for the disciples' failure to understand takes the form of an accusation /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p. 75n.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., pp. 128ff.

<sup>3</sup> op. cit., pp. 81-90.



accusation of deafness and blindness, as the example of Isaiah vi, 10 leads him.

Beyond this, however, I do not feel that I can go with Richardson. He, treating Mark vi, 30 - viii, 30 as a unity culminating in Caesarea Philippi, finds in them a parable of the gradual opening of the eyes of the disciples.<sup>1</sup> But I shall give reasons later for ending the section at viii, 26, and giving up the idea of Caesarea Philippi as the turning-point of the Gospel. Suffice it for the moment to notice this definite Messianic connotation of these two miracles. Whether or not the fact that both have the 'spittle' as the agency of healing has any significance is a much less certain matter. But it certainly is curious that these two and no other miracles in the Synoptics should have this common trait.<sup>2</sup>

6. Obvious of course is the connection between the thought of St. Mark and that of St. John at this point. A summary of the Johannine section will serve as a reminder.

John vi, 5-14. Feeding of the Five Thousand.

John vi, 15-21. Jesus' Walking on the Sea.

John /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 86 ff., 99 f.

<sup>2</sup> Consideration of one in the Fourth Gospel follows.

John vi, 22-65. Discourse on the Bread of Life.

John vi, 66-71. Failure of other disciples, but not in this case of the Twelve, to understand.

This is the only miracle common to all the Gospels, and with the Walking on the Sea, the only ones common to the two Gospels under consideration. Streeter gives very strong evidence that the author of the Fourth Gospel knew the Second.<sup>1</sup> And indeed on this miracle there is good reason to think that he had its text actually before him.<sup>2</sup> In verbal similarities Bernard notes *δυσκοῦλον δύναμιον ἔργον* (Mk. vi, 37; Jn. vi, 7), *ἀνατίθειν* (Mk. vi, 40; Jn. vi, 9.), *χόρτος* (Mk. vi, 39; Jn. vi, 10.) and, from the story of the Walking on the Sea, *ἐγὼ εἶμι· μὴ φοβείσθε.* (Mk. vi, 50; Jn. vi, 20.)<sup>3</sup> And while it is true that we sometimes underestimate the power of oral tradition to preserve exact words, these are not the type of agreements we should expect to find. But more than that we have the order of events preserved with the story of the Walking on the Sea following immediately after the Miraculous /

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<sup>1</sup> The Four Gospels, pp. 397-401.

<sup>2</sup> If this section existed as a written unity before St. Mark, St. John might be using it, but this would not affect the general validity of the argument. Both Gospels, we then could say, attached great importance to their common source.

<sup>3</sup> I.C.C., St. John, Vol. I, Intro. pp. xcvi f.



Miraculous Meal, and after the Johannine discourse, again a failure to understand, though this time it is true the disciples are an exception.

The point of this is that the story of the Feeding of the Five Thousand certainly plays a central role in the Fourth Gospel, for to it is attached the teaching of the significance of the Last Supper, the narrative of which, of course, does not appear in that Gospel. We would be justified in claiming that the importance of the incident in the Fourth Gospel is confirmatory evidence of its importance in the Second, especially in view of the use made by the later of the earlier one.

Before leaving the Fourth Gospel however, we should also note the interesting fact that the cure of the Man Born Blind (John ix), contains also that 'spittle' motif, and that it concludes with teaching on spiritual blindness. To follow this up means entering on the vexed question of dislocations in the Fourth Gospel, but it does confirm strikingly Richardson's interpretation referring to Isaiah vi, 10.

7. But the strongest reason of all for assigning a central importance to this group of narratives, is that immediately after them, after the failure of the /

the disciples to understand the miracles of the loaves, Jesus turns his back on Galilee, and sets out on his journey to Jerusalem to his death. Here I know I am being very venturesome, for it has become almost traditional to regard the Confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi as the turning-point of the Gospel. And Richardson, who also regards this section as of central importance, makes its importance that of leading up to the opening of the blind eyes in that Confession.<sup>1</sup> That is certainly an interpretation which must be reckoned with. But as far as the Marcan thought goes at least, there seems to me good reason for rejecting this, and taking rather the view that it was failure and not success on the part of his disciples, which made Jesus choose that road.

If we examine the incident at Caesarea Philippi from the standpoint of pure form-criticism, we find that the Confession of Peter (viii, 30) is not even the central point of the incident. We have here a typical conversation leading up to the all-important saying, to which the rest merely gives a setting. But this all-important saying is not the Confession but the prophecy /

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<sup>1</sup> As quoted above, p. 25.



prophecy of the Passion in viii, 31. I cannot see any other conclusion from the form of the narrative, in spite of the fact that another conversation, leading up to the declaration that the disciple, too, must suffer, is attached.

Further, the criticisms of Wrede have never been satisfactorily answered.<sup>1</sup> There is absolutely nothing <sup>St.</sup> in Mark to indicate that there is anything new in this Confession. It is not received as a new discovery, but only with a somewhat harsh order to tell no man about it. It is even possible, with Héring, to take the reply of Jesus as a refusal of the title.<sup>2</sup> Any comparison there is is between the Twelve and others, not between now and before.

It is possible, of course, to set against these arguments Matt. xvi, 16-19 and John vi, 68,69, arguing that what is explicit in these two must be implicit in St. Mark. But even here we have no clear indication that the confession marks a new discovery by Peter. The contrast is still with the ignorance of others and not with a former ignorance of the disciples themselves. That Jesus should say that he will found his Church on the /

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. pp. 115-124, cp. Rawlinson, op. cit. pp. 112 f.

<sup>2</sup> Le Royaume de Dieu et sa Venue, pp. 122 ff.

the rock of Peter's faith in no way implies that that faith has just been shown for the first time. And we would require some strong indication that St. Matthew meant it to be so, in view of the fact that Wrede brings up,<sup>1</sup> that the disciples have already said in Matt. xiv, 33, ἀληθῶς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν . We add to that the cry of the blind men in ix, 27, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς υἱὲ Δαβὶδ , and we must say that St. Matthew has not been at pains to ensure that nobody has recognised Jesus up to this.

As to the Johannine account, the idea of Jesus keeping back any explicit claim till this moment simply will not fit the Gospel, and it is not in the spirit of a new recognition, but of an old one helping through a new crisis, that Peter's words are spoken.

The only way in fact to preserve the Confession at Caesarea Philippi as the turning-point of the life of Jesus, is by the bad old way I have already protested against,<sup>2</sup> of assuming that we can guess behind the Gospel narratives, a significance of which the Gospel-writers themselves were unaware.

But in any case it is with the thoughts of one of these Gospel-writers that we are here concerned, and there /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit. p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> See above pp. 6ff.



there does seem to be more reason for regarding Mark viii, 14-21 as the turning-point of the Gospel. For if we apply to it the canons of the Form-critics, we find a remarkable thing, that alone among such incidents, it could never have been told as a separate story. It owes its very existence to the stories of the miraculous meals. It is in fact the final summing-up of their effect, and can only be in the Gospel as the last word on this series of events whose central importance we have been considering.

#### The Shepherd Son of David

We have now a picture of the activity of Jesus which goes as follows. The work of Jesus we find first in Galilee. As we shall see in the next chapter, misunderstanding dogs his footsteps, and when the climax of his Galilean ministry is reached, when he seeks to give his blessing in these two miracles, the result is that the climax of misunderstanding is reached, and that this time even the disciples fail. And this means one inevitable thing, that the only way he can break through the blindness and feed the people is by his death. Ἀβετε· τὸυτὸ ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου. The Last Supper is the answer to the failure to understand the /

the miracle of the loaves.

But a closer examination of the meaning of these miraculous meals is necessary, if we are to give to them such importance. What was Jesus trying to do there, which he only succeeded in doing in the Upper Room? What was it that even the disciples were too dull to appreciate? Why in particular is the metaphor and symbol of feeding used here as throughout the Gospel, to signify the work of Christ?

I find the clue in Mark vi, 30-34, *καὶ ἐπιλαλήσασθαι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἦσαν ὡς πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα.* The theme of the shepherd and the sheep is found elsewhere in the Gospels, notably in Luke xv, 1-8 and John x, 1-9. And it is a common one of the Old Testament, notably of the great prophets around the time of the exile. There occur to the mind at once the famous words of Deutero-Isaiah. "He shall feed his flock like a shepherd." (Isaiah xl, 11.) There, of course, it is Yahweh himself who is to be the shepherd, and the passage merely refers to the return from the Exile, but it would be surprising if the words were not later given a Messianic significance.

But there are two prophetic passages which are more explicit. In Jeremiah xxiii, 1-6, we are given, first

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a condemnation of the shepherds who have scattered the flock, and then a promise of the restoration of the flock under good shepherds, and finally the prophecy of a new king, the righteous Scion of David. Shepherds no doubt signify kings in this passage, but we are brought nevertheless face to face with the fact that the title 'Son of David' can mean not only the Son of David the King, but also the Son of David the Shepherd. It is worth noting that while some commentators will not refer the whole to Jeremiah, (Cornill<sup>1</sup> regards vv. 3,4 as secondary, and Volz and Duhm vv.5,6)- yet even they will not demand a late date for any part. And even so radical a critic as Hölischer regards the passage as all from Jeremiah. The complete passage must in any case be not later than Zechariah iii, 8 and vi, 12.<sup>2</sup>

The same thought is developed more fully in Ezekiel xxxiv, which in fact reads like an expansion and development of the passage from Jeremiah. We have a description of how the shepherds of Israel have failed to do their duty (vv. 1-10.), followed by a promise that Yahweh himself will seek out his lost sheep /

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<sup>1</sup> For these O.T. commentators mentioned see their commentaries ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> cp. Sellin, *Israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 86.

sheep and bring them back to a good pasture (vv.11-16.) The next verses (vv.17-22) are a condemnation of the sheep and cattle who spoil the pasture for others and push aside the weaker ones. And then again (vv.23-31.) we have the promise of a good shepherd, "my servant David", linked with the promise of a covenant of peace and plenty in the fields and safety from wild beasts. The same thought is repeated briefly in Ezekiel xxxvii, 24, where it is told how, when the children are restored and Yahweh makes a covenant of peace with them, "David my servant" will be king and they will have one shepherd.

The attitude of the commentators is again here similar to their attitude to the passage from Jeremiah. Only Hölscher<sup>1</sup> would give a really late date, and he is influenced in this by his late dating of the Holiness Code of Leviticus, Ezekiel xxxiv, 25-27 being connected with Leviticus xxvi, 4-6. Herrmann ascribes all to Ezekiel, though he says that Ch. xxxiv was put together at a later date. Hertrich and Bertholet take the view that xxxiv, 25-30 cannot be original, and Cooke xxxiv, 17-31. (This includes, of course, the references to David.) But on the other hand Cooke ascribes xxxvii, 24 to Ezekiel himself, while Bertholet is doubtful /

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<sup>1</sup> Again see Commentaries ad loc.



doubtful. And none want to give the verses they regard as secondary a much later date.

So, unless we accept Hölscher's dating of Pentateuch sources, we have a thought, beginning with the disciples of Jeremiah, if not the prophet himself, and reaching development about the end of the exile at the latest. It is of a New Covenant of peace between Yahweh and his people, under which Yahweh will feed his people as a shepherd his flock, and this, sometimes at least, through the agency of a king who was to be the true Son of David. It is an early, not yet defined form of the Messianic hope. And what is important is that this hope for the Son of David should be in its early stages a hope for David the Shepherd, and not merely David the King.

It is significant that this thought should originate from the school, if not the person, of Jeremiah. Jeremiah was the critic of the weaker points of the Reform of Josiah,<sup>1</sup> and in particular its emphasis on such formal things as locality. All that attached the certainty of being God's people to externals, be it the Temple (vii, 4), or the Torah (xxxi, 31-34), or the Land (xxiv, etc.) was opposed by Jeremiah.

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<sup>1</sup> cp. e.g. Skinner, Prophecy and Religion, Chs. VI, VII, IX.

In this, of course, he was but the culmination of an earlier movement. Hosea, in particular, harks back with longing to the days when the children of Israel were being brought out of Egypt, idealising that time. (xi, 1-4). And the Nazirites and Rechabites seem to have felt the same still earlier. Such men were finding the ideal of a Promised Land a snare and a delusion, and that the life in the wilderness, where they received from Yahweh each day enough food for that day only, and where they knew that they were directly dependent on Yahweh for all food, was better. They were feeling their way towards a more inward idea of being Yahweh's people than the mere possession of a land gave.

And so it was that in the New Covenant of Jeremiah and his school, along with the law written in men's hearts in place of the written Torah, we find the Shepherd Son of David in place of the land flowing with milk and honey.<sup>1</sup> It is a very different Son of David that appears, of course, much later in the Psalms of Solomon. But still there are two things that can be noted in reply to this. The first is that there is no need to consider ~~that~~ the outlook of the Psalms of Solomon universal in Judaism in the time of Jesus.

And /

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<sup>1</sup> This is part of a bigger O.T. story. Yahweh as shepherd in the Psalms, etc. would take us too far from our subject.



And the second is that at any rate Jesus and his disciples had the text of the Old Testament prophets before them always, and there was nothing to prevent either Jesus himself or one of his followers rediscovering this old picture of the Son of David, if such rediscovery were needed.

And there are other Old Testament passages which would encourage anyone who had once begun, to go on thinking on these lines. There is the Shepherd Yahweh of the Psalms, especially Psalm 23 and 95 and also 80 where Elohim is the Divine name. There is of course the old story of the manna in the wilderness, which probably first suggested the thought in prophetic times also. And there are such stories as the miraculous feeding of Elijah by the ravens. (I Kings xvii, 1-7 cp. xix, 6-8.) There is nothing at all improbable then about the thought that some of his followers should interpret the mission of Jesus along these lines, if he did not actually do so himself.

And we have two notable instances from other Gospels of Jesus as a shepherd. The beautiful parable of St. Luke xv, 1-7 takes on, if I am right, a definite Messianic apologetic note. It is that the Messiah should eat /

eat with *ἁμαρτωλοί* that causes scandal. And even more so St. John x, 11-18, with its climax *ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός...* *καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μου τίθημι ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων*, would become definite apologetic on the subject, so scandalous to many of the time, that the Messiah must suffer and die.

It is in this context of thought then that I would set the Marcan understanding of the miracles of the loaves. Jesus in them is making Messianic claims,<sup>1</sup> and Messianic claims of a very particular kind, namely, that he is the Shepherd Son of David foretold by the prophets, who was to establish a New Covenant with a more spiritual basis than the old one, for the land flowing with milk and honey is now to be replaced by the shepherd who personally feeds his sheep. And we notice in fact that both of the miracles are set in desert places (vi, 35 *Ἐρημὸς ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος.* and viii, 4 *ἐπὶ ἔρημῶς* ), while the second one seems to be set out with the borders of the Promised Land.<sup>2</sup>

And in this the miracles form the climax of the first /

<sup>1</sup> Some might object to the use of the term 'Messianic' for such a conception, claiming that the name should be reserved for the more materialist ideas. But I use it for want of a better.

<sup>2</sup> As Mk. vii, 31 may only be the locality of its pericope and not of the narrative of the Gospel as a whole, it would perhaps be unwise to lay too much stress on this. The unknown *Δελημαροῦ* of viii, 10 stands in the way of certainty.



first part of the Gospel. All that has gone hitherto leads up to this. I will deal in the following chapters with the veiled Messianic claim that runs through the earlier part of the Gospel. While it is true that Jesus is pictured as never making it directly, it is also true that he is pictured as continually giving indications in that direction.

But the climax proves to be an anticlimax. Already prior to this, men have shown an inability to understand. But now even the disciples, who seem to be exempted from the general censure of Ch. iv, are involved. There is only one way in which Jesus can be the Shepherd Son of David who feeds his sheep, only one way in which he can instal the New Covenant,<sup>1</sup> and that is with his own body and blood, by his own death. And so the ministry in Galilee, which was planned to lead up to this, is abandoned, and the road to Jerusalem and death is what follows immediately after this.

Johannes Weiss<sup>2</sup> seems to have been alone among commentators on the Gospel in seeing that an answer to the /

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<sup>1</sup> It is true that in the best MSS, Mk. xiv, 24 does not read *καὶ τῆς* as does I Cor. xi, 25. But that does not mean that a New Covenant was not meant.

<sup>2</sup> Das älteste Evangelium, pp. 216ff.

the question of what it was that the disciples failed to understand (viii, 14-21) is necessary. His own solution, which is that by the miracles Jesus was secretly teaching his own death, is rather difficult to accept, unless we assume something like the Johannine homily to be read into the Marcan account. And St. Mark gives no indication of connecting the miracles of the loaves, or indeed anything which has happened up to this point,<sup>1</sup> with the death of Jesus.

But some such explanation there must be, and it must be one which does justice to the distinction between the disciples and the general public in Ch. iv, and also an explanation which shows that it was the miracles of the loaves and the words of Jesus *Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν ἑβδόμη τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ τῆς ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας* which the disciples could not understand. That it was this nature of the New Covenant, that its people were to be daily dependent on their Shepherd, does seem to me to be the only explanation which will meet the case. And to regard it as the turning-point of the Gospel, the thing which decided Jesus to go to Jerusalem, explains why it has been compounded, /

<sup>1</sup> Such a verse as Mk. ii, 20, would be there in the traditional story as told before Mark, and is therefore no evidence for the Marcan outlook, being simply incorporated along with the incident of which it forms part.



compounded, as it obviously must have been, after the section containing the two miracles had been put together.

It is only to be expected that this outlook, always the antithesis of the nationalist outlook in the history of Judaism, should seek to bring the Gentiles into the New Covenant. If this is the significance of the second miraculous meal, as we have seen it may be, then the way for this new truth is beautifully prepared by the Gospel writer with the story of the Syro-phoenician Woman. (Mk. vii, 24-30).

The question must inevitably arise now, if what we have is an account by St. Mark of Jesus spending his early time pursuing a false ideal. Would the Gospel-writer have given us such a picture of Jesus trying first the wrong thing? It should be said at once that such a difficulty must take a second place in importance. If everything points to the fact that St. Mark did say something, then it is not enough to complain that he could not have said it. We must beware of being dogmatic about what the Gospel-writers could have written.

Two considerations, however, help to relieve this difficulty very considerably. The first lies in the suggestion /

suggestion I have already made,<sup>1</sup> that the order and framework of St. Mark's Gospel is theological rather than chronological. And the most important theological consideration for St. Mark was that he had to teach of the sufferings and death of the Messiah. He could not begin to do so until he had first made his case that it was necessary that this should happen. In consequence, the story as he tells it is much systematised, and divided in this clear sharp way into two parts. And when we compare St. John, remembering that throughout in the Second Gospel Galilee is associated with work and teaching and Jerusalem with suffering and death, we note that in the Fourth Gospel Jerusalem appears in the earlier part also. This does suggest that the clear-cut division into two parts is theological rather than historical in purpose, made so that the issue might be more clearly defined.

The second consideration is that this is not really to ascribe failure to Jesus at all. From almost any view of his life and death, he was bound first of all to give men the opportunity to accept him without the Cross, even if he knew that failure was bound to be the /

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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 9f



the result. Even to-day the justification of his action in turning his back on Galilee is still a necessity. It could have been otherwise, St. Mark declares, had men but understood at the lakeside, and we must agree.

But if this need not be a difficulty for us, it would not be surprising if it proved a difficulty for the writer of the Fourth Gospel, to whom any suggestion of development in the life story of Jesus was anathema, and it is worth asking if this was not the real reason for that well-known difficulty of the Fourth Gospel, the fact that the institution of the Lord's Supper is omitted and instead the sacramental teaching relating to it attached to the Feeding of the Five Thousand.

The very common view that in this the author of the Gospel is trying to teach a less materialistic view of the sacrament<sup>1</sup> seems to me to deserve the very strong criticism it receives from Hoskyns.<sup>2</sup> If that was the aim of the Gospel, the language is singularly ill-chosen. Every verse in vi, 49-57 seems to be written almost explicitly to deny the possibility of any 'spiritualizing' /

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<sup>1</sup> As e.g. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, p. 214, Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 183f.

<sup>2</sup> *The Fourth Gospel*, Vol. I. pp. 335f., 343ff.

'spiritualizing' interpretation. And the murmuring of the Jews against what seems to them to be crude anthropophagy, provokes not explanation, but only a more forthright statement.

But Hoskyns leaves the question of the reason for this teaching being given here unanswered with any degree of satisfaction. And I would suggest that it makes sense if we regard it as a strong protest against any idea that the Feeding of the Five Thousand could be the institution of a Sacrament or a New Covenant. The Second Gospel leaves the way open to the idea that Jesus acted first under the influence of the wrong idea. This is just such a feature of the Synoptics as the Johannine Evangelist feels it his especial duty to correct and therefore the miracle is followed immediately by the declaration by Jesus that this is not the Sacrament of his New Covenant. This is the emphasis right from his first words. Ἀπὸν ἀπὸν λέγω ὑμῖν,

ἤπιτέ με, οὐχ ὅτι εἶδετε σημεῖα, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐφάγετε ἐκ τῶν ἄρτων καὶ ἐχορτάσθητε. ἐφάγεσθε μὴ τὴν βρωσιν τῆρ ἀπολυμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν βρωσιν τῆρ μένουσας εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, ἣν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑμῖν δώσει.

(vi, 26, 27.)

Another kind of food must be sought for that. And this is the reason for the almost crude language so suggestive of anthropophagy that Jesus is represented as insisting that /



that he himself is the only food. No sooner is the miracle of the loaves completed than the uniqueness of the Last Supper is asserted. It must not be thought, according to the Fourth Gospel, that there was ever any possibility of this miracle taking its place.

It may indeed be, though I feel far from certain on this point, that we have also a reference to, and perhaps even a criticism of, this Marcan understanding of the Gospel, in the Q tradition of the temptations of Jesus. The last two temptations seem to be refusals of the two well-known types of Messiahship, the nationalist Messiah in the refusal of the kingdoms at the price of the worship of Satan, and the Son of Man coming on the clouds of Heaven in the refusal to leap from the Temple pinnacle. If this be so, and if I am right in finding a Shepherd Messiah in the first Church tradition, we might regard the first as a refusal of this also as temptation. But the difficulty is that St. Mark knew the tradition of the temptations - it seems almost incredible that he should just have known a tradition that Jesus was tempted with no details, and the temptations of Q are the ones he is most likely to have known. And in St. Mark, i, 13, he is summarizing, not /

not omitting for theological reasons. It does not seem very probable that he would have mentioned temptations, the full account of which condemned his thesis. But on the other hand it may be only a too crude idea of this Messiahship that the temptation story condemns; the idea of the Son of Man coming on the clouds of Heaven does appear in the later Gospel story, though this crude form of it was rejected. If this be so, and if it was the Q story which St. Mark knew, then the conception of Jesus as the Shepherd Son of David is at least considerably pre-Markan, but we must leave open the possibility that it was a different temptation story which St. Mark knew.

From this, however, we are led to a study of the relation of this conception to the rest of the Gospel, and in particular the relation of the misunderstanding of the disciples here to the general theme of misunderstanding in the Gospel. This is stated most fully in connection with the Parable of the Sower, and to it I will turn in my next chapter.



### CHAPTER III.

#### THE MYSTERY OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

The other part of the earlier half of the Second Gospel which does not lend itself naturally to the Form-Critics' picture, is that formed by St. Mark iv, 1 - 34. It is true that, so far as size goes, this section is no more remarkable than, say, the Eschatological Discourse of ch. xiii, which moreover is also remarkable in its contents. But this section has also the importance of bringing to a head a theme which is recurrent throughout the Gospel, the mystery of the Kingdom of God.

First we must look at the composition of the section.

We see that it is built up as follows:

1. Mk. iv, 1 - 8.           The Parable of the Sower.
2. Mk. iv, 9.            "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear!"
3. Mk. iv, 10 - 12.      Explanation of the Purpose of the Parable as Concealment.
4. Mk. iv, 13 - 20.      Interpretation of the Parable.
5. Mk. iv, 21 - 23.      A Group of Sayings, similar to, and including again, no. 2 in this analysis.
6. Mk. iv, 26 - 29.      Parable of the Seed which grows *αὐτομάτη*.
7. Mk. iv, 30 - 32.      Parable of the Mustard Seed.
8. Mk. /

## 8. Mk. iv, 33, 34. Use of Parables by Jesus.

I have deliberately made special note of the repeated  $\alpha\varsigma \ \epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota \ \omega\tau\alpha \ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon \ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omega$ , as this seems to me crucial for the understanding of the passage.

This is one of the very few passages in this Gospel which is concerned with the teaching of Jesus. It does not seem to have been the purpose of St. Mark to record that teaching for its own sake. He is more concerned with the person of Jesus than his words. This fact in itself suggests to us that we must seek a special explanation of any considerable section of teaching, whether or not we regard it as one of the keypoints of the Gospel. And here we notice that the Evangelist's aim does seem less to be to give us the lesson of the Parables, than to explain with illustrations why Jesus used this method. We have that emphasized in vv. 9 - 13 and again in vv. 33, 34. There is a secretive purpose behind the use of the parabolic method and that does seem to be the main point of the chapter.

Jülicher's View as Applied to this Parable.

But that at once raises another question. If that is true, has St. Mark merely picked out at random some parables to use as illustrations of this theory? Above all, /



all, has he distorted some very simple parables dealing with, say, the experience of the average preacher, by forcing upon them a quite unnatural mystery? Since Jülicher<sup>1</sup> it has become almost a Christian dogma that the meaning of all the parables of Jesus is very simple and very clear and that only a kind of obtuse perversity on the part of St. Mark could have found anything at all difficult or mysterious in them. Typical of this attitude are the words used by Bousset,<sup>2</sup> "Nothing could be more preposterous than the statement of Mark . . ." I am here concerned with what St. Mark's interpretation actually is, not with whether it was the right one, but it does seem that we must examine this charge of making preposterous statements if we are to know whether to treat his Gospel seriously or not.

But his defence is an extraordinarily simple one. Jülicher says, with a note of sarcasm, on his finding mystery in the parables,<sup>3</sup> "The only wonder is, that to-day these 'Picture-sayings' are so easily comprehended, not /

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<sup>1</sup> For Jülicher's treatment of this chapter see *Die Gleichnisrede Jesu*, esp. I, pp. 118 - 148 and II, pp. 514 - 538.

<sup>2</sup> *Jesus* (E. T.), p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 142.



not only by believers but by every reasonable man making methodical examination." But in that case surely the very least that we could expect to find would be that all reasonable men should be in agreement as to what the parables teach. That is of course true of most of the parables, but when we turn to the parable of the Sower, the very one with which St. Mark is especially concerned, we get remarkable results.

We must notice, first of all as a caution, that it is not enough to say that the meaning of the parable is the varying success of the preacher. Unless Jesus is simply musing idly on his own experience, the very last thing we should expect him to do, there must be a further point to it than that. True it is that it tells of a varying response, but what did Jesus intend to teach by telling a parable about that?

When we turn to these scholars who have seriously tried to give an answer to this, we find an extraordinary diversity of opinion as to what the point of the parable is. "Julicher himself<sup>1</sup> for instance holds that Jesus is teaching that most of the teacher's efforts must be wasted, while B. T. D. Smith<sup>2</sup> on the other hand maintains that Jesus /

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., II, p. 537.

<sup>2</sup> The Parables of the Synoptic Gospels, pp. 123ff.



Jesus himself was stressing not loss but gain, the rich harvest that is reaped from fertile soil. (We should note that Smith does say that where so much is uncertain we must be content with probabilities.)

Menzies<sup>1</sup> again finds that the point is that Jesus is proclaiming that failures will not stop him any more than they do the Sower, and Rawlinson<sup>2</sup> that the success is enough to make the work absolutely worthwhile.

Cadoux<sup>3</sup> has a similarly optimistic interpretation, that the success more than justifies the loss, the failures being unnatural and accidental. More eschatological in their interpretation, though differing too from one another are Schweitzer<sup>4</sup> and Dodd,<sup>5</sup> the former taking the parable to mean that the eschatological sowing of John the Baptist will now yield results miraculously great compared with the cause, while the latter finds that the message is that the crop is now ripe and the farmer does not delay because there are bare patches. But it is not my purpose to compile a reference index to the interpretation of this parable. While the list could be no doubt /

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<sup>1</sup> The Earliest Gospel, pp. 107ff.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> The Parables of Jesus, pp. 154f.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 354ff.

<sup>5</sup> The Parables of the Kingdom, pp. 180f.



doubt considerably lengthened, I think that my point is abundantly made. If there is so much disagreement among leading New Testament scholars, Jülicher cannot be right in saying of this parable at least that it is easily comprehended by every reasonable man making methodical examination. The names I have quoted are surely of reasonable men! And St. Mark is by no means as preposterous in his statements as Bousset would claim him to be.

When this parable is given so emphatic a place by St. Mark, and the note of mystery is also such a feature of the Gospel, it is worth while considering if the mystery of this parable is not just the mystery of the Gospel itself. But first it may not be out of place to lay down a few principles for the interpretation of the parable, which will both keep us from going astray, and justify taking such a roundabout route to the answer of the problem.

1. The point of the parable, whatever it is, must be such as to justify the expression ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ. That this refers to the point of the parable as well as to the general use of parables seems to me proved by the fact that the other parables in this section begin Οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ and ἵνα ὁμοιωθῆεν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. It does seem only natural then to assume /



assume that the parable of the Sower, too, is a parable of the Kingdom of God, and therefore of the mystery of the Kingdom of God.

2. The parable expresses, according to St. Mark at least, a truth about Jesus himself. In such a Christocentric Gospel as this, it is not likely that a parable would be related, which is merely the expression of the general experiences of preachers. Further, in view of the general lack of interest in the teaching of Jesus shown in this Gospel, the truth which it teaches about him is the more likely to be one of the great truths with which the Gospel as a whole is concerned.

3. We must notice that the allegorical interpretation of the parable which St. Mark gives is not really a full interpretation at all. The all-important point of the parable is completely missing. We are not told what is the relevance of the results of sowing the word for the hearers, what is the lesson that it is meant to teach them. This may of course be merely because St. Mark is even more obtuse than is generally believed, but surely we dare not assume that until we have first asked if this is not deliberate. It becomes then a decided possibility that St. Mark himself did not mean us to take too literally /



literally this picture of a straightforward explanation afterwards given to the disciples. For that is precisely what is not done. The allegorical interpretation serves rather to give a sharper point to the mystery and to define where it lies, than to resolve it. The words  
 ὅς ἔχει ἄτα ἀκούειν ἀκούειν would be quite in place after the interpretation too.

4. If Isaiah vi, 9, 10 might perhaps be Hebraic irony, why is it assumed that St. Mark iv, 11, 12 could not be?<sup>1</sup> I cannot understand the argument of Jülicher<sup>2</sup> that such irony would be out of place "at the beginning of a quiet conversation behind the backs of the perplexed". What would be more natural for a man who has just known the exasperating experience of men failing to understand, than to turn to a quiet irony on the subject when alone again with his friends?<sup>9</sup> But the real question of course is not whether Jesus could have spoken ironically, but if St. Mark could have reported him as speaking these words ironically. He could, either because Jesus did so speak them, or because he added an Old Testament quotation, and why should not the Gospel-writer have understood the spirit of it? There is also the possibility suggested /

<sup>1</sup> As e.g. Menzies, op. cit. p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. I, p. 132.



suggested by Sanday<sup>1</sup> that St. Mark has inserted here words actually spoken by Jesus during his last days.

5. We must add that St. Mark is no Form-critic giving a scientific account of the nature of the parable as a method of teaching. What he here says on parables is said with specific reference to the parables in this chapter. We need not then be surprised if we find that in fact his words do not apply to the great majority of the parables of Jesus, the more so as he does not record them. And in fact we do find that, while there can be no doubt about the point of most parables, it is on these particular ones that scholars of the highest standing show the greatest difference of opinion.

6. We must remember that whether or not the parabolic method makes the lesson obvious does depend also upon the subject of the parable. If it seeks to teach a mystery only to be grasped by faith, then no technique could make its meaning easy to arrive at. This point again strengthens the idea that these parables are dealing with a central thought of the Gospel, the Mystery of the Kingdom of God.

7. Jülicher never comes sufficiently to grips with St. Mark iv, 13 (and vii, 15), where the disciples are reproached /

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<sup>1</sup>

Outlines of the Life of Christ. p. 74.



reproached for their failure to understand parables. If we treat the Marcan account of the reason for parables with exact literalness, we have here a contradiction. For why should he represent the disciples as censured for failure to understand, if he really believed that the essence of the parable is to prevent understanding? The same can be said of the words in iv, 33 *καθὼς ἠδύνατο ἀκούειν*, which give us the other idea of the parable, which Jülicher ascribes to Jesus himself, to help on the weak in faith. There must be, in view of these two verses, an element of irony in St. Mark, as in Isaiah.

8. We must allow for another motive having played a part in the shaping of the exact words of the Gospels anywhere, the desire to show the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. And here, as well as Isaiah vi, 9, 10, we have allusion to Psalm lxxviii, 2 (and xlix, 4). We must always be prepared to find that New Testament writers have departed a little from what would be the clearest expression of their sense, in order to bring out this idea of fulfilment of the Old Testament.

9. It might seem an objection to some of the points that I have made that in St. Mark vii, 14ff another parable is related and the meaning of it afterwards /



afterwards told privately to the disciples. We must certainly take account of this in our decision as to what St. Mark's view of parables is. But the reproach to the disciples is there too, and therefore we cannot just take this as confirmation that St. Mark meant that the purpose of parables is literally to conceal meaning. And we could again say that the question of subject-matter is relevant, since it bears an extraordinarily close relation to that of viii, 14 - 21. We might say that 'the leaven of the Pharisees' is the subject of this parable.

10. The real crux of the chapter, however, is this. Are we to say that these parables are told merely as illustrations of the Marcan theory of parables, or is the theory given us because of them? The former seems to be the generally accepted view, but it leads to such difficulties that we are driven to try the second. In this case the parable teaches just what St. Mark is trying to teach in his Gospel, or part at least of the central truth of the Gospel, and is difficult for just the same reason as that which makes the note of mystery so prominent a feature of the Gospel throughout.

Wrede on 'The Messianic Secret'.

We /

We turn accordingly to consider these other elements of mystery in the Gospel, and there are many of them. First of all we will examine those brought up by Wrede in support of his thesis in 'Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien', and with them his theory.

1. The Recognition by Demons of Jesus as Messiah.<sup>1</sup>

Here Wrede mentions St. Mark, i, 23 - 25; i, 34; iii, 11 - 12; v, 6 - 7; ix, 20.

These are however not so much evidence for Wrede's theory as necessary background to prepare the way for the next sections, and point to the fact that something was concealed.

2. The Commands to keep the Messianic Secret.<sup>2</sup>

- (i) To Demons. St. Mark i, 25; i, 34; iii, 12.
- (ii) After other miracles. i, 43 - 45 (the Leper); v, 43 (Jairus' Daughter, cp. vv. 37, 40); vii, 36 (the Dumb Man, cp. verse 33); viii, 26 (the Blind Man, cp. verse 23).
- (iii) After Peter's Confession. viii, 30; ix, 9 (after Transfiguration, cp. vv. 2, 3).
- (iv) Purpose to remain Incognito. vii, 24; ix, 30f.
- (v) Not from Jesus Himself. x, 47f.

This list is exceedingly important. The last however, /

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 23ff.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 33ff.



however, the Bartimaeus incident, may be disregarded, as the commands to keep silence are there mentioned in order to emphasize the faith of Bartimaeus in refusing to obey. The others however fall into a bloc as one of the main features of the Gospel.

### 3. Jesus speaks to his Disciples alone.<sup>1</sup>

St. Mark i, 29ff; xiii, 3; vii, 17; ix, 28; x, 10; ix, 33; i, 35; i, 45; iii, 6.

This section is not so important however, and Wrede gives it much shorter treatment. We must also however say of some of them that they really give no mystery. Why, for instance, should we expect Jesus to ask his disciples what they were speaking of before a crowd?

### 4. The Chapter on Parables.<sup>2</sup>

I have already emphasized sufficiently its crucial importance.

### 5. Prophecies of Passion, Death and Resurrection.<sup>3</sup>

St. Mark viii, 31f; ix, 31; x, 32 - 34; to which add ix, 9. These are again however not so much evidence, as evidence that there was something to conceal, the background to what follows.

### 6. The Attitude of the Disciples to these Prophecies. /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p. 51ff.

<sup>2</sup> p. 54ff.

<sup>3</sup> p. 82ff.



Prophecies.<sup>1</sup>

St. Mark ix, 10; ix, 32; viii, 32f; x, 32.

This again is a list of the greatest importance for the study of the Gospel. (I do not agree with Wrede however that emendation is necessary in x, 32).

7. The Failure of the Disciples to Understand in General.<sup>2</sup>

St. Mark iv, 13 (Parables); iv, 40, 41 (Storm at Sea); vi, 50, 51 (Walking on the Sea); vii, 18 (Parable); viii, 16 - 21 (Leaven of the Pharisees); ix, 5, 6 (Transfiguration); ix, 19 (Failure to Heal); x, 24 (The Rich and the Kingdom of God); xiv, 37 - 41 (Gethsemane).

These are also an exceedingly important group of passages for the study of the Gospel. Wrede might well have added to his list ix, 33 - 37 (The True Greatness); ix, 38 - 40 (the Exorcist who was not a Disciple); x, 13 - 16 (Blessing the Children); x, 35 - 40 (Request of sons of Zebedee); x, 41 - 45 (Indignation of Others).

It is certainly a very impressive list which he has collected. We must agree that here we have emphasized a leading motif of the Gospel, which we cannot ignore or attempt /

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<sup>1</sup> p. 93ff.

<sup>2</sup> p. 101ff.



attempt to explain away lightly. Honour must be done to Wrede for his recognition of the importance of this, and also for his scholarly, honest, and at times brilliant, method of dealing with it. Certainly his work deserved a greater recognition than it has received in this country, where the attitude seems to have been that because his conclusions were negative his work should be ignored.<sup>1</sup>

In the material set out above he finds two different, though allied, tendencies, that to represent Jesus as attempting to conceal his Messiahship, and that to represent the disciples as failing to understand.

On the first,<sup>2</sup> Wrede, rejecting as irrelevant a 'secret Messiahship' of Jewish thought, finds a somewhat similar outlook in the first thought of the early Church, as in e.g. Acts ii, 36, that Jesus only became Messiah after his Resurrection, the outlook which, according to this view, later led to a proleptic reading back of the name into his earthly life, first that he was the man who was /

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<sup>1</sup> In his own country however Wrede has received much more recognition. Both Dibelius (*Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, pp. 225ff) and Bultmann (*Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, pp. 371ff) build upon his theory as a foundation. But here we have only seen such general criticism as that of e.g. Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, pp. 69ff.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., pp. 209 - 229.



was to become Messiah, and then that he was Messiah. He quotes his reasons for thinking that Jesus neither claimed the one nor the other himself. And it is in this Christological development that Wrede finds the origin of the Messianic secret. Rejecting the idea that it was a piece of apologetic to confute enemies or to confirm friends, showing why Jesus was not recognized as Messiah in his earthly life,<sup>1</sup> he makes it his final finding that this was the beginning of the tendency to read back the post-resurrection Messiahship into the days before his death. It is a stage on the way to the Christology which represents Jesus, in his earthly life also, as Messiah without qualification. And from this Wrede finds final confirmation that Jesus could not have spoken of himself as Messiah in either sense. For if he had, this stage could never have arisen.

Similarly, he connects the second tendency, the failure of the disciples to understand, with the experience at Pentecost.<sup>2</sup> It is the obverse of the belief that a new understanding came with that. Under-  
standing /

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<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough it seems to be widely thought that this was in fact Wrede's view. But nothing could be more explicit than his rejection of it (pp. 224f).

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., pp. 229ff.



Understanding then better, they looked on the past as a story of their failure. Thus, according to Wrede, both tendencies are evidence that belief in the Messiahship of Jesus followed from the Resurrection, and was not awakened by his earthly life.

That there are passages inconsistent with these two tendencies Wrede does not attempt to deny.<sup>1</sup> Prophecies of his death are made outside the circle of his disciples (ii, 19f; xii, 6ff), the parabolic teaching is understood (xii, 12 and implicitly iii, 23), the people wonder at the new teaching (i, 22). And Mark vi, 13 contradicts ix, 18ff. Important are the times when the attempts of Jesus to obtain secrecy fail, through a healed man speaking after an injunction to secrecy, or when he cannot keep his presence secret (i, 45; vii, 36f; vii, 24). While the confession at Caesarea Philippi can be understood as simply providing occasion for a command to silence, that of the demons in v, 7 is followed by no such injunction. On such difficulties he has some very interesting and not unconvincing remarks to make. The very idea of a Messianic secret involves these appearing, since a perfectly consistent working out of the 'Secret' idea, would /

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<sup>1</sup> pp. 124ff., pp. 236ff.



would leave no evidence at all that Jesus was Messiah. But to account for them all, we must also assume another tradition on which St. Mark was also drawing, that Jesus was openly Messiah.

This then is the house which Wrede built. It must be treated seriously, for the main passages on which it is built are important ones for the study of the Gospel. But there are considerations which throw serious doubt on his position.

1. In the first place, it is very open to question if this is a natural or reasonable stage in the transition from a post-resurrection Messiah to one who was openly so in his earthly life. Would such a development have, in fact, probably passed this way? The view he rejects, that it was deliberate apologetic to explain why Jesus was not recognized as Messiah in his earthly life, has at least this merit, that, granted certain premises, it is the kind of position which could have arisen quite naturally. But the contradictions which Wrede himself notes seem fatal to it. There are passages which imply that Jesus was known as Messiah in his earthly life, which in this case would certainly have been omitted or modified. And, risky though it may be to /



to attempt to see how Wrede's mind has worked, I cannot resist the impression that he first of all began to build toward this conclusion, but was too good a scholar not to see that the objections to it could not be met, and so was forced back on this unnatural position. His own words, "I soon gave up this assumption"<sup>1</sup> seem to confirm this. Accordingly we must examine further his premises to see if he has built upon good foundations.

2. The best argument against Wrede given by Sanday<sup>2</sup> and Rawlinson<sup>3</sup> is that his interpretation puts far too much weight on the Resurrection itself, divorced from the earthly life in determining the faith of the first Christians. How could the Resurrection as such lead to such a belief without some assistance from what had gone before? While it certainly must have put the faith of the disciples on to a foundation of rock, yet that is a different thing from claiming that it suggested to them the title of Messiah.

3. Do the early chapters of Acts really imply the doctrine that Jesus only became Messiah after his Resurrection? The only verse which seems to have such an implication /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 225.

<sup>2</sup> The Life of Christ in Recent Research, pp. 75ff.

<sup>3</sup> op. cit., pp. 260ff.



implication is Acts ii, 36, and we must ask if we can read any more into that than that God by raising up Jesus from the dead, confirmed what men had denied, namely that he was *Kύριος* and *Χριστός*. Acts v, 31, if we treat *ἀρχηγός* as *Χριστός*, might possibly be quoted in defence of Wrede. But if we are to treat Acts ii, 36 as a scientifically accurate statement of dogma, we must do the same with iii, 18; iv, 10; iv, 26 which apply the title to his earthly life and crucifixion. And that gives us a majority of passages in favour of the second view.

If we are to find a more exact meaning in Acts ii, 36, it must be dependent on the fact that this is an argument from Psalm cx, 1. If the raising up of Jesus fulfils this, he must be the *Κύριός μου*, and if *Κύριος* he must also be *Χριστός*. That is how *Χριστός* is here connected with the Resurrection.

4. Such thoughts force us to return to the Gospel to re-examine the passages where the note of secrecy is stressed, and in one group we find that a much better explanation has been given. Bauernfeind<sup>1</sup> has shown that in the confession of the demons with the following commands to keep silence we are dealing with the language of /

<sup>1</sup> Die Worte der Dämonen im Marcusevangelium. See especially pp. 72f.



of magic. Just as a man might seek to gain control of these demons by uttering their name, so they too use similar tactics to overcome a stronger spiritual power than themselves. So it becomes a natural stage in the fight for Jesus to prevent them from doing so, and the words have a magical rather than dogmatic significance. One could argue of course with Bultmann<sup>1</sup> that this may have been so in the earlier tradition, but that how St. Mark understood it is another matter. But this more naïve explanation, natural to anyone living in an atmosphere of magic, suits very well the naïve manner in which the incidents are related. It would seem better to see in this mysterious warfare in the realm of magic, a natural element in the greater whole of mystery which surrounds the Gospel.

5. But Bauernfeind<sup>2</sup> makes the further point that, excluding the incidents which allow such an explanation, we are left with only the command after Peter's Confession, and possibly that after the Transfiguration, to refer the motif of secrecy in the Gospel to the title 'Messiah'. And once again the objections that I have already raised to an undue stressing of the Caesarea Philippi /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p. 223n.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., pp.87f.



Philippi incident have importance.<sup>1</sup> For we can only save Wrede's theory in view of this, by interpreting all the secrecy of the Gospel in the light of this. And I feel the points that I made show clearly that it will not bear the weight of this either.

6. Wrede<sup>2</sup> never really gets clear of the difficulty that the commands to secrecy are sometimes broken, as in i, 45; vii, 36; vii, 24 and if Wrede's interpretation is right, v, 20.<sup>3</sup> His explanation that a theory of this kind involves contradictions, as otherwise there would be no evidence at all that Jesus was Messiah, is a good one and must be treated seriously, but it hardly meets the case. The trouble is that the command to secrecy and the disobedience, viewed from the standpoint of form, read so much as a unity. We are driven, accordingly to seek an explanation which will treat the two as part of the same motif. Another difficulty lies in the demands which Jesus makes for faith, and his appreciation of faith in connection with healing miracles (ii, 5; v, 34; vi, 5; ix, 23; x, 52 and in effect vii, 29). This is scarcely the behaviour of a secret Messiah of Wrede's fashion /

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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 28ff.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., pp. 124ff.

<sup>3</sup> op. cit., p. 140.



fashion. It may be said that this trait, as well as other discrepancies, belong to an earlier stage in the tradition than St. Mark. But it is fatally easy to escape a difficulty in that way.

Mystery Element related to Shepherd.

And in fact these latter points do lead us to another consideration, that the real criticism of Wrede is that he has only dealt with one half of the problem. It is not so much that he has interpreted badly the motif of secrecy in the Gospel, but that he has failed to take account of the fact that there are other elements of wonder and mystery in the Gospel, elements which have nothing to do with secrecy, and some of which in fact point in the opposite direction. We must seek to find, if we can, a unified interpretation which will cover both. To these we now turn.

1. We notice first of all the number of times expressions are used in the Gospel to suggest mystery and wonder. The words used to express the reaction of disciples, enemies and common people alike are such words as ἀμβείβειν and ἐκ ἀμβείβειν (i, 27; ix, 15; x, 24; x, 32 where however text is doubtful; xvi, 5), ἐκπληροῦσθαι (i, 22; vi, 22; vii, 37 with ὑπερπερισσῶς ; x, 26 with /



with περισσῶς ; xi, 18), ἐξίστασθαι (ii, 12; v, 42 with ἐκτόσει μεγάλη ; vi, 51 with λίαν ), ἐκθαυμάζειν (xii, 17), εἶχε γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἐκτόσις (xvi, 8), and most surprising in its frequency φοβηθῆναι (iv, 41 with φόβοι μέγας; v, 15; ix, 32; x, 32; xi, 18; xvi, 8), and ἐκφοβῶσιν γένεσθαι (ix, 6). These are so numerous as to justify the claim that this is, according to the Gospel, the impression made by Jesus. Wherever he goes, the impact of his personality causes amazement, astonishment, and even fear.

2. Certain of the miracles are told in a way which could be described as a heightening of the miraculous, not in the sense of adding to the story new wonders, but in the sense of raising the temperature of the atmosphere of the scene. A miracle is made to appear a greater, more awesome and more terrifying thing. This is especially true of the healing of the Gerasene demoniac (v, 1 - 20). As far as results go, Jesus seems only to have gained a partial success, but in the atmosphere of the story both he and the enemy are exalted high above humanity. It is quite fitting to the story that the local reaction is καὶ ἤρξαντο παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄριων αὐτῶν. We find the same tendency again in the healing of the Leper (i, 41 - 45), with its picture of Jesus as ἐμβριγησάμενος and ὀργισθεὶς (probably the right reading), we can only assume with /



with the powers of darkness, and in the healing of the Epileptic Boy, where the difficulty is emphasized, <sup>ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ</sup> γένος ἐν οὐδενὶ δύναται ἐξελεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἐν προσεύχῃ, and where the mere appearance of Jesus provokes the reaction ἐξεθαμβήθη.

To this class also belong the two wonders on the Sea of Galilee, the Stilling of the Storm (iv, 35 - 41), and the Walking on the Sea (vi, 45 - 52). For all that Jesus appears in them as the champion and friend of the disciples, yet the final effect of the miracles is to emphasize the great gulf fixed between them and him. And this seems to be the purpose of these two stories.

3. The note of might and authority is emphasised in various ways in the Gospel. The coming of Jesus is heralded by the mighty proclamation of the Baptist, <sup>ἔρχεται</sup> ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ἄριστά μου, ὃς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς κύριος λῦσαι τὸν ἵμῶνα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ (i, 7). He is pictured as teaching with ἐξουσία (i, 22). With the same ἐξουσία he commands the demons (i, 27). He cannot be treated with familiarity; even his own family must stand at a respectful distance (iii, 31 - 35). He cannot be dismissed as 'the carpenter, the Son of Mary' (vi, 1 - 6). His person and works send people speculating as to whether this is Elijah come to life again or one of the prophets, while the guilty conscience of Herod suggests that this is John returned /



returned from the dead (vi, 14-16). So one could continue through the Gospel, but these early examples suggest that St. Mark wishes to picture him as coming on the scene in great excitement and speculation.

4. The really amazing part of the commands to secrecy at healings, is not merely that they are given, but that in spite of them St. Mark pictures Jesus as continually demanding faith as a condition of help.

Ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε may be said to be the foundation of the healing work of Jesus in the Synoptics generally. And wherever faith is shown as triumphing over special obstacles, it earns a special commendation and the implication at least that it is the faith which has been responsible for the miracle. So it is with the friends who made a way through the roof to bring a sick man to him (ii, 5), so it is with the old woman who thought she need only touch the hem of his garment (v, 34), so it is with blind Bartimaeus who refused to be silenced (x, 52). And so it surely is with the Syro-Phoenician woman (vii, 29). Surely it was the faith, not merely the facile tongue, which earned her her reward.

On the other hand lack of faith is censured and is even at Nazareth the cause of no mighty work being done (vi, 5-6; /



(vi, 5-6; St. Matthew makes the faithlessness more explicitly the cause in xiii, 58). The disciples are blamed after the stilling of the storm, in circumstances where fear might well seem to us excusable (iv, 40).

The failure of the disciples to heal the epileptic boy is met by the words  $\gammaενε\alpha\ \delta\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$  (ix, 19). Nor is the

father exempt from censure. His entreaty  $\delta\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$  (or

$\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\alpha\iota$  ) is met at once by  $\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\iota\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$  (or  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\alpha\iota$  )  $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\alpha\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\ \tau\omega\ \mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\iota$

(ix, 22-23). It is surprising to notice that where the doubt is not of his power but his will, there is not the same censure. The Leper's  $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\alpha\iota$  is met at once by

the reply  $\theta\epsilon\lambda\omega$  (i, 40-45).

And yet we must place against all this emphasis the fact that St. Mark seems to be continually picturing Jesus as cutting away as far as possible all grounds for such a faith. If his other miracles were made more widely known, or if it had been noised abroad that he admitted himself to be the Messiah or that he had experienced the Transfiguration, surely that would have been a great encouragement to the faith in him which he sought. But it is just things like this which he is anxious to suppress, while all the time expecting faith. With this point I feel that we have come to the crisis of the mystery /



mystery of the Gospel. It will not do to try such explanations as different stages of the tradition. They are both so typical of the Gospel that we must say that the Gospel-writer believed in them both. And no account of the Christology of the Gospel which does not deal with this tension between two opposing ideas can be regarded as adequate.

To my mind there is only one explanation which will cover all the facts, and especially this last one, as we seek to explain the mystery element in the Gospel. And it links up convincingly with my conclusions of the previous chapter, that St. Mark was attributing to Jesus a peculiar Messianic doctrine, the Shepherd Son of David mentioned especially by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and associated with the New Covenant. For this New Covenant according to Jeremiah was to be one where the law was to be written in men's hearts, where a personal spiritual relation with God was to supplant Torah, Temple, and Promised Land. The Good Shepherd, if we may so call him, was to take the place of the 'land that floweth with milk and honey'.

This means again that if the thought of Jeremiah had influenced St. Mark (or his predecessors, or Jesus himself), /



himself), and we have not only the mere name taken over, that is, if St. Mark was true to the origin of his Messianism, his Good Shepherd too must have an intensely personal relation with his followers and with the people generally, they being bound to him by no formal doctrine or cult or name, but by the power of his person alone.

And that in fact is exactly what we have been finding in the Gospel in a very extreme form. We may even wonder if St. Mark has been exaggerating this thought needlessly. The mystery of the Gospel is not merely concerned with Messianic titles and such things. It is one of the whole personality of Jesus. For all its magnificence, it remains aloof and hidden, we cannot grasp it exactly. He causes amazement and fear wherever he goes, he challenges men to have faith in him. And yet he will not say who he is, and tries to keep hidden the mighty works which he does.

And so one would have to tell the life of the Shepherd Son of David, though as I said St. Mark might perhaps be accused of carrying things to extremes. (On the other hand he may only be faithful to history in that). He must then tell of a Jesus who could not be fitted into any categories with any exactness, for the very /



very point of his life is that it supersedes all such things. More important, he must tell of a Jesus who establishes his relations with men on the grounds of his own personality alone, and not through any name or fame.

For this reason the Jesus of St. Mark will not allow the fame of his miracles to become the basis of men's faith in him. For this reason, too, he enjoins silence as to his Messiahship, though he will not deny the application of the name to himself, and we notice that he does accept it explicitly before Caiaphas, when the effect is to provoke rather than to resolve a crisis of faith (xiv, 62). He will not have men trust in him because of any title that he claims. That would be to subject the faith of the New Covenant to the formalism of the old.

But while he will not do anything to enforce faith in himself he will help with hints. Such hints I take it are meant to be the Parable of the Sower, the Miraculous Meals, and the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem. Jesus speaks and acts deliberately in such a way, that the seeing eye and the hearing ear could see and hear the Messiah. But we notice that even the Triumphal Entry, as far as Jesus' own part is concerned, is not meant /



meant to be more than a hint. (Many a man must have entered Jerusalem almost every day riding on an ass without being acclaimed as the Messiah!) But further than that he will not go. For the external factor must not be made more decisive than ~~he~~ himself.

The Jesus who does battle with the unclean spirits, for 'does battle' is I feel the best description of such stories as v, 1-20 and ix, 14-29 especially, is in consonance with this. For the struggle is lifted up on to a higher plane altogether, and we cannot treat it as ordinary miracle-working. And the impression on the populace is to cause amazement and wonder in the highest degree. It may well be that we need no further explanation of the refusal to allow the demons to use the name 'Messiah' than the magical one of Bauernfeind. But the truth is that the real mystery of the Gospel is not contained in these so much as in, for example, the reaction of the disciples to the Stilling of the Storm,

Τὸ ἔπειτα αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ;  
(iv, 41).

(77) But this is not told us by St. Mark. The reason is that he himself is faithful to his own Christology in his proclamation of the Gospel. So he, too, will only hint /

hint at the truth, rather than tell it outright. He cannot of course do this to anything like the same extent as he represents Jesus as doing it. To make any presentation of the life at all in writing he has to be more explicit. Jesus himself is not there for men to look at, and therefore St. Mark has to do such things as call him the Son of God, and relate the mighty works on which Jesus himself enjoined secrecy. But there is throughout a reticence about the Gospel, a continual sense that the writer could tell us much more if he cared to.

An interesting example of this is furnished by the references to the Old Testament. In St. Matthew we are left in no doubt at all in this matter. But it is rather hard to say just how much in the Second Gospel is meant to point to the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. Hoskyns and Davey<sup>1</sup> find a surprising amount of this. But it will always remain open to doubt what is and what isn't. The Old Testament is more often suggested than quoted.

The same is true of the Parable of the Sower. We are not really given a full interpretation of the parable. What /

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<sup>1</sup> The Riddle of the New Testament, chs. IV and VII.



What St. Mark does is to lift the veil, in tantalising fashion, up to the crucial point, and then to leave it just when we expect the mystery is to be unveiled. The point of the parable is not given to us. Instead, we have a group of sayings on the theme of present mysteries yet to be revealed, and on the need for a man having something already before he can receive, both of which ideas attach themselves very naturally to this presentation of Jesus.

And in the light of this, it seems to me that the lesson of the parable must be this, that only the receptive heart can recognize Jesus for who he is. Jesus is the Sower who sows the Word. But while the actions and words of Jesus are there for all alike to see, it does not follow that all alike will receive, or even understand him. There is a difference where the soil is different. The necessary reticence about the person of Jesus throws the responsibility on to the hearers of the word, to discover for themselves what his life means. And the parable is a warning to hearers and readers of the responsibility that is theirs.

And this is also St. Mark's explanation of why Jesus spoke in parables.  $\Theta\varsigma$   $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\omega\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$   $\alpha\kappa\omega\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$   $\alpha\kappa\omega\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omega$  really refers /

refers to both. The parabolic method is used because by nature of things Jesus could not say exactly who and what he was and this is his way of hinting it, so that the responsibility of recognizing him still falls on his hearers.

And the two smaller parables which follow bear this out. The point of that in iv, 26-29 is certainly the word *αὐτομάτη*. It is curious to note how often this parable has been taken to teach predestination. For if we take the sowing to represent divine activity, and the earth to represent humanity, the lesson seems to be the exact reverse. The seed is sown, but it is what men do with it *αὐτομάτη*, that is of their own free will, that matters. The Parable of the Mustard Seed is simpler. It merely emphasizes the greatness of the possible result of the sowing.

Thus in this chapter on parables St. Mark sets out his theme of mystery. Men are not compelled to see the point of the life of Jesus, he remains mysterious and it is possible to miss it and to let the seed fall on barren soil. Thus we find an interpretation which is strictly Christological, and also related to the mystery of the rest of the Gospel, and this difficult chapter finds its place in the Marcan plan.



## CHAPTER IV.

### THE DISCIPLES.

One question which is still outstanding from both the previous chapters is the relation of Jesus to his disciples, and, in particular, their failure to understand. We saw how the miracles of the loaves ended in a great anti-climax, because the disciples could not understand them. And we have also seen that this failure of the disciples to understand generally formed part of Wrede's theory. But we did not examine it. To it now I accordingly turn.

#### Success and Failure of the Disciples.

But we must notice first of all that the story of the disciples of Jesus is by no means purely the story of failure as Wrede's position might suggest. There is a considerable difference between the Twelve and others who saw and heard Jesus, according to the Marcan treatment. True it is that it is their failures which are emphasized in the Gospel. But the very type of failure emphasizes the fact that they are different who here fail. And there is much recorded too to their credit, particularly /

particularly in the earlier part of the Gospel.

To begin with, we are told at least how four of them left their fishing to follow him (i, 16-20). The other case of a call of a disciple, Levi, the taxgatherer, is perhaps doubtful (ii, 13-14), as the name of Levi is not mentioned among the twelve in iii, 13-19. So ii, 13-14 may not be meant to describe the call of one of the twelve. On the other hand the traditional view that he is to be identified with Matthew may be correct.<sup>1</sup> In any case these are men who have done more than others.

One might perhaps be tempted, in view of my conclusions of the previous chapter, to dwell on the fact that these disciples follow Jesus with no apparent reason given, and to point to that as further evidence for the mystery of the Shepherd Son of David. But a caution against that must be entered. We have already had occasion to note<sup>2</sup> that the opening chapter of the Gospel seems to be very much in the nature of a summary of the necessary background, and that may account for the brevity here, while the call of Levi is simply the introduction to the story of a dispute with the Pharisees on why he ate with τρώγαι and ἑμαρτωλοί. So not too much can be drawn from this.

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<sup>1</sup> Or might he possibly be James, the son of Alphaeus, since the father's name is the same?

<sup>2</sup> See above pp. 47f.



In the formal appointment of the twelve we notice that three reasons are given (iii, 14-15), that they might be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, and to have authority to cast out demons. And all three purposes are in fact fulfilled in the course of the Gospel, the last two, indeed, surprisingly soon, as they are more difficult than the first.

As early as St. Mark vi, 6-13 we find the Twelve being sent out on their missionary journey. They have a twofold charge, to preach and to exorcize demons. This denotes surely a high standing already for the disciples. And we note that they not only cast out demons but heal other sick too. And all this is before the motif of failure to understand has really begun to appear, the exceptions being the partial failure of the Parable of the Sower and the Stilling of the Storm. We must remember then, when we turn to the passages where the disciples appear in least favourable light, that we are considering men who had already performed miracles of healing.

The message which the disciples preach is one of repentance. We notice that there they have the same word to speak as John the Baptist (i, 4) and Jesus himself /



himself (i, 15). They do not preach that Jesus is the Messiah, but that need not surprise us when he deliberately refrains from doing so himself. The question does arise, however, if they could have done what they did on this journey, not knowing at all who or what he was. And this does look at least like confirmatory evidence that the Gospel-writer could not have regarded Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi as something new.<sup>1</sup> We can ask also if, perhaps, the curious fact that the rumours as to the person of Jesus repeated at Caesarea Philippi, that he was John the Baptist or Elijah or one of the other prophets, are reported first as the result of the disciples' activity, implies that they then, too knew the higher answer. But this is very uncertain, and could not be treated as more than confirmatory evidence.

At any rate, at Caesarea Philippi, Peter is represented as giving Jesus this name while those outside the twelve are speculating on the line of John the Baptist, or Elijah or another of the prophets. And as a result, it is to the disciples that is given the /

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<sup>1</sup> J. Weiss, Das älteste Evangelium, p. 51, takes even such things as the call of the disciples, as evidence that they knew him as Messiah even then. But I doubt if much stress can be laid on this.



the prophecies of the Passion, and the important teaching that accompanies them. That is, unless Hering<sup>1</sup> is right in seeing in viii, 30, a denial and not an acceptance of the title, a view which I think xiv, 62, is sufficient to confute. It is because the disciples knew more about him than others that they are able to receive the teaching of his death.

With these examples of a different note to guide us, we are able now to see in a better perspective the passages where failure is attributed to the Twelve.<sup>2</sup> And we notice at once that they fall into clearly defined groups.

1. Incidents connected with the Miracles of the Loaves and therefore proclaiming the Shepherd Son of David.

St. Mark viii, 16-21 (Leaven of the Pharisees); vi, 50-51 (Walking on the Sea); iv, 40-41 (Stilling of the storm); vii, 18 (Parable of Defilement); iv, 13 (Parable of the Sower).

Of these the first two are explicitly called failures to understand the miracles of the loaves, and we <sup>may</sup> surely class the Stilling of the Storm with the /

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<sup>1</sup> as quoted above, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> see above pp. 59f., 62f..

the Walking on the Sea. The Parable of the Sower is that difficult parable the interpretation of which I have connected in the previous chapter with the Shepherd Son of David, and the Parable of Defilement follows one of the incidents connected with eating which are grouped round the miraculous meals.

### 2. The Passion, and Kindred Subjects.

St. Mark viii, 32f.; ix, 32; x, 32 (at the Prophecies of the Passion); ix, 5f. (Transfiguration); ix, 10 (Resurrection); ix, 11-13 (Elijah); ix, 28-29 (Failure to Heal); xiv, 37-41 (Gethsemane); xiv, 50 (Flight at Arrest); xiv, 29-31 (Peter's Boast); xiv, 66-72 (Peter's Denial); and though it is not a failure, we can add to this the request for information leading to the Eschatological Discourse (xiii, 1-4).

### 3. Ethical Matters based on the Prophecies of the Passion.

St. Mark ix, 33-37 (The True Greatness); ix, 38-40 (The Exorcist who was not a Disciple); x, 13-16 (Blessing the Children); x, 23-27 (The Rich Man); x, 35-40 (Sons of Zebedee); x, 41-45 (Indignation of Others).

Of these perhaps we might say that the failure  
of /



of the disciples to heal the epileptic boy, may be less a censure of the disciples than an emphasis of the difficulty of the miracle. Similarly the bewilderment of Peter at the Transfiguration may be merely a naive heightening of the picture there. This also may account for the Stilling of the Storm. The fear of the Disciples is the occasion of the miracle.

The first group is the failure to understand that Jesus is the Shepherd Son of David, or, it may only be, what the implications of that were. This would imply of course that the disciples knew him already as Messiah, but did not realize the peculiar nature of his Messiahship. But I have already dealt with this subject sufficiently.

The second group follows when Jesus, finding only a complete failure to understand resulting from his miraculous meals, announces his intention of going to Jerusalem to suffer and die and to rise again. It is long recognised of course that the section of the Gospel viii, 27- x, 45 forms a unity, dominated by the three great prophecies of the Passion in viii, 31, ix, 31 and x, 33f. Rawlinson<sup>1</sup> quotes with approval the words

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p. 128.



words of Johannes Weiss, "the key-note is sounded by the solemn and thrice-repeated predictions of the Passion, which ring out like the muffled strokes of a bell." And that description of its atmosphere can hardly be bettered.

### The Son of Man

But before we proceed to the study of the relation of the disciples to the prophecies of the Passion, there is one question which cannot be avoided. The prophecies are made in the name of the Son of Man. What did such a name convey to St. Mark as he wrote it down?

There have been in the main three interpretations of the meaning of the title  $\delta \upsilon \iota \acute{\omicron} \varsigma \tau \omicron \upsilon \ \acute{\alpha} \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \omicron \upsilon$  in the Gospels. Otto<sup>1</sup> derives the use of the name from the book of Enoch, and sees in the use of it by Jesus a linking of the eschatological redeemer of Enoch with the Suffering Servant of Isaiah. What might be called the other extreme view is that of T. W. Manson,<sup>2</sup> who seeing in the Son of Man of Daniel vii, 13 another embodiment of the 'Remnant' idea of Isaiah, takes it so in the teaching of Jesus also to mean not a person but a people wholly devoted to their heavenly King. But in the end this ideal /

<sup>1</sup> The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, esp. pp. 219ff. 249ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Teaching of Jesus, esp. pp. 227ff.



ideal is reached in Jesus himself alone. A middle position is well represented by W. Manson,<sup>1</sup> who also goes back to Daniel but gives the name a personal significance, not connecting it with a people.

Fortunately, my immediate concern is only with the mind of St. Mark and not with that of Jesus. But some criticisms which I have to offer are relevant to both. On the whole it seems to me that the third view is the most likely, with the proviso that there is an element of mystery about it, and that not St. Mark only, but the first Church generally were rather baffled by the name.

1. The use of the title in the Gospels is peculiar. It is found only on the lips of Jesus himself. And in the Acts of the Apostles it only occurs on the lips of the dying Stephen (vii, 56), and there referring to the heavenly glory. I do not see how Bousset,<sup>2</sup> in face of this, can maintain that the title was first given to Jesus by the primitive Church. The evidence does seem to suggest very strongly that there was a very old tradition that Jesus used it of himself, so old that /

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<sup>1</sup> Jesus, the Messiah, esp. pp. 113ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kyrios Christos, pp. 17ff.



that the best explanation of it would be that he did.

That is the normally accepted view of the problem, but for our purpose we have also to ask why the early Christians and the Gospel writers did not themselves make use of the name which was hallowed by their Lord's use. If it was because they took some exception to it, we should expect to find (if anything) a tendency to suppress it in the later Gospels, certainly not what we do find, that it tends to intrude. (e.g. Mt. xvi, 13, 28; Lk. vi, 22; xii, 8.) The only conclusion I can draw from that is that the first Christians did not use the title themselves because they did not understand it, and not because they disapproved.

And this is strengthened by one of the intrusions, ~~St.~~ Matthew, xvi, 13. Τίνα λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; What sense can possibly be made of these words on any other assumption than that the writer of the First Gospel, too, found some mystery in the term?

2. Against T. W. Manson we may say that if the Son of Man in the vision of Daniel is contrasted with the four great empires, these empires were to those who suffered under them, very much their despotic rulers. And if the giving of dominion, and glory, and a kingdom to /



to the Son of Man could mean that Israel was to rule over other nations, and not that a good ruler was to be supernaturally given, yet the Book of Enoch does at least point to a later interpretation of the Son of Man as meaning that.

We must remember that in one sense the apocalyptic literature is an extension of the prophetic use of symbolism, spoken and acted (e.g. Amos vii, viii; Hosea i-iii; Jeremiah xxvii, xxviii; Ezekiel i, xlvii, from a great wealth of examples) and the visions of Daniel are a halfway stage in this process. What we have is in fact a riddling parable. And the interpretation of Daniel, vii, 17ff, is tantalizingly like that of the parable of the Sower in that it stops short at the crucial question, how the supernatural deliverance was to come. Thus if Jesus were so to describe himself to his disciples, it would be an explanation which was yet still a puzzle, a focussing of the problem of his person rather than a solution.

3. The section of I Enoch which deals with the Son of Man (chs. xxxvii-lxxi, the Book of Similitudes) certainly regarded Daniel as a riddle, for it propounds a solution. The references to the Son of Man always have /

have an air about them of a mystery still to be revealed, until the final dénouement comes, and we discover that the Son of Man is Enoch himself.

(lxxi, 14-16).<sup>1</sup> The real significance of the book of Enoch for the New Testament problem is that it is an esoteric solution, and as such presupposes a popular mystery. It is in the tradition of the popular mystery and not the esoteric solution that the Gospel-writers (and possibly Jesus himself) stand.

4. If we can trust the tradition Jesus himself seems to have made things still more difficult for his followers by using the expression chiefly in connection with his death and humiliation, whereas the one datum they had about the Son of Man of Daniel was that he was to come in some way 'with the clouds of heaven'.

It would seem then that St. Mark, in common with others, taught that Jesus claimed to be the great mysterious heavenly champion about whom since the days of the Book of Daniel there had been speculation.

Just /

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<sup>1</sup> Charles alone (Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Vol II, p. 237) regards the text as here corrupt. But his only reason for doing so seems to be an unwillingness to allow the Son of Man to be identified with Enoch. Emendation is surely quite unnecessary.



Just exactly how he could be that St. Mark himself could probably not quite understand. But certainly the hopes of Daniel were fulfilled in him, and, as I will show, xiii, 27 does have a suggestion of a faith that this mystery will be revealed.

#### Prophecies of Passion

To return to the prophecies of the Passion, we can surely agree with Otto<sup>1</sup> that it is the teaching that the Son of Man or the Messiah must suffer which causes the difficulty for the disciples. The idea of a good and holy man suffering was by no means a new one. And we cannot dismiss the failure of the disciples as merely a case of alarm for their personal friend. That might be true of Peter's rebuke in viii, 32, but would not on the other hand explain the language of ix, 32. But more important than this is the way that St. Mark goes out of his way to suggest Messianism in various ways, especially at the beginning of this section.

Thus we are introduced to it by the Confession of Peter, *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. And this is the real significance of the position of that Confession in the Gospel. It leads /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 253ff.

leads up to the first prediction of the Passion, posing for us the question if both can be right. For we are never definitely told that Peter's description was accepted, we are merely left with the implication, and the reader must come to terms in his own way with the two seemingly contradictory statements. Just as, according to St. Mark, the disciples also had to do. For if they knew him as Messiah even before, it was from their own conclusions, unsupported by any definite word from Jesus.

The same can be said of the Transfiguration.

Apart from any titles there is there a great exaltation of the person of Jesus in itself, which contrasts strangely with the humiliation and death of which the predictions speak. Once again this is not a proof that he is the Messiah, but only a strong suggestion. And this would seem to be the significance of the words  $\delta \nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon \delta \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . According to Armitage Robinson,<sup>1</sup>  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  has become a Messianic title in the probably second century A.D. apocryphal, the Ascension of Isaiah, but there is no evidence of a pre-Christian Messianic use. On the other hand, there is such use as would make a Messianic use easy. Again, St. Mark represents Jesus as challenging his disciples, and thereby challenges /

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<sup>1</sup> In H. D. B., Vol. II, p. 501, on 'The Ascension of Isaiah.'



challenges his readers.

Together with this we can take the question of the disciples about Elijah, which follows the Transfiguration. They are obviously thinking Messianically. But there is still the same indefiniteness about the answer which they get. We are not told here, as in St. Matthew (xvii, 13) that the answer is to be found in John the Baptist. But the implication is there and the thought of an Elijah being the victim of men's evil treatment is linked to the suffering of the Son of Man. Is this incidentally why we get that long somewhat ragged account of the death of the Baptist breaking the sequence of the Gospel in vi, 17-29, to give us the clue on Elijah?

In view of the mysteriousness of the name Son of Man, which we have seen reason to consider St. Mark was unable to understand himself, it can be used freely. It helps to pose the question rather than to answer it, especially as the very last thing we should expect of the Danielic Son of Man is that he should suffer and die.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that what St. Mark is teaching here is not that Jesus is the Messiah, /

Messiah, but that the Messiah must suffer and die, or rather that Jesus, being the Messiah, must yet suffer and die. The interest is not merely in attaching a title to Jesus, but in putting forward the claim that both sides of the paradox of his life, his unique greatness conceived Messianically, and his humiliation, are true. The justification for this St. Mark finds where early Christianity, and probably Jesus himself, seems usually to have found it, in the picture of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah liii. Otto<sup>1</sup> points out that the *πολλὰ παθεῖν* and *ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι* of viii, 31, are rather vague and general for the purpose of the verse unless we are meant to take them as recalling the Suffering Servant and he also points to both the *λύτρον* and the *ἕνεκα πολλῶν* of x, 45. The list of indignities of x, 33f. <sup>is</sup> are also very suggestive of this Old Testament chapter. Thus the Shepherd Son of David and the Son of Man are equated with the Suffering Servant. In the Marcan thought, here is the answer to the failure of men, even the disciples, to respond to the activity of the Shepherd. He must feed them with his own life.

But we cannot leave these predictions without noting

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 249ff.



noting that they are all also prophecies of the Resurrection, and that this is part of the reason for the bewilderment of the disciples. In fact ix, 10 explicitly pictures them as wondering what this 'Resurrection' might be. But there is surely no need to censure them for this. Is this not rather a pointer to the great strangeness of the doctrine, rather than to the stupidity of the disciples? The teaching that he was to rise again from the dead, following on the already incomprehensible teaching that he was to die, certainly belongs to the special teaching which is beyond the understanding of the disciples as opposed to the more elementary things which they understood better than the common people.

I cannot resist the conclusion that part at least of the meaning of the failures of the disciples, is that St. Mark is picturing the disciples as not understanding, where he has a thought which he is particularly anxious that his readers should understand. Thus he was going out of his way in the earlier part of the Gospel to teach about the Messiah who was the Shepherd Son of David. And here it was we found the Twelve wanting. Now his teaching is of the Messiah who was the Suffering Servant. /



Servant, and who also rose victorious over death. And once again the Twelve are unable to receive his teaching. Of course other reasons did no doubt play their part. I do not mean to suggest for instance that he did so with no regard for loyalty to history. But this is the Marcan method of underlining his great truths.

And this reason plays its part in the description of the ethical failures of the disciples which group round the three great prophecies. It will be convenient to consider these before passing on to the position of the disciples in the Passion Story. For we have a series of incidents in this part of the Gospel where a particularly high ethic is taught; in their position we might in fact call them the Ethics of the Cross. And in each incident the outlook of the disciples is set over against the teaching of Jesus as a foil, in all but that of the Rich Man, in fact, it is their behaviour which gives rise to it. The disciples dispute as to who is greatest, they forbid the exorcist who was not a disciple, they think that the rich have priority in the Kingdom of God, they rebuke those who bring children, the sons of Zebedee seek for special places in his glory, and the others are jealous. And all /



X all this leads to the ethical response of Jesus, where is set out so beautifully the consequences of being the disciples of the Messiah who was also the Suffering Servant, rising to a worthy climax in the reply of x, 42-45. It is at least through no lack of appreciation of the ethical implications of Christianity that St. Mark does not give us more of the teaching of Jesus.

But this is all teaching for the disciple. It is only on the presupposition that it is given to those who are already disciples that it is at all intelligible. Because his Messiahship was different, so too the behaviour of his followers must be different. And again I venture to suggest that here is the ethical message of St. Mark for his readers, underlined by the disciples' failure. And if it be true that this Gospel was written in Rome at the time of the great Neronian persecution, we can well understand the reason for the altogether special ethical message which the writer had for his readers. It is a proclamation that they too must tread the Via Dolorosa with their Master and that they must tread it in their Master's spirit.

#### Little Apocalypse.

The same didactic spirit surely underlies the narrative /

narrative of the great Eschatological Discourse of Ch. xiii. The Apocalyptic note there has a reference to the present sufferings of the readers. Apocalyptic is in fact the literary response to persecution.

It has been widely recognized that this discourse probably has woven into it an originally independent small apocalypse, probably vv. 5-8, 14-20, 24-27. On this Menzies<sup>1</sup> and Rawlinson<sup>2</sup> both write very well. It is explicitly addressed to Jews of Judaea, most likely Christian Jews, with advice for whom in days of peril it is directly concerned. But I cannot agree with Menzies<sup>3</sup> that it was published a few months before the capture of Jerusalem. Rather I would agree with Torrey<sup>4</sup> in referring the *Ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἁγίου* to Caligula's plan to set up his statue in the Holy of Holies (circ. A.D. 40). But against Torrey I would say that this is not evidence for the date of the Gospel, but only for the date of the apocalyptic source.

The point I wish to make in putting forward these facts /

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<sup>1</sup> The Earliest Gospel, pp. 235ff.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit, pp. 177ff.

<sup>3</sup> p. 237.

<sup>4</sup> The Four Gospels, pp. 261f.



facts is this, that the apocalypse does not in some ways share the Marcan outlook. I do not mean by that that St. Mark did not believe in a Parusia, but rather that whereas this document's interests seem confined to the narrow interests of the immediate surroundings of Jerusalem, those of the Gospel go much wider and tend to a faith that is independent of locality. I do not think, for instance, that the teacher of the Shepherd Son of David and all that it implied could be so vitally concerned with pollution of the Temple. And while I will reject in my next chapter the view of Lohmeyer and Lightfoot that the Gospel is written from a Galilean bias that is hostile to Jerusalem, there is enough of an emphasis on Galilee to make that view possible.

What then induced St. Mark to use as a source here this narrowly Jewish Christian document of an earlier date? One point of contact surely lies in the opening words of the chapter where Jesus foretells to the disciples the destruction of the Temple. That there was a tradition that Jesus so spoke we see from xiv 58 and xv, 29, as well as St. John ii, 19-21. Only St. Mark himself, as opposed to the Apocalyptist, would set this in the context, not merely of calamity, but also of the establishment /

establishment of a more spiritual religion not dependent on a building, as indeed St. John explicitly does. The disciples here are taught that the future of their faith does not depend on the building in Jerusalem, but on the faith that awaits the return of the Son of Man. X It is also incidentally dramatically necessary for St. Mark to give some teaching of Jesus which could be distorted into the charge of his enemies on xiv, 58 and xv, 29. He does not dare to go the length of the Fourth Gospel in ascribing the actual words to Jesus with a different meaning.

But this more spiritual religion is bound up with the person of Jesus, and the question now is what is to happen after his resurrection. And I feel that there is another interest in the apocalypse, in that that culminates in the coming of the Son of Man. Particularly we notice the resemblance of xiii, 26 to xiv, 62. The prophecies of the Passion and Resurrection do not complete the story. They are yet to be brought to their climax by the prophecies of the Parusia.

And here I think it is beyond doubt that Lohmeyer<sup>1</sup> and /

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<sup>1</sup> Galiläa und Jerusalem, pp. 11f.



and Lightfoot<sup>1</sup> in demanding a reference to the Parusia as the chief significance of the future ὄψονται, are missing the still more essential religious significance of the verb. For ὁρᾶω has a special religious sense in the New Testament in its other tenses also, of religious perception as opposed to mere physical seeing. It carries a sense of religious understanding. The typical expression of this is, of course, Mark iv, 12 ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσι καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν. Further while ὁρᾶω is never used in the Gospels of a blind man receiving his sight, in John ix, 37 we read εὐφράνας αὐτόν where the object is the Son of God. (Elsewhere in this chapter βλέπω has been used). In John xx, 1-10 we have βλέπω and θεωρῶ used of the physical spectacle, but εἶδε without an object as a prelude to πίστευσεν, when the Evangelist says that they saw and believed. And in the same chapter in vv, 19-31, ὁρᾶω is used consistently of seeing the Risen Lord. But even in the future tense, while Rev. i, 7 is of the Parusia, and John i, 50f. and I John iii, 2 can without difficulty be so interpreted, Matthew v, 8 can hardly be, and Luke iii, 6 and Romans xv, 21 are certainly not of that event.

(The /

<sup>1</sup> Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels, pp. 63f., 73ff.



(The fact that the last two are quotations does not affect the argument.) The verb then is used in all its tenses of religious revelation of any kind, and instead of adding Mark xvi, 7 to the prophecies of the Parusia, we must find in these prophecies too the sense of unveiling the mystery. I do not mean by that that St. Mark did not mean the references to the Parusia to be taken literally; on the contrary, to Jewish thought the Parusia was the supreme ἀποκάλυψις, the final unveiling of the mystery. But the promise is essentially of the final resolution of the mystery which so baffled the first Christians, how he who lived and died and rose again could yet claim to be the Son of Man who was to come with the clouds.<sup>1</sup>

And the enemies are to understand too. That I take to be the significance of the reply to Caiaphas in xiv, 62. Let not men scoff at the claims of him who stands so helpless there. They will yet know just what is the meaning of the Danielic prophecy of the Son of Man, and how it relates to Jesus.

Thus /

<sup>1</sup> Support for this is given by Dodd's treatment of ix, 1, which I think is beyond doubt right. (The Parables of the Kingdom, pp. 53ff). Here it is only the accident of Greek Grammar that the verb is not future, and the meaning, according to Dodd, is to understand in the future, that something has already taken place. And I do not see how



Thus in these two predictions we get St. Mark's last word on this problem of the Son of Man. They complete, and promise understanding of, the prophecies of the Death and Resurrection, and the use of the title Son of Man in these other predictions.

But along with this goes consistently the ethical teaching to the disciples, which forms the rest of the eschatological chapter. The Ethics of the Cross have been continued in the teaching on faith and prayer (xi, 20-25), and in the incident of the Widow's Mite (xii, 41-44). But now it becomes also the Ethics of those who wait for the Lord's return. While we cannot with Schweitzer<sup>1</sup> treat the ethical teaching of Jesus generally as an 'Interimsethik', there is yet a part of the ethic of the Synoptic Gospels which is determined by this expectation. And here we have it.

There are three main notes. First there is the foretelling of sufferings generally, coupled with the promise of help when they have to appear before kings and governors to give evidence. Then follows the warning to beware of false Messiahs. And lastly there is the exhortation to watch and be ready, for the day is /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p. 352.



is not known, this last being 'Interimsethik' if anything is. These again we can truly imagine as being part of the special message of the Gospel-writer for readers in days of great persecution. St. Paul's warning in II Thess. ii, 1-5, while not on the exact subject, is a reminder that the words about false Messiahs also could be extremely relevant, and the rest is <sup>so</sup> ~~tee~~ obviously teaching for the persecuted as to need no further argument.

On the sufferings generally, however, we may say also that the Gospel has a reminder for its readers here, that the same logic of history which sent Jesus to the Cross means suffering for them. The Cross of their Master was no historical freak. It was part of the working of God, and in line with what those who followed him might also expect. The apocalyptic philosophy of history was consistent. And just as it was when all seemed lost that the Resurrection reversed the fortunes, so with the early Christians it was to be when things were at their worst that the power of God would be seen.

#### Flight of Disciples

From this point on the failure of the disciples  
in /



in the Passion story ceases to be a failure to understand, and becomes something much more dramatic. It is now the failure of the disciples to fulfil the purpose  $\text{ἵνα ᾖσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ}$ . This was part of the reason why they were called (iii, 14), and again we note that the tone of the Gospel suggests a partial success, and only failure at the highest point for the disciples. Protest they might when he turned his feet from Galilee to Jerusalem, but still they went with him, and remained his faithful companions up to the time of the Last Supper, and it is with them that Jesus established his Covenant, this time by feeding his sheep with his own body and blood. And we note how he took Peter and James and John with him to such scenes as the Transfiguration and Gethsemane. Evidently  $\text{ἵνα ᾖσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ}$  is meant to signify something of importance, and we are by no means given a picture of the disciples as failing in it.

But after the Last Supper a terrible transformation takes place, culminating in xiv, 51  $\text{καὶ ἀφῆκεσθε αὐτὸν ἕξουσι πάντες.}$  To leave for a moment the prediction of this in xiv, 27, we are led up to it by the behaviour of the chosen three in Gethsemane. In such an incident /



incident as the Transfiguration we have already seen them unable to understand what is happening and completely terrified (ἐκφοβῶντες ἄλλήλους \* ix, 6). But that is hardly to their discredit, and it is a different matter altogether when we find the three disciples not bewildered but sleeping. The hour has come when Jesus must part company from his disciples, and go forward alone on the terrible last stages of his pilgrimage. These three disciples may be with him in the garden, but they are no longer with him in spirit, which hitherto, in spite of all their failures to understand, they have been.

The climax is also led up to by the outstanding failure of the disciple, who not only forsakes but betrays him, Judas Iscariot. There is of course no biographical interest in Judas in the Gospel. Two things are completely lacking, the motive for the betrayal and the fact which was betrayed, and these would both be necessary for any real understanding of the happening. It is part of the Passion Story and has to be included. But it also serves to emphasize that the disciples are no longer with him. Judas has only gone a stage further, albeit an important stage further /



further, than the rest.

But this collapse of the disciple band is the subject first of a prediction of Jesus, one which has given much difficulty of interpretation, xiv, 27f.. We note that it is introduced by the clearest reference of all to Jesus as the Shepherd in the quotation of Zechariah xiii, 7. In the light of the picture of the Shepherd which we have already seen, we must accordingly treat this as an important dogmatic point in the Gospel. Here the relation of the Shepherd to his sheep at the time of the Crucifixion is dealt with, and justified by the reference to Zechariah. This importance is further emphasized by the cross-reference to xiv, 28 in xvi, 7. The Resurrection proves to be the justification for the belief in Jesus as the Shepherd Son of David in spite of the scattering of the disciples. It did not look at the darkest hour as if there were any relation of Shepherd and sheep between Jesus and his disciples, but these two justifications assert firmly that he still was their Shepherd in spite of all. And it is not only that Jesus was put to death, but also that his disciples fled, which made the difficulty.

It /



It follows from this that we must interpret the much debated verb προάγω in these two verses in the sense of the Shepherd leading his flock. Johannes Weiss<sup>1</sup> maintained that it must be used in this strict sense, but his resulting interpretation of xvi, 7 seems scarcely tenable, and the more general interpretation is that followed by Lohmeyer,<sup>2</sup> who regards both meanings "precede" and "lead" as linguistically possible, and "precede" as necessary for xvi, 7 to give sense. It is worth while considering the other uses of the verb in the New Testament. In this Gospel the nearest to a simple sense of "precede" is that of vi, 45, where Jesus tells the disciples to go ahead while he dismisses the crowd. In x, 32 and xi, 9 on the other hand it is used of those who were ahead in a travelling company. In St. Matthew, apart from Marcan parallels, there is a definite sense of leading in ii, 9 while xxi, 31 may well mean that the τεθωρακι and πορταί lead the way into the kingdom of God. I Timothy i, 18 and v, 24 have a definite sense of leading, but Hebrews vii, 18 where the verb is used of a preceding commandment (now set aside) /

<sup>1</sup> Das Urchristentum, pp. 10ff.

<sup>2</sup> Galiläa und Jerusalem, pp. 13f.



aside) is rather a case by itself.

Summing up, we may say that the verb, when used metaphorically, may shade towards the sense "precede", but doesn't quite reach having simply that meaning, and that "lead" is its normal sense. And when we add to that the reference to the Shepherd immediately preceding we are forced to the conclusion that it is of leading the disciples that Jesus was speaking, according to St. Mark.

Are we to understand then with Johannes Weiss<sup>1</sup> that what is referred to here is a triumphal return to Galilee by a Risen Jesus at the head of his disciples? The objections seem fatal.<sup>2</sup> The present <sup>in xvi, 7.</sup>  $\pi\rho\omicron\delta\upsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$  after the future tense in xiv, 28 must be deliberate, and it is of what is happening at that moment that the young man speaks to the women. And we are led to one of the strongest paradoxes of this paradoxical Gospel.

We must picture the disciples at that moment when the women stood at the empty tomb as being led back /

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> See e. g. Kirsopp Lake in *The Beginnings of Christianity* Pt. I, Vol. V, pp. 76.

back to Galilee by Jesus without their realising it. That means they were in flight there. The <sup>καὶ</sup> <sup>ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν</sup> <sup>ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν</sup> of xiv, 50 means much more than a flight from the actual spot of the arrest. It can only mean, if this is right, an inglorious panic-stricken saue qui peut back to their own homes. The fact that Peter was there long enough after the arrest to take part in the scene of the Denial does not affect the general position, especially as Peter is mentioned apart from the other disciples in xvi, 7. But, runs the message at the empty tomb, while this is the situation to all outward seeming, even in the opinion of the disciples themselves, the real truth is <sup>that</sup> the Shepherd, unknown to them, is leading them back, and there in Galilee they will be re-established when they see their Risen Lord. We notice again that the verb contains the sense of understanding as well as seeing. They will understand that this is the real situation.

There is no real objection to this in the command <sup>ἀλλ' ὑπάγετε, εἰπάτε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ</sup> (xvi. 7.). For the verb <sup>ὑπάγω</sup> does not demand a house in the vicinity to which the women were to deliver an immediate message. It is used in such a sense as that in the Johannine story of the /



the Samaritan woman, (John iv, 16) but it is also used of more distant goings, typically of the end of the earthly life of Jesus in Mark xiv, 21, John viii, 14, 21f., xiii, 36, xiv, 4f., etc. If one were to give a generic sense for this verb, it would be that the incident is now closed and that the person addressed must go somewhere else for the next scene. Thus we find it used (Mark v, 19, 34; Matt. ix, 6; xix, 21) as a sort of dismissal word after a miracle or other incident. The women then are told that they have seen all that they will see here. They must now leave the sepulchre and the next thing is to find the disciples and tell them about it. And there is then no contradiction in the  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\iota\ \epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\iota\iota$  of xvi, 8. For the time for delivering the message to the disciples has not yet come.

It is not within the scope of my purpose to decide between the Marcan and the Lucan traditions of the Resurrection story, but we notice that on this reading an explanation of the divergence is possible. For if the historical fact were that Jesus rallied his disciples in Galilee and brought them back to Jerusalem, it is not difficult to believe that there would /

would be a tendency in the tradition to suppress this terribly inglorious part which the disciples played, and to speak of them as if they had never left Jerusalem. But I will deal with the Resurrection narrative more fully later, and it is time now to turn to the general picture of Jesus given throughout the Gospel, beginning with the earlier days.



## CHAPTER V.

### GALILEE.

The picture of the Gospel that has thus emerged might best be described, I think, as a dogmatic drama. There is a definite development running through the Gospel, but it is from a dogmatic interest and not a historical one that the path is followed. We begin roughly from the unique, mysterious vocation of Jesus, (I am now to deal with the beginning more fully), and from that we are led up to the challenge to recognize him as the Shepherd Son of David. Then the interest of the Gospel changes and we are led down the way of the Prophecies of the Passion to the Passion Story and the Resurrection. In following this order St. Mark is primarily interested in development of his Christology, and not in giving us a correct historical order. This does not mean of course that his historical line is not correct in the main,—it would be almost childish to remark that in placing the Passion and Resurrection at the end he is following the sequence of events as they actually occurred! But it does mean that there is a great simplification of the historical connection.

For /



For the sake of clarity themes are treated consecutively, when for all we know they may well have been concurrent, or have overlapped.

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 This is in itself sufficient explanation of the often pointed-out fact, that whereas St. Mark only relates the final visit to Jerusalem, not only the Fourth Gospel but also the implication of some of the Marcan incidents point to more frequent visits by Jesus to the capital. The dogmatic motive has led St. Mark to sunder sharply what one might call the fruitful activity of Jesus from the sufferings and death, and to set the one in Galilee and the other in Jerusalem, though we shall see that Jerusalem does spill over into Galilee, too. He wishes to develop one aspect of his Christology before the other. And this is also the reason for the phenomena which have led Lohmeyer and Lightfoot<sup>1</sup> to such remarkable conclusions. If, as Lightfoot says,<sup>2</sup> Galilee is the seat of the revelation and Jerusalem of rejection, it is because St. Mark first develops the revelation in a unified scene, and then the rejection, and not because of any doctrine that Galilee and not Jerusalem was the land divinely chosen.

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<sup>1</sup> Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem, and Lightfoot, Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., pp. 124ff.



In fact, in developing his position, Lohmeyer<sup>1</sup> seems to me to put an altogether illegitimate construction on Mark xiv, 70. It is surely altogether stretching the meaning to say that this second question of the high priest's maid means that someone from Galilee was necessarily a Christian, that Galilee was a terra christiana, and the Galilaeans a populus christianus. Even with the Matthaean parallel this is too much. Taking the narrative at its face value we note that first the maid claims to recognize Peter as one she has seen with Jesus, and in the second question the fact that he is a Galilaeen is merely mentioned as confirmatory evidence. If we are to be as literally minded as Lohmeyer we could point out that were he right it would have been impossible for Peter to make the second denial. The fact that he was a Galilaeen would have been then irrefutable evidence.

Similarly strained also is the emphasis Lohmeyer<sup>2</sup> places on the Matthaean quotation of Isaiah viii, 23, ix, 1. (Matt. iv, 15f). The fact is that to St. Matthew anything that gives any reference to the Old Testament must be noted. And when we have said this what are we left /

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., pp. 36f.



left with? Certainly we may grant Lohmeyer and Lightfoot a strong impression of two parts of the Gospel set in opposition, but that may be more simply explained by this dramatic purpose of the Gospel-writer. He wanted to oppose sharply the two sides of his message, and this he further simplified by setting the one simply in Galilee, and the other in Jerusalem, to lead up to the meals by the lakeside in Galilee and the crucifixion in Jerusalem.

And we notice further against Lohmeyer that Jerusalem is foreshadowed in the Galilaean ministry also. Galilee in the first part of the Gospel is very far from being pictured as a terra christiana. It is of Galilee and the Galilaeans that the words  $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \beta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\eta\ \iota\delta\omega\sigma\iota\nu$  are spoken. It is presumably Galilaeans who do not recognize him for what he is, and try to identify him with John the Baptist, Elijah, or one of the prophets. He is rejected in his own home country. And the Galilaean part of the story ends with the great anticlimax where even the disciples do not understand the miracles of the loaves. It is then dogmatic purpose and not local bias which causes the division of the Gospel into two clearly defined parts, and we need not look for opposed traditions /



traditions of Galilee and Jerusalem.

Opening of Gospel.

Before the first act of the drama comes the Prologue. I have already compared the first chapter of the Gospel to the Prologue of a Greek tragedy.<sup>1</sup> It gives us the setting for the dogmatic drama that is to follow. I have already drawn attention to the fact that the important events at the beginning of the ministry of Jesus, the activity of the Baptist, the Baptism of Jesus, the Temptations, the first Preaching, are hastened through with the barest mention. This does not mean, however, there is not a definite picture of the person of Jesus right from the start. He does not come on the scene quietly and unobtrusively. He is ushered on with mighty proclamations. Right from the first verse we are told what to expect in the Gospel, the picture of one in a unique relation to God, with a unique work of God to do.

The definite use of *Χριστός* in this verse might seem to contradict what I have said above on the reticence of St. Mark in loyalty to his own picture of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> But we must remember that every reader would know that Christians gave Jesus the name *Χριστός*, and that the reticence /

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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 4f.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 79ff.



reticence for the Gospel-writer is rather in refraining from giving actual proof than in refraining from mentioning the name. This is the challenge as it comes to the reader of the Gospel, as opposed to the eye-witness of the life of Jesus, to recognize in the life described the right of Christians to call Jesus by that name.

But the challenge of the Gospel also concerns itself with the nature of the Messiahship of Jesus, and where St. Mark especially throws down his gauntlet in this opening verse is in the words  $\text{ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἄνθρωπου}$  (which seems to be the best reading). This is not a definite title, it is simply the expression of the unique mission of Jesus. In fact it is St. Mark's own favourite expression of what I have suggested Jesus himself meant by Son of Man. It is the title of the Gospel, and it is also the verdict of the centurion at the end (xv, 39). Other occurrences may be due to the tradition, but it is surely not an accident that we find  $\text{ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπῆτός}$  at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration and  $\text{ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἐνλογητοῦ}$  in the crucial question posed by Caiaphas (xiv, 61). It is at such important occasions, and in the recognition of Jesus by the demons, that we find him so described. But it does not solve the problem of who this man is and what he does. /



does. It merely poses it. We remember the centuries of Christological controversy on the relation of Father and Son which followed, and we realize that St. Mark cannot have had a cut and dried meaning in his mind.

The third gauntlet is in the identification of the Baptist with the messenger of Malachi iii, 1 and the voice of Isaiah xl, 3, as also in the Baptist's own description of *ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου* who was to follow. In the Old Testament these prophecies were spoken of the coming of Yahweh himself, but even the *ἢ ὁδὸν Κυρίου* of i, 2 should not lead us to anything like an Athanasian conception of the Son of God. Rather we must postulate a Messianic interpretation of all references to the coming of God in later Judaism.

One should in fact add a caution against treating Messianism as something too rigidly defined, as if the Son of David must be a different person from the Son of Man, or that those who looked for a Son of Man did not look for a Son of David, and so on. Messianism is in essence the triumph of hope over experience, in the belief that God works in history. That hope crystallized into the hope of a coming person, but though different figures were put forward, there must have been a tendency to apply the /



the Messianic texts to any of them, and to run one into another.

And this is the opening background of the Gospel. This is the figure for whom men hoped, - just how he was to be that the Gospel goes on to describe, but at the beginning this much at least is claimed right away. In other words, as it is so neatly put in the sentence on the first preaching Περὶ ἤρπται ὁ καιρὸς (i, 15), and it is under that that we must understand the life that we are to read about.

This is borne out by the voice at the Baptism, and the recognition of the Demon in i, 24. It is further borne out by healing miracles, and by the impression which the person of Jesus makes. The key-word is ἐξουσία twice used in i, 22, 27. And we note too the reactions of others described by such words already as ἐξεπλήσσοντο (i, 22) and ἐξεθαμβήθησαν (i, 27). This then is the principal person of the drama, as we are introduced to him at the outset.

His message, that part of it at least which must be treated as the background, is summarised for us in Mark i, 15. It is a twofold message. First it is a proclamation of the arrival of the time and the kingdom of God. For /



For I think that the case made out by Dodd<sup>1</sup> as far as the phrase ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ is concerned is overwhelming. The βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ is ushered in by the fulfilment of the times in the arrival of Jesus. We already have seen that St. Mark seemed to have believed in a Parusia of the Son of Man yet to come. But this was not what he took the Kingdom of God to mean. The language does not suggest any such thing at all. To confine oneself to Marcan usage, the Kingdom is something one enters into (ix, 47; x, 23ff.). We have also seen the description of its mysterious nature in the chapter on the Parables, where it means roughly the relation of the sheep to their Shepherd. To enter into the Kingdom of God, means to come into that relation with Jesus.

But if the language about the Kingdom is unsuited to the Parusia, it must refer to the earthly life of Jesus, for the Kingdom must be brought by one of these two comings.<sup>2</sup> Thus we have an additional argument that St. Mark so thought of the Kingdom, which is also an additional argument for Dodd's thesis that Jesus himself

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<sup>1</sup> The Parables of the Kingdom, ch. II.

<sup>2</sup> I do not quarrel with Dodd's taking the future sense away from the expression "the Day of the Son of Man" in the teaching of Jesus himself (op.cit., pp. 108f.). It is St. Mark who believes in a future Parusia and in that he may have fallen away from the teaching of Jesus.



so taught. And it is then easy to give the perfect  
 ἐληλυθῶσαν its correct temporal sense in ix, 1.

Only one use of the phrase seems to demand a future sense in this Gospel. At first sight Mark xiv, 25 does not seem to be consistent with the thought of the Kingdom as a present reality. But this cannot refer to the Parusia either. St. Mark cannot have thought of Jesus as having to wait for that. To explain this verse I would turn for help to the Matthaean expression ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. The Kingdom of God is usually the breaking in with Jesus of Heaven into earth. But in this particular verse it is simply Heaven, the place to which Jesus was thought of as ascending after his Resurrection.

The rest of the message of Jesus requires comment for a different reason. As a background to all his activity in this Gospel, we must take the thought that he taught μετανοεῖτε, καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. This is certainly not the full Pauline theology of the Atonement, but in such a position it is more of it than scholars have sometimes allowed the Synoptic Gospels to contain. We note too that the baptism of the Baptist is described as βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (i, 4), and those /



those who were baptised as *ἑξομολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν* (i, 5). We add to that such almost chance references as the forgiveness of sins in the incident of ii, 1-12 and the *δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν* of x, 45. Repentance and the consequent forgiveness of sins are the way of entering into the Kingdom of God, the relation of sheep to the Shepherd, and the failure of the miracle of the loaves then means that the death of Christ was necessary to establish this relation. The essentials of the Christian doctrine of the Atonement are here. One can ask, in fact, in view of the incidental way such references appear in all three Synoptic Gospels, how much of a fuller doctrine of the Atonement was really beyond them, and how much was not taken for granted. In any case, the interest of the Christology of St. Mark is soteriological. Repentance, faith, forgiveness of sins, these are the things which give the relevance to life of the central figure of his drama.

#### Galilean Activity - (i) Preaching.

With this we pass from the Prologue to the first act of his great drama, the activity of Jesus in Galilee which culminated in the miracles of the loaves. This activity of Jesus might be divided for convenience' sake into /



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 into three heads, preaching, healing, and training the disciples. Under preaching one would also include the disputes which mark the story throughout, though in a sense they might also be described as the foreshadowing of what is to come, the spilling over of Jerusalem into Galilee.

With the actual substance of the teaching, except for that given to the disciples later under the shadow of the Cross, St. Mark is not much directly concerned. He looks rather on the teaching of Jesus as evidence for his unique greatness. It is typical that he sums up the first preaching as the preaching of one with *ἐξουσία*. That is more important to him than the content. There is however another note in which he is interested, allied to his conception of the Person of Christ, and that is the inward nature of religion. The Shepherd by his own person replaces the formal bases of religion, and the relation of men to the Shepherd must be a personal inward one.

Thus a large part of the teaching which the Gospel gives consists of clashes with the established order. Jesus flings his own person into conflict with formal Judaism. This note is struck right away in the series of /



of disputes in ii, 1 - iii, 6, a chain of disputes which culminates in the Pharisees and Herodians taking counsel to put him to death. There is reason for thinking with Albertz<sup>1</sup> and K. L. Schmidt<sup>2</sup> that this was a group of incidents told together before St. Mark, and, as Albertz suggests, told of a time much nearer the Crucifixion.

But our Gospel writer brings this note right to the beginning of the Gospel by the place which he gives them here.

I cannot however accept the verdict of Albertz,<sup>3</sup> when he lays stress on the fact that it is the enemies of Jesus who take the initiative in these disputes. Formally that may be true, but both in this collection and the later one (Mark, xi, 27 - xii, 40), it is Jesus who by his actions and his claims challenges the Pharisees and scribes and provokes their wrath. We have no picture here of a man who is doing good quietly and teaching a simple ethic, who is forced into controversy in spite of himself. The initiative is not in the first question of his enemies, but in the word or action of Jesus or his disciples which provokes it.

And the subject of the conflict is the authority which /

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<sup>1</sup> Die synoptischen Streitgespräche, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu, pp. 104ff.

<sup>3</sup> op. cit., p. 65.



which Jesus claims for his own person. He sets himself above the law, by his claim to forgive sins, to be Lord of the Sabbath, to eat with publicans and sinners. He does not attack the law so much as claim to be above it.

The *υἱὸς τοῦ Σαββάτου* who is Lord of the Sabbath and has power on earth to forgive sins is not man in general, but he himself.<sup>1</sup> There is no parallel in the New Testament to such a humanist doctrine as that man is master of his religion. But under the New Covenant the Shepherd takes the place of the law. And that fact in itself gives us definite warrant for claiming that the title cannot mean any but Jesus himself.

This section is thus completely in keeping with the Marcan interpretation of Jesus outlined above. Though he will not say who he is, yet he persists in challenging recognized authority with statements and actions which are tantamount to claims that the ultimate source of authority in religion rests in his own person. He is the Lord of the Law. With the coming of the New Covenant under the personal leadership of the Shepherd, the old bases /

<sup>1</sup> As against Héring, *Le Royaume de Dieu et sa Venue*, pp. 108f. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 213f. Their position that *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Σαββάτου* simply meant man in general before Caesarea Philippi further falls to the ground if this title belong to the pre-Markan collection which perhaps was originally told of a time much nearer the crucifixion.



bases of religious life must take second place to him. And therefore he inevitably comes into conflict with official religion which must base everything on the recognized authorities of the Old Covenant and demands first of all evidence of conformity with it. Jesus claims to be his own authority, and that is what Pharisaism inevitably cannot grant him.

But side by side with this goes another ground of dispute with the Pharisees which shows itself more clearly in three disputes later in the first part of the Gospel, the authority by which he does miracles (iii, 22-30), the question of what defiles a man (vii, 1-23), and the demand for a sign (viii, 10-12). If the formal ultimates of the Old Covenant are to be replaced by a purely personal relation to Jesus, it must follow that religion has a more inward and personal nature. The second of these three disputes is purely concerned with this inwardness of religion, with food typically the symbol of religious value, for it is one of these incidents which are grouped round the miraculous meals.

But the other two also bring up more fundamentally the question of the authority of Jesus. It is typical of the first that it is introduced by the question of who /



who are the true relations of Jesus. Kinship with him is a spiritual thing, and only spiritual kinship can see that he is not deriving his power from Beelzebub. It is also typical of this dispute, that the answer of Jesus to this charge is described by St. Mark as given <sup>ἐν παραβολαῖς</sup>. We must see this in the light of the Marcan understanding of Parables, <sup>ὅς ἔχει ἄλλα ἀκούειν, ἀκούεται</sup>. There is no certificate of the authority of Jesus, the only test is that of recognizing the value of his work.

But most telling is the third conflict at the climax of the Galilaean ministry, linked as it is to the failure of the disciples to understand the miracles of the loaves. The demand for the sign, for his credentials, is simply refused. There can be in the nature of the case no sign, no credentials. The dispute with the Pharisees is not developed, but instead, at this critical point of the Gospel, the difference between the outlook of the Pharisees and the outlook of Jesus is put to the disciples in the expression <sup>βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῆς σύμψυξης τῶν Φαρισαίων</sup>. The leaven of the Pharisees is this demand for conformity to an external authority, the subordination of Jesus to the outward canons of religion. And what the disciples failed to understand was in effect that he was his own authority. /



authority. That is a necessary part of the picture of the Shepherd Son of David, which they failed to comprehend.

The issue at stake then between Jesus and the Pharisees is described by St. Mark as having been, first, the right of Jesus to speak and act with a unique authority, and second, the inward nature of that authority. The last word rests in himself, and men must accept him without asking for his credentials. We compare at once the Marcan picture of the miracles, where Jesus demanded faith, and yet seemed to be cutting away the grounds of faith by telling men not to speak of his miraculous cures. And this is in line with the picture of the Sower in the chapter on parables which we have already studied. There are the two elements in the representation, the Sower and the Soil. The emphasis in the Parable is of course less on the authority of Jesus than on the way in which men receive him. But that is the necessary complement. Since his authority is such an inward personal thing, it depends entirely on the state of a man's heart how he responds to it. He is in himself an ultimate. That is the meaning of the dispute on fasting (ii, 18-22). He cannot be fitted into the old canons, any more than new /



new wine/into old wineskins.

It is important to recognize that even in Galilee days, Jesus is pictured by St. Mark as speaking primarily about himself. That may be partly due to the fact that this Gospel does not seem to be interested in his teaching for its own sake. He only gives what is needful for his portrait of the Christ. To what extent the same is true of the body of teaching known as Q is another very large question. Are the Beatitudes for instance enunciating general truths or proclaiming startling results of his coming? But I cannot possibly take up such a question here. We note however that St. Mark, at least, gives no support at all to the picture of the man who went about speaking humbly of what was good, without much reference to himself. Christianity is just as Christocentric here as in the Pauline and Johannine writings.

#### Galilean Activity - (ii) Miracles.

The second main activity of Jesus as described in the Galilean part of the Gospel, is that of healing and other miracles. Once again it is wise to recall that for the purposes of this study, I am not directly concerned with the subject of historical truth. And the miracles /



miracles are indeed the subject which most of all illustrates the dangers of jumping too quickly to the subject of historicity. For in the last resort we must say that whether or not we believe in the historicity of the miracles depends on what estimation the Gospel-writers give to the person of Jesus and whether or not we think they were right in that. The first question, as Richardson<sup>1</sup> so wisely points out, is not whether they were historically true, but why the Gospel-writers included them, and what they were seeking to say through them.

First of all we must recognize with Richardson<sup>2</sup> that the miracles are no necessary proof of Messiahship or any other supernatural status. It was told in the Old Testament how men like Elijah worked miracles, and the early Christians would accept these stories without doubt. Did they not tell themselves how miracles had been worked by Simon Peter? And they were prepared to believe it even of the Sons of the Pharisees (Matt. xii, 27; Luke xi, 19).

But we must also recognize with both Richardson<sup>3</sup> and /

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<sup>1</sup> The Miracle Stories of the Gospels, pp. 34ff.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., pp. 20ff.

<sup>3</sup> op. cit., p. 43.



and Hoskyns and Davey<sup>1</sup> that Old Testament prophecy is full of the idea that the dawning of the Messianic Age will bring with it miraculous healing to men. There are quite a few passages such as Isaiah xxxv, 3-6, lxi, 1, etc., where healing is part of the Messianic office. Moreover in Luke vii, 19-23, the fulfilment of Isaiah xxxv, 3-6 is pointed out in answer to the Baptist's query. And of the Gospel we are dealing with it is also true, as Hoskyns and Davey<sup>2</sup> point out, that the atmosphere of the miracles as they are told is the fulfilment of prophecy.

Thus once again we are brought back to the situation where Jesus gives no proof of his Messianic position, but rather challenges men to recognize it, in the miracles which may be ordinary exorcisms or healings done by a holy man, but may on the other hand be the accompaniment of the Kingdom of God. The thought is made more explicit in the Beelzebub controversy in Matt. xii, 28; Luke xi, 20. And in fact as one reads the Gospel, one has the impression that St. Mark is seeking, not so much to tell that Jesus did miracles and so prove his greatness, as to show that /

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<sup>1</sup> The Riddle of the New Testament, pp. 146-156.

<sup>2</sup> Esp. pp. 149ff.



that the miracles, which men knew already that he worked, were something out of the usual run of miracles, and therefore Messianic signs, always, however, in the spirit that he is leading rather than driving his readers to a conclusion. This point I have raised already,<sup>1</sup> but it is necessary to return to it again.

Form-criticism distinguishes between two types of miracle-story in the Gospel, the miracle-story proper, and the Paradigm or Apotheqm in which the miracle is the background and the point of the story is the saying of Jesus. Here Richardson<sup>2</sup> seems to me to go too far in his criticism of Dibelius. He is quite right to maintain that form cannot prove a secular origin of these stories, that any story of healing must have these same elements in it, whether religious or not. Yet we must recognize that there is the distinction in form. The story of the Raising of Jairus' daughter is the story of how Jesus raised a girl from the dead, but the story of the Man with the Withered Hand tells how Jesus taught that it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath day. Yet the more important point is that this is a different thing altogether from giving the miracle-story proper a non-religious significance. /

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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. ~~57, 62f.~~ 70f., 71

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 24ff.



significance.

And the distinction is frequently not so much of kind as of degree. In fact it is doubtful if in any the miracle is merely part of the background, and if in any the miracle is the whole point of the story. We can say ii, 1-13; iii, 1-5; vii, 24-30 the miracle is of secondary importance as compared with the saying of Jesus in which the incident culminates, and we do right to consider these stories as falling into the class of Paradigms, told first of all because of the teaching they involve. But if we go into the second part of the Gospel we find at once a miracle story, in ix, 14-29, which is certainly a miracle-story proper, but which ends in a very significant saying that this kind does not come out except by prayer. The story is not told for the sake of that saying, but it is an integral part of the incident.

It is typical of those miracles in the Gospel where the aim seems to be to show that these are more than ordinary miracles. The disciples were by this time men who could heal (vi, 13). But this time Jesus succeeded where they failed. We have the same stressing of something unusual in the story of the Gadarene demoniac, (v, 1-20), /



(v, 1-20), where Jesus does battle not with one but a legion of demons, and the impression is that even he can only just succeed. We are taken right out of the plane of the ordinary exorcism into the stronghold of the enemy, and it is there that battle is done.

And the two Nature-Miracles of the Stilling of the Storm and the Walking on the Sea are full of the same atmosphere. In some way which I frankly confess I do not understand, these two miracles are linked with the miracles of the loaves, and given to us as actions of the Shepherd. The double miracle at this stage of the Gospel, and the reference to the loaves in vi, 52, seem to indicate this strongly, as does the repetition of the Walking on the Sea in the same context in the Fourth Gospel. And we note also that both ascribe amazement and fear to the disciples. Even these two then are no mere secular wonders. They have some special Messianic meaning, though I must confess failure to see what it is.<sup>1</sup>

But we can see the same tendency at work in the Paradigms also. In ii, 8ff, Jesus claims that the healing /

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<sup>1</sup> Richardson, op. cit., pp. 90ff, and Hoskyns and Davey, op. cit. p. 154 certainly have the root of the matter in them when dealing with these miracles. But I cannot help feeling that there must be something more, unknown to us today, of significance in them. Their explanations, while correct as far as they go, are insufficient.

healing of the man who was sick of the palsy attests his right to forgive sins. Now, strictly speaking, the ability to perform miracles did nothing of the kind. According to the other two Synoptics the sons of the Pharisees could perform miracles, and yet this story clearly shows that they would have regarded the claim to forgive sins as blasphemous. Jesus is then by no means saying the obvious. If I am right about the Son of Man as Lord of the Sabbath, the miracles on the Sabbath day too, although in Paradigms, are more than the ordinary miracle. It is not the ordinary exorcism, but the miracle which is the accompaniment of the Messianic Age, which can set aside the Sabbath day in this way.

As Richardson<sup>1</sup> wisely puts it, the miracles are signs for those that have the eyes to see. They need not be more than any other wonder-story, but the implication is continually there that they are. We are challenged to recognize them as these Messianic signs.

It is in line with this that emphasis is so continually laid on faith as a condition of working miracles. I have already dealt with this<sup>2</sup> and need not deal with them /

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 44. Hoskyns and Davey, op. cit. p. 156, also stresses the fact that they are more than miracles.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. ~~50ff.~~ 72ff.



them in detail again. Suffice it to say that there is no reason for interpreting this faith in any other than the simplest way. It is possible of course that St. Mark thought of this faith as including some definite doctrine, but when we find the words ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκεν σε applied to the woman who thought that the garment of Jesus had magical power (v 34) it is hardly probable. The trust which Jesus looked for was an intensely personal one, founded on his person and not on any doctrine about him. We have seen that this was also the reason why he did not wish these miracles to be talked about.

They are then intensely religious miracles. They are not told from any joy in narration, nor simply to tell about a wonder. The whole interest is that they are to the Gospel-writer that peculiar type of miracle which is the sign of the arrival of the Messianic Age, or as he would call it himself, the Kingdom of God.

I have dealt fully with the matter of the training of the disciples in the preceding chapter, and do not wish to cover the ground again. Suffice it to recapitulate that the story of the ministry of Galilee is by no means the prevailing success that Lohmeyer would have it, nor is the failure of the disciples as complete as /

as Wrede would suggest. In general the disciples stand out above the average, so much so that they are fit to be sent out as heralds of the arrival of the Kingdom of God, and to perform themselves the signs of its coming. It is on the final point, the significance of the miraculous meals with their implications as to the nature of the Messiahship of Jesus, that they fail.

The Galilaean ministry then is the story of how Jesus seeks to establish a new dispensation, based on an intimate personal trust in him, where a new relation to him as Shepherd supersedes all other grounds of faith and religious life. He himself is the exclusive authority for everything, and it is on inward and no formal grounds that men are to recognize this. But in the end the Galilaean ministry is a failure. Men do not have the ears to hear. And when Jesus finally puts the challenge in the miracles of the loaves, even the disciples fail to understand. Other ways must be sought if this new dispensation is to be founded. The challenge must be placed more crucially yet. And the footsteps of Jesus turn towards the Cross.



## CHAPTER VI.

### JERUSALEM.

The second act of this dogmatic drama is that part of the Gospel which gathers around the three great prophecies of the Passion. It is the teaching of the Passion to the disciples. It has already been covered in the chapter on the disciples and accordingly I pass to what we might call the third act, the last week in Jerusalem and the Passion, noting that we shall have to return to this other section of the Gospel to pick up threads, and deal with points which were irrelevant to my previous chapter.

As the Gospel sweeps along relentlessly toward the Cross, we notice how the element of paradox which underlies it becomes steadily stronger and acuter. This is true right from these predictions of the Passion. And this, as I see it, is the significance of the use by Jesus of the title Son of Man in the second part of the Gospel. The idea of a suffering Messiah is bad enough, but to equate that suffering Messiah with the Danielic heavenly Son of Man is simply incomprehensible. And the more Jesus speaks about his own humiliation and suffering /

suffering the more he uses the title Son of Man. If this reflects history, it is small wonder that the early Christians found the title baffling. St. Mark himself finds an escape in the thought of a Parusia, a second coming which was to be more Danielic in its nature. It is possible that in this he fell away somewhat from an even more complete paradox by Jesus himself, who may have represented himself as actually in his earthly life and his humiliation being the heavenly Son of Man, but I do not wish to appear at all certain on that point. I only mention it to illustrate the atmosphere we are in, and where St. Mark actually stands.

I have already pointed out that the real crux of these sayings lay in the fact that it was the Son of Man that must die. And I have also pointed out the relation of the Confession of Peter and the Transfiguration to these prophecies.<sup>1</sup> As the subject of death is raised, so too the unique stature of Jesus is brought more clearly into the foreground. We have not yet an explicit acceptance by himself of the name *Χριστός*, only a statement that Peter so called him. And the Transfiguration with its use of the name *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, rather /

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<sup>1</sup> see above pp. 93 ff.



rather gives an impression of transcending greatness than says anything definite. But the impression is growing stronger, even as it is getting more difficult to believe.

The Final Week at Jerusalem.

The next great Messianic challenge is in the Triumphal entry, though just before it, too, the note is struck by the use of the name *ὁ υἱὸς Δαβὶδ* by Bartimaeus<sup>1</sup> and his winning praise for his persistence in using that name. The Triumphal Entry itself is typical of these Messianic challenges. Jesus is certainly pictured by St. Mark as seeming to act deliberately to fulfil the prophecy. With suggestions that this Messianic colouring was not historical I am not concerned. On the other hand we note that it is not Jesus himself but the people who gave the ovation, who use the language *ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου ἡμῶν Δαβὶδ* and *ἡ ἐρχομένη Βασιλεία τοῦ Πατρὸς*. The Messianic honour is now paid to him by more than his disciples, but still Jesus himself will not be unequivocal, for many a man must have entered Jerusalem on the back of an ass since the days of Zechariah without seeming to fulfil the Messianic prophecy /

<sup>1</sup> We need not of course find anything of appreciation of the Shepherd in the use of the title Son of David by Bartimaeus.



prophecy. But still the Messianic atmosphere pervades everything, and now it has a wider group of believers.

And then in the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard (xii, 1-12), Jesus goes one stage further when he flings the word *ἄδικητός* in the face of his enemies. It is true, and only to be expected, that he does not apply the word explicitly to himself. He still speaks *ἐν τῷ ἰσραὴλ*. But there is no difficulty in interpreting this parable, for the veil has now become so thin that we are told that his enemies recognized that it was spoken against them. And typically it is when he is teaching that the Messiah must die that he comes so near to complete definiteness.

The nearer Jesus comes to his death, in other words, and the more the stumbling-block towards believing him to be the Messiah looms up, the more explicit he becomes. We are approaching the climax of the Gospel, and we shall see in the Passion Story how this paradox reaches its final point.

In agreement with this we notice how in other ways also the stature of Jesus seems to increase as we approach the Cross. The note of fear and amazement on the part of those who see him reaches a still higher level than before. /



before. The Transfiguration is a wonderful sight quite apart from any special significance it may have. And the men around the epileptic boy are amazed merely to see him when he comes down (ix, 15). And as he enters Judaea we get the impression of a wondering procession behind him. We are told how multitudes meet him as he crosses the border (x, 1), and of amazement among his disciples and fear among those who followed (x, 32 - though the reading is uncertain the general impression remains the same, whichever reading we adopt). As he nears Jerusalem the multitude is thronging behind him at the healing of Bartimaeus, and the narrative sweeps on to the majesty of the Triumphal Entry.

But perhaps we see his surpassing greatness best in the Cleansing of the Temple and in the disputes of xi, 27 - xii, 37. For this motif of dispute with his enemies, the pillars of formal official religion, reaches its climax here too. And there are still the same two subjects of conflict, the authority of Jesus and the inward nature of religion. And once again it is Jesus who is the aggressor and his enemies who are on the defensive. His entry into Jerusalem is marked by an act as provocative as any could be in the Cleansing of the Temple, /



Temple, an act which is done on his own pure moral authority and with no other justification at all. And indeed he refuses to give any external authority for his action. But instead he merely refers to the case of John the Baptist, whose authority too had rested in his own personal character. And the matter is followed up with the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, where Jesus, as we have seen, under the thinnest of veils, asserts this personal authority of his to be supreme.

The subject of the inwardness of religion is also made still more clearly the subject of debate. Legalism is dealt one devastating blow after another. This was already the case in the dispute of x, 2-12, where Jesus simply answers the question of the legality of divorce by stating the highest ideal of marriage. He will not answer on any other terms. A similar lack of interest in the merely legal is shown in his reply to the question about the tribute money. It can be noticed in passing that to take this as the Christian justification of patriotism is to do exactly what Jesus was refusing to do, especially as it is a moot point whether to a Jew of those days it was a patriotic thing to pay tribute to /



to the foreign conqueror. The reply is simply a refusal to deal with ethics at the level of legality.

In the dispute with the Sadducees on the Resurrection he again meets an objection put on formalistic grounds by rejecting the spirit of formalism. Then in his own question to the Sadducees he gives the true type of criterion which should be used in judging such issues. That God is not the God of the dead but the living, that is a much more relevant point than details about the law of marriage. And again in the one conversation which is not a conflict (xii, 28-34), the law is really replaced by the spirit of love. The two great commandments give us the basis of a truly inward religious ethic.

But it is when Jesus turns to ask a question himself, that formalist religion is reduced most completely to absurdity (xii, 35-37). How could the Son of David also be the Lord of David? Religion based on the letter of the law has nothing to answer to that, and the hollowness of seeking in such ways as those of the Pharisees to find the basis of authority is exposed. And the disputes end with a strong condemnation of the externalism and the ostentation which was the mark of the scribal religion.

We must be very clear however about what is meant  
by /



by an inward religion. The very last thought which the Gospel would suggest, is the mystical piety of inward contemplation, retreating rather from the world. We saw before that we must understand it in the context of a personal trust in the Shepherd Son of David. Now we must see it in the context that he has declared that he is going to Jerusalem to die. If religion were a matter of externals that would certainly mean his defeat. It is the type of inwardness which can overcome the scandal of the Cross which has to be ever more emphasized as the Cross draws near. That God is not the God of the dead but the living, that is the type of faith that is needed for this darkest hour.

As we have seen St. Mark pictures Jesus as demanding faith, yet seeming also to make it as difficult as possible. No artificial buttresses to that faith were allowed. Were he to say by what authority he did these things, he would remove the grounds of faith from himself to that authority, and hence it is that the question can never be answered. We are challenged indeed again and again to recognize him, and as the stumbling-block of the Cross looms up before our sight, we are helped by ever clearer indications. But we still have to make our /



our own decision and to make it in the face of these prophecies of the Passion. So the mystery which we have seen in Galilee is developed and intensified.

The Passion Story.

And with that we come to the Passion Story proper. In this we reach the climax and centre of the Gospel. On the other hand we are here to some extent on surer ground. The Gospel-writers themselves come closer to one another at this point, and indeed there is less room for variety of interpretation in this strongly focalized narrative. Further, up to now we have been dealing with events which all led up to this crisis, and therefore seeking to answer the questions of the Passion story all the time. For these reasons and not from any minimising of the importance of this part of the Gospel, the treatment will be more brief than that of the earlier parts.

A caveat must be entered before we turn to these final events. As Dibelius<sup>1</sup> shows, the Passion Story would be the first part of the tradition to exist as a greater unity. And here more than anywhere else the Gospel-writer would consider himself bound by the tradition. There is then the probability that St. Mark would not consider /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 178ff.



consider himself so free here to alter its course of events just as he wished. Any particular emphasis may have been merely preserved by the Gospel-writer from the older source, and not be due to his own particular interest. But of course we have also to add (to) that the mere fact that an interest is pre-Marcian does not mean that St. Mark did not share it, and it is only when a new element would change our picture that we have to remember this caution. To this we can also add that the Lucan account of the Passion Story does diverge sufficiently from the Marcan to show the possibility of variations according to individual outlook.

Nowhere perhaps does the importance of taking account of form show itself so clearly as in the story of the Last Supper. This story is divided into two parts, the foretelling of the betrayal, and the words of institution. These two, which are originally separately told, though always of course recognized as belonging to the same occasion, are simply set side by side. And the second is not really a narrative at all, but rather a formula, the interest in the relating of which is that of cult and not of history at all.<sup>1</sup> We cannot then try to detect from the /

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<sup>1</sup> There is of course a historical interest in the historicity of the meal. What there is not is an interest to present its details as a historical scene.



the narrative whether this is a Passover or a Kiddush, the point of interest being entirely that it is the foundation of the Christian Eucharist. Similarly it is quite illegitimate to deduce from the narrative, that the actual order was first a meal, during which Judas went out, and then the institution of the Sacrament. These two things are elements in the Passion Story, and as such are simply set one after the other in the simplest way, the interest being theological, not biographical.

The theological interest is shown clearly in Mark xiv, 27, for it is certainly no coincidence, if my previous interpretation of the miraculous meals is right, that the Shepherd should appear again directly after the Last Supper. In other words this verse is no mere proof-text, it is the key to the meaning of both the Supper and the Passion. When the Shepherd had sought to feed his flock by the side of the Lake of Galilee, he had found that men just did not understand. And then at once Jesus had turned to speak of his sufferings and death. And now under the shadow of the Cross comes the meal which this verse proclaims to symbolize the true feeding of his flock. In paradoxical fashion that can only be done while the shepherd is being smitten and the sheep scattered. And in /



in its turn the Last Supper establishes the fact that it is really the feeding of his flock, and not failure to feed them, that the smiting of the Shepherd means.

We have already seen reason to believe that this scattering of the sheep meant a considerably greater<sup>1</sup> failure of the disciples than is generally supposed. And we further find in integral connection the special failure of two, Judas the betrayer in connection with the Last Supper, (xiv, 18-21), and Peter, whose denial is now foretold (xiv, 29-31). As we are given this picture of the Good Shepherd more clearly, we are also given the picture of the man who seems to have no flock at all. It is no longer only his enemies who are against him, he is deserted by his friends. Could anything be more unlike Messianic dignity? But the quotation from Zechariah is more explicit than anything in the earlier part of the Gospel.

But the loneliness and forsaken position of Jesus go deeper yet. St. Mark goes as near as he could dare to picture him as forsaken by God. Certainly the Marcan passion narrative seems to be seeking to draw a picture from which any but the robustest faith would recoil. How can anyone believe in the Messiahship of the lonely figure /

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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 111ff.



figure in the garden here? Not only do the three disciples sleep, there is no indication in this Gospel, as opposed to St. Luke (xxii, 43), that God does not keep silent. There is no theophany this time, nothing to tell us now of anything superhuman about this man.

Again we must notice that the interest is theological and not biographical. It is on the face of it the merest flippancy to ask how if the disciples were asleep they could know what happened. Their sleep was broken, and so is our picture of Jesus. But when we turn to the divergences in the Lucan narrative we notice that first and foremost they are religious divergences. It is because St. Luke wished to soften this picture of loneliness that his details are different and not vice versa.

But this sense of the man forsaken by God reaches its strongest point in the cry of dereliction from the Cross (xv, 34). It does not abolish this fact to point out that the words are a quotation from Psalm xxii, 1. Certainly the Jewish reader would at once recognize them as such, but that in no way alters the fact that he would also recognize them as meaning, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And with these words Jesus is pictured /



pictured as dying. For the fact of quotation from Old Testament scripture does not deprive them of their quite unambiguous meaning.

✓ On the other hand I do not detract in any way from the importance of recognizing them as a quotation from the Psalm which depicts the afflictions of the righteous, to which a Messianic interpretation could easily be given. This is simply the paradox of the Gospel stated again in a peculiarly intense form. We are by the fact challenged to see the forsaken of God as the supreme righteous sufferer. The very thing which makes the Messianic claim absurdly impossible to all seeming, is also a challenge to see here the Messiah.

The very Crucifixion itself is of course, in treating Jesus as a lawless malefactor, an indication that Jesus was forsaken of God. We are familiar with this thought in St. Paul, and I need not go into the details of so well-known a part of the Pauline doctrine of the Atonement. But the Marcan tradition makes the situation peculiarly poignant, and represents Jesus as particularly lonely in that even the criminals crucified beside him reproached him (xv, 32b). Once again we notice here a difference of spirit in the Lucan Passion Story. (xxiii, 39-43). /



(xxiii, 39-43). Another such emphasis is the preference of a man like Barabbas for release (xv, 6-15). Such thoughts as these are of course elementary to readers of the Passion Story. I mention them again as fitting into the background I wish to stress.

But as I have pointed out already this is only one side of the narrative. The Last Supper had declared that in his very suffering and shame Jesus was doing the true work of the Messiah, and this fact is kept continually before our eyes as the suffering and shame grow. This is for instance the whole significance of the story of the trial before Caiaphas (xiv, 53-65). It is no account of legal action, written from legal interest, that we are here presented with, and we do wrong to discuss too seriously the legality or illegality of the procedure. After all the Gospel writers were not at all interested in representing Caiaphas as holding even to the letter of the law, and they would probably take illegalities for granted. But that is not what is pressed in the story.

Taking account of form we may say that this is the story of how Jesus, alone, forsaken and friendless, at last answered the question about his Messiahship with a clear /

clear and unambiguous <sup>ἐγὼ εἶμι</sup> .<sup>1</sup> That is the point of the narrative. He is standing before the chief religious court of the land, accused of grievous wrong. His friends have forsaken him, and we notice how the denial of Peter is foreshadowed in xiv, 54. Altogether it is a most unmessianic figure. And, there, in such circumstances as that, we get at last the clear statement we have been led to wait for through all the Gospel. This is then no resolution of the contradiction of this Gospel, as such a confession of his Messiahship at an earlier stage would have been. It is still a challenge and not an assistance to faith that is given. There is once again however a development. The challenge is given in a still acuter form, as crucial as any words of Jesus could make it. There is only one more crucial form it can take, the contrast which the death of Jesus with the cry of dereliction on his lips makes with the empty tomb.

There is however the promise of the final resolution of the contradiction. We have seen how the further reply of Jesus <sup>καὶ ὄψαθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν κειθήμενον</sup> <sup>ἐκ δεξιῶν κειθήμενον</sup> <sup>καὶ ἰσχύμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ</sup> probably has attached to it the sense that men will understand what /

<sup>1</sup> The point of this reply is well brought out by Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel*, p. 267. See also Dibelius, *op. cit.*, p. 193.



what that prophecy meant.<sup>1</sup> To Caiaphas this was a threat. But to the reader St. Mark gives it also as a promise, a hope that this intolerable contradiction will one day be made clear.

And this is the real blasphemy. It may be true, as Menzies points out,<sup>2</sup> that there were no real grounds for a charge of blasphemy in the claim to be Messiah, but St. Mark tells it, not for the sake of recording an illegality, but in order to emphasize again the gulf between his claim and the sanctions of formal Judaism. If legalist Judaism, the religion of either the Pharisee or the Sadducee, is right, it is the whole Gospel that is blasphemy. And this is in fact the final word of Judaism of that type upon Jesus and on the Christian faith. The conflict between Jesus and the established religion of his country here comes to the final irreconcilable crisis.

The conflict is between him and the Jewish religious leaders, not between him and the Roman government, and therefore the trial before Pilate contains no such crisis. (xv, 1-15). It is to be regarded rather as the first incident in the sufferings that follow. There is, of course, the fact that Pilate regards him as harmless /

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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 104  
<sup>2</sup> See also p. 268



harmless to remind us where the true conflict lay (xv, 14). And there is the silence of Jesus with its suggestion of Isaiah liii, 7 (xv, 5). But in general this is just the necessary pass-over from the condemnation before Caiaphas to the Crucifixion itself.

The manner of telling the story of the Crucifixion is highly instructive and significant. We have considered already one element of it, the last cry of dereliction. But what we have seen to be true of it is also true of the whole account, which is based especially on Psalm xxii. This fact is in itself no evidence against the historicity of the story.<sup>1</sup> What would have happened is not that the Evangelists would have invented incidents to correspond with the Old Testament passages, but that they would have regarded Old Testament passages which corresponded to the actual events as Messianic. Were this merely a made-up story there would certainly have been more than three such references. But we can say this, that the narrative here is not intended to give us a detailed account of the death of Jesus, but to impress on us the fact that Jesus died in the spirit of this Psalm. And it is from /

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<sup>1</sup> For a very sensible discussion of the relation of the fulfilment of O.T. prophecy to historicity, see Dibelius, op. cit., pp. 188f.



from that point we must begin if we are to read it aright.

We have already seen how the Psalm was used in the Cry of Dereliction to make what appeared to be the denial of the Messiahship of Jesus into a paradoxical affirmation of its truth. That is the spirit of all the account. Through the use of the Psalm, the very things which show the humiliation of Jesus, the scoffing and the parting of his garments, are made to testify to his glory. That is clear in the words of the scoffers (xv, 29-32). We are told how he is directly challenged to show himself as Messiah, at a moment when it was of the greatest consequence to himself if he could show superhuman power, and he simply goes on hanging there helplessly. How obvious it is that he is not the Messiah! But the scoffing is related also deliberately to recall Psalm xxii, 8, and thus the question is put before us if it is not a proof of his Messiahship after all.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to Psalm xxii, we have also references to Isaiah liii. The silence of Jesus before Pilate (xv, 5) recalls to us Isaiah liii, 7, and his crucifixion between /

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<sup>1</sup> An interesting point though irrelevant to my present purpose is if this contradiction in these events is not proof of historicity.

between two thieves (xv, 37) suggests Isaiah liii, 9 and 12. The object is again the same, to present to us the very things which make for humiliation as evidence of the reverse.

We have already noticed that the Prophecies of the Passion are also prophecies of the Resurrection.<sup>1</sup> How does this strain of thought maintain itself in the Passion Story itself? We may say that so long as we are only dealing with prophecies of the Passion, the foretelling of the Resurrection is quite explicit. And that rule, of course, covers the Last Supper. The words of institution include the words εως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης οὐκ ἔτιν' αὐτὸ καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ (xiv, 25). And even more explicit is that following the prophecy of the scattering of the sheep, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναι με (xiv, 28). The Resurrection is assumed as the beginning of the reversal of fortunes whereby Jesus takes charge of his seemingly fleeing disciples. In both these instances it is not the Resurrection itself but what is to follow that is the point of interest. And the same could be said of the reply of Jesus to Caiaphas in xiv, 62. The interest has now passed beyond the Resurrection to what it was to bring in its train.

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<sup>1</sup> see above pp. 96f.



In the Crucifixion story itself, prophecies of the Resurrection are out of place. What must be opposed to it is not a prophecy but a fact. So long as the suffering is only foretold, it is fitting that the triumph should be also foretold. But once we reach the actual happening of the Passion itself, we must wait for the narrative of the event of the Resurrection to give the reply.

We must notice however that the two scripture passages, Isaiah liii and Psalm xxii, both end on a note of triumph. Psalm xxii, 22-31 and Isaiah liii, 10-12 are their final words. Thus we see in the repeated suggestion of them an indication, not only of the real person of Jesus, but also of the complete change in the situation that is still to take place. But for the moment this part of the Gospel message does retreat further into the background. And in the description of the final humiliation of Jesus it is fitting that this should be so.

Thus the Passion Story follows up and brings to a climax the mystery of the Kingdom of God and the Shepherd Son of David. The contradiction between the surface appearance and what we are challenged to believe becomes /

becomes ever clearer and more apparent through the developing narrative, until we are finally confronted with a self-confessed Messiah who is rejected and put to death. St. Mark has not solved his riddle, he has only made clearer and more critical what the riddle is.



## CHAPTER VII.

### THE EMPTY TOMB.

When we pass to the Resurrection Narrative in St. Mark's Gospel, we are of course at once confronted with a more immediate riddle, the well-known problem of the ending of the Gospel. The first fact admits of no doubt, that we have nothing left of the original Gospel beyond the  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma$  of xvi, 8. The manuscript evidence on that at least cannot be controverted.

The great majority of scholars follow on from here to see a problem of a Lost Ending. Streeter for instance writes, "At any rate the author of the Gospel cannot have originally meant it to end without the account of the Appearance to the Apostles in Galilee which is twice prophesied in the text. Indeed the words  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma$  in Greek may not even be the end of a sentence; they lead us to expect a clause beginning with  $\mu\eta$  . . ." <sup>1</sup> And that may be taken as a good succinct statement of the usual attitude to the problem.

And indeed the Christology of the Gospel as I have interpreted it sorely tempts one to follow Streeter still further, and accept the solution which he puts forward /

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<sup>1</sup> The Four Gospels, p. 337.

forward as "scientific guessing," namely that the Second Gospel originally ended with the Appearance to the Twelve by the Lake of Galilee narrated in John xxi.<sup>1</sup> There is a good deal to be said for some of the arguments which Streeter brings forward in support of this idea, and the case as he himself presents it is already attractive. I do not propose to follow out his argument that an unmutilated copy of the Gospel might have been preserved in Ephesus even if not in Rome, as I feel that the matter must first be decided on internal evidence, and that only thereafter do such considerations have weight. But on internal evidence alone, his thesis is at least well worthy of consideration.

Most attractive is the argument that had this story stood alone in a separate document, without the note stating that this was the third appearance, we should have inferred that it was meant to be the first.<sup>2</sup> The disciples are pictured as thoroughly disillusioned, and taken completely by surprise by the appearance of Jesus. But the Gospel has in xiv, 27 and xvi, 7 seemed to /

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<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* pp. 351ff.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 355



to foreshadow a first appearance, if an appearance at all, in Galilee. We have seen that the verb  $\epsilon\gamma\omega\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ , in contrast to  $\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega$ , has the sense of understanding as opposed to mere seeing in a purely physical sense, but we have seen too that it is the verb used of the Resurrection Appearances, these being religious revelations.<sup>1</sup> And as Streeter also points out,<sup>2</sup> the fragment we have of the Apocryphal Gospel of Peter where it breaks off seems to be leading up to an appearance to the disciples fishing on the Lake, and that too as a first appearance.

Then there is also the point of the especial importance attached to the person of Peter in this story. Throughout the Gospel according to St. Mark, Peter has been given a place of special interest, often in a rather unfavourable light. This of course culminates in the story of his denial, and it would be very fitting if the Gospel were to end with this special commission to Peter which restores him to the position of pre-eminence. And indeed something of the like does seem to be foreshadowed in the mention of /

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<sup>1</sup> see above pp. 102ff.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., pp. 353f.

of Peter apart from the other disciples in xvi, 7.

But to these points of Streeter we can now add some other very important considerations. We have noted the place of the symbolism of the meal. And here in this narrative of John xxi, Jesus greets his disciples with the words Παιδιά, μή τι προσέχουσιν ἔχετε; (xxi, 5); and a meal follows where again Jesus presides. And as we have seen Jesus pictured as the Shepherd Son of David in St. Mark's Gospel we note that the commission to Peter takes the form Βόσκει τὰ ἑρνια μου (xxi, 15), Ποιμαίνε τὰ πρόβατά μου (xxi, 16) and Βόσκει τὰ πρόβατά μου (xxi, 17). There seems to be very strong reason now for "scientific guessing" that this is the Lost Ending of the Gospel, that here we have the refounding of the New Covenant after the Resurrection by the symbolical meal, the re-establishment of Jesus as Shepherd of his people under that Covenant, and the commission to the disciples, and especially to Peter, that theirs is to be the task, under their Master, of shepherding his flock.

In this suggestion of course Streeter is not breaking new ground, and where he does,<sup>1</sup> in his suggestion that St. Mark also contained the Johannine account of /

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 356ff.



of the appearance to Mary Magdalene, he does not seem to me to be so happy. True it is that this is told in a vivid dramatic manner. But that is after all a characteristic of the Fourth Gospel as well as the Second. The miracle of Cana in Galilee, the story of the Man Born Blind, the Raising of Lazarus from the Dead all have this same quality in the manner of their narration. And Streeter has missed completely the importance of the fragment of the Gospel of Peter here.<sup>1</sup> It is not merely that it does not relate the appearance to Mary. Its narrative of the empty tomb closes with the words *τότε δὲ γυναῖκες φοβηθεῖσαι ἔφυγον*, evidence if anything is that its author was following a version of St. Mark, which ended the incident, if not the whole Gospel as ours do, with the words *ἔφοβούνητο γὰρ*. Streeter cannot have it both ways. If the Gospel of Peter was following the original St. Mark which contained the Appearance by the Lakeside, that original did not also contain the Appearance to Mary Magdalene.

But before we accept the Appearance of John xxi, as the original ending of the Second Gospel, it is well /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 359f.

well to consider very carefully what we are doing. The mere fact that it would have made a good ending to the story does <sup>not</sup> prove, does not even in fact make it probable that this was the original ending, unless we can go on to say that there are reasons amounting to almost certainty that there is an ending that is missing. Certainly it is true that those who say there must have been a lost ending are in good company. Apart from the great majority of modern scholars they have certainly St. Matthew, probably St. Luke, and we must add now probably the author of the Gospel of Peter, as well as those who added the Longer and Shorter endings in the early centuries of the Church. The balance of opinion, both ancient and modern, is certainly heavily on their side. Yet I feel the question must be examined again on its own merits.

We are not concerned here with rewriting the Gospel to our own taste, or even with deciding what would make the best ending to the Gospel from the Marcan viewpoint, but with what St. Mark actually wrote and that alone. And only if we can decide that it is impossible, or nearly impossible that St. Mark /



✓ Mark ended his Gospel this way are we justified in saying that anything further followed. But the arguments when we consider them carefully are not nearly strong enough to <sup>justify</sup> any such conclusion, and it is one which we should adopt only if we are forced to it.

The grammatical arguments in favour of a mutilated ending to the Gospel have been so well dealt with by Lightfoot<sup>1</sup> that it is scarcely necessary to do more than refer to him. He sums up the evidence collected from various classical writers to show that far from <sup>being</sup> being an impossible ending for a sentence, it is found quite a few times in such writers as Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Aeschylus, Euripides, at the end of a paragraph, a speech, or some such unity of sense, and moreover each time as here in a short explanatory sentence of a verb or adjective and the particle alone. It is true that it is not found ending a book, but then we would not claim St. Mark is a Greek prose writer in the class of Plato and Aristotle. Examples of such sentences are also quoted by him from the LXX and the Papyri. This argument then only reaches validity in the claim that it is not a good ending to a book, and that is scarcely sufficient grounds for building /

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<sup>1</sup> Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels, pp. 10-18.



x building a Lost Ending on. The other argument that <sup>2</sup>επο Κοιντο would require an object or a πῦ clause, Lightfoot disposes of completely by showing that of eleven occurrences of the verb in this Gospel, five are examples of the verb used absolutely.

But there is also further evidence on formal grounds. If we treat the story from the viewpoint of Form-Criticism, we have here a perfect example of a story working up to a definite saying, xvi, 6 and 7, with the effect of the saying completing the story in xvi, 8.<sup>1</sup> It could easily be told as a single story if we only assume that what the reference to Galilee meant was known, or even if the purpose was to make the reader ponder the reference to Galilee.

But more important still is the fact that as we look back, we see that St. Mark has been preparing the way, not for an Appearance of the Risen Lord, but for an empty tomb. He gives us in xv, 42-47 a careful description of the burial together with the names of eyewitnesses. The mention of eyewitnesses seems to have been a feature of the Passion Story, possibly pre-Markan, and that would seem to be, as /

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<sup>1</sup> on the ending of the Paradigm, cp. Dibelius, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, pp. 54f.



as is in fact commonly supposed, the explanation of such verses as xiv, 51, 52, xv, 21, and xv, 40. But the burial could be only sufficiently important to deserve such treatment on one supposition, that the empty tomb being the evidence of the Resurrection, it was important to establish clearly in the first place that there was a full tomb. Had St. Mark merely used the empty tomb as an introduction to an appearance of the Risen Jesus, we would surely have found rather stress laid on the fact that he was really dead. But xv, 44 is scarcely strong enough so to be described.

When we turn from form to content we might perhaps feel that there is a stronger case for saying that the Gospel ending with xvi, 8 is incomplete, but that is really only true until we have taken account of the peculiar theology of the Gospel as I have sought to picture it. A caution must be given before we approach this. Our minds have been so influenced by the very popular hypothesis, which however we must remember is only a hypothesis, that the earliest Resurrection story had only appearances of a more "spiritual" nature, and that the empty tomb was later, that it is rather hard to adjust ourselves to the idea that the earliest Gospel only /

only told of the empty tomb and nothing more. But in itself the Empty Tomb is quite a valid and sufficient proclamation of the fact that God had reversed the verdict of Calvary.

It is doubtful however if we can go so far. We cannot pass by the strong impression of stability in the primitive Church's doctrine given by I Corinthians xv, 3 - 8, that the appearances of the Risen Lord were the foundations of the Church's Resurrection faith. That is laid down as if it were something universal among the first generation of Christians. And that seems to me to be the real answer to that somewhat arbitrary interpretation of Lohmeyer<sup>1</sup> and Lightfoot<sup>2</sup> when they want rather to refer the ἐκείνῃ αὐτῶν ὄψεσθε to a Parusia yet to come. For this reason rather than on any a priori grounds it does seem likely that St. Mark in writing these words was thinking of an appearance to the disciples in Galilee. It may well be that he was thinking of substantially the same story as is related in John xxi. The picture of the Shepherd after his Resurrection leading his disciples back to Galilee while /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., pp. 61 ff. Lightfoot is however cautious about calling it a Parusia in so many words in his note, p.77, as indeed is also Lohmeyer in his commentary, Das Evangelium des Marcus, pp. 359 ff.



while to outward seeming they were in ignominious rout does seem to imply a time when the eyes of the disciples were opened.

But to say that is a very different thing from saying that St. Mark must necessarily have related the story of a Resurrection Appearance in his Gospel. He is a highly selective writer. He knew of the temptations of Jesus, but only narrated the bare fact that he was tempted. And in the absence of any compelling reason for accepting a Lost Ending, we must say that St. Mark ended his Gospel here at the Empty Tomb, because here his dogmatic drama reached its end. There was no need to tell any more than this.

For in the Empty Tomb we have the mystery of the Gospel posited in its final form. The reticence about the person of Jesus which has characterized the Gospel throughout is here given its most significant expression. Once again we are not told the whole truth but only given the pointer which will lead us to find it for ourselves. And if the words of the Gospel at the end do point in the direction of a Resurrection Appearance to the disciples in Galilee, the spirit of the Gospel points in another direction. There can be only one adequate sequel to the /

the story of that empty tomb, and that is the Resurrection Appearance where the reader of the Gospel says with St. Paul, "And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time." The mystery is left unsolved right to the very end, because it is from no book that the reader can get the final knowledge of his Good Shepherd, but only from that personal relation which we have seen is the note of the Gospel throughout.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE GOOD SHEPHERD.

Before looking at the conclusions to be drawn from this study, it might be well to turn again to what might seem to be the weakest part of this reconstruction of Marcan thought, the picture of the Shepherd Son of David on which I have built so much. I say it might well be called the weakest part, for the evidence for such a Messianic doctrine is admittedly very slender, and anything which is built on slender foundations will only remain standing on one condition, that it is perfectly balanced. When we have little more than the two passages in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and a few other Old Testament verses on the one hand, and only the vaguest references in the Gospel on the other, we must be prepared to show that this idea gives such balance to the Gospel that it must be the key to its undoubted mystery.

Our architecture must balance on this idea in three directions.

- (i) It must give unity of meaning to the Gospel itself.
- (ii) It /



- (ii) It must give harmony with Old Testament thought or at least such interpretation of the Old Testament as was possible in Judaism of that time.
- (iii) It must give harmony with the development of the Christological outlook of the Church in the first days.

#### Unity of the Gospel.

I feel that my argument up till now has provided on the whole a detailed justification of the first claim. There are two main difficulties in this Gospel. The first is the purely formal one. If the Gospel is not merely a straightforward narrative of the life of Jesus, and if it is not merely a loose collection of incidents strung together as the Form-Critics would have, what is it? And it does seem to be without doubt that the first place to look for a clue as to the construction of the Gospel is in its theology. Failing a simpler conclusion, we must first ask if it is the message of St. Mark that has created the form of his Gospel. My claim is that this has been established in the preceding pages. We have seen there a developing dogmatic drama, where a question which must in the last resort be answered by the reader himself, is posed in an ever more acute and crucial form. And further I would claim that the precise nature of this question has been formulated, not /



not by picking verses at random through the Gospel, but by giving the greatest emphasis to those parts of the Gospel on which the Gospel-writer himself seems to dwell. The emphasis on mystery in the Parable of the Sower, the great section centred round the two Miracles of the Loaves, the Three Prophecies of the Passion and finally the Passion Story itself and the Empty Tomb which follows it, these could justly be called the great moments of the Gospel. We must let those decide for us what the Christology of the Gospel-writer is, if there is any meaning in the construction of the Gospel at all.

But the greater difficulty of the Gospel is that of content, the contradiction which drove Wrede to his artificial reconstruction of the tradition. We might sum it up as the contradiction between the command to the disciples at Caesarea Philippi not to speak of him as Messiah and the bold *Kyō zīmu* before Caiaphas. There have been different ways of meeting this contradiction proposed. The method of Wrede is to attribute the Messianism entirely to the post-Resurrection days, and to see in this contradiction a twisting of the tradition to meet a later Christology. A much modified version /



version of this is represented by the more recent work of Ebeling,<sup>1</sup> who finds in the difference an expression merely of the needs of the Apostolic Preaching. According to him the nature of the Gospels is determined by the fact that they are really telling us about the Risen Christ and not the earthly Jesus at all. It is from that angle we must view the contradiction. This means that in effect the question of the historicity of the Gospels is more by-passed than anything else.

Another much modified version of Wrede's position is that of Hering,<sup>2</sup> who unlike Wrede accepts as authentic a refusal of the Messianic title by Jesus, but who like Wrede regards the use of the title referring to him as a later Christology. The command at Caesarea Philippi is authentic, the confession before the High Priest is not.

Against this group of resolutions stands what we might call the stock reply to the objections of Wrede. The contradiction is due to the exact nature of the Messianic claim. The refusal of Jesus is the refusal to /

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<sup>1</sup> Das Messiasgeheimnis und die Botschaft des Marcus-Evangelisten, esp. pp. 98ff, 220ff. I will deal with the question of historicity with special reference to Ebeling's standpoint in the next chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Le Royaume de Dieu et Sa Venue, pp. 111ff.



to take the common connotation of that title, but he did lay claim to a Messiahship of a more spiritual nature. It is to this solution of the difficulty that the solution which I have elaborated is allied. But as it is too often put this argument is woefully weak. It simply will not do to say that he claimed a Messiahship of a more spiritual nature and leave it at that. This leaves the way open to subjectivism, sentimentalism and a host of other enemies of a genuine historical study. We must first of all be prepared to define more exactly the nature of this more spiritual Messiahship, and to find its roots not in the ideals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but in the thought of Judaism of the time. If we can find evidence for a Jewish Messianic thought, which would involve a reserve about the use of the name, then we would be justified in proposing this solution on the lines of that thought. And this is what I would claim to have done. The intensely personal nature of the idea of the Shepherd meant from its very nature that faith must be anchored in the person and not the name, and therefore the name was held back that the person himself might more surely be /



be the grounds of faith. But is such a Messianic thought a possible one? There is no direct evidence for its existence at the time of Jesus. To understand we must look before and after.

One thing more must be said however on the Gospel itself. St. Mark seems to be suppressing the name of Shepherd as a Messianic title. It has to be read into his narrative. This would be a fatal objection but for the fact that the Gospel is throughout inviting us to read something into it. The refusal to give the name definitely, coupled with the consistent demand for faith has about it the air of being much too deliberate to be explained away as the conflict of varying traditions. And we add to that the extraordinary working out of the chapter on the parables, and we feel able to say that "he that hath ears to hear, let him hear" is the motto of the Gospel. It is suggestive of esoteric doctrine. This doctrine of the Shepherd then is its secret. Why it should be a secret we have just seen. It is because the name Shepherd must be learned through a knowledge of the person of Jesus and not vice versa.

Continuity with Old Testament Thought.

The second condition that this solution must satisfy /



satisfy is that it gives us continuity with Old Testament thought, or at least be a thought that be easily read into the Old Testament by Jesus or his disciples. And here again we can claim success. For there is a strand of thought running through the Old Testament, and especially through the prophets which would lead precisely in this direction.

Dissatisfaction with the Promised Land seems to have followed close on the division of the Kingdom. Probably it was not so much that political disaster as disgust with Baal-worship which drove the Nazirites and Rechabites to adopt the nomadic life, the idea behind the movements being that Yahweh was a wilderness God and that in the days of the wilderness Israel were more loyal to him. But this thought finds more explicit expression in the first two great prophets whose writings we have. Amos (ii, 9f; v, 25) and still more Hosea (xi, 1-4) hark back with longing to the days when the children of Israel were being led through the desert by their God. No doubt their picture of the journey through the wilderness is a much idealized one compared with our narrative. But that is beside the point. The dissatisfaction with the present, while harking /

harking back to the past was shaping the hope for the future that was to follow.

In fact that hope for the future already appears in Hosea. It is in the wilderness that salvation will be found (ii, 14). But as we have seen it is in the New Covenant of Jeremianic thought that the centring of religion round such formal things as the Law, the Temple, and the Promised Land is most definitely refused.<sup>1</sup> The new religion is to be a more personal and inward thing. And Jeremiah xxiii, 1-6 expresses this hope in the personality of a shepherd, an idea which is worked out in Ezekiel xxxiv, xxxvii, 24. This is in the main the reading into the future of that idealized picture of the past of the earlier prophets. And it was of course this more inward idea of religion which kept Judaism alive in the days of the Exile, when the Temple was destroyed and they were far from their land. This thought can scarcely yet be called Messianic, although it brings us to the threshold of Messianism. For it was out of the discontent with the present day that this hope for the Messiah arose. Unfortunately  
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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 92ff.



by the time that it took definite shape the reason for the discontent had fallen somewhat from the lofty reasons of the prophets, and had become rather dissatisfaction with the subject condition of their country under the foreign conqueror. The return from exile too, and the Priestly Reformation under Ezra had brought to the surface again the old idea of locality and formal religion. So it is a very different Son of David who finally appears as Messiah in the Psalms of Solomon. We must not of course exaggerate the difference. Even in the Psalms of Solomon the reign of the Messiah is to be spiritual, holy and just. And the shepherds of Jeremiah and Ezekiel who are castigated are the princes of Judah. The same is true of the shepherds of Zechariah xi and xiii, 7. Shepherd and King then are not to be treated as contrasting ideas. So it is not surprising to find even here (Ps. Sol. xvii, 45) the Messiah as a shepherd tending his flock. But the difference rather lies in the more narrow and nationalist idea of righteousness and piety which these Psalms breathe.

Yet the larger idea of Jeremiah did not leave itself without a witness in later Judaism. The Testaments /



Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs give us a different idea. Whereas in the Psalms of Solomon the Jews of the Dispersion are regarded as rather under the displeasure of God (ix, 2) in the Testament of Levi we have the great thought that the fear of the Lord and wisdom will be a fatherland to the exiles in a strange land (xiii). Here we are in the tradition of Jeremiah xxiv. And Naphtali (iv, 3) has the promise of the compassion of the Lord to come on those who were scattered in the form of a man working righteousness and mercy to them that are afar and them that are near. So the outlook of the early Christians has its background in one strain of the Judaism of the time, as well as in the Old Testament writings.

We are left however with a missing link, the Messiah as Shepherd as a definite teaching. Yet that missing link is not hard to supply. If we nowhere have the Jeremianic shepherd identified with the Messiah in pre-Christian days, yet where do we have the identification of Messiah and Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah? The evidence is surely abundant that either Jesus himself or his first followers, while following also a strain of Judaism of the time and /



and developing the Christian thought from it, yet went back to the Old Testament too, and reinterpreted passages there to give an ideal of Messiahship which came nearer to the vocation of Jesus. So it was with the Suffering Servant without doubt. But that is only one example. The Messianic interpretation of Psalm xxii is peculiarly Christian. And Hoskyns and Davey in the 'Riddle of the New Testament' provide a number of what are really further examples of the same thing, the extreme being of course the reference by St. Matthew of Isaiah vii, 14 to the Virgin Birth.

So we need not find it at all surprising if a passage of the Old Testament is given in the New a Messianic significance, particularly when it is a natural development of thought. And in this case it is.

#### Continuity with other Books of the New Testament.

But this brings us to the third question. Does this doctrine of the Shepherd-Messiah find natural affinity with what we know of Christological thought in the first decades of the faith? Can we say that if not pre-Christian then it can be fitted as an integral part of the Christian contribution to Messianic /



Messianic thought? Here there is no doubt that the great contribution was the belief that the Messiah had come in the person of Jesus, and also the doctrine of the Suffering Messiah. But other factors appeared in harmony with these.

It must first be noted that there is a general trend of thought similar to the Jeremianic appearing in the New Testament, away from the formal to the personal emphasis in faith. We can see that developing in the Book of Acts, if we can accept it as a true account of the movement of thought. The Teaching of Stephen in Acts vi, vii marks a new step forward when the supremacy of Jerusalem and the Temple are challenged, and the God who was with his people before they entered the Promised Land emphasised. But we have indications that here Stephen was only reviving an attack of Jesus himself. According to the Gospels his attitude to the Temple was one of the things which counted in bringing Jesus to trial. It is true that St. Mark represents the words *Ἐγὼ κτελέσω τὸν νόμον τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον* as spoken by false witnesses (xiv, 58), but that need not mean more than that they were given a twist in meaning, for they also are made the subject of a taunt /



taunt to Jesus on the Cross in xv, 29, while St. John is careful to explain that they were spoken by Jesus *πρὸς τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ* (ii, 22). And it is significant that Stephen seems to have been successful in rousing again Pharisee, as opposed to Sadducee, hostility, which had been dormant since the Crucifixion.

But it is in the Pauline teaching that we see this development at its full. Two things are central to the thought of St. Paul, first the conception *ἐν Χριστῷ* by which he expresses the personal nature of his faith, and second his complete breaking free from all formal limits to religious activity, especially his refusal to allow circumcision to be a necessity. But in his thought the second of these is a direct consequence of the first. It is because Christians are *ἐν Χριστῷ* that the barriers between circumcision and uncircumcision, bond and free, etc., are now broken down (I Cor., xii, 13; Gal., iii, 28; v, 6; Eph. ii, 13-16; Col. iii, 11). And again a similar stress on the person rather than any formal reason behind the person forms the theme of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

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The high Priest after the order of Melchizedek has no authority for his position save that of his own person alone (vii, 3).

Thus the general trend of New Testament thought does without any doubt run along this line. But we can also find confirmation on the narrower point, the name of the Shepherd itself. It is not a frequent title, but we find on closer examination how much that is due to the fact that it is entirely lacking in St. Paul. He does not ever use the term Shepherd of Jesus. Is it because the care of animals was not a reality in his experience (cp. I Cor., ix, 9)? But elsewhere in the New Testament it surprises us, not certainly by its frequency, but by its natural use, suggestive of a familiar title.

This is especially true of its use in Hebrews xiii, 20, I Peter ii, 25 and v, 4. These certainly do suggest most strongly that *Ποιμῆν* as a title of Jesus was something with which the readers were already familiar. It is a technical term in these verses. And moreover it is connected closely with the Sufferings, Resurrection and Second Coming of Jesus, one in each verse. This is of course what we should expect /



expect as the New Testament antecedent to the later thought which caused the Good Shepherd to be drawn on the walls of the catacombs. And we can add to these passages perhaps the natural way in which the Son of Man as Judge is made also a Shepherd in the Parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Matt. xxv, 32). The name fits in with the other Messianic categories.

But further we have seen how two parables take yet further point from being given a directly Messianic understanding.<sup>1</sup> In St. Luke xv, 1-7 the scandal caused by the Messiah eating with ἀμαρτωλοί is met by the picture of the Shepherd seeking the Lost Sheep. This is how we must understand Messianic activity from now on, the parable seems to proclaim, not by the old categories of thought. And the parable of St. John x, 11-18 is the answer to those who would find the death of Jesus a fatal stumbling-block to belief in his Messiahship. As a warrior leader or king or any such figure it is impossible that the Messiah should die as Jesus did. But on the other hand once we understand the Messiah as shepherd, then it does become part of his office that the shepherd should lay down his life for his sheep if need be.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 37f.



This brings us to the point which must not be ignored. If the early Christians taught that Jesus the Messiah died, and we have seen that the claim that the early chapters of Acts imply a doctrine that he became Messiah after the Resurrection is not justified,<sup>1</sup> then it follows that there must have been in the first Church a conception of Messiahship which made such an idea possible. It is probably the lack of this more than anything else which has caused such a forced interpretation of Acts ii, 36 to have currency. This has of course been long a matter of controversy, with respect to the Messianic Consciousness of Jesus himself. Those who have sought to expound his own outlook on the matter positively have yet felt the difficulty that they could not fit him into known Messianic categories. We might instance the great-hearted attempt by Bousset to follow the "tortuous paths in the soul-life of Jesus",<sup>2</sup> and we see the conclusion to which he is driven. "Thus the Messianic idea was the only possible form in which Jesus could clothe his inner consciousness, and yet an inadequate form; it was a necessity, /

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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 65f.

<sup>2</sup> Jesus, p. 203 (E. T.).



necessity, but also a heavy burden which he bore in silence almost to the end of his life; it was a conviction which he could never enjoy with a whole heart."<sup>1</sup> But how much lighter we make this difficulty, when we remember that the Son of David the Shepherd is mentioned in Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

I have not been of course concerned with the personal consciousness of Jesus, but only with the doctrine of St. Mark. But we have been forced to see that the two things, and also the general doctrine of the first Church cannot be treated apart from one another. To this problem I turn in my concluding chapter. But summing up, we may say that we have seen that from all three aspects, the evidence for the idea of the Messiah as Shepherd, while slight in amount, is strong in quality, and that it so gives light on much of the difficulties of the Second Gospel as to add very considerably to the strength of its claim for consideration. The question yet remains. In what way, if at all, is this doctrine of the Second Gospel relevant to the question of the historical Jesus? Does it bring us any nearer to that great goal /

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op. cit., p. 180.

goal of New Testament research, the better understanding  
of its principal figure?



## CHAPTER IX.

### CHRISTOLOGY AND HISTORY IN THE GOSPEL.

We must now come back to the question with which I began this study. Is such a dogma underlying the Gospel simply to be treated as a barrier in our way as we seek to arrive at the portrait of the Jesus of History, or has it positive evidence to contribute, just as much as the single scenes and sayings which the Gospel-writer relates?<sup>1</sup> This question can be understood more clearly when once we have seen what the dogma is.

It is of the very essence of a position such as that of Wrede, that the dogma must be a barrier to history. For the doctrine of the Messianic Secret as expounded by him in itself implies, that there was an original time when Jesus was not known as Messiah, at least as far as his earthly life was concerned, and the secrecy is the addition which makes the title applicable to that time. We are thus, by the very nature of things compelled to discard all these doctrinal tendencies /

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<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 9ff.

tendencies if we wish to arrive at the life of Jesus himself. If this is how the Christology of the Gospel arose, then that Christology must be a hindrance and nothing else.

Ebeling and Historicity.

One of the most recent criticisms of Wrede, that of Ebeling<sup>1</sup> gives us another position with regard to this question. It is really the logical outcome of the too exclusive emphasis laid by Form-criticism on the relation of the narrative to the needs of the community to which it was told, rather than its relation to actual historical truth. Just as the emphasis of Form-criticism, however, on the "setting in life" of the story is in moderation a contribution of value, so the position of Ebeling contains much that is welcome. But in its full form it leads us away from the study of the Jesus of History altogether.

Briefly, his attitude is that we must look on these contradictions and difficulties which Wrede brought into prominence as occasioned by the religious needs of the first Christians. In fact he leaves us with the feeling that the historical life of the earthly Jesus is almost /

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<sup>1</sup> Das Messiasgeheimnis und die Botschaft des Marcusevangelisten.



almost irrelevant to the study of the Gospels, or only relevant in so far as it is the Crucified who is the Risen Christ.<sup>1</sup> Certainly he admits that with this goes a 'general idea' of the life of Jesus, it was not merely an identification of persons, but led also to a 'supernaturalising' of incidents in the earthly life.<sup>2</sup> But misunderstanding and secrecy simply point to the nature of the Gospel as revelation, that it is the Lord from beyond who speaks and acts.<sup>3</sup>

This position is reached by a sharp distinction drawn between the earthly Jesus and the Risen and Ascended Christ, between the personal impression given by the earthly Jesus, and faith in the world-ruler and world-judge.<sup>4</sup> In fact the question is raised if the experience of the Ascended Christ which the disciples had was caused by the self-revelation of God or the deepening and intensifying of past experience to make it seem present.<sup>5</sup> From this standpoint Ebeling can say such things as that "even recollections of the earthly Jesus, which though faded and broken are yet handed /

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 97, 110f.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 222

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., pp 107f.

handed on consciously as such, cannot be in question in the Gospels!"<sup>1</sup> In support of his attitude he stresses the complete breakdown which the Cross must have meant to the disciples, no faith could have come from there.<sup>2</sup> Another minor point he raises is the 500 brethren of I Cor. xv, 6, asking if they were all followers of the earthly Jesus or if it was just a Mass-psychosis.<sup>3</sup> The solution to all is sought in the reality of the Risen Christ; with that experience there was no need to try to reconcile a fact of the life of Jesus with the Christian faith.<sup>4</sup>

This is all, as Ebeling himself recognises<sup>5</sup>, beyond history, and the real criticism of his position must be made in the sphere, not of historical method, but of systematic theology. We are bound to ask, since he himself raises the dogmatic question by stressing the objective reality of the Resurrection appearances, if his working out of these valuable ideas is not a Christological heresy. Can we in the religious realm draw such a sharp cleavage between subjectivity and objectivity? Is that not to say that transcendence is

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 104ff.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., pp. 111ff.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., pp. 106f.



a denial of immanence? When we remember that here there is no such hard and fast distinction, then we may add that remembrance of the earthly Jesus may well be a factor in the experience of the Risen Christ, even if that is an experience of a real objective Lord.

But we must go further and say that remembrance of the earthly Jesus must have entered into such an experience to those who knew him personally, just as the reading of the Gospel story must enter into it to-day. For in spite of the break of the Cross and the flight of the disciples, there must have been a continuity of some sort, and a continuity to a very important degree, between their relation with the earthly Jesus and their faith in the Risen Lord. Otherwise why write about the earthly Jesus at all, even if it is true that the Gospels are just extended Passion-stories?<sup>1</sup> It is true that the tradition is understood throughout in the light of the Easter morning,<sup>2</sup> but it is equally true that the Resurrection appearances and all that happened after are understood in the light of the earthly life and of the Cross. With St. Thomas we must stand before this Risen Lord of Ebeling and say, "Except I shall /

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<sup>1</sup> Ebeling, op. cit., p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Ebeling, op. cit., p. 97.



shall see on the hands the prints of the nails . . . .  
I shall not believe". If the Risen Christ does not bear the authentic marks of all that went to make up the events in the human activities of Jesus, the credal assertion of "very God, perfect man" is lost. If there be such a gulf as Ebeling maintains between the teaching of Jesus and the Apostolic preaching,<sup>1</sup> then the Gospel begins not with John the Baptist, but with Pentecost. We cannot thus fly from history in the name of theology.

This is not to deny the truth that it is the faith of the first Christians which produced these Gospels. We have already seen reason to believe that St. Mark emphasizes a failure of the disciples to understand, where it is most important that his readers should understand.<sup>2</sup> Such motives do play their part in the formation of the Gospels without any doubt. I would not propose to depart from this even to the modified attempt made by E. F. Scott to re-establish the broad distinction between the Second Gospel as historical and the Fourth as theological.<sup>3</sup> The recognition that such a distinction is largely illusory is /

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<sup>1</sup> op. cit., pp. 108f.

<sup>2</sup> see above, pp. 97ff.

<sup>3</sup> The Validity of the Gospel Record, pp. 48ff.



is one of the valuable contributions of the Form-critical school.

It is not a matter of getting behind doctrine to history, but of seeing that doctrine must lead back to history; it is not a matter of by-passing the faith of the early Church to reach the historical Jesus, but of recognizing that the Risen Christ had the prints of the nails in his hands. It might be possible that some experience, some element in the faith of the Early Church had no relation whatsoever to anything in the historical story of Jesus of Nazareth, but the reverse would be the rule. Were anything else true, what did they mean by asserting so confidently that it was the Crucified, and not some unknown heavenly being, whom they had met, risen again from the dead?

It is from this standpoint that we must examine the doctrine of the Second Gospel which we have unfolded to see how far we can treat it as evidence for the Jesus of History. In the first place, it is not, as Wrede's interpretation of the thought of the Gospel would make it, secondary from its very nature. There is from the nature of the case no reason why Jesus should not have had just such a Messianic Self-consciousness, /

consciousness, thinking of himself as the Good Shepherd who had to establish a personal relation in place of the more formal grounds of faith, and therefore avoiding the use of the name Messiah, while yet challenging faith to give it. There is in fact no reason from the nature of the case, why he should not have led a Galilean ministry up to a climax of the symbolic miracles of feeding, - unless of course we accept the very questionable premise that he could not have performed miracles, - and then when nobody understood the real significance, have turned to Jerusalem to die, after performing his real work of feeding with the Last Supper.

But all that is very far from proved. The whole picture, at the other extreme, may be merely the freak of St. Mark's fancy, or the thought merely of a small circle, not shared even by the great mass of contemporary Christians. Can we say anything at all about the probabilities?

In the first place the balance of probability is most definitely against the more general aspect of this Christology being purely Marcan. The history of the first days of Christianity is in fact the story of the replacement /



replacement of temple, law and Holy Land by the person of Jesus Christ. We have seen the new impetus given to this by Stephen, and how it reaches its fulfilment in the Pauline conception ἐν Χριστῷ and the universalism which was the consequence of that.<sup>1</sup> So it is too with the Parable of the Vine of the Fourth Gospel (xv, 1-10) and the oft-repeated ἐγὼ εἶμι of that Gospel in general. So far at least then St. Mark seems to be following the general thought of the first Church.

Can we attribute that tendency of thought back to Jesus himself?<sup>2</sup> Here we are on much less safe ground. Though I have pointed out that there seems to be reason for thinking that the Gospels have tried to gloss over that charge of speaking of destroying the temple,<sup>2</sup> yet that is bringing us rather near to that dangerous practice of reading behind the Gospels. It does at least however raise the question as to why he was crucified at all. There is no evidence whatsoever to support the idea that it was really the Romans whose hate he encountered - Klausner is reduced to desperate devices in his efforts to clear the Sanhedrin.<sup>3</sup> And if the crucifixion did take place at the instigation of the Jewish leaders, then Jesus must at least have said and done /

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 186ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above pp. 186ff.

<sup>3</sup> Jesus of Nazareth, pp. 345-348.



done what would drive them to it. The doubt expressed by many commentaries as to the competence of the charge of blasphemy for making a Messianic claim at least makes it unlikely that it was only for this that he was arrested to begin with.<sup>1</sup> But what if even the Messianic claim is a later reading into the tradition by the community?

But if he taught the complete replacement of the formal bases of religion by this personal relation to himself, the whole thing at once becomes intelligible, and even inevitable. The whole framework on which Judaism was built would have been threatened by such teaching. One might alter the words of Louis XIV to "Le religion, c'est moi," and his claims would have had just the same disastrous results on constitutional authority as those of the absolute monarch. Here then the doctrine of the Gospels would harmonise with one of the few points which the historian can follow up independently of that doctrine, for he could have been crucified for making exactly the same claim as the Gospels represent him as making. True it is that St. Mark represents him as making that claim in a veiled way, but he also represents the veil as wearing consistently /

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<sup>1</sup> Nearly all commentaries on the Gospels at least discuss this point ad loc.



consistently thinner.

But when we ask what place the conception of himself as Son of David the Shepherd took in the claims of Jesus we are on much less certain grounds. Certainly it is true as we have seen that the use of this name almost as a title in I Peter and Hebrews and the two parables in St. Luke and St. John point to a much wider use of the idea than that it be merely an idea of St. Mark's Gospel.<sup>1</sup> If my interpretation of the Christology of the Second Gospel be correct, the writer was standing there well inside the general traditions of the first Christians.

But it is when we turn to the historical evaluation itself that we meet with what may well be an insuperable difficulty. How can we assert that it is true or untrue that Jesus thought of himself in a certain way without revealing his thoughts? His own inmost thoughts on the meaning of his life which he kept hidden lie beyond our powers of recovering. This picture which we have unravelled must of necessity be Marcan interpretation. The most that we can ask is on what the interpretation is founded. He may of course /

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<sup>1</sup> See above pp. 188f.

course have given hints and indications which led his followers to read the riddle. Or they may have read it so themselves unaided by him from their study of Old Testament prophecy. We know that this study of the Old Testament underlay the thoughts of the New Testament writers.<sup>1</sup> But in this were they only following the passages to which Jesus himself had pointed them or did they go further on their own initiative? The two parables on the Good Shepherd bear all the marks of genuineness, but did Jesus give his followers any more than that, or was the rest simply their Christologizing on the basis of them? We cannot tell. It may well be on the other hand that before the end he had led them on to understand that this was why he went to Jerusalem to die, or at least told them so much that they could understand it later. We can go no further from this approach at least.

And what are we to say of the whole dogmatic drama as we have seen it develop in St. Mark's pages? Here the whole issue is vitiated by the fact that the First and Third Gospels are dependent on the Second for their structure, and that to decide whether or not the idea /

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<sup>1</sup> cp. Hoskyns and Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament*, passim.



idea of a Galilean ministry first followed by the road to Jerusalem was the normal teaching of the early Church, we simply have to choose between St. Mark and St. John. It might be argued certainly that the mere fact that the other two were content to accept this from their source is an indication of a wider belief that this was the order of events in the main. But Lightfoot shows us to what extent we must qualify this in St. Luke, where, although he is still content to accept St. Mark's setting of the early ministry as a whole, the topography is vague in the section Luke iv, 31 - vii, 50, and references to Judaea in iv, 44, vi, 17 and vii, 17 imply an interest in the work of Jesus in Judaea also.<sup>1</sup> And of course we have also in St. Luke that long account of the activity of Jesus on his way from Galilee to Jerusalem.

Thus it does seem possible that on the whole the Second Gospel here is right <sup>as</sup> against the Fourth, that the activity began in Galilee and moved southward. That he was condemned and crucified in Jerusalem can of course be regarded as beyond doubt. But another indication where we can act independently of the doctrine /

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<sup>1</sup> Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels, pp. 132ff.

doctrine of the Gospels seems to confirm this. It cannot be theologizing which gave to the chief of the disciples a Galilean home. Early on Jesus found in these Galilean fishermen his best followers, for though Acts i, 21,22 may be an exaggeration in making all the disciples acquainted with his earthly life all the time, yet it must be founded on the facts. And even the appendix to the Fourth Gospel brings seven of them back to the lake of Galilee as to their natural home. (xxi, 2).

But even the Fourth Gospel, opposed as it is to dividing the life of Jesus into a Galilean period and a Jerusalem period, cannot pass by the story of the Feeding of the Five Thousand by the side of the lake. True though it may be that it seeks to contradict the meaning given to it by St. Mark,<sup>1</sup> and asserts that this is not the true feeding of his people by Jesus, yet this very fact in itself means that this miraculous feeding is no mere incident, but something of importance in the understanding of the life of Jesus. It could not be dealt with by ignoring, and had to be related to the teaching of Jesus on the meaning of the Last Supper. /

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<sup>1</sup> see above pp. 48ff.



Supper. Thus we find ourselves faced by a general Church doctrine that this Miracle too had sacramental significance, descriptive of the office and activity of Jesus, and the strong possibility that in that it was founded in history. Certainly something like that must have happened before it could be so interpreted, and it is likely that it had some special significance historically too, though whether it was twice repeated is another matter. It also may not have been miraculous in actual fact, but to rule out the miraculous merely as such is to beg the whole question of the significance of the life of Jesus. St. Luke xxiv, 30 too would suggest that we are here in the presence of a general activity of Jesus, of which this was a quite unusual particular instance.

The evidence then would point in this direction, that on the whole the Marcan development is correct, though considerably simplified and schematized. Though we must be prepared to admit that these earlier days were in fact punctuated by visits, it may be frequent visits, to Judaea, yet we cannot carry that as far as the Fourth Gospel does, and we can accept the general idea of a Galilean period and a Judaeian. Further /

Further the idea of his activity was somehow summed up in this great meal, which somehow failed in its purpose, for we notice that in the Fourth Gospel also Jesus expresses disappointment with its result (vi, 26). And it was with the thought of this on his mind that Jesus chose the Last Supper as the means of teaching the meaning of his death, for both Second and Fourth Gospels bear witness to a contrast between the two.

With so much that seems to bear the imprint of historicity, we are in a stronger position for feeling that there may be more that is historical in the rest of the Marcan sketch. And this is perhaps the most that we can say at the end of this study. For we have not been seeking to reconstruct the life of the historical Jesus, but only to see whether or not a Marcan Christology could be treated as evidence for that life. And the answer I feel can be claimed to be a definite positive. If this dogmatic drama was really the purpose of the Second Gospel, it is a picture which cannot be ignored, and which can be of great value in helping to the portrait of the Jesus of History.

There are other ways of course of finding evidence for that. One which is of especial interest here, as working /



working through doctrine and not round it, is that which is scarcely more than outlined with examples by Dodd in "History and the Gospel".<sup>1</sup> The method is that of picking out from all Gospels a group of stories or sayings of widely differing form or nature, but all containing in common a central point, which is almost a background of thought to them. His first example is, for instance those sayings and incidents which reveal the attitude of Jesus to the sinner and to the self-righteous. Here we have a very strong tradition that this was the attitude which he took. But to follow this up lies outside the scope of what I am attempting. I mention it chiefly to show how far the fact of theology in the Gospels is from being a reason for pessimism as to historicity. But the approach to the historical problem must be not by discarding the theology, but by first of all seeing where it would lead us.

One final word should be said, however. I mentioned the miraculous and insisted that it must not be rejected merely because it is miraculous. This is in fact part of a bigger issue. The whole tendency of the /

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<sup>1</sup> pp. 92-103. Dodd acknowledges indebtedness to Hoskyns and Davey, The Riddle of the New Testament, pp. 162-207, but brings out the relevance to historicity much more clearly than the other book does.

the doctrinal element in the Gospels is to magnify the earthly Jesus. The more we have taken St. Mark seriously as a theologian, the more there has emerged a great mysterious figure too great for human understanding. It is most seriously begging the question to say that Jesus must have been a lesser man than that, and that, therefore, this must be all a supernaturalising of the life which took place after the Resurrection. Here I go furthest from Ebeling who says that the right to go back to the impression of the personality of Jesus on the disciples, reduces itself perhaps to the simple recognition that Jesus was no average man.<sup>1</sup> Certainly it was no average man! Ebeling goes on to stress the collapse of the disciples at the Crucifixion, but unless we are to assume romancing based on Greek mystery religions or something like that as the basis of what happened afterwards, then we must say that either the impression made by Jesus overcame this collapse, or if Ebeling is right he himself did. That is not to say that both may not have, and if we are to assume any continuity at all, if Jesus conquered death so did the impression he made on his disciples during his earthly life /

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 109.



life.

That is to say that we have no right, in default of clear evidence in that direction, to assume that the history of Christianity began with the story of a man who was only above the average, and whose life story was greatly magnified afterwards. The New Testament writers are unanimous in pointing in the other direction, that they are writing about a life that they scarcely know how to describe for its very greatness. And if their story does seem in parts incoherent and inconsistent it may just as well be, not because they are supernaturalising an exceptional but only reasonably exceptional life, but for the opposite reason, that hinted at by Ezra Pound in his "Ballad of the Goodly Fere" -

"They'll no'get him a' in a book I think  
 Though they write it cunningly;  
 No mouse of the scrolls was the Goodly Fere  
 But aye loved the open sea."

This is not a problem for the historian in the last resort, or at least it is a problem that the historian must leave in suspense. All we can say is that the evidence of the Gospel writers is, if we can take them as honest, that the historical Jesus was still greater, and not less than the portrait of him which they /

they have given, and we must be very careful before we dismiss it as false. This great mysterious figure which we see moving through the pages of St. Mark's Gospel bears all the hallmarks of genuineness. Perhaps he is only imperfectly understood there, but it is his very greatness which has made that so.



## THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHRIST IN ST. MARK'S GOSPEL

### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

It is impossible to list all the books on which the ideas of this thesis are dependent. So many have played their part in creating a background of thought in addition to those actually quoted in the text. The following bibliography is an attempt to classify the various trends of Gospel Criticism since Wrede and Schweitzer which bear upon my subject, with special reference to those books which I found especially valuable. Where an English translation of a German work existed I have quoted in the course of the work from it, with the exception of the standard work of Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, where in view of its especial importance I have quoted throughout from the German second edition.

An explanatory note may also be in place here. The bulk of the preparation of this thesis was completed by 1942. But it was late 1946 before return from Active Service allowed the final work to be done. This means that the use of recent bibliography is that of the earlier years, the works of Richardson and Ebeling /

Ebeling in particular not having been given the place one might expect in a thesis presented on this subject at this time.

The two books which turned the tide of Gospel Research were:

Wrede: Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien, 1901.

Schweitzer: Von Reimarus zu Wrede, 1906. (4th Edn., Die Geschichte der Leben-Jesu Forschung, 1926. E.T., The Quest of the Historical Jesus, by W. Montgomery, 2nd. Edn. 1922.).

But the Quest of the Historical Jesus continued though with weakening impetus. The older approach was maintained by the following:

Bousset: Jesus, 1904. (3rd Edn., 1907. E.T. by J. P. Trevelyan, 1906.)

Sanday: Outlines of the Life of Christ, 1905.  
The Life of Christ in Recent Research, 1907.

Burkitt: The Gospel History and its Transmission, 1907. (5th Edn. 1925)  
The Earliest Sources of the Life of Jesus, 1910 (2nd Edn., 1922).  
Christian Beginnings, 1924.

and more recently reaffirmed by:

E. F. Scott: The Validity of the Gospel Record, 1938.

The 'lives' of the 20th century have been numerous, but many are of secondary importance, and many works of imagination rather than scholarship. The most scholarly are, apart from that of Bousset mentioned /



mentioned:

Headlam, *The Life and Teaching of Jesus the Christ*, 1924.

Mackinnon, *The Historic Jesus*, 1931.

and less orthodox:

Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*. (E.T. by Danby of Hebrew), 1924

Goguel, *La Vie de Jesus*, 1932 (E.T. by Wyon, *The Life of Jesus*, 1935).

Guignebert, *Jesus*, 1933. (E.T. by Hooke, 1935).

But the influence of Schweitzer led to a concentration rather on eschatology and Messianic claims. We see the development in:

E. F. Scott, *The Kingdom and The Messiah*, 1917

T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, 1931.

Otto, *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn*, 1934, (E.T. by Filson and Woolf, 1938).

Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 1935.

Hering, *Le Royaume de Dieu et sa Venue*, 1937.

W. Manson, *Jesus the Messiah*, 1943.

Before passing to Form-Criticism one should refer to the works of Source-Criticism relevant to St. Mark. They are in addition to the above-mentioned works of Burkitt,

Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, 1899. 2nd edn. 1909  
*Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 1911,

but especially

Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 1924, 5th imp. 1936.

It was the influence of Wrede which produced Form-Criticism /

Form-Criticism, which had a large bibliography in a short time. Most important are

- K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, 1919.  
 Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, 1919, (2nd Edn., 1933. E.T. by Woolf, *From Tradition to Gospel*, 1934).  
 Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 1921, 2nd Edn., 1931.  
 Albertz, *Die synoptischen Streitgespräche*, 1921  
 Fascher, *Die Formgeschichtliche Methode*, 1924.  
 Easton, *The Gospel before the Gospels*, 1928.  
 Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition*, 1933.  
 Lightfoot, *History and Interpretation in the Gospels*, 1935.  
 Dibelius, *Gospel Criticism and Christology*, 1935.

Special problems were raised by *Formgeschichte* and these have been followed up in various directions by

- Bauernfeind, *Die Worte der Dämonen im Markusevangelium*, 1927.  
 Lohmeyer, *Galiläa und Jerusalem*, 1936  
     *Das Abendmahl in der Urgemeinde*, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. LVI, Pt. III, 1937.  
 Lightfoot, *Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels*, 1938.  
 Ebeling, *Das Messiasgeheimnis und die Botschaft des Markusevangelisten*, 1939.

But we may separate especially the following, who have sought while retaining the theological approach of *Formgeschichte*, to avoid its negative approach to history. It is in their tradition especially that



I have sought to work.

Hoskyns and Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament*, 1931.  
 Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom, History and the Gospel*, 1938.  
 Richardson, *The Miracle-Stories of the Gospels*, 1941.

Works on the Parables, though akin to Form-Criticism, perhaps owe their inspiration more to the first-mentioned older work. They are in addition to that of Dodd:

Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisrede Jesu*, Vol. I, 1888, Vol. II, 1899.  
 A. T. Cadoux, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1932.  
 B. T. D. Smith, *The Parables of the Synoptic Gospels*, 1937.

Commentaries on St. Mark's Gospel are both good and numerous. The following are the most important, the first three being very good indeed.

Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel*, 1901.  
 Rawlinson, *The Gospel according to St. Mark (Westminster)*, 1925, 4th Edn. 1936.  
 Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Markus, (Meyer)*, 1937.  
 Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1898, 2nd Edn., 1908.  
 Klöstermann, *Das Markusevangelium, (Handbuch zum N. T.)*, 1907, 2nd Edn. 1926.  
 Lagrange, *L'Évangile selon Saint Marc*, 1911  
 Branscomb, *The Gospel of Mark (Moffatt)*, 1937.  
 Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels, Vol. I*, 1909.

And the following books on the Gospel are not strictly commentaries:

J. Weiss, /

J. Weiss, Das "älteste Evangelium, 1903  
Bacon, The Gospel of Mark, 1925.

Among many works dealing with the situation of the early Church in which the Gospels were written, and giving other necessary background, the following perhaps are the most worth mention:

Bousset, Kyrios Christos, 1913, 2nd Edn. 1921.  
J. Weiss, Das Urchristentum, 1917.  
Jackson and Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity,  
Vol. I, Pts. I - V. (Pt. V. ed. Lake and  
Cadbury). The Acts of the Apostles, 1920-  
1933.  
Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the  
Christ, 1926.