THE CROWDS IN THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

J. R. C. Cousland

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University of St Andrews

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THE CROWDS IN THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

J. R. C. COUSLAND

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I certify that J. R. C. Cousland has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1 (as amended), and is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signature of supervisor

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance 350 (General No. 12) on October, 1982 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. under Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1 (as amended).

The following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, is my own composition, and has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out in the University of St Andrews under the supervision of Dr. Ronald A. Piper.

Signature of candidate
DECLARATION

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to begin by thanking the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of Universities of the United Kingdom, and the University of St. Andrews. The former made an Overseas Research Student Award available to me, while the latter gave me a University Research Studentship. Without the assistance of both bodies I would have been unable to pursue my research.

I would also like to thank my advisor, Dr. Ronald Piper, for his unfailing patience and his perceptive advice, both of which contributed substantially to this thesis. Peter Coxon has been a great support, and I am more than grateful to my former professors in Canada - William Nicholls, Charles Anderson, Haijo Westra, and Hugo Meynell.

Before embarking on my postgraduate studies I heard that life as a postgraduate student was a solitary affair, where you had to do everything on your own, cut off from friends and family. It's been most gratifying to learn that, for me at least, this has not been the case at all. In fact, but for my family and friends, it is likely that I never would have been able to finish at all. I owe a big debt of thanks to my family, Anne, Ian, Irene and Alastair, as well as to the Thomsons who made me so much a part of their family.

My friends have also been a tremendous support, especially Dave Whelan who read it at a critical juncture, Hugh Scheuerman who did everything but write it for me, and Dave Leman who spent a week editing the final product. Grace Morgan offered her unflagging support, and the Helms, Mike Treschow, Matthew Allen and Iain and Hugh Morgan were invariably a great source of encouragement. Jim Hume and Caroline Lee cheerfully took on the joyless task of reading the first drafts, and there are many who also ought to be mentioned here. Martin Cropp and the Department of Classics at the University of Calgary have also been especially supportive, and our former secretary Vi Lake was instrumental in typing the final product, while Lillian Kogawa helped with the final printing.
ABSTRACT

Of the three major groups in Matthew's gospel, the disciples, the Jewish leaders and the crowds, it is the last of these, the crowds, which is most ambiguous. While the disposition of the disciples and the Jewish leaders toward Jesus is readily apparent, it is less so with the crowds. They have been characterized as ambivalent in their relationship to Jesus, and this ambivalence is borne out by the fact that some scholars have readily interpreted them in a negative light, others in a more positive light. As neither of these interpretations is especially compelling, the problem of the crowds has reached a critical impasse. It is the intention of this work to resolve this impasse, and explain the ambiguities of Matthew's portrayal, by offering a full-fledged examination of Matthew's understanding of the ὅχλοι.

It begins by analyzing Matthew's use of the word ὅχλος, and determines that this word alone is used to refer to the crowds, and denotes a specific group. Matthew does rely on his sources for his portrayal of the crowds, but he has both clarified and stylized the portrayal. When Matthew's contradictory mission directives are analyzed, it emerges that the crowds are Jewish.

After defining the crowds, it goes on to examine the crowds' actions and statements. It begins with a discussion of the crowds following of Jesus, and determines that the crowds follow Jesus not out of a "qualitative allegiance", but because they are needy. The crowds' astonishment in the face of Jesus' words and deeds does not indicate commitment on their part, but rather an incipient favourable response to Jesus. Their use of the title "Son of David" indicates a growing insight into Jesus' true nature, but one that ultimately fails to develop. Their designation of Jesus as "a prophet" indicates the inadequacy of their perceptions. It also adumbrates their final rejection of Jesus, a rejection which culminates in their joining with their leaders to
accept responsibility for Jesus' death. The reproaches levelled against the crowds by Jesus in chapter 13 do not readily fit in with this portrayal of the crowds of Jesus' day, and are best seen as referring to the experience of Matthew's church.

When the crowds are examined in the timeframe of Matthew's church, they are best regarded as Jews, and not members of Matthew's church. They are attracted to the church because of its authority to heal and forgive sins. They attach themselves to the community in large numbers, listen to the church's kerygma, but ultimately fall away when the church loses its thaumaturgic ability. Persecution by the Jewish leaders, particularly the Pharisees, may have provoked this crisis. After this, the crowds no longer heed the community's message, and appear to fall back under the sway of the Pharisees. Matthew's church reproaches the crowd for its obduracy, and embarks on its mission to all nations.

The ambiguity in Matthew's depiction of the crowds is the result of two factors. In his portrayal of the crowds of Jesus' day, the διάλοι are used with two contradictory intentions in mind. On the one hand, they are used christologically to enhance the picture of Jesus, and to represent the side of Israel which welcomes its messiah. On the other hand, they are used apologetically, to show how Israel missed its messiah and ended up putting him to death.

The second reason for the ambiguity of Matthew's account, is that the crowds sometimes, particularly in Matthew 13, represent the crowds of Matthew's day. This juxtaposition of the two temporal levels produces a refracted picture of the crowds, which also makes them appear ambiguous.
DEDICATED TO GRAN, NAN, AND KENNETH
ABBREVIATIONS


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PART I

I. INTRODUCTION

1a. The Nature of the Problem

Over the last few decades, the crowds in the Gospel of Matthew have begun to receive the attention of scholars. Notwithstanding this attention, or perhaps because of it, there is hardly any unanimity of opinion to be found concerning the place of the crowds in the gospel. E. P. Sanders has remarked that "The crowds in the Gospels and Acts serve the convenience of the narrator," but it has to be asked whether perhaps they do not also serve the convenience of the exegete. Certainly in Matthean studies, the spectrum of views which the crowds have engendered is startling, and it would be far from wrong to say that there is virtually no critical consensus about the crowds' role in the gospel.

An example might help to make this more vivid. What might a scholar, unfamiliar with the discipline, discover if he were interested in obtaining a quick overview of the crowds and their place in Matthew's gospel? He would find disagreement, for one thing. He would soon discover that even the most basic questions he posed would evoke widely divergent viewpoints. Let us consider some of the questions he might ask, and the sort of answers he might find in the critical literature on Matthew's gospel.

If, for instance, he were to ask about the significance of the δοχεια within the first gospel, he would find that for Vincent Mora "les foules tiennent une place enorme dans l'évangile de Matthieu." But for Georg Strecker, the crowds simply constitute an "applaudierender Hintergrund des Wirikens Jesu".

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1 See the studies listed in note 81 below. As the plural form "crowds" is found more frequently in the gospel, this study will use it throughout for the sake of consistency. The name "Matthew" is used in what follows as a convenient designation for the final redactor, without making any claims as to his identity.


4 Georg Strecker, Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus, 3
If he wished to ascertain whether the crowds had any theological importance to the gospel, he would learn from Robert Guelich that they “have little...as such in contrast to the evangelist’s use of the people, the scribes and Pharisees, and the disciples”. Terence Donaldson, on the other hand, would inform him that the crowds, like the other groups mentioned above, have a very definite role in the gospel, as those “whose eschatological status...remains open to the end”. That is to say, he would find they have considerable theological importance.

Nor is this all. If he were to inquire about the crowds’ character, J. D. Kingsbury would assure him that “the crowds...may be dealt with as a single, ‘flat’ character. They are not rich in traits, and the ones they possess tend not to change until the end of Matthew’s story, when they suddenly appear with Judas to arrest Jesus”. Clifton Black, however, would insist “that the crowds be regarded as rather ‘round’ characters: albeit [sic] their minimalist representation, they are rather lifelike in their unpredictable vacillation and divided loyalty to Jesus”.

Our hypothetical scholar would not even be able to ascertain whether the crowds are historical figures, nor their ethnic makeup. He would find that to Donald Verseput, the crowds are historicized - “wrapped in a cloak of unrepeatability”, and consist solely of the Jews of Jesus’ own day. To Joseph Comber, by contrast, “the crowds of the gospel narrative are a cipher for the Jewish people of Matthew’s time”. Yet he could not even be sure they were Jewish. If he turned to Robert Gundry’s

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8 C. Clifton Black II, "Depth of Characterization and Degrees of Faith in Matthew", *SBL 1989 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 604-23, 619. According to Kingsbury, (Story 10 and cf. Black "Depth" 605) "'Round characters' are those who possess a variety of traits, some of which may even conflict, so that their behaviour is not necessarily predictable; round characters are like 'real people'...Flat' characters are those who possess few traits and are therefore highly predictable in their behaviour”.
commentary, he would find that they are “the masses in the Church...the result of extensive evangelism among the Gentiles”.

In short, he would find hardly any agreement among these scholars about the place of the crowds in Matthew's gospel. According to them (and their judgements are not unrepresentative), the crowds could be either Jewish or gentile, historicized or transparent, and important or minor figures within the gospel framework. While a broad range of opinion is not uncommon within New Testament scholarship, it might be said that the case of the crowds, with their chameleon-like capacity to fit a variety of interpretations, is uncommon.

The reasons for such a state of affairs are not difficult to isolate. Pre-eminent is the fact that the crowds have almost always been considered *en passant*. In Matthean scholarship, discussion of the crowds has usually been made ancillary to other questions because the crowds are generally regarded (with some justice) as secondary figures. An examination of the amount of space accorded to them in recent works on Matthew shows that they are usually treated in three to four pages at most. Apart from a few longer treatments of the crowds, which will be discussed presently, there has been no full-scale analysis of the crowds in Matthew's gospel.

A second reason is that Matthew's depiction of the crowds is itself amenable to a variety of interpretations. At the root of his portrayal is what can only be described as a fundamental ambivalence which makes it far from clear how the crowds are to be

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13 See Ch.2, #1 below for a survey of recent works which touch on the crowds. As these assessments of the crowds are sometimes subordinated to larger issues (be it Matthew's view of Heils geschichte, his community or whatever) it is not surprising that the perspectives taken on these larger issues also frequently colour the perception of the crowds. (Here, instead of chameleons, the crowds might more fittingly be described as litmus paper)

14 The word ambivalence is used by James M. Gibbs, "The Son of God as Torah Incarnate in Matthew" SE IV, *TU* 102 (1968) 38-46; 45#5, and T. Donaldson, *Mountain*, 114. J. Murphy-O'Connor ("The Structure of Mt XIV - XVII" *RB* 82 (1975) 360-84, 376#44 (cont'd. 377)) describes the verbal reaction to Jesus as "highly ambiguous". Horst Balz ("δοξολέγη* Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament II* col 1355 - hereafter EWNT) uses the term Doppelgesichtigkeit of the crowds in all four gospels.
construed. On the one hand, the crowds generally appear well-disposed toward Jesus. They are astonished at his words and deeds (7:28; 9:33; 12:23; 15:31; 22:33). They follow him (4:25; 8:1; (12:15); 14:13; 19:2; 20:29; 21:9) and acclaim him as a prophet (21:11; cf. 21:46), and more importantly, as the Son of David (21:9; cf. 12:23). On the other hand, the crowds are characterized by Jesus, in chapter 13, as being without understanding (13:10-17), and later in the gospel they come with Judas to arrest Jesus (26:47), and ultimately, join with their leaders in accepting responsibility for his death (27:24-25).

These "Jekyll and Hyde" features sit together uneasily in Matthew's gospel. If the crowds are indeed already devoid of understanding at chapter 13, what is to be made of their confession of Jesus as the Son of David during the triumphal entry (21:9)? And why should this fundamental insight then be followed by a complete volte face in which the crowds take up with their hardened leaders? Such questions are not readily resolved, and the solution which has generally prevailed has been to accentuate either the positive depiction of the crowd, or the negative one. No study thus far has been able to account for both features of the crowds.

A factor which has made the problem even more intractable has been a tendency for some scholars to interpret the crowds in light of Matthew's contemporary situation, after paying only cursory attention to the crowds' role at the historical level of the gospel. It is obvious that such a skewed methodology is going to produce skewed results, and this may help to explain why the crowds are identified above both as the Jews of Matthew's own day, and Matthew's community (be it Jewish or gentile).

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15 On occasion, the crowds are also described as being "neutral", but such a view obviously compounds the problems. Cf., among others, Guelich, Sermon, 59, "a neutral chorus".

16 By "historical" I do not necessarily refer to a factual relation of events, but to Matthew's ιστορία of events, with ιστορία understood in the sense of "story" or "narrative" or "history"; Cf. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, new edition, rev. Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966) s.v. def. II. (hereafter LSJ). By "historical level" then, I mean Matthew's story of Jesus as opposed to the "transparent level" which would refer to the post-Easter situation of Matthew's church. This is not to deny that there is also an "historical" component to the "transparent level", but Matthew's ostensible story, at least, is about Jesus. In using the word "level" I follow R. E. Brown, (The Churches the Apostles Left Behind (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1984) 125) although other terminology is frequently used (cf. Graham Stanton, "The Gospel of Matthew and Judaism" BJRL 66 (1984) 264-84, 275, who refers to a "dual perspective", or J. Louis Martyn, History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel, (New York: Harper and Row, 1979) 29 #22, who differentiates between the "einmalig" and "contemporary" frames of reference.)
Unfortunately, these difficulties afflict even the most influential and extensive studies that have been made of the crowds thus far, those undertaken by J. D. Kingsbury, S. Van Tilborg, and Paul Minear. A brief account of their findings will make this apparent.

1b. J. D. Kingsbury

One of the most influential studies of the crowds is that found in J. D. Kingsbury's *The Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13, A Study in Redaction Criticism*. This work argues that "the function of Chapter 13 within the groundplan of Matthew's Gospel is to signal the great 'turning point' where Jesus turns away from "the Jews" (including the crowds) to his disciples. This turning point follows upon Matthew's account of Jesus' public ministry (Chapters 4-11) and the increasing animosity with which it is greeted by the Jews (Chapters 11-12). In chapter 13 Jesus turns away from them and decries them as being a people devoid of understanding. From this point onward he no longer speaks to them openly, but enigmatically in parables. By contrast, he speaks openly to his disciples, as the true people of God.

The crowds are an essential component of this schema. They, along with the Jewish leaders, comprise the "Jews". According to Kingsbury, Jesus' attitude to the crowds undergoes a marked change after chapter 13; he is no longer described as "preaching" or "teaching" them after this turning point. The introduction of the word παραβολή in chapter 13, and its frequency thereafter, indicates a deliberate shift to enigmatic speech. The use of the word αὐτοῖς as a *terminus technicus* for the crowds

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19 Paul S. Minear, "The Disciples and the Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew" *ATR* Sup. 3 (1974) 28-44.
21 Kingsbury, *Parables*, 130.
also suggests that they are outside of the realm of salvation. In spite of this, Kingsbury does recognize that Matthew distinguishes the crowds from their leaders, even in the Passion account.\(^{23}\) He maintains that “Matthew is fundamentally well-disposed towards them”, and depicts the crowds as sharing directly in the ministry of Jesus.\(^{24}\) Nonetheless, because the crowds stand beyond the pale of the Christian Church they are to be conjoined with their leaders.\(^{25}\)

Kingsbury’s argument is effective, cogent and neat — perhaps too neat. The method he adopts for defining the crowds is particularly suspect, because, in effect, he defines them into perdition. As was pointed out, he acknowledges that Matthew distinguishes the crowds from their leaders, yet he refuses to treat them as distinct entities himself. The antipathy he remarks in Matthew 11 and 12, which precipitates his “turning point”, comes largely from the Jewish leaders and not from the crowds, whose attitude is expressly contrasted with that of their leaders (cf. 12:22-24). Nevertheless, Kingsbury conjoins the two groups, designating them as “the Jews”. This term is presupposed throughout his study without any explicit justification,\(^ {26}\) nor can it be said that Matthew's gospel itself offers any justification for it.\(^ {27}\)

At first this grouping does not appear overly incongruous because Kingsbury interprets the crowds in light of the way they are characterized in chapter 13:

Previously (chaps. 11-12), Jesus was depicted in conflict with only individual segments of the Jewish nation. Now, however, he faces in the crowds the whole of unbelieving Judaism. So it is that Jesus in

\(^{23}\) Ibid., Parables, 25-26. 
\(^{24}\) Ibid., Parables, 26-27. 
\(^{25}\) Ibid., Parables, 28. 
\(^{26}\) Kingsbury’s designation is, in part, explained by the following remarks “As it stands, it [sc. this portrayal of the crowds] appears to contradict our findings in Chapter 2, where we stated that the crowds in 13.1-35 represent the whole of unbelieving Judaism and that Jesus’ speech in parables to them is essentially a scathing apology provoked by the Jews’ rejection of him. But this apparent contradiction resolves itself when we observe that what Matthew in reality does in 13.1-35 is to single out and dwell on only one feature of his description of the Jewish crowds: the fact that they stand beyond the pale of the Church.” (Parables, 27-28) 
\(^{27}\) Kingsbury’s usage of the term appears to have been imported from John’s gospel, as Matthew only uses Ἰουδαίοι once, at 28:15. Here however the time frame is different from the rest of the gospel—διεσπαρμένοι ὁ λόγος ὄντος παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. Nor, for that matter are the Jews expressly associated with the crowds. The only other place where the crowds are joined with their leaders into a “people” (λαὸς) is at 27:25, though even here they are not called “the Jews”.

13.1-35 vigorously assails the crowds for being *blind, deaf and without understanding* in regard to the things of salvation (cf. 13.10-13) ... In association with chapters 11-12, this apology [sc. 13.1-35] represents the reaction of Jesus to his rejection by the Jews on all sides.²⁸ When this passage is considered in detail, however, it does seem incongruous.²⁹ Why should the crowds be equated with the whole of unbelieving Judaism? Matthew assiduously distinguishes them from the Jewish leaders until the passion account. Up to that point the crowds, in contrast to their leaders, are largely receptive to Jesus.³⁰ Hence, Kingsbury is only able to support his definition by ignoring those aspects of Matthew's narrative which do not square with his interpretation.³¹

In fact, it soon becomes apparent that Kingsbury's argument works by confusing the time frames of the "historical level" of Jesus with the "transparent level" of the church. His references to 'Jews' and 'Judaism' relate to the time of the church, but are used to buttress what is, in fact, an argument about Jesus' activity (i.e. his turning away from the Jews) at the "historical level". This is not to deny that Matthew's situation could have (or did) influence his account of Jesus' actions, but Kingsbury approaches the question backwards. Instead of examining the narrative to see what it suggests about the relation of Matthew's community to Judaism, he decides in advance what that relation is, and then superimposes it onto Matthew's narrative.³² It is for this reason, ultimately, that his 'turning point' theory is flawed. It is an artificial construct that simply does not correspond to the narrative it purports to

²⁹E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels* (London: SCM, 1989) 207), who also single out this passage, suggest that Kingsbury offers an "exaggeration in two directions". First, the gospel gives indications of persecution or expected persecution prior to chapters 11-12, and second, the attitude of the crowds to Jesus vacillates before and after 12:46.
³⁰Kingsbury appears to recognize this in his later work, *Matthew as Story* (3) "Until the passion...the crowds are generally well disposed towards Jesus."
³¹See further, the detailed critical discussion of Kingsbury by Sanders and Davies in *Studying*, 203-20; 221, who also find that Kingsbury "repeatedly" ignores the narrative level of meaning.
³² Whether Kingsbury ultimately realizes that this is what he is doing is unclear. In his *Matthew as Story*, with its avowed sensitivity to the story of the gospel (1, 2) he is still capable of writing (in reference to 11:2-16:20) that "Israel's response to his [sc. Jesus'] ministry is one of repudiation." (77, italics mine).
describe.  

1c. Sjef Van Tilborg

One study which has emerged with results very different from those of Kingsbury is that by Sjef Van Tilborg, *The Jewish Leaders in Matthew*. The purpose of his work is to examine the Jewish leaders. To do this effectively, Van Tilborg includes discussions of the other two groups in the gospel, the disciples and the crowds, as well as an account of how these groups interrelate. In his examination of the crowds' relationships with the Jewish leaders, the disciples and Jesus, he discovers a range of responses. He finds that “the δχλωτι, in contrast with the Jewish leaders, react very positively in the appearance of Jesus”. They approve of Jesus' teaching and recognize how it differs from that of their leaders. The disciples occupy a “special position” with respect to the crowds. They function not only as exemplars but also as mediators of Jesus to the crowds—“they bring the δχλωτι into contact with Jesus”.

Jesus’ own relationship to the crowds can be considered a positive one. His benevolence is manifest in his speaking to and feeding of them, as well as in his compassion and willingness to heal them. The crowds, in their turn, are astonished by him and come to him of their own volition. They obey him and, more significantly, they “do the same as the disciples have done: they follow Jesus”. This is central to Van Tilborg's depiction of the crowds, because “the following of Jesus is the definition of the essence of being Christian.... The δχλωτι do what they have been asked to do by Jesus.”

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33 A more detailed refutation of specific points in Kingsbury's argument will be offered below.
34 The disciples are discussed at 99-141, and the crowds at 142-65.
35 Van Tilborg, *Leaders*, 158.
Van Tilborg explains Matthew's positive depiction of the crowds in light of Matthew's contemporary situation: "Presumably in Matthew's time Christ's message did not yet meet with any great resistance. Matthew sees how many people have been called to accept Jesus and his doctrine. On the basis of his own actual experiences he believes that also when Jesus was still alive great crowds accepted him. This has become an argument in his eyes to summon others to a similar acceptance".42

While it is marked by keen insights—especially his consideration of the crowds in relation to the other actors in Matthew's gospel—his analysis is perhaps deficient in other respects. His assumption that the 'great crowds' mentioned in the narrative reflect the experiences of Matthew's community is valid so far as it goes, but ignores other likely possibilities. Could this not just as readily be construed as an instance of Matthew's exalted christology?43

A related problem is his inability to account for the ambiguity in Matthew's depiction of the crowds. Matthew's gospel certainly presents the crowds in a positive light, and these features are well brought out by Van Tilborg. Yet he is less successful with the negative traits of the crowds as instanced in chapter 13 and the Passion account (27:20ff.). In both of these Stellen, Van Tilborg does recognise Matthew's editorial activity, but attempts, without much success, to minimize the discordancies.44

With respect to chapter 13, for example, he candidly admits that the relationship between the crowds and the secret-theme taken over from Mark is obscure to him.45 With 27:20ff. and the Passion account, he is unable to argue convincingly that Matthew's negative characterization of the crowd is determined by the tradition.46 Thus his study, although it offers an effective counterbalance to Kingsbury, also fails to

42 Ibid., 171.
43 See further below note 89.
44 Ibid., 159, 148-149 (on 27:20) and 161-162 (on Ch. 13).
45 Van Tilborg, Leaders, 161, "Matthew also borrows from Mark the secret-theme and he has strongly elaborated this theme by altering the \( \text{ινε} \) of Mark 4, 12 into the \( \text{διν} \) of Matthew 13, 13. How this theme should be fitted into the whole of Matthew's concept remains obscure to me, unless the changes in Matthew 13, 10,13 are to be attributed to a pre-Matthean tradition".
account for the crowds' ambiguity.

1d. Paul S. Minear

The paper which can be said to have pioneered discussion of the crowds in Matthew's gospel is Paul Minear's essay, "The Disciples and the Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew". Minear begins by drawing a number of provisional conclusions, the first of which holds that "far from being an amorphous and neutral category, the ochloï played a highly positive role as followers of Jesus". He suggests that the crowds constitute a major objective of Jesus' ministry and that the disciples are especially enjoined to continue this crowd-oriented ministry. Finally, he notes that the question of the crowds' allegiance forms the basis for the conflict between Jesus and his adversaries. He corroborates part of this portrayal by examining the crowds in relation to the "five great discourses" in Matthew, concluding that the crowds "surely corresponded to the 'laymen' of Matthew's day" while the disciples corresponded to the Christian leaders. In exercising their obligation to care for the laymen, these leaders fulfill the ministry that Jesus had entrusted to his disciples. Thus, when "the modern reader finds Jesus speaking to the crowds, he may usually assume that Matthew was speaking to contemporary laymen. When he finds Jesus teaching the disciples, he may usually suppose that Matthew had in mind the vocation of contemporary leaders as stewards of Christ's household".

The difficulty with Minear's position is that he tends to assume the very thing

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47 His study, given its specific focus, is usually treated as the standard discussion of the crowds. (It is cited, for example, in G. Stanton's extensive survey of recent Matthean scholarship - "The Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Gospel: Matthean Scholarship from 1945 to 1980" in Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Principat. Religion. Band 25, 3 Teilband hrsg. W. Hanse (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985)1889-1951; 1928 (hereafter ANRW).) Minear has also made studies of the crowds in the other gospels, see below note 81.

48 Minear, "Crowds", 31.

49 Ibid., 31-32.

50 Minear ("Crowds", 32) finds that the crowds "appear in either the introduction or the conclusion of all five 'sermons' attributed to Jesus, and that in two sermons they form part of his audience (13:1f.; 23:1f.)."

51 Minear, "Crowds", 41.

52 Ibid., 41.
he ought to prove—namely, the highly favourable disposition of the crowds. This is not to deny that there are favourable components to the crowds' behaviour, but Minear's inductions frequently go beyond the evidence. He states for instance that "it is not an exaggeration to speak of them [sc. the crowds] as worshipping him", yet never says why this is so. He adds that "since the editor does not show an interest in depicting the steps by which the crowds moved from less to greater faith, we infer that to Matthew the ochloi were characterized from the beginning by their acceptance of Jesus' message and his authority as prophet of God". This summation once again makes some unwarranted assumptions. He speaks here of "faith" and sees it represented at 8:2 by the words and actions of the leper. It is certainly true that the leper has faith, but is it warranted to assume on that basis that the crowds have faith, especially when it is never said explicitly of them elsewhere? The προσέρχομαι at 8:2 is ambiguous - does the leper actually emerge from the crowds? The Mosaic law makes this even more questionable.

Further, Minear speaks of the crowds' "acceptance of Jesus' message" and "his authority as prophet of God", yet the descriptions of the crowds do not bear out these observations. Certainly the crowds react to Jesus' message—they are astonished by it and they glorify God for giving such authority to men (7:28, 22:33, 9:8)—but they are never expressly depicted as accepting his message. That there is a considerable difference between the recognition of Jesus' authority and message, and the acceptance of it, is made evident by the pericope of the rich young man (19:16-30). Minear, for his part, assumes that "this acceptance entails at least a modicum of obligation to act in accordance with his disclosure of God's will". This may well be so, but the gospel never gives us any indication that the crowds did in fact assume this obligation, rather, it suggests they did not (12:46-50).

Minear, like Van Tilborg, also fails to explain the crowds' negative portrayal in
chapter 13 and the Passion narrative. He too, makes an appeal to the Markan substrate in chapter 13, though his main argument is to suggest that “ochloi had not by Matthew’s day become a technical term to which a very specific ecclesiological content adhered”. Yet, do vagaries in the disciples’ behaviour (e.g. Peter’s betrayal) suggest that no very specific ecclesiological content adhered to the term μορφοί either? Here Minear seems tempted to have it both ways.

Finally, Minear’s assumption about the role of the crowds in Matthew’s community is poorly substantiated. He argues that “to the degree that these stories [sc. the Feeding narratives] were intended by Matthew to mirror later Eucharists to that same degree the ochloi represent the laity in those later gatherings”. So although he begs the question, he does not answer it. His identification also sidesteps the question of the crowds’ negative features. Even leaving aside the recalcitrant problem of 27:24-25, could any future member of the laity fittingly be described as one “who has not”, or one from whom “what he has will be taken away” (13:12)? This difficulty, like the others mentioned above, reveals deficiencies in Minear’s assessment of the crowds.

All told, these three studies emerge with some key insights. They recognize the fundamental unity in Matthew’s characterization of the crowds and have begun to isolate certain distinctive features of that characterization. All three studies also indicate, either explicitly, or implicitly, that the role of the crowd is relational, and deserves to be considered in light of the other groups in the gospel. This constitutes a considerable advance.

On the other hand, work remains to be done. It is perhaps ironic that these more elaborate studies suffer from the same problems which affect the more cursory treatments. Although they are more exhaustive, they are still not detailed enough.

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58 Ibid., 35.
59 Minear (“Crowds”, 42) is aware of possible objections and acknowledges the “hypothetical” nature of his conclusions.
60 Minear, “Crowds”, 31.
61 See, though, Schweizer’s grave reservations about Minear’s identification: “Noch fraglicher scheint mir die Parallelisierung der Volksmenge mit dem Gemeindeliedern im Unterschied zu den durch die Jünger abgebildeten Leitern ...Dagegen spricht schon, daß die Volksmenge in 27,25 sich endgültig gegen Jesus entscheidet”. (Eduard Schweizer, Matthäus und seine Gemeinde, SBS 71 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk 1974) 24#64).
Even here, two of the studies are not primarily concerned with the crowds. Kingsbury’s study examines them to illumine Matthew 13, and Van Tilborg’s book considers them to help situate the Jewish leaders. Only Minear’s contribution is devoted solely to the crowds, and it is just a brief essay. Not one of the works considers the utterances or actions of the crowds in any depth, and in Kingsbury’s case especially, it has to be asked whether his understanding of Matthew 13 has not perhaps coloured his perception of the crowds.

The problem of the crowds’ ambivalence is also made explicit by these three studies. That they emerge with no agreement about the basic disposition of the crowds is especially eloquent. So too is the fact that their explanations of the crowds’ apparent anomalies are not particularly compelling. Kingsbury’s interpretation places all the emphasis on chapter 13 and (to a lesser degree) on the Passion account, while discounting the rest of the gospel narrative. Van Tilborg and Minear do exactly the reverse. Not one of the three even acknowledges the ambiguity inherent in Matthew’s depiction of the crowds.

Finally, all three studies quickly dismiss the role of the crowds on the historical level and begin to assess them in light of Matthew’s contemporary situation. This is particularly the case with Kingsbury and Minear who simply do not offer an adequate justification for their identification of the crowds. That it should be the “Jews” on one hand, and the “laymen of Matthew’s Community” on the other, testifies to the problems inherent in their method.\textsuperscript{62} Obviously, if there is a picture of Matthew’s situation to be gained from the gospel, it has to be one which is derived from express and careful reference to the gospel. One which fails to do this may well produce an imaginative reconstruction, but unfortunately, that is all it will produce.

Allied to this is the need to recognize that Matthew’s representation of the

\textsuperscript{62} Nor is this apparently, an uncommon means of proceeding. Gundry informs his readers at the outset of his commentary that “the Jewish crowds symbolize the international church, including the many Gentiles who were later to become disciples (4:25 - 5:1 with 7:28 - 8:1; 21:8-9, 11)”. (Matthew, 8-9, cf. 64-65). J. C. Fenton (The Gospel of Saint Matthew, PNTC (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963) 74) does the same. He simply acknowledges that the crowds “foreshadow the members of the Church whom Jesus will heal and teach through his disciples”. 

crowds is also intended to illumine the time of Jesus. It is not surprising that Meier has written of Minear's study that "there is ...a danger in so stressing the second horizon of the church's present state that the horizon of the sacred past is forgotten". This caveat is well observed. Given the prominence of the crowds in the gospel at the historical level, it is apparent that an adequate study of the crowds needs to assess their significance within that framework. It is only when this has been sufficiently analyzed that it will become appropriate to consider the crowds in light of Matthew's own situation.

2. Proposal

The purpose of the following work is dictated largely by the problems outlined above. As no full scale treatment of the crowds in Matthew has yet been produced, an analysis of the crowds' role and function within the gospel should prove to be valuable, not least because it would help to resolve the ambivalence associated with the crowds. Yet it should also prove to be valuable in other respects. If, indeed, the crowds turn out to be Jewish (as, in fact, they do), Matthew's depiction of them could have much to say about how his community interacts with the rank and file of Judaism, as distinct from the Jewish leaders. That is to say, it should offer a more nuanced view of Matthew's community's perspective on Judaism, and offer a corrective to views, such as Walker's, that conceive of the Jews as a monolithic whole.

Accordingly, the first part of this work will consider Matthew's depiction of the crowds in Jesus' day. It will examine the use of the term δΧάλως in the first gospel, along with a discussion of the crowds' ethnic character. It will then consider various actions of the crowds—their following Jesus and their astonishment in the face of Jesus' actions, as well as their christological ascriptions to Jesus - Son of David and

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64 These remarks tacitly assume that for the crowds there is a second horizon of the "church's present state", an assumption that would not be held by some of the scholars mentioned above (cf. #9). This assumption will be justified below pp.
65 R. Walker, Die Heilsgeschichte im ersten Evangelium, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967.)
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prophet. It will conclude with an examination of their role in Jesus' death.

The second part of the study will focus on the crowds at the time of Matthew's church, using Matthew's account of the church as a framework for understanding the crowds. In particular, it will demonstrate that the church initially undertook an effective healing ministry to the crowds, which was followed by an increasing disjunction between the two groups, resulting in a virtual estrangement between the two. It is this divorce, it will be shown, which ultimately explains the ambivalence underlying Matthew's depiction of the crowds.

2a. Presuppositions and Methodology

It has become almost customary for redaction-critical studies to subscribe reluctantly to the two-source hypothesis, given the serious difficulties posed by the synoptic problem. The position taken here will be no different, except to note that there has recently been a resurgence of confidence in the insights afforded by the two-source hypothesis. Certainly, two of the most recent and detailed commentaries to appear on Matthew - those by Luz and Davies and Allison, have come out strongly in favour of this view. Particularly telling is the fact that Davies and Allison wanted to undertake their exegetical task "with open minds, and to discover just why the standard theory was suffering so much at the hands of so many", only to end up all the more firmly convinced of the viability of the two-source hypothesis.

As was stated, the method adopted here will be that of redaction criticism.

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66 Cf. the exemplary discussion offered by Meier, Law, 2-6. He notes with justice that "Experience has shown that the best support of the two-source hypothesis is perhaps not the positive argumentation for it, but rather any and every alternative solution offered to replace it." (6)


68 I think it likely that Matthew's Sondertext comes from a variety of sources, rather than a single source M, and that his version of Q differs in some respects from that of Luke.


71 Davies and Allison, Matthew, 98.

Nevertheless, because of the overemphasis on the transparent depiction of the crowds in earlier studies, the first part of this examination will consider Matthew's representation of the crowds within the framework of the historical account or narrative which he offers. This approach has several advantages. The first is that it would appear to be consistent with the literary form of the gospel, since Matthew, ostensibly at least, offers the reader an historical account or narrative of Jesus. The second advantage is that such an approach is sensitive to what Sanders and Davies call the "narrative's own momentum", where details of the narrative need not necessarily reflect social concerns. This method has one or two points in common with the "literary" or "narrative" criticism espoused by several scholars in the last few years. The approach

88 (1969) 45-56; Sanders and Davies, Studying, 201-23.

73 By narrative I mean "the representation of real or fictive events and situations in a time sequence" (Gerald Prince, Narratology: The Form and Function of Narrative. Janua Linguarum 108 (Berlin: Mouton, 1982) 1). That the first Gospel is a narrative is not generally disputed. What has recently been the subject of discussion is the extent to which it represents the entire Christian theology of the author. Up until the last decade the most prevalent view has maintained that the gospels represent "the apostolic kerygma built up into a vivid narrative form." (The phrase is from Charles H. Talbert, What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels [London: SPCK, 1978; Fortress, 1977] 2.) He offers a selective representation of those who hold this view 18 #5. On the other hand, C.F.D. Moule has argued that the gospels were not "intended to present the full Christology and the full Christian theology of the Evangelists who wrote them or of any communities they may have represented." ("The Function of the Synoptic Gospels" in Glaube und Eschatologie. F.S. für W.G. Kümmerl zum 80 Geburtstag hrsg. E. Griller, O. Mork (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1985) 199-208, 207, and also see "The Intention of the Evangelists" in New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, ed., A.J.B. Higgins (Manchester: University Press, 1959) 164-179). Rather, they were designed to show how the pre-resurrection situation led to the post-resurrection situation ("Function" 208, "Intention" 173).

Moule's view has a good deal to commend it, and though Matthew's gospel does not lend itself to his thesis as readily as, say, the gospel of Luke, it can be, at least in part, understood in this light. Matthew's gospel however is best described as being in tension between the above two views, with the narrative being a product of both. This would help to explain why, for instance, Strecker can argue for an "historicizing" tendency in Matthew on the one hand (see Georg Strecker, "The Concept of History in Matthew" in Stanton, Interpretation, 67-84, 70f.), and Trilling for an ecclesiastical emphasis (Wolfgang Trilling, "Matthäus, das kirchliche Evangelium: Überlieferungsgeschichte und Theologie" in Gestalt und Auspruch des Neuen Testaments hrsg. J. Schreiner, G. Dautzenburg 2 Auf. (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1969) 186-199, 192 and W. Trilling, Das Wahre Israel: Studien zur Theologie des Matthäus-Evangelium, 3 Auf. St ANT 10 (München: Kösel Verlag, 1964) 212 "Deutlicher als in jedem anderen Evangelium erscheint im Hintergrund von Matthäus das Bild einer "Kirche", vergleichbar etwa mit dem Bild, das die Korintherbriefe von der Kirche in Korinth vermitteln") on the other.

74 Sanders and Davies, Studying, 221.

adopted here will differ from that taken by "narrative" critics in that, while it hopes to remain sensitive to the narrative as such, it will not disregard the question of Matthew's sources nor his own redactional intentions. For the second part of the study, a more typical redaction-critical method will be employed.

By doing so, it hopes to leave itself open to the more central issues of the gospel. Robert Morgan astutely notes that the formal literary categories of setting, plot and characters adopted by Rhoads and Michie (Story) "do not come to grips with the essential subject-matter of Mark. The analysis of Rhoads and Michie contributes something to the understanding of Mark's narrative, but seems tangential to the main point".76 Morgan imputes this both to the fact that Mark is not a great literary artist and to the fact that features of the Synoptic Gospels constrain us "to read the Synoptic Gospels as historical narratives".77 The second factor is especially germane to Matthew's gospel, and certainly most of the criticisms directed at Rhoads and Michie would apply equally well to some of the other works just mentioned.

Something similar must be said of structuralist criticism. While it is, at times, invaluable for illuminating the relationships of passages within given contexts,78 it has been far less successful at transcending that context. This is largely because of the limitations in its methodology which require it to interpret texts relationally, most commonly in terms of oppositions. But as Graham Stanton has observed in his review of Daniel Patte's structuralist commentary,79 this proves to be a less than adequate approach over the course of an entire gospel.

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77 See, e.g., the intriguing paper by Christian Mellon, "La Parabole: Manière de Parler, Manière d'Entendre" RSR 61 (1973) 49-63.
PART II

1. INTRODUCTION

It was observed in the first chapter that Matthew's portrayal of the crowds\textsuperscript{80}...
was 'ambivalent', and has for this reason engendered a host of conflicting explanations. It is the intention of the first part of this chapter to present an evaluation of Matthew's descriptions of, and ascriptions to, the crowds in his gospel. This should make clear the degree to which he has relied on his sources, and the changes he has made to produce his own view of the crowds.\footnote{19}

1a. Use of the term ὀχλος in Matthew

In Matthew's gospel ὀχλος refers to a "crowd, throng, (multitude) of people" and "the (common) people, populace".\footnote{20} The two senses here are not readily distinguished, since it is the populace who make up the crowd, and the crowd which, in effect, functions \textit{pars pro toto} for the populace.\footnote{21}

Matthew uses ὀχλος in conjunction with a number of other words to produce a variety of nuances: ὀχλοι πολλοί, ὀχλος πολύς, πάντες οἱ ὀχλοι, πλεῖστος ὀχλος. By far the most common usage however is ὀχλος unqualified, either in the plural (most commonly) or the singular.\footnote{22}

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\footnote{20} Because Matthew is so clearly dependent on Mk and Q, it has not been considered necessary to undertake a survey of ὀχλος and related words up until the time of the New Testament. The basic lineaments of Matthew's conception are already present in Q, and especially in Mark.


Elsewhere the crowds in the gospels are described as a "Volksmenge" (Meyer "ὀχλος" 585 who rightly distinguishes [except in John] it from the ἔθνος 387-390; Kilpatrick, \textit{Origins} 117) or Volk, Volksmenge, (große) Menge, Schar" (Balz "ὀχλος" col. 1354), or "the crowd, the mass, the populace" (Bietenhard, "ὀχλος", 800).

\footnote{22} This can be seen in a comparison of 21:26 with 21:46. The first presumably refers to the crowds immediately present, while the second to the populace (so Bauer). Both verses however are structured in a similar way, and the role of the crowds here is virtually identical. This is to say that although the distinction exists, it does not normally have currency for Matthew.


πάντες οἱ ὀχλοι (1x) 12:23
πᾶς ὁ ὀχλος (1x) 13:2b
πολλος ὀχλος (attrib.) (1x) 14:14
ὀχλος πολύς (2x) 20:29; 26:47
The word ὄχλος occurs more frequently in Matthew than in Mark or Luke (50, Mk-38, Lk-41). Of these occurrences, roughly half are traditional (18 Mk, 8 Lk), twenty-three are redactional insertions and one is unique to Matthew. Matthew’s preference is for the plural form (31/50), while Mark, by contrast, uses the plural only once ((Mt 19:2 [pl])), Matthew follows Mark’s use of the singular in nine out of seventeen cases (or ten of eighteen if Mt 8:18 // Mk 4:36 is included), while all the material Matthew has in common with Luke is plural. Of Matthew’s insertions, ten of twenty-three are in the singular while the only unique occurrence is plural.

Matthew’s use of the plural is idiosyncratic, and can perhaps best be explained

πλέοντος ὄχλος (1x) 21:8


See Kurt Aland mit H. Bachmann und W. A. Slaby, Vollständige Konkordanz zum Griechischen Neuen Testament, Band II Spezialübersichten hrsg. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978) s.v., and Robert Morgenthaler, (Statistik der neuestenlauten Untersuchungen, 3 Auf. (Zürich: Göttingen Verlag (1958), 1982) 127, has 49 38.41 respectively. The verse in question is probably 12:15 (πολλοί in B pe lat / δύκλοι in / δύκλοι πολλοί in C D L W Θ f.15 33, 892, 1066, 1342, 1506, πτ h (q) syrp. sa' sa'mb). Although B. Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament (London: United Bible Societies, 1971) 11, does not incline to the view, it is preferable to assume that δύκλοι dropped out by homoioteleuton than to regard it as a later addition. Metzger observes that the presence of δύκλος πολλοί at 4:25; 8:1; 13:2; 15:4 and 19:2 may have influenced the scribes, but his argument works both ways. Unlike Mark for instance, this would be the only place where Matthew refers to the crowds as πολλοί. Nor is the πολεμοί here dependant on Mk (3:7 πολλοί πλήθος). One might add that the reading of πολλοί at 12:15 runs counter to Matthew’s tendency to identify his subject. As E. P. Sanders remarks, (The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition [Cambridge: University Press, 1969] SNTSMS 31) "Matthew is clearly the most specific Gospel in the category of making the subject of a sentence or clause explicit". For his criteria cf. 96, and for a list of such changes consult Frans Neirynck, The Minor Agreement of Matthew and Luke Against Mark: with a cumulative list, BETL 37 (Leuven: Universiteit Press, 1974) 261-264.

The textual tradition of 8:18 is also diverse, but all the variant readings include δύκλος(01) (πολλοί, δύκλοι, Π C L Θ f1 33, 892, 1066, 1342, 1506, πτ lat syg πολλοί δύκλοι (W Πgs c g') W 1424 al sa'mb mae δύκλοι Π f1 pe ho δύκλοι B sa'mb). For some reason Turner, Style, lists only 47 Stellen (43).

Among "redactional insertions" I also include any of Mark’s pronouns or impersonal verbs which Matthew has rendered by δύκλος. This may appear overly cautious, but as Struthers Balmon ("Disciples", 108) finds, Mark is not always careful to distinguish between the various groups in his gospel. Hence some of these "insertions" may represent editorial decisions on the part of Matthew, and not merely his tendency to clarify Mark and make it more explicit. An instance of such an editorial decision on Matthew’s part can be seen in his triumphal entry account. Where Mark has πολλοί (11:8) and oι προσώπων κατι oι ακολουθοῦντες (11:9) - are the disciples included? cf. 11:7). Matthew has ὦ δύκλος (21:8) and oι δύκλοι oι προσώπων κατι oι ακολουθοῦντες (21:9) - the disciples are definitely not included. For a different list of insertions cf. Gundry, Matthew 646 who regards 31 Stellen as traditional, 17 as insertions and 1 as unique.

R. H. Lightfoot, (History, 39 #1) argues that "it may be said with confidence that St. Mark never uses δύκλος, in the plural. In 10:1, the only apparent exception, the singular should probably be read".
as christological. That is to say, it reflects Matthew's desire to make the crowds about Jesus as large and as significant as possible. Yet it appears that he has not carried this out with any degree of rigour, as can be seen for example from Mt 15:30-39—a Matthean healing summary (29-31) combined with the feeding of the Four Thousand (32-39). Both 15:30 and 31 are insertions, 30 is plural and 31 singular. In the feeding account, Matthew seems to have shifted from the singular (15:32 Sing. // Mk 8:2 Sing.) to the plural (15:36 Pl. // Mk 8:6 Sing.) without there being any apparent distinction between them.

Minear has suggested that the singular demonstrates the incorporation of Markan material. While this is in some degree true (9/17 vs. 10/23), it is hardly an instructive distinction. Recently T. J. Keegan has proposed a more far reaching *discrimen*. He maintains that "whenever Matthew uses the plural, he wants to designate the crowds in the technical sense as the object of Jesus' (and the disciples') ministry". On the other hand, "every use of the singular is either found in traditional material and lacking special significance for Matthew or is used by Matthew in a clearly non-technical sense". One must question the legitimacy of Keegan's criteria here. If, as his sentence structure might imply, the occurrences lack special significance by virtue of being traditional material, his view must be gainsaid.

In addition, however, his distinction does not always hold. With respect to 15:30-39, 15:31 by his account ought to be a plural since it describes the crowds as the

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89 Minear, "Crowds", 29.
91 Ibid., 426.
92 This view is also suggested by his note #47 (426); "other uses of the singular in Matthew are either clearly non-technical ... or appear in passages with Synoptic parallels ...", i.e., Keegan offers no third category. Against this see G. Stanton's balanced corrective: "To isolate changes Matthew makes to his sources and to concentrate our attention on them, as many redaction critics tend to do, is to do less than justice to Matthew. If we concentrate on the distinctive elements introduced by the evangelist we fail to appreciate that he frequently uses his traditions with little or no modification simply because he accepts them and wishes to preserve them and make them part of his portrait of Jesus and of his message to his own Christian community." In G. Stanton, "Origin", 1896. Even if this is not what Keegan means, "special significance for Matthew" is not the most objective of evaluations—special significance by what criteria? This in itself renders his findings rather limited.
object of Jesus' ministry. In Matthew however, it is singular. The same might be said of 15:33 (insertion) where the crowd (sing.) is the ostensible object of the disciples' ministry. Nor is his attempt to drive a wedge between the δχλοι πολλοί of 13:2a and the πολῶς δχλος of 13:2b at all convincing. Does only one of these mentions of the crowd refer to them as the object of Jesus' ministry? In short, though it would have been a helpful distinction, Keegan is unable to support his position. It is best simply to conclude that Matthew intends no real distinction between the singular and the plural.

1b. The Distinctiveness of δχλος

The most distinctive element in Matthew's portrayal of the crowds is the term he uses - δχλος. In marked contradistinction to both Mark and Luke, it is the only word Matthew uses to characterize them. Mark and Luke, for instance, both use πληθος to describe the crowds. While Luke does not use the word exclusively of the crowds, he does not use it with the genitive construction when he refers to them, and in this respect his usage conforms to that of Matthew or Mark. (On the genitive construction see Bauer Worterbuch s.v. #3.)


6:33 cf. 34 and possibly at 11:8 (in conjunction with άλλοι). Minear "Audience" 81 also takes 2:15b as a reference to the crowd, as well as the πολλοί τελῶντες καὶ άμαρτολοι of 2:15a. In my view this stretches the crowd a bit too far. See C. H. Turner, "Notes" 239 who takes 2:15b to refer to the disciples.
Luke frequently uses λαός of them as well. According to Minear, Luke changes Mark’s δεχόμεθα λαός some ten times, and only uses Mark’s δεχόμεθα λαός nine times. Given this diversity on the part of the other two synoptic evangelists, Matthew’s overall consistency is worthy of note.

Considering the fact that δεχόμεθα occurs fifty times in Matthew and thirty-eight times in Mark, one would anticipate that most of Mark’s occurrences of the word would be found in Matthew. Surprisingly, this is not the case. Just over half of Mark’s uses of the word, some twenty in all, have been omitted. Not all of these omissions are readily accounted for. Senior has plausibly suggested that some are excluded because of the negative light they cast on the crowd—especially when "the crowds "crowd" Jesus". He adds that two more may have been omitted on account of their reference to the idea of the Messianic Secret.

The above observations are probably correct, but to them one might append yet another—Matthew’s tendency to stylize and simplify the actors in his gospel. This has been recognized with respect to the Jewish leaders, and this stylization is very much

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99 It has been suggested, e.g. by J. Gnoka, Die Verstockung Israels: Isaias 6, 9-10 in der Theologie der Synoptiker, STANT 3 (München: Kosel-Verlag, 1961) 101 #57 that λαός sometimes refers to the crowds in Matthew. This question will be taken up below.


103 Donald Senior, Passion, 150 #2.

104 The phrase is Struthers Malbon’s, "Disciples" 120. Senior (Passion 150 #2) cites Mk 2:4; 3:9; 3:20; 5:21; 5:24; 5:31; 9:25 in this respect. Cf. Allen, St. Matthew, who observes that Matthew omits "especially statements of the thronging of the multitudes and the inconvenience caused by it" (xviii).

105 Senior (Passion, 150#2) cites 7:17 and 7:33.

106 This is so much the case that Kingsbury, (Story, 13, 17) has no qualms about treating the Jewish leaders, or the disciples for that matter, "as a single character". For a helpful list showing the changes Matthew has wrought in his depiction of the Jewish leaders, see Paul Winter, On the Trial of Jesus, 2nd ed. rev. and ed. T. A. Burkill and G. Vermes, SJ I (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972) 171-173. Particularly vivid is the frequency with which Matthew has introduced the Pharisees. Yet if Van Tilborg is correct about the simplification of the portrayal of the leaders in Matthew, this represents, quite literally, a nominal distinction. He concludes (Leaders, 6) that Mt did not wish to create any distinction between the various groups." The Pharisees, Sadducees, scribes, high priests and elders "are all equally representations of the one Israel." (Leaders, 1). See too, Walker’s remarks on the lack of
evident in his representation of the disciples as well. Not only are they in some measure idealized,\footnote{On the idealization of the disciples see William Wrede, Das Messiasgeheimnis in der Evangelien: Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums. Dritte, unveränderte Auflage (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [1901] 1963) 157-160; Strecker, Weg 193ff.; Frankemöller, Jahneweb und Kirche Christi. München: Verlag Aschendorff, 1974, 9242) who cites Walker with approval, and especially Hummel (Auseinandersetzung, 20 and his survey 12-22). Although he does not go so far as Walker he maintains that "der Gegensatz zwischen Kirche und Judentum ist bei Matthäus so gross geworden, daß die Unterschiede innerhalb des letzteren nicht mehr scharf in den Blick kommen." (italics his).} they are, like the Jewish leaders, endued by Matthew with various characteristic traits. Two of the most distinctive of such traits are διδακτορική and understanding,\footnote{On διδακτορική cf. Mt 8:26; 14:31; 16:8; 17:20 and the Q passage Mt 6:30/Lk 12:28. See too Mt's use of διδακτορική 14:31; 28:17, the only occurrences in the NT. For a detailed discussion see Gerhard Barth, "Glaube und Zweifel in den synoptischen Evangelien" ZTK 72 (1975) 269-292, 282-290; and "Matthew's Understanding of the Law" in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, NTL, tr. Percy Scott (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963) hereafter TIM, 58-164, 118-21 and "διδακτορική κτλ" EWNT II col. 1237-38; Jean Zumstein, La Condition du Croyant dans L'Évangile selon Matthieu OBO 16 (Fribourg: Ed. Universitaires, 1977) 37-9.} although as Zumstein has found, many of their other actions are also formalized.\footnote{Zumstein, (Condition, 45) concludes his discussion of the disciples with the remark "La tendance [est] de la description et la stylisation plutôt que l'historicisation" (45). He goes on to add: "Plus fondamentalement, à chaque forme littéraire correspond une fonction particulière des disciples. Dans les récits de controverses, ils sont accusés par la synagogue et défendus par Jésus. Dans les grands discours, ils sont les auditeurs privilégiés et compréhensifs du didascalie eschatologique. Dans les débats d'école et les récits de miracles, c'est leur destinée comme telle qui est abordée. Mais au-delà de cette pluralité de perspectives, une constante se dessine". As will be seen in the course of the following analysis, the depiction of the crowds is not quite so highly refined.}

The crowd in Matthew has undergone a similar treatment. C.H. Turner, for instance, has described Matthew's portrayal of the crowds as "vague" and

\begin{quote}
 distinction Matthew makes between the Pharisees and Sadducees. For him, the expression "ist ein literarischer Begriff mit rein literarischer Funktion, der innerhalb des Evangeliums die Einheit des 'geschichtlichen' Israel darzustellen hat" (Rolf Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 16. Cf. Frankemöller, Jahneweb und Kirche Christi. München: Verlag Aschendorff, 1974, 9242) who cites Walker with approval, and especially Hummel (Auseinandersetzung, 20 and his survey 12-22). Although he does not go so far as Walker he maintains that "der Gegensatz zwischen Kirche und Judentum ist bei Matthäus so gross geworden, daß die Unterschiede innerhalb des letzteren nicht mehr scharf in den Blick kommen." (italics his).
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The stylization can be seen in the above simplification; the Jewish leaders without exception form a monolithic whole opposed to Jesus, and are represented as such from the very outset (see Strecker, Weg 139). Van Tilborg rightly sees in them an "antithesis" to Jesus' disciples (Leaders 170) as can be readily seen in Matthew's formalization of chapter 23. This stylization is further developed by Matthew's use of various recurring motifs so as to characterize the Jewish leaders, or more often, the Pharisees as the representatives of the Jewish leaders. In the first gospel, ἐξοργίζονται (15:17// Mk 7:6; 22:18; 23:13, (14); 15, 23, 25, 27, 29), τύφλοι (23:17, 19, 26) or τυφλοί δήσιμοι (15:14; ~ 23:16, 23:24), πνσημοί (12:34 cf. 9:4; 22:18 γενέα 12:39, 45; 16:4) have all, with the exception of 15:7 been introduced by Matthew. (For a more exhaustive examination of these words [as well as φοινίκις] see Van Tilborg's careful study, Leaders 27-72, and for an overview Kingsbury, Story, 17-23) These epithets, when conjoined with the leaders' antipathy (as expressed say, in the Matthean Streitgespräche), present a unique and highly stylized portrait of the Jewish leaders.

For a transparent understanding of the Jewish leaders see below.

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"stereotyped". There is a certain measure of truth in this judgement—the crowds can be said to be vague because the Evangelist has omitted much of the concrete detail in Mark which palpably depicts the crowds qua crowds. In Matthew, virtually no reference is made to crowds forming (Mk 9:25) or gathering (Mk 2:2; 4:1; 5:21; 8:1; cf. Mt. 13:2). Details about the crowds hindering or crowding Jesus have also been removed: as in their preventing access to Jesus (Mk 2:4), potentially crushing him (3:9), preventing him from eating (3:20), milling about Jesus (5:24, 27, 30, 31). Matthew has also omitted references to individuals in the crowd speaking (9:17), and excised a number of what might be described as "circumstantial" remarks made by the crowds in Mark (1:27; 9:26; 10:49). The result is a much more homogenized portrayal, one largely devoid of distinctive individual details. The crowd has become more of a literary creation which speaks and acts as a whole. It has a certain choric function, and in this respect bears one or two affinities to the chorus in Greek Tragedy.

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101 Compare however Mt 12:47 which is textually suspect: εἶπεν δὲ τις σὺντῷ Ἰδοὺ ἦ μήτερ σου καὶ οἱ ἄδελφοί σου εἶχαν ἑσπερείαν ζητοῦσιν σοι λαλήσας. vs. καὶ τῷ λακάνῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου Λακάνου τῷ Σκιάθου καὶ τῷ Χαλκίτου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθόλοχῳ τῷ Λυκανθόλοχῳ τῷ Αἰσχροκτόνῳ τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τῷ Διάκυρος τῷ Λυκανθό τῷ Σκιάθου τBYTESERIES ENTER HERE]
It has also become in C. H. Turner's word more "stereotyped", or perhaps better, more "stylized". As with the description of the disciples or Jewish leaders, certain conventions or characteristic traits are imputed to the crowds. They follow Jesus (4:25; 8:1; 12:15; 14:13; 19:2; 20:19), they marvel (9:33; 15:31), they are astonished (7:28; 22:33), they are beside themselves (12:33); they are afraid (9:8); they glorify God (9:8; 15:31); consider John the Baptist a prophet (14:5; 21:26) and Jesus to be a prophet (21:11; 21:46) or the Son of David (12:23; 14:5; 21:26; 21:46). In addition they are feared by the leaders of Israel (14:5; 21:26; 21:46).

These features prompt several observations. The first is that almost every one of these attributions is repeated over the course of the Gospel. The effect of this "conventionalization" is to give the crowds an overall consistency. Except in the passion narrative, they usually act in a consistent and predictable fashion. The crowds follow Jesus at 4:25 and still follow him at 20:29. The crowds are amazed at his teaching at 7:28 and amazed again at 22:33. The same can be said of the other features. Taken together they argue for a distinct role on the part of the crowds.

The distinctiveness of their role becomes even more apparent when it is recognized that many, if not most of the above attributions, are unique to the ῥήτοροι—interaction with the hero. Having said this, however, there are very considerable differences. Particularly in the tragedies of Aeschylus, the chorus was a major "actor" and was endowed with lines and actions far in excess of those of the ῥήτοροι. Again, particularly in Aeschylus, but also in Sophocles, the chorus was characterized with a perception or insight that (as shall become apparent) was far more incisive than that seen in the crowds. Still, the comparison is instructive. On the chorus in Greek tragedy see N.G.L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (eds.), The Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930) s.v. "Tragedy" #14 and passim, and Paulys Realencyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung hrg. Georg Wissowa (Stuttgart: Alfr. Druckmüller Verlag 1899 1958) III, 2 s.v. "Chor" esp. cols. 2385, 2387. For an example of the literary analysis of fictional crowds, see David Lodge, "Crowds and Power in the early Victorian Novel" in idem, After Bakhtin. Essays on Fiction and Criticism (London: Routledge, 1990) 100-15.

115 By "stylize" both here and above I mean "to conventionalize", The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (SOED) 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) whereby Matthew represents and repeats the groups in his gospel according to "conventions" ("method[s] of artistic treatment" - OED #9) which he himself provides.

116 The provenance of these particular verses will be considered in more detail later.

117 The exceptions are φόβος at 9:8 and ἔξωταμητα at 12:23. Yet even these verses relate closely to θυματίω and ἐξπλακό. On Matthew's penchant for repetition see Ernst von Dobschütz, Matthew as Rabbi and Catechist", in Stanton, Interpretation 19-29; 20-26, who sees in this phenomenon proof of Matthew's rabbinic and catechetical tendencies.

118 Minear ("Crowds" 35) has argued for a different crowd in the passion account. The inadequacy of this view will be demonstrated below.
at least in the form that these attributions are represented. In general, one would be able to identify them as the crowds merely from the traits that are ascribed to them. In this respect their treatment is in conformity with that which Matthew accords to the disciples or the Jewish leaders, even if it is more limited. It is this array of features to which Kingsbury refers when he says that the crowds are 'flat' characters. How is it then, that Clifton Black can describe them as 'round' characters? Simply because he, quite rightly, places more emphasis on the fact that the crowds change. Mary Doyle Springer, upon whom he relies for his judgments on literary character, observes that usually only major characters change, while minor characters remain constant. That the crowds change suggests that they have some of the 'roundness' associated with major characters, that is not found, for instance, in the depiction of the Jewish leaders.

But could it not be said that this represents a confusion of Matthew's literary presentation of the crowds with his historical presentation? It is obvious that his basic depiction of the crowds is determined by his tradition. Even if Matthew were not dependent on Mark, he could hardly have been unaware of the fact that the majority of

119 The two exceptions are θεαμάξω and ἐκκλήσω. For the moment άκολουθεώ and φοβέω will have to be bracketed, as will "Son of David" (though the children's use of Son of David in a non-appellative sense (21:15) may also make it an exception.) All three terms will be treated extensively below.

120 The crowds differ from both of the aforementioned groups in that virtually all their actions and sayings are stereotyped—something that can hardly be said of the disciples especially, nor of the Jewish leaders. This is perhaps why Kingsbury is so ready to categorize them as 'flat' characters. See his Story, 23.

It is also worth noting that Matthew's conventionalization of the crowds falls somewhere midway between that of the leaders and that of the disciples. As was mentioned above, Matthew's characterization of the leaders is largely by epithet. This is occasionally expanded (as at 15:14) into actions, but this is less typical. On the other hand, the characterization of the disciples as διδαχόμενοι, or as those with understanding is generally expressed in the gospel through a complex of events. The notion of διδαχόμενοι, for example, emerges out of entire episodes (the best examples being the Storm-Stilling and Walking-on the Water pericopae. On the former see Bornkamm's acclaimed essay "The Stilling of the Storm in Matthew", TIM 52-57, on the latter G. Barth "Glaube" 287-290), while as Luz has shown ("Disciples" 102-103) the theme of understanding is brought out through Jesus' teaching the disciples. That is to say, Matthew shows not only that the disciples understand, but how Jesus has brought them to understanding (cf. 16:5-12, 17:9-13). By comparison, the actions attributed to the crowds are far more simple. They are more like the epithets which describe the leaders—tags which immediately characterize the group under discussion. In this respect, the position of the crowds reflects their overall position in the Gospel somewhere between the disciples and the Jewish leaders.


122 Black, "Characterization", 619.

Jews had not become Christians, despite the popularity of Jesus. Since the tradition, and, therefore, the actions of the crowds were already predetermined, how can the crowds' depiction properly be construed as a literary one?

While there is no denying the historical substrate in Matthew's presentation of the crowds, it is not clear that it has, in every case, determined how Matthew characterizes the crowds.** Certainly, the crowds' great volte-face and betrayal of Jesus is presupposed by Matthew, yet like Mark he does not even comment on it. The crowds are warned about their leaders at 23:1 (// Mk 12:37b), and in the next reference to them at 26:47 (// Mk 14:33) they have come with Judas to arrest Jesus. Matthew, like Mark before him, appears to treat this change on the part of the crowds as one that does not really require an explanation, simply because it is already an historical datum.

The very clarity of this portrayal illumines one instance where ἄξιοι does not refer to the crowds per se, but to another distinct group mentioned in the pericope of the Ruler's Daughter (9:18-26) — καὶ ἴδων τοὺς αὐλητὰς καὶ τὸν ἄξιον θερόμενον (9:23). Several factors prompt this observation. First, the crowds as such normally follow Jesus. In this instance, the crowd which is mentioned is already there. Second, the ἄξιοι is conjoined specifically with flute players, which makes it appear as if they are a special group.** Finally, in this account Matthew has excised three of Mark's references to the crowds (5:24, 27, 31) so that only Jesus and his disciples follow the leader (9:19). All this makes it clear that Matthew has deliberately distinguished the two groups.**

124 A related example from Greek tragedy might be helpful here. Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides all wrote plays about Electra and her brother Orestes. The plot of each play is very similar, as the story is based on an established mythical tradition originating with Homer. The differences in the plays occur largely in the characterization, and, interestingly, in how each playwright reacts to the work of his predecessor(s). **
125 Mark has one intervening reference to the crowd at 12:41 in the pericope of the widow's offering, a pericope omitted by Matthew.
127 Thompson, "Reflections" 386#52. Also noteworthy is Matthew's consistent designation of the group in the singular 9:23, 25, no parallels.
128 If this argument is valid it would help to further unify Matthew's conception. Lohmeyer says of the crowd that "Die Zahl der ἄξιοι kann so groß sein, daß Jesus sich vor ihnen in ein Boot rettet (13:3) oder so klein wie die Schar die Klagefrauen bei einem Todesfall." Mathäus 77 #1. With this incident removed the ἄξιοι appear as a more uniformly large group. The smallest group Matthew
Conclusion

To sum up, uniformity and stylization are the key features of Matthew's portrayal of the crowd. In comparison with Mark and Luke, Matthew has unified the conception. Eschewing other words, he uses only ὄχλος (singular or plural indifferently) to refer to the crowd. This uniformity has been further emphasized and complemented by his stylizing of the crowds' characteristics. This has allowed them to emerge as a distinct and definite group within the fabric of his gospel, analogous in some ways to the disciples and Jewish leaders. In short, he has both clarified and simplified the image of the crowd.

2. THE ETHNIC CHARACTER OF THE CROWDS

The question of the ethnic composition of the ὄχλοι is not readily answered. It is certainly evident from passages like 4:25 and 9:33 that at least some of the crowds are Jewish.29 What is disputed is whether it also contained, in Matthew's eyes, a significant proportion of Gentiles. There are several passages which might lend themselves to such an interpretation.

Matthew's remark about how Jesus' fame ἀπήλθεν ... εἰς ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν (4:24) might be interpreted in such a light.30 What Matthew means by his reference to Syria has long been debated. If it refers to a limited area in immediate propinquity to Israel, the Gentile population would be far less significant than if it refers to the Roman province of Syria.

Lagrange, among others,31 favours the first of these alternatives. He argues

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29 Donaldson, Mountain, 255 #50 takes the reference to οἱ γραμματεῖς συνετῶν at 7:29 as evidence of the Jewish character of the crowd. This is true, but the gospel also gives indications of gentiles figuring amongst the crowds. What is required in this examination, therefore, is not simply an enumeration of the various passages, but an explanation of Matthew's underlying rationale. This is undertaken below.

30 This phrase is found only in Matthew, and Syria is only mentioned here in his gospel.

that the word is used in "un sens juif pour signifier un pays qui n'était pas le pays d'Israël, sans être très éloigné" suggesting "les régions au sud de l'Herman". 132 To substantiate this view he appeals to the Mishnah, 133 while others, Lagrange excepted, have interpreted a passage in Josephus the same way. 134

On the other hand, many take Syria to refer, as it usually does in the New Testament (cf. Lk 2:2; Gal. 1:21; Acts 15:23; 15:41; 18:18), to the Roman province of Syria. 135 Needless to say, this area was largely gentile, although the major cities had significant Jewish populations. 136 Yet even if, as seems likely, this position is to be preferred, it does not necessarily suggest that Jesus ever entered Syria. Verse 24 only refers to the fame of Jesus (η ἡδονή αὐτοῦ). 137 Nor does this necessarily imply that

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132 Lagrange, Matthäiu, 72.

133 Lagrange, 72 refers to Abodah Zarah 1:8. Part of the passage runs: "None may hire houses to them [sc. Gentiles] in the land of Israel or, needless to say, fields; in Syria houses may be hired to them but not fields; while outside the land houses may be sold and fields, hired to them." This is the view of R. Judah while R. Jose opines, "... and in Syria houses may be sold and fields hired to them ...". For further references in the Mishnah pertaining to Syria see W.D. Davies, The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount (Cambridge: University Press, 1964) (hereafter SSM) 327 #3.

134 Notably McNeile, Klostermann and Schmid as in note 52 above. The passage from Josephus is De bello Judaico 7:3:3: "The Jewish race, ... is particularly numerous in Syria, where intermingling is due to the proximity of the two countries."


136 Leonhard Goppelt, Christenium und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert. Ein Aufruf der Urgeschichte der Kirche BFChTh 2 Reihe 55 (Göttersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1954) 176ff. On the background and geography of the province see Balz Ἰστορία cols. 746,7. Worth noting at this point is that Matthew's mention of Syria, and its resident urban Jewish population have made it commonplace to regard Syria as the area where Matthew's gospel originated: "Die meisten Forscher vermuten ... daß das Mt in Antiocha oder allgemein in Syrien geschrieben sei". W.G. Kümmel, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, 17.Auflage (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1973) 90. J. Meier has recently made a particularly strong case for Antioch in R. E. Brown and J. P. Meier, Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity (New York: Paulist Press, 1983) 18-27. For other views which have also appeared recently see: H. Dixon Slingerland, The Transjordanian Origin of St. Matthew's Gospel JSNT 3 (1979) 18-28 and B.T. Viviano, "Where was the Gospel According to St. Matthew Written?" CBQ 41 (1979) 533-46. If the above surmise is correct, the reference to Syria may well be a signature (analogous to 13:52) and would thus explain its inclusion at 4:24 (though one might have expected them to have "followed" Jesus as at 4:25).

137 This is the position of Gninka, Matthäusevangelium, 1108 and Heinrich Kasting, Die Anfänge der Urchristlichen Mission: Eine historische Untersuchung BevTh 55 (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1969) 112.
non-Jewish crowds came from Syria,\textsuperscript{138} although this could be inferred by the impersonal προσήνεγκαν (24b), depending on how closely one connects the two sentences. In short, the reference to Syria leaves the possibility of gentile crowds open, and not much more.

The reference to the Decapolis at 4:25 is perhaps a little clearer: κοινοὶ Ἱδαοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐξόρισαν εἰς τὸν ἱερὸν τοῦ ναῆ τοῦ Δεκαπόλεως κτλ.\textsuperscript{139} The Decapolis was a group of Greek cities situated roughly south and east of Galilee. Concerning the cities making up the region Pliny observes that "not all writers, keep to the same towns in the list; most however include Damascus ... Philadelphia, Raphana ... Scythopolis ... Gadara ... Hippo ... Dion, Pella ... Galasa, Canatha".\textsuperscript{140} Though these cities did have strong Jewish minorities, their populace was predominantly pagan.\textsuperscript{141} This could certainly suggest a composite crowd. What is more, Matthew indicates that they followed Jesus (4:25). Here then it is quite possible that Matthew includes gentiles among the crowds.\textsuperscript{142}

A further passage which might suggest a gentile ὀχλὸι is 15:31 where the crowds glorify the "God of Israel".\textsuperscript{143} Many see this expression as pointing to a gentile audience,\textsuperscript{144} not least because Jesus has just finished healing the daughter of a

\textsuperscript{138} Donaldson, \textit{Mountain}, 114 and Luz, \textit{Matthew} 1-7, 206 #13 for instance, both regard the crowds as Jewish.

\textsuperscript{139} This is the only reference to the Decapolis in Matthew. Schille, "Δεκαπόλεως" \textit{EWNT} I cols. 681-2, is right in regarding it as dependent on Mk. 3:8; yet this does not in itself explain why Matthew has retained it, since he has otherwise omitted Mark's references to Tyre, Sidon and Idumea.

\textsuperscript{140} Pliny \textit{Natural History} V:74 Josephus is apparently one of those authors not keeping to the list since he implicitly excludes Damascus in describing Scythopolis as the largest city of Decapolis (BJ III 446). For a detailed analysis of each of these cities see Emil Schürer, \textit{The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ} (175 B.C. - A.D. 135) Rev.; ed. G. Vermes et al. Vol. II (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1979) 127-154. See too D. C. Pellett, 'Decapolis' \textit{IDB} I s.v. and S. Thomas Parker, "The Decapolis Reviewed", \textit{JBL} 94 (1975) 437-441.

\textsuperscript{141} Schürer, \textit{History}, II 159.

\textsuperscript{142} Trilling, \textit{Wahrheit} 135 holds that this possibility cannot be categorically denied. See, however, the intriguing argument by Lohfink ("Bergpredigt", 273-76), who argues "offenbar geht es Matthäus gar nicht so sehr um die gegenwärtige Verteilung der Bevölkerung, sondern um das Israel der Väter" (275). So too, Heinz Giesen, "Jesu Krankenheilungen im Verständnis des Matthäusevangeliums" in Ludger Schenke (ed.), \textit{Studien zum Matthäusevangelium}, (Stuttgart: KBW, 1988), 79-106, 92-97. This view has much to commend it.

\textsuperscript{143} The phrase is found only in the first gospel. Compare Mark's healing account 7:31-37.

Canaanite (15:21-28), and may still be in gentile territory. These arguments, however, are not as weighty as they appear. The expression "God of Israel" occurs not infrequently in the Psalms and may simply reflect Matthew’s penchant for formal language. Moreover, Matthew’s presentation of Jesus’ geographical itinerary is so vague it cannot really be said to point definitely to either gentile or Jewish territory. As to the healing of the Canaanite’s daughter, it can just as readily be argued that her healing was exceptional (15:24) and a product of her faith (15:28). Hence it has to be said that this passage does not allow for a definite solution either way.

As the examination of the above passages has not presented any decisive answers, the question might productively be approached from a different position. One promising avenue would be to consider the remarks Jesus makes in the first gospel about his ministry and that of his disciples. If a consistent position emerges one would be able to decide if the crowds, nominally at least, were regarded as mixed or Jewish.

A quick overview reveals that, from a narrative standpoint at least, an apparently consistent picture does emerge. At 10:5f. Jesus adjures his disciples—Εἰς ὅδον ἐθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθητε, καὶ εἰς πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν μὴ εἰσέλθητε πορεύεσθε δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἄπολωλότα οἶκον Ἰσραήλ. Later in the account of the healing of the Canaanite’s daughter, Jesus makes a similar remark about his own mission (15:24)—οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἄπολωλότα οἶκον Ἰσραήλ. The charge to the disciples, however, is apparently superseded in the Final

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Kohlhammer Verlag, 1956) 29 and Davies, SS M quoting Bacon “probably” 328. Further references in Donaldson, Mountain, #42, pp. 261-262.

145 The Ἀδεν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τής Γαλαλαίας (15:29) could suggest the eastern, gentile side of the Sea of Galilee.


147 The phrase cited in note 145 above could apply equally well to the Jewish side of the Sea of Galilee. The vague use of μεταβόθαι ἐκεῖθεν at 11:1 and 12:9 would seem to support Trilling’s contention that “der Evangelist ein geringes Interesse an geographischen Einzelheiten hat” (Wahre, 131), as does the fact that Donaldson can argue that Jesus’ itinerary has been refashioned (against Mark) so that Jesus actually avoids gentile territory! Donaldson, Mountain, #42, pp. 261-262. Others who consider Jesus to be in Jewish territory include Bonnard, Matthieu, 234; Grundmann, Matthäus, 378; Lagrange, Matthieu, 311; Alfred Plummer, An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew (London: Elliot Stock, 1909) 218, and implicitly, Thomas J. Ryan, “Matthew 15:29-31: An Overlooked Summary” Horizons 5 (1978) 31-42. For the possible origin of 10:6 see Polag, Fragmenta Q: Texthefte zur Logienquelle (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1979) 45 #20.


One gets the impression from the directives that two different phases of ministry are being described—one that depicts the earthly ministry of Jesus and his disciples, and one the ministry of the disciples after Jesus' resurrection.

Not surprisingly, there is a broad spectrum of opinion concerning the origins of the first two passages especially. A number of scholars regard one, or both, as dominical utterances. Jeremias has given considerable support to this view in his claim to have found traces of Aramaic underlying the Greek; cf. Verheissung 16-17, 22-23. Others who support this view include G. Bornkamm, "Christus und die Welt in der urchristlichen Botschaft" in Das Ende des Gesetzes: Paulusstudien, (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1952) 157-172 (159) (cf. 10:5f.); David Bosch, Die Heidenmission in der Zukunftschau Jesu ATANT 36, (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959) 84-86; W. G. Kämmel, Verheissung und Erfüllung: Untersuchungen zur eschatologischen Verkündigung Jesu, 3. Auf. ATANT (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1956) 77-78 (15:24 secondary to 10:6) and with reservations—Wilfred Knox, The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels Vol. II, St. Luke and St. Matthew, ed. H. Chadwick (Cambridge: University Press, 1957) 51 and T. W. Manson, Sayings 201.

Others situate these passages in the context of early Palestinian Jewish Christianity, where these passages arose out of the whole discussion of whether a gentile mission should be countenanced or not. Bultmann, (HST 38,155) is the classic propounder of this view. See in addition Ferdinand Hahn, Der Verständnis der Mission im neuen Testament, 2 Auf. WMANT 13 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1965) 44; Martin Hengel, "Die Ursprünge der christlichen Mission" NTS 18 (1971) 15-38. 36.

A third group of opinion holds that these passages were composed by Matthew himself. Kasting, Mission, 110 for instance, argues that Jeremias' alleged Aramaicisms can be explained just as well in light of Septuagintal Greek. Graham Stanton has, in addition, lately pointed out the Matthean characteristics of these verses, arguing that they represent Matthew's "creative interpretation" of Mark. (G. Stanton, "Matthew as a Creative Interpreter of the Sayings of Jesus" in Das Evangelium und die Evangelien, hrsg. P. Stuhlmacher WUNT 28 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1983) (273-287) (276-277). See in addition Frankemöller, Jahrhundert 137-138, and F. W. Beare, "The Mission of the Disciples and the Mission Charge: Matthew 10 and Parallels" JBL 89 (1970) (1-13) 9. (Hooker, "Prohibition", notes that this represents a change from a previous position where he regarded these sayings as traditional 363 #3.)

Of these alternatives the last appears the most promising. Reasons for dismissing the second alternative will be given below. As to the first, one has to ask why so many Mattheanisms occur in the reputed ipissima vox Jesu. Acceptance of the last position explains them, and moreover, does not necessarily preclude an underlying awareness of tradition on Matthew's part. As Dodd has observed (C.H. Dodd, History and the Gospel, rev. ed., (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), 1964, 131) whether or not the remarks go back to Jesus, they certainly conformed to his practice. Verses 10:5f and 15:24 might well reflect Matthew's knowledge of this tradition, and his conscious integration of it into his gospel. See too, Davies, SSM 330, though he rejects the invention of these passages by Matthew.
Yet do the crowds come within the purview of these directives? Matthew suggests that they do. This is clear from his description of the crowds at 9:36 (11 Mk 6:34) as πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα, an ascription that relates thematically with τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολολοῦτα οἶκου Ἰσραήλ. It is true, of course, that all these passages could be unrelated traditional λόγια that Matthew has merely passed on. What makes it clear that this is not the case is the fact that he has expressly related them at 9:36 and 10:5. He has removed 9:36 from its Markan sequence (after the mission and immediately prior to the feeding of the five thousand) and placed it immediately before the summoning of the Twelve and the mission account (10:1ff.). The first command the disciples receive after they have been summoned (10:1-4) is to go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (10:5ff.). The connection can hardly be fortuitous, and suggests that even if the verses are traditional, Matthew intended them to inform


With respect to οἶκον Ἰσραήλ, Jeremias (Verheissung 23 #89) rightly argues that it is not a partitive genitive but an epexegetical one referring to all of Israel. So too, Poul Nepper-Christensen (Das Matthäusevangelium: Ein judenchristliches Evangelium?" ATD 1 (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget 1, 1958) 181f.) who correctly argues against Cullmann (Petrus: Jünger-Apostel-Märtyrer: Das historische und das theologische Petrusproblem (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1952) 213) that "Nachs deuten hierin an, daß eine näher begrenzte Gruppe gemeint ist, sondern der ganze Zusammenhang legt uns die Annahme nahe, daß es sich hier um eine allgemeine Kennzeichnung Israels handelt" (cf. 9:56; 181-181). Though there is an implicit condemnation of the leaders here (Tooley, "Shepherd" 20) the leaders of the people are no less lost - cf. Mt. 15:14 (M).

151 The need of the crowd (which Matthew had intensified by the inclusion of ἔργον κατὰ ἑρμηνευόντος) is further emphasized in the passage's conjunction with the "Great Harvest" λόγιον (9:37-8). Matthew has taken the passage from Q (Lk 10:2f., so D. Lührmann, Die Redaktion der Logienquelle, WMANT 33, (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1969) 59f., so that here the urgent need of ἑρμηνευόντος is (unlike Luke) expressly related to the crowds. Matthew does follow Luke's sequence in placing this pericope just before the Mission Charge, and thus uses the passage as a rationale for the mission (Lührmann, Redaktion, 60). The placement of the pericope here by Matthew can be presupposed, both if it is regarded as an isolated saying, or if it is considered Matthean. Even if, as Schürmann (Heinz Schürmann, "Mt 10, 5b-6 und die Vorgeschichte des synoptischen Aussendungsberichtes" in Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den synoptischen Evangelien: Beiträge (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1967) (137-149) 148) maintains, 10:5b-6 functioned as the introduction to Luke 10:8-11f (which seems less likely than the above positions), this would still not fundamentally affect the above correlation since Matthew's activity is sufficiently evident with respect to 9:36. Naturally, if Matthew created 10:5ff. as is suggested above, then he is responsible for the placement of both 9:36 and 10:5f.
each other. This leads to the tentative conclusion that Matthew regards the ministry of
Jesus and his disciples as one that is aimed at Israel, and therefore at Jewish crowds.\footnote{The ὅχλος and οἶκος Ἰσραήλ are not to be equated. Nor does this identification absolutely preclude the presence of gentiles among the ὅχλος. It simply indicates that the avowed intention of Jesus and his disciples is to go only to Jews (exceptions 8:5-13; 15:21-28 notwithstanding), and thus it might be reasonably expected that the ὅχλος would normally be comprised of Jews.}

It must be stressed, however, that such a conclusion is highly tentative, since it depends on a narrative reading of 10:5f.; 15:24 and 28:19. That is to say, it suggests different phases of Jesus' and the disciples' ministry—one to the Jews and one to the nations. Yet this reading of the verses could be entirely fortuitous, and if it is, the above judgement about the crowds' ethnic character need not necessarily apply. And the problem with a narrative approach is that it cannot tell us any more, since it is bound to the nominal time-frame of the Gospel. For this reason our analysis will have to be expanded so that it can consider the significance of these verses within Matthew's community.\footnote{This will furnish the "rationale" mentioned above. On the limitations of narrative reading see Daniel Patte's remarks (The Gospel According to Matthew: A Structural Commentary on Matthew's Faith (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 200 #12.}

2a. Particularism and Universalism in Matthew's Community

In general, the tension between 10:5f. and 15:24 on the one hand, and 28:19 on the other, has been explained in two ways. One solution has been to attribute the opposing views to opposing groups or traditions within Matthew's Church. The other has been to reconcile the antithetical positions within the context of Heilsgeschichte.\footnote{Trilling presents three slightly different alternatives in Wahre 101-102. As should become apparent, these above two solutions are at variance with each other in their approach. The first sets out to explain the situation of the community, the second, the product of the community—the Gospel.}

The influential essay by Ernst Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology", takes the first approach.\footnote{E. Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology" in New Testament Questions of Today, tr. W. J. Montague (London: SCM, 1969) 82-107.} He argues that the particularist tendencies in Matthew represent the stance of the Jewish Christians. This group had restricted its mission to the house of Israel, secure in the knowledge that their success would hasten the eschatological ingathering of the gentiles on Mount Zion. They resisted the gentile
mission because any attempt to convert the gentiles before the end-time would be "an arrogant invasion of a right God has reserved for himself".\textsuperscript{157} The universalist position, by contrast, was advocated by the hellenizing enthusiasts. They concluded that their spiritual endowments marked the advent of the end-time and indicated that God had thereby begun the gentile mission.

The difficulty with this reconstruction is that it explains the divergent views well enough, but not Matthew's inclusion of both. Why would he include two such divergent—and apparently normative—views in one gospel? Given the opposition between the two it would be strange to find an adherent of either position giving such prominence—and authority—to the view of his opponent. As Schuyler Brown succinctly remarks, "Such an explanation ... is ... quite incredible".\textsuperscript{158}

In a triad of essays,\textsuperscript{159} Brown has made his own attempt to characterize Matthew's community. Like Käsemann, he attributes the particularist and universalist elements to different groups, but also to different historical situations. The particularist standpoint is the view that prevailed in the Jewish Christian community in Palestine prior to the Jewish War. The community engaged only in a mission to Jews, though it did recognize the existence of a separate mission to the gentiles.\textsuperscript{160} This situation changed markedly after the war when the community was forced into a gentile milieu, and more importantly, began to experience increasing persecution from post-war Pharisaism.\textsuperscript{161}

It was this change of circumstances that led to the incorporation of universalist features into the community, and ultimately into the gospel. The editor had universalist

\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., 88.


\textsuperscript{159} In addition to the essay cited above, see "The Mission to Israel in Matthew's Central Section (Mt 9:35-11:1)", \textit{ZNW} 69 (1978) 73-90 and "The Matthean Community and the Gentile Mission", \textit{NT} 22 (1980) 193-221.

\textsuperscript{160} Brown "Community", 208, 212, 214, 221 and "Mission" 89-90. Brown sees a reference to a separate Gentile mission at 10:18; the phrase εἰς μητριόν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐβραίοις (v.18) implies a separate mission for Jews and Gentiles, and as far as the Central Section is concerned, the responsibility of Matthew's community is strictly limited to the former" (90).

\textsuperscript{161} "Community", 214-217.
persuasions, but was keenly aware of the division in his community. The mission charge at the end of the gospel represents his attempt to move the particularist element of his community to an acceptance of one, universal, mission.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, 217-218, 221.} He does this by first presenting the particularist position in the "central section" (9:35-11:1)\footnote{Like Hahn ("Denn zu deutlich ist in c.10 die historische Situation transparent gemacht für die Mission der Jünger in der Zeit nach Jesu Auferstehung, wie ja alle großen Reden des Evangelium unmittelbar der Gemeinde gelten" \textit{Mission} 108), Brown regards the entire "Central Section" as transparent. What is more, he claims that the entire section must also be regarded as particularist. Not only are there no explicit references to the gentile mission, but the mission to Israel is left open-ended—a fact which illustrates that it was still going on. See "Mission" 90 and \textit{passim}, and "Two-fold" 29.} and then moving to a \textit{deus ex machina} presentation of the universalist position at the gospel's very end.\footnote{"Two-fold" 9-32, and "Community" 217-218, 221.} Though somewhat contradictory,\footnote{The evangelist's own peacemaking intention is reflected in the fact that he preferred to accept a contradiction rather than polemicize against the position with which he disagreed.". "Two-fold" 30 #32.} Matthew intended his presentation of both points of view to bring about an acceptance of one universal mission, and thereby to bring about a healing of the rift in his community.\footnote{"Community" 217-218 and "Two-fold" 31.}

Brown's position is well articulated and carefully worked out. Nonetheless, it fails to take cognizance of several decisive features. One of these is the gentile component of the gospel. Brown at one point maintains that Matthew's editorial and redactional activity is responsible for the "re-judaizing" of Mark's Gospel.\footnote{"Two-fold" 26-28. He states that "the same 'rejudaizing' effect that results from the insertion of special Matthean tradition is achieved elsewhere by Matthew's own redactional work" (26). He lists a number of these features pp. 26-28, and sees, in addition, the same redactional work in Q material (27) and Matthew's own special tradition (28).} Yet he fails to treat the gentile features of the first gospel. He does touch on passages which he sees as relating to the gentile mission (such as 2:1-13 and 8:5-13) but claims "these episodes can only have a subsidiary role, since they occur before the subject of the mission has been explicitly raised."\footnote{"Two-fold" 31 cf. "Community"; "all references to the gentile mission prior to the climactic scene are in the form of indirect or veiled allusions" (218).} These features, and those he does not mention, can hardly be described as subsidiary. As Davies observes, the entire gospel is "set by Matthew within a framework which suggests not 'particularism' but 'universalism'." He goes on to add that "there is no justification for regarding these last [sc. the
'universalist' utterances] as less representative of Matthew and his Church than the former" [the particularist point of view].\(^\text{169}\) Can Brown therefore rightly describe them as subsidiary? They would hardly seem so to a community that would be especially sensitive to them.\(^\text{170}\)

Brown is also faced with the related issue of the provenance of the gospel's gentile features. If, as he maintains, Matthew was deliberately "re-judaizing" his sources, where did the gentile elements\(^\text{171}\) originate, and why were they included? Brown is forced into the dubious position of having Matthew re-judaize" with one hand and "de-judaize" with the other—a position many would find insupportable.\(^\text{172}\)

His analysis also founders on the question of transparency. He rightly notes how each of the disciples' actions in the "Central Section" is intentionally made to correspond to actions of Jesus.\(^\text{173}\) One such action however is conspicuously absent. While Jesus himself teaches in the "Central Section" (9:35; 11:1) he does not enjoin the disciples (and hence the community) to teach (διδάσκετε) until 28:19.\(^\text{174}\) If this discourse is to be taken as a mission directive in its own right for the disciples and the community, how is it that the vital teaching function is not granted them? This

\(^{169}\) SSM 327. Cf. Kümmel's remarks: "die Haltung des Matthäus keinesweges partikularistisch ist ... Matthäus vielmehr die Botschaft Jesu allen Völkern gilt". Einleitung 86 and the list of passages supporting his contention.

\(^{170}\) Brown's argument is rendered even more suspect by the pervasiveness of the gentile features, and more significantly, the extent to which they are rooted in the Gospel. Far from being simply a veneer readily separable from the underlying observant Jewish-Christian material, the gentile orientation permeates the gospel. It figures in, among other things, the Reflexionszitate (12:18/21; 4:15), the parables (13:38, 21:43, 25:32), the apocalyptic discourse (24:14), healings (15:28), the crucifixion account (27:54), as well as the gospel's opening verse (1:1). For additional passages cf. Davies, SSM 327-329 and Kümmel, Einleitung 86.


\(^{172}\) Abel for instance cites J. P. Brown in saying that such an editor would be "a monster, at once the most pro-Jewish and pro-Gentile of the Evangelists" in E. Abel, "Who Wrote Matthew" NTS 17 (1970-71) 138-152, 142. Abel himself argues for two editors, one Jewish and one gentile.


\(^{174}\) J. Meier, Law, 28 #9 and the related article by Meier, "Salvation-History in Matthew: In search of a Starting Point" CBQ 37 (1975) 203-215, 204-205 and note 4.
omission, of itself, makes it doubtful whether the "Central Section" can in fact be regarded as a separate injunction within the particularist community. Instead, its subordination to 28:19 indicates that it has to be interpreted in light of the Great Commission.

For this reason and those cited above, Brown's analysis must be considered inadequate. This is not to suggest that Matthew's community has not been influenced at one point by factors such as he delineates, but this would appear to have been in a time largely past. The very abundance of gentile features, for instance, points to a time where the community was well past the particularist-universalist controversy, with the particularist elements now a product of Matthew's conscious historicizing.

In contradiction to Brown's and Kasemann's approaches, the so-called *heilsgeschichtlich* approach takes a different tack. It attempts to reconcile the contrary injunctions by appealing to salvation-history. It argues that the particularist directives applied only to the time of Jesus' earthly ministry. The situation changed when the people of Israel, by giving Jesus over to be crucified (27:25), relinquished their status as the chosen people of God. Jesus' death and resurrection then ushered in a new period of salvation history where the mission was extended to πάντα τὰ

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175 Verse 11:1 also suggests a non-Jewish mission on the part of Matthew's Community. Jesus is described as going to "their" cities (ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν). If the mission envisaged was solely one to Israel, the εἰς Ἰσραήλ would be completely unnecessary.


177 Strecker, ("Concept" 72 cf. 73) puts this succinctly, if he overstates his case: "the exclusiveness of the mission to Israel ... finds no explanation in the situation of the redactor, but rather corresponds to his historical reflection: only for Jesus, and thus for the disciples in the lifetime of Jesus, is this restriction valid". See too Stanton, "Creative", 276.

This position offers a more adequate account of the gentile and Jewish components of the gospel. It is not without significance, for instance, that this view is held by those who still regard Matthew's community as being *intra muros* with the Jewish community, by those who situate it in a gentile Christian milieu, and by those who place it somewhere between these positions. In addition, it has the advantage of reconciling more than merely the mission directives. Meier, for one, argues that the restrictions of the law also fall away with the advent of the new age. If this is the case, some of the other inherent contradictions in the gospel are eased considerably.

It remains to be asked why Matthew would have adopted such an approach. The most satisfactory response is that Matthew's intention is largely apologetic. As Moule has suggested, it furnishes a response to the Jewish question "What business have you going out to the Gentiles?" (answer—the Lord, it is true, kept carefully within..."

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179 The word "extended" is used deliberately. Some, (such as Hare and Harrington, "Make Disciples of All the Gentiles (Mt 28:19)" *CBQ* 37 (1975) 359-369) have argued that the Jews are no longer included in the missionary efforts of Matthew's community. It is preferable however to include the Jews among the ἐξων of 28:19. In this respect see John Meier, "Nations or Gentiles in Matthew 28:19?" *CBQ* 39 (1977) 94-102, and Johannes Friedrich, *Gott im Bruder? Eine methodkritische Untersuchung von Redaktion, Überlieferung und Traditionen in Mt 25, 31-46*, CTM 7 (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1977) 254 and Teil II 115. For an extensive listing of those who support this view see Teil II 115, #43.


182 G. Bornkamm, "The Risen Lord" 313, 315. For a thorough overview of the possible relationships between Matthew's church and Judaism see Stanton, "Origin", 1910-1921 and also his "The Gospel of Matthew and Judaism" *BJRL* 66 (1984) 264-284. Like Stanton, I consider the "mediating" position ("Matthew's Community is extra-muros yet still defining itself over against Judaism" "Origin" 1921,1914) as being the most satisfactory reconciliation of the Jewish and gentile components of the gospel. It meshes particularly well with the salvation-historical viewpoint because both are, in essence, mediating positions.

Tagawa, "People" has faulted the *heilsgeschichtlich* approach on the ground that it could only be written from "the standpoint of the Gentile church" (156) since he does not see how a person from a Jewish tradition could acknowledge a time of the gentile church (156 #2). Yet the fact that this approach is supported virtually across the spectrum of opinion suggests that his position is unfounded. (See, for example, Stendahl's comments in K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. with a new introduction (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1954, 1968) xiii.)


Israel during his own ministry, and directed his disciples accordingly; but his long-term sayings and his commission were universalist ...". Functionally, therefore, it not only helps to define the stance of the community vis-à-vis the Jews, but situates them in relation to each other.

When the above features are taken together, the heilsgeschichtlich explanation is ultimately more adequate. For one, unlike Brown's and Käsemann's views it actually reconciles the contradiction in the gospel. Käsemann, and Brown to a lesser degree, both emerge with a contradiction in one form or another. This holds too for the whole question of the Jewish/gentile features. While Brown is forced to skirt about the issue, the salvation-historical approach allows considerable scope for resolving the whole problem—all the more if the "mediating" position is assumed. And finally, the interrelation between this approach and Matthew's historicizing and apologetic results in a consistent and coherent account of some of the leading features in the gospel. For these reasons it is to be preferred.

Conclusion

If the heilsgeschichtlich approach is considered most satisfactory, it offers an appropriate rationale for pronouncing on the ethnic identity of the crowds. Matthew has deliberately restricted the mission of Jesus and his disciples to the Jews. It can therefore be assumed that the make up of the crowds is presumed—with the odd exception—to be Jews. The gentile features that figure in, or underlie, Matthew's historical account can best be described as an adumbration of the gentiles' coming.

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186 For dissenting views cf. Gaston, "Messiah" 34f. and Brown ("Two-fold", 29). The latter maintains that "an apologetic motivation would be possible only if the restriction of the mission to Israel in the Central Section were temporally limited." Since the mission is limited by the Great Commission—a new mandate—the real point of Brown's question seems to be whether there is sufficient justification for regarding the Commission as part of a new age of salvation history. The answer would have to be yes. In an examination of the death and resurrection in Matthew, Meier (Law, 30-35) adduces three key elements in the accounts 1) the rending of the temple veil, 2) the earthquake and raising of the saints, 3) the confession of the centurion and those gentiles with him. The last of these clearly anticipates the Great Commission, and suggests that Matthew has carefully worked out his entire salvation—historical schema. If this were not the case, it must then be queried why these features would be present in the gospel.
inclusion in the missionary activity of Matthew's Community, and of course, in the community itself.

This still leaves the question of the inconsistencies mentioned at the beginning of this discussion—Syria and the Decapolis and 15:31. To this, there are several possible explanations. One is that the truth of the gentiles' future mission was so familiar and self-evident to the author that it resulted in a certain lack of clarity or distinctness on his part. This may have some degree of truth, but it is probably better to assume that the author felt that Jesus' position with respect to the gentiles was so clearly stated at 10:5f. and 15:24 that any apparent inconsistencies would naturally be interpreted in a theological light. This, in the long run, is the neatest solution to the whole problem, and does the least violence to the gospel as a whole.

\[187\] This is the position taken by Gnilka, *Matthäusevangelium, ad loc* with respect to the Decapolis. If, however, Syria is regarded as the place where the gospel was written, its inclusion at 4:24 would naturally pose no difficulties for members of Matthew's community.
3. 'AKOLOUabwe

Matthew's increased emphasis on "following", particularly in relation to the crowds, has led certain scholars to conclude that this has more than a purely literal signification. Russell for instance observes that the crowds "appear on the fringe of discipleship" and "can be said to follow him", presumably in a metaphorical sense. Minear takes this line a bit further. While acknowledging that εκλογοθέω can be taken literally, he suggests that in Matthew it "normally signifies qualitative allegiance". This would be the sense in which it relates to the crowds since "in most cases the ochloi who follow Jesus have responded to his call and accepted his message.

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According to K. Aland, Spezialübersichten 12, ἀκολουθέω is found in Matthew 25 times, Mark 18 and Luke 17 times. Of these twenty-five occurrences, nine are inserted by Matthew 4:22 (cf. Lk 5:11; 8:1; 8:23; 9:27; 10:38; 14:13 (cf. Lk 9:11); 19:2; 19:28 and 20:29. Kingsbury, "Verbs" 56 #3 emerges with a similar list, while Gundry, (Matthew, 641) finds only eight. This is doubtless because he sees 14:13 as "shared" with Lk 9:11 (cf. p. 5) and not a minor agreement of Matthew and Luke. This latter view however, is to be preferred—cf. Neirynck, Agreements 112. Four of the insertions are connected with the crowd(s): 8:1 δύος πολλοί; 14:13 οἱ δύος; 19:2 δύος πολλοί and 20:29 δύος πολλοί. In addition to these, Matthew has retained three "traditional" references: 4:25 (cf. Mk 3:7 v.1); 12:15 (cf. Mk 3:7 v.1) and 21:9 (cf. Mk 11:9). The last of these does not strictly refer to following—οἱ δύος πολλοί οἱ προανέγερνες αὐτόν οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες καὶ... To these one might also add the τοῦς ἀκολουθοῦντας of 8:10 (Q cf. Lk 7:9. See Athanasius Polag, Fragmenta Q. Teuxheft zur Logenquelle (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1979) 38 in view of its proximity to 8:1 (so Grundmann, Evangelium 252; Gundry, Matthew, 144).

Needless to say, these nine Stellen represent something of an advance on the Marcan account. Mark does associate following (ἀκολουθεῖοι) with the crowds but only once expressly with δύος (5:24). It is possible that 2:15b refers to the crowds, (though it probably refers to the disciples); 3:7 mentions the πλῆθος, while 10:32 is unclear (Malbon asks "are these additional followers drawn from the crowd?" "Disciples" 108). Finally 11:9 just mentions οἱ προανέγερνες καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες. As for Luke, he only associates the δύος with following at 7:9 and 9:11. From this brief overview it is clear just how much Matthew has developed the idea.

189 Russell, "Image", 430.
190 Minear, "Crowds", 30.
191 Ibid., 30.
The analysis by Sjef Van Tilborg is similar except that he maintains that the following undertaken by the crowds is no different than that of the disciples: "The crowds do the same as the disciples have done: they follow Jesus: ... the following of Jesus is the definition of the essence of being Christian ... the ὀχλοι do what they have been asked to do by Jesus." These remarks, if correct, would certainly enhance the status of the crowds, and thus align them very closely indeed with the disciples in the first gospel. It remains however to test these contentions.

To do this, the following examination will ask whether the crowds do in fact perform what Jesus has asked them to, whether they are called by Jesus, and finally, whether this "following" is of the same order as that of the disciples.

3a. The Crowds and the Demands of Jesus

Can it be said that the crowds do what Jesus has asked them to do? A preliminary examination of the gospel reveals that, in some respects, they appear to. They (apparently) come when he summons them (15:10), leave when he dismisses them (14:22, 23; 15:39), sit on the ground when he bids them to (14:19; 15:35) and listen when he addresses them (11:7; 14, 15; 13:9; cf. 11:7-12:50; 13:3-34; 23:1-39). Yet in Matthew's gospel this is all that Jesus requires of them. They are not, expressly at least, asked to do more.

On the other hand, Matthew gives several weighty indications which suggest a deficiency or inadequacy in the actions of the crowds. The first of these is the pericope of the mothers and brothers of Jesus (12:46-50). In Mark, Jesus suggests that it is the crowds who do the will of God. In Matthew it is no longer the crowds, but the disciples—καὶ ἐκπέμψακ τὴν χείρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ κτλ. The

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192 Van Tilborg, Leaders, 164.
194 There is doubtless a measure of transparency in this utterance, but only a measure. The historical element cannot be disregarded either, so that the most adequate analysis of the pericope falls somewhere between the views expressed by Trilling, Wahre 29f. and Strecker, Weg 193-194. On the
implication with respect to the crowds is undeniable—they do not do the will of God, nor, one might infer, the will of Jesus. Jesus' statement, of course, can and ought to be taken as an adjuration to do the will of God, but at the same time it indicates that up till this point they have not done it. Nor can it be said that Matthew ever offers any indication of a change in this respect.

A similar impression emerges from 11:14-15. Both verses are Matthean. Verse 14 consists of an exceptionally clear identification of John the Baptist with Elijah (αὐτὸς ἔστιν Ἡλίας ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι) while 15 is an exhortation for the crowds to hear (ὁ ἔχων ὀντα ἀκούστω). Yet it is more than an exhortation; because of the significance of the identification in v. 14, it is tantamount to a warning. It soon becomes apparent, however, that this warning goes unheeded. At 17:12 in a significant amplification of Mark (cf. 9:13), Matthew has Jesus say of John that Elijah had already come, καὶ οὐχ ἔκέννυσαν αὐτὸν. The plural here is best taken as a reference to the people of Israel—the leaders and the crowds. This deficient understanding can also be seen elsewhere. Where Jesus has described John to them as ἁγία καὶ ἂν τῶν Χριστοῦ (11:9) the crowds continue to regard him simply as a "prophet" (ὡς προφήτην 14:5, 21:26). They have clearly failed to hear as Jesus had exhorted them to.

Both of the above examples suggest, therefore, that except in simple matters the


195 Manson, Sayings, 185, Gundry, Matthew, 211.
197 Trilling calls it an "Appell mit einen drohenden Unterton" "Täufertradition", 281. See also Wink, John, 32; J. Schönle, Jesus und die Juden. Die Theologische Position des Matthäus und des Verfassers der Redenquelle im Lichte von Mt 11, BBET 17 (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1982) 129-159.
198 Schweizer, Matthew, 351; Hill, Matthew, 269; McNeile, St. Matthew, 253 who also includes the possibility of the scribes; Sheridan, "Disciples", 245 "people"; Armin Kreutzer, Die Herrschaft der Himmel und die Söhne des Reiches: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Basileabegriff und Basileaverständnis im Matthäusevangelium, SMB 10 (Stuttgart: Echter KBW, 1971) 73f.; Siegfried Pedersen, "Die Proklamation Jesu als des Eschatologischer Offenbarungsbringers (Mt 17:1-13)" NT 17 (1975) 241-264, 263. Against this view see Gaechter, Evangelium, 574; Fenton, St. Matthew, 280.
crowds do not do what Jesus has asked them to. They, like the Pharisees, have left the "weightier" matters undone.

3b. The Call of Jesus

The next question is whether the crowds are ever called by Jesus. Does he ever bid them, literally or metaphorically, to follow after him? It is certainly the case with Mark's gospel—as Malbon observes, in Mark "the disciples, crowds whoever—everyone is a potential follower". The same can be said for Luke, where Jesus directs a summons to follow him, προς πάντας (9:23). Strikingly, this does not hold for Matthew. In the first gospel Jesus never "calls" the crowd nor summons them to follow him.

This can be seen from a consideration of Jesus' general exhortations to follow him (or discussions of the consequences of following him). There are three in Matthew—10:38; 16:24; 19:28. The first of these is situated in the Mission discourse (and is therefore aimed at the disciples) while its parallel in Luke is spoken to the "great multitudes" (14:25 ὀχλοι πολλοί).

A similar situation emerges with the second passage. In Mark this adjuration ("if any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me" 8:34) is addressed to the crowds after Jesus has specifically summoned them (34 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ὀχλον σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ). In Luke, as noted above, it is spoken to all (9:23). Matthew, however, has omitted the reference to the crowd. Jesus continues to speak solely to the disciples—τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔηκεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ (16:24).

Finally, at 19:28 and parallels, Matthew has expanded on Jesus' rejoinder to

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199 Malbon, "Disciples", 110.
200 Aerts ("Suivre Jésus", 491) argues differently. He claims that Matthew "conçoit ce groupe [sc. those asked to follow] plus large que les seuls Douze". This is highly questionable. In two of the three calling pericopae (10:38; 19:27-28) Matthew expressly mentions the Twelve (as at 10:1) or implies them (19:28 ὁμιλεῖ ἐκ δώδεκα θρόνους κρίνοντας τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ). The third, 16:24 ff. nowhere suggests a larger group. Aerts seems to have interpreted this findings in light of the other two synoptic gospels.

201 Fenton, (St. Matthew, 273), remarks "... Mt has omitted the reference to the multitude (or crowds) ... probably because Matthew considers them incapable of receiving this teaching".
Peter, who has just stated "we have left everything and followed you" (19:27//Mk 10:28//Lk 18:28). Matthew's expansion immediately takes up the ἀκολουθέω of 19:27 and applies it explicitly to the Twelve οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι, giving them the privilege to judge the twelve tribes. The phrase, in other words, is used as a terminus technicus for the twelve. Having made this pronouncement he goes on to speak of a broader sphere of adherents (19:29 πάσι οὖσι) for whom the reference to following does not apply. In Mark and Luke, however, the disciples and the broader sphere of adherents are lumped together—Peter's question is immediately followed by οὐδεὶς ἐστιν ὃς ἀφήκεν οἴκιον κτλ (Mk 10:29, Lk 18:29). Once again, Matthew has Jesus confine his call to follow (or his comments about the nature of that following) to the disciples.

The above instances make it very evident indeed that Matthew has scrupulously limited Jesus' "call" to follow him to his disciples alone. The crowds are not called by Jesus.

In addition to these "general" exhortations to follow, Matthew's gospel demonstrates a related pattern with the commands for individuals to follow Jesus. With virtually no exceptions, the disciples do not follow Jesus unless he first commands them. The importance of this distinction for Matthew can be seen from the episode where Peter walks on the water (14:22-23). Peter says "Lord, if it is you, bid me come to you on the water." He said "Come" (28-29). Barth perciptently remarks that it is "deutlich gemacht, daß Petrus nicht eigenmächtiges, sondern auf den Befehl Jesu hin geht", and this same concern appears to apply to the disciples and ἀκολουθέω. The initiative is always seen to rest with Jesus.

This is the case with Peter and Andrew (4:18ff.), James and John (4:21f.) and the disciple (ἐτερος δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν 8:21) who wishes to bury his father first.

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203 See above, n. 200.
204 The one possible exception will be treated below.
205 Barth, "Glaube", 287. It "presents a disciple on the way of discipleship .. set in motion by a command of Jesus", Held TIM 206.
206 The scribe at 8:19 is not to be taken as a disciple (though this is grammatically possible from the careless ἐτερος δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν in 8:21), as can be surmised from the different manner in
This also holds for the calling of Matthew (9:9). There is an apparent exception at 8:23 where it states that when Jesus "got into the boat, his disciples followed him" (8:23). Here though, the command to cross over has already taken place at v.18. This is made emphatic by Matthew's change of Mark's διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν (Mk 4:35) to ἀκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν. Held remarks that "In connexion with Matthew 8:23 this command must be understood as a command to discipleship," and indeed this could be said of each of Jesus' calls.

The same pattern extends to the omission(s) Matthew makes to Mark. Matthew has eliminated at least one incident in Mark where the disciples are described as following Jesus without first having been commanded by Jesus. The description of the disciples following Jesus to Nazareth (Mk 6:1 καὶ ἀκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὁ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ) is excised. Mk 2:15 or 10:32 might refer to disciples in Mark, but both references are omitted by Matthew.

This leaves only one possible exception in the first gospel. This is when Peter follows Jesus after the arrest (ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἠκολούθη ἀπὸ μακρόθεν 26:58) without Jesus' bidding. There are several possible explanations. It could be taken literally instead of metaphorically and so be the only instance of a disciple following Jesus without there being a metaphorical underpinning. This does not fit very well with the omission of Mark 6:1 however, and in addition, the context suggests something more. What it suggests is that Peter's behaviour is being represented as an antitype of discipleship—of following that has not been initiated by Jesus. He is

which the two address Jesus—the disciple as κόρις, the scribe as διδάσκαλε. The other disciples address Jesus as κόρις (8:25; 14:28; 14:30; 16:22; 17:4; 18:21; 26:22) except for Judas who calls him ἄρβη (26:25; 26:49). See Thompson, "Reflections" 372 #33, Christoph Burger, "Jesus Taten nach Matthäus 8 und 9" ZThK 70 (1973) 272-287, 276; Kingsbury, "Verb" 60 and note 31. Heinz Joachim Held, "Matthew as Interpreter of the Miracle Stories", TIM 165-299, 202-203 leaves the question open. Against the view, see among others, Gundry, Matthew, 151-152.

207 On the place of κατέφω in Matthew see Zumstein, Condition, 221.

208 See also Bornkamm's perceptive remarks, TIM 55. John Paul Heil, Jesus Walking on the Sea: Meaning and Gospel Functions of Matt 14:22-33, Mark 6:45-52 and John 6:15b-21, AB 87 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981) 95ff., misses the importance of ἀκολούθειν here, and for this reason his criticisms of Held and Bornkamm are too precipitate.

209 See notes 98 and 188 above.

210 So Aerts, "Suivre", 507. At 9:19 both Jesus and the disciples follow the ruler, while at 8:10 τοῖς ἀκολούθοσιν are the crowds.
clearly not taking up his cross and following Jesus as he has been told to do—he comes "to see how the matter would end". Nor does he live up to his promise at 26:35 "Even if I must die with you I will not deny you"—he denies Jesus, not once, but three times. This is not discipleship, but the obverse. The point seems to be clear—at Jesus' instigation Peter can even walk on water; left to his own initiative he can do nothing but deny his master.

If this argument holds, all of the above elements produce a consistent picture—all of the following done by the disciples is initiated by Jesus. When this is joined with the findings above, a singular picture emerges. It is the disciples who do the will of God and the disciples who are called to follow. The crowds, on the other hand, appear not to do what Jesus asks, are certainly not called by him and therefore cannot be said to follow in the same sense that the disciples do. It is very clear then, that the following of the crowds is of a different order.

3c. The Following of the Crowds

If the following of the crowds is of a different order, what does it mean? Why has he taken so much care to emphasize their following of Jesus? Surely it has more than a purely scenic significance. The location of these verses offers a solution. Ulrich Luz and several others have noted that these verses are closely linked to miracle or healing stories. Luz remarks *à propos* of ἀκολούθεω that it "is striking ... that frequently it is the crowds who follow Jesus, and secondly in the redactional passages without exception the experience of the miracle follows only after the mention of

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211 McNeile observes that "only Matthew suggests Peter's motive; it was not to die with his Master as he had boasted, but 'to see how the matter would end', *St. Matthew*, 398. See too Trilling's remarks in *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, tr. K. Smyth (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969) II, 239-240.


213 Malbon sees irony in the Markan account of Peter's following: "There is a profound irony in Peter's following [14:54 ἀκολούθεω] Jesus at a distance into the courtyard of the high priest, for while the house of the high priest is the scene of Jesus' trial, the courtyard is the scene of Peter's denial", "Disciples", 110. The same holds true for Matthew's account where the contrast between Jesus before the chief priests and Peter before his accusers further stresses the antitypical character of Peter's discipleship.

discipleship (i.e. ἀκολούθεω)" In this context he cites 4:25 (trad.), 8:1, 8:10 (trad.); 8:23; 9:27; 12:15; 14:13; 19:2; 20:29; 20:34 (trad.). On the basis of Luz's remarks Schneider goes on to conclude "Daraus kann die Auffassung erschlossen werden, daß erst die Nachfolge Jesu zur Erfahrung seiner Wundermacht gelangen läßt."217

In light of our results above, perhaps these observations can be slightly redirected. In the first place, none of the verses Luz cites, with the exception of 8:23, actually refers to the disciples, so it is not appropriate to talk about discipleship in this context. Second, Luz speaks of "miracles", but again, every one of the verses cited, excepting 8:23, deals expressly with healing. This offers a significant correlation—in the above passages every account of the crowds or supplicants following Jesus is itself followed by a reference to healing. This can be seen very vividly in some of the crowd passages where the ὄχλοι are healed:

12:15b καὶ ἡκολούθησαν αὐτῷ [ὄχλοι] πολλοὶ, καὶ ἔθεράπευσεν αὐτοῖς πάντας
14:13b,14 καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ ὄχλοι ἡκολούθησαν αὐτῷ πεζῇ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων14 καὶ ἐξελθὼν εἰδὲν πολλὸν ὄχλον, καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔθεράπευσεν τοὺς ἀρρώστους αὐτῶν
19:2 καὶ ἡκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί, καὶ ἔθεράπευσεν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ

The same sort of pattern is evident in the remaining "crowd" passages, if not so immediately striking. At 4:24-5 the order is reversed; the healing (v.24) precedes the following. A variety of factors can account for the change, but it is not of fundamental significance since 4:24 helps account for the following mentioned in 25.219

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215 Luz, "Disciples", 124 #64.
216 Ibid.
217 G. Schneider, "ἀκολούθεω", col. 122.
218 Matthew is preparing for the Sermon on the Mount and Jesus' seeing the crowd (5:1 ἴδεν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους) would follow rather awkwardly on ἔθεράπευσεν αὐτοῖς. On the other hand, the summary in 25 (cf. Mk 3:7) serves as an admirable introitus to the Sermon on the Mount since it emphasizes the magnitude of the crowd Jesus will address.
219 An instructive parallel to the above four passages can be seen at 15:29-30 where προσέρχομαι is used instead of ἀκολούθεω because Jesus is sitting in a position of authority: καὶ
What is striking about the first three of the passages above is the correlation of ἀκολουθεῖν with θέραπευσα— the healing is immediately consequent upon the following. It is as though the healing were the natural consequence of the following. This is brought out even further by the πάντας in 12:15b and the αὐτούς of 19:2. Both are intended to show the absolute efficacy of Jesus' healing authority, but have, in addition, the related effect of displaying the absolute need of the crowds. This is so, even if the πάντας and αὐτούς are meant to apply only to the sick of the crowd—the impression is still extended to the crowd as a whole.

The other three references to the crowds' following (8:1; 8:10; 20:29) all occur in the context of the healing of individuals. These individual suppliants are not members of the crowds, and the healing accounts themselves differ in some respects from those noted above. In spite of this, they still suggest a desire on Matthew's part to associate the following of the crowds with healing. This is not all that surprising—the majority of the healings in Matthew's sources are of individuals, not of the crowds per se. Since he has added several references to the healing of the crowd in general (4:24; 19:2; cf. 15:30, all without parallels), this would be the most natural way of further relating the two ideas.

Of the four passages cited, 4:24-5 and 19:2 are both without parallel in their conjunction of ἀκολουθεῖν with θέραπευσα. Mark's gospel has a parallel to 12:15b, but the two words are much more widely separated— ἀκολουθεῖσθαι is at 3:7, ἔθεράπευσαν at 3:10. Matthew has not only tied the two together, he has changed Mk's πολλοί (γιὰ θέραπευσαν) to πάντας; all of the crowds are healed. Verses 14:13b, 14 have a parallel in Luke 9:11. In this context however Matthew, unlike Luke, has taken over Mark's phrase about the compassion of Jesus (καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐκ' αὐτοῦ). In Matthew, however, it takes form not in teaching as in Mark, but in healing. All these features therefore suggest that Matthew has undertaken to correlate the two actions in a very deliberate fashion.

In the healing of the centurion's servant (8:5-13) the centurion appears to approach Jesus when Jesus and the crowds enter Capernaum (8:5). At 20:29ff. the two blind men are seated at the side of the road as Jesus passes (20:30), while the leper appears to approach Jesus and the crowds as they descend from the mountain (8:1).

In the healing account at 20:29ff. the two blind men follow Jesus after they have been healed (20:34). This might however be explained by Matthew's direct dependence on Mark's Bartimeus narrative which likewise has Bartimeus follow Jesus after being healed (10:52). What is interesting is that Matthew has not extended this to the other narrative modelled on the Bartimeus account (9:27-31). This is a much freer rendering, and here they follow Jesus prior to being healed (Ἐκκληθησαν [αὐτῷ] δύο τυφλοι 9:27) but do not follow him afterward. The above anomaly might then be explained as Matthew's desire to keep the Markan framework at 20:29-34 even if it runs counter to his usual method of expression.

It might justly be asked, why, if Matthew was so intent on relating healing and following with the crowds, did he not have the suppliants come from the crowds. Although this can't really be answered in general, the answer is quite clear with respect to the above three healings. In the case of
Taken as a whole, these factors are highly suggestive. In a few instances he has simply associated healing and following, but in the remaining passages, the healing of the crowds is related to their following of Jesus. The implication would seem to be clear—healing is one of the dominant motifs in the crowds' following of Jesus. And one would not be remiss in turning the phrase around and saying it is one of their dominant motives for following Jesus. If this is the case, Luz's analysis does not hold at all. They are not healed because of their implied discipleship, but because they are needy. The crowds follow Jesus, at least in part, in order to be healed.

Why then does the healing come after the following? The reason is not ecclesiological as Luz supposes, but christological. Matthew is not at all concerned with discipleship in these instances but with the portrait of Jesus. Matthew has placed a great deal of emphasis in his gospel on Jesus as servant, and the healing accounts give content to this portrait. Held well observes that the healing stories in Matthew "do not show the thaumaturge who seeks to gain recognition and admiration through his deeds, but the servant of God as he works on behalf of the helpless."

The ἀκολουθεῖν plays a vital part in this because it is there to focus attention upon Jesus. The action of the crowds is directed solely toward Jesus, and by virtue of

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223 Lohmeyer has also recognized the need of Matthew's crowds though perhaps he gives it slightly too much emphasis. "Ein Besonderheit hat Matthäus vor allem betont: δύναμες sind die Menge der Kranken und Leidenden, der "Geplagten und hingeunkehren" (9:36), der Schafe, die keinen Hirten haben, "und er hält sie alle" so daß δύναμες fast zu einem Wechselwort für die mit aller Not belasteten wird, aus denen er darum durch Wunder und Lehre die Gemeinde der "Nachfolgenden" schafft", Matthäus, 78.

224 This is not to say that the crowds' illnesses are their only reason for following Jesus. Clearly there are others such as Jesus' teaching (and manner of teaching 7:28), his proclamation of the gospel, and perhaps even his feeding of the crowds (14:13-21; 15:32-39 cf. John 6:26). Nevertheless, just as healing predominates in the list of signs Jesus gives John the Baptist (11:5), one could say that a desire to be healed is the predominant motive for the crowds' following of Jesus.

225 Luz, "Disciples", 124 #64. The same holds true for the last clause of Lohmeyer's remarks Matthäus, 78.

226 For a careful discussion of the place of the servant in Matthew's christology see David Hill, "Son and Servant: An Essay on Matthean Christology" JSNT 6 (1980) 2-16.


228 Held, TIM, 264.
this, illumines his compassion and yet, at the same time, his majesty and authority. They follow him not merely because he is well-disposed towards them, but because of his power to act out of this disposition. Thus Matthew is able, through his conjunction of healing with following, to develop several facets of his understanding of Jesus as servant.229

What all this means therefore, is that the "following" of the crowds, is supplicatory. They follow Jesus in order to be ministered to—they are the sheep without a shepherd and they follow out of their need.230 It goes without saying that the following of the disciples is of an entirely different order. The disciples follow to minister and to perform what Jesus has required of them.231 So while the following of the disciples and the crowds appear similar, they are fundamentally different.

Conclusion

Although there is a superficial resemblance between the following of the crowds and that of the disciples, the two prove, upon closer inspection, to be vastly different. In marked distinction to the disciples, the crowds do not heed Jesus, and are never enjoined by Jesus to follow him. Their following does not indicate a "qualitative allegiance" to Jesus, but a fundamental need. The occurrence of ἀκολουθεῖω with

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229 Held likewise juxtaposes the "triumphant" with the lowly character of the servant, TIM, 263-264. It is worth noting that the following of the crowds also serves another function in the gospel which is tangential to our discussion. It should also be regarded as apologetic, and calculated to suggest that during his ministry Jesus was followed by great numbers of his own people, people to whom he ministered unstintingly, though he was later rejected by them.

230 Even at the triumphant entry there is an indirect indication of their status as supplicants rather than a group with possible political aspirations. Their mention of the Son of David immediately brings to mind their use of the expression of Jesus in a healing capacity at 12:23.

231 The truth of this observation can be seen in other parts of the gospel. In Matthew's account of the miraculous feedings for instance, the difference in roles is patent. The formula ἢδωκεν (ἐβίβασον 15:36) τοῖς μαθηταῖς (τοῖς ἐρτοῦς 14:19) οί δὲ μαθηταὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι is found in both accounts. Here, as Held emphasizes, the disciples do not merely distribute, they give as well: "whereas the other two evangelists speak only of a giving by Jesus ... in Matthew the giving, from ἢδωκεν on, applies to the activity of the disciples" (cf. 14:15-21, TIM 185, cf. Van Tilborg, Leaders 162-163). Here the crowds figure as supplicants.

The same rationale holds for 9:36, the passage about the greatness of the harvest. Here, in contradistinction to Luke, it is addressed to the disciples (versus the Seventy-two in Luke 10:2) and made to apply explicitly to the crowds. (On the Matthean construction of this passage, see P. Hoffman, Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle NTAbh (Münster: Aschendorff, 1972), 256.; S. Schulz, Q Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972) 404-405). This makes the distinction between ministers and those to whom they minister very clear. As Freyne remarks (Twelve, 76) "after seeing the crowd and wishing to help them Jesus turns towards the disciples almost instinctively to remedy the situation".
θεραπεύω suggests that Matthew's intention is to bring this need to the fore so that he can, at the same time stress Jesus' (and the disciples') compassion in requiting that need.

4. THE RESPONSE OF THE CROWDS TO JESUS

The next section will focus on the crowds' reaction to Jesus. This will include a consideration of individual reactions attributed to them (ἐκπλήσσομαι; θαυμάζω, ἔξωστημι, φοβέομαι, δοξάζω) as well as the statements they make regarding Jesus and his activity.232 As with the analysis of ἀκολουθέω the purpose of the discussion is to consider the crowds' relation to Jesus. Do their reactions suggest a disciple-like faith on their part, or something rather less?233 This discussion234 will begin by examining the individual reactions of the ὄχλος,235 with a related discussion of the disciples if the words are used of them.

4a. ἐκπλήσσομαι236

232 This will exclude 21:9, 11 and 46 which will be treated separately below.
233 Although he provides no references to support his statement, Minear refers to the crowds' "faith" and even to their "worshipping" Jesus. Since there are only a limited number of passages which discuss the crowds in Matthew one would expect that besides 21:9, 11, 46 the passages to which he would refer are those treated below. (See Minear, "Crowds", 30.)
234 For the purposes of this discussion it is not necessary to consider the background of the following expressions. For a brief examination consult Tagawa, Miracles, 99-101, who establishes that "dans la littérature grecque la description de l'étonnement et de la crainte des hommes qui ont reconnu les êtres divins, sert à faire du récit un récit d'épiphanie; par contre dans la littérature juives de l'Ancien Testament aux écrits de Qumrân, le mot merveilleux est en général utilisé pour qualifier objectivement des œuvres de Dieu et la crainte de Dieu est l'expression de la foi d'un fidèle israélite. Donc, dans la monde de tradition juive l'étonnement et la crainte sont un motif assez général et qui ne relève pas exclusivement de la terminologie particulière de la théophanie," (100). The following treatment will assume the correctness of these observations.
235 On the following words as typical crowd responses in healing stories Bultmann, HST, 225-226. Theissen (The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition, tr. F. McDonagh, Philadelphia; Fortress Press, 1983), notes that "Matthew almost always gives a specific subject" to those who were seized with amazement (69).
236 There are four occurrences of ἐκπλήσσομαι in Mt 7:28 // Mk 1:22 (cf. Mk. 11:18); 13:54 // Mk 6:2; 19:25 // Mk 10:26; 22:36 no parallel. Matthew also omits the word in his parallel to Mk 7:37 (Mt 15:31), probably because he wants the word to apply only to Jesus' teaching.
This word is used consistently throughout Matthew to describe reactions of individuals to Jesus' teaching—generally shock or astonishment. It is used thus of the crowds at 7:28 and 22:33. Verse 7:29 explains that this was because of his ἑξωκοπά; he taught as one having authority, quite unlike the scribes. It is also used of the disciples' reaction to Jesus' pronouncement about rich men (19:25, cf. 23-24).

On the other hand, the word also describes the initial reaction of the inhabitants of Nazareth to his teaching; his wisdom and mighty works (13:54). If ἐκπλήσσομαι is held, however, to imply any sort of faith or reverence, this is an awkward passage for such a view since the Nazareans go on to revile Jesus. Grässer has argued that this represents a fundamental inconsistency in the basic account: "Here there remains a crack, which we cannot get rid of either by the psychological explanation of two contrary impressions among the hearers, or by a harmonizing exegesis, by which we are taught to see ἐκπλήσσομαι and ἐσκονδαλίζοντο in the same way ..." While agreeing with the inadequacy of both proposed solutions it still appears that Matthew, at least, has attempted to pave over this crack. This can be seen from his use of the question πόθεν οὖν τούτῳ ταύτα πάντα ([13:56] not found in Mark) which presents the crux of the problem. They recognize the force of ἡ σοφία σκότη καὶ αἰ δονάμεις, but not the origin. As a result they refuse to have faith in him. Still, they have no doubt about Jesus' attributes, and for this reason their amazement is genuine. What this suggests about ἐκπλήσσομαι therefore, is that it represents an immediate, unconsidered reaction on the part of the hearer. It could conceivably result in faith, but it might just as easily, as the above pericope shows, result in a rejection of faith. At best, it is a prelude.

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237 Both Zizemer, (Verhältnis, 45), and Van Segbroeck, "Jésus rejeté par sa patrie", Bib 49 (1968) 167-198, 180, note the consistency with which Matthew uses the expression. See in addition the discussions of the word by H. Balz, "ἐκπλήσσομαι" EWNT 1 col. 1023; D. H. Field, ἐκπλήσσω", s.v. "Ecstasy" etc. NIDNTT I, 529-530; and Richard Karpinski, ἘΣΟΥΣΙΑ αὶ la Base de l'Enseignement de Jésus et de la Mission Apostolique selon S. Matthieu (Rome, Institute des Recherches Ecclésiastiques, 1961) 9.

238 Neither praise nor blame seem to attend this response through Beare, Matthew, ad loc, detects a slight note of reproach in Jesus' reply.


240 See Karpinski, ἘΣΟΥΣΙΑ, 9.
4b. \( \theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\zeta\omega \)

This word is used of a variety of groups and in a variety of situations in Matthew. It is twice used of the crowds—at 9:33 and 15:31. In both instances it describes their response to deeds of Jesus—his casting out of a demon (9:33) and his multiple healings (15:31). Intriguingly, it is also used of the Herodians and disciples of the Pharisees (22:22—albeit in dependence on Mark 12:17) marvelling at Jesus' reply to their trick question. Pilate also marvels at Jesus' silence before his accusers (27:14).

The disciples marvel at the withering of the fig tree—something unique to Matthew's account. Matthew has added the word to Mark's version, and, what is more, suggested that it represents an inadequate reaction on the part of the disciples. Jesus' answer (21:21 cf. 21:20) implies a measure of doubt on their part. As Bertram observes, "the reply of Jesus shows that this astonishment contains an element of critical questioning, of enquiry and even of doubt".

These findings are highly suggestive. If, on the one hand, the Jewish leaders marvel, and on the other, it is considered a deficient reaction on the part of the disciples, the implication is clear. The reaction as such denotes no commitment or faith on the part of the beholder. As with \( \epsilon\kappa\pi\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\omicron\omega\alpha \) it is perhaps best regarded as a spontaneous uncritical reaction to something that is awesome or overwhelming.

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241 \( \theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\zeta\omega \) is found five times in Matthew: 8:10 // Lk 7:9; 8:27 // Lk 8:25 // (Mk 4:41 \( \phi\omicron\beta\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\alpha \)); 9:33 // Lk 11:14, 15:31 // (Mk 7:37 \( \epsilon\kappa\pi\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\omicron\omega\alpha \)); 21:20 no parallels; 22:22 // Lk 20:26 // (Mk 12:17 \( \epsilon\kappa\pi\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\omicron\omega\alpha \)); 27:14 // Mk 15:5. He omits Mk 5:20; 6:6 and 15:4 as well as Lk 11:14 (for which he uses \( \epsilon\xi\zeta\omicron\omicron\omicron\zeta \) instead 12:23). At 15:31 it occurs with \( \delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\zeta\omega \) which will be treated below.

On the term see F. Annen, "\( \theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\zeta\omega \)" E W N T II, s.v. col. 332-334; Georg Bertram, "\( \theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\zeta\omega \)" etc. TDNT III esp. 37-40; W. Mundle, "\( \theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\zeta\omega \)" s.v. "Miracle" etc. NIDNT II, 620-26; Schenk, Sprache, 281-82; Zizekker, Verhältnis, 127-128.

242 Bertram, "\( \theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\zeta\omega \)" etc. TDNT III, 38. So too Barth, "Law" TIM 119 #3 "deficient faith"; and R. A. Edwards, "Uncertain Faith", 58.

243 This is also the opinion of Mundle, "\( \theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\zeta\omega \)" 624—"such amazement, of course, in no way presupposes faith, though it may well presuppose an inkling of the presence of divine authority" (he is speaking of the way the word is used in the synoptic gospels' account of the Jewish leaders' amazement).
4c. ἐξίστη

This verb occurs only once in Matthew, and its presence can likely be attributed to Mark’s use of the word of Jesus at 3:21. Matthew has taken the word over, but made it apply to the crowds instead of Jesus. The expression denotes being "beside oneself" through astonishment or fear, in this case as a result of being confronted with one of Jesus’ mighty acts. In essence though, the reaction is probably very similar to that of θαυμάζω, because this pericope is a doublet of 9:32-34 where θαυμάζω is used of the crowds' reaction. That this is, once again, a preliminary reaction is borne out by the fact that Matthew hesitates to use it of the disciples’ response to Jesus in the Walking on the Water pericope (Mt 14:22-33; Mk 6:45-52).

Where the disciples in Mark ἐν ἐκπαίδευσεν ἐξίσταντο (6:51), in Matthew they worship (προσεκύνησαν) him and confess that he is the Son of God (14:33).

4d. φοβεόμαι

Like ἐξίστη, φοβεόμαι is used only once of the crowds in Matthew—at 9:8 it indicates their response to the healing of a paralytic. Here it probably denotes awe or fear arising from a confrontation with the divine or numinous. Yet it might suggest a reaction subsequent to amazement, or one that is more profound (cf. Lk 5:26 ἔλαβεν ... ἐδόξαζον ... καὶ ἐκπλήσσοντον φόβου). In this regard, there is a textual variant...
on 9:8 with ἐθαύμασαν the variant reading.\textsuperscript{251} a propos of which, Metzger remarks: "Superficial readers and copyists, failing to see the deep meaning of "were afraid" (i.e., people felt a profound sense of awe and alarm in the presence of One who had the right to forgive sins), substituted for ἐφοβήθησαν what seemed to be a more appropriate word, ἐθαύμασαν ("marvelled", or "were astonished")."\textsuperscript{252} This superficially accords with the incidental use of the word in relation to the disciples (14:27; 17:6,7).

In spite of this, it must be noted that Matthew regards it as an inadequate response on at least one occasion.\textsuperscript{253} This can be inferred from the Stilling of the Storm pericope, where Matthew has transformed Mark’s fearful disciples (ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν Mk 4:41) into wondering men (οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἐθαύμασαν 8:27) who ask the very same question Mark’s disciples did. The reason for this change, according to Gnilka, is "die Jünger in ein besseres Licht zu rücken: die Jünger sind die Verstehenden".\textsuperscript{254}

Matthew’s desire to characterize the disciples as "those who understand", is probably also responsible for his omission of Mk 9:32 and 10:32 (if it refers to the disciples).\textsuperscript{255} When these features are drawn together it seems better to suppose that fear, for the disciples at least, is an inappropriate reaction to Jesus.\textsuperscript{256} It may well designate a more profound sense of awe, but again it would be an immediate and unconsidered reaction—one that suggests, at times, a deficiency of understanding.

4e. δοξάζω \textsuperscript{257}

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\textsuperscript{251} C, K, L, A, Θ, Π and a number of miniscules read ἐθαύμασαν.

\textsuperscript{252} Metzger, Textual, 24-25. This argument is, of course, two-edged.

\textsuperscript{253} Luz goes considerably further. He maintains that "in Matthew’s, redaction fear is consistently understood as the expression of human unbelief and little faith", "Disciples", 121 #30.

\textsuperscript{254} Gnilka, Verstockung, 35. Contrast Gundry, Matthew, 157 who tries unconvincingly, to argue that the men are the disciples. In this he is certainly against the broad consensus of opinion, cf. e.g. Frankemöller, Jahwebund, 152. Thompson, ("Reflections", 374 #26 and esp. 315-316 #51), offers a good discussion of the identity of "the men" on the beach.

\textsuperscript{255} Frankemöller, Jahwebund, 152 makes the general observation that "über Jesu Worte gerät wohl das Volk, aber nicht die Jünger in 'große furch". This is because Jesus’ disciples "Worte und Werke Jesu 'versteht". Both Frankemöller (152f.) and Strecker, Weg, 192 see this as part of Matthew’s tendency to "idealize" the disciples.

\textsuperscript{256} Worth noting is the fact that of the three times where the disciples are said to fear in Matthew, two (17:6,7) refer to fear in the presence of God of the transfiguration. This leaves 14:27 (cf. 14:26).

\textsuperscript{257} δοξάζω occurs 4 times in Matthew. It is twice used of the crowds—9:8 // Mk 2:12 // Lk 5:26 and 15:31-32 //, and occurs twice in the Sermon on the Mount (5:16; 6:2).

On the word itself see Bauer, Wörterbuch, s.v. and Kittel, "δοξάζω ἐκατ., TDNT II esp. 232-
Matthew twice relates that the crowds glorify God: "οἱ ὄχλοι ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν τὸν δύνατα ἔξουσίαν τουαυτὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις" (9:8) and ὥστε τὸν ὄχλον θαυμάσας καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν Ισραήλ. The position of δοξάζω in both sentences indicates that it is an action that appears to be consequent upon, and subsequent to, the crowds' reaction of fear or astonishment. If, as suggested above, these latter reactions, are as it were, simply preludes, then δοξάζω may point to a more considered and deliberate action on the part of the crowds.

Verse 9:8 is the conclusion of the Healing of the Paralytic pericope (Mt 9:1-8 // Mk 2:1-12 // Lk 5:17-26).258 The account contains some significant departures from the text of Mark, including the omission of 7b and, in verse 8, the change of Mark's direct speech into indirect speech.259 And though he has retained Mark's δοξάζειν τὸν θεὸν, the grounds for glorifying God are different.260 What then are the grounds in Matthew? Some have argued that, as with Mark's account, the miracle itself prompted the crowds' outburst—not their perception of Jesus' ability to forgive sins.261 This seems unlikely though, both because of the deliberate repetition of ἐξουσία from v.6, and because οἰκεῖοι, being used of no other healings, might here indicate a more profound sort of awe.262

It appears, therefore, that it is Jesus' authority which prompts their reaction. Having said this, it is not clear that the crowds have a distinct picture of who he is. As it stands, the τοῖς ἀνθρώποις would make Jesus primus inter pares—one among perhaps many similarly gifted men.263 Schenk has attempted to argue that the dative here ought to be seen as a dativus commodi, so that Jesus' authority is given on behalf

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259 On the first of these changes cf. Klauck, "Frage" 246. On the relative infrequency of the second see Sanders, Tendencies, 256-252.
260 In Mark it is because οὐτοὶ οὐδὲστε θεομεν (2:12).
261 Thus Gechter, Matthäus 289; Lohmeyer, Matthäus, 169; Schniewind, Matthäus, 118.
262 Allen, St. Matthew, 88 describes it as 'more appropriate to the forgiveness of sins'. On the repeated use of ἐξουσία, Held, TIM, 176. See also Trilling, St. Matthew I, 160.
263 See Strecker, Weg, 221. One should not see a qualification of the Son of Man in τοῖς ἀνθρώποις—cf. Langrange, Saint Matthieu, 179; Held, TIM, 273.
of men, but his proposal is, in Thyen's words, "hochst unwahrscheinlich". This being so, it cannot be said that their attitude expresses anything more than admiration for Jesus. They have recognized something laudable and they praise God for it.

At this point, however, one must recognize with Strecker that it is difficult to confine verse 8 to the time of Jesus. A great number of scholars argue that 8b is an indication of the Church's authority to forgive sins, a theme developed explicitly elsewhere in Matthew (cp. 16:17-19 and 18:15-18). If τοίς ἑνθρώπισις, therefore, is to be interpreted entirely in terms of the Church, then the remarks made above obviously do not apply. On the other hand, it is more than likely that Matthew gave the crowds a remark that would apply to their ostensible historical context as well as his own time.

The second δοξάζω passage is 15:31, the final verse of a Matthean summary passage loosely based on Mark 7:31-37. There are very considerable differences between the two. Matthew changes the content and has once again changed the remark made by the crowd in Mark to indirect discourse. In doing this however it is clear that he has enhanced the crowds' portrayal. He has eliminated Mark's banal and slightly foolish καλῶς πάντοτε πεποίηκεν (Mk 7:37) and given emphasis to his own crowds' exclamation - ἐδώξασαν τὸν θεόν Ἰσραήλ by placing it at the end of the summary. He has also stressed the considered nature of their reply by separating

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266 Strecker, Weg, 221.
268 On the summary see Ryan, "Summary", 31-42; and Donaldson, Mountain, 122-135.
269 Matthew's use of indirect discourse both here and at 9:8 is puzzling. It may represent a desire to downplay the crowds' reactions, but a more likely explanation is that he does it for the sake of simplicity. Verse 9:8 and 15:31, especially, would be awkward to render in direct speech, whereas the indirect speech in these instances is both economical and less ungainly.
θεραπευó from δοξάζω with a long list of Jesus' mighty works. Finally, the absolute character of their praise, that is, praise without qualification (as opposed to 9:8), suggests a quality of reverence.

Nonetheless, a caveat has to be issued. As Murphy O'Connor has argued "...glorification of God [is] not to be equated as acceptance of the person of Jesus". This, too, emerges with particular clarity in the changes Matthew has made to Mark. Beare acutely observes that in Mark the crowds praise Jesus, but in Matthew they praise God. Nor can it even be argued that reverence or faith in Jesus need be implicit in this praise. This is made quite clear in the Sermon on the Mount—"Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good words and give glory (δοξάσωσιν) to your Father who is in heaven" (5:16).

Finally, while Isaiah 35:5 underlies Matthew's account, it is not indicated that the crowds are aware of this fulfillment of prophecy. If Ryan is correct, the purpose of the summary is to contrast the attitude of the crowds with that of the Pharisees. The Pharisees honour God with their lips (15:8), the crowds with their hearts. If this is true, then this pericope puts the crowds in a distinctly favourable light. Yet having said that, it appears as though Matthew has deliberately refrained from relating their attitude to Jesus. They do not worship him, but God, and their predisposition, though in itself laudable, stops short of any sign of commitment or of faith in Jesus. This judgement is in some measure confirmed by the fact that the disciples never give glory (δοξάζω) to either God or Jesus—instead they worship Jesus (προσκυνέω 14:33; 28:17—a word not used of the crowds).223

These results prompt two observations. The first concerns the nature of these actions. It has to be said that with the exception of δοξάζω the above words cannot be described as indicating either an unambiguously positive or negative response.224

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221 Beare, Matthew, 346.
223 It should be remarked before concluding these word studies that Matthew has completely omitted all Mark's references to θεμπέω Mk 1:27 // Lk 4:36 (θέμπως); Mk 10:24 (disciples); 10:32 (disciples? crowds?).
224 Pace: O. Perels for instance, who speaking of this type of reaction in the synoptic
Rather, they depict a preliminary response that could, depending on the beholder, either lead to faith or away from it. In the case of the crowds, the gospel suggests a movement towards a favourable reaction. As the use of δοξάζω reveals, they find in Jesus' acts cause for giving thanks to God, even if it cannot be said that they find God in Jesus.

The second observation is that the disciples tend to be differentiated from the crowds. The fact that they do not commonly manifest these reactions (or could be rebuked for it when they did) suggests that Matthew sees these reactions as inappropriate for disciples. Instead, particularly in his elimination of these features from Mark, he wishes to demonstrate that the disciples know who Jesus is. In short, they understand, and their worship of Jesus arises out of this understanding.

4f. The Responses in Direct Speech

At two points in the first gospel, the astonishment of the crowd provokes outbursts recorded in direct speech (9:32-34; 12:22-24). The broad similarities between the two passages suggest that they are doublets which have been reworked by Matthew.275

The form of both pericopae is, not surprisingly, similar. Jesus is brought a dumb (or dumb and blind 12:22) demoniac whom he heals so that the man speaks (or speaks and sees 12:22). At this the crowds marvel (ἐξασθένειαν 9:33 ἔχοισταντο 12:23) and say "Never was anything like this seen in Israel" (9:33) and "Can this be the gospels states that "Alle diese Gefühle sind als positive Stellung zu Jesu Tat oder Wort anzusehen" (Die Wunderüberlieferung der Synoptiker in ihrem Verhältnis zur Wortüberlieferung, BWANT 12, (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1934) 27 #6. He is also quoted with approval by H. Van der Loos, The Miracles of Jesus NovTSup VIII (Leiden: Brill, 1965) who offers brief notes on the various words discussed above, 129, notes #2-7.

275 See Bultmann, HST 212; Lührmann, Redaktion, 32 #4; Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 120 #52; Grundmann, Matthäus, 279. With Lührmann it is preferable to regard them as developments of a traditional passage standing in Q which also had agreements with Mark (Redaktion, 32). For the purposes of this discussion it is not important which of the doublets is more original, though Burger, Jesus als Davidsohn: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht: 1970) 77, holds that 9:32ff. is closer to Luke 11:14 than 12:22ff. (So too Ogawa, L'histoire, 216-217; Grundmann, Matthäus, 279) Burger also correctly (contra Bultmann, HST, 212) maintains that 9:34, which is disputed (omitted D a k sy* HII) ought to be viewed as an integral part of the text (Davidsohn, 76-77). This is also Metzger's position (Textual, 25-26), who points out that it is needed to prepare the reader for 10:25.
Son of David?" (12:23). Both remarks elicit immediate and derogatory replies from the Pharisees to the effect that he casts out demons by the prince of demons (9:34, 12:24).

The first of these remarks probably owes its origin to Mark 2:12(c) (λέγοντας ὅτι οὖν τὸν εὐάγγελον εἰδομεν) which Matthew omitted from the healing of the paralytic pericope in favour of the saying about authority to men (9:8). As is readily seen, Matthew's version is substantially similar—οὐδὲποτε ἐφόνη οὖν τοῦ τῷ Ἰσραήλ (9:33), while the additional reference to Israel is highly typical of Matthew.226

As far as the content of the utterance is concerned, it is not far removed from the reactions described above. It simply indicates the extent of their amazement. And like most of their reactions (excepting 9:8), it concentrates on the healing itself, and not on the one performing the healing.227 This is well brought out by the Pharisee's rejoinder which concentrates on Jesus' therapeutic activity—ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια (9:34).228 If, therefore, there is a christological interest here, it is certainly, as Held observes, a veiled one.229

This cannot be said of the crowds' second exclamation (12:23).230 The crowds' interest has shifted from the activity of Jesus to Jesus himself, and Burger is certainly correct when he perceives "eine deutlich Steigerung"231 between this pericope and 9:32-34. The crowds appear to be moving toward some sort of christological awareness. It remains to ask, however, how much of an awareness. Some commentators have understood their question—Μή τι οὖν ὁτι ὦ ὦ τος Δαυίδ; as tantamount to an explicit identification.232 On the other hand, the force of the μή has

226 On the Mattheanisms in this verse cf. Gundry, Matthew, 179. Trilling, Wahre, 133, remarks that "liebte Matthäus solche voll klingende biblische Ausdruck". In note 62, he observes that of Matthew's references to Israel, one is from Mark (Mt 27:42), two are from Q(8:10; 19:28) and nine are from Matthew's Sondergut. See in addition the remarks by Schweizer, Matthew, 231-32.
227 Hill, Matthew, 181.
228 Their retort at 12:21, by contrast, puts οὖντος in an emphatic position thus confirming that the attention there is focused on Jesus.
229 Held, TIM, 248 #2.
230 This verse is probably composed by Matthew. See Fuchs, Sprachliche, 97: "die gesamte Frage Mt 12:23 von Mt formuliert ist". See too, Burger, Davidssohn, 79. Against this view cf. E. Haenchen, Der Weg Jesu (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1966) 151-152.
231 Burger, Davidssohn, 78. See too, Held, TIM 248 #2.
232 Burger, Davidssohn, 77-79 "... die Menge ... ihn selbst als den Davidssohn erkennt". See too Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 118-119; Sand, Gesetz, 146.
sometimes been pressed, so that the crowds' question could be understood to anticipate the answer "No". The most satisfactory position, however, lies somewhere between these extremes. Certainly the μὴ should not be ignored, yet it does not always suggest a categorical no, nor anticipate a negative answer (cf. John 4:29). Here it ought to be regarded as indicating a "fragende Vermutung". Jesus' healing has astonished them and led them to broach the question of whether he might be the Son of David. The question is only broached, however: at this point it cannot be said that the crowds know who Jesus is. Rather, they are struggling towards this knowledge.

In addition to the content of these pericopae, the context of both is also significant. In each case, the view of the crowds is juxtaposed with the negative judgement of the Pharisees. Held and Van Tilborg have rightly observed that Matthew's intention is not to emphasize the healing as such, but the "two-fold reaction of the Pharisees and the multitude which in both cases is brought to expression in a quotation". This is particularly vivid at 12:22-24 where Matthew has introduced deliberate parallelism. Van Tilborg has noted how the Pharisees' response to the crowds οὐφαντο ... εἰ μὴ directly echoes the crowds' μὴτα οὐφαντο. Such an effect serves to stress the virtually antithetical disparity between the two views. The effect, of course, is both to blacken the portrait of the Pharisees and enhance the depiction of the crowds. Thus, when both the content and context of the above pericopae are

283 See Kingsbury, "Verb", 61.
286 Gerhardsson, Mighty, 74; pace Kingsbury; "The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel" JBL 95 (1976) 591-602, 600.
288 Van Tilborg, Leaders, 145.
289 Characteristically, Matthew makes it the Pharisees who dispute with the crowds. In Mark, it is the scribes from Jerusalem (3:22) and in Luke "some of the multitude" (11:14-15 ... καὶ ἔθνομασαν ὅτι δὲ ἔτη κατον κτλ). Edwards (R. A. Edwards, The Sign of Jonah
considered, a favourable picture emerges, one which suggests that the crowds, if they have not yet penetrated the question of Jesus' identity, are at least on the right track.

**Conclusion**

To conclude, one has to say that the above passages disclose something of an incipient, favourable response to Jesus on the part of the crowds. While the verbs of amazement display nothing of this, the use of δοξολογίαν of the crowds and the remarks that they make support this contention. In addition, the variety of their responses may indicate something of a progression in their awareness. The shift, for instance, from a concern about the miracle (9:33) to an interest in the doer of the miracle (12:23) suggests this, as does the movement from 9:8—thaumaturge to 12:23—(perhaps) the Son of David. In any case, their openness to Jesus is clearly demonstrated, not least, when it is contrasted with the Pharisees' intransigence. On the other hand, when their attitude is composed with that of the disciples a marked difference also emerges. In general, the disciples are not overcome with wonder in the face of Jesus' words and deeds. For them this preliminary reaction has been superseded by understanding, and by worship of Jesus. It is clearly the disciples who have faith in Jesus and worship him, not the crowds. This latter possibility does not necessarily appear to be denied the crowds, but there is nonetheless a gulf fixed between the disciples and them, just as there is between the Pharisees and them. In this respect, one might say that Matthew has described a spectrum of reactions to Jesus' words and deeds—the Pharisees situated at one side, the disciples at the other, while the δοξολοι occupy the middle.

It remains to ask why Matthew has represented the crowds in this light. As with ἀκολούθων, one clear reason is christological. The δοξολοι act as a foil to Jesus' words and deeds. Their astonishment, fear and glorification of God continually emphasize the extraordinary and unprecedented character of Jesus' deeds. They function as naïve witnesses to his messianic actions.

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in The Theology of The Evangelist and Q, SBT, 2 scr. 18 (London: SCM, 1971) goes so far as to say that here they become "a type of the anti-disciple" (101-102).

290 Their naïve standpoint might also play a part in the evangelistic intent of the gospel.
Once again, there is also an apologetic tendency. The crowds' adulation stresses the quondam favourable reaction of the Jewish crowds to Jesus, and their onetime amazement at his actions. Of a piece with this, is the anti-Pharisaic polemic which reveals the Pharisees' wilful misunderstanding and their deliberate attempts to subvert the crowds. (It is not for nothing the crowds are included at the beginning of Chapter 23.) Although still in nuce here, the argument being developed places the blame for the crowds' failure to understand clearly on the Pharisee's shoulders.

Because the crowds occupy the middle point in the spectrum, an uncommitted hearer (or reader) of the gospel would readily identify with them. The crowds react to Jesus' miracles (in distinction to the disciples and the Pharisees) just as "everyman" would—with astonishment. Once the hearer occupied this position though he would realize that (within the gospel framework, at least) it was not tenable. Either the Pharisees were right, or the disciples were. Given these two options the gospel indicates quite clearly the logic of the second alternative.
5. JESUS' MINISTRY TO THE CROWDS

In general, Jesus' activity amongst the crowds can be epitomized by the summaries Matthew himself furnishes at 4:23 and 9:35 (cf. 11:1)—“teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the Kingdom and healing every disease and infirmity”.291

5a. κηρύσσω

Of these three elements, preaching by Jesus (apart from the above summaries) only transpires at the inception of Jesus' ministry (4:17 // John the Baptist 3:1-2 and the disciples 10:7; 27; 24:14; 26:13).292 The substance of the proclamation is described as either, “Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand” (4:17, cf. 3:2; 10:7), or “the gospel of the Kingdom” (4:23; 9:35). Its purport is to signal the advent of the eschatological activity of God—it approaches its hearers and demands a response of them.293 In this respect it could be regarded as preparatory, or as Guelich aptly terms it, as “heralding” the activity of God in the person of Jesus.294 This would explain why it is used to describe the Baptist’s activity, and why after 11:1 it is no longer used of Jesus.295 It may also explain why Matthew has omitted Mark 1:38 - ἵνα καὶ ἔκατι κηρύξων εἰς τὸ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξηλθον. In Matthew, preaching is simply not as programmatic an activity for Jesus as it is in Mark - instead, teaching and healing have been accorded more emphasis.

As Jesus' preaching in Matthew is, by its very nature, a global activity, the crowds are included in a general sense amongst his audience. This is made clear by 4:23 with 4:25; in 4:23 (cf. 9:36) Jesus went about ἐν ὅλη τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, while 4:25

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291 As the components of Jesus' ministry have been discussed frequently, the following discussion will be cursory, and confine itself to the keywords of Matthew's editorial summaries—preaching, teaching, and healing. Bultmann, (HST 355), includes these among the "editorial comments which Matthew adds to Mark", so too Allen, Matthew liii; Gerhardsson, Mighty 22-24. It is not clear how explicitly these summaries refer to the crowds. In the case of both however, the crowds are alluded to immediately afterwards either as following him (4:23) or being present (9:36 cf. 11:6) which rather suggests that their presence might be understood as a response to Jesus' actions.292 On κηρύσσω see Helmut Flender, "Lehren und Verkündigung in den synoptischen Evangelien", EvT 25 (1965) 701-14, 704-6; G. Friedrich "κηροῦς καλ' TDNT III 683-718; F. Hahn, Mission, Luz, Matthew 1-7, 206-8.

293 Kretzer Herrschaft, 263.
294 Guelich, Sermon, 45.
295 In Mark it is not used of Jesus after 1:39.
describes the crowds as following him ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλατίας καὶ Δεκαπόλεως κτλ. The obvious inference is that the crowds were recipients of the activity described in 4:23. That the crowds never expressly respond to Jesus' preaching is a feature Matthew has in common with Mark. It makes sense, however, since Jesus' teaching and healing help to elucidate what is meant by the inbreaking of the Kingdom.

5b. δίδασκο

Teaching is the next element of the triad,296 and seems to delineate the type and the quality of the response that is required of the one who heeds the proclamation. Since preaching and teaching are interrelated, it has to be asked whether it the two should be distinguished.297 Allison and Davies argue that a distinction is unnecessary, since both "have as their content the Messiah's words and deeds".298 Strictly speaking, however, this is not always the case, as 4:3 and 4:17 make clear; Jesus can hardly be equated with the Kingdom, even though his advent signals its arrival. In fact, the arrival of the Kingdom may well be the substance of "the good news of the Kingdom" proclaimed at 4:23; 9:35 and 10:7.299 In any case, Davies and Allison pay insufficient attention to the preparatory quality of preaching. That Matthew intends to distinguish teaching from preaching can also be seen in the fact that in both of the above summaries Jesus is described as teaching in synagogues. Friedrich has noted that while Jesus'


297 Strecke, Weg, 127, does recognize a distinction but argues that it is not a deep seated one—"die Differenzierung nicht ständig durchgeführt ist". He contends that 7:24ff demonstrates an "Entscheidungsruf" even though it is located in a section which is avowedly teaching. This may be so, but his choice of example is suspect. For one thing, 7:24 // is a parable and not teaching per se (cf. 13:3). Second, it clearly functions as a coda to the teaching which has preceded it—δοκεῖν δόξων κοινωνικός and is therefore not of the same fabric. Strecke's other arguments also fail to convince.

298 Allison and Davies, Matthew, 415.

299 "Matthew particularly points out the content of the gospel ... This had already come in with the Baptist, who was the first to proclaim the nearness of the eschatological reign of God. Jesus took up this message and carried it further; but he was not merely, like John, a man who prepared the way, for with him the fulfillment of the Old Testament promises has come." Hahn, Mission, 122.
teaching usually took place in the synagogue, his proclamation transpired anywhere in the open.  

Having said this, it is apparent the two are related. Preaching calls individuals to repentance and to life, while teaching specifies the way of life. This is particularly the case in Matthew where, as Bornkamm has effectively shown, διδάσκω is related to the exposition of the law. Dupont has shown on the basis of 5:19 (“Whoever the relaxes one of the least of these commandments and teaches men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven; but he who does them and teaches them shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.”), that the law is the object of teaching. Teaching, therefore, makes the demands of God explicit for men.

It is evident that the crowds are recipients of Jesus’ teaching. Do they however continue to be recipients? Recently this assumption has been called into question by J.D. Kingsbury and several others. It has been argued that Chapter 13 is the "turning point" of the gospel after which Jesus withdraws from the crowds and no longer teaches or preaches to them.

While this view is plausible at first glance, it does not hold up to detailed scrutiny. It is certainly true that references to Jesus’ teaching are not so numerous as in Mark but Matthew gives no reason to suppose that Jesus has ceased teaching the crowds. For example, in the passages just treated above (7:28; 22:33) the crowds repeat almost verbatim at 22:33 the exclamation they had made at 7:28. As Matthew

300 Friedrich, “εὐρύξε”, 713 of the synoptic gospels. This observation holds well for Matthew. Jesus teaches in synagogues at 4:23; 9:15; 13:54 and also the temple 21:23; 22:16; 26:55. At 11:1 he teaches εὐ ταμίς πόλεμος αὐτῶν which may reflect an abbreviation of the two previous summaries. The one obvious exception is the Sermon on the Mount, though one might argue that this was situated on a mountain to bring out the Mosaic parallels. Allison and Davies (Matthew 415#6) argue that, in addition to his teaching, Jesus’ preaching and healing at 4:23 ought to be confined to the synagogue as well. Such an interpretation hardly does justice to the sense of the sentence nor to Matthew’s redaction. See his alteration of Mk 1:39, where Jesus’ "preaching in their synagogues" is changed to "teaching in their synagogues".

301 Luz, Matthew 1-7, 208.


303 Dupont, "Chapitre", 253-54.

304 See J.D. Kingsbury, Thirteen, 29; Leon-Dufour, Études 236-237; Comber, “Verb”, 431; Ellis, Matthew, 60; Van Segbroeck, "Scandale", 272.

305 On Matthew’s changes to Mark see Lange, Erscheinen, 316-317.
has not hesitated to remove Mark’s statements about the crowds when they did not suit him. His inclusion of this passage is surprising indeed if Kingsbury’s surmise is correct. Nor is this a solitary example. At 21:23 Matthew has actually added διδάσκοντι to his account. That the crowds comprised at least part of the audience is evident from the leaders’ manifest fear of them at 21:26—φοβούμεθα τὸν ὄχλον. It is also seen at 26:55 where Jesus addresses the crowds which have come to arrest him—“Day after day I sat in the temple teaching, and you did not seize me”. This passage is based on Mk 14:49 except that Matthew has Jesus speak expressly τοῖς ὄχλοις. These references, therefore, suggest that Jesus is depicted as teaching the crowds up to the very end of his ministry. Kingsbury does attempt to discount or justify these references. He argues that:

... even though the word itself occurs in several instances where Jesus is engaged in discussion with Jews, it is never used positively in the sense that Matthew provides us with an elaboration of the message of Jesus (cf. 5:2; 7:28), nor does it ever appear in a situation where the Jews seem receptive to him. On the contrary, this term either finds its place in the scenic framework of a pericope (13:54, 21:23, 22:16, 26:55), or is employed negatively in a denunciation of Jewish doctrine (11:9, cf. 16:22), or occurs where there is a debate with Jews who are manifestly obdurate already (13:54, 22:16).

This is surely specious argumentation. In response to his first point, it must be

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306 Cf. Mk 12:37b and 7:37 (though the latter is not explicitly said of the crowds) and the references to the crowd following Jesus in the account of Jairus’ daughter—5:24, 27, 30, 31.
307 Kingsbury’s explanation that 22:33 “merely demonstrates that Jesus had the last word over his opponents” Parable 29, fails to address the issue.
308 Not found in Mark (11:27) or // Lk 20:1. The διδάσκοντι is missing in a few authorities (7 it syca. Or P) which has led Van Segbroeck, “Patrie” 175 #4 to account for it as an harmonization of Lk 20:1. Such a conjecture fails to recognize, in Dupont’s words, “le témoignage quasi unanime de la tradition textuelle”, “Chapitre” 253 #76.
309 This may also have been added for the sake of clarity—see B. Weiss, Das Matthäusevangelium und seine Lukas-Parallelen (Halle-Verlag: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1876) 555.
310 Cf. Meier, Law 28 #9, “Jesus is presented as teaching from the very beginning to the very end of his public ministry” (italics his) and Keegan “Formulae” 419. Another example of Jesus’ teaching ministry can be seen at 22:16 when the disciples of the Herodians and Pharisees say “You teach the way of God in truth” no Mkn // cf. Lk 20:21ff. As the context and setting are the same as those at 21:26 the crowds form part of the audience here as well.
311 Kingsbury, Parables, 29.
asked whether Matthew needs to give yet another elaboration of Jesus’ teaching after
the extensive one he has already provided in the three chapters of the Sermon on the
Mount. Second, Kingsbury discounts all references to teaching because they do not
appear in contexts where the “Jews” are receptive to Jesus. This however refutes
Kingsbury’s own argument. It indicates that Jesus has not turned away from “the
Jews” at all, but if anything (by Kingsbury’s account) they have turned away from him
and his teaching. Lastly, what does he mean by “scenic framework of a pericope”? Are
not 5:2 and 7:28, for instance, equally scenic? The questionable nature of
Kingsbury’s procedure emerges when one realizes that he has to discount virtually half
of the references to Jesus’ teaching in Matthew.\textsuperscript{312} Instead, it is better to recognize that
Matthew has chosen to emphasize Jesus’ teaching at different points in his gospel.
Jesus confronts the crowds with the demands of the law, not just for a part of his
ministry, but for all of it. Such an approach intimates that the crowds are capable,
when confronted with the moment of crisis, of choosing to adhere to Jesus’ διδαχή.
A similar impression is afforded by Matthew’s calculated inclusion of the crowds as
part of the audience of the Sermon on the Mount. While the Jewish leaders are also, at
various points, auditors of Jesus’ teaching (21:23; 22:16; 22:33 with 22:23), the fact
that they are not present for the Sermon on the Mount is noteworthy. It means that
Jesus treats the crowds here in exactly the same manner he treats his disciples, since
this is the only time where the disciples are explicitly said to be taught by Jesus.

Of course, this depiction is not without irony. Jesus’ triste remarks at 26:55 are
evocative, while the amazement of the Pharisees when faced with Jesus’ teaching
(22:22) is not far removed from the astonishment of the crowds at 22:33. As was
argued above, these states are but preludes to faith, and the very fact that 22:33 is
largely the same as 7:28 indicates that if Jesus’ teaching ministry to the crowds
remained constant, so too did their response.

The third verb of the summaries, θεραπεώ, also plays a significant role in the

\textsuperscript{312} 4:23; 5:2; 7:28,29; 9:35; 11:1 vs. 13:54; 21:23; 22:16; 22:33; 26:55. See further the
discussion by Dupont, “Chapitre”, #82, 255-256.
ministry of Jesus in the First Gospel, being found more frequently in Matthew than in the other synoptic gospels. Unlike secular Greek, the word has no implications of service as such, but always refers to healing as is indicated by its frequent association with νόσος and μνήμα (4:23; 9:35; 10:1; cf. 8:17) and other related expressions.

Jesus' healing, like the feeding of the crowds, is also associated with Matthew's use of σκλαμνίζωσι. At 14:14 his compassion leads to his healing of the crowds. Additionally, at 9:36, it impels him to commission the disciples so that they too, can requite the needs of the crowds.

5c. θεραπεύω

The verb θεραπεύω in Matthew's gospel is more directly related to the crowds than either κηρύσσω or διδάσκω. While Jesus is described as healing individuals four times he heals the crowds some eight times, and many of these instances have been introduced by Matthew. More significantly, he twice replaces Mark's

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313 On θεραπεύω see Beyer EWNT II s.v.; Comber, "Verb", 431-34.
314 Mt 16 Mk 5 Lk 14. The verb ιδομαι occurs less frequently. Apart from the Reflexionszitat at 13:15, it occurs three times in the passive (8:8,13; 15:28) to indicate than an individual was (or would be) healed. Schenck, Sprache, observes that Matthew appears to be making a conscious distinction between ιδομαι and θεραπευω here, because, apart from the Reflexionszitat at 13:15, the other references to ιδομαι are only applied to the healing of gentiles. (8:8 is probably derived from Q, while 8:13 and 15:28 are without parallel.)
315 On σκλαμνίζωσι see Koester "σκλαμνινγαν" TDNT VII, 548-549 and N. Walter "σκλαμνινγαν" EWNT III cols. 633-634. The verb occurs in Mt at 9:36; 14:14 (cf. Mk 6:34); 15:32 (cf. Mk 3:2); 18:27; 20:34.
316 At 20:34 it is used of Jesus' healing of the two blind men (20:29-34), while at 15:32 his compassion leads to his feeding of the crowds. The word also occurs in the parable of the unforgiving servant (18:37).
318 These eight instances include the summaries at 4:23 and 9:35.
4:23 θεραπευω has been added.
4:24 no (cf. Lk 6:18)
8:16 // Mk 1:34; Lk 4:40
9:35 θεραπευω added
12:15 // Mk 3:10; Lk 6:18
14:14 no // cf. Lk 9:11
15:30 no //s being an expansion of Mark's account of the healing of the deaf mute (7:31-37)
19:2 no //s
Of individuals: 8:7 no //s
12:10 // Mk 3:2; Lk 6:7
12:22 - θεραπευω added, cf. Lk. 11:14
17:18 θεραπευω added cf. Lk 9:42.
references to Jesus teaching the crowds by references to him healing the crowds. At Mark 6:24 the compassion of Jesus results in Jesus’ teaching the crowds, while in Matthew it results in his healing their sick. Again in the pericope of the departure to Judea Matthew changes Mark’s "and he taught them again as he was accustomed" (Mk 10:1) to "and he healed them there" (19:2). This may reflect Matthew’s desire to downplay the overabundant use of διδάσκω in Mark,319 but is more likely a reflection of Matthew’s desire to emphasize Jesus’ healing ministry to the crowds. This seems all the more probable when it is recognized that Matthew has fashioned a healing summary at 15:29-31 which is clearly reminiscent of the Sermon on the Mount. Once again Jesus climbs a mountain and sits down, but instead of the disciples approaching, it is the crowds who come and bring their sick. Like the Sermon on the Mount it concludes with amazement on the part of the crowds (15:31 cf. 7:28), but more significantly with their praise of the God of Israel.

Notwithstanding these changes, Strecker321 and Hübner322 following him, have argued that teaching has primacy over healing in the gospel. Strecker maintains that “Obwohl das Wunderwirken Jesu ausdrücklich hervorgehoben wird . . . erhält es kein Eigengewicht”. His position prompts several remarks. First, given the extent of Matthew’s editorial additions, what basis does Strecker have for claiming that it has no "Eigengewicht"? His discussion of only one passage (7:22-23 a passage not found in the narrative proper) hardly substantiates his remarks about “das Wunderwirken Jesu". Theissen’s remarks offer more of a balanced corrective: “Nor [in Matthew] is there any sign of a general subordination of miracle to word. The programmatic miracle summary in 4:23-25 precedes the Sermon on the Mount. In it teaching and healing are

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319 Lange, (Erscheinen, 317) argues that this reflects Matthew’s desire to neutralize Mark’s “inflationistischen, theologisch unerheblichen Gebrauch von διδάσκειν”.
320 Mt omits Mk’s healing of the deaf-mute (7:21-27) perhaps because of its ‘magical’ features (generally downplayed by Matthew), or its similarity to 9:32-34 (cf. Donaldson, Mountain, 260 #30). In any case, Fenton, St. Matthew, 257 is probably correct that Mk’s use of the uncommon μονομάκαλαν (7:32) recalled Is 35:5f to Matthew and led him to fashion a healing summary based upon it.
321 Strecker, Weg 175-177.
linked. What Matthew has joined, let not the exegete put asunder.”

Yet one cannot not help wonder if Strecker and Hübner are not creating a false dichotomy here. When Strecker suggests that miracle-working has no "Eigengewicht", the question arises, "Eigengewicht " for whom? For the church? For the crowds? He seems oblivious to the question of audience here, but that is really the decisive question. For the disciples (and church), teaching would quite naturally assume prominence, but in the case of the crowds, healing is more weighty.

This understanding helps to explain the magnitude and scope of Matthew's editorial changes. It is not his concern about the over-use of διδασκω that prompts his changes, but a concern to show Jesus healing his people. It is for this reason that the Sermon on the Mount is preceded by Matthean accounts of Jesus healing the crowds. It is for the same reason that, in Matthew, Jesus' triumphal entry with the crowds concludes with him healing in the Temple (21:14). It is this same reason again which impels Matthew to create an analogue to the Sermon on the Mount, which is devoted solely to Jesus' healing ministry of the crowds.

That this reflects a very calculated development on Matthew's part can be demonstrated by the reactions he attributes to the crowds. For one thing, the nature of the crowds' response is different for healings than it is for teaching. It was just noted that the crowds are described as responding to Jesus' teaching twice in a rather formalized fashion - οι διδασκοντες [οι διδασκοντες 7:28] εκ της διδασχης αυτον (22:33). In the case of healings, two of the crowds' utterances are recorded in direct speech (9:32-34; 12:22-24), a feature which makes the responses more vivid. Even the responses that are not recorded in direct speech, however, are more vital because they are more varied and less formulaic. They do not show the same formalism of the above two passages. Nor is their response static. As has been mentioned before, there is a change on the part of the crowds, in the form of an increasing christological awareness - a movement from the deeds to the doer of the

323 Theissen, Miracle Stories, 207.
324 Cf. Lohfink, "Bergpredigt" 272-78.
deeds. It is certainly significant that it is healing which provokes this response in the crowds, and not Jesus' teaching.

The question then arises, why it is that the healing of the crowds receives such emphasis? The most likely answer is the assumption that Matthew and his community perceived in Jesus' healings the arrival of the Kingdom - the advent of the Messiah and his ministry to Israel. This is strongly suggested both by the allusions to Isaiah 35:5-6, which underly both Jesus' answer to John the Baptist and Matthew's healing summary at 15:29-31. It is also suggested by the programmatic statement at 1:21 - "for he will save his people from their sins" (Cf. Ps 130:8). While it is true that this passage does not expressly mention healing, the pericope of the healing of the paralytic (9:1-8) shows that the forgiveness of sins is closely allied with healing. Foerster remarks that the forgiveness element goes beyond contemporary Judaism because "the remission of sins is not a central theme of the Messianic salvation or deliverance."

While the basic thrust of Foerster's contention is true, there are indications in the Targum of Isaiah in particular, that, in some traditions, forgiveness came to be

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325 Whether these miracles, of themselves, would have suggested the arrival of the Messiah is disputed. E. P. Sanders (Jesus, 170 and cf. his discussion of exorcisms 134-41) claims that "there is nothing about miracles which would trigger, in the first-century Jewish world, the expectation that the end was at hand." A.E. Harvey, with whom Sanders takes issue, states that the kind of cures described in Mt 15:31 "were not merely unprecedented; they were characteristic of the new age which...was expected one way or another by the majority of the contemporaries of Jesus." (Jesus and the Constraints of History, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982) 115). This problem, by its very nature, broaches the whole vexed question of Messianic Expectation, (See the standard discussions by G.F. Moore, Judaism II 323-76; Schürer History II 492-547; S.B. IV.2 857-80), a question which is becoming increasingly problematic. See the recent analysis by W.S. Green ("Messiah in Judaism: Rethinking the Question", Introduction to J. Neuener et al., Judaisms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era (Cambridge: University Press, 1987) 1-13) which argues against Schürer especially, that "preoccupation with the messiah was not a uniform or definitive trait, nor a common reference point, of early Jewish writings or the Jews who produced them" (10). As in the examination of the Eschatological Prophet above, our discussion will bypass these questions and attempt to consider them primarily in the light in which Matthew appears to cast them.

326 Hans Walter Wolff, (Jesaja im Urchristentum, 4 Auf,., (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, 1984) 74) relates the Reflexionszitat at 8:17 to 1:21; "die Heilungen folgen aus seinem Knechtsdienst, in dem er mit der Macht der Sünde und des Todes ringt" (original italicized).

327 It should also be remarked that ποιεῖται can mean "free from disease" especially in the passive, cf. BAG 1e and Mt 9:21//Mk 5:28; Mt 9:22a//Mk 5:34a; Mt 9:22b no //, For the link between sin and sickness see: Jn 9:1ff.; Pss 32:3-5; 103:2-3; 1 En 95:4; Sir 38:9-11,15; IQ GA 20:12-29; 4Q OrNab. For a discussion of the last four passages see H. C. Kee Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times, SNTSMS 55 (Cambridge: University Press, 1986) 19-20, 24-26, 72. "See, as well, B Ned 41a "A sick man does not recover from his sickness until all his sins are forgiven him", and B Meg 17b "redemption and healing come after forgiveness".

328 W. Foerster et al, "ποιεῖται καθαρσίας" TDNT VII 965-1024,991.
associated with the Messiah,\textsuperscript{329} the Servant of the Lord, even if the Messiah is merely an intercessor and does not himself forgive. The reformulation of Isaiah 53:4 is particularly vivid: "Then he will beseech concerning our sins and our iniquities for his sake will be forgiven; yet we were esteemed wounded, smitten before the LORD and afflicted." The intercessory aspect of the entire chapter is marked,\textsuperscript{330} though it is apparent that the Messiah is not a suffering servant figure. Naturally, the dating of the levels of tradition within the targum is problematic, but Chilton posits a time frame of ca. 70-135.\textsuperscript{331} He avers that for the meturgeman writing after the disaster in 70, "the gospel of Jesus was not yet of sufficient concern to make him alter his interpretation for apologetic reasons, and it is permissible to infer that, in his messianic understanding of the Isaian servant, the meturgeman attests a primitive exegesis common to Judaism and Christianity."\textsuperscript{332} If this inference is valid, then the forgiveness of sins may well have been associated with the inbreaking of the messianic age.

In any case, Matthew probably understands Jesus' therapeutic ministry to the crowds as the outworking of 1:21. The phrase, τὸν λαὸν σωτῆρόν, is best taken as a reference to Israel.\textsuperscript{333} This, in turn, explains why the word Israel figures prominently in the reactions of Matthew's crowds. At 9:33 they say, "Never was anything like this seen in Israel", while at 15:31, "they glorified the God of Israel". Their references to the Son of David are to be seen in the same light, as the juxtaposition with son of Abraham at 1:1 makes clear. In this fashion, Matthew demonstrates not only that Jesus' ministry was confined to Israel,\textsuperscript{334} but that, in his ministry, scripture finds its fulfillment (Ps 130:8; Is 53:4.). The crowds function, therefore, as the naïve witnesses

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{329} The passages cited above refer back to the Messiah mentioned at 52:13 "Behold, my servant, the Messiah shall prosper...". This translation, and the ones given above, are by B. Chilton, Targum. The italics represent the "innovative wording" of the targum, the roman type, the rendering of the hebrew.


\textsuperscript{331} B. Chilton, Glory. 95.

\textsuperscript{332} Ibid., 94.

\textsuperscript{333} Luz, Matthew 1-7, 121. It likely refers to the Christian community at the transparent level. Interpretations like that of Davies and Allison, Matthew, 210, which interpret τὸν λαὸν σωτῆρόν in light of 21:43 wrongly disregard Jesus' ministry to his own people.

\textsuperscript{334} In light of this, it is ironic that some have seen a ministry to the gentiles at 15:31!
of the Messiah's promised visitation to his people. Even if they do not ultimately recognize him, they cannot help but recognize in him, particularly in his healing, something otherwise unprecedented.

**Conclusion**

In the foregoing discussion of the key elements of Jesus' ministry, it was decided that, in the first gospel, preaching should be regarded as something related, but distinct from teaching. Preaching faces the individual with the approach of the Kingdom and its demands, while teaching makes the nature of these demands explicit. Healing is also an important feature in the gospel. It is of more immediate concern to the crowds than either preaching or teaching, as can be adjudged from their receptive response to it. Matthew is very likely using the responses of the crowd to demonstrate that the Messiah did in fact come to heal his people and forgive their sins, as was prophesied in the scriptures.

**6. SON OF DAVID**

**6a. Prelude**

The role of the crowd also comes into question with its ascription of the title "Son of David" to Jesus at 21:9. Since the christological significance of the term in Matthew is considerable, and continues to engender debate, it will be worth briefly touching on the term in Matthew's gospel.

The first question to settle is whether this is a distinction between "Son of David" with an article and the anarthrous "Son of David". Suhl, for one, has argued that there is a far-reaching distinction between the two: "Das stetige Vorkommen dieses Titels 'Davidssohn' mit Artikel im Munde der bei allem Jubel doch unterschiedenen

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Menge könnte dann ein Hinweis auf ein falsches Messiasverständnis dieser Menge sein. Daß der Davidsohn-Titel etwas mit Jesus Heilen zu tun hat, beweist jedenfalls schließlich der artikellose Davidsohn-Anrede im Munde hilfesuchender Glaubender in den drei genannten Heilungsgeschichten.336

Although this approach is attractive at first glance, several factors weigh against it. The first is whether Matthew really intended such a distinction. Turner remarks à propos of Mt 9:27 and 20:30, 31337 that ὅποιος Δαυίδ is an anarthrous because of the Hebrew construct state.338 If he is correct this reveals merely a difference of form, rather than one which is theologically motivated.

That this represents a false distinction can also be seen from the position he is forced to assume regarding the children who praise Jesus' healings at 21:15. Because they use the articular title (Ὡσασανά τῷ ὁποίῳ Δαυίδ) Suhl has to range them with those who possess "ein falsches Messias Verständnis".339 This runs counter to the tenor of the gospel (11:25), and, more significantly, to Jesus' own acceptance of the praise at 21:16. Suhl claims this is not decisive because "läßt er [sc. Mt] hier Jesus nur zu der Tatsache des Jubelrufs, nicht aber zu seinem Inhalt Stellung nehmen.",340 yet this is manifestly not the case. Jesus' quotation of Psalm 8 expresses a definite opinion about the children's utterance—it is "perfect praise".341 For these reasons Suhl's argument does not hold.

This leads to the significance of the title itself.342 Is it, as Trilling advocates,

336 Suhl, "Davidssohn", 73.
337 (p 45, ὁποίος)
338 Moulton, Grammar, III, 34. Duling, "Therapeutic", 400 indicates some uncertainty about the semitized character of these passages. W.R.G. Loader, ("Son of David, Blindness, Possession and Duality in Matthew", CBQ (1982) 570-585, 581 #4) says that Suhl's argument "puts too much weight on the use or omission of the article . . . with the use of Son of God we have a similar phenomenon".
339 Suhl, "Davidssohn", 73.
340 Ibid., 73, #42.
341 As Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, the Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations (London: SCM, 1961) rightly observes, "Though the Jewish authorities refused to acknowledge the kingship of Jesus, the "babes" celebrated his arrival in accordance with prophecy. The acclamation of the common people is taken as evidence of the rightness of the Church's claim about Jesus, because it is they whom the psalm especially mentions as destined to acclaim the Christ" (168). For a similar point see Bornkamm, "End-Expectation and Church in Matthew" in TIM, 15-51, 33; Burger, Davidsohn, 80-81 #37 and Trilling, "Der Einzug in Jerusalem: Mt 21, 1-17" in Neutestamentliche Aufsätze, hrsg. J. Blinzler, O. Kuss, F. Müßner (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustel, 1963) 303-309, 307.
342 In addition to the articles considered below see: Bruce Chilton, "Jesus ben David;
"der von Matthäus einzig eindeutig messianisch verstandene Titel Jesu (außer eben χριστός selbst)" or a "correct but inadequate title of the Jesus of the Matthean ministry" as Brown maintains? The question does not admit of easy answers, as Matthew's portrayal does not appear monolithic to say the least. On the one hand, the genealogy emphasizes the kingship of Jesus and his place in David's royal line. On the other hand, a number of passages stress the role of Son of David as healer.

To evaluate this portrayal, the following discussion will first treat the genealogy and the Son of David question (22:41-46). In the process it will consider the so-called "Pharisaic" conception of the Son of David in Matthew's genealogy, and also determine the title's adequacy. From there it will go on to examine the "therapeutic" Son of David and its relation to κύριος. Finally, it will look at the Triumphal Entry and the crowds' use of the title at that time.

6b. The Genealogy and the Son of David

The title "Son of David" is an important one in Matthew's first chapter. Indeed, its significance is evident in the very first verse of the gospel, — "the book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, the Son of David, the son of Abraham" (παγκόσμιον Χριστον υιον Δαυίδ υιον Ἀβραάμ). It clearly places the title—and the other christological elements in an emphatic position with respect to the rest of the gospel. It is true that one of the designations here—son of Abraham—does not

References:
2. Trilling, "Einzug", 305.
6. It is noteworthy that some, such as Marshall D. Johnson, The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus (Cambridge: University Press, 1969) SNTSMS 8, 225, and Rudolf Pesch, "Der Gottessohn im matthäischen Evangelienprolog (Mt 1-2). Beobachtungen zu den Zitationsformeln der Reflexionszitate" Bib 48 (1967), 395-420, 416,
appear to have a titular importance within the gospel as a whole.\textsuperscript{348} One might therefore argue that the same might just as well be true for the Son of David. Yet this is wrong on both counts. Though the son of Abraham has no titular importance it has, nonetheless, considerable conceptual force throughout the gospel. It demonstrates right from the outset of the gospel that Jesus represents salvation for all peoples.\textsuperscript{349} The primacy of this notion in the first gospel was demonstrated above, a fact that makes its position at 1:1 readily explicable. By the same token, Son of David represents salvation for the Jews.\textsuperscript{350} Unlike son of Abraham, however, the title Son of David assumes an importance and "programmatic"\textsuperscript{351} use over the course of the gospel.

This is certainly evident in the genealogy.\textsuperscript{352} The title is emphasized at least implicitly, by the fact that David alone is expressly designated as τὸν βασιλέα (1:6),\textsuperscript{353} a title also not without significance in Matthew.\textsuperscript{354} The force of it, as Schulz neatly puts it, "erweist Jesu als den endzeitlichen Erneuer des davidischen Königums, d.h. als der Messias, im dem die Geschichte Israels ihren Hohepunkt und Abschluß gefunden hat."\textsuperscript{355}

The above factors lead Johnson to conclude that "of all four Gospels, it is Matthew who most clearly interprets the significance of Jesus along the lines of the

\textsuperscript{348} Johnson, \textit{Purpose}, 219.
\textsuperscript{349} Vögtle, \textit{Messias}, 18; Edward Schweizer, \textit{Gemeinde} 17.
\textsuperscript{350} Grundmann, \textit{Matthäus}, 62 "auf Israel zielen den Erscheinung"; Strecker, \textit{Weg}, 119; Vögtle, \textit{Messias}, 18; Bornkamm, "Risen", \textit{TIM} 323-26, though he would understand the reference to Abraham in light of the new Ὠνος of God.
\textsuperscript{351} The word is Frankemölle's, \textit{Jahwebund}, 167.
\textsuperscript{352} On the genealogy see Burger, \textit{Davidssohn}, 91ff.; and on its integrity with the gospel as a whole, Johnson, \textit{Purpose}, 218; Allen, \textit{St. Matthew}, 2.
\textsuperscript{353} Cf. K. Stendahl, "Quis et Unde? An Analysis of Matthew 1-2" in Stanton, \textit{Interpretation}, 56-66, 60, who remarks that "in 1:6 the royal staus of David, and only of David, is stressed". The name of David assumes additional importance if the gematria on David (πν 4 + 6 + 4 = 14) is assumed to underlie the scheme of 3 x 14 generations mentioned at 1:17. On this see Davies, \textit{SSM}, 74-77; Schweizer, \textit{Gemeinde}, 17 #36 and Stendahl "Quis" 60.
\textsuperscript{354} R. H. Fuller, \textit{The Foundations of New Testament Christology} (London: Lutterworth Press, 1965, 191) observes that "the title ὁ χριστός ("the Christ") and ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ("the King of the Jews") seem to be here [sc. 2:1-12] (uniquely) used as equivalent for the Davidic sonship . . . ". It is also likely that the title at 27:11 reflects the Son of David, and certainly true of 21:5.
Pharisaic conception of the Davidic Messiah."\(^{356}\) This conception arose out of the Old Testament promises to David (esp. 2 Sam 7:12-14; Is 9:6-7; Jer 23:5)\(^{357}\) and underwent various changes in later Judaism, emerging, among other places, in the seventeenth Psalm of Solomon (17:21-27).\(^{358}\)

\[\text{\textgreek{\textit{\textit{i}de, kúrie, kai ánásths tôn aútôn tôn basileá aútôn vión Davíd}}}
\]
\[\text{eis tôn kai rín tôn olías sou, ó theó}
\]
\[\text{tò ò basileússai étì Israēl pайдá sou.}
\]
\[\text{kai ópòkèsson aútôn ischín tòv òrakhn tòv òdików, kathárisou òerousalēm òpò òdhn katakatoúntwv ònv àpolleí.}
\]
\[\text{èv sófía èv dikaiosýnh},
\]
\[\text{èξóssai àmārtolòus òpò klēronomiás,}
\]
\[\text{èktríswai ùperfísan òmārtolòwn òs skênh kēramé̂ws,}
\]
\[\text{èw rábdh vódh sthýpâ svntríswai pásow úpòstasín aútōn,}
\]
\[\text{òdhréussai òdhn parónoa ònv lógyo stômata aútōv,}
\]
\[\text{èv àpēlē aútōv phgoeín òdhn òpò prsópov aútōv,}
\]
\[\text{kai ëlégëxai àmārtolòus ònv lógyo kārðiais aútōn.}^{359}\]

\(^{356}\) Johnson, \textit{Purpose}, 218.


If this is the conception to which Johnson refers, then clear or not, it is evident that Matthew's genealogy embodies very few of these characteristics. One might single out the (implicit) qualities of Davidic descent and kingship, but that is about all. On the other hand, the deprecatory references to the gentiles do not accord very well with Jesus' designation as son of Abraham. Further difficulties will be treated below.

At this point it is also necessary to consider the adequacy of the title Son of David. A number of scholars have impugned it, since the disciples do not use it of Jesus, nor is it one of Jesus' self-appellations. It is confined to Jesus' earthly ministry, and even then to limited groups. Gerhardsson goes so far as to say that it is used by "simple ignorant outsiders". Both Brown and Kingsbury further contend that its inadequacy is made explicit in the question about the Son of David (22:41-6).

The Son of David question will be treated below. As to the other points, it has to be said that while the above facts are true in themselves the inferences these scholars draw from them are questionable. If, for example, the title is used by "simple, ignorant outsiders" it is also used by Matthew himself at 1:1. This is decisive, for, quite apart from Matthew's increased use of the term, Matthew is the only one of the evangelists to expressly designate Jesus as Son of David. Moreover, as the above discussion has shown, Matthew has expressly given Son of David a certain primacy by situating it at 1:1. Further, at 1:20 τιὸς Δαυιδ occurs in the mouth of the angel of the Lord (ἀγγελος Κυρίου) which would again stress its appropriateness as a title for Jesus. Taken together these features put a different complexion on the above arguments.

"König", 339. He adds that the son of David will purify Jerusalem so that people will come from the ends of the earth to see its glory 339-340. See, in addition, Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, tr. John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon, 1913, 1970) 31-32.

360 See Kingsbury, "Title", 593-593 who also notes that the title does not occur in the death or resurrection narratives; cf. Brown, *Infancy*, 134-136.


362 This is well brought out by David M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity*, SBLMS #18 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973) 116.

363 Kingsbury's argument (following Pesch "Gottessohn", 411, 416) that "Matthew makes no reference to the term Son of God in 1:1 because... he desires that God himself should be the first one to pronounce this title openly, in the climactic baptismal scene" ("Title", 594) is weak. The effect would surely be more profound if God's testimony in the narrative itself were seen to agree with that of the narrator at 1:1.

364 Cf. Johnson, *Purpose*, 218, though the title is here used of Joseph.
With respect to the Son of David question, there have been several views which have stressed its insufficiency. Gibbs, for one, claims that the force of Jesus' argument in the dispute discredits "the Pharisees' notion of Messiahship as determined by sonship to David 'according to the flesh', rather than by the divine sonship, or unique spiritual relation to God—which was to Jesus the basis of his own messianic vocation". He goes on to argue that the position of the pericope relative to all of the other Son of David pericopae provides a further indication of the title's inadequacy.

Kingsbury's argument is somewhat different. He asserts that Matthew has formulated the opening and closing questions so that they correspond and focus on the issue of sonship. Matthew's real argument, he suggests, is that "if David, in calling the Messiah 'Lord', has himself acknowledged in scripture [Psalm 110] that the Messiah is of higher station than he (viz, one exalted by God to the right hand of power), then the Messiah cannot be regarded as the 'Pharisees' view him, viz., as simply the Son of David ... but ... the Son of God; for in terms of sonship, it is the latter that surpasses the former".

Neither of these arguments is especially compelling. Gibbs, for instance, fails to take cognizance of the seemingly "unscheinbar" but ultimately very major changes Matthew has wrought in his account. In Mark, the Son of David christology is attacked, but in Matthew the reverse is the case. Matthew is not intent on discrediting sonship "according to the flesh" but rather, in substantiating it. This is the whole point of 1:20—to legitimize the Son of David according to the flesh through adoption: "Jesus becomes 'Son of David' (1:1)... because he is adopted by Joseph 'Son of David' (1:20)". Gibbs has failed to recognize this.

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366 Gibbs, "Purpose", 461.
367 Kingsbury, "Title", 596.
368 The word is from Burger, Davidssohn, 88. On these changes see the penetrating analysis he offers pp. 88-89, and for a more basic overview, cf. Suhl, "Davidssohn", 60-61.
369 See W. Barnes Tatum, "The Origin of Jesus Messiah (Matt. 1:1, 18a): Matthew's Use of the Infancy Traditions", JBL 96 (1977) 523-535, 531. Part of the inherent difficulty with Gibbs' argument is that he is basing it on a framework derived from Mark's version of the pericope. His argument is derived from Bartlett's comments on Mark's version of the account.
His argument about the placement of the pericope in the gospel is also less than convincing. Is it likely that Matthew would be inclined (after 22 chapters) to suddenly reverse a position he himself had sanctioned at 1:1? Strecker’s conclusions seem more plausible: "Da der Evangelist 'Davidsson' durchaus als positive christologische Bezeichnung verwendet, ist von vornherein ausgeschlossen, daß er ... den Titel abgelehnt wissen wollte."370

Kingsbury’s argument is more subtle, but represents a one-sided evaluation of the evidence. His major shortcoming is a failure to develop his contention that the terms are not relational. He simply acts on this assumption without substantiating it. With respect to his discussion of the text, he correctly notes that the questions concerning sonship are more pointed in Matthew’s version of the pericope, but does not recognize that κύριος also receives a more pointed treatment.371 Since Matthew accords prominence to this title both here and elsewhere,372 might it not be preferable to understand the two titles to which he has explicitly given emphasis relationally, without having recourse to a third (unmentioned) title—namely Son of God? Daube, for instance, has noted the passage’s similarity in form to the rabbinic category of

371 See, instead, Burger, Davidssohn, 89: "Im unterschied zu Markus kommt Matthäus dem Psalmzitat zuvor und gebraucht κύριος bereits in V.43. Daraus erhebt, daß für ihn nicht nur das Problem, wie kann ein Sohn der Herr seines Vaters sein, sondern speziell die Kyrion-Bezeichnung den Kern der Auseinandersetzung bildet". To this can be added Matthew’s change of Mark’s πάντα τάς προς κάλεσεν and λέγω το καλέσειν. On these changes Duling, "Therapeutic", 406, remarks that "the variation in interrogative, the twofold form of the question, and the change from λέγω to καλέσειν appear to make the relationship between David’s son and David’s Lord a more balanced one".

372 On κύριος, cf. among others H. D. Betz, "Jesus as Divine Man" in F. Thomas Trotter (ed.), Jesus and the Historian (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968) 114-133, 125; Bornkamm, "End-Expectation", 41-43; Davies, SSM, 96-99; Strecker, Weg, 123-125. Kingsbury’s own examination of the title ("The Title 'Kyrion' in Matthew’s Gospel" JBL 94 (1975) 246-255, attempts to discount these views, largely by showing how κύριος is subordinated to other christological terms in Matthew... it basically refers beyond itself to some other, more definitive title, it is most properly to be regarded in the First Gospel not as one of the chief titles with which Matthew develops his christology (or indeed the primary one), but as an auxiliary christological title" (255). The difficulty with this (and indeed with many of Kingsbury’s christological analyses) is that it discounts the relational nature of Matthew’s christological terminology in favour of a rigidly hierarchical schema. As Hill astutely remarks of Kingsbury’s approach in Matthew: Structure, Christology and Kingdom (London: SPCK, 1976) "no rationale is provided for the view that one christological title needs to be understood as ‘most exalted’, ‘foremost’, ‘principal’ or ‘preeminent’ (pp. 67, 99, 162), yet this seems to serve as a methodological presupposition of the investigation" ("Son" 4). The same holds true for this paper here ("Kyrion”, “pre-eminent” 246 “ascendancy” 254).

See in addition the related criticisms by Stanton, "Origin", 1924 and Brian M. Nolan, The Royal Son of God: The Christology of Matthew 1-2 in the Setting of the Gospel, OBO 23, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1979) 183, as well as the more general remarks on christology by Donaldson in Mountain, 204.
haggadah (current in the first century) which treated various apparent contradictions in scripture by making a distinction.\textsuperscript{373} Here, he suggests that "the answer implied is not that one notion is right and the other wrong, but that both are right in different contexts".\textsuperscript{374} This can be understood in various ways,\textsuperscript{375} but regardless of the specific way, it has the advantage, as against Kingsbury's proposal, of not detracting from the importance Matthew elsewhere gives the title, especially in Chapter 1.\textsuperscript{376} It is possible that Son of God might be alluded to here, but even in this instance it would best be taken as relational.\textsuperscript{377} What would again have to be questioned is the assertion that Son of God "outranks" Son of David.\textsuperscript{378} Until Kingsbury can demonstrate the opposite contention, namely that Matthew has expressly ordered an hierarchical christology, this resolution is to be preferred.\textsuperscript{379}

The above discussion suggests therefore that Matthew regards Son of David as an adequate christological title. Kingsbury and others are correct, however, in suggesting that it had specific parameters. These shall be discussed next.

6c. The Therapeutic Son of David

The sphere where Matthew most often uses the title is a therapeutic one. In fact, apart from the verses discussed above, all the remaining references to Son of


\textsuperscript{373} Daube, \textit{Rabbinic}, 163 speaking of both Mark and Matthew.

\textsuperscript{374} Daube suggests "he is David's son according to the flesh, but his Lord according to the spirit" \textit{Rabbinic}, 163. He is followed by Jeremais \textit{Verheissung}, 45. Bornkamm, "End-Expectation", 33, suggests "in his earthly lowness he is David's son, but as the Exalted One he is Lord". (Cf. F. Hahn, \textit{Christologische Hoheitstitel: ihre Geschichte im frUhen Christentum} (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1964) 260-262 who adopts a related solution for Mark on the basis of "Zweistufen christologie"). Stecker, \textit{Weg}, 120 speaks of a theological "gleichzeitiges Nebeneinander" and is followed by Frankenmöller (who prefers to speak of a "theologisch-literarisches Ineinander" \textit{Jahwebund}, 169 #53). Stecker's view seems most promising in seeing the distinction as a "Nebeneinander". As shall be shown below, the distinction between the two titles might best be described in terms of a healing-servant Son of David sent to Israel on the one hand, and an authoritative lord sent to all peoples (though most characteristically to his church). Hay, \textit{Glory}, 117, offers a different distinction whereby Son of David relates to Israel and Son of God to all peoples.

\textsuperscript{375} See Hahn's general observations, \textit{Hoheitstitel}, 261.

\textsuperscript{376} See Kingsbury's "Title", 596.

\textsuperscript{377} One need only point to the concatenation of titles at 1:1 for a similar instance of a "relational" approach—Matthew gives no indication here of a "pre- eminent" title.

\textsuperscript{378} It goes without saying, of course, that Matthew offers no indications of an hierarchical christological schema.
David occur within this context. In the mouths of the crowds (12:23; 21:9), children (21:15) or suppliants (9:27; 15:22; 20:30, 31), the term is connected with healing.\(^{380}\) The prevalence of this conception has been recognized by several scholars who argue for the primacy of the Son of David as a therapeutic figure.\(^{381}\) What is less clear, is how the Son of David came to be associated with healing. Some have argued for a connexion between Solomon and exorcism,\(^{382}\) but the argument is tenuous at best.\(^{383}\)

A more readily demonstrable connexion can be seen between Jesus as Son of David and Jesus as servant.\(^{384}\) This is most evident in Chapter 12 where Matthew has inserted Isaiah 42:1-4 (12:18-21) between two healing accounts (12:9-14, cf. 15 and 12:22ff.). The second of these prompts the crowds to ask about the Son of David. Lindars states that "this Davidic title expresses Matthew's own interpretation of Is 42:1-4, which he has just quoted."\(^{385}\) Fuller also sees a correlation between servant and Son of David at 8:17 (Is 53:4).\(^{386}\) Certainly, Matthew's concern to emphasize healing in

\(^{380}\) This assumes that the crowd's use of the title at 21:9 is an indirect response to the healing of the blind men 20:29 ff., the crowd having taken over the blind men's use of the title. Apart from 20:29ff. (based on Mark's Bartimaeus account 10:46-52, cf. 47, 48) all the remaining Stellen are Matthean. Cf. Burger, Daedssohn, 90.


\(^{382}\) See Klaus Berger, "Die königlichen Messiasrotationen des Neuen Testaments" NTS 20 (1974) 1-44, 3-9; Dennis C. Duling, "Solomon, Exorcism and Son of David" HTR 68 (1975) 235-252; Loren R. Fisher, "Can This be the Son of David", in Trotter, Historian, 82-97.

\(^{383}\) As is recognized by Duling, "Therapeutic" 409-410. Not only are the connexions between Son of David and exorcism highly conjectural, but Jesus' healing in Matthew are largely non-exorcistic.

\(^{384}\) On the connection between Messiah and servant cf. Zech 3:8. The servant in Isaiah 53, is identified with the messiah in the Isaiah Targum (B. Chilton Isaiah Targum). Chilton (Glory, 86-96, 92) believes that this identification is early enough to reflect a primitive messianology "unperturbed by Christian claims". Nevertheless, in spite of his intercessory activity (see Koch, "Messias", 117-48, 447-48), the picture of the servant in the targum is not at all of a suffering messiah, but of an exalted servant. See further, Donald Juel, Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 119-33.

\(^{385}\) Lindars, Apolectic, 262.

\(^{386}\) Fuller, Foundations, 189. See too Hill, "Son", 9 - "Jesus heals as 'Servant' (as well as, perhaps, 'Son of David' and as Shepherd of Israel').". On further associations between Son of David and servant see Gerhardtsson, Mighty, 87; Nolan, Royal, 178 and also Jerome H. Neyrey, "The Thematic Use of Isaiah 42, 1-4 in Matthew 12" Bib 63 (1982) 457-473, 467-468 though he adopts a different (and questionable) view concerning the character of the Reflexionszitate.

Both the above Reflexionszitate should be understood as Matthew's redactional work—so Hill's "Son", 9 pace, Strecker, Weg, 66-67. Against Strecker's view of a pre-Matthean source of written testimonia see Stendahl, School, vi-ix and Kümmel, Introduction, 112.
these *Reflexionszitate* closely aligns Jesus as servant with Jesus as Son of David.

If this correlation holds, however, it immediately raises questions about the so-called "Pharisaic" conception of the Son of David discussed earlier. When the two are compared they emerge as antinomies. The therapeutic Son of David does not come to smash with an iron rod (*ψSal 17:26*), rather "he will not break a bruised reed or quench a smouldering wick" (12:20). He does not destroy the gentiles with the word of his mouth—instead he heals them (15:21-28), proclaims justice to them and gives them cause to hope (12:18, 21). Instead of destroying sinners he desires "mercy instead of sacrifice" (9:13; 12:7). Matthew has established Jesus as a scion of David, and a king, but it is a humble not a conquering king he describes (21:5). In doing this he turns the so-called "Pharisaic" conception on its head, and presents a portrait of the Son of David very different from popular expectation. 

Matthew’s conception might even be seen as a deliberate reaction to the kind of expectation typified by the the seventeenth psalm of Solomon. If (pace Charlesworth) these psalms can, in fact, justly be regarded as Pharisaic, this might provide an additional reason for Matthew's antipathy to the Pharisees. Once again, they would have made void the word of God for the sake of their traditions (cf.15:6), in this case, by ignoring what was prophesied about Jesus in favour of their own expectations about the Son of David. They would have flagrantly misunderstood the true nature of the

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387 Barth, *TIM* 128 observes with respect to 12:20a that both acts of healing and preaching are intended. See too Held, *TIM* 261. Healing is even more prominent in 8:17 where Matthew has avoided the spiritualizing LXX version of the passage ὁμοιοὶ τῶν ἀμαρτάντων ήμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ήμῶν δαίμονα ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν νόσων ἑκάστους. As Held, *TIM*, 260, remarks "There can be no doubt that he speaks of real physical sicknesses". See too Geist's *Menschensohn und Gemeinde: Eine redaktionssprachliche Untersuchung zur Menschensohnprädikation im Matthäusevangelium* FB (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1986) 376-377 discussion.

388 The contrasting use of ὠὐροπιστο at *ψSal 17:26* and Mt 12:20 is particularly arresting.

389 Nolan, *Royal*, 183 #5, notes that the cry ἰκάνης is found four times with Son of David (in therapeutic contexts) and only once elsewhere in the gospel. See Held, *TIM*, 220 as well.

390 Leonhard Goppelt, *Theology of the New Testament: Volume 2; The Variety and Unity of the Apostolic Witness to Christ*, tr. J. E. Alsup, ed. J. Roloff (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982, 220) remarks that what Matthew says "about the Son of David was not what Judaism was expecting in regard to ben-dawid." See too G. Bornkamm, "Matthäus als Interpret der Herrenworte" *TLZ* 79 (1954) cols. 341-46, 344 #5; Burger, *Davidsohn*, 44; Gundry, *Matthew*, 231. Matthew’s rationale here is probably apologetic, at least in part. Why did the Jews not recognize Jesus? — it was because he was not the figure they were looking for and they missed him. Cf. Goppelt, *Theology*, 221-222, who comes to a similar stance, and also fittingly stresses the "salvation-historical statement" beyond the apologetic (221). Lohse ("völge", 490) also suggests something of an apologetic.
Messiah, just as they have misunderstood at 22:41-46. It is hardly without significance that Matthew alone has made the Pharisees Jesus' interlocutors for this particular pericope. Nor is it without significance that it is a christological controversy that ultimately confounds the Pharisees, and leads to their asking Jesus no more questions. Once again, this is a feature which is only found in Matthew, and indicates that Jesus and his church have the final word about the Messiah.

This prompts a further question. Given the disparity between the above two messianic conceptions, do the various individuals or groups in Matthew who use the title of Jesus in a therapeutic sense invariably understand it as being messianic? The answer would appear to be that it depends on the group or individuals. It is true, as Burger rightly notes that "nach der matthäischen Formulierung scheint es eine jüdische Selbstverständlichkeit zu sein: Der Davidssohn tut Wunder," but this hardly meshes with what appears to have been popular expectation. For this reason, the two groups using the term will be examined separately—first the suppliants and then the crowds.

In the case of the suppliants the title does appear to be messianic since Matthew invariably has then advert to another christological title—namely κύριος. Each supplicant when first encountering Jesus addresses him as Son of David (or Lord, Son of David), entreats him to have mercy, and then moves ultimately to Lord (9:27 [υἱὸς Δαυίδ] 9:28 [κύριε]; 15:22 [κύριε, υἱὸς Δαυίδ] 25, 27 [κύριε], 20:30 [κύριε] υἱὸς Δαυίδ 31 κύριε, υἱὸς Δαυίδ 33 κύριε). In each of these episodes it is only when Jesus has been addressed exclusively as Lord that the suppliants are healed. If, as

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391 Mark and Luke both speak of the scribes: Mk 13:35; Lk 21:39. Moreover, it is only in Matthew that Jesus has interlocutors. In Mark and Luke it is phrased as a rhetorical question. That the Pharisees are made to reply "Son of David" is itself suggestive.
392 Both Mk (12:34b) and Lk (20:40) situate it earlier.
393 Burger, Davidssohn, 79.
394 On the basis of the foregoing discussion it will be assumed that the children's use of the title represents an adequate messianic understanding on their part (21:15). Because the healing accounts show considerable affinities with each other, the individual narratives of suppliants who call on the Son of David will be treated as a group.
395 There is also textual support for the vocative υἱό in every instance where the nominative occurs. For the variant's primacy cf. Kingsbury, "Kyrios", 252 #31, and against his position Metzger, Textual, 53-54 who argues that the vocative represents a more polished style than the nominative, citing BDF 147 (3).
396 Suhl, "Davidssohn" 73-75, notes something similar, and also points out that it is only on the petitioners' second request that Jesus responds with healing. It is worth noting that this pattern has been carefully developed by Matthew. For instance, Son of David does not occur in Mark's account of
seems likely, this vocative use of κύριος is more than honorific; it would indicate a broader messianic understanding on their part. This view is also supported by the fact that two of the three supplicants are commended for their faith (9:29 [cf. Mk 10:52]); 15:28 [no Mkn]. At 20:30 the motif is replaced by a reference to Jesus' compassion.

This is no insignificant detail in a gospel where the disciples are criticized for ὁδιγορρήτος. It is, moreover, a feature which ties in with their repeated requests, and their final appeal to Jesus as Lord. For these reasons it is best to conclude that the supplicants have a messianic understanding. Not only have they recognized Jesus qua messianic healer, but what is more have recognized the authority which lies behind this—Jesus as authoritative Lord. It is their appeal to this authority that results in their healing.

The Syrophoenician Woman and κύριος only once (7:28 κύριος) versus 4 times in Matthew's version (3 times in the vocative 15:22, 25, 27 as well as the significant change of Mark's τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν παιδίων to τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν πιστῶν ὧν ἐκ τῆς τροπείτης τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν. κύριος does not figure in the Bartimaeus narrative but occurs once in the first healing of the blind men (9:28) and twice (or three times) in the second healing (20:30 v.l.; 31, 33). Held (TIM 253) has remarked on a further difference—in Mark κύριος is never used in a request.

397 Bornkamm, TIM 42 describes it as "the form of address to Jesus as the miracle-working Saviour" while Schultz, Stunde, 199 states "Der irdische Jesus ist nach Matthäus der göttliche Herr. Der Herr-Anrede gilt deshalb vor allem dem Wundertäter (8,2; 9,28; 15,27; 20; 30; u.6), aber auch die Anbetung und der aus dem Gottesdienst stammende Ruf "Erbarme dich mein" (9,27; 15,22; u.6) bzw. "Erretto uns" (8,25; 14,20; u.6) unterstreichen diesen christologischen Sachverhalt. Konsequent scheidet Matthäus deshalb die "Herr-Anrede" der Jünger von derjenigen der Gegner Jesu, die sich mit dem Lehrer-Titel begnügen müssen". See too J. Dupont, "L'évangile de saint Matthieu: quelques clés de lecture" Communautés et Liurgie 1, (1975) 3-40, 13. Fitzmyer, "κύριος" EWNT II, cols. 811-820 is more cautious-"mag", while C.F.D. Moule, The Origin of Christology (Cambridge: University Press, 1977) 35 and #48 issues a caveat against understanding the vocative as a christological title. He does allow (citing Mt 7:21) that "the context sometimes enhances the meaning of the vocative" (#48). Might not this allowance be urged in the above instances, not least because of the affinities Schultz has noted between the use of the term by the disciples (8:25; 14:30) and that of the supplicants? Further, if κύριος was merely honorific its use alone after Son of David would represent a dénouement. Yet the context in the stories suggests an intensification. Kingsbury has missed the force of this. He (albeit tentatively) suggests that "kyrie" is meant to refer beyond itself to Son of David as the primary title" ("Kyrios", 253). Yet if this were so, one would expect Son of David in the ultimate position—instead, the intensification is expressly associated with κύριος.

398 Held (TIM 262) notes that "on the one hand, the healing stories Matthew works out the concept of the Lord (Kyrios) and understands them entirely as manifestations of his might; but on the others with Matt. 8:17 he interprets them as the work of the servant of God of Isaiah 53".

399 Because their use of κύριος approximates that of the disciples (and not least because one is a gentile) these healings point to the later situation of the church. Their use of the historicizing Son of David here situates them within Jesus' historical ministry to Israel, but the use of κύριος points to a time beyond this and to a situation and milieu where Jesus' authority is implicitly recognized. Strecker, Weg, 124 detects in these references to the Lord a possible eschatological character, but the affinities with the disciples' general use of the title suggests otherwise. As Goppelt, Theology, 221 germane remarks, Matthew "wanted ... to bring his community to the place where it would associate with the worship-service invocation of the exalted One as Lord an image that was concretely shaped in terms of the earthly One." The Son of David question ought to be considered in this light as well. Matthew, as was shown above, recognizes Son of David as a valid title, but one more particularly fitted to Israel as a whole than to his community. Matthew's framing of the discussion,
Before considering the nature of the crowd's exclamation at 21:9 it is necessary to consider the character of the Triumphal Entry as a whole. This ought to provide the appropriate context for evaluating their statements.

In Matthew's version of the entry there are two predominant elements. The first is Jesus' προφήτησις. This arises chiefly out of Matthew's mixed Reflexionszitat (Is 62:11; Zech 9:9) which characterizes Jesus as a humble king. Matthew is the only synoptic evangelist to explicitly cite Zech 9:9, and he has altered the passage so as to emphasize Jesus' humility. Of a piece with this is his omission of the βασιλεία του πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυὶδ (Mk 11:10) which eliminates any possible misunderstandings about the nature of his kingship. He comes not as a political king on a warhorse, but as a humble king mounted on an ass and the foal of an ass.

The other feature that predominates in the Triumphal Entry account, or more accurately, around it, is healings by the Son of David. As in Mark, a healing precedes Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. The account differs from Mark in having Jesus proceed to the temple immediately after the Triumphal Entry, and not the next day (cf. Mk 11:12,15). Jesus cleanses the temple, and then, in a Matthean addition has Jesus therefore, might in part be said to advocate the use of κόριος—particularly in epiclesis—within his community.

The discussion above did not consider what Son of David meant, and that question will be taken up here.


He has omitted διάκονος καὶ σφέτες αὐτὸς to give prominence to προφήτης. For a detailed discussion see Barth, "Law", 129-130.

Trilling, "Einzug", 303 #2.

There is no need to go into the question of whether this represents a misunderstanding on Matthew's part. For thorough discussions see Stendahl, School; R. H. Gundry, The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel NovTSup 18 (Leiden:Brill, 1967); W. Rothfuchs, Die Erfüllungszitate des Matthäus-Evangelium WMANT V, 8 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1969) ad loc.

"Der ganze Abschnitt scheint... eine Komposition des Evangelisten zu sein", Burger, Davidsohn, 87.
heal the blind and the lame, whereupon the children acclaim him as the Son of David. The children's cry is identical to that of the crowd at 21:9 ('Ωσαννα τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ), and the crowd's use of the title reflects the use of the title by the blind men at 20:30ff. The effect is twofold. On the one hand, it links the title expressly with Jesus' healing function and thereby brackets the Triumphal Entry between healings, thus establishing a context in which to understand it. On the other hand, it helps represent the Triumphal Entry as the culminating point in Jesus' healing ministry. In Matthew, the Entry really ends with Jesus healing in the temple itself, and this gives a very definite complexion to the passage as a whole.

Finally, it must be added that in Matthew the Triumphal Entry represents a popular reaction. Unlike Luke, for instance, where it is the disciples who acclaim Jesus (Lk 19:37 τὸ πλήθος τῶν μαθητῶν), here it is the crowds not the disciples. Moreover, the effect of the procession is so considerable that the whole city is shaken, and prompts the inhabitants to ask who he is (21:10 cf. 2:3 where Herod and all Jerusalem are shaken (ἐτροχάζοντας) at the news of the birth of the βασιλεύς τῶν Ἰουδαίων). In sum, it was not an event which took place in a corner.

Together these features suggest that Matthew has placed a "messianic" interpretation on to the events of the Triumphal Entry. Just as clearly though, his messianic conception must be regarded as that of the servant Messiah—the humble healer who has come expressly to minister to his people.

6d. The Crowds and the Son of David

Given its messianic context, how is one to understand the crowds' utterances at 21:9? There is no doubt that they contribute to Matthew's overall messianic portrayal, but are they themselves incontrovertibly messianic? Strangely, they do not create this

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406 In Mark, Jesus does not heal in Jerusalem. On the pericope see Manson, *Sayings*, 221, Trilling, "Einzug", 303, "Der Tempel ist... das Ziel des Einzug, geworden".
impression. The cry "Hosanna" is problematic in this respect, and depends on the extent to which its apparent liturgical use is reflected in the crowds' statement, and on the character of that liturgical use.408 This is by no means easily determined. It may reflect liturgical usage, or may at this point have become a generalized expression that here, as Goodspeed says is "no more liturgical than 'God save the King'".409 Either way, Fitzmyer is probably correct in arguing that there is no evidence for its association "with a messianic expectation in pre-Christian Judaism".410

The reference to ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν δόνοματι κυρίου is perhaps a bit more readily established. Some have seen possible messianic allusions here, especialfly if 11:3 (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) is seen to refer to the Messiah.412 At 11:3, however, the word is used absolutely—here it is qualified by ἐν δόνοματι κυρίου, and therefore cannot be taken as a title.413 Arens, in his discussion of the phrase, holds that "to come ἐν δόνοματι κυρίου is equivalent to 'sent by God' and implies an 'ambassadorial mission' like that of the prophets, as in 1 Sam. 17,45, wherein David tells Goliath 'I have come against you in the name of the Lord of Hosts . . .'.414 Arens goes on to

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408 On Hosanna see: J. Hempel, "Hosanna", IDB II 648; J. Spencer Kennard, Sr., "Hosanna' and the Purpose of Jesus" JBL 67 (1948) 171-176; J. A. Motyer, "ὁσαννά" s.v. "Amen" NIDNTT I, 100. Werner's proposed solution, (Eric Werner, "Hosanna" in the Gospels" JBL 65 (1946) 97-122) to the problematic occurrence of the word with the dative is ingenious, but ultimately not convincing. Lohse suggests (Eduard Lohse, "Hosanna" 6 (1963) 113-119, see too E. Lohse "ὁσαννά" TDNT 9, 682-683) that Hosanna had become a stock formula prior to its use in the Christian community (pace Strecker Weg 21 #3). J. Fitzmyer in a recent article ("Aramaic Evidence affecting the Interpretation of Hosanna in the New Testament" in G.F. Hawthorne and O. Betz (eds.), Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 110-118) makes an effective case for regarding Hosanna "as a cry of greeting or homage"(115). Fitzmyer further argues that "the term undoubtedly represents a cry that Jerusalemites used to greet pilgrims coming to Jerusalem for feasts like that of Tabernacles and perhaps even Passover "(115).

409 E. J. Goodspeed, Problems of New Testament Translation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945) 35 cited in Martin, Interpretation, 143 #3 continued 144. Motyer (ὁσαννά" 100) implies (cf. Mt, Mk and Jn) that it was used liturgically, but used unwittingly of Jesus.

410 Fitzmyer, "Hosanna", 115. He rightly discounts Warner's argument, and rejects Lohse's evidence as being too late.

411 Cf. Sand, Gesetz, 147 implies this in light of later Jewish usage S-B I 850. See too Fenton, St. Matthew, 331.

412 Jacques Dupont, "L'ambassade de Jean-Baptiste" (Mt 11, 2-6, Lk 7, 18-23) NRT 83 (1961) 805-821, 943-959, 821, sees 11:3 as referring to "le Juge redoutable qui condamne les impies" while Eduardo Arens, (The HΑΘΟΝ - sayings in the Synoptic Tradition: A Historico-critical Investigation OBO 10 (Freiburg: Universität Verlag, 1976) 290) considers it "a circumloquium for the Messiah". Cullman, (Christology, 26 cf. 36) suggests it might refer to the Messiah, or alternatively, to the "Prophet of the End".

413 So Arens, Sayings, 291.

414 Ibid., 292-293.
interpret this messianically in light of Zech 9:9, which is to say, he does not regard the utterance as messianic until it is fit into the larger interpretive framework Matthew provides. Thus, the phrase ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου is not, in itself, messianic either.

If the above elements need not be regarded as messianic, what about the title Son of David itself? The children's cry at 21:15 received Jesus' approbation and was regarded as "perfect praise". How then can the crowds' cry be regarded as less? The answer would appear to reside in the fact that Matthew indicates that their understanding of the person of Jesus is less than that of the children. He appears to qualify the crowds' utterance in two ways.

The first is most clearly developed in the pericope of the healing of the two blind men (20:29-34). Matthew has made several decisive changes to the account. Mark depicts a large crowd (ὁ χιλιάριον ἵκανον 10:46) in which πολλοὶ rebuke Bartimaeus (10:48). Matthew also has a large crowd (ὁ χιλιάριον πολὺς 20:29), but significantly has the entire crowd (ὁ δὲ ὁ χλος 10:31) rebuke the blind men. Instead of differentiating among the crowd as he does, for instance, in the Triumphal Entry account, he devolves the entire responsibility onto the crowd as a whole. This is rather strange, for it attributes a fundamental misunderstanding about Jesus qua therapeutic Son of David to the very crowd of the Triumphal Entry.

There are other features in the account which indicate that this represents a deliberate change on Matthew's part. He has eliminated the faith motif found in the other member of this doublet (9:29 cf. Mk 10:52) and replaced it with a reference to Jesus' compassion. This is the only time Matthew uses the word with reference to

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415 Ibid., 293.
416 Also significant in this context is Matthew's removal of any explicit reference to king or kingship from the crowd's remarks cf. Mk 11:10; Lk 19:38 (μαθητῶν); Jn 12:13.
418 Duling describes the omission of the reference to faith as "so strikingly un-matthean" ("Therapeutic", 403). See too Held, TIM, 221 #1. In general, references to Jesus' emotions are downplayed in Matthew (cf. Sanders, Tendencies, 186, Loader, "Son of David", 579, Kümmel, Introduction, 106) though cf. 9:30's difficult ἔνεργημάθην. Loader, "Son of David", 579 #30 translates it as "deeply moved" citing Jn 11:33, 38. Given the parallel to 20:34, his view is probably to be preferred.
individuals—the other occurrences apply to Jesus' compassion for the crowds as a whole.\textsuperscript{419} The effect of including it here is to produce a marked contrast between the crowd's callousness and Jesus' compassion. This callousness is unrelieved through the entire account. In Mark, the crowd relents and says to Bartimaeus "Take heart, rise, he is calling you" (10:49). Matthew excludes the crowd altogether and has Jesus deal with the blind man directly.\textsuperscript{420} Further, Matthew's retention of Mark's twice-iterated "Son of David" (20:30, rebuke 31a, 31b cf. Mk 10:47, 48 rebuke, 48b) heightens the contrast between Jesus and the crowd. So does Jesus' healing of the supplicants' blindness; Gibbs states that "it would appear that Matthew means to imply that the ἄγνωστοι, being spiritually blind, still rejects the witness of those who can really see that this is the Son of David".\textsuperscript{421} As a whole then, the recasting of the pericope presents a far more negative portrayal of the crowd than Mark does. This is a noteworthy change. Surely if Matthew were intent on giving considerable weight to the praise of the crowd, he would be unlikely to modify this pericope so that it stressed the crowds' lack of understanding and their lack of compassion. But that is exactly what he has done. This can only call their acclaim at 21:9 into question.\textsuperscript{422}

A tertiary consideration affecting this argument is the role of the above-mentioned "simple ignorant outsiders" within the gospel. It is noteworthy that the only ones Jesus ever commends for faith or praises for using the title Son of David are blind men (9:27ff.),\textsuperscript{423} a gentile (15:21) or children (21:16). All are "outsiders", and the very point of giving them insight is to contrast them with those "insiders" who lack it (cf. 11:25-27 Q). Certainly the leaders are foremost in this category but the fact that this dichotomy is found between the blind men and the crowds immediately prior to the

\textsuperscript{419} 9:36; 14:14; 15:15 compare Mk 1:41 (individual); 9:22 (father and son) 6:34; 8:2 (crowds).
\textsuperscript{420} This doubtless also reflects Matthew's penchant for abbreviation—Held, \textit{TIM} 224ff..
\textsuperscript{421} Gibb's, "Purpose", 459. Cf. Patte, \textit{Matthew} 286 "for the readers such crowds are not trustworthy".
\textsuperscript{422} One could argue that this pericope represents the crowd at last coming to more of an awareness of who the therapeutic Son of David is, which effloresces in the Triumphant Entry. This is true in part, but it would indicate an enthusiastic, and very likely, shallow appraisal of who he is. That this is the case will be shown below.
\textsuperscript{423} Gibbs "Purpose" 462-463 is very good at bringing this out, especially in relation to the blindness of the Pharisees which is given such emphasis in Chapter 23.
Triumphal Entry would suggest that here they too are considered "insiders".\textsuperscript{426}

Matthew, in addition, qualifies the crowds' response immediately following their outburst. This is when they designate Jesus as a prophet at 21:11. The grounds for this view will be developed in the next section; suffice it to say for the moment that it is to be understood as an inadequate messianic designation.\textsuperscript{425}

What this suggests, therefore, is that immediately prior to the Triumphal Entry and immediately after it, Matthew presents the reader with reasons for questioning the depth of the crowds' understanding. Matthew certainly intends the crowds' remarks to fit into the overall messianic account that he has constructed, but at the same time he wants to show that the crowds do not regard it as messianic. They see Jesus as a healer sent by God, and a prophet. As such he calls forth their acclaim. They do not see in him the Messiah.\textsuperscript{425}

The reason for this is two-fold. First, Matthew wants to depict a messianic entry into Jerusalem, but more than that, the entry of the therapeutic servant Messiah. This explains the emphasis on healings in this account. The crowds are naturally included in all this to stress the popular character of Jesus' ministry. Not only are the crowds witness to Jesus' healing of the two blind men (20:29ff.), but more importantly, they themselves are witnesses to Jesus' compassion and healing. They, 

\textsuperscript{424} It might be added that all the suppliants (who comprise the core of the "outsiders") use the title κόσμος of Jesus, while it is never used by the crowds.


\textsuperscript{426} To substantiate this view, one might append another argument which concerns the apologetic character of Matthew. If the great majority of Judaism had in fact recognized Jesus as the Messiah at the Triumphal Entry (given its "popular" character in Matthew) and then subsequently (and deliberately) put him to death, there would be little point in apologetic or anti-Pharisaic polemic. They would have known exactly what they were doing. Yet Matthew's apologetic appears, almost invariably, to work on the assumption that the crowds did not know what they were doing, but were put up to it by the malign influence of the Jewish leaders.

Suhl, "Davidssohn", 70 also brings out the fact that the disciples do not join in the adulation with the crowds as an indication of the crowds' inadequate praise. This however is better explained by the public character of the title Son of David. Here, more than anywhere else in the gospel, it reflects Jesus' mission to his people (aptly symbolized by the healings in the Temple), and since the disciples are associated with him in that ministry they do not use that title, but κόσμος (or Son of God) instead. Martin, Interpretation, 133 misses the force of all this when he states that the crowds' "reaction to Jesus' approach to Jerusalem shows the proper attitude of true disciples to their Lord".
therefore, are those most suited to acclaim Jesus as a healer, and their acclaim stresses that Jesus was recognized as a healer by many of the people.

On the other hand, Matthew is also showing why many of the people did not recognize him. Instead of coming as the political, triumphant, Messiah he came as the humble, servant, Messiah. And instead of coming with force as judge of the sinners he came as the compassionate healer to his people. And though they recognized him as a healer and thaumaturge they did not recognize in him the Messiah. The irony, and the tragedy is that they were so close.427

This "closeness" can be seen from a comparison with the crowds' response here and at 12:23. Clearly there is an advance in their awareness. The μηττα is no longer in force—they now, without question, regard him as the Son of David. As such then, their acclaim represents a measure of progress. Not only has their attention moved from the deed to the doer, but the doer himself is now (as never before) acclaimed. The Matthean "Hosanna to the Son of David" is decisive in this respect—Jesus is now the cynosure. Concomitant with this is the fact that their response has become more appropriate. In praising him as a healer they are not far away from praising him as the Messiah. As a result of Jesus' activity amongst them, they have come very close to recognizing him.

Conclusion

The above discussion prompts two sets of conclusions—the first concerning the Son of David, the second concerning the crowd's reaction to him.

In the first gospel, Son of David is an adequate christological title, and Matthew takes pains to show how Jesus is both the heir to it and the culmination of it. Because of this heritage (and its juxtaposition with Son of Abraham 1:1) the title is a public one and characterizes Jesus in his ministry to Israel. Matthew's depiction of the Son of

427 Compare Gibbs' remarks, "Purpose", 464—"The mass of the Jews were moving toward recognition of Jesus and would have come to accept him if it had not been for the direct opposition of the perverse Pharisees and other Jewish leaders." The effectiveness of such a position for the purposes of apologetic is patent.
David exercising this ministry, however, runs directly counter to popular, possibly Pharisaic, expectations and reveals a Son of David who is the servant and healer par excellence. Owing to the limited forms of the title (as reflected in the gospel's use of κόριτος) it naturally began to be supplanted in Matthew's community by the use of κόριτος. Thus, its usage in Matthew is more historical than liturgical, and reflects Matthew's apologetic concerns.

In general, the crowds' reaction to Son of David can best be described as a continuation of their response to his miracles and healings discussed in the last section. It represents a clear development or progression on their part in that their interest has begun to centre around Jesus. At 12:23 he is tentatively identified with the Son of David, which becomes full-blown acclaim in the Triumphal Entry, stopping just short of being a messianic confession.

Once again, an element of this is clearly christological. Their use of the title not only draws attention to Jesus but also, along with the suppliants' use of it, gives content to Matthew's conception of the Son of David. Being Israelites they are the people he has come to serve, and being sick and in need, are the people he has come to heal. The crowds' cry at 21:9 is particularly instrumental in drawing attention to the primacy of healing in Matthew's messianic portrayal.

There is also an apologetic focus. This emerges in two ways. First, the crowds' "progression" shows how close they were to penetrating Jesus' identity as Messiah, and how, given time, they would have been likely to do so. Second, it explains why they failed to recognize Jesus as the Messiah—it was because they saw in the Son of David merely a thaumaturge and not the Messiah. Had they recognized the true import of the Son of David's healings, they would have found the servant-Messiah and not the political conqueror they had been expecting.

7. PROPHET

7a. Prelude

As mentioned in the last section, the crowd's response to the people of
Jerusalem that "This is the prophet Jesus from Nazareth of Galilee" (οὐ̇ς ἐστὶν ὁ προφήτης Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας 21:11) occurs immediately after Jesus' entry in Jerusalem. Given the prominence accorded to the question and the crowds' answer, it is obviously of prime significance for determining the reaction of the crowd. In order to do this, the discussion which follows will first consider the provenance of the passage, then the place of the Eschatological Prophet in Matthew. It will then examine 21:11, and conclude with the implications it has with respect to the crowds.

The crowds' response at 21:11 is an integral part of the Triumphal Entry scene. Van Tilborg and Walker have disputed this, and claim that 21:10-11 ought to be separated from 21:9. This is doubtful however. The εἰσελθόντος (21:10) indicates that the entry is still in view, while the continuing mention of the crowds, and the recurring use of direct discourse with its express focus on Jesus, all suggest that it should be taken as a unity.

Both are also best regarded as a Matthean composition. By contrast, Meyer has argued that Matthew is depending on tradition here, but the Matthean vocabulary argues for composition by Matthew and so does the style. Prabhu observes that the use of the genitive absolute and the clear reminiscences of Mt 2:1-3 are Matthean. The only point where he finds a "traditional datum" is with προφήτης itself, and this is

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429 Van Tilborg, Leaders, 145; Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 63. For a contrary view see Prabhu, Formula, 157.


432 Gundry, Matthew, 411 sees ἐξηκλίνη, πάσα, πόλις and λέγων as part of Matthew's special vocabulary in 10 and ὁ προφήτης ἐστιν, crowds, prophets, Jesus' name, and Nazareth and Galilee in v.11. Prabhu, Formula, 152 calls it a "redactional composition" and see Schnider, Prophet, 102ff. as well.

433 Prabhu, Formula, 152.
on theological grounds: "προφήτης is not a Matthean title for Jesus". This ignores the fact that the word prophet is frequently associated with the crowds in the first gospel (14:5; 21:26; 21:46) in material which Matthew consciously reduplicates. In light of this the Matthean composition becomes evident.

7b. The Eschatological Prophet

If Matthew composed the account, what did he mean by it? Is Matthew simply having the crowds say that "this is the prophet from Nazareth, of whom you have already heard", or are they saying that "this is the 'eschatological prophet'? The difference is not an inconsiderable one, for if it could be shown that the crowds understand Jesus as the "eschatological prophet", one would have to impute to them considerably more insight and understanding than if they simply regarded Jesus as 'a prophet'.

While a number of commentators have seen 21:11 as a possible reference to the Eschatological Prophet or prophet like Moses, many of them do not explain what

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they understand by it, nor how it relates to 21:11. This naturally makes an examination of the question difficult, not least because of the complex, amorphous and sometimes contradictory nature of the sources which deal with the Eschatological Prophet. Related to this are methodological problems, since very often the questions that are asked about the Prophet have already determined what the answer will be, and messianic expectation was so varied in the first century, that, depending on the question, any number of different answers could emerge. As Volz remarks:

das fromme Judentum im Zeitalter Jesu Christi nicht eine einheitliche, sondern eine mannigfaltige 'Messiashoffnung' hatte, und es läßt sich vermuten, daß sich die verschiedenen eschatologischen Heilsgestalten auf verschiedene Kreise im Volk verteilt haben. Die verschiedenen Gruppen in Zeitalter Jesu werden sich ihren besonderen 'Messias', Erlöser, Heilbringer erdacht und ihn in sehr verschiedener Gestalt erwartet haben ..."440

One solution to the problem has been to try to compound our knowledge by synthesizing the material. Yet if Volz's analysis is correct, such an approach hardly does justice to the Mannigfaltigkeit and diversity of first century expectation. In a recent article, Horsley has with some justice, therefore, criticized the "highly synthetic" treatments of the Eschatological Prophet by Cullmann and Hahn.441

In light of this, the solution adopted here will be to take the breadth and

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439 For an instance of this see Charles Perrot, "Un prophète comme l'un des prophètes (Mc 6:15)", in De la Torah au Messie. Études d'exégèse et d'herméneutique bibliques offries a Henri Cazelles, ed. J. Doné, P. Grelot (Paris: Desclées, 1981) 417-423, who brings the "mosaic eschatological prophet" into a discussion of Mk 8:28 and, not surprisingly, emerges with it in his conclusions.

440 Paul Volz, Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter. Nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apocalypticischen und apokryphen Literatur (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1934) 201. This assessment does not appear to have changed much in the last fifty years. Larry Hurtado, "The Study of New Testament Christology: Notes for the Agenda" in SBL 1981 Seminar Papers, (Chico: Scholars Press, 1981) 185-97, notes that "the Qumran materials have provided us with evidence also that the Soteriological hopes of Palestinian Jews were more complex (and confusing!) than we might have desired, and it is still not clear whether the questions about the nature of messianic expectations have been resolved" (187).

diversity of popular expectation into account, but to give primacy to what, in view of this expectation, is emphasized in the gospel. This should not only provide an insight into popular expectation, but take cognizance of Matthew's own particular emphasis. (It therefore makes the not unreasonable presupposition that if the Endtime Prophet is to be found in Matthew, it will be related to the prophetic types Matthew includes in his gospel, rather than ones that he otherwise ignores.)

Of these prophetic types, the ones which receive most emphasis are Moses and Elijah. Matthew rules out Elijah for Jesus, so this leaves Moses. He is a natural choice as he played an important role in later Jewish speculation, and significantly, references and especially allusions to Moses are common in the first gospel. Commentators are naturally divided concerning the extent of these allusions, but many would see at least some in the Infancy Narratives and the Sermon on the Mount.

On the strength of these references and allusions, H. M. Teeple has argued that they characterize Jesus as the Mosaic Eschatological Prophet. His argument, as shall be seen, runs afoul of several difficulties.

The first is one to which he himself draws attention, namely that "the prophecy..."
from Deuteronomy . . . is not mentioned in this Gospel".447 He may be overstating the case somewhat since 17:5 likely contains a reference to Deut. 18:15 which Matthew has taken over from Mark 9:7.448 Yet he is correct in saying that Matthew has not introduced the reference himself elsewhere—something the author of Luke-Acts has, in fact, done.449 Given Matthew's penchant for Old Testament citations, and the emphasis he gives to Moses, one might say that the verse is eloquent by its omission.

To make up for this deficiency, Teeple draws attention to instances where Matthew has emphasized Jesus' status as a prophet. He maintains that "the author of Matthew regarded Jesus as like Moses but did he believe that, like Moses, Jesus was a prophet? The answer is definitely "Yes," for not only does Matthew copy Mark's traditions in which Jesus is a prophet (Jesus is not called a "prophet" in the Q source), but he adds two others" [sc. 21:11, 10:41].450

Teeple's argument is suspect here. Do references to Jesus as a prophet automatically suggest the Mosaic Eschatological Prophet? His argument might carry a modicum of conviction if he could relate any one of the "prophet" Stellen to a Mosaic motif. He is not able to do this however—the closest one might come is 16:14 ἡ ἑνα τῶν προφήτων. Yet it seems unlikely in the extreme that Matthew would explicitly mention Jeremiah and confine Moses to the ranks of "one of the prophets".452 As for 21:11 and 10:41, neither passage associates Jesus with Moses,

447 Ibid., 88.
448 Kasner, Moses, 129 - "ohne Zweifel Dt 18, 15-18 entnommen" errs in the other direction. Davies (SSM 50) "may recall Deut 18:15" is to be preferred. So too H. Riesenfeld, (Jésus Transfiguré: L'Arrière-Plan du Récit Évangélique de la Transfiguration de Notre-Seigneur, (København: Einar Monksgard, 1947) 270) "Il est . . . possible".
449 Cf. Acts 3:22; 7:37. In addition, Lindars, (Apologetic, 204) suggests that Luke's αὐτὸν ἄνωτερον (9:35) has been inverted so as to bring it into harmony with Deut 18:15.
450 Teeple, Prophet, 83.
451 Only 21:11 is definite, the τῶν προφήτων of 16:14 referring to a distinct group.
452 The same objection can be tendered against Hahn's ready correlation of the Eschatological Prophet with the "New Moses". Apart from one instance, (Hoheitsstitel, 401) he simply presents instances of Mosaic typology and assumes that they are sufficient to suggest the "Prophet", 400-402.
453 The one exception is where he relates Matthew's temptation pericope to Mark's where he has found a reference to the Eschatological Prophet (345f. and note 2). For all that, it is certainly questionable whether "die vierzigjährige Aufenthalt in der Wüste und auch der Dienst der Engel" (345) is sufficient to point exclusively to a Moses-Elijah typology (much less a direct correlation between Moses and the Eschatological Prophet). See the remarks by Haenchen, Weg 64; and Gerhardsson, The Testing of God's Son: An Analysis of Early Christian Midrash, tr. John Toy CB (NT 2:1 (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1966) 43: "It would be unwise to assume that here we have a Moses—or even an Elijah-typology". W. D. Davies is of a similar opinion, "It is precarious to find even in the Matthean
and certainly the *onus probandi* rests with Teeple in attempting to make such a correlation.\(^4\)

In fact, the only passage in Matthew where it appears that such a correlation might be made is at 17:5. W. D. Davies, in his careful study of the pericope, says that it is "possible, even probable, that we should understand the phrase in the light of Deut XVIII 15".\(^4\)\(^4\) Significantly, he goes on to show how in Matthew's account the figure of Moses is superseded. For one thing, Matthew emphasizes that Jesus is left alone (αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον 17:8) after Moses and Elijah leave, thereby showing that Jesus "has become the teacher unique, the "New Moses".\(^4\)\(^5\) Further, Matthew draws attention to Jesus' capacity to command by placing the disciples' epiphany after the *bath qôl* and not before it (17:6).\(^4\)\(^6\) Both of these features give emphasis to Jesus as teacher, and at the same time indicate that Jesus is greater than Moses. Herein lies the problem with seeing Jesus as the Eschatological Prophet. The latter is only a prophet like Moses\(^4\)\(^7\) whereas Jesus is greater than Moses—he is ὁ νῦς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός (18:5; cf. 3:17). So even if there is some identification with the teaching role of the prophet (cf. 18:18) intended here, it is an identification that is ultimately of a negative kind, in that Matthew's intention is to show that Jesus is more than the Prophet, in the same sort of way that, in the antitheses, Jesus' teaching transcends that of Moses.\(^4\)\(^8\)

For this reason it is unlikely that Matthew's account involves the Prophet at all—the

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\(^4\)\(^3\) His attempt to see the Eschatological Prophet at 10:41 is questionable. The context in the Mission Discourse suggests that it is better understood as positing a correlation between Jesus and the later community. See Brown, "Mission", 77; E. Cothenet, "Les prophètes chrétiens dans l'Évangile selon Matthieu" in Didier, *L'Évangile*, 281-308, 298-299; Davies, *SSM*, 97-98; Hill, *Prophecy*, 155.

\(^4\)\(^4\) Davies, *SSM* 53, cf. 50-56.

\(^4\)\(^5\) Ibid., 54.

\(^4\)\(^6\) Ibid.

\(^4\)\(^7\) Deut 18:15 LXX- Προφήτην ἐκ τῶν ἁγιασμῶν σου ὡς ἐμὲ ἀναστήσει σου κύριος ὁ θεός σου, αὐτοῦ ἀκοέοντες.\(^4\)\(^8\) It is not clear whether Davies' remark "the characteristics of 'the Prophet' to come are ascribed by Matthew to Jesus as Messiah" (*SSM* 189 #2) is in line with this position or not. He does not say what the characteristics are, but if teaching were one, it would clearly fit, and be indicative of Matthew's tendency to discount "the Prophet" in favour of the Messiah. It is also worth noting that Davies sees no reference to "the Prophet" at 21:11—"such a generalized concept of a prophet is to be distinguished from that of an eschatological figure 'the Prophet'" (187).
comparison is better seen as one between Moses the teacher, and Jesus the authoritative teacher. On balance, therefore, it is most likely that Matthew does not equate Moses with the Eschatological Prophet, and, in Aune's words, "never attempts to identify Jesus with the eschatological prophet."

Yet if this is the case, how are the Mosaic elements in the first gospel to be understood? They are best interpreted typologically. Jesus is not represented as the Prophet, but instead as the "Second Moses". And the formula which perhaps best elucidates this is one that Jeremias seizes upon: "Wie der erste Erlöser (Moses), so der letzte Erlöser (der Messias)". This formula is particularly illuminating with the infancy narratives, but informs the designation of Jesus as the "second Moses" in the gospel in general.

To sum up, Matthew does not demonstrate a great deal of interest in the Mosaic Eschatological Prophet. In the one place where there may be a reference to the Eschatological Prophet as such, Matthew implicitly indicates that the Son is greater than the Prophet. Apart from this, Jesus is largely characterized as the "Second Moses".

7c. The Eschatological Prophet at 21:11?

The most extensive argument for seeing the Eschatological Prophet at 21:11 has

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459 "There are indications of a Moses typology in both Matthew and Luke ... But this parallel is not equivalent to a Messianism of Deut. 18", Lindars Apologetic, 205, see too, Saito, Mosevorstellungen, 71—"Es gibt aber kein Anzeichen dafür, daß unsere Geschichte durch den Gedanken des eschatologischen Propheten wie Moses beeinflußt wird"; see too Kastner, Moses, 171. Jeremias, "Mosevorstellungen" 875. "Wie für den synoptischen Stoff gilt auch hier [i.e. for the Matthean Sonnergut], daß man die Mosestypologie auf die Vorstellung vom eschatologischen Prophet wie Moses reduzieren".

460 Aune, Prophecy, 155. That 21:11 conforms with this judgement will be show below.

461 Jeremias, "Mωυσης" 864. See #140 for the passages on which he draws. Daube, Rabinic, 11, notes that this formula "is not extant in utterances prior to the third century A.D. but that may be accidental". In any case, the principle expressed by this formula corresponds well with the pattern in Matthew.

462 See Kastner, Moses, 170-171, cf. Jeremias, ("Mωυσης" 875) "zweiten Moses".

463 Kastner, Moses, 142-143. Yet if Jesus is the "Second Moses", why then is he not the Eschatological Prophet? To this it can be replied that the difference resides in the nature of typology. The "Second Moses" designation indicates only that Matthew is drawing a correlation between Moses and Jesus. Matthew makes it clear however (as was seen above) that this is only a correlation—Jesus is indisputably greater than Moses. With the Eschatological Prophet however, it is not a correlation that is intended but rather, an identification. One could very well say that Jesus is like the Eschatological Prophet (and Matthew may in fact be doing so at 17:5) but this is very different from saying Jesus is the Prophet.
been put forward by A. Sand. He maintains that the presence of the definite article ὁ with προφήτης is a reference to the endtime prophet, while ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ θ ought to be taken as an allusion to the Reflexionszitat at 2:23. According to Sand, 2:23 is itself to be understood as a reference to the Old Testament passages he interprets as an "Hinweise auf den endzeitlichen Propheten".

Sand's initial argument does not carry much conviction. In the first place, the very formulation of the passage suggests that it is referring to "Jesus, the Galilean prophet" and not "the prophet Jesus who is from Nazareth of Galilee". As Schackenburg argues, "In Mt 21:11 erklärt sich der Artikel durch den Anschluss des Namens Jesus: der Prophet Jesus von Nazareth aus Galiläa". Matthew has the crowds identify Jesus as the Galilean prophet, and not as the Eschatological Prophet.

That this is the case can be seen some thirty verses later at 21:46 where the crowds, Matthew tells us, "held him to be a prophet" (ἐπεὶ εἰς προφήτην οὗτον ἠκούσαν). It hardly needs to be said that it is Matthew speaking here, telling us what the crowds thought. From the indefinite εἰς προφήτην it is evident that the

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464 Sand, Gesetz, 140-142.
465 Ibid., 140.
466 Ibid., 141.
467 See B. Weiss, Matthäus-Evangeliums, 359. Sand, Gesetz, 140 does recognize that the article also serves as a "Näherbestimmung", but it should be regarded entirely as such.
468 Schackenburg, "Erwartung", 627.
469 It is noteworthy that both Nazareth and Galilee figure in Matthew's version of Peter's denial (26:69-75). Here Matthew has altered Mark's account in several telling ways. In 26:69 it is Jesus and not Peter (as in Mk 14:70) who is identified as a Galilean—Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Γαλιλαίου. This is not insignificant, for Γαλιλαίου is a hapax in the NT. There is a further change at 26:71 where Matthew refashions Mark's μετὰ τοῦ Ναζαρηνοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (14:67) into Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζαρηνοῦ. Apart from the inversion in order, these designations have a remarkable affinity with 21:11, and again suggest that the main intention of that passage is to identify Jesus by his place of origin. Peter's accusers know who Jesus is because the crowds told them as Jesus entered the city. In addition, the geographical elements probably contribute to the humility motif already developed in the Triumphal Entry. Stanton, Jesus of Nazareth in New Testament Preaching, SNTSMS 27 (Cambridge: University Press, 1974) 154, remarks that "Neither Nazareth nor Galilee would have been understood in the primitive Christian communities as an appropriate background for the Messiah . . . ", but adds after (156) that the early church made this scandal part of its message. If so, perhaps this feature has been included in the paradox of the Triumphal Entry—the humble Messiah comes from an insignificant city (On Nazareth cf. Jn 1:46 see Clemens Kopp, Die Heiligen Stätten der Evangelien (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1959) 89, and W. D. Davies, The Gospel and the Land (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) 239) in a despised district (cf. Jn 7:52; Nedarim 2:4; Erubin VII 53b); G. Steinburger, "Galilee-Land of Salvation", in Davies, Land, 409-438 and G. Vermes, Jesus, 42-57) though, in point of fact he was actually born in the city of David (Mt 2:1).
470 On εἰς as a semitism see BDF 157(5); Moulton, Grammar, III, 247, 266; Robertson, Grammar, 481.
Eschatological Prophet is not in view here. Rather than suppose that this is a contradiction in Matthew's editorial work, it is preferable to assume that he is making explicit what was already stated at 21:11—the crowds regarded Jesus as a prophet.

The proximity of the remark is hardly fortuitous, especially given the changes Matthew has made to Mark 12:12 so as to include the phrase here. It becomes even more worthy of remark when it is recognized that this is the only time this particular phrase is used of Jesus (vs. 14:5 and 21:26 of the Baptist). All these features indicate, therefore, that the Eschatological Prophet is not in view at 21:11.

Sand's second argument is rather more tenuous, especially his first assumption. He suggests that 21:11 refers back to 2:23 (καὶ ἐλθὼν κατέφυξεν εἰς πόλιν λεγομένην Ναζαρετ· ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥῆθεν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ὃτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται.) It is true that Ναζαρέτ occurs at 2:23, but if (as Sand claims) Matthew were intent on drawing a connection with "what was spoken by the prophets" would he not have been more likely to use the Stichwort Ναζωραῖος? The word means ἄνωθεν Ναζαρέτ and is one which Matthew has used elsewhere at 26:71. The fact that he has not used it at 21:11 suggests that he intended no connection to be made.

One must also question the next assumption in his argument. He claims that the Old Testament Stellen behind 2:23 refer to the Eschatological Prophet. There are several difficulties here. He is aware that "the identification of the biblical allusion in the cryptic . . . Mt 2:23 is surely one of the best known cruces of Synoptic exegesis." For this reason he foregoes selecting an actual reference, but discusses Isaiah 11:1 and the Nazirite material in the Samson tradition. Yet these represent

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471 Cullmann, Christology, 31 "...no mention is made of the Eschatological Prophet" at 21:46.
472 Sand (Gesetz, 141-142) tries to draw the notion of the Prophet out of the Parable of the Vineyard, but this is quite unlikely. Michel Hubaut's remarks, La Parabole des Vignerons Homicides (Paris: Gabalda, 1976) 44, make this very clear: "Matthieu remplace ξαγχατων par ὄσινους et le place en début de phrase. C'est excellent, car ὄσινους exprime, aussi bien que ξαγχατων, l'idée que le fils vient dernier lieu et que l'enjeu est décisif, mais il élimine la nuance 'eschatologique' que ξαγχατων connote et qui ne convient pas tellement à cet endroit".
473 Matthew, "always understands Ναζωραῖος, as ὃ ὀπὸ Ναζαρέτ" Prabhu, Formula, 201.
474 Prabhu, Formula, 193.
475 Following Gundry, Use, 97-104.
just two of many possibilities, and it may even be, as Strecker argues, that Matthew at 2:23 has no specific Old Testament passage in mind. All told, Sand's arguments are just too hypothetical and embrace too many assumptions to be plausible. In light of this it is preferable to conclude that at 21:11 there is no reference to the Eschatological Prophet.

7d. The Prophets and the Crowds

If the crowds do not see in Jesus the Eschatological Prophet, why then has Matthew introduced this motif at 21:11 and 21:46? One obvious reason is to qualify the crowds' acclaim, but that, in itself, is hardly sufficient. A more promising reason is to parallel Jesus and John the Baptist. In Matthew, the crowds regard both as "prophets" (14:5, 21:26 - John the Baptist, 21:11, 46 - Jesus) and much the same phrase is used of both, except at 21:11. The fact that 21:26 and 21:46 are situated in such proximity to each other also emphasizes the calculated attempt to parallel the two. This parallelism has often been noted in other elements of their respective ministries, such as the use of identical exhortations, and is characteristic of Matthew's portrayal.

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478 Strecker, Weg, 61 argues that "hier eine bestimmte Schriftstelle nicht angezogen zu sein scheint". See in addition Rothfuchs, Erfüllungszitate, 66-67.


480 14:5 ἐρμήθη τοῦ ὄρθρου, ὅτι ἐς προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον.
21:26 ἐφοβομένων τοῦ ὄρθρου, καὶ ταῖς ἱππα ὡς προφήτην ἔχουσιν τὸν Ἰωάννην.
21:46 ἐφοβήθησαν τοὺς ὴρθροὺς ἔπει ις προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον.

The very similarity of 14:5 and 21:46, with the explicit parallelising of Jesus and John, is itself a cogent argument against seeing Jesus as the Prophet.

481 Compare 3:2 with 4:17. Μετανοεῖτε, ἔγγραφε τῷ βουλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν and cf. Hahn, Hoheitstitel, 380; and for more detailed studies of this parallelism see Meier, "John", 386-402;
The key element of this parallelism is the fate of Jesus and John: each dies a violent death. John's death assumes special significance in this regard since Matthew's introduction of προφήτης at 14:5 (against Mk) transmutes his death into a prophet's death. John's death, in turn, prefigures Jesus' own. Instead of placing John's body in a tomb as happens in Mark (6:29), his disciples come and announce the Baptist's death to Jesus, whereupon Jesus withdraws. Both actions are calculated to foreshadow Jesus' own impending fate. As Meier well puts it, "when the Baptist's disciples 'announce' John's death to Jesus, they are announcing Jesus' death as well". This correlation, in fact, seems to be the whole point of the parallelism between the two—to bring out the fate of John and Jesus as prophets of Israel.

The same theme is clearly in evidence at 17:12. Matthew retains Mark's basic idea concerning the Baptist (ἐξοίκησαν ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ σοὶ ἡθέλησαν cf. Mk 9:13) but goes on to speak of the suffering of the Son of Man—οὐτως καὶ ὁ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον μέλλει πάσχειν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. John's and Jesus' suffering are once again set side by side, with the initial allusion to John's death illumining what Matthew means by πάσχειν with respect to Jesus.

Why then has Matthew introduced this concern with the violent fates of Jesus and John the Baptist? The clearest answer is that Matthew wanted to relate the deaths of Jesus and John the Baptist with the "violent fate of the prophets". This was a conception, current in the first century, which held that all the prophets suffered a violent fate. As Kessler well expresses it "In der lebendigen Überlieferung des Judentums auch der Zeit Jesu gab es eine seltsame, historisch nicht gedeckte (Neh 9,26 erstmals ausgebildete) Aussage, daß nicht nur den einem oder anderen einzelnen

Trilling, "Täufertradition", 382-386; Wink, John, 13-35. (Against the presence of such parallelism cf. Kilpatrick, Origins, 90, 107). Meier rightly notes that Matthew is, nonetheless, careful to subordinate John to Jesus ("John", 400).

483 Meier, "John", 400.
484 Ibid. See too Schöne, Jesus, 147; Trilling, "Täufertradition", 274; Wink, John, 27.
485 This is adverted to by both Meier, "John", 402 and Trilling, Täufertradition, 274. Aune, Prophecy, 157-159 suggests that the theme of a prophet's fate is not developed by Matthew, but he has very possibly overlooked this correlation. Contrast Trilling's remarks (Wahre, 80)—"Ein zweites 'Dogma' bei Matthäus ist das der Prophetenmorde."
Propheten, sondern den Propheten Israels generell von ihrem eigenem Volk Israel ein
gewaltstames Geschick; ja selbst Tötung widerfuhr . . .". Matthew's emphasis of
both the prophetic character and violent deaths of the Baptist and Jesus would certainly
indicate that he wished to align both with this tradition.\[487\]

What then are the implications for the crowds? Initially their response appears
favourable. Their belief that John and Jesus were prophets consistently holds the
leaders in check, the latter "fearing" the ὠνοματερον προφήτου (14.5; 21:26, 46). At a surface level,
therefore, their response is one that is well-disposed to Jesus and the Baptist.

At a deeper level, however, their attitude is inadequate, and what is more,
culpable. It was demonstrated above that the crowds failed to heed Jesus' call to hear
(11:15) and to recognize John as περισσότερον προφήτου. This is decisive for
Matthew, as Schöngle indicates, because they have failed to recognize the inbreaking of
the messianic age.\[488\] Related to this, of course, is their failure to recognize who Jesus
is. Wink rightly notes that "the identification of John with Elijah is only a consequence
of the identification of Jesus as the Messiah . . . John is not Elijah as such, but rather
the Elijah of the Messiah".\[489\] This is a failure of recognition that continues up to and
beyond the Triumphal Entry. Jesus for them, too, is only "a prophet". Thus the first
failure on the part of the crowds is one of recognition.

That this is a significant omission for Matthew can be inferred from 17:12.

\[486\] Hans Kessler, Die theologische Bedeutung des Todes Jesu. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche
Untersuchung (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1970) 232. Much of this conception was derived from a
current "Life of the Prophets". On this and the conception see H. J. Schoeps, "Die jüdischen
Prophetenmode" in Aus frühchristlicher Zeit. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen (Tübingen:
1950) 126-143; see in addition H. A. Fischel, "Martyrer and Prophet" JQR 37 (1946-1947) 265-280,
conception in the Q material see M. L. Gubler, Die Frühesten Deutungen des Todes Jesu. Eine
Motivgeschichtliche Darstellung aufgrund der neueren exegetischen Forschung (Freiburg:
Universitätsverlag, 1977) 10-27. On the conception in Matthew see the major work by Odil Hannes
Steck—Israel und das Gewalttames Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des
deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum,
WMANT 23 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967) as well as Garland, Intention, 179-187 and

\[487\] Edwards, Sign, 98 finds an interesting correlation between Jesus and Jonah τοῦ προφήτου
(12:39 Mt's addition): "the mention of the fact that Jonah was a prophet in that pericope where
Matthew stresses the suffering of Jonah and Jesus . . . would point to the passion of Jesus as the
significant element in the Jonah comparison."

\[488\] Schöngle, Jesus, 129.

\[489\] Wink, John, 32.
Here Matthew has added ἀλλὰ ἐποίησαν ἐν ἄυτῷ ὡσα ἡθέλησαν. In other words, if they had known who he was, "they" would not have done to him whatever they pleased. John's martyrdom follows on their ignorance. (This very fact also explains why the ἔχλοι must remain ignorant.)

More weighty is the crowd's partial responsibility for the deaths of John and Jesus. At one level, it exists in the very description of the two as prophets. This identification, in spite of its initially favourable impression, takes on sinister undertones. In light of the above paradigm of the violent fate of the prophets, it is required that Israel's prophets be persecuted or killed by their own people. Hence the fact that the crowds recognize the Baptist or Jesus simply as prophets, or even more, proclaim Jesus as such (21:11), is ominous. It represents the first step of a process that will culminate in Jesus' death and which culminated in John's.

Yet the crowds do not merely proclaim Jesus as prophet, they also become involved in his death. This too is articulated clearly at 17:12—the Son of Man shall also suffer at their hands (ὑπʽ ἄυτᾶν). It was shown above that the ἄυτῶν here refers to Israel as a whole, and this naturally includes the crowds—an identification otherwise confirmed by 27:24,25. The crowds, therefore, as part of Israel, ultimately play their part in enacting the "violent fate of the prophets". Their proclamation of Jesus as prophet simply represents the first act.

Thus it has to be said with respect to 21:11, that it plays a cardinal role in the Triumphal Entry, and one that stands in opposition to Son of David. "Son of David" in the crowds' mouth encapsulates much of the interaction between the crowds and Jesus prior to the Triumphal Entry. On the other hand, the crowds' use of prophet anticipates the passion and their role in it. For these reasons one might regard the Triumphal Entry

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490 See above, n.196.
491 This fact is borne out by the role of the crowds in the Passion Narrative, as shall be seen below. It is true that the crowd was not immediately involved in John's death, but in this instance it would perhaps be safe to say that their leaders represented them. There is no doubt about the crowds' participation in Jesus' death at 27:24f.
492 Schönle, Jesus, 147, astutely remarks that "für Matthäus zwar das Auftreten des Johannes und Jesu die Erfüllung der prophetischen Verheißungen Israels bringt, sich in ihrem Geschick aber zugleich auch das Schicksal Israels als eines Volkes von Prophetenmörder erfüllt."
493 Cf. Künzel, Gemeindeverständnis, 63.
as something of a "hinge", joining the two disparate qualities of the crowds' behaviour. It also suggests that the very moment of the crowds' clearest perception is immediately followed by a movement away from it. As soon as they got close they began to withdraw again.

Conclusion

From the foregoing it can be concluded that Matthew shows little, if any interest in the notion of the Eschatological Prophet, and it is clear that this idea is not in view at 21:11. More important for Matthew is the paradigm of the "violent fate of the prophets", one which he uses to elucidate the fates of John the Baptist, and of Jesus in particular. Although very much an implicit connexion, Matthew connects the crowds' use of the designation with John's and especially with Jesus' death at the hands of their own people.

It is evident, therefore, that the title "prophet" is not primarily a christological designation in Matthew, at least with respect to the δολοι. Rather, the importance of the term, as seen in Matthew's conjunction of the crowds with the designation, is heilsgeschichtlich. Through it Matthew introduces a note of historic inevitability. Because Israel had always persecuted the prophets sent to her, it was inevitable, given the characterization of John and Jesus as prophets, that it would happen again. And since the crowds comprised part of Israel, it was inevitable that, with respect to Jesus, they would forego their one-time support of Jesus and end up putting him to death, just as John the Baptist was put to death. Ultimately, Matthew ties these events to an overarching historical pattern and explains them in that light. And there is little doubt that Matthew situates this pattern in the overall plan of God—what he describes is simply the outworking of that plan.

8. MATTHEW 13

The next component of the gospel to be examined is Matthew's treatment of
the crowds in chapter 13, the third of the so-called Five Great Discourses.\textsuperscript{494} As the relation of the crowds to the discourses has not yet been examined, our discussion will begin with that. It will then consider the place of the crowds in the first portion of the chapter.

8a. The Crowds and the Great Discourses

Chapter 13 is unique amongst the five "Great Discourses"\textsuperscript{495} in Matthew insofar as it is the only one which is explicitly directed at the crowds. Yet even if they are the express recipients here, it has been argued that the crowds are also frequently the tacit recipients of other discourses. David Barr contends that each discourse "is set off from the preceding narrative either by reference to the crowds or the phrase, "the disciples came to him" - usually both."\textsuperscript{496} In fact, he finds them mentioned at the beginning of all but the fourth discourse (Ch. 18) "where their presence would be inappropriate".\textsuperscript{497} Keegan, for his part, would confine their presence to two and a half discourses - the first, the second, and half of the third.\textsuperscript{498} Obviously the solution to


\textsuperscript{495} By "Great Discourses" (the designation is at least as old as Streeter (\textit{The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins} (London: Macmillan, 1927, 261) I mean the five which end with the formula \textit{εἰς θέαθέντο ὅτε ἔβλεπον ὁ Ἰησοῦς - 7:28; 11:1; 13:54; 19:1; 26:1. Luz' \textit{(Matthew I 455#5)} suggestion that the formula might derive from Q is perhaps worthy of consideration given Matthew's penchant for repeating phrases from his sources. cf. Hawkins, \textit{Horae}, 169 -72).

Articles about the discourses and their relation to Matthew's overall structure are legion. For a recent discussion and bibliography see Davies and Allison, \textit{Matthew}; 58 - 72. Although, inevitably, the triadic arrangement they themselves offer does not quite convince either. It is perhaps best to recognize the presence of the five discourses in Matthew and leave it at that. The very profusion - and variety - of theories is itself a suggestive argument against there being one over-arching structural rationale to the gospel. Cf. the remarks by Stanton, "Origin", 1905.

\textsuperscript{496} David Barr "The Drama of Matthew's Gospel" \textit{TD} 24 (1976) 349-59, 351. It needs to be mentioned that Barr is not primarily interested in the crowds \textit{per se}, but as a narrative motif, which signals the start of a discourse.

\textsuperscript{497} Barr, "Drama", 358#14.

\textsuperscript{498} Keegan, "Formulas", 423-24. Keegan is interested in how the crowds are associated with the discourses. It is not surprising, given his findings, that he relates them to Kingsbury's 'turning point' theory.
this question depends on two factors; first, where the discourses begin, and second, whether a mere reference to the presence of the crowds must dictate that they were recipients of the discourse.

The first question is a vexed one, because although Matthew makes the endings of the discourses evident through his closing formulae, the beginnings of the discourses are not always readily discerned. Keegan's attempt to find distinctive markers at the beginning of each discourse is, ultimately, not convincing. As France has rightly objected, the markers Keegan posits are overly vague. While Matthew indubitably employs certain narrative motifs as signals to his readers, these are not, of themselves, sufficiently unequivocal to serve as markers. What this means, in effect, is that the beginnings of the discourses will continue to be a matter of dispute.

The answer to the second question is also problematic, in that Matthew sometimes gives mixed signals. For instance, who are the intended recipients of the Sermon on the Mount? Although the crowds are mentioned, is the discourse directed at them or the disciples? It is evident from 7:28 that they heard the discourse, yet less clear that it was aimed at them in the first place. This is largely because the participial introduction found here - ἵδον δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους κτλ is itself ambiguous in Matthew. The occurrence of the phrase at 9:36 prompts Jesus' compassionate outburst, yet at 8:18 it serves as the motive for Jesus' withdrawal to the other side. Is Jesus' ascent of the mountain to be understood as an attempt to withdraw from the crowds, or an attempt to find an appropriate venue for teaching? The latter is

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499 Keegan, "Formulae", 416#6,7 observes that the start of the Missionary Discourse has been situated by various commentators over a stretch of nine verses (9:35 - 10:5) with similar problems affecting the other discourses (the Sermon on the Mount (4:23,25; 5:1), the Community Discourse (17:22, 24; 18:1), Final Discourse (23:1; 24:1; 24:3)


501 R.T. France, Matthew, 142-43. For a helpful chart of these markers see Davies and Allison, Matthew, 411. As the chart makes clear, these features extend over a wide range of verses proximate to (or part of) each of the discourses, but do not offer an unequivocal indication of where exactly the discourses begin.

502 7:28 has been transposed from its synagogue setting in Mark (Mk 1:21-22) and Mark's impersonal ἐξελθόντως has been applied to the crowds. See Bultmann HST 333; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 724.

503 So too, of course is the αὐτοίς at 5:2 which might well include the crowds.

504 Cf. Schneider, TDNT I 519 s.v. ἀναβαίνει and W. Foerster TDNT V 485 s.v. ὁρος.
probably closer to the sense of 5:1.

Nevertheless, the question of the audience of the Sermon on the Mount has provoked an entire spectrum of views. Some emphasize the disciples, others, the crowds, but most commentators rightly recognize that it is directed at both. Trilling puts this fittingly when he affirms that “Jesus speaks to all his hearers of the true will of God, which they must all perform, but which the disciples have already begun to perform.”

Are the crowds also to be regarded as co-recipients of the Mission Discourse? Keegan remarks that the crowds "are placed on the scene at 9:36 and never removed". Yet is this of itself sufficient to make them recipients? Apart from their being mentioned at 9:36, Matthew gives no indication whatever that the crowds hear Jesus, or are intended to. Instead, Matthew gives strong indications that the discourse is directed solely at the disciples. Jesus is described first as speaking to his disciples (9:37), and then summoning his twelve disciples (10:1). After the discourse, he is described as having finished instructing his twelve disciples (11:1). With audience markers as explicit and as unambiguous as these, it would seem more appropriate to suppose that the crowds were not included. Why then are the crowds mentioned at 9:36? The most likely answer is that they serve as the rationale for the mission and Jesus' discourse to his disciples. Once they have performed this function, they are

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505 This extends to the question of Matthew's sources. Strecker, (Bergpredigt, 26,180) maintains that in Q both the crowds and the disciples were the hearers (cf. Mosley, "Audiences" 147; Donaldson, Mountain 110; Polag, Fragmenta Q, 32-33). On the other hand, Bultmann, HST, 333; Schweizer, Matthew, 78; and Dupont, "Chapitre", 256#83 (cont. p. 257), all hold that the disciples were the original recipients. Given the changes Matthew has made to 7:28 the latter alternative seems preferable.

506 Albright and Mann, Matthew, 45; McNeile, Matthew, 99; Manson, Sayings, 47; Marguerat, Jugement, 173, among others

507 Schweizer, Matthew, 78-79.


509 Keegan, "Formulæ", 423, and more generally Barr, "Drama", 351.

subordinated to the background. In this respect, Matthew's method of dealing with
them is not much different from the soliloquy in a modern play. Even though there
may be other actors onstage, they are understood not to hear because they have been
subordinated to the action which is taking place in the foreground. And, generally
speaking, Matthew's concern is almost exclusively with the foreground in his
gospel.511

The third discourse in the gospel is the parable discourse. As was noted above,
it is the only one in which the crowds are singled out as the main recipient. It is also
the discourse with the most intrusions of narrative. At 13:10-17 the disciples approach
Jesus and ask him why he speaks to the crowds in parables. After the parables of the
Tares, Mustard Seed and Leaven, Jesus leaves the crowds and goes into a house where
the disciples join him for the remainder of the discourse. This change of setting and
audience however, is made very explicit. The crowds are expressly mentioned in the
concluding passage at 13:34 which marks the end of the first part of the discourse
(13:34 (cp. Mk 4:33 συνώνυμος512), 13:36), and are again explicitly mentioned at 13:36
where Jesus is described as leaving them (Τότε ἀφεῖς τοῦς ὑπὸλοις [ὁ Ἰησοῦς]
ηλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν).

As the second part of the discourse is clearly aimed at the disciples, what of the
interlude at 13:10-17? Are the crowds privy to Jesus' remarks about parables at 13:10-
17 and the interpretation of the parable of the Sower (13:18-23) which follows? The
προσελθόντες513 at 13:10 suggests that the disciples, in approaching Jesus, have
distanced themselves from the crowds.514 This impression is further strengthened by

511 See Bultmann's astute remarks about how "illusory" the timeframe of the gospel is, as
well as how dependent Matthew is on Mark for his geography and his outline of the life of Jesus (HST
351-53).
512 "Ici [sc. 13:34] du moins, Mt a pris soin d'ajouter le mot "foules", qui se ne trouvait pas
513 Matthew appears to forget that Jesus was on a boat. One commentator has suggested that
the disciples were on the boat with Jesus - cf. Grundmann, Matthäus, 340. Gnilka
(Matthäusevangelium I 483) is probably right in saying that "nicht die historische Situation diktiert die
Feder...sondern der Inhalt von Frage und Antwort."
514 "Doch markiert Matthäus 13,10 durch προσελθόντες eine Distanzierung der Jünger von
der Volksmenge." (Hans-Josef Klauck, Allegorie und Allegorese in synoptischen Gleichnisten,
NTAbh 13, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978) 244); Gnilka, Verstockung, 90.
Matthew's use of pronouns - the ἀντός of 13:10, and especially the ἐκαίνος of 13:11, when contrasted with the ὑμῖν or ὑμᾶς (13:11; 13:16) used of the disciples, suggest that the crowds are far removed from the situation. As the interpretation of the parable of the Sower is also addressed to ἡμῖν (13:18) it, too, is aimed solely at the disciples. So even in the part of the discourse directed at the crowds, there is a substantial portion which is intended exclusively for the disciples.

The crowds are not mentioned near the outset of the "community" discourse. If chapter 23 is to be regarded as part of the final discourse then the crowds are recipients, since they and the disciples are addressed jointly at 23:1. The crowds remain auditors until the end of the chapter. This situation alters at the beginning of the next chapter (24:1-2), where there is a change of scene, after which the disciples are described as coming to him privately (κατ’ ἱδείαν // Mk 13:3) at 24:3. Here again, the crowds, as in Chapter 13, would only be present for part of the discourse.

The problem is, that chapter 23 is not usually regarded as a component of the last discourse. Those who do regard it as such, argue that the change of audience and setting found here is not uncommon in Matthew's great discourses, since the very same thing happens in chapter 13. Krentz has also argued that Matthew's omission of Mark's pericope of the Widow's Mite (Mk 12:41-44) indicates that Matthew wishes to create a direct link between Chapters 23 and 24. The resulting discourse can then be considered a commentary on the temple controversies and their implications for the disciples.

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515 Robertson (Grammar, 707) and Moulton (Grammar, III 45) indicate that ἐκαίνος in this configuration is commonly used to refer to those who are absent.

516 Donahue, The Gospel in Parable (Fortress, 1988) 66-67. Once again, Matthew's practice of bringing certain characters to the foreground suggests that they alone are being singled out for discussion (except, that is, when he introduces others later who are also said to have heard, such as the disciples at 13:10, who had not previously been mentioned).

517 The discourse is set apart from the references to the crowds which precede and follow it (17:14; 19:2) by changes in setting (17:24 no //; 19:1 //Mk 10:1).


519 The disciples have been added; Mark only mentions the "great crowd' 12:37.

520 Krentz, "Community", 567.
This may be so, but it seems improbable. While it is true that there is a change of setting and auditors at 13:36, the narrative intrusion into the discourse is brief. And apart from the narrative elements at 13:10, which are minimal, the only other intrusion of narrative into one of the discourses is at 18:21a - "Then Peter came up and said to him..." which is not so much a resumption of narrative as a mechanism for introducing the Parable of the Unforgiving Servant. In all of these cases, the narrative has been kept to a minimum. At 24:1-3a, however, the narrative interlude is far more extensive. Nor is it simply a case of a change of setting and auditors — there is also a change in subject matter. Krentz argues for a certain uniformity between chapters 23 and 24-25, and it is certainly there, but one might adduce as much uniformity between chapter 23 and any of the four remaining discourses. For these reasons, it is more satisfactory to assume that chapter 23 is not part of the final discourse.

To sum up, it is not possible to say with exactitude where the "Great Discourses" begin. It can be said with somewhat more certainty, however, that of the five discourses, the crowds were among the intended recipients of the Sermon on the Mount, (part of) the parables discourse, and chapter 23, which, however, should not be regarded as a part of the final discourse.

8b. The Portrait of the Crowds in Chapter 13

There are four explicit mentions of the crowd(s) in the thirteenth Chapter, two at the beginning (13:2 οὖν πολλοὶ ... παρακλησίας // Mk 4:1 οὐκ οὖν πλεῖστος ... παρακλήσεως), and two in the middle of the discourse where the change takes place. Jesus' speaking in parables to the crowds (ταύτα πάντα ἔλαθησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν παραβολαῖς τοῖς ὀχλοῖς 13:34) is regarded as a fulfilment of Psalm 78:2. After imparting this Reflexionszitat, Matthew indicates that Jesus then leaves the crowds and goes into a house (τάτε ἀφεὶς τοὺς ὀχλοὺς ἔλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν).

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521 This is particularly so with chapter 23 and the Sermon on the Mount. See the striking parallels between Mt 6:1-18 and 23:1-22 brought up by Davies and Allison, Matthew, 125-27.
522 G. N. Stanton ("The Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount" in Hawthorne and Betz Tradition, 181-92, 188) finds a "dual" audience (i.e. crowds and disciples) in the same discourses, though he appears to imply that chapter 23 is part of the final discourse.
As such, the four verses neatly encapsulate the part of the discourse directed at the crowds. In addition to these, Kingsbury has argued\(^5\) that there are many more indirect references to the crowds between 13:2 and 13:36 in the form of the pronoun αὐτοῖς (13:3,10,13,24,31,33,34) or on one occasion ἓκεινοῖς (13:11).\(^6\) While this is largely true, Kingsbury overstates his case in claiming that Matthew here "makes of αὐτοῖς a terminus technicus designating the Jews".\(^7\) At 13:11 αὐτοῖς refers to the disciples while at 13:31-34, as Sanders and Davies remark, the word is just as likely to refer to both the crowds and the disciples.\(^8\) Certainly the disciples' demand for an explanation of the Parable of the Tares (13:36) would support such a view. What is important for determining the status of the crowds is how αὐτοῖς is used in relation to Jesus' disciples. This will be taken up further below. Nevertheless, as shall be seen, it is a constituent part of the overriding theme of the parable chapter.

It has long been recognized that chapter 13 develops a major contrast between the crowds and the disciples.\(^9\) Dupont and Klauck have rightly observed that Matthew anticipates and prepares for this contrast in the pericope of Jesus' true family (12:46-50) which immediately precedes the parable chapter.\(^10\) It is here that the antithesis between the disciples and the crowds is first expressly developed, anticipating the distinctions to come.

Still, this view has not met with universal acceptance. R. H. Gundry, for instance, maintains that "Jesus does not address his words concerning those who do the will of God - i.e., his disciples - to the crowd, but to the individual who has just announced the presence of Jesus' mother and brothers outside. This change derives from Matthew's equating the crowds with disciples: Jesus no longer speaks to the crowds about his disciples, but to the anonymous herald about the crowds as his

\(^{5}\) Kingsbury, *Parables*, 13, 47.
\(^{7}\) Kingsbury, *Parables*, 47.
\(^{8}\) Sanders and Davies, *Studying*, 204.
\(^{9}\) Dupont, "Chapitre", 221.
\(^{10}\) Cf. Dupont, "Chapitre", 239-40; Klauck, *Allegorie*, 244\#296. Of course, the distinction between the crowds and disciples is made as early as 5:1.
disciples.”

Gundry’s analysis, however, seems excessively idiosyncratic. It ignores the distinctions that pertain throughout the rest of the gospel, as well as the changes within this pericope. It is odd, for example, that Matthew would use ἐκτείνω, here meaning “I point at someone” if he meant Jesus was signifying everyone. Mark’s περιβλεψάμενος would surely be a more natural usage. The reason Matthew resorts to ἐκτείνω is that he wants to distinguish the disciples from the crowds. He has introduced the disciples at 12:49 and moved the crowds to the beginning of 12:46 so as to create an opposition. At this juncture, the disciples are Jesus’ brother, sister and mother because they do the will of his Father in heaven. The Matthean crowds though, unlike the crowds in Mark’s Gospel, are not doing his Father’s will. As was said above, this does not preclude their coming to do the will of the Father, but merely indicates that they are not yet doing it. Thus, at the very outset of the Parable Chapter, Matthew introduces a major distinction between the two groups.

Matthew follows Mark in having Jesus direct parables at the crowd, but he is described as speaking to them rather than teaching them (13:3 καὶ ἐλάλησαν αὐτοῖς πολλά ἐν παραβολαίς vs. Mk 4:2 καὶ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβολαίς καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ κτλ.). His departure from Mark might be attributed to a more circumscribed view of teaching or possibly, to less optimistic expectations about the message’s effect. Alternately, it may simply stem

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531 *BAG*, s.v. ἐκτείνω.
532 Gundry’s observation about the herald is also curious. Is Jesus’ remark aimed solely at the herald?
533 Matthew omits Mark’s “and a crowd was sitting about him” (3:32), perhaps because it was awkward, but in all likelihood, because he wished to present a more exalted picture of Jesus.
534 Kingsbury (Parables, 28-30) interprets Matthew’s substitution of λαλέω for διδάσκω as a sign of the “turning point” of Jesus away from the “Jews”.
535 Following Bornkamm’s well known observation that διδάσκειν is related to the exposition of the law, “End Expectation”, 38#1.
536 Sanders and Davies remark that “teaching” has the narrower connotation of enabling someone to learn, whereas ‘speaking’ may fall on deaf ears, and that is part of the situation to be described in the rest of the chapter.”, *Studying*, 209. This perspective would fit well with the use of λαλέω at 23:1 where Jesus’ warnings about the Pharisees are directed at both the disciples and the crowds.
from a certain disinclination to style the discourses as 'teaching'. In any event, this 'speaking' is directed at them. This is not to say that the disciples are not tacitly included, as 13:10 ff. makes clear, but here the crowds are the main recipients (cf. 13:34).

Specifically, they are the recipients of parables. Matthew emphasizes this fact by having the disciples ask Jesus directly, why he speaks to the crowds in parables (13:10). This question is suggestive, because it might imply, as Jülicher argues, both that the disciples are familiar with the parabolic method of instruction, and that they find it a difficult one. Yet the difficulty associated with the method is debated, particularly over the question of the disciples' own capacity to understand it. Is parabolic speech a propaedeutic designed to help the hearer penetrate the mysteries of the Kingdom, or is it enigmatic speech intended to confound the auditor? What can be said for certain, is that Matthew attaches considerable significance to the word παραβολή. Even though the word is not found in the gospel prior to chapter 13, it suddenly occurs eleven times within the compass of the chapter. Such a concatenation of the word warrants a more detailed examination.

8c. Parables

As is well known, παραβολή is derived from παραβάλλω meaning "throw

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537 Keegan observes that Matthew uses διδάσκω "at the beginning of the first discourse and never again at any point in any of the discourses." Keegan, "Formulae", 420#26. The same holds true for διδάσκω which is found at the end of the first discourse and not in any of the other discourses.

538 A. Jülicher, Die Gleichnisreden Jesu 2 Bde. (Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899) II 32, "so eine schwere, vielverlangende Lehrweise". In Mark "those who were about him with the twelve asked him concerning the parables" (Mk 4:10). Most of 13:10 is a reformulation of 13:3, though Matthew's customary προεξήγησις is in evidence.

539 See Bastiaan Van Elderen, "The Purpose of Parables according to Matthew 13:10-17" in R.N. Longenecker and M.C. Tenney (eds.) New Dimensions in New Testament Study (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 180-90, 189, who opines that "for Matthew, parables are not intended to conceal truth from the masses" but to clarify and illustrate. He cites Filson, St Matthew 160, who presents a similar view.

540 To Kingsbury (Parables 48-49), for instance, the disciples comprehend the parables as a matter of course, but for Via ("Matthew on the Understandability of the Parables" JBL 84 (1965) 430-32, 432) the disciples have understanding because "they have the special privilege of private explanations".

541 Though this emphasis is more pronounced in Matthew, with 11 of the 16 instances of the word occurring in the chapter, it is also strongly evident in Mark with 7 of 12 instances of the word present in chapter 4.
beside or by". This brings out one of its typical meanings in classical Greek of "comparison", "illustration" or "analogy." Traditionally, however, παραβολή in the New Testament, because of its diversity of meanings, has been regarded as more akin to the 'םי of the Hebrew Scriptures. John Sider has contested this insight, and argued that analogy is the decisive component of the synoptic parables; "From all the gospel applications of parabolē to particular sayings, it is clear that the center of the field of meaning is still just what it was for Aristotle — illustration by analogy." While at first glance this appears to be a helpful distinction, in practice, it proves to be less so. One reason is that Sider has greatly expanded what is commonly meant by analogy (and indeed what Aristotle apparently meant by it), to the point of distortion. His category of 'classification', for instance, as he acknowledges, typically constitutes the first stage of defining something. Yet even when he is allowed such a broad understanding of analogy, he has trouble accounting for all the parables in the synoptic tradition, particularly the proverbial ones, such as Lk 4:23 "physician, heal yourself". Given his rather procrustean treatment, the traditional understanding is to be preferred.

In Matthew, generally speaking, παραβολή refers to narratives. This

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542 LSJ s.v. παραβολή.
543 Ibid., This is the sense in which Aristotle uses it in the Rhetoric (1393a-b) where it is defined (along with the fable) as being one of the two kinds of παραδειγματα. E. M. Cope in his commentary on Aristotle's Rhetoric (The Rhetoric of Aristotle with a Commentary rev. J. E. Sandys, 3 vols. (New York: Arno, 1877-1973), vol. 2, 198) suggests that Aristotle "distinguishes parable in general from fable by this; that the former depicts human relations (in which the New Testament parable coincides with it); it invents analogous cases, which are not historical, but always such as might be so; always probable, and corresponding with what actually occurs in real life. The fable is pure fiction, and its essential characteristic is that it invests beasts, birds, plants, and even things inanimate with the attributes of humanity."
545 John W. Sider, "The Meaning of Parabolē in the Usage of the Synoptic Evangelists" Bib 62 (1981) 453-70. Curiously, Sider does not discuss (nor even refer to) Aristotle's Rhetoric. He suggests that the usage of Matthew and Mark is confined to "analogy of equation describing an event" (470).
546 Ibid., 461, "the tenor can be a particular instance which is illuminated by appeal to the vehicle of a general category or principle...The heart is a muscle" or "The heart is an organ".
547 He has similar problems with some of the הף in the LXX, as he himself recognizes (458).
548 In what follows I am only concerned with Matthew's use of the word παραβολή since it is the word itself which receives emphasis in chapter 13.
includes all of the parables in Chapter 13, as well as the parables directed against the Pharisees -- those of the Two Sons (21:28-32), the Wicked Husbandmen (21:33-44), and the Marriage Feast (22:1-14).\footnote{Cf. 13:34,53; 21:33; 22:1. If 13:52 is a parable, then it is not a narrative parable.} Apart from these instances, παραβολή also refers to the lesson of the fig tree (24:32 // Mk 13:28) and is used by the disciples of Jesus' utterance about what defiles a man (15:15 // Mk 7:17).\footnote{Matthew and Luke both omit Mk 3:23, presumably in favour of the Q version.}

Like Mark, Matthew does not appear to adhere to an entirely consistent viewpoint.\footnote{Kingsbury (Parables 135) suggests that Matthew has incorporated a double tradition about the nature of parabolic speech into his gospel. While this may be true, Sanders and Davies, Studying 210-11 rightly note that there are different degrees of understanding involved on the parts of the hearers. This appears to be Bornkamm's view as well, "The parables mediate a certain general understanding of the nature of the Kingdom of God without disclosing its mystery", ("μυστήριον κτλ" TDNT 4 802-28,818).} On the one hand, he seems to suggest that parabolic interpretation is straightforward, because the chief priests and Pharisees are aware that he is speaking parables against them (ἐγνώσων ὅτι περί αὐτῶν λέγει 21:45 cf. Mk 12:12). Given the blindness for which the Pharisees are frequently reproached (15:14; 23:16,17,19,24,26), their insight here is all the more noteworthy.

On the other hand, there are frequent indications that parabolic speech is opaque. One demonstrable instance of this is that interpretations are offered for the parables of the Tares (13:36-43), and the Dragnet (13:49-50).\footnote{Jeremias (Parables, 85, 81-85) has effectively demonstrated that the interpretations are "the work of Matthew himself". It should also be borne in mind that Matthew follows Mark in having Jesus expound the parable (μύθον παραβολήν ) of the fig tree to the disciples (24:32-36 // Mk 13:28-32).} When joined with the interpretation of the parable of the Sower, they suggest that parabolic speech requires interpretation. What is more, when it is recognized that the interpretation of the parable of the Sower is confined to the disciples, it emerges that all the interpretations are reserved exclusively for the disciples.\footnote{This is probably the reason for the awkward construction of the chapter, where the Tares parable is in the "crowds" half of the discourse, and the interpretation in the "disciples" half. The Tares parable has been placed in the first half of the discourse either because it is linked thematically with the Sower parable, or it is designed to replace Mark's Seed Growing Secretly parable (Mk 4:26-29) which Matthew has omitted.} Nor is it particularly surprising that the two longest parables in the chapter - the Sower and the Tares - are interpreted for the disciples.

\footnote{This is probably the reason for the awkward construction of the chapter, where the Tares parable is in the "crowds" half of the discourse, and the interpretation in the "disciples" half. The Tares parable has been placed in the first half of the discourse either because it is linked thematically with the Sower parable, or it is designed to replace Mark's Seed Growing Secretly parable (Mk 4:26-29) which Matthew has omitted.}
This is all the more firmly brought out by the fact that the disciples demand interpretation. When the disciples and Jesus have left the crowds they approach Jesus and ask him to explain the parable of the weeds of the field (13:36). The word used by the disciples διασαφέω ("make clear")554 is likely Matthean, since, apart from 18:31, it is a hapax legomenon. Similarly, when the disciples ask Jesus about "what proceeds from the man defiling the man", Matthew has the disciples phrase the question differently than they do in Mark. In the latter, they "asked him (ἐξηρωτάω) about the parable" (Mk 7:17). In the first gospel, it becomes "Explain (φράζω) the parable to us." (15:15). Certainly, the disciples are reproached for not understanding at this juncture, but presumably, the reason underlying the interpretations is to help facilitate their understanding. This would appear to be the import of Matthew 13:52 as well, not that the disciples have always understood, but that they come to understand after Jesus' interpretations, and will perhaps, come to a point where, ultimately, they no longer require interpretation. Nevertheless, the strong impression which emerges from the foregoing is that parabolic speech is obscure. The disciples demand, and are given, interpretations to some of the parables. If, in fact, parables were to be regarded as straightforward illustrations, it is difficult to see why the disciples would require further interpretation, or why, for that matter, Matthew would place so much emphasis on the need for interpretation.556

8d. Matthew 13:10-23 557

Klauck observes with justice that "Der Gegensatz zwischen Jüngern und Volk

554 BAG s.v. διασαφέω.
555 BAG s.v. φράζω also suggests "interpret something mysterious". The Textus Receptus has φράζω at 13:36.
556 This is integral to Matthew’s recasting of Mark’s obtuse disciples into disciples who understand (See Barth, TIM 105-112). As the understanding of parables is one component of this recasting, it would surely be damming the disciples with faint praise to insist that they understood things that were perfectly straightforward. It is only when the parables are regarded as abstruse, that this emphasis of Matthew’s makes sense.
557 The examination which follows is primarily concerned with the crowds and how they are situated in relation to the disciples. For a discussion of Matthew’s redaction see Allen, St. Matthew, 144-47; Wilkens, "Redaktion", 307-14.
This contrast can be detected both in the form of the passage as well as its content. Formally, it can be seen in the use of contrasting pronouns. After the distinction between the crowds and the disciples is established at 13:10 it is accentuated by the emphatic ἐστιν and ἐκεῖνος of 13:11. These pronouns are then taken up by the parallel use of δότες in 13:12. In the succeeding two verses, the crowds are twice referred to as οὕτοις and are, in turn, contrasted with the emphatic ἕμων and ἑμεῖς used of the disciples at 13:16 and 13:18. The overall effect is to sharply differentiate the two.

The same holds true for the way in which the sentences are framed. In both 13:11 and 13:12, Matthew uses antithetic parallelism to highlight the differences between the two groups. The effect of the twice-repeated δέδοτα is to create a sharp disjunction between the two - "To you it has been given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, but to them it has not been given", an effect which is further intensified by 13:12. A broader form of parallelism is elaborated over the next six verses, with three devoted to the crowds (13:13-15), and three to the disciples (13:16-18). By means of frequently repeated keywords like "see", "hear", and "understand", Matthew makes the contrast even more pointed. The recurring causal ἓτα used of the crowds at 13:13 and twice of the disciples at 13:16 is particularly

558 Klauck, Allegorie 244; cf. Burnett, Testament, 106; Gnilka, Verstockung, 93.
559 Trilling, Wahre, 77.
560 Cf. Kretzer, Herrschaft, 98.
561 Charles E. Carlson, The Parables of the Triple Tradition, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 55. Part of this intensification resides in the fact that the parallelism in verse 12 is complete, whereas in verse 11, the second γνωσθήκατε ὑμῖν is implied.
562 The Reflexionszitat at 13:14-15 is often regarded as a later interpolation. In this regard see Gnilka, Verstockung, 103-105; idem, Matthäusevangelium I, 477-78; S. E. Johnson, "The Biblical Quotations in Matthew", HTR 36 (1943) 135-53, 137-38; Kingsbury, Parables, 38-39; McConnell, Law, 142-43; Rothfuchs, Erfüllungsstellen, 23-24; Stendahl, School, 130-32; Strecker, Weg, 70#3. This view has not gone uncontested. Advocates of the passage's authenticity include Gundry, Use, 116-18; Kümmer, Introduction, 112; Trilling, Wahre, 78#18; Van Segbroeck, "Les citations d'accomplissement dans l'Évangile de Matthieu d'après trois ouvrages récents" in Didier, L'Évangile, 107-30,126-27 and idem, "Le scandale de l'incroyance: la signification de Mt., xii., 35" ETL 41 (1965), 344-72, 349-52. Although the passage's correspondence with Acts 28:26-27 is striking, so is its virtually unanimous manuscript support. The uncharacteristic introduction of 13:14 is at least as much in favour of the authenticity of the formula quotation as against it, since a later glossator would be far more likely to follow the pattern already established by Matthew. And since the anomalies of the passage can otherwise be explained by reference to chapter 13 itself, it seems best to assume that 13:14-15 is not an interpolation.
effective in this regard.\textsuperscript{563} Taken together, the formal features of this passage demonstrate a carefully developed opposition between the two groups.

This contrast extends to the content of the passage. The most momentous distinction is the one made by Jesus at 13:11, "To you it has been given to know the secrets of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it has not been given.". The use of the divine passive here, is worthy of remark, because it indicates at the very outset of the discussion that the distinction between the two groups is, ultimately, one which derives from God.\textsuperscript{564} This distinction is made manifest through revelation.\textsuperscript{565} The disciples are the recipients of the divine mysteries, while the crowds are not.

The nature of these \textit{mystērion} is debated.\textsuperscript{566} Hill is probably right, however, when he sees in the secrets "the purpose of God concerning his kingdom - that it is inaugurated in the person, words and work of Jesus of Nazareth",\textsuperscript{567} though the eschatological aspects of the kingdom ought not to be ignored.\textsuperscript{568} The disciples, therefore, have been imparted insights about the kingdom - particularly its advent in Jesus - that have been withheld from the crowds.

Verse 12 functions largely as a codicil to verse 11, as is made evident through his addition of \textit{γάρ}.\textsuperscript{569} Klauck rightly notes that this passage relates the activity of God

\textsuperscript{563} Gnïlka, \textit{Verstockung}, 93.

\textsuperscript{564} On the divine passive cf. Jeremias, \textit{Parables}, 15. Ogawa (\textit{L'histoire} 219) remarks that "il s'agit de l'économie divine". See Kretzer, \textit{Herrschaft}, 98, for the signification of the perfect passive.

\textsuperscript{565} For a discussion of the themes of revelation and concealment and their relationship with 11:25ff. see C. Deutsch, \textit{Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke. Wisdom, Torah, and Discipleship in Matthew 11.25-30} JSNTSS 18 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987) 23-32. She rightly regards the \textit{νύμφη} of 11:25 as a designation for the disciples (34), which means 11:25ff. anticipates 13:10-17, and both of these passages anticipate Peter's confession and Jesus' rejoinder at 16:16ff..

\textsuperscript{566} Kingsbury, (\textit{Parables}, 46) argues that they embrace the "whole of ethics and eschatology" while Bornkamm ("\textit{mystērion}", 819), sees Jesus the Messiah as the mystery. Otto Betz suggests that in the NT, \textit{mystērion} signifies "eine apokalyptische Weisheit, die mit der Prophetie verbunden und auf geschichtliche Vorgänge bezogen ist." (\textit{Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransects} (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1960) 87). None of these views is entirely satisfactory. Pace Kingsbury, it is better to say that the secrets serve as the grounding for ethical behaviour, but do not themselves comprise it. Bornkamm's view appears to be based solely on Mark, while that of Betz is, perhaps, overly influenced by the Qumran materials.

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\textsuperscript{566} Cope, (\textit{Scribe}, 17), in arguing that "knowledge of the secrets is knowledge of impending judgement", underestimates the christological component of the kingdom.

\textsuperscript{565} Kretzer, \textit{Herrschaft}, 102; Trilling, \textit{Wahre}, 77. For the well known rabbinic parallel to this passage see \textit{SB} I 661.
It is possible that Matthew is applying this remark specifically to the disciples' predisposition to approach Jesus for further instruction—particularly interpretations of the parables. In this case, the disciples would "have" in the sense that they are able to hear what Jesus relates to them (13:16,18), and to understand enough to know when to approach him for further instruction. The crowds, by contrast, lack this basic predisposition, and the opacity of the parables exacerbates their situation.

Verse 13 continues this line of thought, but is framed in such a way as to offer a direct response to the disciples' query at 13:10 - "This is why I speak to them in parables, because seeing they do not see, and hearing they do not hear, nor do they understand". Matthew's substitution of ἐπὶ for Mark's ἐν is sometimes thought to be a softening of Mark's portrayal, since Jesus no longer speaks to the crowds so that they will not understand, but because they are already without understanding. Yet it does not soften the portrayal of the crowds. Their obduracy is emphasized by Matthew in his denying them any perception whatsoever. Unlike "those outside" in Mark, the crowds in Matthew do not see or hear at all. Their hardened character is further emphasized by the inclusion of the citation from Isaiah 6:9-10, which gives a renewed emphasis to 13:13. The use of the hapax legomenon ἀναπληρωθείη, indicates, as Gundry has suggested, that the quotation "now receives a full measure of..."
The predicted hardening now fills up its full measure in the crowds.

By contrast, the macarism of 13:16 is intended as an antithesis to the Isaiah citation. The disciples' eyes and ears are pronounced blessed, precisely because (ὀτι) they see and hear. Unlike the crowds, they see and hear the long-awaited time of salvation in Jesus.578 This insight is further developed by 13:17. As Gnilka recognizes, the verse is clearly alluding to the messianic deeds of Jesus described at 11:5.579 The disciples in hearing and seeing the inbreaking of the messianic age580 are privileged to see what many prophets and righteous men wanted to, but could not. This implicitly condemns the crowds even further. If they were present, the prophets and righteous men, like the disciples, would have recognized Jesus and the dawn of the messianic age. Yet the crowds, who are present, grossly fail to perceive or understand what would have been so obvious and so welcome to their venerated forbears.

Taken as a whole, therefore, Matthew 13:10-17 is designed to create a sharp disjunction between the crowds and the disciples. Both in terms of form and content, the passage develops an unrelieved and explicit antithesis between the crowds and Jesus' disciples.

8e. Matthew 13:18-23

The antithesis between the crowds and disciples continues in Matthew's interpretation of the Parable of the Sower. It is most obvious in his inclusion of the word συνάντησιν which occurs twice in the interpretation.581 It is first mentioned at 13:19 in the explanation of the seeds sown on the path: "When anyone hears the word of the kingdom and does not understand it, the evil one comes and snatches away what was sown in his heart". The second occurrence of the word is found in the interpretation of

577 Gundry, Use, 117. For a more detailed discussion of how this citation meshes with Matthew's theological intentions, see Van Segbroeck, "Scandale", 349-52.
578 Michaelis, "σύναντισιν" TDNT V 315-82, 347.
579 Gnilka, Matthäusevangelium I 484.
581 συνάντησις is not found in Mark's or Luke's version. Given its prominence in Matthew (Mt 9 Mk 5 Lk 4) its presence here is best taken as redactional.
the seed sown on good soil: "this is he who hears the word and understands it; he
indeed bears fruit...". The recurrence of σονίμι (and ἀκούει) in such a context just
after 13:10-17 can hardly be fortuitous. Matthew has deliberately altered the parable's
interpretation to make it correspond to the descriptions of the crowds and disciples he
has elaborated in 13:10-17. In verses 13 and 14, it is twice related that the crowds hear
but do not understand. Moreover, 13:12 states that what the crowds have will be taken
away from them, a circumstance which corresponds to the interpretation, where the
devil comes and snatches away what was sown in the heart. This correspondence also
applies to the disciples. It is twice stated in 13:16-17 that the disciples hear,\footnote{Cf. Jesus' emphatic introduction to the interpretation 'Υμεῖς οὖν ἀκούσατε τὴν
παραβολὴν (πολ/ς).} while
the conclusion of the parable chapter (13:51) asserts that the disciples understand all
these things (i.e. the parables of the Kingdom 13:24,31,33,44,45,47 cp. 13:19 word
of the kingdom). The correlation is obvious.

This correlation becomes even more obvious when it is recognized that in the
interpretation, each of the hearers "hears" the word (13:19,20,22,23), but it is only the
first and the last hearers who are described as either understanding or failing to
understand. Such a state of affairs fits readily with the antithetical depiction of the
crowds and disciples which emerges from 13:10-17.

If this correlation is true, however, it casts the crowds in a very poor light
indeed. The interpretation indicates, that in Matthew's view, the crowds are like those
sown on the path. They hear the word but do not understand it, and as a result,
eventually lose it. Unlike the seed of the rocky soil and the thorns, the seed on the path
does not even germinate. The crowds, like a hardened path, are impervious to the
message of the kingdom, and never respond at all. What the interpretation adds to
13:10-17, is the note of finality. What was intimated at 13:12 becomes explicit here.
The crowds never do respond to the message, and the chance to respond is ultimately
withdrawn from them. The interpretation, therefore, simply makes more explicit what
was already expressed in 13:10-17. The crowds are devoid of understanding, and
what is more, they will remain so.583

Taken as a whole, therefore, 13:10-23 presents an unrelievedly pessimistic view of the crowds. They are deliberately contrasted with the disciples in such a way as to make their deficiencies and obduracy obvious, and Matthew intimates this posture is not likely to change. This naturally poses serious problems for interpreting the crowds. How is it that Matthew is so stridently negative toward the crowds at 13:10-23, and yet, generally well disposed toward them elsewhere in the gospel? The most effective solution to this problem is to recognize that the focus of the parable chapter, is not on the "historical" level of the gospel, but the transparent level. Klauck is surely correct when he argues:

Diese Einschätzung der Menge mag zunächst überraschen, da Matthäus sonst in den Rahmenbemerkungen von Markus eine Reihe positiver Aussagen über die Menge übernimmt. Doch wird bei Matthäus die Ebene der historischen Darstellung hier tranzendiert. Der Gegensatz von einsichtigen Jüngern und uneinsichtigem Volk zielt auf das Verhältnis von Kirche und Synagoge.584

There are several reasons for adopting this view. The first, as Zumstein argues, is that the distinction between the disciples and crowds is so sharp that it requires a later situation in the life of the church (post 70) to be explicable.585 This view is further confirmed by the fact that the interpretation of the parable of the sower presents an unequivocal judgement on the final status of the crowds. The very fact that such a judgement could be ventured suggests a measure of distance on the part of Matthew and his community. The crowds have had the word, but failed, ultimately, to respond to it.

Conclusion

583 In my view, the parables which follow are not (pace Kingsbury Parables, 63-91) explicitly concerned with the crowds. They are linked thematically by growth, and it is for this reason they follow the parable of the sower.
584 Klauck, Allegorie, 249.
585 Zumstein, Condition, 185#74.
To sum up, the discussion of the five discourses, concluded that the crowds were among the intended recipients of the Sermon on the Mount, (part of) the parables discourse, and chapter 23, though this chapter is not part of the final discourse. The discussion of the first part of the chapter revealed that there is a distinction made between the disciples and crowds which begins at 12:46-50, and which is also seen in the fact that interpretations to some parables are given to the disciples but not the crowds. This dichotomy becomes more pronounced in 13:10-17, which is designed, both in terms of form and content, to distinguish the disciples from the crowds. While the disciples perceive and understand, the crowds are devoid of both these capabilities, a view which is reiterated in Matthew's version of the sower parable's interpretation. Such a pessimistic portrayal of the crowds does not fit with the tenor of Matthew's historical level, and is, therefore, best regarded as a passage more suited to the transparent level of the gospel.

9. THE CROWDS’ REJECTION OF JESUS

The crowds' rejection of Jesus is one of the more jarring features of the gospel, especially in light of their earlier favourable response to him. To consider this in more detail, the following discussion will examine the crowds' "change of heart" and then examine their particular role in the trial narrative.

9a. The Volte-Face of the Crowds

For those who argue that the portrayal of the crowds in Matthew is uniformly favourable, the part played by the ὃχλοι in the passion account is problematic. Minear, for instance, attempts to posit a different crowd—a non-Galilean crowd sent by the chief priests and elders of the people. This is difficult. Are the crowds mentioned at 22:33 (καὶ ἄνοιξαντες οἱ ὃχλοι ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐκ τῆ διδαχῆ αὐτοῦ), who are described as listening to Jesus in the temple, to be construed as Galileans as well?

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587 It is presupposed from 21:23 to 24:1 that Jesus is in the temple. Verse 21:26 also
What is the basis of Minear's distinction? Matthew offers none. Instead, even if Matthew does not make the connexion explicit, it would seem better to see in these crowds, the crowds at 26:55: "Have you come out as against a robber, with swords and clubs to capture me? Day after day I sat in the temple teaching and you did not seize me" (55b κοθτήματα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐκαθεξέλαμεν διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ πλῆθος ἐκροτήσατέ με). The correlation between the crowds and the teaching in the temple is obvious, and the latent irony is deepened thereby - at that time they were too busy marveling to seize him.\(^8\)

This correlation is also supported by Matthew's indifferent use of the plural and singular to characterize the crowds that come to arrest Jesus (26:47 δὲ φίλος πολλὰς // Mk 14:43 δὲ φίλος; 26:55 τοῖς φίλοις no/). On the one occasion where Matthew depicts a separate crowd, he uses the singular in both instances, emphasizing thereby the singular character of the group.\(^9\) One would expect that if Matthew were intent on distinguishing this one group from the crowds as a whole he would have followed this distinction, or at least introduced another. It is this very lack of distinction therefore, that suggests the crowds as a whole are being referred to.\(^9\)

\(^8\) If the above argument is true, what reasons does Matthew offer for this change?

Matthew does offer one efficient cause in the form of the high priests and elders of the people (26:47 cf. Mk 14:43). Given the role they assume in the passion narrative (cf. 27:20) it is not difficult to see the crowds being swayed by them. More important for Matthew is the framework which underlies this particular event—something which he presupposes an audience composed of the crowds—otherwise the leaders would not have been afraid to reply to Jesus concerning John's baptism.

\(^9\) Matthew's addition of ἐκαθεξέλαμεν would support this interpretation since it emphasizes the authority—the ἐξουσία—with which he spoke (Cp. 22:33 with 9:28, 29 and 5:1 κοθτήσαντος).

\(^8\) Both 9:23 and 9:25 are without parallel.

\(^9\) Minear's argument seems largely to function from the premise that because the crowd changes its behaviour it must be a different crowd. The very fact however that this crowd is coupled with Judas at 26:47 (Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὰ ὁδόκημα ἠλθεν καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ φίλος πολλὰς κτλ) suggests the wrongness of this assumption. Are we to postulate a different Judas on the a priori assumption that one of Jesus' disciples would never betray him? The coupling of the crowds with Judas therefore, is an apt one.

Van Tilborg, Leaders, 159, appears to follow Minear's line of argumentation when he claims that "it is not permissible to harmonize the δὲ φίλοι mentioned in Mt 9:33,12:23; 21:9 with the δὲ φίλοι of Mt 27:20 and then continue to assume a certain development...". This does not seem entirely true. Why should the change necessarily be inconsistent with a change of heart?
develops at 26:56—τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν προφητῶν.\textsuperscript{591}

The most significant feature of this verse is Matthew's addition of τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν to Mark's citation. He uses it distinctively here in making ὅλον refer to an event.\textsuperscript{592} Judging from his use of a similar expression at 1:22 (where 1:22, 23 refer to the circumstances preceding Jesus' birth of 1:18ff.) ὅλον here refers to the arrest of Jesus.\textsuperscript{593} Yet it also has a broader purview encompassing the entire passion account, of which the arrest is just the beginning.\textsuperscript{594} Senior expresses this well: "in the act of betrayal and the deliverance into the hands of sinners the entire Passion is defined".\textsuperscript{595}

Both the immediate and the broader application of the phrase have a bearing on the crowds as such. Matthew's treatment of them here and in the later passion account make it abundantly clear that their actions are to be seen as the fulfillment of scripture.\textsuperscript{596} This is most clearly seen in the temporal indications that Matthew has taken over from Mark and expanded. Like Mark he refers to Jesus' hour "being at hand" (ἵηγγε ἡ ὥρα 26:45 // Mk 14:41) but goes on to add "in that hour" (Ἐν ἐκείνη τῇ ὥρᾳ 26:55) precisely at the moment when Jesus addresses the crowds.

\textsuperscript{591} The passage is best taken as Matthew's recasting of Mark 14:49 (see Schulz, Stunde, 170; Senior, Passion, 142-148; Alfred Suhl, Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Ausführungen im Markusevangelium (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1965) 42, though it is not of fundamental significance either way; 26:56 can be taken as a final remark by Jesus, or an editorial remark by Matthew. Of these two possibilities, the latter is more probable; "dies ist eine deutliche Reflexion des Erzählers im Sinne der übrigen Reflexionszitate (Suhl, Funktion, 42; see too, Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 134; Prabhu, Formula, 30; Rothfuchs, Erfüllungszitate, 34-35; Senior, Passion, 152; and for further material #3,154). On the relation of 26:56 to the Reflexionszitate see: Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 134; Nepper-Christensen, Matthäusevangelium, 139-142; Prabhu, Formula, 26-31; Strecker, Weg, 49 #2. For the purposes of this discussion it is immaterial whether 26:56 is formally regarded as one of the Reflexionszitate or not, since in function, if not in form, it is closely allied to them.

\textsuperscript{592} For this distinctive usage see Prabhu, Formula, 28; Rothfuchs, Erfüllungszitate, 35.

\textsuperscript{593} Cf. a similar usage of τοῦτο at 21:4 which refers back to the events of 21:1ff..

\textsuperscript{594} See Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 134; Schulz, Stunde, 170.

\textsuperscript{595} Senior, Passion, 154. This can also be inferred from the relative scarcity of Reflexionszitate in the actual passion account (cf. Rothfuchs, Erfüllungszitate, 176) which effectively places more emphasis on this passage and its relation to the passion.

\textsuperscript{596} It goes without saying that the role of the ὅλον is but one strand of the nexus to which ὅλον refers.

\textsuperscript{597} In Matthew, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ is only used once as a temporal transition phrase and that at 18:1 with no previous reference to ὥρᾳ. Otherwise, it occurs most frequently in healing accounts (8:13; 9:22; 15:28; 17:18) to indicate that the healing took place right away. At 10:19 "in that hour" refers back to 10:18 and the moment when the disciples will be dragged before governors and kings to give testimony.
The effect is to provide an implicit answer to the question with which Jesus confronts the crowds. Why is it that they did not seize Jesus in the Temple? It is because the καιρός, the fore-ordained hour had not yet arrived. Now, however, with Judas’ arrival, the hour has also arrived, and in full accordance with the scriptures Jesus is seized by the crowds and “betrayed into the hand of sinners”.

This might suggest a ready schema whereby the contradictory behaviour of the crowds can be explained. The distinction between the crowds in the temple and the crowds in the garden is not in the crowds themselves, but rather in the time frame. Up until the arrival of the crowds in the garden, Jesus’ moment had not yet come—when they did arrive, it had.

Thus, in the first gospel, it is God’s fore-ordained economy that ultimately explains the disposition of the crowds. Both their receptivity to Jesus, and their later repudiation of him become understandable within the context of God’s divine plan. Both simply reflect God’s timing and God’s purposes. Matthew indicates that Jesus is well aware of this, which is why at 26:54 he rebukes the disciples for using swords. The moment had arrived, the time for the scriptures to be fulfilled, and Jesus would have nothing interfere with their fulfillment. God’s plan as reflected in αἱ γραμματίες τῶν προφητῶν must transpire in God’s time. In Matthew’s gospel it does, and under the influence of the Jewish leaders the crowds join with Judas and arrest Jesus.

9b. The Crowd in the Barabbas Episode (27:15-26)

Apart from their role in Jesus’ arrest, the crowds come to the fore in the Barabbas pericope (27:15-26). There is a general measure of agreement among exegetes that this passage consists of Matthew’s reworking of Mark’s account with

598 Note Matthew’s parallel placement of εἰργίζω with Judas (26:46) and with ἰδέα (26:45) which posits a conjunction between the two. When one has arrived so has the other.
599 26:55 functions almost as a miniature account of the crowd’s behaviour.
600 Among those who do not agree with such an analysis are Lagrange, Saint Matthieu, Lohmeyer, Matthäus, and X. Leon Dufour. “Mt et Mc dans le Récit de la Passion” Bib 40 (1959) 684-696 and idem, “Passion” (Récits de la) in Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément VI (Paris: Librarie Letouzey et Ané, 1960) cols. 1419-1492. Leon-Dufour attempts to argue for a common “récit plus ancien” (1453) behind Matthew and Mark, but this needlessly multiplies hypotheses. See Senior’s critique in “The Passion Narrative in the Gospel of Matthew” in Didier, L’Évangile, 343-357, 353, #36. By contrast, Dahl’s careful study (Nils Dahl, “The Passion Narrative in Matthew” in Stanton,
the possible addition of traditional material.601

From the outset it is apparent that Matthew has made some broad changes to the account in Mark. For one, in a variety of ways, he has stressed the crowds' capacity to choose. There is no doubt that the element of choice also figures in Mark's narrative, but Matthew makes the question of choice explicit,602 and he continues to dwell on it. At 27:15 for instance, Matthew changes Mark's \( \alpha \nu \tau \omega \zeta \) (15:6) to \( \delta \chi \lambda \varphi \)603 and then replaces \( \pi \rho \tau \iota \tau \sigma \omega \nu \tau \) (15:6) by \( \eta \theta \varepsilon \lambda \omicron \nu \), stressing thereby the crowd's capacity to choose.604 Verse 17 follows Mark (15:9) in its use of \( \theta \varepsilon \lambda \omicron \) except that Matthew makes this a choice between Jesus and Barabbas rather than simply a choice to release Jesus. Where Mark has only \( \theta \varepsilon \lambda \omicron \) \( \alpha \pi \omicron \lambda \omicron \sigma \omicron \omega \) \( \eta \mu \iota \nu \) \( \theta \omicron \sigma \iota \lambda \omicron \alpha \) \( \tau \omicron \iota \nu \omicron \sigma \iota \omicron \), Matthew has \( \tau \iota \nu \alpha \theta \varepsilon \lambda \omicron \) \( \alpha \pi \omicron \lambda \omicron \sigma \omicron \omega \) \( \eta \mu \iota \nu \) \( \beta \alpha \rho \alpha \beta \beta \omicron \nu \) \( \iota \theta \sigma \omicron \omicron \). The question has been reformulated into a clear "either/or" decision.605 This choice underlies 27:20 and again in 21 Pilate specifically asks \( \tau \iota \nu \alpha \theta \varepsilon \lambda \omicron \) \( \alpha \pi \omicron \lambda \omicron \sigma \omicron \omega \) \( \eta \mu \iota \nu \) \( \theta \omicron \sigma \iota \lambda \omicron \alpha \omicron \). This question, without parallel in Mark, stresses yet again the two alternatives given the crowds. As Gundry observes, Matthew "never seems to tire of reiterating the choice

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Interpretation, 42-55, 42-43) shows how Matthew's passion account, while having Mark as its sole written source, could also have been influenced by the oral traditions of Matthew's church environment. On the redaction of the Passion Narrative as a whole see A. Descamps, "Rédaction et Christologie dans la Récit matthéen de la Passion" in Didier, (L'Évangile, 359-415, 359-360); Dahl, "Passion" 42; Senior, Passion, 5-7.

601 On 27:15-26 see Dahl, "Passion", 49; Kilpatrick, Origins, 46. Trilling, Wahre, 66, observes that "innerhalb des Passionsberichtes hat Matthäus an dem Stück 27,15-26 stärker gearbeitet als an den anderen". This evaluation ought, however, to be tempered in part by Senior's observation (Passion, 235 #1) that Trilling has overemphasized the uniqueness of the passage by viewing it outside the context of the Passion Narrative as a whole.

Verses 27:19 and 24:25 are often held to be traditional or legendary materials, and will be discussed more fully below.


603 Probably, as Senior suggests (Passion, 236), in dependance on Mk 15:8. See too Weiss, Matthäus-Evangelium, 479.

604 Gundry, Matthew, 560; Trilling, Wahre, 73; Weiss, Matthäus-Evangelium, 479. Senior, (Passion, 236) remarks that "the tonality between the two words is decidedly different. In a sense 'to choose' (\( \theta \varepsilon \lambda \omicron \)) is prior to and determinative of what one 'demands' or 'requests' (\( \alpha \iota \kappa \varepsilon \omega \))... the verb \( \theta \varepsilon \lambda \omicron \) is more subjective and 'decisional'—it refers to a person's choice or desire. The verb \( \alpha \iota \kappa \varepsilon \omega \) is used as the expression of that choice.'.

605 Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 47. As part of this Entweder-Oder Matthew has also remodelled Mark's framework so that Jesus and Barabbas are not discussed alternately, but rather, as a pair. See Senior, Passion, 241.
between Barabbas and Jesus". And when the crowds finally do decide, they choose Barabbas.

A second feature of the passion account is that Matthew has reduced the turbulence of the scene. Mark's ἀνέσεσθαι is changed to ἔπεσαν (15:11 // 27:20) and πάλιν ἐκραξαν to λέγονται (15:13 // 27:22), while the exchange between the crowds and Pilate at 21-232 is made orderly and reasonable. On these changes Trilling remarks "Matthäus zeichnet nicht eine tumultarische Volksszene . . . sondern einen fast nüchternen, klaren, doch gerade deshalb erschreckend kalten, fast gesetzmäßig verlaufenden Vorgang. Zwischen Pilatus und dem Volk findet weniger ein dramatisches Ringen um Freigabe und Verurteilung, als ein trockenes Zwiegespräch statt". This certainly overstates the case and does not really allow for the turbulence at 23b and 24. Still, it is worth observing that the clamour only breaks out when it appears that the crowds might not get their way. Until this point, however, a sober and unemotional tone prevails.

This tone is very much in evidence at 27:20. Here, as noted above, Matthew relates that the chief priests and elders "persuaded" the crowds (instead of Mark's "stirred them up"). It may possibly result from Matthew's desire to simplify Mark's rather rare ἀνέσεσθαι, but given the above mentioned Tendenz, it would seem

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606 Gundry, Matthew, 563; J. Wellhansen, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1904) 137.
607 Walker, Heilsgeschichte, 47. Significantly, Matthew has changed the crowd's request into direct discourse.
608 Senior, Passion, 240 also mentions "Mark's threatening καὶ ἀνεβᾶς, ὁ ἐστὶν ἡρῴως ἀνέσεσθαι κελ. (Mk 15:8a)" which Matthew replaces by ὧν ἐκπεύχαν . . . ἀνέσεσθαι (27:17), but the "threatening" character of Mark's phrase is, at best, ambiguous.
609 Cf. Matthew's inclusion of ἐκπεύχα αὐτῷ at 27:2121. See as well Lohmeyer, Matthäus, ad loc on 27:21-23 and Trilling, Wahre, 73.
610 Trilling, Wahre, 74.
611 It is particularly ironic that the only time a ὧν ἐκπεύχα appears likely to break out amongst the crowd is when Pilate is disinclined to kill Jesus, rather than the reverse (26:5).
612 It is also worth noting that Luke has not hesitated to use ἀνέσεσθαι to describe Jesus' presumed effect on the people (Lk 23:5 ἀνέσεσθαι τὸν λαὸν . . . ).
justifiable to regard it as a theologically motivated alteration. What then is the implication of this change? Gundry argues that the substitution "lightens the crowd's burden of guilt by making them the victims of evil persuasion". Yet this does not really convince. There is no doubt that the chief priests and elders are guilty of misleading the crowds, but this still does not exculpate the crowds. Persuasion implies a reasoned or deliberative process, while "stirred up", by contrast, suggests an unreasoned passionate reaction. Surely a "crime of passion" is less culpable than one that is, in some degree, premeditated. For this reason, the crowds in Matthew bear more responsibility than they would in Mark's version.

Their responsibility is also greater because, in Matthew, the nature of what they acquiesce to is far graver than in Mark. Instead of being stirred up Ἱνα μᾶλλον τὸν βαροββαν ἀπολόης σώτοις as Marks has it (15:11), Matthew's crowds are persuaded "to ask for Barabbas and destroy Jesus". This is no inconsiderable difference. What persuasion would have been sufficient to induce them to destroy him?

In addition to the above features, Matthew has added various other touches which stress the responsibility of the crowd. The historic present is found at 22b, λέγουσιν πάντες σταυρωθητω thus giving emphasis to their remark. The inclusion of "all" brings out the complicity of the entire crowd here, while the passive "Let him be crucified" can be taken as an effort to lighten Pilate's guilt and place it on the crowds instead. The shift back to the imperfect ἐξραξον in 23 (vs.
Mk ἐκραζων 15:14) signifies an ongoing action—the demand for Barabbas is in the aorist, but the rejection of Jesus is recurrent.620

To this must be added Matthew's intention to exculpate Pilate. Matthew's two inclusions to Mark's account are particularly decisive in this respect. The first, 27:19, describes how Pilate's wife under the influence of a dream advises Pilate to have nothing to do with that "innocent man"—a caution which he observes. Such receptivity on the part of a Roman presents a striking contrast to the hostility Jesus faces from his own people, and their leaders in particular. This contrast is intensified in the second inclusion (27:24)621 where in washing his hands Pilate expressly dissociates himself from the responsibility for Jesus' death.622

The most decisive component of the entire pericope is the moment when the crowds join with the leaders and together as πᾶς ὁ λαός assume collective responsibility for Jesus' death. In Matthew's representation the guilt of the crowds is twofold. The first part of this is indicated by the change from ὄχλου in 24 to λαός in 25—a change which signifies that they have implicitly associated themselves with their leaders and their leaders' intentions. This is a decisive move; after this the crowds are no longer mentioned in the gospel—only of Ἰουδαίοι (28:15) or ὁ λαός (26:64). Thus, by Matthew's account, the crowds, in siding with their leaders, have finally and decisively relinquished their support for Jesus and chosen to follow their leaders instead.

The crowds, as a component of πᾶς ὁ λαός, make themselves guilty of Jesus'

620 Cf. Van Tilborg, Leaders, 94; Weiss, Matthäus-Evangelium, 482 and Gundry, Matthew, 564 "Atypically he turns Mark's aorist into the imperfect to stress that they repeatedly yelled for Jesus' crucifixion".

621 There is a broad spectrum of opinion concerning the exact provenance of both passages, but it is generally agreed that even if they are traditional or legendary in background both show signs of Matthean activity or as Kilpatrick opines—"strong traces of Matthean style" (Origins, 47). Dibelius, Formgeschichte, 197 regards both as legendary. Trilling, (Wahre, 67) regards 19 as traditional, while K.H. Schellke, "Die 'Selbstverfluchung' Israels nach Matthäus 27,23-25" in Eckert, Antijudaismus, 148-156, 149) regards 24f. as traditional. On the other hand, Dahl, "Passion", 50; Gundry, Matthew, 565 and Kilpatrick, Origins, 47, see 27:24 as Matthean.

622 Gundry, Matthew 564 suggests that ἐκκένων "demarcates Pilate from the 'crowd'". In addition the ὁδικός and ἴδιες δογματε deliberately recall the ὁδικός and σο δι μή found in the death of Judas pericope at 27:4. The intention is to compare the δυσλος with Judas (again cf. 26:47). As Van Tilborg perceptively notes (Leaders, 94) the history of the Jewish people has already been prefigured in the story about the blood-money". See Senior, Passion, 254-255 as well.
blood. The formula they employ has its background in the Old Testament and is implicitly addressed to God.\textsuperscript{623} The \textit{λαώς} in appropriating this formula "proclaim before their Lord responsibility for the blood of Jesus".\textsuperscript{624}

Important to note in this context is that \textit{πᾶς ὁ λαώς} does not simply comprise "the Jews who were present when the priests accused Jesus before Pilate" as Kosmala, for one, has argued.\textsuperscript{625} His word study of \textit{λαώς} significantly fails to examine Matthew's use of the word. Here \textit{λαώς}, as with arguably all the other instances of the word in Matthew, has an undeniable ethnic connotation,\textsuperscript{626} and signifies all of Israel.

\textsuperscript{623} See Frankemöller, \textit{Jahwebund}, 208ff.; Ogawa, \textit{L'histoire}, 220; Senior, \textit{Passion}, 256ff.; Trilling, \textit{Wahre}, 70-72. Fitzmyer, "Anti-Semitism and the Cry of 'All the People'" (Mt 27:25) TS 26 (1965) 667-671, 69 #10 notes that "the phrase is an Old Testament expression for responsibility incurred in the death of a person . . . . The additional phrase involving the offspring is also an Old Testament trait".

\textsuperscript{624} Senior, \textit{Passion}, 257.

\textsuperscript{625} H. Kosmala, "His Blood on Us and on our Children" (the Background of Mt. 27, 24-25) \textit{ASTI} 7 (1970) 94-126, 98.

\textsuperscript{626} In marked contradistinction to Luke, Matthew rarely, if at all, uses \textit{λαώς} of the crowds (see Garland, \textit{Intention}, 40 #20; Kodell, \textit{Laos}, 334-335; McNelle, \textit{Saint Matthew}, 305 — Matthew "never uses . . . [λαώς] without the thought of the Jewish nation as such" Fitzmyer, "Cry", 669. Of the fourteen occurrences of the word in Matthew's gospel, Strathmann ("λαώς" \textit{TDNT} IV (with R. Meyer, 29-37) instances only four which he regards as synonymous with δέξαλος: 4:23; 26:5; 27:25; 27:64. Even these four should probably not be regarded as strictly synonymous. The first, 4:2, has been introduced to emphasize the fulfillment of the prophecy at 4:16 (and possibly 2:6 as well). \textit{Γαλάλαώς} is the \textit{Stichwort} and 23 elaborates on the significance of the light in 4:16. See Citron, "Multitudes", 409 who argues differently, and also Senior, \textit{Passion}, 259. With respect to 26:5 and 27:64 it is important to recognize that the designation \textit{λαώς} occurs in the mouths of the leaders of the people (Garland, \textit{Intention}, 40 #22; Gibbs, "Purpose", 451) and ought to be considered in light of this. The usage here may approximate the crowds (cf. 21:26), but the story of the guard at the tomb (28:15 παρὰ \textit{Ἰουδαίοις}) suggests that it carries an ethnic connotation as well. Cf. Senior, \textit{Passion}, 249. As to 27:25, the above noted fact that δέξαλος does not occur again after 27:25 suggests that the Jewish people as a whole is in view (this identity is supported by most commentators—see the extensive list in Senior, \textit{Passion}, 238 #5 and to it add (among others) Beare, \textit{Matthew}, 531; Davies, \textit{SSM} 290 (implicitly); Garland, \textit{Intention}, 40; Gundry, \textit{Matthew}, 565 (implicitly); Frankemöller, \textit{Jahwebund}, 210; Kodell, "Laos", 334; Kretzer, \textit{Herrschaft}, 79 #85; Ogawa, \textit{L'histoire}, 220.

With respect to 27:25 Kingsbury (\textit{Parable}, 26) argues that while the use of \textit{λαώς} does not reveal an inclination to spare the crowds: "the substitution of the term \textit{λαώς} for δέξαλος at least complies with the general Matthean tendency to place the δέξαλος as a district group in a neutral or even a positive light". It is difficult, however, in light of the above-mentioned redactional charges Matthew has made to Mark, to see how the substitution mitigates in the least the complicity of the crowds. Rather, it reveals how, in the space of some ten verses, their position comes more and more to approximate that of the leaders, until, at 27:25, they have aligned themselves entirely with their leaders (although this does not imply that the term \textit{λαώς} is "aligned with the Pharisaic party" as Gibbs, ("Purpose" 451) argues. It means simply that the δέξαλος and leaders can now be treated as one). Thus, 27:25 does not spare the crowds, but represents the nadir of their characterization in the gospel.

Several scholars have remarked on the fact that Jesus' ministry to the crowds is sandwiched between 4:23 and 27:25, that is to say between Jesus' first ministry to his \textit{λαώς}, and their final rejection of him. (Garland, \textit{Intention}, 140; Gibbs, "Purpose", 451; Sühl, "Davidissohn", 78. Sühl argues that the \textit{ἐν τῷ λαῷ} has been omitted from 9:35 (cf. the // 4:23) so that this configuration would occur.) Although Van Tilborg, (\textit{Leaders}, 94 #3) is correct in his observation that this pattern is not as clear as it might be, as far as Matthew's own use of the term is concerned (vs. the leaders) this seems to hold. Gibbs is also correct in his suggestion that "Matthew employs \textit{δέξαλος} . . . to emphasize the gulf between the masses and the Pharisees" (\textit{Purpose}, 451). Sühl, "Davidissohn", 78-79
Moreover, it represents Israel at a decisive moment in salvation history, namely the point where they divorce themselves from God, and relinquish their role as the people of God. At the end of the gospel, they are simply φυλακίας, because in invoking the curse on themselves they have cut themselves off from their position as God's people.

**Conclusion**

To conclude, the dominant element of Matthew's characterization of the crowds in the Barabbas pericope is their culpability. Through a whole series of changes to Mark, Matthew has consistently and deliberately inculpated them in Jesus' death, until finally at 27:25 they join with their leaders in assuming responsibility for his crucifixion. There is no doubt that the leaders are also condemned, but Matthew's main intention is to show that "all the people" bear responsibility for Jesus' death.

One key element here is obviously heilsgeschichtlich. The events of the Passion comprise the ἐλπιδαί mentioned at 26:56 and represent the fulfillment of οἱ γραμματευκτές σημεία τῶν προφητῶν. For Matthew this fulfillment includes not only the fate of Jesus, but the role of Israel—including the crowds—in putting Jesus to death. In doing so, and in collectively assuming responsibility for it, they unwittingly bring one phase of salvation history to a close, and make way for the next.

There is also an apologetic side to the account. Matthew wants to make it incontrovertible that all the Jewish people, the crowds and leaders, put to death their own Messiah and cut themselves off from being God's chosen people. Though it was all foreseen in οἱ γραμματευκτές τῶν προφητῶν the responsibility was, nonetheless, theirs.

The other side of this depiction however may offer a note of invitation. The reason Matthew is so intent on expressing the guilt of the ᾿ΟΧλοι is to make them...
recognize that they had made a mistake and were responsible for it. Once they admitted to having made a mistake, the way would again open for them to rejoin God's chosen people. The divine plan underlying αἱ γραμμαί had resulted in salvation for πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. If the ἤχλαοι were prepared to relinquish the deceits of their leaders, they would once again, albeit as primus inter pares, be part of the people of God.

10. CONCLUSION

What can be said about the crowds in the first gospel? Has the analysis been able to account for Matthew's "somewhat ambivalent" portrayal? The answer would have to be yes. The ambiguity of this portrayal appears to be the result of Matthew's incorporation of two powerful and contradictory motifs.

The first is christological. Roughly speaking this motif draws in all the "positive" depictions of the crowds—their following Jesus, their laudatory comments and reactions, and their nascent (and not so nascent) christological asseverations. All of these elements are intimately bound with Christ—his words and especially his works. And all of these elements are specifically formulated so as to reflect the ἐξουσία and more particularly the compassion and προφυτεία of Jesus the servant of the Lord. Here the crowds embody a helpless Israel gratefully receiving the ministrations of its Lord.

The second is primarily heilsgeschichtlich and can be said to represent the obverse side of Israel—that which had always rejected the messengers sent to her. Here, especially in the identification of Jesus as prophet, the hostility of the crowds is adumbrated until it effloresces in the passion account. The crowds end up siding with their obdurate leaders and together, as the people of Israel, collectively relinquish their role as the people of God.

Central to both these representations is their situation in Old Testament prophecy. The role of a grateful Israel is a necessary corollary to Jesus as servant, while the rejection of Jesus by the crowds is grounded in αἱ γραμμαί τῶν προφητῶν. Yet for Matthew this does not represent a fundamental contradiction. Both elements are
foreordained, and each assumes a particular prominence at a set point in his gospel account. For him there is no ambiguity—the crowds as part of Israel, have in his account only brought to fulfillment what had long been prophesied about them.

To these motifs should also be appended the apologetic element in Matthew's portrayal. Matthew, on the one hand, beginning with his preference for the plural form ὀχλοί, indicates the widespread support of the crowds for Jesus during his ministry, a support that continued up to, and beyond the popular acclaim of the Triumphant Entry. In marked contradistinction to their leaders, the crowds in following him, in being healed up by him and in marvelling at his words and deeds, indicated a developing awareness and interest in Jesus himself. On the other hand, Matthew demonstrates how the malign influence of the Jewish leaders, coupled with the crowds' own failure to understand, resulted in their complicity in his death. Matthew shows that their only partial understanding of the Son of David and their misapprehension of Jesus as a prophet were ultimately culpable and led inexorably to their own relinquishing of their status as God's chosen people. In sum, his apologetic explains how the ὀχλοί came close to recognizing their messiah, but how they rejected him in the end.
1. INTRODUCTION

From the foregoing analysis it is clear that the crowds play a vital role in Matthew's "historical" narrative of Jesus. Nevertheless, the perspective derived from the historical narrative is not, of itself, sufficient to explain the characterization of the crowds. The ambiguity remarked on in Chapter 1 remains, and the disparagement of the crowds in Chapter 13 does not sit easily with the acclamations made by the crowds during the Triumphant Entry in Chapter 21. Nor does it fit with the understated, if increasingly flattering, portrait of the crowds which emerges over the course of the gospel narrative. The solution taken here, will be to consider some of these references in a transparent light. Notwithstanding views to the contrary, this is best seen as being in keeping with the gospel.\(^{627}\) Raymond Brown, for instance, says of Matthew, that "for the purposes of detecting life in the last third of the first century (the Sub-Apostolic Period), Matthew is almost as revelatory as John...Both Matthew and John have interwoven their understanding of the post-resurrectional era into the account of Jesus' public ministry."\(^{628}\)

This naturally raises various methodological questions, most notably, how the exegete is to distinguish between what is "historical" and what is transparent. Held, for his part, advocates understanding every possible passage as transparent,\(^{629}\) while Sanders and Davies caution that "any one-to-one reading off of the experience of Matthew's church from the stories of Jesus in the gospel is too simplistic to be convincing."\(^{630}\) Both of these positions are a bit extreme, and it appears that the best resolution of these views is to consider the relevant passages on an individual basis, to make certain that they warrant being interpreted transparently. For this reason, a

\(^{627}\) The objections to a transparent understanding of the crowds will be dealt with more fully below.


\(^{629}\) Held, *TIM*.

\(^{630}\) Sanders and Davies, *Studying*, 206-07.
rationale will be offered for most of the passages discussed below, justifying their interpretation in a transparent light. This should also help to offset the problem of overinterpretation to which the crowds have been subject.

Unfortunately, this approach, in itself, is insufficient. The references to the crowds are limited in number, and cohere well with the "historical" component of the gospel.\textsuperscript{631} Rather than attempt to consider these individual references on their own, without a particular context, it seems safer to approach the crowds through Matthew's community. This has two advantages. The first is that it would likely reflect Matthew's own understanding, since his view of the crowds is going to be determined by their stance \textit{vis-à-vis} his community. Second, the references to the community are more profuse than those to the crowds, and, for that reason, it is to be hoped, less open to misinterpretation. This is not to suggest that there is absolute accord amongst scholars about the nature of Matthew's church, but there is, nevertheless, a measure of agreement.\textsuperscript{632} The procedure that will be followed here, therefore, is to discuss the stage and situation of the community first, and then the situation and setting of the crowds.

By implying that there is more than simply one stage, I am suggesting that the transparent references to the crowds and disciples are not static, and that they likely indicate various phases in the experience of both groups.\textsuperscript{633} In the case of the church,

\textsuperscript{631} Apart from Chapter 13, the only passage discussed above which appears to make an unequivocal reference to the later community is 9:8.


\textsuperscript{633} Matthew's reason for wanting to include an account of these phases within his church is twofold. First, like the book of Acts, it serves as a record of the activity and authority of the Risen Jesus at work within his church. Second, it functions as a means of assuring Matthew's community that even in moments of crisis, Jesus is still with them. By making the gospel reflect the experiences of his community, Matthew is able to prove to them that just as Jesus was there for the disciples at 28:20 so, too, does he remain \textit{with them} even after the disciples are gone.
one obvious shift of phase occurs with the change in mission directives, where it moves from a particularist ministry to Israel, to a universalist ministry which encompasses the gentiles and Israel. For the crowds, a change in attitude might be inferred from the differences which emerge between passages like 9:8 and 13:10-23. In the foregoing discussion of the crowds at the historical level, both were adjudged to have transparent features. If this is so, however, the passages themselves, suggest a significant movement from the crowds' reverent astonishment described at 9:8 to their final obduracy at 13:10 ff.

Such a discussion, of course, assumes that both groups ought to be interpreted transparently. As this is by no means a universally accepted conclusion, it is necessary to see if such a supposition is warranted. Accordingly, each of the gospel's three groups - the disciples, Jewish leaders, and the crowds, will be examined to see if this is, in fact, a legitimate premise.

2. THE GROUPS IN MATTHEW

2a. The Disciples

Among recent scholars, Strecker has been the most vocal against seeing the disciples in Matthew as transparent for members of his Community. He maintains that through conscious "historicizing" Matthew emerges with different periods of salvation history, and "the central epoch of history is the 'time of Jesus', the time when Jesus is sent exclusively to the people of Israel....The disciples of Jesus are a part of the uniqueness of this epoch." Because this period of time is part of the holy, unrepeatable past, the disciples are best seen as idealized exemplars for the later community. Ulrich Luz has responded to each of these contentions point for point,
and determined instead, that "the disciples are transparent for the present situation. Behind them stands Matthew's Community".

2b. The Jewish Leaders

The representation of the Jewish leaders in Matthew is in some ways problematic. According to Van Tilborg, Matthew does not generally maintain distinctions between the various groups - their designations are, in fact, interchangeable. This explains why Matthew has no qualms about indiscriminately using the appellation "scribes and Pharisees" (5:20; 12:38; 15:1; 23:2,13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29) which lumps the two together, or the even more problematic "Pharisees and Sadducees" (3:7; 16:1,6,11,12(bis)) The latter is generally taken as an egregious error on Matthew's part reflecting his ignorance (and possibly his gentile background). It indicates that individual distinctions which pertained in the past have become blurred so that in Hummel's words "Im Matthäusevangelium sieht sich die Gemeinde einer geschlossenen Front des Judentums gegenüber.".

On the basis of these findings Strecker has argued that the Jewish Leaders do not reflect the contemporary Community's situation in relation to Judaism, but rather have "the function of a topos, which represents the attitude of unbelief and thus also of iniquity, in contrast to the ethical demand.". Van Tilborg in his study of the Jewish leaders emerges with similar findings. Matthew "pictures the Jewish leaders as the antitype of the 'Christian', a negative construct which argues for "a fairly great and

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638 Luz, "Disciples" 110, and cf. 99-110 for a detailed refutation of Strecker's position.
640 Van Tilborg suggests both formulations are largely editorial, Leaders 2.4. With respect to the latter, Jean Le Moyne (Les Sadduceens, Paris: Gabalda, 1972, 123) opines "Quant à la formule 'Pharières et Sadduceens', c'est un assemblage artificiel qui ne représente pas la réalité historique."
641 See e.g. Meier, Law, 18-19.
642 Strecker, "Concept", 75. cf. Weg 140-41.
satisfactory distance on a historical level" from the Jews themselves. Thus Matthew has no intention whatsoever of reflecting contemporary Judaism, he is far more concerned with providing ethical directives for his community. Thus it is no coincidence at all that Chapter 23 with its philippic against the scribes and Pharisees is actually addressed to the disciples and the crowds (23:1).

Does this suggest then that the Jewish leaders in Matthew are largely a literary construct? It cannot be said that it does. For one thing, it is not quite true that Matthew's designations for the Jewish leaders are all interchangeable. Matthew shows a marked preference for depicting the Pharisees as Jesus' enemies. Yet, in spite of this preference, he has largely preserved the second evangelist's passion account, in which, responsibility for Jesus' death lies with the chief priests, scribes and elders and not the Pharisees.

Nor need it be said that Matthew was oblivious to the distinctions between the scribes and Pharisees. Martin Hengel, in a pointed rejoinder to Strecker, explains this expression as a reference to the emergent ἄποστολος. As to the Pharisees and the Sadducees, Davies and Allison have recently contended that "the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees" (16:12) "is no more than a convenient phrase indicating shared error". Indeed, one might say on the basis of their interpretation that this

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643 Van Tilborg, Leaders, 170,171. Garland (Intention, 45-46) also gives support to this position: "all the leaders of the Jews have been stereotyped as false, mostly under the rubric of the Pharisees". Cf. Gaston, "Messiah", 34.


645 Cf. Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 14; Verseput, Rejection, 51-52 and the caveat at #127; Trilling, Wahre, 90-91; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 302; Luz, Matthew 1-7, 170. Note should be taken of the fact that Bultmann (HST 52-54) sees a tendency in the synoptic tradition to identify Jesus' opponents as scribes and Pharisees. Garland (Intention, 44#32) argues that the intensity of Mathew's anti-Pharisaic invective has its analog in Luke, but this is hardly the case. There is certainly tension, but not, as Tannehill indicates (Unity 170), irreconcilable conflict - "Through much of the gospel the two sides remain in conversation. This is highlighted by the fact that Jesus is repeatedly invited to dinner by Pharisees and accepts these invitations." Matthew's depiction, by contrast, is one of irreconcilable conflict.

646 Winter, Trial, 174, cf.172-73. The Pharisees only reappear after the burial at 27:62. H.F. Weiss ("σαρκοφάγος" TDNT IX 35-48,37) says of the synoptic tradition that "this is obviously and indisputably an authentic and reliable reminiscence, especially in view of the general tendency of the Gospels to present the Pharisees as the chief adversaries of Jesus bearing much of the responsibility for his death".


648 Davies and Allison, Matthew, 32. They account for Matthew's omission of Mark's
phrase embodies the tension which characterizes Matthew's approach. On the one hand, he is concerned with the historical account, which is presumably the rationale underlying his inclusion of the Sadducees (even if that account is artificial). On the other hand, he is concerned to show that the leaders were united in their opposition to Jesus and so formed what Trilling has styled as a 'Front'.

Finally, Strecker's argument that the leaders function as a *topos* does not account for the primacy of the Pharisees in the gospel. It seems particularly odd that Matthew only puts the references to the Pharisees in Jesus' public ministry and not the passion account. If the references were to be taken as *topoi*, then what better place than the passion account to add them? Nor, as Przybylski has argued, is it convincing to suppose that a purely academic construct would justify the invective and abuse that Matthew heaps upon the Pharisees. Certainly Chapter 23 begins with a reference to the disciples and the crowds, and has an undeniable didactic function, but can this alone account for such an apostrophizing of the Pharisees? It hardly seems likely. Hengel is surely correct that "Mt 23 wäre ohne eine akute Auseinandersetzung mit den jüdischen Führern nicht geschrieben worden." It is well known that Clark has argued the reverse, albeit in a more general sense, dismissing as "quite subjective and merely speculative" the idea that a former Jew would react violently against his one-time faith. Yet surely his own speculation is at least as conjectural; following his line one could argue that a loving wife would never spurn her husband.

attributive clause about the Sadducees (οἵτινες λέγουσιν ἀνάστασιν μη εἶναι Mk 12:18 to λέγοντες μη ἀνάστασιν Mt 22:23) by suggesting on the basis of textual evidence that οἱ has dropped out by homoiteleuton. Failing that, they argue it might be attributed to Matthew's penchant for direct discourse.

"Die Frage bleibt, warum Matthäus sich dann überhaupt für die Sadduzäer interessiert. Die einzig mögliche Antwort lautet, daß hier ein 'historisierendes' Interesse am Werk ist" (Hummel, *Auseinandersetzung* 20).

Trilling, *Wahre*, 91. Luz (Matthew 1-7, 170) draws attention to the 'Front's' importance for *Heilsgeschichte*.


Hengel, "Bergpredigt", 375. Italics his.

K.W. Clark, ("Bias" 2) writes "a Jewish Christian of about 90 A.D. would hardly be found writing a gospel whose theme is the definite and final rejection of Israel by her God."
of such a supposition. By the same token, Matthew's community has just undergone an acrimonious divorce with the Jewish community, and it is this state of affairs which underlies his rancour. For all the reasons then, it seems more satisfactory to account for Matthew's preoccupation with the Pharisees by supposing that they represent contemporary Judaism.

2c. The Crowds

If the crowds represent the Jewish crowds on the "historical" level of the Gospel, what of the "transparent" level? Although Verseput and Garland have both argued that the crowds are historicized and belong to the unrepeatable past, this does not seem likely. The main reason for this is that both the disciples and the Jewish leaders are understood transparently. It would be odd indeed, if Matthew only interpreted two of the three major groups in his gospel in such a light. Nor would he have a reason for doing so. The crowds would hardly have ceased to exist after Jesus' resurrection!

What is less easy to ascertain, is the crowds' ultimate status. There is a considerable difference of opinion on this question, some holding that the crowds become members of Matthew's Community, others, that they remain Jews separate from the community. The first of these alternatives has a number of adherents. Gundry, for example, holds that the crowds "represent the masses in the church, professing disciples both true and false - the result of extensive evangelism among the Gentiles". Minear's view is similar. A related view is advocated by Legasse,
Gibbs and others. Donahue would see the crowds as "potential believers in Matthew's own day".

Do the crowds become a part of Matthew's community? Two reasons are commonly adduced in support of this position. The first is that the crowds follow Jesus, and their following is taken as a sign of their present (and future) commitment. Yet in light of the discussion on ἀκολούθεω given above, such an argument is untenable. Matthew never has Jesus summon the crowds to follow him. The clear implication is that Matthew did not look upon the crowds as adherents.

The second reason put forward, is that Matthew's feeding accounts appear to have a eucharistic component to them. Since the crowds are the express recipients of the bread broken by Jesus and given to the disciples for distribution (14:19; 15:36), should the crowds then be regarded as members of Matthew's church? This position has not wanted for advocates, and there are some good reasons for supposing that the feeding narratives are eucharistic. According to Held, Matthew has limited references to fish in these accounts so as to draw attention to the bread. Gundry holds that the omission of the division of the crowds into groups also helps to portray them "as the whole, undivided church", suggesting their association with the later Christian community.

This view, however, is overstated. Gnilka's examination of these narratives leads him to conclude that "eine eucharistische Implikation lässt sich nicht

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660 Donahue, Parable, 68.


663 "To the degree that these stories were intended by Matthew to mirror later Eucharists to that same degree the ὄχλοι represent the laity in those later gatherings." Minear, "Crowds", 31; Cf. Van Tilborg, Leaders 162-63, and Gundry, Matthew 291f.

664 Held, TIM, 185-87.

665 Gundry, Matthew, 294. Gundry also see Matthew's addition of women and children as a reflection of families in the church based on the holy family in chapters 1-2 (295).
nachweisen”.666 He observes that the features of Jesus’ blessing and breaking of the bread are in accord with Jewish table customs,667 as is Jesus’ omission of the blessing over the fish, particularly in the feeding of the four thousand.668 In addition to Gnilka’s arguments, it has to be said that the omission of Mark’s groupings might just as well be attributed to Matthew’s penchant for abbreviation. For these reasons, the feeding narratives cannot be said to be unequivocally eucharistic. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that they echo the Last Supper. These echoes are not, however, of themselves, sufficiently strong to suggest that this was one of Matthew’s prevailing concerns.669

At least as strong is Matthew’s emphasis on healing. Both his accounts are preceded by healings, (not least of which is Matthew’s summary at 15:29-31), and it is his healing which helps to explain why the crowds are there in the first place. Moreover, the feeding accounts themselves are not unrelated to healing, insofar as both are provoked by the same reaction in Jesus. At 14:14 it is Jesus’ compassion for the crowds which prompts him to heal them, while at 15:32 it is this very same reaction which induces him to feed them.670 In each case, Jesus’ reaction is a response to specific physical needs on the part of the crowds. This correlation is different from that


667 Ibid., 9; cf. the judgement of Samuel Tobias Lachs (A Rabbinic Commentary of the New Testament: The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke (Hoboken: Ktav, 1987) 241) that in all three synoptic gospels, “Jesus here follows the rabbinic procedure at table” and cites M Ber 8:7; B Ber 35a, 46a; TJ ibid. 8, 11a(41); B Hul 7b; B RH 29b in this regard.

668 Ibid. 38. He cites M Ber 6:7 “This is the general rule: where there is a main food and aught that is but an accompaniment to it, the Benediction should be said over the main food and it need not be said over the accompaniment.” Of Matthew’s omission of Mk 14:41b, Gnilka says that “die Nichterwähnung des Fischmahles besagt nicht viel, weil die zwei Fische ausdrücklich in die Eulogie miteinbezogen werden” (II 9).

669 Even if the references were less equivocal than they are, it would still need to be asked whether the disciples and the crowds are equally important here. Held’s analysis, while acknowledging the eucharistic emphasis, also notes the stress on the mediating role of the disciples in Matthew’s accounts (JIM 184,87). This stress leads one to wonder whether these accounts might not be better taken as prescriptions for the type of behaviour which characterizes the Christian minister. A comparison with the “parable” of the sheep and the goats is instructive. Here one of the characteristics of the ‘sheep’ is that they gave food to Jesus to eat (ἐδώκεν τοῖς φαγεῖν) a passage which is clearly reminiscent of Jesus’ charge to the disciples in the feeding of the five thousand (ὅτε αὐτοῖς Ἰησοῦς φαγεῖν 14:16).

in Mark, even though Mark has the same references to compassion, since, in his account of the feeding of the five thousand, Jesus' compassion is expressed in the form of teaching (Mk 6:34; cf. Mk 8:2). Matthew’s focus here is the same as the one which leads him to eschew the LXX’s spiritualized version of Isaiah 53:4 (Mt 8:17). He is more concerned to delineate the physical needs of the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and show how Jesus, like God, the shepherd of Ezekiel 34, “will feed them on the mountains of Israel” and “bind up the crippled...and...strengthen the weak” (Ez 34:13,16). Such an emphasis is, however, far more expressive of a therapeutic ministry on the part of Matthew’s church than of a eucharistic one.

Matthew offers other intimations that the crowds did not later become members of Matthew’s church. One of these, is the interrelation of the crowds to the "Great Discourses" of the gospel. It was established earlier, that the crowds were the audience for the Sermon on the Mount, part of the parable discourse, and the anti-Pharisaic discourse (which itself is not part of the final discourse).

Although the crowds function as a narrative marker for the mission discourse, they are not intended as the audience. The only discourse where the crowds are not at all proximate, is the community discourse. Here their absence is conspicuous. Even though the crowds are often used to signal the advent of a discourse, they do not do so here. Nor, obviously, do they appear to figure as a part of the community since they have not been included as part of the audience. Further evidence of this, is furnished by the parable discourse, where the crowds are privy to none of the interpretations which Jesus offers his disciples. Nor are they recipients of Jesus' private instruction about the last days in chapters 24 - 25. They are however, offered Jesus' halakah in the Sermon on the Mount, and issued a warning about the Pharisees in Chapter 23. Both of these features suggest that the crowds are, at one point at least, regarded as having the potential to join the community, but that they have not chosen to do so.

Another factor which suggests the crowds did not become a part of the church

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671 As the frame of reference for the discourses is largely the post-Easter community, it is not inappropriate to consider the crowds in that light as well.
is the interpretation of the parable of the sower. It appears to offer an encapsulation of the divine economy operative within Matthew's church. As was shown in the discussion of chapter 13, the crowds are associated with the seed sown on the path, where the evil one comes and snatches away what is sown in their hearts (13:4,19). In other words, they are not associated with Matthew's community, as their seeds did not even take root.

If the crowds are not a part of the church, are they Jewish or are they gentile? Matthew's repeated use of αὐτῶν in certain contexts suggests that they are Jewish. He uses it chiefly in conjunction with synagogues (4:23; 9:35; 10:17; 12:9; 13:54; 23:34 ὁμοίων), but also with cities (11:1) and scribes (7:29). France argues that αὐτῶν is generally dependant on antecedents, but he fails to convince. For one thing, some of these passages do not have a likely antecedent, for another, the cumulative weight of these phrases ought not to be disregarded. Taken as a whole, they are best taken as allusions to Jewish synagogues, scribes and cities. Matthew's Community has broken with mainstream Judaism, and the use of the possessive pronoun reflects this rift. This being the case, the reference at 7:29 to the crowds' astonishment at Jesus not teaching like "their scribes" implies that the crowds are Jewish.

Another passage which also treats the crowds and the scribes - the healing of the paralytic (9:1-8), makes this explicit. As was shown above, most commentators are agreed that the crowds' remarks (9:8) apply to the later community. This being so, it is a natural inference to suppose that the crowds making these remarks are also

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672 France, Evangelist, 107 "in most cases". France goes on to argue that "In none of these cases is there any need to understand the author as dissociating himself from synagogues and scribes in general."

673 Davies and Allison (Saint Matthew 413) single out 4:23; 12:9 and 13:54 as being without grammatical precedent.

674 As Luz has pointed out, (Matthew 1-7, 78) Matthew does not speak of "their Pharisees" which strongly suggests that the community has their own synagogues and scribes. The reference to "their cities" implies that the community is situated outside of Palestine. On αὐτῶν see Kilpatrick, Origins 110f, who relates this to the Birkath ha-Minim. For others who see a split between Church and Synagogue cf. Trilling, Wahre, 79; W. Schrage, "συναγωγή κτλ," in TDNT 798-852,834 and #232; Ulrich Luz, Matthew 1-7, 205; David Orton, The Understanding Scribe: Matthew and the Apocalyptic Ideal JSNTSS 25 (Sheffield:JSOT, 1989) 30,185#49; Strecke, Weg 30; though see Gnlika, Matthäusevangelium I 107 for a different view.

675 See Donaldson, Mountain 255#50, on their Jewish character.

676 Cf. above #267.
transparent for the Jewish crowds of Matthew's day. Otherwise, the remark remains inexplicable. Who else would be likely to make such a statement? It would hardly be uttered by the Jewish leaders of Matthew's day, since they would not allow that the power came from God. For members of Matthew's community, such ἡξοσποντα would be a matter of course. It could not be a gentile crowd, because then Matthew's use of αὐτοῖς would be meaningless. The only group for whom such an utterance really makes sense, is a group of post-Easter Jews.

The above results suggest therefore that the crowds are understood as being transparent for the Jewish crowds encountered by Matthew's community. This result coheres well with Matthew's approach toward the Jewish leaders and disciples, where mutatis mutandis, the groups do not qualitatively change. So too, with the crowds. They still represent the dominant group of Judaism, as distinct from their leaders.

Does Matthew therefore understand the crowds as the ἐφόδιον of his day? The question is, in part, clouded by later associations of the words. The mishnaic use of the term, however, refers to the "common people" who are distinguished from the Pharisees and the haverim by the degree to which they adhered, or did not adhere, to purity rules. Danby describes them as "those Jews who were ignorant of the Law

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678 The material in the Talmud especially, reflects centuries of interaction between the am ha-aretz and the Soferim and Amoraim. See Oppenheimer for a more extensive discussion, although in times he is less than critical in assessing the provenance, time frame and redaction of his sources. The above work by Urbach has been faulted by Neusner on similar grounds ("The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism: Yavneh (Jammia) from A.D. 70 to 100", ANRW II 19:2, 3-42, 4-14).

679 Cf. the following Mishnaic references: Pharisees (explicitly) Hag 2:7; (implicitly) Dem 2:1, 3:4 Eduy 1:14; M Sh 3:3, 4:6; Tobs 4:5, 7:1,2,5; 8:1,2,3; Maksh 6:3; Tekt Y 4:5. Haberim Dem 2:3, 6:9, 6:12; Shebi 6:9: Gitt 5:9; Tobs 7:4. E. P. Sanders (Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah London: SCM, 1990, 250) cautions that most of the material concerning the haverim is from the second century. This may buttress his supposition that the haverim are distinct from the Pharisees, though it is probable that the haverim were comprised of Pharisees. Op. J. Neusner, "The Fellowship (.checkSelfPermission) in the Second Jewish Commonwealth" HTR 53 (1960) 125-42 - "there is no indication that all Pharisees were members of a fellowship, although all members were Pharisees" (125#1).
and who failed to observe the rules of cleanness and uncleanness and were not scrupulous in setting apart tithes from the produce.\textsuperscript{680} The first part of this definition is remarkably similar to the statement made by the chief priests and Pharisees about the crowd at John 7:49 - ὁ ὀχλος ὁφτος ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον ἐκκατοτο ἐστιν.\textsuperscript{681} This might argue for a similarity between Matthew's crowds and the \textsuperscript{680} The references in Aboth (2:6; 5:10) dwell on the ignorance of the "common people".

On the other hand, Matthew's concern to depict the crowds as part of the audience for the Sermon on the Mount and the anti-Pharisaic discourse seems to imply they had more of an active concern for the law and rules of purity than one would expect from the \textsuperscript{681} Cf. SB II 494 ff..

In addition to this, Hill intimates that the mention of "sinners" at 9:10 should be taken as a reference to the \textsuperscript{682} See in this regard 15:1-20. Oppenheimer, (Am Ha-Aretz 220) relates that "the washing of the hands was included among the various stages in the process of admission to the association of haverim, and hence it cannot be said that it was customary among all Israel".

\textsuperscript{683} D. Hill, "On the Use and Meaning of Hosea VI. 6 in Matthew's Gospel" NTS 24 (1978) 107-19, 110-13. On the other hand, see the warning by Sanders, Jesus, 385\#14, and Dunn's reply to Sanders, (J.D.G. Dunn, "Pharisees, Sinners and Jesus" in Social World 264-89, 274-80) who argues that "sinner" functions in the gospel as a factional term indicating a departure from Pharisaic covenant righteousness (279). Dunn does not consider whether this this epithet might also reflect the stance of Matthew's community, on the analogy of 18:17.

\textsuperscript{684} So too Oppenheimer, 'Am Ha-Aretz, 227-28, of the gospel crowds in general.

\textit{Conclusion}

To sum up, all three of the major groups in Matthew's gospel can be understood transparently. In each instance, the composition of the group is similar to its "historical" counterpart. The "historical" disciples are transparent for members of Matthew's community. By the same token, the "historical" Jewish leaders are transparent for the Jewish leaders of Matthew's day, amongst whom the Pharisees and scribes were assuming an increasingly prominent position. Finally, the "historical" crowds in the gospel are transparent for the Jewish crowds of the post-Easter situation. These crowds are not a part of Matthew's church, nor can it be said that they are...
identical with the כְּתַבָּה כְּתַבָּה.

3. THE MINISTRY OF MATTHEW'S COMMUNITY

3A. Prelude

Perhaps the best place to begin an analysis of the Post-Easter community and its relationship to the crowds is with the ministry of the community. At first sight, this is rather an odd assertion to make, since, apart from the feeding accounts, the disciples do very little except for healing on one occasion - the boy with a demon (17:14-20), and even then, they are unable to heal him. What is more, all the passages in Mark which recount the actual mission activity of the disciples are conspicuously absent in Matthew.685 The reason underlying this however, is not that the disciples do not have a ministry, it is simply that their ministry is eclipsed by that of Jesus. Verse 23:8 relates that the community has one teacher, namely Jesus (cf. 23:10), and the same could be said of healers. During his earthly ministry, therefore, Jesus is depicted as the herald,686 teacher, and healer par excellence, and he alone teaches and heals. The ἐκκοσμία imparted to the disciples both in the commissions of chapter 10 and the great commission remains largely within the realm of potentiality - in Matthew the results of neither ministry are described.687 These omissions then are, in part at least, christological, and in keeping with Matthew's exalted portrayal of Jesus.

Obviously this presents certain difficulties for examining the activity of the community, since its actions tend to be subordinated to those of Jesus. A christology

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685 Cf. Mk 6:12-13 "So they went out and preached that men should repent. (13) And they cast out many demons, and anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them." Similarly, the return of the apostles (Mk 6:30) has been excised by Matthew: "The apostles returned to Jesus, and told him all that they had done and taught." Cf. too, Mk 9:38.

686 John the Baptist is described as preaching, but this is clearly related to his status as forerunner of Jesus (17:10-13), and his preaching is confined to the time prior to Jesus' own baptism and ministry.

687 Karen Barta ("Mission in Matthew: The Second Discourse as Narrative", SBL 1988 Seminar Papers Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988, 527-535; 530) is correct in asserting that the mission actually took place; 10:5 makes this indubitable (though as Beare ("Mission" 12) notes, the whole mission "story (as apart from the charge) shrinks to the words: "These twelve Jesus sent out" (10:5)"). She is perhaps missing the point when she argues that Matthew excises the disciples' return because the mission was a failure (531).
as exalted as Matthew's inevitably casts an extensive shadow, and it is not always apparent whether the situation of the community is being obscured by this shadow. Of course, it is not Matthew's intention to downplay the role of the community, but merely to demonstrate that it is completely aligned with the ministry of Jesus. It does, however, make it difficult to decide whether certain passages are dominated more by Matthew's christology or his ecclesiology. For this reason, the examination of the passages which follow, constitutes more of a sketch than a detailed portrait.

3b. The Ministry of the Community

Perhaps the most apposite place to begin an account of the Post Easter Church is at the beginning of the 'Mission Discourse', since it is here that Jesus first formally draws the disciples' attention to the crowds, and it is here that he empowers them to carry out a ministry to 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel' by giving them his ἐξουσία (10:1). This also transpires in Mark (6:7) and Luke (9:1), but in Matthew it is more far-reaching. In Mark they are only given authority over unclean spirits, and in Luke, ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν. In Matthew, however, it is authority over unclean spirits and "to heal every disease and infirmity" (ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἁκαθάρτων ἀστε ἐκβάλλειν σώτα καὶ θεραπεύειν πᾶσον νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν). Matthew has stressed the healing element through his addition of μαλακίαν, and its absolute efficacy is emphasized by the twice-iterated πᾶσον.688

The healing component is stressed again when Jesus sends them out. After charging them to go only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel and to proclaim the nearness of the kingdom (10:6-7) he gives them specific instructions about healing. They are to "heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out demons" (10:8a). This emphasis is unique to Matthew, as Mark has no healing terminology at this point (cf.3:15; 6:7) and Luke only καὶ ἰδοὺ χρι[τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς] (9:2). Once again, Matthew

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688 That these are not insignificant changes can be adjudged from the place of both ἐξουσία and πᾶς in the mouth of the risen Jesus (28:18).
has chosen to stress the healing component of the disciples' mission.

The most characteristic reason for such an emphasis is christological. It is apparent that Matthew is intent upon relating the activity of the disciples to that of Jesus. This correlation is brought out by the fact that the kerygma of the disciples is virtually identical to that of Jesus (4:17b). This correlation becomes more fully developed at 10:8. Here the disciples are charged to undertake a variety of healing tasks, none of which is expressly paralleled in either Mark or Luke. Each of these tasks recalls a healing performed by Jesus in the miracle sequence 8:1 - 9:34: ἀφθονοῦντας θεραπεύετε - 8:5-13; 8:14-16; 9:1-8; 9:27-31, νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε - 9:18-26, λεπροὺς καθαρίζετε - 8:2-4, δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλετε - 8:16; 8:28-34. Matthew is once again intent on demonstrating that the nature and range of the disciples' ministry is identical to that of Jesus.

The equation between the healing ministries of Jesus and the disciples is also emphasized by the list of miracles at 11:2ff., which Jesus presents as evidence to the followers of John the Baptist. As Held has astutely noted, this section has been placed after the Mission Discourse instead of in a more natural sequence so as to include the healing and kerygmatic actions performed by the disciples. In this way, both their actions and those of Jesus are to be construed as proof for John's followers and as fulfilment of Isaiah 35:5-6 and 61:1.

The above features make it apparent that Matthew has carefully equated the therapeutic and kerygmatic activity of the disciples with that of Jesus. Like their master,
the disciples go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (15:24, 10:5), of which the crowds are a constituent. Given the christological emphasis here, is there an eclesiological one as well? Several features would suggest that there is. This conclusion can be drawn from the changes Matthew has made to the pericope at 11:2ff. As Schweizer has noted, Matthew gives Jesus’ reply to John’s disciples in the present tense. Unlike Luke, who gives the reply in the aorist - ἀκοούσατε καὶ ἴδετε 7:22, Matthew has ἀκοούσατε καὶ βλέπετε 11:4. Such a formulation suggests that preaching and healing continue in the Post Easter church. The community continues to exercise the ἐξουσία imparted to them by Jesus.

An eclesiological orientation can also be identified in the open-ended character of the mission. While in the other two gospels the disciples return and tell Jesus what they have done (Mk 6:30-31; Lk 9:10a cf. 10:17) this does not happen in Matthew. Quite apart from the christological theme of this passage, it can also be taken to infer that the mission is construed as an ongoing one to Israel, until it is superseded by the great commission.696

What does this suggest about the ministry of Matthew’s church? It suggests first of all, that their ministry was primarily therapeutic. While they are charged to proclaim the approach of the kingdom, they are not enjoined to teach at all.697 Instead, the emphasis of the commissioning account is on healing and casting out demons. The fact that healing is twice mentioned in 10:1-8, and outlined in such detail, indicates that just as healing was a central component of Jesus’ ministry, particularly to the crowds.


695 Brown, "Mission", 79; Gnilka, Matthäusevangelium I 403.

696 This is a startling omission, and one which is not always recognized. For instance, Held remarks of the mission charge that “Jesus gives his disciples a share in his authority, as it is set out in Matt. 5-9”, (TIM 250), yet this clearly does not include his teaching authority (7:29), unless, of course, teaching and preaching are regarded as identical. Why Matthew has chosen to omit teaching is not readily explained, and various possibilities present themselves: Meier has argued that it is used in the gospel’s framework of salvation-history as an indication of die Wende der Zeit (Low 28#9). One might argue that passages like 1:21 have been interpreted by Matthew in a therapeutic light, and reflect the actual historical ministry of healing in which his community engaged, yet this still fails to explain why the community did not, at the outset, undertake a teaching ministry. Neither of these answers, however, is entirely satisfactory.
so too, is it a central component of Matthew's church's ministry. Even the recipients of Jesus' ministry have been adopted by the community. Such an inference will become more evident in the passages which follow.

3c. 9:8

It has already been shown that this passage ought to be regarded as applying to the community, and particularly to its authority to forgive sins. A more particular examination of its relation to the community requires, first of all, an examination of the genre of the pericope in which it appears. Is it a miracle story or Streitgespräche?

Held, in his discussion of the passage, has argued that Matthew's attenuation and reshaping of the account demonstrates that it "is not so much concerned with the miracle itself as with the controversial question about the forgiveness of sins with which it deals." J.P. Heil, on the other hand, has protested against the subordination of the healing account to the controversy dialogue. He appeals to the "literary genre" of the miracle story, and argues that "however 'controversial' the story may be, it is, nevertheless, presented by Matthew as a miracle". Heil's use of the word "nevertheless" is expressive. There is no doubt that it is a miracle story, in which the elements of healing and forgiveness are indissolubly linked. In its presentation however, the details of the story have been suppressed to provide a setting for the message about forgiveness. It is transformed from being a single healing account to something more paradigmatic, a discussion of authority. As the authority it discussed was, in all likelihood, that possessed by the community, it can be seen that Matthew's major concern is with the controversy dialogue.

Assuming that the forgiveness of sins is the focus of Matthew's version, what does this passage say about the post-Easter community? For one, it makes explicit that
Matthew's community possessed the ἐξονοια to forgive sins, and that they put it into practice. This capacity to forgive sins was evidently used in conjunction with their healing ministry, since the account implies that their ability to forgive sins was ratified by their ability to heal. Yet did this healing actually transpire within the confines of the community, or beyond it? Sand has suggested that the crowds ought to be understood in this context as a transparency for community members. In this respect, the exercise of authority would be congruent with that of 18:18 in particular, which was intra muros.

Such a supposition hardly helps to explain why Matthew has refashioned the passage in the manner just described. Why has he stressed the controversial aspect of the account? While there was certainly discord within the community, as chapter 18 attests, the one thing they would be agreed upon is their authority to forgive sins. It is consonant with the ἐξονοια Jesus imparted to them at the beginning of their mission (10:1 cf. 1:21) and is indeed a Matthean component of the Lord's Supper, where Jesus' blood is poured out "for the forgiveness of sins" (26:28). Matthew's choice of genre only makes sense when it is regarded as an issue that is taking place extra muros. Matthew's community, in exerting its ability to forgive sins, is encountering conflict from the scribes. Gerhardsson suggests (of Jesus) that the point of contention was that he healed "unconditionally, without demanding confession of sins, repentance, and penance". If this is the case, it may well apply to the community, although conflict would be a natural response from an elite group such as the scribes, when suddenly faced with interlopers who possessed an authority they were so obviously lacking (cf. 7:29).

If this assessment is correct, the passage marks an intriguing intermediate point with respect to the community. The commission they receive from Jesus is concerned primarily with healing and proclamation. The obverse side of the healing, the

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703 Sand, Gesetz, 67.
704 "Die Praxis der Siindenvergebung mag von der Synagoge kritisiert worden sein" Gnilka, Matthäusevangelium, I 328.
705 Gerhardsson, Mighty, 77.
706 Sanders (Law 61) rightly points out that the scribes never openly express themselves.
forgiveness of sins, represents, as Bornkamm has shown, activity which appears to be confined to the community. Apart from 1:2, which itself would be taken as programmatic for the community, this is the one passage where the community’s capacity to forgive is extended to the crowds. This is doubly suggestive. On the one hand, it is expressive of a transformation within the church itself, where, over the course of its history, the \( \varepsilon\kappa\omega\sigma\tau\alpha \) to heal, becomes transmuted into the authority to “bind and loose”. It is not without significance that the final commission has nothing to say about healing. On the other hand, it intimates an early involvement with the community on the part of the crowds. The crowds not only recognize the community’s forgiveness, they praise God for it, and implicit within this response is a participation in such forgiveness.

3d. 9:32-34; 12:22-24

Two more pericopae which point to the therapeutic activity of Matthew’s community are the exorcisms at 9:32-34 and 12:22-24. Several features point to their having a post-Easter purview. The explicit mention of the Pharisees as Jesus’ antagonists is noteworthy, since it is typical of Matthew’s redaction, and they are not mentioned by either Mark or Luke (Mk 3:22 “the scribes from Jerusalem” Lk 11:15 “some of them”). Just as significant is Matthew 10:25b - “If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more will they malign those of his household”. Apart from the mention of Beelzebul here, the only time where Jesus is associated with Beelzebul is in the above two passages (prince of demons 9:34, Beelzebul 12:24, cf. 12:27). If the disciples, therefore, are being maligned like

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If indeed, as I hope to argue, the community experiences a crisis with respect to its ability to heal, the kind of authority described at 16:19 and 18:18 would represent a retrenchment on their part, with authority to forgive, albeit in the community context, taking the place of healing.

This is Matthew’s addition; cf. Gundry, *Matthew*, 195. Bultmann, *HST* 90 holds that it is either Matthean or an independent saying he has incorporated.

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Jesus, the clear implication is that they are being maligned for undertaking the same activities - namely exorcisms or healings.\(^{711}\)

This being so, the doublet is suggestive in a number of respects. Matthew's addition of the Pharisees, the transformation of these two passages into *Streitgespräche*, and the reformulation of the crowds' responses into direct speech, all suggest one thing - namely, that Matthew is here dealing with the central preoccupations of his community. The first of these, centres on the legitimacy of his church's therapeutic activity. That he has their therapeutic activity as a whole in view, is made evident by his use of θεραπεύω at 12:22 for what is manifestly an exorcism (vs.9:33).\(^{712}\) The legitimacy of the community's ability to heal is impugned, not once, but twice, by the Pharisees, indicating a concerted effort on the part of the Pharisees to discredit the activity of Matthew's church. It is noteworthy that there is no questioning the efficacy of the healings themselves, merely, the power by which they were accomplished. The response of the community, is to align itself with Jesus, and to attribute its actions, as he does his, to the Holy Spirit (12:28,31).\(^{713}\)

Matthew's second concern in these passages is christological, as can be seen from his transformation of the second member of his doublet into a christological controversy between the community, the crowds and the Pharisees. Confronted with the undoubted therapeutic ability of Matthew's community, the crowds are brought to the point of considering the church's messianic claims about Jesus.\(^{714}\) As Hummel germanely remarks, "Diese Exposition erweckt den Eindruck, daß in der Auseinandersetzung des Matthäus mit dem Judentum über die Messianität Jesu die Wunder eine wichtige Rolle spielten".\(^{715}\) The μήτι may well be expressive of the fact that the type of Messiah being proclaimed by the community, was contrary to the

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711 Luz, "Disciples", 108; Schweizer, "Church", 132.
712 This is consonant with the general depiction of Jesus - "Matthew alters the picture of Jesus as an exorcist to a broader picture of Jesus as the healer of Israel" (Gerhardsson, *Mighty*, 80).
714 While the ὁβερος is certainly deictic here, one wonders whether it might not also be taken to refer allusively to the Jesus of proclamation cf. Acts 2:32,36.
typical expectation associated with the Son of David. If the crowds had indeed been expecting a political ruler, a king of David's line, the community's message about a therapeutic Son of David who had been crucified, would hardly evoke the messianic figure they had anticipated. The Pharisees typically, attempt to quell such deliberations on the crowds' part, by again attributing the church's therapeutic ability to demonic forces.

The crowds, however, emerge as being particularly responsive to healings. As was noted earlier, their response shifts from a concern with the healing activity as such, to the healer. And even though the Pharisees attempt to suppress their surmises about the Son of David, their acclamation at 21:9 reflects a more widespread acceptance of the therapeutic Son of David on the part of the crowds, if, indeed, this verse is not governed by tradition or apologetic concerns.

On the basis of the foregoing passages, it is evident that Matthew's community was exercising its ἐγκαίνια within the confines of Israel, and provoking two sorts of reaction - antipathy from the Pharisees and scribes, and astonishment from the crowds. When the former are confronted with the church's therapeutic activity, they react with virulence, and attempt to discredit both the community's ability to heal and its claims about the Messiah and the forgiveness of sins. It is surely noteworthy here, that the crowds are more closely aligned with the stance of the community. While the Jewish leaders are unremitting in their rejection of the church's activity, the crowds remain remarkably open. Their responses rightly attribute the church's activity to God (9:8), recognize that it is unprecedented (9:33), and see in it intimations of the Messiah (12:23).

That the crowds are so open to the church's message, may help to explain the

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716 *Matthew's extended use of the title in the late first century is connected to - but contrasted with - current Jewish usage* (Duling, "Promises" 69; cf. Geist, Menschensohn 378). Certainly the picture which emerges from the 17th Psalm of Solomon is more consonant with the biblical promises to David, as is the 15th petition of the Babylonian recension of the Shemoneh 'Esreh "Cause the shoot of David to shoot forth quickly, and raise up his horn by thy salvation..." (cited in Schürer, History, 458). Here the horn is symbolic of political power, and in particular, the power to end Israel's subjugation to the gentiles (cf. Foerster, "Képacz" TDNT III 669-71, 670). Thus, a political messiah is in view.

717 It is possible that they also looked upon Jesus as a prophet in the mold of Elija or Elisha.
The vehemence of the Jewish leaders' opposition. Gerhardsson observes that, in Matthew, "the adversaries only play a small, casual role in the texts on Jesus' miracles....they are not even mentioned in the summaries nor in the narratives of the non-therapeutic miracles. And as for the fourteen pericopes of the therapeutic miracles, the adversaries are only mentioned in four of these." It is certainly noteworthy then, that three of these four therapeutic miracles contain favorable reactions on the part of the crowds. There is only one occasion, moreover, where the crowds respond to Jesus' healing activity when the Jewish leaders are absent (15:31). In general, the responses of the crowds and Jewish leaders are grouped together, and the reactions of the scribes and Pharisees are calculated to discredit the church, presumably, in order to maintain their own influence over the crowds. What this suggests is an incipient movement on the part of the Pharisees to undermine the position of the early community. Although they cannot refute the therapeutic activity of the church amongst the crowds, they can do their best to discredit it. Yet the crowds' continued and enthusiastic response to the church's healings indicates a basic receptiveness on their parts to this kind of activity, and an indifference toward the Jewish leaders.

For this reason, the crowds' reactions of amazement and astonishment in the face of Jesus' healings can also be taken to typify their response to the community in the course of its healing ministry. Here too, their astonishment and praise of God would suggest a certain openness to faith, which, as yet, falls short of it.

This is also the case with the following which is attributed to the crowds. Since this was determined to be a response to Jesus' ability to heal, it is likely that these occurrences of ἀκολουθεῖω can also be taken as a response to the therapeutic activity of the community. It would help to explain why the references to the crowds'...
following are so profuse in the gospel, since they are almost too abundant to be explained purely on christological grounds. If they are taken to characterize the ministry of the church as well as that of Jesus, the picture they convey, is of a widespread popular movement which was associated with the healing activity of Matthew's church. Once again, this would not be the crowds' sole reason for becoming attached to the community - the church's message would certainly be another factor, but nevertheless healing would have an undeniable importance.

That the church's ministry attracted a considerable following can also be inferred from the feeding narratives. Matthew is dependent on Mark, but in both feeding accounts he has increased the number of those fed. At Mark 8:9 the ἡς τετρακισχίλιοι becomes τετρακισχίλιοι ἀνδρες χωρὶς γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων at 15:38. So too, at Mark 6:44 where πεντακισχίλιοι ἀνδρες are transmuted into "five thousand men besides women and children". These changes might be ascribed entirely to Matthew's christological emphasis, yet they are, nevertheless, highly evocative.\footnote{It is noteworthy that in Acts, for instance, the new christian believers are also numbered in the thousands: 3,000 at Ac 2:41 and 5,000 at Ac 4:4. The latter figure, as in Matthew, refers only to the males (ὅ] δεκατησίως τῶν ἀνδρῶν). Of course, the crowds in Matthew are not adherents, but followers. Haenchen (The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary tr. B. Noble et al (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971) is right in seeing these numbers as symbolic instead of statistical (215#2), though he fails to substantiate his assumption that the early christian community lived a "quiet", "modest" existence (188).}

This is because these crowds reflect the post-Easter situation. Held has effectively shown how the disciples act as mediators for Jesus.\footnote{Held, (TIM, 187) notes that this role "is markedly developed only by the first evangelist".} In two highly formalized statements, Matthew has Jesus give to the disciples and the disciples to the crowds. This singles out the disciples as exemplars for the crowds, and at the same time, demonstrates their privileged status. Yet it suggests more than this. Here the crowds have no direct dealings with Jesus. It is only the disciples who have contact with him, and only they who are able to pass on the results of his miraculous activity to the crowds. Such a set of circumstances reflects the Sitz im Leben of Matthew's church, and indeed, gives a programmatic sense to Jesus' charge "You give them..."
something to eat." (14:16b). Jesus is gone, and the community is the sole mediator of Jesus' compassion. The numbers noted above indicate just how effective their mediation was. Even if they are regarded as symbolic, the community's therapeutic ministry must have been very successful indeed.

What is striking about this scenario, is that it is remarkably similar in theme, if not specific detail, to the picture of the early Christian community in Jerusalem furnished by Acts. In chapter 3 Peter and John are described as going up to the temple where they heal a man lame from birth. All the people react with wonder and amazement (Ac 3:10), and in the face of their astonishment Peter preaches to them, attributing the man's perfect health to faith in Jesus. Peter and John are then arrested by the priests, the Captain of the Temple, and the Sadducees, who were annoyed "because they were teaching the people and proclaiming in Jesus the resurrection of the dead" (Ac 4:2).

Here we see a parallel pattern of 1) healing 2) astonishment by the people 3) teaching by the church 4) opposition by the Jewish leaders. In each account, it is therapeutic activity which produces converts and followers. This is made evident by Luke on several occasions, most explicitly at 5:12-14: "Now many signs and wonders were done among the people by the hands of the apostles...And more than ever believers were added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women, so that they even carried out the sick into the streets..." (Ac 5:12-15, cf. 16). Here there is such a close connection made between the two, that he has actually sandwiched the conversion pericope in between two healing accounts. The reason for this, is

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723 This again raises the question of the crowds as converts. Given the eucharistic imagery in these pericopae, would not this be more likely? While it certainly is possible that some members of the crowds joined Matthew's church, the crowds ought not to be seen as converts. Like the crowds of Jesus' day, they come to the community because of their need. That this is Matthew's perspective is implied by the interpretation of the parable of the sower, a passage which appears to set out his understanding of the divine economy operative within his church. As was demonstrated above, the crowds are associated with the seed sown on the path, where the evil one comes and snatches away what is sown in their hearts (13:4,19). So even if the crowds do become attached to Matthew's community at one point, it would have to be regarded as a particularly tenuous attachment - in the parable, the seeds do not even take root.


725 For a discussion of the difficulties in this passage, see Haenchen, *Acts*, 244-5.
probably, as Achtemeier has noted, that "Luke appears to have a more unambiguous reliance on the possibility that miracles, and thus miracle stories, can serve as the basis for faith in Jesus."\textsuperscript{226} In Luke, therapeutic miracles serve as the platform for the preaching of the community.\textsuperscript{227}

A related set of circumstances appears to apply to Matthew's community. The members of Matthew's church were performing miraculous healings, with the result that multitudes are following them as well. Their proclamation about Jesus, Son of David is probably not too different in emphasis from Luke's kerygma, which speaks of Jesus of Nazareth who was attested by God through "mighty works and wonders and signs" (Ac 2:22). The only major difference which seems to exist, is that Luke speaks of converts, while Matthew speaks of large crowds which have attached themselves to his community. The references to these crowds in the feeding narratives are probably too vague to stipulate the nature of this attachment, apart from the fact that the group is extensive.\textsuperscript{228} Thus, in Matthew's view, the therapeutic miracles are sufficient to attract nonbelievers, but not always sufficient to convert them.

Both communities also experience opposition as a direct result of their miraculous activity. The leaders in both instances appear to recognize the effect that healings have on the people at large, and take steps to counteract it. The Sadducees in Acts simply attempt to suppress news about it: "in order that it may spread no further among the people, let us warn them to speak no more to anyone in this name." (Ac 4:17). What makes this account different from Matthew's (apart from their being Sadducees) is that they recognize the healing as something good ("seeing the man that had been healed standing beside them, they had nothing to say in opposition", Ac 4:14) and have no wish to oppose God (cf.Ac 5:39). Even the Pharisees in John's episode


\textsuperscript{228} It is also uncertain whether Matthew's community is settled like the Christians in Jerusalem, or whether it is itinerant, as Schweizer, "Observance", has argued. The latter possibility seems most likely, at least for the early history of the community.
of the man born blind are prepared to recognize the goodness implicit in Jesus' sign: "Give God the praise; we know that this man is a sinner" (Jn 9:24 cf. 9:16). Matthew's Pharisees, by contrast, are prepared to make no such concession. For them, the miracles performed by the community are tainted, because they have been done in concert with demonic powers. As such, they demand unqualified opposition, and certainly, Matthew's community, just like the emerging church in Acts, begins to experience persecution.

Conclusion

To sum up, the ministry of Matthew's church is explicitly modelled on the ministry of Jesus, with particular emphasis placed on healing and exorcism. That these last two features are vital for the community can be ascertained from 9:8, which indicates that the church's authority to forgive sins is, in some measure, bound up with its capability to heal. Its therapeutic ministry also served to legitimize its messianic claims, particularly concerning the therapeutic Son of David. Not surprisingly, their ministry and their claims elicit significant opposition from the Jewish authorities. One of the reasons for this, is the extreme popularity of the community with the crowds. The ἔχλοι are amazed at the church's healings, a fact which leads them to consider the messianic claims made by the Matthean community. In the meanwhile, they attach themselves to the community in large numbers, enthralled at the unquestioned authority of the church.

4. PERSECUTION

4a. Discussion

The clearest instances of persecution are mentioned in the mission discourse,

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729 For a discussion of this episode in the context of John's community, see Martyn, Theology, 37-62.
discourse, particularly 10:17-25. This segment of the discourse follows immediately upon the explicit commissioning outlined at 10:1-16, and is largely comprised of elements from Mark's "little apocalypse". Matthew has made some significant changes to his source. For instance, at 10:17 he has added αὐτῶν to Mark's συναγωγαῖς (Mk 13:9). The effect of this addition, as Hare notes, is that, unlike Mark, it "requires that we understand the subject of both verbs ('deliver' as well as 'flog') to be members of the synagogues, i.e. Jews." Thus the members of Matthew's community run afoul of members of the synagogue during their mission activities.

The αὐτῶν also intimates, as was argued above, that the Christian synagogues are now separate from their those of their Jewish counterparts. This split, however, would seemingly reflect a period later from the one being described here, since corporal punishment within the synagogues indicates that the missionaries are still under the religious jurisdiction of the Jewish synagogues. Does this rift suggest that the members of Matthew's community have subsequently been excluded from the synagogues? Or, to put it another way, has the Birkath ha-Minim been instituted to bring about this separation? The only appropriate answer is to say that we do not have enough evidence to make a reasonable judgement. In the first place, Matthew, unlike John (9:22; 12:42; 16:2), gives no indication of the factors underlying the actual separation of his community from the synagogue. In the second place, too little is known about the benediction and its relationship to Christianity to admit of certainty. Horbury is probably correct when he relates that "the wording of the benediction was variable, and no surviving text can be assumed to reproduce a specimen...of the

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731 Hare, Persecution, 102.
732 Ibid., 105. It is not indicated by the Mishnah where the punishment was administered; the references to punishment within the synagogue are all from the New Testament. cf. Schürer, History, II 447. Luz (Matthew 1-7, 242) also sees Jewish persecution as a feature of the past.
Thus, it remains uncertain whether the Nitzanim were actually mentioned in the benediction composed by Samuel the Small, or were introduced into the berakhah later, possibly after the defeat of Bar Koziba. Allied to this, is the question of the actual identity of the minim, a problem which, itself, shows little sign of being resolved. All these factors, therefore, argue against relying too strongly on the benediction as a barometer of Jewish-Christian relations at the end of the first century.

At 10:17, Matthew again gives intimations of Jewish persecution by his change of Mark's δορψεσθε το μαστιγώσσονι. The latter is a usage which Schneider identifies as a terminus technicus for the flogging imposed by a council of three judges. As the Mishnah relates, "How many stripes do they inflict on a man? Forty save one, for it is written, By number forty: (that is to say,) a number near to forty." Yet if Matthew (following Mark) is suggesting that the missionaries would be flogged, it is not clear from the Mishnah, at least, why this would be so. According to Hare, the Mishnah "provides no legal support for the suppression of heresy by the application of corporal punishment." The only rationale which he can supply is to suggest that active missionaries, like Paul, were flogged for committing breaches of the peace (e.g. Ac 18:5-8).

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735 See b Ber 28b-29a. For a discussion of this question see Steven T. Katz, "Issues in the Separation of Judaism and Christianity after 70 C E.: A Reconsideration" JBL 103 (1984) 43-76, 64-69, and Reuven Kimelman "Birkath ha-Minim and the Lack of Evidence for an Anti-Christian Jewish Prayer in Late Antiquity" in E. P. Sanders et al. (eds.) Jewish and Christian Self Definition II (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 226-244, 232-40. Their case against seeing it as original relies too much on arguments e silentio to be satisfactory. For an opposing view, see Davies, SSM, 276f..
736 See Katz, "Issues", 69-74, who gives an overview of the state of the question.
738 Danby, Mishnah, Makk 3:10. The third chapter of Makkoth outlines both those who are liable to flogging (1-9) and how the procedure is carried out (10-14).
739 Hare, Persecution, 44.
740 Ibid., 46. He urges that this does not represent a "determined effort" by the Jews to suppress Christianity. He also refers to an intriguing citation from b Sanh 46a ""It has been taught: R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: I have heard that the Beth din may, (when necessary,) impose flagellation and pronounce (capital) sentences even where not (warranted) by the Torah; yet not with the intention of disregarding the Torah but (on the contrary) to safeguard it. It once happened that a man rode a horse on the Sabbath in the Greek period and he was brought before the Court and stoned, not because he was liable thereto, but because it was (practically) required by the times. Again it happened that a man once had intercourse with his wife under a fig tree. He was brought before the Beth din and flogged, not because he merited it, but because the times required it." Hare is certainly correct when he
difficulties of a similar nature. That Matthew again adverts to flogging in the anti-Pharisaic discourse (23:34) argues that this is more than simply a literary motif he has adopted from Mark.

The most vivid feature of Matthew’s reformulation of Mark’s passage is its location. Matthew has moved it from an apocalyptic situation where it is descriptive of future tribulations, to a context where it is used to typify the kind of reception the apostles were to expect. And since Matthew is redacting this passage post facto, it ought to be taken as an encapsulation of the results of the mission. The most salient feature that emerges is that the apostles were persecuted. The passage is not clear about the identity of the persecutors, but both the beatitudes and the anti-Pharisaic discourse indicate that it was the Pharisees and the scribes.

Why is it then, that Matthew’s community was persecuted? One likely answer is provided by Hare, who suggests that the reason for their persecution was some sort of breach of the peace on the part of the missionaries. Yet what sort of breach of the peace would this be? The answer appears to be contained in the beginning of the discourse. It is apparent from the considerable emphasis placed on the apostles’ authority to heal and cast out demons that it is to be interpreted as a vital, even primary, component of the apostles’ ministry. If this healing resulted in the same sort of amazement on the part of the crowds with which it was greeted in the above passages, it may well have provoked rancour on the part of the local officials.

advocates caution in interpreting this passage. Nevertheless, it might represent a legitimate reminiscence of a time when there was de facto flexibility in the judicial system, even if this flexibility was not de jure. Alan Segal (Rebecca’s Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986) 151) argues that the charges against Paul “suggest that the rabbinic movement had not yet had a significant effect on the synagogue’s behaviour.”

It might also suggest that the Mishnah does not entirely reflect the pre 70 situation, or alternately, that Matthew is merely describing anticipated persecution. The former is more likely.

It is just possible that there are echoes of this sort of policy in the Tosefta. Consider the following cases furnished by R. Travers Herford, (Christianity in Talmud and Midrash (Clifton: Reference Book publishers, 1966) 103) “The case of R. El’azar ben Damah, whom a serpent bit. There came in Jacob, a man of Chepar Sama, to cure him in the name of Jeshua” ben Pandir, but R. Ishmael did not allow it. He said “Thou art not permitted, Ben Damah.” He said, “I will bring thee a proof that he may heal me.” But he had not finished bringing a proof when he died. R. Ishmael said, “Happy art thou Ben Damah, for thou hast departed in peace, and hast not broken through the ordinances of the wise; for upon every one who breaks through the fence of the wise, punishment comes at last, as it is written (Eccl x:8): Whoso breaketh a fence a serpent shall bite him.” Hull ii 22-23 103. The serpent bite in this account fits rather too nicely with the moral from Eccl, and is probably not a genuine reminiscence. Nevertheless it appears to intimate something of a settled policy.
Persecution could also be attributed to several other factors. It may have stemmed from the Pharisees' and scribes' concern that the crowds not be perverted by an erroneous understanding of the law and its requirements. This "erroneous understanding" would likely have meant that the community was flouting the Pharisees' interpretation of the law, and not simply the Pharisaic παράδοσις, since, if Sanders is right, the Pharisees were not adamant about imposing their traditions on others: "Presumably they would have liked it if more people emulated them. But on practices which they knew to be unbiblical, they did not think that theirs was the only view and that those who did not agree were transgressing the revealed word of God.".243

A third possibility is that Jesus, because of his healing activity, may have already been branded as a γόνος. Matthew is alone among the gospels in having the Pharisees describe Jesus as ἐκείνος ὁ πλάνος,244 nor is the accusation that he is in collusion with Beelzebul far removed from the charge that he is a magician.245 Certainly, by the time of Justin Martyr, the Jews appear to have attributed his healing ability to his being a magician: Jesus "healed those who from birth were blind and deaf and lame. He cured them by His word, causing them to walk, to hear, and to see. By restoring the dead to life, He compelled the men of that day to recognize Him. Yet though they witnessed these miraculous deeds with their own eyes, they attributed them to magical art; indeed, and they dared to call him a magician who misled the people".246 A related charge is found in the Babylonian Talmud: "He who sins and causes the multitude to sin is not afforded the means of repentance." In the uncensored edition of the Talmud this is immediately followed by: "And a master has said, 'Jesus

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243 Sanders, Law, 250.
244 cf. Jn 7:12 where some members of the crowds say of Jesus: "...he is leading the people (τῶν δικαίων) astray". Matthew's gospel also eliminates those features of Mark which might make Jesus look like a magician. His very care to eliminate these features, might suggest that he had reasons, apart from his christology for doing so.
245 According to C.K. Barrett (The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, (London: SPCK, 1947) 61) Jesus' healing techniques were similar to those of magicians. Morton Smith's (Jesus the Magician, (New York: Harper, 1978) 31ff.) views on this question are intriguing, if overstated.
the Nazarene practised magic and led Israel astray" (San 107b).

Since the community was invested with Jesus' authority, it too, on the principle of 10:25, would incur the same opprobrium. In fact, it would experience more. Their ability to heal and cast out demons might help to account for the unrelieved opposition of the Pharisees to the church which was described above. If the Pharisees were convinced that Jesus was a magician, and that the disciples were performing demonic healings in his name, it would do much to explain their antipathy. Such a state of affairs would explain their concern that the crowds not come under the church's influence, and also suggest why the Pharisees are so often described as being present with the crowds when the church performs its healings. They intervene to prevent the crowds from being led astray and deceived by the church's magical therapeutic practices.

J. L. Martyn has developed an intriguing line of argument on the basis of John 7, which suggests that Jewish authorities attempted to halt Christian missionaries by trying them and then stoning them on the basis of Deut 13:6ff., as people who lead others astray (πλάνοις). If his argument is valid, it is not unlikely that Matthew's community also experienced a similar sort of organized opposition, although it would probably have been in a more nascent state. It would, nevertheless, have been threatening enough for Matthew's community to take it very seriously indeed.

Conclusion

That Matthew's church experienced persecution is evident from his recasting of Mark's little apocalypse into part of his own mission discourse. His redactional changes indicate that it was administered by Jews. While there does not appear to be enough evidence to comment on the Birkath ha Minim, it is possible that local authorities acted independently to counteract the Christians. The latter may have been charged for breaches of the peace, but it seems more likely that they were brought up

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According to Lachs, in Jewish literature, Jesus' "disciples and those who followed them are best known through their healing activity in the name of Jesus." Rabbinic, 178.

Martyn, History, 81ff.
on charges of misleading the people.

5 DOUBT IN THE COMMUNITY

If the community was experiencing trouble from persecution extra muros, it was also experiencing trouble from within, in the form of little faith or doubt. This is a motif which runs through a number of pericopae, and seems to indicate that the community was undergoing a crisis of doubt. Just why this would afflict Matthew's church is difficult to say, but it is not impossible that it is related to persecution.

5a The Healing of the Epileptic

The most decisive example of the disciples' failure to exercise the mandate that they have from Jesus is the pericope of the Healing of the Epileptic (Mt. 17:14-21). As Held and Aichinger have shown, Matthew has made extensive alterations to Mark's account. The most significant of these changes is his elimination of most of the details of Mark's story so as to highlight the failure of the disciples. As Held observes, this has become the sole theme of the story, and is made emphatic through the thrice-repeated reference to the disciples' incapacity. The account opens with the epileptic's father relating that the disciples "could not heal" his son (οὐκ ἐπήρεασαν αὐτὸν θεραπεύοντα 17:16). Later, when the disciples ask Jesus why they could not cast it out (διὰ τὸ ήμεις οὐκ ἐπήρεασαν ἑξολοθήνει αὐτό 17:19), he tells them if they had faith as a grain of mustard seed, nothing would be impossible for them (καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδυνατήσει οὕτως 17:20). The focus of the pericope, therefore, is on their inability to perform miracles, and the instruction about faith which they are given afterward.
This account is best taken as referring to the community. Jesus and the "pillars" of the early church are no longer around; they are on the mountain of transfiguration. As the transfiguration is often acknowledged to have close associations with the resurrection accounts, this offers a suggestive correlation. Matthew's church no longer has Jesus or the first disciples to guide it. It has been left on its own, though it continues to adhere to the mission directives of chapter 10. In particular, it has continued to perform healings and exorcisms within the context of the crowds. While Matthew makes the connection of the epileptic's father with the crowds less explicit than Mark, it is, nevertheless, evident that the crowds continue to provide the forum for the community's healing ministry.

Yet, as Matthew indicates, this ministry is in crisis. Jesus' reproach "O faithless and perverse generation..." ought to be taken as a reference to the community. That its therapeutic ministry as a whole is in doubt, and not merely a single exorcism, can be inferred from Matthew's substitution of θεραπευσοι for Mark's ἐκβάλλω at 17:16. It is only after the epileptic's father has outlined the problem besetting the community, that the account even mentions the casting out of demons (17:18,19).

The pericope which Matthew has appended to his healing narrative is designed to remedy this problem. The church turns to Jesus, uncertain about why they are now bereft of their healing power. Jesus' answer stresses their lack of faith and what they would be able to accomplish if they had it. But whether the church will heed his call to faith remains in contention. The use of the subjunctive in the conditional clause at 26). It is perhaps worthy of remark, that even in this pericope, the disciples appear to be lacking in faith. Matthew relates that they marvelled (τίθενται 21:20 no //) at the withering of the fig tree. Since he does not ordinarily impute such a reaction to the disciples (rather, to the crowds, 9:33;15:31; cf.22:22), this could suggest δεισιδαιμονία on their parts.


254 Schweizer, Matthew 227-28; Donaldson, (Mountain 138) offers a discussion of the views which hold that the transfiguration account was originally a resurrection appearance.

255 This can be attributed to Matthew's abbreviation of Mark's healing account, in which he has pared Mark's three references to the crowd (Mk 9:14,15,16) down to one (17:14).

256 ἐθεραπεύσατο (no //) is used at 17:18 to demonstrate the efficacy of Jesus' ministry, in contrast to that of his disciples (17:16). While it is likely Matthew has introduced προσφέρειν into his account because it is a favorite expression of his (15,3,4), it may also be intended to suggest an implicit contrast between Jesus' ability to heal, and that of his followers.
17:20 (ἐχθρεῖ) makes the outcome more doubtful than if the protasis were in the indicative. The remedy has been suggested; whether the church will be able to make use of it is a different matter. That is to say, it is by no means certain whether the community will ever be able to resume its therapeutic ministry among the crowds.

5b Peter’s Walking on the Water

The walking on the water episode (14:22-33) furnishes a related example of a failure in δύναμις on the part of the community. The whole account of Peter's walking on the water is clearly Matthean, and Peter himself functions here as a representative of the community as a whole. It is also evident that this passage is written with the post-resurrection community in mind. Bornkamm has incisively shown how, in the stilling of the storm pericope, the disciples in their boat are to be taken as "the little ship of the Church". The same holds true for the walking on the water pericope. Here many of the same elements repeat themselves. The disciples are again in a boat, and again faced with adverse conditions - the boat is many furlongs from the shore, the wind is against them and they are being beaten by the waves. More noteworthy still is Jesus' absence - a feature which obviously faced the post-Easter community. In the stilling of the storm pericope he is still with them, albeit asleep. Here he is not with them at all, but comes to them after bidding them to go ahead. The disciples do what he has enjoined and encounter difficulties once he has left them. Jesus finally returns to them, and it is perhaps not without significance that they regard him as a φάντασμα. The phrase μὴ φοβεῖσθε is only used elsewhere by Jesus in two Matthean passages - the appearance of the risen Jesus to the women (28:5) and in the transfiguration narrative (17:7). Similarly, the word διστάζω occurs only twice in

757 Held, TIM, 205; Gnilka Matthäusevangelium II 11f.; Goulder, Midrash, 378; Strecker (Weg, 198-99) argues for an underlying piece of oral tradition based on the analogy with John 21:7f., but his argument is hardly compelling.

758 See Kingsbury, "The Figure of Peter in Matthew's Gospel as a Theological Problem", JBL 98 (1979), 67-83, 72; Schweizer, "Church", 136; Strecker, Weg, 203-06. This, of course, does not obviate his status as spokesman or even as the symbolic leader of the community.

759 Bornkamm, "Stilling", TIM, 55.
Matthew (and the entire New Testament) once at 14:31 and once in Jesus' final appearance to his disciples.

As was noted earlier, Peter's initiative is made to originate with Jesus. While it is Peter who emerges with the idea of walking on the water, he immediately refers it to Jesus: "Lord, if it is you, bid me (κέλευσέν με) come to you on the water" (14:28). And Jesus does indeed command him to come - 'Ελθέ (14:29). Peter's use of κέλευω and Jesus' own use of the imperative are noteworthy, since, as was seen above, κέλευω is frequently associated with discipleship and its obligations. Here, as with the other calls to discipleship, the initiative rests with Jesus. Clearly, however, Jesus' command does more than merely summon Peter, it empowers him as well. Peter, in order to be able to walk to Jesus, must participate in Jesus' ἔξουσία. This is not to deny Peter his own initiative - the story obviously hinges on the fact that Peter's ability to do this rests on his own obedient faith. Yet he is, nevertheless, empowered by Jesus to do exactly what Jesus himself is doing. This whole scenario is redolent of the mission discourse, where the ἔξουσία given to the disciples enables them to perform the same types of healings and exorcisms that Jesus has performed.

Yet, as in the pericope of the epileptic, there is a crisis of faith. Peter's faith fails him when he sees the wind - he doubts and begins to sink, until Jesus rescues him. He, too, is reproached by Jesus for having little faith, "O man of little faith (διαλεόησεν 14:31), why did you doubt?". Unlike the pericope of the epileptic, there are grounds given for Peter's doubt. He is fearful of the wind, which, as Matthew earlier reports, "was against them"(14:24). His fear, then, is different than their earlier fear of Jesus, which was a fear of the numinous(14:26), this is fear for his life: "Lord save me (κόριε, σῶσόν με 14:30). It is the same reaction that the disciples have earlier in the storm-stilling episode - fear for their own lives: "Save Lord - we are perishing - κόριε, σῶσον ἀπολλύμεθα. In each case it is greeted with the same response by Jesus - he accuses them of little faith. They respond by worshipping him.

760Held, TIM, "The whole scene of Peter walking on the sea...presents a disciple on the way to discipleship" (206).
Bornkamm describes the stilling of the storm episode in Matthew as a "kerymmatic paradigm of the danger and glory of discipleship". By the same token, Matthew's interpolation of the Walking on the Water episode can also be taken as a paradigm of doubt and faith in discipleship. Yet, it is also amenable to a less idealized, and more allegorical understanding. Given the above correlation between the church and the boat, and Jesus on the water with the risen Jesus, the passage can be taken as a self-description of the community. The risen Jesus has called them to discipleship, and they have responded. By virtue of his εξουσία, they are able to embark on the ministry enjoined in the mission discourse, including thaumaturgical activities such as healing and the casting out of demons. After a while, however, they lose sight of Jesus, and begin to fear for their safety. This may indicate that the community was facing persecution. Matthew's report that the wind was "against them" is certainly suggestive of animosity, while flogging or capital punishment would quite naturally, bring them to fear for their lives. Their failure to repose confidence in Jesus has provoked doubt. With doubt has come a falling off of their thaumaturgical ability. Though the account indicates that Jesus will rescue them, it says nothing about the restoration of their thaumaturgical ability.

Barth has argued differently. He holds that "Jesu Epiphanie hat hier also eine Nachgeschichte: sie befreit zum Glauben und führt zur Nachfolge." It is not at all clear that this is the case, as Matthew gives no indication of what happens next. It does seem odd, however, that the disciples are never once shown as triumphing over their doubt or little faith through their belief.

5c 28:18

The passage reads, "when they saw him they worshipped him, but some
doubted (οἱ δὲ ἔδιστασαν). Although there is some controversy about whether the οἱ δὲ taken at the historical level, refers to the disciples. It is most likely that it does. If this is so, however, there is no indication that the appearance of the resurrected Jesus refers to the disciples. It is most likely that it does. In fact, some, if not all, of the disciples are described as doubting, either when confronted with the Risen Lord, or even after worshipping Jesus. In either case, Jesus' appearance can hardly be said to allay their doubt.

Barth would again wish to argue that Jesus assuages their doubt at 28:17 as well. He holds that because in Mk 16:14 and Luke 24:37-42 it is left for the reader to conclude that the disciples overcame their doubt, this must also be the case here. This is scarcely a legitimate inference. Even if his assumption about Mark and Luke is true (and it may not be), there is no reason to suppose it need apply to Matthew. The latter's attenuation of the epiphanic elements here, would suggest that he has a different intention than the other evangelists. Barth claims that "die Jünger seien letztlich doch im Zweifel geblieben, ist schlichterdings unendbar". Why this should be absolutely unthinkable is hard to fathom. The passage gives no indication that the disciples could not have persisted in their doubt. Glasson is probably justified in seeing a measure of encouragement in Jesus' commission, but again, this says nothing about the community as such. In point of fact, the content of the great commission may argue that the doubt in the church persisted. It is certainly singular that Jesus' final commission contains none of the adjurations to heal or exorcise that featured so prominently in the mission discourse. While this may reflect a different conception underlying the new dispensation, it may also reflect the circumstances of a community.

764 See the recent exchange of papers in JSNT: K. Grayston, "The Translation of Mt 28.17" 21 (1984) 105-9; K.L. McKay, "The Use of Hoi de in Matthew 28.17. A Response to K. Grayston" 24 (1985) 71-72; P. W. van der Horst, "Once More: The Translation of οἱ δὲ in Matthew 28.17" 27 (1986) 27-30. The most satisfactory of these is that by van der Horst who concludes that although the οἱ δὲ "can mean (from a strictly grammatical point of view) other persons than the disciples, but, since no other persons are involved here at all, must be part of the disciples" (29 italics his). See, as well, I. P. Ellis, "But Some Doubted", NTS 14 (1968) 574-80, 575, and C. H. Giblin, "A Note on Doubt and Reassurance in Mt 28:16-20" CBQ 37 (1975) 68-75, 68-72.


766 Ibid., 286.

767 Glasson, "Doubt", 73-75.
which could no longer engage in thaumaturgical activity.

**Conclusion**

The most striking feature of each of above passages therefore, is that they end on an unresolved note. In each case, the community has been confronted with its lack of faith or doubt, and in each case, experiences the reassurance of the Risen Jesus and, and, in two instances, his mandates. It is possible that this results in renewed faith for the church, but it is never indicated how or whether the community has responded. Given the frequency with which this theme occurs in the first gospel, it would seem more appropriate to view it as a problem which continued to beset the community. Like Paul, it approved the right course, but was unable to perform it. If, as seems likely, the community has lost its εγουσία, it remains uncertain whether it might eventually be able to regain the abilities it once had, or whether this possibility is no longer open to them. For the time being, they are immobilized. So while the church is not categorically condemned by Matthew, they are still believers, and are cared for by Jesus. On the other hand, it is reproached for its deficient faith, and in its place, a faith untinged by doubt is advocated for the community.

It is also significant that two of these accounts deal explicitly with the failure of thaumaturgical acts on the part of the community. The reasons for their lack of faith are not specified in the epileptic pericope. Usually, however, little faith signifies an excessive concern for this life and the worries of this life. Hence, it is not impossible that there was an explicit connection between healing and persecution.

The consequences of such a failure within the community would be momentous. Up until this point, the church's ability to heal had been vital to their ministry in a number of respects. Most significantly, it functioned as a source of legitimation. As with the miracles described in the first chapters of Acts, it served as a basis for their christological remarks about the Son of David. It also functioned as

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768 These mandates could well be the product of Christian prophets. As Boring has shown, 28:18-20 reveals a number of prophetic features, (Sayings, 204-6.). If there was a waning of miracles in general, it probably did not include prophecy. Boring argues that the two go together (87-88), but does recognize that in the Didache this no longer applies (88). Matthew's community in this respect would seem to be more akin to the situation of the Didache.
legitimation for their claims to be able to forgive sins. Given the disappearance of their authority, their entire ministry would suddenly be called into question.

The effects of this would be most acute with respect to the crowds. If, as we have argued, much of the ministry to the crowds was predicated on healing, the ministry would suddenly be curtailed. Like the epileptic's father, the crowds would come to the members of the community only to find that they were no longer able to heal. Nor would the crowds have Jesus to turn to. Instead, they would eventually cease to come at all. They would no longer be amazed or astonished at the healings the church performed, because healings were no longer performed. With "signs and wonders" no longer following, they too, would cease to follow. And since the community's claims about Jesus as Son of David, and its claim to forgive sins were predicated on their healing capability, the crowds would certainly cease to pay them as much attention.

The desertion of the crowds would, in turn, be no small shock to Matthew's church. It would, first of all, be a public indication of failure on their part. Concomitant with this, would be their feeling of having been deserted by God, and having failed God, akin perhaps to Israel's experience of the end of prophecy, or for that matter, what Judaism was experiencing in its loss of the temple. While they were able to fault themselves, and attribute it to their doubt and lack of faith, over the course of time, with no assurance that they might regain their lost εἷδεν, they would need something to take its place. Two features appear to have fulfilled this function. While it is not possible to go into these factors in detail, the first can be identified as Matthew's emphasis on judgement and righteousness. The second is Matthew's emphasis on understanding.

\[769\] For a more detailed discussion of this whole question see Bornkamm, "End-Expectation", TIM, 15-38. "Matthew reaches his radical understanding of the law by regarding it in the light of...the universal judgement, which all men, and particularly the disciples have to face. It is into this rigid framework of his understanding of the law that Matthew inserts the specifically Christian motives which distinguish the essence, the faith and life of discipleship, and from this he draws his legitimation and weapon for the controversy of the Church with Israel.\[769\].

\[770\] For further discussion of understanding as it relates to disciples see the sources cited above Note #108.
6. THE VOLTE-FACE OF THE CROWDS

6a 27:62-66

With the demise of the church's therapeutic ministry, Matthew gives some intimations of a defection on the crowds' part. One such indication is at 23:1, where, along with the disciples, the crowds are warned by Jesus about the scribes and Pharisees. It was shown above, that even though this passage may have a manifest teaching component to it, the bitterness and rancour it displays points to an Auseinandersetzung between Matthew's community and Pharisaic Judaism. The fact that the crowds need to be warned about the Pharisees suggests that the crowds are once again coming under the sway of these Jewish leaders. That this sway became absolute, is substantiated in part by Matthew's additions of 27:62-66 and 28:11-15 to his passion account. In the first of these, the high priests and Pharisees ask Pilate to secure the tomb for three days lest the disciples steal Jesus' body, then proclaim his resurrection to the people, so that "the last fraud will be worse than the first".

The inclusion of the Pharisees here is significant for several reasons. The first, is that it is the only time they are mentioned after chapter 23. The second, is that they are paired with the high priests, which is an odd grouping indeed. Both these features can probably be explained if the reference to the Pharisees is taken as being transparent. The high priests are the main representatives of Judaism in Jesus' day, and the Pharisees in Matthew's own day. Matthew's exclusion of them from the passion narrative, indicates that he is not only adhering to his sources, which do not

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771 It also suggests that after the crisis in Matthew's community, some of its members were deserting to the Pharisees. This idea may well underlie 15:12-14, a pericope unique to Matthew (cf. Lk 6:39).
772 Both are likely Matthean - Gundry, Matthew, 582 ff., 591 ff.. Hill, Matthew, 360, suggests these accounts may be based on a "special Jerusalem cycle of tradition".
773 Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 16.
774 Martin, History, 84; Hummel, Auseinandersetzung, 16.
mention the Pharisees either, but that he wishes to associate the Pharisees with the charge that Jesus is a πλάνος and that his resurrection is likewise a deception.  

Especially noteworthy is the fact that the Pharisees attempt to prevent the disciples' message of the resurrection from reaching the people: μὴ ποτὲ...εἴπωςιν τῷ λαῷ (27:64). The reason they give is "that the last fraud will be worst than the first". This is a revealing comment, for it suggests that in Matthew's eyes, the church's preaching of the resurrection to the crowds had had a profound effect. It also indicates that the preaching of the church was even more noisome to the Pharisees than the presence of Jesus. This perception fits well with 10:25, and the picture of the church's ministry sketched above.

On the other hand, Matthew's inclusion of both of the above passages is apologetic in nature. The mere fact that he has chosen to include them suggests that the story of the disciples' theft of Jesus' corpse which had "been spread among the Jews to this day", had been effective. After the dissemination of this story, the church's preaching of the resurrection no longer possessed the credibility it had once had, and now Matthew is forced to explain how this calumny against the church originated. This apologetic strain strongly suggests that the Pharisees had gained in ascendancy over the Jews (including the crowds), and had largely eclipsed Matthew's community. The very term "the Jews" indicates that Matthew and his church have become dissociated from the Jewish people as a whole, even if the apologetic is designed to respond to specific Jewish criticisms.

How the Pharisees were able to woo the crowds away from the influence of Matthew's church cannot be readily determined. It is possible that 27:20 provides a
clue when it relates that the high priests and elders persuaded (ἐπέσοντο) the crowds to ask for Barabbas instead of Jesus. Of course, the context is different here, the Pharisees are not mentioned, and it is possible that Matthew's use of the word is simply intended to further inculpate the crowds. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that Matthew's use of ἐπέσοντο is also intended to reflect the church's own experience, where the Jewish leaders, in this case the Pharisees, have persuaded the crowds to give up Jesus. Even if this explanation places undue weight on a single word, 27:64 reveals that something of this order took place. The Pharisees were actively engaged in curtailing the church's influence amongst the people, and presumably, persuading them that the disciples were imposters, just as Jesus had been.

Such a line of argumentation would be even more effective, if, as argued above, the community had undergone a crisis of faith, and was no longer able to perform miracles. This, in itself, would furnish sufficient grounds for questioning the church's claims about another greater miracle, namely, Jesus' resurrection.

6b Matthew 13

The most decisive indication of a change in the crowds' attitude toward Matthew's community can be seen in chapter 13. As was argued above, the statements made there about the crowds are best taken as applying to the later community. More particularly, they are best taken as Matthew's final pronouncement on the crowds. The passage which is most revealing in this respect is the interpretation to the parable of the sower. As was shown above, the crowds are implicitly compared with the seed sown on the path. They hear the message of the kingdom, but it does not take root in their hearts, and finally the evil one snatches it away. The message does not take root at all, a factor which indicates that in Matthew's ultimate perspective, the crowds never

779 Dupont, "Chapitre", 886-7 cf. 889-93 would like to argue that Matthew is making a moral distinction here, and not explicitly referring to the Jewish crowds. While it cannot be denied that there is a paranetic intention here, Matthew's identification of the crowds and disciples with the two types of hearer is too explicit to be discounted.
were numbered amongst the believers of the community, as compared, say with those
who fell away because of persecution\textsuperscript{780} or the cares of the world.

This is rather a startling pronouncement. For one thing, it implies that the
church's entire ministry to the crowds had proved to be ineffectual. While the
Jerusalem church's ministry to the people in Jerusalem had resulted in thousands of
converts before being disrupted by persecution (Ac 8:1), the ministry of Matthew's
community appears to Matthew, in retrospect, to have been singularly unproductive.
The community's healings and care for the crowds seem to have exerted no lasting
effect.

What also emerges from this passage is the absolute character of Matthew's
pronouncement about the crowds. The outcome is no longer in doubt - they had been
the recipients of the word of the kingdom, and, quite simply, had failed to respond to
it. They had had the opportunity, but now, the moment had passed. The very fact that
Matthew can indicate that the moment had passed intimates that there is a measure of
distance between Matthew's community and the crowds.\textsuperscript{781} As with the reference to
the Jews at 28:15, the implication is that Matthew and his church are no longer directly
involved. They have dissociated themselves from the ministry to the crowds, and are
at a sufficient remove to be able to pronounce upon it, as something that is passed.

What this most likely signifies, is that Matthew's community has completed its
mission to Israel and has now embarked on a universal mission to all nations.\textsuperscript{782} The
judgement at 13:19, therefore, probably reflects part of Matthew's evaluation of the
ministry to Israel. While 21:43 is mainly intended as a reproach against the Jewish

\textsuperscript{780} Even though this reference to persecution has been taken over from Mark, it is likely to
have had considerable import for Matthew's community.

\textsuperscript{781} That this represents old history can be seen from the parable of the tares in the same
chapter, where the field is "the world" (13:38) and Matthew's concern is with the separation of good
from evil (13:26-30). This theme, in particular, seems to have occupied Matthew latterly, as can also
be seen from his additions to the parable of the wicked tenants. After he describes the burning of "their
city", an event which is best taken as a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem (Jeremias, \textit{Parables},
33), he describes the gathering of "both bad and good" for the wedding feast (22:10). They are included
because "those invited were not worthy" (22:8). The most natural interpretation is to look upon the bad
and good as the gentiles who had responded to the community's message. The fact that some of them
were evil appears to have produced controversy in Matthew's community, with Matthew's gospel
favouring the final judgement as the best means of separating the good from the evil.

\textsuperscript{782} The Jews would be included in this universalist directive, but no longer have the primacy
they had once enjoyed.
leaders, 13:10-23 is Matthew's indictment of the crowds. The substance of this indictment has already been discussed above. The crowds are incapable of perception. Even though they see and hear, they do not see or hear and are devoid of understanding. The similarity of the crowds with their leaders is that both groups are blind. The Pharisees pretend to be able to lead, while the crowds unthinkingly follow them. The result for both is destruction, as 15:14 makes abundantly clear: "They [the Pharisees] are blind guides. And if a blind man leads a blind man, both will fall into a pit.

Just as important as the indictment is the situation of this whole complex of events within the plan of God. Matthew 13:10-15 makes it clear that the crowds' obduracy had already been predicted by Jesus and the scriptures as well. Verse 13:12 indicates that Jesus anticipated this situation, while at 13:14ff. it is Jesus himself who invokes Isaiah 6:9ff. to account for the crowds' dullness of heart.

This Reflexionszitat has vital significance for Matthew's community, because it helps explain the failure of their mission. The failure, of course, lies in the recalcitrance of the crowds, but the citation is able to situate this recalcitrance within the context of salvation history. Just as Israel had always rejected its prophets, it now rejects its Messiah and his representatives. This situation was already foreseen by Isaiah, and the Messiah himself, in citing the passage, indicates that it will be normative for Matthew's own community. Thus, Matthew's church, in spite of its crisis of faith, has no cause to be alarmed at the failure of their mission. This was something which had long been anticipated, and which received its complete fulfilment in the experience of Matthew's church. The Reflexionszitat, like 13:19, constitutes part of Matthew's final judgement on the crowds. They remain obdurate, just as Isaiah predicted they would. In making this pronouncement, Matthew implicitly, if not explicitly, prepares for the universalist mission and explains how the crowds of Israel have relinquished their status as the chosen people of God.\textsuperscript{783}

\textsuperscript{783} Gnilka (Verstockung, 97) rightly remarks of some of the elements of 13:10-17 that "Es gehört zu den Eigenheiten des Matthäus, dem Leser seines Evangeliums einen starken Eindruck vom Unglauben des jüdischen Volkes, der seine Ablösung als Eigentumsvolk Gottes rechtfertigt, zu
Yet, even though he is scathing in his comments about the obtuseness of the crowds, his remarks are of a quite different order than his denunciations of the Pharisees in chapter 23. There are several reasons for this. The first is that the Pharisees knowingly set themselves in opposition to the church, and thereby, to God. The attitude of the crowds is less blameworthy, in that they are simply unresponsive. While this, in itself, is culpable, there is still a fleeting hope that Matthew’s reproaches might jolt them out of their stupor. While Matthew is not as optimistic as Paul in Romans 11, he probably has not excluded the possibility of the crowds relenting, albeit in accordance with the established plan of God.

The second reason is a consequence of the crowds’ one-time involvement with Matthew’s community. John Townshend has spoken of a “religious divorce” in connection with John’s gospel, but the analogy is just as appropriate here. The great crowds, which were once adherents of Matthew’s community, have now been wooed away by the Pharisees, and will not return. For Matthew’s church this has produced no little frustration and anger, not least because it is the Pharisees who have supplanted them. Matthew’s anger, therefore, is the product, not only of the crowds’ rejection of his church, but his distress at their folly in taking up with the Pharisees, blind guides who are certain to lead them to destruction.

Chapter 13, therefore, does constitute something of a “turning point”, though not in the manner envisioned by Kingsbury. Rather, it is primarily concerned with the failure of the post-Easter ministry to the crowds. In 13:10-23, Matthew encapsulates the outcome of the church’s ministry, and explains to his community (and to the crowds themselves, if they are disposed to listen) why it is that the crowds failed to heed the message of the church. It constitutes a turning point, because the church turns away from its exclusivist mission to the Jews, and directs its attentions to all nations.

\[\text{vermitteln}^\text{.}\]

\[\text{784}\] For this reason, it is probably best not to regard parabolic speech as a punishment as some authors do (cf. for example, Gnilka, \textit{Verstockung}, 103), but rather, as a mechanism for demonstrating the understanding of the disciples and the obtuseness of the crowds.

If 28:18-20 is often described as the key to the entire gospel,\textsuperscript{786} 13:10-23 can be regarded as one vital constituent to this key, since it helps account for the emergence of the mission to all nations.

Its presence at chapter 13 is rather jarring to the historical account which Matthew offers, since his portrayal of the crowds at that point in the narrative hardly warrants the reproaches which are directed at them. On the other hand, it was opportune from the standpoint of his transparent account, since Mark's collection of parables already offered him features that corresponded with his theme, notably the use of parables themselves, and the citation from Isaiah 6:9ff.. Thus it offered him a context in which he could expand on understanding as the sign of the true Christian disciple, and illustrate how and why the crowds lacked it.

\textit{Conclusion}

In sum, the foregoing discussion suggests that the crowds have foresaken Matthew's community. That Matthew has included apologetic passages such as 27:62-66 and 28:11-14 in his passion account indicates that the Pharisees' dismissal of Jesus' resurrection had begun to affect the populace. Just how successful the Pharisees were can be adjudged from 13:10-23, where Matthew reproaches the crowds for being without perception or understanding. Even though they had heard the message of the kingdom, they had failed to respond and remained obdurate.

There is an obvious apologetic component to all of the above passages. With Matthew 13:10-23 in particular, Matthew makes his intention obvious by situating this transparent passage in a historical framework.\textsuperscript{787} The effect of this superimposition is to show that the crowds have not only been the recipients of Jesus' preaching, but of Matthew's church as well. Both times they fail to respond as they ought to have, and their loss of primacy as the people of God is a fitting response for their recalcitrance.

\textsuperscript{786} See O. Michel, "Conclusion", 35.
\textsuperscript{787} The narrative component of Matthew 13 is more pronounced than in any of the other discourses.
The salvation-historical theme is closely related to the apologetic one. In failing to respond to the preaching of the community, the crowds align themselves with Israel as a whole, which has always rejected those sent to her. In the same way, the community by virtue of its failed ministry to the crowds, aligns itself with the experience of Jesus and those messengers of God who preceded him. Their failure also brings one phase of salvation history to a close. The crowds unrelenting obduracy marks the end of the exclusivist ministry to Israel, and prepares for the universalist ministry to all nations which Jesus will inaugurate at the end of the gospel.

7. CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion of the post-Easter ministry of Matthew’s church to the Jewish crowds emerged with the following results. After Jesus’ death, Matthew’s church continues to adhere to Jesus’ mission directives as outlined in chapter 10. Their mission is explicitly modelled on that of Jesus, and, like him, they go out to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, which includes the crowds in its purview. Like Jesus, the church also proclaims the advent of the kingdom of heaven (10:7) and, more particularly, performs healings and exorcisms. On the basis of their therapeutic action they also offer forgiveness for sins. The crowds are astonished by such activity, just as they were by Jesus’ obvious authority to heal, teach and cast out demons, and they react with the same sort of enthusiasm. They attach themselves to Matthew’s community in considerable numbers, and, largely because of the healing miracles performed by the church, give heed to the church’s claims about Jesus as the Son of David. Even when the Pharisees directly intervene, the crowds still appear more inclined to pay attention to the church, since it has the authority to back up its words.

This situation appears to have provoked reprisals by the Jewish leaders. Either because they feared the church’s influence, or because they thought that church members were practitioners of magic, they persecuted Matthew’s community. It is
whether it did or not, it is evident that Matthew’s community suddenly found itself in a position where, because of its little faith, it no longer had the εἰρονία to heal or perform miracles. As it was this very activity that had attracted the crowds in the first place and sanctioned the church’s authority, the crowds began to desert in large numbers. Their desertion was aided by the Pharisees, who cast doubt on the church’s claims about the resurrection of Jesus.

Matthew’s church, does not appear to have recovered from its problem of little faith. Its authority to forgive becomes something practised within the confines of the community, and no longer outside of it. Its sources of authority also begin to shift from its thaumaturgical activity to its interpretation of the law and of the prophets. Matthew’s church not only advocates “a better righteousness” in its fulfilment of the law, but a messianic interpretation of the law and the prophets which sees in Jesus’ life the fulfilment of scripture. This would be apparent to anyone with understanding, but the crowds are now unresponsive to the word of the kingdom, and totally devoid of understanding. They remain under the sway of the Pharisees, and act as though their one-time involvement with Matthew’s community had never taken place. Their obdurate attitude is ultimately interpreted by Matthew and his church as a fulfilment of prophecy, and signals the end of the exclusivist mission to Israel, in favour of a mission to all nations.

If this reconstruction - one that is admittedly sketchy and speculative - does reflect part of the history of Matthew’s community, why has he bothered to include it in his gospel? The first reason is probably heilsgeschichtlich. Matthew, in aligning the ministry of the disciples almost completely with that of Jesus, shows that his church is part of the continuum which extends back to Jesus, John the Baptist and all the prophets and messengers of God. As with all true messengers of God, their message has largely been rejected, and they have suffered persecution from their own people because of their proclamation. The crowds’ obduracy also forms part of this salvation-historical continuum. Just as Israel had always rejected those sent to help her, including Jesus, now, in the person of the crowds they have also failed to acknowledge
the most recent of these messengers, namely, Matthew's church. Like Israel before
them, they are once again bringing to fulfilment αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν προφητῶν.

A related reason for Matthew's portrayal is apologetic. Matthew's account of
the community's initial ministry to the crowds indicates the extent to which his church
had cared for them. It had healed them, cast out their demons, fed them and preached
to them. In return, the crowds had rejected the church as soon as its therapeutic
authority had begun to wane. From that point onward, the crowds had proved
themselves insensible to the word of the community. They had heard the church's
preaching but failed to hear it, or understand it. Matthew makes it clear, therefore, that
the culpability resides with the crowds. The church had done all it could possibly do,
and been rejected. It is no surprise that its exclusivist mission ceased in favour of one
aimed at all nations.

Finally, one might conclude that there is a christological component to
Matthew's account. While Jesus does not appear in the church's ministry to the
crowds, its entire ministry is consciously modelled on his. The very fact that it is so
difficult to dissociate the church's ministry from that of Jesus himself indicates how
tightly the two are interwoven. This results from their awareness that he is with them
(28:20), and that the outworking of their ministry is simply a continuation of his. This
is made especially clear in the great commission, where it is Jesus who brings their old
ministry to a close and embarks them on a new one.
What, in conclusion, can be said about the crowds in Matthew's gospel? At the historical level, they are characterized by Matthew as a coherent group, distinct from the Jewish leaders on the one hand, and from the disciples on the other. They are Jews, who are sympathetic but not committed to Jesus. While they are astonished by Jesus' words and deeds, this represents no more than a preliminary response to him. Their following of Jesus does not reflect commitment on their part, but rather, a desire for healing. Although they come close to an awareness of who Jesus is in their use of the title Son of David, their designation of Jesus as a prophet indicates the ultimate inadequacy of their understanding. This lack of understanding culminates in their involvement in Christ's passion, and their acceptance, with the Jewish leaders, of the responsibility for Jesus' death.

The transparent account of the crowds follows much the same pattern. Once again, the crowds are a Jewish group distinct from the church or the Pharisees. Initially, the crowds are responsive to the thaumaturgical ministry of Matthew's church, as well its proclamation of Jesus. Once the church loses its ability to heal, the crowds cease being receptive. Even though they have heard the message of the kingdom, they ultimately fail to respond and end up obdurate like their leaders, the Pharisees.

Given this appraisal of the role of the crowds in the gospel, why is it that they come across in an ambivalent light? One reason is that the crowds in the first gospel
are made to perform various functions, some of which are contradictory. At the historical level, this contradiction is most apparent in the way Matthew uses the crowds both christologically and apologetically. In the first instance, the crowds function as a foil to emphasize the majesty and humility of Christ. They represent a needy Israel welcoming and receiving the ministrations of its Lord. On the other hand, the apologetic component shows that the crowds are no different from their forbears, and that they are just as willing to implicate themselves in Jesus' death, as their fathers were in the deaths of the prophets. In both instances the crowds function almost as ciphers for Israel, with the context determining the type of the picture of Israel to be presented.

The second reason for this ambivalence is that Matthew has occasionally juxtaposed the portrayal of the crowds at the historical level of his gospel with that of the crowds from the post-Easter situation. The most significant example of this, is his emphasis of the crowds' obduracy in chapter 13. Their deficiency of understanding receives such emphasis that it jars with the portrayal of the crowds at the historical level which is developed between 4:25 and 23:1. Matthew is prepared to put up with this inconsistency because the parable framework which he has derived from Mark lends itself so admirably to the situation of the post-Easter crowds. Once again, therefore, it is the dual function the crowds are made to play which produces the ambivalent and refracted picture of the crowds which is so characteristic of the gospel.
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