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A STUDY OF THE CONCEPT AND EXPERIENCE OF
TEMPTATION IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

BY

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Thesis for the Degree of Master of
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	i
ABBREVIATIONS	iii
INTRODUCTION	

Chapter One

THE ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ OF JESUS IN THE GOSPEL OF MARK

A. The Temptation of Jesus	1
B. Demons and the Practice of Exorcism	16
C. Jesus' Exorcisms in the Gospel of Mark (With References to the Synoptic Parallels)	32
D. Jesus' Encounter with ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ Caused by Human Agents	61
I. The Beelzebul Controversy	61
II. Caesarea Philippi	72
III. Gethsemane	78
E. Crucifixion as Self-Exorcism	107
F. Appendix: Crucifixion From a Medical Perspective	126

Chapter Two

PARTICULAR EMPHASES IN THE GOSPEL OF LUKE AND THE CONCEPT OF ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ

A. Historical and Theological Reasons for the Composition of Luke's Gospel	132
I. Apology	134
1. Political Apology and the Imperium	134
2. Apology and Judaism	139
II. An Outline of the Parousia Postponement	140

	<u>Page</u>
B. Traces of the Parousia Postponement in the Synoptics	144
C. Luke's Interpretation of the Parousia Postponement	161
D. <u>Heilsgeschichte</u> in Luke	182
I. Jesus and the <u>Heilsgeschichte</u>	182
1. The Mission of Jesus and the <u>Heilsgeschichte</u>	182
2. Christological Titles	186
II. The Framework of the <u>Heilsgeschichte</u>	193
E. Evidence of Satan's and Demonic Presence within the So-Called <u>Heilsgeschichte</u> in Luke	219
F. Evidence of Satan's Presence Outside the So-Called <u>Heilsgeschichte</u> in Luke	234
G. The Idea of Temptation in Luke's Gospel Reflected by Other Word Groups	268

Chapter Three

CONSIDERATIONS OF JESUS' TEACHING AND ATTITUDE IN CONNECTION WITH ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΙΣ INSTANCES IN THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

A. The Sixth and Seventh Petitions in Matthew's Version of the Lord's Prayer	279
I. Introduction	279
II. The Sixth and the Seventh Petitions in Matthew's Version of the Lord's Prayer	280
B. Jesus' Attitude Towards Marriage and Divorce as ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΙΣ Situation in Matthew	293
C. Taxes to Caesar	303

	<u>Page</u>
D. The Great Commandment	306
E. Appendix to the Temptation Problem	311
BIBLIOGRAPHY	313

ABSTRACT

At the very outset the first chapter considers Jesus' temptation in Mark and the main concepts related to it. This chapter presents also a short outline of demonology and of the practice of exorcism. Secondly, it focuses attention upon Jesus' exorcisms in the gospel of Mark, cf. also parallels. Thirdly, Jesus' encounter with temptation caused by human agents is considered, cf. the Beelzebul controversy, Caesarea Philippi, and the Gethsemane narrative. Fourth, Jesus' crucifixion in Mark is interpreted from a temptation perspective. The chapter is concluded with an appendix, which interprets Jesus' crucifixion from a modern medical point of view.

Chapter two covers four areas of thought: (i) apology, (2) Parousia postponement, (3) Heilsgeschichte, and (4) the problem of temptation. The investigation of Luke's apology is a presentation of historical reasons, which influenced Luke to compose his gospel. Luke's apology is traced within the framework of the gospel. The division of the Parousia postponement deals with the investigation of theological reasons, which caused Luke to compose his gospel. The Parousia postponement problem is presented from two points of view. First, a general Synoptic approach to this problem is considered. Secondly, the study emphasizes Luke's particular approach to the Parousia postponement problem. The subdivision Heilsgeschichte is a short consideration of Jesus' mission and person, according to Luke, and also a consideration of the framework, within which the gospel is embedded. The

problem of temptation ($\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma - \pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$) in Luke is approached from two points of view. Namely, first, attention is paid to Satan's and demonic activity within the Heilsgeschichte proper (Lk.4:13-22; 3). Secondly, the activity of Satan and of demons is traced outside the so-called Heilsgeschichte. Finally, a short appendix is added, which considers the idea of temptation presented by other word groups in Luke's gospel.

The third chapter investigates the sixth and the seventh petitions of the Lord's prayer in Matthew's gospel from a historical and theological point of view. It is a consideration of the eschatological $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ of an individual and a community just before the eschatological End. Secondly, chapter three focuses attention upon Jesus' teaching about marriage and divorce in a situation, which can be designated as temptation. A short outline is presented also of Jewish and Gentile attitudes towards the problem of marriage and divorce. Thirdly, the question about taxes payable to Caesar is considered from a temptation perspective. Fourth, attention is paid to Jesus' interpretation of the Commandment of Love in a situation, which can be characterized as $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$. The chapter is concluded with an appendix, which considers several short references to temptation in Matthew's gospel.

ABBREVIATIONS

Angl. Theol. Rev.	Anglican Theological Review
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
Deutsche Theol.	Deutsche Theologie
Expp Times	Expository Times
Ev. Theol.	Evangelische Theologie
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
Journ. of Theol. Stud.	Journal of Theological Studies
NTS	New Testament Studies
Nov. Test.	Novum Testamentum
Syn. Stud.	Synoptische Studien
Stud. Ev.	Studia Evangelica
Schweitzerische Theol. Umschau	Schweitzerische Theologische Umschau
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
Theol. Zeitschrift	Theologische Zeitschrift
Theol. Literaturzeitung	Theologische Literaturzeitung
Theol. Quart.	Theologische Quartalschrift
T.D.N.T.	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
Theol. Blätter	Theologische Blätter
Theol.	Theology
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttesta- mentliche Wissenschaft
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die Neutesta- mentliche Wissenschaft
ZSTh	Zeitschrift für die Systematische Theologie
ZThK	Zeitschrift für die Theologie und Kirche

INTRODUCTION

This study is an investigation of the *ΤΕΛΕΡΑΓΜΟΣ* concept in the Synoptic Gospels, Matthew, Mark and Luke. However, at the same time it is not a comparative study of the Synoptics in their treatment of this theme. Each of the three chapters presents an independent approach to the particular Gospel concerned. References in this study are made to all three Synoptics, however, only so far as it seems necessary for interpretation of some problem.

The first chapter deals with Mark's Gospel. The background of this Gospel is the fierce battle, already raging, between God and Satan. The hour is coming and is almost imminent, when God will destroy all Satanic forces. For this reason Jesus appears in Mark as a disguised, but mighty, warrior, whose duty is to fight and destroy Satan and demons. In Mark the great battle starts with the temptation of Jesus and ends with Jesus self-exorcism on the cross. Because of Mark's emphasis upon Satan and demons, this particular study presents also a short outline of the development of demonology and of exorcism practices in the pre-Christian empires of the Middle East.

The second chapter of this study deals with the Gospel of Luke, which was written circa A.D.70-90, i.e., later than Mark, circa A.D.65-70. Consequently, Luke had to face problems, theological and historical, in which Mark was not involved. For this reason, the first half of the second chapter is a consideration of problems peculiar to Luke,

and only the second part of the second chapter discusses Luke's Gospel from the ΠΕΛΠΔ6ΜΩΣ angle.

After the events of A.D.64, the burning of Rome, and A.D.70, the destruction of Jerusalem, Christianity emerged from obscurity. At this moment Luke, apparently, felt very strongly that the meaning of Christianity has to be explained to the Romans and also to the Jews. Luke's apology has a twofold goal: (i) It aims at an understanding of Christianity that would protect Christians from assaults and persecutions, and (ii) it aims at increasing the number of Christian converts.

Further, because of the delay of Parousia, Luke had to consider also theological problems. Consequently, he does three things: (i) He solves the eschetological problem by providing an interpretation of the postponement of the Parousia; (ii) he describes Jesus' mission as the event of salvation, or Heil, and (iii) he admonishes Christians to be concerned much more about Christian living than about speculations in relation to the date of the Parousia.

There are modern scholars, such as H. Conzelmann, E. Grässer, and G. Harder, who hold the view that Satan and temptation are absent between Luke 4:13 and Luke 22:3, i.e., during the Heilszeit. For this reason the present study investigates also the problem of temptation in Luke's Gospel.

Chapter three of this study is concerned with Matthew's approach to temptation, which is characteristically from the perspective of teaching. It therefore deals with what Jesus

says and teaches in relation to ΠΕΛΑΓΜΟΣ'. To some extent this material has already been covered in Chapters One and Two, but the third chapter is even shorter than it might otherwise have been since time and opportunity for further study were not available.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ OF JESUS IN THE GOSPEL OF MARK

A. The Temptation of Jesus (Mark 1:12-13).I. Background

Man cannot escape the shadow of conflict, struggle, and war. The ideology of war changes, but the reality of war is always present. The twentieth century world is engaged in political wars. The Mediterranean world of Jesus' day was engaged in political wars too. However, according to the biblical tradition, the future of Israel, man and the nations does not depend upon political wars. Especially Apocalypticism emphasizes that man's future is determined by the eschatological war between God and Satan. The time is short, the final conflict is at hand, and upon this background Jesus of Nazareth emerges from obscurity to fulfil his calling.

The dualistic background of Jesus' conflict with Satan as presented by the Apocalyptic literature is not the main objective of this study. Thus it is outlined only shortly here. There are two sources for this background: (1) the Old Testament, and (2) the Apocalyptic literature (especially the prophetic and the apocalyptic eschatology).

1. The Old Testament Background.

For the O.T. prophets God reveals himself through his activity. The sphere of God's activity is history. The prophets are mostly concerned with God's will in relation to Israel. Because of Israel's sins, Israel has to suffer. For

its chastisement God uses the neighbouring empires, Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt and Persia. The prophetic hope of deliverance or the future hope of the O.T. has two aspects, an earthly, political aspect and a transcendent-intervention of God aspect.

Prophets hoped that God would restore the Davidic Kingdom, and thus redeem and save his people. In this line of thought universal salvation is emphasized very little. The future kingdom is mainly Israel's kingdom, established, when God will deliver his people from their enemies. It is an earthly, political and national kingdom. The king, however, of this future kingdom will be God. Also Messiah is mentioned in connection with this kingdom. The term Messiah in the O.T. is used always in relation to a historical person. The word Messiah is derived from the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ, which means to spread over, to anoint with oil. In the O.T. time each new king was anointed with oil. Thus he became the anointed one of God, one set apart by God to fulfil his kingly and priestly duties. "The name Yahweh's anointed is given to Samuel (I Sam.24:6; 10; 26:16; ...), to David (II Sam.19:21; 23:1)." (1)

Second Isaiah transforms the future hope of the prophets, emphasizing that God will change the present order of the world and thus establish the expected kingdom. The fulfilment of the future hope is not in Man's power to achieve. At the same time all this will take place on the historical plane

(1) D. S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, S.C.M. Press, London, 1964, p.304.

with Jerusalem as the Holy City. A further development of the future hope refers to an age of justice and peace, when the leader will be an ideal ruler, who is also the representative of Jahweh. "Those passages, which refer to the ideal leader of the coming kingdom are popularly known as 'messianic prophecies'." (1) The term Messiah is not applied directly to this ideal ruler.

2. The Apocalyptic Background.

Secondly, the dualistic background of Jesus' encounter with Satan is a direct creation of the apocalyptic literature. The main forces, which moulded the apocalyptic thought, are as follows. (a) Apocalypticism is a child of faith and imagination challenged by extreme political and religious oppression. (b) Apocalyptic writers believed that God would fulfil the promises made to the O.T. prophets, thus they developed further many of the O.T. ideas; for example, the concept of the kingdom of God, the concept of Messiah, angels, Satan, etc. (c) The theological outlook of Apocalypticism is influenced by Hellenism. Hellenism came to the apocalyptic writers in a form of syncretism, Greek civilization and culture influenced by Chaldean, Iranian and Persian ideas of religion and understanding of man's existence.

Political oppression was a well known experience for the Jews, but there had never been a serious attempt to annihilate them from a religious point of view. However, Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-163 B.C.) attempted to destroy Judaism - so, at

(1) Ibid., pp 396-397 (e.f. Isa 1:1 ff, 9:6 f; Zech.9:9; Mic.5:4; Jer.23:5 ff).

least, it seemed to the Jews. Thus the hour was extreme, help was needed urgently. Also politically the Jews were helpless at this particular time. No other hope was left to them than God Himself, His personal intervention and victory over Satan and Satan's forces.

On the whole, Apocalypticism presents the world from a dualistic and pessimistic point of view. The world seemed to be no longer controlled by God. It is completely under the dominion of Satan and demons. Man is helpless, crushed by the triumph of evil. Man cannot change the situation, transform this age, only God is able to do this, to usher in the deeply expected new age. According to the apocalypticists, God is already at war with Satan, but before the new age comes there will be great woes or tribulations. All God's elect would perish, if God did not shorten the time of the woes.

Then there will be the Judgement of the World, the resurrection of the dead, the restoration of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked. Then the triumph of God's age follows, the coming of ^{the} Messiah and the Messianic kingdom. At the same time "this literature was not primarily otherwordly, concerned with idle speculations about falling angels and revolting celestial servants. It was concrete practical literature, seeking to explain the havoc here on earth... apocalyptic literature ... was the cry of assurance that while God was not the source of suffering, he was the answer to it!"⁽¹⁾

Because of the dualistic understanding of the world, which is God's creation, but is now corrupt by Satan, Jesus

(1) J. Kailas, Jesus and the Power of Satan, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, no date, p.47.

goes to Jordan to be baptized by John. "The few statements, which we possess in the two earliest gospels in regard to John's baptism thus clearly show that it is an eschatological sacrament,"⁽¹⁾ which had to protect Jesus from the power of Satan. John requires repentance and baptism. "Through his baptism the penitent became one of the prepared people of God, able to await the coming judgement without fear of being cast into the fire."⁽²⁾ God is already at war with Satan. The hour is at hand, the eschatological end is near. During the baptism a voice comes from heaven, pronouncing: $\theta\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\epsilon$ $\theta\upsilon\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\beta\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ in relation to Jesus. "The pronouncement 'Thou art my son' is an adoption formula ... He means that ... Jesus at the baptism becomes ... Son of God, not as the result of a divine begetting but because he is then installed as King, Messiah, the true successor of David."⁽³⁾

In this particular time Satan attacks Jesus. Satan is not concerned with sinners, they are already in his power. Satan is concerned with the elect, the chosen ones, with the innocent and pious. Outwardly Satan's power seems great, although everything happens according to God's plan. The eschatological sacrament - the baptism of Jesus by John, does not protect Jesus from contact with Satan. Jesus is driven by the Spirit to Satan's abode to be tempted there.

II. Πεπραζω

For Jesus' encounter with Satan the verb πεπραζω is used. It appears seldom in secular Greek. Since testing is

(1) A. Schweitzer, Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, The Seabury Press, New York, 1931, p.233.

(2) C. K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, SPCK, London, 1970, p.41.

(3) Ibid., p.47.

one of the cardinal ideas of the biblical thought, the word *πειράζω* is used much more in the biblical language than in secular Greek. *Πειράζω* is a characteristic experience for the whole New Testament. In addition to *πειράζω* the New Testament uses also *πειρασμός*. The classical definition of the *πειρασμός* situation is Rev.3:10.

There are three uses of *πειράζω* in the N.T.: (1) to try or to attempt to do, (2) to try or test with a good motive, (3) to try or test with a bad motive. Examples of the first use of *πειράζω* one may find in Acts. The report about Paul in Acts indicates that Paul *ἐπείραζεν κολληθέντα τοῖς μαθηταῖς* (Acts 9:26), and *ὡς καὶ τὸ ἐρὸν ἐπείραθεν βεβηλῶνα* (Acts 24:6). There are many references of trying or testing with a good motive in the N.T.: *Ἐδουτοὺς πειράζετε εἰ ἔστέ ἐν τῇ πίστει* (II Cor.13:5); *καὶ ἐπείραδας τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους* (Rev.2:2). Examples of temptation with an evil motive to cause confusion or failure are the following expressions: *Καὶ προσῆλθόν ἀντὶ τοῦ φαρμακῶν πειράζοντες ἀντὶ τούτου* (Mt.19:3); *τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες ἀντὶ τούτου* (Jn. 8:6); *ἐνταυθα μὴ πειράξη ἡμεῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς* (I Cor.7:5).

The LXX translates the Hebrew *נִסָּה* with *πειράζω*. In the Old Testament only Israel and devout men are tested. Heathens are not tested by Yahweh. The verb *נִסָּה* has two aspects: (1) Man can be tested by Yahweh and also (2) Yahweh can be tested by man. As a classic O.T. example, when God is testing man, can be mentioned (Gen.22), Abraham and Isaac, and also (Deutr.8:2), which refers to Yahweh's testing of Israel in the wilderness. The Book of Job presents a later

development of the idea of testing. According to the original Old Testament idea, God puts man's obedience and faith to test, because he would like to know the real person. To test Yahweh means to ask from God for a visible sign that he is faithful to the covenant promises to Israel. Such ^{an} action on man's part is sin and disbelief. The example of Israel's disbelief, Πειρασμός, is described in Ex.17:2. The original idea of Temptation in the Old Testament shows neither interest in discipline nor in punishment.

III. Satanic Aspects of Temptation

The Satanic scenery of the temptation, according to Mark, includes the following features: (1) Ἔρημος, (2) Ἰηρὴα, and (3) The forty days of temptation.

1. Ἔρημος

In Greek Ἔρημος is a designation for wilderness or any other place without inhabitants. The general idea being that of abandonment. In Hebrew wilderness can have a number of names: 73 713, ἔρημος (Ex.3:1, Nu.20:1, Job 24:5, Isa.21:1, etc.) 77 77, 77 77 (1), steppe (Isa.33:9, Jer.51:43, etc.), 77 77 (Isa.48:21, Ezek.13:4, Ezra 9:9, etc.).

According to ancient beliefs, wilderness is the habitation of demons. "The idea is rooted ... in the peril, ... and unpredictability of life in the wilderness - a situation, which in terms of daimonism makes it the natural abode of the powers that harass mankind." (2) In connection with this

(1) J. Hastings, ed. Dictionary of the Bible, T.F. Clark, Edinburgh 1898, vol. IV, p. 918
 (2) Buttrick, G. A. (ed.), The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, vol. A-D, Abingdon Press, New York, 1962, p.821.

statement one may consider Azazel (Lev.16:8; 10:26), the "hairy ones," אֲזַזִּים, wild beasts, hyenas (Isa.13:21; 34:14), and Lilith, לִילִית, the night hag, (Isa.34:14).

For Israel wilderness is the place of wandering for forty years (Deutr.8:2), but also a place of grace, when God did "signs and wonders for his people".⁽¹⁾ (Acts 7:36; 38:44; 13:18; Jn.3:14; 6:31, 49). According to Judaism, "the last and decisive age of salvation will begin in the עֶרְאֵלִים and ... here the Messiah will appear."⁽²⁾ This idea is reflected also in the N.T.

2. Τὸ Ἰηπεῖον

Only Mark mentions τὸ Ἰηπεῖον. A Ἰηπεῖον in Greek is a wild beast, such as tiger or lion. The meaning of the beasts in the Temptation account is a matter of speculation. There are several possibilities: (a) they may refer to the Garden of Eden, to Adam, and the friendly relationship between man and beasts there; (b) there are passages in the O.T. which refer to friendly beasts (Ez.34:25, Job 5:23, Isa.11:6, and Ps.91:11); (c) also apocalyptic literature provides many examples in relation to beasts. (Test. of Issach 7, Apoc. of Moses 10, Test of Napht. 8).⁽³⁾

3. Forty Days

Mark (cf. Lk.) states that Jesus was tempted forty days. Matthew says that Jesus fasted forty days. The number forty

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- (1) Kittel, G. (ed.), Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Vol. II, (Erdmans Publishing Co., London, 1964), p.658
 (2) Ibid.
 (3) F. Spitta, "Beiträge Zur Erklärung der Synoptiker", Z.N.W., 5 (1904), p.322.

and the reference to Jesus' fasting go back to the Old Testament tradition about Moses, Elijah, and also to the wilderness experience of Israel. I Kings 19:8 reports that Elijah went through the desert forty days and forty nights without any food. Deutr.9:9, 18 states that Moses was fasting forty days and forty nights. The same is indicated also in Ex.24:18 and 34:28. It is explained in Numbers 14:34 that Israel is punished by having to stay for forty years in wilderness, because Israel murmured against God for forty days.

IV. Divine Aspects.

1. ὄρος, The Mt. of Temptation (Mt. 4.8)

ὄρος in Greek denotes an individual mountain or a hill. In LXX ὄρος "without exception"⁽¹⁾ translates the Hebrew רִי. In the O.T. the mountains are the most permanent things of creation, also the oldest and the highest things of creation (Ps.90:2; 95:4; 65:6, etc.). Mountains in the O.T. are associated with God's nearness: Mt. Sinai, Mt. Zion, Mt. Gerisim, Mt. Carmel, Mt. of Olives (Deutr.11:29, Gen.22:2, I K.18:42). Mt. of Olives is mentioned in Zech.14:4. In Judaism "'Mountains of the World' is a title of honour for rabbis".⁽²⁾ Mountains are an important concept also in the apocalyptic literature (Eth.En.18:13; 21:3; 52:2; 98:4).

ὄρος in the N.T. can mean a single mountain and a mountain range (Mk.11:13, Mt.18:12, Lk.23:30). Specially named are Mt. Gerisim and Mt. of Olives.⁽³⁾ (Lk.19:37;

(1) Kittel, T.D.N.T., Vol.V, p.479.

(2) Ibid., p.480.

(3) On Mt. of Olives cf. Kittel, T.D.N.T., Vol.II, p.484.

22:39, Jn.40:20 f.), Jesus' life is also closely related to mountains (Mt.4:8, Mt.5:1, Lk.9:28; 22:39, Acts 1:9).

In relation to the Mt. of Temptation the apocalyptic literature presents one example (Apoc. Barukh 76:3), where Barukh is invited to climb upon a very high mountain in order that "alle Länder dieser Erde sollen vor dir vorüber-Ziehn."⁽¹⁾

2. Τὸ Πνεῦμα

Temptation is abandonment, but (a) the activity of the Spirit, Ἔο Πνεῦμα, (Mk.1:12) and (b) the ministry of the angels are indications that temptation is in harmony with God's purpose to destroy Satan.

(a) The verb forms, which characterize the Spirit's activity, in the opening of the Temptation narrative, are ἔκ βάλλασε (Mk.1:12), ἀνήχθη (Mt.4:1), and ἤγετο (Lk.4:1). According to Mark, Jesus is driven by the Spirit in the wilderness. This is an unusual function of the Spirit. In the Old Testament the Spirit saves the men of God from danger (Ez.3:14; 8:3; 11:24). The same idea is found also in relation to Elijah and Elisha (I Kings 18:12 and II Kings 2:16.). In the New Testament ἔκ βάλλασε is used in connection with exorcisms (Mk.1:34, 39, 43; 3:15, 22; 6:13; 7:26; 9:18, 28.)⁽²⁾

(b) Angels are servants of God. According to the New Testament, angels participate in God's plan of salvation.

(1) Strack, H.L. - Billerbeck, P., Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament, C.H. Beck, München, 1926, Vol. I, p.153.

(2) E. Best, The Temptation and the Passion, at the University Press, Cambridge, 1965, p.4.

Since Jesus represents God's presence in the New Testament, the angels are also his servants. Thus they appear in the Birth stories (Lk.1:26 f.), in Temptation (Mk.1:13, Mt.4:11) and in Gethsemane (Lk.22:43).

Both in Greek and in Hebrew $\alphaγγελος$ and $\ַמַּלְאָכִים$ means a messenger. The angel of the Lord in the Old Testament is a personification of God's help to his people. He is not awe inspiring, he is friendly and helpful. Also the sons of God, $\ַמַּלְאָכִים$, can appear to man as angels, cf. Jacob's dream. In Job angels are designated as the $\ַקְדוֹת$, the holy ones. Angels appear in the Old Testament in human form, without any wings. Only the cherubim and the seraphim are mixed creatures: half animals, half birds with wings.

Angelology in the strict sense of the word is a development of Judaism and the apocalyptic literature. In the Book of Daniel the angels are named for the first time.

v. $\delta \Delta \lambda \acute{\iota} \beta \omicron \lambda \omicron \varsigma$ or $\Sigma \alpha \tau \alpha \nu \acute{\alpha} \varsigma$

The $\alpha \rho \chi \omega \nu \tau \omega \nu \delta \alpha \mu \omicron \nu \acute{\iota} \omega \nu$ (Mk.3:22) is designated in the Bible as $\delta \Delta \lambda \acute{\iota} \beta \omicron \lambda \omicron \varsigma$, the devil, slanderer, calumniator, or as $\Sigma \alpha \tau \alpha \nu \acute{\alpha} \varsigma$, which comes from Hebrew root קלל , meaning to obstruct, to oppose. Also the name Belial, the Worthless One, Beelzebub, Prince of the air, and Mastema, hostility, are applied to Satan. There is also indication that Satan has been known first as Satanel, "but that the divine element (el) had been cut from his name,"⁽¹⁾ because of his rebellion against God.

(1) Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol.R-Z, p.225.

In the O.T., generally taken, Satan is not an evil power, but ^{he} is "the accuser at law" ⁽¹⁾ (I K.17:18, I Chr.21:1, Ezek.21:28f; 29:16, Zech.3:1). Further, he can be also the "judicial prosecutor in the court of heaven" ⁽²⁾ (Job 1:9-10; 2:4-5, Zech.3:1f). An accuser in the O.T. can be also an angel of the Lord (Num.22:22). However, Satan can appear in the O.T. also as a tempter to evil (I Chr.21:1).

In the Intertestamental Judaism "Satan is the one who tries to disrupt the relation between God and man, ... especially between God and Israel". ⁽³⁾ First, Satan tries to achieve his goal by tempting men to sin, by accusing them before God, and by trying to destroy God's plan of salvation. Satan tempts Adam and Eve (Vita Adam.12), Cain and Abel (Apoc. Moses 2), Noah (Jubilees 11:5), Sarah and Abraham (Jubilees 17:16), tempting takes place also during the exodus (Dam.5:18f), and he tempts David (Lives of prophets 21). ⁽⁴⁾ Secondly, there are also writings in which Satan does not appear at all (4 Esdras, partly Eth. Enoch). Instead "we find $\Upsilon \eta \eta \eta \Upsilon \eta$ [the evil impulse] with whom ... Satan is sometimes identified." ⁽⁵⁾

In the N.T. Satan is known as $\delta \pi \epsilon \rho \lambda \acute{\alpha} \xi \omega \nu$, the tempter (Mt.4:3, I Thess.3:5, I Cor.7:5), $\delta \pi \omicron \nu \eta \rho \acute{\omicron} \varsigma$, the evil one (Mt.13:19, I Thess.3:18), $\delta \kappa \alpha \tau \eta \gamma \omega \rho$, the accuser (Rev.12:10), $\delta \epsilon \chi \theta \rho \acute{\omicron} \varsigma$, the enemy (Mt.13:39, Lk.10:19), $\delta \alpha \nu \tau \acute{\iota} \delta \omicron \kappa \theta \omicron \varsigma$, the adversary (I Pet.5:8), $\delta \alpha \rho \chi \omega \nu \tau \omega \nu \delta \alpha \epsilon \mu \omicron \nu \acute{\omicron} \omega \nu$ the prince of demons (Mt.9:34, 12:24; Mk.3:22; Lk.11:15), $\delta \alpha \rho \chi \omega \nu \tau \omega \nu \kappa \omicron \sigma \mu \omicron \nu$ the ruler of this world (Jn 12:31, 16:11) and $\tau \omicron \nu \tau \omicron \nu$.

(1) Kittel, T.D.N.T., Vol.II, p.73.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., p.76.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid., p.78.

the prince of the power of the air, τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας
(Eph.2:2).⁽¹⁾ τοῦ αἵματος

In the N.T. Satan keeps men in his power (Mk.3:27 and par; Mt.6:13, Col.1:13, Acts 26:18), who cannot free themselves from Satan's power, ἡ εἰς δαίμονος (Acts 13:10). "The goal of Satan's activity is man's destruction in alienation from God."⁽²⁾ "The demons are subject to him and seek to do bodily and spiritual harm to man in his service."⁽³⁾ Also magic is caused by Satan (Acts 13:10).

VI. Temptation (Mk.1:12-13)

Temptation is a continuous experience of Jesus' earthly existence. Mark reports three general attacks during Jesus' ministry: the temptation proper (Mk.1:12-13), the ordeal in Gethsemane (Mk.14:32-42), mockery and the cry of dereliction on the cross (Mk.15:34, cf. also Mt.27:46).⁽⁴⁾ The Gospels indicate also minor attacks during the ministry (Mt.16:23, Lk.22:28, 42-44, etc.). Considering these facts, one may assume that Satan's forces attacked Jesus also before his baptism. Jesus knows that his call is to fulfil the will of God. "The will of God for Jesus' mission is to destroy the Devil and the works of the Devil."⁽⁵⁾

According to some scholars, the oldest tradition in relation to temptation is presented by Mark and by the

(1) Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol.R-Z, p.226.

(2) Kittel, T.D.N.T., Vol.I, p.79.

(3) Kittel, Ibid., p.80.

(4) F. Danker, "The Demonic Secret in Mark 15:34", Z.N.W., 61 (1964), p.48.

(5) A. Plummer, An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew, London, 1909, p.35.

Allegiance Miracle (Mt.4:8-10, Lk.4:5-8).⁽¹⁾ In Mark's account only the bare statement is given that temptation takes place. Nothing is said about the nature of this temptation. "So muss schon diese Tatsache alles zum Verständnis notwendige in sich erhalten."⁽²⁾ From the biographical point of view Mark's account can be designated as "ein rätselvolles biographisches Ereignis".⁽³⁾ One can state that Mark gives a temptation statement of a pious man, only the circumstances of this temptation are unusual. This man is surrounded by wild beasts, may be even demons, and Satan encounters him.

In the Marcan account of the temptation no one speaks, neither Jesus nor Satan. There is not any report about the outcome of the temptation either. However, the outcome can be only one - the rejection of Satan as this is evidenced by Mark's gospel as a whole. From Jesus' attitude towards Satan in Mark's temptation statement depends the future of Israel, the future of each individual soul, and the future of humanity as such. During this temptation Jesus exercises an eschatological power, which "in dem Namen Menschensohn Zusammen fassen lässt."⁽⁴⁾

The temptation narrative of Luke, cf. also Matthew, is discussed in the second chapter of this work. In connection with this particular subdivision one may only indicate

(1) E. Lohmeyer Das Evangelium des Markus, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1951, p.60 f.

(2) Ibid., p.28 f.

(3) E. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1958, p.60.

(4) E. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p.28.

shortly the following facts. In Matthew's and Luke's temptation narratives the Devil is demanding allegiance from Jesus. First, Jesus has to prostrate before the Devil. Secondly, the Devil is demanding a sign from Jesus. Jesus has to turn stones into bread. Thirdly, the Devil tries to kill Jesus. Jesus has safely to reach the ground, while throwing himself down from the Temple roof. If Jesus had obeyed Satan, he had assured that his strength is based upon the historical, material, the visible dimension of existence.

However, Jesus rejects Satan's demands. He repeats three times his belief that the real existence is the invisible, the other worldly, the spiritual dimension of life. Consequently, the only sign, which Jesus demonstrates as the Son of God, the Son of Man, and the Messiah, is his absolute obedience to the will of God.

At the conclusion of the temptation narrative Matthew emphasises the ministry of the angels, while Luke points out that the Devil left Jesus only for a while (Lk.4:13). Jesus was able to resist the Devil, but the Devil is not defeated. Jesus is not a victor in the full sense of the word. The Devil knows that Jesus is the Messiah, the eschatological Son of Man, and the Son of God. Also Jesus is fully aware of the reality of Satan and his war tactics. Since the Devil is not destroyed, his attacks will continue, when the due time comes (Mk.8:11; 10:2; 12:5, Mt.12:2 and par). Thus the temptation narrative ends with a paradoxical climax, "the Messianic secret has its counterpart in the Demonic Secret."⁽¹⁾

(1) Danker, Ibid., p.67.

B. Demons and the Practice of Exorcism.

I. An Outline of the Development of Demonology

1. Introduction

The designation of an evil spirit is δαίμων or δαιμόνιον since the days of Hellenism. The root of this noun is δαλ. However, the etymology is uncertain. Already Homer (c.850 B.C.) distinguished between θεός and δαίμων. θεός means rather the personality of a god as defined by cult and mythology, whereas δαίμων denotes his power and activity as brought before us in life and nature.⁽¹⁾ There are indications that in the Iliad δαίμων has a hostile character, and in the Odyssey it causes evil.⁽²⁾

The sense associated with the root δαλ may be "rending apart", ... that which consumes a body.⁽³⁾ Popularly known are three forms of the word: ὁ δαίμων is a god or a goddess; τὸ δαλμόνιον is divinity or divine operation; δαλμόνιον in popular usage are an inferior race of divine beings, demons as opposed to θεοί; and fourth, the adjective δαλμόνιος, ἄ, ον, which designates things proceeding from a deity or fate.

The Synoptic Gospels also accept the existence of demons (Mk.1:32-34, Mt.8:16-17, Lk. 4: 40-41, etc.). Jesus looks upon demons as real (Mk.3:14-15, Mt.10:1, Lk.9:1). According to Mark's approach, the demons do two things, (a) they destroy human beings physically (Lk.13:10-17), mentally (Mk.5:1-20 par.), and (b) they defile the holiness of God.

(1) Kittel, T.D.N.T., 1964, Vol.II, p.2.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

However, the gospels do not make any enquiries either about the origin of the demons, or about their characteristics.

The history of demonology is as old as mankind. It covers a period from 4000 B.C. till the beginning of the modern era. Since the present work deals with N.T. issues, it traces only the main emphasis of demonology in the empires and countries flourishing before the Christian era, Babylonia (Assyria), Egypt, Persia, and Greece (Hellenism), and considers the development of demonology only shortly also from the O.T., Intertestamental, and Judaistic point of view. Since the development of demonology is a very complex process, the present work refers to each ancient culture and its demonology individually.

2. Demons in Babylonia and Assyria

In the demonology of Babylonia-Assyria the Sumerian and the Akkadian (Semitic) beliefs are combined.⁽¹⁾ Generally taken, religion in Babylonia was faith in the existence of good and evil spirits. However, the emphasis was upon evil spirits, which could not be numbered. The spirits were dangerous, many of them could transfer man from the human world to the ghost world. Diseases were personified in the Sumero-Akkadian culture as demons: there were, for example, a demon of Fever, a demon of Pestilence, a demon of Headache, etc.

One may distinguish among the Babylonian spirits two main groups: ghosts and demons. (a) Ghosts were the spirits

(1) Mesopotamia (Sumerians) was conquered by Semites (Akkadians) circa B.C.2300 - B.C.2100.

of the dead. They were coming back to earth because of hunger, or because their bodies were not buried. (b) Further there were two kinds of demons, inhuman and half-human demons. (i) The inhuman demons existed in hordes. The most prominent of them were devils. Labartu was a she-devil, dangerous for children. These devils dwelled mostly in deserts, mountains, cemeteries, and in the sea. To this group belong also the Seven Spirits mentioned in Lk.11:24f⁽¹⁾, which roam from land to land as the Evil Ones. (ii) To the monstrous half-human demons belong lilû, lillîtu and ardatlilî. The second and the third of them are female demons. The ardatlilî is related to the O.T. Lilîtu, a night demon (Isa.34:14). The offspring of lillîtu is Alu, a half-human, half-dog like creature without a mouth, limbs or ears. He was a tempest demon.

3. Demons and Gods in Egypt

There are four points of main importance in Egyptian demonology. (a) The Egyptians believed that each natural or made object is an abode for a demon or spirit, (door, pillar, tree, passage, sceptre, etc.). These object-demons "were transformed step by step into guardians and ... into masters of these objects."⁽²⁾ (b) Egyptians show a great tendency to confuse their spirits, demons, and their gods. A group of spirits and demons was an unnamed entity. When some group of demons achieved prominence in Egyptian life, "it detached a god from itself."⁽³⁾ A god in Egypt was a previous demon with a name. A god either assimilated the rest of the group-demons, or he became the sole ruler of the group. Demons, who

(1) Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. IV, p. 570.

(2) Ibid., p.587.

(3) Ibid., p.588.

were related in this manner to some god, were good to all friends of the particular god, and they were evil towards the god's enemies. (c) The Egyptian demons were interested only in their own survival. They were not especially cruel. They were neither blood-suckers, nor were they interested in causing death. The Egyptian demons were not doing evil for evil's sake. (d) The Egyptian demons neither caused man to sin, nor inspired any evil thoughts. Thus it is not possible to draw in relation to Egyptian demonology such a sharp distinction between good and evil demons as the much later development of angelology and demonology did in Persia⁷ and in Pseudepigraphic Judaism.

In relation to the N.F. one may mention that already in the pre-historical period there was known an unnamed Egyptian sky-god (cf. MK.3:22 par. and Beelzebub).⁽¹⁾

4. Persian Dualism

Zoroastrianism was founded in Persia B.C.570. It is still existent among Gabars in Persia and Parsis in India. It is famous for its dualistic world view.

The dualism of existence, according to this faith, goes back to the beginning of all things. Life is dominated by a good and by an evil principle. Powers, who represent these principles, are in a continuous conflict. The relationship of these principles may be described as follows:

A time is envisaged when the good will overcome the evil and reign alone... The relation... is therefore one of subordination and not of equality, though... sometimes this fact appears to be lost..., and certain

(1) The Beelzebub controversy in Mark is discussed separately in this chapter.

passages can be cited which seem to view the good and evil principles as coequal.⁽¹⁾

The good power, the Creator, in Zoroastrianism is Ahura Mazda. He rules over hosts of angels, archangels and over good men. The representative of the evil power is Angra Mainyu or Ahriman. These two powers never blend, even not in the act of creation, otherwise they would cease to exist. In order to sum up one may state that Ahura Mazda is not responsible for evil; evil has its own existence.

5. Demons from the Greek Perspective

For Greek philosophy, generally taken, δαιμόνων is a mediator between the gods and men. Greek philosophy made demons responsible for πλῆθη and for the tendency to possess men, which is designated as δαιμονοεξέσθαι. On the whole, demons are evil, because they are related to the material world. They dwell somewhere near the earth. The closer to the earth they live, the more wicked they are. Sicknesses are caused by demons. They thirst "for blood and the odour of sacrifice."⁽²⁾

6. Angelology and Demonology in the O.T.

The O.T. does not deny the existence of demons. However, "the whole sphere of demonology appears only on the margin of the O.T."⁽³⁾ The O.T. mentions only: (a) Lilith, לִלִּית, a female night-demon (Isa.34:14), (b) Azazel, אֲזָזֵל, a desert demon (Lev.16:8ff), and (c) the שְׂרִימִם, שְׂרִימִם, the hairy ones, goat like, field demons (Isa.13:21; 34:12), and (d) שְׂדֵימִים, שְׂדֵימִים, a midday demon (Deut.32:17, Ps 106:37, Ps 91:6).

(1) E. Langton, Essentials of Demonology, The Ephworth Press, London, 1949, p.63.

(2) Kittel, T.D.N.T., Vol.II, p.6.

(3) Ibid., p.11.

There are also references to שׂרֵי אֲנִיִּים , the spirits of the dead (I Sam.28:13; Isa.8:19).

According to Deuteronomy 18:9f, any magic is forbidden in relation to the spirits (cf. also Isa.15:23, Nu.23:23). Consequently, the O.T. neglects the demonology of the neighbouring countries and its magic ways.

The mediator between God and man in the O.T. is the angel of God, מַלְאָכִים . These angels can be good and bad. Among the angels one may mention the angel of destruction (Ps.78:49), the angel of death (I K.19:35), the angel of pestilence (II Sam.24:16) and the evil spirit, רוּחַ רָע , sent by God (I Sam.16:14). Among the angels are also beings which resemble partly man and partly beast, the Cherubim and the Seraphim (Ezek. 1:10, 19, 11, 22; Ps.18:11, etc.)

In the O.T. God alone is responsible for good and for evil, but the existence of angels created a "dualism within the spiritual world and the way was thus prepared for later development."⁽¹⁾

7. The LXX Pattern

The LXX avoids the use of δαίμων , perhaps because it was suggestive of Greek gods; it follows the example, however, of Greek popular beliefs which designate evil spirits as δαιμόνια .

8. Angelology and Demonology of Judaism

(a) Tannaitic and Rabbinical Judaism

In relation to demonology Judaism follows the pattern of dualism. It distinguishes between angels and demons.

(1) Ibid., p.11.

A demon cannot be an intermediary between God and men, although Judaism refers also to angels of Satan, who are hostile to men. Demons are unclean. They spread uncleanness and defilements. $\text{אֱלֹהֵי הַבְּהֵמָה}$ is the opposite to the Spirit of God. Demons harm men's lives and bodies with an evil intention. Demons cause sickness and madness. However, in Judaism "demons are not brought into firm connection with Satan." (1)

Magic in relation to demons was not permitted but external practices for the purpose of protection were widespread.

(b) Pseudepigraphical Judaism: Apocalyptic Writings and Apocrypha.

During this particular period faith in demons and angels increased very much. From the theological point of view there are three reasons for this phenomenon. (i) The understanding of God became more and more transcendental. (ii) It was hard to harmonize the goodness of God with the existence of evil. Because of God's transcendence intermediaries, angels, were needed, and the existence of evil was easily explained by the existence of demons. (iii) Persian influence also contributed to the development.

The number of angels in pseudepigraphical Judaism is immense. They are pictured as invisible spirits or as humans, only with wings and in shining robes. Well known are the four or sometimes seven archangels, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Uriel. Michael is also the angel

(1) Ibid., p.13.

of the Jewish nation (Dan.10:13). To the stars are related angels known as Watchers. Especially many references to different kinds of angels can be found in the Eth. Enoch (60; 11-20, 61:10), also in Slavonic Enoch (20), and Jubilees (2:2). "Ein ausdrückliches Verbot von E. Verehrung begegnet in der Mischna."⁽¹⁾

Besides the angels, according to Judaism, the world is full of demons too. The ruler of the demons is Satan (Jub.10:8, 11). There are two popular views also on the origin of the demons: (i) the demons are offsprings of the fallen angels (Gen.6:1-4, and Eth.Enoch 15:8-16, 4; Jub.4:22, 5:1 f); (ii) according to the Rabbis, demons are spirits, because God created them on the Eve of Sabbath. God was not able to create the bodies of demons, because of the intervention of the Sabbath.

Apocrypha, Jobit 6:8 ff, refers to Asmodaeus, an evil demon, which in the pseudepigraphy is mentioned only here. However, "this demon occupies a prominent place in the later Rabbinical literature... in connection with King Solomon."⁽²⁾

According to pseudepigrapha, demons entice man to sin, or they can cause some misfortune (Eth. Enoch 15:2, 69:2; Slavonic Enoch 10:40). One has to distinguish also between spirits of Satan and the Spirit of God (Test. of XII Patriarchs). It was also believed "that in the Gentile world and its culture there is at work an evil will ... of demons."⁽²⁾ In this manner demons were linked to the αἰὼν ὀρθός.

(1) K. Gallang, (ed.), Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, J.C.B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1958, Vol.2, Col.1302.

(2) J. Langton, Ibid., p.120.

9. The Synoptic Approach to Angels and to Demons.

The Synoptic gospels do not refer to ghosts or to the spirits of the dead, but references to demons, *δαίμόνια*, are many. *Δαίμων* is mentioned only in Matthew 8:31. In the gospels angels and demons are opposed one to another. Angels in the gospels are mentioned only in the birth stories, Temptation, Gethsemane, and in relation to the Second Coming (Mk.13:46, 16:27 par.; Mt. 25:31). Guardian angels are mentioned in Matthew 18:10.

The gospels designate demons as *δαίμονιον-δαίμονα*. Very seldom demons are called *πνεῦμα* (once in Mk. and Mt., twice in Lk.). Much more common are such expressions as *πνεῦμα ἀκαθάρτου*, *πν. πονηρῶν*, *πν. ἄλλου*, *πν. ἁβνεγγέλῳ*. (Mt.12:43, Mk.9:17, 25, Lk.13:11).

Demons are in the service of Satan (Eph.6:12). Jesus attacks Satan through exorcisms (Mk.23+par). "Es handelt sich aber hier nicht um verführende D. sondern um die schädigenden D. des Volksglaubens."⁽¹⁾ Demons in the gospels are not seducing spirits, sinfulness comes from man's heart (Mt.15:19). On the whole, the gospels are not interested either in the origin, or in the character of the demons. The cause of this disinterest is as follows:

In the N.T. there are two Kingdoms, the Kingdom of the prince of this world and the Kingdom of God. Satan fights with all his might against the Kingdom of God. There is, thus, no place for any special interest in the subordinate helpers in this conflict, whether

(1) Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Vol.2, Col.1303.

angels on the one side or demons!⁽¹⁾ Both are frequently mentioned but have no independent authority.

10. Summary

The ancient demonology has influenced the Gospels' outlook on existence, their interpretation of life phenomena, and has added some specific details to the Gospel message.

(a) In the gospels the dualism in relation to existence, that there is a good and an evil power, which dominate man's life, has reached its Zenith. The conflict of the opposing forces, God and Satan, is there, and no one can escape this reality. This concept of man and life goes back to B.C.500 and Zoroastrianism, also to the dualistic angelology of the O.T., to dualistic trends in Rabbinical and Pseudepigraphical Judaism.

(b.) The gospels do not look upon demons as causing moral evil directly (Mt.12:34 par), all evil comes from man's heart. However, indirectly demons are very much related to sin in the Gospels. The possession by a demon is very often a consequence of sins committed in the past. This consequence again becomes a sin in itself, because the presence of demons defiles all that is holy in God's sight.

(c.) As specific details in the Gospels related to demonology one may mention the Seven Spirits, (Lk.11:26), the beasts (Mk.1:13), the sky-god (Beelzebub) (Mk.3:22-27 par), the Fever demon of Peter's mother-in-law (Lk.4:38), the angels (Mt.18:10, Lk.2, 22:43), and, of course, the fact that many sicknesses and madness are caused by demons.

(1) Kittel, T.D.N.T., Vol.II, p.18.

II. An Outline of the Practice of Exorcism.

Exorcism, $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{o}\rho\kappa\omega\beta\lambda\varsigma$, is derived from $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{o}\rho\kappa\iota\zeta\omega$, to bind with an oath or to conjure. It can be defined as follows:

Die rituelle Vertreibung böser u. schädlicher Mächte (Geister) aus bestimmten betroffenen Personen Lebenswesen u. Gegenständen mithilfe bindender Vergegenwärtigungen überlegener Gegenkräfte. (1)

A person, who practised exorcism, was called in the Hellenistic period $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{o}\rho\kappa\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ or $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{o}\rho\kappa\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$. There have been two kinds of exorcists: (1) common practitioners, who by means of incantations and certain occult acts expelled demons; (2) exorcists, $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\lambda\acute{\iota}\rho\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, heroes, who could cast out demons, because of their $\gamma\rho\omega\beta\lambda\varsigma$, $\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$, $\pi\upsilon\epsilon\tau\mu\alpha$, $\lambda\acute{\rho}\epsilon\tau\eta$. (2) According to the contemporary belief, also virginity enabled one to cast out demons. In the ancient world exorcists were priests and doctors. Since all calamities and mental disturbances were looked upon as caused by demons, a person possessed by them could be saved only by exorcism.

In the pre-Christian world not only the terms possessed by a demon and sick were identical, but identical were also, for example, in Judaism, demonic and unclean from the ritual point of view. Because of this possession was looked upon very often as punishment or as a consequence of previous sins. Thus casting out of a demon in the ancient world was identical also with the idea of forgiveness, freedom, and purification.

Since demons and exorcism play a dominant role also in the Synoptic tradition, a comparison of the practice of exorcism

(1) Th. Klauser, (ed.), Reallexicon Für Antike und Christentum, Anton Hierseman, Stuttgart, 1969, Vol.7, col.44.

(2) To the second group belongs also Jesus.

in the pre-Christian world and Jesus' dealing with the demoniacs is considered in the following paragraphs.

1. The Practice of Exorcism in the Ancient World.

The practice of exorcism is known since the beginnings of human history, circa B.C.4000. It is a characteristic trait of the Sumero-Akkadian culture, Babylonia and Assyria. Exorcism dominated life also in the Kingdoms of Egypt. It captivated Greece. Through Hellenism exorcism spread all over the Mediterranean world. The O.T. is not concerned with exorcism, but Judaism practised it. Exorcists were active in Jesus' day in Palestine, among whom Jesus himself belongs.

There have been common methods and a general pattern for exorcism in the ancient cultures. The general pattern with some local modifications or exceptions appears throughout the pre-Christian, Near East World, which includes Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and also Palestine.

Exorcists "formed a ~~professional~~ class of mediators between the victims of demons and ~~the~~ gods whose power alone could destroy or control the influence of demons."⁽¹⁾

The common methods of ancient exorcisms are as indicated.

(a) Imitative magic is a method used already long before the Christian era in Mesopotamia. In this connection the exorcist fashions a figure similar to the demon. It was believed that the destruction of the image, also destroyed the real demon. Sometimes the exorcists formed a likeness of the possessed person. The demon was ordered to leave the

(1) B. Langton, Ibid., p.24.

real man and to enter into his image. (b) For ancient people the name of any living being was of a great importance. For the ancient eastern mind name "is the sound-image of the thing denoted; it is its exact equivalent. To have no name really means to have no existence."⁽¹⁾ To know the real name of the demon meant to have a dominant power over it. Since the number of demons was so great, the exorcists had to recite long lists of demonic names. Without mentioning the right name the particular demon could not be cast out.

(c) The exorcists used also aids, which can be designated as primitive medicine or therapy; or they tried to frighten the demons. To such exorcism aids belongs water, sprinkling of water was a symbol of cleansing. Also oil, salt, spittle, meteoric iron, and the young of animals, such as pig and kid, have been in use. Some birds as ravens and hawks aided the exorcists too. The animals had to be virgin. In order to frighten the demon smoke, whistling, howling, frightening noises, offensive language, ~~was~~ used. Also prayer was employed in exorcisms. "Das Exorcismusgebet beruft sich auf ein mythisches Heilwunder des ersuchten Gottes, das genau, auf den akuten Fall passt."⁽²⁾ (d) Incantations played an important part in exorcisms too. Incantation is an exact repetition of certain magic words or formulas. They are associated with symbolic or cleansing rites. (e) Invoking of the name of some divine person or god was also necessary. As a consequence of this the exorcist "became the servant of the gods and the channel of their power."⁽³⁾ "Wobei

(1) Ibid., p.28.

(2) Reallexicon f. Ant. und Christentum, vol.7, Col.48.

(3) Langton, Ibid., p.27.

exotische Götternamen u. fremdländische Sprachelemente, die sog. *φωρτί βίββαρον*... Wirkung des E. erhöhen." (1)

The exorcism proper in the ancient world, at least, during the age of Hellenism, consisted of the following steps: (a) meeting of the exorcist with the demoniac, (b) description of the length and danger of the possession or the sickness, (c) indication that doctors cannot help, (d) dialogue between the exorcist and the demon, (e) asking for the demon's name (f) the mention of a divine name and casting out of the demon, *επιπομπή* - sending away, (g) the demon asking permission to find a new dwelling place (very often the new dwelling place was an animal. There are references to epileptic goats in Hellenistic exorcisms), (h) the suddenness of being cast out (the demon's departure is demonstrated by spilled water of a nearby basin or by destruction of some statue), (j) the amazement and surprise of the onlookers.

2. The Practice of Exorcism in the Biblical World.

The O.T. is silent in relation to exorcisms. It is forbidden to use the name of Yahweh in vain (Ex.20:7). The only reference to an evil spirit, *רוח רע*, who took possession of a man and tormented him, is in the story of Saul (I Sam. 16:14-16, 18:10, 19:9), but Saul was restored by David's lyre music and not by exorcism. There are some traces of ancient habits in the O.T., which can be looked upon as exorcism practices. For example, references to spittle, salt, milk and honey.

Judaism as such presents two approaches to exorcism.

(a) The apocalyptic literature, for example, the Test. of XII

(1) Reallexicon f. Ant. u. Christentum, Vol.7, col.47.

Patriarchs, indicates that all demons will be destroyed during the Last Judgement. During the interim period demons can be driven away by means of good deeds and trust in God. "Gott selbst rettet aus ihrer hand."⁽¹⁾ (b) Judaism proper was favourably inclined towards exorcism, because "was zur Heilung dient, ist nicht als Aberglaube verboten."⁽²⁾ Among the practices, which Judaism adopted for exorcism, one may mention prayer, use of certain O.T. texts (Ps.3, Ps.91, Lev.13:9, etc.), Shema, backwards writing of a name, anointing with oil, appeal to powerful names, also the name of Jesus was used (Acts 19:13-17).

John's Gospel does not mention exorcism at all, while the Synoptics present many of Jesus' healing practices in the light of exorcism. (Mk.1:21 f, 5:1 f, 7:25 f, 9:16 f and par). The exorcisms of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels follow the pattern of "Hellenistischer Wundererzählung,"⁽³⁾ i.e., the popular exorcism pattern of the Hellenistic world. The marks of Jesus' exorcism are as indicated: (a) meeting of the demon and Jesus (Mk.5:2 par), (b) description of the difficult case (Mk.5:3-6 par), (c) the demon recognises Jesus (Mk.5:7 par), (d) Jesus orders the demon to leave (Mk.5:8 par), (e) Jesus asks the demon's name (Mk.5:9 par), (f) the demon is ordered to be silent (Mk.1:25 par), (g) *πρὸς κούρη* of the demon (Mk.5:10 par), begging for a new dwelling place, (h) *ἐπιτομή* (Mk.5:8 par), (j) amangement of the people (Mk.5:14-17 par).

(1) Ibid., Vol.7, col.57.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., col.59.

Jesus uses spittle as a means of healing, also the laying on of hands (Lk.13:13). He used also to sigh deeply in Spirit quite often (Mt.8:12 par). However, Jesus never refers to any god or divine name. He heals by the finger^o or Spirit of God (Lk.11:20, Mt.12:28), i.e, by means of that $\delta\theta\upsilon\lambda\mu\iota\varsigma$, $\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\mu\alpha$, and $\epsilon\grave{\xi}\ \sigma\upsilon\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu$, which was in him. Further, on some occasions Jesus required faith as pre-condition for a successful exorcism (Mk.9:23 par).

C. Jesus' Exorcisms in the Gospel of Mark.
(With References to the Synoptic Parallels).

Exorcism in the present sub-division is considered from the following points of view:

- I. Jesus encounters demons in the House of God, the Synagogue (Mk.1:21-28 and par.).
- II. Jesus encounters demons in Gentile regions.
- III. Jesus' emphasis upon faith in relation to exorcisms (Mk.9:14-17 and par.), and
- IV. Marginal notes on demons in Mark and parallels.

I. A Man with Unclean Spirit in the Synagogue of Capernaum.

The exorcism in Capernaum is Jesus' first public appearance, according to Mark. One can distinguish here three different phases: (1) the Site, Capernaum and the Synagogue, (2) the two main figures of this exorcism, the demoniac and Jesus, and (3) the spectators, the onlookers in the Synagogue.

1. Capernaum

For a modern reader it is interesting to know that Jesus descends from the hill country, Nazareth, which lies 1300 feet above the sea level, to Capernaum, which is 682 feet below the sea level. The name Capernaum means a village of Nahum or a village of Consolation,⁽¹⁾ which is a well chosen name, when one considers the barrenness of the highlands and the greenness of the Galilean shore.

(1) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.35; cf. J. T. Burkitt, The Syriac Forms of the N.T. Proper Names, 1912, p.27 f.

(a) An Interpolation - the Synagogue.

The following section is an interpolation in order to make the term synagogue more comprehensible. According to the gospels, Jesus was teaching in the Synagogue of Nazareth (Mk.6:2, Mt.13:59, Lk.4:16) and in the Synagogue of Capernaum (Mk.1:21, Lk.4:31, Jn.6:59).

The origin of the synagogue may be traced back to the exile in Babylon or to the post-exilic era. There are definite references to synagogues during the last century of the Second Temple (B.C.30-A.D.70). When the Temple was destroyed A.D.70, there were circa 480 synagogues in Jerusalem.⁽¹⁾ During this time synagogue was already the leading institution of Jewish every day religious life:

... Die jüdische Religion nach der Zerstörung des Tempels ... wurde durch dieses ungeheuere Begebnis [destruction of the Temple] kaum erschüttert. Das Gesetzestreue Judentum, der pharisäische Rabbinismus blieben dieselben vorher wie nachher ... An Stelle des Synedriums in Jerusalem trat das Rabbinat von Jabne (Tiberias), an Stelle des Tempelkultes die ausschliessliche Herrschaft der Sunagoge.⁽²⁾

The Greek rendering of $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\acute{\eta}$ has two meanings, (i) in LXX it translates the Hebrew קָהָל and is applied to the assembly of the worshippers, (ii) in the N.T. it translates בֵּית הַתְּפִלָּה , also without בֵּית הַתְּפִלָּה , בֵּית הַתְּפִלָּה or בֵּית הַתְּפִלָּה , and it designates the place of the worship, the building.

The building of a synagogue is a consecrated place. Because of this reason it has to occupy the best site in a

(1) Hastings, The Dictionary of the Bible, 1902, Vol4, p.128.

(2) W. Bousset, Die Religion Des Judentums, J.C.B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1926, p.113.

city, the top of a hill, the vicinity of a clear stream, or some spot on a magnificent beach. A synagogue building cannot be used as a shelter from rain, sun, or cold. Its destruction is forbidden. Its sale is a complicated affair, because the purpose of the use of a synagogue building has to be an honourable one.

Also, the furnishing of a synagogue is consecrated. The seats of a synagogue and the reading desk have the same degree of sacredness as the building. The press, Hebrew ק"ט , where Torah and the Prophetic writings are kept, is holier than the building. Still holier than the press are the cloths, in which the Scriptures are wrapped.

The minimum congregation consists of ten male members, without the presence of this number the worship service cannot take place. Women cannot become official members of the congregation, although women can attend public worship regularly. In the Diaspora the honorary title, $\text{ἀρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς}$, could be bestowed also upon women. A woman could be one among the seven persons required for the reading of the Scripture on Sabbath. However, she could not read Torah in a public gathering. The head of the congregation is the ruler, $\text{ἀρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς}$ (Lk. 8:41, 13:14). The attendant of the synagogue is hazzan or $\text{ἑταίρος τῆς συναγωγῆς}$ (Lk. 4:20). He is responsible for the order of the worship, he cares for the building and assists in the synagogue school.

The main features of the public worship in a synagogue are as indicated: (i) shema - confession of faith, (ii) prayer, (iii) reading from the Torah, (vi) translation of the Hebrew

text into Aramaic, (v) reading from the prophets, (vi) exposition of the Scripture, an address, (vii) benediction. Any strange scribe could deliver the address. Jesus also did this (Mk.1:21, 6:2; Mt.4:23; Lk.4:15, 6:6, 13:10). The purpose of the synagogue is to instruct the congregation in relation to the will of God as it is revealed in the Torah and in the Prophets.

Further, one has to consider the situation in the Synagogue of Capernaum from a pious Jewish point of view on that chronologically far away Sabbath. Not only the synagogue teaches the will of God as revealed in the Scripture, but even the bare walls of the synagogue and its site are consecrated and holy. One may recall here some rules of purification of the Pentateuchal Law and of the Prophets. For example, (i) a woman after a birth of a boy had not to touch any holy thing, nor come into the sanctuary for forty days (Lev.12); (ii) the unclean had not to walk along the road by which pilgrims come to Jerusalem (Isa.35:8); (iii) everyone who touches a dead body shall be unclean seven days (Num.19). Also a grave can cause uncleanness. Thus it became a custom to whiten graves in order not to contact uncleanness (Mt.23:27; Lk.11:44).

However, at the same time demons disguised as demoniacs are walking freely in the synagogue on the Sabbath and are disturbing even the public worship, when their original dwelling places are tombs, ruins, or deserts in solitude and uncleanness.

Generally taken, the situation in the synagogue of Capernaum is only an illustration of a common religious rule:

... in allen Perioden des Überganges [cf. in Jesus' day the Second Temple, the synagogue, and the rise of Christianity] steigt der alte, niedere Glaube [in Satan, demons, and evil spirits] aus der Tiefen der Volksseele wieder herauf. (1)

During this period, when the exorcism takes place in Capernaum, demons were looked upon as assailing human minds and bodies and causing many other afflictions to men. "Es war eine Zeit der Weltangst, in der Jesus auftrat und diese Angst fand ihren Ausdruck gerade in einem uns schwer fassbaren Dämonen glauben." (2) At the head of demons stands Satan. From the Jewish point of view he rules, because "In einer Welt, in der die Weltreiche regieren und das fromme Volk unterdrücken, in der Edom triumphiert und Jacob unterliegt, herrscht der Satan." (3)

In relation to Mark one can state that "Für das Markus-Evang. ist Jesus in besonderem Sinne der Herr der Dämonen, darum begegnet als erste die Erzählung von der Heilung des Dämonisch-Besessenen." (4) Luke (is also) very much interested in demons. The scene in the Synagogue of Nazareth (Lk.4:16-30), which precedes in Luke the scene in Capernaum (Lk.4:31-39), is Luke's own composition:

Wir haben es bei dieser Szene vielmehr mit einer lukanischen Komposition zu tun... Dass diese Komposition nicht ganz geglückt ist, zeigt am deutlichsten der

(1) Bousset, Ibid., p.336.

(2) E. Haenchen, Der Weg Jesu, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1968, p.201.

(3) Bousset, Ibid., p.391.

(4) Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, p.153.

Rückgriff auf Jesu Wunder in Kapernaum (V.23), wo Jesus nicht bei Lukas, wohl aber nach der Tradition seine Wirksamkeit begonnen hat.⁽¹⁾

The day in Capernaum in Matthew starts with the healing of the leper (Mt.8:1-4), which in fact stresses the same point as exorcism, namely, the cleansing of all uncleanness and the restoration of the Holiness of God.

2. Jesus and the Demoniac (Mk.1:21-29, Lk.4:33-37).

The Gospel account of Jesus' encounter with the Capernaum demoniac is very short; Mark devotes to it four verses (cf. also Luke). One has to note that Jesus' attitude towards the demoniac "... was primarily not a medical, but a religious diagnosis."⁽²⁾ During Jesus' public ministry each sickness, which involved a loss of control, was ascribed to demoniac possession; the demon "had been eaten with the food and drunk with the water, or breathed in with the air, and until he could be expelled there was no chance of recovery."⁽³⁾

The exorcism at Capernaum shows only four, instead of the usual six, traits characteristic for an encounter with demons. They are as indicated: (a) the demon recognises the exorcist, (b) the exorcist addresses the demon, (c) it is cast out, (d) the fearful surprise of the onlookers. However, not one word is said about (a) the previous state of the demoniac, and (b) no comment is added about his later behaviour.

(1) Haenchen, Ibid., p.85.

(2) G. B. Caird, Saint Luke, The Pelican N.T. Commentaries, 1971, p.88.

(3) Hastings, Ibid., Vol.4, p.591.

The cries of the demoniac in relation to Jesus are partly an attitude to be found in the O.T. stories about Elijah. In I K.17:18 the widow of Zarepath calls Elijah "O man of God", and she is in fear that Elijah has come to destroy her. Before this encounter Jesus was unknown to the public, but the exorcism makes him famous. Also after the exorcism the general public does not know the identity of Jesus. However, the demoniac indicates it clearly at once: (a) ἡλθεσ ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς, (b) ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ. The expression "Holy One of God" is used in the Synoptic Gospels only twice (Mk.1:24 and Lk.4:34 but cf. also John 6:69, I John 20:20, Rev.3:7). In the O.T. Israel is called "the Holy One of God".

To the ἡλθεσ "entspricht also ἡλθον in Jesu=prüchen (2:17, 10:45),"⁽¹⁾ where Jesus states that he has come to call the sinners and to give his life for many. "Die Worte ... gehen nicht auf diese Stunde und dieses Geschehen, sondern auf das ganze von Jesu Gekommen=Sein. Es ist ein Kommen von Gott her und an Gottes Statt, es bedeutet die endgültige Vernichtung alles Unreinen und Unheiligen."⁽²⁾

Jesus' diagnosis is a religious one, not only in relation to the demoniac, but also to the situation in the synagogue.

This is one of the reasons why nothing is said at the beginning about the previous state of the demoniac. The same, at the end there is no report what happened to this particular demoniac after the exorcism. Further, as the evidence shows demoniacs during this age have been such a common phenomenon in the synagogues that no particular description of their

(1) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.37.

(2) Ibid.

state seemed necessary. They have been as well known to the people as the worshipers themselves.

The cries of the demoniac imply that there are even several demons present in the synagogue, because the demoniac uses inter-changeably ἡμᾶς, ἡμῶν and οὗτος (Mk.1:24; Lk.4:34). The exorcism in this particular instance is the demonstration of Jesus' power to restore the Holiness of God in the synagogue and to cleanse everything, which is defiled by the unclean presence of the demons. The cleansing of the synagogue has two phases: (a) a phase of purification, which the onlookers can grasp; it is in accordance with the Law of the Pentateuch; (b) the restoration of Holiness of God, the complete destruction of all evil powers, demons, Satan, the death itself, which Jesus has in mind, but which the onlookers at this stage of Jesus' ministry do not understand.

The battle cry of the demons is, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ." He has appeared. Beware of him! The attitude of the people seems to be characterised already before the exorcism by the verb ἐξέπληθη (Mk.1:22, Lk.4:32), which can describe also a state of being frightened out of one's senses.

Why such a fear? Even before the exorcism has taken place! There can be only one answer - many of the onlookers are in allegiance with the demons, may be with Satan himself. This can be a political, an economical, a sex-relation, and so on, allegiance, and all those, who are in allegiance with the demons, have turned away from the Holiness of God. They are frightened out of their senses at this moment; the demons will fall, this is a general feeling. Since there is war going on

between Satan and God, woe to those, who are the associates of the demons.

3. People in the Synagogue.

The attitude of those present after the exorcism is described as follows: (a) $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\tau\lambda\gamma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omicron;$ $\delta\epsilon\ \delta\alpha\chi\eta\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\eta$
 $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\gamma;$ $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \pi\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$
 $\lambda\chi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\acute{\iota}\beta\beta\epsilon\lambda,$ $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\eta}\pi\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\upsilon$
 $\alpha\iota\tau\omega.$ (Mk.1:27b) and

$\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$
 $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma,$ $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\gamma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\upsilon\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\lambda\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\acute{\iota}\beta\beta\epsilon\lambda$
 $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \lambda\chi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \pi\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma.$ (Lk.4:36b).

The emphasis in these sentences are upon: (a) $\delta\epsilon\ \delta\alpha\chi\eta$
 $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\eta$ and $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma,$ (b) $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\gamma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$
 $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\gamma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\upsilon\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\lambda.$ Jesus has come to destroy the
demons and to restore the Holiness of God, which he demonstrates
through exorcisms and later through his teaching and preaching.

In this particular instance Jesus does not teach at all
from a modern point of view. Thus one can ask here why the
onlookers are concerned about the teaching of Jesus? However,
from the Rabbinical point of view, also an action of a Rabbi
or a Scribe can be imitated, and thus considered as teaching.
Such a teaching is designated as the Rabbi's "didactic
symbolic actions"⁽¹⁾ or "Torah's visual teaching".⁽²⁾

The teaching of the Torah happened in the following
manner:

The pupil had to absorb all the traditional wisdom
with eyes, ears and every member by seeking the
company of a Rabbi, by serving him..., following him

(1) B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, C.W.K. Gleerup, Copenhagen, 1964, p.185.

(2) Ibid.

and imitating him (שׁוֹמֵר אֶת דְּבָרָיו), and not only by listening to him. The task of the pupil is therefore not only to hear (שָׁמַע), but also to see (רָאָה). The pupil is a witness (עֵד) to his teacher's words, he is a witness to his actions as well. He does not only say, 'I heard from my teacher'... but also, 'I saw my teacher do this or that'.⁽¹⁾

From this point of view the exorcism in Capernaum can be interpreted also as teaching of Jesus on a very exceptional level. On this occasion the people, the onlookers, the disciples were reminded of the holiness of God. God is the source of all holiness. Holiness is not a characteristic of God, it is the essential being of God. Created things are not essentially holy. Holiness can be transmitted by contact with places, people, things consecrated to God. The most holy place is the Sanctuary. God's presence makes the Sanctuary holy. As the Holy One God is opposed to sin and uncleanness; to all that is impure.

The exorcism in the Synagogue apparently frightened many of the onlookers. They definitely felt that they did not live up to the requirements of the Law, while the demons were freely attending the Synagogue. Thus they questioned among themselves, they were astonished, they were amazed: "What is this, a new teaching?" "If it is a new teaching, then who is this stranger, Jesus, a scribe, a Rabbi, a prophet? From whence does he come? From Jerusalem or from the Diaspora? From whence is his teaching, authority, power? At the feet of which Rabbi did Jesus study?" (Mk. 11:27-33). The uproar is great.

(1) Ibid., p.183.

However, Jesus still adds to their confusion. From Jesus' point of view holiness is not related to physical purity of the Priestly Torah (cf. Lev.11:44, 20:25-26, Ezk.43:7, 9), holiness is related to men's hearts (Mk.7:17, 1-23), which are contaminated by the presence of the demons and are not capable any more of holy living, according to the will of God.

The confusion continues, and the exclamations continue too. Who is this Jesus? He is a carpenter from Nazareth in Galilee and has arrived in Capernaum in company with some fishermen. A carpenter! From Galilee! A friend of fishermen! Now the onlookers really moan. The situation in the synagogue is paradoxical, because no one can deny the fact that Jesus has the authority and the power to cast out demons, but at the same time he is only a carpenter from Nazareth. Consequently, they question again in relation to Jesus, "With what authority does he command the unclean spirits? And how does he cast them out?"

The confusion is caused here also partly by the fact that there are two kinds of authorities from the biblical point of view: (a) the Rabbinical $\xi \xi \text{ov} \acute{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$ and (b) the prophetic $\xi \xi \text{ov} \acute{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$. The people in Capernaum consider the Rabbinical $\xi \xi \text{ov} \acute{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$. Thus they question Jesus from this point of view. The Rabbinical authority depends upon ordination by Rabbis, who are authorized to perform ordination. Generally taken, "It was implied that" the person ordained had his full share of that wisdom which, as was believed, ultimately descended from Moses⁽¹⁾, later "an order was issued that even minor

(1) Barrett, Ibid., p.80.

cases, such as questions of purity and impurity, should no longer be decided by a man... unless he had received [reshuth] from his Rabbi."⁽¹⁾ Jesus' ἐξουσία is different. It comes neither from religious authorities, nor from any succession in religious matters. Jesus' authority comes from God. Thus after the exorcism in Capernaum the situation in the synagogue is and remains paradoxical - a man has performed a mighty deed unaided by any religious agency of his time. In relation to δυνάμεις one can say that it is the power of the Holy Spirit. Jesus' Galilean ministry is introduced by the following statement: καὶ ὁπέστρεψεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. (Lk.4:14).

The questions raised by the onlookers in the Synagogue on this particular Sabbath remain unanswered. Only Jesus' fame, in connection with the exorcism, is reaching the most distant corners of Galilee.

II. Exorcism Among the Gentiles.

1. The Demoniac of the Country of the Gerasenes (Mk.5:1-20, Mt.8:23-34, Lk.8:26-39).

In this exorcism account (Mk.5:1-20) the following points of interest have to be noted: (a) the gentile region, (b) Jesus and the demoniac or demoniacs (cf.Mt.8:23-34), (c) the witness, the herdsmen and the people of the city and their reaction to the exorcism.

(a) The Region.

Jesus comes from Galilee across the lake to this particular Gentile region. Apparently Jesus comes to encounter the

(1) Ibid.

demoniac. The stories about the fierce demoniac ~~_____~~ have spread as far as Galilee. Jesus' voyage indicates that there is a small harbour on the Eastern shore of the Lake. From this harbour a road leads to the city, to which the herdsmen fled at the end of the exorcism.

The particular place of the exorcism is and remains obscure. There are three cities to the East and South from the Lake of Galilee, which resemble the name mentioned in the Gospels: Gerasa, Gadara, and Gergesenes. Gerasa is a city in Decapolis. Decapolis was a federation of ten Greek cities established by the veterans of Alexander the Great (B.C.323). The oldest cities of Decapolis are Dion and Pella. The heart of this region is the O.T. Gilead. However, Gerasa is too far away to the South. It takes two days to travel from the Lake to Gerasa. Gadara has been a famous resort, visited even by rich Romans, located circa 15 km. from the Lake. This distance also is too far for the herdsmen to flee to the city and return in a short while again in company with its people. It can be that Gerasa is wrongly applied to Kersa, a small village town on the Eastern shore of the Lake.

Mark (cf. also Lk.) calls the place Gerasa (Mt. Gadara.) "Die Erzählung hat ursprünglich wohl keine bestimmte Ortsangabe im Anfang gehabt. Mark, hat sie aus ungenauer Kenntnis der Gegend hinzugefügt, ~~Matthäus sie korrigiert.~~"⁽¹⁾ There is still a third designation for the region: $\tau\epsilon\rho\rho\epsilon\gamma\eta\rho\omega\varsigma$ introduced by Origen,⁽²⁾ a place located on the Eastern shore.

(1) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.94.

(2) Ibid., cf. Gerasener (so die lat. Versionen und B.X. für Mk.), Gadarener (... die syr. und B.C.X für Mt.) und endlich Gergesener (so memph., arm. äth.)

(b) Jesus and the Demoniac, Exorcism in Mark.

Jews looked upon the region of Decapolis with contempt as ritually unclean, inhabited by brutish creatures. It is a dusty place, resembling wilderness, with barren cliffs raising high above the Lake. Imprints of this particular region have been found on old coins. It is a very proper dwelling place for all kinds of demons in comparison with the fertile Western shore of the Lake.

Mark's account indicates that the demoniac encounters Jesus twice, v.2 and v.6. His pitiful state is described at length. The demoniac calls Jesus by his right name. Jesus is addressed as "the Son of the Most High God". In this passage Jesus does not require silence in relation to his name. The reason for this behaviour is as indicated, among non-Jewish people such titles as "Son of God" and "the Son of the Most High" do not have any Messianic associations. Thus they do not inspire in the people any Messianic hopes, which would lead to a military revolt and to an open clash with the Romans.

Jesus commands the possessed man to reveal the name of the demon. It is a company of 6000 heads, a legion.⁽¹⁾ When the demons are sure that they will not overcome Jesus, they beg for grace. They do not want to return to the wilderness. It means an exile for the demons. Their intense desire is to keep human beings in possession. Since the demonic power is destroyed the former demons, being without any shelter appear as trembling, unclean, pitiful creatures.

(1) A Roman legion during the reign of Augustus consisted of 5000-6000 men.

Indwelling in humans is excluded. Since the only living creatures nearby are the swine, the demons choose the swine, and thus they are drowned together with the swine.

Matthew mentions two demoniacs, but not a legion of demons. It is an indication that Matthew's source reports about a person possessed by many demons. Verse 31 again refers definitely to demons. In order to harmonise this discord, Matthew reports about two demoniacs. Some commentaries indicate that the second demoniac is "eine Hinzurechnung des ausgelassenen Dämonischen in der Synagoge von Kapernaum (Ebrard, Bleck, Holtzmann)".⁽¹⁾

The presence of the swine indicate that trans-Galilee is an unclean region for the Jews. The Law numbers swine among unclean animals, because they do not chew the cud. Only those animals are clean which part the hoof and chew the cud (Deutr. 14:4-20, Lev.11).

(c) The Herdsmen and the People of the City.

The herdsmen flee with the news of the release to the city and to the *ἄγροίς* - the villages. This is a great news for the people of the whole region, news of release and salvation from the troublesome demoniac. But the people, as people always and everywhere, understand the exorcism from their own point of view. They look upon Jesus as a strange powerful magician, who destroyed the demons.

And behold, *πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἰμεῖν τῷ Ἰησοῦ* (Mt.8:34). The pompous greeting reminds one of Paul's experiences in Asia Minor (Acts 14:13-19). All gospels

(1) Haenchen, Der Weg Jesu, p.196.

indicate that the people of the particular region request Jesus to leave their border. Some commentaries state that the drowning of the herd caused very great material losses to the region. Thus Jesus' presence was economically not welcome. An alternative possibility is that the inhabitants were moved by awe in the presence of the supernatural.

The true cause of this unfriendly request is as follows. The exorcism is a great thing for the particular region, but Jesus is not satisfied with the exorcism alone. He encourages the healed man to go around in Decapolis and tell how much the Lord, i.e., Jesus has done for him. Because of this the people of Trans-Galilee understand that Jesus is a Jewish prophet, who has come with the intention to proselyte.

The people of Gerasa-Gadara are not interested in becoming proselytes. According to the rules of Judaism in Jesus' day, proselytes had not only to change their religion, but they had to give up also their former nationality.

Προσηλυτισμός and its synonyms designate a man who... has addicted himself to the Jewish ordinances and customs, and in so doing severed himself from his people, friends and kinsmen... he has become a naturalised citizen of a new religious commonwealth in which he is on a full equality of rights and duties with born Jews. ⁽¹⁾

From the region of Gadara Jesus returns by boat to Galilee.

(1) Foot Moore, Ibid., Vol.I, p.328.

2. The Syrophenician Woman's Daughter

(Mk.7:24-30, Mt.15:21-28).

This exorcism is one of the few healings in the gospels, which can be designated as Jesus' intervention from a distance (cf. Mt.8:5-13; Lk.7:1-10, Jn.4:46-54). It is characteristic that distance-exorcism and healings take place only in relation to the Gentiles, but not in relation to the Jews.

Here again similar to the previous exorcisms one can distinguish: (a) the place, (b) the main figures - Jesus and the mother, the possessed child is mentioned only in passing, and (c) the exorcism itself, which in this case is a dialogue between the Syrophenician or Canaanite mother and Jesus. At the same time two new and vigorous motives are added, which do not appear in the previous exorcisms: (a) it is the faith of the mother, and (b) the inner attitude of Jesus towards the spiritual lethargy of the people. (Mk.7:29; Mt.15:28).

(a) The Region

According to Mark, the place is a house. Matthew describes it as a street in some Phoenician village. The country is the Galilee of the Gentiles, Tyre and Sidon, North and West of the Lake of Galilee. The mother of the girl is called a Canaanite in Matthew, Syrophenician Greek in Mark. Matthew's report centers around the old biblical theme, the relationship between Israel and Canaan, while Mark describes it more like an exorcism.

(b) The Attitude of Jesus Towards the Mother.

In both reports (Mt. and Mk.) Jesus is very reserved, especially in Matthew's report, where Jesus does not even

answer the woman's first request (Mt.7:33). Jesus' reserve has its ground. At this stage his ministry is already well advanced. At the same time Jesus' experience has been partly disappointing; the onlookers, the people, the witnesses do not understand Jesus. They accept his exorcisms, but they do not understand that his goal is to destroy the demons and to restore the Holiness of God in all its aspects. The people interpret Jesus' exorcisms from their own point of view and make out of him a mere magician or some proselyting Rabbi.

Thus Jesus has arrived to a knowledge that the first requirement for exorcism is understanding and faith. The people, who ask for help, have to understand Jesus' motives and they have to believe in him, committing themselves to the guidance of Jesus. Without faith exorcisms create only uproar among the onlookers, as it happened in Capernaum (Mk.1:21-28 and par.), or accusations which give to Jesus a magician's status (Mk.5:14-20 and par.), but it does not advance God's conquest in the hearts and minds of men, and Satan's kingdom continues to rule.

Thus, this particular exorcism in Mark (cf. also Mt.) takes place on a very personal level, between Jesus and the mother. At the beginning of the report there appear also disciples and other men - "yet he could not be hid" (Mk.7:24^b), but at the end of the report there is neither a mention, nor any other indication, of onlookers or witnesses.

The woman is, at least, partly a proselyte. In Matthew she even refers to Jesus as the Son of David (Mt.15:22^b). Apparently she has some ideas about Jewish Kings and also

about Messianic expectations. In connection with this one has to note that after the exorcism Jesus does not order her to go around in Tyre and Sidon and to proclaim what Jesus has done to her, as he ordered the former demoniac of Gadara (Mt. 5:19-20 and par.).

(c) The Exorcism in Mark

This exorcism in Mark is pictured very shortly, only the indication of the case, the plea of the Greek woman born in Syrophenicia, and then indirectly the statement about the cure. The demon is called here $\tau\upsilon\epsilon\tau\mu\alpha\ \delta\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\alpha\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and $\delta\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$. The six characteristic features of an exorcism is not present in Mark's account. Only the fact is there, a child possessed by a demon is healed. Mark in contrast to Matthew does not consider the Jewish-Gentile relationship on an O.T. basis, but rather on everyday living basis. In this sense also $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\varsigma$ is used in V.27. It is the only exorcism in Mark performed from a distance.

(d) The Exorcism in Matthew.

At the beginning of Matthew's presentation of the story about the Canaanite woman's daughter is the verb $\delta\iota\epsilon\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau$ which is characteristic of Matthew. "Es steht bei allen grösseren Veränderungen des Schauplatzes (2:13ff, 4:12, 9:24, 12:15, 14:13)"⁽¹⁾ in Matthew's Gospel. Jesus is very reserved towards the woman. The woman is very agitated and crying. She has to request three times before the exorcism takes place. Consequently, Jesus questions the woman and tests her faith. Finally, faith saves the Canaanite woman's child.

The disciples are acting in this passage like household servants. They are caring for the peace of their master, and thus the woman has to be driven away. Maybe also the disciples

(1) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.252.

have understood the Master's point of view. It is a risk to perform an exorcism among the Gentiles, they do not understand the issue at stake, the restoration of the Holiness of God in men's hearts.

(e) Appendix.

This passage makes a short reference to the O.T. concepts of Canaan and Israel. Canaan is a heathen country serving Baals and other idols, while Israel is the people of God. Thus in this particular place Jesus faces the historical problem of his race, the relationship between Jews and Gentiles.

But also Israel needs the restoration of God's Holiness. Consequently, Jesus refers to the "lost sheep of Israel". The lost sheep are mentioned in Ezekiel (34), in Luke (15:3-7), and John (10:1-8, especially 10:16). Further, Jesus says, οὐκ ἀπεβίασθη εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ (Mt. 15:24), Jesus "was sent". This indicates that he has, at least, a prophet's status. With respect to Jewish Gentile relationship Jesus' emphasis is upon the phrase τὰ ἀπολωλότα. His duty is to find and bring home to Israel the lost ones.

The dialogue continues between Jesus and the woman. Jesus answers her pleas for help that the children have to be fed first and then only the dogs. From a strict legalistic point of view, it means that it is not permitted for the faithful to care first for the dogs. The children come first, only then the dogs, the heathen, the idol worshipers. However, the woman seems to be gentle and wise, she indicates that in each household children and dogs are fed from the

same table. The head of the household is responsible for them both, the children and the dogs. There is also a difference between the children and the dogs; the children get the best food, the dogs only the leftovers, but at the same time the head of the household cares for both of them. God cares for Israel and also for the Gentiles. To this Jesus answers: "Woman, great is your faith", and her daughter is healed instantly. "Woman" (in the vocative) is used only twice elsewhere in the N.T. (cf. Jn.2:4). This woman understands that Jesus is at war with the demons. Thus the most important matter is at stake, namely, the restoration of holiness and God's Kingdom

III. The Faithless Generation.

1. The Son with a Dumb Spirit (Mk.9:14-27, Mt.17:14-20, Lk.9:37-43^a)

This is an exorcism account combined with the theme of faith. This event is reported by all three Gospels. According to Mark, it takes place close to the end of Jesus' ministry. One can say that at this hour "ist es Jesus als himmlisches Wesen müde geworden unter diesem glaubenlosen Geschlecht zu wandern." (1) The report of Mark considers the meaning of personal or intermediary faith in cases of exorcisms. The report of Matthew speaks about the meaning of faith from a general point of view, while Luke's version is only a very condensed form of the particular event.

This event takes place immediately after the Transfiguration, when they had come down from the Mountain to the crowd (Mt.17:14, Lk.9:37), to the disciples (Mk.9:14).

(1) Haenchen, Ibid., p.320.

A short outline of the circumstances are as indicated. A man begs Jesus to free his child from an unclean spirit, which seizes the child very often. The spirit demonstrates its power in fierce convulsions. The disciples are not able to help. Jesus is indignant about this faithless and perverse generation (v.41). Then Jesus rebukes the spirit, the boy is saved. The onlookers are as usually frightened out of their senses.

(a) The Attitude of Jesus Towards the Situation of Life.

Jesus' words, ὡς γένοιτο ἡ πίστεως καὶ ὁσεβησμένην, ἕως ἰότε ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς (Lk.9:41),

according to some commentaries, refer to the father and the people.⁽¹⁾ The second part of Jesus' words indicate that time is short, not only for the demons, but also for Jesus. The day is approaching, when he will leave the disciples, the people, the Scribes, the Pharisees, the demoniacs.

At the same time the misunderstanding on the people's part, what really happens through the exorcisms, is great. In the synagogues they are amazed, argumentative, questioning, frightened out of their senses after each exorcism (Mk.1:26f), but they almost never inquire after the real purpose of Jesus' activity. In the heathen regions they are worshiping Jesus as some god (Mk.5:1-20 and par.), but they do not want to hear Jesus' message. Jesus is stunned. He has given too much conditionless to the people, but they, generally taken, do not comprehend the importance of the present hour, the breaking in of God's power, the retreat of Satan, and the perishing of demonic legions. The people do not really

(1) Plummer, Ibid., p.255.

believe in Jesus as the Messiah - Son of Man. The father says to Jesus: "If you can, do anything ... help us." (Mk.9:22^b). Thus the father is not even sure whether Jesus can help or not. He would be in this state, if he had seen in Jesus the Messiah - Son of Man.

(b) Mark's Account.

When Jesus comes down from the Mountain of Transfiguration, there is a great commotion going on. The Scribes, the Disciples, the people all are engaged in some argument. The place is not definitely named, but it is a Jewish territory, because the Scribes are present (Mk.9:14). Apparently something important is going on, which is revealed also to Jesus. The Disciples have tried to expel the demon, but they could not. It is not exactly stated that the Disciples are the Twelve. They can be also some unknown followers of Jesus. Compare in relation to this matter Mark 6:12-13, where it is definitely stated that the Twelve are casting out demons.

Mark's account of the exorcism is an interwoven story: (i) it opens with the section discussed above (Mk.9:14-15), (ii) then follows the exorcism (Mk.9:16-27), (iii) at the end of the story Jesus is in a house with the disciples, who question him about matters pertaining to faith. Interwoven with the exorcism is: (i) an analysis of the father's faith and (ii) Jesus' attitude towards the faithless generation.

At the beginning of the exorcism the father approaches Jesus. The details of the possession are given. The cause is τὸ ἔλαλον... πνεῦμα. The general mood of the onlookers is partly bitter, partly full of approval. The father is bitter, the disciples could not help him, the Scribes are as usual

opposed to Jesus. Only the crowd is encouraged by the presence of Jesus. But, who can rely upon the mood of an unknown crowd!

The boy is brought to Jesus. The demon's attack continues. It is described in detail. The boy has been thus tortured since childhood. Then Jesus says the decisive word, the demon is cast out, and the boy is restored to normal life.

In this particular account of Mark the demon does not speak. The voice, who addresses Jesus, is the father's. At the beginning he does not cry as the demons do. His pleas are just a weak whisper of uncertainty (v.22^b). In fact Jesus is dealing here (vv. 22^b-24) with two cases: with the possession of the boy by a demon, and with the father's lack of faith. The father represents the faithless generation, which is a characteristic experience for men in all ages. Because he lacks faith, the father is able only to ask for practical help in relation to his son (v.22^b). The father is uncertain, he does not believe absolutely in Jesus' ability to heal, only, when he adds with a deep sigh, "Have pity upon us" (v.22^b), Jesus answers that all things are possible for the believer. The father is eager to be restored, because he grasps the truth that his lack of faith delays the exorcism.

Thus he cries out loudly similar as the demons do, "Help my unbelief". It is clear to the father "... dass Glaube eine ... Gott verliehene Mächtigkeit bedeutet, sie erfasst den Menschen wie sonst etwa der Geist." (1) Only

(1) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.190.

Jesus can help, this is the father's confession of faith. Things happen now according to faith, the demon is cast out, and the father is healed from unbelief.

After the exorcism it seems to the faithless generation that the boy is dead (v.26^b). This generation continues to live "inbetween", on the one side of them is the Kingdom of Satan, on the other side the Kingdom of God. They are witnesses to the exorcisms, but they are and remain undecided in relation to Jesus. Real faith in God is lacking. Jesus is stunned and indignant about their inability to comprehend that great things are happening in their midst, and that at the same time, ἕως τότε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔβομα; (v.19), the time is running out.

Jesus cannot take the blindness of the people. It is the same as exile for him, only an attitude of real faith would provide for Jesus a permanent place. Apparently exorcisms alone are not sufficient to make men to see the Holiness of God. Maybe Jesus feels that his patience is at stake, or something still on a greater scale has to take place. Ἀνέξομα is used in the gospels only here. (1) What else should happen? Jesus is pondering this in his mind, feeling oppressed by the spiritual blindness and the lack of faith, which he encounters everywhere. The war with Satan should continue, about this Jesus has no doubt. Thus he orders the demon to withdraw, and he takes the hand of the boy and lifts the boy up.

In the concluding part (vv. 28-29) only two things of importance have to be mentioned: (i) the meaning of prayer in

(1) Ibid., p.187

relation to demons, and (ii) quite a number of manuscripts add also fasting.⁽¹⁾ Since Jesus is not interested in fasting, it is an appendix added by some scribes. According to Jewish beliefs of that day, the demons cannot resist prayer and fasting. They give to man power to overcome the demons.

(c) Jesus and the Problem of Faith.

In his answer Jesus addresses neither the father, nor the demon; he addresses the faithless and perverted generation of his age in general. Jesus is completely sure that the exorcism will be successful, demons are destroyed by the presence of Jesus. At the same time Jesus is concerned about the state of the people, the onlookers, the witnesses, the crowd, the present generation, even about the Disciples. He is concerned about their disinterest in matters of faith. The issue of faith has become very important at this stage of Jesus' ministry. For a complete restoration of the Holiness of God in all its aspects faith is needed. Faith even $\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\acute{o}\kappa\kappa\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\lambda\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ would destroy Satan. Since the Disciples lack even the $\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\acute{o}\kappa\kappa\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\lambda\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ faith, they are not able to cast out the demon.

This statement is followed by the comparison of mustard seed and mountain in relation to faith (Mk.11:22-23; Mt.17:20, 21:21; Lk.17:6). Except for Matthew 17:20, the reference is made to a mountain and a fig tree, or to a mustard seed and a sycamine tree (Lk.17:6).

To have faith as a mustard seed means that nothing can shake this faith, neither doubt, nor experiences contradictory to the promises of faith. The mustard seed is a combination

(1) Haenchen, Ibid., p.319.

of small size with great and overpowering capacity to grow and to expand. The growth and expansion of faith can be so dynamic that it will remove mountains. In fact "mountains" are only a figure of speech used instead of demons, helplessness and despair. Faith is all powerful, because it is "die fremde eschatologische Macht, die dem Menschen von Natur nicht gegeben und erst von Gott wie ein Senfkorn gegeben wird, von der aber alles natürliche und eschatologische Leben und Bestehen abhängt."⁽¹⁾

IV. Marginal Notes in Relation to Demons.

Peter's Mother-in-Law (Mk.1:29-31; Mt.8:14-15; Lk.4:38-39).

During Jesus' time distinction was made between *μεγάλου* and *μικροί* fevers. The Mother-in-Law suffers from a great or high fever. From Mark's and Matthew's point of view this is a healing, not an exorcism, the restoration of the mother-in-law. The woman is healed by the touch of Jesus' hand. However, Luke indicates that Jesus rebuked the fever. Thus the high fever is identified with a demon. This short episode is historically related to Peter's life.

Mark 1:32-34.

These three verses are Mark's summary of many healing episodes and exorcisms. The verb *ἐπετίθει γέρας* in v.33 indicates that these verses belong to an early tradition. The particular verb is present only here in the narrative tradition. Also here the demons recognise Jesus (v.34).

Mark 1:39.

It is an interpolation of Mark: "Der letzte Satz is wohl erst von Markus hinzugefügt."⁽²⁾ It adds the statement

(1) Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, p.273.

(2) Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p.43.

about exorcisms to the passage 1:35-38. These verses are concerned with the proclamation of Jesus. Demons are not in sight, and then suddenly it is stated; καὶ τὴν δαίμονα ἐκβέλλων (v.39).

Mark 3:11-12.

These two verses are silent in relation to exorcisms. Only the demons worship Jesus and cry out that he is the Son of God. Jesus refuses to permit the demons to speak about him openly. He silences them also here. However, in relation to people in general Jesus is again very much stunned about their lack of faith and slow comprehension of what really is happening. This paradoxical situation is not solved in the gospels in connection with exorcisms. The situation is always the same, the demons recognise Jesus and are silenced by him. The people do not recognise Jesus, and he is stunned by their lack of faith.

Matthew 4:23-24.

Verses 23 and 24 belong to the summaries of Matthew. Summaries (cf. also 9:35, precedes the mission of the Twelve, 14:14, 15:30 precede the feeding miracles) are used by Matthew as introductions to some important event. V.23 is repeated in 9:35, v.24 partly repeated in 14:34-36 and in 15:30-31. Vv. 23-24 are used as introduction to the Sermon on the Mount.

Matthew 8:16-17.

Here is again one of Matthew's summaries in relation to healings and exorcisms. It ends with a quote from Isa.53:4. This quote indicates that Jesus is not an outstanding person of his age, but that he belongs to God's plan. Thus Isaiah proclaimed about the healings and exorcisms already long ago.

Luke 4:41.

The demons are designated as *κρᾶν γὰρ ἔοικεν*, which is a verb peculiar to Luke. Some commentators⁽¹⁾ suggest that with the cries "You are the Son of God" the demons tried to compromise Jesus. They tried to confuse the people also. They tried to create an impression that there is a close connection between them and Jesus.

(1) Plummer, Ibid., p.139.

D. Jesus' Encounter with ΠΕΛΡΔΟΜΟΣ Caused by Human Agents

This particular subdivision of the first chapter considers Jesus' conflict with the Pharisees, i.e., the Beelzebul controversy. Further, it considers Jesus' temptation by Peter, the Caesarea Philippi narrative, and, finally, it deals with the complex circumstances of ΠΕΛΡΔΟΜΟΣ behind the Gethsemane story.

I. The Beelzebul Controversy

(Mark 3:22-30; Mt.12:22-30; Lk.11:14-23).

1. The Place of the Controversy in the Gospels.

The Beelzebul controversy proper (Mk.3:22-27) is an interpolation between Mark 3:20-21 and Mark 3:28-35. One does not find the alarming reference to the friends and family of Jesus in Matthew and Luke directly after the Beelzebul controversy (Mt.12:46-50); Lk.8:19-21). Matthew and Luke introduce the Beelzebul controversy with an exorcism healing of a blind and dumb demoniac (Mt.12:22-23) and casting out of a demon "that was dumb" (Lk.11:14).

When one considers the gospel narrative as a whole, one has to notice the following peculiarities in relation to the Beelzebul controversy. Mark places it in Chapter three, very soon after the beginning of the Galilean ministry (Mk.1:14-15) near the lake. It takes place before Jesus travels in the Gentile regions (Mk.5:1-20, 7:24-30), before calming of the storm (Mk.4:35), walking on the sea (Mk.6:45-52), before sending out of the disciples (Mk.6:6-13), the feeding miracles (Mk.6:30-44 and 8:1-9), and long before Jesus sets his foot

on the road leading to Jerusalem and Passion (Mk.10:32-52).

The reason for this location of the Beelzebul controversy is evident. One of Mark's emphasis is on exorcism, which is mentioned from Mark 1:21 - Mark 3:20 four times (Mk.1:21f, 1:34, 1:39, 3:11-12). The exorcism causes great fear, amazement, arguments, and much questioning about the power and authority of Jesus among the crowd, ὄχλος, and among the people, ἄδός, and among the representatives of the religious orders, the Pharisees, the Scribes, and the Herodians. To the division caused by exorcism much hostility is added also by Jesus' controversial views in relation to forgiveness of sins (Mk.2:9-10), the keeping of Sabbath (Mk.2:27-28), fasting (Mk.2:18-20), and the table fellowship with sinners and with tax collectors (Mk.2:15-17). Finally, the inner tension and hatred comes to a secret counsel to destroy Jesus (Mk.3:6; Mt.12:14; Lk.6:11), and to an open climax, namely, Jesus' friends and relatives would like to guard him as a mad man (Mk.3:20-21, 31-35), and to the argument of the Beelzebul controversy (Mk.3:20-27).

Matthew and Luke both associate the argument of the Beelzebul controversy with exorcism. They introduce the section with a short account of casting out a demon, but at the same time exorcism is not one of the problems of Matthew's Gospel. Matthew is concerned with the teaching of Jesus (cf. five sections on teaching, Mt.5-7, 10, 13, 18, 23-25), and also with problems pertaining to the Christian Church or community (Mt.17:15-22, 16:13-20, etc.). Thus Matthew places the Beelzebul controversy after the instruction of the disciples, the second teaching discourse in Chapter 12.

Luke's Gospel is the first important Christian apology. Luke wrote it for the gentile world, when after the Emperor Nero (A.D.54-68), it became clear that Judaism and Christianity are not identical faiths. Luke pays much attention to exorcisms too (Lk.4:1-13, 8:2, 8:26-39, 13:10-17). Luke's main emphasis, however, is upon the fact that God's Kingdom is already a real power (Lk.7:22). It is the "acceptable year of the Lord" (Lk.4:19). In connection with this, while presenting the events of Jesus' ministry, Luke speaks much about the practical application of Christian love to all people (Lk.6:27-38, 7:1-10, 11-17, 18-35, 36-50) and about the meaning of discipleship (Lk.9:1-9, 10-17, 18-27, 28-36, 37-50, 51-62; 10:1-20, 21-24, 25-37, 38-42). Thus the Beelzebul controversy is placed rather late in the Lucan narrative, when Jesus is already on his way to Jerusalem facing the Passion.

Regardless of these differences the inner causes of the Beelzebul controversy are the same in all three Gospels. Many things that Jesus has done and said up to this point have caused a great hostility against him among the Scribes and Pharisees. Also the pious among Israel are very much shaken and confused by Jesus' attitude towards their religious values. Thus, there is already a secret conspiracy, which plans to destroy Jesus (Mk.3:6, Mt.12:14, Lk.6:11). The Beelzebul controversy can be designated as an open outburst of Pharisaic hostility.

2. The Controversy.

The Beelzebul controversy is an open manifestation of the secret plan to kill Jesus (Mk.3:6, Mt.12:14, Lk.6:11).

Luke is very vague in indicating those who question Jesus. He speaks about ΤΙΛΥΕΣ, while Matthew states definitely that they are ΟΙ... ΦΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΙ, and for Mark they are ΟΙ ΥΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΣ ΔΠΟ ΤΕΡΟ ΒΟΛΥΜΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ - ΒΕΛΖΕΒΕΣ Beelzebul before (Mt.10:25).

The Beelzebul controversy cannot be looked upon as a direct ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ of Jesus. It is much more an outburst, an outward manifestation, of an inward hatred towards Jesus. However, since the Beelzebul is called also Ο ΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ (Mk.3:22), this controversy can be appended to the exorcism narratives of Mark and its synoptic parallels.

The dialogue of the controversy consists of several parts. In Mark the charge against Jesus is repeated twice by the Pharisees, v.22 and v.30, while Matthew and Luke report only one charge. Mark refers to Jesus as "having Beelzebul" and that he cast out demons by the power of Beelzebul, while Matthew and Luke refer only to the power of Beelzebul.

In Mark Jesus answers to his opponents with two short parables, and at the end he adds a warning against blasphemy (Mk.3:28-30). Matthew and Luke both add a reference to Jewish exorcists and a reference to the finger of God (Luke), and Spirit of God (Mt.). At the beginning of the controversy Matthew mentions also the Son of David. Luke omits the warning against blasphemy.

The central theme of the Beelzebul controversy is division. Jesus' interference in the lives of men is resulting in division. First, the judgement in relation to

Jesus' activity, exorcism, is a divided judgement. Some call Jesus a Beelzebul, others again refer to him as Son of David. Secondly, it is not quite clear at the beginning who is divided - the enemy of God, the Beelzebul, or the people of God? Since Jesus has come to fulfil the will of God, one may ask, is the will of God a division among men?

The opponents of Jesus are from Jerusalem, which is the headquarters of the old order of religion (Mk.7).

In Mark Jesus' direct answer to the charge of the Pharisees is contained in vv.24-26, where Jesus speaks about a divided kingdom, house, and a divided Satan. The divided situation is not a war here, it is only "not being able to stand", but at the same time this situation is a division, and division is the end of everything. Matthew adds here a city: kingdom, city, house, and Satan (Mt.12:25-26). Luke follows Mark's three-fold division (Lk.11:17-18).

Verse 27 in Mark, v.29 in Matthew, and vv.21-22 in Luke continue the theme of Beelzebul. The evangelists refer here to the strong man, who has to be bound before one can conquer him. The origin of this parable can be some ancient saying (Isa.49:28, 53:12). It can be also that the strong man is a very early title of Jesus, identical with the eschatological redeemer. The warning against the blasphemy (Mk.3:28-30, Mt.12:31-32)⁽¹⁾ is peculiar from one point of view, namely, that the possibility of forgiveness is excluded here. This harshness may be an influence of contemporary Judaism. According to Judaism, all heretics, and those who say that

(1) Matthew's version is from Q. Thus it is not identical with Mark's version.

Torah is not from God, and that there is no resurrection, will be excluded from the age to come. (1)

Further, Matthew and Luke make a reference to Jewish exorcists as "your sons" (Mt. v.27, Lk. v.19). Exorcists have been popular also among the Jews. Josephus in Ant.VIII ii.5 tells about Eliazar, a Jew, who cast out demons before Emperor Vespasian (69-79 A.D.). Acts (19:13-14) refer to a certain Jewish exorcist, Sceva.

The Beelzebul controversy deals with a two-fold division. (a) The attitude towards Jesus' authority and power, to whom even demons obey, is divided. Jesus' authority and power may come from God, but it may come as well from Beelzebul, the powerful heathen sky-god, identical with the abomination, which Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C.175-163) placed in the Temple. Apparently Jesus' action has impressed every stratum of the Palestinian populus, even the Scribes and the Pharisees. However, Jesus is not siding with the Pharisees. Thus because of his authority and his antagonism Jesus has to be destroyed. If it could be proved that Jesus' authority is demonic, it would be Jesus' end in relation to religious matters. The expression $\beta\epsilon\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\lambda$ (Mk.3:22) "contains a most radical rejection on religious ground. A man who has a $\delta\iota\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ should not be heard." (2) Beelzebul as the sky-god of Antiochus IV was the abomination for all pious Jews during the Seleucid rule. For Judaism there was only one God in heaven. Any other God associated with heaven could be only an $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega\nu\ \delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$
 $\tau\omega\nu$

(1) Mishnah, Sanh.X,I.

(2) Kittel, T.D.N.T., Vol.II, p.19.

Jesus uses the images of house, city, Kingdom, because the name Beelzebul (with zebul = dwelling) has been applied to him. Thus also from Jesus' point of view the Lord of the dwelling can be only the Chief of all demons. Jesus silences all his opponents here with his unique authority to utter undisputable truths and to cast out demons. Possession is the mark of Satan's dominion. If Satan destroys possession by demons, then he destroys himself. To say that Jesus' authority comes from Beelzebul is an absurdity, because exorcism means the destruction of Satan's house, city, kingdom. Thus Jesus' authority and power comes "by the finger of God", which is anti-demonic power.

(b) In Matthew 12:23 the λαός is asking in relation to Jesus, *μητιλ ουτως εστιν ο υιουσ Δαουδ;* *μητιλ* as an "interrogative particle, expecting negative answer, [is used here and also in] Matthew 7:16, 26:22, 25 ... in hesitant questions ... *μη ουτως εστιν*, can this be, Matthew 12:23, John 4:29."⁽¹⁾ In the N.T., however, also a positive answer is possible to a question, introduced by *μητιλ* (cf. Mk.14:19), *μητιλ εγω* .⁽²⁾

The people, λαός, Israel, are also concerned about Jesus, though from an angle quite different from that of the Pharisees. They do not plot to destroy Jesus. At least, a part of them are turning towards Jesus as their future hope. Thus the question in v.23 "Can this be the son of David?" This is still a very hesitant question. It is not an assurance, "This is the son of David". This question indicates that the people also are divided in relation to Jesus. There are some

(1) G. Abbot-Smith, Manual Greek Lexicon of the N.T.
T. and T. Clark, London, 1922, p.292.

(2) Haenchen, Ibid., p.151.

among Israel, who already classify Jesus as the expected son of the ruling house, but there are also many, who are crying out that Jesus is aided by Beelzebul himself.

The Beelzebul controversy is caused by division, but not because division would be the will of God. On the contrary, the will of God is not yet a reality in the lives of men. Thus the division is here as one of the woes of the $\alpha\lambda\omega\rho\ \omicron\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and precedes the age to come.

3. Beelzebub or Beelzebul.

The most controversial term of this section is the word BEEZEBOOUL . Its orthography and etymology are not certain. There are two spellings of the name: Beelzebub and Beelzebul.

(a) Beelzebub

Reference to Beelzebub is made in II K.1:2f., "Go, inquire of Beelzebub the God of Ekron", $\text{וְיִשְׁאַלְכֶם אֶת־בְּעֵזְבֻב־הָאֱלֹהִים־עֵקְרוֹן}$. The form Beelzebub is found in Vulgate, although not in all MSS of it, some MSS have Beelzebul. The etymology and meaning of this form is not clear. It is not found in any of the Greek N.T. MSS.

In the ancient world Philistines were known as a people capable of predicting the future. Thus Beelzebub in all probability is a name of some ancient God in Canaan, which the Philistines have adopted, and the Vulgate renders as Beelzebub. However, the true connection in relation to this name between Canaan and Philistines, (cf. II Kings 1:2f and Vulgate), are obscure.

There are, however, two sources which shed some light upon this problem, Josephus and the Babylonian Talmud. ⁽¹⁾

(1) W. E. M. Aitken, "Beelzebul", Journal of Bibl. Lit., vol. 31 (1911/1912), p. 52.

(i) Josephus in Ant. IX 2:1 presents a Greek translation of II Kings 1:2, $\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\epsilon\tau\eta\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \tau\eta\ \beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\ \mu\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \nu\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu\ \text{Άκκρον}$. Μυτάρ is a translation of זיבוב (zebub),⁽¹⁾ Lord of flies. (ii) The Babylonian Talmud Shabbath 83b indicates that there was in Shechem a god Baalberith and connects this god with Zebub of Ekron. According to the statement in Talmud, Zebub of Ekron was a fly, of which the Philistines made many images. The people used to carry the images of zebub in their pockets and used even to kiss them. Thus Baalzebub is the Lord of flies.

(b) Beelzebub

The form ΒΕΕΛΣΕΒΟΥΒ occurs only in the N.T., in the Beelzebub controversy. In the O.T. this name is not found at all. The form ΒΕΕΛΣΕΒΟΥΛ is not related to the form Beelzebub. "The connection with the Ekronite God of flies must be abandoned."⁽²⁾

For Jesus and for the Pharisees Beelzebub is $\text{ὁ ἀρχὼν τῶν δαιμονίων}$ (Mk.3:22, Mt.9:34, 10:25, 12:24, Lk.11:15), the chief of the demons. The first part of this compound word, ΒΕΕΛ- , Βαλ- , means Lord. However, the application of the second part of this name Zebul shows that it can have several meanings. "Zebul" as a noun is a designation of dwelling, abode. It can be, according to the O.T., God's abode on earth, the Temple, some shrine, or abode in heaven, (I K.8:13; Isa.63:15, Hab. 3:11).⁽³⁾ There are passages in the O.T. which indicate that the Temple was looked upon as God's abode (Hab.2:20, Ps.18:7, Ps.11:4).⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Plummer, St. Luke, p. 301.

(3) Aitken, Ibid, p. 37.

(4) Ibid, pp. 35-41.

Heaven as God's dwelling is a well known fact in the O.T. too (2 Chr.2:6, Isa.66:1)⁽¹⁾. Consequently, Beelzebul or Baalzebul is the Lord of the abode, shrine or heaven. When one uses instead of shrine, abode, a more secular term, one can say that Beelzebul is the Lord of the sky (cf. Ζηνὸς οὐρανίου).

As a noun "Zebul" is associated in ancient beliefs with the planet Saturn. "Der oberste Planet, Saturn, als zugehörigen Dämon den Beelzebul hat."⁽²⁾ There is also a certain form of "zebul", which means dung זֶבֻּל , but it can be looked upon as a perverted form of the regular noun.⁽³⁾

Also during the Maccabaeen period God was looked upon by the Jews as ^{the} Lord of heaven (1.Macc.3:18, 4:10, 5:31; II Macc. 7:11, 9:4, 11:10, etc.), while the gods of the neighbouring nations were demons for them. "The steadfast Jew of the Maccabaeen period would have been more than human if ... he had considered the god of the heathen oppressor aught else but a demon, and a very powerful and vicious one."⁽⁴⁾

A very prominent god in each of the religions during the first century B.C. was the sky-god, in Hebrew בְּעֵל שָׁמַיִם . When Antiochus Epiphanes erected a statue of Jupiter, Jupiter was also called בְּעֵל שָׁמַיִם . This situation was intolerable, at least, for the most pious Jews. Because of this Daniel uses שִׁקְוֵי שָׁמַיִם , abomination which desolates, (Dan.9:27, 11:31, 12:11) instead of בְּעֵל שָׁמַיִם . "The passage that bears the strongest testimony in favour of the theory that שִׁקְוֵי שָׁמַיִם is a perversion of בְּעֵל שָׁמַיִם [is] 2 Macc. 6:2"⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ibid.,

(2) Haenchen, Ibid., p.144.

(3) Aitken, Ibid., p.41.

(4) Ibid., p.46.

(5) Ibid., p.49.

Since Jupiter or Zeus⁽¹⁾ "was a demon ... it would never do to call him שׂוֹמֵר שָׁמַיִם ... The mutilation of that name in Daniel shows how distasteful it was ... to apply it to any but the true God."⁽²⁾

In order to avoid the difficulty described above the Jews found some additional words for the designation of heaven. In popular use have been the following nouns: $\text{זָבּוּל, שְׁחִיקִים, קִיָּע, וְיִלְוּן}$, $\text{בַּעַזְוִן, בַּבְּוִן}$ and עַלְבָּת . ⁽³⁾ זָבּוּל is one of these names.

For reasons not known, it was chosen and applied by Jews to the foreign sky god, whom Antiochus Epiphanes worshipped. In this manner the name Baalzebul came into being, to whom Mark and par. refer as the chief of demons.

The root "zbl" is used also as a verb. It means to dwell (Gen.30:20, I K.8:13, Ps.49:15). Since "zbl" as a verb does not pertain to the Beelzebul controversy, the discussion of this matter is omitted here.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ibid., pp 49-50.

(2) Ibid., p.50

(3) Ibid.

(4) The use of "zbl" as a verb is a highly speculative matter.

II. Caesarea Philippi^{c2}

(Mark 8:27-33; Mt.16:13-18; Lk.9:18-22)

Caesarea Philippi is mentioned in the Bible only twice, (Mk.8:27; Mt.16:13). The city has been located on the South-West slope of Mt. Hermon, circa 15000 ft. above the sea. Mt. Hermon is 9100 ft. high. The region of Caesarea Philippi "is one of the most beautiful and luxuriant in Palestine".⁽¹⁾ It overlooks the fertile Jordan valley and has plenty of water. Caesarea Philippi continued to be a place of importance until the end of the crusades, although it changed its name several times. The ancient name of Caesarea Philippi is Paneas, ἡ Πανεύσις.⁽²⁾ The village Banyas, which is located on the particular site today, has preserved the original designation of the place.

1. A Roadside Dialogue.

Jesus is in the vicinity of the village of Caesarea Philippi, when he reveals his identity to the disciples. When they are walking along the road, a dialogue develops. This dialogue consists of four parts: (a) Jesus' question concerning the ἄνθρωποι, (b) question concerning the μαθηταί, (c) the first prediction of suffering and (d) a rebuke of Peter.

(a) In relation to the first question of Jesus, τίς με λέγεις οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐστίν; (Mk.8:27, Mt.16:13, Lk.9:18), one has to consider several problems. The ἄνθρωποι in Jesus' question are not identical with the people, λαός. They are contrasted in this case with the μαθηταί (cf. also 1:17, 7:7, 9:31, 10:27, 11:30); only in Mark 8:24 ἄνθρωποι are identical with the people.⁽³⁾ The ἄνθρωποι are the

(1) The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol.A-D, p.480.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p.162.

representatives of the present age, while the disciples belong to the age to come. Further, in Mark and Luke the emphasis in this question is upon *ME*, upon the revelation of the true being of Jesus (Mk.8:27; Lk.9:8). Matthew uses instead of *ME* the phrase *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ* (Mt.16:13). While using this phrase, Matthew indicates the identity of Jesus already before the question. Thus the emphasis of Matthew's question is upon "die ... Wirkung unter den Menschen ... und was Menschen über Jesus sagen."⁽¹⁾ The question of Jesus is peculiar also from this point of view that it does not inquire about the teaching of Jesus (cf. also Mt.11:4, Lk.3:15, Jn.1:19),⁽²⁾ but it is concerned only with the being or the eschatological identity of Jesus.

(b) Mark 8:27-28 is an introduction to Jesus' second question, which is addressed directly to the disciples. The emphasis of this question is upon *καὶ ... ἀποστός*, "But what do you say that I am?" (Mk.8:29). Peter answers for all the disciples that Jesus is the Christ, the Anointed One. Thus Jesus may be the eschatological King, Priest, or Prophet. "Das Wort des Petrus ist wohl der Höhepunkt des Gespräches."⁽³⁾ Peter's answer implies two important emphases: (i) the time has come that Jesus' real identity has to be revealed to the *Ἰησοῦ τοῦ*, the revelation is gradual and it continues till the last cry on the cross (Mk.15:34), and (ii) one's attitude towards Jesus' real identity is that watermark, which divides people in the disciples and in the *Ἰησοῦ τοῦ*, who compare

(1) Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, p.263.

(2) Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p.162.

(3) Ibid., p.163.

Jesus with Elijah or John the Baptist. However, for the real identity of Jesus "genügt nur der eine Begriff des Menschensohnes".⁽¹⁾ The disciples have to know the eschatological identity of Jesus, because otherwise Jesus cannot reveal to them the future of the Suffering Son of Man, the anointed, but the suffering King, who is at the same time identical with the Son of Man who will come on clouds.

(c) The first prediction of suffering (Mk.8:31) is followed by the second prediction (Mk.9:30), and by the third (Mk.10:32), (cf. parallels in Mt. and Lk.) The corresponding verses in John are as indicated, 2:4, 7:6,30, 8:20, 12:23, 13:1, 17:1, οὐπω ἦκελ ἡ ὥρα μου.⁽²⁾ Mark stresses two things, namely, (i) Jesus will be ἀποκταυνθῆναι, and (ii) he will ἀναστῆναι after three days. Mark 8:31 is dominated by the verb δεῖ, "must". This δεῖ is an indication that the prediction of Jesus' passion is not a prophecy, but that it expresses the will of God. "Der ursprünglich beherrschende Gesichtspunkt war dann der von dem apokalyptischen "Muss" des Leidens".⁽³⁾ This verse is dominated also by the verb ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι, to be rejected. The ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι expresses the "Ablehnung der eschatologischen Gottesgnade ... ihr Sinn geht auf die gegen Gott gerichtete Tat."⁽⁴⁾ Further, referring to Jesus' death Mark uses ἀποκταυνθῆναι to be killed, but not ἀπέθανεν, died (cf. I Cor.15:3). "To be killed" is used by Jesus himself in Matthew 23:37, in relation to the prophets rejected by Jerusalem. Jesus' speaking about the

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.164.

(3) Ibid., p.165.

(4) Ibid., p.164.

future of the Son of Man (v.31) from an untraditional or most unusual point of view for his generation, becomes a challenge for Peter and the cause of Peter's rebuke of Jesus (v.32).

The phrase $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \nu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon \lambda\upsilon \nu\acute{\rho}\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon$ indicates that this passage is concerned with apocalyptic matters.⁽¹⁾ From the apocalyptic point of view the most puzzling thing is going to happen to the Son of Man - he must suffer and must be killed, $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\iota} \dots \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota} \pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu$ (Mk.8:31). The " $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}$ " is an indication that "Was es in sich fasst, bestimmt sich nicht nach einem menschlichen, sondern nach dem göttlichen Mass: des $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$." ⁽²⁾ One may look upon this phrase " $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\iota} \dots \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota} \pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu$ " as reference to the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53. Similarly to the suffering Servant also the Son of Man must suffer much. However, in relation to the suffering of these two figures, the Servant and the Son of Man, there are also certain differences. The suffering of the servant is the "unbegreifliche Ausdruck der Beziehungen Zwischen Gott und Volk, [while] ... der Menschensohn wohnt in dem apokalyptischen Geheimnis seines [Jesus'] menschlich - göttlichen, Wesens, und ein Ausdruck dessen ist, viel leiden, darum ist dies geschichtliche Leiden eschatologische Offenbarung."⁽³⁾

The phrase " $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota} \pi\alpha\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu$ " leads also to the concept of death and resurrection. The humanity of the Son of Man is subject to suffering, and death, while for the Son of Man as an other worldly, divine being this life is called 'resurrection' "Eine verhältnismässig späte Formulierung, da auch das älteste Kerygma nicht von der Jesu eigenen Tat des Auferstehens, sondern

(1) Ibid., p.166.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

des Gotteigenen des Aufrichtens oder Auferweckens spricht." (1)

(d) Peter's rebuke is characterised by the verb $\pi\rho\omicron\beta - \lambda\omicron\gamma\ \beta\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, which indicates a very disrespectful treatment of Jesus by Peter (cf. also Acts 18:26). Further, one may assume that Peter is not defending here a political Messiah, but that he is defending the Christ from a traditional point of view, because $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\prime\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\upsilon$ would not be in harmony with the existence of the Anointed One.

Jesus' rebuke of Peter's unconscious temptation to avoid God's will is an order. In this instance Satan himself speaks through Peter, because "Leiden ist der einzige Weg des Satan's Herrschaft zu stürzen." (2) Eschatologically speaking the Son of Man and Satan are hostile forces, which represent this age and the age to come. Since God's will is that the Son of Man must suffer, any denial of suffering would represent the will of +Satan. The Son of Man has only one way before him "durch das Leiden, das ... eschatologisch Mächtig ist, ... den Satan zu überwinden." (3)

2. Appendix: Matthew 16:17-18. (4)

This passage is peculiar to Matthew. In his version of Caesarea Philippi Matthew omits Peter's rebuke and Jesus' rebuke of Peter (Mk.8:32-33), which states that Peter does not understand Jesus' idea of the suffering Messiah - Son of Man and that Jesus rejects Peter's view as Satanic. Matthew presents a confession to the identity of Jesus already before Caesarea Philippi. "And those in the boat worshipped him saying, 'Truly you are the Son of God'" (Mt.14:33).

(1) Ibid., p.167.

(2) Ibid., p.168.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Verse 19 is omitted, because Matthew 16:17-19 is only a secondary problem in relation to this paper.

There are speculations that these verses belong to the lost end of Mark. This view is based upon the following statement: "But after I am raised up, I will go before you to Galilee" (Mk:14:28, 16:7). This passage in Matthew is related also to John 21:15-23 and to Luke 22:31-34. The hypothetical relationship of these three passages, according to modern scholarship, is as indicated. Luke 22:31-34 predicts Peter's threefold denial, while John 21:15-23 is characterized by Peter's threefold statement that he loves Jesus. When Peter promises to go with the Lord even to death, his denial is predicted, but so, too, is his conversion and the founding of the flock upon him as upon a rock⁽¹⁾ (Mt.16:17-18).

A strong evidence for the authenticity of Matthew 16:17-18 is its semitic character. The passage is semitic from the linguistic point of view: the designation of Peter as Bar Jona, the Aramaic $\chi \text{ ܚܝܘܢܐ}$, which underlies the Greek $\pi \acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\varsigma$, the expression "flesh and blood", used as a designation for men, and also the "image" of the rock.⁽²⁾ The rock image is an influence of the Rabbinical literature, "When God looked on Abraham, who was to arise, he said: Lo, I have found a rock on which I can build and found the world. For this reason he called Abraham a rock."⁽³⁾ Peter is the rock $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \ \pi \nu \epsilon \rho \theta \eta \mu \alpha$. $\chi \text{ ܚܝܘܢܐ}$, $\pi \acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\varsigma$ is a specific designation of Peter, because the name for a Christian in the N.T. is usually $\lambda \acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, a stone. (cf. I Pt.2:5).

(1) Kittel, T.D.N.T., Vol.VI, p.105.

(2) Ibid., p.106.

(3) Str.-B, I, p.733.

Jesus is not speaking about τῆν ἑκκλησίαν (v.18) from a modern point of view. Jesus speaks about the ἐκκλησία from a Jewish point of view. He speaks about the true remnant, about the people of God, for whom in Hebrew the following designations are used: $\chi\eta\gamma\gamma$, $\chi\eta\kappa' \eta\delta$, $\eta\eta\eta$, $\eta\eta\eta\gamma$ (1)

The verb οἰκοδομήσω of this passage also describes Jesus' idea from a Jewish point of view, because the people of God are the House of Israel. The "building idea" is present also in the reference to the Temple (Mk.14:57 and par.). Similarly to the Kingdom, which is future and present (cf. Mt.12:28, 11:5), the people of God are a present reality, and they will experience a future development. The very beginning of the people of God from Jesus' perspective has been the call of the Twelve. (Mk.3:13-19; Mt.10:2-4); Lk.6:14-16).

(1) See Kittel, Ibid.

III. Gethsemane (Mk.14:32-42; Mt.26:36-45; Lk.22:39-45)

Jesus' last night in Gethsemane is described in a short passage. However, the motives and causes, which created the Gethsemane narrative, are very complex.

1. Anointing at Bethany: Anointing of a Prospective Dead Body versus Anointing of a King, (Mk.14:3-9; Mt.26:6-13; Lk.7:36-38; Jnl2:1-8).

Since Jesus' Messiahship is not the main theme of this work, the attention in relation to Jesus' attitude towards Messiah will be focused only upon one event, namely, the anointing of Jesus at Bethany. The study of the Anointing is necessary, because it helps to explain the complex problems of the Gethsemane narrative.

In Mark (cf. also Mt.) the anointing narrative is preceded by verses, which indicate the intention of the chief priests and scribes to arrest and kill Jesus. (Mk.14:1-2, Mt.26:3-5). The verb ἐξήρασαν indicates only generally the intention to get rid of Jesus. Thus one can assume that Judas' direct intervention, which according to tradition, took place after the anointing at Bethany, advanced the arrest of Jesus.

(a) The Anointing Customs of the Ancient World.

Since anointing is the main incident of the Bethany passage (Mk.14:3-9 and par.), a short reference has to be made to its origin and application. In the ancient Near East anointing had three general meanings: (i) It was a sign of rejoicing and consecration. Ps.45:7 indicates rejoicing: "God ... has anointed you with the oil of gladness" (cf. also Isa.61:3, etc.). Consecration and ordination is mentioned in Ex.29:9, Lev.8:33, I-Chr.29:5, IIChr.29:31, etc. Objects also

could be consecrated. LXX renders $\alpha\lambda\iota\epsilon\lambda\upsilon$ as $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\lambda\upsilon$ (Ex.29:36). The most important anointing for Israel was that of a king (I Sam.10:1, 16:3, I K.1:39, etc.). The King ruled Israel as God's representative. (ii) Anointing was a sign of hospitality. At banquets heads of the guests were anointed. "Rabbis were sometimes anointed at Jewish weddings (T.B. Ket. 17b)." (1) (iii) Anointing was also a sign of mourning. Perfumed ointments were applied also to dead bodies, Jacob (Gen.50:2-3), Joseph (Gen.50:26), Jesus (John 19:39-40).

In the ancient Near East as ointments were used: olive oil, sesame oil, almond oil and animal fats. Oil was very often perfumed. Perfumes were produced from hardened sap of a plant (frankincense, myrrh, etc.), from flower sap (saffron), from bark (cinnamon), and from root (nard). Very often perfumes were blended. The sacred anointing oil was a combination of myrrh, cinnamon, aromatic cane and cassia (Ex.30:22-25). The O.T. mentions Bezalel as the first maker of anointing oil and incense (Ex.37:29). (2)

(b) The Anointing Banquet.

The descriptions of the anointing in Mark, Matthew and John are very similar. In fact, the beginning of the anointing banquet is described by the evangelists from the same perspective. Jesus participates in a banquet, which takes place at the house of some well to do people. According to Mark, Matthew, and John the town is Bethany. Mark and Matthew state that the meal takes place at the house of Simon the Leper. For John

(1) J. A. Thompson, "Perfume", The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol.III, p.595.

(2) Ibid., p.731.

it is the house of Lazarus, and in Luke a Pharisee called Simon invites Jesus to supper. In Jesus' time Simon was a very common name. The N.T. mentions, at least, ten Simons.

During the meal the ancient Middle East customs are observed. The invited guests are only men, a mixed crowd, friends and strangers. They are reclining at the table and taking off their sandals. Very often the entrance door is left open. Thus any stranger may come in, beggars to get some food, and intellectuals, scribes and Pharisees to take part in religious debates. According to ancient Near East customs, also feet washing, exchange of kisses, and anointing with perfumed oil had to take place. However, the regular hospitality customs are neglected this time by Simon the Host (Lk.7:44-46). It can be that Simon the Leper (Lazarus or the Pharisee called Simon) is avoiding intentionally the habits associated with a banquet. May be there is a reason for this. At least, one of the ancient customs, anointing, could be associated easily with political trends of the day. Especially the anointing of Jesus would be dangerous, because the chief priests and the scribes were watching for evidence that could be used against Jesus.

(c) The Woman at the Banquet.

At the beginning of the anointing banquet (Mk.14:3) a woman enters "with an alabaster jar of ointment of pure nard, very costly" (Mk.14:3, Mt.26:7), while Luke mentions an alabaster flask (27:37). John states that the nameless woman is Mary, sister of Lazarus (12:3). However, at this point the Gospels differ in relation to their report. Mark and Matthew

state that Jesus' head was anointed (14:3; 26:7), while Luke and John speak about anointing of Jesus' feet (7:38; 12:3). Besides this, Luke's account is not placed among the Passion week events. In Luke's version the anointing is related to Jesus' authority to forgive sins and to controversies associated with this matter (Lk.5:21).

The appearance of the strange woman at Simon's house is an unusual disturbance. The banquet at Simon's house is men's affair. At the same time this woman is not a silent observer. Because of her behaviour, she becomes at once the center of attention. She breaks the alabaster jar with a noise. According to Luke and John (7:38; 12:3), her hair is "unbound". "It was counted immodest by the Jews that Mary should unbind her hair at an entertainment where men were present."⁽¹⁾ Thus not only the behaviour, but also the appearance of this woman is unusual, indecent. Besides this, the woman is emotionally agitated. According to John and Luke, she is "washing Jesus" feet with her tears. She is kissing his feet, which is a mark of great reverence.

One can look upon the particular woman, who anointed Jesus at Bethany, from two points of view. (i) She may belong to people who are Jesus' friends and admirers. Only in such a case they are very careless friends, considering the political and historical situation of Judea.⁽²⁾ On that day

The title [Messiah] was so fundamentally political in character that to put forward a claim to it would involve extreme danger, not merely to the life of the

(1) J. H. Bernard, Gospel According to St. John, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1928, p.417.

(2) B. W. Bacon, "What did Judas Betray", Hibbert Journal, XIX (1920-21), p.477 ff.

claimant, but also to the ... well-being of the nation.

[Because of this] ... Jesus ... must have insisted ... upon the strictest secrecy, if he at all permitted its application to himself. (1)

Jesus' friends had to consider that the attire and behaviour of this woman could irritate people, but above all the anointing of Jesus interpreted from a political point of view could provide evidence that Jesus is a political character, for whom the chief priests and the scribes were looking.

(ii) On the other hand, this woman could be a blind tool in order to trap Jesus. The enemies of Jesus, while remaining in the background, could encourage easily some very devout, but not too politically minded, woman to anoint Jesus at an open assembly. Since, according to the O.T. tradition, anointing was a task for prophets or sons of prophets, Jesus' anointing by a sinner added a tinge of mockery to the whole matter. However, an incident had to be provoked, which could be related politically to the Messianic movement, and thus cause the destruction of Jesus.

There are also in the O.T. passages which deal with anointing (I Sam.10, I K.1, and II K.9, etc.). These scriptural references pertain to events, which describe the anointing of Saul, Solomon, and Jehu, who succeeded Ahab. These O.T. references shed some light upon the anointing of Jesus at Bethany. In all these cases the anointing of a new king is a signal for uprising in order to defeat the kings' enemies. Especially characteristic is the case of Jehu. A son of the

(1) Ibid.

prophets, whom Jehu's commanders call a "mad fellow" (the woman in Bethany also behaves as an emotionally upset person), is sent by Elisha to Ramoth-Gilead (II K.9:1, 11) to anoint Jehu. When the messenger reaches Jehu, he sits among his commanders in council. Jehu's anointing is a signal, which starts a revolt against Joram, King of Israel, and Ahaziah, King of Judah.

(d) Mark's attitude towards Jesus as the Messiah.

Luke classifies anointing as a narrative, which deals with the authority to forgive sins, but at the same time one has to consider "that you may eat and drink at my table in my Kingdom" (Lk.22:30), also Mt.19:28 has to be taken into account. John emphasizes the Kingship of Jesus (19:14-15). Although John also states that Jesus' kingship is not of this world (18:36). In comparison with the other gospels Mark is very reserved in relation to Jesus as the Messiah or Son of David (cf.Mk;12:35-37).

Similarly in the exorcism narratives Jesus orders the demons not to call him "The Holy One of God" (Mk.1:24 and par.), the "Son of the Most High" (Mk.5:7 and par.), but at the same time Jesus nowhere indicates definitely that he is not the Son of God. At Caesarea Philippi Jesus reveals to the Twelve, especially to Peter, that he is the Christ (Mk.8:29-30 and par.). Near Jericho the Blind Bartimaeus, who calls him "Son of David," is not silenced by Jesus (Mk.10:47 and par.). During the entry to Jerusalem Jesus does not prevent the acclamation of him as the Son of David (Mk.11:9-10 and par.)

On the whole, it looks as if Jesus accepted the Messianic titles, at least, he did not protest openly. Consequently, the historical truth about the Anointing at Bethany can be

such that Jesus was anointed on this occasion as Son of David to rule over the Jews. At least, some of the witnesses could interpret the event from such a perspective. With respect to revolutionary movements the first century Jews have been very sensitive. There is evidence in Bellum Judaicum by Josephus, that the Jewish peace party in all ~~the~~ decades of the first century was ready to betray the Jewish revolutionaries to the Romans. (1)

(e) The Anointing Argument and the Anointing of Jesus' Body.

The anointing of Jesus by the woman starts an argument (Mk.14:4-5 and par.) According to Mark, the argument was started by $\tau\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$, Matthew mentions "disciples", Luke says that it was started by the Pharisee Simon, John indicates Judas Iscariot. However, no one refers to the anointing as the consecration of a Messiah. At the very beginning the anointing controversy rages about money. The $\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ costs about 300 denarii, They are angry with the strange woman as a waster of money, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\mu\omega\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\ \delta\iota\sigma\tau\eta$.

However, Jesus is prepared to face the tense situation. Neither the woman should be slandered, nor the argument should touch upon the dangerous idea of anointing as a rite of consecration of a new king, the Messiah.

Thus Jesus changes the mood and refers here to the anointing of "my body for burying" (Mk.14:8) and to $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$ (Mt.6:2-4, 5:16), to almsgiving and works of love. Almsgiving men can practice everyday, because it consists of giving money to the poor. Works of love demand also one's commitment:

(1) Foakes-Jackson F. J. - Lake K. The Beginnings of Christianity, vol. I, Macmillan and Co., London, 1920, p.423.

Das Liebeswerk dagegen umfasst neben den Armen auch die Reichen, neben den Lebenden auch die Toten, und es erfordert neben der Geldaufwendung zugleich den persönlichen Einsatz. Darum steht das Liebeswerk über dem Almosen. (1)

From the Jewish point of view of Jesus' day to works of love belongs also the "Bestattung" of a body. (2) However, in the Marcan text (14:8) the word $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$ causes difficulty. Matthew uses instead of it $\pi\rho\acute{\sigma}\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$ (26:12. Cf. Mk.14:8, $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$). There are scholars who indicate that:

Von einem Salben der Leichen in Israel ist nichts bekannt. Dass man aromatische Essenzen in die Leichentücher goss, ist selbstverständlich. Aber die Leiche selbst wird, wie das auch nach den talmudischen Vorschriften geschieht, nur mit Wasser gereinigt worden sein ... So musste man in der Erzählung Mc 14, 3 ff eine allerdings sehr undeutlich gewordene Beziehung auf den römischen Brauch erblicken. Jedenfalls aber ist diese Beziehung wie sie nun in den Worten Jesu vorliegt völlig singular. (3)

Finally, one has to indicate that the anointing at Bethany (Mk.14:3-9 and par.) refers neither to the agony nor to any other emotional state of Jesus. Jesus ~~speaks here~~ peacefully and without emotion of the anointing of his dead body. This can be an indirect indication that the agony of Jesus (Mk.14:32-42 and par.) is already an experience of the past for him.

(1) J. Jeremias, "Die Salbungsgeschichte", Mc 14:3-9", ZNW, 35 (1935), p.77.

(2) Ibid., p.78.

(3) E. Preuschen, "Die Salbung Jesu in Bethanien", ZNW, 3 (1902), pp 252-253.

Jesus' attitude points out clearly that the crowd should not be alarmed about the anointing. All this what happens, the anointing, the tears, the kisses, is a matter between Jesus and the woman, and at this particular moment no one else is involved.

The verse, Mark 14:9, belongs to the Amen-sayings, but at the same time "verschiedene Beobachtungen scheinen zu dem Schluss zu zwingen, dass es eine sekundäre Erweiterung darstellt." (1)

2. Gethsemane: Mark 14:32-42; (Mt.26:36-46; Lk.22:39-46; John 12:20-36, 18:1-11; Hebr.5:7-8).

In the Gethsemane passage history, tradition and theology form a very complicated whole. Gethsemane, according to Mark, is the first part of "the Salvation event", which has its internal aspect in Gethsemane and its external completion [the second part] in the cry of dereliction and the Cross" (2) (Mk.15:34). One of the most important themes of Gethsemane is $\pi\epsilon\lambda\ \rho\alpha\ \mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, not only Jesus is tempted, but also the disciples must pray that they do not enter into $\pi\epsilon\lambda\ \rho\alpha\ \mu\acute{o}\varsigma$. Jesus' temptation is revealed through his desperate prayer or his $\delta\ \gamma\omega\ \nu\epsilon\lambda$ (Lk.22:44; cf. also Hebr.5:7-8 and par. in Mk. and Mt.). The temptation of the disciples is described as sleep, which they cannot resist, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\ \rho\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\ \rho\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\ \lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \eta\epsilon\ \rho\delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (Mk.14:37, 40, 41 and par.). Also Judas Iscariot has been greatly tempted, although the tradition places Jesus and Judas poles apart. "Satan has secured Judas, but he has in no sense secured Jesus." (3) On the whole, $\pi\epsilon\iota\ \rho\alpha\ \mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ is

(1) J. Jeremias, "Mc 14:9", ZNW, 44 (1952/53), p.104.

(2) R. S. Barbour, "Gethsemane in the Passion Tradition, NTS, 16 (1969-70), p.238.

(3) Ibid., p.241.

a natural experience for Jesus and also a natural experience for the disciples, because "to suffer ^{ΠΕΛΠΙΣΜΟΣ} is part of the structure of believing existence." (1)

One has to approach the complex Gethsemane passage from three points of view: (a) the text, (b) ^{the} historical background of the event, (c) ^{the} early Christian interpretation of the passage, tradition and theology.

(a) The Text of Gethsemane and Agony Passages.

The beginning of the original Passion narrative is the arrest of Jesus (Mk.14:43-50 and par.). The Passion narrative, which includes also Gethsemane, is an expansion of the original. The name "Gethsemane" is old. (2) It belongs to the experiences of Jesus, which the early tradition associated with the last night.

Characteristic for the Gethsemane narrative is tension (Mk.14:32-42 and par.), which contradicts strongly Jesus' mood and behaviour before and after the night in the garden. In Luke 22:39-45 Jesus is in agony, while during the anointing at Bethany (Mk.14:3-9 and par), and during the Last Supper (Mk.14:17-25 and par.), Jesus is inwardly calm and willing to encounter the ^{ὤψι} and drink the ^{ΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΥ} of death. Also after Gethsemane until the final cry on the cross (Mk.15:34), there is neither trace of tension, nor agony in Jesus' attitude towards the circumstances.

The core of the agony is the revelation that Jesus "hier im nächtlichen Gebet die Notwendigkeit für ihn die Stunde [when the Son of Man will be betrayed] auf sich zu nehmen

(1) Ibid., p.243.

(2) Bultmann, Ibid., p.289.

erkennt und den Jüngern verkündet." (1) Since Gethsemane is a report about Jesus' most agonized prayer, it is questionable, whether Jesus made the most important decision of his life in Gethsemane, to be obedient to God unto death, just few hours before his arrest or not.

There are six passages in the N.T., which are related, generally taken, to the traditional Gethsemane narrative:

(i) Mark 14:32-42 (cf. Mt.26:36-46), which consists of two sources, (ii) Luke 22:39-45, (iii) John 12:20-36 and 18:1-11, (iv) Hebrews 5:7-8.

(i) Mark
14:32-42.

Closer investigation of Mark shows that his narrative is dominated by two themes, by the theme $\Upsilon\pi\eta\gamma\omicron\pi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ (v.38), and by the theme $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ (c.41), "watch and pray that you may not enter into temptation", and "the hour has come, the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of the sinners." Consequently, Mark's Gethsemane passage can be divided into two parts:
A. verses 32, 35, 40, 41; B. verses 33, 34, 36, 37, 38. Mark's sources "gruppieren sich ... folgendermassen:" (2)

A. (v.32). And they went to a place, which was called Gethsemane, and he said to his disciples, "Sit here, while I pray."

(v.35) And going a little farther, he fell on the ground and prayed that, if it were possible, the hour might pass from him.

(v.40) And again he came and found them sleeping, for

(1) K. G. Kuhn, "Jesus in Gethsemane", Ev.Th., 12 (1952-53), p.263.

(2) Ibid., p.265.

their eyes were heavy, and they did not know what to answer him.

(v.41) And he came the third time and said to them, "Are you still sleeping and taking your rest? It is enough, the hour has come the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners".

B. (v.33) And he took with him Peter and James and John, and began to be greatly distressed and troubled.

(v.34) And he said to them, "My soul is very sorrowful even to death, remain here and watch".

(v.36) And he said, "Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee; remove this cup from me, yet not what I will, but what thou wilt."

(v.37) And he came and found them sleeping, and said to Peter, "Simon, are you asleep? Could you not watch one hour?"

(v.38) Watch and pray that you may not enter into temptation, the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak."

"Jeder der beiden Quellen berichte A und B ist ... in sich lückenlos und vollständig."⁽¹⁾ Verses 39 and 42 are interpolations by the redactor.

The evidence that Mark combines in the Gethsemane passage two sources is as indicated: (i) the sources A and B describe Jesus' prayer, and each scene ends with a different saying of Jesus, vv. 37-38 and v.41; (ii) in Mark's Gethsemane narrative some scenes are repeated two and three times, v.32 - a group of eight sleeping disciples, v.33 - Peter, John, and James, v.35 - Jesus in prayer; (iii) activities are also repeated two or three times, vv 35, 36, 37 - three times reference is made

(1) Ibid., p.267.

to Jesus' prayer and praying; vv. 37, 40, 41 - three times Jesus comes to the sleeping disciples. Thus one may conclude that Mark's source A is concerned with the hour of betrayal, while source B is describing the agony of Jesus with emphasis upon watchfulness and danger of $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.

(ii) Matthew
26: 36-46.

The text of Matthew is very similar to that of Mark's Gethsemane story. The changes, which Matthew makes, are not too significant. For example, Matthew indicates clearly that the third time Jesus returns $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\delta\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (v.45), which is not stated by Mark. Further, Matthew's report of the prayer is written as a direct speech. Matthew omits reference to the $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ during the prayer, etc. "So ist der Matthäustext eine sekundäre Glättung des Markusberichts, die bei Markus noch sichtbaren Nähte seiner Verknüpfung zweier Quellen verwischt." (1)

(iii) Luke
22: 39-46.

According to some modern opinion, Luke's source is independent from Mark. Luke's source describes only one event. There is only one group of disciples (v.39). The prayer in agony is reported only once (vv. 41-43). Jesus returns to the disciples also only once (v.45). The scene is concluded with a saying of Jesus about watchful praying (v.46). The saying about Son of Man is omitted by Luke, but he uses the hellenistic term $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (v.44). The place of Jesus' prayer is Mount of Olives. All this indicates that Luke follows his own source,

(1) Ibid., p.268.

which resembles Mark only from a general point of view.

(iv) Evidences in John and Hebrews about Jesus' Inner State.

John 12:27-30.

This passage of John is similar to the Synoptic Gethsemane story. Both John (v.27) and Mark (14:v.34) indicate that Jesus was troubled, which can be an echo of Psalm 42:6. Similar to Luke (v.43) John also mentions an angel (v.29). He refers also to "this hour" (v.27). Jesus prays to his $\pi\lambda\tau\tau\eta\rho$ in John (v.27) and in Mark (v.36). In John Jesus is not agonised, the cross is his goal.

John 18:1-11.

In the arrest passage Jesus uses the expression $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\lambda$ (v.5). According to John, Jesus is so majestic in the moment of his arrest that the enemies "drew back and fell on the ground" (v.6). From the O.T. point of view $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\lambda$ is a designation of God, $\chi\lambda\eta\ \epsilon\iota\mu\lambda$, (Isa.52:6). Since Jesus applies this expression "I am" in the garden to himself, it means that he is inwardly calm and convinced in relation to his fate. Consequently, John's arrest passage is relevant for better understanding of the synoptic agony reports. Also the synoptic arrest reports describe Jesus as being inwardly calm (Mk.14:43-50; Mt.26:47-56; Lk.22:47-53). Considering this evidence one can state that "Der vierte Evangelist bezeichnet damit den letzten Abend ... am Ölberg als den bisherigen Höhepunkt in seinem [Jesus'] Leben, und berichtet damit stillschweigend, aber deutlich die Synoptische Darstellung einer inneren Krise unmittelbar vor der Verhaftung." (1)

(1) T. Boman, "Der Gebetskampf Jesu", NTS, 10 (1963-64), p.265.

Hebrews, 5:7-8.

The references in Hebrews to "loud cries" and "tears" of Jesus cannot be taken literally, "denn beide Ausdrücke sind im Alten Testament Termini technici für das Gebet in tiefer Not. Sie schrien zu Gott: Ex.ii.23; ... Num.xii 13 ... Jon. iii.8 [etc.] Sie weinten vor dem Angesicht Gottes: 2 Sam. xii.21f.; ... Jo. ii.12 etc." (1)

From the traditional point of view this passage is identical with the Gethsemane narrative. The human agony reminds the reader of Luke 22:39f. and the content of the prayer in John 12:28. However, this attitude causes great difficulties from the exegetical point of view. The difficulty is caused by $\epsilon\iota\beta\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (v.7), because Jesus' prayer was not heard. (2) The exegetical problem disappears, when one looks upon Hebr. 5:7-8 as an independent passage, which reports about the agony and prayer of Jesus.

(b) History behind the Gethsemane Narrative.

There are four reports in the N.T., which speak directly about the agony of Jesus: (i) Mk.14:32-42, sources A and B, (ii) Luke 22:39-46, (iii) Hebr. 5:7-8) and (iv) John 18:1-11. They confirm indirectly that Jesus suffered an agony before his arrest. Modern scholarship is concerned with three problems in relation to Jesus' agony: (i) the time, when did the agony occur; (ii) the circumstances behind the agony of Jesus, (iii) the circumstances behind the $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ of the disciples.

(1) Ibid., p.266.

(2) Ibid., p.267 and Jeremias, ZNW, XLIV (1952-53), p.107f.

(i) The Time

There are scholars,⁽¹⁾ who support the viewpoint that "das Gebet Jesus [agony] zwei Tage vor Ostern statt fand."⁽²⁾ Also Luke 22:39 states that it was Jesus' custom to go to the Mount of Olives. There are only three references in Mark and Matthew, which give some indication about the time. Mark 1:12 is a general allusion that the killing will take place. Mark 14:1 and Matthew 26:2 state that it is two days before the Passover. In Matthew Jesus himself emphasises this fact. The mention of the two days does not affect the gospel story, but at the same time its precise repetition in Mark and Matthew indicates that it is an important date. "Diese jetzt unverständliche Zeitangabe muss einmal einen äusserst wichtigen Tag im Leben Jesu angegeben haben, eben den Tag und die Stunde, da Jesus fürbittend für die Jünger eingetreten war,"⁽³⁾ i.e., the hour of ΠΕΛΠΛΟΜΟΣ. However, the early Christianity combined the agony report with the narrative that Jesus spent his last night in the Garden of Gethsemane.

(ii) The ΠΕΛΠΛΟΜΟΣ of Jesus.

The reports of Jesus' agony imply that not only Jesus, but also the disciples are in a great danger. There is danger, temptation from within and without. To overcome the outward tests one must watch; to overcome the inner struggles one must pray. Jesus is attacked by Satan, but so are the disciples, including Judas. Before the Passion Jesus had to face two things: his own situation, and the situation of the

(1) Kuhn, "Jesus in Gethsemane"; Boman, "Der Gebetskampf Jesu"; Barbour, "Gethsemane in the Tradition of the Passion".

(2) Boman, *Ibid.*, p.272.

(3) Ibid.

disciples. Both situations had to be considered in relation to the Messianic problem and the Messianic Movement of his day. Jesus had to face these problems. Jesus could delay a definite answer to these matters for some time, but not for ever. Thus *Συωvic* is that moment, when Jesus takes his final stand in relation to his nation and to God from the Messianic perspective.

Satan failed to destroy Jesus during the first encounter, Temptation (Mk.1:12-13, Mt.4:1-11, Lk.4:1-13), one may assume because of three reasons: Jesus at that time was full of the Holy Spirit, and *Συωvic* was ~~not a~~ part of his experience; Jesus was also a master of godly way of life, which is based upon O.T. teachings, and Jesus had not practically encountered the Kingdom of Satan, which is a great and destructive force.

Then followed the apparently successful time of the ministry or the war with Satan's forces. To this phase belong the exorcisms described in the gospels (Mk.1:24, 3:11, 5:1-20 and par.). However, Jesus' success has been in isolated cases rather individual. These are only separate battles about which the Gospels report. On the whole, Jesus' ministry has been a failure. The people have not responded to him as a nation (cf. Mk.3:27f, the Beelzebul Controversy, Mk.9:14f, the Son with the dumb Spirit). One can say that:

Jesus' ministry was a final claim made upon the whole people of Israel. There was no room for another claim. And at the time of his death his failure was complete, this statement can stand, I

believe, whatever Jesus' attitude to his fleeing disciples may have been.⁽¹⁾

Satan has many faces. During the hour of agony Satan attacks Jesus disguised as the Messianic problem. At the same time this is a different Jesus, on the historical plane, at least, whom Satan encounters now. Jesus is not here the newly baptized Son of the early Christian tradition, he is an exhausted warrior, who has to acknowledge bitterly that Satan is a realistic force.

When one considers Jesus' mission within the limits of the present study, then there are, at least, two pieces of evidence that Jesus has caused great commotion in relation to the Messianic hopes of his time, cf. the exorcisms, i.e., the cries of the demoniacs, and the anointing at Bethany.

The demoniacs acclaim Jesus as "the Holy One of God" (Mk.1:24 and par.), as the "Son of the Most High" (Mk.5:7 and par.). Much more, the demons even state that they know that Jesus is the Messiah (Mk.1:24). The cries of the demoniacs can be looked upon as a continuous revelation of God's plan, as Mark also presents it from the traditional point of view. However, the steady mentioning of these titles can be also Satan's design to saturate Jesus' mind with Messianic ambitions. Thus from the very start in Jesus' ministry the hour of God coincides with the hour of Satan.

From a modern point of view the demoniacs can be looked upon as mental cases, to a certain degree retarded people. During Jesus' time as far as they were not harmful, they were allowed to move around unhindered. Since the crowd looked

(1) Barbour, Ibid., p.249.

upon the demoniacs as fools, apparently no secrets have been hidden from them. Even the very dangerous problem of a political Messiah was discussed openly before the retarded ones, the demoniacs. However, the demoniacs were not such fools as the general public supposed, which is very often the case with retarded people. The so-called demoniacs grasped very definitely the truth that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, the Son of God. As soon as the demoniacs met Jesus, they shouted loudly that they recognized him. In this direction points also the anointing at Bethany. (1)

Thus Jesus could not avoid looking into Satan's face, which in this case was the popular attitude towards the Jewish Messiah. What could Jesus do? Jesus could do two things: (i) he could accept the anointing as his call to political revolt and die, at least, as a much admired hero of his nation, though it had not been possible to overcome the Roman occupation from a military angle; (ii) Jesus could refuse the military challenge, which he did. However, doing this Jesus disassociated himself completely from everything related to this world, from his nation, his friends, even from his disciples, armies and arms (Lk.22:49-51). Thus Jesus remained quite alone, having only one relationship, namely, his relationship to God, i.e., an obedience unto death to the will of God. Jesus had considered greatly the O.T., and thus it was clear to him that God's will is that he should accept the undeserved punishment of a defeated Messiah, only without any intervention of arms or political uprisings. Consequently, the hour of God and the hour of Satan again coincided in Jesus' experience, the ΠΕΛΑΓΙΝΟΣ and the will of God.

(1) Cf. pages 78-86.

(iii) The ΠΕΛΡΑΓΜΟΣ of the Disciples.

Notwithstanding Jesus' calm and obedient attitude towards the events of the Passion week, his ΠΕΛΡΑΓΜΟΣ was not over yet. Satan had still not given in. The disciples also were under Satan's attack, and one of them had already failed completely, namely, Judas. Two days before the Passover Jesus could be completely convinced that Judas will betray him. The history of Judas is lost, and tradition associates him only with the Devil. However, one cannot deny that next to Peter, Judas is one of the most popular apostolic names. This may be an indication that Judas has been a man capable of great ideas and deeds, good or bad, but at the same time he has been perhaps timid. There is no reason why Jesus could not have been attached to Judas. Thus Judas' going over to the enemies camp could mean for Jesus a new Satan's sting in his already tortured soul.

The saying, "the spirit is indeed willing, but the flesh is weak" (Mk.14:38; Mt.26:41), may be characterizes the actual Judas. There is much emphasis upon this saying during the agony. Thus it means something very important for Jesus at that particular hour of prayer. Maybe the failure of Judas is one of the reasons why Jesus quotes this saying during the agony.

In the N.T. there are two passages, which indirectly indicate the ΠΕΛΡΑΓΜΟΣ of the disciples: namely, Mark's source B (Mk.14:33-34, 36-38, 41), and Hebr. 5:7, although not necessarily related to Gethsemane, and a direct statement about Satan's demand to have Peter (Lk.22:31f.). The historical truth behind these passages can be only one, that the disciples also cannot escape ^{the} ΠΕΛΡΑΓΜΟΣ of Satan.

Historically, ^{the} ΠΕΤΡΟΣ of the disciples is associated with the Messianic movement. Satan appears to the disciples in the disguise of fear. Jesus' ministry is a failure from the human point of view. At least, Judas understands this. At the same time the public anointing at Bethany is that evidence, which the chief priests and scribes have sought, namely, this act can be interpreted as the anointing of a new king. Thus because of fear and lack of faith Judas betrays Jesus in order to save his own life.

Consequently, Jesus experiences a deep anxiety about Peter and the other apostles, which is at the same time an agony about the continuation of his mission. Who will continue the mission after crucifixion? Satan cannot destroy Jesus' vision, steadfastness and conviction, but Satan hoped to destroy Jesus through his disciples. If the disciples are destroyed, who will carry on the work after the crucifixion of Jesus? Thus Satan is attacking the disciples in order to destroy Jesus.

The disciples could be destroyed in two ways: (i) they could be arrested and crucified, (ii) because of lack of faith the disciples could deny Jesus openly before the Sanhedrin. In order to save the disciples Jesus prayed in fierce agony. Jesus "musste ... sich sofort in den Gebetskampf hineinwerfen und in den Gegenwart der Jünger inbrünstig und leidenschaftlich zu Gott beten, bis er in seinem Geiste wieder spürte, dass die Gefahr überwunden war."⁽¹⁾ There is emphasis upon the cup in Mark's and Luke's narrative (Mk.14:36, Lk.22:42). The cup is a symbol, at first, for Jesus' personal

(1) Boman, Ibid., p.269.

destiny, which is indicated already before the agony (Mk.10:33 and par., Lk.12:50). Jesus is willing to drink this cup. Secondly, the cup is also a symbol for Satan's $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ in relation to the disciples. There is no one, who could save the disciples, except God. Thus Jesus concentrates all his energy, in an agonised prayer, upon God.

In Lk.22:31f. Jesus explains his agony to the disciples. In this section very important is the verb $\epsilon^{\xi}\alpha\lambda\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$. (1) It is found only here in the N.T. The meaning of the verb is related to Job I and II and Revelation 10:12. (2) Jesus states ~~that Satan~~ $\epsilon^{\xi}\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\ \delta\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\nu\ \nu\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. Satan demands Peter in order to prove that Peter's faith will fail. Jesus' agonized intervention before God, saves the disciples from Satan's $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$.

(iv) A Note on Hebrews.

The theme of Jesus' agony in Hebrews 5:7 is the same as in Gethsemane (Mk.14:32-42), Satan's attack on Jesus' disciples, although these are reports of two independent sources, and the agony in Hebrews has taken place earlier than two days before the last Passover. The contents of Jesus' agony and prayers are not explained directly in Hebrews. However, the context explains it. Jesus' prayer in Hebrews is presented to God as a sacrifice (Hebr.4:14). Jesus is the High Priest here. The sacrifice is accepted by God and the prayer answered, because Jesus knows the fear of God (11:4). Besides this, the sacrifice was offered, because of his own and the people's sins (5:3). The content

(1) Boman, Ibid., p.269.

(2) Ibid.

of the prayer is not revealed, but it is indicated that God is able to save him from death. The concept of death may refer to Hebrews 2:14 and 2:9f. Here Jesus' death saves the disciples from spiritual death (2:9). In 2:14 Jesus' death destroys the power of death, which is Satan. The prayer of Jesus is answered, because the power of Satan is destroyed, and thus everyone, who is in $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\omicron\varsigma$, is saved.

(c) Appendix: Some Notes on Early Christian Interpretation of Gethsemane.

Jesus' desperate prayer in Mark (14:33-34, 36-38, 41), and the agony of Jesus in Luke (22:40-46) was a stumbling block for the early Christians.

At the same time Jesus' agony before his arrest was a well known fact to his early followers. Thus the early Christians could not omit it from the tradition about Jesus. However, it was not an encouraging fact either for the Christian preaching, or for those who suffered persecution. Consequently, one of the agony narratives (Mark's source B) was combined in an early stage with Mark's Gethsemane narrative (Mark's source A). Thus, according to ^{the} tradition, Jesus spent his last night in Gethsemane, engaged in agony and in prayer.

(i) Mark 14:32-42.

Both of Mark's sources, A and B, are biographical apophthegmas. The concept, which dominates Mark's narrative A, according to the interpretation of the early Christians, is the $\omega\rho\lambda$ and the saying "The Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of the sinners" (v.41). On this occasion Jesus is in the Garden with his eleven disciples, and he prays at

some distance from them. During the prayer Jesus mentions his and the Father's will. Apparently the two wills are not identical yet. According to the early Christian interpretation, there could be, at least, two alternatives for Jesus' will: first, that the Kingdom should be brought in through him as the Son of God, but not through his sufferings; and, secondly, it may also imply that God should use other means altogether. "Apart from that it is not easy to say just how the precise bearing and meaning of the prayer would have been understood in the earliest stages of tradition."⁽¹⁾

In the narrative B the emphasis is upon the ποτήριον (v.36). Originally the cup is an O.T. symbol of the wrath of God (Isa.51:17, Jer.25:15f; Ps.60:5, 75:9). In Revelation the cup is a symbol for apocalyptic plagues (Rev.10:14, 16:19, 18:6). Mark's narrative B reports that Jesus prayed at some distance from the head disciples, Peter, James and John in a dreadful mood, περιλυτός ἐβλεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου (v.34). This scene contrasts the watchfulness of Jesus and the sleep of the disciples.

(ii) The Binding of Isaac.

Finally, one has to make a reference to the binding of Isaac or Akedah in connection with the Gethsemane narrative. Jesus as the Son of God in Mark possesses certain characteristics. For example, at the Baptism he is called ἁγίος (Mk.1:11, cf. also 9:7). As the Son, Jesus possesses also the ἐξουσία and δύναμις to cast out demons, to fight Satan

(1) Barbour, Ibid., p.233.

(Mk.1:24), he can refer to God as Father (Mk.11:25, 13:32), and $\alpha\beta\beta\lambda\acute{o}\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ (Mk.14:36) in Gethsemane. However, as the Son of God Jesus has also to die (Mk.12:1-9, 14:32-42).

The second individual, whom the Biblical tradition describes as $\delta\gamma\alpha\mu\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, is Isaac (Gen.22:2, 12:16). However, $\delta\gamma\alpha\mu\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ as related to Isaac can mean also "only", ⁽¹⁾ the only son. In the N.T. and the post-biblical literature Isaac is often compared with Christ, "Christ was seen as the new Isaac!" ⁽²⁾ (Cf. also Hebr.11:17-19, where the sparing of Isaac is a type of resurrection.

First century Judaism has been very much concerned with Akedah or the binding of Isaac. In Rabbinical teaching:

The Binding of Isaac was thought to have played a unique role to the whole economy of the salvation of Israel, and to have a permanent redemptive effect on behalf of its people. The merits of this sacrifice were experiences of the chosen people in the past, invoked in the present, and hoped for at the end of time. ⁽³⁾

The earlier tradition of Judaism associated Akedah with Passover.

The writings, which are mostly concerned with Akedah are as follows: Josephus Ant.I ..., IV Macc XIII, XVI, Ps-Philo, Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum XVIII, XXXII. ⁽⁴⁾

(1) Best, The Temptation and the Passion, p.170 commenting on C. H. Turner, J.T.S., XXVII (1926), 113-29.

(2) Ibid., p.170.

(3) Ibid., p.171 commenting on Vermes Scripture and Tradition in Judaism, 208.

(4) Ibid.

In these writings Isaac is described as a "willing victim" bound for sacrifice. It is a redemptive sacrifice.

If Mark looks upon Jesus as the New Isaac, then, according to the Gethsemane narrative (Mk.14:32-42), Jesus is "an obedient ... son who goes willingly to his death like Isaac, and whose death is a sacrifice for the sins of men."⁽¹⁾

(iii) Matthew 26:36-46.

Matthew's setting for Jesus' lonely prayer follows a well known O.T. pattern. It is the story of Abraham and Isaac (Gen.22). One has to remember here also Moses on Mt. Sinai and the High Priest, who always enters the Holy of Holies quite alone.⁽²⁾ "Die innige Verflechtung von Opfer und Gebet, an die besonders die Geschichte von Isaacs Opferung erinnert scheint uns hier aber besonders wichtig zu sein."⁽³⁾

An essential characteristic of Abraham's crisis is that he stands alone before God. The same happens to Jesus in the Garden. "Es ist ebenso tief in der Sache begründet, dass an der unmittelbaren Schwelle des Leidens und Sterbens Jesu das Gebet steht, mit dem er sich ganz allein in den Willen Gottes hineinbetet."⁽⁴⁾ Thus, one can say that through prayer and loneliness Jesus achieves that obedience, which is identical with the will of God in relation to the betrayal of Jesus as the Son of Man.

(1) Ibid., p.172.

(2) Lescow, Ibid., p.153.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

The attitude of the disciples, especially Peter, can be compared with Abraham's attitude towards God (Gen.22). When God called Abraham, he always answered: "Here I am", ^Ἰ_ἰ (Gen.22:11). This means that Abraham's relation to God is a unique one, ⁽¹⁾ and there is always an answer, when God calls.

In a similar manner, Jesus also comes three times to the disciples and calls to them "to watch" (vv. 40,43,45). However, there is no answer, the disciples are sleeping. This means that they have no relationship with Jesus any more. They are in the power of ^{the} ΠΕΛΑΓΟΥΣ of the Evil One. At the very beginning Jesus knows the meaning of the sleep of his disciples - the ^{ὥρα} is approaching. At the end Jesus cries out, "Behold the hour is at hand" (v.45), "das so deutlich an das Wort der Verkündigung anklingt 'Genäht ist das Himmelreich!' Das bedeutet wohl, dass in dieser Stunde des Verrates auch das Nahen des Himmelreiches spürbar ist mit dem Nahen des Verrates, ... auch Gott näht, der das Himmelreich bringt." ⁽²⁾ Thus Gethsemane is in Jesus' life and experience of the hour of Satan and the hour of God.

(iv) Luke 22:39-45.

After the Temptation in the wilderness it is reported that the Devil "departed from him until an opportune time" (Lk.4:3). In chapter 22 Luke again makes many references to Satan. "Satan entered into Judas called Iscariot" (v.3), "Simon ... Satan demanded to have you" (v.31), "you are these who have continued with me in my trials" (v.28), and

(1) Ibid., p.155.

(2) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.362.

the $\lambda\gamma\omega\rho\iota\lambda$ in the Garden witness to diabolic forces active behind the scene (vv. 43, 44).⁽¹⁾

(v) John 12:20-36.

In this section of John one can trace the synoptic Gethsemane narrative only in an altered form. Jesus' lonely prayer to Abba takes place in the context of a crowd, or the Greeks. God's answer. the crowd does not understand. They suppose it is only thunder (v.29) or the voice of an angel.

Jesus' teaching about the $\omega\rho\iota\lambda$ of the Son of Man and discipleship dominates this passage. The glorification of the Son of Man (v.23) is the judgement of this world (v.31). The disciple should hate his life in order to keep it (vv. 24, 25). The disciples are not the Twelve, it is the world at large to whom Jesus speaks. At the same time, there is no mission of the disciples in John. The divine glory of the Son of Man as revealed in his suffering John parallels with the disciples' experience that dying as a grain, means to bear much fruit (v.24).

The $\omega\rho\iota\lambda$ is crisis, because the light will be with the disciples only a little longer, "thus walk while you have light" (v.35). For John the cosmic struggle between God and Evil does not take place at Gethsemane. It "is ... associated with the exaltation of the Son of Man on the Cross and at the Ascension."⁽²⁾

(1) Cf. on Luke. Chapter two. of this work.

(2) Barbour, Ibid., p.241.

The passage in John 12:27-30 corresponds to the synoptic Gethsemane narrative (Mk.14:32-42 and par) more closely. In John's Gethsemane there is no agony. The main emphasis here is on the obedience of Jesus to the Father. Complete obedience to the will of the Father is $\delta\omicron\varsigma\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\upsilon$ of the Father. In the Gospel of John glorification of the Father is the guiding principle of Jesus' life. Thus "the 'hour' of suffering and death finds Jesus prepared, because he has lived for no other purpose than the complete offering of himself to God."⁽¹⁾

(1) C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, SPCK, London, 1970, p.351.

E. Crucifixion as Self-Exorcism.

I. Introduction

The treatment of the Passion Narrative by the Synoptics constitutes a first century apology directed to the first century man. It seems to justify the fact that Jesus on the cross showed no sign to disclose his true identity. He died outwardly as a condemned criminal. Crucifixion was repulsion for the Romans and a curse for the Jews. The apology as it is presented by the Synoptics satisfied the first century reader. However, does this first century apology satisfy also the twentieth century Christian reader? This is the question, which has to be answered and solved. Mark was written circa A.D.70, and this was the final time limit for the first century Christians, i.e., they lived in a world governed by certain laws, attitudes and interpretation of existence. The twentieth century world was for the first century Christians an unborn future, which they could not imagine even in their dreams. Thus they interpreted Jesus' Passion from the perspective of their time. It is the best interpretation, which could be left to the future ages by the first century Christian faith and mind. But one has to consider also the fact that the distance of human development between the first century Christian reader and the twentieth century reader of the gospel is about 2000 years. Consequently, a traditional first century apology would not satisfy a twentieth century reader. A twentieth century Christian reader does not need

a tradition, he needs a living biblical word, which would be meaningful for the twentieth century perspective of man's existence and also meaningful for the wide horizons of our universe.

II. Opposition to Jesus.

During his mission Jesus had to experience great opposition by Satanic powers.

1. Pharisees, Scribes, Herodians.

The demonic opposition to Jesus is not only characteristic for the demons in the exorcism narratives, but it is demonstrated also by the Pharisees, the Scribes, the Herodians, and even by the disciples. Consequently, there are some common traits in the exorcism narratives and in the attitude of the scoffers and opponents towards Jesus.

Messiahship is one dimension of Jesus' real identity. This identity must be kept secret, not because Jesus wishes to evade his destiny, but in order that he might suffer at the hands of the leadership (elders, chief priests and scribes) at the appropriate time.⁽¹⁾ This identity cannot be "exposed" openly, because an open revelation of Jesus "as the Son of God will be his death warrant".⁽²⁾ It would mean an intensified demonic attack and an attempt to kill Jesus.

There are passages in the Gospels, which will help to clarify the relationship between Jesus' true identity and the demonic opposition to it. These passages are as

(1) F.W. Danker, "The Demonic Secret in Mark 15:34", ZNW, 61 (1970), p.67.

(2) Ibid., p.62.

indicated: the Beelzebul controversy (Mk.3:22-30 and par., 8:11; 10:2; 12:13-17), and Caesarea Philippi (Mr.8:27-33 and par.). The verb $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ is present in the following verses: Mk.8:11, 10:2, and 12:15. The least explicit instance is Mk.10:2. Here only the two words, $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ and Pharisees, indicate that the Pharisees have come to Jesus again with some evil purpose, either to discredit or to destroy him. (Cf. Mk.3:6). The next passage (Mk.8:11-12, Mt.16:1-4; Lk.11:29) is characterised also by $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ and by a request for a sign. Matthew adds to the "Pharisees" also "Sadducees" in his more elaborated version of the same request for a sign.

According to the O.T. tradition (Gen.7:1, Ps.77:8, 94:10), $\eta\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\epsilon\iota\tau\eta$ of this passage (Mk.8:11-12) is identical with $\eta\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}$, i.e., with wicked men who are requesting ^{for} a sign. Contemporary thought assumes that to the wickedness of $\eta\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\epsilon\iota\tau\eta$ the "leaven of the Pharisees" of the following passage (Mk.8:13-21, Mt.16:4-12) adds demonic colouring. (1) "The leaven of the Pharisees is a kind of blindness." (2) Further, one may note that there are "three categories of sick people infested by demons ... blind, deaf and dumb." (3) Thus one may conclude that the Pharisees themselves are under suspicion of being in league with the demons.

According to Mark, the Scribes from Jerusalem are especially hostile towards Jesus. They charge him that

(1) Ibid., p.64.

(2) Ibid.

(3) S. Eitrem, Some Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament, Oslo, 1950, p.13.

Βεεζεβοὺς ἔχει (Mk.3:22 and par). They mock him at the cross (Mk.15:31 and par.), They are mentioned in two of the three passion predictions (Mk.8:31, 10:33 and par.) "As official interpreters of the Law they would be experts in discrimination of the righteous from the lawless, and would consider themselves qualified to pronounce on Jesus' relation to the demoniacs."⁽¹⁾

The expression ἔχει δαλμόνιον can have two meanings: (a) that the particular person is possessed by a demon, (b) that the particular person exercises control over a demon. During the time of Jesus' possession by a demon was not a reason for punishment, but to exercise control over some demon for magical purposes was a punishable deed. In relation to Jesus the Gospels use ἔχει δαλμόνιον in the first sense, in John 7:20, 8:48, 49:52, 10:20, i.e., that Jesus is possessed by a demon. However, Mark 3:22 "means ... that Jesus is accused of being a magician whose ... magical practices has obtained control of Beelzebub and makes him do his bidding even when this is to Beelzebub's own disadvantage."⁽²⁾ The same was said before also about John the Baptist, δαλμόνιον ἔχει (Mt.11:18, Lk.7:33).

The demonic emphasis appears also in the passage about taxes payable to Caesar (Mk.12:13-17; Mt.22:15-22; Lk.20:20-26). The Pharisees and the Herodians behave here like the demons in the exorcism narratives. They come with an evil intention to "entrap" Jesus, but at the same time they acknowledge the greatness of Jesus (Mk.12:14 and par.). In this passage also

(1) Danker, Ibid., p.65.

(2) C. H. Kraeling, "Was Jesus Accused of Necromancy", JBL, LIX (1940), p.154.

the Herodians appear, who are responsible for the Baptist's death, which already at the beginnings of the Gospels indicate the future of Jesus.

2. Jesus' Disciples.

The opposition of Jesus by his disciples is their misunderstanding of Jesus. Thus in the Caesarea Philippi narrative the demonic element is present as misunderstanding, which attacks God's purpose and in connection with this also Jesus as the representative of God's will. In Mark (8:27-34 and par.) Peter confesses that Jesus is the Messiah, "Wobei klar ist, dass Petrus Jesus so schon richtig bezeichnet (vgl. 8:30) und doch zugleich total verkennt, weil er den $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ nicht im Sinne des $\alpha\epsilon\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ von 1:11; 9:7; 15:39 versteht."⁽¹⁾ Peter looks upon $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ as the "royal Messiah of Israel" (cf. 12:35, 15:32).⁽²⁾ Thus Peter's answer is not the revelation of Jesus' true identity, which appears later in the question of the high priest, $\theta\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma\ \delta\ \alpha\epsilon\delta\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (Mk. 14:61 and par.). Jesus orders the disciples to be silent about his identity (Mk. 8:30). The verb, which Jesus uses in relation to the disciples, is $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$ Jesus $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$ his disciples, because anyone, who would reveal his true identity before the time, would strengthen Satan's intention to destroy Jesus and the outcome of God's war.

Jesus reveals to the disciples also his destiny from God's point of view (Mk. 8:31 and par.). According to the

(1) J. Schreiber, "Die Christologie des Markus Evangeliums", ZThk, 58 (1961), pp 163-164.

(2) Danker, Ibid., p.63.

eschatological $\delta\epsilon\iota$, the Son of Man must suffer. Now Peter $\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\lambda\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ Jesus. To Peter's command Jesus (answers, $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \delta\pi\acute{\iota}\omega\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \epsilon\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma\acute{\alpha}$ (Mk.8:33 and par.). Jesus says this to Peter, because Peter's "confession of Jesus as $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ lacks the fundamental understanding that divine sonship is not to be qualified by traditional views of Messiahship, but ... Messiahship is to be measured by sonship, and this means also acceptance of the consequences of engaging in mortal combat with demonic forces." (1)

The investigation of Marcan exorcism stories shows that the translation of $\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\lambda\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ with "to rebuke" or "to exorcise" does not render the real meaning of the verb as used in apocalyptic Judaism. The meaning of $\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\lambda\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ equals "the word of command by which God's agent defeats his enemies, thus preparing for the coming of God's kingdom." (2) Besides this one has to note that the exorcism narratives are not concerned with medical cures, but that they are manifestations of the battle between God and Satan. The demon $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \delta\pi\acute{\iota}\omega\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \epsilon\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma\acute{\alpha}$... $\varphi\omega\rho\eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ (Mk.1:26).

3. The High Priest.

Biblical scholarship indicates also that Mark "is not completely satisfied with the doctrine that the humiliation of the Messiah is the appointed means to his future triumph". (3) Consequently, Mark presents passages, where the truth is revealed that Jesus is the Son of Man and the Son of God

(1) Danker, Ibid., p.64.

(2) H. C. Kee, "The Terminology of Mark's Exorcism", NTS, 14 (1967-68), p.244.

(3) J. A. Burkill, "The Hidden Son of Man in St. Mark's Gospel", ZNW, 52 (1961), p.196.

(Mk.9:2-8 and par. cf. also 11:1-10 and par., 14:3-9 and par.). "In Mark 14:62 there is actually a disclosure of the Son of Man outside the circle of the initiated",⁽¹⁾ but also the time has come for Jesus to face his destiny. Thus the high priest utters the secret, which until now only the demons tried to betray, ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Mk.3:11), ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ (Mk.14:61). According to Mark, this could mean only one thing, namely, that the high priest is an associate of the demonic forces, who attack Jesus.

III. The Climax of the Opposition to Jesus.

The climax of the opposition to Jesus is his condemnation and crucifixion. A short outline of the charge against Jesus follows.

1. Reasons for Jesus' Condemnation.

According to the chief priests, the scribes and the elders, who judged Jesus from a religious point of view, Jesus had committed, at least, three cardinal crimes: (a) Jesus is guilty of blasphemy, because as ^{the} Son of Man he claims the prerogative of God (Mk.14:62 and par.; cf. Mk.2:7, 10 and par.), (b) he is charged with false prophesy, and (c) his name is associated with magic; cf. the sayings about rebuilding of the Temple (Mk.14:58; 15:29 and par.).

(a) Blasphemy.

In relation to his true identity Jesus makes a paradoxical claim, Ἐγὼ εἶμι (Mk.14:62^a and par.). Ἐγὼ εἶμι is an ambiguous term for the first century world. It is related by

(1) Ibid.

the Hebrews to God, Yahweh, but it is related by ^{the} Gentiles also to demons.

(i) Ἐγὼ εἶμι and the Demonic World.

In the ancient world magicians and sorcerers identified themselves with powerful gods. According to their beliefs, such an association enabled them to overcome demons. A good example of this custom is a fourth century A.D. London magical papyrus. The text of this papyrus uses the biblical phrase "Ἐγὼ εἶμι" repeatedly:

Ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ἀκέφαλος δαίμων,
 ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἔχω τὴν ὄρατον,
 ἰεχνρός, τὸ πᾶρ τὸ ἀνάνατον.
 Ἐγὼ εἶμι ἡ ἀλήθεια ὁ μελῶν
 ἀδικήματα γένεσθαι ἐν τῷ
 κόσμῳ. Ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ἀστράπτων

[magic words inserted here]

καὶ βροντῶν. Ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ
 ἔστιν ὁ ἰδρῶς ὁμβρος ἐπιπέ-
 πτων ἐπὶ τῆν γῆν ἐν ὀχεύῃ.
 Ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ τὸ στόμα καίεται
 δι' ὅλον. Ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ γεννῶν
 καὶ ἀπογεννῶν. Ἐγὼ εἶμι ἡ
 χεὶρ τοῦ αἰῶνος.

There are expressed opinions that "the verb here means destroy",⁽²⁾ i.e., in the sentence "ὁ γεννῶν καὶ ἀπογεννῶν." The idea that Ἐγὼ εἶμι is an expression of demonic self-designation for the world of Jesus is supported also by other

(1) A. Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, Hodder and Stroughton, London, 1911, p.139.

(2) H. Diels, letter, Berlin W., July 22, 1908.

scholars.⁽¹⁾ Thus it remains significant to note that $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$ occurs in a magical text.

(ii) $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$ and the Biblical Tradition.

In the O.T. $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$ is related by Isaiah to Yahweh, who is also the Lord (Isa.41:4, 43:10, 45:18, 46:4, 48:12, 51:12, 52:6). The impression which Jesus makes upon the high priest and the whole council with his claim is illustrated in an illuminative manner by John: "The Jews answered him, "We stone you for no good work but for blasphemy, because you, being a man, make yourself God" (Jn.10:33). Such ^{an} arrogance is blasphemy. The $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$ of Mark is a literal translation of Hebrew, $\chi\ \gamma\ \eta\eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\ \eta\chi$. Thus Jesus has expressed a blasphemy in the technical O.T. sense (Lev.XXIV:16).⁽²⁾ It is the highest degree of blasphemy for which the punishment is death: "He who blasphemes the name of the Lord shall be put to death" (Lev.24:16). One can find the same attitude also in Ezekiel: "Because ... you have said, I am a God, ... you shall die the death of the uncircumcised" (Ezek.28:2,10).

The blasphemy charge is presented only by Mark and Matthew. In this particular passage neither Luke nor John refers to blasphemy (Lk.23:66-71; Jn.18:19-24). Matthew and Luke paraphrase the $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$ statement, $\epsilon\acute{\nu}\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\alpha\varsigma$ (Mt.26:64) and $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\tau\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$ (Lk.22:70). One may note also that the blasphemy charge in Mark and Matthew does not follow directly after Jesus' $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$ statement, but after the lofty statement about the Son of Man's

(1) Danker, Ibid., p.54.

(2) O. Linton, "The Trial of Jesus and the Interpretation of Psalm CX", NTS, 7 (1960-61), p.259.

coming with the clouds of heaven (Mk.14:62; Mt.27:69). Only after this verse the high priest "tore his robes and said, 'He has uttered blasphemy'". In connection with this problem opinions are expressed that the blasphemy charge is "not a blasphemy in the technical sense"⁽¹⁾ of the first century Jewish interpretation of this word. "Blasphemy [from the Jewish point of view] is an attack on the credo of the daily Jewish confession in the Shema: 'Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord'." (Deut.4:35).⁽²⁾

Mark 14:62^b is a combination of two O.T. passages, Daniel VII 13 and Psalm CX 1. "Psalm CX is ... the locus classicus for the exaltation of Christ to heaven."⁽³⁾ One can interpret the first verse of Psalms CX: "The Lord said unto my Lord: sit thou at my right hand," from a figurative and from a literal point of view. The different interpretations would change the meaning of the "thou". For the early Christians God was transcendent, and it meant that he was in heaven. He could reach men only through Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit. From the first century Jewish point of view God was also transcendent, but he could be present also among pious Israelites, in the presentation of his word, in the Law, and in ^{the} studies of the Law.⁽⁴⁾ The statement that someone is sitting at the right hand of God from the Jewish point of view could mean simply that someone is zealous for the cause of God. This statement would not indicate that the particular person is in heaven. If the sitting at the right hand of God of the "thou" is a figurative expression, then any person, who is zealous for God, may sit

(1) Ibid., p.261.

(2) Ibid., p.259.

(3) Ibid., p.260.

(4) Ibid.

at his right hand. However, if it is a literal expression, then the sitting can be only in heaven. Then the "thou" would be in heaven. This would be a blasphemy, not a "blasphemy" in the technical sense, but in the sense of intruding on God's special privileges.⁽¹⁾ This is the reason why in Mark and Matthew the blasphemy charge is not placed directly after $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda$, but after the statement that "the Son of Man is sitting at the right hand of the Power" (Mk.14:64 and par.).

(b) Magic and False Prophecy.

"By employing this expression [$\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda$] in his recital of the trial Mark is able to display the ambiguity in Jesus' identity. As the Son of God he is entitled to self-designation, but the chief priest uses the confession as an opportunity to confirm the earlier charge that Jesus was allied with Beelzebul (Mk.3:22) [and that he was allied with a demon], (Jn.8:48)."⁽²⁾ The second charge against Jesus is the slander that he will use magic in order to build a new temple in three days (Mk.14:58, Mt.27:6). "There is a close connection between this charge and the declaration about the Son of Man (v.62) for the question of Jesus' role as a false prophet is raised."⁽³⁾ Jesus, who always warned about false Messiahs, is now charged as being himself a false Messiah.

Charges two and three are related to Mark 13, especially to vv 2, 6, 22.⁽⁴⁾ The statement that Jesus "will destroy this temple ..., and ... will build another" (Mk.14:58,

(1) Ibid., pp261.

(2) Danker, Ibid., p.54.

(3) Ibid., p.55.

(4) Ibid.

Mt.27;61) may refer to "die von Jesus [Mark] 13:2 getane
"Ausserung über die baldige Zerstreung des Tempels." (1)

However, that "er soll das nur seinen Jüngern gegenüber getan
haben.... das seheint eine Abschwächung zu sein ...

[wahrscheinlich] sind da doch auch andere Zeugen zugegen
gewesen." (2) Mark 13:6 states that there will appear many
false Messiahs, who will say, "ΕΥΩ ΕΙΜΙ", and will lead men
astray. Mark 13:22 associates false prophets and false
Messiahs with signs and wonders.

There are quite a number of indications in the O.T. that
magicians and false prophets are punishable with death.
Sorcerers are doomed to die (Ex.22:18). Mediums and wizards
defile men (Lev.19:3). False prophets shall be put to death
(Deutr.13:1-5), and all false prophets will be removed from
the land (Zech.13:2). Charged with blasphemy, magic and
false prophecy Jesus could not escape the death penalty
required for such transgressions.

2. Mockery.

During the crucifixion Jesus' enemies use mockery in
order to attack and overpower Jesus.

(a) The Method of Mockery.

In the scoffers of Jesus and the sign seekers Satan has
found his tools. The method, which they use, is ridicule.
From a human point of view frustrated people usually employ
ridicule as their final means of attack, when they understand
that it is not in their power to injure someone whom they

(1) J. Wellhausen, Das Evangelium Marci, Verlag von Georg
Reimer, Berlin, 1909, p.128.

(2) Ibid., p.99.

hate or fear. This ridicule, which is called mockery in the N.T., had to afflict Jesus in his most sensitive inner spot, namely, the outward manifestation of his identity. Thus "they challenge Jesus to display his credentials by descending from the cross."⁽¹⁾ The scoffers challenged Jesus also before the cross, requiring that Jesus would manifest himself as the Messiah and the Son of God, thus preventing the crucifixion. However, all the time since Caesarea Philippi (Mk.8:31 and par.) Jesus is under the obligation of the eschatological "must" or $\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda$, the Son of Man must suffer, must be rejected, must be crucified, etc. Any miraculous manifestation of Jesus' credentials would mean the destruction of God's plan, God's power, and would mean the victory of Satan in the battle between God and Satan.

According to the Synoptic Gospels, the mocking episodes alternate with scenes, where Jesus or someone else affirms Jesus' claim $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\lambda\eta\lambda$. In this connection one may consider the following passages: (i) Jesus' identification (Mk.14:61-62, Mt.27:64); (ii) mockery (Mk.14:65, Mt.27:67); (i) indication of Jesus' Kingship (Mk.15:2, 9, 12, Mt.27:11, Lk.23:3); (ii) mockery (Mk.15:16-19, Mt. 27:27-31, Lk. 23:11); (i) the inscription upon the cross (Mk.15:26, Mt.27:37); (ii) mockery at the cross (Mk. 15:27-32, Mt. 27:38-44). In relation to the $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\lambda\eta\lambda$ scene Luke's order is reversed; first comes the mockery (Lk.22:63-64), then the identification, (Lk.22:70). The same is true also in relation to the inscription "This is the King of the Jews," first comes the mockery,

(1) Danker, Ibid., p.50.

(Lk. 23:33-37), then the statement about the inscription (Lk. 23:38). Finally, one has to note the confession of the centurion (Mk. 15:37, Mt. 27:54, Lk. 23:47). In Mark and Matthew the last mockery follows at the cross (Mk. 15:35-36; Mt. 27:47-49).

A specific scene of the mockery is Jesus' crucifixion between the two robbers (Mk. 27:38, Lk. 23:33), to the right and to the left of Jesus. "The 'right' and the 'left' would suggest enthronement."⁽¹⁾ This scene is related to the mocking of Jesus as a King by Pilate's soldiers (Mk. 15:17-19 and par.), and the "enthronement" scene is anticipated also by the desire of the Sons of Zebedee to sit one at Jesus' right hand and the other at Jesus' left hand (Mk. 10:37, Mt. 19:28, Lk. 22:30).

(b) Scripture and Mockery.

The situation of Jesus at the moment, when the high priest tears his robes and exclaims "blasphemy" (Mk. 14:63, Mt. 26:65), is very paradoxical. The first century Christian would have faith in Jesus ^{ΕΥΩ} ^{ΕΙΜΕ}, believing that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God and that he, as the Son of Man, will return with the clouds of heaven. The charges against Jesus as magician, false prophet, and blasphemer would be rejected from the Christian point of view.

The rejection of these charges could easily be supported by Scriptural evidence. The Scripture in this case is the Wisdom of Solomon (cf. Ch. 2, 11-16). In this connection one may consider the following verse: ^{ΕΙ} ^{ΥΛΕ} ^{ΕΓΓΛΥ} ^Ο
^Σ ^Κ ^Α ^Λ ^Ο ^Σ, ^Ν ^Ε ^Ο ^Σ ^Ν ^Ε ^Ο ^Ν, ^Δ ^Υ ^Τ ^Ε ^Λ ^Η ^Μ ^Ψ ^Ε ^Τ ^Ε ^Τ ^Ε ^Λ ^Δ ^Υ ^Τ ^Ο ^Ν

(1) Danker, Ibid., p.49.

καὶ φησὶ βεβαίως ἐκ
 χελῶν ἀνέβη - (2:18).
 -κόττω

The echo of this attitude one may find also in Psalm 22:8: "He committed his cause to the Lord; let him deliver him, let him rescue him, for he delights in him." Consider also Matthew 27:43: "He trusts in God; let God deliver him now, if he desires him, for he said 'I am the Son of God'." One may refer in this connection also to Mark 15:29f.: "And those who passed by derided him ... 'save yourself and come down from the cross'."

IV. Jesus' Death as Self-Exorcism.

The Beelzebul controversy (Mk.3:22-34 and par.) is closely related to the crucifixion scene, when one considers the inner motives of these two events. During the controversy Jesus is charged that Βεεζεβούλ ἔχει (Mk.3:22, Mt.12:24, Lk.11:15-22, 15:22). This charge is rejected by Jesus in the same narrative: "Whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit never has forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin, for they had said, 'He has an unclean spirit'" (Mk.3:29-30 and par.). However, Mark does not indicate here that Jesus is exorcising demons with the help of the Spirit, consequently, contradictory opinions are expressed: "Das Logion von der Geisteslästerung gehört überhaupt nicht hierher und hat mit der Dämonen-austreibung dem Sinne nach gar nichts zutun"⁽¹⁾ (cf. Mt.12:27-28, Lk.11:19-20).

During the crucifixion scene Jesus is repeatedly mocked. The scoffers are demanding a sign that Jesus would come down from the cross unharmed. Only this would be for them a

(1) H. Leisegang, Pneuma Hagion, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1922, p.99.

reasonable assurance that Jesus' $\epsilon\gamma\omega\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ is true and that he is not a blasphemer, a false prophet, or a magician. However, from God's point of view, a visible demonstration of Jesus' divine sonship would destroy the eschatological $\delta\epsilon\lambda$ (Mk.8:31 and par.), which requires that the Son of Man must suffer. Considering the contradiction between men's and God's point of view in relation to Jesus' crucifixion, any demand for a sign for the evangelists, at least, for Mark, would be a demonic inspiration, an intention to oppose God's will. Thus, in fact, the opponents of Jesus are possessed by Satan, but not Jesus. The truth about Jesus in the crucifixion narrative is revealed: (i) by the rending of the temple curtain (Mk.15:38 and par.), which is discussed below, and (ii) by the centurion: "Truly this man was the Son of God" (Mk.15:39 and par.), which is also a verdict upon the scoffers of Jesus. "Thus Mark is able to use the mockery of the opposition to attest that Jesus at the crucifixion is engaged in conflict with a demon and at the same time affirm that the scribes are in fact in league with Satan."⁽¹⁾

For the paradoxical state of Jesus the Scripture provides an explanation: "But at my stumbling they gathered ... against me ... slandered me without ceasing, gnashing at me with their teeth." (Ps.35:15-16, cf. also The Wisdom of Sol.2:17-19). The LXX rendering of these verses use the verbs $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ and $\epsilon\kappa\mu\omicron\kappa\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$. $\epsilon\kappa\mu\omicron\kappa\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ appears also in the gospel narrative in relation to mocking of Jesus (Lk.16:14, 23:35). Mark and Matthew use the verb $\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ in relation to mocking (Mk.15:20, Mt.20:19, etc.).

(1) Danker, Ibid., p.57.

What happens to Jesus on the cross between his two cries of dereliction (Mk.15:34,37; Mt.27:46,50, cf.Lk.23:46, he has only one modified cry) is self-exorcism. "The fact that this would be the only recorded case of self-exorcism is no argument against the view taken here. Mark's Jesus is the Son of God, and the uniqueness of Jesus' encounter with the cosmic powers is part of the portrait he presents." (1)

The possibility of Jesus' self-resurrection is indicated in John 10:18: $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\theta\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\upsilon\ \lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\ \lambda\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\upsilon\ \chi\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\acute{\eta}\rho\iota$. (2)

According to the traditional N.T. view, Satan is opposing Jesus since the Temptation not only personally, but also through his associates, the demons and Pharisees, (3) scribes etc., who during Jesus' last conscious moments on the cross encircle the helpless crucified, pressing themselves closer and closer towards the cross, shouting and whispering, and blaspheming Jesus, while asking all the time for a sign. During the sixth hour the darkness falls (Mk.15:38 and par.), which increases the demonic power to act.

Already the first cry of Jesus on the cross (Mk15:34 and par, cf. Ps.22:1, Mt.27:46), according to Mark's interpretation, and due to the misunderstanding of Jesus' words by those, who stood near the cross, is an expression of total loneliness and helplessness. However, modern scholarship presents a different attitude in relation to the first cry. Jesus utters on the cross a cry in Hebrew: אלי גאלי , "Thou art my God", while the witnesses near the cross, who

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) The Pharisees are not mentioned directly during the Passion, but at the same time they belonged to the Sanhedrin.

mostly converse in Aramaic, misinterpret this cry from an Aramaic point of view. They understand Jesus' cry as $\chi \rho \iota \varsigma$ $\chi \rho \iota \varsigma$, which is an Aramaic expression for "Elijah come", "Ein solches Missverständnis lag auch um so viel näher weil man ja die Wiederkunft des Elias in Verbindung mit der Erscheinung des Messias erwartete." (1)

Consequently, one may assume that the original text (Mk.15:34) is as indicated: $\eta \lambda \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \nu \alpha$, $\theta \epsilon \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \nu \mu \epsilon \nu \epsilon \rho \mu \eta \nu \epsilon \nu \theta \acute{\omicron} \mu \epsilon \nu \omicron \nu \theta \epsilon \acute{\omicron} \varsigma \mu \omicron \theta \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \nu$. (2) The original form of Jesus' cry on the cross is an expression characteristic for the Psalms (Ps.16:2, 22:10, 63:1, 118:28, 140:7). The original form of Jesus' cry has been later modified under the influence of Psalm 22. (3)

Utter loneliness from the contemporary point of view of Jesus' day would be an indication that Jesus is forsaken by God and that he is guilty. Utter helplessness is a state, which heightens the demonic power to kill. The sudden darkness adds dynamic to this intention, while Satan and his representatives encircle completely the lonely Jesus on the cross. One may assume that the shadow of demonic possession is cast upon Jesus at this moment. "Mark's crucifixion recital does indeed grant that Jesus in a sense had a $\pi \nu \epsilon \nu \theta \mu \alpha$ $\lambda \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$, but not as a personal characteristic, as alleged at 3:22." (4) The final mockery intervenes, and then, $\theta \epsilon \acute{\omicron} \delta \epsilon \text{ } \text{I} \eta \varsigma \omicron \upsilon \varsigma \lambda \omicron \varphi \epsilon \iota \varsigma \varphi \omega \nu \eta \nu \mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda \eta \nu \epsilon \xi \acute{\epsilon} \pi \nu \epsilon \nu \theta \epsilon \nu$ (Mk.15:37). The final cry is to be understood in a sense as

(1) H. Sahlin, "Zum Verständnis von Drei Stellen des Markus-Evangeliums," Biblica, XXXIII (1952), p.64.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., p.63.

(4) Danker, Ibid., p.67.

related to Mark 9:26, καὶ κρῖξ αὐς καὶ πολλὰ
 ἑξαπέξ αὐς ἐξῆλθεν· καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ ὄψελ
 νεκρὸς. "Jesus as the victim of demonic possession
 struggled fiercely with the demon, but Jesus ... expels
 the demon with a final cry. This exorcism cost Jesus his
 life." (1)

The Synoptic Gospels do not indicate that Jesus died
 on the cross. They do not use the verb ἔτελλεν. They
 state that: Ἰησοῦς... ἐξέπνευθεν (Mk. 15:37), Ἰησοῦς
 ... ἐφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα (Mt. 27:50), and Ἰησοῦς...
 ἐξέπνευθεν (Lk. 23:46). "Evidently the tradition strongly
 affirmed the victorious nature of Jesus' last moments." (2)
 Consequently, the evangelists do not emphasize death, but
 πνεῦμα in connection with Jesus' end on the cross.

1. Signs Following the ἐξέπνευθεν

After Jesus had "breathed his last" the curtain in the
 temple was torn in two parts from the top to the bottom
 (Mk. 15:38, Mt. 27:51, Lk. 23:45). This happening is a sign.
 This sign is the answer to Jesus' scoffers. It is not
 ambiguous, it can mean only one thing, namely, judgement.
 The religious system, which judged Jesus, is condemned. "So
 trauert hier der Tempel, in dem er sein Kleid zerreisst,
 wegen des Todes Jesu. Nach dem Klementinischen Recognitionen
 (1:14) trauert er über seinen eigenen nun besiegelten
 Untergang, oder über den Untergang der ganzen Stadt:
lamentans excidium loco imminens." (3)

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.68.

(3) J. Wellhausen, Ibid., p.132.

Then follows the final and the most important sign, the pronouncement of the centurion: $\delta\lambda\eta\lambda\omega\varsigma \delta\epsilon\iota\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \delta\epsilon\iota\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\nu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma \delta\epsilon\iota\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (Mk.15:39 and par.). This is a scene similar to Jesus' baptism, when heavens are $\epsilon\chi\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and the $\varphi\omega\nu\eta$ says: $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \delta\epsilon\iota\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (Mk.1:11 and par.) During the baptism the heavens are opened, while during the pronouncement of the centurion the curtain of the temple is opened. For Jesus' final cry Matthew uses the form $\kappa\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (Mt.27:50). The verb $\kappa\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\omega$ is used in connection with exorcisms (Mk3:11, 5:5, 9:26 and par., etc.). Since the centurion has no information about the curtain in the temple, it is obvious that $\delta\delta\epsilon\iota\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$... $\kappa\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma \varphi\omega\nu\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha$ (Mt.27:50) is the situation which impresses him. This situation is similar to the exorcism of the dumb demon (Mk.9:25 and par.), $\kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$... $\epsilon\gamma\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. The demon or the overshadowing presence of the demonic possession ^{is} exorcised by Jesus, and the Satanic powers leave Jesus forever with a sound, which the N.T. tradition describes as $\kappa\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.

F. Appendix: Crucifixion from a Medical Perspective.

Crucifixion as punishment was a method invented by the Carthaginians. Romans used it to punish foreign criminals. "Crucifixion ... was torture, barbaric in the extreme, maintained as long as life lasted, which was often to the third day in the case of resistant subjects if left undisturbed."⁽¹⁾ Crucifixion usually took place outside the city walls, because after the crucifixion the victims, if their relatives were not interested to bury their bodies, were left to their own destiny, which was gruesome. The victims were devoured, living or dead, by wild animals, especially wild dogs, which endangered the countryside during the night. Very often birds of prey also attacked them. In case the hanging on the cross had to be interrupted by the approaching Sabbath, then the legs of the victims were broken in order that they could not leave the place of punishment. Thus they were taken down from the crosses alive, but they were left with broken legs in the place of crucifixion and devoured by wild animals during the night.

The nailing to the cross happened in the following manner. The nails were not driven through the victims' feet or hands, but through his forearms, between the bones, radius and ulna, and through the bones above his ankles, tibia and fibula. In order to relieve the hands from the weight of one's body sometimes the victims were not nailed to the crosses, but their hands and feet were tied to the cross. Sometimes also little foot platforms or seats were

(1) W. B. Primrose, "Surgeon Looks at the Crucifixion", Hibbert Journal, XLVII (1948-49), p.383.

added to the upright beam of the cross for the same purpose, to relieve the victim's hands or arms from the weight of the body.

The wounds caused by the nailing to the cross, according to modern medicine, ⁽¹⁾ are not dangerous, and they would heal rapidly. Sharp nails were used for crucifixion. These nails caused great pain, but at the same time no real damage with respect to the victim's body. They went easily between the bones of the forearms and legs. The muscles of the forearms and legs are forming tendons. Thus the nails do not do much damage neither to the particular muscles, nor to the particular blood vessels and nerves, because of their anatomical location.

Crucifixion was preceded by scourging. There have been two types of scourging: (1) by "staves or birches", ((2)) by flagrum. The consequence of scourging is a surgical shock. "The shock arising from the use of the staves is due to the severe pain inflicted and develops rapidly as "primary surgical shock." "This, with care and comfort, would pass off in a few hours, ... [shock] produced by the flagrum, ... develops later as secondary surgical shock which is progressive and is so often dangerous to life."⁽²⁾ The gospels do not present any description of the scourging of Jesus, they only state that Jesus was scourged.

Surgical shock can be described as follows. The cause of a surgical shock is "a decrease of blood volume"⁽³⁾ in the human body. The blood volume decreases, when the body

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.384.

(3) S. C. Hy, "Surgery", Encyclopedia Britannica, printed in Great Britain, 1959, vol.21, p.605.

loses blood in large amounts suddenly or in small amounts during a longer period of time. The loss of blood can be either an external phenomenon, or an internal process, and thus not visible to the human eye. Operation pain alone does not cause a surgical shock. The shock can be caused not only by "gross break in the vessels, ... [but also] by severe mechanical injury [scourging], chemical agents, infection or burns."⁽¹⁾ In such cases the capillary vessels become paralysed, and blood fluids leak through the walls of the capillaries into cavities of the body. This process decreases the blood volume in the body, because the peripheral blood circulation is interrupted. The consideration of Jesus' crucifixion will show that blood volume in Jesus' body was decreased by mechanical injury during scourging. The main characteristics of a surgical shock is as indicated: (1) "pallid, cold, and sweating skin", (2) "rapid, thready pulse, which can be ... felt only with difficulty", (3) "a sharply lowered blood pressure".⁽²⁾

During the process of scourging the victim was tied at a whipping post facing the crowd. He was stripped of his clothing. "The use of the flagrum, which was a whip-like instrument, having three chains each with a metal button, produced extensive subcutaneous damage with such bruising giving a bloated appearance to the body later on."⁽³⁾ "In the case of the flagrum, thirteen strokes would be allowed ... if used excessively it might quickly produce collapse from shock and so interfere with the procession to the site of crucifixion."⁽⁴⁾ This type of scourging cut the skin in places,

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Primrose, Ibid., p.384.

(4) Ibid.

where it covered subcutaneous bones. Also inflammation followed of these areas, where the body tissues were damaged. "This inflammatory process is well advanced and is possibly at its height in six to eight hours after scourging."⁽¹⁾

Considering the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth from a modern medical point of view, one may assume that Pilate's surprise reflects historical truth: "And Pilate wondered if he were already dead, and summoning the centurion, he asked him whether he was already dead. And when he learned from the centurion that he [Jesus] was already dead, he granted the body to Joseph" (Mk.15:44-45). Death on the cross for the crucified victim did not come easily, it occurred very often only on the third day. Jesus was crucified during the third hour (Mk.15:25), having been scourged in the morning (Mk.15:15, Mt.27:26, John 19:1). According to the Synoptics, Jesus died on the cross during the ninth hour (Mk.15:34, Mt.27:45, Lk.22:44), i.e., six hours after crucifixion. Thus crucifixion could not be the cause of Jesus' death from a modern medical point of view. Even Jesus' legs were not broken (John 19:33^b).

It is stated in John that Jesus' side was pierced with a spear and that blood and water appeared on Jesus' side (John 19:34). From a medical point of view the spear wound could not be deadly. "Wounds of this kind tend to heal rapidly, and, if there is no septic infection, this one would cease to attract attention in a day or two."⁽²⁾

From a medical point of view Jesus' collapse on the cross followed as a consequence of his scourging in the

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.385.

morning. Jesus collapsed from "the primary surgical shock [which] had, by this time, developed fully and, it was further increased by the nailing to the cross and the setting up of the crucified body in the vertical position, the total shock [primary] was so increased that Jesus collapsed after six hours of crucifixion."⁽¹⁾

Scourging by staves over-stimulates the local blood vessels, especially the very small, capillary vessels. It paralyzes the capillary vessels. Because of this the capillaries do not convey "blood fluids"⁽²⁾ any more and these fluids gather in the lowest part of the abdominal cavity. "The fluid exuded in this way is clear and of pale straw colour, the red cellular part of the blood being retained in the undamaged vascular system."⁽³⁾ Exudation continues for about six hours very rapidly. During this process the body suffers from dehydration, because about "two pints of fluids"⁽⁴⁾ gather in the abdominal cavity. Dehydration is followed by thirst. Jesus said: "I thirst" (John 19:28). According to the rules of blood transfusion, a body can lose only one pint of fluid, otherwise the individual suffers "weakness and collapse."⁽⁵⁾

The process of dehydration has been the cause of Jesus' collapse already on his way to Golgotha, when Simon of Cyrene had to carry Jesus' cross (Mk.15:21), Mt.27:32, Lk.23:26). It caused also the "water" to appear on Jesus'

(1) Ibid., p.386.

(2) Ibid., p.384.

(3) Ibid., p.385.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

side after the spear thrust (John 19:34). The blood mentioned in the same verse could be "only a streaking of redness,"⁽¹⁾ because of the very low blood pressure of Jesus during that time. The "water" is identical with the blood fluids gathered in the abdominal cavity. Thus the spear inflicted a wound apparently in the abdominal region of Jesus. It could not be on Jesus' side, because a spear thrust in thorax could injure lungs, and such an injury could cause instant death.

Consequently, one may state that Jesus collapsed on the cross about six hours after crucifixion. This collapse was caused by the full development of the primary surgical shock and the pain endured by the nailing to the cross. However, those standing near the cross confused Jesus' collapse with death. "The generally accepted appearances of death might not satisfy a medical jurist, who would insist on evidence of completely arrested circulation, and we seem to be faced with the carefully recorded evidence that after the spear-thrust some circulation was still present, since active bleeding and secretions generally stop with the cessation of the heart beat which alone is death."⁽²⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.386.

CHAPTER TWOPARTICULAR EMPHASES IN THE GOSPEL OF LUKE
AND THE CONCEPT OF ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣA. Historical and Theological Reasons for the
Composition of Luke's Gospel.

In A.D. 52 Christianity had already reached Rome and had established itself in some other great centers of the Imperium such as Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, and Corinth.⁽¹⁾ However, during the second part of the Apostolic age Apostolic Christianity was shaken by the destinies of two cities in the Mediterranean world, namely, the burning of the political metropolis, Rome, A.D. 64, and the destruction of the religious metropolis, Jerusalem, A.D. 70.

The succession of these two crises was a fierce test for the faithful. The fires of Rome buried the last important first generation Christians, including Peter and Paul, who died as martyrs. Thus "darkness must have overshadowed the trembling disciples, and a despondency seized them almost as deep as on the evening of the Crucifixion thirty-four years before."⁽²⁾ At the same time the burning of Rome created a new relationship, on the one hand, between Christianity and the Imperium and, on the other, between Christianity and Judaism.

However, the second crisis, the raising of Jerusalem to the ground, which followed shortly afterwards, with Titus

(1) Suetonius reference to Chrestus and the banishment of the Jews from Rome under Claudius Caesar, A.D. 52.

(2) Ph. Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1930, p. 385.

victorious over the Jews, was an even more dramatic event for Apostolic Christianity. Jerusalem was endangered by the war, by famine, and by a civil strife among the many Jewish parties. During the siege the Zealot party "kept up the messianic expectation of the people and hailed every step towards destruction as a step towards deliverance,"⁽¹⁾ although the ground was covered with corpses, and there was more blood than flames in one's sight. The battle tumult created a deafening noise, "no one can conceive ... a more horrible shriek than arose ... during the burning of the temple. The shout of victory ... of the legions sounded through the wailing of the people ... The echo from all the mountains around ... increased the deafening roar."⁽²⁾

The destruction of Jerusalem seemed to be a paralysing blow for Apostolic Christianity, because the expected Parousia did not occur. Thus the inner hope of Christianity was threatened. It seemed to the faithful that the eschatological woes had taken place, at least, from the popular point of view, but the End itself was not in sight. Thus the particular situation of Apostolic Christianity demanded explanation, i.e., the continuous existence of the world after the popular Parousia date-line.

At this point Luke grasped the whole situation of Apostolic Christianity. The situation can be described as danger caused by the outside world, and as danger caused by the delay of the Christian expectation. Thus Luke does two

(1) Ibid., p.394.

(2) Ibid., p.398, in dependence on Josephus Bel. Jud.

things. First, he writes his Gospel as an apology, a defence of Christianity, for the Romans and for the Jews. Secondly, he interprets eschatology in harmony with the Parousia postponement. One may turn now to the investigation of these Lucan characteristics.

I. Apology.

As it was indicated above Luke's apology for the outside reader is twofold: (1) political apology in relation to the Imperium, and (2) apology concerned with Judaism and its relation to the Church or Apostolic Christianity.⁽¹⁾ The following section about the apology covers mainly the material presented in the Gospel. Instances related to apology in the Acts are not discussed here in detail.

1. Political Apology and the Imperium.

After A.D. 70 it was clear that the state had survived the eschatological woes connected with the destruction of Jerusalem.⁽²⁾ It was apparent that the state would continue to exist; and thus its and Christianity's real relationship had to be clarified. Consequently, Luke's political apology "wird mehr oder weniger latent schon im ganzen Evangelium vorbereitet."⁽³⁾ In this connection one has to refer to Luke 4:18-19, which is an outline of Jesus' Messianic program and duties. Further, three names have to be mentioned: (a) John the Baptist, (b) Herod Antipas, and (c) Jesus.

(a) John the Baptist.

According to Luke, John preached loyalty to the state.

(1) Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, J.C.B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1960, pp 128 and 135.

(2) Ibid., p.129.

(3) Ibid.

In Luke 3:13-14 John is referring to the Imperium from the state legislation and the military point of view, i.e., he admonishes tax-collectors and soldiers to live an honest life.

"The reference to these two classes shows how wide and far reaching was the appeal of the desert prophet - he exacted pledges against rapacity, extortion, and blackmail."⁽¹⁾

The tax-collectors and the soldiers have to know the exact limit of the maxim "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's." It means, "Collect no more than is appointed you", (v.13) for the tax-collectors. The soldiers have to follow a similar standard, "Rob no one by violence ... and be content with your wages (v.14). "Renounce your besetting sin,"⁽²⁾ which is greed, repent, only thus you can become truly loyal to the Imperium.

(b) Herod Antipas.

Luke 9:7-9 indicates that Herod Antipas, hearing about Jesus' mighty deeds, tries to see Jesus. Herod's conscience is troubled, because he fears that Jesus could be John the Baptist risen from the dead, or even that he could be Elijah. However, from the Synoptic presentation of Jesus one might gain the impression that Jesus has been just the opposite of John, a friend of tax-collectors and sinners, full of grace and compassion, a glutton, etc. Thus "a man [Jesus] who could be confused with Elijah and John the Baptist must have a mighty vein of granite in his character."⁽³⁾

(1) W. Manson, The Gospel of Luke, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1930, p.28.

(2) G. B. Caird, Saint Luke, Penguin, 1971, p.73.

(3) Ibid., p.126.

According to Luke, Herod actually meets Jesus much later, i.e., during the Passion week Trial, Luke 23:8-11. In all probability Luke was acquainted with a tradition that Pilate sent Jesus to Herod.⁽¹⁾ This tradition is reflected also in Acts 4:26, which presents the treatment of Jesus by Herod and Pilate as the fulfilment of Psalm 2:2 : "The Kings of the earth set themselves in array, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against his Anointed." Both passages indicate that Herod simply wanted to see (ἵδεναι) Jesus, Luke 7:9; and when he saw (εἶδεν) him, Luke 23:8, Herod rejoiced: "Sehen deutet auf Mirakel und das Interesse hiefür".⁽²⁾ Consequently, Herod's attitude towards Jesus has no political colouring. It is just a personal interest and curiosity on Herod's part to see the miracle worker, Jesus of Nazareth. For possible sources of Luke's information about Herod see Luke 8:3; Acts 13:1.

(c) Jesus.

(1) The Birth Narrative

In the birth stories one may observe a "merging of various traditions which is characteristic for Luke."⁽³⁾ The particular birth story section considered here is Luke 2:1-15. The opening verses, Luke 2:1-5, present Joseph's journey to his ancestral town in order that he and Mary be enrolled. These verses indicate two things, namely, that Joseph rejects the Zealot movement, which opposes the orders and the decrees of the Imperium⁽⁴⁾ i.e., the census and enrolment, and that the

(1) Ibid., p.247.

(2) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.129.

(3) H. Flender, St. Luke, London, SPCK, 1967, p.59.

(4) Ibid., p.57.

sovereignty of the Roman Emperor is thus ... acknowledged."⁽¹⁾

Also the proclamation of the angels is characteristic of the political apology. The concepts indicated below will not be discussed here in detail, whether they are originally more hellenistic or come from the O.T. thought.⁽²⁾ In connection with the angelic proclamation the following phrases have to be noted: *εὐαγγελίζομαι ὑμῶν χάριν μεγάλην* (v.10), *σωτήρ* (v.11), *καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη* (v.14).⁽³⁾ The word *εὐαγγέλιον* has been applied in the Imperium to the "birth announcements, coming of age, and still more [to] the enthronement of the Emperor."⁽⁴⁾ *σωτήρ* also was a well known concept in the Imperial world. Caesar Augustus was known also as *σωτήρ*.⁽⁵⁾ The *εἰρήνη* may recall Vergil's Fourth Eclogue, which describes the birth of a divine child who brings a new era and the peace of paradise to man.⁽⁶⁾ This peace is maintained by "the law and order guaranteed by the Pax Romana".⁽⁷⁾ Thus Luke, using well known concepts, related to peace and to hope in the Imperial world during that time, when the Gospel was written, indicates at the very outset the non-political and peaceful character of the new-born Jesus.

(ii) Events of the Passion Week.

The political apology is emphasized again, "stark hervortritt",⁽⁸⁾ starting with the Passion week: the Entry in Jerusalem, Cleansing of the Temple, Teaching, and the Trial.

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., cf. pp.58-59.

(3) Ibid., p.58.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.68.

In connection with the Entry in Jerusalem Luke omits the reference to David. Instead, Jesus is hailed as the King, who comes in the name of the Lord and brings peace, Luke 19:38. Further, in Luke Jesus does not enter Jerusalem proper before the Last Supper. His goal is the temple (v.45). In the temple "wird der Anspruch der Kirche, das wahre Israel zu sein, fundiert."⁽¹⁾ The cleansing of the Temple is not in Luke an eschatological event. The sequence of the events "ist nicht aus der Benutzung verschiedener Quellen zu erklären, sondern stellt konsequente redaktionelle Gestaltung durch den Verfasser dar."⁽²⁾ In the Temple Jesus interprets his relation to the near Passion, ^{cf.} p.f. Luke 20:9-18, and also the relationship between the Jews, the Temple and the expected Parousia.⁽³⁾ Here belongs also the maxim, a political apology, Luke 20:25 : "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's". This maxim is not a statement that all conflicts with the state are now eliminated, because one has to remember that beside Luke's call for loyalty there are many sayings about persecution and many references to perseverance in his Gospel.

The origin of Jesus political charge is given in Luke 22:20-26, "so they watched him and sent spies, who pretended to be sincere, that they might take hold of what he said" (v.20). The charge itself appears in Luke 23:2, "and they began to accuse him, saying, 'We found this man perverting our nation'," etc. In Luke 20:20 and 23:1 the same company accuses Jesus, i.e., the Scribes and the chief Priests. Thus

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.69.

(3) Ibid., p.71.

it is evident from the comparison of these two verses that the political charge in relation to Jesus is a false one.⁽¹⁾ In fact, Jesus' accusers are themselves in league with the political insurrectionists as Luke 23:18 indicates.⁽²⁾ In Luke 23:23 Pilate justifies Jesus. Consequently, Pilate does not pronounce the death sentence directly in relation to Jesus. One may state that the Passion tradition is taken over from Mark, however, Luke modifies it, according to his apologetical tendencies.⁽³⁾ Luke stresses the "Unschuld des Imperiums, das den unpolitischen character des Evangeliums und Königiums Jesu durchschaut."⁽⁴⁾

2. Apology and Judaism.

The situation of Judaism is described in Luke 24:25: "O men ... slow ... to believe all that the prophets have spoken", cf. also vv. 26-27, Acts 3:18 and 13:46: "It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you [the Jews]. Since you thrust it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold we turn to the Gentiles".⁽⁵⁾

At the same time there are two groups of people within Judaism, cf. Luke 3:7. Already at the beginning of the Gospel the nation as such accepts John the Baptist, only the leaders reject him. Consequently, the situation of the Jews, according to Luke, is well described as follows: "Die Juden sind gerufen, sich nun mehr als 'Israel' zu realisieren. Tun sie das nicht, so werden sie - 'die Juden'".⁽⁶⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., p.131.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid., pp 135-136.

(6) Ibid.

II. An Outline of the Parousia Postponement.

During Luke's time the common Christians of the Mediterranean world could not have been too much interested in apologies composed for the Romans and for the Jews. The common Christians were much more concerned with the exact date of the Parousia. The second coming occupied their minds very much (cf. I Thess.4:15-18, etc.; Mk.14:62). However, when the Parousia did not occur after the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D.70, Luke felt that an explanation of the unexpected postponement was called for.

1. Modern Theology and the Postponement.

The Parousia postponement was an acute problem for the Apostolic Christianity of Luke's age and is still an acute problem for modern, twentieth century theology. In this century the problem was raised by Albert Schweitzer's so-called consistent (Konsequent) eschatology. "Der Ausdruck ist nicht sehr glücklich. Gemeint ist die Konsequente Interpretation der Lehre Jesu durch die Naherwartung. Theologisch wurde man besser von konsequenten Enteschatologisierung 'sprechen'." (1) The consistent eschatology is represented today by Swiss theologians such as M. Werner and Fr. Buri. (2) Their view-point can be summarized as follows: "Die Illusion der Naherwartung, ohne die Jesu undenkbar sei, habe die ganze weitere Entwicklung der urchristlichen und altkirchlichen Theologie bestimmt." (3)

(1) O. Cullmann, "Parusieverzögerung und Urchristentum", Theol. Literaturzeitung, 83 (1958), p.2, col.1.

(2) cf. M. Werner's Die Entstehung des Christlichen Dogmas, 1941; Fr. Buri, Die Bedeutung der neutestamentlichen Eschatologie für die neuere protestantische Theologie, 1935.

(3) Cullmann, Ibid., col.2.

However, opponents also have appeared, who have attacked Werner-Buri's exegetically historical approach to the New Testament, i.e., his views about the Parousia postponement. Among these opponents one may mention W. Michaelis, O. Cullmann, and W. G. Kummel.

Cullmann has arrived at conclusions, which contradict consistent eschatology's approach to the Parousia postponement problem, namely, that New Testament eschatology belongs to the inner core of the N.T. teaching. "Daher erscheint ... die heilsgeschichtliche Verknüpfung der Eschatologie mit Gegenwart und Vergangenheit nicht als eine historische Fehlentwicklung... sondern als legitime Entfaltung." (1)

Secondly, during the last two decades also German scholars such as H. Conzelmann, E. Grässer, G. Harder, and E. Käsemann, have been considering the Parousia postponement problem. (2)

2. Luke and the Parousia Postponement.

The early Christian kerygma proclaimed Jesus as the coming Messiah, $\alpha\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, and later, also as the coming $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$. The early Christian kerygma was dominated by the expectation of a very early Parousia. Consequently, "wurde ... die Tradition von der Verkündigung des Kommenden her völlig absorbiert und damit ihres geschichtlichen Eigenwichtes entkleidet." (3) However, because of the Parousia

(1) Cullmann, Ibid., p.3, col.2.

(2) H. Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, 1954; E. Grässer, Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung, 1957; G. Harder, "Das eschatologische Geschichtsbild der sogenannten kleinen Apokalypse Markus 13", Theologia Viatorum, 1952. E. Käsemann, "Neutestamentliche Fragen von heute", ZThK, 54 (1957), p.1 ff.

(3) M. Luck, "Kerygma, Tradition und Geschichte Jesu bei Lukas", ZThK, 57 (1960), p.54.

postponement "verlegte sich nunmehr das Interesse auf die geschichtlich Überlieferung von Jesus."⁽¹⁾ In the later stages of church history this interest causes the development of early Catholicism as an anti-gnostic phenomenon."⁽²⁾ Luke is "der erste Repräsentant des werdenden Frühkatholizismus"⁽³⁾ and "der erste christliche Historiker."⁽⁴⁾

Luke modifies the gospel tradition because of the Parousia postponement, and in accordance with the circumstances which are caused by the postponement. "An der Stelle der Eschatologie tritt eine merkwürdig Kontrollierbare, kontinuierliche und trotz allem Wunderglanz immanente Heilsgeschichte."⁽⁵⁾ Instead of eschatology the emphasis is now upon the world mission, (Lk.4:25-26, 8:4-8), paraenesis, and vita Christiana.⁽⁶⁾ The world mission is indicated also "in die Gliederung der Apostelgeschichte in die Unterteile Jerusalem, Samaria, und die Enden der Welt."⁽⁷⁾ At the same time the Christian message has lost its witnessing character in relation to the risen Christ and has become more an instruction about the Christian way of life.⁽⁸⁾ "Natürlich steht hinter solchen Anschauungen nicht individuelle Willkür, sondern der Druck der Verhältnisse."⁽⁹⁾

(2) Ibid.

(2) Käsemann, Ibid., p.20; cf. in this connection E. Haenchen, Apostelgeschichte, 1959; M. Dibelius, Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte, 1951; Ph. Vielhauer, "Zum Paulinismus der Apostelgeschichte", Ev. Theol., 1952; H. Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, 1954.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., p.21.

(5) Ibid., p.20.

(6) Grässer, Parusieverzögerung, p.179.

(7) Käsemann, Ibid., p.21.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid.

Luke represents also a certain theology, which differs from the theology of the early Christianity. One of Luke's ^eemphas~~s~~ is upon the Spirit, which is not for him, as it is for Paul, an eschatological phenomenon. Spirit from Luke's point of view is the temporary substitute of eternal salvation. The Spirit is now an aid to all the faithful in the continuous existence of the State and the World. The Spirit supports the faithful in all their persecutions, gives to them the power to persevere, and also encourages the missionary task. At the same time Luke extends the meaning of the "Last Days". The Last Days are now the era of the Church. At the same time they are the last era in relation to the Heilsgeschichte.

B. the Traces of Parousia Postponement in the Synoptics.

This particular subdivision emphasizes the fact that besides Luke the other evangelists were also concerned about the Parousia postponement (cf. Mk.13:10,32; Mt.10:23, 24:34, etc.) From this we may see that already in circa A.D.70 the postponement had become a problem for Apostolic Christianity.

I. Introduction.

It is evident, when one considers the Synoptic Gospels, that the delay of the Parousia created a contradictory attitude in relation to the coming of the Son of Man among Apostolic Christianity. This situation is illustrated by Matthew 10:23 and Mark 13:10. Matthew states that "you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel, before the Son of Man comes" (v.23). At the same time Mark contradicts Matthew by saying: "The gospel must first be preached to all nations" (v.10).

The delay of the Son of Man's coming influenced Apostolic Christianity in two ways: (1) theologically and (2) historically. Theologically the message of Christianity had to be adapted to a continuous life in this world, and historically Apostolic Christianity had to demonstrate its independent existence before the world. Finally, Apostolic Christianity gave up any definite statements about the time when the Son of Man

will appear: ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΗΣ ἢ ΤΗΣ ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ Ἰησοῦς οὐδὲ ἄγγελος οὐδὲ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. (Mk.13:32).

However, at the same time the Church's attitude towards history changed; instead of looking only forwards, towards

the parousia, Apostolic Christianity started now to look back to the past. For example "the church of Rome becomes interested in history; it demands ... a record of the Founder's life".⁽¹⁾ Consequently, the first Gospel, Mark, was written, circa A.D. 64-70,⁽²⁾ and very soon afterwards Luke and Matthew were also composed.

Thus, the time between the present of Apostolic Christianity and the parousia became a term of an indefinite duration. The continuation of time and history from a worldly point of view finally demanded an explanation from Apostolic Christianity about the postponement. Generally taken, this explanation presents the following traits: (1) it is indicated that a period of great suffering will precede the End: *καὶ ἔγενετο μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔπειτα ἀπὸ πάντων ὁδὸς τοῦ ὀνόματός μου· ὁ δὲ ἔπειτα μέγας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς ἡμετέρος.* (Mk.13:13, Lk.17:25). (2) Further, suffering will culminate in a moment of unusual wickedness, cf. *τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἔρημώσεως* (Mk.13:14), and *τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἡδὴ ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας* (II Thess.2:7^a).

(3) In connection with this change some scholars refer also to a "Vorzeichen-Heilsgeschichte",⁽³⁾ which differs from the primitive eschatology of the early beginnings. It seems as if Apostolic Christianity was turning back to the Jewish-Apocalyptic concepts.⁽⁴⁾ For example, some of the apocalyptic expressions, which appear in the gospel tradition, are as follows: [Mk.13] v.7 *ὁ δὲ γενέσθαι* (Dan.2:9); "[Mk.13] v.14 *τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἔρημώσεως* (Dan.9:27, 11:3, 12:11);...

- (1) B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, Macmillan and Co., London, 1924, p.497.
 (2) Kümmel, Ibid.
 (3) F. Buri, "Das Problem der ausgebliebenen Parusie", Schweiz. Theol. Umschau, 5-6, (1946), p.111.
 (4) Grässer, Ibid., p.151.

[Mk:13] v.19 $\nu\lambda\epsilon\psi\iota\varsigma, \omicron\upsilon\tau\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\epsilon\nu$ (Dan.12:1; Vgl. Ass. Mos.8:1, auch I Macc.9:27); [Mk.13] v.26 $\tau\omicron\nu\ \nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \lambda\upsilon\tau\ \rho\acute{\omega}\ \pi\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu$ (Dan.12:13). Aber auch andere ^{ΥΕΦΕΛΛΙΣ} Einzelzüge wie Krieg, Auftreten von Verführern, Hunger, Erdbeben nsw." (1)

II. Illustration of the Changing Attitude in the Synoptics towards the Parousia.

Modern scholarship has discovered three main phases in Apostolic Christianity's approach to the delay of the End: (1) specific attitudes created by the postponement, such as uncertainty, watchfulness, a sense of delay, (2) apology, because of the delay which includes Mark 13; Luke 21, 17:20 f., and (3) Luke's individual approach to the matter, or Luke's historisation of eschatology, cf. subdivision C. (2) The only constant which remains unchanged in the changing situation is the eschatological "trotzdem" (3) that "in spite of everything", delays and hazards, the End will come triumphantly.

1. Specific Attitudes.

(a) Uncertainty.

The feeling of uncertainty caused by the delay of the parousia during the Apostolic age is noticeable throughout the whole N.T.

The locus classicus of the uncertainty feeling in the Synoptics indicates that about $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$ or $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \omega\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ no one knows, $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\nu$, except $\omicron\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$, even the Son does not know (Mk.13:32 and par. cf. Lk.24:36). This

(1) Ibid., p.152, ftn.4.

(2) Ibid., p.55, p.128, p.178.

(3) Ibid., p.127.

statement is interesting also from the point of view that many of its concepts have changed the original emphasis.⁽¹⁾

The Messiah, ^ὁ Χριστός (Mk.8:29), has become in this passage ^ὁ Κύριος (Mk.13:32). Thus the emphasis is here already upon the "Kyrios Kult,"⁽²⁾ and no longer to the same extent upon the Kingdom. Stress in this verse is not upon Jesus, the Son of Man, but upon ^ὁ Παντοκράτωρ.⁽³⁾

(b) Watchfulness.

The mood of uncertainty of Apostolic Christianity during the first decades in relation to the postponement^d of the parousia, indicated in Mark 13:32 and par., resulted in an emphasis upon watchfulness. In this connection one may mention Luke 12:35, Matthew 25:13, which is related to Mark 13:35.⁽⁴⁾ Also some parables deal with the idea of watchfulness in relation to the delay (Mk.13:33-36, Mt.24:45-51; Lk.12:35-38, 42-46).⁽⁵⁾

(c) Postponement.

Attempts have been made by the Apostolic Christianity to explain the tardiness of the parousia. There are some parables in the Synoptics which interpret this situation (Mt.24:45-51, 25:14-30; Lk.12:42-46, 19:12-27 and Mt.25:1-13).⁽⁶⁾ In the first set of the parables the most important verse is Luke 12:45, "my master is delayed in coming". The ^ὁ Χριστός ^{ἵκεν} ist das runde Eigenständnis: Der Herr verzieht die Verheissung."⁽⁷⁾

(1) Ibid., pp.78-81.

(2) Ibid., p.81, commenting on Bousset's Kyrios Christos.

(3) Kittel, T.W.N.T., vol.V, p.988 ff.

(4) R. Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, p.176.

(5) Grässer, Ibid., pp 86 and 90.

(6) Ibid., pp 113-119.

(7) Ibid., p.113.

In the second set of parables the verse (Luke 19:11) is important. The people think *ὅτι παραχρημα μέλλει ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναφύεσθαι* to this expectation the answer is the parable of the talents: "A nobleman went into a far country", the return will not be soon. In Mt. 25: 1-13, v.5 has to be noticed: *χρονίζοντος δὲ τοῦ νομφοῦ ἐνύπνου ἐξῆλθον πάλιν* On the whole, the emphasis in relation to the postponement is upon the oil. In Matthew the wise maidens are prepared for the delay, i.e., they have oil. Those, who do not understand that the parousia tarries, are foolish, they have no oil.

2. Apology Caused by the Postponement.

It is difficult or even impossible to indicate chronologically the date when the "trotzdem", "in spite of everything",⁽¹⁾ the only constant, which remains unchanged in the changing situation, no longer satisfied Apostolic Christianity in relation to the postponement of the parousia. This "trotzdem" is a very paradoxical term from the chronological point of view. It does not express any conviction about a definite parousia-date. It rather expresses uncertainty about chronology. It can be paraphrased as follows: the date of the parousia is not known to anyone. One may only accept that the parousia will come. However, whether the parousia would still come before the first generation Christians had passed away, or would occur at some later date - no one knows.

Since the parousia postponement is not the main theme of this study, only three examples will be presented in relation to the early apology: (a) Mark 13:30 (Mt. 24:34, Lk. 21:32,

(1) Ibid., p.88.

cf. also Mk.9:1, Mt.16:28, Lk.9:27), (b) Mt.10:23, and (c) Lk.13:18-19 (Mk.4:30-32, Mt.13:31-32).⁽¹⁾

(a) ἡ γένεσις αὐτῆς and ταῦτα πάντα (Mk.13:30).

This verse contains words of comfort and assurance that the parousia will definitely come: ἡμῶν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὲν παρέλθῃ ἡ γένεσις αὐτῆς μέχρις οὗ ταῦτα πάντα γένηται (Mk.13:30). The characteristic trait of this apology is the statement "still in this generation". Thus the main emphasis is upon ἡ γένεσις αὐτῆς, but not so much upon the occurrence of the parousia. The γένεσις is an indication of a very close date. It is a designation of the present generation from Mark's point of view.

Next to the γένεσις very important is the phrase ταῦτα πάντα. It is a controversial term. Originally it may have referred only to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple A.D.70. However, as a consequence of the postponement the ταῦτα πάντα has become a designation for "all the events described in Mk.13: 5-27, including the Messianic woes, the persecutions, the heavenly portents, the Parousia and the gathering of the elect."⁽²⁾

(b) Mission (Mt.10:23)

In Matthew the context of chapter 10 is a composite passage, and "probably nothing beyond verse 14 was spoken by Jesus on this occasion."⁽³⁾ The context reflects "die Zeit der Verfolgung der palästinischen Gemeinde."⁽⁴⁾ Thus the

(1) Ibid., pp 128, 137.

(2) Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark, Macmillan, London, 1966, p.521.

(3) T. F. Glasson, The Second Advent, The Epworth Press, London, 1945, p.103; cf. also Streeter, Ibid., p.225.

(4) Grasser, Ibid., p.139.

advice and the word of comfort: ὅτι οὐδὲ δούλωσεν ἑμῶς
 ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, φεάγετε εἰς τὴν
 ἑξέρων ἰμῶν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῶν, οὐ μὴ τελέσῃτε
 τὰς πόλεις [τοῦ] Ἰσραὴλ ἕως ἐλθῆν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
 (Mt. 10:23).

However, this verse is not concerned with tribulations and woes of the end. The particular verse is concerned with the mission of Apostolic Christianity. In this passage there is no indication that the disciples returned to Jesus, cf. Mark 6:30, Luke 9:10, 10:17. Christianity of the Apostolic age thought about its mission as a difficult task, associated with disillusionment, failure, persecutions in all places, and a fugitive's life. However, Matthew 10:23 assures that the coming of the Son of Man will solve all problems.

(c) Seed and Patience (Luke 13:18-19.)

Finally, the Kingdom of God likeness parables, (Lk.13:18-19, Mk.4:30-32, Mt.13:31-32, cf. also Mt.13:24-30, 47-50), have to be considered. (1) These parables speak about the growth of a small seed, mustard seed (Lk.13:18, Mt.13:31 f) or simply about any seed (Mk.4:26 f). In these parables the emphasis is first upon patience. The parousia will come definitely, although just now "zwischen den beiden Adventen" (2) Apostolic Christianity seems to be forsaken by the presence of Jesus.

III. Mark 13 and the Postponement of the Parousia.

Finally, one cannot omit discussion of Mark 13. A close investigation of this chapter indicates clearly that the

(1) Kontrastgleichnisse bzw. Wachstumsgleichnisse, Ibid., p.141.

(2) Ibid., p.145, commenting on G. Harder's, "Das Gleichnis von der selbstwachsenden Saat Mc 4:26-29", p.65ff.

author is not quite sure about a very near Parousia date.

Mark and Luke do not use the term parousia directly. Mark speaks about τέλος (13:7,13) or about ἡ ἡμέρα or ἡ ὥρα (13:32). Also Luke uses several terms for the designation of the parousia, ἡ ἡμέρα (or plur.) τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, (17:24, 26:30, also 21:27), τέλος (21:9), and ἡμέραις (21:23). Only Matthew employs the term πληροῦς ἑώρα (Mt. 24:27, 37, 39).

1. Introduction.

One can state that with chapter 12 Jesus' "ministry is over".⁽¹⁾ During the ministry Jesus is followed by large crowds (Mk. 2:2, 3:7, 4:1-2, 6:2, 7:33, 8:34, 9, 14, 1). However, with chapter 13 the scene changes. After 13:1 the crowd is mentioned only at the time of the release of Barabbas.

(a) The Place.

At the beginning of Mark 13 two places are indicated, the temple area (13:1) and the Mount of Olives (13:3). This Mount is the place of eschatological judgement, according to Zechariah 14:4. Regardless of the change of the place, Jesus' position in relation to the temple remains unchanged. The conversation is a private discussion between Jesus and his four Disciples, Peter, James, John and Andrew (Mk. 13:3). However, "the discourse itself does not read as if it was addressed to intimate disciples, but rather to Christians generally".⁽²⁾

(1) R. H. Lightfoot, The Gospel Message of St. Mark, At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1950, p.49.

(2) B. H. Branscomb, St. Mark, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1937, p.234.

(b) The Temple.

"The Temple and its services were held to be a guarantee of God's favour and the continuance of the nation."⁽¹⁾

Thus Jesus' prediction in relation to the temple that "not one stone will be left upon another (v.2) was dangerous talk, as it has been since the days of Jeremiah (7:14, 26:6-8), and Micah (3:12). Only the eschatological situation could change the scales of all human values, in such a situation a judgement could be pronounced also against the temple. Thus "es ist durchaus möglich, dass damit ein ur-sprüngliches Gesichtspunkt Jesu getroffen ist."⁽²⁾

(c) Apocalyptic Prophecy.

Mark 13:5-37 is an apocalyptic prophecy, which has been modified in the light of the experiences of the Apostolic Church. This prophecy may have been written circa A.D.40-41, when Caligula planned to place his statue in the temple. "The abomination of desolation" (v.14) may refer to Daniel 9:27, which the original author of Mark 13 may have had in mind. Caligula's intention was a threat to Jewish piety, and as such may have stimulated the appearance of new apocalyptic prophecies. Cf., however, the views expressed in the following subdivision "The End of the Age", Mark 13:14-27, especially verses 14-20. Mark 13 is designated by many commentators as Jesus' "farewell discourse".⁽³⁾ It follows the pattern of apocalyptic literature, when shortly

(1) J. Bowman, The Gospel of Mark, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1965, p.240.

(2) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.268.

(3) Branscomb, Ibid.

before his death a holy man foretells future events and gives his advice in relation to these events, "vgl. etwa die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen".⁽¹⁾

(d) Apocalyptic Features.

Completely omitted are such important features of apocalyptic as Satan, demons, the fierce battle between God and Satan. Further, Mark 13 does not refer to the Last Judgement, neither to the judgement of the world, nor to the judgement of all nations. A reference is made only to angels, who will gather the elect. Instead of mentioning Satan the discourse speaks of false prophets and false Christs.

(e) New Elements.

Instead of apocalyptic elements the discourse, Mark 13, stresses new elements of importance. For example, the gospel will be preached to all nations. The Holy Spirit will manifest its power before the kings of this age. The exact date of $\eta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$, "that day", the End, is known only to the Father. Watchfulness is the right Christian attitude in expectation of the End. Martyrdom is emphasized from a new perspective. Martyrdom "ist hier zum ersten Male als eine Notwendigkeit im Laufe des eschatologischen Geschehens hingestellt worden".⁽²⁾ Thus one may conclude that already in Mark, one may observe the "Korrektur der urchristlichen Naherwartung im Sinne des Aufschubes."⁽³⁾

2. The Text (Mark 13:5-37)

Mark 13:5-37 is a combination of three elements which are "jüdische Überlieferung, Sprüche Jesu und Worte der

(1) Lohmeyer, Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.286.

(3) Grässer, Ibid, p.157.

Urgemeinde, und diese drei sind im Einzelnen schwer zu trennen, da sie durch den einen Gedanken der Nähe des eschatologischen Tages geeint sind."⁽¹⁾

Chapter 13 consists of three main parts: (a) the beginning of the apocalyptic woes (vv. 5-13), (b) the End of the age (vv. 14-27), and (c) exhortation to watchfulness (vv. 28-37). Mark 13:5-13 can be divided again in two sections: vv. 5-8 and vv. 9-13. On the whole, this passage consists of rather unrelated apocalyptic sayings, which are united by the phrase βλέπετε (vv. 5-8), and are related to the idea of martyrdom (vv. 9-13).⁽²⁾

(a) The Beginning of the Apocalyptic Woes
(Mark 13:5-13.)

This passage considers the signs of the end (v.5), the false prophets and Messiahs (v.6), and the apocalyptic δεῖξαι of wars (v.7), and warns the reader that all these phenomena are only the ἀρχὴ ὧδων (v.8). The new emphasis of Mark appears in two places, which differs from the expectations of the early Apostolic Christianity. First, one has to notice the βλέπετε μὴ τις ἴδῃς πλάνησιν (v.5, cf. also vv. 7, 9, 11, 13^b, 14^b, 21, 23, 28, 33, 35, 38).⁽³⁾ This warning is characteristic for Mark's approach to the parousia. Its practical application to an early expectation could save eager believers from disillusionment. Secondly, one has to note the μὴ προεῖθε... ὅτι πῶς τὸ τέλος (4) (v.7, cf. also II Thess.2:2-3), μὴ δὲ προεῖθε. This counsel indicates that in both passages, Mark and Paul, these phenomena are not yet the final shaking of the world.

(1) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.287.

(2) Ibid., p.270.

(3) Grässer, Ibid., p.156.

(4) Ibid., p.157.

The reference to the false prophets may go back to Ass. of Moses 7-9 and to Deutr. 13:2-6. There are evidences about false Messiahs in the N.T. (Acts 5:36, 8:9, 21:8, I John 2:18) and in Josephus, Ant.XX:5, Bel.Jud. II 13:4. At the same time "wir wissen aus dem 1 Jh. [first century] nichts vom Auftreten solcher Pseudo-Messiasse, die sich selbst für den wiederkehrenden Jesus aufgegeben hatten."⁽¹⁾ The earliest known Messianic pretender is Bar Cochba (A.D.132).⁽²⁾ The $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\lambda\mu\iota$ is "eine traditionelle Formel für den eschatologischen Vollender".⁽³⁾ The eschatological $\delta\epsilon\iota$ (v.7) is repeated also in vv. 10 and 14. In v.7 the $\delta\epsilon\iota$ makes wars "zum zeichen eines unbeirraren Willens Gottes".⁽⁴⁾ Verse 8 is a combination of many O.T. and apocalyptic influences, Isaia 8:21, 14:30, 24:18, Jeremiah 23:19, Ezekiel 5:12, Enoch 1:6, IV Esra. 13:20. The $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\eta\ \omega\delta\epsilon\lambda\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ is a familiar rabbinical expression.

Verses 9-13. In this passage vv. 9-11 and 13^a are vaticinia ex eventu⁴, namely, they reflect experiences of the early mission and persecution.⁽⁵⁾ Verses 11 and 13^b are sayings of encouragement and assurance. Verse 10 is a Marcan addition.⁽⁶⁾ Verse 12 deals with an O.T. theme (Micah 6:1-2, Mal.23) in eschatological situation that "mit der Zerstörung der Familie auch der grund aller Gotteszugehörigkeit zerstört ist".⁽⁷⁾

(1) Haenchen, Der Weg Jesu, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 1968, p.438.

(2) Taylor, Ibid., p.507.

(3) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.270.

(4) Ibid., p.271.

(5) Bultmann, Ibid., p.122.

(6) Taylor, Ibid.

(7) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.272.

The passage begins with the characteristic phrase $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (v.9). The $\delta\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ (v.10) indicates that the preaching of the gospel is a "moment des apokalyptischen Geschehens".⁽¹⁾ Further, the $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu\ \delta\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ states that without preaching to the Gentiles the parousia cannot come. Thus the $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu\ \delta\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ means a postponement of the parousia.

This passage emphasizes also Christian witness (v.11) and martyrdom (v.13). Martyrdom, "Wehen des Endes",⁽²⁾ is a specific trait of Apostolic Christianity. Consequently, martyrdom becomes an eschatological sign, which bears witness to the nearness of the end. The Holy Spirit (v.11) has to be interpreted "im Sinne der paulinischen $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ",⁽³⁾ but "there is no suggestion of glossolalia".⁽⁴⁾

(b) The End of the Age (Mark 13:14-27).

This section describes the End. It consists of two parts: First, the beginning of the tribulations and its extension (vv. 14-20), and, secondly, the Anti-Christ and the coming of the Son of Man (vv. 21-27). The characteristic phrase of the passage is $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\bar{\iota}\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ (v.17,19,20).

Verses 14-20. In this part of the discourse reference is made to "the desolating sacrilege", "Appalling horror", (Moffat's transl.), (v.14). Originally this phrase refers to the altar of Zeus in the temple, B.C.168, during the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes. Historically in Mark 13 it may refer

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.274.

(3) Grässer. Ibid., p.158.

(4) C.K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, SPCK, London, 1970, p.132.

also to the statue of Caligula, which he planned to place in the temple before A.D.40. However, "in the context here it is clear that the phrase is used to describe, not an altar, nor a statue of Caligula, but a person, for it carries a masculine personal participle."⁽¹⁾ (Moffat's transl.). Consequently, the desolating sacrilege is not "ein politisches Ereignis, sondern ein apokalyptisches",⁽²⁾ cf. II Thess. 2:3f, the man of lawlessness, the anti-Christ. There are only three places in the N.T. which mention the man of lawlessness, II Thess. 2:3, Mark 13:14, and Revelation 12:19 and 20. Cf. in this connection the subdivision (c) Apocalyptic Prophecy, verses 5-37, pp. 152-153.

Further, the suddenness of the end is emphasized (vv. 15-16). This warning describes the situation of country folk, which indicates once more that the $\beta\delta\epsilon' \lambda\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha \tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\rho\eta\mu\text{-}$
 $\text{-}\mu\omega\beta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (v.14) can be related only to the anti-Christ. Country people would not know much about Caligula's statue in the temple, while the manifestation of the anti-Christ is quite a different matter. Anyone had to experience the manifestation of the anti-Christ, irrespective of his origin.

Then follows a warning of the terror, which will occur $\epsilon\upsilon \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\theta\iota\varsigma \tau\omega\iota\varsigma \eta\mu\epsilon\text{-}$
 $\text{-}\rho\omega\iota\varsigma$ (vv. 17 and 19), but the terror is not described in detail. Finally, because of the elect those days will be shortened by God (v.20).

Verses 21-23. Here a well known problem is raised, since the days of the Baptist, the question: "Are you he, who is to come?" (Mt.11:3, John 11:27), (v.21). The answer

(1) Branscomb, Ibid., p.237.

(2) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.276.

is simple in relation to the parousia. If anyone says "Here" or "There", do not believe. Such a claimant, advocated only by a certain group, cannot be the true Son of Man, because "der Kommende als Menschensohn mit aller Pracht und Herrlichkeit von Allen gesehen wird".⁽¹⁾

Verse 22 is again a warning against false Messiahs. It is a repetition of vv. 6 and 14. Only "the vocabulary has a later ring ... $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$... is a Christian coinage ... The ideas reveal an apocalyptic outlook which is strange to the mind of Jesus".⁽²⁾ The false Messiahs are dangerous, because of their capacity to perform crude miracles, which can be easily confused with the mighty deeds of Jesus. This situation is "etwas für Mark und seine Zeit Entsetzliches: das anscheinend einzig sicher Zeichen des wahren Messias, das Wunder, verliert damit seinen Wert".⁽³⁾

The $\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$ and $\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ (v.23) is a personal address to the disciples, cf. v.3., because vv. 14-20 are dominated by the third person.⁽⁴⁾ It is an editorial addition. The warning $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ is repeated also here.

Verses 24-27. This passage is without parallel in Mark, and "the vocabulary contains words not found elsewhere in the Gospels, $\eta\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$... $\beta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu\eta$, $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, etc".⁽⁵⁾ It portrays the End or the parousia. The climax is v.26, which describes the coming of the Son of Man, Dan.7:13. The

(1) Ibid., p.278.

(2) Taylor, Ibid., p.516.

(3) Haenchen, Ibid., pp 448-449.

(4) Taylor, Ibid.

(5) Ibid., p.518.

angels take care of the elect (v.27). However, the eschatological judgement is not mentioned, which indicates that Mark departs from the traditional interpretation of the End.

(c) Watchfulness (Mark 13:28-37)

The final division of Mark 13 consists of three subdivisions, introduced by $\mu\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (v.28), $\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \sigma\mu\epsilon\iota\sigma$ (v.30) and $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (v.33).⁽¹⁾

vv. 28-33. The fig tree is mentioned at the beginning (v.28). It is an unusual tree: first, the fruit appears on a fig tree before the leaves and, secondly, "in Palestine, where most of the trees are evergreens, ... the appearance of leaves is a sure sign that winter is past".⁽²⁾ This parable is an attempt to explain the postponement of the End. Similar to the fig tree the real eschatological events will be very unusual. The leaves on a fig tree are only an indication of the spring. Thus, the summer, the parousia is still a future event.

The $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ (v.29) is a reference to events in the past. However, the $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ from Mark's perspective have been "ein Missverständnis,"⁽³⁾ i.e., the destruction of Jerusalem was not the real eschatological sign of the End.

What follows (vv. 30 and 33) are words of encouragement and assurance. The $\eta\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (v.30) may refer to Mark 9:1, i.e., the particular generation of Jesus, or it may refer to I Thess.4:17, i.e., to those "who are left." When Mark was

(1) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.280.

(2) Taylor, Ibid., p.520.

(3) Grässer, Ibid., p.165.

written, at least, two of the disciples to whom Jesus is talking (v.3) were dead (James beheaded A.D.44, Peter crucified A.D.64). Because of this situation verse 29 ends with the assurance that the parousia is *ETC NIPALS.*

Verse 31 is without parallel in the Synoptics, but cf. John 5:47, 6:63, 68, 14:10, 15:7, 17:8.⁽¹⁾ Matthew 5:18 and Luke 16:17 refer to the Torah,⁽²⁾ but not to the words of Jesus. Thus verse 31 states that in the absence of Jesus and during the postponement of the parousia Jesus' words are always present. The phrase *βλέπετε* (v.5) is repeated also at the end of the discourse (v.33), c.f. also Col.2:4. In this connection one has to indicate that watchfulness, prayer, and a state of extatic expectation belong to the "Vorzeichen ... des eschatologischen Geschehens"⁽³⁾ but it is not the end itself.

Verses 34-37. Mark's eschatological discourse ends with a similitude about the door keeper. It ends also with the "Forderung der Wachsamkeit",⁽⁴⁾ which is an editorial trait in Mark.⁽⁵⁾ This new situation of watchfulness is not characterized by tribulations any more. It is characterized by the postponement of the End. The new eschatological concept introduced here is *καλπος*,⁽⁶⁾ cf. Luke 21:8, and the relationship to it is expressed by the verb *γρηγορεῖτε* (v.37).

(1) Ibid., p.199.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.284.

(4) Grässer, Ibid., p.85.

(5) Bultmann, Ibid., p.174.

(6) Grässer, Ibid.

C. Luke's Interpretation of the Parousia Postponement.

When one turns directly to Luke's interpretation of the Parousia delay, one may say in relation to Luke's Major (ch.21) and Minor (ch.17) Eschatological Discourses that the scholars of the English speaking world and the German theological circles of the recent past present two different attitudes. According to English speaking scholarship, Luke 21 is not a simple modification or revision of Mark 13. The differences in Luke's and Mark's discourses are due to the use of different Apocalypses and sources, which will be discussed below.⁽¹⁾ At the same time some German scholars emphasize in detailed studies that in ch.21 Luke depends upon Mark 13, which he revises and modifies, according to his parousia postponement perspective.⁽²⁾ For example, Luke omits Mark 13:2-23, he interprets Mark's eschatological concepts historically (cf. Luke 21:20f), he introduces changes ex eventu, (cf. Luke 21:20), and emphasizes some concepts of ethical conduct, such as ἔπι το μὲν, more strongly than Mark.⁽³⁾

Luke 17:20-27 is designated by W. L. Knox as a "realized eschatology in an apocalyptic form".⁽⁴⁾ However, from Conzelmann's point of view the Basileia is both within ἐν τῷ, and also a future event. (cf. Luke 17:20, 22:18). The expectation of the parousia or the Basileia is for Luke a realistic, though postponed, hope. In ch.17 Luke tries to

(1) Concerning this problem, cf. the treatises of W. L. Knox, C. H. Dodd, V. Taylor, etc.

(2) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.120, cf. also Grasser and Harder.

(3) Ibid.

(4) W. L. Knox, Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, Vol.I, at the University Press, Cambridge, 1953, p.112.

relate the two possibilities of the Basileia, the possibility of the ἔρχος and the final consummation in the future, which in Luke's mind is associated also with cosmic events (cf. Lk.17:24). "Je weiter die Parusie in die Ferne rückt, desto besser kann sie objektivierend beschrieben werden, desto deutlicher muss aber auch der Bezug auf die Gegenwart aufgewiesen werden, soll die Erwartung nicht in Spekulation abgleiten und letztlich zum Selbstzweck werden".⁽¹⁾

I. A Review of Mark 13 and Luke 21 from the Traditional Perspective.

Further, one has to consider Mark 13 and Luke 21. The traditional point of view is presented here only in a review form.

1. Mark 13 from the Traditional Point of View.

It is accepted that Mark 13 consists of three main elements: (a) a Jewish apocalypse, (b) it reflects also eschatological ideas of Jesus⁽²⁾ and (c) particular concerns of the Apostolic Christianity in relation to the parousia.⁽³⁾ However, there are also those who think that the three main elements of Mark 13 are inseparable,⁽⁴⁾ and form a consolidated eschatological whole. Cf. in this connection subdivision B of this chapter, "Traces of Parousia Postponement in the Synoptics", sub-title "Mark 13 and the Postponement of the Parousia", especially (c) "Apocalyptic Prophecy" and the discussion on Mark 13, verses 14-20.

(1) Ibid., p.114.

(2) W.G. Kummel, Promise and Fulfilment, SCM Press, London, 1957, p.102, cf. verses 2, 28-37.

(3) Ibid., cf. verses 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 21-23.

(4) Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p.287.

The Jewish apocalypse is evident in Mark 13:7, 8, 2, 14-20 and 24-27. Verses 14-20 are the core of the anti-Caligula apocalypse. It was written "between the spring and autumn A.D.40",⁽¹⁾ when the emperor Caligula planned to place his statue in the temple. In Mark the anti-Caligula Apocalypse starts with v.8, in Luke it appears only in 21:10.

Further, a "βλέπετε- source" is united with the apocalyptic elements in Mark 13. (Cf. vv. 5, 9, 33).⁽²⁾ It is quite possible that the βλέπετε sayings reflect Jesus' own forebodings about the future, and vv. 9-11 are the beginning of vv. 33-37.⁽³⁾ These sayings are introduced by a common phrase, admonition to a certain reserve towards the popular signs, and they reflect a common theme, that this is an hour of tribulations and uncertainty.

2. Luke 21 from the Traditional Perspective.

In relation to Luke 21 the traditional point of view states that it is not simply a modification of Mark 13. First, it is evident that Luke's eschatological discourse omits references to the Caligula Apocalypse. Secondly, instead of the Caligula Apocalypse Luke uses an Apocalypse concerned with the fall of Jerusalem.⁽⁴⁾ It is hard to make definite statements about Luke's use of his sources. Either Luke has combined Mark 13 with an Apocalypse pertaining to the destruction of Jerusalem, or he has used an earlier combination of Mark's βλέπετε source plus the prophecy pertaining to Jerusalem.⁽⁵⁾ The Apocalypse about Jerusalem is an earlier

(1) Kümmel, Ibid., p.96, commenting on G. Hölscher's "Der Ursprung der Apocalypse Markus", Th.Blät., 1939, p.193.

(2) Knox, Ibid., p.108.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., p.107, commenting on Dodd's, The Parables of the Kingdom, p.161.

(5) Ibid.

source than Mark 13, because Luke's discourse contains more primitive expressions than Mark. For example, the phrase $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\mu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\theta\omicron\upsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ (v.15) is more primitive than the assurance of Mark 13:11^b that the Holy Spirit will speak on behalf of the persecuted Christians. Mark 13:10, $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$ $\delta\epsilon\epsilon$ $\chi\eta\rho\omicron\chi\eta\eta$ $\nu\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron$ $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$, is completely omitted by Luke. Mark 13:13^a is identical with v.17 in Luke. Also in some other verses "verbal similarity" is striking, compare Mark 13:6, 8, 17, 26 with Luke 21:8, 10, 25, 27.⁽¹⁾

II. Luke's Interpretation of the Parousia Postponement in Chapter 21.

1. Ecclesia Pressa.

In Luke's major Eschatological Discourse, ch.21, the main emphasis is not upon the enumeration of eschatological elements pertaining to the parousia. The objective, which Luke has in mind in ch.21, is "the Weisung an die Ecclesia pressa".⁽²⁾

Apostolic Christianity between the two Advents is dominated by many misleading apocalyptic ideas in relation to the parousia. Already Mark 13 analyses critically the misleading eschatology. Luke in his gospel continues the critical approach to the contemporary eschatological phenomena. As a consequence of Luke's critical approach, the perspective of Luke 21 has changed "von der aktuellen Eschatologie auf das aktuelle Martyrium".⁽³⁾ A comparison of Luke 21:19 and Mark 13:13 may illustrate this point. In this verse Mark stresses still the importance of the eschatological End - one's endurance has to

(1) Ibid., pp 109-110.

(2) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.120.

(3) Ibid., p.121.

continue εἰς τέλος. (1) Luke emphasizes realistically only the fact that through one's ἑπιμονή, the endurance that can be looked upon as a certain degree of martyrdom, one will gain his life. Thus the phrase "to the end" does not appear in Luke 21:19.

2. The Exact Date.

On the whole Luke's perspective is not dominated by inquiry into the exact parousia date, "der Zeitpunkt". (2) Luke emphasises the continuation or "der quantitativen Dehnung" (3) of time between the present of Apostolic Christianity and the parousia. Thus from Luke's point of view one should not be occupied with apocalyptic speculations about the nearness of the End, which is a misleading eschatological attitude, but one should understand God's purpose for the realistic situation of Apostolic Christianity during the expanded interim.

3. The Plan of God.

According to God's purpose, "Plan Gottes", (4) Apostolic Christians have to prove themselves worthy of the redemption, which is drawing near (v.28). Luke's style for the outline of God's plan is mostly paraenetic. Instead of the End Apostolic Christians have to be concerned with everyday living on a Christian level. It means that ethical behaviour is important. In the situation of persecution the virtues are

(1) Grässer, Ibid., p.159, for ἑπιμονή - ἐπιμονή cf. 4 Esdr. 6:25, Apoc. Bar.83:4, 4 Macc.1:11, and Dan.12:12f, Hab.2:3, Mal.3:2.

(2) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.123.

(3) Ibid., p.124.

(4) Ibid., p.123.

ἡ παρουσία and καρπῶρα. From the traditional concepts of parousia expectation only "suddenness" is retained. The parousia will come suddenly like a snare (v.34). However, the traditional meaning of the suddenness (cf. I Thess.5:1f) is changed. The emphasis is now upon "ein Zuschärfen",⁽¹⁾ the necessity of being prepared for the parousia in spite of the postponement. The problem of the parousia postponement is replaced in Luke by the emphasis upon the Holy Spirit. The relation of the Holy Spirit and eschatology is Luke's concern in the opening chapters of Acts.⁽²⁾

4. Luke 21:5-36.

The main divisions of ch.21:5-36 are as indicated. The basic theme, the postponement of the parousia, is demonstrated in vv. 5-10. Then follows a persecution theme, vv. 12-13, and a paraenesis, vv. 14-19. Events related to tribulations in Jerusalem and Judea are described in vv. 20-24. Cosmic signs appear in vv. 25-27. Verse 28 is a paraenesis, vv. 29-31 present the fig tree parable, vv. 32-33 are words of encouragement, vv. 34-36 may be Luke's own composition, resembling I Thess.5:6-7.

5. The Postponement, verses 5-10.

During Luke's Eschatological Discourse Jesus remains within the temple. The Mount of Olives is not mentioned in Luke, because Jesus spends only his nights there (v.37). The question about the future events (v.7) refers here only to the destruction of the temple,⁽³⁾ while in Mark the same question

(1) Ibid., ftn.2.

(2) Ibid., p.127, cf. also Kasemann, R GG II, sp.1277.

(3) Harder, "Das eschatologische Geschichtsbild der sog. kleinen Apokalypse Mc 13", Theol. Viatorum, Berlin, 1952, p.73.

pertains also to the nearness of the End.⁽¹⁾ For Mark the destruction of the temple is a sign of the End, also the end of Israel, the $\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \delta\acute{\iota}\omega$ -⁽²⁾ _{-YOS}. In connection with the temple Luke (v.7) changes Mark's phrase to $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\eta\theta\alpha\iota$, which "ist bewusste Korrektur" of Mark without eschatological colouring.⁽³⁾

Further, Luke changes also the meaning of the popular eschatological phrase $\delta\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.^{xv} Although in Luke 10:9-11 the emphasis is upon $\eta\ \gamma\gamma\lambda\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \dots\ \eta\ \beta\lambda\upsilon\tau\eta$ in 21:8, Luke uses the phrase $\delta\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\ \gamma\gamma\lambda\kappa\epsilon\nu$.^y However, to identify $\delta\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ with either the parousia⁽⁴⁾ or the destruction of the Temple would be, in Luke's view, a misleading attitude. Because of this misleading attitude the warnings are repeated: $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, "the time is not yet", "do not go after them" (v.8). In v.9 the $\delta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is a definite reference to the events of A.D.70.⁽⁵⁾ At the same time these tumults are only political events, which $\delta\epsilon\epsilon\ \dots\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\eta\theta\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\rho}\omega$ -but, note, $\sigma\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.^{-τον,} The tumults are not eschatological woes, they do not refer to the parousia. With the expression $\tau\omicron\ \tau\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\beta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (v.10) Luke corrects Mark, "the persecution had begun, but the cosmic portents had not."⁽⁶⁾ Luke's description of cosmic portents is more inclusive than Mark's (v.11), but "sie weisen auf einen langen Zeitraum ... das Reich kündigt sich lange an - und kommt dann wie der Blitz."⁽⁷⁾

(1) Grässer, Ibid., p.155.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Harder, Ibid., p.76.

(6) Knox, Ibid., p.106.

(7) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.110.

6. Persecution and Paraenesis, Verses 12-19.

For Luke the beginning of the End, the $\lambda\rho\chi\eta\ \omega\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\varsigma$, is the persecution, which Apostolic Christianity experiences and experienced in a recent past, but it is not the cosmic woes, they come later.⁽¹⁾ Thus for Luke the events described in vv. 12-13 and 16 have to happen first, i.e., the persecutions. Acts present the different kinds of trials summarized in vv. 12-19 in detail.⁽²⁾ In this connection one may consider Stephen (Acts 6), James (Acts 8), Paul (Acts 14, etc.) and the phrase $\text{ΝΑΥΤΙΣΤΩ\ \& \text{ΟΟΒΕΛΥ\ ΕΞ\ ΒΕΜΩΡ}}$ (Lk. 21:16). In relation to these persecutions the Holy Spirit is not mentioned as the source of wisdom in trials (v.15). The expression $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \delta\omega\acute{\iota}\omega$ (v.15) is an indication that Jesus is the source of "mouth and wisdom". The omission of any reference to the Holy Spirit is an indication that Luke 21:14 is more primitive than Mark 13:11.⁽³⁾ Verse 18 is a word of encouragement in a situation of continuous hatred. The saving virtue in this situation is $\text{Ν\ \text{ΠΟΜΟΡΗ}}$ (v.19), but at the same time it is not an eschatological experience.

It should be noted that Luke omits Mark 13:10. This may be because the verse was not in Luke's source,⁽⁴⁾ or because, though he describes the preaching of the ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ in Acts, in the gospel he chooses not to use this noun.⁽⁵⁾

7. The Relation between Jerusalem and the End, vv. 20-24.

This passage is an example of Luke's historisation of

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- (1) Ibid., p.119.
 (2) Grässer, Ibid., p.160.
 (3) Barrett, Ibid., p.132.
 (4) Knox, Ibid., p.106.
 (5) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.119.

eschatology.⁽¹⁾ Luke looks upon the events associated with Jerusalem A.D.70 as historical. They are not eschatological signs for him, in the sense of events that are themselves part of the End.

Jerusalem has many meanings in Luke's gospel. However, all popular meanings about Jerusalem are only "ein Missverständnis"⁽²⁾ for Luke. This fact appears several times in the gospel (cf. 9:45, 18:34, 19:11). For the disciples Jerusalem is the place of the parousia, for Jesus it is the place for Passion, according to Luke.⁽³⁾ Jerusalem is also the place which kills its prophets (cf. Luke 13:33-34), and it is also "das Verbindungsglied" between the mission of Jesus and the church.⁽⁴⁾

However, from Luke's point of view the religious significance of Jerusalem is destroyed by its evil deeds. Thus its doom is indicated already in Luke 13:5, "unless you repent, you will all likewise perish." In A.D.70 the wickedness of Jerusalem destroyed it, and this is only a historical event for Luke. Consequently, Luke does not associate the Christian hope with Jerusalem any more.⁽⁵⁾

The events pertaining to Jerusalem A.D.70 have not any relationship to the parousia, Luke (vv. 20-24). The siege of Jerusalem (v.20) replaces τὸ βδελύγμα (Mk.13:14). Verses 21 and 23 are variations of Mark 13:15, 17. Mark 13:16

(1) Ibid., p.124.

(2) Ibid., p.67.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., p.124.

(5) Ibid., p.125.

and 18 are omitted by Luke. "This people" in v.23 are the Jews. The fate of Jerusalem is described in a vaticinium ex eventu (v.24). Here two things have to be noted. The Jews will be dispersed, and this dispersion will continue until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled. This means also that the postponement of the parousia is going to continue: first, occurs the dispersion of the Jews (v.24), then the cosmic signs (v.24), and then only comes the End.⁽¹⁾ The fulfilment of the $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (v.24) may refer to Ezekiel 30:3, which indicates that the power of the gentiles is only a temporary phenomenon, or it may refer to Romans 11:25 and means that $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ is the opportunity for the gentiles to accept Christ.⁽²⁾

8. Historisation and Portents, vv.25-36.

Luke 21:25 divides the Eschatological Discourse into two sections: vv.5-20 and vv.25-36. Luke distinguishes here between the historical and supernatural elements,⁽³⁾ in his interpretation of eschatology. The first part of the Discourse deals more or less with happenings on the historical plane, the second part starts with a description of cosmic portents (v.25). A characteristic trait of the parousia postponement is the fact that "der Historisierung entspricht eine Verdichtung des Apokalyptischen".⁽⁴⁾ Verses 25^b, 26^a and 28 are Luke's interpretation of the situation. Verse 27 refers to Daniel 7:13-14. Verses 29-31, the Fig Tree parable, are more detailed interpretation of the ideas implied in v.28,

(1) Grässer, Ibid., p.162.

(2) Knox, Ibid., pp 110-111, ftn.2, commenting on J. M. Creed's, The Gospel Acc. to St. Luke.

(3) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.121, commenting on W. Marxens, Der Evangelist Marcus, 1956, p.129.

(4) Ibid., p.121, commenting on W. Eltester's Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann, 1954, p.219f.

which is a paraenesis related to the cosmic signs. In the moment of the greatest tribulations the Apostolic Christians have to $\dot{\iota}\nu\lambda\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\varphi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\omega\tau$ (v.28), because only now, during the final crisis, the Basileia is at hand.⁽¹⁾ At the same time Luke does not describe the parousia in detail. Ἡ γένεσις αὐτῆς (v.32) is humanity in general, cf. in this connection Mark 13:30. Verse 33 is a replica of Mark 13:31, while vv. 34-36 resemble I Thess. 5:6-7.

III. Luke's Interpretation of the Parousia Postponement in Chapter 17:20-37.

1. A review of Luke 17 from the Traditional Perspective.

According to W. L. Knox, the core of this Discourse consists of sayings of realized eschatology. It has been known in two forms. To these basic forms during transmission variations have been added, cf. on variations Matthew 7:9-10 and Luke 11:11-12,⁽²⁾ and also Matthew 24:40-41, Luke 17:34-35. The consequence of this process is an "inconsistent apocalypse."⁽³⁾

Luke 17:20 is an apophthegm, note the characteristic phrase " $\text{Ἐπερωτηθεὶς... ὅτι... εἶπεν}$ "⁽⁴⁾ Jesus is questioned here by the Pharisees about the coming of the parousia, which in Luke's attitude is identical with the coming of the Kingdom.⁽⁵⁾ Verse 22 is an introduction to the

(1) Ibid., p.166.

(2) Knox, Ibid., p.114, ftn.2.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Bultmann, Ibid., p.25.

(5) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.115.

Discourse,⁽¹⁾ which is addressed to the disciples. Verse 23 and Mark 13:6 are identical. The days of the Son of Man refer to the mission of Jesus (v.22).⁽²⁾ Verses 24 and 25 come from an apocalyptic tradition, note the $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu\delta\epsilon$. The reference to the days of Noah and Lot describes the human situation from an apocalyptic angle. Verse 31 resembles Mark 13:15, verse 32 about Lot's wife is a queerly isolated saying.⁽³⁾ Altogether, vv. 31-33 are due to Luke's expansion of the source.⁽⁴⁾ Verses 34 and 35 may be authentic sayings of Jesus interpreted apocalyptically. Verse 34 is an enigmatic statement. It may indicate that "as the vultures will appear if the occasion be given, so will the Son of Man appear at the appointed time."⁽⁵⁾

2. Luke's Minor Eschatological Discourse, Chapter 17:20-37.

From Luke's point of view the problem of this Discourse is the relationship of the Basileia and the parousia, namely, the $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$ (v.21) as related to the future coming of the Kingdom. Luke speaks about the coming of the Kingdom only in few places (17:20 and 22:18, cf. also 10:9, 11.), while 18:1-18 is the commentary on the petition "Thy Kingdom come".⁽⁶⁾ The relation between the coming of the Kingdom and the parousia appears in the relation between $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$ and the woes of the End described in vv. 22-37.⁽⁷⁾ Luke looks upon the Kingdom as future, cf. 19:11. During Jesus' mission

(1) Bultmann, Ibid., p.130.

(2) Knox, Ibid., p.112.

(3) Ibid., 113.

(4) Bultmann, Ibid., p.117.

(5) Knox, Ibid., pp 113-114, ftn.2, commenting on B.T.D. Smith, The Parables of the Syn. Gospels, 1937, no page.

(6) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.115.

(7) Ibid., p.113.

only the Messianic manifestation of the Kingdom was present (cf. 4:18f), and for the Apostolic age the proclamation of the Kingdom is characteristic. The manifestation of the Kingdom is separated from the Kingdom by the postponement of its coming.⁽¹⁾ "Das Reich ist in Christus erschienen und wird mit seiner Parusie endgültig ... kommen".⁽²⁾ For a more detailed discussion on $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ one may consult recent literature.⁽³⁾

(a) Verses 20-21.

In these verses Jesus speaks openly to the public, the Pharisees, about the Kingdom. In v.22 he turns to the inner circle, the disciples, which indicates that the Discourse is an esoteric matter. However, the eschatological mood does not change, only instead of the Kingdom the parousia is now considered. In connection with this change one may state that the Basileia "geht in der Parusie in Erfüllung."⁽⁴⁾

(b) Verses 22-37.

Further, the reference to the "days of the Son of Man" (v.22) is a direct evidence that the postponement of the parousia was already a problem for the Urgemeinde.⁽⁵⁾ When Luke wrote early apostolic Christianity had become reconciled to experiencing the kingdom only for a moment and then dying in the assurance that their faith had not deceived those who believed. The saying about the "days of the Son of Man",

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.116.

(3) Colin H. Roberts, "The Kingdom of Heaven", HThR, 41 (1948), 1-8; W. G. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, p.17-19; C. H. Dodd, Parables, p.84.

(4) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.115.

(5) Grässer, Ibid., p.36.

cf. vv. 24, 26, 30, is without any parallel in the Synoptic tradition. It may belong to the most primitive tradition of the gospels.⁽¹⁾ It may be also that the most primitive expression is "the day of the Son of Man", cf. vv. 24 and 30. The plural "days" is a sign that at the stage, when Luke was written, the End or parousia was not considered as a single act any more, but was looked upon as consisting of stages, i.e. days. The Discourse as such is Luke's composition of different traditional elements.⁽²⁾

The eschatological End in Luke 17 is not related to any definite "Zeitpunkt".⁽³⁾ The idea, which dominates the parousia in this discourse, is "Suddenness" (v.24). It will take place suddenly, and because of this Luke's paraenesis is concerned with right behaviour in relation to the parousia, cf. vv. 23, 31-35.⁽⁴⁾ Paraenesis is needed, because people, generally taken, are not prepared for the End as the references to the days of Noah and Lot indicate.

There is no escape from the parousia, cf. 21:35, "it will come upon all, who dwell upon the face of the whole earth". Verse 25 can be interpreted in three ways: as a vaticinium ex eventu, as a condition without which Jesus would not return as Son of Man, or simply as an indication of general suffering before the End, in which even Jesus has to participate.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Kümmel, Ibid., p.29.

(2) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.115; consider for the sources W. Bussmann, Synopt. Studien, I-III, 1925-31; R. Bultmann, Die geschichte d. Synopt. Tradition, 1958.

(4) Grässer, Ibid., p.171.

(5) Ibid.

Verse 37 is a peculiar saying, which considers the "Wie und Wo" (1) of the parousia.

IV. Luke's Concept of Eschatology Outside Chapters 17 and 21.

From the viewpoint of German scholarship historisation of eschatology is a principle applied by Luke also to the gospel as a whole. In this connection one may consider the following references in Luke: (1) sayings (Lk. 8:10, 9:27-20; 11:19f; 12:38f; 49:52-54; 15:7, and 16:16), (2) and (2) narratives (Lk. 3:10-14, John the Baptist's Sermon, 10:2f; the Plentiful Harvest; 13:34f, the Fate of Jerusalem; 13:23f, the Narrow Door; 14:13f, the Resurrection Banquet; 16:9-13, Faithfulness; 16:19-31, the Rich Man Lazarus; 18:1-8, a Commentary on "Thy Kingdom Come"; 18:31f, Jerusalem and the Son of Man). (3)

On the whole, Luke's historisation of eschatology demonstrated by the sayings and narratives imply three main changes in relation to eschatology. In this connection one has to indicate: (1) Luke's attitude towards John the Baptist, (2) the relationship of the time element between Jesus' mission, Apostolic Christianity and the parousia, and (3) the relationship of Parousia-Basileia and the vita Christiana.

1. John the Baptist.

Luke looks upon John the Baptist as a prophet or preacher of repentance. John is the last of the prophets, but (unless

(1) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.115.

(2) Conzelmann, Ibid., pp 92-104; Grässer, Ibid., pp 178-198, cf. also the variations in the chosen passages by Conzelmann and Grässer.

(3) Ibid.

of the manifestation is not known. Three times Luke rejects all questioning about the "Zeitpunkt" (Ch.17:21 and 19:1f).⁽¹⁾ Consequently, Luke replaces the term parousia with the "zeitlose Begriff des Reiches."⁽²⁾ (cf.Lk.10:9-11; 19:11). At the same time Luke emphasizes in his gospel the "vita Christiana, den menschlichen Weg zur Basileia, den Gott in der sich dehrenden Zeit fordert."⁽³⁾

Further, only few examples from Luke's specific lore of historisation will be discussed, because historisation of eschatology is not the main concern of this essay.

V. Some Illustrations in Relation to the Parousia Delay from the Sayings in Luke

1. Luke: 16:16

According to this verse, "the law and the prophets were until John, since then the good news is preached and everyone enters it violently" (v.16). This saying corresponds to Matthew 11:11-12. Matthew's form is more primitive.⁽⁴⁾ Luke under the influence of the parousia postponement modified the text and its meaning. For Matthew the time in v.12 is an interim before the End, for Luke it is the continuous Christian era,⁽⁵⁾ the time of mission. The phrase "enter it violently" does not describe a hostile attitude in Luke. Compare it with Matthew's "and men of violence take it by force" (v.12). The violence takes place in relation to the

(1) Ibid, p. 112.

(2) Ibid, p. 95.

(3) Grässer, Ibid, p. 197.

(4) Kümmel, Ibid, p. 114; cf. also J. Weiss, Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes, Göttingen, 1911, p. 194.
M. Dibelius, Die Urchristliche Überlieferung von Johannes dem Täufer, Göttingen, 1911, p. 23f.

(5) Grässer, Ibid, p. 181.

Kingdom, because men plan to achieve its coming contrary to God's will.⁽¹⁾ From Luke's point of view men are eager to partake in the Kingdom, and the preaching of the good news is a continuous historical state.⁽²⁾ The eschatological End is not in sight.

2. Luke: 10:11.

This saying is one of the rare verses in the gospel, which states that the Kingdom is near. It corresponds to Matthew 10:7, and it presents the most primitive concept in the tradition, namely, that the parousia is at hand. However, Luke modifies the meaning of this statement.⁽³⁾

The $\etaγγικε\upsilon$ may have two meanings from Luke's point of view, either Luke refers to the coming of the Basileia during the mission of Jesus, or now in the Apostolic age the Kingdom "has come near" as the preaching about it.⁽⁴⁾ The $\epsilon\varphi' \epsilon\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (10:9-11 and 11:20) points away from the future manifestation of the Kingdom to "das zeitlose Wesen" of man.⁽⁵⁾

Luke 13:23f.

This section is dominated by the concept $\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ⁽⁶⁾ cf. in this connection also John 10:1, 2:7-9. It has a parallel in Mc.10:25, which is an eschatological saying, and refers to the entering of the Kingdom. Luke historicises Mark's attitude. He emphasizes not the near End, but the

(1) Ibid., p.181.

(2) Ibid., p.190.

(3) Ibid., p.183.

(4) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.98.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Grässer, Ibid., p.192.

suddenness of the event. Namely, the parousia will come in an instant and everyone, who is not watchful, will miss it, and will remain as if behind a shut door (v.25).

VI. Some Illustrations in Relation to the Parousia Delay from the Narratives in Luke.

1. The Great Banquet (Luke 14:15-24).

This passage is a parable about the great banquet (cf. also Mt.22:1-4). Matthew looks towards the future and follows in his parable the eschatological line, describing the Kingdom and the salvation associated with it in terms of a marriage feast. (1) Luke's emphasis is upon v.15. This Beatitude gives to Luke the opportunity to interpret realistically the postponement. Verse 15 reveals the great impatience with which the parousia is expected. (2) To this general impatience Luke's answer is the banquet story, i.e., a story about the Christian mission. (3) At the same time those, who refuse the invitation of the mission, are excluded "von dem Heil ... der Jesuszeit". (4) Verse 24 describes the fate of the excluded ones. (5) On the whole, in comparison with Matthew, in Luke "tritt das Eschatologische ... in charakteristischer Weise zurück". (6)

2. Jesus' Entry in Jerusalem (Luke 19:28-40).

At this point, when Jesus enters Jerusalem, the expectation of the parousia is very intense (cf. Mark 14:25, 58:62; 0

(1) Ibid., p.196, commenting on J. Jeremias, Gleichnisse, p.51f.

(2) Ibid., commenting on E. Klosterman's Luke, p.151.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid., p.28.

15:34f). The traditional viewpoint about the coming of the Kingdom is indicated also earlier in the gospels (cf. Mark 10:32-34; 35-40). Consequently, according to the evidences of the Synoptic tradition, Jesus looked forward to the coming of the Son of Man,⁽¹⁾ and Jesus' entry in Jerusalem was motivated by his intention to experience the parousia in the Holy Place.⁽²⁾ Accordingly, the cleansing of the temple, which is an eschatological act, follows the entry (Mk.11:15-18, Mt.21:12-16, Lk.19:45-48). In this connection the gospels quote Isaiah 56:7, an eschatological text.

In Mark the Entry is associated with the expectation of the Davidic Kingdom. The King is here, but the Kingdom does not come.⁽³⁾ Luke eliminates the parousia idea in connection with the Entry.⁽⁴⁾ In this connection the context of the passage has to be considered. Luke places the Entry after Luke 19:11-29. Luke 19:11 is concerned with the parousia of the Kingdom, but the following parable about the pounds indicates clearly that the parousia is delayed, because "the nobleman went into a far country." Further, Luke concludes the Entry passage with a saying, which predicts the destruction of Jerusalem (19:41-44). The destruction of Jerusalem is not for Luke an eschatological event, it belongs to history and to the sphere of politics. The passage, which in Mark is connected with the request of the Sons of Zebedee (Mk.10:35-40), is displaced in Luke. It is not combined as in

(1) Ibid., p.196.

(2) Ibid., p.24.

(3) Ibid., p.195, commenting on P. Werfling's Die Reife Gottes Hoffnung, Tübingen, 1903, p.32.

(4) Ibid.

Mark (10:33-34) with the third prediction of Passion, but is placed after the Last Supper (22:24-30, cf. especially v.30).⁽¹⁾ Thus in Luke the expectation of a near parousia is toned down. Jesus goes to Jerusalem in Luke, because the "Ziel of Jesus ist ... die Erreichung der Stätte seines Leidens".⁽²⁾

D. Heilsgeschichte in Luke.

I. Jesus and ^{the} Heilsgeschichte.

Luke designates the time of Jesus as the focal point of history or die Heilszeit. The limits of this time are as indicated: Luke 4:13 and Luke 22:3. This time, according to some modern scholars, is characterised by the absence of Satan. The program of the Heilszeit is outlined in Luke 4:18-19 and Luke 22:35-38. The interpretation of the Heilsgeschichte emphasizes two factors: (1) Jesus' mission, and (2) Jesus as a person. This division deals with these factors.

1. The Mission of Jesus and ^{the} Heilsgeschichte.

In Luke Jesus' mission consists of three phases: (a) wandering in Galilee (Lk.3:21 - 9:50), (b) Journey to Jerusalem (Lk.9:51 - 19:27), and (c) Jerusalem (Lk.19:28 - 24:53). From Luke's perspective three attitudes are added to these three phases: (a) in relation to the world Jesus sits today at the right hand of God (Lk.23:69), (b) in relation to the Parousia Jesus is the future judge (Lk.19:44; Acts 2:40), and (c) during the time of his mission Jesus' actual status is that of a wandering preacher, who is at the same time the prospective suffering Messiah, identical with the Son of God (Lk.9:18-22). To the phases of Jesus' mission one has to add still three Epiphanies, namely, Baptism (cf. also Peter's Confession, First prediction of suffering), Transfiguration, and Entry in Jerusalem.

The wandering of Jesus takes place in Galilee and in Judea. The journey of Jesus to Jerusalem can be designated

as fictive geographically. This journey takes place more or less in Jesus' consciousness. Jesus' journeys "mit dem Bewusstsein des Zieles, Jerusalems, also des Leidens".⁽¹⁾

(a) Some Highlights of Jesus' Mission in Luke.

(i) Baptism.

Baptism, Transfiguration, and Entry are Epiphanies. The Birth narratives also taken as a whole form an Epiphany, "eine präludierende Epiphanieszene für das ganze des Evangeliums."⁽²⁾ The three Epiphanies in the gospel narratives are very important for Luke, because "an ihr hängt das hervorstehende Element der Lukanischen Darstellung: das der innergeschichtlichen Entwicklung Jesu".⁽³⁾ Baptism in Luke presents Jesus as the Son of God. The account is very short, the emphasis is upon the heavenly voice. During the Baptism Jesus is anointed with the Spirit, which helps to restrain Satan. To the Baptism is added the outline of Jesus' mission (Lk.4:18-19).

(ii) Witnesses.

Jesus' wandering in Judea and in Galilee is the time, when the Kingdom of God is proclaimed to Israel. At the same time Jesus gathers disciples and witnesses, who (Acts 1:22) are witnesses "beginning from the baptism of John until the day when he was taken up from us" (v.22). In this section Mark and Q are the main sources.⁽⁴⁾

(iii) The Second Epiphany.

Then follows Peter's Confession - Transfiguration.

(1) Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, p.181.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., p.182.

Peter's Confession interprets the following Epiphany. In the Transfiguration scene the voice from heaven addresses Jesus for the second time. "Die Scene dient der Enthüllung des konkreten Charakters der Gottessohnschaft, nämlich Bestimmung zum Leiden".⁽¹⁾ The Transfiguration gives divine sanction to the fact that the Messiah - Son of God will suffer. For Mark more important is the idea that Jesus is the Messiah, while Luke stresses the suffering of the Messiah. Transfiguration is also an interpretation of Passion, which is "Durchgang zur Herrlichkeit".⁽²⁾ The Journey to Jerusalem separates Transfiguration from Passion.

(iv) The Third Epiphany.

The third Epiphany is Entry in Jerusalem (Lk.19:38). Jesus is called here openly the King. This announcement is prepared by the preceding parable (Lk.19:11-27), which interprets the following Epiphany. The Epiphany is described in Luke 19:37-38. "All the mighty works" (v.37) indicate that Jesus' mission is finished and something new will occur, namely, the Passion. However, Jesus is not a political king. This fact is indicated in v.38^b, "Peace in heaven and glory in the highest!" The goal of the Entry is not Jerusalem proper, but the Temple. Jerusalem proper is for Luke the place of the Last Supper and Passion.⁽³⁾

(v) Miracles.

Mark is one of the sources for both Matthew and Luke. However, their approaches to the sources are different. For

(1) Ibid., p.183.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

Matthew the teaching of Jesus is the main element in his gospel. Thus he emphasizes those occurrences which are necessary to illustrate Jesus' teaching. (See the third section). In Luke, on the contrary, the main element is the deed or the deeds of Jesus, which are demonstrated in miracles and in the outline of Luke's program (Lk.4:18-19). "Was bei (Mt.7:28; 8:1) als Wirkung der Predigt beschrieben ist, das ist bei Lukas Ergebnis eines Auftretens, das sich durch Taten erweist".⁽¹⁾ The characteristic phrase in Mark and Matthew in relation to the above statement is ΠΟΛΕΛΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΔΑΚΕΛΥ (Mk.6:30; Mt.5:19), while in Luke Jesus is described as ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΝ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ (Lk.24:19; Acts 2:22). "Die Taten Jesu sind im Lk das Indiz der Heilszeit, die mit Christus 'erschieden' ist".⁽²⁾

(vi) A Particular Epiphany

In Luke the call of the disciples is preceded by an Epiphany, which demonstrates Jesus' power, the miraculous catch of fish (Lk.5:4-7). This Epiphany is followed by healing miracles (Lk. 5:12-16; 5:17-26; 6:6-4) and the second call of the disciples, which sets the stage for Jesus' teaching, the sermon on the Level Place (Lk.6:17f).

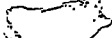
(vii) The Answer to John

Similar is the situation also in Luke 7:18-23, where Jesus answers John the Baptist's question about his being and mission. Two miracles precede Jesus' answer to John, the healing of the centurion's slave (Lk.7:1-10), and the raising of the young man of Nain (Lk.7:11-17), cf. in this connection also Luke 7:21:

(1) Ibid, p. 178.

(2) Ibid.

"And in that hour he cured many of diseases and plagues and evil spirits, and on many that were blind he bestowed sight".

Consequently, the answer to John (Lk.7:22) is attested by Jesus' activity: "the blind receive their sight", "the lame walk", "lepers are cleansed", "the deaf hear", "the dead are raised", and "the poor have good news preached to them". In v.22 one finds the phrase "what you have seen and heard", 

ὅ ἐλθετε καὶ ἴκοσθε, cf. Acts 2:33; 4:20; 8:6.

2. Christological Titles

The Christological titles, with which Luke deals, are: Messiah, Son of Man, Son of God, Lord, Christ, the Chosen One, the Holy, the Righteous, and Πῶς. The peculiarity of Luke's Christological titles is twofold: (a) important for Luke is the relationship of the Christological titles to God, angels, and the Holy Spirit, and (b) Luke "hat sie aus Tradition übernommen und versteht sie im Sinne seiner eigenen Vorstellung ... Luke ist nicht mehr bewusst der ursprünglichen Besonderheiten von Titeln wie 'Menschensohn', usw". (1)

(a) Christological Titles

The relationship of the Messiah, Son of Man, and Son of God is discussed by Luke in the Trial scene (Lk.22:67-70). In these verses before the Sanhedrin Luke indicates that the

(1) Ibid, p. 158. Point (b) will not be discussed in this essay.

titles "Messias", 'Menschensohn', und 'Gottessohn' sachlich identisch sind".⁽¹⁾ In this passage Jesus is designated as Christ-Messiah, Son of Man and Son of God. "Der sachliche Zielpunkt ist : 'Gottessohn'".⁽²⁾ The relationship of the Christological titles in this passage reflects Luke's idea of eschatology. Since the Parousia, according to Luke, is delayed, Luke "setzt dafür eine Aussage über den künftigen Zustand des Menschensohnes."⁽³⁾ Instead of predicting the immediate coming of the Son of Man, he makes clear that the continuous vita Christiana requires a real concern about one's attitude towards the Son of Man.

However, the most dominant titles in the gospel and in Acts are Lord and Christ. In relation to Lord one may note the following scripture references, Luke 10:17, 10:20; in v.17 the title concerns Jesus, in v.20 it is related to God. The title Lord is not related in Luke to cosmic ideas as in Phil.2:6-11.⁽⁴⁾ The same can be said about Acts 10:36, where Jesus is called "Lord of All". The title Christ is used in many passages which do not depend upon tradition, but are Luke's own creation (Acts 2:31-36, 3:18-20, 4:26; 5:42; 8:5; 9:22; 18:5-28).⁽⁵⁾ In his essential relationship "Christ" is not so much related to God as to the idea of promise and fulfilment.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Conzelmann, "Zur Lukasanalyse", p.30.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Conzelmann, "Die Mitte der Zeit", p.159.

(6) Ibid.

The titles Prophet, the Holy One, the Chosen One, the Righteous and $\Pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ are taken over from the tradition. The title Chosen One is associated with Son of God and with Christ (Lk.3:22; 9:35), "This is my Son, my Chosen" (V.35). In the title $\Pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ "der Bezug zum ... Gottesknecht ist nicht hergestellt".⁽¹⁾

(i) Jesus and God.

The relationship of Jesus to God is not directly defined by Luke, who speaks about it only indirectly. The relationship between God and Jesus as Son can be designated as subordination. The Son is not pre-existent in Luke, "die Praexistenz vollkommen fehlt".⁽²⁾

In Luke God is the Supreme Power, who rules the world. God is called Saviour⁽³⁾ (Lk.1:47) and Sovereign Lord, twice in Luke-Acts (Lk.2:29; Acts 4:24). This title indicates that God is omnipotent and that his Lordship is absolute. "The main feature of Luke's teaching about God ... lies in the thought of his plan, announced in the Old Testament and at present being fulfilled in history by his obedient servants".⁽⁴⁾ For the plan of salvation only God is responsible (Acts 1:7), "the Father has fixed [seasons] by his own authority". "Die einzelnen Personen sind fast anwechselbar, bekommen geradezu Marionetten - auf jeden Fall blossen Werkzeugcharakter".⁽⁵⁾ Also Jesus is for God, according to Luke, a tool for achieving his purpose.

(ii) Subordination.

Further, anointing with the Spirit means subordination.

(1) Ibid., p.163.

(2) Ibid., p.161.

(3) God is called Saviour also in the Pastoral letters, Titus 1:3; 2:10,13; 3:4 and in Jude 24.

(4) Marshall, Ibid., pp.106-107.

(5) S. Schulz, "Gottes Vorsehung bei Lukas", ZNW, 54 (1963), p.109.

God has anointed Jesus that he might receive the honour associated with the Christological titles Christ, Lord, Son.⁽¹⁾ Acts 5:32 indicates that the anointing is "the Holy Spirit, whom God has given to those who obey him". Jesus was anointed during his baptism (Lk.3:22) by the descent of the Holy Spirit upon him. Because of this anointing Jesus can baptize with the Spirit (Lk.3:16) and can pour out the Spirit (Lk.24:49; Acts 2:33).

Further, God performs two types of deeds.⁽²⁾ First, there are such deeds, which God performs personally, for example, the creation. Secondly, there are also deeds, which God performs through the exalted Christ, and which imply subordination.⁽³⁾ This second type of God's activity is related to the Church, i.e., all activity, which takes place in the name of Jesus and through the outpouring of the Spirit.⁽⁴⁾

(iii) Jesus' Name.

In connection with this fact the name of the Exalted One is important. "But when they believed Philip as he preached good news about the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women" (Acts 8:12). Men can be saved only in Jesus' name (Acts 4:12), "For there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved". Men are healed in the name of the Exalted One (Acts 3:16), "And his name ... had made this man strong ... and the faith which is through Jesus has given

(1) Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, pp 161-162.

(2) Ibid., p.166.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

the man his perfect health". Jesus' name is like a formula, and "Auf diese Formel hin tritt Gott in Aktion".⁽¹⁾

(iv) Angels.

Luke demonstrates the subordination also by Jesus' attitude towards the angels. In Luke the angels are subject only to God, but not to the Son.⁽²⁾ The angels are protecting Jesus in harmony with God's orders (Luke 4:10), but the angels do not $\delta\epsilon\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau$ in relation to Jesus (cf. Mark 1:13), " $\delta\epsilon\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau$ findet sich bei Lc nicht von überirdischen Subjekten".⁽³⁾ During the Heilszeit, i.e., Jesus' ministry, the angelic service is unnecessary, because, according to Luke, Satan is absent. After Luke 22:3, when Satan returns, an angel strengthens Jesus in Gethsemane (Lk.22:43, also 9:26; 12:9). In relation to the angel of the Lord, cf. Acts 5:19; 8:26; 12:7 and Luke 12:10, 15:10.

(v) Jesus and the Holy Spirit.

During the Heilszeit, which is for Luke the "today" of the past (Lk.4:18-19), "nur auf dem Einen der Geist ruht",⁽⁴⁾ namely, Jesus of Nazareth. However, through the Holy Spirit Jesus is related to God during his ministry. Then between the Ascension and Pentecost, it is "ein geistloser Zwischenraum".⁽⁵⁾ Afterwards the Spirit becomes the connecting link between the exalted Christ and the Church. Jesus receives the Spirit as an answer to his prayer. During the Baptism (Lk.3:21) it is indicated that Jesus "was praying,

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.161.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., p.171.

(5) Ibid.

when the Holy Spirit descended upon him ... as a dove".

Similar idea is implied also in the Transfiguration. "And as he was praying, the appearance of his countenance was altered, and his raiment became dazzling white (Lk.9:29,35).

Also in Gethsemane Jesus receives a divine answer to this prayer (Lk.22:41,43). In connection with the above statements one may indicate that "Geist und Gebet dasselbe Verhältnis Jesu zu Gott und der Welt darstellen: Subordination und Auszeichnung".⁽¹⁾

During the "today" (Lk.4:18-19) Jesus is the only being full of the Holy Spirit. At the same time one has to note that "Jede Andeutung die man verstehen könnte, als sei Christus dem Geist untergeordnet, ist vermieden".⁽²⁾ "Der Geist is als die sachliche Voraussetzung des spezifischen, messianischen Wirkens gesehen".⁽³⁾ Acts 10:38, "How God anointed Jesus ... with the Holy Spirit and with power, how ... Jesus went about doing good."

(vi) The Powers of this Age.

Jesus' relationship to the powers of this age, i.e., Satan, demons and the Temptation as such is discussed in a separate subdivision of this essay. Here one may only indicate that Satan has to retreat, because of the Holy Spirit, which Jesus possesses. Further, the Spirit is closely related to the concepts of ἔξουσιαι and δυνάμεις, especially one could say this about δυνάμεις in Luke⁽⁴⁾ (Lk.4:14, 24:49; 5:17),⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ibid., p.167.

(2) Ibid., p.168.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Barrett, Ibid., p.76.

"And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee" (v.14). One may indicate that "Lc ... have regarded "power" [$\delta\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$] as the energy of the Spirit".⁽¹⁾ Further, the relationship of $\delta\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$ to authority is as follows: " $\epsilon\tilde{\xi}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\iota\alpha$ corresponds to potential energy, it is the divine authority which may at any moment become manifest".⁽²⁾

(1) Ibid., p.77.

(2) Ibid., p.78.

II. The Framework of ^{the} Heilsgeschichte.

Finally, one has to indicate that Heilsgeschichte is embedded in a certain framework: (1) Prologue (Lk.1:1-4) and (Birth Stories),⁽¹⁾ (2) Jesus' wandering in Galilee (Lk.4:15-9, 50), (3) Journey to Jerusalem (Lk.9:51-19, 29), and (4) Jerusalem (Lk.19:29-24, 53). Consequently, this study pays some attention to the framework of Luke's Gospel.

1. The Prologue (Lk.1:1-4).

Modern scholarship has suggested two approaches to the introductory verses of Luke: (a) "the prologue highlights only the historical angle, which makes possible a close examination of the events according to secular methods of research",⁽²⁾ and (b) Luke has attempted in his gospel, and this is indicated already in the prologue, the "vergangene Geschichte vom gegenwärtigen Wirken des Geistes her als Gottesgeschichte zu verstehen".⁽³⁾

(a) The first approach states that the language of the Prologue is secular, it is a language of world history. All the specific Lucan words are missing in the prologue, such as the $\delta\epsilon\iota$, then all references to the proclamation of the Kingdom of God, references to the Holy Spirit, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ is not mentioned at all, $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ is mentioned in the prologue only twice.⁽⁴⁾ At the same time Luke does not make any references to the awakening of faith as the purpose of his

(1) The Birth Narrative will not be discussed, because it is a complex and a particular problem.

(2) H. Flender, St. Luke, p.66.

(3) Luck, Ibid., p.65.

(4) Flender, Ibid., p.63; cf. also the parallels: Josephus, The Prologue of the Jewish War; E. Lohse, "Lukas als Theologe der Heilsgeschichte", p.257, ftn.2.

composition, cf. John 20:31,⁽¹⁾ these signs "are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God". Some Latin MSS add, after "it seemed good to me", "and to the Holy Spirit", and this has been held to mean that some readers found the Prologue too secular.⁽²⁾

According to this approach, in the Prologue Luke tries to follow the Greek-Roman customs in relation to historical writings. He mentions "predecessors in the field and sources, on which he bases his work".⁽³⁾ "The story of Jesus is ... a real event, and the usual means of historical research can check it".⁽⁴⁾ Apparently Luke is writing for the Greek or Roman readers outside the Christian community.

The phrases, which Luke emphasizes in the prologue are as indicated: ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἀκούσασθε, τῶν πεπληροφορημένων, πράγματι, ἀκρίβειαν, δεήγησεν and πολλοί. Ἀπ' ἀρχῆς means that Luke has followed the sources from the very beginning with an accuracy of the "eye witnesses and ministers of the word", although the reference to the eye witnesses is only a general one. It is not a reference to the Twelve as such.⁽⁵⁾ The πρᾶγματι may mean "undertaking, concern, occurrence, situation, legal action".⁽⁶⁾ This word is emphasized by the use of πτε-

(1) Ibid., p.65.

(2) Ibid., commenting on T. Zahn's Das Evangelium Lukas, 1920, p.53f.

(3) Ibid., p.63.

(4) Ibid., p.64.

(5) Ibid., pp 65-66, cf. in this connection Luke 4:20, "the eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed on him"; cf. also Acts 26:16, where, according to Paul's report, he is appointed by the risen Jesus "to serve and bear witness to the things in which you have seen me".

(6) Ibid., p.64.

πληροφωρημένον, δειγματοειδὲς and διὰ τὸ εἶδος τοῦ λόγου in order to make an impression of rhetorical fulness. The πολλοὶ is a feature of introductory formulas in Greek literature. ⁽¹⁾

(b) According to the second approach, Luke would like to demonstrate that πρῶτα (Lk.1:1) transmitted through "Verkündigung und Lehre [are] Gottesgeschichte", ⁽²⁾ in order that "Theophilus die εἰσαγγελία der λόγων erkennen könnte, in denen er unterrichtet wurde". ⁽³⁾ The λόγοι refer to the following passages: Acts 2:22-24; 3:13-15; 5:30-31; 10:37-43. ⁽⁴⁾ These λόγοι outline Jesus' life attested by mighty works and wonders and signs, his crucifixion, and also resurrection. In this connection the disciples are mentioned as eyewitnesses (cf. Acts 2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39,41). ⁽⁵⁾

At the same time these "Formeln verkünden Leben, Sterben und Auferstehung Jesu als Taten Gottes". ⁽⁶⁾ Through the πρῶτα God's own activity is revealed to mankind. ⁽⁷⁾ Thus the basis for εἰσαγγελία consists of two phases: first, the O.T. scripture and, secondly, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. In "ihnen [Scripture] redet der Geist als prophetisches Zeugnis". ⁽⁸⁾ In this connection one may consider Acts 4:25: "Who [God] by the mouth of our father David ... didst say by the Holy Spirit", and Acts 28:25: "the Holy Spirit was right in saying ... through Isaiah the

(1) J. Bauer, "Πολλοὶ" Luke 1:1, Nov. Test., 4 (1960), p.263 f.

(2) Luck, Ibid., p.64.

(3) Flender, p.54.

(4) Ibid., p.55.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid., p.56.

(7) Ibid., p.57.

(8) Ibid., p.64.

prophet". Generally taken, the O.T. is not only associated with the prophets, but also with the Spirit (cf. Acts 2:16:25, 30, 34; 3:22; 8:34; 13:34; 15:15,⁽¹⁾ cf. also Acts 2:25 and Ps.16).⁽²⁾

With these O.T. references Luke indicates that the Messiah - Son of Man - is associated with the history of Israel and with Israel's God. This is one of the central problems for Luke, because, according to the address (Theophilus, Luke 1:1), Luke is writing for a reader or readers outside Judaism and the circles of *οἱ ἑβραϊκοὶ τῶν Ἰερουσαλῆμ*.⁽³⁾ In the gospel itself Jesus and his Geschichte are completely subjected to God's divine *θεῖον* (cf. Lk.2:49, 4:43; 9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 19:5; 24:7, 26).⁽⁴⁾

Secondly, it is indicated in Acts that "der Zugang zur Geschichte Jesu als einem Handeln Gottes ist für den Nichtjuden allein durch das *πνεῦμα ἁγίου* möglich,"⁽⁵⁾ cf. the story of Cornelius conversion, Acts 10:1-11, 18; especially Acts 10:44-45, "while Peter was still saying this, the Holy Spirit fell on all who heard the word ... [thus] the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out even on the Gentiles". However, Luke states also that the same rule applies to the Jews (Acts 5:31-32; 10:47): "And we are witnesses to these things, and so is the Holy Spirit, whom God has given to those who obey him" (v.32). Consequently, not the belonging to

(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid., p.57.
(3) Ibid., p.58.
(4) Ibid., p.62.
(5) Ibid., p.59.

Judaism, but the Holy Spirit and "durch ihn bewirkten Gehorsam ... das Sein der Kirche konstituiert". (1)

All this means that the $\alpha\theta\phi\lambda\epsilon\lambda$, Luke 1:4, is not a "historisch zubegründende Sicherheit", (2) but the security is the acknowledgement of the $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ as the deeds of God, (3) cf. Acts 2:22: "... mighty works and wonders and signs, which God did through him Jesus in your midst". In the gospel this statement applies mainly to Jesus, but in Acts the spirit is already a phenomenon manifested by the whole church.

Luke's goal is a "geistgewirkte Einheit des Evangeliums ... denn dadurch kann er die Geschichte Jesu als Gotteshandeln dem Theophilus vor Augen stellen". (4) This statement is related also to the $\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\pi\tau\alpha\lambda$, Luke 1:2. Luke does not mention them as eyewitnesses, who would repeat only historical facts from a scientific point of view, but they are witnesses, because "sie das Wirken des Geistes an and durch Jesus bezeugen". (5) The $\alpha\pi\prime\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$ of the witnesses is described in Acts 10:37: "beginning from Galilee after the baptism, which John preached".

2. Jesus Wandering in Galilee (Lk.4:13-9:50).

This division follows John's baptism and the temptation story, which is also considered in this chapter. The wandering in Galilee consists of many detailed events and facts. Consequently, it is difficult to harmonise all the details of the wandering narrative.

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.60.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., p.60-61.

(5) Ibid., p.61.

(a) Connections Between the Parts of the Wandering Narrative.

Before the discussion of the wandering narrative one has still to mention two elements of lesser significance: (i) the connecting links between the themes of the narrative, which consist of summaries and in some places of chronological data (cf. Lk.6:1,6), and (ii) Luke's topography, which partly serves the same purpose.

(i) Links.

As locus classicus for the connections in Luke one may mention Luke 4:14-15 (cf. also Lk.4:37; 6:1, 6; 12:7, 17, etc.).

In relation to Luke 4:14-15 one may state "dass nur hier eine Stelle vorliegt, an der die umformende Arbeit des Lukas unabhängig von jeder Quellentheorie festzustellen ist".⁽¹⁾

Verses 14-15 can be designated also as the "Überschrift über das Folgende."⁽²⁾ Verse 15 states that Jesus was $\delta\omicron\xi\lambda\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$. This phrase straightens out the incongruity

with Luke 4:23, because this phrase $\delta\omicron\xi\lambda\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ can be taken as an all inclusive description of Jesus' activity referring to the future as well as to the past.⁽³⁾ Next to

this phrase, which Luke emphasizes in his summaries, one can

mention still the phrase $\epsilon\delta\acute{\omicron}\delta\lambda\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \gamma\omega\gamma\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$.

(ii) Topography.

The extension of Jesus' activity is described as $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\ \omicron\lambda\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\bar{\nu}\ \pi\epsilon\bar{\rho}\iota\ \chi\omega\bar{\rho}\omicron\upsilon$ (Lk.4:14, 37:7, 17, etc.). In Luke one has to

(1) Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, p.24.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

distinguish between two regions in relation to Jesus: first, the regions where Jesus is active, and, secondly, the regions from which people come to Jesus.⁽¹⁾ In Luke Jesus is active only within the limits of Galilee and Judea.⁽²⁾ Jesus never travels to Samaria proper, to Perea, Decapolis or Phoenicia in Luke. However, cf. Gerasenes (Lk.8:26-39), as the only exception.

The most emphasized topographical places in Luke are as indicated: mountain (Lk.4:5; 9:28,37), plain or a level place (Lk.6:17), and the sea, (Lk.8:22f). They are places of Epiphanies. The mountain is a place of revelation and of solitary prayer. The ὄρος and the λαός never come up the mountain with Jesus. To the mountain Jesus goes alone (Lk.4:5; 6:12b) or in company with the most trusted disciples (Lk.9:28). The plain or the level place (Lk.6:17) is the spot, where Jesus meets the crowd and the multitudes. "Hat das Bergmotiv bei Mc ein Vorbild, so ist das vom See eigene Schöpfung des Lukes."⁽³⁾ The sea also is a place of Epiphany (cf. Lk.8:22-39), which includes the stilling of the storm and the Gerasene demoniac. "Der See ist das gegebene Milieu für die Epiphanie der Macht."⁽⁴⁾ The Storm on a sea is similar to a demon, Luke 8:24, "he ... rebuked the wind and the raging waves". Verse 31 indicates that the sea is "ihre [of the demons] eigentliche Heimat."⁽⁵⁾ Thus the demons have to return εἰς τὴν ἕβραϊστίαν (Lk.8:31).

(b) The Nazareth Sermon and Ideas Related To It

The Nazareth Sermon (Lk.4:16-30) presents the Promise -

(1) Ibid, p. 25.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid, p. 38.

(4) Ibid, p. 42.

(5) Ibid, p. 43.

fulfillment theme, vv.18-19. Jesus "bringt ... die Heilszeit."⁽¹⁾
 The time of fulfillment for Luke is the *ἐπιμεινον*. However, the *ἐπιμεινον* at the same time belongs to the past from Luke's perspective (cf. Lk.22:35-36). Luke would like to indicate that "mit Jesus ist nicht die Endzeit angebrochen. Vielmehr ist im Leben Jesu, in der Mitte der Heilsgeschichte das Bild der künftigen Heilszeit vorabgebildet."⁽²⁾ Further, one has to note that Luke is a believer, and because of this the heilsgeschichtliche consequence is for him always more important than the historical one. "Im Sinn des Lukas liegt der Beweis ihrer [the historical facticity] Richtigkeit im Schicksal Jesu."⁽³⁾

(i) Election to Fellowship

After the Sermon in Nazareth, Jesus goes to the Strangers, to Capernaum. However, these strangers are at the same time his own countrymen. Heathen mission does not take place during the Heilszeit. However, the idea of election to the fellowship of Jesus is dominant,⁽⁴⁾ but one becomes related to Jesus only "sola gratia".⁽⁵⁾

This phrase is illustrated in Luke 8:19-21; 11:27f, (cf. also Mk.3:32-35). In Luke the relatives would like to take Jesus back to Nazareth in order that he would perform there some mighty deeds and miracles (cf. 4:23), as in Capernaum, but Jesus rejects his own family. In comparison with Mark, this particular passage is displaced and is preceded by Luke 8:1-3. Luke 8:1-3 mentions the women of Galilee, who at the end become the witnesses of the

(1) Ibid, p. 30.

(2) Ibid, pp. 30-31.

(3) Ibid, p. 27.

(4) Ibid, p. 31.

(5) Ibid,

crucifixion and resurrection (Lk.23:49; 24:10-11). At the same time the relatives are rejected, and this means, "dass die Verwandten von einer grundlegenden Funktion [witnessing] im Leben Jesu und damit in der Kirche ausgeschlossen werden,"⁽¹⁾ according to Luke. The reason for this attitude is stated thus: "Wunder gibt es nicht auf Anforderung ... es gibt sie nur als freies Geschenk, also ... "Verwandter" wird durch freie Erwählung."⁽²⁾

(ii) Witnesses

The scenes of gathering witnesses in this section are as indicated: the call of the disciples (Lk.5:2-22), the call of Levi (Lk.5:36-37), the women of Galilee (Lk.8:2-3). The cause of the call of the first disciples in Luke is Jesus' power to perform miracles in comparison with the $\epsilon\{\sigma\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$, which is the basis for the call in Mark. One can say that Mark emphasizes the authoritative word,⁽³⁾ but Luke emphasizes Jesus' power to perform miracles or mighty deeds.⁽⁴⁾ This is the only time, when Jesus teaches at the sea in Luke (Lk.5:3), otherwise the sea is for Luke a place of Epiphanies "welche die Macht Jesu erweisen",⁽⁵⁾ but not a place of teaching (consider Lk.5:5-10, and Lk.8:22-25). The calling of the disciples, when related to the situation of Jesus' relatives, is a clear indication that there are two rival groups near Jesus, the blood-relatives of the Lord and Peter's group, the disciples. However, Jesus' pronouncement is clear, the only true relationship with Jesus can be established "durch Berufung".⁽⁶⁾

(1) Ibid., p.42.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., p.35.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid., p.36.

(6) Ibid.

(iii) Exorcisms and Healings

Further, the Nazareth Sermon is not a paraenesis in the proper sense of the word, it is much more "der Hinweis für die Funktion des Wunders" (Lk.4:23-27), which is demonstrated by Jesus throughout his wandering in Galilee (cf. Lk.4:14;9:51).

In this connection one has to consider the three exorcisms in the Galilean section: the exorcism in Capernaum (Lk.4:31-44), the exorcism on the shore of the Gerasenes (Lk.8:26-39), and the exorcism of the dumb demon (Lk.9:37-43). To these exorcisms have to be added the healing stories: the cure of the leper (Lk.5:12-15), the healing of the paralyzed man (Lk.5:17-25), the restoring of the withered hand (Lk.6:6-10), the healing of the centurian's slave (Lk.7:1-10), and the healing of the Jairus' daughter (Lk. 8:40-56).

(iv) Epiphanies

To the cures and the exorcisms one has to add also the Epiphanies of Jesus' might or of the revelation of his true self. Among the Epiphanies, which reveal Jesus' power, one has to mention the miraculous catch of the fish (Lk.5:1-12), the raising of the young man at Nain (Lk.7:11-15), the stilling of the storm (Lk.8:22-26), and the miraculous feeding at Bethsaida (Lk.9:10-17). The only time when during his Galilean activity Jesus demonstrates "die ... Macht über die Mächte „jenseits“",⁽¹⁾ i.e., in foreign region, and not in Galilee or Judea, is (Lk. 8:26-39) the exorcism of the demons in Gerasenes' country.

Among the Epiphanies, which reveal Jesus' true self, one may mention: Peter's confession and the first predictions of

(1) Ibid, p. 49.

suffering, (Lk.9:18-27), and the Transfiguration (Lk.9:28-36). Conzelmann connects this complex of events also with ^{the} miraculous feeding at Bethsaida (Lk.9:11-17). In the story of Peter's confession Peter's rebuke is omitted (Mk.8:32). In this section Jesus speaks to the disciples (v.18) and to "all" (v.23, cf. also Mk.). In all probability the "all" are the same people, who took part in the miraculous feeding. The people are present, because Luke is not occupied with the Messianic secret, and the degree of the revelation of Jesus' true self in Luke is conditioned only by the circumstances, whether Jesus speaks to the disciples or to the people, i.e., "verschieden aber ist das Wie - je nach der Hörschaft".⁽¹⁾ Instead of the Messianic secret Luke emphasizes the fact (already in Mark) that the Messiah must suffer. The disciples do not understand Jesus' statement that he must suffer. However, "psychologisch ist es ja nicht begreiflich, wie sie diese klaren Ausserungen nicht verstehen sollen".⁽²⁾

Transfiguration (Lk.9:28-36) is followed by the prediction of suffering, because "Zweck der himmlischen Erscheinung wird die Leidensaussage; damit ist bewiesen, dass das Leiden göttlicher Bestimmung entspricht, ... [Transfiguration is] die himmlische Bestätigung der Leidensweissagung Jesu."⁽³⁾

Transfiguration is the beginning of Jesus' suffering-consciousness.⁽⁴⁾ The scene of the Transfiguration mountain is very similar to that, much later, in Gethsemane. In each scene Jesus prays, and the disciples are heavy with sleep. During the

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid, p. 50.

(4) Ibid, pp. 50-51.

Transfiguration two men appear, in Gethsemane an angel.

3. Jesus' Journey to Jerusalem (Luke 9:51 - 19:27)

The framework of the Journey is vague. Only five verses refer to Jerusalem directly (Lk.9:51; 13:22;33; 18:31; and 19:11). Two times Jericho is mentioned (Lk.18:35; and 19:1). Some references are made to villages (Lk.9:52; 10:38; etc.) There are only four passages in this section, which can be directly associated with travelling (Lk.9:51-56; 13:31-33; 18:35-45; and 19:1-10). However, according to Luke, the journey "[ist] nicht [ein Kurzer] Gang, Sondern ... lange ... Zielbewusste Wirksamkeit." (1) The situation is such that "Lukas die Vorstellung einer Reise, die im vorgefundenen Stoff kaum einen Anhalt hat ausbaut." (2)

Jesus' journey to Jerusalem in Luke can be designated also as a "biographisches Bild ... [which divides Jesus' life from] der ἀρχή in Galiläa über das Leidensbewusstsein bis zur Erhöhung." (3) Originally the journey idea comes from Mark, but it is adorned with many strange additions. (4) The journey idea influences the whole Gospel framework from three points of view: first, the usual eschatological division of time into this age and the age to come is now confronted with a three phase biography, Galilee, Journey, Events in Jerusalem, which is again a 'Sui generis' of the Heilsgeschichte: the time of Israel, the time of Jesus, and the time of the Church. (5) Secondly, in fact Jesus travels about in the same places, where he wandered before

(1) Ibid, p. 60.

(2) Ibid, p. 54.

(3) Conzelmann, "Zur Lukasanalyse", p. 25.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

in Galilee. The cause of this curiosity is the fact that "die Reise nicht primär eine Ortsveränderung, sondern eine Christologische Stufe darstellen will".⁽¹⁾ Thirdly, the length of the journey is identical with the time of the wandering, although there are mentioned only few chronological⁽²⁾ dates (Lk.10:1 21, 13:1, 31.).⁽³⁾

The preface to the Journey is Transfiguration with its divine acknowledgement of Jesus' future suffering, the Messiah must suffer. However, Jesus' acceptance of suffering causes a great misunderstanding among the disciples, who cannot comprehend a suffering Messiah. In Mark the disciples do not understand Jesus' proclamation of the future suffering (cf. Mk.8:31, 9:32 and 10:33-34) either, but "von einem Prinzip des Missverstehens-Müssens ist nicht die Rede."⁽⁴⁾ In Mark the final revelation of the suffering takes place during the Last Supper (Mk.14:18-21), while in Luke the real revelation in relation to the suffering Messiah is connected with the resurrection of Jesus.⁽⁵⁾ In Luke "die Missverständniss ... is nicht psychologisch, sondern ... christologisch orientiert".⁽⁶⁾ The goal of Jesus' suffering consciousness is Jerusalem (Lk.13:31-34), because of this reason the Journey to Jerusalem can start only, when Jesus has already indicated the necessity of suffering. The situation, in fact, is such that "Jesu Leidensbewusstsein wird als Reise ausgedrückt",⁽⁷⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, p.55.

(4) Ibid., p.54.

(5) Ibid., p.57.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

i.e., "er wandert zunächst gar nicht anderswo als bisher - aber er wandert anders ... in diesem Worte steckt das sachliche Darstellungsprinzip des Abschnitts".⁽¹⁾ At the same time "die Reise ist gar nicht anderes als eine Form des Wirkens ... sie ist dadurch bedingt, dass ihn Gott ins Leiden gehen lässt".⁽²⁾

4. Jesus in Jerusalem.

In relation to Jerusalem Luke stresses three geographical points of importance: the city itself, the Temple, and the mount of Olives. Jerusalem is the place of the temple,⁽³⁾ and it is the place of Jesus' death, because there are the rulers of the Jews.⁽⁴⁾ The Mount of Olives is the place of Jesus' ascension, which is an Epiphany. Mountains in Luke are associated with Epiphanies, which give divine confirmation to significant steps in Jesus' life, cf. the Mount of Temptation (Lk.4:5-8) and the Mount of Transfiguration (Lk.9:28-36). Thus "an die Stelle von 'Gethsemane' dritt der Berg."⁽⁵⁾ Mark 11:27 indicates that Jesus has spent in Jerusalem three days. In contrary to Mark, Luke describes Jesus' activity in Jerusalem, especially in the temple, as a prolonged teaching process (Lk.19:47; 20:1; 21:37).

(a) Entry in Jerusalem.

Chapter 19:28 is the beginning of the Jerusalem section in Luke, "he went on ahead, going up to Jerusalem". It

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.60.

(3) Conzelmann, "Zur Lukasanalyse", p.27.

(4) I. Howard Marshall, Luke: Historian and Theologian, the Paternoster Press, pp 154-155.

(5) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.29.

corresponds to Mark 10:46.⁽¹⁾ All topographical locations in Luke 19 are redactional (vv. 11, 18, 37, 41). These locations are as indicated: "near the city" (v.11),⁽²⁾ "going up to Jerusalem" (v.28), "at the descent of Mount of Olives" (v.37), and "when he ... saw the city" (v.41). The Entry proper is separated in Luke from Jesus' entering the temple by his weeping about Jerusalem (Lk.19:39-44). In Mark this passage is a united story. At the beginning of the passage both Mark and Luke refer to Bethany and to Bethphage, while Matthew and some MSS mention only Bethphage, such as Ψ , sah.⁽³⁾ Bethphage means "the house of figs."⁽⁴⁾ Jesus comes from Jericho, climbs the Mount of Olives, leaves Bethany to the right, comes down the Western slope of the mountain, and enters Jerusalem through the North-Gate.⁽⁵⁾

According to Conzelmann, Jesus enters the temple, but not the city directly. "For Luke the important place in Jerusalem is the temple. The temple symbolizes Jerusalem in its religious aspect".⁽⁶⁾ Other scholars again indicate that Luke does not separate the temple from Jerusalem, because he is not primarily interested in theology or topography. The Entry is not an eschatological event, although it may point allegorically to an eschatological event, namely, the exaltation of Jesus.⁽⁷⁾ "The entry is like the triumphal procession of a general returning victorious

(1) Ibid., p.27.

(2) Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, p.66.

(3) Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p.228.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Marshall, Ibid., p.154.

(7) Ibid., p.155.

from battle. But that battle is ... decided in heaven. It is the exaltation of Christ that establishes peace."⁽¹⁾ Jesus' community enjoys the peace, but Jerusalem misses it. The Entry, according to Luke, is an "Inaugurierung der nun anbrechenden Passionsepoche."⁽²⁾

During the Entry the disciples and the ^{οἱ} ὄχλοι are rejoicing, but the leaders of the nation are sceptical (Lk.19:39). The Pharisees require Jesus to rebuke the disciples. Thus as usual in Luke two groups of people appear: people who are pro-Jesus, and people who are contra-Jesus. The Entry is not a political event. Consequently, "die Davidsherrschaft ist gestrichen."⁽³⁾ In connection with the Davidic kingdom one has to recall certain passages in the Birth narratives, which have counterparts in the Passion story: Luke 2:7-24, 11; 2:14-19, 38; 2:38-23, 51.⁽⁴⁾ One may compare "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men with whom he is pleased" (Lk.2:19), and "Blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord" (Lk.19:38). In case the Birth narratives are an original part of the gospel, then Jesus' authoritative teaching in the temple just before the Passion is the fulfilment of Luke 2:14.⁽⁵⁾ However, this is a questionable problem, because the passage about Christ as David's son (Lk.20:41-44) cannot explain fully the elimination in Luke of the following expressions: "Blessed is the Kingdom of our father David that is coming" (Mk.11:10), or "Hosanna to the Son of David".^(Mt.21:9).

(1) Flender, St. Luke, pp 92-93.

(2) Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, p.68.

(3) Ibid., p.68.

(4) Ibid., p.69.

(5) Ibid.

At this moment, when Jesus is nearing Jerusalem, i.e., the Temple, two problems have to be kept in mind: first, the disciples misunderstand Jesus' real purpose in Jerusalem, secondly, the real occurrence, which allegorically shines through Entry, is the exaltation of Jesus.

First, the misunderstanding of Jesus' purpose in relation to Jerusalem, i.e., to suffer in Jerusalem, is indicated already in Luke 9: - : "Let these words sink into your ears, for the Son of Man is to be delivered into the hands of men. But they did not understand this saying, ... and they were afraid to ask him about this saying." The mood of misunderstanding of Jesus overshadows more or less this whole section: Entry, temple and teaching in the temple. "Die Jünger verstehen die Annäherung an die Stadt als Annäherung an die Parusie Statt an das Leiden."⁽¹⁾ The eschatological attitude of the disciples is wrong. Consequently, also their christological attitude is wrong. They do not look upon Jesus as the suffering Messiah, but they are expecting Parousia. At least, from Conzelmann's point of view "Jerusalem hat nichts mit der Parusie zu tun".⁽²⁾

Such is the misunderstanding of Jesus' disciples and close followers. However, much worse is the misunderstanding of the people of Jerusalem. Their misunderstanding is similar to guilt. As the passage indicates, "The guilt of Jerusalem is the guilt of its people who refused to respond to [Jesus] message."⁽³⁾ "And when [Jesus] ... saw the city [Jerusalem]

(1) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.67.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Marshall, Ibid., p.155.

he wept over it, saying, 'Would that even today you knew the things that make for peace! ... For the days shall come ... when your enemies ... will not leave one stone upon another in you, because you did not know the time of your visitation'" (Lk.19:41-44). The visitation is Jesus' presence in the temple. Thus one cannot expect the Parousia in Jerusalem, because, according to Luke, it is a doomed city. Only the disciples and the people of Jerusalem do not realize the true circumstances.

Secondly, the postponement of the Parousia is emphasized in the parable preceding the Entry (Lk.19:11-27),⁽¹⁾ about the nobleman, who went to a distant land with the intention to return afterwards. When they are approaching Jerusalem, Jesus' followers expect the Parousia to occur any minute. However, they have to listen to the particular parable. This parable besides the postponement of the Parousia indicates also that "functions previously assigned to Christ at the parousia are transferred in Luke to the exaltation ... Christ's Lordship in heaven ... in a veiled kind of way this is expressed in the parable in Luke 19:12ff."⁽²⁾ "The parable serves as an allegory for exaltation".⁽³⁾ The whole journey to Jerusalem can be looked upon as "triumphal procession to Jesus' exaltation in heaven".⁽⁴⁾

(ii) The Temple.

In Mark the temple scene (Mk.11:11-18) is divided by the condemnation of the fig tree (Mk.11:12-14). In Luke the

(1) Cf. on the particular parable the section "Luke's Interpretation of the Parousia", p.161.

(2) Flender, Ibid., p.91.

(3) Ibid., p.92.

condemnation of the fig tree is omitted (but cf. 13:6-9). The temple scene forms a united whole. In Luke Jesus does not perform miracles after 19:37, when the disciples look back upon his mighty deeds. "In Jerusalem geschehen keine Wunder, um die Passion nicht zu verhindern".⁽¹⁾ In Luke the anointing at Bethany is located outside the Passion story (Luke 7:36-48), because an angel (Lk.22:43-44) encourages Jesus before his arrest, and the anointing as such is "überflüssig"; [weil Jesus] lebt".⁽²⁾

The temple plays an important part in Luke's Gospel. One may recall that the Birth narratives are closely related to the temple. In the Birth narratives Jesus is presented in the temple at the end of the eight days (Lk.2:21), reckoning from his birth. Simeon (Lk.2:25-35) and Anna (Lk.2:36-38) reveal the significance of Jesus as the Saviour in the temple. At the age of twelve Jesus calls the temple "My Father's house" (Lk.2:49). Thus shortly before the Passion Jesus is again in the temple teaching with authority. Later Jesus' followers continued to attend the temple in order to pray and preach there (Lk.24:53 and Acts).

The cleansing of the temple is not an eschatological act in Luke, but simply a purification of the temple, which from now on is the place of Jesus' authoritative teaching. Jesus teaches about matters pertaining to the Law, the eschaton, Jerusalem (cf. Lk.21), and about his own being in relation to the "bevorstehenden Leidens".⁽³⁾ In Luke Jesus teaches

(1) Conzelmann, "Zur Lukasanalyse", p.27.

(2) Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, p.72.

(3) Ibid., p.71.

only in the temple, but not on the Mount of Olives as in Mark (Mk.13:1). Jesus occupies the temple as "my house", of which he is the King. During the gospel narrative Jesus manifests his heavenly authority in miracles, now he demonstrates this authority by his teaching in the temple. "His [Jesus] occupation of the temple is a kind of symbolic anticipation of his enthronement in heaven".⁽¹⁾

"The temple symbolizes Jerusalem in its religious aspect".⁽²⁾ Jesus teaches in the temple the people of Jerusalem. "The guilt of Jerusalem is the guilt of its people who refused to respond to Jesus' message".⁽³⁾ Luke 21 demonstrates that after the events associated with Jesus' Passion the people of Jerusalem had not any rights to the Temple any more, and the temple was justly destroyed during A.D.70.

(iii) The Last Supper.

Before the Passion Satan enters the scene again (Lk.22:3), which he left at the beginning of the Gospel (Lk.4:13). Satan's appearance is an indication that the followers of Jesus have to face suffering and temptation again. The time of Heil with its characteristics is described in Luke 22:35-38, which belongs to the Last Supper discourses.

The mood that dominates the Last Supper discourses (Lk.22:24-38) is $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (Lk.22:28,40).⁽⁴⁾ According to Conzelmann, "muss man sich hüten aus v.28 eine Schilderung des

(1) Flender, Ibid.

(2) Marshall, Ibid., p.155.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, p.73.

ganzen Lebens Jesu als Versuchung herauszulesen".⁽¹⁾ For Conzelmann Luke 4:13-22;3 is the Heilszeit, free from all temptations. The important phrases in this section are $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ (Lk.22:36), and $\mu\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ (Lk.22:38). The first phrase means that now is the time of a new beginning, which differs from das Heil. The "two swords" reveal openly the misunderstanding between the disciples and Jesus. The disciples are not invited to fight from a military point of view as they would like to do. They are asked to "leiden".⁽²⁾ Now is the time to suffer, to be attacked and persecuted. Luke does not emphasize the phrase η $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ as Mark does (Mk.14:41), but the emphasis in Luke is upon the "zeitlos ... Martyrium".⁽³⁾

(iv) Arrest.

The name "Gethsemane" is omitted in Luke (Lk.22:40). Gethsemane is designated simply as the place, apparently the place of Jesus' nightly praying. The scene is similar to the Transfiguration. The disciples are asleep, a heavenly vision appears, though only to Jesus, this time an angel, who strenghtens Jesus in his agony (Lk.22:43-44). In Luke Jesus warns the disciples only once (Lk.22:46), in Mark the warning is repeated three times (Mk.14:34, 40, 41). The disciples should be engaged in prayer, which is the only protection in times of $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$. In the arrest scene the important phrase is $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\mu\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ η $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$, which characterizes the true attitude of the church: there is no military resistance to this $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.75.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., p.76.

(v) Trial.

In Luke's report three authorities try Jesus: the Sanhedrin, Pilate, and Herod. The night session (Mk.14:53) is omitted. Also the false witnesses (Mk.14:56) are omitted. In Luke the false witnesses are not needed. "Jesus wird auf Grund der Wahrheit verfolgt".⁽¹⁾ Jesus' messiahship is not a secret in Luke, secretive is only "das 'muss' des Leidens".⁽²⁾

The trial before the Sanhedrin is in Luke "ein Kompendium der christologischen Terminologie".⁽³⁾ According to this compendium, the christological titles, Messiah, Son of man, and Son of God are essentially identical. The christological titles in Luke are related to eschatology.⁽⁴⁾ In Luke 23:67-68 Jesus' answer to the council is indirect. However, in v.69 Jesus mentions the Son of Man, who has to come soon, according to the popular beliefs. "Der sachliche Zielpunkt: 'Gottessohn',"⁽⁵⁾ Son of God, appears only in v.70. The christological title is changed in Luke from the Son of Man to the Son of God, because the Parousia is delayed. Only the Son of Man would come immediately. The title Son of God is "eine Aussage über den künftigen Zustand des Menschensohnes,"⁽⁶⁾ namely, the Parousia is delayed. Because of this situation the Son of Man is now the Son of God. Luke omits also Jesus' prophecy about the temple (Mk.14:58), because the trial follows chapter 21 in Luke, which informs about the complete destruction

(1) Ibid., pp77.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Conzelmann, "Zur Lukasanalyse", p.30.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

of Jerusalem as a historical event, but not as an eschatological occurrence.

Before Pilate Jesus is falsely accused (Lk.23:2). He is accused, because he is forbidding to give tribute to Caesar. However, consider in this connection Jesus' words (Lk.20:25): "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's". The contradictory situation presented by the verses indicated above is Luke's apology not only in relation to Jesus' trial, but also for the situation of the church during Luke's day.⁽¹⁾ The real enemies of Rome are those who are interested in a political insurrection (Mk.15:7; Lk.23:19,25),⁽²⁾ i.e., those individuals who side with Barabbas. Pilate does not condemn Jesus, he delivers Jesus "up to the will" of the people of Jerusalem (Lk.23:28). Herod does not condemn Jesus either, he only mocks Jesus with his soldiers (Lk.23:11).

(vi) Crucifixion.

Luke modifies Mark's crucifixion account, according to his gospel outline. Luke omits the Elijah episode (Mk.15:34-36). The mocking of Jesus on the cross by the soldiers (Lk.23:36) corresponds to Mark 15:23, but not to Mark 15:36.⁽³⁾ In Luke 23:33 Jesus is crucified and two criminals, but the expression "crucified with him" (Mk.15:27) is avoided. Further, in Luke Joseph of Arimathea asks for Jesus' body (Lk.23:52), Mark adds on this occasion that Pilate demands a proof of Jesus' death (Mk.15:44f).

(1) Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, p.78.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.81.

Jesus' words in Luke 23:34 present a special problem,⁽¹⁾
 "Father, forgive them for they do not know what they do".
 Who are these "irresponsible" or "ignorant" people? The Jews
 or the Roman soldiers? One can answer that this ignorance⁽²⁾
 pertains to both groups, cf. Acts 3:17, 13:27, 17:27,30.⁽²⁾
 The people of Jerusalem are ignorant, because they do not
 believe in Jesus. Consequently, they crucify him as a false
 Messiah and are justified in their own eyes, while the Gentiles
 literally do not understand the real issues associated with
 the crucifixion (cf. Acts 7).

(vii) Post-Resurrection Appearances
 of Jesus.

Mark indicates that after the resurrection Jesus will
 appear to his disciples in Galilee (Mk.14:28; 16:7), while
 Luke states that in Galilee Jesus predicted his resurrection
 in Jerusalem (Lk.24:6). In Luke there are no appearances in
 Galilee, but "it is the Galilean disciples, who are the
 witnesses of Jerusalem appearances" (Acts 1:11; 13:31).⁽³⁾
 In Luke "the appearances are confined to Easter Sunday",⁽⁴⁾
 while from Acts one gains the impression that Jesus continued
 to appear to his disciples for sometime (Acts 1:3; 13:31), "and
 for many days he appeared to those who came up with him from
 Galilee to Jerusalem", (v.31).

(viii) Ascension.

The ascension in Luke takes place in Bethany (Lk.24:50-53),
 while in Acts the same event takes place on the Mount of Olives
 (Acts 1:9-12). Consequently, one may state "dass Lc 24:50-53

(1) Ibid., p.82.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Marshall, Ibid., p.155.

(4) Ibid.

nicht zum ursprünglichen Bestand des Evangeliums gehört."⁽¹⁾

The original ascension report is presented in Acts, chapter 1:9f. This story in Acts contains "parousia terminology ... the ascension [is linked] with the second coming";⁽²⁾ cf.

Daniel 7:13, which is the locus classicus of ^{the} parousia-description. Daniel refers to "clouds of heaven" as does Acts 1:9f.

The original text speaks also about "enthronement in heaven".⁽³⁾

Thus "the ascension, as Luke sees it, is a kind of anticipation of the parousia in heaven".⁽⁴⁾ Parousia is the earthly

manifestation of that Lordship, which the exalted Jesus has attained through his ascension in heaven. Thus for Luke exaltation and parousia are identical.

(1) Conzelmann, Mitte der Zeit, p.86.

(2) Flender, Ibid., p.93.

(3) Ibid., p.94.

E. Evidence of Satan's and Demonic Presence within the So-Called Heilsgeschichte in Luke (Lk.4:13-22.3)

I. Introduction.

Within the so-called Heilsgeschichte of Luke, between the end of Jesus' temptation, Luke 4:13, and the moment, when Satan enters Judas Iscariot, Luke 22:3, one can locate four passages which refer to Satan: (1) Luke 8:11-13, (2) Luke 10:18-19, (3) Luke 11:14-23 and (4) Luke 13:10-17. Further, one can locate also three passages dealing with exorcisms, i.e., demons, (1) Luke 4:38-39, (2) Luke 8:26-39, and (3) Luke 9:37-43. Finally, there are three short summaries dealing with Jesus' relationship to the demonic world: (1) Luke 4:41, (2) Luke 6:18, and (3) Luke 13:32.

1. Satan's Relationship to the Heilsgeschichte in Luke: Characterised by the Expressions "Already" and "Not Yet".

The name $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ is mentioned in the N.T. thirty times. $\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is mentioned thirty-six times. In the Gospel of Luke as such one may find $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ in five different narratives: (a) the return of the Seventy (Lk.10:18-19), (b) the Beelzebub controversy (Lk.11:14-23), (c) healing of the woman with the spirit of infirmity (Lk.13:10-17), (d) the betrayal of Judas (Lk.22:3-6), and (e) Jesus' foretelling of Peter's betrayal (Lk.22:31-34). In two passages instead of $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ Luke uses $\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$: (a) Temptation of Jesus (Lk.4:1-13) and (b) the parable about the sower (Lk.8:11-13).

The name $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ comes from the Aramaic $\chi\] \] \]$. The name $\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ was originally an adjective, meaning "slanderous".

Used together with the article it becomes a noun, describing a calumniator or a slanderer. The arch enemy of Satan in the N.T. is Jesus. "Ist Jesus gekommen, um während seines Lebens auf Erden und durch seinen Tod der Gewalt Satans über die Menschen ein Ende zu machen, so muss sich Satan aus allen Kräften gegen Jesus wehren, er muss versuchen, ihn von seinem Wege abzulenken oder ums Leben zu bringen".⁽¹⁾ In the Gospel of Luke Satan's attempts to destroy Jesus are illustrated by well known passages (Lk.4:1-3, 22:31-34; 54-62; 22:3-6). One may add here also some striking narratives of Mark and Matthew: the Caesarea Philippi story (Mk.8:27-33; Mt.16:13-20), discussed in chapter one.

Jesus is God's representative in the fight between God and Satan, which, in the N.T. and in Jewish apocalyptic generally, is expected to become very intense just before the Parousia, "der Kampf in dem es um die Weltherrschaft, das Bestehen der Kirche Gottes und die endgültige Vollendung seines Heilswerkes geht".⁽²⁾ From all the N.T. writings this fight is presented most explicitly in the Revelation. One may consider in this connection Rev.12:7-12. These verses indicate that the archangel Michael is fighting against the Dragon and his angels, and that the Dragon is the ancient Serpent, the Devil and Satan. As a former accuser of men the Devil is ousted from heaven, but the danger is that the Devil and his angels are now on earth. This is the situation, which Jesus faces. Consequently, Satan "ist nicht mehr eine

(1) B. Noack, Satanas und Soteria, G.E.C. Gads Forlag, København, 1948, p.82.

(2) Ibid., p.114.

notwendige Gestalt an Gottes Hof im himmlischen Staat, sondern Gottes Widersacher auf Erden". (1)

(a) The Fall of Satan, Luke 10:18.

This verse is most characteristic for Satan's position in the Gospel of Luke. The role of the archangel Michael is now acquired by Jesus, and the reference also here is to a definite fall of Satan from heaven, so that he no longer has any access to God as accuser. One may consider in this connection also John 12:31; 16:11: "Now shall the ruler of this world be cast out", i.e., out from the possibility of being a judge in heaven (v.31). "In all these passages, which speak of the fall of the devil or of judgement on him, an "Already" is combined with a "Not Yet". This is the characteristic feature of N.T. sayings about Satan. (2)

Further, one has to indicate that Luke 10:19 has not to be related to the fall of Satan, but to the $\epsilon\epsilon\theta\omicron\rho\omicron\lambda\omicron$ of Jesus: "Behold I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing shall hurt you". However, the fall of Satan is associated with the previous statement, namely: "The Seventy returned with joy, saying, Lord even the demons are subject to us in your name". (Lk.10:17). Satan's fall on earth is the answer to the situation that demons are subject to the Seventy in Jesus' name. Satan is interested to destroy the situation indicated above. Because of this reason he comes down from heaven like a lightning. Jesus is the one, who

(1) Ibid., p.115.

(2) Foerster, " $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ", Kittel's T.D.N.T., vol.VII, p.157.

tell you'". This narrative that fire of God is falling from heaven, when Satan is permitted by God to do harm to Job, in modified form is to be found in the apocryphal Testament of

Job: ΤΟΤΕ (ὁ θεὸς) λολιπὸν, ἰνῆ λῆως κατῆλθεν,
καὶ ἐφλόγισεν τὸς ἐπὶ χιλιῶν
εὼν προβύτων... καὶ τὸ πᾶν
ἰνῆ λυκεν ὡς ἐλαστοῦ κατ' ἴν
ἐλλήφεν ἐξουσίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ (Job c 16).⁽¹⁾

"Hier ist es Satan selbst, der als Feuer herabkommt. Er erscheint also gerade so als Blitz".⁽²⁾ One may consider in this connection also "LXX ... Ps.57 (58) 9, 139 (140) 11 ... 103 (104) 4."⁽³⁾ On the whole, concluding the subdivision about Satan's fall, one may indicate that the particular verse, Luke 10:18, emphasizes very much Satan as being active also within Luke's Heilgeschichte.

(b) The Beelzebul Controversy,
Luke 11:14-23. ⁽⁴⁾

In this section the name Beelzebul is one of the outstanding features. This was discussed above in Chapter One. Βεελζεβοῦλ is "a designation applied by both Jesus and his opponents to the 'chief of devils, i.e., Satan'."⁽⁵⁾ There are also other readings of Βεελζεβοῦλ, such as Beelzebub in Vulg., and Baalzebub, the God of Ekron, in II Kings 1:2. However, the connection between these readings is not clear.

The Beelzebul controversy, Luke 11:14-23, presents two charges against Jesus: (i) some of the people said "He casts out demons by Beelzebul the prince of demons" (v.15), (ii) while others "sought from him a sign from heaven" (v.16). The

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- (1) Ibid., p. 162.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Cf. the first Chapter of this study.
(5) The Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible, Vol.A-D, p. 374.

demand for a sign from heaven is described in the passage Luke 11:29-32. One could briefly indicate that "nothing which Jesus had done constituted in the popular view a satisfactory proof of the religious authority which he claimed."⁽¹⁾ Thus the generation demanded a sign from Jesus, because, according to popular beliefs of the day, the Deliverer of the Jewish nation had to be able to perform extraordinary signs, cf. in this connection in the O.T. Moses, Gideon, and Hezekiah (Ex.7:9, Judges 6:17-22, 36:40, II Kings 20:8-11). According to contemporary beliefs, the age, which preceded the coming of the Messiah, was to be extremely wicked. Thus Jesus' answer to those who demanded a sign, "This is an evil generation" (v.29) "would imply that the contemporary generation was sign enough to itself."⁽²⁾ This generation is the evil age before the coming of the Messiah.

At the beginning of the Beelzebul controversy in Luke Jesus is casting out a dumb demon (cf. Mt.12:22-30). However, this occasion is not a separate exorcism, it is a demonstration of Jesus' power "der Abschaffung der Dämonen überhaupt."⁽³⁾ The defeat of the demons means that this evil age has come to its close, and that the Kingdom of God is near. Already the demons are defeated. The false accusation of Jesus, which follows the exorcism, is based upon "the popular notion that Satan disguises himself as an angel of light."⁽⁴⁾


Jesus' answer to the accusation consists of three parts: (i) parable about the house and kingdom (vv. 17-18), (ii) a

(1) Manson, Ibid., p.142.

(2) Ibid., p.143.

(3) Noack, Ibid., p.72.

(4) Manson, Ibid., p.139.

reference to the finger of God (v.20). In the parable Jesus points out that demons are cast out not because of some disagreement between Satan's powers, but "durch das Eingreifen ein Mächtigeren, Gottes".⁽¹⁾ The charge of Jesus' opponents is illogical,  if Satan is casting out demons, he is casting out himself. Such condition Jesus compares to a divided house or divided kingdom, which cannot stand. It means self-destruction, similarly "kann auch das Reich Satans nicht bestehen, wenn es sich selber bekämpft."⁽²⁾ The expression "your sons" refers to other Israelites. Also they can cast out demons only through the power of God or through the power of Satan. The common answer would be that "your sons" (v.19) are casting out demons through the power of God. For what reasons then they are questioning Jesus' authority in relation to exorcisms, because "nur der allmächtige Gott dem Reiche Satans ein Ende machen kann."⁽³⁾

Finally, one has to consider v.20: "But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the Kingdom of God has come upon you". This is Jesus' definite answer to the Beelzebul charge. Jesus' exorcisms are indications of the nearness of God's Kingdom. However, in relation to Beelzebul it is the general situation concerning Satan. Satan is cast out already, because the Kingdom comes, however, not yet completely. "Das Kommen des Gottesreiches ist die Voraussetzung für die Niederlage Satans ... Gottesreich vertreibt Satansreich." The expression "Finger of God" refers to Ex.8:9.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Noack, Ibid., p.71.

(2) Ibid., p.70.

(3) Ibid., p.71.

(4) Ibid., p.72.

(c) The Parable about the Sower (Luke 8:11-15).

This passage consists of four parts: (i) the devil takes away the word (v.12), (ii) those who during the time of temptation fall away (v.13), (iii) those who are choked by the cares of life, and (iv) those who bring forth fruit with patience (v.15).

In relation to the divisions (i) and (ii) one may say that $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\lambda}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omicron}$ $\overset{\circ}{\gamma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omicron}$ $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omega}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$ $\overset{\circ}{\theta}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omicron}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$ occurs four times in the gospel (Lk.5:1, 8:11, 21, 28). It occurs also in Mark 7:13, but never in Matthew. In relation to Satan Luke uses $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\delta}$ $\overset{\circ}{\iota}$ $\overset{\circ}{\alpha}$ $\overset{\circ}{\beta}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omicron}$ $\overset{\circ}{\lambda}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omicron}$ $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}$, Mark $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\beta}$ $\overset{\circ}{\alpha}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$ $\overset{\circ}{\alpha}$ $\overset{\circ}{\nu}$ $\overset{\circ}{\alpha}$ $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}$, and Matthew $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\pi}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omicron}$ $\overset{\circ}{\gamma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\mu}$ $\overset{\circ}{\rho}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omicron}$. In verse 13 Luke has $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\nu}$ $\overset{\circ}{\kappa}$ $\overset{\circ}{\alpha}$ $\overset{\circ}{\lambda}$ $\overset{\circ}{\rho}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omega}$ $\overset{\circ}{\pi}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\lambda}$ $\overset{\circ}{\rho}$ $\overset{\circ}{\lambda}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omicron}$ $\overset{\circ}{\mu}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omicron}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$ $\overset{\circ}{\lambda}$ $\overset{\circ}{\psi}$ $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$ $\overset{\circ}{\alpha}$ $\overset{\circ}{\nu}$ $\overset{\circ}{\alpha}$, while Mark and Matthew use the expression $\overset{\circ}{\mu}$ $\overset{\circ}{\lambda}$ $\overset{\circ}{\iota}$ $\overset{\circ}{\psi}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omega}$ $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\eta}$ $\overset{\circ}{\delta}$ $\overset{\circ}{\iota}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omega}$ $\overset{\circ}{\gamma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\mu}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omicron}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$ (Mk.4:17).

One may approach the reference to Satan in this passage from two points of view: either the interpretation of the parable is Jesus' own attitude, or it is due to the early Christian Church.⁽¹⁾ The reference to Satan is not concerned with sinful actions, or human deeds caused by Satan, nor is it concerned with disbelief. The word is taken away by Satan, before it could create any faith.

$\overset{\circ}{\iota}$ $\overset{\circ}{\nu}$ $\overset{\circ}{\lambda}$ $\overset{\circ}{\mu}$ $\overset{\circ}{\eta}$ $\overset{\circ}{\pi}$ $\overset{\circ}{\lambda}$ $\overset{\circ}{\gamma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\nu}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$ $\overset{\circ}{\alpha}$ $\overset{\circ}{\nu}$ $\overset{\circ}{\alpha}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$ $\overset{\circ}{\omega}$ $\overset{\circ}{\sigma}$ $\overset{\circ}{\tau}$, may be Luke's addition.⁽²⁾ For this situation there is only one interpretation possible from Jesus' point of view, "der Satan ist schuld, er hindert das Verstehen des Wortes [and] ... damit will er also das ganze Heilsgeschehen denn als solches ist die Verkündigung des Wortes ... angesehen - unmöglich machen."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Noack, Ibid., p.111.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

The reference to Satan can be related also to the mission of the early Church, when "das Evangelium wurde gepredigt und gehört, aber nicht verstanden und geglaubt."⁽¹⁾

In this connection one may consider II Cor.4:3-4: "And even if our gospel is veiled, it is veiled only to those who are perishing. In their case the God of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers." The god of this world is Satan, because of him the gospel remains veiled for many. "Der Teufel will nicht die Verkündigung des Evangeliums dulden, denn er ist der Widersacher Gottes, dessen Herrschaft über die Welt ... durch ... die Predigt des Evangeliums-gefährdet ist."⁽²⁾

(d) The Woman with ΠΥΕΡΑ ΑΓΓΕΥΕΛΙΣ
(Lk.13:10-17).

This narrative is the last mention of Jesus' teaching in the synagogue in the Gospel of Luke. The exorcism is unique in this sense that Jesus does not exorcise the spirit of infirmity by means of his authoritative word, but by laying his hands upon the woman. The medical term of this exorcism is ΕΝΕΡΓΗΤΗΡΟΝ (v.14), and not ΕΞΕΒΛΕΥ (Mk.1:34). Instead of the ΠΥΕΡΑ ΑΓΓΕΥΕΛΙΣ ΟΒΛΑΥΑΣ is mentioned in v.16, as the originator of the woman's ΑΓΓΕΥΕΛΑ. Jesus' diagnosis of the case is as follows: "This woman, a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan bound for eighteen years" (v.16). There are also opinions expressed that this narrative is a regular exorcism story, and "it is just possible that the

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.112.

controversy of the Sabbath made it desirable to Luke to intensify the character of the sickness [ascribing it to $\delta\beta\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$], which otherwise might have been ascribed to the influence of a demon." (1)

Accordingly, one may assume that Satan can perform the same functions as the demons, namely, "dass er auch ohne ihre [demons] Hilfe als Zerstörer und Plagegeist wirken kann." (2)

2. Demons and Exorcism in the Gospel of Luke. (3)

One may present here a short review about demons. For the designation of demons the N.T. uses the following names: $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\rho\iota\alpha$, and also $\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha$ or $\pi\omicron\nu\mu\phi\acute{\iota}$. $\Delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu$ is mentioned only once in the N.T., the regular designation being $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\rho\iota\alpha$. One may define a demon as "ein nicht-menschliches persöhnliches Wesen, das den Menschen irgend wie Schaden zufügen kann." (4) Further, one may also indicate that demons are unclean, because they "ausserhalb des anerkannten Kultes stehen." (5) In relation to $\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ one may indicate that it "unterscheidet sich von diesem [demon] nur durch die Hervorhebung des übermenschlichen nichtleiblichen Wesens." (6) Because of this demons can enter and again leave human beings.

"Man meint, sie empfänden selber den Mangel eines Körpers,

(1) S. Eitrem, Some Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament, Oslo, 1950, p.32.

(2) Noack, Ibid., p.74.

(3) Cf. on demons the first chapter of this study.

(4) Noack, Ibid., p.51.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

suchten eine "Ruhestätte" und betrachteten den Menschen (oder das Tier ...) als ihr "Haus". Daher sind sie so gefährlich für die Menschen."⁽¹⁾

Further, one can state that the influence of demons upon the possessed beings is purely physical, "Besessenheit bedeutet Krankheit."⁽²⁾ Nowhere is it indicated that after the exorcisms the former demoniacs have changed from an ethical point of view or that their sins are forgiven. At the same time the demons are individual beings. They are making a conscious transfer from one human being to another.

On the one hand, there are instances, which distinguish between being sick and being possessed by the demons (Lk.13:32, Mk.1:32, Mt.7:22, etc.). On the other hand, there are also instances, which indicate that demons are the cause of all kinds of sicknesses (Lk.6:18, Mk.6:7, etc.). The tradition is not uniform in relation to this matter. One has to notice here two types of developments: "nach der ältesten stammten alle Krankheiten, nach der jüngeren nur Geistes oder ähnliche Krankheiten von der Wirksamkeit der bösen Geister."⁽³⁾ In the origin of the demons the N.T. is not interested. The gospels only affirm the fact that demons exist.

Demons are God's enemies. They are enemies also of God's creation, and the misery, which demons cause is contradictory to God's will. Jesus fights demons by means of exorcisms. His disciples also do the same (Mt.10:1 and par., cf. also

(1) Ibid., p.66.

(2) Ibid., p.68.

(3) Ibid., p.67.

Mk.9:38-40). "Der ... Kampf Jesu gegen die Dämonen ist kein Kampf gegen die Sünde, sondern ein Kampf gegen die Krankheiten."⁽¹⁾ Jesus could cast out demons in the power of the approaching Kingdom of God. However, "das bedeutet aber nicht dass die Betreffenden durch diese Taten Jesu in das Gottesreich, versetzt wurden, und mit einer Darstellung der Niederschlage Satans und der Dämonen ist nicht das ganze Heil geschildert."⁽²⁾ The situation in relation to demons in Luke is the same as in relation to Satan. The demons are already destroyed, but not yet completely eliminated. Further, one can still say that Luke refers less to exorcisms than, for example, Mark. There are only three exorcisms, and three summary statements about exorcisms in Luke, in comparison with Mark's five exorcisms and three summary statements (cf. Mk.1:21-28, 3:20-27, 5:1-20, 7:24-30, 9:14-29, and 1:32-34, 1:39, 3:11-12).

The following examples are presented as short illustrations of Luke's approach to exorcisms.

(a) Peter's Mother-in-Law (Lk.4:38-39).⁽³⁾

The expression $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\lambda\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu$ in this passage indicates that fever is regarded as a personal agent (cf. Lk.13:11,16; Mk.9:17). On Jesus' day fevers were distinguished as $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ and $\mu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}$.⁽⁴⁾ The fever leaves Peter's Mother-in-Law with a surprising suddenness. Her cure is complete, because immediately she can serve those present in her house.

(1) Ibid., p.74.

(2) Ibid., p.75.

(3) Reference to this passage is made also in Chapter One of this study.

(4) Plummer, St. Luke, p.137.

(b) The Demonic of the Country of the Gerasenes (Lk.8:26-39).

In this narrative two problems occupy the commentators: (i) the name of the place, and (ii) the possibility of demons to transfer themselves from a human being to pigs. In relation to the name different MSS support three different readings: Γαδαρηνῶν, ΑΡΓΑΛΛΗ, etc., Γεργεσηνῶν, B, C, D; Γεργεσηνῶν, ~~ΛΧΞ~~ minusc. ⁽¹⁾ _{sex.} The particular place is located on the Eastern shore of the Lake of Galilee. Mark supports the reading Gerasenes, Matthew reads Gadarenes. The Lucan MSS support these two readings. However, there is still a third group of MSS in relation to Luke which describe the place as Gergesenes. "This preferred reading goes back only to Origen," ⁽²⁾ third century A.D. Gerasa is fifty miles from the Lake. Gadara is also located about seven miles south-east of the Lake. Gergesa is the modern Kursi, located near the eastern shore of the Lake.

One can look upon the demoniac as ^adisintegrated personality. "The man conceived himself to be possessed by a whole regiment of demons; like the country he lived in, it was enemy-occupied territory, and it may well be that his condition arose out of a traumatic experience associated with the Roman occupation." ⁽³⁾ The expression *Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰουδαῖος* is an indication that this man is not a Jew (cf. Gen.14:20-22; Num.24:16; Isa.14:14, etc.)

The problem that demons, who are supposed to be purely spiritual beings, can enter pigs, which are purely animal, -

(1) Ibid., p.227.

(2) Manson, Ibid., p.95.

(3) Caird, Ibid., p.121.

has raised much speculation. The most modern approach to this question indicates that "the cure was accompanied by a violent ... convulsion, which caused a nearby herd of pigs to stampede in disastrous panic."⁽¹⁾ However, the onlookers, if they were Jews, according to contemporary beliefs, looked upon demons and pigs as unclean. Thus after Jesus' command that the demons should leave the demoniac, the onlookers associated the demons with the pigs as their new residence.

(c) The Epileptic Child (Lk.9:37-43).

In this narrative the point of importance is Jesus' impatience in relation to the perverse generation. The perverse generation refers to Deutr.3:5. "It is addressed to the father, and includes the multitude."⁽²⁾ "How long am I to be with you and bear with you" (v.41; cf. Num.14:27). The people do not understand Jesus and what Jerusalem means for Jesus. The slowness of their comprehension irritates Jesus: "I came to cast fire upon the earth; and would that it were already kindled. I have a baptism to be baptised with, and how I am constrained until it is accomplished," (Lk.12:50-51). Further, Jesus has come down from the exalted experience of the Transfiguration mountain to a world of sickness and despair. The presence of the demon in this case is seen in the convulsions of the boy, ἔρρηξεν δὲ τὸν τὸ δαυμόριον. "The word is used of boxers knocking down and of wrestlers throwing an opponent."⁽³⁾ However, those, whom Jesus sent out, are standing helplessly by.

(1) Ibid., p.122.

(2) Plummer, Ibid., p.255.

(3) Ibid.

Consider in this connection the following verse: "And he called the Twelve together and gave them power and authority over all demons and to cure diseases" (Lk.9:1). The exorcism left the boy in a condition which still required healing, which Luke indicates separately: "Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit and healed the boy." (v.42).

(d) Summaries about Exorcisms
(Lk.4:41; 6:18; 13:32).

In relation to these three condensed accounts of exorcism only a short summary can be presented. The expression ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ (v.41) indicates that the presence of the Divine holiness is felt by the demons. In v.18

$\text{ἀπὸ πνευματικῶν ἀκῶν}$ - may refer either to ἐνοχλούμενοι or to ἐνεπλησμένοι - ἀσπῶν . In v.32 "Jesus gives the casting out of demons and the healing of the sick as signs of the Messianic works." (1)

(1) Ibid., p.349.

F. Evidence of Satan's Presence Outside the So-Called Heilsgeschichte in Luke.

There are two major occurrences in Luke's gospel, which tell or reflect Jesus' personal temptation experiences (cf. also Mk. and Mt.): (1) temptation proper (Lk.4:1-13), and (2) Agony before arrest (Lk.22:39-46).

I. Temptation of Jesus (Luke 4:1-13)

Luke's short temptation narrative is pregnant with many biblical terms, such as wilderness, devil, Holy Spirit, etc. Most of these terms are discussed in Chapter One of this study. However, at the very beginning one's attention is attracted by the change of the temptation order in Luke. Matthew places the temptation on the temple pinnacle as second in the series (Mt.4:5). However, it is doubtful whether Matthew's $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$, which introduces his second temptation, and the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota$, which introduces his third temptation, "are intended to specify sequence in time."⁽¹⁾ In all probability neither Matthew nor Luke was interested in the chronology of the temptation occurrences. Only since Luke's final temptation scene takes place in Jerusalem, one may gain the impression that Jesus is returning ($\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$, Lk.4:14) from Jerusalem to Galilee. Conzelmann indicates this fact, saying that it "erweckt die Vorstellung, dass der Weg Jesu in Jerusalem beginnt."⁽²⁾

Jesus' temptation takes place between his baptism in Jordan and the first phase of his mission, the wandering in

(1) Ibid., p.110.

(2) Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, p.21.

Galilee. One has to notice that Luke omits (v.5) the word ὄρος in comparison with Matthew (4:8). Also Matthew's reference to angels, ἄγγελος, is omitted (Mt.4:11). However, the term wilderness, ἔρημος, strikes one's attention. One has to notice also the concept of the Holy Spirit, the statement about fasting, the Biblical term "forty days", the πτερόν of the temple, and the two contestants, δαίβολος and Jesus.⁽¹⁾ Before the discussion of the temptation occurrences one has to consider some of the terms associated with Temptation in Luke.

1. Some of Luke's Terms Pertaining to Temptation.

(a) Τὸ πτερόν τοῦ ἑρῶν

It is impossible to determine exactly what the πτερόν means (Lk.4:9, Mt.4:5). However, it must have been well known to the people of Jesus' time. It may be the top of the Royal porch. It may be also the top of Solomon's porch or the roof of the temple.⁽²⁾ Judaism associates also the coming of the Messiah with the roof of the Temple. According to Josephus, when Jerusalem was destroyed A.D.70, and the temple was burned, many of the priests leaped from the temple roof into the flames, because rumours were circulating that they will experience salvation, while leaping from the Temple roof.⁽³⁾

(b) Forty Days.

There are commentaries, which indicate that the expression

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- (1) Almost all of these terms are discussed in Chapter One of this study, cf. subdivision on temptation.
 (2) Plummer, Ibid., p.113.
 (3) Lohmeyer, "Die Versuchung Jesu", ZSTh, 14 (1937), p.635.

"forty days" may be taken either with $\eta\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\omicron$... or with $\pi\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$.⁽¹⁾ One may look upon temptation and the leading by the Spirit as taking place at the same time.

Matthew uses the longer form of the biblical expression "forty days" and "forty nights" (Mt.4:2). The "forty days" in Luke may refer to Moses', Elijah's and Abraham's fasting.⁽²⁾ Moses fasts forty days (and also nights) on Mount Sinai, when God gives to him the Ten Commandments (Ex.34:28, Deutr. 9:9,18). Elijah fasts in the wilderness, when he takes refuge from Jezebel (I K.19:5,8). Similarly Abraham, when he was wandering on Mount Horeb, neither ate nor drank for forty days and nights (Apoc. of Abraham 12:1).

(c) Jesus' Fasting.

The Temptation narrative is the only place in the N.T., which mentions Jesus' Fasting (Lk.4:2, Mt.4:2, cf. also Mk.2:18, Mt.11:19).

Fasting was a well known custom in the Judaistic and Hellenistic world. According to the Gentile views, a magician could increase his strength through fasting. According to Judaism, fasting is a sign of sinfulness and contrition. An illustration of this fact is the fasting of Adam and Eve after their fall.⁽³⁾ In the O.T. one may find references to the fasting of Moses and Elijah (Ex.34:28; Deutr.9:9; I K.19:5,8). In comparison with the fasting experiences just mentioned, Jesus' fasting is unique. Namely, the actual goal of fasting is to prepare man for God's revelation, while

(1) Plummer, Ibid., p.107.

(2) Kittel, T.D.N.T., Vol.II, p.658.

(3) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.626.

contrary to the traditional view fasting prepares Jesus for a dialogue with Satan. ⁽¹⁾

(d) Luke 4:13.

After this outline of some biblical terms associated with Luke's temptation story, one has still to consider the phrases ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΠΕΛΠΛΟΜΟΥ and ΔΥΡΕΜΑ (Lk.4:13), and ΠΥΡΕΜΑ. According to Conzelmann, after ΠΙΣΤΙΣ "die Versuchung ist ein für allemal ... zu Ende". ⁽²⁾ However, in this connection one has to consider the following passages of the Heilszeit: the Beelzebul Controversy (Lk.11:14-33), the Woman with the Spirit of Infirmity (Satan) (Lk.13:10-17), the reference to Satan (Lk.10:18), and the number of references to demons in Luke's Gospel (Lk.4:38-39; 4:41; 8:11-15; 26-39; 9:37-43; 13:31-51). ⁽³⁾ The meaning of ΔΥΡΕΜΑ is illustrated in Acts. (Acts 13:10-11).

(e) ΠΥΡΕΜΑ

During the baptism (Lk.3:21-22) Jesus receives strength for his mission, when he is anointed with the Spirit (Lk.4:14; 18:1, Acts 4:27; 10:38). According to Acts, the anointing with the Spirit is the essential requirement for Jesus' mission and activity. "Now God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit ... now he went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil." (Acts 10:38). In reference to Jesus Mark states that ΤΟ ΠΥΡΕΜΑ ΔΙΔΟΥ ΕΚΒΛΛΕΙ (Mk.1:12) in the wilderness. This statement makes an impression that the spirit is responsible for Jesus' encounter

(1) Ibid., p.629.

(2) Conzelmann, Ibid., p.22.

(3) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p.629.

with Satan. Matthew makes the same impression in relation to Jesus $\alpha \nu \eta \chi \alpha \tau \eta$. . . $\epsilon \pi \acute{\omicron} \tau \omicron \upsilon \pi \nu \epsilon \upsilon \mu \alpha \tau \omicron \varsigma \pi \epsilon \rho \alpha \theta \eta \nu \alpha \lambda \lambda \epsilon \tau \omicron \delta \epsilon \alpha \beta \omicron \lambda \omicron \upsilon \nu$ (Mt.4:1). According to Luke, Jesus $\eta \gamma \epsilon \tau \omicron \epsilon \nu \tau \omicron \upsilon \pi \nu \epsilon \upsilon \mu \alpha \tau \omicron \varsigma$ $\epsilon \nu \tau \eta \epsilon \rho \eta \mu \omega$ (Lk.4:1). Only in Luke the adjective "Holy" is added to the Spirit.

II. The Temptation Narrative.

The first temptation (Lk.4:3-4) is related to the expectation of Judaism, "dass der eschatologische Vollender das Volk mit himmlischen Brot speisen werde." (1)

The first temptation in Luke can be also associated with the feeding or manna miracle of the O.T. (Exod.16-17). In the N.T. there is also evidence that the "Vollender" will feed the faithful (Jn.6:34,35; Acts 2:17): "Jesus said to them, 'I am the bread of life'" (Jn.6:35). Further, one has to consider in this connection also the feeding miracles in the Gospels (Mk.6:32-34; Mt.14:13-21; Lk.9:11-17), and the Lord's Supper (Mk.14:22-25, Mt.26:26-29, Lk.22:17-19). Thus Jesus is tempted here as the eschatological "Vollender".

Further, the first temptation does not consist of the fact that Jesus is asked to perform a miracle and to change a stone into a loaf of bread, but that Jesus is asked by Satan to perform this miracle. The focal point of this temptation in relation to Jesus is the "Weg und Art seines Werkes". (2) Will Jesus receive orders for his mission from Satan or from God? To this problem is related also the statement in Mark 3:22 : "He is possessed by Beelzebul, and

(1) Lohmeyer, "Die Versuchung Jesu", p.629.

(2) Ibid., p.630.

by the prince of demons he casts out the demons". The first temptation deals with "eine ursprüngliche Frage der Sendung Jesu".⁽¹⁾ It has to be made clear once for all that Jesus has come to destroy Satan and all demons. The main emphasis in this temptation is not upon the person of Jesus, but upon his task. Jesus as the eschatological "Vollender" is required by Satan to perform the eschatological miracle of feeding. Consequently, Satan's order is a temptation, by means of which Satan tries to destroy God's plan in connection with the mission of Jesus. Jesus answers, with Deutr.8:3, "Man shall not live by bread alone". This idea is implied also in John 4:34 and 5:20, "My food is to do the will of him who sent me" (v.34). Thus Jesus' rejection of Satan is a definite one. Only then Jesus will act "wenn er das Wort vernimmt, das aus Gottes Munde fährt".⁽²⁾

The second temptation in Luke is the third temptation in Matthew, where it is dominated by the Mountain scene (Mt.4:8. Cf. Lk.4:5, "and the devil took him up"). References to this mountain one may find in O.T. apocalyptic literature and in Revelation (Deutr.34:1-4, Apoc. Bar.76:3, Rev.21:10). The moment of temptation in Luke's second scene is described by the phrase *ὁ δὲ... ἔδωκεν προσκύνησιν* (v.7), because worship is that attitude which only God can require. Jesus rejects this temptation with a quote from the O.T. (Deutr.6:13). At this moment, when the temptation takes place, Satan is the Lord of the whole world. However, Jesus' right attitude towards God and the rejection of Satan endangers Satan,

(1) Ibid., p.631.

(2) Ibid., p.632.

because Jesus is able to achieve an anti-Satanic lordship over the world in harmony with God's will (cf. Mt.28:18).

In the third temptation in Luke Satan's demand is directed towards God's power to save a pious person, a prophet, God's son in a dangerous situation. The pious prophet is also challenged by Satan to prove that he is God's son. The end of the Just One will prove, whether he is or is not God's Son. God will save his son from all danger. One may consider in this connection the Wisdom of Solomon (Wisd.2:17-19), where the wicked plan to test, *ΠΕΛΡΩΜΕΥ*, the Just One.

Thus Jesus is tempted during the third scene in Luke to throw himself down from the pinnacle of the temple roof. This scene is related to the temptation during crucifixion (Mt.27:40-42, Lk.23:37). This temptation is "die typische Herausforderung des Gerechten durch Gottes Widersacher."⁽¹⁾ In fact, Satan is planning to kill Jesus through the dangerous attempt to throw himself down, because Satan is trying to assure Jesus that God will save him through a miracle. However, Satan does not believe that God will save Jesus, because in the scriptural quote, which Satan uses (Ps.91:11-12), he omits the phrase "to guard you in all your ways." (v.11).

The characteristics of Jesus himself change in each temptation scene. During the first temptation Jesus demonstrates himself as the Son of God.⁽²⁾ The appearance of this Son of God upon the stage of human history means the beginning

(1) Ibid., p.638.

(2) Ibid., p.633.

of the Heilszeit. At the same time Jesus is the Son of Man, the representative of the eschatological fulfilment.

During the second temptation in Luke Jesus resists the temptation as Son of Man, with whom are associated the ideas of judgement and world dominion. During the third temptation, according to Luke, the designation Son of God means, at first, only a pious human being, who is chosen by God for a special mission. "A man attested to you by God with mighty works and wonders and signs, which God did through him in your midst" (Acts 2:22). Jesus is a man similar to the O.T. prophets. However, since he is undergoing such a fierce temptation, this fact indicates clearly that Jesus is more than a prophet in the common sense of the word. One can state that Jesus encounters the third temptation in Luke as that pious One, who after the fulfilment of his mission will become the Messiah of his nation.

III. The Agony Passage, Luke 22:39-46, and Temptation.

1. A General Outline.

In relation to this passage one may indicate that it is "nicht nur eine starke Kürzung, sondern auch eine erhebliche Milderung der Darrstellung des Mc (und des Mt.)" ⁽¹⁾ In relation to Mark's and Matthew's Gethsemane story there are again opinions that the story is not a united whole, but that it is a combination of two prayers of Jesus at two different occasions combined with sayings of Jesus, which indicates that the agony of Jesus is an inner, personal experience. ⁽²⁾ For

(1) L. Brun, "Engel und Blutschweiss", Lk.22:43-44, ZNW, 32 (1933), p.267.

(2) Boman, "Der Gebetskampf Jesus", NTS, X (1964), pp 270-271.

example, "my soul is very sorrowful even to death" (Mk.14:34), and also "yet not what I will, but what thou wilt" (Mk.14:36^b). The early Christians have tried to explain the anxiety of Jesus with quotations from the O.T. The first saying refers to Psalms Xlii 6,12; Xliii 5. The second saying either could refer to Phil. 2:8; Hebrews 5:8f, or it belongs also to the third phase interwoven in the Gethsemane story. The agony, which comes near to temptation, is indicated only in two places in Luke's account, namely, by the word τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν (Lk.22:42), and in the two verses about the appearance of the angel and sweat of blood (vv. 43-44).

In relation to the Synoptics one may state that the Gethsemane account contradicts many characteristics of Jesus' life. For example, one has to remember Caesarea Philippi, where Jesus without any fear rebukes Peter as Satan (Mk.8:30-33). Further, Jesus during the Passion is very calm before the Gethsemane prayer and also afterwards. It was not Jesus' habit to pray in the company of other men, not even in the company of the disciples, the only exceptions in this connection being the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mk.5:35-43) and par.), the Transfiguration (Mk.9:2-8 and par.), and Jesus' prayer in John 17. Also the sleeping of the disciples during Jesus' agony in Gethsemane seems unnatural. Luke tries to provide explanation for it, saying that they fell asleep, because of sorrow (Lk.22:45). The disciples had to pray during this hour of agony. Only through prayer one can hope to overcome each temptation. Further, the fear and anxiety of Jesus is hard to understand, because it continues only as

long as Jesus stays in Gethsamane. At the hour of arrest Jesus does not continue to show fear. One has to remember in this connection also the cleansing of the temple (Mk.11:15-7 and par.).[^] During "Die letzten Tage war ... [Jesus] so aufgetreten, dass er seine Gegner zu einem Gegenschlag direct herausforderte." (1)

According to these considerations, the Gethsemane story in Mark and Matthew is a combination of "zwei ganz verschiedenartige Gebetsstunden Jesu." (2) There are indications in John and in Hebrews that Jesus had an experience of agonized prayer before the night of his prayer in Gethsemane (Jn.12:27, Hebr.5:7). In John 12:27 Jesus says: "Now is my soul troubled. And what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour?" The Gethsemane prayer proper can be related to John 17. Hebrews presents the same theme: "In the days of his flesh, Jesus offered up prayers and supplications, with loud cries and tears" (Hebr.5:7).

Consequently, some modern scholars accept the fact that after the Entry in Jerusalem Jesus had experienced a fierce, agonized prayer in the presence of his disciples, and that in Gethsemane he spent a night in peaceful prayer. An account of these matters is given by K. G. Kuhn. In Mark's Gethsemane story (Mk.14:32-42) verses 32, 35, 40 and 41⁽³⁾ present the real Gethsemane narrative, Jesus' prayer experience during the night before his arrest, while verses 33, 34, 36, 37, 38⁽⁴⁾ describe an agonized Jesus' prayer experience before the night in Gethsemane.

(1) Ibid., p.263.

(2) Ibid., p.264.

(3) K. G. Kuhn, "Jesus in Gethsemane", Ev. Theol., 12 (1952/53), pp 266-267.

(4) Ibid.

Illuminative for the causes of Jesus' pre-Gethsemane agonized prayer is the section Luke 22:31-34, where Jesus says that Peter is demanded by Satan. The historical fact behind this saying could have been the possibility that "das Synedrium während der Verhandlung mit Judas die Verhaftung der Jünger jedenfalls des Petrus ernsthaft erwog." (1)

When vv. 43-44 are omitted, Luke's Gethsemane story appears to be an abbreviated form of Mark. In Luke 22:39-40 the name Gethsemane is not mentioned, the disciples are not divided in two circles, and the agony of Jesus' soul is not mentioned. Instead of the two sayings of Jesus, Mark 14:32 and 34, in Luke there is only one saying (v.40). Luke 22:41-42 retains from Mark only Jesus' withdrawal "about a stone's throw" from the disciples, then kneeling and praying and the prayer to the Father. In Luke 22:45-46 Jesus comes to the disciples only once. The sleeping of the disciples is excused. The reason is their sorrow. At the end Jesus repeats the exhortation about prayer (v.40).

The $\pi\omicron\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ (Lk.22:42) is the indication in Luke of Jesus' agonised prayer. There are two cups in relation to Jesus' mission, the cup of Gethsemane and the other cup. The other cup is described in Mark 10:33 and parallels (Lk.12:50). This personal cup of deliverance in the hands of sinners, of mocking and death, Jesus is willing to drink. The cup in Luke 22:42 is an unexpected addition to Jesus' Passion "ein letzter Versuch Satans, ihn durch seine schwachen Jünger tödlich zu treffen." (2) No wonder that scripture references,

(1) Boman, Ibid., p.270.

(2) Ibid., p.271.

which refer to the agonized prayer, speak about tears and cries (Hebr.5:7), prostration to the ground (Mk.14:35), and bloody sweat (Lk.22:44).

In the Gethsemane passage Luke's emphasis is upon the question how one could overcome $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ through prayer. The content of the prayer is the $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ of Jesus (v.28), and the $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ of the disciples. In Luke's Gethsemane story Jesus is a man of prayer, and his prayer in Luke is "ein siegreich überwindender Kampf bis aufs Blut."⁽¹⁾ Also the encouraging Angel before the $\lambda\gamma\omega\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ points to this fact. Only prayer can overcome the $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ of Satan.

2. Luke 22:43-44.

Verses 43-44 in Luke 22 are contained by some MSS, but omitted by others. They are retained by Justin, Irenaeus, S.D.⁽²⁾ They are omitted by BAW, Ferrargroup; f; Syr.Sin, Marcion, Clem. Al., Orig., Cyr. Al.⁽³⁾

Although Acts contains many references to angels, in Luke's Gospel angels appear only in the Birth narratives, (Chap.1-2), the Gethsemane story (Lk.22:39-46), and the resurrection appearances (Chap.24). Otherwise there are no angels in the Gospel of Luke, because the gospel portrays the Heilszeit. Since after Luke 22:3 the Heilszeit is over, the strengthening of Jesus by an angel takes place. The agony of Jesus' soul is presented in Luke in a very mild form (but cf. v.43f) in comparison with the portrayal of the

(1) T. Lescow, "Jesus in Gethsemane", Ev. Theol., XXIV (1966), p.221.

(2) Brun, Ibid., p.266.

(3) Kuhn, Ibid., p.268.

same agony in the Gospel of Mark. This is a very unusual trait for Luke, because "immer wieder wird das Leiden des Menschensohnes bei ihm betont, 9:31; 13:31f; 17:25; 22:15; 28:37; 24:7 26 46." (1)

The text of Luke's Gethsemane narrative is the same in both types of MSS, whether they do or do not retain vv. 43-44. These verses stress the appearance of the angel, the bloody sweat, the agony. The ὥφθη is not an indication of a vision or ecstasy, it describes just a regular experience of life. (2)

Ἄγω ῥέει can be related to II Macc. 3:14f; 15:19. It is a κἀτα φουχῆν ἄγω ῥέει (II Macc. 3:16). "Als Hintergrund dieses Angstkampfes werden wir die Angriffe und Versuchungen Satans anzusehen haben." (3) One may consider in this connection Luke 4:13, 22:3, 22:31, 22:53, 22 28 40 46. The devil "departed from him until an opportune time" (v.13); Then Satan entered into Judas (v.3); "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan demanded to have you" (v.31), "But this is your hour and the power of darkness" (v.53). Jesus "kämpft ... hier selbst im Gebet wider die Anfechtungen des grossen Gegners, der sein Werk vereiteln [through the temptation of his disciples, and] ihn selbst um den Sieg bringen will". (4) The degree of Jesus' despair and praying is indicated by the sweat of blood. However, the expression "sweat ... like ... drops of blood" is not a picturesque illustration of the actual occurrence. It is rather a foreshadowing of the real shedding of Jesus' blood in the crucifixion.

(1) Brun, Ibid., p.269.

(2) Ibid., p.269.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., p.172.

Further, one has still to point out that vv. 43-44 also provide some evidence that the Gethsemane account reflects two different prayer hours of Jesus. In v. 42 Jesus is praying peacefully that the Father's will may be done. However, in v. 43 suddenly an angel appears, ἄγγελος, who strengthens Jesus for ἡ μάχη, which follows immediately. "In diesem ... entscheidenden Kampfe hören wir dann ebenso von einer Steigerung des Gebets wie von leiblichen Folgen ..., die in ihrer Weise von der Heftigkeit des Kampfes zeugen." (1)

As parallel accounts in the O.T., where suffering men are strengthened by an angel, one may mention the story about Elijah, when he was fed by an angel (I K. 19:5f); further, one has to consider also Daniel 10:16f, and Psalm 91:11f. However, the most appropriate O.T. place for Luke 22:43 would be Isaiah 42:6, 41:9f: "You whom I took from the ends of the earth, and called from its farthest corner, saying to you, 'you are my servant, I have chosen you and not cast you off; fear not, for I am with you, be not dismayed, for I am your God'" (vv. 9-10). However, this verse does not refer to an angel.

In the N.T. references to strengthening angels or heavenly visions may be found in the temptation story (Mk. 1:12-13 and par.), Transfiguration (Mk. 9:1-8 and par.), Jn. 12:27f, and in Acts (7:56). Luke 22:42 indicates that Jesus is praying for the power to do God's will. At the same time one may accept, considering the hints in Hebr. 5:7, that "Satan als Gegner im Hintergrunde stehen wird ... [und Jesus] durch einen göttlichen Boten gestärkt ... zum Aushalten

(1) Ibid., p. 273.

gekräftigt worden ist." (1) This passage, in which the angel appears for the purpose of strengthening, is unique in Luke, though not in the other gospels; see Mark 1:13; Matthew 4:11; 26:53; John 1:51.

Jesus is strengthened by the angel, because his next experience is *ἀγωνία*, "was eine letzte Ausspannung seiner Kräfte ... einen Angstkampf um den Sieg andenten will." (2)

3. Appendix.

In connection with verses 43-44, the following interpretations have to be added: (a) a reference to the drops of blood (v.44), and (b) a reference to the angel (v.43). The drops of blood can be a realistic matter. Since the ground of Mount of Olives is rocky and covered with huge roots of old olive trees, it can be that during the fierce agony Jesus stumbled upon roots and upon rocks and bruised his face. This could happen very easily also, because of the dark night and the shady trees. Consequently, blood was dripping realistically down Jesus' cheeks, which the disciples in some distance confused with bloody sweat.

Attempts have been made to explain the angel mentioned in verse 43 with reference to Mark 14:51-52. In this passage Mark mentions a young man, who escapes from the forces, who arrested Jesus, naked, leaving his *χιτών* in their hands. *Σιτών* was a white night attire worn usually by the higher classes. (3) Acts 12:12-14 implies that Mark's mother was a

(1) Ibid., pp 271-272.

(2) Ibid.

(3) E. D. Jones, "Was Mark the Gardener of Gethsemane?" Exp. Times, XXXIII (1921-22), p.403.

well-to-do woman in Jerusalem, her house was one of the meeting places of the early Christians.

If the young man, mentioned in Mark 14:51-52, was Mark, then apparently Mark tried to defend Jesus, and because of this he had to flee naked. The most curious detail is the fact that the young man was clad only in night attire. Thus he could not belong to the crowd, who arrested Jesus, and his dwelling place had to be near. Consequently, there are suggestions made that Mark was either the owner of the garden or the gardener. This fact would explain Jesus' habit to spend nights in the garden (Jn.18:2). In this case Mark was sleeping in the watchtower of the garden.

Further, there are many places in Mark's gospel, which indicate that Mark was well acquainted with plants and plant-life. For example, "in his account of the Triumphal Entry (11:1-11) only Mark uses the technical term *στρωβιλλοὺς* - "layers of leaves" (11:8), Matthew has only the ordinary word for "twigs" - *κλάδοις*." (1) Cf. also Mark 12:1 and Mt.21:33 *ἡ πόλις* - pit, Mark 6:40 - *πρὸς τὰς* - garden beds, Mark 4:32 - *κλάδοις μεγάλαις* - great branches, while Matthew 13:31,32; Luke 13:18, 19 use *δένδρον*. (2) In all these passages Mark shows practical knowledge about plants and gardening, while Matthew and Luke refer wrongly even to the mustard plant, describing it as a tree (Mt.13:31-32; Lk.13:18-19).

It may be also that Mark spoke to Jesus in Gethsemane during the prayer, and he was noticed, because of his white

(1) Ibid., p.404.

(2) Ibid.

night attire. Accordingly, there are opinions that "This would explain the origin of the interpolated verse about the angel in Luke 22:43."⁽¹⁾

IV. Judas' and Peter's Temptation According to Luke.

1. Judas Iscariot and His Temptation.

Judas Iscariot is an enigma of the New Testament. The passages dealing with Judas Iscariot are as indicated: Mark, 14:10-11, 17:21:43; Matthew, 26:15-16, 27:3-10; Luke, 22:3-6, 21-23; and Acts 1:16-20. To these passages have to be added the lists of the disciples' names: Mark 3:16; Matthew 10:2-4; Luke 6:14-16; Acts 1:13. "One scholar hazards the suggestion that he [Judas] was the brother of Mary, Martha and Lazarus, whose complaint [during the anointing at Bethany] at the waste of ointment was motivated by a purely selfish interest."⁽²⁾ There are five problems associated with Judas: (1) his byname "Iscariot", (2) his relation to the O.T. types and Psalms, (3) the motives of his betrayal, (4) in what way betrayal was temptation for Judas in Luke, and (5) the death of Judas.⁽⁴⁾

(a) The Byname "Iscariot"

The name Judas is very common in the biblical world, but at the same time the byname "Iscariot" is a puzzle. According to a recent view,⁴ the word Iscariot ... belongs only to the Greek tradition ... the problem is to find the precise origin."⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ibid.

(2) Interpreter's Dict. of the Bible, Vol. E-J, p. 1007.

(3) B.W. Bacon, "What Did Judas Betray", Hibbert Journal XIX (1920-21), pp. 476-493; B. Gärtner, Die Rätselhaften Termini Nazoräer und Iscariot, Uppsala, 1957, pp. 49-53.

(4) K. Lake, "The Death of Judas", in Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, eds., The Beginnings of Christianity, vol. V, Macmillan and Co., London, 1933, pp. 23-30. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, pp. 374-380.

(5) C.C. Torrey, "The Name 'Iscariot'", H Th R, XXXVI(1943), p. 51.

There are two readings of Iscariot in the N.T.: Ἰσκαριώτης (Mt.10:4; 26:14; Lk.22:3; Jn.6:71;12:4; 13:2,26: 14:29), and Ἰσκαριώθ (Mk.3:19;14:10; Lk.6:16).⁽¹⁾

Iscariot could mean simply a man from Keriioth, a Judean, as contrasted with the other disciples, who all, according to the tradition, were Galileans. However, some modern scholars look upon this approach to Judas' by-name as outdated. The by-name Iscariot would not be an enigma today, if the evangelists had followed the routine way in translation of a place name in relation to Judas. For example, Νεθαρναήλ ὁ ἐπὶ Καρὶ τῆς Παλλυαίας (Jn.21:2), where the ὁ ἐπὶ construction is employed.

The O.T. mentions in several places names of certain towns in Southern Judea, which resemble Keriioth, Qariioth, קָרְיֹוֹתָיִם is mentioned in Josh.15:25, קָרְיֹוֹתָיִם alone in Jer.48:24 and Amos 2:2. In relation to Joshua 15:25 there are two different readings possible, Keriioth Hesron and the town of Hesron. The latest is the reading of LXX, and is preferred by modern scholarship. Thus the search for a town Keriioth in Judea has ended without any success.

Judas is not only a unique character in the N.T., because of the by-name Iscariot, but there is not any other individual known with a similar by-name. According to recent approaches to the name "Iscariot," conclusions have been made that this name is a nickname, and was given to Judas after the betrayal. by the followers of Jesus." Attached under such unique circumstances, and with the execration of a community sounding in it, the name

(1) Ibid.

would hold its place." (1) The examination of this theory leads to the following conclusions. In the Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. 6 (1942), Iscariot is associated with the Hebrew word $\check{s}eqer$, falsehood. It comes from the Hebrew שׁקֵר . These consonants of the Hebrew root are found as שׁקֵר in the name Iscariot. (2)

At the same time also Aramaic has this root, and the meaning is the same, false. This Aramaic root could be the origin of ܫܩܪܝܘܬܝܢ . (3) Deceit, treachery, falsehood is designated in Aramaic as ܫܩܪܝܘܬܝܢ , ܫܩܪܝܘܬܝܢ ($\check{s}eqar$, $\check{s}iqrā$). (4) From this root, plus the adjective ending ai, one may derive in Aramaic a word ܫܩܪܝܘܬܝܢ , $\check{s}aqrai$, "denoting a man characterised by $\check{s}eqar$ ". (5) This word "is the form which lies at the basis of the name Iscariot". (6) Further, Torrey quotes a sentence: "Either he is a liar (ܫܩܪܝܘܬܝܢ) or I am a liar (ܫܩܪܝܘܬܝܢ)". (7) The form can be also ܫܩܪܝܘܬܝܢ or ܫܩܪܝܘܬܝܢ ($\check{s}eqaryā$ or $i\check{s}qaryā$), by adding the ending $-ā$, which is equivalent to the definite article. (8) The meaning of this name then is "the false one".

In Palestinian syriac, the noun $\check{s}eqaryā$ translates the Greek ἠποκρυσῆς (9), which is found fourteen times in the gospels - twelve times in Matthew, one in Mark 12:15, and one in Luke 13:15. "In all but one of these cases the plural number is

(1) Ibid, p. 58.

(2) Ibid, p. 59.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid, p. 60.

(9) Ibid.

used, and for this reason it happens that the true history of the epithet has not always been understood." (1) The singular is found only in Matthew 7:5, [√]sqaryā, i.e., hypocrite. "It appears then, that the Jewish Aramaic epithet ... [√]seqaryā, 'false one, liar, hypocrite', known from Talmud and Targum, continued in use for some time in the Christian Palestinian dialect, and the occurrence in Matthew 7:5 of the very word which became "Iscariot" is a fact of no little interest." (2)

The name [√]sqarya was given to Judas after the betrayal, Judas the False. In the written form this word became [√]isqaryā, when to the [√]sqaryā was added a "prosthetic [√] and a more distinct initial syllable". (3)

The Greek translators did not translate Judas the False in Greek. They made only a Greek transcription of this word. To a substantive, which ends in -iā, is given the Greek ending -ωτης. Thus from $\beta\tau\rho\alpha\tau\tau\bar{\alpha}$ one derives $\beta\tau\rho\alpha\tau\tau\bar{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$, from $\Sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\bar{\alpha}$ - $\Sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\bar{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$, etc. "Accordingly, the transliterated Aramaic ܥܘܟܪܦܐ produced ἘϞκλρϞωτης ." (4)

(b) Judas Relationship to the Old Testament

In relation to Judas one may distinguish more or less between two types of reports. There are verses, which describe him as "one of the Twelve" (Mt.26:15-16), and also narratives which describe him as Judas Iscariot (Mk.14:10-11). Further, Judas can be related to the O.T. as a certain type, but his betrayal is discussed, particularly in the Synoptics, as a

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., pp. 60-61.

(3) Ibid., p. 61.

(4) Ibid.

fulfillment of O.T. prophecies.

(i) Judas' Relation to the Jewish Betrayer's Typology

One may notice the O.T. typology in Matthew 27:3-10. "Was Judas hier tut, hat sein Vorbild in der Geschichte des Achitophel, eines Beraters David" (1) (II Sam.16-17). According to II Samuel 16-17, Ahithophel belongs to the inner circle of David's friends. "The counsel which Ahithophel gave was as if one consulted the oracle of God, so was all the counsel of Ahithophel esteemed, both by David and by Absalom" (II Sam. 16:23). However, during the power struggle between David and Absalom the unbelievable thing happens that Ahithophel sides with Absalom and turns against David (II Sam.16:20-22; 17:2.). However, before making the final decision Absalom listens to Hushai the Archite and rejects Ahithophel (II Sam.17:1f). When Ahithophel realises the true situation that he is rejected by Absalom, he, like Judas, hangs himself: "And ... [Ahithophel] set his house in order, and hanged himself; and he died and was buried in the tomb of his fathers" (II Sam.17:23).

Because of the planned treason Ahithophel says to Absalom, "Let me choose twelve thousand men, and I will set out and pursue David tonight. I will come upon him while he is weary and discouraged, and throw him into panic, and all the people, who are with him will flee. I will slice down the king only" (II Sam.17:1-2). "Die Work Ahitofels erinnern stark an die Situation ... in der Gethsemane-nacht: Judas überfiel Jesus, als der am schwächsten war, and alle Jünger flohen und liessen ihn allein." (2)

(1) Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, p. 375.

(2) Gärtner, Die Rätselhaften Termini Nazoräer und Iscariot, p. 62.

Further, according to Luke 22:3, Acts 1:17, Matthew 26:47, John 13:21f, Judas is one "numbered among us". Similarly, according to Rabbinical interpretation,⁽¹⁾ Ahithophel was called by David "Meister ... Kollege ... Schüler".⁽²⁾ These designations are associated with Psalm 55:12-14, and Psalm 41:10: "Even my bosom friend in whom I trusted, who ate of my bread, has lifted his heel against me!" (v.10). One may compare with this verse Mark 14:18, "Truly, I say to you, one of you will betray me, one who is eating with me", and Luke 22:21, "But, behold, the hand of him who betrays me is with me on the table."

Further, "it is not an enemy who taunts me - then I could bear it; it is not an adversary, who deals insolently with me - then I could hide from him [Ps.55:12]. But it is you, my equal, my companion, my familiar friend" (v.13). "Was in dieses Textpartie unser wirkliches Interesse beansprucht ist einmal das kräftig hervorgehobene Motiv, dass der nächste Freund ein Verräter ist."⁽³⁾ Judas and Ahithophel are looked upon as human beings who are lost forever. In Rabbinical literature to the circle of the betrayers belong: Jeroboam, Ahab, Manasseh, Balaam, Doeg, Ahithophel and Gehasi.⁽⁴⁾

According to the rabbinic tradition about Ahithophel, the reward for betrayal was death and eternal damnation. One may consider here the tragic end of Ahithophel and Judas (II Sam. 17:23, Mt.27:5, cf. also Acts 1:18). The eternal damnation consists of the facts that all traitors are excluded from the

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid, p. 64.

everlasting Kingdom (Ps.69:28), "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living" (v.28). One has to consider in this connection also Psalm 109, "May his posterity be cut off; may his name be blotted out in the second generation" (v.13). Namely, "der Verräter geht ewig verloren. Wie Ahitofel samt den anderen alttestamentlichen Verrätern ... geht auch Judas verloren." (1) Both Pss. 69 and 109 are quoted in Acts 1:20.

(ii) Scriptural Quotes in Connection with Judas (Mt.26:14-10 and Mt.27:3-10)

In Matthew 26 reference is made to Zech.11:12, cf. the thirty pieces of silver. The thirty shekels of silver are mentioned also in Exodus 21:32 as a price for a slain slave. In Matthew 27 the chief priest do not put the thirty shekels in the treasury, cf. in this relation Deutr.23:18, "You shall not bring the hire of a harlot, or the wages of a dog, into the house of the Lord your God in payment for any vow, for both of these are an abomination to the Lord your God." The quote in verses 9-10 is not taken from Jeremiah, but from Zech.11:12-13. One may explain this peculiarity in the following manner, that "Jeremia das Corpus prophetarum eröffnet habe, so dass mit seinem Namen eben der ganze corpus zitiert werde." (2)

(iii) Judas' Betrayal (Lk.22:3-6)

The consideration of Judas situation in Luke reveals that neither the noun ΠΕΛΠΙΓΜΟΣ, nor the verb ΠΕΛΠΙΓΩ is mentioned in relation to him. However, it is said that the Twelve will be sifted, σιλευθήσονται, (Lk.22:31). It is said also about the Satan that he entered, εἰσῆλθεν, into Judas

(1) Ibid, p. 66.

(2) Lohmeyer, Ibid, p. 378.

(Lk.22:3). However, in this case Judas is not "possessed" in the sense of the demoniacs, and "Satan does not thereby become a direct participant in the historical drama."⁽¹⁾

One of the powers, by which Judas is bound, is represented by the thirty shekels of silver, i.e., the power of the unrighteous mammon (Lk.16:9). "The parallel representation of Satan (v.3) and money (v.5) as the motivating forces behind Judas' treason goes far beyond a merely moralistic warning against the dangers of wealth: money takes on the character of something demonic and opposed to God."⁽²⁾ Judas' association with the unrighteous mammon is Satan's power, which controls him.

The mention of money in the Judas narrative has its roots in demonology and eschatology. Money is "widergöttliches, dämonisches Gut",⁽³⁾ and is associated with τῆς λούκου (Lk.16:9). At the same time one has to remember that the time before the Parousia is a period of τῆς λούκου. The wages of τῆς λούκου are mentioned in connection with Judas (Acts 1:18), Judas buys a property with "the reward of wickedness." Ἰούκου is mentioned also in II Thess.2: vv.10 and 12. However, one of the most striking phrases in II Thess.2 is the expression πρὸς τῆς Ἰουλιανῆς (v.3). "Die Vokabel Ἰουλιανῆς kann eine mythologische und personhafte Färbung bekommen und weist ebenfalls auf die Endzeit,"⁽⁴⁾ which may refer also to Judas. He is designated as ^{the} πρὸς τῆς Ἰουλιανῆς (Jn.17:12).

(1) Schuyler Brown, Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke, Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, 1969, p. 85.
(2) Ibid.
(3) K. Lüthi, "Das Problem des Judas Iscariot - neu untersucht," Ev. Theol., 16, (1956), p. 100.
(4) Ibid.

Further, one has to state that Judas has free choice to become or not to become a traitor, i.e., abandon Jesus. This fact is indicated in Luke's call of the Twelve: "and Judas Iscariot who became (ἸΣΚΑΡΙΩΤ) a traitor" (Lk.6:16), and "Judas who became (ἸΣΚΑΡΙΩΤ) guide to those who arrested Jesus" (Acts 1:16). The same fact is indicated by "Judas' treachery as a series of deliberate acts."⁽¹⁾ Regardless of Satan's influence, Judas possesses also liberty to act on his own. Accordingly, Judas confers with the chief priests and captains how better to betray Jesus (Lk.22:4), while in Mark the chief priests and the scribes are seeking on their own how to kill Jesus (Mk.14.1-2). Judas makes an agreement also in relation to money (Lk.22:6), while in Mark the chief priests promise to give money to Judas (Mk.14:11).

Finally, one may ask what the betrayal means for Judas as a disciple. In connection with this one has to remember the outline of Luke's Gospel. It consists of three parts: Jesus' wandering in Galilee, journey to Jerusalem, and Passion. Thus one can say that discipleship in Luke "is realized in the form of a journey, whose way is determined by Jesus, whereas the disciples follow."⁽²⁾ There is evidence throughout the gospel of Luke that any one who really follows Jesus departs from Jesus only at Jesus' command (Lk.5:14-25, 8:39, 9:60, 19:32, etc.) Thus a sign of a faithful discipleship is the ability to persevere with Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem, and even till the crucifixion on Calvary.

(1) Schuyler Brown, Ibid., p.93.

(2) Ibid., p.82.

Jesus' requirement to follow him is always very strict: "But", he said, "Lord, let me first go and bury my father". But he [Jesus] said to him, "Leave the dead to bury their own dead, but as for you, go and proclaim the Kingdom of God." (Lk.9:59-60). Judas' downfall is indicated by the verb ἀπελθῶν (Lk.22:4). "Judas' unauthorized departure from Jesus ... represents a definite rupture of the bond of discipleship."⁽¹⁾ The betrayal of Judas is characterized also in Luke's Last Supper narrative. Mark states that Jesus came to the Supper with the Twelve (Mk.14:17), while Luke uses the word "apostles": "He sat at the table, and the apostles with him" (Lk.22:14). At the same time ὅτι δώδεκα⁹⁷ occurs more frequently"⁽²⁾ in Luke. This can mean only one thing, that the number Twelve do not exist any more. Thus Luke is speaking in this particular occasion about apostles.

Finally, Luke 22:14 is helpful in the definition of discipleship. To be a disciple means to be with him - ὅτι ἐκείνῳ ἐκείνῳ (Lk.22:14). However, at the same time physical presence alone is not characteristic for the Twelve. Judas is also present, but he is not one of the Twelve any more. To be ὅτι ἐκείνῳ ἐκείνῳ "expresses the apostles' solidarity with Jesus and their abiding faith in him."⁽³⁾

2. Peter and His Temptation According to Luke.

(a) General Considerations in Relation to Peter.

The name Peter is presented in various forms in the N.T. Peter is called Πέτρος, Πέτρος, Πέτρος Πέτρος, and also Πέτρος.⁽⁴⁾ Basic for all these variants is the

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., p.83.

(4) O. Cullmann, ThDNT, Vol.VI, p.100.

Hebrew name פִּיֶּטְרוֹס (cf. Acts 15:14, 2 Pt. 1:1). Κηφῶς is a Greek form of Aramaic כִּפְּיֹס . In comparison with the other disciples of Jesus, there are many biographical data known about Peter, even his father's name, Jona. In all probability Peter was a citizen of Bethsaida, who later lived in Capernaum. He earned his living by fishing in company with the sons of Zebedee (Mk.1:16 and par.; Lk.5:2; John 21:3). Peter was not educated, either from the Greek, or from the Hebrew point of view (Acts 4:13). Peter was married (Mk.1:29-31 and par.). In all probability Peter belonged to the Circle of John the Baptist (Jn.1:35-42).

Peter is the spokesman of the disciples. Next to him a special position is given also to Andrew, Peter's brother, and to the sons of Zebedee. Even in the inner circle of Jesus Peter stands in the forefront (Mk.5:37, 9:2,5; Mt.14:28, Lk.5:1f). However, there are also many places in the Gospels, where Peter acts similarly to the other disciples (Mk.8:29-33 and par., Mk.14:37, Mt.26:40). At the same time in the lists of the disciples Peter's name appears always first (Mk.3:16, Mt.10:2, Lk.6:14; Acts 1:13). Peter's priority is confirmed also by the following expressions: "Peter and they that were with him" (Mk.1:36, Lk.9:32), and "Tell his disciples and Peter" (Mk.16:7).

In modern scholarship Peter's name is associated with two problems: (i) the question of the Apostolic commission, Mt.16:17-19, and (ii) Peter's leadership in the early Church. Since these problems do not pertain to Peter in Luke's Gospel, they are only briefly mentioned in this study. (i) The

saying in Matthew 16:17-19 is found in the Caesarea Philippi section, but is not found in Mark and Luke. One may accept "that Matthew was seeking a place for the orally transmitted saying of Jesus to Peter."⁽¹⁾ "And ... under the influence of the parallelism between 'Thou art Christ' and 'Thou art Peter' he [Matthew] believed he had found a suitable point at Peter's confession."⁽²⁾ Further, it is thought that there is some parallelism between Matthew 16:17-19 and Luke 22:31-34,⁽³⁾ which contains Peter's affirmation that he will go to prison because of Jesus, and Jesus' prediction of Peter's denial and Jesus' order that Peter should strengthen the brethren. Another parallel passage, where interest is focused on Peter, is John 21:15-23, which "presupposes an incident in the earthly life of Jesus such as Luke 22:31-34 depicts."⁽⁴⁾ Only this passage presents a threefold affirmation of Peter that he loves Jesus, while Luke 22:31-34 predicts Peter's denial, but also his conversion and strengthening of the brethren, which may correspond with the "founding of the flock upon him as upon a rock."⁽⁵⁾

(ii) The second point of importance in relation to Peter is his leadership of the early Christian Community as portrayed in Acts and his missionary activity. His leadership can be summarised in the following way: Peter's role in the election of a new apostle in the place of Judas (Acts 1:15); his preaching on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:14), the healing of

(1) Ibid., p.105.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

the lame man (Acts 3:1), the defence of the early preaching against the authorities (Acts 4:8, 5:29), his role in matters of church discipline (Acts 5:1-11), his role in the mission of Samaria (Acts 8:14-17), conversion of Cornelius (Acts 9-10), his activity in Lydda, Joppa, Caesarea. (1)

Peter leaves Jerusalem after his imprisonment by Herod (Acts 12:17). The man, who now leads the Jerusalem Church, is James. Consequently, Peter appears only once more in Jerusalem, during the apostolic council (Acts 15, Gal.2:1-10). About Peter's missionary work, which he carried on after leaving Jerusalem, there are only three references: 1 Cor.9:4f.; Gal.2:11; I Peter 1:1. There are allusions that Peter worked in Asia Minor, and tradition associates his name with Antioch and Rome, and also with Corinth.

(b) Peter's Temptation in Luke.

It has already been indicated that there is no particular emphasis upon Peter in Luke's Gospel, although Luke presents Peter as the chief figure during the call of the disciples (Lk.5:1-11), the chief spokesman at Caesarea Philippi (Lk.9:18-21), and the first resurrection witness (Lk.24:34). The main passages, which deal with Peter's denial in the gospels are as follows: Jesus' prediction of Peter's denial Luke 22:31-34 (Mk.14:26-31; Mt.26:30-35, Jn.13:36-38, 21:15-17), and the denial of Jesus (Lk. 22:54^b-60; Mk.14:66-72; Mt.26:69-75, Jn.18:15-18, 25-27). (2) In this study the main emphasis is upon Jesus' prediction of Peter's denial in Luke (Lk.22:31-34 and 54^b-62).

(1) Ibid., p.109.

(2) M. Goguel, "Did Peter Deny His Lord?", HTHR, 25 (1932), p.1.

(i) Luke 22:31-34.

In this passage the stress is upon the verb $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$. This is the only place in the whole N.T., where $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ appears. Consequently, its real meaning can be demonstrated only from profane Greek. The usual translation "demanded you" does not express the essential meaning of this verb (v.31). This verb can be translated as to demand the surrender of a person (Liddell and Scott); demand of a slave for torture, especially, a criminal (Antipho 144,28), and "Jemand zur Peinigung ausgeliefert zu fordern".⁽¹⁾ At the same time the situation, which is described in Luke 22:31, is similar to Job, Chapters 1-2, and Rev.12:10: "And I heard a loud voice in heaven, saying, now ... the authority of Christ has come, for the accuser of our brethren has been thrown down, who accuses them day and night before our God." (v.10). As once Job was accused by Satan before God, so now Peter and the other disciples are accused. Job was accused unjustly, while there is a reason to accuse Peter and the other disciples. The reason is their weak faith, which is indicated by the expression "that your faith may not fail." (v.32).

In order to understand the expression (v.31) "that ... [Satan] might sift you like wheat", one has to consider what "sifting" meant in the ancient Palestine in relation to corn. With this "sifting" "er [Satan] macht sich Gott gegenüber anheischig, wie einst bei Hiob, zu beweisen, dass im Grunde der Beste von den Jüngern ein Judas sei ... Dem Satan ist es darum zu tun, allen Weizen ... als Spreu darzustellen. Auch

(1) Boman, Ibid., p.269.

bei Petrus sei noch viel Spreu." (1) There were two kinds of sieves in the ancient Palestine for sifting corn. The first type was very coarse, and the second type was very fine. The first type of sieve, when used, separated only the corn together with the chaff from all other rubbish like material, like little stones, pieces of earth, etc., which remained in the sieve. The second type of sieve separated the corn from the chaff. Thus only the corn finally remained in the sieve.

Considering the sifting of Peter and the disciples, one has to assume that Satan had in mind the sifting with the more coarse sieve. Satan's attention was not focused upon the faithfulness of the disciples, which can be compared to the sifting with the finer sieve, when only good wheat remains in the sieve. Satan is concerned with dirt, rubbish, and the garbage like qualities, which he hopes to find in Peter and in the other disciples. Such qualities, for example, as yielding to a temptation, lack of faith, etc. They give Satan the opportunity to accuse Peter and the other disciples before God. Also Jesus knows that Satan's temptation will destroy his disciples and with that also the forces, which could continue Jesus' mission, and for this reason Jesus prays in agony in order to save his cause. Satan "sucht die Schuld der Jünger herauszusieben, um sie als Ankläger vor Gott zu bringen, Er sucht das, worauf er sich dabei stützen kann." (2)

According to Judaism, everyone, who is accused by Satan, can be defended by the archangel Michael or by his own good deeds against Satan. In the case of Luke 22:31 "Jesus tritt

(1) W. Foerster, "Lukas 22:31f", ZNW, 46 (1955), p.130.

(2) Ibid., p.131.

fürbittend, als Anwalt, der Anklage Satans [in relation to Peter and the other disciples] vor Gott entgegen,"⁽¹⁾ cf. the $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \delta\epsilon\omicron$ (v.32). One can indicate the following situation as Satan's temptation, either the disciples could be crucified like Jesus, or they could deny Jesus before the Sanhedrin in order to save their lives. Consequently "waren [the disciples] ... nach einem solchen moralischen Zusammenbruch für immer als Apostel unbrauchbar geworden, das heisst, dass die von Satan verlangte Probe für Jesu eigene Sache in der Welt den Tod bedeuten würde."⁽²⁾

(ii) Peter's Denial (Lk.22:54-62).

Because of Satan's intention to sift Peter as peasants sift corn, one thing becomes clear to Jesus, namely, "die Verleugnung des Petrus."⁽³⁾ Peter will deny Jesus in a very near future, which is predicted in Luke 22:33-34. These verses reflect the self-consciousness of Peter. He does not think that Jesus' intercessory prayer is needed, because Peter is ready to go with Jesus to prison and to death (v.33). $\text{Μετὰ 60}\bar{\alpha}$ is an indication that Peter "has more confidence in his own feelings than in Christ's word."⁽⁴⁾ However, Jesus warns Peter, addressing him for the first and the last time in the gospels as $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma,\ \text{Πέτρος}$, (v.34), that "rock-like strength is not to be found in self-confidence, but in humble trust in ... Jesus."⁽⁵⁾ The true state of Peter's self-confidence is weakness, which is demonstrated

(1) Ibid.

(2) Boman, Ibid.

(3) Foerster, Ibid., p.132.

(4) Plummer, Ibid., p.504.

(5) Ibid., pp. 504-505.

very well at the very beginning of the denial narrative. Peter is frightened neither by the Sanhedrin, nor by Pilate, nor by the Jews, or Roman soldiers, but by a $\Pi\alpha\lambda\sigma\delta\epsilon\omicron\kappa\eta$.

On the whole, one can say that Luke's denial narrative is a modified form of Mark and Matthew. At the opening of the denial narrative Luke and Matthew state that a maid (v.56) in a courtyard attacks Peter, while Mark indicates that it is one of the maids. The maid designates Jesus as the "Nazarene" in Mark, while Matthew speaks of "Jesus the Galilean", Luke uses simply the pronoun "him". Further, in Luke these are the bystanders, who for the second and for the third time question Peter in relation to Jesus (vv.58 -59). In Mark and Matthew Peter is questioned the second time by another maid, the third time he is questioned also here by bystanders. In Luke the third questioning comes circa after one hour (v.59), while Mark and Matthew state that the third questioning took place after a little while. During the third denial in Mark and Matthew Peter invokes a curse upon himself, while Luke does not mention the curse (v.60). In Luke the Lord turns and looks at Peter after the third denial (v.61), a fact, which is mentioned neither by Mark nor by Matthew.

Considering Peter's denial, one may state that "Peter's faith has not failed, because, although he denies knowing Jesus, he does not deny that Jesus is the Messiah."⁽¹⁾ Thus Peter's denial of Jesus is only a partial denial. Peter can follow Jesus "at a distance" (Lk.22:54), because at the hour of trial he lacks courage to fulfil his promise "to go with

(1) Schuyler Brown, Ibid., p.71.

Jesus ... to prison and to death" (Lk.22:34). The denial narrative reveals the stages of Peter's denial. ⁽¹⁾ The first time, when the maid says "This man also was with him" (v.56), Peter answers, "I do not know him [Jesus]" (v.57). Thus Peter denies his belonging to the disciples. Further, a bystander says, "You are one of them" (v.58). Peter answers, "Man, I am not" (v.58). Consequently, Peter denies now his "own identity". ⁽²⁾ Thirdly, Peter is accused directly of being a disciple, "a Galilean" (v.59). In Luke Peter's third answer is evasive (v.60) and without the cursing of himself as mentioned by Mark and Matthew (Mk.14:71, Mt.26:74). Peter's sin is a weakness of character and fear, but not a complete lack of conviction in relation to Jesus. Consequently, his ἐπιτροπή can take place immediately, when Jesus turns and looks at Peter (v.61).

G. The Idea of Temptation in Luke's Gospel Reflected by other Word Groups

There are many terms in the N.T., which can be related to the idea of ΠΕΛΡΩΜΟΣ. In this connection one may distinguish between: (1) word groups, which describe the causes of temptation (βάρξ, βῶμα, ἀγνέχεια, ἐπιπόμεια, πλανήω, ἐκάνδαλον, ἡλιψίς, ὄλι-), and (2) word groups, which describe the consequences of temptation (ἁμαρτία, ἐκάνδα- λίσσαμι, ἰδοκίμος, ἀγωνίζομαι, δοκίμα, τέλος,). (1) Thirdly, one has to indicate that the characteristics for overcoming ΠΕΛΡΩΜΟΣ are ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and ἔπιμονή.

Further, it can be stated that ΠΕΛΡΩΜΟΣ in the N.T. sense is an ambivalent term. It can describe the way one is tested by one's lot, and it can be also "synonymous with ... the sin of apostasy". (2) The verb, which can be looked upon as synonymous with ΠΕΛΡΩΣΩ, is δοκίμαίω. In LXX both of these terms are related to ΠΥΡΩ, which describes the refining of metals (PS.25:2; 65:10, Prov.27:21). In the N.T. the relation between ΠΕΛΡΩΜΟΣ and ΠΥΡΩ is to be found in I Pt.4:12 (τῆ ἐν ἡμῶν πυρὶ βελ πρὸς Πελρωμὸν ἡμῶν γυνομένη). (3) Thus one may say that "ΠΕΛΡΩΜΟΣ, like the process of refining, terminates both in proving the worth of the pure metal (= the genuine faith of the Christian) and in eliminating the dross (= the worthless Christian)." (4)

(1) Schuyler Brown, Ibid, pp. 20-35.

(2) Ibid, p. 20.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

I. The Various Causes of ΠΕΛΡΔΓΜΟΣ in the N.T. and also as Reflected in Luke's Gospel

There are three main causes for ΠΕΛΡΔΓΜΟΣ in the N.T.: (1) man's nature and its characteristics, (2) human and impersonal agents (besides Satan), and (3) circumstances of life, tribulations, persecution.

1. Man's Characteristics as Causes of ΠΕΛΡΔΓΜΟΣ

The terms important in this connection are: ἑλίψξ, σῶμα, λογόνειρελλῆτις, and ἡδονή. (1)

The instances, which mention that ἑλίψξ is the cause of ΠΕΛΡΔΓΜΟΣ, are as indicated: Mark 14:38, Matthew 26:41; "Watch and pray that you may not enter into temptation, the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak". Further, ἑλίψξ, ἀλλοψις, and ΠΕΛΡΔΓΜΟΣ are related in Matthew 24:21-22, (cf. also I. Cor. 7:28, II Cor. 7:5). Αμπελλῆ as a negative result of ΠΕΛΡΔΓΜΟΣ is related to ἑλίψξ in Rom. 7:17-18, 23, 25. In relation to σῶμα as the source of ΠΕΛΡΔΓΜΟΣ the most pertinent N.T. passages are Rom. 6:12; 8:13, I Cor. 9:27, Col. 1:22.

Luke mentions ἑλίψξ five times, although only in Luke 24:39 does it describe man, though without any theological meaning. The other four references are quotations from the O.T. (Lk. 3:6, Acts 2:17; 26:31). Σῶμα occurs in Luke several times. However, it is not related to the concept of temptation. It can designate a corpse (Lk. 17:37 23 55; 24:3, 23, Acts 9:40), and also a living body (Lk. 11:34-36; 12:4; 22:19).

(1) Ibid, pp. 22-26.

Also the word ἁγνεύειν and its cognates describe the cause of sin. The most important instances in connection with ἁγνεύειν are Rom.14:1, 2, 21, I Cor.8:7,9,10,12, Hebr.4:15.

Luke uses ἁγνεύειν as a designation for sickness without any theological sense (Lk.4:40;5:15;8:2;10:9;13:11,12, Acts 4:9;9:37;19:12;20:35;28:9).

Two times ἐπιπομπή is associated with the idea of πειρασμός in the N.T. (I Tim.6:9, Jas.1:14, cf. in this connection also Rom.13:14, Gal.5:16, 17 24, Eph.2:3, I Pt.2:11, 4:2, II Pt.2:10,18, Jn.2:16). In the later references ἐπιπομπή, ἐπιπομπέω, "is connected with the typical πειρασμός vocabulary by its association with ἁρξ".⁽¹⁾ Luke uses ἐπιπομπή and its cognates in the gospel (Lk.15:16,16:21, 22:15). However, not in a theological, but more in psychological sense.

ἡδονή can be a designation "of interior desire or passion".⁽²⁾ Thus it can be synonym with ἐπιπομπή. Reference to it is made in the following N.T. passages: Ti.3:3, Jas.4:1,3, II Pt.2:13. One finds ἡδονή in Luke 8:14. However, for Luke this word designates the pleasures of life without any reference to interior desires or passions.

2. Different Agents as Causes of πειρασμός

To this category belongs the word group πλάνω, πλάνη, πλάνος. References to it are made in Hebr.5:2, I Jn.2:26, Rev.19:9,20, I Tm.4:1, II Tm.3:4,6,13. Generally taken, Luke does not represent this word group, the only exception being Luke 21:8.

(1) Ibid, p. 25.

(2) Ibid, p. 26.

Further, the cause of deception, described by $\delta\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$, $\delta\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$, can be also false apostles, and teachers (II Cor. 11:13, II Thes. 2:2,3, Rom. 16:17-18). The deceiver can be also the apocalyptic Lawless One (II Thes. 2:8), and sometimes even an impersonal agent: riches, sin, desire (Mk. 4:19, Matthew 13:22, Rom. 7:11, Hebr. 3:13, Eph. 4:22). Also this group of $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ vocabulary, generally taken, is not represented by Luke, the only exception being Acts 20:29-30.

Thirdly, one has still to mention the word-group, $\sigma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$, $\sigma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, as related to $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ in the N.T. It is associated with Satan in Matthew 16:23 and with $\delta\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\delta\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$ in Rom. 14:13 and 16:17-18. $\sigma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ and $\sigma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ appears only in Luke 17:1-2.

3. $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi\iota\varsigma$ and $\delta\epsilon\omega\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$,

Finally, also $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi\iota\varsigma$ and $\delta\epsilon\omega\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ have to be considered in relation to temptation. In the N.T. "outside of Luke/Acts these two words are correlative aspects of a single complex phenomenon: $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi\iota\varsigma$ represent a continuous temptation for the Christian. Suffering ($\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi\iota\varsigma$), especially that of persecution ($\delta\epsilon\omega\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$), serves as the external means for the testing of faith ($\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$)."⁽¹⁾ The texts, where $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ and $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$ appear together, are as indicated: Hebr. 11:37, Rev. 2:10, I. Thes. 3:3-5. For the relation of $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi\iota\varsigma$, $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$ and $\delta\epsilon\omega\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\delta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\kappa\omega$ the following references are important, Mark 4:17, Rom. 8:35, 12:12, 14, II Cor. 4:8,9, II Thes. 1:4.

(1) Ibid, p. 13.

"For Luke $\theta\lambda\tau\psi\iota\varsigma$ is used only of faithful Christians, $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\alpha\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ may be used of apostates" (1) Luke refers to $\theta\lambda\tau\psi\iota\varsigma$ in Acts 11:19, 14:22, 20:23, and substitutes $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\tilde{\nu}$ $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\alpha\theta\mu\acute{o}\nu$ (Luke 8:13) for Mark's $\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ $\theta\lambda\tau\psi\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\eta\delta\epsilon\omega\gamma\mu\acute{o}\nu$ $\delta\epsilon\delta\iota$ $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu$ (Mk. 4:17).

II. The Outcome of $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\alpha\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ in the N.T. and also as Related to Luke's Gospel

There can be two types of outcome in relation to $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\alpha\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, a negative and a positive outcome.

1. A Negative Outcome

The negative outcome of $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\alpha\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ in the N.T. is described by $\sigma\kappa\lambda\upsilon\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ and $\delta\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$. In relation to this group of words one may say that "whereas the noun and the active use of the verb designate the external occasion of sin or apostasy, the sin or apostasy itself is expressed by the passive voice". (2) One may consider in this connection II Cor. 11:29, Mk. 4:17, Mt. 13:21, 24:9-10. $\delta\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ is used in the sense of testing oneself with $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ in II Cor. 13:5.

$\sigma\kappa\lambda\upsilon\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ appears in Luke only once in this particular sense (Lk. 7:23). Further, Luke in three places either modifies or omits $\sigma\kappa\lambda\upsilon\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ used by Mark (Mk. 14:27, Luke 22:23; Mk. 6:3, Lk. 4:28; Mk. 4:17, Lk. 8:13).

2. A Positive Outcome

The word group, $\delta\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\eta}$, $\delta\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, is characteristic for the positive outcome of $\pi\epsilon\lambda\rho\alpha\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$.

(1) Ibid, p. 14.

(2) Ibid, p. 30.

ΠΕΛΡΔΪΞΩ is synonymous to δοκμαΐζω. The last verb describes the proving of metals, i.e., gold proved in fire (I Pt.1:7). The noun δοκμηΐ can describe two things: (a) the proving process itself (II Cor.8:2), or (b) the condition of being already proved, approved, when one's faith or genuineness of faith is tested (I Pt.1:7, Jas.1:3; cf. in this connection also Rom.5:4, I Cor.3:13, II Cor.9:13, Phil.2:22). "It is the goal of every Christian to present himself as δοκμων before God, from whom he will then receive the crown of life for his endurance of ΠΕΛΡΔΓΜΟΣ" ⁽¹⁾ (II Tm.2:15, Jas.1:12).

There are three instances in Luke, where δοκμαΐζω appears (Lk.12:56 two times, 14:19), but these instances are not related to ΠΕΛΡΔΓΜΟΣ. The other words of this group are not represented by Luke.

The classical example of ΤΕΛΕΟΣ is Jas.1:2-4: "Count it all joy, my brethren, when you meet various trials, for you know that the testing of your faith produces steadfastness. And let steadfastness have its full effect, that you may be perfect and complete, lacking in nothing." This adjective is not used by Luke.

III. Appendix: Two Specific Functions of ΠΕΛΡΔΓΜΟΣ

The ΠΕΛΡΔΓΜΟΣ concept is associated in the N.T. also with struggle, described by λυω ρυΐζομαι, and with the idea of discipline, described by πειροβω.

The struggle to which λυω ρυΐζομαι refers is Paul's struggle for the sake of the gospel, for the sake of those, who

(1) Ibid, p. 34.

are in his charge, or his struggle because of faith. (I Thes. 2:2, Phil.1:30, I Tm.6:12, Col.1:28-29, 2:1). The only place, where Paul's own testing is involved, is I Cor.9:25. "The connection between $\lambda\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$ - $\lambda\gamma\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\mu\alpha\lambda$ and $\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\eta$ (Hebr.12:1, I Tm.6:11-12), further links this word-group with $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$."(1) $\lambda\gamma\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\mu\alpha\lambda$ appears in Luke only once (Lk.13:24). Also $\lambda\gamma\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\lambda$ appears only once (Lk.22:44).

Further, "the Greek notion of education, to which the conception of 'temptation' was assimilated in the wisdom literature, is also made use of in the New Testament to express the positive divine purpose of suffering." (2) In the N.T. the concept of $\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda$ is associated with patience, obedience (Hebr.12:7,9), with grace and forgiveness (Hebr.1:2,7), with training (Ti.2:12). "Those whom I love, I reprove and chasten ($\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$)" (Rev.3:19). $\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ is used in Luke only once (Lk.23:16,22), in connection with the scourging of Jesus.

IV. $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ and Christian Resistance to It

There are two Christian experiences, by means of which one in the midst of $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\phi\iota\varsigma$ and $\delta\epsilon\omega\gamma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ may overcome temptation, namely, $\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\eta$ and $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\delta\epsilon\lambda\varsigma$ (II Thes.1:4, II Tm.3:10-11).

1. Endurance - $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\eta$

$\epsilon\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\eta$ describes an inner courage and struggle of a Christian in a situation of great suffering. As an experience of patience or endurance " $\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\eta$ - $\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ is

(1) Ibid, p. 32 $\frac{1}{2}$

(2) Ibid.

closely related to $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$... In fact $\nu\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$ in faith is only possible in the face of $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ and conversely $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ requires $\nu\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$."(1) "Blessed is the man who endures trial" (Jas.1:2). Similar to the relationship between suffering and endurance is the relationship between endurance and $\nu\lambda\tau\psi\iota\varsigma$ (Rom.5:3). The classic example of $\nu\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$ is Job: "We call those happy who are steadfast. You have heard of the steadfastness of Job, and you have seen the purpose of the Lord, how the Lord is compassionate and merciful" (Job.5:11).

In the Lucan writings $\nu\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$ occurs twice (Lk.8:15, 21:19). Also the verb $\nu\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ occurs twice (Lk.2:43, Acts 17:14). Luke uses the verb in a spatial sense, i.e., that a certain person remains in a certain place. In the first instance it is the twelve years old Jesus, who remains in Jerusalem. In the second instance they are Silas and Timothy, who remain in Berea after Paul's departure. The RSV at Luke 8:15 translates $\nu\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$ "patience", at 21:19 "endurance", and an attempt has been made to distinguish between these two senses of the word. "'Patience' is the interior virtue required of the Christian in a situation of affliction and/or persecution. 'Perseverance' (namely, endurance) retains the spatial image present in Lucan usage of $\nu\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$: 'remain while others leave'." (2)

2. Faith - $\pi\lambda\beta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$

In relation to faith, one may say that "suffering constitutes a threat to faith ... But $\pi\lambda\beta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, which is put to the test in $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ is at the same time the means of overcoming

(1) Ibid, p. 48.

(2) Ibid, p. 50.

ΠΕΛΡΩΝΟΣ". (1) The N.T. scriptural references significant in this connection are as indicated: I Thes.3:5, Eph.16:16, I Pt.5:9, Rev.2:10.

In relation to Luke's understanding of ΠΙΣΤΙΣ and ΠΙΣΤΕΩ in the gospel (cf. also Acts), one may distinguish three different approaches to this word group. First, this word group can describe experiences related to the concept of faithfulness, but without any theological meaning. For example, in Luke 16:11 ΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΕC can be translated as "to entrust". Secondly, Luke uses ΠΙΣΤΕΩ also in a theological sense, but without any relation to ΠΕΛΡΩΝΟΣ or ΠΕΛΡΩΝ. In such instances ΠΙΣΤΕΩ means "to believe" (Lk.1:20,45, 20:5, 24:25). Further, ΠΙΣΤΙC in Luke can have Jesus as its object. It can be faith in Jesus' power to perform miracles (Lk.7:9, 5:20). It can be faith in Jesus' authority to forgive sins (Lk.7:47). It can be faith in Jesus saving and healing power - ΓΩΤΗΡΙΑ. "For ΓΩΤΗΡΙΑ [can mean] both 'health' and 'salvation'." (2) (Lk.8:48, 18:42). It can be faith in Jesus as Christ (Lk.22:67). However, in this particular instance faith is overshadowed by unbelief. As a specific instance one may mention Luke 18:8 - "When the Son of Man comes will he find faith on earth?" This question may reflect the situation of Luke's Christian community, which because of the delay of the parousia and because of opposition "doubted whether he [the Son of Man] would come in time to find a unified Christian community still in existence." (3) Considering this outline about ΠΙΣΤΙC, one has to state "that ΠΙΣΤΙC is never used by Luke in the

(1) Ibid, p. 35.

(2) Ibid, p. 37.

(3) Ibid, p. 46.

sense in which it appears in the typical ΠΕΛΡΔΕΜΟΣ vocabulary, i.e., as the active faith of the Christian which is endangered by ΠΕΛΡΔΕΜΟΣ and in the strength of which he triumphs over ΠΕΛΡΔΕΜΟΣ ."(1)

V. Summary

Considering the Gospel of Luke in relation to temptation, one may draw three conclusions.

1. Luke does not avoid reference to Satan, and Satan's influence upon human lives (Lk.8:11, 11:10, 18-19, 11:14-23, 13:10-17) during Jesus' ministry, which, according to some modern theologians,⁽²⁾ is designated as the Heilszeit, i.e., an era, when Satan is not influential any more.

2. Luke has included in his gospel exorcism narratives presented by Mark and Matthew (Lk.4:38-39, 8:26-39, 9:37-43, cf. also 4:41, 6:18, 13:32).

3. From the short survey presented above one can see clearly that ΠΕΛΡΔΕΜΟΣ is an essential concept of the N.T. and that in many instances, where the word groups ΠΕΛΡΔΕΜΟΣ and ΠΕΛΡΔΕΣΩ are not present, other nouns, verbs and adjectives describe the situation in question as ΠΕΛΡΔΕΜΟΣ (I Tm. 4:1, Hebr.3:12, etc.). However, Luke presents this N.T. characteristic on a very small scale. At first, he uses many words, which in the N.T. can be associated with ΠΕΛΡΔΕΜΟΣ, but with a different meaning. For example, ἡδονή designates for Luke only pleasures of life, but not an inner passion, which could be identical with temptation. Secondly, there are

(1) Ibid., p.36.

(2) H. Couzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, p. 9.

but a few instances in Luke, where word groups other than

πειρασμός could be related to the concept of temptation.

As examples in this connection one may mention the following

passages: μὴ ἐκείνη ἡμέρα (Lk.7:23), ἐν ἑπομένῃ
 (Lk.8:15), ἰγώνισσε (Lk.13:24), τὴν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν
 (Lk.17:1-2), μὲν ἡμέραν (Lk.21:8), ἐν τῇ ἑπο-
 μένῃ (Lk.21:19), ἐν ἰγώνισσῃ (Lk.22:44).

CHAPTER THREE

CONSIDERATIONS OF JESUS' TEACHING AND ATTITUDE
 IN CONNECTION WITH ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ INSTANCES
 IN THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

A. The Sixth and Seventh Petitions in Matthew's Version
 of the Lord's Prayer.

I. Introduction

In the Gospel of Matthew one may distinguish between two attitudes of Jesus in relation to ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ : (1) Jesus' behaviour during an assault by ὁ ΠΕΙΡΑΖΩΝ, and (2) Jesus' response, namely, answer or teaching to provocative questions, which are asked with the intention to ΠΕΙΡΑΞΕΙΝ Jesus. The questions are asked by human agents of the tempter, namely, Pharisees (Mt.12:24), Sadducees (Mt.16:1), Herodians (Mt.22:16), and Scribes - Lawyers (Mt.22:35), etc.

There are two instances in Matthew, where Jesus experiences temptation: Matthew 4:1-11 (cf. par.) and Matthew 26:36-46 (cf. par.), i.e., the Temptation story and the Gethsemane narrative. In the Temptation passage ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ or identical words are mentioned three times: τὸν ὄλεθρον (Mt.4:1), ὁ ΠΕΙΡΑΖΩΝ (Mt.4:3), and ἐκ ΠΕΙΡΑΞΕΙΣ (Mt.4:7). In the Gethsemane narrative ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ is mentioned once (Mt.26:41).

Further, there is one instance in Matthew, namely, the Lord's Prayer, where Jesus mentions ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΝ (Mt.6:13, cf. par.). There is also one instance in the section "The Mission of the Twelve", where Jesus refers to the ΒΕΕΞΕΒΟΥΛ (Mt.10:25). In the narrative known as the Beelzebul controversy (Mt.12:24-28) ΒΕΕΞΕΒΟΥΛ is mentioned twice (Mt.12:24,27) and ὁ ἄρχὸν τῶν δαιμονίων is

also mentioned twice (Mt.12:26). In four instances Jesus expresses his opinions about matters of his authority, marriage, political loyalty, and the Law, because of those, who ΠΕΛΡΑΪΣΤΕΣ (Mt.16:1; 19:3), ΠΕΛΡΑΪΣΤΕΣ (Mt.22:18) or ΠΕΛΡΑΪΣΤΩΝ (Mt. 22:35) him. Finally, there are some instances, which, by means of other word groups than ΠΕΛΡΑΓΜΟΣ, describe situations identical or, at least, comparable with ΠΕΛΡΑΓΜΟΣ: ΥΕΡΟΜΕΝΩΣ... ΕΡΩΝΩΣ ΟΥΔΕΝΩΝ (Mt.13:21) and ΟΥΔΕΝΩΝ (mentioned three times in Mt.18:7).

This chapter will neither discuss the Temptation (Mt.4:1-11), nor the Gethsemane story (Mt.26:36-46). Also the Beelzebul controversy (Mt.12:24-28), and the Pharisees' and the Sadducees demand for a sign from heaven (Mt.16:1-4) will not be considered, because the four narratives have been discussed already. (1)

In this particular division attention will be paid to the Lord's Prayer (Mt.6:13), to Jesus' singular reference to Beelzebul (Mt.10:25), to Jesus' opinions about marriage (Mt.19:3-9), about personal and political loyalty (Mt.22:15-22), and about the Greatest Commandment (Mt.22:35-40) as responses to the diabolical agents, who challenge Jesus. Finally, also the concepts related to ΠΕΛΡΑΓΜΟΣ-ΠΕΛΡΑΪΣΤΩΝ will be considered (Mt.13:21; 18:7).

II. The Sixth and Seventh Petitions in Matthew's Version of the Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6:13)

1. General Considerations

Speaking of the Lord's Prayer as a whole (Mt.6:9-13; Lk.11:2-4) one may say that "Jewish writings supply some fairly close

(1) Cf. the first and the second chapter of this study.

parallels".⁽¹⁾ Among such parallels one may mention the Kaddish,⁽²⁾ an ancient synagogal prayer, and the Shemoneh-esreh (Achtzehngebet) or "Eighteen (Benedictions)".⁽³⁾ The Shemoneh-esreh reached its final form after A.D. 70. However, it was known already earlier. Thus there is a great probability that Jesus also knew it.

Considering the early Church during the first four centuries A.D., one may state that two connections are characteristic for the Lord's Prayer: (a) "the connection of the Lord's Prayer with baptism can be traced back to early times",⁽⁴⁾ and (b) "the Lord's Prayer together with the Eucharist was reserved for her (Church's) full membership. It was a privilege to be allowed to pray it".⁽⁵⁾ The following witnesses confirm these connections; Didache, Marcion and Cyril of Jerusalem. Some commentators date Didache as early as the second part of the first century.⁽⁶⁾ The contents of the Didache are as indicated: instructions for those to be baptised (chap.1-6), baptism (chap. 7), fasting and the Lord's Prayer (chap.8), the Eucharist (chap.9-10). Thus one may notice that in the Didache the Lord's Prayer is closely related to baptism and to Eucharist.

Further, when one considers Marcion's text of the Lord's Prayer, circa A.D. 140, one may state that Marcion had both aspects in mind, Baptism and Eucharist: "Father, Thy Holy

(1) A.H. M'Neile, The Gospel According to St. Matthew, Macmillan and Co, London, 1928, p. 77.

(2) Cf. translation in W.C. Allen, Gospel According to St. Matthew, Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1907, p. 60; from G. Dalman's Die Worte Jesu, Leipzig, 1898.

(3) M'Neile, Ibid.

(4) J. Jeremias, "The Lord's Prayer in Modern Research", Exp. Times, LXXI (1959-1960), p. 141.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

Spirit come upon us and cleanse us. (Note this sentence.) Thy Kingdom come. Thy bread (note also this phrase) for the morrow give us day by day. And forgive us our sins for we also forgive everyone that is indebted to us. And allow us not to be led into temptation."⁽¹⁾ The petition for the Holy Spirit at the beginning of Marcion's text was an old baptismal prayer (cf. Minuscules 162, 700 and the Church Fathers, Gregory of Nyssa A.D. 394 and Maximus Confessor A.D. 662).⁽²⁾ Thus in Marcion's text the Holy Spirit may refer to baptism, and the phrase "thy bread" to the Eucharist.

The first reference to the use of the Lord's Prayer in a church service belongs to Cyril of Jerusalem A.D. 350.⁽³⁾ According to Cyril's information, the Lord's Prayer was said after the Eucharistic prayers before the Communion. The particular celebration is known as Missa Fidelium.⁽⁴⁾ Consequently, only those who were baptised could participate in it. According to the practices of the fourth century Church, "the transmission of the Lord's Prayer was connected with baptism. The candidates for baptism learned the Lord's Prayer either shortly before or immediately after baptism".⁽⁵⁾

Each version of the Lord's Prayer (Mt.6:9-13; Lk.11:2-4), consists of three parts. The first part is the address, Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (Mt.6:9), Πάτερ (Lk.11:2; cf. Abba, Mk. 14:36). The second part of the Lord's Prayer consists of three Thou-petitions in Matthew and two in Luke. The third

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- (1) Ibid.
 (2) Ibid.
 (3) Ibid.
 (4) Ibid.
 (5) Ibid.

part has three We-petitions both in Matthew and in Luke. Only in Luke the third We-petition does not refer to the deliverance from evil. The doxology of the Lord's Prayer, *ὍΣΤΙΣ ἘΠΕΛΥΨΕ ἡΜΑΣ* *ἘΚ ΤῶΝ ἘΧΘΡῶΝ ἡΜῶΝ* *καὶ ἡ Σὺνταμίς καὶ ἡ Σοφία ἐἴς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν*,¹ is a liturgical addition not found in Greek or Latin commentators except Chrys. and his followers"⁽¹⁾ However, it was added to the Prayer already in the first century.⁽²⁾

The differences in Matthew's and in Luke's versions of the Lord's Prayer are not due to the whims of the particular evangelists, but reflect the different usages of the prayer. Matthew's version has been used for the instruction of the Jewish Christian Church and Luke's version for the Gentile Christian Church. Thus "we are faced with the different liturgical wording of the Lord's Prayer in two different parts of the Church about the year A.D. 75."⁽³⁾

To Luke's text, Matthew adds one Thou-petition - "Thy will be done" and lengthens the third We-petition - "but deliver us from the evil". Also Luke's simple address "Abba" is expanded by Matthew. At the same time "the shorter form of St. Luke is completely contained in the longer form of St. Matthew. This makes it very probable that the form of St. Matthew is an expanded one; (because) all liturgical texts have a tendency to expansion."⁽⁴⁾

Finally, one can also compare the wording of the first two We-petitions. In the first petition concerning bread Matthew

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- (1) M'Neile, Ibid., p. 82.
 (2) Jeremias, Ibid., p. 142.
 (3) Ibid., p. 142.
 (4) Ibid.

says, "give us this day our bread for tomorrow", Luke reads: 'give us day by day our bread for the morrow!'.⁽¹⁾ Luke uses the present imperative $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\tau\epsilon$, Matthew uses $\delta\omicron\delta\epsilon$.⁽²⁾ "Clearly Matthew's form is the more original."⁽³⁾ In the second We-petition Matthew refers to debts, Luke to sins. Debt, $\delta\acute{\omicron}\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\mu\alpha$, in Matthew is the original translation of the Aramaic *hobha*.⁽⁴⁾ In relation to forgiveness Matthew uses the more difficult form $\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$, we have forgiven, instead of Luke's $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$, forgive.⁽⁵⁾ Matthew's form is more difficult, because it can create the impression that man's forgiveness precedes God's act. "In such cases the more difficult form is to be regarded as the more original."⁽⁶⁾ Thus one may conclude that "Luke has preserved the original form in respect of the length, Matthew has preserved the original form in respect of the common wording."⁽⁷⁾

2. The Sixth and the Seventh Petitions in Matthew

In relation to the Sixth petition, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\eta\ \epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\gamma\chi\eta\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\mu\omicron\nu$, one may emphasize three points of importance: (a) it is an eschatological prayer, (b) it refers to each individual Christian in his eschatological situation, and (c) it refers also to the community, to the eschatological congregation. Thus "eschatological" is the characteristic designation for this petition.

(1) Ibid., p. 143.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(a) The Sixth Petition as Eschatological

One has to note the apocalyptic associations of this temptation. In Matthew 6:13 the temptation is caused by Satan. In this particular moment Satan still rules the world, and he manifests himself in all his awfulness. Because of this particular situation the $\pi\epsilon\lambda\pi\delta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ of the Sixth petition is not a test, "Erprobung".⁽¹⁾ The Sixth petition is asking for "Verschonung von Versuchungen".⁽²⁾ At the present those, who are praying, are in an ambiguous situation. First, they are in the world where Satanic power is dynamic and is directing the course of the world and its people. However, secondly, at the same time those, who are praying for protection from the eschatological temptation, cf Rev.3:10, are God's children. They are not subject any more only to Satan's power, i.e., temptation, but also God's deliverance is near by. One may conclude that this petition is characteristic of that moment, which is ambiguous. Those, who are praying, are in the world, yet they are experiencing also the nearness of deliverance, when the age of temptation and God's age are encountering one another. Thus the $\pi\epsilon\lambda\pi\delta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ of the Sixth petition is an eschatological $\pi\epsilon\lambda\pi\delta\mu\omicron\varsigma$.

(b) The Sixth Petition and the Individual

In relation to the individual in this eschatologically apocalyptic situation one may emphasize two points of importance: (i) the eschatological situation, and (ii) the individual situation. First, "dieser Gang des eschatologischen

(1) E. Lohmeyer, Das Vater-Unser, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1960, p. 144.

(2) Ibid.

Geschehens ... für alle wie für den Einzelnen durch Versuchung und Leiden führt, ... so gewiss ist es eben auch Gott, der ... die Seinen aus allen Versuchungen zuretten oder vor allen Versuchungen zu bewahren vermag."⁽¹⁾ In this connection one has to consider also the many references to suffering and persecution in Matthew's gospel. For example, "Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account" (Mt.5:11); "He who does not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me" (Mt.10:38), or "Watch and pray that you may not enter into temptation" (Mt.26:41), etc. However, at the same time one has to note that the Sixth petition expresses a certain restriction and warning "sich zu Leiden und Marthyrium zu drängen",⁽²⁾ because only God knows the measure of suffering, which makes one holy.

Secondly, although an individual is endangered by the eschatological $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ "sie ist nicht mehr ein biographischer Vorfall",⁽³⁾ i.e., the encounter of God and Satan at this particular moment does not take place because of an individual. The battle rages against all demonic and Satanic powers, which oppose God. However, the overcoming of this eschatological $\pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ in an individual existence, as Jesus does in the Temptation narrative, enables one to participate in the age to come.

(c) The Sixth Petition and the Community

The word $\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ (Mt.6:13a) pertains to the community, who is a praying and a persecuted community. Consequently,

(1) Ibid., p. 145.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

"Versuchung is hier der Versuch der widergöttlichen Mächte, an der betenden Gemeinde dieser "wir" den Kampf mit Gott endgültig zu entscheiden,"⁽¹⁾ because the destiny of the eschatological community will be the destiny of this world. An explanatory expansion of the expression, "lead us not into temptation", would be: "lead us not into temptation in order that we may enter God's kingdom and that we may be saved from entering the kingdom of temptation." In the petition of the community one's personal I, the community and God are uniquely related.⁽²⁾ This situation is described in the following passage:

So sehr er [an individual] deshalb "seine" eigene Versuchung wie sein eigen Leib und Leben hat, so sehr er durch sie zu dem vor Gott tödlich einsamen Ich erhoben wird, so dass alle Bindungen zerrissen sind, die ihn sonst halten, und alle Stützen zerbrochen, welche sonst ein durchlebtes Leben gewährt, so hoch steht auch über der Einsamkeit des Versucht-werdens: die Gemeinsamkeit dieser "Wir"; denn eben nur Kinder Gottes können so abgründig, so mit allen Mächten der Erde und der Hölle versucht werden und dennoch wie in dem Himmel ihres Vaters stehen, und um solcher Verbundenheit von Gott und Gemeinde und Ich willen ist alle Versuchung schon Bewährung und Heiligung.⁽³⁾

Further, one has still to refer to $\epsilon\lambda\theta\phi\epsilon\acute{\rho}\epsilon\lambda\upsilon$ in connection with the sixth petition ($\mu\eta\ \epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\gamma\kappa\eta\varsigma$, Mt.6:13a) and to $\pi\epsilon\lambda\pi\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma, \epsilon\lambda\theta\phi\epsilon\acute{\rho}\epsilon\lambda\upsilon$. is used in the New Testament in a spatial sense. One may refer in this connection to $\delta\iota\upsilon\delta\omega\pi\epsilon\varsigma\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (Lk.5:18); $\xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\ \epsilon\lambda\theta\phi\epsilon\acute{\rho}\epsilon\lambda\iota\varsigma$

(1) Ibid., p.146.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(Acts 17:20), and οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκομνέυκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οὐδὲ οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκέν τι δυνάμεθα (I Tim.6:7), etc. The verb describes a motion of something or someone from one place to another: he can be a paralysed man, it can be some strange news, or simply a description of man's inability to provide everlastingly for his needs (I Tim.6:7). Consequently, the petition "lead us not into temptation" is identical with the request that God would not lead us with his own hand into temptation. (1)

The spatial meaning of the verb is related also to πειρασμός. It describes the situation in which one is tested. Just as one can be led into temptation, so temptation can approach an individual as a particular experience or event. For example, τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνήχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπο τοῦ πνεύματος (Mt.4:1), μὲ ἐβέλημεν εἰς πειρασμόν (Mt.26:41), and ἐμὴς-πεσοῦν εἰς πειρασμόν καὶ πλῆξῃ (I Tim.6:9), etc.

Finally, one may say that the Sixth petition of Matthew is a unique petition. Even "das Alte Testament nichts hat was diesem Satz analog wäre". (2) In the New Testament the closest expression is: "Watch and pray that you may not enter into temptation" (Mt.26:41 and par.). One may find in relation to this petition also contradictory statements in the New Testament. For example, "Let no one say when he is tempted 'I am tempted by God', for God cannot be tempted with evil, and he himself tempts no one", (Jas.1:13), i.e., in the spatial sense that God would lead some one by his own hand in a situation, which is temptation.

(1) Ibid., p. 137.

(2) Ibid., p. 136.

(d) The Seventh Petition

Ἄλλὰ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ ἵπτασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ (Mt.6:13^b), which is the Seventh petition, according to Matthew. This petition is transmitted only by Matthew. One may say that the Sixth and the Seventh petitions in Matthew form an essential unity. "Sie bitten nicht um Verschiedenes, sondern meinen das Gleiche nach der negativen und positiven Seite."⁽¹⁾ The positive attitude is that of the Seventh petition, because it speaks literally about φῶς ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ from the evil. It is a critical moment, because one, who is praying for deliverance, faces Satan's destructive power, Satan's frightening face, before which man is destroyed in trembling and in helplessness. This helplessness is expressed by the cry "Deliver us from evil!" Also in this connection the ἵπτασθαι has to be considered. It is not only the individual, but also the community who prays "nicht einmal um Überwindung des Bösen, sondern um Errettung vor dem Bösen."⁽²⁾

One can find in the Old Testament and in the New Testament examples for "being delivered from the evil". The aor. imperative of the Seventh petition indicates that "er meint nicht des Lebens täglich neue Bewährung, sondern seine einmalige und endgültige Errettung."⁽³⁾ In connection with this idea one may refer to the following Biblical verses: "who has delivered me from all evil" (Gen.48:16); "Deliver my life from the wicked" (Ps.17:13); "delivering you from the way of evil" (Prov.2:12); cf. in this connection also Esther 4:19 in LXX. In

(1) Ibid., p.159.

(2) Ibid., p.161.

(3) Ibid., p.160.

the New Testament one may consider the following verse: "He has delivered us from the dominion of darkness and transferred us to the Kingdom of his beloved Son" (I Col.1:13), etc.

Further, one has to consider still the meaning of $\varphi\rho\epsilon\gamma\omega\delta\alpha\lambda$ and $\lambda\iota\pi\acute{o}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\ \pi\omicron\rho\upsilon\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$. In the Greek Bible $\varphi\rho\epsilon\gamma\omega\delta\alpha\lambda$ is associated with the preposition $\epsilon\kappa$ and $\lambda\iota\pi\acute{o}$.⁽¹⁾ Both prepositions describe the situation out of which one has to be delivered:

"Deliver my soul from the sword ($\varphi\rho\epsilon\gamma\omega\delta\alpha\lambda\ \lambda\iota\pi\acute{o}\ \dots$)
 My life from the power of the dog, ($\epsilon\kappa\ \dots$)
 Save me from the mouth of the lion, ($\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\ \epsilon\kappa$)
 My afflicted soul from the horns of the wild oxen" ($\lambda\iota\pi\acute{o}$)
 (cf on this Ps.21:21 LXX).⁽²⁾

$\delta\ \pi\omicron\rho\upsilon\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ can be interpreted in three different ways:
 (i) it may mean simply an evil man, (ii) it may mean evil in a neuter sense, an evil principle, and (iii) it may mean Satan.⁽³⁾

(i) An Evil Man

In relation to the first instance the following passages are of importance: "So you shall purge the evil (man) from Israel" (Deutr.17:12;19:19;22:21-24), "the evil man out of his evil treasure brings forth evil" (Mt.12:35), and "Drive out the wicked persons from among you" (Cor.5:13).

(ii) An Evil Principle

One can say that evil in the neuter sense, i.e., an evil principle, may designate either some deed, which man is afraid to accomplish, or some situation, in which one is compelled to

(1) Ibid, p. 149

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid, pp. 149-153.

live, or some power, from the influence of which God should deliver that one, who is praying for deliverance.⁽¹⁾ For example, "The Lord will rescue me $\lambda\pi\acute{o}\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma\gamma\omega\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\nu\mu\eta\rho\acute{o}\upsilon$ (II Tim.4:18; cf also Mt.5:11; I Thess.5:22). However, one may indicate further that for the New Testament more characteristic is the following verse: "Hate $\epsilon\acute{o}\ \pi\omicron\nu\mu\eta\rho\acute{o}\upsilon$, hold fast to what is good" (Rom.12:9; Acts 28:21). The difference between the New Testament and the Greek Old Testament references to evil is twofold: (i) Generally taken, the New Testament uses $\epsilon\acute{o}\ \pi\omicron\nu\mu\eta\rho\acute{o}\upsilon$ (Mt.6:13, etc.), without the adjective "all", while the Greek Old Testament associates evil always with the adjective, "all": $\lambda\pi\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \lambda\pi\acute{o}\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\nu\mu\eta\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (Job 1:1;8 LXX). (ii) On the whole, one may state that (with some exceptions) the use of "evil" in a neuter sense is not a characteristic trait for the New Testament. Consequently, "darum ist die neutrale Fassung des Bösen in unserer Bitte (Mt.6:13b) wohl grammatisch möglich, aber nach dem sonstigen Sprachgebrauch des Neuen Testamentes nicht wahrscheinlich."⁽²⁾

(iii) Satan

$\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\nu\mu\eta\rho\acute{o}\upsilon$ (Mt.6:13b) may also be a designation of Satan. "Dass der Teufel der Böse genannt werden kann, ist freilich in alttestamentlichen ... Zeugnissen nicht belegt, um so deutlicher aber im Neuen Testament."⁽³⁾ This statement may refer especially to Matthew and to the Johannine writings (Mt.5:37;39; I Jn.2:13f; 3:12; 5:18f; 8:44).

(1) Ibid, p. 150.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid, p. 151.

Further, one has still to remember that the world view, to which this prayer is related, is apocalyptic. The apocalyptic world view does not deal with abstract principles of good or evil. It deals with God and Satan, angels and demons as living beings and creatures. Thus one may conclude that "in der Siebenten Bitte eben von diesem Bösen in persona die Rede ist". (1) Satan is that power and that dominance, which influences the last days. The theological argument, whether $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\sigma}\tilde{\nu}$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\mu}\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\omicron}\tilde{\nu}$ (Mt.6:13b) designates an evil principle or a personal Satan, is known since the time of Origen. The Greek Church has defended the view of a personal Satan, while the Latin Church associated $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\sigma}\tilde{\nu}$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\mu}\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\omicron}\tilde{\nu}$ with the principle of evil.

(1) Ibid, p. 152.

B. Jesus' Attitude Towards Marriage and Divorce As
ΠΕΛΛΑΓΗΟΣ Situation in Matthew.

Jesus' attitude towards marriage and divorce from a ΠΕΛΛΑΓΗΟΣ point of view is a very complex matter, because of the complex background, which the Pharisees, who tempt Jesus, have in mind. It is a real ΠΕΛΛΑΓΗΟΣ, although not in relation to Jesus' mission in its totality as in the temptation narrative proper (Mt.4:1-11), where Jesus has to choose between the orders of God and the orders of Satan. In Matthew's passages (Mt.19:2-9; 5:27-32) Jesus is placed between contradictory occurrences and attitudes of his time from a historical, religious, and social point of view. Thus the Pharisees in all probability expect that Jesus in his answer will offend one or another authority or power of his day.

With the ΠΕΛΛΑΓΗΟΣ question in relation to marriage and divorce, at least five points of importance have to be considered: (1) the general Synoptic attitude towards marriage and divorce, (2) the contemporary historical background of the Pharisees' question, namely, Herod Antipas' marriage to Herodias, (3) marriage and divorce attitudes within the Jewish circles, (4) the practical marriage situation among the Greeks, Romans and other Gentiles, and, finally, (5) Jesus' answer to the provocative question of the Pharisees.

I. The General Synoptic Attitude Towards Marriage and Divorce

The various synoptic references to the marriage - divorce problem (see in addition to Matthew the passages, Mk.10:2-9; Lk.16:18) suggest that Pharisees intended to push Jesus

into a no exit situation in order to accuse him from one or from another perspective as a rebellious person. For "this is a very extraordinary question to have been asked, for no Jew doubted, or could have doubted, the legality of divorce. The Law of Deutr. 24:1-4, as interpreted in the time of Christ, settled that question."⁽¹⁾

The simplest form of the statement about marriage and divorce, however, without any reference to ΠΕΛΠΤΕΡΟΣ, is to be found in Luke (16:18). It is concerned only with a husband's relationship to his wife (cf in this connection, Mk.10:12). It omits the well known phrase of Matthew "Μὴ ἐπὶ πορνεύει" (Mt:19:9). Luke's saying may refer to Genesis 1:27, which indicates that God created male and female as one being. It may refer also to the "messianic age, a restored or consummated Eden in which God fulfils his original purpose in creation".⁽²⁾ The answer in Luke is a "no" to divorce.

In relation to Mark (10:2-9), one may first indicate that some MSS omit the phrase "ΠΕΛΠΤΕΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΧΩΝ," D, a, b, k syr sin.⁽³⁾ Further, to the Pharisees' question about the legality of a divorce Jesus answers neither with "yes" nor with "no", but with a question which refers to Moses and the Law (cf. Deutr. 24:1f). The stress of Jesus question is upon the word "command"; the stress of the Pharisees' answer is upon the word "allowed". Thus the difference between what is demanded⁽⁴⁾

(1) C. A. Willoughby, "Christ's Teaching on Divorce", Exp. Times, 22 (1910-11), p. 508.

(2) Ellis, The Gospel of Luke, p. 205.

(3) Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Marcus, p. 198.

(4) Ibid, p. 199.

in this particular instance and what is permitted is the difference between Jesus' approach to the Law and that of the Pharisees.

Further, Jesus indicates also the reason of this change of attitude, which is $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda$ (cf also Deutr.10:16; Ezek.3:7; Jer.4:4)⁽¹⁾ Then in connection with the problem of marriage Jesus refers to creation. In creation God's will is expressed more clearly than in the Law of Moses, because "gewiss ist dieses Schöpfungswort ... grösser (weil) es ... ist noch unverworren von dem Verhalten der Menschen."⁽²⁾ Consequently, also, according to Mark, there is no divorce possible, if one looks upon marriage as an establishment of God's creation.

However, during the millenniums of human history the ideal situation of marriage as indissoluble has changed greatly through the practical situation of life. Consequently, for a modern reader the most important phrase in Mark's passage on marriage and divorce is the expression "what therefore God has joined together" (Mk.10:9a). On a right interpretation of this verse, the destiny of each marriage depends as whether or not the partners are joined together by God.

Matthew in his passage on marriage and divorce (19:3-9; 5:27-32)³ changes Mark's order of the Pharisaic questions and Jesus' answers. The first question, whether or not divorce is lawful, is the same in Mark and Matthew, except that Matthew adds the phrase " $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\tau\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$ ". Further, in Matthew Jesus refers twice to the creation (vv.5-6 and 8b). Between these

(1) cf on this problem W. G. Kümmel, "Jesus und der jüdische Traditions-gedanke", ZNW, 33 (1934), p. 105-130.

(2) Lohmeyer, Ibid, p. 200.

his opinions about marriage and divorce. Because of expressing his opinions on divorce publicly Jesus could have been punished as John the Baptist had been.

III. The Jewish Attitude Towards Divorce

The attitude of the first century Jews towards divorce is described in Deutr. 24:1-4. This Law states that each husband may give a bill of divorce to his wife for very general reasons: (1) if the husband finds some shortcoming in his wife, and thus (2) she finds no favour in his eyes. A remarried and again divorced woman or a widow could never return again as wife to her first husband. Further, during the day of Jesus two famous rabbinical schools - the school of Hillel and Shammai - interpreted the Law of divorce. "The school of Hillel maintained precisely on the strength of Deutr. XXIV, that a man was entitled to divorce his wife" for every cause," while the school of Shammai taught that the reference to "some unseemly thing" in that verse of the law applied to adultery, and to that alone, as a legitimate ground of divorce." (1)

Concerning the divorce Law as such, one may emphasize the following points. Jewish marriage on Jesus' day was a one-sided affair. Each woman as wife was totally subjected to her husband's whims. The partner who divorced was the man, the wife had no right to leave her husband, or to divorce him. Regarding divorce itself "the simplest case was that ... by mutual consent". (2) The court consisted of the Rabbis and was called Beth Din. (3) The husband and the wife had not even to

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid, p. 90.

(3) Ibid.

appear before the court. It was enough when they both signed the bill of divorce in the presence of three witnesses. The rule was that "a woman may be divorced with or without her will, but a man only with his will."⁽¹⁾ Thus Beth Din was a court, which was not so much concerned about the causes of divorce as about the settlement of the former family's property.

Further, one has still to indicate that the peculiar Jewish background (cf. Mt.5:27-32) reveals very specific attitudes in relation to divorce and marriage. Also in this connection "Die Frau gilt als Quelle der Sünden".⁽²⁾ Namely, first, one's look or one's eye can invalidate the sanctity of marriage (Mt.5:28). In this connection one may consider the following verses: "The eye of the adulterer also waits for the twilight" (Tob.24:5); or "Ich hurte, nicht durch Erhebung meiner Augen" (Test. XII Issachar 7:2) or IQSI6 speaks of "Augen der Unzucht".⁽³⁾ According to the available information, many Rabbis strictly avoided to violate the sanctity of marriage with an admiring look at women other than their wives. Some of the Pharisees went even so far that they always closed their eyes, when they met a woman. Consequently, now and then they wounded themselves, because they could not see where they were going. Such Pharisees have been known as the "Pharisäer des Blutverlustes".⁽⁴⁾

Secondly, many Pharisees also avoided greeting women and usually spoke to women as little as possible. According to the Rabbis, one could violate the sanctity of one's marriage also by touching some other woman, her hand or even her

(1) Ibid.

(2) W. Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Berlin, 1971, p.160.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

finger-tips. Thus many Pharisees avoided touching women. A well known rabbinical saying states that "Eure Hände sind voll Blutschuld (i.e.) ...die Ehebruch treiben mit der Hand".⁽¹⁾

IV. Marriage Habits in the Gentile World

The Gentile marriages of Jesus' day include three types of people: the heathen, the proselytes, and the ones converted to Christianity. Their marriage habits were based upon traditions of many ancient mediterranean cultures. From a Jewish point of view, Gentile marriages could have the nature of Πορνεύειν, in that they might violate the prohibited degrees. Consider in this case the four requirements of the Apostolic Council (Acts 15:28-29). The Πορνεύειν as related to the Gentile world in the New Testament (Acts 15:29; I Cor. 5:1) describes "blutschänderische Ehen, d.h. Ehen in der für Juden verbotenen Verwandtschaftsgraden."⁽²⁾ In this connection one has to consider Lev.18:6-18, which describes the forbidden degrees of Jewish marriages, i.e., one cannot marry one's father, mother, stepmother, sister, half-sister, grand-son or grand-daughter, first degree cousin, aunt, daughter-in-law, one's brother's wife, etc.

In relation to the marriage habits of ancient cultures the literature is very rich.⁽³⁾ These are mostly marriages among relatives, which is an abomination for the Jewish Law and which is not practised any more, at least, not among the white race.

(1) Ibid, p. 161.

(2) H. Baltensweiler "Die Ehebruchsklausel bei Matthäus" Theol. Zeitschrift, 15 (1959), p. 349.

(3) cf. L. Wahrmund, Das Institut der Ehe im Altertum, 1933. E. Kornemann, Die Stellung der Frau in der vorgriech. Mittelmeer Kultur, 1927. H. Kees, Egypten, A. Rossbach, Untersuchungen über die röm. Ehe, 1853, etc.

However, the ancient nations, especially the ruling houses justified their unnatural marriage relationships with the "Vorstellung ... dass das Blut rein erhalten werden müsse." (1)

It is known that Phraatakes, a king of the Parthians in the time of Augustus, married his own mother, Thea Musa. (2)

Similarly Artaxerxes II (405-354 B.C.) of Persia married two of his daughters. (3) This custom that, at least, kings or pharaohs marry their own daughters has been known also in the ancient Egypt. Also brothers very often married their sisters. This habit was popular in Greece. In this connection one may mention as examples the famous Ptolemies and Seleucids. (4)

Consequently, in many ancient cultures wife was generally called "sister" even if the marriage partners were not blood relatives. This habit is reflected by the title "ἡ ἀδελφὴ βασιλοῦς". It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the habits of ruling families were common in society at large; cf I Cor. 5:1.

V. Jesus' Answer to the ΠΕΡΔΕΜΟΣ of his Age in Relation to Marriage and Divorce

The expression "ΠΕΡΔΕΜΟΣ ἑαυτῶν" Matthew places in the beginning of the divorce discourse. Thus one may say that Matthew does this with intention, because he "bewertet das, was von Seiten der Pharisäer an Jesus herangetragen wird, als Versuchung." (5) In this connection the ΠΕΡΔΕΜΟΣ of Jesus consists of three factors, which he could not possibly avoid encountering, if he would look upon marriage and divorce

(1) Baltensweiler, Ibid, p. 352.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., p. 351.

(5) Grundmann, Ibid, p. 427.

from a different angle than ^{it} was customary in the first century Palestine. At first, Jesus has to encounter the Jewish Law, Deutr.24:1-4, according to which divorce for Jesus' countrymen was not a problem of any great importance. Secondly, any open comment of Jesus on marriage and divorce could be something offensive for the ruling aristocracy of the country as the example of Herod Antipas and the death of John the Baptist testify. Thirdly, Jesus' answer in matters of marriage and divorce could, at a later date, cause confusion among the Jewish proselytes and among the Gentile followers of Jesus.

However, Jesus escapes the trap of the Pharisees in a threefold manner. First, Jesus does not refer to the practical situation of his environment at all, i.e., marriage and divorce. He does not engage in a detailed debate. Jesus does not denounce Herod Antipas and Herodias. He does not refer to the marriage situation in the Gentile world, which prevailed among the proselytes and the Gentile followers of Jesus. The only deviation in Jesus' answer is the short reference to "your hardness of heart" (Mt.19:8 and par.).

Secondly, Jesus' answer to the Pharisees' temptation is the presentation of an everlasting ideal of marriage, which is based upon creation, i.e., the will of God (Gen.1:27; 2:24). This ideal silences all particular arguments in relation to marriage and divorce in the contemporary situation, which the Pharisees did expect to start between them and Jesus. The newness that Jesus adds to the particular situation of marriage and divorce is the fact that Jesus "richtet das Recht der Person auch für die Frau auf, indem er beide Mann and Frau unter gleiche Recht

stellt".⁽¹⁾ One has to remember here that the only marriage partner, who had all rights pertaining to marriage, in Jesus' day, was the husband.

Thirdly, one may conclude that Jesus overcomes the ΠΕΛΡΕΚΜΟΣ of the Pharisees in this particular occasion by transforming in his answer the marriage and the divorce problems from a contemporary argument into an everlasting principle rooted in the will of God since the days of creation.

Finally, one has still to indicate that the clauses, ΠΑΡΕΚΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΡΥΕΛΔΣ (Mt. 5:32) and ΗΜ' ΕΠΙ ΠΟΡΥΕΛΔ, (Mt. 19:9) in Matthew's statement on divorce have caused much discussion in modern scholarship. One may accept that the Synoptic statements about marriage and divorce are original, i.e., Words of Jesus, because one finds them five times in the Synoptic tradition, (Mk. 10:11; Mt. 19:9; 5:32; Lk. 16:18 and Mk. 10:12, abgeändert.)⁽²⁾

However, in relation to the clauses indicated above (Mt. 19:9; 5:32), many modern scholars are of the opinion that these clauses "gehen nicht auf Jesu zurück, sie sind eine Beifügung des Matthäus",⁽³⁾ although Matthew would not have undertaken such modification of Jesus' words without having good reason. The reason of this modification is the historical situation of Matthew's congregation "in welcher die fraglichen Klauseln verständlich werden".⁽⁴⁾ Apparently this was a congregation, where the "Judenchristen und Heidenchristen zusammenleben mussten".⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ibid, p. 160.

(2) Baltensweiler, Ibid, p. 341.

(3) Ibid, p. 342.

(4) Ibid, p. 346.

(5) Ibid, p. 348.

C. Taxes To Caesar (Mt.22:15-22)

In this particular section the tempters, who approached Jesus, were the Herodians and the disciples of the Pharisees. Tension was characteristic for the relationship of these two groups - never friendship. "Aber wo es gegen Jesus ging, fand man sich zusammen,"⁽¹⁾ i.e., these two hostile groups. Probably the Herodians were friends of Herod Antipas, the tetrach of Galilee and Perea. They were probably also friends of the Romans, because Herod Antipas was a vassal of Rome. The real basis for this friendship with Romans were financial concerns.

Further, one has also to say a few words about the Roman taxing system of Jesus' day. There were two kinds of taxes: (1) a land tax, which the peasants had to pay, and (2) a poll-tax (Kopfsteuer), which was required from all persons between ages 14-16, including also women and slaves.⁽²⁾ According to the religious - national attitude of the day, "man dürfte ausser Gott keine mensehliche, politische Macht erkennen ... und darum dürfte man den Römern keine Abgaben zahlen."⁽³⁾

One has to indicate also that this particular occasion takes place in "eine sehr späte Zeit im öffentlichen Wirken Jesu."⁽⁴⁾ First, the enemies do not require any Messianic sign from Jesus any more. The time of asking for signs is over. Secondly, the opponents are now attacking Jesus in order to destroy him, which is indicated by the phrases: "ἀντὶ τῶν πολλῶν ὧν ἔειπεν ἐν λόγῳ" (v.15) and "τί με πειράζετε ἄπο κριταί;" (v.18). However, the opponents are approaching Jesus in

(1) P. Gaichter, Das Matthäus Evangelium, Tyrolia Verlag, München, 1963, p.711.

(2) Ibid., pp702.

(3) Ibid., pp 701-702.

(4) Ibid., p.699.

outwardly innocent manner. At first, the Pharisees themselves remain in the background. They send to Jesus only some of their unidentified disciples. Secondly, the Herodians cooperate with the Pharisees partly on behalf of Herod Antipas, who was not sympathetic towards Jesus (cf Lk.13:31-34).⁽¹⁾ In all probability the Herodians hoped that, because of this new attack Jesus would avoid the territories of Herod Antipas. Thirdly, in this case the opponents are speaking, at least, outwardly highly about Jesus: "Teacher, we know that you ... teach the way of God truthfully" (v.16).

However, at the same time the opponents are asking Jesus to answer a question "die in Israel eine Gewissensfrage ist, die Frage nach der Berechtigung der römischen Kopfsteuer für die Glieder des Volkes Gottes".⁽²⁾ According to the secret expectation of the Pharisees and the Herodians, Jesus' encounter with this question could have only one result, namely, the destruction of Jesus. This secret motive of the opponents explains Jesus remark: "Τὸ μὲν ΠΕΛΡΑΪΣΤΕΣ ΕΙΠΟΝ -" (v.18). The whole situation as such is a ΠΕΛΡΑΪΣΤΕΣ. First, if Jesus should say that it is lawful to pay taxes to Caesar, then "war es mit seinem (Jesus') Messiasium aus".⁽³⁾ According to the popular expectation of Jesus time, the first thing that the real Messiah would do would be the denunciation of Roman taxes as unlawful. Secondly, if Jesus encouraged his countrymen not to pay the tax, then the opponents could accuse him very easily before Pilate as a traitor.

(1) Ibid, p. 701.

(2) Grundmann, Ibid, p. 472.

(3) Gaechter, Ibid, p. 702.

However, also during this ΠΕΛΠ26 ΝΟΣ Jesus finds the right attitude, by which to master the situation and to silence his opponents. During Jesus' time two coins have been most popular, the coin of Augustus and the coin of Tiberius, A.D. 14-37. Most likely this was a coin of Tiberius, which was brought to Jesus. According to the beliefs of that time, "das Herrschaftsgebiet eines Herrschers mit dem Gültigkeitsgebiet seiner Münzen deckte".⁽¹⁾ In this connection with the question "show me the money for the tax" (v. 19), and with the answer that the coin is Caesar's, Jesus destroys the argument of his opponents. Since the opponents brought to Jesus Caesar's coin, they possessed Caesar's money. During Jesus' day the acceptance of some ruler's money was identical with the acceptance of the sovereignty of the particular ruler.⁽²⁾ Consequently, the Pharisees and the Herodians showing the Caesar's coin to Jesus "anerkannten somit de facto die römische Herrschaft als zurecht bestehend und sich selbst als seine Untertanen".⁽³⁾

The second part of Jesus' statement "Render to God the things that are God's" (v. 22), is only outwardly parallel to the first part of the same statement. With this reference to God Jesus is indicating that "Gott der absolute Herr aller Menschen sei, der Caesar nicht ausgenommen".⁽⁴⁾ Consequently, even Caesar had no right to do something, which would be a contradiction of God's laws as they were revealed to the nation in the Old Testament. Thus with two short phrases Jesus this time annihilates the plan to tempt him from a politically - economic point of view.

(1) Ibid, p. 703.

(2) Ibid, p.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid, p. 704.

D. The Great Commandment (Mt.22:34-40)

According to the context of this passage, Jesus was entangled previously in an argument with the Sadducees. Both parties, the Sadducees and Pharisees, were hostile towards Jesus, and they also opposed one another (Mt.3:7; 16:1; 21:43). The Sadducees were the aristocratic class, the modernists of the day, admirers of Greek customs and thought, and believers in man's free will. They recognised the Pentateuchal Law, but denied resurrection, the existence of angels, spirits, fate, Providence, etc. The Pharisees were the patriots of the country, who looked for the deliverance from foreign occupation and for a glorious future age. They were also the legalists and the adherents to the Scribal tradition.

Matthew opens this particular passage with the information that Jesus has silenced the argumentative voices of the Sadducees. Thus the Pharisees are starting now a new offensive on their part against Jesus (v.34). A νομικός⁽¹⁾ of the Pharisees approaches Jesus with the intention to "πειρῆσαι αὐτόν", i.e., Jesus (v.35). In Mark's presentation (Mk.12:23-34) this passage can be designated as a didactic saying, while Matthew changes the mood. He transforms the didactic saying in a conflict saying.⁽²⁾ "Die Pharisäer stellen die Frage nach dem grössten Gebot, um Jesus zu versuchen."⁽³⁾

In this particular passage the conflict, or the Pharisees intention of πειρῆσις, consists of three points in relation

(1) Νομικός is used by Matthew only in this particular verse.

(2) G. Bornkamm, Überlieferung und Auslegung im Matthäus Evangelium, Neukirchen Verlag, 1961, p. 71.

(3) Ibid.

die Gebote gegeben wird ... Herr der Welt, ich fürchte mich nicht wegen der wichtigen Gebote ... Weswegen fürchte ich mich? Wegen der geringen Gebote, vielleicht möchte ich eins von ihnen übertreten haben." (1)

In his answer Jesus, quoting Deutr.6:5 (cf. also 11:13-21; Num.15:33-41) summarises the Torah; there is only one specific point which contains the whole Law, "ὁ λόγος ὁ νόμος." (2) It is the beginning of the Shema, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, soul, and mind. Heart, soul and mind are designations for "die alles umschliessende Ganzheit der Menschen." (3) The sentence of the Shema implies also the explanation why one should love God above all things. Namely, this love "ist des Volkes Antwort auf Gottes erwählende und offenbarende Tat und ist damit dieses Einen Volkes Grundgesetz." (4)

(2) The νομικός asked the question about the great commandment as a lawyer, from a legalistic point of view, namely, "dass es möglicherweise einen biblischen Rechtsatz gebe, welcher die anderen an Wichtigkeit übertrage." (5) Jesus' answer to the legalistic question is surprising for the νομικός. In connection with the great commandment Jesus does not refer to the traditional matters at all. For example, Jesus does not mention the Tephillim (Deutr.11:13-21), i.e., that the words of the commandment should be bound upon one's hands or shall be as frontlets between one's eyes. Further, Jesus refers neither to the Mezuzoth, i.e., the door posts, upon which the words of the Shema should be written, nor to the blue corded tassels at the

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p. 71.

(3) Lohmeyer, Ibid., p. 258.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Gaechter, Ibid., p. 712.

corners of one's garments, which should remind one of God's commandments (Num.15:33-41).

Secondly, Jesus in his answer emphasizes the fact that there is not a specific "Rechtssatz", because "der eigentliche Wert der Tora in Dt.6:5ⁱⁿ der strikt religiösen Forderung Gott zu lieben liege."⁽¹⁾ The *ῥομῆκοι* could not have any objections against this statement. Also he could agree that Deutr.6:5 is the most important law of the Torah. However, the Pharisee must have found strange Jesus' attitude towards the Torah, which completely neglected the ritualistic - legalistic demands of the Law. Jesus' emphasis was always upon the moral content of the Law.

(3) Further, Jesus does something unexpected, he adds to the great commandment a second commandment based upon Lev.19:18, although the *ῥομῆκοι* did not ask Jesus to mention a second commandment. According to the Torah (Lev.19:34; Deutr. 10:19), all sojourners in Palestine were looked upon as neighbours. However, during Jesus' day the Pharisees interpreted Lev.19:18 from a legalistic point of view, in case the sojourners in Palestine did not accept Judaism during their first twelve months in Palestine, they were not looked upon as neighbours any more.⁽²⁾ Further, one may mention that besides Jesus also in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (Issachar7:6; Dan.5:3) and in Philo's writings love of God and love of one's neighbour are placed side by side.⁽³⁾

Jesus does not look upon Lev.19:18 from a legalistic point

(1) Ibid.

(2) Gaechter, Ibid, p. 713.

(3) Ibid, p. 713.

of view. One may say that Jesus interprets Lev.19:18 from a moralistic point of view "und damit die Richtung angibt, in der das Gebot Gott zu lieben, interpretiert werden muss".⁽¹⁾

According to Jesus, real love of God has to result in real love of one's neighbour, and the love of one's neighbour has to be rooted always in God's love. Consequently, "die Erfüllung des ersten [commandment] ohne das zweite [commandment] und die Erfüllung des zweiten ohne das erste nicht möglich ist."⁽²⁾ Thus Jesus answer to the ΠΕΡΛΕΓΜΟΣ of the Pharisees in relation to the great commandment is a new interpretation of the love relationship in its two most important aspects.

(1) Ibid, p. 713.

(2) Ibid, p. 714.

E. Appendix to the Temptation Problem. (Mt.10:24-25; 13:21; 18:7)

I. Matthew 10:24-25

In the Gospel Matthew refers three times to Beelzebul, to the prince of demons (Mt.9:34) in connection with the Beelzebul controversy, which is discussed in the first and the second chapter of this work (Mt.12:24), and in this particular verse (Mt.10:25). In verse 25 temptation is not mentioned directly. However, this short passage, Mt.24:25, describes a tense situation in the life of Jesus, it refers to the hatred of the world towards Jesus. Jesus is accused that he accomplishes all exorcisms, because he himself is the prince of demons (Mt.9:34), the Beelzebul. Verse 25 describes the situation of the Master of the house, i.e., Jesus, and of those of his household, i.e., the disciples. The people of his household are those, who believe in Jesus as the Messiah. However, there are also many among Jesus' countrymen, who point to him as Beelzebul. Verses 24-25 refer also to the fate of Jesus' disciples in this world. Namely, "the disciple is not above his master" (v.24). "Was sie zu erwarten haben, sollen sie im Sinn von v. 24-25a in Geduld hinnehmen,"⁽¹⁾ i.e., they will experience the same hatred of the world as Jesus experiences.

2. Matthew 13:21

In this verse *εκαρδαιζομαι* is identical with the apostasy of a Christian, which is caused by *θλιψις*, tribulation, persecution.

(1) Ibid, p. 341.

3. Matthew 18:7

Three times the word trap, temptation (RSV) is mentioned in this verse, ἐκείνους, ἐκείνους, ἐκείνους. The context, in which Matthew 18:7 is placed, is dealing with the problem of tempting or causing someone to sin (Mt.18:5-6). The "little ones" or "the Children" are not children in a literal sense of the word. "Die Kleinsten sind ... Erwachsene, welche sich Jesus angeschlossen haben ... Leute aus dem Volk." (1)

In this particular passage Jesus' attitude towards the tempter, who would cause one to sin, is pityless. Such a person "soll mit Gewalt aus der menschlichen Gemeinschaft für immer entfernt werden". (2) However, this pitylessness is not a punishment, it is an attempt to prevent the tempter from causing someone else to sin. Further, v.7 indicates clearly that in this world it is impossible to avoid temptations. "Erfahrungsmässig kamen solche immer vor und werden immer vorkommen." (3) There are also cases, when temptation belongs to God's plan of salvation. Note the phrase, "For it is necessary that temptations come" (v.7). The final "woe" of verse 7 may refer to the Pharisees, whose intention was to separate Jesus from his countrymen.

(1) Ibid, p. 591.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid, p. 592.

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