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"Markan Controversy Dialogues and the *Chreia* Tradition.

An Investigation of the Rhetorical Dimensions of Selected Markan
Pericopes (2.15-17, 18-22, 23-28, 3.22-30; 7.1-23; 11.27-33) in
Light of their Redaction, Form, and Transmission Histories."

Submitted by

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For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies
of the Faculty of Divinity
of Glasgow University

February, 1996

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To my father Joseph Henry and brother Henry
and in loving memory of my mother Helen
with deep gratitude and love.

THESIS ABSTRACT

The aim of the thesis is to investigate the rhetorical dimensions of selected Markan controversy dialogues (2.15-17, 18-22, 23-28; 3.22-30; 7.1-23; 11.27-33) in light of their redaction, form, and transmission histories. Specifically, I shall evaluate scholarly claims that these dialogues are examples of the Hellenistic literary form called the *chreia*. Consequently, the thesis is a formal analysis, though certain historical conclusions will emerge. I shall structure the thesis in three main sections and twelve chapters. The first section will present an overview of the history of the investigation of the controversy dialogues from Dibelius to the present day and will conclude that the specific type of rhetorical criticism which I shall evaluate and traditional historical criticism can be mutually beneficial when used together. The second section will describe rhetoric as understood in antiquity and outline the definitions, classifications, and elaborations of the *chreia* given in the ancient handbooks known as the *Progymnasmata*. The final section will bring together the insights of historical criticism and rhetorical analysis in the study of the six Markan pericopes. The most important conclusion which I propose is that the primitive form of these dialogues was modelled after the *chreia* form. This suggests that they emerged not from some anonymous collectivity but were consciously formed by individuals with some education and knowledge of a pagan literary form. They were conceived in a unitary fashion. I further argue that the rhetorical situation from which the dialogues emerged was the synagogue where the followers of Jesus were arguing for a less strict religious observance and were being opposed by a more rigorist, Pharisaic party. During the process of transmission the form decayed as more material was added, and there is no evidence that either the tradition or Mark himself knew the form or moulded the materials in imitation of the form. Although these pericopes do show an intensification of polemic, they do not reveal any laws of transmission, at least from the rhetorical point of view. Finally, the arguments used in the original dialogues are based on human wisdom and common values, and do not refer to the Jewish law or the traditions. Jesus is depicted as a teacher of wisdom who, like a Greek philosopher-teacher, calls pupils to himself.

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DECLARATION

I declare that the above-mentioned thesis embodies the results of my own special work, that it has been composed by myself and that it does not include work from part of a thesis presented successfully for a degree in this or another University.

PREFACE

In general, I have consulted the primary and secondary literature in their original language. All the quotations from primary sources I have given in the original language with an accompanying translation. The translations are generally those of the translators noted, though now and again I have suggested a correction or emendation. Regarding the secondary literature, I have cited occasionally the English translation of some important works. In a few cases, I have used the English translation when the original was not readily available. The text of the New Testament I have used is the United Bible Societies' *The Greek New Testament*, 3rd edition, and Kurt Aland's *Synopsis of the Four Gospels*. For the Old Testament, I have used the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* and Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint.

ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS AND SERIES

<i>Angelos</i>	<i>Angelos</i>
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testament
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BEvTh	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
<i>Bij</i>	<i>Bijdragen Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur ZNW
BZNWKK	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
ConNT	<i>Coniectanea Neotestamentica</i>
CGTOC	The Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>Dialog</i>	<i>Dialog</i>
EKK NT	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>Elenchos</i>	<i>Elenchos</i>
ETL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis</i>
ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
FFF	<i>Foundations and Facets Forum</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
Interpretation	<i>Interpretation</i>
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JLT	<i>Journal of Literature and Theology</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSS	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplementary Series</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritische-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KKNT	Kleine Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament commentary
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary

NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NTA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTL	New Testament Library
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	New Testament Studies
ÖTKNT	Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>PEGLMBS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Society</i>
PNTC	The Pelican New Testament Commentaries
<i>PR</i>	<i>Philosophy and Rhetoric</i>
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
<i>QJS</i>	<i>Quarterly Journal of Speech</i>
<i>Rhetorica</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i>
<i>RSQ</i>	<i>Rhetoric Society Quarterly</i>
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBT	Studia biblica et theologica
<i>Scriptura</i>	<i>Scriptura</i>
<i>SM</i>	<i>Speech Monographs</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Study Monograph Series
SNTU	Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt
<i>Semeia</i>	<i>Semeia</i>
StANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>TB</i>	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>
ThHK	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UTB	Urban-Taschenbücher
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WD</i>	<i>Wort und Dienst</i>
<i>WJSC</i>	<i>Western Journal of Speech Communications</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZThK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
<i>ZRGG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i>

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this general introduction is to state the aim of the thesis, its originality, its nature and limitations, and the general method which will be followed.

In this study, I intend to investigate the rhetorical dimensions of selected Markan controversy dialogues (2.15-17, 18-22, 23-28; 3.22-30; 7.1-23; 11.27-33) in light of their redaction, form, and transmission histories. Over the past decade and more, a clear trend away from the traditional historical approach has emerged, with the result that synchronic readings of the Gospel have become much more in vogue. These new ways of reading the text vary one from the other but share, for the most part, the same emphasis upon the textually-integrative features of the text, rather than the textually disintegrative ones which are associated, it is often claimed, with the historical-critical method. Often, too, these new approaches show more interest in the macro-structure of the Gospel and how it is read by contemporary audiences.¹ Consequently, the historical dimensions of the text are hardly investigated, if at all.²

¹ See, W. R. Telford, "The Pre-Markan Tradition in Recent Research (1980-1990)," in *The Four Gospels 1992. Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, ed. F. van Segbroeck et. al., BETL C (Leuven: University Press), 694, 710. Stephen D. Moore, however, points out that the narrative coherence of synoptic texts is often only established through the assignation of some over-riding purpose to the fragmented texts. *Literary Criticism of the Gospels. The Theoretical Challenge* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 34.

² There have been attempts, however, to offer literary readings of the Gospel which take seriously its historical context. See, for instance, Mary Ann Tolbert, *Sowing the Gospel. Mark's World in Literary-Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989).

The type of rhetorical criticism which I shall evaluate in this study attempts to build a bridge between literary and historical approaches.³ On the one hand, its practitioners claim that many of the pericopes in the Gospel of Mark are very coherent in their present form, and may be classified as examples of the Hellenistic literary form called the *chreia*. On the other hand, they accept that these pericopes did undergo a process of growth in the oral period before the formation of the Gospel. Consequently, the pericopes chart a history of social formation in early Christianity which may be identified from careful study. Like historical criticism, this type of approach is interested in analysing small units in the Gospel in order to create a window into the community to whom the various stories were directed. Like literary criticism, it accepts that the present form of the stories are carefully structured entities, characterized by coherence and closure. Differently from both, however, rhetorical criticism focuses upon the argumentative strategies put to use in the text, the identification of which assists the reader in understanding both the historical and literary dimensions of the text.

I shall argue that this type of rhetorical criticism has made a valuable contribution to synoptic studies in its interest in analysing the persuasive elements of the text and in its identification of the various codes and conventions used in those argumentative strategies. I shall maintain, however, that it claims too much when it argues that the various pericopes are characterized by rhetorical coherence insofar as they are examples of various types of Hellenistic *chreiai*. I aim to achieve this by bringing together the insights of rhetorical criticism with those of redaction, form, and transmission analysis. This is the originality of the thesis. Despite the criticisms made and the reservations lodged against historical criticism, there is, I shall argue, some scholarly consensus concerning the nature of the Gospel materials before the written stage and about their process of transmission. It is legitimate, therefore, to attempt to chart the growth of a pericope from its

³ By "literary approach" I mean all those readings which investigate the synchronic level of the text, such as reader-response, structuralist, narrative, or composition criticism, and so on.

most primitive stage. Since there is also a reasonable consensus that Mark was the first to write a Gospel and that much of the material was passed to him orally, it is also legitimate to attempt to identify his hand in the present text.

The nature of the thesis is both formal and historical. I shall evaluate the extent to which the Markan pericopes both in their present written form and during the oral stage may be formally classified as examples of types of *chreia*. Certain historical conclusions will be suggested as a result of this analysis, most especially with regard to the creators and audience of the earliest form of the various pericopes. The thesis has certain limitations. Rudolf Bultmann was the first form critic to introduce the question of the authenticity of the various sayings in the Gospel and so to pursue the form critical agenda into the life of the historical Jesus. Aware that investigating the historicity of the sayings not only would lead me away from the main aim of the thesis but also expand vastly the study, I have limited my investigation to identifying the earliest form of the pericopes as used by the primitive Christian community. Furthermore, I shall not investigate rabbinic parallels, as Bultmann did, since my main aim is to evaluate whether the pericopes were formed after a specific Hellenistic model. I shall suggest in the conclusion, however, that an analysis similar to my own could be applied to the rabbinic parallels in order to discover whether their original forms were similar to the *chreia* form.

The dissertation has three main sections and twelve chapters. The first section will present an overview of the investigation of the controversy dialogues from Dibelius to the present day. It is from this overview that I shall conclude that their insights which are still commonly accepted are that much of the Markan material originated at the oral stage, that it circulated in small units, and that over time more material was added to those small units as they were used by different people at different times and in different contexts.

The second section will offer a brief explanation of rhetoric as understood in the ancient world, and an outline of the definitions, classifications, and elaborations of the *chreia* form. It will furnish the materials necessary for the subsequent rhetorical analyses. I shall argue in this section that the simple *chreia* form was known and used during the period of the formation of the Gospel materials, but that the extent to which its elaborated forms were known is less certain. I shall maintain, however, that it is licit to use the outline of the elaborated form as a heuristic device in order to discover whether Mark or the tradition before him availed themselves of that form.

Analysis of six Markan controversy stories follows in the third section. With the exception of 3.22-30, these stories belong to Bultmann's category of controversy dialogues occasioned by the conduct of Jesus or his disciples. I chose these pericopes since they contain an objection or question followed by a response and so, at least at first glance, could resemble the Hellenistic *chreia*. Moreover, since some have already been subjected to rhetorical analysis, there is an opportunity to enter into scholarly discussion regarding the extent to which they may be considered *chreiai*.

I shall analyse the pericopes in the following way. Firstly, where necessary, I shall establish the limits of the unit as it came to Mark. This is necessary since for successful *chreia* analysis the beginning and end of the unit has to be clearly demarcated. I shall then examine the redaction, form, and transmission histories of each as necessary steps before the rhetorical analysis, not only of their present form but also of the various stages of their transmission histories. At times, it will be inevitable to anticipate some of the results of the rhetorical analysis, since I aim to allow the two approaches to illuminate each other. By beginning with redaction analysis, I am not claiming some methodological point. Simply, in these pericopes I have found it more productive to do the formal analysis after I have identified the redaction.

Differently from Bultmann, I shall not suggest a possible *Sitz im Leben* during the formal analysis. The reason for this is that such a

consideration must wait until the rhetorical analysis has been completed. Since I shall evaluate the various argumentative strategies used in the pericopes, I shall use the term "rhetorical situation" to describe the socio-rhetorical situation from which the pericopes emerged. This is a common term in rhetorical analysis and may be considered roughly equivalent to *Sitz im Leben* except that the argumentative strategies used in the dialogues receive more weight.

SECTION I

HISTORY OF THE INVESTIGATION OF THE APOPHTHEGMS¹

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this section is to outline the scholarly investigation of the apophthegms. Its objectives are to introduce the various problems associated with the analysis of the apophthegms, to outline the various ways these have been tackled, to register the move away from strictly form critical analysis to analyses of a more literary and/or rhetorical nature, and to situate the present study within the history of the discussion. The task will be executed in three parts, roughly corresponding to the chronological succession of the various studies: those of the early form critics, the investigations of more recent form critics, and finally the studies of literary and rhetorical critics. At the end of each of the parts, a critique and evaluation of the studies presented will be offered. In the conclusion, it will be argued that literary and especially rhetorical approaches to the text have a number of insights to offer, but that these approaches must be integrated with the more traditional historical approach if both the synchronic and diachronic aspects of the text are to be respected.

¹ The term "pronouncement story," first coined by Vincent Taylor to describe these pericopes, has re-appeared recently among some authors as the preferred description. The differences in terminology reveal different ways of understanding the Markan material, as will become evident in what follows. I choose to use Bultmann's terminology, not because of his claim that it is "möglichst neutral[en]," but because it has become the classical description, and already creates the link between the New Testament and Greek worlds. The citation is from *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 6 Auflage (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 8. The English translation of the fifth edition is: John Marsh, trans., *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell: 1963), and will be used if appropriate. The eighth edition of the German version was published in 1970.

CHAPTER ONE. THE EARLY FORM CRITICS

Introduction

This chapter will describe and evaluate the studies of Martin Dibelius, Rudolf Bultmann, Martin Albertz, and Vincent Taylor. Special attention will be paid to the first two authors, not only because they set the agenda for New Testament form critical studies, but also because the latter authors cannot be considered form critics in the strict sense. It will be argued that the lasting legacy of form criticism is threefold: that an oral tradition preceded the written Gospels; that much of that tradition circulated as small units; and that there was a process of growth as various traditions were attached to each other.

1. Martin Dibelius²

Dibelius' opening remark that "the history of a literature is the history of its various forms"³ registers his general aim, namely, to describe the origins and history of the Gospel forms, their final organisation and the motives and laws which governed this process. Two presuppositions underpin this general aim. Firstly, the Gospels were *Kleinliteratur*, to be distinguished from literature proper and the classics. Defined in this way, the Gospel forms were characterised by anonymity, collectivity and a non-literary colouring. The second presupposition is that the evangelists were collectors or editors rather than authors proper, and that their role was limited to "the choice, the limitation, and the final shaping of the material."⁴ For Dibelius form criticism begins not with the work

² *Zur Formgeschichte der Evangelien*, 2 Auflage (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1933). The English translation is of this second German edition, done in collaboration with the author: B. L. Woolf, trans., *From Tradition to Gospel* (Cambridge: James Clark, 1971). The sixth edition was published in 1972.

³ "[A]lle Literaturgeschichte Formgeschichte ist." *Formgeschichte*, 1.

⁴ "[E]r erstreckt sich auf Auswahl, Rahmung und letzte Gestaltung, nicht auf die ursprüngliche Formung des Stoffes." *Formgeschichte*, 3. In these presuppositions, Dibelius takes a position similar to that which would be assumed by K. L. Schmidt, "Die Stellung der Evangelien in der allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte," in *ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΟΝ. Studien zur Religion und Literatur des*

of the Evangelists, since the Gospel had "already reached a certain completion of development" by that time,⁵ but with the attempt to understand the origin of the smaller forms.

Dibelius uses a constructive methodology: that is, he proceeds, in his attempt to trace the process of development of the tradition, from the presumed needs, activities, and conditions of the primitive Church, rather than from the text. Since it was precisely these activities and conditions which created the various forms present within the Gospel, form criticism is understood by him as a sociological rather than aesthetic enterprise. Consequently, knowledge of the forms opens up knowledge of the *Sitz im Leben*, the typical "historical and social stratum in which precisely these literary forms were developed."⁶

For Dibelius, it was the missionary purpose of the Church, not only in winning converts, but also in building up the faithful and in instructing catechumens, which supplied the motive for the spread of the Jesus story. Preaching was the means for this and, more importantly, the form-giving principle from which the other synoptic forms (the paradigms, the tales, the legends, the passion story, the parenesis) ultimately derived. He maintains that the sermon had three basic components which are retrievable from certain speeches in the Acts of the Apostles: kerygma or message, scriptural proof, exhortation to repentance.⁷ When this is taken with the tradition recorded by Paul in 1 Cor. 15.3-5, Dibelius concludes that he has isolated the primitive Christian preaching.⁸

Alten und Neuen Testament. Fs. H. Gunkel, hrsg. H. Schmidt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1923).

⁵ "Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, d.h. dieses Stoffes ... erreicht in der Formwerdung der Evangelien-Bücher bereits einen gewissen Abschluß." *Formgeschichte*, 3.

⁶ "Die Gattung aber erlaubt wiederum einen Schluß auf den sogenannten "Sitz im Leben", d.h. auf die geschichtlich-soziale Lage, in der gerade derartige literarische Formen ausgebildet werden." *Formgeschichte*, 7.

⁷ Kerygma: Acts 2.22ff., 3.13ff., 10.37ff., 13.23ff; Scriptural proof: 2.25ff; 3.22ff; 10.43a; 13.32ff; Exhortation: 2.38f., 3.17ff., 10.42.43b; 13.38ff. *Formgeschichte*, 15 n. 2.

⁸ "Gerade dieser Befund bietet nun aber eine schöne Bestätigung für die Annahme, daß diese kerygmatischen Texte uns Föhlung mit der urchristlichen Predigt vermitteln; denn was wir von ihnen ablesen, das müssen wir für die älteste Verkündigung sowieso voraussetzen:

This tradition received its form not in the Aramaic-speaking circle which gave rise to the Christian movement, nor in the Hellenistic churches, but rather in the pre-Pauline Hellenistic churches closely associated with Judaism. The interest in the Passion gave birth to the longer story of the death of Jesus because "only the organic connection of the events satisfied the need of explanation, and only the binding together of the individual happenings could settle the question of responsibility."⁹

All the other stories and sayings in the Gospel served the aims of this primitive Christian preaching, the sermon, and could be considered incidental. In other words, they did not add anything of essential significance to the central message of salvation. Of these, the paradigms were the most important since they functioned to illustrate and exemplify what had been wrought by the death and resurrection of Jesus.¹⁰ Formally, they are stories rather than disputes since their main aim is in what Jesus said or did, rather than argument and counter-argument in which the objector would have real significance.¹¹

Dibelius identifies sixteen paradigms in Mark which he divides into two classes: the pure type and the less pure type. To the first class belong 2.1.ff., 18ff., 23ff.; 3.1ff., 20ff.; 10.13ff.; 12.13ff.; 14.3ff. To the second class belong 1.23ff; 2.13.ff; 6.1ff.; 10.17ff., 35ff., 46ff.; 11.15.ff; 12.18ff. He calls them paradigms, not only because they were the the oldest examples of narrative style in the Gospel, but

durchgehendes Interesse für die Leidens- und Ostergeschichte in ihrem Zusammenhang, dagegen nur gelegentliche Hervorhebung der anderen Daten aus dem Leben Jesu." *Formgeschichte*, 21.

⁹ "[N]ur die Verbindung der Ereignisse dem Bedürfnis nach Deutung Genüge tut, nur die Verknüpfung der einzelnen Vorgänge die Schuldfrage beantworten kann." *Formgeschichte*, 21.

¹⁰ "Denn was die Apostelgeschichte als Wortlaut einer wirklich gehaltenen Rede bietet, ist--schon die Kürze beweist es--mehr Gerippe als Korpus einer Rede. So haben die christlichen Missionäre denn auch nicht das bloße Kerygma in ihren Predigten vorgetragen, sondern das erläuterte, illustrierte, mit Belegen versehene und ausgeführte Kerygma." *Formgeschichte*, 23.

The paradigms, in other words, functioned to bolster scriptural proof and thereby had to be considered secondary, or incidental, to the essential Christian message.

¹¹ *Formgeschichte*, 64-65.

also because they were the only form possible at the time when Christians experienced an estrangement from the world and a longing for its end.¹² They were created because the demands of the sermon determined "the manner in which the doings of Jesus were narrated."¹³ It is the sermon, therefore, which answers Dibelius' question "as to the law which governed their (viz. reminiscences of Jesus) spreading and which helped to form and to preserve what had been said."¹⁴

It is important to recognise that by "law" Dibelius understands the characteristics of the pure paradigm form which he lists as external rounding off, brevity and simplicity, a realistic unworldly manner, a word of Jesus, and a thought useful for preaching purposes.¹⁵ The dialogue was not a requirement of this form since the main focus was upon a saying or deed of Jesus.¹⁶ It is equally important to note that these laws come from the needs of the early community and not from some general law of folk-tradition or whatever.¹⁷ E. P. Sanders notes in reference to Dibelius: "In what ways, if at all, the forms of the Christian tradition would have developed cannot be discovered from a comparison of any literature other than the Christian, since no other literature would represent the same type of communities with the same type of needs."¹⁸ For Dibelius, knowledge of these characteristics leads to the identification of

¹² This is so for Dibelius since it was only in a close connection with preaching that the deeds of Jesus could have been recounted by these unliterary men. There is a presumption here that the expectation of the end and world weariness prohibited the production of literature proper. This presumption becomes more evident as Dibelius investigates the rest of the synoptic material: the introduction of romantic, legendary, and literary material goes hand in hand with the lessening expectation of the end.

¹³ "Daß die Art, wie man von Jesus Taten erzählte, sich nach dem Bedürfnis der Predigt richtete, ließ sich vermuten." *Formgeschichte*, 25.

¹⁴ "[N]ach dem Gesetz, das über dieser Verbreitung waltete und das Erzählte formen und konservieren half." *Formgeschichte*, 10.

¹⁵ *Formgeschichte*, 41-56.

¹⁶ *Formgeschichte*, 65.

¹⁷ Contra A. J. Hultgren, who maintains that Dibelius draws "conclusions about the form and function of the conflict stories from the study of materials outside the gospels which are roughly analogous." *Jesus and His Adversaries. The Form and Function of the Conflict Stories in the Synoptic Tradition* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1979), 36. Hultgren is referring specifically to Dibelius' discussion of the Greek *chreia*.

¹⁸ *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition*, SNTSMS 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 14.

paradigms of the less pure type and so to their relative lateness. The changes which occurred in the paradigm, however, were caused not so much by an inherent law but simply through the process of the material becoming more literary.¹⁹ Dibelius is clearly convinced of the notion of an original form which existed at the pre-literary stage.

In his search for analogies to the paradigms, Dibelius investigates both rabbinic literature, especially the Talmud, and the Greek *chreia*. Any superficial resemblance between these extra-biblical stories and the paradigms is attributed to the "popular process of tradition"²⁰ and consequently their usefulness for the analysis of the paradigms is rejected. In particular, the stories in the Talmud were recorded over a number of generations, concerned various Rabbis, and had the aim of building up a normative legal corpus. The paradigms, on the other hand, all concerned one individual and received their authority from him, not, as in the Talmud, from the consensus reached over a period by different individuals. Moreover, the purpose of the paradigms as illustrations of the sermon and as calls to repentance was quite different from the normative legal aim of the rabbinic stories.

The Greek *chreia* differed from the paradigm both in its content and construction. Its interest in wittiness, repartee, and skilful language was absent from the paradigms, constructed as they were as calls to repentance before the approaching divine judgement. In their construction, the Christian paradigms were characterized by "a certain warmth and fullness" as opposed to the "certain coolness and terseness"²¹ of the Greek stories. The emphasis of the *chreia* upon the saying also marked it off from the paradigm which kept in view both the word and act of Jesus. Even though a tendency within the synoptic tradition to construct stories similar to *chreiai* may be detected, the originality of the paradigm is still evident in its pre-literary origins and in its objective in the sermon.

¹⁹ *Formgeschichte*, 39.

²⁰ *Formgeschichte*, 177.

²¹ *Formgeschichte*, 158.

2. Rudolph Bultmann²²

Bultmann is in agreement with Dibelius in his understanding that the needs and conditions of the community were the form-giving principle of the literature it produced; that consequently a typical *Sitz im Leben* was associated with each different form; that the classification of the form would allow a reconstruction of the history of the tradition; and, finally, that form criticism, seen in this light, was to be understood as a sociological rather than aesthetic undertaking.²³

Bultmann, however, chooses an analytical rather than the constructive approach of Dibelius: consistently, he moves from an analysis of the text to a description of the conditions which created it. Nonetheless, just as Dibelius could not dispense with some pre-understanding of the forms in his constructive approach, even so Bultmann admits that he cannot "dispense with a provisional picture of the primitive community and its history" as he goes forward with his study.²⁴ For Bultmann, the most distinguishing feature of this primitive history was its division into Palestinian and Hellenistic Christianity.

²² See note 1 above.

²³ "Die Erfassung dieser Aufgabe beruht auf der Einsicht, daß die Literatur, in der sich das Leben einer Gemeinschaft, also auch der urchristlichen Gemeinde, niederschlägt, aus ganz bestimmten Lebensäußerungen und Bedürfnissen dieser Gemeinschaft entspringt, die einen bestimmten Stil, bestimmte Formen und Gattungen hervortreiben. Jede literarische Gattung hat also ihren "Sitz im Leben" (Gunkel), sei es der Kultus in seinen verschiedenen Ausprägungen, sei es die Arbeit, die Jagd oder der Krieg. Wie der "Sitz im Leben" nicht ein einzelnes historisches Ereignis, sondern eine typische Situation oder Verhaltensweise im Leben einer Gemeinschaft ist, so ist auch die literarische "Gattung", bzw. die "Form", durch die ein Einzelstück einer Gattung zugeordnet wird, ein soziologischer Begriff, nicht ein ästhetischer...." *Geschichte*, 4.

²⁴ "Wenn M. Dibelius die "konstruktive Methode" befolgt, d.h. wenn er von einer Anschauung von der Gemeinde und ihren Bedürfnissen aus Geschichte rekonstruiert, und wenn umgekehrt ich von der Analyse der Traditionsstücke ausgehe, so handelt es sich nicht um gegensätzliche, sondern um einander ergänzende und korrigierende Arbeitsweisen. Sowenig Dibelius eine deutliche Vorstellung von den Motiven des Gemeindelebens gewonnen hat, ohne daß er schon formale Beobachtungen gemacht hätte, so sehr schwebt mir bei meinen Analysen ein freilich noch vorläufiges Bild von der urchristlichen Gemeinde und ihrer Geschichte vor, das seine Bestimmtheit und Gliederung eben durch die Untersuchung gewinnen soll." *Geschichte*, 5-6.

Bultmann, moreover, goes beyond Dibelius, in that he offers a thorough-going analysis of the Synoptic material. He makes a fundamental division of the Jesus tradition into narrative and sayings material and examines the relationship between them. Both groups are further sub-divided into two main groups--the sayings material was made up of apophthegms and dominical sayings, while the narrative material was made up of miracle stories, and historical stories and legends. Since the narrative material, in the main, is considered by him to be a secondary creation of the early church, Bultmann directs most of his attention to the sayings material, always with the question of authenticity in mind. For him, the historical Jesus was the prophetic proclaimer of the kingdom of God, and this understanding is evident in his division of the materials into primary and secondary layers. Consequently, he considers the prophetic and apocalyptic sayings as those with the greatest likelihood of authenticity. He chooses, then, to begin his analysis with the apophthegms since many of them can be reduced to dominical sayings and so be compared with the sayings material.²⁵

Bultmann's definition of the apophthegm as a "saying of Jesus set in a brief context" shows its basic resemblance to Dibelius' paradigm. Since, however, in his eyes it did not arise in every case from a preaching context he chooses to change the name. In keeping with his general division of the synoptic material into narrative and sayings, he considers the saying of Jesus to be the most important element of the unit. All other elements are secondary, most of which were later developments to give a context to the saying.²⁶

²⁵ "Ich rechne aber unter die Wortüberlieferung eine Gattung von Traditionsstücken, die man versucht sein könnte, zu den Geschichten zu zählen, nämlich solche Stücke, deren Pointe ein in einen kurzen Rahmen gefaßtes Jesuswort bildet. Ich nenne sie mit einem in der griechischen Literaturgeschichte gebräulichen und möglichst neutralen Terminus "Apophthegmata". Daß ich die Apophthegmata vor den rahmenlosen Jesusworten behandle, wird der Verlauf der Untersuchung rechtfertigen. Der Hauptgrund ist der, daß manche Apophthegmata durch die Erkenntnis vom sekundären Charakter ihres Rahmens auf Herrenworte reduziert werden, die dann im folgenden Teil mit den anderen Herrenworten zusammen betrachtet werden müssen." *Geschichte*, 8-9.

²⁶ It could be that the saying was the product of later tradition, but this did not effect its primary status. Equally, a narrative could have been essential

The apophthegms are divided into two sub-classes: the *Streitgespräche* and *Schulgespräche*, on the one hand, and the biographical apophthegms, on the other. The *Streitgespräche* were occasioned either by the healings of Jesus (Mark 2.1-12; 3.1-6, 22-30), or by his conduct or that of the disciples (Mark 2.15-17, 18-22, 23-28; 7.1-23; 11.27-33), or by hostile questions (Mark 10.2-12; 12.13-17, 18-27). The *Schulgespräche* were occasioned when Jesus was questioned either by the disciples or by others (Mark 9.38-40; 10.17-31, 35-45; 11.20-25; 12.28-34). The biographical apophthegms are all those remaining stories which are apophthegmatic in form but which do not quite fit into the other two categories (Mark 1.16-20; 3.20f., 31-35; 6.1-6; 10.13-16; 11.15-19; 12.41-44; 13.1-2; 14.3-9).

The *Streitgespräche* formally consist of three elements: an introduction in which some attitude or action is described, which in turn prompts an accusation or question to which an answer of Jesus is given. Typically, the answer of Jesus is a counter-question, which may be metaphoric or parabolic in form, or even an action, but whose process of argumentation always leads *ad absurdum*.²⁷ The *Schulgespräche* are closely related in form to the *Streitgespräche*, differing only in that they have no need of some action or attitude as their starting point, but are simply questions or requests put to Jesus by someone seeking knowledge. Sometimes the answer is in question form, but never leads the questioner *ad absurdum*.²⁸ The biographical apophthegms are more varied in form than the others, but generally conclude with a saying of Jesus, the only exceptions being Mark 6.1-6 and 10.13-16. The biographical apophthegms are so-called because of the information they seem to offer concerning Jesus or others. However, they remain ideal presentations in that they do not aim to give actual historical

for the understanding of the saying. In this case, the entire unit represented an early tradition of the life of Jesus.

²⁷ *Geschichte*, 39-45. Only the use of a scriptural quotation in the answer does not use the *argumentatio ad absurdum*.

²⁸ *Geschichte*, 56.

reports but symbolic presentations. The saying may be provoked by a request or question, by conduct, or even by Jesus' initiative.²⁹

Bultmann's formal analysis of these stories is guided by his comparative study of the rabbinic tradition which he considers to offer the closest analogy to the synoptic materials.³⁰ This leads him to conclude that the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Streitgespräche* was the discussions which the community had both with its opponents and within itself on questions of law.³¹ Presumably, the *Schulgespräche* enjoyed a similar *Sitz*.³² The biographical apophthegms, on the other hand, are characterized by an edifying tendency and had their *Sitz im Leben* in the sermon.³³ The parallelism with rabbinic stories, as well as the content of the arguments, demonstrate that the primitive forms of both the *Streitgespräche* and the *Schulgespräche*, as well as the biographical apophthegms, were formed in the Palestinian church.

It is important to note that he considers the sayings in this material to have commonly generated the situation. If Dibelius contents himself with the occasional remark regarding expansion within units, Bultmann sets himself the tasks of examining every unit, in order to distinguish between primary and secondary elements, and to compare entire units to discover which had been formed later by analogy to earlier traditions. It could be, for example, that the setting was essential for the understanding of the saying. In this case, the apophthegm was conceived in a unitary fashion. If, on the

²⁹ *Geschichte*, 58.

³⁰ Bultmann admits that the rabbinic style reflects a more widespread primitive form typical of the East, and he offers a few examples. *Geschichte*, 48. Equally, he sees analogies in the classical tradition, but no examples are given. *Geschichte*, 53, 63.

³¹ "Diese Art zu disputieren ist die typisch rabbinische; der "Sitz im Leben" ist für die Streitgespräche also in den Diskussionen der Gemeinde über Gesetzesfragen zu suchen, die mit den Gegnern, aber gewiß auch in der eigenen Mitte geführt wurden." *Geschichte*, 42.

³² Bultmann does not offer a specific discussion on this topic, but from his other remarks regarding the similarity between the two forms a similar *Sitz* may be presumed.

³³ "Aber die biographischen Apophthegmata sind in der Tat am besten als erbauliche Paradigmen der Predigt begreiflich; sie dienen der lebendigen Vergegenwärtigung des Meisters, sie dienen zu Trost und Mahnung der hoffenden Gemeinde." *Geschichte*, 64.

other hand, the saying could have circulated separately and was not dependent upon the setting for meaning, then it was conceived in a non-unitary fashion. Both the *Streitgespräche* and the *Schulgespräche*, for the most part, and also a fair number of the biographical apophthegms, were secondary constructions around an originally independent saying.³⁴ Consequently, Bultmann talks of the productive power of these stories and of the tendency of the early Church to move toward the creation of controversy dialogues, constructed both from the sayings of Jesus and from her own views and beliefs.³⁵

Bultmann's use of the rabbinic material is another example of where he parts company with Dibelius, insofar as his description of the various forms is determined as much by these parallels as by the needs of the early Church.³⁶ At the same time he shares Dibelius' enthusiasm in the search for the pure form as he attempts to reconstruct the history of the tradition. His comparative approach is thus employed to determine the characteristics of the various forms and so their relative age. We can conclude that he shares the same aim as Dibelius but differs in the way he achieves it. Regarding the general laws of the transmission of this material, however, he abandons the comparative method and limits himself to a study of how the synoptic material was handed down. He discerns four "tools" which help in the discernment of these laws. The first was the certain regularity in the treatment of Mark by both Matthew and Luke. The second was the possibility, created through the comparison of the latter two gospels, to establish what laws governed the development of the material which came to them from "Q." The third was be derived from observing how John and the apocryphal tradition handled the material. The fourth was through observing how the history of the text itself threw up

³⁴ *Geschichte*, 48, 58-59.

³⁵ "Man kann, wenn man die Fälle überblickt, von einer zeugenden Kraft des Streitgesprächs reden, von der Neigung der Gemeinde, ihre Herrenworte, ihre Anschauungen und Grundsätze immer mehr in die Form des Streitgesprächs zu kleiden." *Geschichte*, 53.

³⁶ Although he does not actually say it, it may be presumed that he considered the needs of the communities behind the rabbinic material to have been at least similar to the needs of the early Christian communities.

certain laws.³⁷ Consequently, purity of form is not the only criterion in judging the age of a tradition, since the laws of transmission must also be taken into account.

3. Martin Albertz and Vincent Taylor³⁸

Neither author is a form critic in the strict sense, and so only a brief exposition of their studies is offered. Albertz considers these stories to be reliable reports, with some abridgement and expansion, of controversies which took place during the ministry of Jesus. Despite being convinced of their historical reliability, Albertz considers that these controversies were formally patterned according to the stories of the controversies between prophet and ruler in the Old Testament.³⁹ He divides all the stories into two different types: the "Versucherische Streitgespräche" (Mark 2.1-3.6; 4.1-11; 7.1-23; 10.2-12; 11.15-17, 27-33; 12.13-40), and the "Nichtversucherische" (Mark 3.22-30; 8.11-13; 10.17-27; 11.2-6). There were always two, sometimes three, parts to the story.⁴⁰ The exposition introduced the conflict whereby Jesus was confronted by an opponent. The second part contained the dialogue, with the emphasis falling upon the final saying of Jesus. Sometimes these stories were wound up by some closing remarks.

Vincent Taylor, like Albertz, takes the role of eye-witnesses in the formation of the material seriously, even though he recognizes that the tradition was moulded according to the needs of the early church.⁴¹ Indeed, he claims that his definition of these pericopes as "Pronouncement Stories" serves, among other things, to leave open the question of origin.⁴² It is because of his conviction regarding the

³⁷ *Geschichte*, 7.

³⁸ M. Albertz, *Die synoptischen Streitgespräche. Ein Beitrag zur Formgeschichte des Urchristentums* (Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1921); V. Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (London: Macmillan, 1933).

³⁹ *Streitgespräche*, 156-64.

⁴⁰ *Streitgespräche*, 86-87.

⁴¹ *Formation*, 35-36.

⁴² "The advantages of the name are that it leaves the possibilities of origin open; it easily covers the various types; and it emphasises the main element--a pronouncement, or word of Jesus, bearing on some aspect of life, belief, or conduct." *Formation*, 30.

role of eyewitnesses that he neither investigates their *Sitz im Leben* nor looks for parallels in rabbinic or Hellenistic literature, as he describes the form of these stories. He considers each of the stories, for the most part, to be good historical reports. From the Gospel material itself, he comes to define these stories as short narratives, introduced by a question or the description of some events, which ended with a pronouncement of Jesus.⁴³ The entire thrust and emphasis of the story was on this final word. Despite this clear statement, he freely admits that at times, such as the case of Mark 3.1-5, "the pronouncement is expressed in the action of Jesus more than in His words."⁴⁴

In general, Taylor offers a rather cautious assessment of Bultmann's formal analyses. He radically departs from both Bultmann and Dibelius in his evaluation of the history of transmission. In its origin, according to Taylor, the tradition was more or less without form--rough, detailed, and unfit for transmission. It is only as it became older that it became rounded, smoothed, shortened and conventionalised, and so conformed to similar material in Judaism and Hellenism. Taylor therefore does not go along with the idea of an original pure form. Moreover, he suggests that some pronouncement stories may have suffered a process of isolation, with the narrative matter falling away, resulting in contextless sayings. This is his suggestion for the collection of material in Mark 7.1-23. Of the series of sayings in verses 9-13, 14-15, 17-19, 20-23, he asks: "May not these sections be fragments of Pronouncement Stories, cut down by the compiler, or reduced to their present form by the action of time?"⁴⁵ It should be noted, too, that he also departs from Bultmann and Dibelius, and anticipates the work of redaction criticism, when he notes the contradiction in describing

⁴³ "Their chief characteristic, it will be remembered, is that they culminate in a saying of Jesus which expresses some ethical or religious precept; the saying may be evoked by a question friendly or otherwise, or may be associated with an incident which is indicated in very few words." *Formation*, 63.

⁴⁴ *Formation*, 65.

⁴⁵ *Formation*, 81-82.

Mark both as a collector and someone with creative dogmatic tendencies.⁴⁶

4. Evaluation

a) Given the importance which Bultmann attributes to the rabbinic parallels, the first question which must be asked regards the validity of such a comparison. Gary G. Porton points out that Bultmann makes no distinction between material coming from the early Tannaitic literature and the later Amoraic writings.⁴⁷ In fact, most of the examples Bultmann gives received their final editing centuries after the completion of the Gospels. From an analysis of material which is undisputedly Tannaitic,⁴⁸ Porton isolates only fourteen pericopes which meet his criteria of pronouncement story.⁴⁹ There are others, however, which resemble the form very closely, but lack a setting, or are between equal individuals, or whose pronouncement remains anonymous or comes from a group. In any case, even given these variants, Porton can discover no more than twenty five stories which either reflect the form or are variants of it.⁵⁰ Moreover, the stories give quite different functions to dialogue. In the rabbinic stories, dialogue is in fact rare, but where it does occur, it has to do with exegetical and *halakhic* matters. And since the dialogue occurs most often between equals, the final pronouncement lacks force and dynamism.⁵¹ He concludes that Bultmann gets it wrong regarding the relationship between the

46 "It is not consistent to describe Mark as a mere collector, as Dibelius does (*F.E.* 2) and then to credit him with creative dogmatic tendencies (*F.E.* 62ff.)." *Formation*, 80 n. 4.

47 "The Pronouncement Story in Tannaitic Literature: A Review of Bultmann's Theory," *Semeia* (20) 1981: 81-99. "Bultmann's failure to limit his search for parallels to the Gospel material to the Tannaitic stratum is his most serious methodological flaw." 83.

48 The Mishnah, Tosefta, Sifra, Sifré, and the Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael.

49 These criteria are: information about the setting; a principal pronouncement; a named sage; a response to a question, statement, or phenomenon encountered by the sage; a dialogue which is not between equals. "Pronouncement Story," 84.

50 "Pronouncement Story," 94.

51 "Pronouncement Story," 96-97.

Gospel pronouncement stories and the rabbinic literature. Each was interested in quite different things.⁵²

In defence of Bultmann, however, it must be said that he considers both the rabbinic tradition and the synoptic apophthegms to be instantiations of a larger oriental way of storytelling which, presumably, was always adapted to specific circumstances. It would be incorrect to suggest that Bultmann maintains that the synoptic materials were a conscious aping of the rabbinic tradition. Rather, for him, both represent a process of narration which was formed by the style of contemporary folk stories in which there was plenty of room for the introduction and variation of themes. Moreover, it is only in these stories and in the rabbinic material that there is extensive quotation of the Scriptures which, both formally and materially, bring them into some relationship.⁵³

b) Regarding Bultmann's four-fold division of the controversy and scholastic dialogues, two points may be made. Firstly, it is unclear why he makes a formal division between those dialogues caused by a healing of Jesus and those caused by his or the disciples' behaviour. Whilst a miracle story has its own formal elements, once it is used to introduce a controversy dialogue it shares the same formal function as those introductory comments describing some action of Jesus or the disciples. Secondly, the distinction he makes between those dialogues initiated by a question from one of the disciples and those initiated by an opponent collapses, once he admits that the naming of the opponents was a secondary addition.

⁵² "The rabbinic literature was interested in the word of God as revealed at Sinai and transmitted faithfully from Moses to the Rabbis. The Christian literature was interested in the word of God as it found expression in the thought and action of Jesus of Nazareth. To the former, the personalities of the transmitters of God's word were unimportant; to the latter, the personality of the transmitter was in itself equal to God's word." "Pronouncement Story," 96.

⁵³ J. Neusner suggests that both sets of traditions underwent a similar process of growth from a saying to an apophthegm, but the form of the apophthegm took different directions. "We may conclude that the type is common to both traditions, but the forms tend to be separate in each." *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), 1:79.

In other words, it must be asked whether the cause of the dialogue is a form-determining element.⁵⁴

c) Both Dibelius and Bultmann are similar in their understanding of the gospels as *Kleinliteratur*, characterized by anonymity, collectivity, and a non-literary colouring. Underpinning this characterization was the Romantics' notion of the *Volk*, especially as articulated by J. G. Herder.⁵⁵ This understanding has come in for considerable criticism regarding its metaphysical, sociological, and theological presuppositions.⁵⁶ Most especially, the organic and evolutionary model of growth which form criticism took over from the Romantics' understanding of folk literature must be seriously questioned. According to this model, there lay at the very bed-rock of the tradition a pure form which then underwent a process of growth, development, and accretion according to immanent laws of transmission.⁵⁷ Yet these laws have never been demonstrated.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ See, Wolfgang Weiss, *"Eine neue Lehre in Vollmacht": Lehre des Markus-Evangeliums*, BZNTWKK 52 (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 12-14.

⁵⁵ D. Dormeyer comments: "Hier ist der 'Volks'-Gedanke Herders und der Romantik ungebrochen zum Zuge gekommen: Das Volk schafft sich selbst seine Werke; es ist von der rationalistischen Kultur der Oberschicht noch nicht angekränkt, sondern dichtet in ursprünglicher Frische, in 'naiver Unschuld'." "Evangelium als literarische Gattung und als theologischer Begriff. Tendenzen und Aufgaben der Evangelienforschung im 20. Jahrhundert, mit einer Untersuchung des Markusevangeliums in seinem Verhältnis zur antiken Biographie," 1552, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, hrsg. W. Hasse und H. Temporini (Berlin & New York: W. de Gruyter, 1984), II.25.2.

⁵⁶ Many of the criticisms are brought together by Erhardt Güttgemanns, *Offene Fragen zur Formgeschichte des Evangeliums: Eine methodologische Skizze der Grundproblematik der Form- und Redaktionsgeschichte*, BEvTh 54, 2. Auflage (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1971). English translation by W. Doty, *Candid Questions concerning Gospel Form Criticism: A Methodological Sketch of the Fundamental Problematics of Form and Redaction Criticism* (Pittsburgh, Pickwick Press, 1979). See also, K. Berger, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1984); id., *Einführung in die Formgeschichte*, UTB 1444 (Tübingen: Francke, 1987; W. Schmithals, "Kritik der Formkritik," *ZThK* 77 (1980): 149-85; id., *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1985); W. H. Kelber, "Mark and Oral Tradition," *Semeia* 16 (1979): 7-56; id., *The Oral and Written Gospel. The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); H. M. Teeple, "The Oral Tradition that never Existed," *JBL* 89 (1970): 56-68; K. Haaker, "Leisten und Grenzen der Formkritik," *TB* 12 (1981): 53-71.

⁵⁷ Whereas Dibelius regularly uses the word "Gesetz", Bultmann favours the less strong "Gesetzmäßigkeit" or "Tendenz". In a footnote, Bultmann attempts to explain his understanding of these words: "Natürlich ist in diesem Zusammenhang unter 'Tendenz' nie eine bewußte Absicht, die etwa gar

Further, a comment ought to be made regarding Bultmann's description of "less pure" and "secondary" material. Behind this vocabulary lies his quest of to excavate "authentic" Jesus' materials. Consequently, the material which was added later was not given the same amount of consideration as that which was viewed as primary. In order to redress the balance, each moment in the history of transmission, insofar as it can be established, should be treated in its own right, and viewed as an attempt by a specific author to address a specific situation.⁵⁹

d) The terminology used by Dibelius and Bultmann to describe these units is revealing. By choosing to call them "paradigms," Dibelius shows his unwillingness to assign them to any *Gattung* of the day. They became a new and unparalleled form precisely because of the

dogmatisch motiviert wäre, verstanden, sondern die lockere Gesetzmäßigkeit der Fortpflanzung der Überlieferung." *Geschichte*, 53 n. 6. In the English translation, Marsh does place the word "law" within inverted commas. The difference of understanding between Dibelius and Bultmann is clearly put by Sanders: "It must be carefully noted that, although the preaching provides the law under which the tradition spread, Dibelius does not mean that this law was a law of development. On the contrary, the 'laws' of the paradigmatic form are simply its characteristics, and its characteristics in its purest state. The paradigm form, for Dibelius, has no laws of development, but only characteristics. Any development must be away from the purity of the form. Thus an understanding of the characteristics of the paradigm does provide criteria for determining relative authenticity, but the criteria are negative. The closer to the pure form, the earlier the paradigm is; the farther away, the later." *Tendencies*, 14. Sanders use of the word "authenticity" is rather unclear and certainly unfortunate. Dibelius does not maintain that a story in its purest form goes back necessarily to the historical Jesus.

⁵⁸ In fact Sanders concludes from his extensive study: "There are no hard and fast laws of the development of the synoptic tradition. On all counts the tradition developed in opposite directions. It became both longer and shorter, both more or less detailed, and both more or less Semitic. Even the tendency to use direct discourse for indirect, which was uniform in the post-canonical material which we studied, was not uniform in the Synoptics themselves. For this reason, *Dogmatic statements that a certain characteristic proves a certain passage to be earlier than another are never justified.*" *Tendencies*, 272. (Italics the author's).

⁵⁹ K. Berger comments: "Seen from this point of view, later situations (after Jesus) acquire the status of situations in their own right, and the question whether something is 'secondary' and therefore irrelevant with respect to the decisive problem of authenticity is of minor importance." "Rhetorical Criticism, New Form Criticism, and New Testament Hermeneutics," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, eds. S. E. Porter and T. H. Olbricht, JSNTSS 90 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 392.

demands of their objective which was preaching.⁶⁰ How then, it must be asked, could they possibly have been understood? While it is true that he investigates possible formal parallels elsewhere, he rejects them all as having little or no relevance to the synoptic materials. Bultmann understands the problem when he assigns the term *Apophthegmata* to these units, thereby using a term which was used and understood in the Hellenistic culture of the day. The term which, surprisingly, he calls "as neutral as possible,"⁶¹ came from the Hellenistic rhetorical tradition, yet it is to the rabbinic tradition that he turns in the search for formal parallels. He chooses to build up his formal system of classification on the basis of that comparison, eschewing an already existing classification in the Greek rhetorical tradition.

e) Despite these reservations, and the reservations of their fellow countrymen, and of more recent holistic approaches,⁶² the legacy of Dibelius, Bultmann, and Schmidt has proved remarkably resilient. In three particular areas there is a reasonable scholarly consensus: that there was an oral tradition which preceded the Gospels, that much of that tradition circulated as small units, and that there was a process of growth, as various traditions were attached to others.⁶³ The first point is attested by the Gospels themselves (see, Luke 1.1-

60 "[D]as Paradigma dagegen stellt mit seiner sparsamen Technik und seiner Konzentration auf einen bestimmten, in der Predigt brauchbaren Gedanken nicht von vornherein einen in der Weltliteratur bekannten Typus dar." *Formgeschichte*, 130. He seems unaware that the term was used extensively in the Greek rhetorical Handbooks to denote an example given by the orator. It is important to note that in those Handbooks the example had the function of proof rather than illustration, as Dibelius would have it.

61 "möglichst neutral[en]." *Geschichte*, 8.

62 On the importance of examining textually-integrative features, see, for instance, N. R. Petersen, "Literary Criticism in Biblical Studies," in R. A. Spencer, ed., *Orientation by Disorientation. Studies in Literary Criticism and Biblical Literary Criticism. Presented in Honor of William A. Beardslee*, Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series 35 (Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1980), 25-50. Also, Moore, *Literary Criticism*.

63 W. R. Telford comments: "There is general agreement now, I think, that the Gospel of Mark stands on the borderline between oral tradition and literary expression and that a significant process of literary activity preceding the construction of his Gospel has not been demonstrated. There is a striking and often unacknowledged consensus on the minimal units in Mark and a widespread acceptance that the Gospel incorporates pre-Markan traditions with divergence only over their precise nature and extent." "The Pre-Markan Tradition," 711.

4; John 21.25), from recurring features within the Gospels (formulaic introductions, paratactic constructions etc.), and by comparative history of religions (for instance, the Mishna). That certain parts of the tradition circulated in small units is indicated by sayings such as the one concerning the first and the last reappearing in different contexts (Matt. 19.30; 20.16; Luke 13.30). It is also indicated by the reordering of the Markan materials by Matthew and Luke, since this reveals that they were aware that such units could be isolated and rearranged.⁶⁴ Regarding the last point, the agreement that there was some process of growth at the oral stage is balanced by the scepticism regarding the possibility of reconstructing the prehistory of the text. Most likely, this is the case regarding a history of the entire synoptic tradition. If, however, certain resemblances and tendencies may be shown to characterize a selected group of texts, then some understanding of the prehistory may emerge. Such an investigation is at least worth the effort.

f) Insofar as Albertz does not analyse the formative influence which the early Church exercised upon these stories, and because of his comments of a psychological and historical nature, he is rightly criticised by Bultmann for misunderstanding the form critical method.⁶⁵ As to his claim that these controversy dialogues were formally modeled upon Old Testament prophetic controversies, it should be noted that there is no real dialogue in those prophetic passages to which he refers.⁶⁶

Taylor's suggestion that these pericopes became smoothed, shortened, and conventionalized in the course of transmission has not been taken up by mainstream scholarship. The reason for this is simply the difficulties in proving such an argument. Moreover,

⁶⁴ See, Gerd Theissen, *Lokalkolorit und Zeitgeschichte in den Evangelien*, NTOA 8 (Freiburg; Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 2-6. He takes Berger's point that the oral tradition was not just a jumble of isolated small units (*Einführung*, 109), but argues that their "separability," witnessed to by Matthew and Luke, gives the scholar the right to investigate them separately, even though they may have existed previously in different combinations.

⁶⁵ *Geschichte*, 41 n. 1.

⁶⁶ See, E. Fascher, *Die formgeschichtlich Methode. Eine Darstellung und Kritik. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des synoptischen Problems*, BZNW 2 (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1924), 168; Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 31-32.

there is a contradiction at the heart of his argument when he admits that the pronouncement may at times be expressed in an action of Jesus more than in his words. Such an admission entirely disrupts his definition of this type of story. If there was at least the possibility that these stories could have ended with an action of Jesus, then the climactic position of the saying becomes relativized. The lasting influence of Taylor is, however, his insight into the narrative qualities of such units, as is clear from his description of them as pronouncement *stories*. He is, moreover, sensitive to what they had in common from the formal point of view, and so does not subdivide them in the manner of Bultmann. It is this insight into both their unity, and to their narrative qualities, which led to his description of them as "pronouncement stories" being taken up by some recent commentators.

CHAPTER TWO. MORE RECENT FORM CRITICS

Introduction

In this section, the studies of Arland J. Hultgren and Wolfgang Weiss will be examined and evaluated. Hultgren's basic argument is not only that the narrative elements of these pericopes were previously under-estimated, but also that the conflict within the stories was generated more by the narrative than the dialogue. This is why he calls them "conflict stories." Weiss attempts to be more precise concerning which aspects of the pericopes may be considered to be constitutive of the form, and arrives at a nuanced classification of the units, not only in their final form, but also as they appeared in the course of their transmission.

1. Arland J. Hultgren¹

Hultgren investigates only those pericopes in the synoptic tradition which he calls "conflict stories," and identifies eleven of them in Mark: 2.1-12, 15-17, 18-22, 23-28; 3.1-5, 22-30; 7.1-8; 10.2-9; 11.27-33; 12.13-17, 18-27.² He reflects the stance of both Dibelius and Taylor when he describes the units as stories, thereby emphasizing their narrative dimensions. Indeed, so convinced is he of their narrativity that he can state that they are "not simply controversy dialogues but *narratives containing dialogue*, and the narrative itself is of such importance that the dialogues cannot exist independently."³ It is strange, then, to discover Bultmann's influence when he proceeds to divide the units into unitary, (3.1-5; 11.27-33; 12.13-17, 18-20), and non-unitary stories. Hultgren is equally convinced of the novelty and uniqueness of these stories and so, like Taylor, though for different reasons, sees no need to inquire into parallels in other literature.⁴

¹Adversaries. See chapter one, note 17 above.

² These correspond to Bultmann's *Streitgespräche*, though with some variations in where the story begins and ends.

³ *Adversaries*, 52.

⁴ "The use of rabbinic disputations and chreiai as analogies to the conflict stories has short-circuited the study of the latter as a unique form, and it has resulted in premature judgments as to their *Sitz im Leben*." *Adversaries*, 197.

The common form is tri-partite: introductory narrative, opponent's question or attack, and dominical saying.⁵ Narrative can also occur in the middle or the end in order to increase the dramatic tension.

The *Sitz im Leben* of the unitary stories was controversy with the Jews against whom the primitive church was justifying its beliefs and practices. Thus, they were neither a way of preserving a saying of Jesus useful for preaching, nor rabbinic-styled debates within or beyond the church. The early community did not use contemporary procedures of argumentation, but rather forged a new genre "by going behind current thinking to the greater controlling principles and motives expressed in the law ... or simply referring to the words and conduct of its Master...."⁶ The non-unitary stories reflect no single *Sitz*, but may be organized into four different categories. Two stories respond to Palestinian Jewish criticism of certain Christian behaviour by appeal to Jesus (2.1-12, 23-28); one is a diaspora criticism against Pharisaic Judaism (7.1-8); two are for the cataphesis of converts in the Diaspora in moral and doctrinal matters; and one is a Palestinian composition composed to deal with the problem of converts who had been hostile to Jesus during his earthly ministry (3.22-30).⁷ What is novel about Hultgren's study is the role he gives both to the narrative in the unit and the conflict generated; hence the term "conflict stories."⁸

Most of the stories originated in a purely Palestinian milieu (2.1-12, 15-17, 18-20, 23-28; 3.1-5; 3.22-30; 11.27-33; 12.13-17) and only three in a Hellenistic milieu, though from Palestinian materials (7.1-8; 10.2-9; 12.18-27). The stories which were formed in Palestine had their *Sitz im Leben* in apologetics.⁹ The type of argumentation

⁵ *Adversaries*, 52-59.

⁶ *Adversaries*, 88.

⁷ *Adversaries*, 132-33.

⁸ The stories are "a form of narrative and dialogue material showing *conflict* between adversaries." *Adversaries*, 26.

⁹ The one exception to this is the Beelzebul controversy which, though formed in Palestine, did not come from a cataphetical milieu. "[T]heir use in the Palestinian situation was that of an apologetic response to Jewish criticism against the church for its belief and conduct. As such, they are not pronouncement stories (Taylor); they do not prescribe conduct or belief, but

which appears in these stories conformed itself to the way in which the historical Jesus interpreted the Torah. There was no attempt to ape contemporary Jewish modes of argumentation, but rather consistent effort was made to appeal to the person of Jesus.

Those stories formed (from Palestinian material) in the Hellenistic Church were associated with a cataphetical milieu, using scripture to arrive at certain exegetical conclusions.¹⁰ Introduced by Mark into the Gospel, some function to show the continuity between the conflicts which Jesus experienced in his ministry and the final conflict in Jerusalem. Others function to show that the victories won by Jesus over his enemies are the continuation of his victory over the supernatural powers. The change from the Palestinian to the Hellenistic environment brought no fundamental change to the form or the characteristics of these stories.¹¹ The main conclusions of the study are that even if these stories shared a common form they did not *ipso facto* share a common *Sitz im Leben*, and that behind them "stands the personality of Jesus himself as it was remembered by those who knew him, and as it was made known to others incorporated into their fellowship."¹²

2. Wolfgang Weiss¹³

Weiss' nuanced and deeply informed study is evidence that form criticism has survived the criticism from various quarters, and is still able to provide stimulating insights into early Christian

rather defend it in the face of opposition at the earliest level of composition and use." *Adversaries*, 176.

¹⁰ These are all non-unitary compositions and are longer and more complex than the stories of Palestinian origin. They no longer appeal to the historical Jesus in an apologetic fashion. Rather, "arguments are presented on the basis of Scripture. It is not Jesus as a free agent in his conduct and attitude who is authority, but Jesus as a scribe." *Adversaries*, 179.

¹¹ "[T]he transmission of the Palestinian conflict stories in the Hellenistic church prior to their use in Mark and Q did not have an effect on them in terms of either form or editorial expansion. It is certain, on the contrary, that the form of the Palestinian conflict stories was the model upon which the Hellenistic ones were formed, allowing for the greater complexity of the latter." *Adversaries*, 180.

¹² *Adversaries*, 198.

¹³ *Lehre*. See chapter one, note 54 above.

formation. He is at one with the classic form critics in his acceptance that the Gospel materials enjoyed oral pre-histories which reflected specific *Sitze im Leben*. Equally, he accepts the validity of separating the various units from their present contexts in order to investigate their specific histories. With Bultmann, he divides the stories into controversy and scholastic dialogues.

He differs from Bultmann, however, not only in his analysis of the formal elements but also in his classification of the stories. Both types of story formally consist of two elements: the speech and counter-speech in the controversy dialogues and speech and answer in the scholastic dialogues.¹⁴ For him, it is not enough to give a pericope a formal classification based solely upon the type of introductory question. Regarding classification, he assigns to the controversy dialogues the following pericopes: 2.1-12, 15-17, 18-22, 23-28; 3.1-6, 22-30; 7.1-23; 11.27-33. These he further subdivides into "controversy dialogues concerning the activity of Jesus" (2.1-12; 3.22-30; 11.27-33) and "controversy dialogues concerning questions of Christian lifestyle." The first were concerned with the problem of the legitimation of Jesus; the second, with controversial practices of the early Church. To the scholastic dialogues he assigns 10.2-12; 17-21; 12.13-17, 18-27, 28-34.¹⁵ These are characterized by a genuine question concerning a specific problem followed by an answer. He does not include 9.38-40, 10.35-45, and 11.20-25 in this group, as

¹⁴ "Das Wesentliche der Streitgespräche sind die das Gespräch jeweils beherrschenden Bestandteile von *Rede* und *Gegenrede*, das Wesentliche der Schulgespräche die Bestandteile von *Rede* und *Antwort*. Diese Bestandteile spiegeln verschiedene Ausrichtungen wider, im Streitgespräch auf den Disput hin, im Schulgespräch auf ein schulmäßig Lehre vermittelndes Gespräch hin: Die Zeitgenossen bringen in *Streitgesprächen* einen *Vorwurf* oder *Angriff* vor, in *Schulgesprächen* stellen sie eine *echte Frage*." *Lehre*, 34.

¹⁵ Weiss considers the story of the young man in 10.17-21 to belong to a subclass of *Schulgespräche*, since it differs from them in form, matter, and function. He calls this story a *Lehrgespräch* which is characterized by a general question followed by a general answer. Their relative concerns are quite different, indicating a quite different *Sitz im Leben*: "Möglicherweise, so kann man aus dem Charakter der zugehörigen Antworten schließen, gehören die Schulgespräche in einen Gemeindebereich und eine Zeit, in denen die Klärung bestimmter Sachfragen zur Lösung anstand, während die Lehrgespräche aus der Position einer in sich gefestigten Gemeinde heraus sittliche Forderungen vermitteln." *Lehre*, 39. It remains unclear why he lists this story under the *Schulgespräche* in the first case.

Bultmann does, considering them to have more to do with teaching or revelation.

Weiss' form critical analysis of the individual pericopes comes to a quite nuanced history of the forms. He begins with the separation of redaction and tradition, then investigates the literary form, origin, *Sitz im Leben*, and originating group. Regarding the controversy dialogues, at the very bedrock of the tradition lay the simple sentences or words of Jesus which originally circulated independently as words of wisdom.¹⁶ These were used to tackle questions of law and practice. The critique of the law which they contained was not arguing for a law-free existence, but rather functioned as a defence of community practice vis-à-vis more stringent Jewish practice. It was this argumentative thrust which allowed these sayings to be the "germ cell" of what he terms the "dialogue scenes." These, in turn, were the "basic form" of the controversy dialogues.¹⁷ Since for the controversy dialogues only the objection and response were formally necessary,¹⁸ Weiss suggests that each story consisted of an original "dialogue scene" to which, later, a "framework scene" was added. This latter, which constituted the cause of the controversy, had no formal role but simply functioned to anchor the conversation in a concrete, but ideal, situation of the ministry of Jesus.¹⁹

16 "Der Satzcharakter zeigt sich formal in dem parallelen Aufbau der Logien, inhaltlich in deren zugänglichen Einsichtigkeit. Die Sätze sind isoliert tradierbar und unabhängig vom Streitgespräch aussagekräftig. Ihre Form ist die des Weisheitswortes." *Lehre*, 273.

17 "Formgeschichtlich lag die Keimzelle der Form vermutlich in dieser Verwendung der Logien als weisheitlicher Argumente und deren Rückführung auf den historischen Jesus." *Lehre*, 275.

18 "Die Grundform der Streitgespräche gründet in der knappen, skizzenhaften Darbietung einer Gesprächsszene. Die Elemente sind beschränkt auf notwendige Regiebemerkungen, ohne besondere Aussagekraft, aber von unerlässlichem Darstellungswert für den Aufbau der Gesprächsszene. Sie verbinden jeweils Rede und Gegenrede, jedoch ohne die Spannung im Aufbau des Gespräches zu steigern. So dient auch die Exposition nur dazu, Fragesteller einzuführen. Entscheidend für die Gesprächsszene ist das Auftreten der Fragesteller, nicht deren (namentliche) Kennzeichnung als Gegnergruppe. Die Gesprächsszene schließt mit der Antwort Jesu. Reaktionen der Fragesteller werden in der Regel nicht genannt." *Lehre*, 271.

19 "[D]ie Schilderung eines Anlasses in dem Verhalten der Jünger oder Jesu ein selbständiges Element gegenüber der Gesprächsszene bildet. Diese Schilderung und damit die Komposition einer Rahmenszene erfolgt auf die Gesprächsszene hin. Den Rahmenszenen gemein ist ihre Tendenz, das

The *Sitz im Leben* of the "basic form" is to be found in the debates with Jewish groups. They were apologetic rather than polemic in tone, in that they sought some self-understanding in the face of Jewish objections by appealing to the words of Jesus.²⁰ The similarity of the sayings to Hellenistic and Hellenistic Jewish parallels and the awareness of Jewish practices and Jewish law suggest a Hellenistic-Jewish background. More specifically, these stories reflect a synagogal discussion among the circle of the *Sebomenoi*, those God-fearing pagans who accepted Judaism's ethical monotheism and attended the synagogue.²¹

At the pre-Markan stage, the "framework scenes" were added to a number of the "dialogue scenes" in order to give the tradition an historical foundation in the life of Jesus. For example, 2.23 was added to introduce 2.24-28. These scenes are ideal in that they reflected the needs of the community rather than reported the words of the historical Jesus: "Anliegen der Gemeinde ist es in allen Fällen, ihre Praxis auf Jesus zurückzuführen."²² Their secondary nature is apparent from the general nature of their construction, which does not correspond in particular to the situation of the objection.²³ The "framework scenes" thus functioned to give the

Gespräch in einer konkreten Situation des Wirkens Jesu zu verankern. Den Ausgangspunkt dieser historischen Fixierung bildet in der Regel die Antwort Jesu, deren Gnomik (Aussagekraft) in der Rahmenszene veranschaulicht wird. In diesem Sinne kann die Gestaltung der Rahmenszenen als >>ideal<< bezeichnet werden." *Lehre*, 269-70.

²⁰ "Dies zeigt sich auch darin, daß den Streitgesprächen in ihrer Grundform eine offensive Ausrichtung der Art, die 7,9-13 am deutlichsten ausdrückt, fehlt. Eine solche Polemik spielt sicher auch eine Rolle in der Auseinandersetzung der (juden)-christlichen Gemeinde gegenüber jüdischen Bestreitungen, sie zeigt sich von früh an, was das Alter des Stückes 7,9-13 wahrscheinlich macht, aber Polemik eignet nicht der Grundform der Streitgespräche." *Lehre*, 282.

²¹ See Josephus *Ant.* 14.10. See *Josephus*, trans. N. St. J. Thackeray, 26. Vols. LCL (London: Heinemann, 1926-65).

²² *Lehre*, 294.

²³ "Für diese Vermutung spricht, daß das Jesuslogion in allen Streitgesprächen, auch in 7,5b.15, auf den allgemeinen Vorwurf antwortet, aber nicht auf die Situationsangabe im Jüngerverhalten Bezug nimmt. Außerdem spricht für unsere Vermutung die Komposition von 2,18.19a, wo gerade das *allgemeine* Verhalten der Jünger im Gegensatz zu den Johannesjüngern hinterfragt wird. Ebenso geht es in 2,15 [Tischgemeinschaft] nicht um die konkrete Situation im Hause - diese Szene

controversy dialogues a cause (*Anlaß*) through which the community could identify with the disciples and their behaviour. Moreover, they served to give the "basic forms" a deeper historical basis in the life of Jesus and thus firmer christological foundations. As such, they point to inner-community dialogues rather than external polemics, though these are not entirely absent. In fact, these pre-Markan controversy dialogues reflect a Hellenistic Jewish-Christian *Sitz* located in Syria and related to the Stephen-circle. They find themselves in dialogue with more strictly observing Jewish Christians. These latter held to a stricter sabbath observance, a reading of the Torah in line with Jewish tradition, and resisted contacts with pagans. Although the Hellenistic Christians had already made the break with the synagogue, they were not making a plea for the abolition of the law, but resisting the stronger observance of the Jewish Christians. By relating their behaviour to Jesus and the disciples, they were at once legitimizing their own way of life and offering christological arguments for it.²⁴ The traditions which Mark added to these stories (2.25f; 7.6f; 2.28) reveal a Jewish Christian community which was more deeply Hellenized but still concerned with legitimating its practices against Judaizing tendencies.

The "controversy dialogues concerning the activity of Jesus" which are characterized by an attack on Jesus, originally functioned as community apologetics, not for the lifestyle and behaviour of the community, but for their relationship to their Lord and originated in early Christian preaching. The addition of verse 27 to 3.22-26, for example, reveals that the apologetic function gradually disappeared to be replaced by a more christological reflection on the almighty power of Jesus. This christologizing tendency was picked up by

ist zu 2,16 sekundär gestaltet -, sondern um ein allgemeines und offenbar typisches Verhalten Jesu." *Lehre*, 288-89.

²⁴ "Die Traditionsträger, also die Kreise, die sich mit den Streitgesprächen verteidigen, ihr Verhalten und ihre Haltung den Sachproblemen gegenüber legitimieren, wären sodann in Judenchristen zu sehen, die innerlich mit dem Judentum gebrochen haben. Diese führen ihre Praxis, auch dort, wo sie jüdischer Übung gleicht (Fasten, Sabbat), auf den irdischen Jesus zurück (*Anlaß* in Jüngerverhalten). Sie legitimieren diese Praxis nicht mehr nur mit weisheitlichen Herrenworten, sondern auch mit christologisch reflektierenden Argumenten." *Lehre*, 303.

Mark, and used in the construction of the Gospel.²⁵ The *Sitz* of these pericopes cannot be specified with any precision.

The scholastic dialogues are similar to the "basic form" of the controversy dialogues" and to the form of the "controversy dialogues concerning the activity of Jesus" in that they are characterized by a concise interchange of question and answer. Their content, however, is concerned with questions of law (10.2; 12.14), or specific religious problems (12.23; 12.28), and there is no trace of objection or attack. Moreover, they are unitary in their origin in that the answer is always dependent upon the question and neither could have existed independently. Their *Sitz* was instruction within the early Hellenistic-Jewish community.²⁶

Regarding formal classification, Weiss argues that the basic form of both the controversy dialogues and the scholastic dialogues was patterned according to the Hellenistic apophthegm, whilst the expanded form and those created by Mark resembled more the *chreia*. Nonetheless, he notes, there are certain differences. In the Hellenistic forms, the objection or attack was always directed at the wise man, never at his disciples or concerning their behaviour. The *chreia* was characterized by wit whereas the synoptic dialogues are more interested in the didactic content of the answer. Finally, the *chreia* was more interested in presentation of the philosopher and

25 "Das Verständnis der Person Jesu ergibt sich für Markus häufig aus der Relation innerhalb der Evangeliendarstellung. Diese Verstehensvoraussetzung wird innerhalb der Verwendungsweise der Streitgespräche zum Wirken Jesu durch die Gemeinde schlaglichtartig beleuchtet. Die Aufeinanderfolge von Angriff und Antwort hat ihre apologetische Funktion verloren, behauptet ihren Sitz im Leben der Gemeinde als christologische Reflexion und dient in dieser Funktion der christologischen Darstellung innerhalb des Markus-Evangeliums." *Lehre*, 311-12.

26 "Die Fragen wie die Antworten haben sich schon soweit von Anschauungen des palästinischen Judentums entfernt, daß eine Bildung der Einzelüberlieferungen nur unter Einfluß hellenistisch-jüdischer Anschauung wahrscheinlich ist. Die Form der Schulfragen, ihre Formulierung und ihr Charakter, zeigen aber ohne weiteres jüdischen Ursprung. Die Antworten weisen genauer in das hellenistisch-jüdische Christentum. Thematisch gleichen die Schulfragen im einzelnen Fragen, zu denen auch Paulus Stellung genommen hat, auch wenn hier die Entscheidungen im Einzelfall anders ausfallen." *Lehre*, 314.

his ideals, whereas the Gospel materials were more interested in offering grounds for their praxis.²⁷

3. Evaluation

a) At the basis of Hultgren's argument lies the conviction that these units are stories and that the narrative dimension is so important that the dialogue elements could not have existed independently. There is a basic contradiction, then, when he proceeds to divide the units into unitary and non-unitary stories. He accepts Bultmann's position that the narrative elements are quite secondary to the saying.²⁸ He never succeeds in overcoming this fundamental contradiction.²⁹ For instance, regarding Mark 2.1-12, he states that "from a form-critical point of view the dispute on forgiveness (2:5b-10) was prior in importance to the healing (2:1-5a, 11-12), but that from a literary-critical point of view the healing was prior, and that it was put to use in serving the issue under dispute."³⁰ Two points may be made regarding this comment. Firstly, he accepts that from the formal point of view the dialogue takes precedence. The surrounding narrative material was added later in order to bring out more clearly the point of the sayings. This goes quite contrary to his thesis. Secondly, he is forced to introduce literary criticism in an attempt to save that thesis. Yet a synchronic analysis cannot be used to defend an argument which claims to be grounded in diachronic analysis. It is this inherent tension which opens the way for the opaque sentence cited above to be written.

Moreover, when he states that the narrative which introduces the stories has the function of "heightening the tension between Jesus and his opponents"³¹ he tacitly accepts that the tension is already

²⁷ *Lehre*, 316-29.

²⁸ "Conflict stories classified as non-unitary are those in which the opponent's question and usually some narrative elements are a secondary construction, composed to give a setting for a dominical saying (authentic or not) which originally circulated independently." *Adversaries*, 100.

²⁹ This is noted by Weiss, *Lehre*, 10-11.

³⁰ *Adversaries*, 107.

³¹ *Adversaries*, 54.

present within the dialogue. In other words, the "polarity"³² which he claims is created through the narrative elements is already present within the dialogue. Finally, when he accepts that in some of the units "the narrative material is not as important as the dialogue material,"³³ the contradiction inherent in his argument becomes transparent.

Methodologically, then, Hultgren's analysis is flawed from the outset. In regard to results, it is not at all clear that he succeeds in reassessing either the assumptions of prior form critics, or the form and function of the units.³⁴ With Dibelius and Taylor, he agrees that the units are narratives rather than sayings. He is also at one with Taylor regarding their basic historicity. With Bultmann, he uses the unitary/non-unitary distinction, and the Hellenistic/Palestine dichotomy insightfully criticized by Martin Hengel.³⁵ He also continues to use the language of "catachesis" and "apologetics" in describing the *Sitz im Leben* and so fails to move forward. Nonetheless, his conclusion that a shared form does not necessarily indicate a shared *Sitz* is valid and should be kept in mind in any formal analysis.

b) Weiss' study is much more satisfactory and he presents a coherent argument throughout. His argument that the basic form of the controversy dialogues which dealt with Christian living had a *Sitz* within inner-Jewish synagogal discussion is suggestive, and will be pursued. Although his suggestion that the Gospel materials reflect Hellenistic forms is not new, his suggestion that the materials changed from apophthegms to *chreiai* in the course of the tradition is. The study in general demonstrates that historical criticism can dialogue with more contemporary approaches, specifically rhetorical criticism, to the resulting benefit of both. Five points of criticism, however, may be made.

³² *Adversaries*, 53.

³³ *Adversaries*, 54.

³⁴ *Adversaries*, 19.

³⁵ *Judentum und Hellenismus. Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Ch.*, WUNT 10, 2 Auflage (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1973).

Firstly, his distinction between apophthegm and *chreia* is too sharply drawn. In antiquity, the distinction was not nearly as clear-cut, as we shall see later, and as he himself admits.³⁶ Secondly, it is regrettable that, having made this distinction, he does not investigate more fully the argumentative dimensions of these forms. To discover what types of arguments the early communities used in their exchanges among themselves and with outsiders would be a real step forward. Thirdly, classical form criticism presumes the Gospel materials were anonymous and collective in their origins. When Weiss says that the Gospel forms were consciously patterned according to certain Hellenistic forms, he implies that there were some real author or authors who shaped the material in this way. Yet he offers no discussion on this seeming contradiction. Fourthly, the *chreia* and its elaboration, and the apophthegm, were not just used to exalt a philosopher and his ideals. As we shall see, the *chreia* was one of the first steps taught to students of rhetoric. They were expected to become effective persuaders, able to defend, attack, plead, and praise. Praise of a philosopher's ideals was only one of the many things a *chreia* was capable of. Moreover, the definitions of the *chreia* mostly mention that it must be useful for living. There was a very pragmatic dimension to it, rather like the pragmatic nature of the Gospel dialogues. Lastly, he overstates Mark's contribution to these dialogues, as will be seen in the individual analysis of the pericopes. Despite these caveats, however, Weiss has offered a major contribution to the understanding of this material.

³⁶ *Lehre*, 323.

CHAPTER THREE. LITERARY AND RHETORICAL CRITICS

Introduction

In this section, the studies of Robert C. Tannehill, Burton L. Mack, Vernon K. Robbins, and Klaus Berger will be analysed and evaluated. Although each of the three authors considers that he is applying some sort of rhetorical analysis to the texts, it will become evident that there are divergences in their various approaches. Tannehill's studies reflect a reader-response approach which emphasizes the literary and rhetorical coherence of the various pericopes he examines. His approach is primarily interested in the effect of these stories upon the present day reader. Mack and Robbins employ the canons of ancient rhetoric, most especially the understanding of the *chreia*, in order to illustrate how a first century CE. reader would have understood these stories. Mack further employs ancient rhetoric in his attempt to reconstruct the social histories which lay behind the formation of Mark's Gospel. Berger's rhetorical approach is mainly taxonomic, and part of his larger agenda of creating a new form criticism.

1. Robert C. Tannehill¹

Tannehill analyses these stories from a wholly compositional point of view. His analysis of types emerges from his definition of a pronouncement story, and is controlled by the tension and relationship between the situation and the response.² For him, there are five clear advantages to this approach. Firstly, the particular

¹ "Introduction: The Pronouncement Story and Its Types," *Semeia* 20 (1981): 1-13; "Varieties of Pronouncement Stories," *Semeia* 20 (1981): 101-19; "Attitudinal Shift in Synoptic Pronouncement Stories," in *Orientation by Disorientation*, 183-97; "Types and Functions of Apophthegms in the Synoptic Gospels," *ANRW*, II.25.2: 1792-1829; "Synoptic Pronouncement Stories: Form and Function," *SBLSP* (1980): 51-56; "Tension in the Synoptic Sayings and Stories," *Interpretation* 34 (1980): 138-50.

² "A Pronouncement Story is a brief narrative in which the climactic (and often final) element is a pronouncement which is presented as a particular person's response to something said or observed on a particular occasion of the past. There are two main parts of a pronouncement story: the pronouncement and its setting, i.e., the response and the situation provoking that response. The movement from the one to the other is the main development in these brief stories." "Types," 1.

kind of movement from stimulus to response forms the basis for the classification of the various types of stories.³ Secondly, his classification takes into account the story as a whole rather than focusing simply upon the concluding saying. The stimulus by itself cannot reveal its function within the story.⁴ This is presumably true also regarding the response. Thirdly, the rhetorical function of the story, the particular way it interacts with and influences the reader, thereby comes into view.⁵ Fourthly, this approach may offer knowledge of the ancient world insofar as it reflects the relationship between a particular group and the larger culture.⁶ Finally, the value of a comparative approach in the study of pronouncement stories in the ancient world is increased.⁷

Employing the criterion of the correlation between stimulus and response, Tannehill isolates six different types of pronouncement story which he calls correction, commendation, objection, quest, inquiry, and description stories.⁸ It is his objection story which is of most relevance, since most of the pericopes which will be analysed in the third section correspond to this category.

³ "These two main parts of the apophthegm are correlative. The function of the one must correlate with the function of the other or the story will be malformed and confusing. We must look at both parts of the story in their interrelation in order to understand the function of either." "Apophthegms," 1795.

⁴ "Furthermore, the presence of a question addressed to the responder does not tell us how the question functions in a particular story. The responder may accept it as a legitimate request for instruction and respond accordingly, but the question may also express an objection, announce a quest, or express an assumption which the responder will correct." "Types," 5.

⁵ "The interaction between stimulus and response may reflect or anticipate types of interaction between the reader and the story. Recognising this will help us understand the purpose of the shaping of both story and pronouncement." "Types," 6.

⁶ "The stories not only disclose the ideals that are being promoted by certain persons and groups but may also mirror the perceived conflict between these ideals and other attitudes in the ancient world." "Types," 6.

⁷ "It allows us to compare the relative frequency of use of the different types in various documents, note the unusual variations within the types, and recognise how the interaction basic to each type can be employed to express the special concerns and values of particular religious, philosophical, and cultural perspectives as they interact with the surrounding world." "Types," 6.

⁸ "Types," 6. The only example of a description story which the author isolates in the synoptic tradition is Luke 14.15-24.

In objection stories, tension is present from the outset and focuses upon the person of Jesus. These stories generally have three parts viz. the cause of the objection, the objection, and the response.⁹ There are a good number of these stories in Mark, many of them corresponding to Bultmann's category of Controversy Dialogues: 2.15-17, 18-22, 23-28; 3.1-6, 22-30; 6.1-6; 7.1-15; 8.31-33; 9.9-13; 10.23-27. The stories in Mark 2.1-12 and 7.24-30 are hybrids. These stories are frequently characterised by the use of rhetorical questions, analogies and the general statement of principle, often formulated antithetically. They "show a tendency to expand a response of Jesus by combining sayings or adding arguments to the saying which could stand alone."¹⁰ They function to "disclose the fundamental concerns behind peculiar practices and seek to reawaken commitment to these fundamentals."¹¹ Consequently, they have more than an apologetic or polemical function. Moreover, insofar as they portray the ability of Jesus to meet the challenge, they function indirectly to praise Jesus.

All the various types of story with their differing specific functions "challenge certain attitudes and suggest others to replace them. These stories embody a tension between two attitudes (involving value commitments, emotional attachments, orientations of the will, and evaluative thought) and present an invitation to move from one attitude to another."¹²

⁹ "Objection stories, like correction stories, present a situation of conflict. However, in corrections the conflict is first indicated by the response, while in objections it is created by an objection to the behavior or views of the responder or his followers.... In an objection story the responder is already committed to a position through the words or action causing the objection. The resulting challenge creates tension within the story and puts the responder in a difficult situation. However, an impressive response is all the more impressive because it occurs in a situation of difficulty and risk." "Types," 8.

¹⁰ "Apophthegms," 1815.

¹¹ "Varieties," 111.

¹² "Attitudinal Shift," 183.

2. Burton L. Mack¹³

Mack's collaborative efforts with Vernon K. Robbins grew out of Robbins' involvement in the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar on pronouncement stories, on the one hand, and Mack's work in the Claremont Chreia Project, on the other.¹⁴ Both their collaborative and respective studies represent a sustained effort to offer a reading of the pronouncement stories within the cultural matrix of Hellenistic rhetoric. They differ from Tannehill insofar as they aim to offer an explanation of the *Sitz* of these units and so attempt to describe their historical function. Both authors are convinced that the pronouncement stories within the synoptic tradition are examples of the Hellenistic rhetorical *chreia*, whose definition and role are explained in the ancient rhetorical handbooks known as the *Progymnasmata*. Most importantly, both Robbins and Mack proceed from the classic understanding of rhetoric as the "art of persuasion" rather than as a system of ornamentation and style. Viewed as a theory of argumentation, ancient rhetoric opens up an avenue into the original speech situation of the discourse insofar as it analyses the relationships between speaker, speech, and audience. Consequently, rhetorical analysis functions to bridge the gap between purely literary criticism and the more historical approaches to texts by aiming to open up the social history of the discourse.¹⁵

¹³ *A Myth of Innocence. Mark and Christian Origins* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988); *Rhetoric and the New Testament*, Guides to Biblical Scholarship (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990).

¹⁴ The first results of the SBL Seminar were published in *Semeia* 20 (1981), and the final results in *Semeia* 64 (1993). The first results of the *chreia* project were published by Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil, eds., *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric. Volume 1: The Progymnasmata*, Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations 27, Greco-Roman Series 9 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986). See also, B. L. Mack, *Anecdotes and Arguments: The Chreia in Antiquity and Early Christianity*, Occasional Papers 10 (Claremont: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 1987). The conclusions of Mack's and Robbins' collaboration are summarized and presented in *Patterns of Persuasion in the Gospels* (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1989) which lists their other related studies in the bibliography. Mack's own analysis of the pronouncement stories is presented in, *Myth*, 172-207.

¹⁵ "By linking the persuasive power of a speech not only to its logic of argumentation, but to the manner in which it addresses the social and cultural history of its audience and speaker, Perleman and Olbrechts-Tyteca demonstrated the rhetorical coefficient that belongs to every human

Mack inquires into both the purpose of the pronouncements (what do they contribute to early Christian knowledge?) and the function of the stories (how did they function within the early Christian community?). Regarding the first question, Mack analyses a sample of these stories (Mark 2:15-17; 18-22; 7:1-23) and notes that all of them contain a core which is very similar to the type of critique made by the Cynics upon society and existing institutions. A more rapid overview of the other pronouncement stories leads him to conclude that they are all modelled on the Cynic *chreia* and many of them pick up on Cynic themes.¹⁶ For instance, the Cynic cores which lie behind the sample stories are respectively: "When asked why he ate with tax collectors and sinners, Jesus replied, 'Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are ill'" (2:15-17); "When asked why he and his followers did not fast, Jesus replied, 'Can the wedding guests fast while the bridegroom is still with them?'" (2:18-22); "When asked why he ate with hands defiled, Jesus replied, 'It is not what goes in, but what comes out that makes unclean'" (7:1-23).¹⁷ The *chreia* material was created by individuals who belonged to a synagogue reform movement, who considered themselves to be heirs of the Jewish traditions, but who validated certain practices by appeal to the practice of Jesus.¹⁸ The material is marked by a certain conviviality and, indeed, humour.

Mack further notes that these core *chreiai* in Mark underwent a process of increased argumentation which the rhetorical handbooks called "elaboration." This was the process through which a student was taught to amplify the *chreia* in order to defend or oppose it. There was a problem with Markan *chreiai*, since materials for the

exchange involving speech, including common conversation and the daily discourse of a working society. This takes rhetoric out of the sphere of mere ornamentation, embellished literary style, and the extravagances of public oratory, and places it at the center of a social theory of language." *Rhetoric*, 15-16.

¹⁶ *Myth*, 184.

¹⁷ *Myth*, 186-92.

¹⁸ Mack cites the following examples: the physician (2:17); the wedding (2:19); the sabbath for man (2:27); Jesus' family (3:33); the prophet without honour (6:4); defiled hands (7:15); children and dogs (7:27-28); children and the kingdom (10:14); why call me good (10:18); the camel's eye (10:25); taxes to Caesar (12:17); the woman's beautiful deed (14:6). *Myth*, 194.

traditional "elaboration" would have been hard to come by.¹⁹ This problem was overcome through using the sayings of Jesus in the various parts of the "elaboration." What resulted was a move away from, though not abandonment of, the Cynic type of critique into a polemic justifying the existence of a new movement. For instance, the elaboration in 2:18-22 actually went against the core *chreia*. The communities were by that time fasting. The elaboration, however, makes it quite clear that they were fasting for quite different reasons from their critics, because of the difference between the old and the new. "The delight in unconventionality and newness gave way to the justification of distinctions between a social movement and its critics."²⁰ The evidence of reworking in these elaborations is seen especially in thematic change which occurred during the process of transmission.

The nature of the argumentation thus reveals another stage in the social formation behind the Gospel. The entrance of the disciples and Pharisees into the stories introduced a note of conflict and transformed those units into allegories of the escalating conflict the community was experiencing. That conflict was between the leaders of the reform movement (the disciples) and the leaders of the contemporary synagogue (the Pharisees). The conflict turned on questions regarding social identity, specifically codes of obligation, ritual purity, and halakha. Most of these arguments were lost by the reform movement since it was incapable of appealing to the common epic traditions for its rationale. Jesus was ultimately the only authority to which they could appeal.²¹ Elaboration of the *chreia* occurred when the reform people attempted to rebuff

¹⁹ "With only two generations of social history to call upon, well-known examples (paradigms) would have been scarce, and those from either Greek or Jewish traditions inappropriate. The citation of authorities from the past, a very important element in the construction of rhetorical argumentation, would have been impossible." *Myth*, 187.

²⁰ *Myth*, 188.

²¹ "Within the synagogue reform movement, Jesus' authority came to be imagined in terms appropriate to the conflict. He steps forth as a scribe, interpreting the scriptures. He appears as a Pharisee, debating points of halakha. His approach is, of course, Cynic, based upon a wisdom that frustrates the principles of scriptural and halakhic interpretation used by his opponents. His wisdom is such, in fact, that, as the master rhetor, his arguments and pronouncements override the authority of Scripture itself." *Myth*, 198.

Pharisaic criticism and introduced a more dialectical argumentation, using contrasts and oppositions, to which the only reaction was either amazement or silence. The opposition was set up to appear to lose, precisely because of the sovereign authority given to the sayings of Jesus. It was only a short step from that to the final separation between the reform people and the synagogue.

The *Sitz im Leben* was most probably to be found in the Hellenistic cities of Galilee and southern Syria. Both the reform group as a liberalizing party, and the Pharisees as a more conservative party, would have been recent arrivals into the area. For the former group, table fellowship was not only important but a distinguishing characteristic, and it could well have been at table that the conflicts took place. That conflict would have escalated only gradually, culminating in the expulsion of the reform group shortly before the writing of the Gospel. In fact, all the debates were finished by the time the stories were elaborated. As they appear in their pre-Gospel and Gospel form, they function as imaginary fictions to rationalize their now separate social identity.²²

3. Vernon K. Robbins

The genesis of Robbins' rhetorical approach and its relationship to previous scholarly work is discussed in a number of his publications.²³ He offers a resumé of the scholarship through a rhetorical lens. Both Dibelius and Bultmann, he notes, in their own ways understood the rhetorical nature of these units but veered away from a full rhetorical analysis. The reason for this was their

²² "The stories say, not only that they were right, but that they had been right all along, from the beginning. Jesus' pronouncements attest the legitimacy of the staggering claims they had to make about him. They articulate principles that can be used for beginning to construct an independent system of codes by which to identify the group.... A critical view of the world can now be seen as sufficient justification for formation of a new and distinctive society." *Myth*, 204.

²³ "Chreia and Pronouncement Story in Synoptic Studies," in *Patterns of Persuasion*, 1-29; "A Rhetorical Typology for Classifying and Analyzing Pronouncement Stories," *SBLSP* 23 (1984): 93-122; "Picking up the Fragments: From Crossan's Analysis to Rhetorical Analysis," *FFF* 1 (1985): 31-64; "Pronouncement Stories from a Rhetorical Perspective," *FFF* 4 (1988): 3-32; "The Chreia," in *Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament. Selected Forms and Genres*, ed. D. E. Aune (Atlanta: Scholars, 1988), 1-23.

pre-suppositions regarding this type of literature which have been described above. In his description of the formal structure of the sermon, Robbins suggests that Dibelius showed an awareness of the structure of the standard speech as taught by the ancient rhetoricians: introduction, statement of the case, proof or argument, conclusion.²⁴ Moreover, his description of the characteristics of the paradigm, which illustrated and exemplified the sermon, revealed rhetorical sensitivity. Rounding off, brevity, and the concluding word are all rhetorical observations. However, each of these characteristics brings its own problems. Rounding off is a characteristic of all popular stories and has nothing to do with their function in the sermon. Brevity is not always a characteristic of the synoptic paradigms, many of which are moderately lengthy with functions beyond the needs of the sermon. Finally, Dibelius' emphasis on the final saying led him to relativize the importance of the setting and action.

Robbins suggests that Bultmann edged towards a rhetorical analysis through his comparison of the apophthegms with rabbinic controversies. If he had been more aware of the rhetorical tradition, he would have understood that his description of the controversy stories fitted the "judicial" type of speech. Both the starting-point and the reply, as Bultmann described them, could have been formally analysed from the perspective of ancient rhetoric and better results produced.

Although Dibelius did discuss the *chreia*, Robbins maintains that he short-circuited future scholarly interest because of his misunderstanding of the roles of the saying and the action in the *chreia*. According to his definition, the saying in the *chreia* was only of "general significance" which could have been transmitted

²⁴ "Chreia and Pronouncement Story," 3. Robbins argues that Dibelius was aware of this structure both because of the formal similarities and because of Dibelius' comments on each part of the sermon. It must be noted, however, that Dibelius talks of a three-part structure of the sermon rather than four-part as Robbins says: "Wir haben also das Recht, von einem Schema zu reden, an das der Verfasser sich bewußt bindet und das aus folgenden Gliedern besteht: Kerygma, Schriftbeweis, Bußmahnung." *Formgeschichte*, 15. There is no mention of an introduction. Furthermore, if he had been aware of a formal parallel, surely it would have been strange not to note it.

independently as a maxim. Robbins demonstrates, by reference to Theon's *Progymnasmata*, that the saying could have been of general significance, but equally it could have been a type only understandable within its context. Moreover, a *chreia* was able to contain either a saying or an action, or both together. Dibelius thus failed to understand both the range of the *chreia* and its flexibility.²⁵

The results of the second and final phase of the SBL Pronouncement story Work Group were presented in the journal *Semeia* under the title of *The Rhetoric of Pronouncement*.²⁶ In his introductory article, Robbins sums up the progress made in the group's investigation of the *chreia* and its relevance to New Testament study.²⁷ The results flow mainly from a close reading of Theon of Alexandria's and Hermogenes of Tarsus' discussions of the *chreia*.²⁸ Robbins makes five points.

Firstly, he claims, the exercise in the recitation (ἀπαγγελία) of the *chreia* shows that individual recitations of a specific *chreia* produce different variations and consequently different written versions. This can occur even within the writings of one author. An example of such variations in Plutarch is given by Robbins in a previous study:²⁹

²⁵ Robbins notes the work of those authors who continued to appreciate the importance of ancient rhetoric in Gospel studies: R. O. P. Taylor, *The Groundwork of the Gospels* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946); William R. Farmer, "Notes on a Literary and Form-Critical Analysis of Some of the Synoptic Material Peculiar to Luke," *NTS* 8 (1962): 301-16; David E. Aune, "Septem Sapientium Convivium (Moralia 146B-164D)," in *Plutarch's Ethical Writings and Early Christian Literature*, ed. Hans Dieter Betz, *Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* 4 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 51-105.

²⁶ *Semeia* 64 (1993).

²⁷ "Introduction: Using Rhetorical Discussions of the Chreia to Interpret Pronouncement Stories," *Semeia* 64 (1993): vii-xvii.

²⁸ The most recent critical edition of Theon's *chreia* discussion is in, Hock & O'Neil, *The Progymnasmata*, 83-107. All references will be to this edition and translation of the *chreia* discussions of the handbooks. In order to offer a presentation and critique of Robbins' position, some of what will be set out in the next chapter must be anticipated here.

²⁹ "Writing as a Rhetorical Act in Plutarch and the Gospels," in *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy*, ed. Duane F. Watson (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 149-50. He concludes: "A writer in rhetorical culture perceives an antecedent oral or written version of the story or saying as a performance, and a new performance can

For instance, when the Argives were arguing about boundaries of land, and thought they stated a better case than the Spartans, he pointed to his sword and said, "He who is master of this discourses best about boundaries of land."³⁰

To the Argives when they seemed to state a better case than the Spartans about the disputed territory, he drew his sword and said, "He who is master of this discourses best about boundaries of land."³¹

To the Argives who were disputing with the Spartans about boundaries and said they stated a better case than them, he drew his sword and said, "He who is master of this discourses best about boundaries of land."³²

Examples such as these, Robbins concludes, indicate that a similar process of "recitation composition" occurred in the composition of the synoptics.

Secondly, there are what he calls "abbreviated" *chreiai* which may be expressed in any one or a combination of eleven different argumentative figures: a maxim, an explanation, with wit, a syllogism, an enthymeme, an example, a wish, symbolically, figuratively, a double entendre, a change of subject.³³ Theon gives examples of each, two of which will suffice here.

perpetuate as much or as little verbatim wording as is congenial to the writer. The similarities and variations in wording in both Plutarch and the NT Synoptic writers should make it obvious to us that the guiding principle behind their transmission of stories and sayings is recitation composition." "Plutarch and the Gospels," 167.

³⁰ Ἀργεῖους μὲν γὰρ ἀμφιλογουμένους περὶ γῆς ὄρων δικαιοτέρα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰομένοις λέγειν διέξας τὴν μάχαιραν, ὁ ταύτης, ἔφη, κρατῶν βέλτιστα περὶ γῆς ὄρων διαλέγεται. *Moralia* 22.1. See, *Plutarch's Moralia*, trans. F. C. Babbitt (London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927).

³¹ Πρὸς δὲ Ἀργεῖους δικαιοτέρα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων λέγειν περὶ τῆς ἀμφισβητουμένης χώρας δοκοῦντας, σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, ὁ ταύτης, ἔφη, κρατῶν βέλτιστα περὶ γῆς ὄρων διαλέγεται. *Moralia* 190E.

³² Πρὸς Ἀργεῖους δὲ περὶ γῆς ὄρων ἀμφισβητοῦντας πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ δικαιοτέρα λέγειν αὐτῶν φάσκοντας, στασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, ὁ ταύτης, ἔφη, κρατῶν βέλτιστα περὶ γῆς ὄρων διαλέγεται. *Moralia* 229C.

³³ Theon 115-89.

With an example. For example, Alexander the Macedonian king, on being urged by his friends to amass money, said, "But it didn't help even Croesus."³⁴

In a symbolic manner. For example, Alexander, on being asked by someone where he had his treasures, pointed to his friends and said, "In these."³⁵

Thirdly, Robbins notes that the *chreia* may be modified in many different ways to suit its specific function in the argument, whether it is to win friends, divide opponents, unite different groups etc. He lists some of the ways Theon suggests the *chreia* may be modified, but is interested primarily in Theon's exercise of expansion (ἐπεκτείνειν). Robbins divides these expanded *chreiai* into three classes which he calls "amplified," "argumentative," and "elaborated."³⁶ The first is simply an expanded *chreia* which takes on the form of the beginning of a speech, but which contains no new argumentative figure. He refers to Theon's example of the dying Epameinondas. The concise form of the *chreia* is:

Epameinondas, as he was dying childless, said to his friends: "I have left two daughters--the victory at Leuctra and the one at Mantinea."³⁷

Theon amplifies it thus:

Epameinondas the Theban general was, of course, a good man in time of peace, and when war against the Lacedaemonians came to his country, he displayed many outstanding deeds of great courage. As a Boeotarch at Leuctra, he triumphed over the enemy, and while campaigning and fighting for his country, he died at Mantinea. While he was dying of his wounds and his

³⁴ Κατὰ παράδειγμα δὲ οἷον Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων συναγαγεῖν χρήματα εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ᾔνησεν οὐδὲ Κροῖσον. Theon 150-53.

³⁵ Συμβολικῶς δὲ οἷον Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος ποῦ ἔχει τοὺς θησαυροὺς, Ἐν τούτοις, ἔφη, δείξας τοὺς φίλους. Theon 158-61.

³⁶ For a full discussion of these modifications, see Theon 199-333.

³⁷ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἄτεκνος ἀποθνήσκων ἔλεγε τοῖς φίλοις, Δύο θυγατέρας ἀπέλειπον, τὴν τε περὶ Λεοκτρα νίκην καὶ τὴν περὶ Μαντινείαν. Theon 314-17.

friends were lamenting, among other things that he was dying childless, he smiled and said: "Stop weeping, friends, for I have left you two immortal daughters: two victories of our country over the Lacedaemonians, the one at Leuctra, who is older, and the younger, who is just now being born at Mantinea."³⁸

The differences in the amplified statement are simply the exhortation, and its amplified rationale. No argumentative figure is added.

An argumentative *chreia* is defined by Robbins as one which contains a combination of some of the constituents of the full argument, but does not approximate a full argument. Such an argument may contain an example, an argument from the contrary, an analogy, a written testament, but not all of them as in an elaborated *chreia*.³⁹ Moreover, an argumentative *chreia* may be characterized by the use of the fallacies: the grammatical (obscure, loquacious, elliptical), the logical (impossible, implausible, false), and the social (unsuitable, useless, shameful).

Elaborated *chreiai* are those which approximate most closely to the argument in its fullest form, and so contain some combination of argument from analogy, example, the contrary, and citation of authoritative testimony. It is in Hermogenes that one finds a presentation of the *chreia* in its fully elaborated form.⁴⁰

Fourthly, Robbins claims that the elaborated *chreia* may have two levels. At the first level, arguments using as many topics as possible are employed for individual parts of the *chreia*. Those topics are the grammatical, logical, and social ones mentioned above.

Argumentative figures (example, analogy etc.) will be part of those

38 'Επαιμεινώδας ὁ τῶν Θηβαίων στρατηγὸς ἦν μὲν ἄρα καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, συστάντος δὲ τῇ πατρίδι πολέμου πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολλὰ καὶ λάμπρα ἔργα τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας ἐπεδείξατο. βοιωταρχῶν μὲν περὶ Λεὼκτρα ἐνίκησε τοὺς πολεμίους, στρατευόμενος δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀπέθανεν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρωθεὶς ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον, ὀλοφυρομένων τῶν φίλων τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ διότι ἄτεκνος ἀποθνήσκει, μειδιάσας, παύσασθε, ἔφη, ὦ φίλοι, κλαίοντες, ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἀθανάτους δύο καταλέλοιπα θυγατέρας, δύο νίκας τῆς πατρίδος κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, τὴν μὲν ἐν Λεύκτροις τὴν πρεσβυτέραν, νεωτέραν δὲ τὴν ἄρτι μοι γενομένην ἐν Μαντινείᾳ. Theon 318-33.

39 The fully elaborated *chreia* will be discussed in the next section.

40 Hermogenes 30-62.

units which offer arguments for the different parts of the *chreia*. Robbins remains rather obscure in his explanation of this level of elaboration, and the difficulties will be discussed below. The second-level elaboration contains all the elements of the full argument: praise, statement and rationale, argument from contrary, analogy, example, authoritative testimony, conclusion.

Lastly, Robbins deals with what he calls the "language context for *chreiai*" and discusses the three major *genera* of *chreiai*, sayings, action and mixed, and the five different *species* the response part of the *chreia* may take. These are: response to a simple question, to an inquiry, a response with some explanation, a response to some general statement or observation, and finally a double *chreia*. These will be explained in more detail in the next chapter.

Robbins uses his understanding of the *chreia* and its elaboration in his reading of a number of synoptic passages.⁴¹ In the introduction to the paperback edition of *Jesus the Teacher*, he offers more detailed methodological reflections on the nature of rhetorical criticism.⁴² The rhetorical analysis of a text is, in fact, just one aspect of his larger socio-rhetorical approach. At the heart of this approach, he employs a core metaphor—text as "texture." Viewed as such, a text resembles a garment whose surface appears different depending on the angle from which the observer is looking. As something which is woven, the text is created out of intersecting strands of signification and meaning.⁴³

⁴¹ See, for example, "Pronouncement Stories and Jesus' Blessing of the Children: A Rhetorical Approach," *Semeia* 29 (1983): 42-74; "The Woman who Touched Jesus' Garment: Socio-Rhetorical Analysis of the Synoptic Accounts," *NTS* 33 (1987): 502-15; "Rhetorical Arguments about Lamps and Light in Early Christian Gospels," in *Context. Essays in Honour of Peder Jahan Borgen*, eds. P. W. Bøckman and R. E. Kristiansen. *Relieff* 24 (University of Trondheim: Tapir, 1987), 177-95.

⁴² *Jesus the Teacher. A Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark*, Repr. with new introduction (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), xix-xliv.

⁴³ "A text only has surface, but it is textured surface, thick with interwoven webs of signification. The issue is what kinds of strategies, filters, and grids an interpreter uses to hear or look at a text. As these strategies, filters, and grids value and devalue signs in a text, the interpreter sees, hears, or perceives one kind of texture rather than another." *Jesus the Teacher*, xxviii.

He suggests that each text has four textures: inner texture, intertexture, social and cultural texture, and ideological texture.⁴⁴ These various textures call for four interpretative steps. In studying the inner texture, the interpreter is involved in inner textual analysis of the present form of the text and aims to identify the persuasive aspects of its discourse. This is where acquaintance with the ancient rhetorical tradition is put to work. The intertexture of a text points the interpreter beyond the world of the text and reveals the text to be in dialogue with other texts. The intertextual nature of the synoptic texts thus demands an analysis not only of Jewish literature but also the literature of the Greco-Roman world. This step in the interpretative process is essentially a comparative one. The social and cultural texture reveals that behind the text there lie value systems, cultural codes, social mores, political and economic realities etc., which are simply presupposed. All these have to inform the interpretation of the text if the danger of ignoring the foreignness of the text is to be avoided. Finally, ideological texture indicates that there is an ideology at work both within the text and within the interpreter. The ideology within the text is that integral world view which encompasses social, cultural, conceptual, and theological meanings. Regarding interpretative ideology, Robbins pleads for one which is dialogical rather than oppositional, inclusive rather than exclusive.⁴⁵

4. Klaus Berger⁴⁶

Berger's form critical analysis of the entire New Testament is based upon a communications model derived from ancient rhetoric. This model views texts as "Teil eines Geschehens zwischen Autor und Leser" and as such draws upon a reader-response repertory. The three principal rhetorical genres are the symbuleutic ("texts intended to activate or admonish the reader"), the didactic ("texts intended to explain a decision"), and the epideictic ("texts intended

⁴⁴ *Jesus the Teacher*, xxix.

⁴⁵ *Jesus the Teacher*, xxii.

⁴⁶ *Formgeschichte*, see chapter one, note 56 above; also, "Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament," ANRW, II.25.2, 1031-1432. For a brief summary in English of his programme, see his, "Rhetorical Criticism," 390-96.

to impress the reader").⁴⁷ There are also texts which reflect two or all three of the types, and which he calls "Sammelgattungen."⁴⁸ It is to these that the controversy dialogues belong.

Berger's formal classification of the New Testament materials is guided by linguistic and stylistic observations upon the written text.⁴⁹ In this he departs radically from classic form criticism, in that his main interest lies in investigating what function the *given* text had in the history of early Christianity.⁵⁰ Consequently, he considers the intended effect of the written text to be as important as its content and form in the establishing of the text-type, or genre.⁵¹

On this basis, he classifies the pronouncement stories as *chreiai*. Berger's definition of the *chreia*⁵² is informed by the understanding of it in antiquity and given greater precision through comparison with the γνώμη, the ἀποφθέγμα and the ἀπομνημόνευμα.⁵³ Usefully, he notes the three different types of *chreia* and sets out the stages of an elaboration.⁵⁴ Characterized by its interest in the wise teacher, the form had its original *Sitz im Leben* in the school. From the point of view of content, the *chreia* reveals humour and quick-wittedness

⁴⁷ "Rhetorical Criticism," 390.

⁴⁸ These are the first texts he analyses. *Formgeschichte*, 25-116.

⁴⁹ "Hellenistische Gattungen," 1108. He offers a list of the criteria in *Formgeschichte*, 19-22.

⁵⁰ See, "Rhetorical Criticism," 192.

⁵¹ This is another way of saying that he is interested in the argumentative dimensions of the text, of how it was constructed in order to meet the requirements of the situation. "In this case we would have to depart from the hypothesis that the text is intended to achieve an effect that (seen from the production point of view) lies in the future, presupposing that every text is meant to meet the requirements of an intended effect and can be judged according to its success." "Rhetorical Criticism," 392.

⁵² See, "Hellenistische Gattungen," 1092-93. "Als Chrie bezeichnet man veranlaßte, doch die Situation transzendierende Rede oder Handlung im Leben einer bedeutenden Person. Veranlassung und Reaktion gehören immer zusammen." *Formgeschichte*, 82.

⁵³ The γνώμη is a saying of a general nature, never an action, and unattributed to any individual. It is characterized by its practicality. The ἀποφθέγμα is a saying embedded in a context and as such is closely related to the *chreia*. It normally appears in the form: Name/ἐρωτηθεὶς ... εἶπε. The *chreia* is more closely related to specific situations and cases, and can appear in more various forms. *Hellenistische Gattungen*, 1092-93.

⁵⁴ "Hellenistische Gattungen," 1093-94. The elaboration is set out in footnote 28.

and as such was especially used in the Cynic tradition with its interest in "re-evaluating of values."⁵⁵ It belonged to the world of reason and is free of any hint of the miraculous or supernatural. The author quoted was vested with such a wisdom and authority that the *chreia* took on a regulative character for the society in which it was used. Gathered into collections, they had a major influence on the origin and development of Greek biography.⁵⁶

Berger identifies twenty seven *chreiai* in Mark's Gospel: 1:35-38; 2.16f., 18-22, 23-28; 3.28-30, 31-35; 6.1-6; 7.1-13; 8.11-13, 14-15; 9.33-37, 38-41; 10.1-12, 13-16, 17-22, 26-27, 28-31, 35-40; 11.27-33; 12.13-17, 18-27, 35-37a, 28-34, 41-44; 13.1-2, 3-37; 14.3-9. His investigation of pagan literature leads Berger to view the *chreia* as being formally composed of two elements, the question or cause, and the answer. Equally, it convinces him of the overriding importance of the first part of the *chreia* for formal classificatory purposes.⁵⁷ The consequent classification is thus guided by the presence of the type of introduction present both in the synoptic and in pagan literature.⁵⁸ In his later study, however, he offers a quite different classification and no longer seems to invest the first part of the *chreia* with the same form-defining importance. According to this classification, there are six different types: symbuleutic, dicanic, epideictic, correction, questions from disciples and enemies, and those in which the "I" of the speaker features

⁵⁵ "Die Umwertung der Werte." "Hellenistische Gattungen," 1106.

⁵⁶ *Formgeschichte*, 82-84.

⁵⁷ "Die Einteilung nach den Anfängen entspricht zudem antiker formgeschichtlicher Reflexion zu diesem Punkt, wie wir sie bei Jamblichos, *Leben des Pythagoras* 82 finden: "Alle sogenannten Sprüche gliedern sich in drei Gruppen. Die erste beantwortet die Frage 'Was ist ...?', die zweite 'Was am meisten?', die dritte 'Was soll man tun oder lassen?'" "Hellenistische Gattungen," 1096. In the presentation of the *chreia* in his *Formgeschichte* there is no mention of this seemingly important principle. Latterly, he talks of identifying "which of the many conventions determining the text is so dominant that it can be regarded as a criterion for categorization." "Rhetorical Criticism," 391.

⁵⁸ He lists the different sorts of *chreia* as: questions concerning usefulness, or definition, or the maximum; critical questions concerning behaviour, questions from one who would be a disciple, or what one ought to do, or how to achieve something; cases in which something is seen or heard and commented upon; questions on whether one ought to pay taxes; strings of questions based on a common structural characteristic; questions in the shape "To whom am I like?" "Hellenistische Gattungen," 1096-1100.

largely in the answer.⁵⁹ Any pericope may belong to one or more of these groups.

The *chreiai* reveal various aspects of early Christianity. Firstly, there are those which dealt with internal community problems and which reflect the political and societal significance of the *chreia*: who is greatest (9.33-37), the role of children (10.13-16), the problem of wealth (10.17-22, 26-27, 28-31), divorce (10.1-12), taxes (12.13-17), the relationship of outsiders to the community (9.33-37, 38-41). These *chreiai* also dealt with radical discipleship: the real family (3.31-35), the rich man (10.17-22), leaving everything (10.28-31), martyrdom (10.35-40). A second group of *chreiai* dealt with christological problems: the relationship to the Baptist (11.27-33), signs of the legitimacy of Jesus (3.23-30; 8.11-13), his relationship to David (12.35-37a). The third main group dealt with external community problems and are seen in those *chreiai* which present Jesus in debate with the Jewish groups: sabbath observance (2.23-28), questions of purity (2.15-17; 7.1-13), fasting (2.18-22). They have both an apologetic and a polemical tone and represent a moment when there was still hope of winning over the Jewish authorities.

5. Evaluation

a) All these scholars in their various ways represent a retreat away from classical form and redaction criticism. Tannehill employs reader-response insights in his analysis. His emphasis, however, on the unity of these pericopes in their stimulus-response format, and his description of them as stories, reveal the influence of narrative criticism.⁶⁰ He is interested in the plot of these small units, how,

⁵⁹ Symbleutic: 3.23-30, 31-35; 8.11-13, 14-15; 9.33-37, 38-41; 10.1-12, 13-16, 17-22, 28-31; 12.13-17, 41-44. Dicanic: 2.16-17, 18-22, 23-28; 3.23-30; 6.1-6; 7.1-13; 11.27-33; 14.3-9. Epideictic: 12.18-27, 28-34, 35-37a. The only pericopes in Mark which Berger does not assign to any of these groups are: 1.35-38; 10.26-27; 13.1-2, 3-37, and 10.35-40. The first three are questions from disciples. Berger fails to give any classification for 10.35-40 and 13.3-37. *Formgeschichte*, 91-93.

⁶⁰ His analysis aims to "focus attention on an element which is central to the story as story, for the tension which arises between the stimulus and response gives the story its movement and interest." "Apophthegms," 1795.

that is, the characters and events detailed within the story cause and succeed each other. His analysis aims, therefore, to discover the point of view of the author and as such, like redaction criticism, has an historical goal. Understanding that point of view in turn enables him to make conclusions concerning the first audiences of the material.⁶¹ In his mingling of reader-response and narrative criticisms, Tannehill understands the importance of respecting the historical and cultural complexity of the text. Finally, by understanding the deeply rhetorical nature of these pericopes, he stresses that they have power to affect not just the intellect but also the will and the emotions, as ancient rhetoric also emphasized.⁶²

Mack and Robbins also approach these stories from a reader-response angle, but one which is informed by the canons of ancient rhetoric. More than most, they stress the persuasive powers inherent in them and aim to analyse them as units of argumentation. Their understanding of these units as example of the Greek *chreia*, and their knowledge of its elaboration gleaned from the ancient handbooks, allow these stories to be read in new and fresh ways. Both are involved in historical readings and hope to identify certain moments of early Christian formation which are

The same blending of reader response approaches and narrative criticism first appeared in his "The Disciples in Mark: The Function of a Narrative Role," *JR* 57 (1977): 386-405. Moore remarks: "Narrative commentary in the mode of Tannehill is essentially a retelling of a Gospel designed to draw maximal attention to its plotted qualities of flow or forward movement (the aspect of temporal succession), and to the integration and interrelation of its parts (causality, in the broad sense)." *Literary Criticism*, 23.

⁶¹ This is evident from some of his remarks: "Thus an apophthegm is not a neutral record of a discussion between equal parties. A particular pronouncement is presented in such a way as to make the dominant impression." "Apophthegms," 1793. "I am interested in the apophthegms as an act of communication between a speaker and a listener, or a writer and a reader. This communication takes place through a story about another time and place, but this story, carefully shaped to make an impression on the reader, can have influence on the present." "Apophthegms," 1794. "The interaction of stimulus and response in an apophthegm often reflects the interaction of a person or group with the environment. Something of the social and historical setting shines through. Particularly important are the value conflicts which emerge when there is sharp conflict between the position assumed or stated in the stimulus and the position proclaimed in the response." "Apophthegms," 1795.

⁶² "Such apophthegms speak to the imagination, provoking thought which involves the will and the emotions as well as the mind, opening new possibilities for living." "Apophthegms," 1796.

reflected in the textual history.⁶³ Klaus Berger is at one with them in identifying these stories as *chreiai*, and sees this identification as part of his larger project of creating a "new form criticism." That project separates the question of genre from that of oral pre-history and limits form criticism to the analysis and tracing of a genre within the literary history of the time.⁶⁴ Knowledge of that genre and its conventions allow the modern reader to become aware of the situations from which it arose or by which it was modified in early Christianity.⁶⁵ For Berger, the reception of the text by its early hearers and readers is important in the discussion of the *Sitz* of the text, since it gives new perspectives upon those early audiences.⁶⁶ All these scholars have in different ways furthered the investigation of apophthegms or pronouncement stories. A number of reservations, however, must be lodged.

⁶³ Mack comments: "The picture of Jesus presented by the Gospel of Mark, for instance, is the product of two generations of vigorous social activity and energetic, imaginative labor. That means a gradual construction emerging out of many, many incidents at the level of social experience and out of the need of those who shared those experiences to forge and hold a common understanding of them. The shift in perspective is required as soon as it is realized that the creative replication of the memory of Jesus took place in the interest not only of how it was at the beginning, but how it was or should be at several junctures of social history through which a memory tradition has travelled." *Myth*, 16.

⁶⁴ "Die historische Dimension eines Textes wird weniger in seiner mündlichen Vorgeschichte gesucht als vielmehr in seinem Bezug zu "typischen Situationen" in der Geschichte des Urchristentums." *Formgeschichte*, 11.

⁶⁵ "Man kann Gattungen auch als Systeme von Konventionen bezeichnen (E. D. Hirsch), wenn man beachtet, daß es sich um gesellschaftliche Konventionen handelt: Diese Konventionen erfüllen bestimmte Funktionen in der Geschichte." *Formgeschichte*, 10.

⁶⁶ "[F]ür einen Text ist nicht mehr nur die Entstehungssituation von Bedeutung, sondern auch Interessen der Jünger und Gemeinde, die offenbar über diese Situation hinausgingen und den Text zu einer wiederverwendbaren typischen Antwort werden ließen. Hinzugekommen ist auch, daß ein Text nicht nur Interessen der Hörer entspricht, sondern ihnen auch entgegenlaufen kann." *Formgeschichte*, 11. He offers certain guidelines for establishing the relationship between a text and a situation: 1. The reconstruction of the concrete questions to which a text can be an answer. 2. Various genres can be employed in the one situation, just as one genre can be utilized in different situations. 3. The writer who receives an ancient tradition will very probably have a present interest in it. 4. The reconstruction of the social group whose interests the text affirms or contradicts is possible. 5. Certain genres dominate in certain phases and regions of early Christianity. *Formgeschichte*, 23.

b) At first sight Tannehill's classification of these stories seems more nuanced and flexible than other, previous attempts. A doubt arises, however, when the large number of "hybrid" stories are noted. These do not fit exactly any of his categories. Moreover, it may be queried whether he is accurate in his assignation of certain stories to one type rather than another.⁶⁷ Most importantly, his system of classification is based on the synoptic materials themselves which is then used by others in their investigation of other writings.⁶⁸ Not only is this too small a sample to provide an adequate classification, but a certain circularity of argumentation also results.⁶⁹ Although he recognises that these stories are "rhetorically shaped,"⁷⁰ he fails to read them in the light of ancient rhetorical practice. When he talks of the function of these various types of stories, he tends to collapse into one their function for the ancient and their function for the contemporary reader.⁷¹ In any case, he presumes both are Christian. A modern individualistic concern colours his discussion of function, and the sociological interest of classic form criticism disappears. Finally, clearer criteria for his system of classification ought to have been offered.

c) Berger aims to ground his classification on firm syntactic or semantic observations. Yet, as has been pointed out, the system of classification described in his *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments* differs from that offered in his earlier article "Hellenistische Gattungen im neuen Testament." This leads one to question the

⁶⁷ See Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen," 1108-9.

⁶⁸ See, for example, *Semeia* 20 (1981).

⁶⁹ His analysis of the synoptic material serves to define a matrix in which other non-synoptic material is classified, which in turn confirms the synoptic classification. Reservations have been registered by Robbins who analysed Plutarch's *Vitae Parallelae* and classifies the stories there into aphoristic, adversative, and affirmative *chreiai*. "Classifying Pronouncement Stories in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*," *Semeia* (20) 1981: 29-52. Earl Breech utilizes Tannehill's classification system in his investigation of Philostratus and finds it wanting. It is useful for only about half of the pronouncement stories in Philostratus, while there is a series of these stories which lack the stimulus-response structure. Moreover, he notes, their function in Philostratus is quite different from that in the synoptic material. "Stimulus-Response Pronouncement Stories in Philostratus," *SBLSP* (1977): 257-71.

⁷⁰ "Varieties," 3.

⁷¹ "Readers, whether of the first century or the present, can recognize similarities between the attitudes being corrected and their own attitudes but may also be attracted or shaken by Jesus' challenge." "Apophthegms," 1803.

clarity of the criteria he offers. In fact, neither in his monograph nor in his article is there a clear discussion of what he considers syntactic or semantic criteria to be. In the article, he does point out that in antiquity, every *chreia* was classified according to its first part, and follows that guideline in his own system of classification. Yet this seemingly important methodological observation disappears in the discussion in his later publication. In that discussion, he classifies most of the Markan units according to the symbuleutic, dikanic, and epideictic genres of ancient rhetoric. Yet that discussion takes place in the first section of the book which has to do with the *Sammelgattungen*, texts, that is, which show characteristics of all three genres.⁷² A certain confusion results.⁷³ A clearer explanation of Berger's criteria is also needed.

d) Mack's analysis of the pronouncement stories both reflects and depends upon his view of early Christian formation. Those stories reflected the experiences of the synagogue reform group which was one of five different Jesus movements in the first century.⁷⁴ Although this reconstruction of Christian origins appears more nuanced than those of Dibelius or Bultmann's, at root it still stands upon the same distinction between Palestinian and Hellenistic

⁷² "[S]ammelgattungen ... welche sich nicht auf symbuleutische, epideiktische oder dikanische Merkmale festlegen lassen und vielmehr für alle drei Gruppen von Gattungen Belege liefern." *Formgeschichte*, 25.

⁷³ Another confusion is evident when he claims that Bultmann contrary to Dibelius, maintained that "die entsprechenden Stücke aus den Evangelien grundsätzlich in diese Gattung hineingehören...." "Hellenistische Gattungen" 1096. While it is true that Bultmann does make reference to Greek and Roman literature, he nonetheless makes it quite clear that it is the stories of the Rabbis which shed most light upon the Gospel literature. The "Streit" which he perceives between Bultmann and Dibelius does not exist. It is rather Dibelius, even with all his caveats, who sees the limited value of *chreia* material for Gospel study. Hultgren is more accurate when he puts the "Streit" the other way round, with Dibelius investigating the Hellenistic material. Yet he is quite exaggerated when he depicts Dibelius as making conclusions concerning the Gospel material from Greek parallels. Both Berger and Hultgren set up an opposition between the two great form critics which does not exist and both even disagree on the nature of that opposition.

⁷⁴ The other four movements were the "itinerants in Galilee" (reflected in "Q"), the "pillars in Jerusalem" who had fled to Pella (influencing Matthew and the Didache), the "family of Jesus" (reflected in those synoptic materials which talk of family relationships and genealogy), the "congregations of Israel" (reflected in the miracle stories), and the "congregations of the Christ," who created the myth of the dying and rising saviour and commemorated that event in the ritual meal. *Myth*, 78-97, 98-123.

Christianity.⁷⁵ He is aware of the inroads made by Hellenism in first century Palestine, as his classification of pronouncement stories as *chreiai* shows, but does not explain why the Hellenistic Christ cult did not make an impact upon Jewish Christianity.⁷⁶ He is confronted with the same danger of circular argumentation both Bultmann and Dibelius faced: some pre-understanding of early Christianity is needed before the texts are analysed, and that analysis is influenced in turn by the pre-understanding.

His analysis of the formation of the pronouncement stories reveals two stages in the experience of the synagogue reform movement. The first was a moment of humorous and convivial critique and is reflected in the core *chreiai* of the pronouncement stories. The second, reflected in the elaborations of the *chreiai*, was a much more serious polemic taking place as the group were leaving the synagogue and in the process of creating a new group identity. By the time Mark incorporated them into the Gospel, they were "out on their ear."⁷⁷ While Mack is aware that it is illicit to presume an elaborated *chreia* is a later creation,⁷⁸ and so to introduce an evolutionary process, this in fact is precisely what he does. His basis for this is his estimation that over three quarters of the core *chreiai* are rhetorically strong and so could have existed independently. He turns this possibility into a fact when he suggests the two stage formation process behind the present stories. Bultmann's influence is once again visible. Mack's search for those *chreiai* which could have existed independently of the elaboration is, at base, no different from Bultmann's programmatic search for those sayings which could have circulated independently. Behind both their analyses, there lies a specific preconception of the historical Jesus: for Mack, he is a Cynic-like sage, for Bultmann, he is the prophetic

⁷⁵ *Myth*, 96. He does suggest that the Hellenistic Christ cults were a "peculiar aberration" and that Jewish Christianity in its various manifestations was "the normal formation."

⁷⁶ It is hardly enough to state: "The farther away from Judea, the less the influence came from hasidic Judaism, and the more from a general cosmopolitan ethos." *Myth*, 101.

⁷⁷ *Myth*, 203.

⁷⁸ "Training was given, not only in the amplification and elaboration of *chreiai*, but in how to reduce them, paraphrase them, and create them as well. There is no reason to suppose that a fully elaborated *chreia* could not have been created from scratch, *chreia* and all." *Myth*, 193.

preacher of the kingdom of God. Their studies are guided, in other words, not only in terms of how they understood early Christian formation, but also, and more importantly, how they viewed the historical Jesus. The present lack of consensus on both questions makes Mack's foundations rather precarious. It must be noted, finally, that his analysis of the pronouncement stories is restricted to an examination of only a few.

e) Robbins attempts in his introductory article to *the Rhetoric of Pronouncement* to bring together in a systematic fashion the insights into the *chreia* which have been made in the past fifteen years. It is no surprise that he relies heavily on Theon's discussion of the *chreia*, since it is the longest and most complete of the extant *Progymnasmata*. Certain caveats, however, must be registered.

Firstly, there is no certainty regarding the dating of Theon's *Progymnasmata*. The contemporary preference for a first century dating is based upon Quintilian's reference to the Stoic rhetorician named Theon.⁷⁹ Apart from the name Theon being very popular at the time,⁸⁰ Quintilian's discussion of the *chreia* differs at certain points from that of Aelius Theon. Firstly, he offers no definition of the *chreia* and, indeed, seems to confuse it with the *aetiologia*. He recalls how his teachers used to teach "a type of exercise which was both useful and enjoyable" and which took the form of questions such as "Why among the Lacedaemonians is Venus armed?" and "Why is Cupid considered a boy as well as winged and armed with arrows and a torch?" Exercises such as these, he says, "can appear to be a type of *chreia*."⁸¹ Earlier on, in his discussion of the maxim, the *aetiologia*, and the *chreia*, he writes:

[Q]uorum omnium similis est ratio, forma diversa, quia sententia universalis est vox, aetiologia personis continetur. Chriarum plura genera traduntur....

⁷⁹ *Instit.* 3.6.48; 9.3.76. See, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. H. E. Butler, LCL, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1920-22).

⁸⁰ The full name, Aelius Theon of Alexandria, comes from the *Suda* which, unfortunately, is of little help in the process of dating.

⁸¹ *Instit.* 2.4.26. These remarks take place in his discussion of the *thesis*.

Since the phrase *personis continetur* is precisely what one would expect to qualify the *chreia*, various authors have been led to emend the text. For instance, O'Neil suggests it should read *...ætiologia causis, chria personis continetur*.⁸² This, however, does not get round the association which Quintilian continues to make between *ætiologia* and *chreia* when he recalls the type of exercise his teachers used to employ. In fact, it is in that discussion that the source of the confusion, if confusion it is, seems to lie. There he describes the exercise as "useful." Given the central role that usefulness played in the definitions of the *chreia* in the later handbooks, it may well be that it was this aspect which was uppermost in Quintilian's mind as he discussed both the *ætiologia* and the *chreia*. In any case, the confusion does indicate that "in the first century A.D. rhetorical theory was still in a fluid state."⁸³

This fluidity is confirmed by the second point. Quintilian's classification of the *chreia* is rather incomplete when compared with the classifications of the handbooks, especially Theon's.⁸⁴ On the one hand, he makes a clear distinction between sayings- and action-*chreiai*, yet, on the other, talks of *plura genera*. This latter phrase, in fact, refers to the three different species of sayings-*chreiai* which he lists: the simple statement, the reply, and the more general response to a statement or action.⁸⁵ The later handbooks would talk of three *genera* of *chreiai*, sayings, action, and mixed, and the three *species* (εἶδη) of the sayings-*chreiai*. At least at this point, Quintilian cannot have been reading Theon, even if he is attempting to classify some fluid form which orators discussed, as the *traduntur* implies. A full-blown classification system of the *chreia* does not seem to

⁸² "Discussion of Preliminary Exercises of Marcus Fabius Quintilianus. Introduction, Translation and Comments," in Hock and O'Neil, *The Progymnasmata*, 128.

⁸³ O'Neil, "Preliminary Exercises," 129.

⁸⁴ See, *Instit.* 1.9.4-7.

⁸⁵ *Chriarum plura genera traduntur: unum simile sententiae, quod est positum in voce simplici: "dixit ille" aut "dicere solebat"; alterum quod est in respondendo: "interrogatus ille," vel "cum hoc ei dictum esset, respondit"; tertium huic non dissimile: "cum quis dixisset aliquid" vel "fecisset." Instit.* 1.9.4.

have been available to Quintilian as he wrote in the first century C.E. In all probability, it did not exist.⁸⁶

The conclusion regarding this first caveat, then, is that regardless of the dating of Theon's *Progymnasmata*, and regardless of whether Quintilian knew the work or not, the *Institutio* points to a less clear definition and less complete classification of the *chreia*. Robbins' fifth point regarding the "language context for *chreia*" in which he draws up the taxonomy of the *genera* and *species* of *chreiai* has to be handled with care. He runs the danger of imposing a classification system which is at once much more rigid and unitary than the probable fluid and diverse understandings of the *chreia* then in circulation.

The second major caveat regards his discussion of "first-level elaboration" of the *chreia*. For Robbins, this first-level elaboration is characterized by the use of arguments for individual parts of the *chreia*. This reflects Theon's brief description of the eighth exercise in manipulation which, though not named, may be presumed to be the exercise in confirmation: "It is necessary, however, to provide arguments for each part of the *chreia*, beginning with the first ones, using as many topics as possible."⁸⁷ Robbins is obscure about his understanding of what exactly is "each part of the *chreia*" (ἐκάστον μέρος τῆς χρείας). From Theon's discussion of the fable, which uses the same phrase with the appropriate change (ἐκάστον μέρος τοῦ μύθου), it becomes clear that what is meant is those topics which are the opposite of those used in the refutation of a fable. In other words, the phrase ἐκάστον μέρος τῆς χρείας points to those details which are obscure, implausible, shameful, etc. It is a process of argumentation from the opposite.⁸⁸ Yet, this is the type of argumentation which Robbins argues should characterize the argumentative *chreia*.

⁸⁶ O'Neil concludes that "no such precise form had yet been developed for classifying these preliminary exercises as appears later in the standard *Progymnasmata*." "Preliminary Exercises," 131.

⁸⁷ Πρὸς ἕκαστον δὲ μέρος τῆς χρείας ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐπιχειρεῖν δεῖ, ἐξ ὧν τόπων ἔαν δυνατόν ᾖ. Theon 384-86.

⁸⁸ Hock and O'Neil, "The Chreia Discussion of Aelius Theon of Alexandria. Introduction, Translation and Comments," in Hock and O'Neil, *The Progymnasmata*, 72-73.

This, then, is Robbins first-level elaboration. The problem with this is that these two exercises are only the final two of Theon's entire discussion of the the eight exercises in the modification of the *chreia*. These are: recitation (ἀπαγγελία), inflexion (κλίσις), commentary (ἐπιφωνεῖν), objection (ἀντιλέγειν), expansion (ἐπεκτείνειν), abbreviation (συστελλεῖν), refutation (ἀνασκευεῖν), confirmation (κατασκευεῖν). It remains unclear why this first-level elaboration should focus only on the exercise in confirmation, aided by the topics of the exercise on refutation, and not upon the other exercises such as commentary, objection, or expansion. Indeed, it should be noted that Theon has least to say on the exercise on expansion.⁸⁹ On the other hand, he discourses at great length, and with seeming delight, on the exercise on inflexion. And, of course, he never speaks of "first-level elaboration."

The final caveat regards Robbins' second-level elaboration. This begins "with a *chreia* that establishes an enthymematic context out of which flow the constituents of a complete argument."⁹⁰ It is modelled on the *chreia* elaboration of the *Progymnasmata* attributed to Hermogenes of Tarsus. Although the dating of the handbook is uncertain, it would seem probable that it appeared sometime between the publications of Theon (presuming a first century CE. dating) and Aphthonius (late fourth-early fifth centuries CE.).⁹¹

It is here in Hermogenes that this elaboration of the *chreia*, which would become classic, first appears. The eight steps of this elaboration will be discussed more fully in the next chapter. An almost identical type of elaboration is present in the *Rhetorica ad Herrenium*, written in the first century BCE. which, it is claimed, "indicates that Greek theorists had already worked out the details of

89 Ἐπεκτείνομεν δὲ τὴν χρεῖαν ἐπειδὴν τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐρωτήσεις τε καὶ ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ εἰ πράξεις τις ἢ πάθος ἐνυπάρχη μὴκύνοιμεν. ("We expand the *chreia* whenever we enlarge upon the questions and responses in it, and upon whatever act or experience is in it.") Theon 309-11.

90 "Rhetorical Discussions," xiv.

91 Hermogenes was born in the middle of the second century CE., but no work was attributed to him until the fifth century. The arguments concerning the attribution and dating are given by Mack and O'Neil, "The *Chreia* Discussion of Hermogenes of Tarsus. Introduction, Translation and Comments," in Hock and O'Neil, *The Progymnasmata*, 158-60.

such exercises."⁹² This claim, however, is not backed up by examples taken from the pagan literature of the day. The questions arise as to whether this was only a rather mechanical school exercise to be heavily modified in practice, and as to how wide spread this exercise was in rhetorical education. The *ad Herennium* and Hermogenes' discussion are the only two examples of it in the rhetorical tradition.

In conclusion, Robbins runs the danger of creating a model of the *chreia* and its elaboration which is a construct of elements taken mainly from the discussions of Theon and Hermogenes. But neither author describes the model the way Robbins does. Undoubtedly, the *chreia* existed as a recognized rhetorical form in the first century CE, and probably before, as Quintilian's remarks demonstrate. The understanding of it, however, seems to have been rather fluid and diverse. Nonetheless, the information Robbins gives is invaluable and will inform our rhetorical analyses of the various pericopes.

⁹² Mack and O'Neil, "Hermogenes of Tarsus," 162.

CONCLUSION AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The exposition of the studies of Dibelius and Bultmann concluded that three of their basic insights are still valid, and accepted by many scholars. These are, firstly, that there was an oral tradition that preceded the publication of Mark's Gospel, and that there was no significant literary process before this; secondly, that much of the tradition circulated in small units; and thirdly, that over time more material was added to these units. The studies of Taylor, Hultgren, and Tannehill pursued Dibelius' insight into the narrative quality of these units. Tannehill brought the process to a logical conclusion when he attempted to demonstrate the narrative unity and cohesion of the stories. By keeping the point of view of the implied author in focus, he continued the work of redaction criticism with its historical interest, even though he was primarily concerned in the effects the stories have on a contemporary audience.

Weiss' study showed that the form critical programme, as traditionally understood, can still be used insightfully and effectively, and is able to produce results which are at once nuanced and persuasive. His is the first form critical study of the apophthegms which fully accepted the influence of Greco-Roman rhetoric upon the formation of the units. Mack, Robbins, and Berger all investigated more fully this influence, specifically that of the *chreia* form, and emphasized the importance of the use of argumentative strategy in the pursuit of creating certain effects among the audience. Compared with traditional form criticism, they stressed the teleological nature of the analytical procedure, rather than the archeological.⁹³

The following study will use a methodology which will attempt to integrate the valid insights of the above studies, and test them in the individual analyses. Six Markan pericopes will be investigated: 2.15-17, 18-22, 23-28; 3.22-30; 7.1-23; 11.27-33. The following criteria were used in the selection process. Firstly, with the

⁹³ See, Berger, "Rhetorical Criticism," 392.

exception of 3.22-30, they all belong to Bultmann's controversy dialogues, occasioned by the behaviour either of Jesus or his disciples. The Beelzebul story is included because of its formal similarity with the others; that is, it too is occasioned by the behaviour of Jesus.⁹⁴ From the form critical point of view, then, they are patterned in a similar way. Secondly, each of them consists of a saying or sayings of Jesus made in response to a certain situation, and so, at least at first glance, may prove amenable to *chreia* analysis. Thirdly, in length they range from the very short (2.15-17) to the very long (7.1-23), with the majority somewhere in between. Consequently, they present a good sample group for examining the influence that the *chreia*, in its simple or elaborated forms, may have had on their construction. Finally, some of these pericopes have already been submitted to *chreia* analysis, and this permits a dialogue to be initiated with those authors who are convinced of the influence of this Hellenistic form in the formation of many synoptic units.

Since the analysis of the various units will include an evaluation of their rhetorical dimension, specifically the influence of the *chreia* form on them, a discussion of the ancient understanding of rhetoric is necessary. This will be the task of the next chapter, and will be executed in two stages. Firstly, a general overview of rhetoric as understood principally by Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian will be given. With this background understanding in place, there will follow, in a second stage, a more in-depth study of the *chreia*, as it was explained in the so-called προγυμνάσματα, or rhetorical handbooks. Critical evaluations of contemporary understanding of

⁹⁴ Mark 2.1-12 and 3.1-6 are excluded from the analysis for the following reasons. Firstly, both end in a narrative comment, rather than a word or action of Jesus, and so do not reflect the *chreia* form. Secondly, even if there were some original controversy dialogue behind Mark 2.1-12, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to isolate it. The controversy element depends on the miracle story for the resolution. This is also the case for Mark 3.1-6. Thirdly, there is a growing conviction among commentators that these pericopes did not come to Mark already connected with 2.15-28. See, Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:149-51; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1.131-32; Guelich, *Mark*, 83. Finally, the heavy emphasis upon the miracle element in both pericopes is quite foreign to the *chreia* tradition, and so excludes these stories from *chreia* analysis.

ancient rhetoric, and the place of the *chreia* within it, will be offered.

The analysis of the Markan pericopes will proceed in five stages. Firstly, where necessary, the limits of the unit as it came to Mark from the tradition will be established. This preliminary step will aim to establish the beginning and end of the pericope at the time just before it was committed to writing, in order that a proper *chreia* analysis may be made. Secondly, a redactional analysis will isolate from the pericope the probable additions made by Mark. This will be of special help in evaluating the understanding, or lack of it, which Mark had of the *chreia* form. Thirdly, the formal analysis will isolate the earliest form of the unit, and suggest the transmission history it underwent. Understanding of the possible permutations of the *chreia* form and its argumentative dimensions will be applied at this point. Fourthly, a full rhetorical analysis from the point of view of the *chreia* form will be offered, not only of the final form of the unit, but also of the various stages of its transmission history. The final stage will be an evaluative one, and will consider the extent to which the unit resembles a *chreia*, and how persuasive its argumentative strategies are. The general conclusion will bring together the conclusions reached from the analyses of the various pericopes, and situate those conclusions in relation to the various scholarly discussions which have been described and evaluated in this section.

SECTION TWO

CONTEMPORARY AND ANCIENT UNDERSTANDINGS
OF RHETORIC AND THE *CHREIA*.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this section is to study the function of ancient rhetoric in general, and the *chreia* in particular, in order to supply the information necessary for a reasoned judgement concerning the rhetorical influences upon the various Markan pericopes which will be examined in the next section. This will be done in three stages. The first chapter will outline contemporary understandings of rhetoric. The objectives of this chapter are, firstly, to describe briefly the three models of rhetorical analysis which are used nowadays in the analysis of biblical texts (these models may be defined approximately as reader-response, Greco-Roman, and postmodern); secondly, to evaluate how the models relate to ancient rhetoric; and thirdly, to situate the present study within those models. The second chapter will investigate rhetoric as understood by three of its most important theoreticians, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. The objectives here are, firstly, to introduce each of these individuals and their general approaches to rhetoric; secondly, to discuss their understanding of how a speech was created (*inventio*) by means of proofs; thirdly, to describe briefly their teaching regarding topics, genres, and *stasis* theory, all elements considered vital to a successful oration; and finally, to show how they suggested one should go about the actual composition (*dispositio*) of the speech. All this is necessary background information for a correct understanding of the *chreia* to be achieved. The third chapter will proceed to investigate that particular rhetorical form. The three objectives in this section are to describe the various definitions of the *chreia*, its classifications, and the various ways it could be elaborated. All of this information will serve as essential background for the rhetorical analyses which will follow in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR. THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION

1. Three Models of Rhetoric

After a period in the doldrums, rhetorical approaches to the biblical texts have re-emerged in the past twenty five years.¹ These approaches vary significantly, but may be classified broadly into three models. The first grew out of a dissatisfaction with the method and results of form criticism and focused upon the forms, the patterns, and the literary techniques of the final text.² This first type of rhetorical criticism may be viewed as a sub-set of literary criticism, specifically reader-response criticism, with a special interest in the discourse, rather than the story, of the text.³ In

¹ For a history of rhetorical analysis of biblical texts from the eighteenth to the early part of this century, see Roland Meynet, "Histoire de 'l'analyse rhétorique' en exégèse biblique," *Rhetorica* 8 (1990): 291-320; id., *L'Analyse Rhétorique. Une Nouvelle Méthode pour comprendre la Bible. Textes fondateurs et exposé systématique* (Les Éditions du Cerf: Paris, 1989), 25-173. For a survey of various biblical studies of a rhetorical nature through the 1960s and 1970s, see V. K. Robbins and J. H. Patton, "Rhetoric and Biblical Criticism," *QJS* 66 (1980): 327-50. For a general overview and evaluation of the contemporary situation from a postmodern perspective, see "Rhetorical Criticism," in *The Postmodern Bible. The Bible and Cultural Collective*, eds. George Aichele et al. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 149-86; D. L. Stamps, "Rhetorical Criticism and the Rhetoric of New Testament Criticism," *JLT* 6 (1992): 268-79. A bibliographical survey is given by Duane F. Watson and Alan J. Hauser, eds., *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible. A Comprehensive Bibliography with Notes on History and Method*, Biblical Interpretation Series 4 (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994), 101-25.

² This first type responded to the pleas of James Muilenburg to the Society of Biblical Literature, published as "Form Criticism and Beyond," *JBL* 88 (1969): 1-18. For a discussion and evaluations of the different ways in which rhetorical criticism is executed, see Walter Wuellner, "Where is Rhetorical Criticism Taking Us?" *CBQ* 49 (1987): 448-63; id., "Biblical Exegesis in the Light of the History and the Historicity of Rhetoric," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament*, 492-513; C. C. Black, "Rhetorical Questions: The New Testament, Classical Rhetoric, and Current Interpretation," *Dialog* 29 (1990): 62-70; id., "Rhetorical Criticism and the New Testament," *ExpTim* 100 (1989): 252-58; id., "Rhetorical Criticism and the New Testament," *PEGLMBS* 8 (1988): 77-92; J. Lambrecht, "Rhetorical Criticism and the New Testament," *Bij* 50 (1989): 239-53; J. Botha, "On the 'Reinvention' of Rhetoric," *Scriptura* 31 (1989): 14-31; B. Fiore, "Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism: NT Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, eds. D. N. Freedman et al. (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Auckland: Doubleday, 1992), 5:715-19.

³ This distinction is articulated most clearly by Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978). The distinction is between content (events, characters, settings)

Markan studies, examples of this model are the studies of J. Camery-Hoggatt, Johanna Dewey, and David Rhoads and Donald Michie.⁴ None of these scholars employs the canons of ancient rhetorical theory in their readings.

In contrast, the second major model is informed by the conventions of Greco-Roman rhetoric. This model is characterized by various methodologies, but the method outlined by George A. Kennedy has become a favourite of many scholars.⁵ He suggests five tasks which any rhetorical analysis should set itself. Firstly, the rhetorical unit should be identified. This is not necessarily identical with the literary unit, since the rhetorical unit is characterized by its specific rhetorical and persuasive, rather than strictly stylistic or literary, devices.⁶ Secondly, the rhetorical situation should be described, which in turn will enable the reader to identify the specific problem which the text aimed to address. It was this rhetorical situation, or context, which formed the constraints upon the author and audience

and form (how the story achieves certain effects). It is in this latter that the rhetorical analyst is especially interested.

⁴ J. Camery-Hoggatt, *Irony in Mark's Gospel: Text and Subtext*, SNTSMS 72 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Johanna Dewey, *Markan Public Debate: Literary Technique, Concentric Structure, and Theology in Mark 2:1-3:6*, SBLDS 48 (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1980); David Rhoads and Donald Michie, *Mark as Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982). All three differ in the specific methods they apply to the text. Camery-Hoggatt considers irony to be the master trope of the Gospel and reads the text in that light; Dewey employs a contemporary rhetorical method associated with the scholars of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome; Rhoads and Michie draw on various insights from contemporary literary theory, though the structure of their study reflects Chatman's distinction. All three studies are synchronic analyses of the text.

⁵ See, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1984), 33-38. Kennedy brings his extensive knowledge of ancient rhetoric to bear on the New Testament. See, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World: 300 B.C. - A.D. 300* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); *Greek Rhetoric Under Christian Emperors* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1983). Much of the content of these previous publications has been abridged and represented by Kennedy in, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

⁶ "For the rhetorical critic, such formal features are still crucial, but only as they serve the persuasion involved in the rhetorical situation. The persuasive intentionality has its own integrity and coherence and imposes its own textual restraints." Aichele et al., eds., "Rhetorical Criticism," 174.

concerning the specific rhetorical strategy to be employed.⁷ The term "rhetorical situation" was first coined by Lloyd Bitzer, and emphasizes the particularity of the text within a specific social context in contrast with the more generalized *Sitz im Leben* of the form critics.⁸ It is "the particular situation in which someone attempts to persuade someone else."⁹ Thirdly, the main question at issue (*stasis*) should be determined and the rhetorical genre identified. These will be discussed in some detail below. Like the identification of the rhetorical situation, the identification of these also help the reader understand the particularity of the text in question. The fourth step is to analyse the invention, arrangement, and style of the text. The tasks of invention and arrangement will be discussed in some detail below. The final step is to evaluate the effectiveness of the overall rhetorical strategy in persuading the particular audience. It would be quite wrong to view this approach as some kind of surreptitious literary reading, since scholars utilizing it aim at social description and historical reconstruction. Although they do not follow Kennedy's method slavishly, much of what he recommends may be seen in the studies of both Mack and Robbins.¹⁰

⁷ Wuellner notes: "By 'context' is meant more than historical context or literary tradition or genre or the generic *Sitz im Leben*. What is meant by context has recently been discussed in terms of various theories: e.g., the theory of intertextuality, or the notion of the argumentative or rhetorical situation. A text's context means for the rhetorical critic the "attitudinizing conventions, precepts that condition (both the writer's and the reader's) stance toward experience, knowledge, tradition, language, and other people." Context can also come close to being synonymous with what K. Burke and others call the "ideology" of, or in, literature." Walter Wuellner, "Rhetorical Criticism," 450. The citation is from T. O. Sloan, "Rhetoric: Rhetoric in Literature," *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed. [Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1975], 15: 802-3). Wuellner's article is a clear discussion of the agenda of the "new" rhetoric with its emphasis on context and argumentation: "The divided concerns are reunited in a new rhetoric which approaches all literature, including inspired or canonical biblical literature, as social discourse." "Rhetorical Criticism," 465.

⁸ "The Rhetorical Situation," *PR* 1 (1968): 1-14. For references to the consequent discussion, see Watson and Hauser, *Rhetorical Criticism*, 144-45.

⁹ Aichele et al., eds., "Rhetorical Criticism," 174.

¹⁰ In *Jesus The Teacher*, however, Robbins relies much more on the theories of Kenneth Burke, even though he claims to rediscover the rhetoric of Mark's Hellenistic readers. The study of B. H. M. G. M Standaert, *L'Évangile selon Marc. Composition et Genre Littéraire* (Zevenkerken & Brugge: Stichting Studentenpres Nijmegen, 1978), has characteristics both of the first model and the second. It was the first to apply the canons of Greco-Roman rhetoric

The third main model brings rhetorical criticism under the umbrella of postmodern readings. It becomes associated with that world-view which seeks to overcome the essentialist, metaphysical tradition of western philosophy and which, it claims, is characterized by binary opposition.¹¹ Put simply, the "new" rhetoric is part of the response to that critique of the western tradition which created a disjunction between language and reality (*res et verba*) and which defined truth as the *adequatus intellectus ad rem*.¹² Like the second approach, this postmodern rhetoric also claims to be rooted in ancient practice, although most often it also uses insights from contemporary understandings of rhetoric.¹³ Indeed, it sees itself as a rediscovery of rhetoric. Moreover, it considers all texts to be rhetorical. "[R]hetoric is inherent in all use of signs as forms and functions of discourse."¹⁴ This approach claims to have rediscovered five aspects of ancient rhetoric which were lost in later centuries. These are: that rhetoric is verbal expression; that the truth is something to be discovered or "invented"; that rhetoric is about the creation of meaning; that it is a factor in social discourse and societal formation; and that thinking is linked with the emotions.¹⁵ The postmodern twist given to the ancient understanding is that rhetorical critics must understand that their own discourse is deeply rhetorical and will reflect their own ideology and world view. Consequently, they must become deeply

to an analysis of the entire Gospel, but aimed only at synchronic analysis and not social reconstruction.

¹¹ Stanley E. Fish lists these oppositions which he claims have resulted in the negative view of rhetoric: "inner/outer, deep/surface, essential/peripheral, unmediated/mediated, clear/colored, necessary/contingent, straightforward/angled, abiding/fleeting, reason/passion, things/words, realities/illusions, fact/opinion, neutral/partisan." *Doing What Comes Naturally: Change, Rhetoric, and the Practice of Theory in Literary and Legal Studies* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1989), 474.

¹² See, Moore, *Literary Criticism*, 121.

¹³ See, David Cohen, "Classical rhetoric and modern theories of discourse," in *Persuasion. Greek Rhetoric in Action*, ed. Ian Worthington (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 69-82. Most influential in this rediscovery of rhetoric were C. Perelman and L. Olbrichts-Tyteca, *Traité de L'Argumentation. La Nouvelle Rhétorique*, 5th ed. (Bruxelles: Éditions de L'Université, 1988). Transl. J. Wilkinson and P. Weaver, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1969).

¹⁴ Aichele et al., eds., "Rhetorical Criticism," 158.

¹⁵ See, Aichele et al., eds., "Rhetorical Criticism," 159-61.

self-reflexive and self-critical.¹⁶ The act of criticism itself is no longer about demonstration, but about persuasion. This rhetorical advance upon a text no longer asks how true the text is, or how adequate an exposition of reality it gives, but rather seeks to discover its appropriateness, as it tries to persuade and convince its audience, and its power, as it moves its audience to action.

In brief, the first model of rhetorical criticism belongs to the reader-response sub-set of literary criticism. The second and third models both claim to rediscover an understanding of rhetoric as it was imagined from its very beginnings, most especially as persuasive discourse. This rediscovery attempts to overcome the restriction of rhetoric to stylistics often associated with the educational reforms of Peter Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée, 1515-72).¹⁷ These reforms had a formative effect on subsequent philosophical thought.¹⁸ With his emphasis upon logical analysis, and his desire to give each "art" a specific function, Ramus succeeded in finalizing the separation of rhetoric from dialectic, and

16 "A self-reflexive rhetorical criticism, then, must account at the very least for two sets of constraints involved in the act of reading: constraints posed by the text and those posed by the reader." Aichele et al., eds., "Rhetorical Criticism," 164. Stamps argues that "[w]hat makes the rhetorical critical perspective effective is that it requires the critic to identify the communication coordinates with which he or she is operating." "Rhetorical Criticism," 276.

17 According to this view, rhetoric is defined "as a less important, formal aspect of the use of language in (oral) human communication, not (necessarily) expressing truth; a practice which consists in essence of the use of stylistic figures with the purpose of evoking an emotional response in the audience." Botha, "Reinvention," 17.

18 "The privileging of analytics, demonstrative reasoning (*apodeixis*), reaches its high point in Descartes and is thereafter progressively institutionalized throughout our culture. The mainline history of modern philosophy passing through Spinoza (*philosophy more geometrico*) and Leibniz (*mathesis universalis*) and culminating in the twentieth century in Frege, Russell, the early Wittgenstein, and a whole host of lesser luminaries and diligent workers in the camp of logical empiricism/positivism is the altogether depressing history of the consolidation of the Platonic-metaphysical divorce between, as Cicero would say, *res* and *verba*, between thought (*sapere*) and language (*dicere*)...." G. B. Madison, "The New Philosophy of Rhetoric," *Texte. Revue du Critique et de Théorie Littéraire* (Toronto: Les Éditions Trintexte, 1989), 253-54. This article seeks to overcome the historical separation between rhetoric and philosophy by aligning rhetoric with hermeneutics in a postmodern environment, specifically in relationship with epistemology, ontology, ethics, and politics. Wuellner attributes the demise of rhetoric also to the rise of the use of vernacular languages and of print culture. See, "Biblical Exegesis," 496-97.

attributing to rhetoric only the function of stylistics. That separation has remained until recent times, and is still apparent in the pejorative references to rhetoric as bombast, exaggeration, and falsehood.¹⁹

2. Conclusions

This "rediscovery" of rhetoric in contemporary society is attributed, as has been noted, to the studies of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytecha, but is equally consequent upon the re-evaluations taking place in the philosophical, hermeneutical, and even scientific arenas.²⁰ In their different ways, each discipline is seeking to overcome the age-old dichotomy between rhetoric and philosophy by attempting to include language in the definition of reality and vice-versa. All argue that description of reality rarely, if at all, depends upon the logic of apodeictic reasoning, but rather upon an epistemology of the probable which seeks to persuade an audience of the reasonableness, not the proof, of any given position. The consequent acceptance of the argument depends no longer upon how well the language reflects external reality, but upon the audience's being persuaded by the reasonableness and aptness of the argument. It is the intersubjective and social nature of this agreement which, it is claimed, prevents the rise of subjectivism and relativism.²¹ Both the second and the third models agree upon this much.

This short exposition of the new understanding of rhetoric serves the important function of describing the (at times implicit) ideology

¹⁹ In the political arena, for instance, this pejorative use of the word is almost the only use it is given.

²⁰ See note 18 above. The developments in these arenas are discussed by Madison, "The New Philosophy of Rhetoric," 261-69.

²¹ The comments of Moore regarding Fish sum up well this point regarding subjectivism and relativism: "The shift in Fish from a method of reading in which the reader is constrained by objective features in the text to a theory of reading in which the reader is constrained only by his or her position in a community with shared interpretative premises focuses nicely two alternative ways of talking about readers and reading...." *Literary Criticism*, 112. Of course, not all postmodern rhetorical analysts agree with Fish concerning the status of the text or the idea of the interpretative community. Indeed, it is unclear whether postmodern readers have any common understanding of the status of the text.

which informs contemporary rhetorical approaches to the biblical text. In some cases, it becomes clear that certain authors involved in rhetorical readings of New Testament texts are unaware of this underlying ideology.²² In some instances, rhetorical analysis becomes simply another tool for a literary reading of texts. Once texts are viewed as acts of persuasion and argumentation, their radical contextualization comes into view and possibilities are opened up for discovering the codes and conventions which informed both original speaker/writer and audience.

A rhetorical approach to any given text must then be seen as a radically historical approach which resists identification with the concerns of New Criticism and its successors.²³ Texts are no longer seen as worlds in themselves but rather as productive moments created through the meeting of social experience and rhetorical imagination. They come into focus as the products of historical and culture-based individuals rather than anonymous creations of a collectivity. With its emphasis upon the social discourse between speaker/writer and audience within a given environment, rhetorical analysis goes beyond both redaction and composition criticism with their primary concern for establishing the *intentio auctoris*. Finally, as an approach which emphasizes the historical context of any speech act, rhetorical analysis differs radically from those literary approaches which would read texts as timeless artifacts and independent narrative worlds.

The present study aims to bring together and evaluate the insights of classical historical criticism with those of ancient rhetoric. Consequently, it focuses upon that second model which seeks to apply ancient rhetorical theory to the biblical texts, with the aim of social and historical reconstruction. Since that model claims so much

²² For instance, neither in their notes nor in their bibliographical lists do Watson and Hauser evidence the presence of a postmodern rhetoric. Care ought to be taken when using this bibliography since it is marked by a number of omissions.

²³ While it is true that a postmodern reading places great importance on the power of the text in each of its new contexts, it would be wrong to say that it is ahistorical. Rather, it stresses that every reading is always informed and shaped by the ideology of the reader, whether acknowledged or not. Consequently, it can be reflexive not only about its own readings but also about the readings of others. See, Wuellner, "Biblical Exegesis," 503-6.

importance for the use of the *chreia*, it is that rhetorical form which will be investigated in particular. The synchronic approach of the first, reader-reponse model will be taken seriously insofar as the text in its final form will be analysed. However, that analysis will evaluate the extent to which the final text resembles the *chreia* in its various forms, rather than apply any models of contemporary rhetoric. The appeal for self-criticism and self-reflexivity made by postmodern readers is noted. However, this study does not aim to give a post-modern reading. Indeed, it should be noted that Aichele and the other editors of *The Postmodern Bible*, while repeatedly appealing for self-reflexivity, neither at any time attempt to define exactly what this entails, nor reveal much self-reflexivity on their own part, nor succeed in digging in their own self-reflexivity into the interpretative process.

With the ideology of and in the contemporary texts of rhetorical critics clarified, we can now investigate the expositions of three of the great ancient rhetoricians, in order to evaluate the claim of the new rhetoric to be a rediscovery of the old.

CHAPTER FIVE. THE CLASSICAL THEORETICIANS, ARISTOTLE, CICERO AND QUINTILIAN¹

1. Introduction

Aristotle's *Ars Rhetorica* remains the classical expression of the definition, aims and techniques of rhetoric.² The first thing that must be said is that Aristotle is not dealing simply with surface techniques of speaking or clever tricks of persuasion. Aristotle's definition of rhetoric gives the lie to this: rhetoric is "the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever."³ Consequently, Aristotle sees the purpose of rhetoric not simply as persuasion at any cost.⁴ In fact, Aristotle is delving deeply below the verbal surface of language in order to grapple with language as such and how it becomes a vehicle for his interpretation of reality. In so doing, he is reflecting the earlier

¹ The other classical rhetorical treatises are: Anaximenes, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, in Aristotle, *Problems xxii-xxxviii*, trans. H. Rackham, LCL 317, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1957). Pseudo-Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. H. Caplan, LCL 403 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1954); Hermogenes, *Τέχνη Ῥητορικὴ* in *Hermogenis Opera*, ed. H. Rabe, *Rhetores Graeci VI* (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1913). A comprehensive survey of the classical treatises is given by Duane F. Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style. Rhetorical Criticism of Jude and 2 Peter* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1988), 9-28, and Mack, *Rhetoric*, 25-48. Various surveys of ancient rhetoric are listed by Watson and Hauser, *Rhetorical Criticism*, 130-32.

² The most accessible edition of Aristotle's work is: *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, trans. John Henry Freese, LCL 193 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1926). The most recent critical edition of the *Rhetoric* is: *Aristotelis Ars Rhetorica*, ed. and trans. R. Kassel (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976). See also, W. M. A. Grimaldi, *Aristotle, Rhetoric. A Commentary*, 2 vols. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1980, 1988); G. A. Kennedy, trans. *Aristotle, on Rhetoric: A Theory of Civil Discourse* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). All references and citations will be from Kassel's edition, but Freese's translation will be used if appropriate.

³ ἔστι δὲ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρησαὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν. *Rhetoric* 1355b26.

⁴ "He was aware of the fact that person speaks to person, to the "other" in whom resides the tension between self-possession and its possible loss which may be incurred in any decision made toward further growth in understanding. In this matter of "persuasion" Aristotle's thesis is simply that good rhetoric effectively places before the other person all the means necessary for such decision making. At this point the person must exercise his own freedom." W. M. A. Grimaldi, *Studies in the Philosophy of Aristotle's Rhetoric*, *Hermes. Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie* Heft 25 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), 5.

understanding of Isocrates that rhetoric is a ποιητικόν πρᾶγμα,⁵ a creative entity, something which transforms experience. Moreover, Aristotle is searching out all the possible means of persuasion which leads him to discover that rhetoric includes not just the mind but the emotions as well. It is the interplay between reason and emotion which offers the possible means of persuasion. As we shall see, it is the enthymeme which brings together this organic approach.⁶ In light of this, it comes as no surprise that the questions of style, arrangement, and expression are of a secondary nature to him, even though these remained necessary.⁷ His main task was to articulate the principles of discourse and only after that to talk of their application.

Cicero (106-43 BCE.) was influenced deeply by the teachings of Philon of Larissa, at that time head of the new Academy at Athens, and by Poseidonius and Molon of Rhodes.⁸ Thus exposed to Greek thought at first hand, he set himself the task of marrying the very best of Greek education to the Roman way of life, aware all the time of the Roman suspicion concerning the shallowness of Greek education and rhetoric.⁹ Consequently, at the very heart of his system lies the concept of *humanitas*, mirroring the Greek notion of παιδεία, and stressing the necessity of deep learning and ethical

⁵ *Against the Sophists* 12, in *Isocrates*, trans. G. Norlin, LCL 229 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1928-29). Grimaldi notes: "Rhetoric is the art which presents man with the structure for language, and, by way of structure, enables language to become an effective medium whereby man apprehends reality." *Aristotle's Rhetoric*, 8.

⁶ "The enthymeme brings together the logical and psychological reasons which convey meaning to an auditor, and thus Aristotle recognises that person speaks to person not only with the mind but with the emotions and feelings as well.... As his treatise reveals he perceived that at the center of discourse, as discourse is used when person speaks to person, is a use of the verbal medium in a manner which brings together reason and emotion." Grimaldi, *Aristotle's Rhetoric*, 17. The enthymeme will be discussed more fully below.

⁷ οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρη τὸ ἔχειν & δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα ὡς δεῖ εἰπεῖν, καὶ συμβάλλεται πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ φανῆναι ποιόν τινα τὸν λόγον. ("It is not sufficient to know what one ought to say, but one must also know how to say it, and this largely contributes to making the speech of a certain character.") *Rhetoric* 1403b15-18.

⁸ See, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Brutus*, ed. A. E. Douglas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 304-16.

⁹ See, *De Oratore*, 3.94, trans. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham, LCL 348 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1942). Also containing his *De Partitione Oratoria*, *De Fato*, and *Paradoxa Stoicorum*.

character. Some of his works are specifically written with the courtroom in mind and so reflect a rather narrow view of rhetoric. His youthful *De Inventione* (ca. 85BCE.) deals specifically with the technicalities of the courtroom and even the older Cicero was embarrassed by it.¹⁰ Cicero's treatment of the various issues, proofs, and refutations, and his division of the speech into six consecutive parts, echoes the contemporary *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. It is clearly an immature work. In his *Topica*, he takes a broader view as he analyses the general sources of arguments. Likewise the *De Partitione Oratoria* looks more generally at questions such as invention, arrangement and style, the divisions of a speech and the matter at issue.

However, it is the *De Oratore* (55BCE.) which presents Cicero's mature understanding of rhetoric, both philosophically and historically, and where he attempts to situate the art more fully within Roman public life. It anticipates Quintilian in that the centre stage is taken up neither by the audience nor by the speech but by the orator himself, whom he urges to be a man of great knowledge, skilled in all areas, and whose ideas provoke from the audience the decision required. It is in this mature work that Cicero denounces the separation of philosophy and rhetoric, which he describes as "the separation between tongue and brain."¹¹

The centrality of the person of the orator reaches its fruition in the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian (ca. 90CE.).¹² His twelve-volume work aims at articulating the principles of education as well as its content and procedures. The theory and practice of education are dealt with in the first, second and twelfth books, whilst the other

¹⁰ *De Inventione*, *De optimo Genere Oratorum*, and *Topica*, trans. H. M. Hubbell, LCL 386 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1949).

¹¹ *De Oratore* 3.61. *Brutus* and *Orator*, both published in 46BCE., are polemical works, the first offering a history of Roman Oratory, culminating in the work of Cicero himself, and the second being an attack on the "Atticists" who encouraged a return to a purely logical exposition.

¹² The most recent critical edition and vernacular translation is: Jean Cousin, *Quintilien. Institution Oratoire. Texte et Traduction*, 7 vols. (Paris: Société d'édition "LES BELLES LETTRES", 1975). Reference and citation will be from Butler's edition, but informed by Cousin's text and commentary.

nine books deal with the technical aspects of rhetoric.¹³ For Quintilian, rhetoric is quite simply the *ars ... bene dicendi* and the aim of a rhetorical education is, in the words which he attributes to Cato, the production of the *vir bonus dicendi peritus*.¹⁴ Training in rhetoric is thus concerned not only with the acquisition of the techniques and knowledge of the accomplished orator but also with the formation of the virtuous man.¹⁵ To achieve true virtue, the orator will be someone of wide education skilled in philosophy, ethics and politics, but whose technical skill will depend on his sure knowledge of the various parts of rhetoric.¹⁶ Although Quintilian does discuss the audience and how to build up an argument, he nevertheless emphasises that it is the character of the orator which is at the very heart of oratory and which achieves its ends.¹⁷ Quintilian follows directly in the line of Cicero, whom he considered the master.

All three classic writers on rhetoric emphasize the ethical demands made on the orator. In this, they continue the best of the sophistic tradition, especially as spelled out by Isocrates: "I take more

¹³ Book 1 deals with the topics of elementary education and the beginnings of grammar; Book 2 turns to rhetoric; the final book is a summary of the various arguments presented and looks at oratory as practised by the professional.

¹⁴ 2.17.37; see, 12.1.1. Also, it is *bene dicendi scientia*. (2.17.5). *Neque enim tantum id dico, eum, qui sit orator, virum bonum esse oportere, sed ne futurum quidem oratorem nisi virum bonum.* ("For I do not merely assert that the ideal orator should be a good man, but I affirm that no man can be an orator unless he is a good man.") 12.1.3.

¹⁵ "Das dem Redner zugeteilte Adjektiv *bonus* wird wegen der Parallelität der *virtus* im *artifex* und im *opus* auf das *opus* (Quint. 2, 14, 5 *opus quod efficitur ab artifice, id est bona oratio*; Quint. 2, 17, 37 *ars bene dicendi*) übertragen: mit *bene* sind deshalb nicht nur die eigentlich technischen *virtutes* der Rede, sondern auch die *mores oratoris* (Quint. 2, 15, 34) gemeint. Diese technisch-moralische Doppeldeutung des *bene* ist nur der Verteidigung der Rhetorik gegen die Philosophie zu verstehen." H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990), §32. For other modern surveys of ancient rhetoric, see Watson and Hauser, *Rhetorical Criticism*, 130-32.

¹⁶ *[N]ec moribus modo perfectus ... sed etiam scientia et omni facultate dicendi, qualis fortasse nemo adhuc fuerit.* ("It is not sufficient that he should be blameless in point of character;... he must also be a thorough master of science and the art of speaking, to an extent that perhaps no orator has yet attained.") I.Pr.18. See, 1.10.4.

¹⁷ *[I]dque cum omnibus confitendum est, tum nobis praecipue, qui rationem dicendi a bono viro non separamus.* ("The truth of this must be acknowledged by everyone, but most especially by us since we concede the possession of oratory to none save the good man.") 2.17.43.

pleasure in those of my disciples who are distinguished for the character of their lives and deeds than in those who are reputed to be able speakers."¹⁸ Not only must he be *au fait* with all the techniques and rules of oratory, but he must be a good man. For Aristotle, it is the moral purpose of the orator which distinguishes him from the charlatans, who may be well trained in the discipline.¹⁹ As Cicero and Quintilian move to place greater emphasis upon the person of the orator, they show that they understand rhetoric not as a morally neutral but as essentially an ethical activity. Through his goodness and good-will, the orator aims to create a situation of genuine dialogue with the purpose of producing a lasting consensus.²⁰ He is, in other words, involved in social discourse.

2. Creating the Speech (*Inventio*)²¹

Access to truth and reality in the rhetorical tradition is achieved by persuasion, "perceptions agreeing and co-operating to the achievement of some useful end." At the core of the act of persuasion are the proofs which, according to Aristotle, are either artistic or non-artistic. The latter are those proofs already in existence such as witnesses, tortures, contracts etc.; in a word,

¹⁸ ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν πεπλησιακότων μοι φανεῖται ὅτι μᾶλλον χαίρων τοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ βίῃ καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν εὐδοκίμοισιν ἢ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ λόγου δεινοῖς εἶναι δοκοῦσιν.
Panathenaicus 87. In Vol. 2 of *Isocrates*.

¹⁹ *Rhetoric* 1355b17. Fish comments: "To the anticipated objection that rhetoric's potential for misuse is a reason for eschewing it, Aristotle replies that it is sometimes a necessary adjunct to the cause of truth, first, because if we leave the art to be cultivated by deceivers, they will lead truth-seekers astray, and, second, because, regrettable though it may be, "before some audiences not even the possession of the exactest knowledge will make it easy for what we say to produce conviction" and on those occasions "we must use, as our modes of persuasion and argument, notions possessed by everybody" *Rhetoric* 1355.27." *Doing What comes Naturally*, 479.

²⁰ "Good rhetoric aims at good results, at producing a consensus, an understanding or agreement, which will be as general and lasting as possible. And this itself is possible only if the rhetor operates with good will and with respect for the opinions of his interlocutor or audience, only if, that is, he commits himself wholeheartedly to the give-and-take of genuine dialogue (risking his own beliefs in the process), for only in this way will the agreement reached be a genuine and mutual one (based on mutual recognition, *Anerkennung*), one which will rest on the force of conviction and will thus tend to be genuine and lasting." Madison, "The New Philosophy of Rhetoric," 271.

²¹ See, Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 67-72; Lausberg, *Handbuch*, §348-426.

evidence. The former are created or "invented" by the speaker.²² The artistic proofs come in three forms, the ethical, the pathetic and the rational, the first demonstrating the trustworthiness of the speaker, the second aiming at putting the audience into a certain frame of mind, and the last concentrating on the probative aspect of the speech itself.²³ From an ethical point of view, Aristotle encourages every speaker to foster the qualities of good sense, virtue, and goodwill which will persuade the audience that he is well-disposed to them.²⁴ Equally, the speaker must be knowledgeable of the emotions of people if he is to be successful in the pathos of his argument, and Aristotle discusses these at length.²⁵

Each of these three forms uses one of two modes of argumentation, the first deductive, the rhetorical syllogism (ἐνθύμημα), and the second inductive, the example, (παράδειγμα).²⁶ The *enthymeme* is a type of syllogism with one or more of its parts unexpressed. The purpose of the omission is to allow the audience to supply the missing part.²⁷ It is important to note that the *enthymeme* is not the

²² Τῶν δὲ πίστεων αἱ μὲν ἀτεχνοὶ εἰσιν αἱ δ' ἔντεχνοι. ἀτεχνα δὲ λέγω ὅσα μὴ δι' ἡμῶν πεποιρίσται ἀλλὰ προὔπηρχεν, ὅσων μάρτυρες βῶσανοι συγγραφαὶ καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἔντεχνα δὲ ὅσα διὰ τῆς μεθόδου καὶ δι' ἡμῶν κατασκευασθῆναι δυνατόν. ὥστε δεῖ τοῦτων τοῖς μὲν χρῆσασθαι τὰ δὲ εὗρεῖν. ("As for proofs, some are inartificial, others artificial. By the former I understand all those which have not been furnished by ourselves but were already in existence, such as witnesses, tortures, contracts, and the like; by the latter, all that can be constructed by system and by our own efforts. Thus we have only to make use of the former, whereas we must invent the latter.") *Rhetoric* 1355b35-40. Lausberg comments: "Der Unterschied liegt darin, daß die *probationes inartificiales* zu ihrer Auffindung der rhetorischen Kunst nicht bedürfen, während die *probationes artificiales* erst durch die Anwendung der Rhetorik gefunden werden können." Lausberg, *Handbuch*, §350.

²³ Τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου ποριζομένων πιστευῶν τρία εἶδη ἐστὶν αἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ ἡθελί τοῦ λέγοντος, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν ἀκροατὴν διαθεῖναι πως, αἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ, διὰ τοῦ δεικνύναι ἢ φαίνεσθαι δεικνύναι. *Rhetoric* 1.1356a1-4. Lausberg comments: "Hiernach können *probationes* bewirkt werden 1) durch vertrauenswürdigen Charakter des Redners (>ethische< Beweise); 2) durch die Erregung von Leidenschaften im Hörer (>pathetische< Beweise); 3) durch die logische Folgerichtigkeit der Darlegung der Sache selbst (>sachliche< Beweise.)." *Handbuch*, §355.

²⁴ ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα φρόνησις καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ εὐνοία. *Rhetoric* 1378a8-9.

²⁵ *Rhetoric* 1378a31-1388b30. Having discussed the various emotions, he then proceeds to describe the different characters of people according to their age (1390a14-1391b7).

²⁶ *Rhetoric* 1354a20.

²⁷ εἰ γὰρ ἢ τι τοῦτων γνώριμον οὐδε δεῖ λέγειν. ("For if any of these propositions is a familiar fact, there is no need to mention it; the hearer adds it himself.") *Rhetoric* 1357a17-18. An example of an *enthymeme* would be: the man is ill,

equivalent of the rational form of argumentation, as some authors understand it, but rather is a mode of all three forms, the ethical and pathetic included.²⁸ When Aristotle calls the *enthymeme* the *σῶμα τῆς πίστews*, he indicates that it in some way contains and gives form to the proofs and so must be related to all three.²⁹ From this it becomes clear that rhetoric covers the area of the contingent, of things which can issue in two ways: "But we only deliberate about things which seem to admit of issuing in two ways; as for those things which cannot in the past, present, or the future be otherwise, no one deliberates about them, if he supposes that they are such; for nothing would be gained by it."³⁰ Consequently, since the materials from which *enthymemes* are drawn cannot be necessary, they will be probabilities and signs.³¹ The *enthymeme* may thus be more adequately defined as "a syllogism based on probabilities, signs, and examples, whose function is rhetorical persuasion. Its successful construction is accomplished through the joint efforts of speaker and audience, and this is its essential character."³²

for he has a fever. The syllogistic form of this would be: those who have a fever are ill; this man has a fever; therefore he is ill.

²⁸ For instance, both J. L. Kinneavy, *Greek Rhetorical Origins of Christian Faith* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 47-49, and Watson, *Invention*, 16-18, make this basic mistake. "[T]he premises of an *enthymeme* are not simply statements of probable fact but reflect values and attitudes as well. That is, *enthymemes*, viewed in their rhetorical context, function not just as *logos* but involve *ethos* and *pathos* as well." Thomas M. Conley, "The *Enthymeme* in Perspective," *QJS* 70 (1984): 169.

²⁹ *Rhetoric* 1354a15. This is the main point of Grimaldi's study. Towards the end he concludes: "The basic building blocks of the art are the audience, the speaker, subject-matter open to deliberation and judgment, and the source material both logical and psychological which will enable the audience under the informed direction of the speaker (or writer) to attain the truth as best it can be reached on an open problem. For Aristotle these structural elements of rhetorical discourse are subject to a methodology and it is, as has been seen, the methodology of discursive reasoning through induction and deduction. As far as the *Rhetoric* is concerned deduction by means of the *enthymeme* is the dominant method. In the light of this evidence it is extremely difficult to avoid the conclusion that the *enthymeme* cast in such a role is totally ineffective as method if it does not incorporate these essential structural elements. *Aristotle's Rhetoric*, 136. Similarly, J. H. McBurney, "The Place of the *Enthymeme* in Rhetorical Theory," *SM* 3 (1936): 62-65.

³⁰ Βουλευόμεθα δὲ περὶ τῶν φαινόμενων ἐνδέχεσθαι ἀμφοτέρως ἔχειν περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἄλλως ἢ γενέσθαι ἢ εἶσεσθαι ἢ ἔχειν οὐδεὶς βουλεύεται οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνων οὐδὲν γὰρ πλεον. *Rhetoric* 1357a4-7.

³¹ λέγεται γὰρ ἐνθυμήματα ἐξ εἰκότων καὶ σημείων. *Rhetoric* 1357a32-33.

³² Lloyd F. Bitzer, "Aristotle's *Enthymeme* Revisited," *QJS* 45 (1959): 408.

A probability is something which generally happens but may not necessarily (for instance, the love of a mother for her child).³³ The probability then enjoys a certain stability and permanency and so offers grounds for inference in any situation. Signs can be both necessary and unnecessary, or anonymous.³⁴ The difference between these types lies simply in the degree of knowledge they furnish. Necessary signs imply a necessary relationship with what they signify: "The necessary sign indicates a constant and unchanging relationship between sign and signate such that evidence for the sign guarantees the fact of the signate."³⁵ Aristotle offers examples of the fever of a man being a necessary sign that he is ill, and a woman having milk being the sign that she has given birth.³⁶ Necessary signs, therefore, offer sure and guaranteed knowledge.³⁷ The non-necessary sign, on the other hand, only indicates its signate with probability, though with a strong presence of probability since it is based in reality. It does, however, enjoy a stronger probative force than the probability. Aristotle gives the example of a man having fever because he is breathing hard. The *enthymeme* may be used both to demonstrate and refute, the first drawing conclusions from admitted premises, and the second drawing conclusions disputed by the adversary.³⁸

33 τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰκὸς ἔστι <τὸ> ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γινώμενον.... ("For that which is probable is that which generally happens....") *Rhetoric* 1357a34.

34 τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον τεκμήριον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνώνυμόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν διαφορὰν. ("Necessary signs are called *tekméria*; those which are not necessary have no distinguishing name.") *Rhetoric* 1357b3-5. Aristotle also talks of a third group which comes close to examples. McBurney suggests that probabilities should be considered *rationes essendi*, and signs *rationes cognoscendi*. A probability "does not attempt to prove the existence of a fact, but rather (assuming its existence) attempts to account for the fact." A sign, on the other hand, does not attempt to explain the cause, but rather how one deduces the conclusion. "The Enthymeme," 57-58.

35 Grimaldi, *Aristotle's Rhetoric*, 113.

36 *Rhetoric* 1357b14-16.

37 "Reliance on probabilities is one of the features of the enthymeme that makes it "rhetorical." At the same time, it should be recognized that enthymemes may employ certainties ("scientific" premises, infallible signs, etc., in Aristotle), expressed or not." Conley, "The Enthymeme in Perspective," 169.

38 ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν δεικτικὸν ἐνθύμημα τὸ ἐξ ὁμολογουμένων συνάγειν, τὸ δὲ ἐλεγκτικὸν τὸ τὰ ἀπομολογούμενα συνάγειν. ("The demonstrative enthymeme draws conclusions from admitted premises, the refutative draws conclusions disputed by the adversary.") *Rhetoric* 1396b25-28.

Maxims are employed in *enthymemes* either as premise or conclusion, but when the *why* and the *wherefore* are added the result is a true *enthymeme*.³⁹ Aristotle obviously sets great store by the use of maxims and consequently devotes an entire chapter to them.⁴⁰ They are of four types: if they have an epilogue, they are either imperfect *enthymemes* or *enthymemes* in character but not in form.⁴¹ If they do not have an epilogue, they are either very well known or absolutely clear as they are spoken. Maxims are of special use to the orator not only because of the vulgarity of the hearers who hear opinions with which they already agree, but also because they reveal the moral character of the orator.⁴²

Examples are the other mode of argumentation for Aristotle and comprise things which actually happened or are invented by the speaker. These latter are subdivided into comparisons and fables.⁴³ If possible, examples should be used in close co-operation with *enthymemes*, but if these latter do not exist then the example can be used by itself.⁴⁴

Quintilian deals at length with the question of proofs. His entire fifth book is devoted to the subject, the first seven chapters dealing with non-artistic proofs and the final seven with artistic proofs. It is in his treatment of artistic proofs that he shows a different understanding from that of Aristotle. For Quintilian, every artistic

³⁹ *Rhetoric* 1394a31-32.

⁴⁰ *Rhetoric* 1394a19-1395b19.

⁴¹ *Enthymemes* with a conclusion are so because they are either contrary to general opinion or they are a matter of dispute. *Rhetoric* 1394a26-30.

⁴² ὅστ' ἐν χρησταὶ ὄσιν αἱ γνώμαι, καὶ χρηστοῖσιν φαίνεσθαι ποιοῦσι τὸν λέγοντα. ("If then the maxims are good, they show the speaker also to be a man of good character.") *Rhetoric* 1395b16-17.

⁴³ παραδειγμάτων δ' εἶδη δύο ἐν μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ παραδείγματος εἶδος τὸ λέγειν πράγματα προγεγενημένα, ἐν δὲ τὸ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν τούτου δ' ἐν μὲν παραβολή ἐν δὲ λόγοι.... ("There are two kinds of examples; namely, one which consists in relating things that have happened, and another in inventing them oneself. The latter are subdivided into comparisons or fables....") *Rhetoric* 1393a27-30.

⁴⁴ δεῖ δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παραδείγμασιν οὐκ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐνθυμήματα ὥς ἀποδείξεσιν, ἡ γὰρ πίστις διὰ τούτων, ἔχοντα δὲ ὥς μαρτυρίαις, ἐπιλόγη χρῶμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν. ("If we have no *enthymemes*, we must employ examples as demonstrative proofs, for conviction is produced by these; but if we have them, examples must be used as evidence and as a kind of epilogue to the *enthymemes*.") *Rhetoric* 1394a9-12.

proof is made up either of signs, or arguments, or examples.⁴⁵ With Aristotle, he agrees that signs can be both necessary or unnecessary, but these unnecessary signs he equates with Aristotle's "probabilities" (εἰκότα).⁴⁶ This is the first difference. Arguments are constructed by means of the *enthymeme*, the *epicheireme* and the *apodeixis*, all three of which he considers to enjoy much the same meaning.⁴⁷ Whereas Aristotle considered signs and probabilities to be the materials from which *enthymemes* are drawn, Quintilian makes a neat distinction between them, though he does show an awareness of the problem this causes when, a little later, he

⁴⁵ *Omnis igitur probatio artificialis constat aut signis, aut argumentis aut exemplis* 5.9.1. It should be noted that Lausberg in his *Handbuch*, §355-372, follows Quintilian rather than Aristotle.

⁴⁶ 5.9.8-16. Note that in 5.9.3, Butler's translation is faulty. *Dividuntur autem in has duas primas species ...* should read, "The two prime species into which signs are divided ..." instead of "The two first species into which artificial proofs may be divided ..." The problem is that the subject is implicit, but it can only refer to the *signa* of 9.1-2, if sense is to be made of 9.3. Cousin correctly translates: "On divise les indices en ces deux classes..." *Quintilien*, 3:123. He further notes regarding Quintilian's treatment of signs: "Il y a erreur chez Quintilien qui paraît faire d'εἰκός un équivalent de σημεῖον. Aristote dit nettement que le vraisemblable (τὸ εἰκός) est ce qui se produit le plus souvent, non pas absolument..." *Quintilien*, 3:132.

⁴⁷ *Nunc de argumentis. Hoc enim nomine complectimur omnia, quae Graeci ἐνθυμήματα, ἐπιχειρήματα, ἀποδείξεις vocant, quamquam apud illos est aliqua horum nomina differentia, etiamsi vis eodem fere tendit.* ("I now turn to arguments, the name under which we comprise the ἐνθυμήματα, ἐπιχειρήματα, and ἀποδείξεις of the Greeks, terms which, in spite of their different names, have much the same meaning.") 5.10.1. He goes on to explain that the *enthymeme* is a proposition with a reason or an argument drawn from the denial of consequents or from the existence of incompatibles (5.10.1-3). See also 5.14.1-4. The *epicheireme* is much like a syllogism in its construction but differs from it in that its basis may simply be the probable rather than the unconditional (5.14.14). The *apodeixis* is "clear proof" (*evidens probatio* 5.10.7). Quintilian is not clear at all about his understanding of this. He simply lets other authors speak: according to Caecilius it is an incomplete *epicheireme* differing only in the type of conclusion reached; others say that it is part of the *epicheireme* which contains the proof (5.10.7). In chapter 14 of the fifth book he returns to the question of the *enthymeme* and *epicheireme* and explains them with reference to the syllogism. At first sight, this may seem to suggest that he is equating the syllogism with the previously mentioned *apodeixis*, and this is how Watson understands it. See, *Invention*, 17-19. Yet this cannot be the case since previously Quintilian has distinguished the two (5.10.7.) and also implies an equation of syllogism with both the *enthymeme* and the *epicheireme*: *Namque ego, ut in oratione syllogismo quidem aliquando uti nefas non duco, ita constare totam aut certe confertam esse aggressionum (viz. epicheiremes) et enthymematum stipatione minime velim.* 5.14.27 ("For although I consider that these are occasions when the orator may lawfully employ the syllogism, I am far from desiring him to make the whole speech consist of or even be crowded with a mass of *epicheiremes* and *enthymemes*.").

attempts to integrate the two (5.10.11-19). This is the second difference. His treatment of examples in chapter 11 makes the same neat distinction. Examples, which are defined by Quintilian as "the adducing of some past action real or assumed which may serve to persuade the audience of the truth of the point which we are trying to make," may be of various kinds.⁴⁸ In general, they can be adduced from what is like, unlike, or contrary. Though there may be complete correspondence between the example and the actuality, there is room for argument from the greater to the less and vice-versa. Concretely, historical parallels may be adduced and quotations from the poets and fables. Similes, too, which include analogy, are considered to be types of examples, as is argumentation from authority.⁴⁹ Unlike Cicero, Quintilian does not distinguish between comparison (*παραβολή*) and example since example involves comparison and comparison itself is a type of example.⁵⁰

For greater clarity, the understanding of the two authors is put below in diagrammatic form.⁵¹

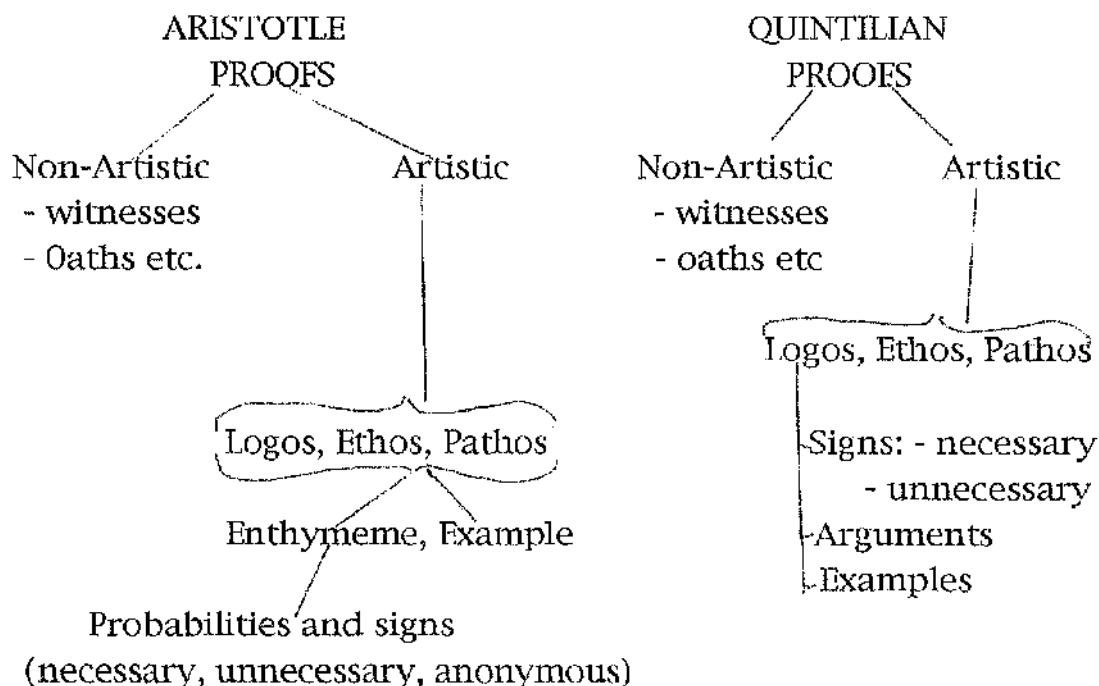
⁴⁸ [R]ei gestae aut ut gestae utilis ad persuadendum id quod intenderis commemoratio. 5.11.6.

⁴⁹ 5.11.5-44. Arguments from authority include the opinions of nations, peoples, philosophers, distinguished citizens, and poets. They also include common and anonymous sayings, popular beliefs and supernatural oracles. These are artistic rather than non-artistic arguments because their force depends on the wit of the orator. 5.11.44.

⁵⁰ 5.11.1-2. See, *De Inventione* 1.49.

⁵¹ A more complex diagramme is given by Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 69.

PROOFS IN THE THOUGHT OF ARISTOTLE AND QUINTILIAN.



As a consequence of this, Quintilian succeeds in creating a disjunction between *logos* on the one hand and *ethos* and *pathos* on the other. That he treats these latter two in a separate chapter is already a pointer to this. Whilst he recognises their persuasive powers, he recommends that they be used principally in the peroration of the speech.⁵² In this way, he is clearly under the influence of Cicero who understands *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos* as the three duties of the orator, namely to teach, to charm, and to move.⁵³ Furthermore, Quintilian tends to assimilate *ethos* and *pathos* one to another in that he understands the first to indicate the arousing of the gentler emotions and the second, the arousing of the more violent ones.⁵⁴ Aristotle's understanding of *ethos*, as revelatory of

⁵² 6.1.51.

⁵³ [D]ucatur oratio, ut et concilientur animi et doceantur et moveantur. *De Oratore* 2.121. Concomitantly with these three duties go three different styles: gentleness, acuteness, and energy. *De Oratore* 2.129. See, 2.178-190.

⁵⁴ *Adfectus igitur uel concitatos, uel mitos atque compositos esse dixerunt; in altero vehementer commotos, in altero lenes; denique hos imperare, illos persuadere; hos ad perturbationem, illos ad benevolentiam praevalere.*

the moral character of the speaker, however, is not entirely lost.⁵⁵ As noted above, Quintilian is influenced by Cicero's remarks concerning *ethos* and *pathos* which he in a like manner dislodges from its intimate association with *logos*. At the same time, Cicero can show signs of the more organic Aristotelian approach, as in his second book of *De Oratore* when he says: "Thus for purposes of persuasion the art of speaking relies wholly upon three things: the proof of our allegations, the winning of our hearers' favour, and the rousing of their feelings to whatever impulse our case may require."⁵⁶ Nonetheless the shift towards the person of the orator and emphasis upon him as the controlling influence is still apparent.

This brief exposition of the means of persuasion in ancient rhetorical theory already suggests that rhetoric was conceived and executed in various ways. Care must be taken not to reconstruct one model of rhetoric which would claim, reductively, to describe how ancient rhetoric actually functioned.

3. The Topics, Rhetorical Genres, and *Stasis* Theory

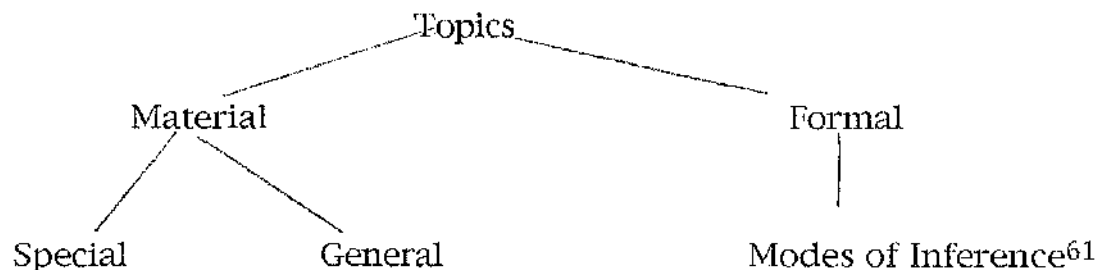
("They therefore explain *pathos* as describing the more violent emotions and *ethos* as designating those which are calm and gentle; in the one case, the former command and disturb, the latter persuade and induce a feeling of goodwill.") 6.2.9.

⁵⁵ *"Ethos, quod intelligimus quodque a dicentibus desideramus, id erit, quod ante omnia bonitate commendabitur, ut fluere omnia ex natura rerum hominumque videantur utque mores dicentis ex oratione perluceant et quodammodo agnoscantur.* (The *ethos* which I have in mind and which I desire in an orator is commended to our approval by goodness more than ought else ... so that everything flows from the nature of the facts and persons concerned and in the revelation of the character of the orator in such a way that all may recognise it.") 6.2.13.

⁵⁶ *Ita omnis ratio dicendi tribus ad persuadendum rebus est nixa: ut probemus vera esse, quae defendimus; ut conciliemus eos nobis, qui audiunt; ut animos eorum, ad quemcumque causa postulabit motum, vocemus.* *De Oratore* 2.115. Regarding the differences between Aristotle and Cicero, Jakob Wisse comments: "Aristotle is more interested in theoretical problems and psychological questions and sometimes admits a gap between theory and application. Cicero, though aiming at a more abstract and philosophical basis for oratory than handbook theory had to offer, and though certainly not consistent, is sometimes loose on the conceptual level, but never loses sight of oratorical practice." *Ethos and Pathos from Aristotle to Cicero* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1989), 249.

For Aristotle, *enthymemes* quarry their materials from the topics (τόποι) which are either particular or general.⁵⁷ The particular topics (εἰδη or ἰδία) furnish as much information about the subject matter as possible.⁵⁸ The general topics (κοινὸι τόποι), on the other hand, offer the forms and principles which will allow inferential reasoning to occur, based on the information supplied by the particular topics. Aristotle can thus maintain that general topics are universal and can be used in any field of knowledge, whereas the particular topics are limited to the area of investigation.⁵⁹ This distinction reveals that Aristotle is interested not in drawing up lists of headings for the orator, but rather in discovering basic method for discussion. Consequently, it is clear that his doctrine of topics is interested not simply in sources of information but also in how to use that information.⁶⁰

In the twenty-third chapter of his second book, Aristotle talks of forms of reasoning or modes of inference which are universal and which reflect three different types of inferential pattern, the antecedent-consequent, the more-or-less, or some sort of relation. All three can be summed up in the idea of "if one, then the other." His doctrine of topics, then, may be outlined in the following way:



⁵⁷ καθάπερ οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς, καὶ ἐνταῦθα διαιρετέον τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων τὰ τε εἶδη καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐξ ὧν ληπτέον. ("As then we have done in the *Topics*, so here we must distinguish the specific and universal topics, from which enthymemes may be constructed.") *Rhetoric* 1358a29-30. See, 1358a36-1358b2.

⁵⁸ See, for instance, a good example of this use of particular topics given by Aristotle himself in *Rhetoric* 1396a3-23.

⁵⁹ *Rhetoric* 1358a10-35.

⁶⁰ In this way, the general topics show in a special way that rhetoric is concerned with discovering what is persuasive in any subject: Ἔστω δὴ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἑκάστου τοῦ θεωρήσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν. *Rhetoric* 1355b26-27.

⁶¹ "In summary, then, we may say that whereas the speaker goes to the special or general topics for his premises, he may call upon these "lines of argument" for his mode of reasoning. The premises and the line of argument

Cicero, and Quintilian after him, limit the doctrine of topics to content, portraying them in a rather mechanical fashion as ways to develop a theme.⁶² The formal aspect of them as modes of inference disappears into the background. Quintilian's own definition of topic betrays this emphasis on content.⁶³ Other rhetoricians draw up lists of what they call the *τελικά κεφάλια*, the "final" topics.⁶⁴ These are lists of values which were considered useful to introduce into rhetorical debate in order for the case to be proved: the lawful, the right, the advantageous, the possible, the honourable, and so on.⁶⁵

Aristotle goes on to define the three different types of rhetoric, which he names deliberative, forensic and epideictic.⁶⁶ Each of these

selected will together constitute an enthymeme." McBurney, "The Enthymeme," 62. On page 60 he gives an outline similar to the one given above. A similar position is taken by D. J. Ochs, "Aristotle's Concept of Formal Topics," *SM* 36 (1969): 419-25; repr., K. V. Erikson, ed., *Aristotle: The Classical Heritage of Rhetoric* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1974), 194-204.

⁶² "Latin rhetorical theorists, strongly influenced by certain Hellenistic sources, depart from the Aristotelian concept of topics as inferential strategies. Instead, they base the topics of argument on a conception of the generic subject of rhetorical discourse.... The elements of this system are said to constitute a universal, raw material for rhetorical arrangement, and they consist of the attributes of the person and the act." M. C. Leff, "The Topics of Argumentative Invention in Latin Rhetorical Theory from Cicero to Boethius," *Rhetorica* 1 (1983): 26-27.

⁶³ [*Sfedes argumentorum, in quibus latent, ex quibus sunt petenda*. ("The places where arguments are hidden, but from which they are to be sought out.") 5.10.20. He maintains that all arguments are drawn either from persons or things (5.10.23) and discusses them in some detail (5.10.23-52). Although he does talk of argumentation from division (5.10.53-72), from similarity (5.10.73-79), from causes (5.10.80-86), from comparatives (5.10.87-94), and from supposition (5.10.95-99), he does not view them under their formal aspect in the way Aristotle does.

⁶⁴ The number of these vary from one author to another. See Lausberg, *Handbuch*, §375.

⁶⁵ For instance, Hermogenes in his *On Stases*, lists five: τὰ τελικά λεγόμενα κεφάλαια... τὸ νόμιμον, τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ συμφέρον, τὸ δυνατόν, τὸ ἔνδοξον.

⁶⁶ ὥστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔν εἴη τρία γένη τῶν λόγων τῶν ῥητορικῶν, συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν. *Rhetoric* 1358b6-8. Interest in rhetorical genres was reawakened by Edwin Black, *Rhetorical Criticism, A Study in Method* (New York: MacMillan, 1965). It was followed by a number of studies concerning the role of genre theory. Compare, for instance, the discussions of J. Harrel and W. A. Linkugel, "On Rhetorical Genre: An Organizing Perspective," *PR* 11 (1978): 262-81, and Thomas M. Conley, "Ancient Rhetoric and Modern Genre Criticism," *CQ* 27 (1979): 47-53. An overview of the discussion is given by W. R. Fisher, "Genre: Concepts and Applications in Rhetorical Criticism," *WJSC* 44 (1980): 288-99.

types enjoys its own characteristics.⁶⁷ Deliberative rhetoric looks to the future and thus seeks to exhort or dissuade and emphasises the expedient or the harmful (τὸ συμφέρον καὶ βλαβερὸν). Forensic rhetoric looks to the past and seeks to accuse or defend and thus is interested in the just or unjust (τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον). Finally, epideictic rhetoric is concerned with the present and aims to praise or blame, and so emphasises the honourable and the disgraceful (τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν). The relationship with the "final" topics, mentioned above, is clear. Moreover, certain modes of argumentation are favoured by each of the types of rhetoric: amplification is most suited to epideictic, example to deliberative and enthymeme to forensic.⁶⁸ Aristotle devotes most of the remainder of his first book discussing these types of rhetoric in detail.⁶⁹ Quintilian follows Aristotle in this threefold distinction and criticises Cicero and others for their abandonment of it.⁷⁰

The first systematic and detailed treatment of *stasis* was written by Hermagoras in the late second century BCE. It is generally accepted that he was bringing together in a systematic fashion many insights from earlier rhetoricians, including Aristotle.⁷¹ For Quintilian, *stasis*

⁶⁷ *Rhetoric* 1358a36-1359a10. At the same time, he recognizes that the three genres can intermingle. "While he insists that the ends (*telé*) of the respective *gené* differ from one another, he permits the use of any *telos* in any *genos* and the interchange among the *gené* of those times specified at 1358b13ff. as proper to each *genos* (See, e.g., 1362a15f., 1366a17-18)." Conley, "Genre Criticism," 47.

⁶⁸ *Rhetoric* 1368a26-37.

⁶⁹ Deliberative (1358a30-1366a22), Epideictic (1366a23-1368a37), Forensic (1368b1-1369b32).

⁷⁰ 3.4.2. The classification covers every type of discourse: *Aristoteles tres faciendo partes orationis, iudicialem, deliberativam, demonstrativam, paene et ipse oratori subiecit omnia: nihil enim non in haec cadit*. ("Aristotle himself also by his tripartite division of oratory into forensic, deliberative and demonstrative, practically brought everything into the orator's domain, since there is nothing that may not come up by one of these three kinds of rhetoric.") 2.21.23. See also, 3.4.15. Its strange that Quintilian makes this criticism of Cicero, since he does discuss the three genres in *De Inventione* 1.7, even though he pleads for an extension of them in *De Oratore* 2.44-46.

⁷¹ The most complete study of *stasis* theory is: Lucia Calboli Montefusco, *La dottrina degli "status" nella retorica greca e romana* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms-Weidmann, 1986). See also, O. A. L. Dieter, "Stasis," *SM* 17 (1950): 345-69; Ray Nadeau, "Some Aristotelian And Stoic Influences on the Theory of Stases," *SM* 26 (1959): 248-54; Wayne N. Thompson, "Stasis in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*," *QJS* 58 (1972): 134-41; Antoine Braet, "The Classical Doctrine of status and the Rhetorical Theory of Argumentation," *PR* 20 (1987): 79-83. Yameng Liu, however, argues that for Aristotle, *stasis* is little more than a

allows the orator and the audience to find out what the basic question at issue is, especially in a complex case, and how it must be addressed. The stasis is not the conflict itself but arises from it. An example given by Quintilian is that accusations and denials such as "You did it", "I did not do it" give rise to the question "Did he do it?"⁷² Stasis theory offers ways in which the essential question can be defined. There are four stases in rational questions. The first three are concerned with the act itself: fact and conjecture (whether something happened: *an fecerit*), definition (what exactly happened: *quid fecerit*), and quality (was what happened lawful: *an iure [recte] fecerit*).⁷³ The fourth, called *translatio*, makes use of procedural objections. Thus the *stasis* of conjecture denies that the person committed the act, the *stasis* of definition admits the fact but denies the way it has been defined, the *stasis* of quality admits the facts but denies any wrong in them, and the *stasis* of translation makes a point of procedure. Legal questions concern the letter and intention of the law, contradictory laws, syllogism, ambiguity and competence.⁷⁴ Quintilian describes the stasis as "that point which

rhetoical technique to be employed occasionally in invention and arrangement, with basically *local* or *secondary* functions to perform, rather than the all important constituting element of rhetoric (Hermogenes) or the enabling "basis" for oratory (Quintilian)." "Aristotle and Stasis Theory: A Reexamination," *RSQ* 21 (1991): 55. None of Hermagoras' works remains extant, but his *stasis* theory has been reconstructed from many secondary sources.

⁷² 3.6.5

⁷³ 6.66-68. *Nam ut a defensore potissimum incipiam, longe fortissima tuendi se ratio est, si quod obicitur negari potest; proxima, si non id quod obicitur factum esse dicitur; tertia honestissima, qua recte factum defenditur. Quibus se deficiamus, ultima quidem sed iam sola superest salus aliquo iuris adiutorio elabendi a crimine, quod neque negari neque defendi potest, ut non videatur iure actio intendi.* ("For, to begin with the defendant, the strongest method of self-defence is, if possible, to deny the charge. The second best is when it is possible to reply that the particular act with which you are charged was never committed. The third and most honourable is to maintain that the act was justifiable. If none of these lines of defence are (*sic*) feasible, there remains the last and only hope of safety: if it is impossible either to deny the charge or justify the act, we must evade the charge with the aid of some point of law, making it appear that the action has been brought against us illegally.") 3.6.83.

⁷⁴ 3.6.66. Rational questions are concerned with reaching a judgement of a certain action on the grounds of the law; legal questions are concerned with the interpretation of a law in view of a certain action. "Zur Frage stehen damit sowohl die getane Handlung wie das Gesetz selbst: die richtige Zuordnung der beiden kann nur geschehen einerseits durch die am Gesetz orientierte Feststellung der Handlung, andererseits durch die an der Handlung orientierte Interpretation des Gesetzes." Lausberg, *Handbuch*, §141.

the orator sees to be the most important for him to make and on which the judge sees that he must fix all his attention."⁷⁵

4. Composing The Speech (*Dispositio*)⁷⁶

The identification of the *stasis* of the case is the first step the orator has to take in the creation of his speech. From that, he can decide which rhetorical genre would be most suitable and the topics and proofs which would be most persuasive. All these belongs to what is called the *inventio* of the speech. At this point, he is in a position to begin to arrange his proofs and speech in what is called the process of *dispositio*.⁷⁷ The importance of understanding the *dispositio* will become clear when the elaboration of the *chreia* is discussed.

The whole question of arrangement is broached by Aristotle in the closing chapters of his treatise.⁷⁸ Essentially, every speech requires only two parts, the statement of the case (*πρόθεσις*), and the proofs (*πίστεις*),⁷⁹ which resemble the division between problem and demonstration. Exordium (*προοίμιον*) and epilogue (*ἐπίλογος*), however, may be added, but add nothing essential to the argument pursued by the statement of the case and proofs.

The statement of the facts functions to go over the circumstances of the case, clarify the issue (*stasis*), and establish the proposition, either by means of a reason (*αἰτία*), or by use of a final topic. In epideictic speech, it is up to the talents of the orator to show that

⁷⁵ [A]tque inde erit status causae, quod et orator praecipue sibi obtinendum et iudex spectandum maxime intelligit. 3.6.9

⁷⁶ See, Lausberg, *Handbuch*, §443-52. The other steps in the production of the full speech are: *electio*, *memoria*, and, *pronuntiatio*. See, *Instit.* 3.3.1; *De Oratore* 2.79.

⁷⁷ Lausberg comments: "Die vier *status generales* sind zusammen mit den drei aristotelischen *genera causarum* sowie den Vertretbarkeitsgraden die Voraussetzung für die weitere Entwicklung der einzelnen *causae*. Der Redner muß also zuerst ... feststellen, ob die *causa* einen *status* bildet (*an consistat*), dann muß er den *status generalis* und das aristotelische *genus* der *causa* und den Vertretbarkeitsgrad seiner eigenen Partei feststellen.... Die *intellectio* ist die Voraussetzung für die *inventio* (besonders für die *inventio argumentorum*) und die *dispositio*. Hierbei besteht zwischen *status*, *inventio* und *dispositio* ein bruchloser Übergang." *Handbuch*, §97.

⁷⁸ *Rhetoric* 1414a30-1420b.

⁷⁹ Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ λόγου δύο μέρη ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ τό τε πρῶτον εἰπεῖν περὶ οὗ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀποδείξαι. *Rhetoric* 1414a30-31.

the actions did take place, or that they were of a certain kind or importance, or all three together.⁸⁰ This narration will reveal not only the character of the subject but also of the orator,⁸¹ and its simplicity will help the audience in remembering. This ethical argument should also be present within forensic speech, though the narrative need not be so long in this case in order to avoid wasting time on things which are agreed by all. *Pathos* also is important at this stage, so that pity and indignation are aroused regarding the orator and the adversary.⁸² In deliberative oratory, narrative is rare since it looks to the future. However, past facts may be alluded to so that the hearers will take better counsel for the future.

Proofs (πίστεις) in forensic speech refer either to the fact, the harm done, the degree of harm and the justification,⁸³ and tend to favour the *enthymeme* as the means of proof. In epideictic speeches, on the other hand, the main thrust will be to establish what is honourable or useful and so the facts should be taken on trust. The principal means of argumentation here will be amplification.⁸⁴ Deliberative speech focuses upon the unjust, the inexpedient or the important and favours examples as its principle means of proof.

By the time of Quintilian and Cicero there was great debate regarding just how many parts arrangement had.⁸⁵ There were those who followed Aristotle closely and suggested a four part scheme: *exordium* (προοίμιον), *narratio* (πρόθεσις), *probatio* (πίστις),

⁸⁰ *Rhetoric* 1416b16-21.

⁸¹ παραδιηγέσθαι δὲ ὅσα εἰς τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν φέρει.... ("And you should incidentally narrate anything that tends to show your own virtue....") *Rhetoric* 1417a2-3.

⁸² Ἐτι ἐκ τῶν παθητικῶν λέγε, διηγούμενος καὶ τὰ ἐπόμενα καὶ ᾧ ἴσασι, καὶ τὰ ἰδίᾳ ἢ ἑαυτῷ ἢ ἐκείνῳ προσόντα.... ("Further, the narrative should draw upon what is emotional by the introduction of such of its accompaniments as are well known, and of what is specially characteristic of either yourself or of the adversary....") *Rhetoric* 1417a36-38.

⁸³ *Rhetoric* 1416b16-24.

⁸⁴ Aristotle discusses amplification (αὔξησις) in 1403a17-34 and defines it as τὸ δ' αὔξειν καὶ μειοῦν ἐστὶν ἐθυμήματα πρὸς τὸ δεῖξαι ὅτι μέγα ἢ μικρόν.... ("enthymemes which serve to show that a thing is great or small....") *Rhetoric* 1403a20-21. Quintilian deals at length with the subject in 8.4, and mentions such examples as the use of strong words (1-3), augmentation (3-9), comparison (9-14), reasoning (15-26), accumulation (26-27).

⁸⁵ Quintilian offers an overview of the debate in 3.9.1-5. It is in forensic speech that one sees the fullest structure to arrangement.

peroratio (ἐπιλογος). A five part scheme was created when the *refutatio* was placed after the proof, and a six part scheme when the *partitio* (division) was placed between the statement of facts and the proof. Aristotle, however, was against anything more than a four-fold division, since anything else could be subsumed under one of these headings.⁸⁶

5. Summary and Conclusions

From this brief outline of the process of *inventio* and *dispositio* as understood by these ancient writings on rhetoric, it is quite clear that rhetoric was never understood in the beginnings, solely or principally, as ornamentation or stylistics. Rhetoric was essentially a practical art, aimed at producing action (πρᾶξις) based on persuasion (πίστις) and judgement (κρίσις). This judgement was arrived at not simply through the intellect, but also through the appetite which included the emotions (πάθη) and the stable dispositions of character (ἥθος).

This act of persuasion which appealed to the whole person necessarily took place within a specific context; rhetoric, unlike philosophy, was not dealing with timeless truths, but with concrete individuals in concrete situations. Consequently, rhetoric was seeking not the demonstration of absolutes, but was arguing the case for certain ways forward in an environment which was socially and culturally contingent. Its mode of argumentation was based upon an epistemology of the probable which recognized that various decisions could be made in regard to the evidence available. This conventional way of arguing, which used the codes and customs of the audience rather than first principles, was therefore social discourse.

The modern rehabilitation of rhetoric, with its emphasis on argumentation and context, faithfully reflects the concerns of the classical theoreticians. Most especially, their attention to the process of *inventio* reveals the orator/author to be in constant dialogue with the audience insofar as he attempts to find all the means of

⁸⁶ *Rhetoric* 1414a36-1414b18.

persuasion possible. Identification of the *stasis* and rhetorical genre, as well as awareness of the proofs chosen, allows the contemporary reader some insight into the world of the original audience.

It is clear from Aristotle that the process of *inventio* is the crucial part to any successful speech, for it is there that the orator will find himself in dialogue with the beliefs, codes, and conventions of his audience. It is the successful choice and use of these that makes the speech persuasive. Aristotle's emphasis upon the total argumentative situation (*logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*) reveals his conviction that rhetoric appeals to the whole person who has both reason and emotion. The disjunction created by Cicero and Quintilian, and the consequent confusion regarding Aristotle's understanding of the proofs, emerges from their desire to emphasize the *ethos* of the orator and so defend rhetoric from its critics. It becomes clear that even among the great rhetoricians we see a rhetoric about rhetoric, a rhetoric, in other words, which is context bound and in dialogue with others. It becomes clear that there was no timeless understanding of rhetoric which was separated from the environment in which it took place.

CHAPTER SIX. THE *CHREIA*

1. Introduction

This chapter has the three objectives of investigating the various definitions of the *chreia*, of describing the ways it was classified, and of outlining how it could be expanded by means of elaboration. By way of introduction, I shall discuss briefly the various *Progymnasmata* which have survived from antiquity. In the conclusion, I shall argue that the simple *chreia* form was known and used in the Hellenistic world at the time of the formation of the Gospel materials, though there may have been a lack of conceptual clarity regarding its precise difference from other forms. There is less certainty regarding how well-known the systems of classification and elaboration were. Nonetheless, I suggest that it is valid to use these systems in a heuristic way in order to discover the extent to which the Gospel materials reflect their understanding.

2. The *Progymnasmata*¹

The rhetorical works of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian had the aim of bringing together in a systematic way the best of rhetorical praxis available. These theoretical treatises were the result of the reflection of the authors upon their experience and practice. As such, their prospective readership would have been individuals already well trained in the art of rhetoric, either at a teaching or a practical level. The treatises were not aimed at the young man who was in the process of being trained. For him, there were available other, more simple, handbooks which laid out the elementary steps in building up a rhetorical argument. These were the προγυμνάσματα. Fortunately, there are still extant copies of these handbooks which

¹ For the literature on the *chreia* and how it is applied in Gospel studies, see Watson and Hauser, *Rhetorical Criticism*, 158-60. For a discussion of the *Progymnasmata* and their role in education, see S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Plato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1977), 165-276, and H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'Éducation dans l'Antiquité*, 7ième édition (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977), trans. G. Lamb, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956; Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1982), 277-327.

date from late antiquity.² The earliest comes from the hand of Aelius Theon of Alexandria, the dating of which was discussed in chapter three.³ Hard on the heels of this came a work by Hermogenes of Tarsus in the second century.⁴ The next extant work, which would become the standard textbook in the Byzantine tradition, comes from the late fourth century and was written by Aphthonius of Antioch.⁵ Finally, from the fifth century, there is the *προγυμνάσματα* of Nicolaus of Myra.⁶ We know that other handbooks were published in these early centuries, but they have not survived.⁷ Most likely, this was due to the pre-eminence which the work of Aphthonius came to enjoy in the Byzantine tradition.

From the time of Aphthonius, the content of these textbooks became virtually standard. The fourteen preliminary exercises are: 1. the fable, 2. the narrative, 3. the *chreia*, 4. the maxim, 5. the refutation, 6. the confirmation, 7. the commonplace, 8. the encomium, 9. the censure, 10. the comparison, 11. the characterisation, 12. the description, 13. the thesis, 14. the introduction of a law. Comparison with Theon, however, shows that at an earlier time, this standardization did not exist, since there are differences in order, content, and terminology.⁸ The content of the individual chapters is,

² These will be found in, *Rhetores Graeci ex Recognitione Leonardi Spengel*, ed. Leonard von Spengel, 3 vols. (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1854; repr. Frankfurt: Minerva, 1966) and *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Christian Walz, 9 vols. (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1832-36; Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1968). The *chreia* discussions in these handbooks have been gathered together by Hock and O'Neil, *The Progymnasmata*. For the sake of simplicity, as I have indicated previously, all citations from the *chreia* chapter in *The Progymnasmata* will use the numbering system of this volume.

³ The most recent critical edition available is James R. Butts, "The *Progymnasmata* of Theon: A New Text with Translation and Commentary," (Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1987). It is this translation which Hock uses in *The Progymnasmata*. For further literature regarding the *Progymnasmata*, see Hock and O'Neil, *The Progymnasmata*, 51 n. 47.

⁴ The most recent critical edition available is: *Hermogenis Opera*, ed. Hugo Rabe, vol. VI of *Rhetores Graeci*. An English translation is given by Charles S. Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 23-38.

⁵ The most recent critical edition is: *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, ed. Hugo Rabe, vol. X of *Rhetores Graeci*. An English Translation is given by Ray Nadeau, "The Progymnasmata of Aphthonius," *SM* 19 (1952): 264-85.

⁶ The most recent critical edition is: *Nicolai Progymnasmata*, ed. J. Felten, vol. XI of *Rhetores Graeci* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913).

⁷ See the evidence given by Hock, *The Progymnasmata*, 11.

⁸ See, W. Stegemann, "Theon," in *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, eds. A. Pauly & G. Wissowa (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche

nonetheless, broadly similar--after the definition is offered, there follows the classification of the exercise into various types and subtypes. The function of these exercises was pre-eminently rhetorical in that they trained the young men in the necessary preliminaries for public speech. Having been trained in the study of language and the poets, but not yet ready for rhetoric, these young men were offered, through the study of the προγυμνάσματα, the tools for that profession.

For Theon, the *chreia* was the very first exercise to which the student was introduced. This was particularly apt from a rhetorical point of view, since every *chreia* grew from a specific situation, related to a particular case and was built around a particular individual. It was, in other words, a mini-speech. The rhetorical function governed the entire pedagogical strategy, from the teaching of the simplest maxim up to the construction of an entire speech.⁹

3. The Definition of the *Chreia*

The *chreia* is defined in very similar ways in the ancient handbooks. For Theon, it is "a concise statement or action which is attributed with aptness to some specified character or to something analogous to a character."¹⁰ For Hermogenes it is "a reminiscence of some saying or action or a combination of both which has a concise resolution, generally for the purpose of something useful."¹¹ Aphthonius defines it more succinctly, thus: "A *chreia* is a concise reminiscence aptly attributed to some character. Since it is useful, it

Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934), Vol. 5A, 2037-54. He suggests (2040-2042) that a later editor has attempted to conform Theon to Aphthonius.

⁹ Mack comments: "This pedagogy is crucial for understanding the treatment of the *chreia* in this curriculum. Rhetorical purpose governed every exercise, even the more simple ones such as learning to paraphrase and amplify the stock anecdote: students were to learn the means by which speech was effective and persuasive." "Elaboration of the *Chreia* in the Hellenistic School," in Mack and Robbins, *Patterns of Persuasion*, 35.

¹⁰ Χρεία ἐστὶ σύντομος ἀπόφασις ἢ πράξις μετ' εὐστοχίας ἀναφερομένη εἰς τι ὀρισμένον πρόσωπον ἢ ἀναλογοῦν προσώπῳ. Theon 2-4.

¹¹ Χρεία ἐστὶν ἀπομνημόνευμα λόγου τινὸς ἢ πράξεως ἢ συναμφοτέρου σύντομον ἔχον δῆλωσιν ὡς ἐπὶ το πλεῖστον χρησίμου τίνος ἕνεκα. Hermogenes 2-4.

is called *chreia*."¹² Finally, for Nicolaus a *chreia* is "a saying or action which is apt and concise, attributed to some specified character and employed for the purpose of correcting some aspect of life."¹³

Four characteristics of the *chreia* clearly emerge from these definitions. Firstly, it contains either a saying or an action or, as Hermogenes adds, a combination of both.¹⁴ Theon offers examples of each of these.

A saying: "Isocrates the sophist used to say that gifted students are children of gods."¹⁵ An action: "Diogenes the Cynic philosopher, on seeing the boy who was a gourmand, struck the paedagogus with his staff."¹⁶ A combination of both: "A Laconian, when someone asked him where the Lacedaemonians consider the boundaries of their land to be, showed his spear."¹⁷

Secondly, the *chreia* is characterised by conciseness. Generally, this means that it is composed of one sentence, though it can be longer and more complex. Thirdly, a certain aptness should belong to the *chreia*. The μετ' εὐστοχίας of Theon is ambiguous from a syntactical point of view, since it can modify either ἀπόφασις ἢ πράξις or the participle ἀναφερομένη. In the first case it describes the quality of the attribution (its aptness to a character), whereas in the second case it refers to the quality of the action or saying (its appropriateness to a

¹² Χρεία ἐστὶν ἀπομνημόνευμα σύντομον εὐστόχως ἐπὶ τι πρόσωπον ἀναφέρουσα. Χρειώδης δὲ οὖσα προσαγορεύεται χρεία. Aphthonius 2-4.

¹³ Χρεία δὲ ἐστὶ λόγος ἢ πρᾶξις εὐστόχος καὶ σύντομος, εἰς τι πρόσωπον ὀριζομένην ἔχουσα τὴν ἀναφορὰν, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν τινος τῶν ἐν τῇ βίῃ παραλαμβανομένη. Nicolaus 45-48.

¹⁴ According to Theon, "Sayings-*chreia* are those which make their point in words without action," (λογικαὶ μὲν εἰσιν αἱ χωρὶς πράξεως διὰ λόγων ἔχουσα τὸ κύρος), Theon 31-32; "Action-*chreiai* are those which reveal some thought without speech," (πρακτικαὶ δὲ εἰσιν αἱ χωρὶς ἐμφαίνουσαι τινα νοῦν), 96-97; "Mixed *chreiai* are those which share characteristics of both the sayings-species and action-species but make their point with the action," (μύκται δὲ εἰσιν ὅσαι τοῦ μὲν λογικοῦ καὶ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ κοινωροῦσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πρακτικῇ τὸ κύρος ἔχουσιν), 105-7.

¹⁵ Ἰσοκράτης ὁ σοφιστὴς τοὺς εὐψυεῖς τῶν μαθητῶν θεῶν παῖδας ἔλεγεν εἶναι. Theon 39-40.

¹⁶ Διογένης ὁ Κυρικός φιλόσοφος ἰδὼν ὀψοφάγον παῖδα παιδαγωγὸν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ ἔπαισε. Theon 100-2.

¹⁷ Λάκων ἐρομένου τίνος αὐτὸν ποῦ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς γῆς ἔχουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἔδειξε τὸ δόρυ. Theon 111-13. Hermogenes, however, considers that a mixed *chreia* must contain both a saying and action in the response. See, Hermogenes 11-15.

situation).¹⁸ A usefulness for living is the final characteristic of the *chreia* and indeed this is, for Aphthonius, the etymological root of the word. Theon writes of Diogenes:

Diogenes the philosopher, on being asked by someone how he could become famous, responded: "By worrying about fame as little as possible."¹⁹

These formal aspects of the *chreia* are put into sharper relief through contrast with the maxim (γνώμη) and the reminiscence (ἀπομνημόνευμα). According to Theon, the maxim differs in four ways: it is never attributed to a character, it always makes a general statement, it always concerns usefulness and not just wittiness, it is always a saying. The reminiscence differs from the *chreia* in that it need not be concise, and that it is told of itself rather than attributed to characters.²⁰ Hermogenes is more brief, distinguishing the reminiscence simply by its length and omitting the concern for usefulness with which Theon characterises the maxim. He does note, however, that the *chreia* is sometimes composed of question and answer, whereas the maxim is not.²¹ For Nicolaus, the difference between the *chreia* and the reminiscence lies principally in the conciseness of the *chreia*.²² He is in agreement with Theon regarding the differences between the *chreia* and the maxim, but adds that the maxim "always teaches either the attainment of virtue or the avoidance of evil, while the *chreia* is also employed for the sake of wit alone."²³

¹⁸ According to Hock, both Theon and Aphthonius presume the first sense whilst Nicolaus presumes the second sense. *The Progymnasmata*, 25. See, Robbins, "The Chreia," 2 n. 5.

¹⁹ Διογένης ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος πῶς ἂν ἐνδοξὸς γένοιτο ἀπεκρίνατο, "ὅτι ἥκιστα δόξης φροντίζων. Theon 33-35. James R. Butts notes: "The majority of *chreiai* ... are used by the authors and teachers of the ancient world as repositories of social, cultural, and philosophical wisdom. It (*sic*) was a carrier of culture, in other words. "The Chreia in the Synoptic Gospels," *BTB* 16 (1986): 133.

²⁰ Theon 5-24. Robbins notes that "the attribution of a saying or act to a particular person displays aspects of life, thought, and action in a mode which integrates attitudes, values, and concepts with personal, social, and cultural realities." "The Chreia," 4.

²¹ Hermogenes 16-26.

²² Nicolaus 51-52.

²³ ἡ μὲν γνώμη πάντως ἢ αἴρεσιν ἀγαθῶν ἢ φυγὴν κακῶν εἰσηγείται, ἡ δὲ χρεῖα καὶ χαριεντισμὸς ἕνεκα μόνου παραλαμβάνεται. Nicolaus 200-3. See, 45-48.

When Hermogenes drops the aspect of usefulness from his description of the maxim, probably he is attempting to make a neater distinction between the *chreia* and maxim as defined by Theon. However, it may well be that the distinction between *chreia*, maxim, and reminiscence, at least in the ears of the audience, may not have been quite as straightforward as these authors would have us believe. Possibly we are dealing with a school-room distinction which in practice tended to become attenuated. That this is so is also suggested by Hermogenes' indifference to Theon's characterisation of the reminiscence as being "also told by itself" (καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ μνημονεύεται). Hock and O'Neill describe this phrase as "troublesome" and think that "Theon could surely have found a better way to make his point."²⁴ Perhaps Theon was not at all sure what his point was, and Hermogenes in turn felt quite in the dark about it. Furthermore, it is striking that the handbooks do not mention the apophthegm at all, and this may be further evidence of the lack of conceptual clarity regarding the various types of sayings.²⁵

The syntactical ambiguity of the term "aptness" noted above leads Mack to suggest two quite different originating ambiances for the *chreia*.²⁶ The desire to produce a *chreia* "in character" presupposed

²⁴ *The Progymnasmata*, 109 n. 5.

²⁵ J. F. Kinstrand notes: "These writers do not include the ἀποφθεγμα in their treatment, and it seems to have been replaced by the term χρεῖα, which therefore has received a more limited meaning than it originally had.... Against this background we may regard χρεῖα as a suitable collective term for different types of sayings and anecdotes...." "Diogenes Laertius and the Chreia Tradition," *Elenchos* 7 (1986): 224. Richard A. Spencer offers an investigation of 29 different *chreiai* in the writings of Theon, Hermogenes, and Aphthonius, and concludes that they range from the simple to the complex, that there are stylistic and inessential elements in some, a few name secondary persons, there is a tendency toward anonymity, some have parallel members, there is narrative detail in some of the settings, and most are conceived in a unitary fashion. "A Study of the Form and Function of the Biographical Apophthegms in the Synoptic Tradition in Light of their Hellenistic Background," (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1976), 117. However, his examination of the actual use of the *chreia* and related forms in the writings of Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius brings him to conclude that "their (viz., the rhetoricians') academic distinctions are not so neatly exhibited in these popular writings where it is at times quite difficult (if indeed at all possible) to distinguish between apophthegms, memoirs, and chreiai." "Biographical Apophthegms," 313. He presents the handbooks' understanding of the *chreia* on pages 107-20.

²⁶ "Elaboration of the Chreia," 41-51.

that the character chosen was upstanding and worthy of imitation.²⁷ This concept of "μίμησις" was fundamental to the ancient understanding of rhetoric, as Theon himself testifies: "Indeed, the *chreia*-exercise produces not only a certain facility with words, but a good character as well, if we work with the apophthegms of the sages."²⁸ The literature of the first century CE. records the common conviction of that era regarding the power of words to form character. The ἦθος which had been demanded of the orator from before the time of Aristotle now became a formative factor not only of the hearer of the speech but also of the reader of a book. "[A] literary encounter with the sayings of the great men not only reveals their character, but also produces a like character in the reader as well."²⁹ This first type of *chreia* thus reflected a *Sitz im Leben* of the moral character formation of young men who were being trained to take their appropriate place in the life of the state.

Alongside this type of *chreia* there existed another whose aptness, Mack claims, reflected more the situation in which it originated and which was notable not only for its sharpness and wit but for its lack of moral-ethical content. Indeed, it was the sharpness and wit which became the point of the story. Mack classifies this latter type as a Cynic *chreia*, originating in the Cynic debates of the fourth century BCE., and reflecting the Greek love for cleverness with words.³⁰ The difference between these two types, he further maintains, reflected the difference between σοφία, "the kind of wisdom appropriate to the orders of perceived reality understood as stable systems," and μῆτις, "the kind of wisdom appropriate to the contingent and threatening situations of life where survival

²⁷ The whole of the pedagogical enterprise in antiquity was of course shot through with the concept of imitation. From the very start, the young student was encouraged simply to copy what was set before him. Imitation was the foundation rock for a successful orator and the basis for any originality. By the first century CE. imitation demanded not only a mirroring of the character's style, but also of his very person. See *Instit.* 2.7.2-4.

²⁸ καὶ μὴν ἡ διὰ τῆς χρείας γυμνασία οὐ μόνον τινὰ δύναμιν λόγων ἐργάζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρηστόν τι ἦθος, ἐγγυμναζομένων ἡμῶν τοῖς τῶν σοφῶν ἀποφθέγμασιν. Walz, Theon 148.12-15. The use of the term "apophthegm" in this context is interesting, since it seems to imply that Theon considers it the equivalent of, or something very like, the *chreia*.

²⁹ Mack, "Elaboration of the *Chreia*," 44.

³⁰ "Elaboration of the *Chreia*," 47.

depends upon a clever sagacity."³¹ This type of *chreia* could be used in many different settings, in the cult, with students, with opponents, with tyrants etc. Its common function, however, was social critique of existing institutions and presuppositions. To this extent, the Cynic *chreia* did not aim to instruct, to exhort, or to offer ethical models. Rather, through the use of pointed and witty language it hoped to reduce the other party to silence. "The purpose is to escape entrapment by extricating oneself from the social determinants of a situation, and to entrap by throwing the net over the other."³²

Mack is correct to distinguish between *chreiai* which seek to instill virtue, and *chreiai* which seek to silence. He is wrong, however, to base that distinction upon the two possible meanings of the phrase μετ' εὐστοχίας. Firstly, there is no evidence that the handbooks themselves consider that the phrase could be taken in two ways. All that may be said is that some of them take it one way, others another. Secondly, and more importantly, there are sayings "in character" which cannot be taken as ethical instruction for the student. Conversely, there are sayings which are apt to certain situations, but which appear much more formative of character. For instance, there is a *chreia* about Diogenes:

(Diogenes,) when begging from someone, said: "If you have given to someone else, give to me too. But if you haven't, begin with me."³³

The saying is "in character" since it was generally known that Diogenes begged for a living. Yet the *chreia* is hardly promoting Diogenes as someone worthy of imitation. On the other hand, Doxapatres, who understood that the *chreia* had to be "in harmony with the occasion in question," can say:

³¹ "Elaboration of the Chreia," 47.

³² "Elaboration of the Chreia," 50.

³³ αἰτῶν τινα — καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐποίησε διὰ τὴν ἐπορίαν — ἔφη, εἰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῳ δέδωκας, δὸς καὶ μοῖ· εἰ δὲ μηδενί, ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἄρξαι. Diogenes Laertius 6.49. See, *Diogenis Laertii Vitae Philosophorum*, ed. H. S. Long (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

For if, let us say, we see someone who is eager to make a profit in everything, then I could aptly say to him the line of Menander: "Friend, look not for gain in everything." But if we should say this to a relaxed and lazy man, the saying will not be apt.³⁴

The ethical dimension is clear. The criterion of aptness, then, whether to character or situation, cannot be taken as a sure indication of the originating milieu of the *chreia*. In any case, to limit the *chreia* to the schoolroom or the margins of society is highly restrictive. The form was used by, or attributed to, many different persons in different circumstances.³⁵

4. The Classification of the *Chreia*

In defining the *chreia*, we have already discovered its principal classification into sayings, action, and mixed. For further classification, it is to Theon that we must turn since none of the other authors offers any more information. Theon notes that there are both single and double *chreiai*, the latter consisting of "statements of two characters, either one of which creates a *chreia* of one character."³⁶ As an example of a double *chreia*, he instances the following:

Alexander the Macedonian king stood over Diogenes as he slept and said: "To sleep all night ill suits a counsellor," and Diogenes responded: "On whom the folk rely, whose cares are many."³⁷

³⁴ εἰ γὰρ φέρε εἶπεν ὁρῶν τινα σπεύδοντα κατὰ πάντα κερδαίνειν τότε εὐστόχος αὐτὸν εἶποι· πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ Μενάνδρειον· βέλτιστε μὴ τὸ κέρδος ἐν παντί σκόπει· εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἀνειμένον καὶ ῥάθυμον τοῦτο εἶπομεν, οὐκ εὐστόχος ἔσται ὁ λόγος. Walz, *Doxapatres* 2.251.13-18.

³⁵ "[C]hreiai depict philosophers in typical situations, such as chiding students, attacking vices, responding to critics, debating with one another, and reflecting on the philosophical life.... Chreiai are attributed to a wide variety of people, including kings (especially Alexander the Great), generals, courtesans, and parasites...." Hock, *The Progymnasmata*, 4, 6.

³⁶ διπλὴ δὲ ἐστὶ χρεία ἢ δύο προσώπων ἀποφάσεις ἔχουσα, ὧν καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα μεθ' ἑνὸς προσώπου χρεῖαν ποιεῖ. Theon 86-88.

³⁷ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐπιστὰς Διογένην κοιμωμένῳ εἶπεν· οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὖδειν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα. καὶ ὁ Διογένης ἀπεκρίνατο· ὃ λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφεται καὶ τόσσα μέμληεν. Theon 88-93.

Sayings *chreiai* have two species, statement and response.³⁸ The statement arises either voluntarily and is characterised by a finite verb of saying such as ἔφη or ἔλεγε, or comes as a response to a situation and is characterised by a participle of seeing such as ἰδών or θεασάμενος. Response *chreiai* arise either in answer to a simple question, looking for a 'yes' or 'no' answer (ἀποκριτικὸν κατ' ἐρώτησιν), or to an enquiry, looking for a longer answer (ἀποκριτικὸν κατὰ πύσμα), or to a question calling for an explanation (ἀποκριτικὸν κατ' ἐρώτησιν αἰτιῶδες). There is a final type of response *chreia* which Theon designates with the question-begging title of "responsive" (ἀποκριτικά), and defines as "those which are based neither on a simple question nor an enquiry; rather, they contain some remark to which the response is made."³⁹ As an example of this type, he instances the encounter between Diogenes and Plato:

Once when Diogenes was having lunch in the market-place and invited him to lunch, Plato said: "Diogenes, how charming your unpretentiousness would be, if it were not so pretentious." For neither has Diogenes questioned Plato about anything, nor does Plato inquire of him. Rather, one simply invites the other to lunch and this belongs to neither of the species.⁴⁰

These sayings *chreiai* are further classified by Theon into twelve manners of expression: maxim, explanation, joke, syllogism, enthymeme, example, wish, symbolic expression, figure, double entendre, change of subject, or a combination of two of these or more.⁴¹

³⁸ Τῶν δὲ λογικῶν εἶδη δύο ἀποφαντικὸν καὶ ἀποκριτικόν. Theon 36-37.

³⁹ 'Αποκριτικά δὲ εἰσιν αἱ μῆτε κατ' ἐρώτησιν μῆτε κατὰ πύσμα, λόγον δὲ τινα ἔχουσαι πρὸς ὃν ἔστιν ἡ ἀπόκρισις. Theon 74-76.

⁴⁰ Πλάτων ποτὲ Διογένηος ἀριστῶντος ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄριστον, ὦ Διόγερες, εἶπεν, ὥς χαρίεν ὃν ἦν σου τὸ ἀπλᾶστον εἰ μὴ πλάστον ἦν. οὔτε γὰρ Διογένης περὶ τίνος ἠρώτα τὸν Πλάτωνα, οὔτε ὁ Πλάτων πυθάνεται αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον καλεῖ αὐτόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῶν οὐδετέρων. Theon 77-83. Hock suggests that to this category might belong those *chreiai* which are characterised formally by πρὸς τὸν κτλ. and those in which the character responds to praise, reproach, rebuke, or some statement. *The Progymnasmata*, 30-31.

⁴¹ Theon 115-89. He offers examples of all of these. Doxapatries gives the following analysis of a *chreia*: Οἷον ὁ Πλάτων τοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς κλάνας ἰδρῶσι καὶ πόνοις ἔλεγε φύεσθαι· ἡ πυροῦσα χρεῖα ἐστὶ μὲν λογικὴ, καθ' ἑκούσιον δὲ ἐστὶν ἀποφαντικὴ ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τροπικὴ καὶ συνεξευγμένη λογικὴ μὲν διὰ τὸ λόγῳ δηλοῦν τὴν ἀφέλειαν, καθ' ἑκούσιον δὲ ἀποφαντικὴ διότι οὐκ ἐκ τίνος περιστάσεως ἐκινήθη ὁ Πλάτων πρὸς τὸ εἰπεῖν τοῦ τοιοῦτου λόγον τροπικὴ δὲ διὰ τὸ μεταφορικῶς ἔχειν τὰς

Action *chreiai* are divided by Theon into active and passive. In the first the character is the subject of the action and in the second, the object. "The active are those which show some aggressive act.... The passive are those pointing out something experienced."⁴²

5. The Expansion and Elaboration of the *Chreia*

The ancient textbooks lead the students on to exercises in the expansion and elaboration of the *chreia*, the various definitions and classifications having been mastered. Theon lists eight different types of exercise on the *chreia*.⁴³ In the recitation (*ἀπαγγελία*), the student is encouraged to repeat the *chreia* in the words of the teacher. It is interesting to note, however, that variations were allowed and even encouraged as long as the meaning and clarity were preserved. The inflection (*κλίσις*) demanded of the student a clear knowledge of grammar since he was expected to transform the *chreia* into the different cases and numbers. In the comment (*ἐπιφώνησις*), knowledge of the various topics was demonstrated when the student characterized the *chreia* according to the categories of nobility, truth, advantage, or consent. The objection (*ἀντιλογία*) utilized the topics which were the opposites of those listed in the comment. The expansion (*ἐπεκτείνωσις*) simply looked for a longer statement of the *chreia*, whilst the condensation (*συστολή*) demanded the opposite. The final two exercises were the refutation (*ἀνασκευή*) and the confirmation (*κατασκευή*). The *chreia* could be refuted on grounds such as obscurity, pleonasm, ellipsis, impossibility, implausibility, falsity, unsuitability, uselessness or shamefulness. On the other hand, the confirmation demands a more

λέξεις. ("Plato used to say that the offshoots of virtue grow by sweat and toil. This *chreia* is a sayings *chreia*, with its statement made voluntarily, and it is figurative. It is a sayings *chreia* because it discloses its benefit by means of the saying. It is a voluntary statement because Plato was not prompted by some circumstance to utter this saying. And it is figurative because it has metaphorical speech.") Walz, *Doxapatries* 2.260.10-17. See, Hock and O'Neil, *The Progymnasmata*, 34-35.

⁴² ἐνεργητικαὶ μὲν ὄσαι δηλοῦσι τινα ἐνέργειαν...παθητικαὶ δὲ αἱ πάθος τι σημαίνουσαι. Theon 98-103. Hock notes: "This distinction, however, seems purely theoretical. Passive *chreiai* do not appear outside these textbooks...." *The Progymnasmata*, 32.

⁴³ Theon 190-94.

complex manipulation insofar as it expects of the student an introduction to the *chreia*, the recitation of the *chreia*, the arguments for it which will be the opposite of those used in refutation (or for more advanced students, the use of commonplaces associated with the thesis), and even amplifications, digressions and characterisations.⁴⁴

Hock cites some interesting examples concerning the exercise in recitation.⁴⁵ Variation in recitation can occur not only among authors but also within the same author and the result can be a difference in the sub-type to which the *chreia* is assigned. As an example of variation within one author, he cites Plutarch who offers two variations of a *chreia* concerning Diogenes:⁴⁶

Diogenes used to say that for the one who intends to be entirely secure it is necessary to have good friends and ardent enemies, for the former teach him and the latter reprimand him.⁴⁷

Diogenes used to say that for the one in need of security it is proper to seek out either an excellent friend or an ardent enemy, in order that, by being reprimanded or counseled, he might avoid wickedness.⁴⁸

The clarity of the thought in both *chreiai* is evident. Yet the differences are equally obvious: in terms of vocabulary, they are: "entirely secure"/"in need of security; "necessary"/"proper": in terms of form: plural/singular; both-and/either-or; explicative "for"/final "in order that": in terms of content, the second *chreia* offers the purpose, viz., "to avoid wickedness."

⁴⁴ See the discussion of the "confirmation" by Hock & O'Neil, *The Progymnasmata*, 72-73. Also, Robbins, "The Chreia," 16-19.

⁴⁵ *The Progymnasmata*, 37-41.

⁴⁶ *The Progymnasmata*, 38.

⁴⁷ ὅσπερ Διογένης ἔλεγεν ὅτι τῷ μέλλοντι σφίζεσθαι δεῖ φίλους ἀγαθοὺς ἢ διαπύρους ἐχθροὺς ὑπάρχειν οἱ μὲν γὰρ διδάσκουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐλέγχουσιν. *Moralia* 74C.

⁴⁸ ὥς που Διογένης ἔλεγε τῷ σωτηρίας δομένῳ ζητεῖν προσήκειν ἢ φίλον σπουδαῖον ἢ διάπυρον ἐχθρόν, ὅπως ἐλεγχόμενος ἢ θεραπευόμενος ἐκφεύγοι τὴν κακίαν. *Moralia* 82A.

Hock notes that the *chreia* concerning Diogenes and his runaway slave is cited by a number of authors:⁴⁹

Diogenes says that it is amazing if Manes is able to live without Diogenes, but Diogenes is not able to be cheerful without Manes.⁵⁰

Diogenes' only slave ran away, but he did not even think it worthwhile to take him back home when he was pointed out to him. Rather, he said: "It is a disgrace if Manes can live without Diogenes, but Diogenes cannot without Manes."⁵¹

Diogenes said to those who were advising him to look for his runaway slave: "It is ridiculous if Manes is living without Diogenes, but Diogenes will not be able to live without Manes."⁵²

When Diogenes left his homeland, one of his household slaves, Manes by name, tried to follow him, but could not endure his manner of life and so ran away. When some people advised Diogenes to seek after him, he said: "Is it not shameful that Manes has no need of Diogenes, but that Diogenes should have of Manes?" Now this slave was caught at Delphi and torn to pieces by dogs--a just punishment, in light of his master's name, for having run away.⁵³

⁴⁹ *The Progymnasmata*, 38-39.

⁵⁰ θαυμαστὸν μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν ὁ Διογένης, εἰ Μάνης μὲν Διογένης ἄνευ δυνησεται ζῆν, Διογένης δὲ ἄνευ Μάνους οὐ δυνησεται θαρρεῖν. *Teles [The Cynic Teacher]*, ed. and trans., Edward J. O'Neil, SBL Texts and Translations 11, Greco-Roman Religion 13 (Missoula, Montana: Scholars, 1977), 131-34.

⁵¹ At *Diogeni servus unicus fugit nec eum reducere, cum monstraretur, tanti putavit. "Turpe est," inquit, "Manen sine Diogene posse vivere, Diogenem sine Mane non posse."* Seneca. *Moral Essays* 8.7, trans. John W. Basore (London: William Heineman; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935).

⁵² πρὸς τοὺς συμβουλευόντας τὸν ἀποδράντα αὐτοῦ δοῦλον ζητεῖν, γελοῖον ἔφη, εἰ Μάνης μὲν χωρὶς Διογένης ζῇ, Διογένης δὲ χωρὶς Μάνου οὐ δύναται. Diogenes Laertius 6.55.

⁵³ Διογένης ἡνίκα ἀπέλιπε τὴν πατρίδα, εἰς αὐτῇ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἡκολούθει ὄνομα Μάνης, ὃς οὐ φέρων τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ διατριβὴν ἀπέδρα. προτρεπόντων δὲ τινων ζητεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Μάνην μὲν μὴ δεῖσθαι Διογένης, Διογένην δὲ Μάνους, οὗτος δὲ ὁ οἰκέτης ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀλάμενος ὑπὸ κυνῶν διεσπάσθη, τῇ ὀνόματι τοῦ δεσπότης δίκας ἐκτίσας ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπέδρα. Claudius Aelianus *Varia Historia Epistolae Fragmenta* 13.28. In *De Animalium Natura Libri XVII*, ed. R. Hercher (Leipzig: Teubner, 1866).

The most notable difference is that the first *chreia* is a voluntary statement and the others are responsive statements issuing from some circumstance, to use the terminology of Theon. Regarding the terminology, the major difference lies in the word used to describe the departure of the slave: "amazing", "disgrace", "ridiculous", "shameful." This indicates that different *topoi* are being employed in the argumentation. Regarding the characterisation, the slave is variously described: "Manes", "only slave", "runaway slave", "one of his household slaves". Only in the final *chreia* is some sort of reason given for the slave's flight--he "could not endure the manner of his life". In the second *chreia*, insight is given into the mind of Diogenes: "he did not think it worthwhile...."

It is most especially the length of the final *chreia* which makes it stand apart from all the rest. The circumstances which provoked the saying are given detail and colour. The reader is informed that Diogenes had left his homeland, that his slave attempted to follow him but could not take the lifestyle, that he was finally caught up with at Delphi and torn to pieces by dogs. A final commentary remarks on the aptness of such an end with reference to the name of Diogenes.

The last *chreia*, in fact, is an example of elementary elaboration. Elaboration (ἐργασία) eventually became the standard exercise in the manipulation of the *chreia*. Hermogenes outlines the various component parts of the elaboration which receive their classic formulation in Aphthonius.⁵⁴ According to the latter, the elaboration is worked out in eight stages: 1. praise for the author, 2. paraphrase of the *chreia*, 3. a statement of the rationale, 4. a statement to the contrary, 5. an analogy, 6. an example, 7. a testimony from the ancients, 8. a brief epilogue.⁵⁵ It is important to understand the

⁵⁴ Hermogenes 30-64; Aphthonius 18-78. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.43.56-58) contains a *tractatio* of the maxim which closely resembles the systemisation of both Hermogenes and Aphthonius.

⁵⁵ Ἐργάσαιτο δὲ αὐτὴν τοῖσδε τοῖς κεφαλαίοις ἐγκωμιαστικῇ, παραφραστικῇ, τῇ τῆς αἰτίας, ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, παραβολῇ, παραδείγματι, μαρτυρίᾳ παλαιῶν, ἐπιλόγῃ βραχείᾳ. Aphthonius 18-22. In the listing, Aphthonius follows the order of Hermogenes (7.10-8.15). The only difference is the names Hermogenes gives to the last two stages which are ἐκ κρίσεως and παράκλησις respectively. Aphthonius gives an example of an elaboration in 4.16-6.19.

elaboration in relation to the structure of a full speech. According to Aristotle, as we have already seen, this was four-fold: the προοίμιον (*exordium*), the πρόθεσις or διήγησις (*narratio*), the πίστις (*probatio*), and the ἐπίλογος (*peroratio*). In tabular form, we may compare the two in the following way:⁵⁶

ARISTOTLE	APHTHONIUS/HERMOGENES
προοίμιον	Praise for the author
πρόθεσις or διήγησις	Paraphrase
	Rationale
πίστις	Contrary
	Analogy
	Example
	Ancient Testimony
ἐπίλογος	Brief Epilogue

According to Aristotle, the introduction should be characterised by its ethical quality which establishes the speaker's right to be heard. It is here that the topics of praise and blame first make their appearance.⁵⁷ In this way, the speaker will win the audience's favour. Moreover, this introduction will provide the key-note or sample of what is to come.⁵⁸ These concerns are clearly reflected in the first step of the elaboration. The paraphrase and rationale of the elaboration correspond to the statement of facts as described by Aristotle. In this second part of the speech, the basic issue at hand is laid forth and the speaker's position in regard to it made clear.

⁵⁶ For fuller comparative tables, see Lausberg, §262, and Mack, "Elaboration of the Chreia," 54.

⁵⁷ See, *Rhetoric* 1414b29-30.

⁵⁸ See, *Rhetoric* 1415b8-24.

Through paraphrase, the student is forced to state with clarity and precision the point or issue at hand. The rationale functions in the same way, since it offers the first explanation of the assertion made. Consequently, it is in the statement of facts/paraphrase and rationale that the fundamental argument is given and the primary proof laid out.

The proofs then follow, quarrying their materials from the topics. There are instances where some authors, like Aristotle himself, attempt to present simply the major topics. Anaximenes, for instance, talks of argument from analogy (τὸ ὅμοιον), from the contrary (τὸ ἐναντίον) and from previous judgements (τὰ κεκριμένα).⁵⁹ Hermogenes is more lengthy and lists argument from analogy (ἀπὸ παραβολῆς), from example (ἀπὸ παραδείγματος), from the lesser (ἀπὸ μικροτέρου), from the greater (ἀπὸ μεγέθυνος), from the same (ἀπὸ ἴσου), and from the contrary (ἀπὸ ἐναντίου).⁶⁰ The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* offers a more simplified list: analogy (*simile*), example (*exemplum*), amplification (*amplificatio*), and judgement (*res iudicata*).⁶¹ The point of this is that the use of these topics correspond to what Aristotle understood to be the proof section of the speech and that consequently these ἐργασία could be seen as mini-speeches in their own right.

6. Summary and Conclusions

The aims of this section were to investigate the definitions and classifications of the *chreia* offered in the προγυμνασμάτα, as well as to outline their understanding of its expansion and elaboration. Regarding the definition, it was seen that the four authors investigated are in substantial though not complete agreement regarding the formal characteristics of the *chreia*. At the same time, it was suggested that the differences may indicate a certain lack of conceptual clarity regarding the precise differences between the *chreia* and other rhetorical forms. Furthermore, it was indicated that popular authors may not have been quite so aware of these

⁵⁹ *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 1422a.25-27.

⁶⁰ Hermogenes 148-50.

⁶¹ 2.29.46.

differences as the handbooks might suggest. In light of this, it is important to avoid associating the *chreia* only with certain restricted milieux, such as the classroom or the margins of society.

Regarding the classification of the *chreia*, the system outlined by Theon was investigated. It was noted, however, that he is the only one of the authors of the handbooks to present such a detailed system. Consequently, a doubt must remain concerning how well known his taxonomy of the *chreia* was in antiquity.⁶² Furthermore, when Theon's classificatory system is placed alongside his list of the twelve formal categories of the *chreia*, a certain confusion emerges. For instance, it remains unclear the precise difference between his class of *chreia* which "seeks an explanation" (ἀποκριτικὸν κατ' ἐρώτησιν αἰτιῶδες), and those *chreiai* which are "in the manner of an explanation" (αἱ δὲ ἀποδεικτικῶς).

Finally, there was an analysis of Theon's and Hermogenes' ways of expanding and elaborating the *chreia*. Theon's exercises in expansion appear rather mechanical, reflecting more the classroom situation than real life. Hermogenes, on the other hand, develops an approach which reflects not only Aristotle's theorizing, but also the actual practice of speechmaking. Again, the differences between the two systems probably indicate that there was no single classic system of elaboration, at least before the time of Aphthonius, even though that system had been around in some form or another for a long time.

When *chreia* analysis is applied to Gospel passages, then, it ought to be recognized that both the *chreia* form and its various elaborations may have been understood differently by different individuals in different times and places. In the following analysis of the various Markan pericopes, however, the above definitions, classification, and elaborations of the *chreia* will be used in a heuristic fashion. This means that, especially in regard to the system of elaboration outlined by Hermogenes, I will be making no claim to widespread knowledge of that system at the time of the formation of the Gospel

⁶² Quintilian, however, does show awareness of a similar taxonomy. See, 1.9.4-5.

materials. I will use his understanding of elaboration, however, in an heuristic fashion in order to discover whether it can illuminate the various pericopes which will be analysed. This will help not only to establish the various argumentative strategies employed by Mark and his tradition, but also in order to evaluate Mark's understanding of this form.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this section was to offer the necessary background against which any rhetorical investigation of the Markan material must be judged. The three objectives of the section were: to investigate the contemporary applications of rhetoric to the Bible, in order to situate clearly this present study; to discover how rhetoric was theoretically conceived in antiquity, specifically in the writings of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian; and, against this background, to offer an exposition of the *chreia* as understood by the ancient handbooks.

I have concluded that the contemporary effort to overcome the reduction of rhetoric to stylistics faithfully represents how rhetoric was understood from the beginnings. It was emphasized, however, that the ancient rhetoricians understood the rhetorical process as a valid avenue into the truth. The disparity which sometimes appears among Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian demonstrates that rhetoric itself was a deeply encultured phenomenon. The danger of fitting any text onto some theoretical procrustean bed is to be avoided. At the same time, all three authors show how context is all important for successful communication and persuasion. It is that context which may still be glimpsed through careful rhetorical analysis of "the means of persuasion." Finally, the investigation of the *chreia* showed the importance of this rhetorical form in antiquity, but also flagged the differences in the various understandings of its definition, classification, and elaboration. Nonetheless, it was argued that it is valid to use the understanding of this form as a heuristic device in an attempt to reach greater understanding of the Gospel pericopes.

SECTION THREE. REDACTION, FORM, TRANSMISSION, AND RHETORICAL ANALYSES

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this section is to analyse six controversy dialogues in the Gospel of Mark in order to discover the extent to which they are modelled after the *chreia* and its elaborated forms. Investigations of redaction, form, and transmission will preface the rhetorical analysis in order that a balanced judgement might be made about the rhetorical dimensions of these pericopes. At the end of each chapter I will summarize my arguments and present some conclusions. In the general conclusion I will argue that the primitive form of these dialogues was modelled after the *chreia* form, but that the form decayed in the process of transmission and there is no evidence that either the tradition or Mark knew the form.

CHAPTER SEVEN. MARK 2.15-17

1. The Limits of the Unit

a) Introduction

There is a variety of opinion among the commentators regarding the beginning of this pericope. The principal problem concerns the relationship of verses 13-14 to verses 15-17. In what follows, it will be argued that the material which came to Mark from the tradition is contained substantially in verses 15-17. Mark then prefaced this unit with verses 13-14, verse 13 being most probably his own composition, and verse 14 being either from the tradition or from Mark's hand, modelled after the call stories of 1.16-20.

b) Verse 13

Mark 2.12 clearly flags the end of the previous pericope, and verse 13 is the beginning of the next. The original unity, however, of 2.13-17 is generally disputed. There is, it is true, a certain narrative cohesion and progression in these verses, with Jesus teaching, then calling, then sharing a meal. Yet verse 13 has many characteristics of a Markan seam, characterized by typical vocabulary and themes (ἐξῆλθεν, πάλιν, θάλασσα, ὄχλος, διδασκεῖν). That the verse is a seam is confirmed by the verse's lack of relationship to what follows: none of the Markan features reappear, and the verse hardly sets the scene for the ensuing meal.¹

¹ D. B. Peabody comments: "[I]t may be noted here that this πάλιν verse (2:13) and its previous referent (1:16) both function compositionally in Mark by providing transitional material between units of tradition that might once have circulated independently.... Further, Mark 2:13 is not at all intrinsic to the following material, the Call of Levi." *Mark as Composer*, New Gospel Studies 1 (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1987), 118. See further the literature cited by Weiss, *Lehre*, 83 n. 2, and J. Kiilunen, *Die Vollmacht in Widerstreit. Untersuchungen zum Werdegang von Mk 2,1-3,6*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 40 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1985), 128 n. 5. Cranfield, in contrast, considers all of verses 13-17 to be a single unit of the tradition. *Mark*, 101. T. A. Burkill sees verses 13-14 as a "self-contained story with its own lesson." *Mysterious Revelation. An Examination of the Philosophy of Mark's Gospel*

c) Verse 14

The relationship between verse 14 and verses 15-17 is more complex. Recently, the thesis that verses 14-15 reflect the elements of the call narrative of Elisha (1 Kings 19.19-21) has been reargued by Fritz Herrenbrück.² He maintains that the three formal elements of the Elisha story (the passing by of Elijah, the call, and the consequent meal) are all replicated in the Markan narrative. The purpose of this reference to Elisha's call, he argues, was to legitimize the call of Levi by Jesus, and to connect this call with Jesus' mission (ἡλθον).

A number of difficulties make this interpretation unlikely. Firstly, Elijah effects his call by means of an action, the placing of his cloak upon Elisha. Jesus, on the other hand, simply calls Levi. Secondly, Elisha does not respond immediately, as does Levi. Rather he requests that he bid farewell to his parents, a request to which Elijah accedes. This request and response are absent in Mark. Thirdly, the ensuing meal consists of the oxen which Elisha slays, a meal which symbolizes his break with his previous life and the people associated with it. Elijah is not present at this meal. In Mark, the meal functions to depict the people with whom Jesus chooses to associate, and to set the scene for the question of the religious leaders. It has a quite different role in the story. For these reasons, it seems very unlikely that verses 14-15 were modelled after 1 Kings 19.19-21.³

A quite different reconstruction is offered by R. Pesch. For him, Mark created verse 14 out of verses 15-17, where the name Levi originally occurred and was linked with tax collectors. Mark brought

(New York: Cornell University Press, 1963), 123-24 n. 16. The majority of commentators accept the Markan origin of the verse.

² *Jesus und die Zöllner. Historische und neutestamentlich-exegetische Untersuchungen*, WUNT 41 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990), 237-39. The argument was originally presented by R. Meyer, *Der Prophet aus Galiläa. Studien zum Jesusbild der drei ersten Evangelien* (Leipzig, 1940; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970), 33. Similarly, Schmithals, *Markus*, 1:166.

³ Similarly, Kilunen, *Vollmacht*, 130-31 n. 18.

both the name and the profession forward to verse 14, which he then constructed according to the model of the call narrative in 1.16-20. Introduced by the equally redactional verse 13, both then functioned to preface the largely traditional material in 2.15-17.⁴

Again, this proposal is faced by certain difficulties. Firstly, if Levi did appear in the tradition in verses 15-17, it is strange that he fulfils no independent function in the remainder of the scene.⁵ Secondly, verse 14 could quite easily have existed as an independent tradition. B. M. F. van Iersel considers it a "récit de vocation presque stéréotypé," the elements of which reappear in Mark 1.16-18, 19-20; Matt. 4.18-22; Luke 5.1-11; John 1.35, 39, 40-42, 43-44, 45-51.⁶ These elements are: the passing-by of Jesus; his seeing someone; the indication of the social situation and profession of the one called; the call; the abandonment of that profession, and also of family; and the adherence to Jesus.⁷

It still remains possible, of course, that Mark crafted verse 14 after 1.16-20.⁸ The phrase καὶ παράγων εἶδεν + participle exactly repeats verse 16; similarly, the aorist participle followed by the verb ἀκολουθεῖν and the personal pronoun appear in 1.18; and the phrase καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ is at times used redactionally by Mark. Yet the

⁴ *Markusevangelium*, 162-63. His arguments are more fully presented in, "Levi-Matthäus (Mc 2,14/Mt 9,9; 10,3): Ein Beitrag zur Lösung eines alten Problems," *ZNW* 59 (1968): 40-56. See also his article, "Das Zöllnergastmahl (Mk 2, 15-17)," in *Mélanges Bibliques en hommage R. P. Bédaride*, eds. A. L. Descamps & A. de Halleux (Gembloux: J. Duculot; Paris: P. Lethieuleux: 1970), 63-87. Similar positions have been taken by Grundmann, *Markus*, 79; Dewey, *Public Debate*, 86-87; Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 133-34.

⁵ See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 85; Guelich, *Mark*, 98; Gnika, *Markus*, 1:104.

⁶ "La Vocation de Lévi (Mc., II, 13-17, Mt., IX, 9-13, Lc., V. 27-32)," in *De Jésus aux Évangiles. Tradition et Rédaction dans les Évangiles synoptiques*, BETL XXV, ed. L. de la Potterie (Gembloux: Éditions J. Duculot, 1967), 2:215.

⁷ Van Iersel comments: "Ce caractère achevé des récits résulte notamment de la correspondance qui existe entre les sections 1-2 (καὶ παράγων εἶδεν) et la section 6 (ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ), pareillement entre la section 3 (la situation) et la section 5 (l'abandon de celle-ci), de sorte qu'on aboutit en fait à une structure en chiasme.... Par là, l'accent tombe avant tout sur l'idée centrale de la péripécie, l'appel de Jésus." "Lévi," 216. It should be noted that in order to make section five, the call of Jesus, the central section, van Iersel is forced to treat section 1-2 as one item. A certain suspicion is created that the unit is not quite as chiasmic as he claims.

⁸ See, H. J. Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese in synoptischen Gleichnistexten*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 13 (Münster: Aschendorf, 1978), 148.

differences are noticeable. The commands to follow are quite different; Jesus does not promise Levi what he will be (presumably, he could have become a "collector of men"); and there is no explicit reference to Levi's leaving behind both profession and family. Moreover, had Mark created this verse, it is strange that he chose to exclude Levi's name from the list of the Twelve in 3.13-19. Taylor suggests that this verse came from the tradition, which Mark chose to leave as it was.⁹ E. Best goes further and considers that the tradition may have contained a longer story which Mark then streamlined and recast according to the pattern of 1.16-20.¹⁰ In many ways, this suggestion is the most attractive, since it explains both the similarities and differences between 2.14 and 1.16-20. Unfortunately, as with the other proposals, it is also unprovable. What does seem likely, however, is that verse 14 did not belong originally with verse 15-17, since one is a call story and the other a controversy dialogue. Mark, who either created the verse or received it in some form from the tradition, inserted it at this point. The reason for this was not only the presence of the hook-words *τελώνιον/τελῶναι*, but more importantly, as will be argued below, because of his interest in highlighting the theme of teacher/disciple in this context.¹¹ This was also the reason for the creation of verse 13.

⁹ Mark, 203. Lohmeyer comments: "Die Berufung Levis ist ein Beispiel, wie Jesus gekommen ist, 'die Sünder zu rufen'. Aber es ist auch kennzeichnend, daß Mk die Geschichten nicht enger verknüpft hat; die nächste beginnt wie eine selbständige Erzählung." Markus, 54. Similarly, Schweizer, Markus, 34; Gnllka, Markus, 1:104; Ernst, Markus, 94; Weiss, Lehre, 85; Guelich, Mark, 98.

¹⁰ *Following Jesus. Discipleship in the Gospel of Mark*, JSNTS 4 (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1981), 176.

¹¹ Dibelius insightfully picks up on this when he notes that 2.17 refers to the call and not to the meal. Unfortunately, his reconstruction of the tradition is flawed. It is the meal setting in 2.15-16a, he argues, which was the creation of Mark, and 2.13-14, 16b-17 which belonged to the tradition. Jesus' association with tax collectors was interpreted as an eating with them, because of the religious leaders' view of the laws of purity. This accusation allowed Mark to embed the whole event within a meal scene. *Formgeschichte*, 61 n.1. If Mark had been interested in using the physician saying to justify the call in verse 14, it seems strange that he should have chosen to introduce the quite different topic of eating.

d) Conclusion

In sum, verses 15-17 came to Mark substantially from the tradition. By way of introduction, he inserted verses 13 and 14. Verse 13 most likely came from Mark's hand, but it is less easy to decide whether that was also the case with verse 14. In either case, the positioning of these verses here was his choice, consequent upon his desire to highlight the theme of teacher/disciple.

2. Redaction

a) Introduction

There is widespread agreement that verses 16-17, in substance, came to Mark from the tradition. There are various opinions about verse 15, ranging from viewing either the whole verse as redactional, or only verse 15a, or simply parts of the verse. In what follows, it will be argued that only the final comment in verse 15 (ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ) most likely stemmed from Mark's hand.

b) Verse 15

Most of the discussion of the redactional aspects of verse 15 centres round the final phrase ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ. There is a textual problem here. A number of manuscripts read πολλοὶ ... αὐτῷ καὶ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ ἰδόντες.... If the period is placed after πολλοὶ, rather than αὐτῷ, the sentence would then translate: "The scribes of the Pharisees also followed him."¹² This then makes the adversaries of Jesus the subjects of the verb ἀκολουθεῖν. Now, even though this verb does appear elsewhere in the Gospel in a neutral sense (see, 3.7; 5.24; 10.32; 11.9; 14.13, 54), it is never used in conjunction with the religious leaders. Consequently, it is best to

¹² This is the preferred reading of Guelich, *Mark*, 97-98. See, H. W. Bartsch, "Zur Problematik eines Monopoltextes des Neuen Testament," *TLZ* 105 (1980): 94. For a response to Bartsch, see Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 33 n. 33.

follow that manuscript tradition which makes the "many" the subject of following Jesus.¹³ In this way, the sentence is an example of Semitic parataxis in which the second part functions as a relative clause.¹⁴ It functions not only in view of Mark's larger narrative which depicts many people following Jesus,¹⁵ but also to indicate more specifically why he was seated at this point with them. Moreover, it reflects those other comments of the evangelist elsewhere in the Gospel which have either a clear narrative or explicatory role (e.g., 7.3-4; 10.22b; 11.32b; 12.12b). The phrase ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ is thus best seen as an explicatory comment of the evangelist.

It is not necessary to decide whether the subject of the verb ἠκολούθουν is the tax collectors and sinners, or the disciples.¹⁶ Three specific groups of people are mentioned in a very short space, and Mark's intention seems to have been to stress the variegated nature of Jesus' following.¹⁷ Consequently, verse 15c may be taken to refer

¹³ See, B. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London, New York: United Bible Societies, 1975), 78.

¹⁴ See, F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. and rev. R. W. Funk (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1961), §471(1). Also, E. Arens, *The HΛΘON-Sayings In The Synoptic Tradition. A Historico-Critical Investigation*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 10 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 33; Pesch, "Zöllnergastmahl," 86 n. 2; Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 55; Taylor, *Mark*, 205; Klostermann, *Markusevangelium*, 26; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:104. See, Mark 6.14; 7.19; 9.4.

¹⁵ See, Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:163; Weiss, *Lehre*, 86.

¹⁶ Many commentators think that the "many" refers to the disciples. Taylor remarks: "It reveals the Evangelist's consciousness that he has not mentioned the large company of disciples earlier, and that he must do so now." *Mark*, 205. Similarly, K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu. Literarkritische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung* (Berlin, 1919; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), 84; Klostermann, *Markusevangelium*, 25; Klauck, *Allegorie*, 149; Arens, *HΛΘON-Sayings*, 33; Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 33-35. Taylor's argument may be turned against him. At this point in the Gospel, Mark has described a band of only four disciples, but he has described large crowds who were seeking out Jesus (see, 1.31-34, 37). Therefore, it seems more likely that the redactional addition in verse 15c refers to more than just the disciples. Arens' argument that the verb cannot refer to the tax collectors and sinners because they are not disciples neither notes that Levi has just been described as following Jesus, nor that the verb is used elsewhere in the Gospel of the crowds who are not specifically described as disciples. That the "many" refers to the tax collectors and sinners is argued by Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 55, and Schweizer, *Markus*, 31.

¹⁷ Weiss comments: "Das πολλοί greift aber auch V 15b (πολλοὶ τελεῖναι καὶ ἀμαρτωλοὶ) auf und mit dem Nachfolge auf V 14 zurück. Die Jüngernennung ist

to all three groups. This point still stands even if Mark were responsible for the mention of the disciples in verse 15c.¹⁸

Regarding the rest of the verse, the first αὐτοῦ almost certainly comes from Mark because of the need to link up verses 15-17 with verses 13-14. Elsewhere in the Gospel, Mark can refer to a house in a general way when there is no narrative need to specify to whom the house belongs (see, 7.24; 9.33; 10.10). The parallel with Jesus' entering Simon's house after his call seems to confirm that Mark understood the house as belonging to Levi.¹⁹ It is unlikely that Mark was responsible for verse 15a.²⁰ Very few commentators argue that the entire verse stemmed from Mark's hand.²¹

also in V 15c nicht ausdrücklich vorausgesetzt. Alles Gewicht liegt auf der Nachfolge." *Lehre*, 86. Similarly, van Iersel, "Lévi," 225. An implicit reference to the disciples as part of a larger group is also evident in 10.32. The disciples are mentioned specifically only in the following verse (10.33).

¹⁸ See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 86. He maintains that Mark inserted mention of the disciples here in order to anticipate their presence in the following verse (10.33). This would confirm that Mark was keeping the teacher/disciple relationship in focus. Gnllka also considers that the mention of the disciples in verse 16 is redactional. *Markus*, 1:104. Yet, since the presence of the disciples in the next two pericopes is integral to the setting of those stories, it seems unlikely that they were absent in the tradition in this instance, especially if the three pericopes came to Mark as a collection.

¹⁹ See, Kilunien, *Vollmacht*, 139-40; Klauck, *Allegorie*, 149. But see J. Dewey, "TH OIKIA AUTΟΥ: Mk 2.15 in Context," *NTS* 31 (1985): 282-92. Her arguments are challenged, on social-scientific grounds, by D. M. May, "Mark 2:15. The Home of Jesus or Levi?" *NTS* 39 (1993): 147-49. Anderson argues that when 2.15-17 circulated independently, the house referred to was Jesus, but once verse 14 was attached, it came to refer to Levi's. *Mark*, 103. This explanation is speculative, especially when it is remembered that there are no New Testament references to the house of Jesus. See, Best, *Following Jesus*, 175. In any case, as Schmithals notes, the question concerning whose house it was "hat kein sachliches Gewicht." *Markus*, 1:166.

²⁰ Contra Arens, *HAΘON-Sayings*, 28-30. The phrase καὶ γίνεται is not Markan (it only appears again in this introductory fashion in 4.37. Cf., 4.11). His argument that the change from κατακεῖσθαι to συνανακεῖσθαι indicates the presence of Mark's hand is invalid. The latter verb indicates the sitting together of the company (there is no verb συγκατακεῖσθαι), and neither κατακεῖσθαι (1.30; 2.4, 15; 14.3), nor συνανακεῖσθαι (2.15; 6.22), nor ἀνακεῖσθαι are particularly Markan words. Note that he errs when he counts only two appearances of κατακεῖσθαι in Mark (28 n. 3).

²¹ But see C. E. Carlston, *The Parables of the Triple Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 112 n. 8; J. D. Crossan, *In Fragments. The Aphorisms of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1983), 214; van Iersel, "Lévi," 220, 225. Van Iersel is the only one who attempts a cogent defence of his position, but since this depends on his view that verses 14, 16-17 constituted the tradition which came to Mark, his argument cannot be accepted. The points he makes to show that verse 15 is "une formule secondaire de liaison" may equally be made to argue that verse 14 was inserted later.

c) Verse 16

The designation οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων appears only here in the entire New Testament.²² Acts 23.9 seems to imply that not all scribes belonged to the party of the Pharisees. Mark had a clear preference for the term "scribe" to "Pharisee" (21 times to 12 times). Narratively, the phrase works well in this context, since the scribes have already been introduced as the adversaries of Jesus (2.6), and the Pharisees will be shortly (2.18). The description in verse 16 works well to align the two separate groups together as a common foe. The rather strange description leads a number of commentators to see Mark's hand at work. For Weiss, Mark was responsible for the entire phrase, but he simply states rather than argues this.²³ In fact, Pharisees are highly appropriate as the inquisitors here because of their deep concern for the purity of the meal table.²⁴ Given this, the rather odd nature of the designation, and the similar designation in Acts, it seems best to consider it traditional.²⁵

The almost word-for-word repetition of the observation and the accusation of the scribes could suggest that one of the clauses may have been a later addition. It may be that the Markan additions to verse 15 disrupted the flow of the narrative which demanded that Mark anticipate verse 16b by the insertion of verse 16a.²⁶ However, the comment in verse 15c is hardly so intrusive as to distract the audience's attention. In any case, oral narrative is well-known for

²² Many of the manuscripts read "the scribes and the Pharisees" (e.g., A C D K f1f13 etc.), but the more difficult reading of *Sinaiticus* is to be preferred.

²³ *Lehre*, 86. In general, he considers that Mark was responsible for the naming of the opponents of Jesus in the controversy dialogues. Kiilunen suggests that he added the scribes of 2.1-12 to the Pharisees which were mentioned in this tradition. *Vollmacht*, 141. Followed by Guelich, *Mark* 102. Both positions are unpersuasive.

²⁴ See, J. D. G. Dunn, "Pharisees, Sinners, and Jesus," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism*. FS H. C. Kee, ed. J. Neusner et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 264-89.

²⁵ See, Arens, *HAΘON -Sayings*, 34.

²⁶ See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 87; Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 140-41; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:104.

its redundancy. Regarding verses 16-17, there is almost universal agreement that Mark has not intervened in them.²⁷

d) Conclusion

In summary, the most important redactional contribution by Mark was the prefacing of verses 15-17 with verses 13-14. The redactional αὐτοῦ of verse 15a makes the specific link between the two pericopes. In this way, the controversy meal scene of verses 15-17 is introduced by a teaching scene by the sea (verse 13), and a call scene (verse 14). It may be concluded, then, that Mark picked up on the theme of calling in verse 17, and prefaced the controversy scene with a call scene. The theme of discipleship reappears in the redactional verse 15c. By creating verse 13, Mark continued his interest in the theme of Jesus the teacher, and implicitly linked this up with the theme of discipleship. In the section on rhetorical analysis, we shall see that this was an important link for him to make. The fact that the controversy scene appears in this context suggests that Mark was intent to show that the opposition to Jesus was concerned not just with certain specific actions, but more importantly with his teaching activity in general.

3. Form and Transmission

a) Introduction

The substance of the tradition which came to Mark, then, is contained in verses 15-17. A number of commentators, following Bultmann, consider the pericope to have been of non-unitary origin: the sayings, that is, are considered to have circulated separately and the narrative elements created later to provide a setting. There is no close connection between setting and saying. For Bultmann, however, the meal setting is *appropriate*, since the verb καλεῖν in the saying would have evoked both table fellowship and fellowship as

²⁷ But see, Dewey, *Public Debate*, 196-97; D. J. Doughty, "The Authority of the Son of Man (Mk 2,1-3,6)," *ZNW* 74 (1983): 171.

such.²⁸ Others argue that the pericope was a unit from the very beginning, consisting either of verses 15-17, or verses 16-17.²⁹ Not all agree whether verse 17 in its entirety belonged to the original controversy, or which of the two sayings may have been the more primitive. Crossan, for instance, talks of an original dialectical story in verses 16-17a, which later received an aphoristic conclusion in verse 17b.³⁰ Finally, it has been suggested that "sinners" was a later addition to the phrase "tax collectors and sinners," with the original story describing Jesus eating only with tax collectors.³¹ The three problems which emerge concerning the form and history of the pericope, then, regard the question of its unitary or non-unitary origin, the question of the extent of the original response, and the question concerning the people with whom Jesus was eating.

b) The Setting and Response

While it is true that there is a seeming incongruence between the setting and response, it has already been pointed out that Theon considers that *chreiai* may be expressed in various ways. In this case, the physician saying may be classed not only as a maxim, but also as a saying expressed "with a change of subject."³² By means of

²⁸ *Geschichte*, 16. Similarly, Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 56-57; Nineham, *Mark*, 98; Weiss, *Lehre*, 89, 94; Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 109, 111. Strangely, Weiss criticizes Hultgren for classifying the story as one with a unitary origin. *Lehre*, 89 n. 38. Hultgren does quite the opposite.

²⁹ The former is maintained by H. W. Kuhn, *Ältere Sammlungen im Markusevangelium*, SNTU 8 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 58; Schmithals, *Markus*, 1:166; Pesch, "Zöllnergastmahl," 64; and the latter by Taylor, *Mark*, 203, Branscomb, *Mark*, 48, and van Iersel, "Lévi," 220, 225. Taylor prefers to see verses 16-17 with all its obscurities as the result of "a process of attrition due to constant repetition." *Mark*, 203. In other words, those verses are the result of contraction rather than expansion. Arens is convinced that the pericope has an historical core and that its earliest written form is verses 15b-17a. *HAΘON-Sayings*, 45, 52. Cranfield considers that verses 13-17 were a single unit of tradition.

³⁰ *In Fragments*, 215. Similarly, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 96; Arens, *HAΘON-Sayings*, 40-42; Carlsion, *Parables*, 114-15; van Iersel, "Lévi," 218; Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 144-48; Weiss, *Lehre*, 94; Gnifka, *Markus*, 1:104-5. The original unity of the sayings is maintained by Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 109; Gundry, *Mark*, 129; and Guelich, *Mark*, 104. The priority of verse 17b is argued by Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:166; id., "Zöllnergastmahl," 75.

³¹ See, Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:165; id., "Zöllnergastmahl," 72-74; Arens, *HAΘON-Sayings*, 30-31; Klauck, *Allegorie*, 149 n. 7.

³² κατὰ μεταλήψιν. Theon 121. The example he gives is: Πόρρος ὁ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν βασιλεὺς ζητούντων τιρῶν παρὰ πότον πότερος κρείττων ἀλλήτης Ἀντιγεννίδας ἦ

this change, the responder avoids the terms of the question, and succeeds in moving the dialogue onto grounds which he chooses. In the example quoted by Theon, Pyrrhus is not refusing to answer the question, but indirectly demonstrating the superficiality of the debate.³³ Regarding the ἡλθον-saying, Bultmann himself, as already indicated, notes the suitability of the meal setting, since the verb καλεῖν has overtones of invitation to table fellowship. Consequently, even this saying is not as incongruous to the setting as might first appear. Indeed, the appearance of the word "sinners" in both question and response is further indication of the appropriateness of this saying. In the rhetorical analysis, further comment will be made on the relationship between setting and response. These few remarks already indicate that care must be taken in judging whether a pericope is of unitary or non-unitary origin before its rhetorical dimension is taken into account.

c) Verse 17

Already noted is the disagreement among the commentators regarding whether the two sayings together formed the original response, or whether verse 17a is more primitive than verse 17b. Those who argue that the two sayings were originally separate note that there is no grammatical or content connections between them; that the themes of curing and inviting are quite different; that two climaxing logia in an apophthegm are very unusual; that the two have different forms; that the first saying is exclusive and general and the second is inclusive and personal; and that the tax collectors are not mentioned in the second saying.³⁴ In favour of the former's originality, it is argued that the ἡλθον-saying could not have been transmitted in isolation, whereas the physician saying could have. It is also noted that papyrus Oxyrhynchus has a similar pericope, but does not include the ἡλθον-saying.³⁵

Σάτυρος, 'Εμοὶ μὲν, εἶπε, στρατηγὸς Πολυσπέρχων. ("Pyrrhus the king of Epirus, when some people were debating over wine whether Antigennidas or Satyrus was the better flute-player, said: "In my opinion, Polysperchon is the better general.") Theon 174-78.

³³ Hock quotes the comment of Stobaeus on this chreia: διδάσκων ὅτι ἀναγκαῖα δεῖ ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ ἄχρηστα. *The Progymnasmata*, 334.

³⁴ See, Arens, *HAΘON-Sayings*, 40-42; Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 144-48.

³⁵ See, Crossan, *In Fragments*, 216.

Most of these arguments do not bear close scrutiny. It is too much to say that there is no content connection between the sayings. In the rhetorical analysis, the metaphorical relationship between the physician and the philosopher or teacher who calls will be established. There it will be shown that the metaphor of physician was widely used of a teacher or philosopher who calls or invites pupils to himself. Grammatically, the two sayings are crafted according to the model οὐ(κ) ... ἀλλὰ. Given this resemblance, it is not clear why it is claimed that the first saying is exclusive and the second inclusive. Furthermore, the mention only of sinners in the second saying is understandable in light of the straight comparison made with the righteous. In any case, they are not mentioned in the first saying either. Also, to claim that a story of this nature with two climaxing sayings is unusual, so that one of the sayings in this context must be secondary, is circular argumentation. That assumption needs to be demonstrated. Finally, the fragmentary nature of papyrus Oxyrhyncus precludes one from deciding that the second saying was never included in the first place.³⁶

The strongest argument for the non-unitary origin of the sayings is their formal difference, the first being a maxim from the general culture, and the second an "I-saying" from Christian circles. This formal difference, however, should not *ipso facto* lead to conclusions regarding their transmission history. In the exposition of the *chreia* and its elaboration, it was seen that formal differences (for instance, between maxim, analogy, example, and authoritative statement) were considered essential for the persuasiveness of the *chreia*. It is the rhetorical relationship between the sayings, or lack of it, which must first be established before conclusions are made about their primary or secondary nature.

This is not to say that the sayings could not have circulated separately. Clearly, both could have done so. The physician saying was common currency in the culture of the day, and echoes of the

³⁶ Some of these points are made by Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 146.

ἡθον-saying reappear in various contexts in early Christian texts.³⁷ Even given this, however, it still remains difficult to show the probability that one of the sayings was attached to the context at a later date. If a rhetorical coherence can be shown, then the various arguments for the originality of one or the other, which have already been shown to be weak, become more problematic.

d) Tax Collectors and Sinners

Before a decision can be made about the originality of this pairing, a word is needed about the historical identity of the "sinners." The simple identification of the sinners with the 'am ha-aretz has been fundamentally challenged by E. P. Sanders.³⁸ He argues that between Jesus and the Pharisees, there could have been no substantial disagreement concerning his association with the people of the land, since these were not considered to be outside the law, and therefore were not sinners. Their "offence" simply was that they did not follow the purity code of the *haberim*, "lay people who maintained themselves in a relatively high state of ritual purity."³⁹ Rather, the objection was against Jesus' association with the truly wicked, those who betrayed God and abandoned his law, and who were considered "quislings."⁴⁰

Sanders' argument thus makes the important distinction between those who were considered ritually impure by a specific group of people, and those considered beyond the pale of the law by all Jews.

³⁷ See, Luke 19.10; 1 Tim. 1.15; Barn. 5.9; 2 Clement 2.4; Justin Apol. 1.15; Did. 4.10. See, Pesch, "Zöllnergastmahl," 75; van Iersel, "Lévi," 218; Weiss, *Lehre*, 90-92. Contra Arens, *HAΘON-Sayings*, 40. It should be noted that Pesch also cites some of these texts, but as examples of parallels to the physician-saying. Presumably it this error which leads him to conclude that the ἡθον-saying is "nicht selbständig tradierbar." *Markusevangelium* 1:166.

³⁸ *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985), 174-211. See also K. H. Rengstorff, "ἀμαρτωλός," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, trans. and ed. G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 1:317.

³⁹ *Jesus and Judaism*, 181. He argues that since the *haberim* were a small, voluntary association who accepted special obligations, it would be quite wrong to conclude that they considered themselves as righteous and all others as sinners, cut off from salvation.

⁴⁰ "Tax collectors, more precisely, were quislings, collaborating with Rome. The wicked equally betrayed the God who redeemed Israel and gave them his law. There was no neat distinction between 'religious' and 'political' betrayal in first-century Judaism." *Jesus and Judaism*, 178.

He further maintains that Jesus' real offence may have been his offer to include these people "in the kingdom not only *while they were still sinners* but also *without* requiring repentance as normally understood, and therefore he could have been accused of being a friend of people who indefinitely *remained* sinners."⁴¹

This new approach attempts to go beyond the discussion between Joachim Jeremias and Norman Perrin regarding the identity of the sinners. For Jeremias, the term "sinners" denoted not only all those who failed to keep the law, but also those who involved themselves in disreputable trades.⁴² They were a group characterized by religious ignorance and moral baseness. Since some of these trades, including tax collecting, involved usury which was against the law, their pliers were "*de iure* and officially deprived of rights and ostracised."⁴³ In fact, all the trades listed, Jeremias holds, were considered, at least in part, to lead to immorality and dishonesty. Essentially, then, Jeremias, like Sanders, is arguing that sinners were not simply the ritually impure, but people who actually put themselves beyond the law. The difference is that Jeremias includes the 'am ha-aretz among sinners.

It is this mistake which Perrin attempts to remedy. He is quite clear that the 'am ha-aretz were not necessarily considered sinners. Sinners, rather, could be divided into three groups: Jews who sinned, Gentiles who sinned, and Jews who had made themselves Gentiles. The first group could certainly receive forgiveness, the second perhaps, but the third "were beyond hope of penitence or forgiveness."⁴⁴ Jesus' offence was to offer this third group forgiveness, and so cause a crisis in Judaism. These sinners gladly responded because they, like other Jews, yearned for an end-time

⁴¹ *Jesus and Judaism*, 206. Author's italics.

⁴² *New Testament Theology*, trans. J. Bowden, 2nd ed. (London: SCM, 1972), 108-13. For a list of the trades which range from the dishonourable, through the repugnant, to the immoral (and so, sinful), see his, "Zöllner und Sünder," *ZNW* 30 (1931): 293-300, and, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus. An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period*, trans. F. H. Cave and C. H. Cave (London: SCM, 1969), 303-12.

⁴³ *Jerusalem*, 311.

⁴⁴ *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus*, NTL 95 (London: SCM, 1967), 94

forgiveness, the Judaism of the day no longer satisfying the need for a God-given remission of sin.

Sanders is right to criticize Perrin's description of a bankrupt Judaism, based on merit and punishment, compared to the new way based on the grace offered by Jesus. He notes that in the Judaism of the day, "there was a universal view that forgiveness is *always* available to those who return to the way of the Lord." He is equally correct to note that there could have been no offence had Jesus been successful in converting quislings.⁴⁵ Sanders' basic thesis, however, rests on three arguable points: firstly, that there was no substantial disagreement between Jesus and the Pharisees; secondly, that the term "sinners" meant the truly wicked; and thirdly, that the controversies between Jesus and the Pharisees were all products of the Church, with no historical basis in the ministry of Jesus.⁴⁶

Regarding the first point, Neusner has indicated that of 371 pre-70CE. rabbinic stories concerning the Pharisees, 67% of them are concerned with ritual purity for meals.⁴⁷ This suggests that they were a purity sect, not just lay interpreters of the law as Sanders, following Josephus, would have them be. Consequently, Jesus' eating even with the ritually impure would have been offensive in their eyes.⁴⁸ Sanders considers Neusner's evidence unpersuasive since it

⁴⁵ *Jesus and Judaism*, 203.

⁴⁶ *Jesus and Judaism*, 290-93.

⁴⁷ *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), 3:303-4.

⁴⁸ As noted above, Dunn has re-examined the evidence concerning the Pharisees in the rabbinic traditions, Josephus, Paul and the Gospels, and concluded that "a remarkably coherent picture emerges of Pharisees as a sufficiently clearly defined group to be described as a "sect," αἵρεσις, whose most characteristic concern was to observe the law and ancestral traditions with scrupulous care, with a deep desire to maintain Israel's identity as the people of the law, as expressed not least in developing halakoth regarding the Sabbath and particularly ritual purity." "Pharisees, Sinners, and Jesus," 274. Concerning Josephus' description of them as lay interpreters of the law rather than as a purity sect, he suggests that this was due to his awareness of both the Romans' suspicion of sects, often identified by strange dietary laws, and also the sophistication of his targeted audience. He further notes that when Josephus uses the word ἀκριβεῖα in association with them (*War* 1.110; 2.162; *Ant.* 17.41; *Life* 191), he is hinting at their strictness and severity in regard to the law. "Pharisees, Sinners, and Jesus," 268.

rests on the analysis of traditions assigned to individuals and houses, and does not reflect the many anonymous laws which represented common belief and practice.⁴⁹ Yet Sanders himself admits that it is extremely difficult to date pericopes dealing with non-purity matters before 70CE. Furthermore, Neusner is quite clear that the traditions he examined were relatively small and represented only part of the Pharisaic group in Jerusalem.⁵⁰ Consequently, it seems likely that at least part of the Pharisaic movement was interested in matters of purity, especially regarding the eating of meals.

The term "sinners" has a long pre-history both in the Old Testament and in the inter-testamental literature. Dunn has investigated its appearances or inferences in *Jubilees* (6.32-35; 23.16, 26), the *Enoch* corpus (82.4-7; cf., 1.1, 7-9; 5.6-7), the *Psalms of Solomon* (1.8; 2.3; 7.2; 8.12-17; 17.5-8) and the Dead Sea Scrolls (c.g., *CD* 1.13-21, *1QS* 2.4-5, *1QH* 2.8-19, *1QpHab* 2.1-4; 5.3-8), and concluded that the term was synonymous neither with the Gentiles nor the blatantly wicked.⁵¹ Rather, he argues that the term was simply a sectarian word used to denote those outside of any particular sect. For instance, in *Jubilees* and *Enoch* it is applied to those Jews who followed a different calendar for the feasts. The *Psalms of Solomon* (4.1-8) even has sinners sitting in the Sanhedrin. Dunn's suggestion seems to be a reformulation of the remarks of Jeremias, who argues that the reader of the Gospel gets to know the companions of Jesus from a double perspective. From the point of view of his opponents, they are sinners etc.; from the point of view of Jesus, they are the "little ones," "the least," etc.⁵² Those who called Jesus' companions sinners were saying nothing more than that they did not belong to their group.⁵³

⁴⁹ *Jesus and Judaism*, 388-89 n. 59.

⁵⁰ *Rabbinic Traditions*, 3:279.

⁵¹ "Pharisees, Sinners, and Jesus," 276-80.

⁵² *Jerusalem*, 109, 111. Dunn does not refer to Jeremias' distinction.

⁵³ "Pharisees, Sinners, and Jesus," 277. "It is precisely those who were "scrupulous" in their adherence to the law and the ancestral customs who would be most liable to criticise others whose observance was, in their eyes, significantly less scrupulous (= unscrupulous)." "Pharisees, Sinners, and Jesus," 279.

The attraction of this position is that it confirms that controversy was present in the Jesus tradition from the very beginning, and not a product of proto-Rabbinism, which Sanders maintains. A discontinuity between Jesus and the subsequent tradition is thereby avoided, as is the radical re-dating of Mark's Gospel to the early 80s at the least, which his theory implies.⁵⁴ It also shows that the language of "sinners" belonged to the Jewish repertoire, and was used by one group of Jews against another. Moreover, it has been shown that tax collectors, more properly toll collectors, would not have been seen as quislings in pre-44 Galilee, since until then the province was not under direct Roman control.⁵⁵ Sanders' theory that Jesus consorted with the truly wicked thereby falls. Rather, the picture emerges of Jesus and the subsequent tradition attacking sectarian attitudes which created boundaries within the nation.⁵⁶ The term "sinners," then, seems best understood as expressing a factional viewpoint of one Jewish group towards another.⁵⁷

Viewed from this point of view, the original association of the terms sinners and tax collectors becomes more easily understandable.⁵⁸ Jesus stands accused of table fellowship not only with people who did not belong to certain élite factions (sinners), but with people who were met with revulsion among the general populace (tax-collectors).⁵⁹ Behind this description of the associates of Jesus, one

⁵⁴ In other words, if the controversies between Christians and Jews came about only after 70CE, the publication of the Gospel of Mark would have to have been much later.

⁵⁵ See, J. R. Donahue, "Tax Collectors and Sinners. An Attempt at Identification," *CBQ* 33 (1971): 39-61.

⁵⁶ R. Banks comments that the objection to eating with sinners "was first drawn by Pharisaic casuistry and it is that alone which Christ disregards when he sits at table with such people." *Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition*, SNTSMS 28 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 111.

⁵⁷ Herrenbrück, unfortunately, fails to differentiate between the "sinners" and the 'am ha-aretz, but his definition of these latter should be transferred to the former. The term is a "Schlagwort, mit dem die pharisäische-rabbinischen Kreise den Kampf gegen alle die um die Verwirklichung ihres Zieles führen, die diesen Weg nicht mitgehen wollen." *Zöllner*, 233.

⁵⁸ Regarding the question of the identity of the tax collectors, see Herrenbrück, *Zöllner*, 225-27.

⁵⁹ Herrenbrück maintains that it is difficult to establish precisely the cause of this revulsion. Certainly it was not because the tax collectors were perceived to be in collaboration with Rome, and therefore quislings. More likely, it was due to the compulsion they exercised in demanding taxes, especially in times of crisis, rather than their greed or profit. Further, from

can glimpse an attempt by the Pharisaic party to get the ordinary people on their side in opposition to Jesus. This attempt to divide and conquer may well explain why the accusation in this instance is made of Jesus himself, rather than of his followers.⁶⁰ The synoptic evidence in which "tax collector" is placed alongside "sinners," or specific descriptions of sinners, also favours the originality of the formula (see, Luke 7.34//Matt. 11.19; Luke 15.1; Matt. 18.17; 21.31-32; Luke 18.11).⁶¹

e) Conclusion

The foregoing analysis has argued three points. Firstly, it has been shown that caution is advised regarding the question of the unitary or non-unitary origin of the pericope before the rhetorical relationship between setting and saying is established. The same made be said for the second point which regards the relationship between the sayings in verse 17. The third and last point argued for the original unity of the formula "tax collectors and sinners."

4. Rhetorical Analysis.

a) Introduction

Robbins and Miriam Dean-Otting have offered a cursory rhetorical analysis of this pericope by way of introduction to a lengthier analysis of the Matthean parallel (Matt. 9.10-13). Guided by Theon's directions for the analysis of such units, they suggest, firstly, that verse 17 functions as a response to an inquiry which seeks some explanation (ἀποκριτικὸν κατ' ἐρώτησιν αἰτιώδης); secondly, that it is based on an argument from analogy, between Jesus' activity and

the Pharisaic point of view, they did not conform to a their normative religiosity. Zöllner, 292-93. See also, 143-46, 211-13.

⁶⁰ Herrenbrück argues that the formula "tax collectors and sinners" is of Pharisaic/scribal origin, and comments: "Wenn sie sich an die Jünger Jesu wandten, dann ist dies nicht so sehr ein Hinweis auf die spätere Diskussion >der Gemeinde< mit den Pharisäern ... sondern vielmehr die Aufforderung an die Jünger zum Bruch bzw. Abfall von Jesus." Zöllner, 242. Equally, however, the formula could have been used in the later discussion.

⁶¹ Similarly, Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 110-11; Gnlika, *Markus*, 1:104; Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 152-56; Weiss, *Lehre*, 96; Herrenbrück, Zöllner, 231-35.

that of a physician; thirdly, that the ἤλθον-saying establishes a metaphorical relationship between the well and righteous and the sick and sinners; and fourthly, that the whole argument operates inductively from the fact that doctors minister to the sick and not to those who are well.⁶²

The analysis of Robbins and Dean-Otting may be outlined in the following way:

Setting: Καὶ γίνεται κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων ἰδόντες ὅτι ἐσθίει μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ τελωνῶν ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ,

Quaestio: Ὅτι μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει;

Chreia Saying: -- argument from analogy: καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς [ὅτι] Οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες·

-- Inductive conclusion: οὐκ ἤλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς.

This analysis raises a number of issues. Firstly, it must be questioned whether the argument is based on inductive reasoning. This is based upon their description of the physician saying as an analogy. Consequently, the reasoning would run something like: Jesus is like a doctor; all doctors care for the (physically) sick; therefore, Jesus cares for the (spiritually) sick. The problem with this is that Jesus *calls* sinners to himself, rather than *is called*, as doctors presumably are. Metaphors, of course, are not allegories, yet nonetheless, if this act of calling can be explained in a more meaningful way, then it should be done so. In fact, once the physician saying is seen as a maxim, consequently using deductive reasoning, then the relationship between the two sayings becomes clearer. The second issue is related to the first. While there is a

⁶² "Biblical Sources for Pronouncement Stories in the Gospels," *Semeia* 64 (1993): 96-7.

metaphorical relationship between the two sayings, it is necessary to be precise about the elements upon which that metaphor is built. Moreover, it is necessary, from the point of view of *chreia* analysis, to assign the second saying a precise argumentative function which is informed by the handbooks. Finally, some attempt at defining the rhetorical situation ought to be made.

b) The Setting and *Quaestio*: Verses 15-16

Many of the form critics, as already indicated, suspect that the rather lengthy setting is the result of later additions to an earlier core. From the point of view of *chreia* analysis, however, the setting serves to create what Robbins calls an "abbreviated" *chreia*. This type of *chreia* is characterized by a setting which is expanded, but to which no argumentative function is added. While it is true that the setting in verses 15-16 does not compare stylistically with the examples Theon quotes concerning Epameinondas,⁶³ it does nonetheless have the same formal function.

There does, however, remain a problem with the *quaestio*. The Pharisees direct the question to the disciples rather than to Jesus himself, as would happen in the *chreia* tradition. In that tradition, third parties may be present in the story, but the emphasis is on the cut and thrust between the two main protagonists. In the previous section it was argued that the reason for the scribes of the Pharisees addressing the question to the disciples was their desire to create division between Jesus and his followers. In other words, concerns other than the desire to create a good *chreia* were at work in the formation of the pericope. There is evidence, then, already in the *quaestio*, of a slight distortion of the *chreia* form.

c) The *Chreia* Saying: Verse 17

Robbins and Dean-Otting classify the physician-saying as an analogy. While this is of course true, it is more fruitful to see it as a maxim, given its extensive use in the culture of the day. Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius are regularly cited to confirm how

⁶³ Theon 314-33.

widespread the saying was. It was also known in rabbinic literature.⁶⁴ The point to note is that as a maxim, the saying then functions as a generally accepted statement about how things go. Moreover, if the physician saying is understood as a maxim, then the logic involved is deductive rather than inductive. But what precise process of deductive logic is taking place, and what is the relationship between this first saying and the ἰαθον-saying? It is not enough to say that this latter is a metaphor of the physician saying, as Robbins and Dean-Otting do.⁶⁵ Metaphor is present, but it is important to be precise concerning what world of associations the metaphor is seeking to evoke. Moreover, metaphor as such did not constitute an argumentative element of the elaborated *chreia* as explained in the handbooks. Rather, the argumentative element to which the ἰαθον-saying best corresponds is the statement from authority. What is interesting to note is that the authority evoked is not some saying or hero from the classical past, for instance from the Torah, but Jesus himself. What needs to be established, then, is how the sayings relate both rhetorically and metaphorically to each other.

As a first step towards an answer, some sense must be made of the verb καλεῖν. It carries both the sense of invitation and call. Pesch considers its function similar to that in Matt. 22.3—an invitation to the great meal of God's Kingdom.⁶⁶ Yet, in the Matthean passage, the metaphor is a marriage feast rather than just an ordinary meal in a house. Further, this interpretation implies that Jesus is the one who invites rather than the one invited, host rather than guest.⁶⁷ A call

⁶⁴ "If they are not sick, why do they need a physician?" *Mekhilta to Ex. 15.26*. The Hellenistic examples will be cited below. Taylor notes: "The proverb about the physician and the sick was used by the Cynics and by representatives of other philosophical schools...." *Mark*, 207.

⁶⁵ In this they are following Bultmann, who also considers 2.17 to be a metaphor. *Geschichte*, 42.

⁶⁶ "[E]r ist der Bote, der die Nähe der Gottesherrschaft verkündigt und die Einladung zum großen Gastmahl Gottes überbringt." *Markusevangelium* 1:167. Also, Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 56; Guelich, *Mark*, 105.

⁶⁷ Lane maintains that Jesus is the host because of the phrase συνανέκεντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ in verse 15b. He too interprets the call in terms of an invitation to the messianic banquet of the Kingdom. *Mark*, 106. He fails to mention the rest of the clause: καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ. Are the disciples to be considered as co-hosts? Hooker is more cautious, but seems also to tend toward viewing Jesus as the host, but interprets the verb as a neutral "invitation." *Mark*, 97.

to repentance is no more compelling. Appeal to the parallel in Luke 5.32, where repentance is specifically mentioned, hardly explains Mark's understanding, since *μετάνοια* is used only once in the Gospel and then associated with a different verb and agent (John).⁶⁸ Finally, to read it as a general call to sinners,⁶⁹ in parallel with Luke 19.10 and 1 Tim. 1.15, is not persuasive since in both these verses the verb used is *σῶζειν*. Moreover the Lukan verse talks of τὸ ἀπολλυλός rather than ἀμαρτωλούς.

Both the immediate and larger context of Mark's Gospel offer a different way forward. The verb *καλεῖν* appears infrequently in the Gospel, but the one occasion in which it is used in a "strong" sense is 1.20, where Jesus calls James and John.⁷⁰ The context indicates clearly that this is a call to follow Jesus, as the response of Peter and Andrew in verse 18 makes clear: ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ. This same verb of following appears in the more immediate context of the call of Levi and in Mark's redactional comment in verse 15. These points suggest that Mark associated the verb *καλεῖν* with *ἀκολουθεῖν*. The call is a call to follow Jesus.

The second step towards establishing the rhetorical connection between the two sayings is to note that the association of calling/hearing and following is also present in some Hellenistic texts. For example, Diogenes Laertius reports that Parmenides "having heard Xenophon did not follow him." Lucian reports a story about Demonax:

When the Sidonian sophist was once showing his powers at Athens, and was voicing his own praise to the effect that he was acquainted with all philosophy—but I may as well cite his very words: "If Aristotle calls me to the Lyceum, I shall go with him; if Plato calls me to the Academy, I shall come; If Zeno calls, I shall spend my time in the Stoa; if Pythagoras calls, I shall hold my tongue." Well, Demonax arose in the midst of the audience

⁶⁸ κηρύσσω βάπτισμα μετανόας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Mark 1.4. Taylor, *Mark*, 207, and Cranfield, *Mark*, 106, both interpret the verb in this way.

⁶⁹ See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 93

⁷⁰ Elsewhere it appears only in 3.31 and 11.17.

and said: "Ho" (addressing him by name), "Pythagoras is calling you."⁷¹

This master/disciple relationship reflected in these texts was a very Hellenistic one, but quite foreign to the Old Testament.⁷² This suggests, then, that the use of the verb καλεῖν in verse 17 may well have evoked that Hellenistic world of teacher/disciple.

That this was so, is confirmed in the next step. As was noted above, the physician-saying was a maxim, various forms of which were in general circulation. The following are some examples.

When, in Tegea, after he [Pausanias] had been exiled, he commended the Spartans, someone said, "Why did you stay in Sparta instead of going into exile?" And he said, "Because physicians, too, are wont to spend their time, not among the healthy, but where the sick are."⁷³

One day when he [Antisthenes] was censured for keeping company with evil men, the reply he made was, "Physicians attend to their patients without getting fever themselves."⁷⁴

⁷¹ ὅπως δ' οὖν ἀκούσας καὶ Ξενοφάνους οὐκ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 9.21. See, H. S. Long, trans. *Diogenis Laertii Vitae Philosophorum*, 2, vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964). Τοῦ δὲ Σιδωνίου ποτὲ σοφιστοῦ Ἀθήνησιν εὐδοκιμοῦντος καὶ λέγοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐπαινὸν τινα τοιοῦτον, ὅτι πάσης φιλοσοφίας πεπεύραται — οὐ χεῖρον δὲ αὐτὰ εἰπεῖν ἢ ἔλεγε· ἐὰν Ἀριστοτέλης με καλῇ ἐπὶ τὸ Λύκειον, ἔξομαι ἄν Πλάτων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν, ἀφίξομαι ἔν Ζήνων ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ διατρίψω ἐν Πυθαγόρᾳ καλῇ, σιωπήσομαι. ἀραιοτάς οὖν ἐκ μέσων τῶν ἀκροαμένων, οὗτος, ἔφη, προσειπὼν τὸ ὄνομα, καλεῖ σε Πυθαγόρας. *Demonax* 14. See Lucian, trans. A. M. Harmon, LCL (London: William Heinemann Ltd; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927).

⁷² The Rabbinic world also knew this model, but it would seem that the influence there was also Hellenistic. Schmithals notes: "Das AT kennt ein Meister-jünger-Verhältnis nicht. Im Judentum der nt Zeit sammelt dagegen der (pharisäische) Schriftgelehrte (Rabbi) Schüler (Talmid) um sich, die durch seine Lehre und durch sein Verhalten geprägt werden. Diesen Brauch übernimmt das Judentum von den griechisch-hellenistischen Philosophenschulen." Markus, 1:167. See also, R. Meyer, "μαθητής," *TDNT*, 4:437-39.

⁷³ Ἐπαινούτος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Τεγέᾳ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, εἶπε τις, διὰ τί οὖν οἶκ ἔμενες ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀλλ' ἔφυγες; ὅτι οὐδ' οἱ ἱατροί, ἔφη, παρὰ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν, ὅπου δὲ οἱ νοσοῦντες, διατρίβειν εἰσέουσιν. *Moralia* 230F(2). See, *Plutarch's Moralia*, trans. F. C. Babbitt, LCL (London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927).

⁷⁴ ὁδεδιζόμενός ποτε ἐπὶ τῷ πανηρώς συγγενέσθαι, καὶ οἱ ἱατροί, φησί, μετὰ τῶν νοσοῦντων εἰσὶν, ἀλλ' οὐ πυρέττουσιν. Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 6.6.

In answer to one who remarked that he always saw philosophers at rich men's doors, he [Aristippus] said, "So, too, physicians are in attendance on those who are sick, but no one for that reason would prefer being sick to being a physician."⁷⁵

Accordingly, just as the good physician should go and offer his services where the sick are most numerous, so, said he, the man of wisdom should take up his abode where fools are thickest, in order to convince them of their folly and reprove them.⁷⁶

In this third step, it becomes clear that the doctor's art was often used in the surrounding culture as a metaphor for the activity of the philosopher or teacher. Dio Chrysostom makes this quite explicit:

For really most men feel towards the words of philosophy exactly as they do, I believe, toward the drug which physicians administer; that is, no one resorts to them at first, nor buys them until he contracts some unmistakable illness and has pain in some part of his body. And in the same way people are, as a general rule, not willing to listen to the words of the philosopher until some affliction visits them which men consider grievous.⁷⁷

Previously, talking of the need for better education, Dio writes:

[I]f there were a physician who, knowing how to treat the infirmities of the body, is in that way competent to heal the maladies of the soul--a teacher, I mean, who would be able to

⁷⁵ εἰπόντες τινὸς ὡς αἰεὶ τοὺς φιλοσοφούς βλέπει παρὰ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις, καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἰατροί, φησί, παρὰ ταῖς τῶν νοσούντων ἑλλὰ οὐ παρὰ τοῦτό τις ἂν ἔλοιτο νοσεῖν ἢ ἰατρεῦειν. Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 2.70.

⁷⁶ δεῖν οὖν τὸν φρόνιμον ἄνδρα, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἰατρὸν, οἷον πλεῖστοι κάμνουσιν, ἐκεῖσε ἰέναι βοηθήσοντα, οὕτως οἷον πλεῖστοι εἰσιν ἄφρονες, ἐκεῖ μάλιστα ἐπιδημεῖν ἐξελέγχοντα καὶ κολάζοντα τὴν αὔσιαν αὐτῶν. Dio Chrysostom *Orationes* 8.5. See, *Dio Chrysostom*, trans. J. W. Cohoon, LCL (London: William Heinemann; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939).

⁷⁷ Πεπόνθασι γὰρ δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγους ὅπερ, οἶμαι, πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν φάρμακα. οὔτε γὰρ τις ἐκείνοις εὐθὺς πρόσσειν οὐδὲ ἀνέχεται πρὶν ἢ περιπεσεῖν φανερώῳ νοσήματι καὶ ἀλγήσῃ τι τοῦ σώματος· οὕτε τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἀκουεῖν ἐθέλουσιν ὥς τὸ πολὺ, ὅτῃ ἂν μὴ λυπηρὸν τι ξυνενεχθῇ καὶ τῶν δοκούντων χαλεπῶν. *Orationes* 27.7.

rid of licentiousness and covetousness and all such infirmities those who were dominated by them....⁷⁸

Finally, there is a text in Plutarch which specifically identifies sinners as individuals with a deficient education:

The ignorant man is quite wrong in all things, while, on the other hand, the man of culture is right in everything.⁷⁹

In the first text, Dio connects not only the physician and the philosopher, but also the doctor's drugs and the philosopher's words. In the second text, he makes clear the moral task of the teacher. And the text from Plutarch specifically describes the uneducated as sinners. This moral dimension of the teacher or philosopher's task is evident in another text from Diogenes Laertius:

The story goes that Socrates met him (Xenophon) in a narrow alley, and that he stretched out his staff to bar the way, while he inquired where each kind of food was sold. Upon receiving a reply, he put another question, "And where do men become good and honourable?" But when Xenophon was puzzled, Socrates said, "Then follow me and learn." From that time on he was a disciple of Socrates.⁸⁰

The rhetorical connection between the two sayings in Mark 2.17 now becomes clear. The ἤλθον-saying uses the verb καλεῖν to echo those associations of the physician-saying which present Jesus as a teacher/philosopher who is intent on gathering around him his own

78 εἴτε τις παρὰ Ζκύθαις ἢ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ διασκάλος ὧν εἶπον ... ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία ἱατρός τις, θεραπεύειν ἐπιτάμενος τὰ νοσήματα τοῦ σώματος, οὕτως ἱκανὸς ὧν ἴσθαι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς νόσους.... *Orationes* 13.32.

79 πάντως μὲν ἐν ἡμῶν ἀμαρτωλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἀμαθὴ περὶ πάντα δ' αὖ κατορθοῦν τὸν ἀστέον. *Moralia* 11.25C.

80 τοῦτω δὲ ἐν στενωπῇ φασὶν ἀπαντήσαντα Σωκράτην διατείνειν τὴν βακτηρίαν καὶ κωλύειν παρῆναι, πυρθανόμενον ποδὶ πιπράσκειτο τῶν προσφερομένων ἕκαστον ἀποκριναμένου δὲ πάλιν πυθέσθαι ποδὶ δὲ καλοὶ κάγαθοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι· ἀπορήσαντος δὲ, ἔπου τοῖνον, φάναι, καὶ μάνθανε. καὶ τοῦντεῦθεν ἀκρατῆς Σωκράτους ἦν. Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 2.48. A story such as this goes against M. Hengel's thesis that in Greek philosophical anecdotes, personal attachment is more to the teaching rather than the teacher. *The Charismatic Leader and his Followers*, trans. J. C. Greig, SNTW 1 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1981), 32

followers or "students."⁸¹ A number of concepts are all interrelated and are used in various combinations: physician, philosopher, teacher, calling, follower, the sick, the well, sinners, medication, teaching, morality. The use of the common maxim in the first saying thus introduces the listener into that language field of teacher/disciple which is then echoed in the second saying. It is that field of language which makes the move from the first to the second saying rhetorically coherent: the first presents Jesus as a teacher, the second spells out his task.

The above citations show that there was a language field in which the terms foolish/wise, well/sick, sinful/righteous were linked and inter-related. Medical terms functioned as metaphors for moral states. Just as the physician *ipso facto* associated with the sick and fulfilled his mission only among them, so the teacher in the same way associated with the foolish and the sinful and fulfilled his mission among them.⁸² A "question seeking a longer answer," normally employs syllogistic reasoning which, in this case, could be outlined as follows: A physician cares only for those in need; a teacher, such as Jesus, is like a physician; therefore Jesus the teacher also cares only for those in need.

d) Genre, *Stasis*, and Rhetorical Situation

The rhetorical genre, at least in the question, is forensic and the *stasis* is one of quality. In other words, the religious leaders accuse Jesus of breaking the law and traditions as they understand them, and Jesus, while accepting the charge, excuses himself on other

⁸¹ Similarly, Weiss, *Lehre*, 90-91. This goes against Hengel's thesis that call of the disciples by Jesus is modelled on the call of the Old Testament prophets by God. He writes: "As to the call of the disciples, in the last analysis only the call of the Old Testament prophets by the God of Israel himself is a genuine analogy." *Charismatic Leader*, 87.

⁸² Consequently, there is no need to see a polemical intent in the mention of the "righteous" (for instance, Gnlika, *Markus*, 1:109), or an attempt at irony (for instance, Lane, *Mark*, 105). Pesch talks of a "dialectical negation," whereby the negative statement is used simply to emphasise the positive one. *Markusevangelium* 1:166. See also, Guelich, *Mark*, 104. Kiilunen comments: "Dabei ist der Spruch kaum polemisch in dem Sinne aufzufassen, als ob Jesus nichts von Gesunden hätte wissen wollen, wohl aber - im Sinne des Weisheitsworts - als Appell an den gesunden Verstand: den in Not Befindlichen muss geholfen werden." *Vollmacht*, 159.

grounds (*feci, sed iure*). Part of the strength of the answer is that it moves between the purely Jewish world of ritual purity, and the more Hellenistic world of teacher/disciple relationships. Yet even here, there is no simple rejection of that Jewish world, since the teacher/disciple relationship would have been understood in the world of Judaism, and the sinners/righteous dichotomy is thoroughly Jewish. The response of Jesus, while going beyond the terms of the question, also seems to be attempting to make common ground with his opponents, insofar as that response reminds them that they too are involved in the task of gathering disciples, just as they are interested in bringing sinners (that is, those who do not belong to their group) into their midst. There is no sign of polemic in Jesus' answer.

It is exaggerated then to see the rhetorical situation of the original exchange only in terms of ritual purity, specifically meal fellowship.⁸³ That it was an issue, given the nature of the question, there can be no doubt. But also involved was the larger question of outreach, of calling others into the group who may well neither have understood nor have been interested in the niceties of that ritual code. The rhetorical situation concerned the choice of remaining inward looking and preserving things as they were, or adopting a more open attitude to people who, from the point of view of certain individuals or groups, were rather questionable in their lifestyles. Rhetoric of a more deliberative nature can therefore be seen in the response. By making the accusation against Jesus alone, the scribes of the Pharisees (or those Jews attempting to follow their purity code) were attempting to isolate him from his followers. The answer shows that this was resisted. It would seem best, then, to suggest that the story reflects a moment before the break with the synagogue, when the followers of Jesus were arguing with Jews of a more strict observance (*haberim*?) for a more inclusive community which actively sought out new "disciples."⁸⁴

⁸³ Contra Mack, *Myth*, 182-83.

⁸⁴ Kiilunen comments: "Wenn die Gemeinde die Beschuldigung aufnimmt und verarbeitet, ist das in erster Linie dadurch bedingt, daß eine Gemeinde, deren Selbstverständnis durch Diskreditierung ihres Urhebers auf dem Spiel steht, dessen Wirken rechtfertigen will. Von besonderem Belang ist, daß sie in ihrer Antwort die Beschuldigung nicht einfach für Schwarzmalerei erklärt. Jesus hat in der Tat mit "Zöllnern und Sündern" gegessen. Aber im

Consequently the debate was not simply between Jewish and Gentile Christians,⁸⁵ nor between Jewish Christians and Judaism.⁸⁶

5. Evaluation and Conclusions

a) The setting and saying together form a reasonable example of a *chreia*. There is, however, a certain unevenness. The main problem in the setting is the address of the question to the disciples rather than to Jesus himself. This, it was suggested, reflects an attempt to drive a wedge between Jesus and his supporters, and consequently shows that there were concerns at work other than the desire to form a well-rounded *chreia*. The extended setting formally reflects an abbreviated *chreia* but it hardly adds much colour or information to what is contained in verse 16. Nonetheless, apart from the redactional verse 15c, its anticipation of the information contained in the following verse does not prove that it was a later adjunct, either in whole or in part.

b) The two sayings in verse 17 are rhetorically coherent and come from the language world of the relationship between teacher and pupil. That each of them could have circulated independently, and probably did, has already been argued. This does not mean, however, that one of the sayings in this context was a later addition. Both together could have been considered appropriate from the very beginning. It is equally possible that, in other circumstances, one of the sayings could have broken free from the context and so have given the appearance of original independence. The rhetorical coherence between them suggests that it is best to view them as

Mittelpunkt stand dabei die Bemühung um Außenseiter, die untrennbar zu seiner Mission gehörte." *Vollmacht*, 160. He gives an evaluation of the various suggested *Sitze* on pages 148-62.

⁸⁵ See, for instance, Kuhn, *Sammlungen*, 91-95.

⁸⁶ See, for instance, Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 162-65. J. D. G. Dunn comes closest to the mark when he comments regarding 2.15-3.5 in general: "There is sufficient indication in the tensions within the pericopes, confirmed also by the Matthean redaction, that the internal Jewish debate was also an internal Jewish-Christian debate, that while the unit would serve as Jewish-Christian apologetics over against non-Christian Jews, it could also function as a crucial 'text' in the Jewish-Christians' attempt to formulate their own self-identity." "Mark 2.1-3.6: A Bridge between Jesus and Paul on the Question of the Law," *NTS* 30 (1984): 409.

tied to one another from the beginning. Together, the sayings were a forceful description of the person and mission of Jesus. Viewed in this light, it would be wrong to ascribe a "high" Christology to the second saying. It must be read in strict connection with the first saying, and the two together present Jesus as one who calls in order to teach.⁸⁷

An interesting aspect of these sayings is that one is a common maxim from the surrounding culture, known both to Jew and Greek, whilst the other is an authoritative statement from Jesus. There is no attempt to appeal to the common Jewish tradition of the Old Testament or other literature, either by way of example, maxim, statement from authority, or whatever. Mack suggests that the reason for this was that both the Greek and Jewish traditions were considered inappropriate for early Christian imitation.⁸⁸ Clearly, this was not the case with the physician saying. Moreover, it suggests a certain Marcionism within primitive Christianity which no longer felt able to look to the Old Testament in its discussions, whether within itself or with other Jews. Rather, it would seem that the memory and words of Jesus were so formative and authoritative for his early followers that appeal to them was considered sufficient to justify his own mission and his followers' lifestyle.⁸⁹ It may also suggest that primitive Christianity had not yet the opportunity to reflect upon the Scriptures in order to defend its own practice.

From a more formal point of view, the presence of two argumentative elements in the response (maxim and authoritative statement) show that the *chreia* has been elaborated partially. The

⁸⁷ Contra Arens, *HAΘON-Sayings*, 54-55. He argues that since table-fellowship is an anticipation of the heavenly banquet, it must follow that the one inviting must be from the "heavenly mansion." The saying thus alludes to Jesus' divine origin. It is not at all clear why someone who issues invitations to the heavenly banquet must originate in the "heavenly mansions." To read an allusion to pre-existence in the verse is over-interpretation.

⁸⁸ "Rhetoric," 41. He is talking specifically in this context about the use of examples, but presumably this was also true about the use of other argumentative elements.

⁸⁹ This is not to enter into the question of the historicity of the ἡλθον-sayings. Arens considers only the sayings in Luke 7.33//Matt. 11.18-19 and Luke 12.49 to be authentic, and Mark 2.17 and Matt. 10.34 to be doubtful. All the rest are later creations. He concludes that one cannot doubt that Jesus may have used this type of sentence. *HAΘON-Sayings*, 345.

problem here is that, given the expanded setting, the pericope becomes both an abbreviated *chreia* and a slightly elaborated, or "argumentative," *chreia*. In this case, the distinction which Robbins makes between "abbreviated" and "argumentative" *chreiai* as separate classes breaks down. Moreover, the handbooks do not give examples of both types being used in the one story. This is further evidence of distortion of the *chreia* form.

c) The incongruity which some commentators see between setting and saying is exaggerated. A *chreia*-saying "with a change of subject" was entirely admissible, especially if the responder wanted to show the superficiality of the inquiry. Rather, the response aims at going beyond the concerns of the question to introduce matters of greater import. In this case, it introduces the topic of mission to the needy, and so attempts to break down previously erected barriers among Jews. The use of the physician maxim, so common in the Hellenistic world, may also suggest that, already, thought was being given to outreach to Gentiles. At the same time, the mention of sinners in verse 17 indicates that terms of the question were not entirely overlooked, as does the topic of the master/disciple relationship. Consequently, it seems that there was a certain search for common ground between the disputing parties, despite their differences regarding the inclusive or exclusive nature of the community.

d) The final point relates the rhetorical analysis to the redactional activity of Mark. Interestingly, he shows that he read the sayings in an appropriate manner. By prefacing the pericope with verses 13-14, he reveals that he understood the concerns with teaching, calling, and the type of person called which were present in the sayings. His explanatory comment at the end of verse 15 brings the theme of following into the heart of the original *chreia*. There is no evidence, however, that he understood that he was dealing with a *chreia*-like form. This is seen especially in his addition of verses 13-14 which embedded the *chreia* in a much more narrative setting.

e) In sum, at the heart of these verses there is a reasonable, but not perfect, *chreia*. If it were possible to prove that the setting in verse

15 did not belong to the original *chreia*, or that one of the sayings in verse 17 was secondary, then the original *chreia* could be classified as a slightly elaborated *chreia*, in the first case, or an abbreviated *chreia* in the second. The rhetorical analysis has suggested that it is best to view the substance of verses 15-17 as a unitary composition. Consequently, the original *chreia* has characteristics both of the slightly elaborated and abbreviated kind. This suggests the circles in which it originated were acquainted with the form, but not *au fait* with the various niceties of its possible permutations.

CHAPTER EIGHT. MARK 2.18-22

1. Redaction

a) Introduction

The extent of Mark's intervention in these verses is disputed. He is variously attributed with the composition of verse 18a; with the mention of the disciples of the Pharisees in verse 18b; with the addition of either verses 19b-20 or 21-22; and with slight additions to verse 22. In what follows, it will be argued that Mark was responsible only for additions at the beginning of the pericope and at its end. He prefaced the entire pericope with the narrative introduction in verse 18a; he introduced the disciples of the Pharisees in verse 18c; and he added emphasis to the distinction between "new" and "old" in verses 21-22. The redactional drive behind these additions was Mark's concern to continue his emphasis upon the teacher/disciple relationship.

b) Verse 18

The tradition received by Mark most likely began with verse 18b. This is suggested not only by the impersonal verbs (ἔρχονται καὶ λέγουσιν) which leave the subject unspecified,¹ but also by the periphrastic construction in verse 18a.² Mark gave the pericope a narrative introduction in much the same way as he did with 2.15-17, only this time he concentrated on the actions of the disciples of the Baptist and the Pharisees, rather than the action of Jesus. This needs some explanation, since the addition of verse 18a disrupts the

¹ See, Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:112; Guelich, *Mark*, 109; Carlston, *Parables*, 117. Pesch agrees that it is a "guter Erzähl-anfang" but attributes the additions to verse 18 to the pre-Markan redactor. *Markusevangelium*, 1:171.

² The construction is highly characteristic of Mark, appearing about thirty times: 1.6, 13, 22, 33, 39; 2.6; 3.1; 4.38; 5.5, 11; 6.31, 41, 52; 9.4; 10.22, 32; 14.4, 40, 49, 54; 15.7, 26, 40, 43, 46. Kallunen reckons that at least 1.22, 33; 2.18; 6.31, 52; 10.32 come from the evangelist. *Vollmacht*, 165. See also Weiss, *Lehre*, 97-98.

form of the controversy dialogue.³ Moreover, it aligns John's disciples with the enemies of Jesus, something which goes against Mark's presentation of the Baptist. Lohmeyer suggests an historical explanation: the introduction serves to inform the non-Jewish audience about Jewish practices.⁴ This presumes not only that Mark's audience consisted only of people of pagan origin, but also that that audience did not fast. This goes against the import of verse 20. Kiilunen is nearer the mark when he argues that verse 18a serves a more literary function: it signals that the theme of eating/not eating, already discussed in the previous pericope, is about to be discussed further.⁵ That is the case, but the verse, by mentioning disciples, serves also to show that that discussion would be conducted within the framework of the teacher/disciple relationship.⁶ The downside of this is that the audience could mistakenly have thought that Mark was presenting John's circle as inimical to Jesus' disciples.⁷

The presence of οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν Φαρισαίων in verse 18b is described by Bultmann as "eine schlechte Analogiebildung" to οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου and οἱ δὲ σοὶ μαθηταί.⁸ There is some reason for attributing it to Mark.⁹ It will be argued below that the unit is characterized mainly by epideictic rhetoric—it praises Jesus and those with him to the detriment of others. The immediate context of 2.13-17 and 2.23-28

³ See, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 17. Similarly, Schmidt, *Rahmen*, 88; Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 163.

⁴ *Markus*, 59. Lührmann takes a similar position when he explains that this redactional introduction indicates "eine zeitliche und räumliche Distanz des Erzählers und der Leser gegenüber der historischen Situation Jesu." *Markusevangelium*, 61.

⁵ *Vollmacht*, 163-64.

⁶ Similarly, Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:171-72. Gundry notes: "[T]he question does not deal with fasting so much as with the relative authority of John, of the Pharisees, and of Jesus: Does Jesus have authority to suspend fasting for his disciples despite John's and the Pharisees' requiring that their disciples fast?" *Mark*, 132.

⁷ By clarifying that the questioners were the disciples of John, Matthew (9.14) shows he read the verse in that way. Luke (5.33) does not specify the questioners, but it is clear that they are the Pharisees and the scribes of the previous pericope (see, 5.30).

⁸ *Geschichte*, 17 n. 3.

⁹ So Jürgen Roloff, *Das Kerygma und der irdische Jesu. Historische Motive in den Jesu-Erzählungen der Evangelien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 234; Ernst, *Markus*, 98.

is, however, characterized by a more forensic type of rhetoric. By introducing the "disciples of the Pharisees," Mark succeeded not only in introducing a note of forensic rhetoric, but also in continuing his emphasis upon the teacher/disciple relationship.¹⁰ In addition, he continued his redactional interest in portraying the Pharisees as part of the opposition to Jesus. This explains the risk he took in verse 18a of aligning John's disciples with the enemies of Jesus. The analogy is poor not only since the Pharisees were a group rather than an individual, but also because they did not have disciples.¹¹ But on these two counts, Mark did bring the unit more into line with the pericopes on either side. The phrase, then, is not an historical notice, but rather serves literary and rhetorical purposes.¹² The original tradition, therefore, had no time or place indications, no information regarding the identity of the questioners, and no mention of the disciples of the Pharisees. The comparison was between the disciples of Jesus and John, in a way analogous to the comparison between Jesus and John in Matt. 11.18-19 and Luke 7.33-34.

c) Verses 21-22

A number of commentators follow Bultmann in viewing verses 21-22 as traditional metaphors, probably added by Mark and to be understood in the light of verses 18-20.¹³ Guelich, however, argues that the original conflict had its focus upon the contrast between the sets of disciples regarding fasting. They represented the old and new orders respectively, and so the thinking behind verses 21-22 belongs logically with verses 18b-19a. Both represent the incompatibility of the old and new orders. Consequently, he favours the idea that the parables of verses 21-22 were added to verses

¹⁰ Dewey notes: "The repetition of *οι μαθηταί* four times within such a short space also emphasizes the importance of the "disciples" in the story. The rhetorical stress on "disciples" may be the explanation of the strange phrase "the disciples of the Pharisees"." *Public Debate*, 90.

¹¹ See, however, Rengstorff, "*μαθητής*," *TDNT*, 4:445-46.

¹² Gundry fails to notice these purposes in his attempt to give the phrase an historical referent. *Mark*, 132.

¹³ *Geschichte*, 17-18. Possibly verse 22 is a formation analogous to verse 21 which may originally have been a secular *mashal* contrasting irreconcilable opposites. *Geschichte*, 90, 102-3, 168. See, Grundmann, *Markus*, 88; Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 82; Roloff, *Kerygma*, 234.

18b-19a before the addition of verses 19b-20.¹⁴ In this case, verses 21-22 could not have stemmed from Mark. Taylor takes a neutral position when he notes that the verses could have as easily been added by Mark, as they could have come to him already connected with the previous verses. He does suggest, however, that they may represent fragments of a previous pronouncement story, the other elements of which have disappeared during transmission.¹⁵

That they could have circulated separately is confirmed by the *Gospel of Thomas* 47 where they appear together, in inverted order, but not in the context of the bridegroom metaphor.¹⁶ That Mark could have added them is possible, but unlikely. Their logical and rhetorical thrust reflect the non-fasting practice of verses 18b-19, as Guelich notes, rather than the fasting practice of verse 20, a practice most probably characteristic of parts of the Markan audience. Very probable, however, is that Mark was responsible for the phrases τὸ καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ and ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς in verses 21 and 22 respectively. The phrase in verse 22 is intrusive insofar as it disrupts the parallelism between the two sayings, and the phrase in verse 21 is superfluous. By themselves, these remarks do not necessarily point to Markan redaction. Earlier, however, Mark describes Jesus' teaching as καινή (1.27), and it is this distinction between the old and the new which is emphasized in the additions to verses 21 and 22.¹⁷ They are best seen, then, as Markan redaction. It should be noted that these additions, and verses 21-22 in general, have nothing to do with Christian fasting as such, but show a greater interest in the Christian "new" over and

¹⁴ Mark, 115, 117. The addition of verses 19b-20 was occasioned by the "negative consequences" of verses 21-22. This explains the loose connection between verses 18-20 and 20-22. Gundry's argument that "the suitability of sayings about clothing and wine to a wedding ... favors an original unity" is hardly persuasive. *Mark*, 138.

¹⁵ *Mark*, 212.

¹⁶ "Jesus said, 'New wine is not poured into aged wineskins, lest they break, and aged wine is not poured into a new wineskin, lest it spoil. An old patch is not sewn onto a new garment, for there would be a tear.'" A bridegroom saying related to fasting does appear, but much later on: "Jesus said, 'What sin have I committed, or how have I been undone? Rather, when the bridegroom leaves the wedding chamber, then let people fast and pray.'" *Gospel of Thomas* 104. See, John S. Kloppenborg, et. al., eds., *Q Thomas Reader* (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1990).

¹⁷ See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 105; Grundmann, *Markus*, 88; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:113.

against the Jewish "old."¹⁸ The implications of his activity in these verses will be taken up in the section on rhetorical analysis.

d) Verses 19b-20

Fewer commentators have followed Bultmann's suggestion that verses 19b-20 may also have come from Mark.¹⁹ This implies that he was consciously going against the tradition and that the tradition which came to him reflected a general Christian rejection of fasting. Both implications are difficult to accept. Moreover, the verses do not necessarily reflect his theology of the cross--they could quite easily be understood as referring to the death that comes to everyone. In any case, even if they did, this does not necessarily point to Markan redaction.²⁰ It is more prudent to see these verses as traditional.

e) Conclusion

Mark made only some slight interventions in the tradition which came to him. These additions had the purpose of continuing the theme of master/disciple already present in the previous pericope. This is true for his additions in verses 21-22 as it is for those in verse 18, since the former, with their emphasis upon newness, allude to the reaction to the teaching of Jesus in 1.27.

¹⁸ "Bei dem Doppellogion 21-22 sind die - auf alle Fälle sekundäre - die Dynamik und Eigengesetzlichkeit des Neuen - nicht nur der christlichen Fastenpraxis, sondern des Christlichen überhaupt - unterstreichenden, mit den programmatischen 1,22; 1,27 korrespondierenden Erweiterungen τὸ καιρὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ (v.21) und ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοῦς καινοῦς (v.22c) am natürlichsten der Redaktionsarbeit des Evangelisten zuzuweisen." Kilunen, *Vollmacht*, 173. Gnllka also considers that the phrase τὸ καιρὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ stemmed from Mark, but not the final phrase. *Markus*, 1:113. Similarly, Weiss, *Lehre*, 105; Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:177.

¹⁹ *Geschichte*, 17. Also, for example, G. Minette de Tillesse, *Le secret messianique dans l'Évangile de Marc*, *Lectio Divina* 47 (Paris, 1968), 126; Doughty, "Authority," 171; J. Dewey, "The Literary Structure of the Controversy Stories in Mark 2:1-3:6," *JBL* 92 (1973): 398. Klauck maintains only verse 19c is redactional. *Allegorie*, 160, 167.

²⁰ Kilunen argues the phrase ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ refers to a specific day, viz. the day of Jesus' death and that consequently, as a passion prediction, may be considered Markan redaction. *Vollmacht*, 168-73. Similarly, Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 60-61. Guelich lists those commentators who see other small redactional touches to these verses. *Mark*, 108.

2. Form and Transmission

a) Introduction

The presence of verse 20, with its emphasis upon fasting, is generally recognized as a later addition to the original dialogue. Equally, verses 21-22 with their different subject matter, are seen as later additions. The most important question regards the extent of the original answer. In what follows, it will be argued that the whole of verse 19 may be viewed as the original answer, and that verses 20, 21-22 were inserted later.

b) Verses 18-20

Bultmann catalogues this pericope as a controversy dialogue occasioned by the conduct of Jesus or his disciples. Originally, the logion was unattached and later transformed into an apophthegm (verses 18b-19a) when relations between the Church and the Baptist sect were acute.²¹ This he deduces from the question being concerned with the disciples' (= church) activity, rather than that of Jesus. Most commentators follow him in viewing verses 19b-20 as a secondary development, since, they claim, it corresponds neither to the style of an apophthegm nor to the original *Sitz*.²²

Weiss takes a slightly different tack. He suggests that the original apophthegm in verses 18b-19a consisted simply of the question in verse 18b (with no mention of the disciples of the Pharisees) and the response, *Μὴ δύναται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος νηστεύειν*. The focus of the question was fasting, and so the focus of the reply would have been on those who fasted. In any case, he further argues, the clause

²¹ The logion could have been a popular proverb about fasting at a wedding feast. See, *Geschichte*, 168

²² See, *Geschichte*, 17-18; Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 79-80; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:111-12; Minette de Tillesse, *Secret méssianique*, 126. Pesch considers verses 18b-19a to be a tradition which goes back to the historical Jesus, with verses 19b-20 added by the early Church to justify its own practice of fasting. *Markusevangelium*, 1:171, 174. Similarly, J. Jeremias, "νυμφίος," *TDNT*, 4:1096; Kuhn, *Sammlungen*, 71; Grundmann, *Markus*, 88; Schweizer, *Markus*, 67; Carlston, *Parables*, 121-24. Taylor rejects Bultmann's reasoning and considers that these verses belonged with verses 18b-19a from the beginning and represent reliable tradition. *Mark*, 211-12.

ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν overburdens the sentence. This originally independent wisdom logion, once used in the construction of the apophthegm, then functioned not only to legitimize the community's not fasting vis-à-vis the practice of John's disciples, but also, through the introduction of the wedding metaphor, to establish the coming of eschatological salvation. Consequently, the thrust of the apophthegm was not to establish a general policy of not fasting within the Christian community, but rather to differentiate its position in regard to the ascetic fasting of John's followers.²³

Further, for Weiss, once the need to distinguish Christian practice from the practice of John's disciples was no longer relevant, the apophthegm was reworked to justify Christian fasting. This was in two stages. The general practice of fasting was established through the additions of the clause concerning the bridegroom in verse 19a and verses 19b-20, minus the phrases *ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος* and *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*. At a second stage, these phrases were added to justify the practice of special fasts.²⁴ Consequently, Weiss categorizes the form of this pericope as a controversy story concerning questions of Christian living.²⁵

Weiss' rather intricate analysis is aimed at establishing the coherence between verse 19a and verses 19b-20.²⁶ It is not at all

23 "[M]k 2,19a innerhalb des Streitgesprächs nicht eine generelle Stellungnahme zum Nicht-Fasten der Jesusjünger bildet, sondern eine *relative* Stellungnahme der Gemeinde zur Bußaskese des Täuferkreises." *Lehre*, 100.

24 Weiss, with Kuhn, suggests the weekly Friday fast is meant. *Lehre*, 99. See Kuhn, *Sammlungen*, 63-71. Hultgren, noting that the Pharisees fasted on Mondays and Thursdays, suggests that the point of the question was: "Why do you not keep the traditional fast days?" *Adversaries*, 80.

25 See, *Lehre*, 98-105.

26 A. Kee argues for the coherence of verses 19 and 20 on different grounds. "The Question about Fasting," *NovT* 11 (1969): 166-67. Theologically, he claims, the title "bridegroom" is messianic. Therefore his presence described in verse 19a already implies what is made implicit in verse twenty, namely, that he will be taken away. From a literary point of view, he argues, the answer in verse 19a is just as irrelevant to the question as the answer in verses 19b-20. It will be indicated below that it is very doubtful whether the title "bridegroom" carried messianic connotations in the Old Testament. In any case, it seems that Kee is thinking of one specific type of Messiah, viz., one who would suffer. Regarding his literary argument, the rhetorical analysis will show that this type of question and response did not need to give specific answers.

clear, however, how the absolute statement of the original answer in verse 19, as reconstructed by Weiss, indicates a *relative* position on fasting in comparison to the position taken by the disciples of John. Even if this had been the case, it remains unclear why a later generation of Christians chose this apophthegm to add on its own perceptions in verses 19b-20, and the addition in verse 19a, in order to further their own inner-community discussions on fasting.²⁷ Moreover, the elimination of the bridegroom saying from verse 19a (ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν) on the grounds that it overburdens the sentence does not take into account the fondness that oral story-telling had for redundancy. Also, the shift from the plural "the days" to "that day" in verse 20 is not enough evidence to conclude that a special Friday fast is indicated.²⁸

Finally, it must be questioned whether verse 19b was originally conceived together with verse 20. As it stands, it functions simply as a paraphrase of verse 19a, and paraphrase, as has been already noted, was one of the first steps in the elaboration of a *chreia*. From this point of view, then, verse 19b reflects well the content of verse 19a, and it is quite possible that the two parts of the verse were unitary in conception.²⁹ Viewed in this light, it would appear that verse 20 was never any free floating logion, but rather that it was composed specifically for this context in order to reflect the community's habit of fasting.

c) Verses 21-22

Few would argue that these verses belonged to the original apophthegm. Most view them as containing a contrast between the new (of Jesus) and the old (of Judaism). In the present context that is the case, and may well have become so in the tradition, but this says nothing of their original meaning and *Sitz*. These seem

²⁷ See, *Lehre*, 298.

²⁸ See, Guelich, *Mark*, 113.

²⁹ Schweizer suggests that verse 19b may have been added by Mark, since it is omitted by both Matthew and Luke, and in certain manuscripts. Not only are these negative arguments, but Schweizer fails to recognize the rhetorical function of verse 19b. *Markus*, 67.

irrecoverable.³⁰ Bultmann suggests that originally they may have been secular *meshalim*, but does not expand. What, however, is interesting to note is that once they are taken out of their present context, and the Markan additions deleted, the verses do not seem to be making a stark contrast between the old and the new. Rather, verse 21 gives advice on how properly to repair a garment, so that both new and old work together. Similarly, verse 22 worries about the loss both of the wine and the wineskins. Both sayings seem intent on emphasizing preservation rather than incompatibility.³¹ Consequently, their original thrust was distorted when they were added to the dialogue about fasting. In the course of transmission, that is, and in their present context, they have been used to show the superiority of the new over against the old.

d) Conclusion

This formal analysis has argued that the present pericope consists of three separate units, verses 18b-19, verse 20, and verses 21-22. Verses 18b-19 constituted the original dialogue. From the point of view of transmission, it seems most likely that verse 20 constitutes the latest addition, since it stands in tension not only with verses 18b-19, but also verses 21-22 which represent coherent expansions of the content of verses 18b-19, even though their original thrust was somewhat distorted when they were placed alongside of verses 18b-19.

3. Rhetorical Analysis

a) Introduction

The following analysis will argue that the original dialogue (verses 18b-19) is an example of a very good *chreia* which was slightly

³⁰ See, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 102; Taylor, *Mark*, 212; Rawlinson, *Mark*, 32; Johnson, *Mark*, 66; Cranfield, *Mark*, 113; Carlston, *Parables*, 126.

³¹ See, Carlston, *Parables*, 126-29; A. Kee comments: "The double parable deals with danger of loss, not incompatibility. It deals with inappropriate action and thoughtlessness...." "The Old Coat and the New Wine: A Parable of Repentance," *NovT* 12 (1970): 20.

elaborated. It is a responsive sayings-*chreia* belonging to the sub-species "response to an enquiry" (τὸ κατὰ πύσμα), with the response couched "in a figurative manner" (τροπικῶς). Verses 21-22 offer two arguments from analogy and further extend the *chreia* elaboration. In rhetorical terms, verse 20 functions as a statement from authority, but does not relate coherently with the rest of the *chreia*. Viewed as a *chreia*, the pericope may be analysed in the following way:

Setting: Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι νηστεύοντες. καὶ ἔρχονται καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ,

Quaestio: Διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν Φαρισαίων νηστεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ σοὶ μαθηταὶ οὐ νηστεύουσιν;

Chreia-Saying: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν νηστεύειν;

Paraphrase of the chreia: ὅσον χρόνον ἔχουσιν τὸν νυμφίον μετ' αὐτῶν οὐ δύνανται νηστεύειν.

Authoritative Statement: ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος, καὶ τότε νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

Argument from Analogy: οὐδεὶς ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπιράπτει ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν· εἰ δὲ μή, αἶρει τὸ πλήρωμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ χεῖρον οὐσίμα γίνεται.

Argument from Analogy: καὶ οὐδεὶς βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος τοὺς ἀσκοὺς καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί· ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς.

b) The Setting: Verse 18ab

Mark has expanded both the setting, through the mention of John's disciples and the Pharisees in verse 18, and the *quaestio*, through the introduction of the historically questionable disciples of the Pharisees. In so doing, he achieved two things. Firstly, he continued

his narrative portrayal of the Pharisees as the enemies of Jesus, and secondly, he emphasized the theme of discipleship, a theme already introduced in the preceding pericope. There, however, the emphasis was upon Jesus the teacher as the one who calls. Now the emphasis shifts to those called. It was this desire to emphasize the theme of discipleship which led Mark to talk of the Pharisees' disciples. Consequently, they are mentioned not simply because of ignorance,³² nor to illustrate a breach between Jesus and the Pharisees,³³ nor to indicate a larger group influenced by Pharisaism.³⁴ Rather, Mark was laying the ground for what he had to say concerning the effects the teacher had upon those who respond to his call and follow. He picked up on the comparison between Jesus' and John's disciples, which he received from the tradition, and extended it to include another group of disciples, those of the Pharisees. Thematically, he emphasized the topic of discipleship, and rhetorically he strengthened the comparison.³⁵

c) The *Quaestio*: Verse 18c

The *Quaestio* names two groups who fasted, but for quite different reasons. The practice of John's disciples carried on the ascetic practices of their master (see, Mark 1.6; cf., Matt. 11.18//Luke 7.34) and reflected a particular lifestyle which forbade the eating of meat and the drinking of wine, in line with the practice of post-biblical Jewish prophets and reflecting an eschatological outlook.³⁶ This prophetic reference is confirmed by the description of John's attire

³² See, Carlston, *Parables*, 118.

³³ See, Taylor, *Mark*, 210.

³⁴ See, Lane, *Mark*, 108.

³⁵ Dewey notes the rhetorical force created through the introduction of the parallel phrase. *Public Debate*, 90.

³⁶ The various reasons for fasting are discussed by G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. The Age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), 2:55-69, 257-66. See, F. Behr, "ῥῆστis," *TDNT*, 4:924-35. Both Taylor, *Mark*, 209, and Cranfield, *Mark*, 108-9, follow Rawlinson (*Mark*, 31) in suggesting that the motive for their fast was mourning for the death of their master. Fasting as a sign of mourning was practised in Judaism (e.g., 1 Sam. 31.13; cf., Jth. 8.6; 1 Macc. 1.25-28), but the fasting of John's disciples in this context indicates a life-style rather than a temporally limited action. Furthermore, from the point of view of the narrative of the text this interpretation does not make sense, since the death of John remains to be reported.

in Mark 1.6. It may be that the eating habits of John and his disciples were influenced by the practice of the Essenes, as S. L. Davies suggests.³⁷ Consequently, the point of the comparison between the disciples of Jesus and John concerns not so much which group could be considered more pious,³⁸ but rather the question of their respective masters' identity.³⁹ If the ascetic lifestyle of John and his disciples was a signal of John's prophetic role and status, then the question of this status being given to Jesus came into question because of the behaviour of his disciples.⁴⁰ This connection between behaviour and identity is explicitly made in Matt. 11.18-19 and Luke 7.33-34, where the respective behaviour of John and Jesus leads to accusations of possession on the one hand, and drunkenness and gluttony on the other.

The Pharisees respected the national days of fasting, and *Didache* 8.1 mentions their twice-weekly fasts on Mondays and Thursdays.⁴¹ The motive for these fasts is obscure but seems to lie in a concern for personal piety, penitence, and self-consecration.⁴² Their practice pointed not so much to a specific identity but more to their moral and religious standing. Obedience to the law and the traditions were the criteria for the judging of moral worth.

³⁷ "John the Baptist and Essene Kashruth," *NTS* 29 (1983): 569-71.

³⁸ Contra Kee, "Fasting," 164.

³⁹ Similarly, Kilunen, *Vollmacht*, 178-79; Roloff, *Kerygma*, 228-29.

⁴⁰ Schmithals notes: "Das Fasten der Johannesjünger (vgl. Mt. 11,18f.) hing zweifellos mit der apokalyptischen Bußbewegung zusammen, die von Johannes ausging. Man >fastete< von dem alten Aon in Erwartung der kommenden Gottesherrschaft." *Markus*, 1:176.

⁴¹ The Day of Atonement is the only day of fast prescribed by the law (see, Lev. 16.29; cf., Exod. 20.10; Lev. 23.26-32; 35.9; Num. 29.9-11). By the first century CE., other days of fasting were taking place. A list of these is given by Lane, *Mark*, 108 n. 57.

⁴² See, Lane, *Mark*, 109; Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:172. Kee maintains that John's disciples fasted for the same reasons as the Pharisees, "going beyond the requirements of the law." "Fasting," 162. He further argues that the disciples of Jesus probably did fast, but they were wrongly thought not to, since they would have been obeying the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount. "Fasting," 171. The former point does not take into account the eschatological nature of John's message and lifestyle. Moreover, as Lohmeyer points out, the priests would have followed a much stricter fasting practice than the Pharisees. *Markus*, 59. The reasons for that would have been cultic, something quite different from Pharisaic practice. Kee's latter point remains an assumption which cannot be demonstrated.

By introducing the reference to the Pharisees and their disciples, Mark downplayed the question regarding the identity of Jesus as prophet and highlighted the perceived illegal behaviour of the disciples as an indicator of the moral unworthiness of their teacher. A certain confusion emerges. To an epideictic rhetoric focusing upon a certain behaviour as indicative of the prophetic status of the respective teachers, Mark introduced a rhetoric of a more forensic nature in which the disciples were accused of breaking the law, or at least as it was interpreted by the Pharisees. The negative reflection upon Jesus their teacher is clear. This change of rhetorical genre suggests a change in rhetorical situation. The comparison between John's disciples and Jesus' disciples reflects a situation in which the identity of their respective masters as eschatological prophets was the issue. The comparison with the Pharisees' disciples points to a situation in which the legal status of the respective communities was at issue and Jesus' status as teacher of the law disputed.

d) The Response (*Chreia* and paraphrase): Verse 19

The *chreia*-saying functions at three levels: as a rhetorical question; as an analogy, and as a final topic. These final topics (τελικὰ κεφάλια), we have already seen, were a list of general categories, appeal to which evoked agreed conventional values. Anaximenes gives a list of eight topics which includes "the possible" (δυνατόν).⁴³ In his discussion of refutation, Theon notes that the ἀδύνατον is one of the fallacies which the student ought to be able to detect in argumentation.⁴⁴ This logical fallacy is made possible by the introduction of the analogy of the bridegroom and the sons of the wedding chamber. Appeal is made to common experience and custom which is used to elicit the required response. The rhetorical question, in turn, makes it even clearer which answer is expected. The logic used is deductive, and requires the questioners to make the relationship: Jesus/disciples: bridegroom/sons of the wedding chamber.

⁴³ *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1421b-1422b12.

⁴⁴ Theon 336.

The questioners are thus pushed from three angles, rhetorical question, analogy, and final topic, to the required conclusion. This rhetorical density suggests that the response is not some proverb or maxim, like the physician saying, in which a bridegroom was generally accepted as a metaphor for a teacher or suchlike.⁴⁵ More likely is that the saying is an example of that $\mu\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ -like response which characterizes many Cynic *chreiai*. This, we saw previously, is the type of answer used when the responder attempted to escape the codes and conventions implicit in the question. In his response, Jesus does not appeal to religious codes. Rather, through appeal to human culture and experience he defends the actions of his disciples. He succeeds in this by picking up on the main point of the question, fasting, and then situating it in a totally incongruous situation of celebration.⁴⁶ The analogy and the use of the final topic are repeated in the paraphrase of the *chreia* which is reformulated as a statement.⁴⁷

e) The Arguments from Analogy: Verses 21-22

The two analogies in verses 21-22 continue the response of verse 19, but in a different way. In that verse, Jesus picks up the theme of fasting, but avoids arguing the pros and contras on the legal or theological grounds of the followers of the Baptist and Pharisees. Nor does he choose to argue explicitly on the grounds of the comparison made in the question. He simply states why his disciples do not fast, but does not criticize other groups for their practice. It is that comparison which is picked up in the final verses and which contains an implicit critique of the questioners. That critique is formulated in terms of new and old, and is emphasized by Mark's

⁴⁵ Bultmann suggests that it could have been a proverb or secular *mashal*, but is unable to offer any parallels apart from an Indian proverb. *Geschichte*, 107 n. 1.

⁴⁶ "The rejoinder achieves its point by means of the principle of selectivity and partiality--taking up a single aspect of a situation which accords with the overall conventional code and system of values, only to play it off against some other aspect of the same set of assumptions in order to point up a devastating incongruity." Mack, "Elaboration of the *Chreia*," 50. Kee has an insight into what is going on when he notes that "there is a disparity between the two replies, the reply Jesus might have been expected to give, and the reply we have in the text." "Fasting," 170.

⁴⁷ See, Hermogenes 42-44.

redactional additions. The disciples of John and the Pharisees belong to the old; those of Jesus belong to the new. What, specifically, is new about Jesus and his disciples is not spelled out here, but already in the Gospel it has been defined: his teaching. In his first public appearance, Jesus appears in the synagogue in Capharnaum, teaching and healing, and the public respond by describing his activity as a διδαχὴ καινὴ (1.27). It is this new teaching which Mark emphasized in the two further analogies. He used the tradition which came to him not to enlarge upon the question of fasting, but rather once again to emphasize the originality of Jesus as teacher and, more particularly in these final verses, the effect that would have on his followers.⁴⁸ The use of epideictic rhetoric is clear. Jesus and his disciples belong to what is new, the others to what is old, and the two are incompatible.

f) The Argument from Authority: Verse 20

The authoritative statement in verse 20 disrupts the entire argument, since it argues for the practice of fasting, based on the absence of the bridegroom. This future absence is described by the clause ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος. The imagery serves two functions. Firstly, it makes quite clear what is adumbrated in the previous verse, namely, that the bridegroom is indeed Jesus. Secondly, it states that at some point in the future the disciples will be separated from him by his death. Since the Jewish custom was that the guests left before the groom, the image of his being taken away signals rather strange imagery.⁴⁹ The analogy of verse 20 becomes a full blown allegory of Jesus, his disciples, and their future. Moreover, the use of comparison is extended. Verse 18b compares the disciples of John and the Pharisees with those of Jesus; verses 21-22 compare old with new; now verse 20 introduces the theme of the absence of the bridegroom, in comparison with his presence in verse 19b. The comparisons are personal, temporal, and qualitative.

⁴⁸ The same adjective is used to describe the new wine of the kingdom in 14.25.

⁴⁹ Anderson comments: "The departure of the bridegroom at a wedding feast would still be no cause for mourning or fasting." *Mark*, 106.

Some commentators see deeper resonances in verse 19. Hardly any would claim a messianic significance to the metaphor of the bridegroom, but most would see connotations of the era of salvation.⁵⁰ The disciples cannot fast because Jesus' presence signals that the era of eschatological salvation is arrived. This connotation of the metaphor of the bridegroom may well be present in verse 19, and it was certainly understood as such both in the Hebrew Scriptures and in later New Testament writers.⁵¹ The problem with this interpretation is that it implies that the era of salvation in some way passes with the death of Jesus. Schweizer is one of the few to spell out specifically this implication. However, his attempt to get round it by explaining that salvation would only be complete once sin and death were abolished has no support in the text.⁵² Guelich tries to maintain the coherence between verses 19 and 20 by suggesting that fasting is not what is principally in view, but is a metaphor for Jesus' earthly ministry and death. This leads him, however, into the strange position of reading the two analogies of the old and the new in relation to Jesus' life and death.⁵³ Dewey's literary analysis leads her to consider verses 18-20 as a seamless

⁵⁰ J. C. O'Neill notes the difficulty in seeing these sayings as messianic. "[I]f they are messianic they can scarcely be parables of Jesus, but if they are not parables of Jesus they can scarcely be parables made up by the Church." "The Source of the Parables of the Bridegroom and the Wicked Husbandmen," *JTS* 39 (1988): 487. He argues in this fashion since he presumes, on the one hand, that Jesus did not make any messianic claims, and that the Church, on the other, could not have spoken of his death without including the Resurrection. Neither point offers solid enough grounds for his conclusion that the parables were messianic, but originated with John, when asked why Jesus' disciples did not fast, and were later appropriated by the followers of Jesus.

⁵¹ Swete (*Mark*, 44) suggests the messianic allusion, but Jeremias can find no evidence that the Old Testament used the image of bridegroom as an allegory of the Messiah. There is, however, plenty of evidence of Israel as the bride of Yahweh with the concomitant evocation of salvation. See, Jeremias, "νυμφίος," *TDNT*, 4:1099-1106. See also, Minette de Tillesse, *Secret messianique*, 124-25.

⁵² In fact, he appeals to Luke to justify his explanation: "One can view the earthly ministry of Jesus (as Luke is inclined to do) as an especially prominent sign of the future end-time—a sign which terminates with Jesus' death." *Markus*, 38.

⁵³ "In other words, whereas 2:19 is a statement about the presence of the new age embodied in the presence and company of the bridegroom, 2:20 is essentially a passion prediction of the loss of the bridegroom. The old and the new are mutually exclusive (cf. 2:21-22). Therefore, 2:19b, 20a change the focus of 2:19a but not the meaning. Both deal with fasting but more metaphorically than principally—the one with reference to Jesus' earthly ministry, the other with reference to his death." *Mark*, 114.

unit. This position, however, is based solely on word-links and does not demonstrate how verse 20 functions as a response to the question in verse 18b.⁵⁴ The incoherence between the verses ought simply to be recognized.

Another resonance noted by some commentators is an allusion to the Passion contained within the verb ἀπαρθῇ.⁵⁵ They suggest that the word echoes the violent fate of the Servant in Is. 53.8, ἀλρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ, and so transforms the clause into a Passion prediction. Against this it should be noted that the verb appears neither in the Passion predictions nor in the Passion narrative itself to describe the fate of Jesus. Moreover, there is no mention of the Resurrection here, as there is in the other Passion predictions (see, 8.31; 9.31; 10.34). The verb is used simply to emphasize the strange nature of the bridegroom going before the guests and to provide the opposite situation depicted by the clause ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν.⁵⁶

To understand the fasting referred to in verse 20 as pure metaphor for the sadness of the community over the death of Jesus, as Guelich does, is unwarranted. Lane also takes this line, noting: "In view of the pervading contrast between joy and sorrow in the developed image it is better to understand "fasting" in the broader sense of experiencing sorrow."⁵⁶ Yet the question put to Jesus specifically addresses the practice of fasting, not of celebrating or being joyful. There is no sign that the questioners are talking in metaphors. Neither is there any need to read the phrase ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ as a

⁵⁴ Consequently, she sees no lack of coherence and claims that the stages of development show no trace in Mark's text. "Verses 19-20 not only answer the question [in verse 18b], but also move beyond it to envision a new situation." *Public Debate*, 92.

⁵⁵ For instance, Taylor, *Mark*, 211; Lohmeyer *Markus*, 60; Guelich, *Mark*, 112.

⁵⁶ Lane, *Mark*, 112. It may well have been that verse 19 in its unattached form had nothing as such to do with the practice of fasting. Bultmann notes: "Man kann auch verstehen: wie an der Hochzeit das Fasten unmöglich ist, so in der jetzt anbrechenden Freudenzeit irgendein dem Fasten entsprechendes törichtes Verhalten, irgendwelches Trauern und Bangen." *Geschichte*, 182-83. In its present context, it clearly is responding to the actual practice of fasting. See, Carlston, *Parables*, 120 n. 13.

reference to a Friday fast, or some other specific fast day.⁵⁷ Matthew drops the phrase and Luke pluralizes it to bring it in line with the plural in 2.20a, both thereby showing that they understood the phrase to be synonymous with the clause ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι. Kiilunen, who considers the phrase redactional, argues that it refers principally to ἀπαρθῆ rather than νηστεύσουσιν, and so offers a Christian rationale for fasting.⁵⁸ That rationale is Jesus' death, to which specific day the phrase refers. Consequently, Christian fasting is practised because of the absence of Jesus, and as a distinguishing sign of that community.⁵⁹

Finally, it should be noted that this authoritative phrase is attributed to Jesus. This indicates that, as in the case of the ἦλθον-saying in 2.17b, that Jesus himself was being appealed to as a legitimating authority. Is it possible to be more precise about the nature of the discussion? Above it was noted that the topic of comparison lies at the very heart of all the sayings, from the question right through to the final analogies. The analogies in verse 19 and verses 20-21 work in order to make a clear distinction between the followers of Jesus and all others. There is reason to suspect that the temporal comparison in verse 20 functions in a similar way.

Elsewhere in the New Testament, there is evidence that the early Christians fasted. The advice in Col. 2.16, 21 concerning eating and drinking may well reflect a debate with Jewish Christians who maintained a strict fasting practice. In Matt. 6.16-18, Acts 13.2-3, 14.23, 27.9, fasting is referred to as part and parcel of Christian

⁵⁷ So Carlston, *Parables*, 120 n. 17. Guelich gives an overview of the various proposals and arguments against them. *Mark*, 112-13. See also, Kuhn, *Sammlungen*, 64-71.

⁵⁸ *Vollmacht*, 168-73.

⁵⁹ "Vielmehr verdankt das Apophthegma seine Gestaltung einer in ihrer Substanz juden-christlichen Gemeinde, die Fasten seit jeher als selbstverständlich praktiziert, jedoch christliches Fasten als ein Phänomen sui generis darstellen und von dem jüdischen absetzen will..." *Vollmacht*, 194. His position that the apophthegm with its thesis and antithesis was never a controversy about whether to fast or not, but simply a statement that fasting pointed to the absence of Jesus, does not take into account the controversial nature of the pericopes on either side. Clearly, some early Christian traditioner understood the apophthegm to be controversial.

living.⁶⁰ What is interesting to note is that there is no attempt to explain the rationale of the fast. Acts 13.2-3 and 14.23 specifically associate it with prayer, and that may well be the case also in Matt. 6.16-18 (see, verses 7-13). Yet this is simply good Jewish practice. Nor is there any evidence of the fast being associated with Friday, or any other day which would mark off Christians from their contemporaries. The impression remains that the fasts referred to in these texts are the continuation of Jewish practices.

It may be concluded, then, that the text in Mark 2.19 is unique to the New Testament in that it attempts to give fasting a specific Christian rationale: Jesus' followers fast because his death has brought about his absence. At the same time, this rationale represents a tidy compromise. Above, it was noted that fasting as a sign of mourning was Jewish custom. In this text, that custom is used to explain Christian behaviour, an explanation readily acceptable to Jewish Christians. The mourning of Jesus is what is new and different.⁶¹ Consequently, the verse succeeds in establishing the specific nature of Christian fasting--it is practised neither for ascetic reasons, as with John's disciples, nor for penitence or personal consecration, as with the Pharisees, but to mourn the death of Jesus. But it is not a simple metaphor for this mourning. Rather it describes a general Christian practice, the specific occasion of which cannot be deduced from the text. At the same time, the verse keeps the door open to Jews and Jewish Christians by grounding the practice in a custom accepted by them. Since it seems more likely that the verses reflects an inner-community discussion, it is probable that the practice of Jewish

⁶⁰ Pesch, suggests that 1 Cor. 7.5; 2 Cor. 6.5; 11.27 also witness the practice of fasting. *Markusevangelium*, 1:175. Yet, 1 Cor. 7.5 talks of abstaining from sexual relations, rather than food, and the other two texts are Paul's descriptions of the physical hardships he had to bear for the sake of the Gospel. The phrase ἐν νηστείας indicates physical hunger rather than a religious fast.

⁶¹ Kiilunen accepts that it is Jesus' absence which is the rationale of its fasting, but strangely does not accept it is linked to his death. *Vollmacht*, 194. Placing the text within its history of reception, Gnllka can say: "Entscheidend ist der Geist, in dem die Gemeinde fastet. Sie tut es in Erinnerung an Jesu Tod." *Markusevangelium*, 1:115.

Christians was being defended, but given a new rationale which all could share.⁶²

g) Genre, *Stasis*, and Rhetorical Situation

The question in the original *chreia*, it was argued above, contrasted the practice of the respective disciples of Jesus and John in order to probe the identity of Jesus. This is a procedure typical of epideictic rhetoric, where *παραδείγματα* were used to indicate *ἡθός*. The *stasis* was one of conjecture: who precisely is Jesus? Jesus' response uses the metaphor of the bridegroom with all its salvific associations, and provides not only a rationale for the practice of the disciples, but also a hint at the identity of Jesus. There is no sign of any polemic, though the metaphor does suggest the superiority of Jesus. This original *chreia*, then, indicates a rhetorical situation in which the respective identities of Jesus and John were being discussed by their followers, and the superiority of Jesus was being suggested. The arguments from analogy in verses 21-22 reflect a similar rhetorical situation, in which Jesus' superiority was being established through comparison between the new (Jesus) and the old (John). What was being stressed at this point, however, was continuity between the old and the new, rather than supersession, preservation rather than incompatibility. This confirms that the original *chreia* was not polemical in intent, and that the rhetorical situation was one in which the respective followers were in dialogue concerning their masters, most likely at a time when they all belonged to the synagogue.

The authoritative statement in verse 20 goes against the previous argumentative strategy and so introduces rhetorical incoherence. The reason for its inclusion was to give a rationale for the fasting practice of some Jewish Christians. That rationale was mourning for the death of Jesus. This rationale also served to distinguish Christian fasting from the fasting of other groups. The rhetorical situation reflected was most likely an inner-community one, where some Christians were fasting and others not. Consequently, the genre is

⁶² See, Carlston, *Parables*, 121.

more deliberative, through which a reason was being given for a certain course of action to be taken.

4. Evaluation and Conclusions

a) The question and response in verses 18b-19a form a very good *chreia*. It is a responsive sayings-*chreia* belonging to the sub-species "response to an inquiry" (τὸ κατὰ πύσμα). The response is couched "in a figurative manner" (τροπικῶς). The figurative manner of the response appeals to the common conventions between questioner and responder, and the rhetorical question functions to gain the agreement of the questioners without detailed theological or legal arguments. Appeal to the final topic and logical fallacy of the "possible" further places the questioners under duress.

b) Verse 19b is a good example of the paraphrasing of the *chreia* and marks the beginning of a full elaboration. It picks up on all the aspects of the *chreia*: the bridegroom, the sons of the bridechamber (contained in the verb) fasting, time indication, and the topic of the "possible." The emphasis, however, is changed by the placing of the time indication at the beginning. Rather than the impossibility of fasting being emphasized as in verses 19a, now the time when the bridegroom is present is stressed. The comparison which comes in verse 20 is thereby prepared.

c) The authoritative statement of verse 20 is formally similar to verse 18b through its use of comparison. Moreover, the addition of verse 20 turns the unit into what Robbins would call an argumentative *chreia*: setting, *chreia*, paraphrase, and authoritative statement. From the point of view of content, however, it introduces a rhetorical incoherence--it offers an argument for the practice of fasting and so no longer functions as an answer to the question. This rhetorical incoherence suggests that verse 20 formed a response to a situation which was quite different from that envisaged by the *chreia* of verses 18b-19.

That addition, it was argued, no longer reflected a discussion concerning Jesus' identity with outsiders but rather an inner-community question regarding practice. In all likelihood, this was caused by the influx of a certain group of Jewish Christians who had never given up their fasting practice. The addition encouraged the practice, but now on different grounds. The followers of Jesus fasted in mourning of him. Fasting by Christians was given a rationale for the first time. Epideictic rhetoric still characterizes the discourse, but this time to distinguish and make superior the Christian community from those outside. The different rhetorical situations account for the lack of coherence between the original apophthegm and the later addition.

d) The two analogies in verses 21-22, on the other hand, function well as a continuation of the response in verse 19. They transformed the personal comparison of that verse into a qualitative one, with the implication that the Baptists and the Pharisees belonged to the "old." Epideictic rhetoric is still at work, but now no longer simply in praise of Jesus, but also critical of outsiders. In all likelihood, these verses reflect a break with the synagogue, something not evident in verses 18b-19.

e) A certain confusion of genre emerges from Mark's redactional activity. Above, it was suggested that the original questioners in verse 18b were only John's disciples, and that their fast was a continuation of the ascetic practice of their master. That practice was a symbolic action which pointed to John as an eschatological prophet. The original question, we suggested, concerned not so much fasting as such, but to what extent the practice of the followers revealed the identity of their respective masters. The *stasis* is one of conjecture--who is Jesus? This reflects a rhetorical situation where the identity of Jesus was being debated on the basis of the behaviour of his followers. This interest in identity is one of the concerns of epideictic rhetoric, and comparison is one of the favourite tropes of this genre.⁶³ The original apophthegm in verses

⁶³ Lausberg comments: "Die *comparatio* (Prisc.praex. 8), σύγκρισις (Herm.prog. 8; Aphth. 10; Theon 9; Nic.Soph.prog. 10) ist der Vergleich des Lobes (*laus*, ἐγκύμιον) zweier Personen oder Sachen. Der Vergleich kann

18b-19 may therefore be considered not as a debate concerning whether to fast or not, but rather a debate concerning what the behaviour of the disciples (the community) revealed about the identity of their master.

The metaphor of the bridegroom cleverly introduced an analogy of the good things Yahweh as groom brought to his people Israel. In this way, Jesus also is presented as harbinger of eschatological blessing, but in a way different from John and the prophets: they prepared the way, Jesus brought it about.⁶⁴ Clearly, the saying reflects a situation in which Christians were not fasting, but that did not represent the problem as such. Rather it was what that practice revealed about the master.

The emphasis of Mark upon the disciples of the Pharisees introduced a more forensic type of discourse, which no longer was concerned with how practice indicated identity, but rather one which was involved in accusation. Mark changed the *stasis* from one of conjecture to one of quality. The legal challenge of the Pharisees is not met with any clearly formed hermeneutic, but only with an answer which gives *laus* to Jesus' disciples and *vituperatio* to the others. The reason for this is that the traditional material was characterized by an epideictic rhetoric which was interested in demonstrating the superiority both of Jesus and of his followers. Mark was unable or unwilling to match the legal charge of the Pharisees with a legal answer.

Moreover, in his additions to verses 21-22, he introduced a deliberative note into an otherwise epideictic discourse. With the emphasis upon the new, he not only emphasized the superiority of Jesus and his followers vis-à-vis outsiders, but also encouraged those followers to have nothing to do with the old. He set up a

zwischen gleichwertigen Gegenständen oder zwischen ungleichwertigen Gegenständen erfolgen." *Handbuch*, §1130.

⁶⁴ Similarly Schmithals: "Was Johannes der Täufer noch erwartete, ist gekommen." *Markus*, 1:178. See, Guelich, *Mark*, 111.

programme of discipleship which was marked by discontinuity rather than continuity.⁶⁵

f) In sum, then, the original question and answer in verses 18b-19a forms a rather good example of a *chreia*. Verse 19b works well as a paraphrase, and there is no reason to view it necessarily as having been added at the same time as verse 20. The addition of authoritative statement in verse 20 is, from a formal point of view, an acceptable step in the way to a full elaboration. From the point of view of content, however, it introduces a rhetorical incoherence, despite the continued use of comparison. The two analogies and the comparison between old and new in verses 21-22 belong to the thought world of verses 18b-19, presenting Jesus and his followers as the "new." Consequently, verse 20 appears as an even greater intrusion.

When the entire pericope is compared with Hermogenes' description of the elaborated *chreia*, a certain unevenness is evident. For Hermogenes, the authoritative statement ought to conclude the elaboration. Moreover, because he encourages the use of different forms of proof, the employment of two analogies rather than, say, an example and an analogy, might suggest a certain lack of rhetorical finesse. Finally, Mark's redactional additions serve to place a certain emphasis upon the teacher/follower relationship, and to introduce forensic and deliberative language into a more epideictic discourse. There is no evidence either that he desired to mould the material into an elaborated *chreia*, nor that he was aware of the oscillation he introduced among the rhetorical genres.

⁶⁵ Ernst comments: "Die Nachfolge Jesu ist das absolut Neue, das sich mit der alten, hinter der Fastenfrage stehenden jüdischen Ordnung, nicht mehr verträgt." *Markus*, 101. Similarly Schmithals: "Freilich betonen 21 und 22, über das Bildwort 19a hinausgehend, nicht nur die neue Situation als solche, sondern auch die mit dieser neuen Situation gegebene unerläßliche Preisgabe alter und die Wahl neuer Verhaltensweisen." *Markus*, 1:181.

CHAPTER NINE. MARK 2.23-28

1. Redaction

a) Introduction

There is no consensus regarding the extent to which Mark intervened in this unit. His hand has been variously detected in verses 23-24,¹ in verses 25-26,² in verse 27,³ and in verse 28.⁴ In what follows, it will be argued that there are a good number of indications of the Markan provenance of verses 25-26. The formal analysis which follows this section will discuss the various difficulties which are met when verses 25-26 are considered to be the original response.

b) Verses 25-26

There are a number of indications of possible Markan redaction. Firstly, in other passages Jesus' reaction takes the form of a question about the opponents' lack of knowledge of the Scriptures (see, 11.17; 12.10, 24). Secondly, the phrase *οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ* is used elsewhere in the Gospels to describe the disciples (see, 1.36; 3.14; 5.18, 40. Cf., 9.38).⁵ Regarding this point, it should be noted that in

¹ H. Sariola, *Markus und das Gesetz. Eine redaktionskritische Untersuchung*, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum* 56 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1990), 83-84; Weiss, *Lehre*, 56.

² Weiss, *Lehre*, 43-44, 53-54.

³ A. Suhl, *Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen im Markusevangelium* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1965), 84.

⁴ Lane, *Mark*, 120; Lührmann, *Markusevangelium*, 64; N. Perrin, *A Modern Pilgrimage to New Testament Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 8; B. Lindars, *Jesus Son of Man. A Fresh Examination of the Son of Man Sayings in the Gospels in the Light of Recent Research* (London: SPCK, 1983), 103-5; Doughty, "Authority," 172-73; Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 197-98; Weiss, *Lehre*, 52-55; H. Räisänen, *The Messianic Secret in Mark's Gospel*, trans. C. M. Tuckett (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1990), 225-26.

⁵ See, Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:121, 123; Suhl, *Zitate*, 85. P. Dschulnigg considers this phrase to be typically Markan. *Sprache, Redaktion und Intention des Markus-Evangeliums. Eigentümlichkeiten der Sprache des Markus-*

the two preceding units, stress is placed upon Jesus' being with others. Twice in 2.16 Jesus is described as being with tax collectors and sinners, and twice in 2.19 is the bridegroom described as being with the groomsmen. Thirdly, the justification of David's action (χρεῖαν ἔσχεν καὶ ἐπέλυσεν) is better understood in light of verse 27 (διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον) than of what precedes--both focus upon need.⁶ Finally, it should be noted that in 1 Sam. 21, the priest of Nob runs out to meet David, whereas here David enters εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ. Most commentators simply note the difference without offering an explanation. Mark's redactional interest may well explain the differing descriptions. There are a number of instances throughout the Gospel where Mark sets the subsequent scene by describing Jesus entering a house (2.1; 3.20; 7.17; 7.24; 9.28; 9.33; 10.10).⁷ This entrance of David sets the scene for the essential action of the story, his taking the shewbread and giving them to his followers to eat. It could be that with this David/Jesus comparison in mind, Mark chose to describe the action of David as he would the action of Jesus. Even though the comparison is not exact (it is God's house David enters; it is hunger which brings him to the action), such an explanation goes some way to explaining the difference between the text of Mark and that of 1 Samuel.

c) The Context of Verses 24-25

These indications of possible Markan redaction build up into the probability that he has created the whole scene when it is remembered the interest Mark had in this section of the Gospel. The two preceding pericopes, it has been noted, probe the relationship between teacher and disciple. That relationship is not explicitly spelled out in verses 27-28, but with the introduction of the David episode, and the emphasis upon his companions, the hand of Mark shows itself. Mark introduces not only David, but David *and* his companions, in order to offer a biblical precedent for the action of

Evangeliums und ihre Bedeutung für die Redaktionskritik, SBB 11, 2. Auflage (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1986), 201.

⁶ See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 45.

⁷ For Peabody, this is one of the "redactional features of the text of Mark [which] have the highest probability of coming from his hand." *Mark as Composer*, 163.

Jesus' companions and the relationship of authority which Jesus had over them.⁸ This interpretation is strengthened when it is noted that there is no clear messianic interpretation given to the comparison between David and Jesus. Finally, if these verses are seen as Markan redaction, then the stylistic and verbal similarities between verse 24 and verses 25-26 become more easily understandable as Mark's attempt to integrate the David story more fully into the context.⁹

d) Conclusion

In summary, these verses are best understood not as the original response to the setting and question because of the many difficulties which arise from that reading. Rather, given the possible traces of Markan style and vocabulary (Οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε, οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον), his clear interest in the teacher/disciple relationship, and the reading of David's need and hunger in light of the phrase διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, it is better to read these verses as a Markan commentary on the original controversy.¹⁰

⁸ David Daube also suggests that this passage be read against the background of the mutual responsibilities of teacher and disciple, a theme which is of clear Markan interest in this section. "Responsibilities of Master and Disciples in the Gospels," *NTS* 19 (1972-73): 1-15.

⁹ Sariola notes a number of *hapax legomena* in these verses, and so decides that they must be traditional. *Gesetz*, 79. This does not take into account that Mark is not freely composing, but making use of a previous text.

¹⁰ Similarly, Weiss, *Lehre*, 51-55. There is an overwhelming consensus that Mark did not intervene in verses 23-24a. Weiss, however, considers that he was responsible for the naming of the questioners in verse 24a (*Lehre*, 56), and Sariola argues for greater Markan activity, but can only conclude the following from his analysis: "Markus hat also den Anfang der Erzählung bearbeitet, aber es ist nicht möglich zu sagen, in welchem Umfang." *Gesetz*, 83-84.

2. Form and Transmission

a) Introduction

The extended nature of Jesus' response and the diverse nature of its parts lead many commentators to view the pericope as the combination of two or more traditions.¹¹ Bultmann is followed by one group of commentators who consider that the original story consisted of verses 23-26, with the latter two verses being added later, either together or separately.¹² For others, the original story is to be found in verses 23-24.27 (and perhaps 28). Hultgren, following Klostermann, suggests that the original Jesus saying in verse 27 was given a setting with verses 23-24, with verses 25-26.28 added later. These later additions, he argues, had the aim of toning down the radical statement of verse 27 which would have been unacceptable for a Palestinian Jewish Church.¹³ He further

¹¹ There is a full discussion in F. Neirynck, "Jesus and the Sabbath: Some Observations on Mark ii, 27," in *Jésus aux Origines de la Christologie*, ed. J. Dupont, BETL 40 (Leuven: Leuven University Press; Gembloux: Éditions J. Duculot, 1974), 227-70.

¹² *Geschichte*, 14. See also, Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 65; Taylor, *Mark*, 218; Schmid, *Markus*, 70; Schweitzer, *Markus*, 39; Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:179; Lane, *Mark*, 118-20; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:119-20; Schmithals, *Markus*, 1:183-87; Guelich, *Mark*, 128-29; E. Lohse, *Die Einheit des Neuen Testaments. Exegetische Studien zur Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 2. Auflage (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), 65; Suhl, *Zitate*, 82-84; Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 197-203; D. Roure, *Jesús y la figura de David en Mc 2, 23-26. Trasfondo biblico, intertestamentario y rabínico*, Analecta Biblica 124 (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1990), 127-31. Cranfield suggests that verse 27 may originally have been connected with a healing. *Mark*, 117.

¹³ "Because of its radical nature the allusion to David's action was added in 2:25-26. This allusion tones down the statement of 2:27. There is a precedent, it was shown, for breaking Sabbath law. And, furthermore, the saying in 2:28 serves a complementary function, for it is a Christological assertion of the primitive community which shows that the radical statement in 2:27 is not the end of the matter." *Adversaries*, 113-14. Similarly, Klostermann, *Markusevangelium*, 29; Grundmann, *Markus*, 90; Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu*, 121; Ernst, *Markus*, 102; Schweizer, *Markus*, 39; Lührmann, *Markusevangelium*, 64-65; K. Scholtissek, *Die Vollmacht Jesus. Traditions- und redaktionsgeschichtliche Analysen zu einem Leitmotiv markinischer Christologie* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1992), 174-77; Weiss, *Lehre*, 44-45; Doughty, "Authority," 170. F. W. Beare, "The Sabbath was Made for Man?" *JBL* 79 (1960): 133-34. K. Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu: Ihr historischer Hintergrund im Judentum und im Alten Testament*, WMANT 40 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1972), 24, 197-98. That verses 27-28 were added together is argued by Kuhn, *Sammlungen*, 73-76; H. Hübner, *Das Gesetz in der synoptischen Tradition. Studien zur These einer progressiven Qumranisierung und Judaisierung innerhalb der synoptischen Tradition*

maintains that the original unit was not conceived in a unitary fashion, the setting having been created for the saying.¹⁴ The major formal problems, then, concern whether the original response consisted of verses 25-26, or verse 27, or verses 27 and 28 together, and whether the original controversy may be considered a unitary composition or not. In what follows, it will be argued that verses 27-28 supplied the original response, and that the setting and response were conceived in a unitary fashion.

b) Verses 25-26

Bultmann defends his position principally on stylistic grounds--the composition is defence by counter-question, the conclusion to which is signalled by the connecting formula καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς in verse 27. Pesch adds to this argument by noting not only the word links between verse 24 and verses 25-26, but also the change from singular to plural between verses 23-24 and verse 27.¹⁵ The argument for verses 23-26 being the original unit, then, is based essentially on linguistic and stylistic grounds. While it is true that defence by counter-question occurs elsewhere in the Gospels,¹⁶ the problem in this case is that the counter-question does not answer the specific question of the Pharisees. Their implied lack of knowledge of the Scriptures is neither here nor there in relation to the question. The actual argument comes in the story of David. Moreover, it may be said that the counter-question and the argument from Scripture have two separate functions; the first to

(Witten: Luther, 1973), 121; H. Räisänen, *Die Parabeltheorie im Markusevangelium*, Schriften der finnischen exegetischen Gesellschaft 25 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 1973), 98. Roloff suggests that verses 27-28 may be fragments of a quite different controversy story which were added by a pre-Markan redactor to the original reply in verses 25-26. *Kerygma*, 58-59.

¹⁴ *Adversaries*, 114. Similarly, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 16; Weiss, *Lehre*, 41; Beare, "Sabbath," 133.

¹⁵ "[2], 23-26 sind durch die Stichworte οὐκ ἔστιν (24.26b), ποιεῖν (24.25) verbunden und mit dem Plural τοῖς σαββάσιν (23.24; vgl. 3, 2.4) gegenüber dem Singular τὸ σαββάτον/τοῦ σαββάτου (27.28) sowie mit der Reihungsformel von 2, 27-28 abgehoben." *Markusevangelium*, 1:179. See also Gnlika, *Markus*, 1:120, and Kilunen, *Vollmacht*, 205.

¹⁶ See, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 42.

characterize the Pharisees in a negative way, the second to attempt to settle the dispute.¹⁷

Regarding the argument that the connecting phrase καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς in verse 27 indicates the addition of later material, a distinction ought to be made between establishing a redactional intrusion and transmission history conclusions concerning the subsequent material. This is to say that Mark may simply be using an introductory phrase to introduce material which was already in the tradition which came to him.¹⁸ In any case, the same phrase is used to introduce verse 25, and so cannot be used *sic et simpliciter* as a sign of primary, secondary, or redactional material.¹⁹ It should also be remembered that similar phrases are used in Hellenistic *chreiai*, and such a possibility ought to be considered in the Markan text. The linguistic arguments of Pesch and Gnllka are no more persuasive, since the word links in verses 25-26 do not establish *ipso facto* an original connection with verse 24. The same arguments could be used for Markan redaction.²⁰ Moreover, the use of the phrase οὗς οὐκ ἔξεστιν has a quite different referent in verse 26 than in verse 24. The linguistic and stylistic arguments for verses 23-26 being the original unit, then, are not in themselves cogent.

From the point of view of content, it is not at all clear how the reference to David answers the Pharisees' question about sabbath violation.²¹ The David story concerns a quite different point of the

¹⁷ See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 42.

¹⁸ See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 42-43. A similar point is made by Scholtissek, *Vollmacht*, 174 n. 423.

¹⁹ See, Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 206. Similarly, Kuhn, *Sammlungen*, 74. Neiryneck disagrees. "Jesus and the Sabbath," 264. The point remains, however, that it is invalid to decide between traditional and redactional material by basing one's argument on two phrases which are virtually identical.

²⁰ See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 43; Scholtissek, *Vollmacht*, 174.

²¹ The disciples' breach is variously interpreted. If the emphasis is placed upon ὅδον ποιεῖν then the breach consists either in going beyond the limits of a sabbath day's journey (ὅδον ποιεῖν = *iter facere*), or in the work of the disciples in constructing a path for Jesus (contra Ex. 34.21). If the emphasis is placed upon τὸ ἀλθεῖν τοὺς στάχυας in the sense of reaping, then the command of Ex. 34.21 would again be in view, which would over-rule the permission of Deut. 23.26. See further, Neiryneck, "Jesus and the Sabbath," 254-58. Kiilunen suggests that the Deuteronomy text should be read in light of the Targum Neophyti which applies the permission not to anyone but only to workers. *Vollmacht*, 209-11. More symbolic and messianic readings are given by B.

law, the ritual purity of David's companions (see, Lev. 24.9). This has led some commentators to suggest that the original controversy was not to do with the sabbath, but more generally with the need to satisfy hunger.²² In contrast, it has been argued that, in the time of Jesus, David's action would have been commonly understood to have occurred on a sabbath, and so reference to it would have been considered a good response to the question.²³ Regarding this second point, it should be noted that neither in the original text of Samuel, nor in the Markan text, is this sabbath dimension even mentioned. While it is true that some rabbinic traditions understood David's action to have taken place on the sabbath, it is invalid to conclude from this observation that this was general knowledge.²⁴ What Jesus chooses to mention is that the consumption of the bread was restricted to the priests. Now, the original ordinance in Lev. 24.8-9 mentions both this restriction as well as the need for its consumption on the sabbath. It seems strange, then, that Jesus should have chosen to omit the obvious reference to the sabbath as he defended the disciples.²⁵ Regarding the first point concerning the non-sabbatical nature of the offence, this interpretation rests on the rather complex and not generally accepted synoptic theory of P.

Murmelstein, "Jesu Gang durch die Saatfelder," *Angelos* 3 (1930): 111-20, and J. Duncan Derrett, *The Making of Mark*, (Bloomfield and Son: Stratford-upon-Avon, 1984), 1:74-75

²² See the discussion by Neiryneck, "Jesus and the Sabbath," 254-61.

²³ See, for instance, M. Casey, "Culture and Historicity: The Plucking of Grain (Mark 2.23-28)," *NTS* 34 (1988): 1-23. Casey maintains that the disciples' action would have been seen as a breach only in the eyes of the Pharisees, since at that time there was no generally accepted rule regarding plucking corn on the sabbath. His basic position is that the whole of 2.23-28 may be considered a reliable historical account.

²⁴ Similarly, Beare, "Sabbath," 133 n. 10. For the rabbinic references, see Casey, "Plucking of Grain," 8-13; Neiryneck, "Jesus and the Sabbath," 259-60.

²⁵ Casey's explanation of the omission is based on an historical assumption ("if he [viz., Jesus] knew that only the priests ate it, he knew also that it was changed on the Sabbath."), literary sensitivity ("the Sabbath is already mentioned five times in six verses"), and cultural grounds ("Jesus and the Pharisees will have assumed ... that the incident took place on the Sabbath"). "Plucking of Grain," 10. The first and third points remain assumptions. The second point is not only an argument from literary taste, rather than oral sensitivity, but also rests on the assumption that verses 23-28 were a unit from the very beginning.

Benoit.²⁶ This non-sabbatical interpretation has not received any substantial support.

The remaining difficulties may be mentioned briefly. The reference to David has little correspondence to the setting which depicts the picking of the ears of corn by the disciples. The focus is upon what David did rather than his companions. Further, the stress is upon his and their hunger, an emphasis which is lacking in the Markan text.²⁷ Moreover, in the Samuel text, the priest comes out to meet David. Finally, within the context of 2.15-28, the use of Scripture rather than a direct response is noteworthy. In these five points, the response of verses 25-26 goes off in quite different directions from the setting and question of verses 23-24, and it remains unclear how the citation of the David story could have been considered a cogent argument by the Pharisaic audience.²⁸

²⁶ See his discussion, "Les épis arrachés (Mt 12, 1-8 et par)," in *Exégèse et Théologie Cogitatio Fidei* (Paris: Cerf, 1968), 3:228-42. Hübner argues that Matthew and Luke reworked a Q version of the story. Gesetz, 115-22. The arguments have not proved persuasive. For a critique of his position, see Neiryneck, "Jesus and the Sabbath," 270 n. 157; Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 199-203; Sariola, Gesetz, 84-86.

²⁷ Casey's argument that verses 25-26 formed part of the original response relies on the assumption of the poverty and need of the disciples: "The well-known and widespread custom of Peah explains why the author of our source thought his description of their action of going along a path plucking grain could convey the information that they were hungry and in need. It would also imply that they were poor." "Plucking of Grain," 3-4. For the Peah regulations, see Lev. 19.9. This interpretation is based not only on the assumption that *ῥαβδίζω* is a mistranslation of the Aramaic ('BD rather than 'BR), but goes against the immediate context of 2.15-22 which presents the disciples feasting and celebrating. Eating is one of the topics which binds the three pericopes together.

²⁸ Similarly, Lührmann, *Markusevangelium*, 64. Roure's study leads him to conclude that both in the biblical and extra-biblical tradition David took on prophetic status which allowed him and others of similar status to suspend the law because of momentary necessity. "Así como David en Nob, a pesar de trasgredir materialmente un precepto, no trasgredió la Torá, pues como profeta estaba en condiciones de interpretar la ley según las 'necesidades extraordinarias del momento', así tampoco Jesús, permitiendo la actuación de sus discípulos, no trasgredió la Torá, pues, como profeta estaba en condiciones de interpretar la ley según las 'necesidades extraordinarias del momento.'" *Jesús y la Figura de David*, 123-24. Three points made he made in regard to this conclusion. Firstly, Roure does not demonstrate that the Pharisees accepted this teaching concerning momentary necessity; secondly, they would not have accepted the prophetic status of Jesus upon which, for Roure, this suspension of the Torah depended; finally, Roure is not specific enough concerning the exact breach of the Torah involved.

c) Verses 27-28

The answer given in these verses responds directly to the question and places the discourse within the context of creation (cf., 7.6-13; 10.2-9).²⁹ From a classical form critical point of view, verse 27, minus the introductory καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, could easily have circulated as an independent logion. Both in form and content it has parallels in Jewish and Hellenistic literature:

But the Lord did not choose the nation for the sake of the sanctuary; he chose the sanctuary for the sake of the nation.³⁰

Pausanias, the son of Pleistoanax, in answer to the question why it was not permitted to change any of the ancient laws in their country, said, "Because the laws ought to have authority over the men, and not the men over the laws."³¹

The sabbath is delivered over for your sake, but you are not delivered over to the sabbath.³²

The saying, at least in its formal structure, has a proverbial, wisdom character to it, much like the physician saying in 2.17. Like that saying, it appeals to an order different from that of the question. In this case, it is the order of creation willed by God for the good of his people as expressed in Gen. 1 (cf., Mark 10.6-9). Indeed, the verb ἐγένετο may well serve to strengthen the allusion.³³ To this extent,

²⁹ Scholtissek comments: "Jesu Stellungnahme zur pharisäischen Sabbathalacha zielt auf eine Neuausrichtung der Sabbatgebote an dem schöpfungsgemäßen Sinnziel des Sabbat bzw. der Sabbatruhe (vgl. Ex 20,8; Dtn 5,12-15)." *Vollmacht*, 176.

³⁰ ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὸν τόπον τὸ ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἔθνος τὸν τόπον ὁ κύριος ἐξελέξατο. 2 Macc. 5.19.

³¹ Πausanias ὁ Πλειστονάκτος πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα, διὰ τί τῶν ἀρχαίων νόμων οὐδέν τι κινεῖν ἔξεστι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τοὺς νόμους, ἔφη, τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ τοὺς ἀνδρες τῶν νόμων κυρίους εἶναι δεῖ. Plutarch *Moralia* 230F.

³² Mekhilta 109^b (Ex.31.14). Cf., TB Yoma 85^b. See, H. L. Strack and B. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (München, 1924), 2:5. Although the dating of this rabbinic saying is not certain, the citations from 2 Maccabees and Plutarch demonstrate that the formal structure was known both in the Jewish and Hellenistic worlds. See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 49.

³³ Similarly, Pesch, *Markus*, 1:184; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:123 n. 27; Scholtissek *Vollmacht*, 175.

the saying does not proclaim a radical freedom regarding the sabbath, but rather restates its original purpose--the good of humankind.³⁴ At the same time, the critical aspect of the saying must be recognized, not against the law as such, but rather against strict and sectarian interpretations of it as exemplified by the Pharisees.³⁵ Guelich may well be correct when he notes that this creation based interpretation "hardly represents a radical departure from Judaism," but errs when he concludes that it consequently cannot be considered a sufficient answer to the Pharisees' question.³⁶ The mistake comes from identification of various strands in Judaism with the Pharisaic party. Because the saying may reflect one strand of Jewish belief (for instance, the teaching of Jub. 2 that the sabbath was God's gift for the enjoyment of the people), it does not mean that the Pharisees thereby shared it. In fact, given their proclivity for emphasizing ritual purity, and the extra demands they placed upon themselves in their zeal for upholding the law, the saying in verse 27 in all likelihood would have been very difficult for them to accept.³⁷

³⁴ Pesch comments: "Jesus proklamiert nicht die Autonomie des Menschen, aber das Heil des Menschen als Ziel des Willens und der Verfügungen Gottes. Das Sabbatgebot ist nicht durch religiöse, das Interesse Gottes artikulierende Interpretation richtig ausgelegt, sondern durch humane, das Interesse Gottes am Heil des Menschen erkennende Auslegung." *Markusevangelium*, 1:185. Similarly, Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 65; Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesus*, 121; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:123; Weiss, *Lehre*, 46; Scholtissek, *Vollmacht*, 176. Consequently, verse 28 does not function as a limitation of the teaching in verse 27. This "corrective" interpretation was proposed by E. Käsemann, *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, 5th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 207. It is really a recasting of what Dibelius has to say on the subject. *Formgeschichte*, 61-62.

³⁵ Casey notes that, at the time, there was no generally accepted regulation concerning the plucking of corn on the sabbath. "The Pharisaic attitude to the disciples' action does not require us to suppose that even they already had a detailed regulation prohibiting the plucking of corn on the Sabbath: it merely presupposes that their central commitment to the Sabbath rest was so profound and of such a kind that they were shocked to see Jews plucking corn because this violated the Sabbath." "Plucking of Grain," 6. In this view of the Pharisees, he shares the insights of Dunn, "Pharisees, Sinners, and Jesus," 279. Sariola also agrees that the whole discussion has its starting point not in some specific law, but in "die Interpretationsweise der Pharisäer vom Arbeitsverbot am Sabbat..." *Gesetz*, 98. He discusses the various suggestions concerning the specific law the disciples are accused of breaking on pages 98-100.

³⁶ Lührmann also describes the verse as a "wohl auch im Judentum mögliche Sentenz." *Markusevangelium*, 65. See, Neirynck, "Sabbath," 246-54.

³⁷ Similarly, Lührmann, *Markusevangelium*, 64; Scholtissek, *Vollmacht*, 175.

It is in the light of this reading that sense must be made of the designation $\delta \nu\iota\delta\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon$ in verse 28, and of the relationship between this verse and verse 27. Bultmann argues that the designation was used by Jesus, but in reference to a future heavenly judge distinct from himself, and that only after the Resurrection did the Christian community apply this apocalyptic designation to Jesus himself, in its attempt to understand his meaning and mission.³⁸ This position rests on the assumption that Jesus took the term from Jewish apocalyptic, that, as he used it, it had no Christological implications, and that those son of man sayings which refer to his suffering and death cannot be authentic. Even though modified in various ways, this position remained dominant in much of subsequent scholarship.³⁹

In recent years, this position has met with substantial criticism. Most seriously, it is argued by many scholars that there never was such a title, as Bultmann understands it, in first century Judaism.⁴⁰ Consequently, his history-of-religions approach has come under suspicion. It is argued, for instance, that the designation in Dan. 7.13 is a symbol, a man-like figure representing the saints of Israel, and cannot be interpreted in a theophanic way.⁴¹ Similarly, while it is accepted that 4 Ezra does represent a messianic interpretation of Dan. 7.13 in first century Jewish circles, it is argued that this does

³⁸ See his *Theology of the New Testament*, trans K. Grobel (New York: Scribner's, 1951), 29-33; id., "Die Frage nach der Echtheit von Mt. 16:17-19," *TBI* 20 (1941): 277-78. For brief overviews of the history of the discussion and the state of the question, see, D. R. A. Hare, *The Son of Man Tradition* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 1-27; W. O. Walker, Jr., "The Son of Man: Some Recent Developments," *CBQ* 45 (1983): 584-607.

³⁹ See, for instance, H. Tödt, *Der Menschensohn in der synoptischen Überlieferung* (Gütersloh: Mohn: 1959); E. Schweizer, "Der Menschensohn (Zur eschatologischen Erwartung Jesu)," *ZNW* 50 (1959): 185-209; id., "The Son of Man," *JBL* 79 (1960): 119-29; id., "The Son of Man Again," *NTS* 9 (1962-63): 256-61; P. Vielhauer, "Jesus und der Menschensohn: Zur Diskussion mit Heinz Eduard Tödt und Eduard Schweizer," *ZTK* 60 (1963): 133-77.

⁴⁰ See, Perrin, *Pilgrimage*, 23-30; G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospel* (London: Collins, 1973), 160-91; R. Leivestad, "Exit the Apocalyptic Son of Man," *NTS* 18 (1971-72): 243-67; M. Casey, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London: SPCK, 1979); Hare, *Son of Man*, 213-56.

⁴¹ See, Casey, *Son of Man*, 39; Hare, *Son of Man*, 10-11.

not denote some supernatural son of man with specific functions.⁴² As for the meaning of the designation, there is no consensus regarding whether it was simply a self-referential circumlocution,⁴³ or was more of a general statement (viz., "a human being") which Jesus applied to himself.⁴⁴ This latter position has been refined in two ways. B. Lindars suggests that the designation refers to a class of people with whom the speaker identifies himself, whereas R. Bauckham argues that Jesus used it in the indefinite sense ("a man," "someone"), but in a way that obliquely and ambiguously referred to himself.⁴⁵

It is not the place here to enter more fully into the discussion, since no consensus has been reached regarding this "son of man" problem, and since most of the studies concentrate on its possible use by the historical Jesus. With specific regard to Mark 2.28, however, there does seem to be a reasonable agreement that the designation may not be read in a titular sense, either messianically, apocalyptically, or Christologically.⁴⁶ If "son of man," then, is read here either as a

⁴² See, M. Stone, "The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 308; Casey, *Son of Man*, 125-26.

⁴³ See, T. W. Manson, "Mark II.27f.," *ConNT* 11 (1947): 138-46; Beare, "Sabbath," 131; G. Vermes, "Appendix E: The Use of *bar nash*, *bar nasha* in Jewish Aramaic," in *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, ed. M. Black, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 310-30. Hare has perhaps the most radical interpretation when he concludes that the designation translated the Aramaic *bar enasha* and originated with the historical Jesus, used by him as a modest circumlocution for "I." He further maintains that neither the synoptic Gospels nor the pre-Gospel traditions employed the designation in any titular way, but continued Jesus' usage of self-designation. Consequently, he argues, the phrase was denotive rather than connotive, a self-reference without any theological allusions. *Son of Man*, 257-82.

⁴⁴ See, P. M. Casey, "General, Generic and Indefinite: The Use of the Term 'Son of Man' in Aramaic Sources and in the Teaching of Jesus," *JSNT* 29 (1987): 21-56. Banks accepts that the designation simply means "man," yet he goes on to say that "while this term can hardly be interpreted as a direct reference to Jesus himself, there can be little doubt that he regarded himself as one to whom it was especially applicable." *Jesus and the Law*, 122. It is unclear what he is trying to say. If the term meant "man," then of course it was applicable also to Jesus. Why then was it "especially applicable" to him? He does not expand.

⁴⁵ B. Lindars, *Son of Man*, 24; R. Bauckham, "The Son of Man: 'A Man in my Position' or 'Someone?'" *JSNT* 23 (1985): 23-33.

⁴⁶ Neirynck notes: "In fact, it is most exceptional in modern literature that this passage is advanced as evidence for the Son of Man in a titular sense used by Jesus." "Jesus and the Sabbath," 239.

self-designation or a general statement with specific reference to Jesus, then verses 27-28 would translate: "Just as the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath, so I too, like other humans, am master of the sabbath."⁴⁷ The problem that this reading raises concerns the function of verse 28.⁴⁸ The question is prompted by the activity of the disciples, and verse 27, in this interpretation, is a sufficient answer to the question, the underlying logic being, "like everyone else, the disciples too are masters of the sabbath." The question, then, regards why Jesus refers to himself as master of the sabbath.

One way forward is to see what is happening in the immediate context. Since it is generally accepted that Mark 2.15-28 were already joined in the tradition, a comparison between verses 27-28 and verses 15-17.18-22 may illuminate the function of the designation in this context. It has already been noted that the previous two units employ the examples of physician and bridegroom in their responses. At base, both are simple metaphors: Jesus is *like* a doctor; Jesus is *like* a bridegroom. As metaphors, they carry a further load which is not specifically spelled out: *just as* a doctor is to his patients, *so* a teacher is to his pupils, *so* Jesus is to his disciples; *just as* a bridegroom is to his groomsmen, *so* Yahweh is to his people, *so* Jesus is to his disciples. The "son of man" designation, I suggest, works in a similar way. Just as the previous two examples do not simply denote Jesus as physician and bridegroom, but also make further connotations, so too does the designation "son of man."⁴⁹

⁴⁷ The word κύριος would then be read in the same way as it is in *Moralia* 230F.

⁴⁸ The verse is considered to be a redactional addition by a number of commentators. See, Lane, *Mark*, 120; Lührmann, *Markusevangelium*, 64; Perrin, *Pilgrimage*, 8; Lindars, *Son of Man*, 103-5; Doughty, "Authority," 172-73; Kiilunen, *Vollmacht*, 197-98; Weiss, *Lehre*, 52-55; Räisänen, *Messianic Secret*, 225-26.

⁴⁹ This, of course, goes against Hare's thesis. The problem he fails to answer, however, concerns how exactly did such a simple self-designation come eventually to be associated with a triumphal return in glory and for judgement. Morna Hooker notes: "The phrase cannot be a messianic title--yet the theory which interprets it as such at least offers a reason for its use: the view that it was an acceptable self-designation offers a plausible explanation as to *how* Jesus could have used it of himself--but fails to explain *why* he should have employed a colourless phrase which has no particular function." "Is the Son of Man Problem Really Insoluble?" in *Text and Interpretation*:

The allusions which the examples of the physician and bridegroom make were established by reference to some Hellenistic texts and the Old Testament respectively. It is not quite so straightforward with the son of man saying, as the scholarly discussion shows, and extremely difficult to establish the allusions the saying may have had in the pre-Markan tradition. However, given the connotative value that the physician and bridegroom sayings had, it seems valid to assume that the son of man saying equally carried certain allusions. Hooker suggests that those allusions were: "the prophetic calling; the mission of God's obedient people; the possibility of suffering for those who were faithful to his will; the promise of final vindication."⁵⁰ However, in light of the caveats many scholars have regarding the influence of Dan. 7 on the designation, it seems more prudent to attempt to narrow the scope by asking what sort of allusions the designation may have in the immediate context.

The three stories in 2.15-28 are prefaced with the story of the healing of the paralytic (2.1-12). In that context, the designation "son of man" also appears and it is specifically linked with Jesus' authority.⁵¹ Indeed, the authority of Jesus is a *leitmotif* of the controversies throughout 2.1-3.6. Moreover, it has already been argued that in 2.15-17, 18-22, Mark was interested in emphasizing the teacher/pupil relationship between Jesus and his disciples, a relationship already present within the tradition which came to him. It seems likely, then, that Mark remained faithful to the emphasis in the tradition that, just as the physician and bridegroom had authority over those whom they were with, so too had the son of man.

What specific sort of authority is alluded to by the son of man saying cannot be so easily established from the context, as it can be with the other two sayings. Nonetheless, it is possible to suggest tentatively that this authority alluded to Jesus' stature as teacher,

Studies in the New Testament, Presented to Matthew Black, eds. E. Best and R. M. Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 159.

⁵⁰ Mark, 92-93.

⁵¹ Similarly, Tödt, *Son of Man*, 127; Hooker, *Son of Man*, 179; Perrin, *Modern Pilgrimage*, 89.

since his teaching is described as authoritative in 1.27.⁵² The logic between verses 27-28 becomes clearer. The saying in verse 27 establishes the general rule that the sabbath was made for man. This rule is then argumentatively and interpretatively augmented by verse 28. The argumentative augmentation is accomplished in three ways: by means of a statement from authority, by enthymematic reasoning signalled by ὥστε, and by the figurative language (τροπικῶς) of the designation. Interpretatively, the argument is pushed further by the use of κύριος, which succeeds not only in spelling out more specifically the meaning of δια in verse 27, but also in making more explicit the discourse of authority. The underlying logic is: the sabbath was made for men rather than vice-versa; Jesus is man and son of man (with the connotations of authority to teach); therefore, Jesus, too is not only a master of the sabbath, but as a teacher with authority, he is able to interpret sabbath law and share this teaching with his disciples.

This interpretation becomes more cogent if it is remembered that the dialogue is depicted as taking place with the Pharisees, who are implicitly claiming authority to teach their own stricter interpretation of sabbath law. Viewed in this light, therefore, verse 28 should be seen as integral to verse 27, since the thrust is not simply to declare that the sabbath was made for humankind, but also to locate the role of Jesus in that teaching, and to distinguish it from Pharisaic teaching. Like 2.17, the response in 2.27-28 is not content simply to give a general rule, but seeks to ground it in the person of Jesus as a teacher with authority. Given this similarity to 2.17, it would seem that 2.27-28, like the two sayings in 2.17, belonged with each other from the beginning.⁵³

⁵² Hare comments that the saying "serves to designate Jesus as the community's God-authorized teacher. This does *not* mean that "the Son of Man" *connotes* teacher for Mark. We can properly infer that Mark regarded the designation as *not inappropriate* for a teacher." *Son of Man*, 192. His distinction between "designation" and "connotation" is unclear.

⁵³ Guelich takes a similar position when he comments: "Therefore, 2:28 combined with 2:27 answers the Pharisees' question and explains the disciples' conduct based not on the principle of freedom in 2:27 but on the authority claimed for the "Son of Man" in 2:28." *Mark*, 127.

Finally, this reading suggests that the setting and response were unitary in origin. The rhetorical analysis will show that the response constitutes a good argumentative strategy in replying to the question. But already it is clear that Jesus' answer may be seen as offering a reason for the disciples' action which is based on his authority to interpret differently from the Pharisees the sabbath legislation. In other words, had the original reply ended with verse 27, then the role of Jesus vis-à-vis his disciples would not have been as clear as it is in verses 15-17, 18-22. This also suggests, then, that the "son of man" designation had connotations with teaching and authority also in the tradition which came to Mark.

d) Conclusion

On the grounds of content, as well as style and language, it seems very unlikely that verses 25-26 represent the original response to the question. On the other hand, verses 27-28 offer the grounds for the defence of a less strict sabbath practice, based upon the authority of Jesus as son of man whose teaching gave such permission. Consequently, it is most likely that these verses formed the original response.

3. Rhetorical Analysis

a) Introduction

In an early article, Robbins suggested that these verses constitute an amplified *chreia* consisting of four elements: an example from a written authority (verses 25-26); a rationale (verse 27a); an argument from the opposite (verse 27b); and an encomiastic epilogue (verse 28).⁵⁴ More recently, he has analysed the pericope at greater length, moving from an examination of the common synoptic form, through an analysis of his reconstructed original form, to a study of each of the synoptic reproductions. His basic

⁵⁴ "Identifying and Interpreting Pronouncement Stories in Mark: A Rhetorical Approach," *Pacific Coast Region of the SBL* (Stanford University, 1982). Cited and summarized by Rod Parrott, "Conflict and Rhetoric in Mark 2:23-28," *Semeia* 64 (1993): 124.

thesis is that the earliest stages of the tradition did not have an enthymematic core, but that the use of *chreiai* in argumentative settings did tend toward a more enthymematic type of reasoning.⁵⁵

It is this thesis which convinces him that the David story formed the original response to the question. The response works according to the principle of analogy which establishes a correspondence between the situation of David and Jesus' situation. Inductive reasoning is at work, which argues by making an inference (συλλογισμός) from the "concept of the equal" (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου).⁵⁶ Consequently, the original form defended Jesus' action by arguing that he simply did for his companions what David did for his. Robbins cannot accept that verses 27-28 formed the original response since they are based on more enthymematic, deductive reasoning.

It is interesting to note that Robbins, in his later study, does not offer a *chreia* analysis of the pericope, either in its pre-Markan or Markan form. Regarding the first study, Rod Parrott argues that the analysis is lacking in two major ways: firstly, there are variations between the Markan elaboration, as outlined by Robbins, and the elaborations outlined in the handbooks; and, secondly, there is no "thesis," or *chreia*-saying, with which every elaboration should begin. For clearer understanding, he compares Hermogenes' outline with the Robbins outline of Mk. 2.25-28.

Hermogenes	Mark
Encomium/Praise	Citation of Authority
Paraphrase/Chreia (Thesis)	Example
Rationale	Rationale
Converse	Converse
Analogy	Encomiastic Epilogue
Example	
Citation of Authority	

⁵⁵ "Plucking Grain on the Sabbath," in Mack and Robbins, *Patterns of Persuasion*, 107-41.

⁵⁶ These terms are taken from Hermogenes 89.16.

Exhortation⁵⁷

Parrot's criticisms of Robbins are accurate on both counts. In what follows, it will be argued that verses 25-26 do not reflect any of the argumentative elements of the *chreia* elaboration. Further, it will also be suggested that verses 27-28 constituted the original response, and functioned as the saying element in a good, argumentative *chreia*. It may be classified as a single responsive sayings-*chreia* which seeks some explanation (ἀποκριτικὸν κατ' ἐρώτησιν αἰτιώδης). The *chreia*-saying, it will be shown, employs a maxim, an authoritative statement with an enthymeme, and a figure. Mark's addition of the David story suggests that he did not understand the *chreia* form, but rather inserted that story because of his own redactional concerns.

b) The Argument from Example: Verses 24-26

Regarding the move towards more enthymematic reasoning which Robbins claims took place in the course of the transmission of these stories, it must be noted that this basic hermeneutical principle is simply stated rather than argued.⁵⁸ Regarding Mark 2.23-28, most of the specific reasons he offers in defence of the David story being the original response are negative and general, rather than positive and specific. They are, moreover, based on a misreading of Bultmann. According to Robbins, Bultmann belongs with those who see verse 27 as the original response to verses 23-24, and consequently makes the implicit assumption that the original unit used enthymematic, deductive reasoning. This is not the case. Bultmann considers verse 27 to have been a free-floating logion which was then added to verses 23-26, either at the time the

57 "Conflict and Rhetoric in Mark 2:23-28," *Semeia* 64 (1993): 125.

58 "Chreia transmission outside the New Testament as well as in the gospel tradition suggests that the earliest stages regularly do not have an enthymematic core, but the use of chreiai in argumentative settings often moves them to a more enthymematic form." "Plucking Grain," 140. With this, he is claiming implicitly a new "tendency" or "law" of the synoptic tradition. A fuller study, such as Sanders' investigation of Bultmann's "tendencies," would have to be prosecuted before such a statement could be justified. In any case, his careful language ("suggests", "often moves") indicates that Robbins himself is not as confident in the claim as he might appear.

setting was created for those verses, or later.⁵⁹ True, he suggests that the David story may have been used separately by the early church in her various controversies, but the setting was created primarily for it rather than verse 27.

Robbins offers six arguments why the David story could not have circulated separately. First, he sees no reason why both the setting and David story could not have originated in the ministry of Jesus, since he "regularly was attended by disciple-companions, and there could have been an occasion when someone raised a question about the actions of those around him." This explanation represents a return to the general type of reasoning offered by earlier commentators, such as Taylor, who takes up the same position against Bultmann.⁶⁰ It remains possible but unproveable. Secondly, for Robbins the lack of good halakhic argumentation in the response is no obstacle to his thesis, since Jesus, he is convinced, was more akin to individuals such as Honi the Circle-Drawer and Hanina ben Dosa with their "idiosyncratic activities and statements," than trained rabbis. His third point is similar: the lack of "logical fit" between setting and response is a "tour de force" not unlike similar units both inside and outside the New Testament. Both points presume that the historical Jesus was more like a Cynic wisdom teacher than anything else. Again, this is presumed rather than proved. Fourthly, he maintains that because each performance of the story in the synoptic tradition contains the David example, this happened because of its "good rhetorical strength" as a response to the setting, and therefore that setting and response came about together. Equally, one could argue that the setting was tailor-made for the response in order to emphasize the latter's rhetorical strength. In any case, this contradicts his third point about the "tour de force" of the lack of "logical fit." Lastly, he argues that the setting was created neither for the David story nor the sabbath nor son of man sayings, since none of these contains reference to the

⁵⁹ "Mit der Gegenfrage müsste die Debatte stilgemäß zu Ende sein, und die typische Aufreihungsformel καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς zeigt auch deutlich, daß mit Mk 2,27f. ein ursprüngliches Logion angefügt ist." *Geschichte*, 14.

⁶⁰ Taylor comments: "The free use of the story of David corresponds to the manner in which He uses the Old Testament elsewhere, and the broad humanity of the narrative is characteristic." *Mark*, 215.

disciples' action of plucking. This is certainly the case, but he fails to mention that both verses 27 and 28 contain reference to the sabbath. Since the David story contains reference to neither, the logic of the argumentation would favour verses 27 and 28 as the original response. In all these arguments, Robbins is suggesting that the setting and response in verses 23-26 came about together, that they reflect an inductive type of logic, and that they originated with the historical Jesus.⁶¹ Each separately and all together represent rather large claims which are hardly supported by his arguments. The suspicion remains that his analysis of the pre-Markan tradition is influenced by his view of the historical Jesus and the type of argumentation he presumes Jesus would have used.

For Hermogenes, it is clear that the *chreia*-saying is the starting point of the elaboration, all the elements of which serve to argue its case. This is one of the weaknesses which Parrott finds in Robbins' analysis. What Parrott fails to note, however, is that according to Theon the *chreia*-saying may take any of twelve different forms, one of which is example:

Alexander the Macedonian king, on being urged by his friends to amass money, said: "But it didn't even help Croesus."⁶²

From a formal point of view, then, there is nothing wrong with the *chreia*-saying being an example. The problem in this case is that the David story is a mini-narrative rather than a *chreia*-saying: it has characters, plot, and closure.⁶³ The pithiness of the *chreia*-saying is

⁶¹ "Plucking Grain," 121-23.

⁶² Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων συναγαγεῖν χρήματα εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ τὰῦτα οὐκ ᾤνησεν οὐδὲ Κροῖσον. Theon 151-53. Note how the *chreia*-saying relates to the setting in both an argumentative and interpretative way. The example is the argumentative element which focuses upon a famous figure from myth and works a *maiori ad minus*. The interpretative element lies in the use of the word "help." Alexander's friends do not offer any reason why he should amass money; Alexander's answer offers the motive to their urging.

⁶³ For Moore, the most important aspects of narrative are, "centredness on event and participant, continuity and interconnectedness, conflict, suspense, and resolution." *Literary Criticism*, 23. The story-telling abilities of Mark are generally recognized, so there is no a priori reason why he could not have created this mini-narrative himself by reshaping the elements of 1 Sam. 21. Best writes: "It is true that many of the stories which Mark tells are recounted vividly but the whole has also its own vividness and Mark's contribution lies

quite absent. In fact, the story comes closer to another of Theon's introductory exercises, the historical episode (διήγημα). Consequently, if verses 25-26 did constitute the original response to the setting, then the whole episode cannot be considered a *chreia*. At most, it was a very poor attempt at one.

Parrott, however, still wishes to read the David story as the original answer. He attempts to circumvent the problems this makes for *chreia* analysis by following Kennedy's suggestion that in a situation of conflict the rhetoric of the beginning of the proof may be modified.⁶⁴ Parrott suggests that these modifications consist in the use of inductive argument and the type of approach known as *altercatio*. He notes that Quintilian advocates both approaches when dealing with a hostile audience.⁶⁵ For Quintilian, the pressure of the situation allows the orator to use various types of arguments and devices as he attempts to win over the audience. On the basis of these two rhetorical strategies, Parrott outlines the argument in the following way: citation of authority (verse 25a); example (verses 25b-26); rationale (verse 27a); converse (verse 27b); thesis (verse 28). The problem with this approach is that Quintilian is dealing with the forensic speech and not the *chreia* form. Moreover, his understanding of induction, as Parrot himself recognizes, reflects the Socratic approach of question and answer with a real or imagined partner.⁶⁶ In fact, Quintilian considers this type of argument useful in the interrogation of witnesses. This is not the case with the Markan pericope. Most importantly, Parrott's analysis still does not square with the *chreia* form as explained in the handbooks. In fact, the only major change he makes to the analysis of Robbins is to change the latter's encomiastic epilogue into the thesis.

not only in the vivid telling of particular incidents but also in the vivid nature of the whole." *Mark. The Gospel as Story*, Studies of the New Testament and its World, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), 115.

⁶⁴ "Conflict and Rhetoric," 128-30. Following Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 36.

⁶⁵ See, *Instit.* 5.11.3-5; 6.4.1.

⁶⁶ "When he had asked a number of questions to which his adversary could only agree, he finally inferred the conclusion of the problem under discussion from its resemblance to the points already conceded. This method is known as induction...." *Instit.* 5.11.3.

c) The *Chreia*-Sayings: Verses 27-28

For Robbins, verses 27-28 in the Markan form of the story indicate a move to a more enthymematic type of reasoning, flagged by the ὥστε of the son of man saying. The logic of the arguments revolves around the concept of need, which is mentioned in reference to David only in the Markan version. Here, Robbins suggests, the defence is based upon a counterplea (ἀντίστασις) that the action produced a benefit.⁶⁷ The underlying syllogism would take some such form as: The sabbath was made by God for man; The son of man came with God's authority to serve man with that which God created for man; Therefore, the son of man is lord even of the sabbath (so that he has the authority to use it to serve the needs of man). This then allows this story not only to link up with the thrust of 10.45 ("For the son of man came not to be served but to serve"), but also to make a number of word-links with chapter 11 (11.3: τί ποιεῖτε τοῦτο; Ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχει; 11.9: the Lord; 11.10: David) and a connection with 12.35-37. From the presuppositions contained in the middle premise, Robbins concludes that

it is possible to suggest that the constellation of references to "David," "having need," "the son of man," and "lord" may reflect a pattern of thought that is part of Mark's understanding of the son of man. This son of man he sees as one who serves, who teaches his disciples to respond to needs, and who has authority grounded in expectations and assertions associated with David.⁶⁸

Three points may be made concerning these suggestions. Firstly, this is the only pericope in the entire Gospel in which mention of the son of man is made in close proximity to David. That does not give a sound basis for arguing that Mark wanted to link up the two topics. Secondly, since Robbins does not argue that Mark was responsible for the addition of verses 27-28, it must be concluded that he accepts that the connection between David and the son of man was made at the pre-Markan stage. Mark, therefore, was not

⁶⁷ See Rabe, Hermogenes 38.21-39.

⁶⁸ "Plucking Grain," 127. Robbins does not spell out his understanding of the "son of man" designation, but in the light of the "constellation" of references it may be concluded that his understanding is a messianic one.

responsible for the creation of the constellation of references. Thirdly, the connection he establishes with 10.45 is questionable, since there the emphasis is upon service, whereas here it is upon authority.

Both Parrott and Robbins see in verse 27 a rationale (τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο) and an example from the opposite (καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ σάββατον). Above, three examples of formally similar phrases from quite different bodies of writing were cited in order to indicate the proverbial tenor to such a saying. The thought pattern ("for this rather than that") seems to have been part of the cultural conventions. The same pattern is evident in the physician saying in 2.17, as is the topic of need. This suggests that the break up of the saying into a rationale and an argument from the contrary is to fragment its unity. On the other hand, once its proverbial nature is recognized, then the saying functions rather well as the *chreia*-saying. Like the physician saying, it is a maxim functioning as the thesis.⁶⁹ Verse 28, presented as a consecutive clause, then functions as a rationale (αἰτία).⁷⁰ Now the rationale serves both to interpret and argumentatively augment the thesis. Above, it was argued that the designation "son of man" works in a way similar to the examples of the doctor (2.17) and the bridegroom (2.19): it too has unexpressed allusions. Moreover, since the ἦθος of Jesus is apparent from the nature of the saying, the verse also functions as a statement from authority. Consequently, the *chreia*-saying of verse 27 has three argumentative augmentations in verse 28: the "son of man" example, enthymematic reasoning, and the authoritative statement. It is on this basis that the interpretation functions: *just as* Yahweh was to humankind when he established the sabbath, *so* the son of man is to the restored Israel regarding the sabbath, *so* Jesus is to his disciples regarding the sabbath. The interpretative increment in verse 28, then, concerns the lordship or authority of

⁶⁹ The maxim is the first of the different ways Theon suggests a *chreia* may be expressed. Theon 124-25.

⁷⁰ Aristotle emphasizes that when a maxim is used in the protasis, then it ought to be followed by a rationale. *Rhetoric* 1395a.

the son of man/Jesus who is master of his disciples with responsibility for them.⁷¹

d) Genre, *Stasis*, and Rhetorical Situation

This original *chreia* (verses 23-24.27-28) clearly focused upon a breach of sabbath law. The specific law in question remains unspecified, but a reference to Torah legislation may be presumed. Various suggestions, it has already been noted, are put forward regarding the specific law referred to, but what is not noticed is that the allusive nature of the question corresponds to the allusive nature of Jesus' reply. No specific texts are cited by either party, yet weighty points are made. The Pharisees imply by their question not only the breach of some specific law, but a general disregard for Torah.⁷²

The question of the Pharisees indicates that the discourse is forensic. But what of the *stasis*? Robbins suggests that it is a "legal" question.⁷³ Legal questions, as we have seen, deal either with the relationship between what is written and what was intended, or the existence of contradictory laws, or situations unforeseen by the law, or the presence of ambiguous laws. In all cases, what is in question is either the law itself or the intention. For Robbins, the legal question involved in this pericope concerns the conflict between what is written and what was intended. Consequently, he presents Jesus as one who engaged in law reform. However, no actual law is cited by the Pharisees, but only a general allusion made. If the

⁷¹ Gundry comes to a similar conclusion, although he is convinced the designation refers to Dan. 7:13: "The logical deduction entails a wordplay on "man" as "human being" and on Jesus' use of "the Son of Man" instead of "I." The exegetical deduction entails a reminiscence of the Son of man's authority in v 10 as well as the allusion to the authority given to the figure like a son of man in Dan 7:13. The logical deduction: if the Sabbath came into being on account of human beings, then it came into being on account of me. The exegetical deduction: but since I am no ordinary human being, but the figure like a son of man in Dan 7:13, I am more than a beneficiary of the Sabbath. I am also its Lord, who can let my disciples break the Sabbath...." *Mark*, 145.

⁷² "Die ursprüngliche Frage nach der richtigen Sabbatobservanz wird hier schon intentional auf die gesamte Gesetzesfrage ausgedehnt und mit dem Hinweis auf die Autorität Davids bzw. auf die diese überbietende Autorität Jesu torakritisch beantwortet." Scholtissek, *Vollmacht*, 175. Similarly, Gnika, *Markus*, 1.120.

⁷³ "Plucking Grain," 128-29.

emphasis lay upon the "legal question," then a direct citation of the law in question would be needed in order that the argument be clearly grounded. For Quintilian, the difference between what is written and what was willed can be argued only on the grounds of obscurity (*genus ex iure obscuro*) or of clarity (*genus ex iure manifesto*).⁷⁴ In both cases, the law in question needs to be specified. It has also been suggested that Jesus' citation of the David episode is an example of a rabbinic *gezerah shewah*, an argument based on two related texts.⁷⁵ In rhetorical terms, this would be a legal question concerning ambiguous or contradictory laws. The *gezerah shewah*, however, is based on identical wording in the two texts and, in any case, Jesus uses a *haggadah* rather than a legal text, a *halakah*.⁷⁶ Rather, the David episode reflects a rational *stasis* of quality which admits the wrongdoing but pleads extenuating circumstances (need).

On the other hand, Robbins is correct to see the legal question of jurisdiction present in verses 27-28 where Jesus as son of man wrests control of sabbath interpretation from the Pharisees. Two quite different rhetorical situations lie behind verses 24-26 and 27-28. In a first moment, the early community established its own approach to the sabbath, based on proverbial wisdom and the authority of Jesus as son of man and master, and freed itself from Pharisaic restrictions. There is no sign that this original *chreia* reflects a break with the synagogue. Indeed, the story presumes that the sabbath discussed is the Jewish sabbath. Rather, what it establishes is a way to deal with Torah legislation different from the Pharisees' stricter practice. At the time of the production of the Gospel, Mark inserted the David story, in order to show that there was scriptural precedent for Jesus as a teacher to assume responsibility for his followers in a perceived breaking of Torah

⁷⁴ *Instit.*, 7.6.4. "Das *genus ex iure manifesto* (Quint. 7.6.4) ist für das natürliche Rechtsempfinden (Quint. 7.6.7 *aequitas*), wenn es unvoreingenommen und spontan hinsichtlich des Falles urteilt, nicht mit einer *obscuritas* behaftet (deshalb: *ius manifestum*)." Lausberg, *Handbuch*, §215.2.

⁷⁵ For example, J. W. Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts*, Van Gorcum's Theologische Bibliotheek, 24 (Assen: van Gorcum, 1954), 106-7.

⁷⁶ See, D. M. Cohn-Sherbok, "An Analysis of Jesus' Arguments Concerning the Plucking of Grain on the Sabbath," *JSNT* 2 (1979): 34.

legislation. This suggests that he was appealing either to Jews or to Jewish Christians of a stricter observance. This would suggest that the rhetorical situation of the entire pericope points to an historical situation in which Jewish Christians were promoting a more relaxed sabbath observance and were being supported in this by Mark.⁷⁷

4. Evaluation and Conclusions

a) The original form (verses 23-24, 27-28) represents a very good *chreia*. It may be classified as a single responsive sayings *chreia* which seeks some explanation (ἀποκριτικὸν κατ' ἐρώτησιν αἰτιώδες). The *chreia*-saying employs a maxim, an enthymeme, and a figure. Theon would have had no problem in recognizing its form. Robbins would consider this to be an argumentative *chreia* because of the presence of only two of the elements of a full elaboration, the maxim and the authoritative statement. Given the rhetorical cogency of the argument in relationship to the setting and question, it seems most likely that the unit had a unitary origin.

b) The two sayings in verses 27-28 are rhetorically coherent and use enthymematic, deductive logic. Given this, and the relationship between Jesus and the disciples which the previous two pericopes probed, it is most likely that the two verses together provided the original response.

c) Formally, the David story functions as an historical example which gives precedence. From the rhetorical point of view, however, it destroys the force of the *chreia* since it is out of place in the pattern--it should follow the *chreia*-saying in order to bolster its argumentative force. Moreover, as has been seen, the content of the

⁷⁷ Theissen suggests that the use of the David story reflects the right claimed by Christian wandering charismatics to satisfy their hunger on a sabbath based on the right of the priests to help themselves to the offerings (cf., 1 Cor. 9.13; Did. 13.3). "Wanderradikalismus. Literatur-Soziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum," *ZThK* 70 (1973): 261. The Markan text, however, shows no interest in missionary activity; 1 Sam. 21 is hardly a good text to quote to justify this right--Num. 18.8-9.31 or Deut. 18.1-4 would have functioned better; 1 Cor. 9.13 and Did. 13.3 talk of the right of the preacher to be cared for by the community, rather than looking after himself. See Kivilinen, *Vollmacht*, 218-19.

story hardly corresponds to the setting and question. From all three view-points of form, rhetoric, and content, the story disrupts the original *chreia*.

What attracted Mark to insert the David story was the parallel he wanted to create between David and his companions and Jesus and his disciples. The interest in the relation between teacher and followers is probed in the section 2.13-28. In 2.13-17, the disciples are called upon to justify the behaviour of their master; in the following two pericopes, Jesus is called upon to justify the behaviour of his disciples. All three emphasize the mutual responsibilities of master and disciples. In his desire to give this relationship biblical precedent, Mark introduced the story of David and thereby disrupted the *chreia*. This may indicate that Mark failed to recognize the *chreia* form in 2.23-28, but equally it may mean that he was prepared to disrupt it for his own purposes. In either case, it shows that the creation of and preservation of the *chreia* form was not an over-riding concern of Mark.

d) In sum, the original unit is a very good example of a *chreia*, and a strong argumentative strategy is pursued in the response, which uses a maxim, a figure and enthymematic reasoning. Mark's insertion of the David story disrupted the form and demonstrates that Mark was more interested in pursuing his own narrative agenda than constructing an elaborated *chreia*.

CHAPTER TEN. MARK 3.22-30

1. The Limits of the Unit

a) Introduction

There is a consensus that this unit is a sub-section of verses 20-35. There is disagreement, however, regarding the tradition history of the three units and their precise relationship to each other. There are four possibilities proposed regarding the pre-Markan form of the tradition: that Mark added the traditional verses 31-35 to the previous two units which had already been brought together;¹ that Mark created verses 21-22 as an introduction to the already combined second and third units;² that Mark received three traditional units and redactionally combined them³; that Mark broke up a traditional unit underlying 3.20-21, 31-35 by introducing the equally traditional verses 22-29.⁴ In what follows, it will be argued that this last hypothesis best explains the sequence in 3.20-35.

b) Verses 20-21

Dibelius' argument against a traditional unit is based on three observations: the independent introduction in verse 31, the

¹ Pesch, *Markus*, 1:209; M. E. Boring, "How May We Identify Oracles of Christian Prophets in the Synoptic Tradition? Mark 3, 28-29 as a Test Case," *JBL* 91 (1972): 519 n. 59.

² Dibelius, *Formgeschichte*, 44; Lührmann, *Markusevangelium*, 74; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:144; J. Lambrecht, "The Relatives of Jesus in Mark," *NovT* 16 (1974): 242; J. D. Crossan, "Mark and the Relatives of Jesus," *NovT* 15 (1973): 81-113.

³ Schmidt, *Rahmen*, 122-23; Taylor, *Mark*, 235. Taylor is influenced by Dibelius' arguments regarding the unlikelihood of a traditional connection between verses 20-21 and verses 31-35, but remains unconvinced about the Markan origin of the former. Johnson reflects Taylor's position. *Mark*, 81, 84.

⁴ Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 10-11; Albertz, *Streitgespräche*, 114; Grundmann, *Markus*, 106-7; Schmithals, *Markus*, 1:211; Schmid, *Mark*, 83; Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu*, 139-40; Ernst, *Markus*, 116; Johnson, *Mark*, 80; Anderson, *Mark*, 120; Lane, *Mark*, 141, 147; Branscomb, *Mark*, 69; Guelich, *Mark*, 169; Hooker, *Mark*, 114-15; E. Best, "Mark iii. 20, 21, 31-35," *NTS* 22 (1975-76): 313-14; Weiss, *Lehre*, 163-64; R. Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums*, BBB 54 (Königstein/Ts.-Bonn: Hanstein, 1980), 149-50.

difference in the subjects of the two units,⁵ and the difficulty in understanding why the introduction (verses 20-21) was detached from the body of the narrative in the first place.⁶ These difficulties are not insuperable. The new introduction in verse 31 was demanded by the insertion of the intervening verses. The change of *dramatis personae* in that verse was redactionally driven to forge a close link with verse 32.⁷ Finally, and most importantly, the separation of the two units was due to Mark's "sandwich"-technique. In each of the occasions where Mark employed this device, he always used two traditional units, one of which he interrupted through the insertion of the other.⁸ In this case, the specific links between the two parts are the house (verse 20; it is implied by the phrase ἔξω στήκοντες in verse 31); the mention of the crowd (verses 20, 32); and the negative attitude displayed in both.⁹

Gnilka is also convinced of the redactional nature of these verses, apart from the introductory καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον, because they not only depict the crowd coming to Jesus, typical of Markan introductions, but also create a parallel with 6.31, which also has this theme and mention of the impossibility of eating. Moreover, for him, the theme of lack of understanding present in verse 21 points to Markan redaction.¹⁰ Gnilka considers that the mention of

⁵ This is also noted by Boring who, in addition, points to the difference between κρατῆσαι in verse 21 and καλοῦντες and ζητοῦσιν in verse 31. "Oracles," 519 n. 59.

⁶ *Formgeschichte*, 44. Guelich misrepresents Dibelius on this last point when he describes it as "the thematic difference between 3:21 and 3:31-35." *Mark*, 169.

⁷ See, Guelich, *Mark*, 169.

⁸ See, Guelich, *Mark*, 169; Best, "Mark iii, 20, 21, 31-35," 314. Not all commentators agree on the precise number of "sandwich" arrangements there are in the Gospel, but the following have been suggested by one or more: 4.1-9/14-20; 5.21-24/35-43; 6.7-13/30; 9.37/41; 11.12-14/20-21; 14.1-2/10-11; 14.17-21/27-31; 14.54/66-72 15.40-41/15.47-16.8. See, J. R. Donahue, *Are You the Christ? The Trial Narrative in the Gospel of Mark*, SBLDS 10 (Missoula: Scholars, 1973), 58-63; Best, "Mark iii. 20, 21, 31-35," 309-19; James R. Edwards, "Markan Sandwiches. The Significance of Interpolations in Markan Narratives," *NovT* 31 (1989): 197-98.

⁹ Of the ten times the verb ζητεῖν appears in the Gospel, all are negative (even 16.6). It is specifically linked up with the verb κρατεῖν in 12.12. In turn, κρατεῖν is the verb used to describe the arrest of Jesus (14.1, 44, 46, 49). Even the use of the verb καλεῖν may have a pejorative function since, according to 1.20 and 2.17, Jesus is the one who does the calling.

¹⁰ *Markus*, 1:144-45.

entering the house must be traditional since it provides the necessary backdrop for the scene in verses 31-35. Yet, both ἔρχεται and αἶον are typically Markan vocabulary. This raises the possibility that Mark intervened in a tradition and reworked it, rather than creating it *ex nihilo*. This possibility becomes probable when it is noticed that these verses both reflect certain Markan themes, but also contain vocabulary, syntax, and content which are quite uncharacteristic.

Already, at this point in the Gospel, there are four passages (see, 1.45; 2.1-2, 13; 3.7-10) which depict the crowd being aware of Jesus' presence in the area, and coming to him, with the result that (ὥστε) he and the disciples were prevented from doing something. Together with 6.31, these scenes do seem to reflect Markan redactional interest. However, the double negative μή(κέτι) ... μηδέ employed here is found elsewhere in the Gospel only in 2.2. Further, the use of the verb ἐξέστη in the sense of being out of one's mind is unique in the Gospel (cf., 2.12; 5.42; 6.51). Finally, the "setting out" of those with him is concluded in verse 31 when they arrive. For these reasons, it seems probable that Mark received a tradition in verses 20-21 which spoke of Jesus' companions accusing him of being out of his mind, and recrafted it in order to embed it better within his narrative.¹¹

c) Verses 22-30.31-35

Crossan takes a position similar to Dibelius' when he argues that the original unit consisted of verses 22b, 24-27, 31-34, because these passages were already combined in Q. That order, at least in its present Lukan form, begins with an exorcism (Luke 11.14=Matt. 11.22-23), continues with the Beelzebul controversy (Luke 11.15-23=Matt. 12.24-30) and the return of more demons (Luke 11.24-26=Matt. 12.43-45), and concludes with a little story which exalts spiritual over biological relationships (Luke 11.27-28).¹² Lambrecht

¹¹ Similarly Best, "Mark iii. 20, 21, 31-35," 314; Guelich, *Mark*, 169-70.

¹² He comments: "But because of this combination of Beelzebul accusation and the statement of Jesus concerning obediential relationship to God rather than biological relationship to himself in the Q basis for Mt. xii and Lk. xi; and because of the common theme of doing the will of God in Mark iii 35 and

goes further and argues that Mark actually knew Q, and suggests that 3.25a is Mark's version of the macarism in Luke 11.28, which he then "in a very creative way, elaborated into the scene of an actual family meeting."¹³

Lambrecht's explanation depends totally on the acceptance that Mark knew the order in Q.¹⁴ A number of difficulties present themselves. Firstly, why did Mark choose to omit the initial exorcism in Q (Luke 11.14)? The themes of demonic possession and expulsion are already established in the Gospel at this point (1.21-28, 32-34; 3.11-12), and another similar story would have served Mark's purposes well.¹⁵ Such a story, furthermore, would have provided a concrete cause for the objection, and so have brought the pericope more into line with the other controversy dialogues. Secondly, both in form and content, Luke 11.27-28 is so radically different from Mark 3.31-35 that a traditional or redactional connection remains impossible to prove. In any case, it is worthwhile noting that Matthew either did not receive the macarism in his tradition or chose to omit it.¹⁶ Thirdly, both the vocabulary and style of the Markan text vary somewhat from the Matthean and Lukan versions. In those latter, the charge is that he expels demons by Beelzebul, whereas the former makes the (seemingly) double charge of possessing Beelzebul and of expelling demons by the prince of demons. Furthermore, Jesus' response in the Markan version is in the conditional mood whereas the others are in the indicative. Both Matthew and Luke also end the section

practicing the word of God in Lk. xi 2, both being compared with mere familial bonds, it seems necessary to presume that Mark found the Beelzebul controversy in iii 22-27 and family meeting in iii 31-35 already united in his source." "Relatives," 86-87.

¹³ "Relatives," 248.

¹⁴ The influence of Q upon Mark in this section is variously argued by D. Wenham, "The Meaning of Mark iii.21," *NTS* 21 (1974-75): 299-300, and Schmithals, *Markus*, 1:220-21. Mack simply states that 3.22-30 "appear to be Markan reworkings of materials and themes already present in Q," *Myth*, 197.

¹⁵ Wenham's tentative suggestion that the astonishment associated with the crowd in Q (Mt.12.23; Lk 11.14) was transformed by Mark into an accusation that they, rather than Jesus, were out of their minds remains highly speculative. "Mark iii, 21," 298-300. Henry Wansbrough takes a position similar to Wenham's. "Mark iii.21--Was Jesus out of his Mind?" *NTS* 18 (1971-72): 233-35.

¹⁶ Lambrecht admits that Luke 11.27-28 may indeed not be a Q saying. "Relatives," 251.

with a question (Matt. 12.26; Luke 11.18) whereas Mark chooses a simple statement (3.26). Fourthly, Mark omits certain parts of the Matthean and Lukan texts. He fails to mention that Jesus knew the thoughts of his opponents (Matt. 12.25; Luke 11.17), though elsewhere he uses that motif (see, 2.8; cf. 8.18). Equally, he omits those verses which link the arrival of the kingdom with his exorcisms (Matt. 12.27-28; Luke 11.18b-20). On the other hand, Mark 3.28-29 is absent in the parallel Lukan text.

The differences, then, both in language and style in the Markan text, and the omissions evident there, together suggest that Mark was using a tradition different from that preserved in Q.¹⁷ Crossan's suggestion that Mark 3.35 is the redactional creation of Mark which he appended to the traditional verses 31-34 serves to undermine his whole argument. In those latter verses there is no mention of doing the will of God; consequently, the suggested parallel to Luke 11.28 in fact does not exist.¹⁸

d) Conclusion

Together, these observations suggest that neither the first two units were joined in the tradition which reached Mark, nor, conversely, the second two units.¹⁹ The most prudent position is to view verses 22-30 as a mainly traditional piece which Mark then inserted into another tradition which lies behind verses 20-21.31-35. The reason for the use of this sandwich technique becomes clear from the immediate context. The previous pericope describes the appointment of the twelve whose function is not only to preach and have power over the demons but also to be with Jesus (3.14: ἵνα ᾖσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ). Indeed this comes first in rank. That pericope, however, ends on the rather sombre, and redactional note, that Judas was the

¹⁷ On the relationships between and among traditions, see M. E. Boring, "The Unforgivable Sin Logion, Mark iii 28-29/Matt xii 31-32/Luke xii 10: Formal Analysis and the History of the Tradition," *NovT* 18 (1976): 258-79. He argues "that the Markan and Q forms represent the culmination of two streams of tradition which diverged at some earlier point." "Unforgivable Sin," 274. Similarly, Guelich, *Mark*, 178. See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 163.

¹⁸ See, Best, "Mark iii. 20, 21, 31-35," 314. Best misrepresents Crossan when he has him maintaining that Mark knew Q.

¹⁹ The consensus regarding verses 31-35 is that Mark was responsible only for verse 31. See, Guelich, *Mark*, 169-70.

one *ὃς καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτόν* (3.19). At this stage in the Gospel, Mark clearly wanted to show that being with Jesus and betrayal of him were not mutually exclusive. The traditional phrase *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* functions well to echo the previous pericope with its foreboding and ironic tone. The specification of the family of Jesus as those who were with him serves to deepen the scandal. Placed as they are "outside," they anticipate the outsiders of 4.11. The sandwich technique thus functions to align the family and disciples of Jesus as potential opponents.²⁰ There is a further irony, although it is difficult to know whether or not it was intended by Mark. Verses 24-27 emphasize that a kingdom or a house divided against itself cannot stand. Through his redactional comment regarding Judas, and the sandwiching technique which brought together Jesus' immediate acquaintances, Mark succeeded in introducing a dire threat to the very existence of the Christian community for whom he was writing.²¹ That the house (community) of Jesus could be divided, with the consequent disastrous results, is introduced as a very real possibility.

2. Redaction

a) Introduction

The central section of verses 22-30 consists of formally diverse materials. There is a controversy narrative (verses 22-26), a parabolic saying (verse 27), and a sentence of holy law (verses 28-29). Consequently, the possibility of the presence of Markan redaction is quite high. The two main problems concern the extent to which Mark was responsible for bringing together these

²⁰ Weiss goes too far when he comments: "Den Verwandten ist wie den Gegnern das Geheimnis der Königsherrschaft Gottes verschlossen.... Die Verwandten stehen auch außerhalb der Offenbarungsgemeinschaft." *Lehre*, 175. Having taken this position, it is strange that he does not examine in more detail Crossan's proposals about the relatives of Jesus.

²¹ Lane correctly picks up on this allusion. *Mark* 143 n. 90. To argue that Mark was engaged in a polemic against the Jerusalem Church (Crossan, "Relatives," 110-13) would be to suggest that Mark was trying to create the very separation about which he was warning.

materials, and the extent to which he intervened within them.²² In what follows, it will be argued that Mark's hand is evident only in verses 22a, 23a, and 30. It will also be maintained that the substance of verses 22-30 was already connected in the tradition which came to Mark.

b) Verse 22

This rather dense verse specifies the accusers (22a) and makes two charges (22bc). It seems most likely that Mark was responsible for introducing the "scribes from Jerusalem." For him, the scribes were the first and major group who sought confrontation with Jesus (2.6, 16), and he had already contrasted Jesus' teaching with theirs (1.22). The designation "scribes from Jerusalem" reappears in 7.1, and is unique to Mark. With this phrase, Mark aimed to introduce a further note of threat, since Jerusalem is almost always depicted in negative and hostile terms in the Gospel (see, 10.32, 33; 11.1, 11, 15, 27; 14.41).²³

Some commentators suggest that Mark introduced the first charge of Beelzebul possession. Their reasons are varied. Bultmann suggests that it reflects the Hellenistic notion of a demon-possessed magician, in contrast to the more Semitic style of the second charge. Mark's intention, he further maintains, was to link up the accusation of possession in verse 21 with that of being in league with the devil. The absence of the accusation in the Q materials is also noted by many commentators. That there is only a reprise of this charge in

²² A number of commentators follow Bultmann (*Geschichte*, 11) in arguing that verses 28-29 were added by Mark. See, Lüthmann, *Markusevangelium*, 76; Crossan, "Relatives," 94; Lambrecht, "Relatives," 248. Regarding Mark's interventions within the traditions, there is less agreement concerning Markan responsibility for the first accusation in verse 22b, and Jesus' answer in verse 23b. Both are attributed to Mark by Weiss, *Lehre*, 166-67. Markan responsibility for verse 22b is argued by Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 11; Guelich, *Mark*, 174. That verse 23b is Markan is held by, Schmithals, *Markus*, 1:222; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:146; Ernst ("vielleicht"), *Markus*, 117; Crossan, "Relatives," 90-91; Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 102.

²³ See, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 12; Dibelius, *Formgeschichte*, 221; Taylor, *Mark*, 238; Grundmann, *Markus*, 109; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:146; Ernst, *Markus*, 117; Guelich, *Mark*, 174; Crossan, "Relatives," 88-89; Carlston, "Parables," 132; Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 133, 154; Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 102; Weiss, *Lehre*, 167. There is no need, therefore, of the historicizing explanations which commentators such as Lane (*Mark*, 141) or Cranfield give (*Mark*, 135).

verse 30, and no counter to it in any of the rest of the units, is advanced as another argument for its redactional nature.²⁴

Once again, a clear distinction should be made between arguing that the charge is a *creatio ex nihilo* by Mark and the argument that Mark simply reworked the tradition. The reprise in verse 30 is illustrative. The verse is very similar to the first charge in verse 22b, but with the important difference that "Beelzebul" is dropped and replaced by "an unclean spirit." Now, it is commonly noted that the name Beelzebul fails to appear in extant Jewish literature, and various attempts to explain it have been offered.²⁵ Clearly, it was an unusual name. This suggests that Mark's audience would have had little understanding of its meaning and that, to rectify this, Mark offered an explanation of the term in verse 30. This would correspond to his practice of explaining unknown terms through asides to his audience (e.g., 7.3-4) or straight translations (e.g., 5.41; 15.22, 34).²⁶ Verse 30, then, first and foremost offers an explanation, rather than forming an *inclusio*.²⁷ Consequently, it may be surmised that Mark received the charge in a form very similar to that of Q but, unlike Matthew and Luke, chose to offer his audience an explanation of it in verse 30. The reformulation of the charge was thus influenced by the form of the redactional aside in verse 30, and so took on the appearance of a double question. However, it remains only an appearance, since Mark's principal aim was to explain. Viewed in this light, the double charge is hardly making a distinction between demonic possession and demonic assistance.²⁸ This is confirmed by the fact that the first charge drops from view until it reappears in verse 30. If Mark had introduced it as a separate charge, why did he fail to counter it?

²⁴ See, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 11; Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 78; Schweizer, *Markus*, 45; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:145; Guelich, *Mark*, 174; Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 153; Weiss, *Lehre*, 167-68.

²⁵ See, for example, L. Gaston, "Beelzebul," *TZ* 18 (1962): 247-55; E. C. B. MacLaurin, "Beelzeboul," *NovT* 20 (1978): 156-60.

²⁶ Taylor is the only commentator who picks up on this. *Mark*, 244.

²⁷ Contra Guelich, *Mark*, 174, 180. If Mark had intended verses 22b and 30 to function principally as an *inclusio*, why did he substitute "Beelzebul" with "an unclean spirit"?

²⁸ Contra Crossan, "Relatives," 89. The most one can say is that Mark, rightly or wrongly, equated the two.

c) Verse 23

The first part of the verse is most probably from Mark. The phrase καὶ προσκαλέσθαι with an object is a favourite of Mark which he uses as a "standard redactional connective."²⁹ Equally so is his description of Jesus' speaking ἐν παραβολαῖς (see, 4.2, 10; 12.1, 12).³⁰ More difficult to evaluate is the remainder of the verse. A number of arguments have been put forward in favour of Markan redaction.³¹ Hultgren argues that its absence in Q indicates Markan authorship. This argument falls if, as has been argued, Mark was not directly dependent upon Q.³² On a more formal note, Gnllka argues that the bridge verse 23b breaks the parallelism of verses 24-26.³³ Arguing similarly, Weiss suggests that since verse 23b forms an inclusion with verse 26, and since this latter verse was composed together with verses 24-25, then verse 23b must have been added at the written stage, viz., by Mark.³⁴ The arguments of Weiss and

²⁹ See, Crossan, "Relatives," 89. Similarly, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 356; Schweizer, *Markus*, 46; Taylor, *Mark*, 239; Johnson, *Mark*, 82; Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 133, 154. The referent of αὐτοῖς is unclear. It should be noted, however, that nowhere in the Gospel is Jesus depicted as summoning the religious leaders. Those summoned are either the crowd (7.14; 8.34) or the disciples (3.13; 6.7; 8.1; 10.42; 12.43). The crowd is specifically mentioned in 3.20, and the disciples elliptically in 3.21. Peabody argues that the καλεῖν in 7.14 which describes the crowd's summons refers back to a previous summons, which can only be 3.23, since of the three texts which appear before 7.14 that is the only one in participial form. Consequently, both are from the hand of Mark, since "[n]o other redactor would have been in a position to unite such widely separated literary contexts within the gospel." *Mark as Composer*, 131.

³⁰ Pesch, *Markus*, 1:214; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:146; Schmithals, *Markus*, 1:221; Schweizer, *Markus*, 46; Ernst, *Markus*, 117; Gnllka, *Mark*, 175; Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 102; Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 133, 154. Crossan, "Relatives," 90. It is interesting to note that the next usage of the phrase ἐν παραβολαῖς occurs in 4.2 where Jesus is clearly teaching the crowd. This is a further indication that the referent in 3.23 is the crowd.

³¹ Both Johnson (*Mark*, 82) and Anderson (*Mark*, 121-22) maintain that the entire verse is from Mark, but their arguments focus only on the first part of the verse.

³² *Adversaries*, 102. Hultgren accepts that Mark was not directly dependent upon Q, so it is all the more difficult to understand why he argues that verse 23b necessarily came from Mark. *Adversaries*, 104. Crossan has a similar difficulty. On the one hand, he accepts that Mark was not dependent upon Q, yet on the other he argues that the omission of the verse in Matt. 12.25 and Luke 11.17 is an argument for Markan authorship. "Relatives," 91.

³³ *Markus*, 1:146. Similarly, Crossan, "Relatives," 90

³⁴ *Lehre*, 166-67. He further argues that since verses 28-29.30 were added by Mark as a counter to the first question (verse 22b), then the "Gliederungssignale" in verse 23b were also added by him. It is very doubtful

Gnilka both suffer from a certain form-critical formalism, with its concomitant rigid way of viewing the growth of the tradition. In the section on rhetorical criticism, it will be argued that verse 23b functions well as a *chreia*-saying in response to the question in verse 22c, and that verses 24-26 function as an initial elaboration of that saying. In any case, it should be noted that verse 23b mirrors quite closely the accusation in verse 22c: the verb ἐκβαλλεῖν is used in both, and there is a good balance between ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων/τὰ δαιμόνια and Σατανᾶς/Σατανᾶν. There is a high probability, then, that Mark received the question from his tradition.

d) Verse 30

The phrase (τὸ) πνεῦμα (τὸ) ἀκάθαρτον is a favourite of Mark,³⁵ and all the other synoptic uses of it derive from him. Not only does it function as an explanation of the strange term Beelzebul, but it also serves to link up the accusation with Jesus' previous exorcisms (see, 1.21-28; 3.11-12). Moreover, it resembles those explicatory γάρ phrases which Mark uses regularly throughout the Gospel (e.g., 1.16, 22, 38; 2.15 etc). The verse is clearly Markan.³⁶

e) Verses 28-29

Before leaving this section, it should be noted that there is no consensus concerning whether verses 28-29 were added to the context by Mark,³⁷ or came to him already joined to the previous verses.³⁸ The strongest arguments for Markan responsibility come from Lambrecht and Crossan, both of whom consider that Mark

that Mark added verses 28-29, as will be argued, and even if he had, it is difficult to see how they were viewed by him as a counter to the question in verse 22b.

³⁵ See, 1.23, 26, 27; 3.11; 5.2, 8, 13; 6.7; 7.25; 9.25.

³⁶ This is the position of the vast majority of commentators.

³⁷ See, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 11; Lübrmann, *Markusevangelium*, 76; Taylor, *Mark*, 241; Grundmann, *Markus*, 110; Schmithals, *Markus*, 1:223; laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 154; Crossan, "Relatives," 92-93; Lambrecht, "Relatives," 248; Best, "Mark iii. 20, 21, 31-35," 316; Weiss, *Lehre*, 164.

³⁸ See, Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 78; Ernst, *Markus*, 117; Pesch, *Markus*, 1:209-10; Schmid, *Markus*, 84; Gnilka, *Markus*, 1:146; Guelich, *Mark*, 170-71; Cranfield, *Mark*, 135; Boring, "Unforgiveable Sin," 279.

radically reworked the Q form of the saying. However, it has already been argued that it is extremely unlikely that Mark knew this form. The possibility still remains that he received the verses from the tradition and inserted them into the present context. The major difficulty with this position is that the verses go off in a direction quite different from verses 22-26.27, using different language, form, and argumentative strategy. They are concerned with forgiveness and blasphemy, rather than demonic possession. The redactional verse 30, however, returns to the initial accusation of possession in verse 22b, and functions as an explanation of that accusation. Apart from the link-word "spirit," its relationship with verses 28-29 is rather weak, and it makes little attempt to pick up on the themes in those verses. Consequently, the reasons for Mark's insertion of them here are unclear. There is also a stylistic problem. Where Mark uses his "sandwich"-technique, he normally uses two traditional units, and separates one through the insertion of the other.³⁹ It seems unlikely that he would have taken another separate traditional unit and inserted it into the sandwich, especially given the quite different argumentative thrust of that unit. On balance, then, it seems more likely that verses 28-29 came to Mark already associated with the preceding verses.

f) Conclusion

In sum, verses 22-30 in substance came to Mark already connected. The redactional additions are to be found in verses 22a, 23a and 30, and the reformulation of the accusation in verse 22. Through these additions, Mark succeeded in adumbrating the final fate of Jesus in Jerusalem at the hands of the religious leaders, while at the same time pushing forward his characterization of Jesus as the one who calls. Finally, there is introduced for the first time the portrait of Jesus the parable speaker, through which the theme of insiders/outside is anticipated.

³⁹ See, Guelich, *Mark*, 171.

3. Form and Transmission

a) Introduction

In this section, it will be argued that verses 22-30 are the result of the amalgamation of three separate units. Verses 22-26 represent the original controversy dialogue, verse 23b constituting a good *chreia*-saying in response to the accusation, with verses 24-26 offering further argumentation in support. The argumentation reflects the world of everyday wisdom. The second unit, verse 27, also came from this world, but once joined to verses 24-26, took on a certain eschatological dimension. Finally, regarding the third unit, verses 28-29, the lack of consensus regarding the form and function of these verses will be discussed, by way of preparation for their rhetorical analysis in the following section.

b) Verses 22-26 (minus verses 22a.23a)

Bultmann's argument that verses 22-26 most likely formed the original controversy dialogue is followed by many commentators.⁴⁰ As has already been noted, verse 23b causes a difficulty to a number of commentators because of its absence in Q. If, however, neither the Markan nor Q text is a redactional derivative of the other, then the need to posit necessary Markan responsibility for the saying disappears. From the point of view of the *chreia* form, verse 23b functions well as a *chreia* response. Its pithy and humorous nature, its brevity, and argumentative twist all reflect the *chreia* tradition. Verses 24-26 function well as argumentative developments of the saying, but would not themselves have worked

⁴⁰ *Geschichte*, 10-11. See, Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:145; Guelich, *Mark*, 170; Schmid, *Mark*, 84; Schweizer, *Markus*, 46; Johnson, *Mark*, 82; Lührmann, *Markusevangelium*, 74; Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 133; Weiss, *Lehre*, 165-66. Hultgren argues that the saying about blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (resembling more the Q rather than Markan form) supplied the conclusion to the original apophthegm. *Adversaries*, 104-6. For him the entire pericope is a Christian composition, created to offer forgiveness to those who rejected Jesus during his ministry, but who later accepted him as the exalted son of man. He fails, however, to explain why the original "son of man" was changed to "the sons of men" at the pre-Markan stage. The clear difference in forms (wisdom saying/Amen saying + sentence of holy law) also suggests different originating milieux.

well as a *chreia*-response.⁴¹ There is no need, then, to maintain that the dialogue was non-unitary in origin.⁴² The saying clearly reflects the world of wisdom and is lacking in any Christological or ecclesiological dimensions. The final phrase, ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει, reflects Hellenistic terminology for the end of life,⁴³ and confirms the Hellenistic influence upon the shaper of these verses.⁴⁴

c) Verse 27

It is commonly accepted that verse 27 circulated separately but was attached to the previous verse at the pre-Markan stage.⁴⁵ Many commentators also accept that the verse may have come from Jesus himself.⁴⁶ Here, they contend, is evidence of Jesus' eschatological preaching of the Kingdom. This sort of reading depends upon an intertextual relationship with Is. 49.24-25, or 53.12 (the precise choice varies with the commentators),⁴⁷ and more often than not, an

⁴¹ Minette de Tillesse sounds rather imperialistic when he notes à propos of these verses: "Nous, Occidentaux, avons toujours tendance à examiner la rigueur du raisonnement employé, et, précisément, celui-ci ne nous convainc guère. Mais pour des Orientaux, le raisonnement compte moins que ce qui est insinué." *Secret messianique*, 100.

⁴² Contra Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 101-9.

⁴³ See, Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 79; Gnika, *Markus*, 1:158. Cf., Heb. 7.3.

⁴⁴ Weiss suggests that the phrase was added ("möglichlicherweise") when verse 27 was joined to the unit, but does not offer any supporting arguments. *Lehre*, 166. Hultgren considers it a Markan addition because of its absence in Q, *Adversaries*, 102. If, however, the first accusation in verse 22b was original, as has been argued, then the phrase at the end of verse 26 echoes that accusation (Βεελζεβούλ ἔχει/τέλος ἔχει) and functions as an *inclusio* to the unit.

⁴⁵ Its previous independence is suggested strongly not only by the variant forms in Q and the *Gospel of Thomas* 35, but also its differing argumentative approach. Verses 23-26 use the metaphor of internal division, whereas verse 27 uses the metaphor of invasion. See, Weiss, *Lehre*, 165-66; Gnika, *Markus*, 1:150. Tannehill also notes the different argumentative strategies when he writes that "the addition of vss. 27-30 somewhat reduces the climactic effect of vss. 24-26." "Apophthegms," 1815. Best talks of "a stutter in the argument at this point." *Temptation*, xxi.

⁴⁶ See, Grundmann, *Markus*, 111; Guelich, *Mark*, 176; Schweizer, *Markus*, 46; Gnika, *Markus*, 1:150; Schmithals, *Markus*, 1:223; Ernst, *Markus*, 120. Cranfield reveals just why it is so tempting to accept this verse as authentic: "it would be a trace of Jesus' consciousness of being the Servant of the Lord." *Mark*, 138.

⁴⁷ Is 49.24-25: μὴ λήψεται τις παρὰ γίγαντος σκόλα; καὶ ἐὰν αἰχμαλωτεύσῃ τις ἀδίκως, σωθήσεται; οὕτως λέγει κύριος Ἐάν τις αἰχμαλωτεύσῃ γίγαντα, λήψεται σκόλα λαβάνων δὲ παρὰ ἰσχυόντος σωθήσεται. ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν κρίσιν σου κρινῶ, καὶ ἐγὼ τοὺς υἱούς σου ῥύσομαι. Is 53.12: διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μερίδι σκόλα.

allegorical reading of the verse.⁴⁸ Yet the exact relationship with these passages is not spelled out. Derrett, for instance, can only manage to say that "it is known that 3:27 is related somehow to Is. 49:24-25. In fact it seems that Jesus has written a midrash upon the passage."⁴⁹ There is, however, no verbal correspondence between Mark 3:27 and Is. 49:24-25, unless one equates *ὁ ἰσχυρός* with *γίγας*, as Taylor does.⁵⁰ Moreover, there is no question of the *γίγας* in Is. 49 indicating Satan. The "strong" of Is. 53:12 is plural (*τῶν ἰσχυρῶν*) and there is no notion of "binding," but rather of dividing. Also important to note is that the context of the saying in *Gospel of Thomas* is that of proverbial wisdom and there is no hint of the presence of allegory or eschatological awareness. Finally, there is no evidence of *ἰσχυρός* ever having been used as a title for Satan. These observations together indicate that 3:27, as a free-floating saying, neither echoed the verses in Isaiah nor revealed any eschatological awareness concerning the binding of Satan.⁵¹ It came from proverbial wisdom.⁵² Only once it was attached to verses 23-26 did

⁴⁸ For instance, Guelich notes: "Clearly the 'strong man' (*ἰσχυρός*) stands for Satan; his 'possessions' (*οὐκείη*) represents those possessed; the 'binding' (*δήση*) of the 'strong man' takes place in Jesus' ministry; and the 'plundering' (*διαρπάσει*) bespeaks Jesus' own exorcism of those 'possessed.'" *Mark*, 176. Schweizer argues against such allegorical interpretations on the grounds that Jesus' other parables were not constructed in that way. *Markus*, 47. Similarly, Anderson, *Mark*, 121. Pesch maintains that the verb *δέω* belongs to the language of exorcism. *Markus*, 1:215 n. 18. Similarly, Taylor, *Mark*, 241. This was hardly so for Mark since, of the eight occurrences of the verb in the Gospel, three refer to physical arrest (6:17; 15:1, 7), and four to restraint (5:3, 4; 11:2, 4).

⁴⁹ *Mark*, 1:87-88. It seems curious that, having said this, he proceeds to read the passage intertextually with Ex 14:1-4.

⁵⁰ *Mark*, 241.

⁵¹ Best emphasizes the point that if the saying was originally separate, then one cannot deduce its meaning from the Markan context. He tentatively suggests that it could have functioned as some exhortation to the disciples such as "Hold on to what you have; do not let your hands be tied." *Temptation*, xxi. Lührmann notes that the saying is "ein Bildwort, das sich in irgendeiner Weise auf Jesu Wirken beziehen muß, aber doch nur eine allgemeine Regel bietet, wie man es anstellen könnte, einem Starken etwas wegzunehmen. Ist der Starke der Satan, zeigt 27 nur, wie schwer es ist, gegen ihn anzukommen, nicht, daß er schon gefesselt ist." *Markusevangelium*, 76. Similarly, Johnson, *Mark*, 82-83.

⁵² Plutarch tells a story about Cimon which seems to belong to the same world of thought as the saying in Mark: 'Επεὶ δὲ βοηθήσας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπῆει διὰ Κορίνθου τὴν στρατιάν ἄγων ἐνεκέλει Ἀσχαρτος αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς πολίταις εἰσαγαγόντι τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ θύραν κόψαντες ἄλλοτρίαν οὐκ εἰσιέναι πρότερον ἢ τὸν κύριον κελεύσαι. καὶ ὁ Κίμων, 'Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὑμεῖς, εἶπεν, ὦ Ἀσχαρτε, τὰς Κλεωναίων καὶ Μεγερῶν πύλας κόψαντες, ἀλλὰ κατασχίσαντες εἰσεβιάσασθε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀξιούντες ἀνεφγάναι πάντα τοῖς μείζον δυναμένοις. ("After he had given aid to the

it take on the connotation of the defeat of Satan and, consequently, an eschatological dimension.⁵³

d) Verses 28-29

These verses consist of an "Amen-saying" and a "sentence of holy law," and reappear in variant forms both in Q (=Luke 12.10) and *Gospel of Thomas* 44. That they were a later addition to the previous verses is strongly suggested by the different language (forgiveness/Holy Spirit), rhetoric (pronouncement rather than argumentation), and form (holy law rather than parable). Because of the apparent discrepancy between the verses, the first of which offers total forgiveness, and the second of which introduces an exception, some commentators suggest that verse 29 was a later church addition to an original saying of Jesus.⁵⁴ Others argue that the verses were conceived together, either by the historical Jesus,⁵⁵ or by the early Church,⁵⁶ or by Mark himself, who radically reworked the Q form of the logion.⁵⁷

It has already been argued that Mark did not know the Q text and, in all likelihood, was using a tradition which had undergone a separate, non-linear development. This makes the arguments of

Lacedaemonians, he was going back home with his forces through the Isthmus of Corinth, when Lachartus upbraided him for having introduced his army before he had conferred with the citizens. 'People who knock at doors,' said he, 'do not go in before the owner bids them'; to which Cimon replied, 'And yet you Corinthians, O Lachartus, did not so much as knock at the gates of Cleonae and Megara, but hewed them down and forced your way in under arms, demanding that everything be opened up to the stronger.'" *Lives* 17.1.

⁵³ To argue that the verse and context represent an ongoing "cosmic struggle" between Jesus and Satan, as does J. M. Robinson (*The Problem of History in Mark and Other Studies*, 4th ed. STM 21 [London: SCM, 1971], 83), or depict the plundering after the decisive victory over Satan at the Temptation, as does Best (*Temptation*, xxi-xxiii, 15), are both over-interpretations of the text. It is difficult to see how Mark intended to make some grand theological point by linking up this passage with the Temptation scene. In any case, Satan is a very minor character in the Gospel. Similarly, Guelich, *Mark*, 176-77; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:150 n. 34.

⁵⁴ See, Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:150; Ernst, *Markus*, 120; Schweizer, *Markus*, 46.

⁵⁵ See, Pesch, *Markus*, 1:218.

⁵⁶ See, Boring, "Oracles," 511-15; also, "Unforgiveable Sin Logion," 274-76.

⁵⁷ Crossan, "Relatives," 92-95; Lambrecht, "Relatives," 248.

both Lambrecht and Crossan rather tenuous.⁵⁸ That verse 29 was an addition by the early church to a saying of Jesus is questionable on two grounds. Firstly, the pattern of a general rule followed by a specific exception has been shown to be a Semitic idiom, named variously as a "relative negation," or "dialectical negation."⁵⁹ The idiom places together both a positive and negative statement resulting in even greater emphasis being placed on the second. Secondly, even given the overloadedness of the saying, it is clearly constructed in a chiasmic pattern.⁶⁰ Together, these formal observations suggest strongly that the verses were conceived in a unitary fashion.

There is no consensus regarding the form and function of these verses. Bultmann analyses them in his section dealing with those legal sayings and church rules which take up a position regarding the law or Jewish piety.⁶¹ Although he accepts that certain sayings of Jesus were oracles of early Christian prophets, and argues that prophecy helps explain the growth of the tradition, he never offers any detailed analysis of their function and place in the early church, nor indicates how a certain saying should be identified as a prophetic oracle. This is what F. Käsemann attempts to remedy in his investigation of "sentences of holy law." Arguing that the best examples of these sentences are to be seen in 1 Cor. 3.17; 14.38 and Rev. 22.18-19, he concludes that the form is characterized by five

⁵⁸ Guelich further notes that the form of the saying in Mark is chiasmic, whereas the Q saying takes the form of antithetic parallelism. *Mark*, 178.

⁵⁹ See, A. Kuschke, "Das Idiom der 'relativen Negation' im Neuen Testament' als semitisches Idiom," *ZNW* 43 (1950-51): 263; H. Kruse, "Die 'dialektische Negation' als semitisches Idiom," *VT* 4 (1954): 385-400. Examples are Gen. 2.16-17; Exod. 12.10. Guelich comments: "The force of the general statement adds special gravity to the exception." *Mark*, 179.

⁶⁰ Boring offers the following ABB¹A¹ pattern:

A πάντα ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ αἱ βλασφημίαι

B ὅσα ἔαν βλασφημήσωσιν

B¹ ὅς δ' ἐν βλασφημίᾳ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,

A¹ οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ ἔνοχος ἐστὶν αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος. "Unforgiveable Sin," 268. On pages 274-77, he goes on to give a putative pre-Markan form. Lambrecht's analysis is essentially the same, except that, inexplicably, he places the phrase ὅς δ' ἐν βλασφημίᾳ in B rather than B¹. "Relatives," 248. See, F. Neirynck, *Duality in Mark. Contributions to the Study of the Markan Redaction*, BETL 31 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1972), 146.

⁶¹ *Geschichte*, 138.

elements: chiasm, a protasis and apodosis with the same verb in each, the appeal to *ius talionis*, an introductory casuistic legal form (ἐάν τις or ὅς ἂν) in the protasis, and a concluding future indicative or present passive in the apodosis.⁶² The use of the future tense shows that the retribution was considered to be eschatological but nonetheless immanent, given the community's belief of the nearness of the last day. The sentences are thus eschatological, legal judgements.

The prophetic, oracular nature of these sentences is established by Käsemann through reference to Rev. 22.18-19, where the eschatological *ius talionis* is twice mentioned in reference to prophecy. As such, they cannot be viewed as statements concerning church discipline, but rather are better described as charismatic law.⁶³ The same form is also to be found in certain synoptic texts (Mark 4.24; 8.38; Matt. 5.19; 6.14, 15). These cannot be reduced to simple threats, since they were uttered to reveal that judgement was already underway. Consequently, they were not so much parenetic statements as utterances of curse and blessing, with a view to the immanent arrival of the Parousia. This clear expectation of the end shows that this type of sentence emerged out of very early Christianity: "it belongs to the community of the time immediately after Easter, with its apocalyptic expectation of an immanent end and its prophet-leaders."⁶⁴ Consequently, the *Sitz im Leben* of this eschatological divine law was that early situation in which prophets judged the community, as once Israel was judged by the old prophets.⁶⁵

⁶² "Sätze Heiligen Rechtes im Neuen Testament," *NTS* 1 (1954-55): 248-60. Published in English as "Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (London: SCM: 66-81). Other instances where the form is present, though to a lesser extent, are: Gal. 1.9; 1 Cor. 16.22; 2 Cor. 9.16; Rom. 2.12. He also argues that real edicts of the Spirit are being promulgated in the various ordinances given by Paul in 1 Cor. 14.13, 28, 35, 37.

⁶³ "We are concerned here with a divine law in which God himself remains the agent and, inasmuch as God makes it to be promulgated and executed by charismatic men, may be called charismatic law." "Sentences of Holy Law," 73.

⁶⁴ "Sentences of Holy Law," 78.

⁶⁵ With the passing of time, and the waning of eschatological expectation, this type of sentence did take on a more parenetic form, as 2 Cor. 9.6 and Rom. 2.12 demonstrate, especially in the change from the jussive to the imperative.

E. M. Boring is at one with Käsemann in his acceptance of the prophetic nature of the sentences of holy law. The latter's influence is clear when Boring concludes that these sayings have "a dominant eschatological orientation, eschatological *paraclesis*, rebuke of immorality and pronouncement of proleptic judgment of the Last Day."⁶⁶ He is aware, however, that Käsemann was in danger of circular argument in his attempt to discover the formal characteristics of Christian prophecy.⁶⁷ Consequently, he pursues a methodological quest to find criteria for identifying these prophets and the formal marks of their speech, while avoiding circular argumentation. From an analysis of the extra-synoptic New Testament materials, and also of *Didache* and *Hermas*, he provides a characterization of early Christian prophets and also the formal marks of their speech.⁶⁸ The characteristics of the prophet were his status as church figure, as *homo religiosus*, as hermeneut of scripture and tradition, and as eschatological preacher. The formal characteristics of his speech are to be seen in his speaking for the risen Lord in the first person, in the sentences of holy law and "eschatological correlative," in the initial *Amen*, and in the blessing and curse.

The analyses of both Käsemann and Boring have been criticized in various ways.⁶⁹ Klaus Berger takes the view that these sayings

By the time of the Pastorals, it was being used in ecclesiastical administrative and disciplinary law. Nonetheless, the perspective of eschatological law was still maintained in Paul's decisions concerning community life.

⁶⁶ *Sayings of the Risen Christ. Christian Prophecy in the Synoptic Tradition*, SNTSMS 46 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 136; id., "Christian Prophecy and the Sayings of Jesus: The State of the Question," *NTS* 29 (1983): 104-12.

⁶⁷ "One could wish that Käsemann had supported his view that *chiasmus* and *jus talionis* are formal marks of prophetic speech with more evidence from outside the Synoptics before relying on them as indicators of prophetic material in the synoptic tradition." "Oracles," 514.

⁶⁸ *Sayings*, 58-136.

⁶⁹ See, for instance, Klaus Berger, "Zu den sogenannten Sätzen heiligen Rechts," *NTS* 17 (1970-71): 10-40; "Die sog. 'Sätze heiligen Rechts' im N.T. Ihre Funktion und ihr Sitz im Leben," *TZ* 5 (1972): 305-30; David Hill, *New Testament Prophecy*, Marshall's Theological Library (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1979); David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1983); Thomas Gillespie, *The First Theologians: A Study in Early Christian Prophecy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994).

originated in a wisdom rather than a prophetic milieu. Faithful to his own form critical agenda, he examines them from their grammatical-syntactical make up of protasis and apodosis. Four types of sentence emerge.⁷⁰ The correspondence between the two clauses, he argues, is a mark most especially of wisdom literature where the future retribution or reward was considered both individual and innerworldly. There, the "eschatology" was simply that the future would be so different that evil would be punished and goodness rewarded, and all in relation to the previous deeds.⁷¹ From an investigation of the parallels in wisdom and intertestamental literature he concludes that this type of sentence should be considered parenetic rather than judgemental. Like wisdom, it taught that every deed had its consequences and was formulated according to an inner logic rather than a charismatic utterance. Its force, that is, depended not on the authority of the speaker, but upon the world view which it presupposed.⁷² It was only with the rise of apocalyptic that this future result became both otherworldly and collective. Moreover, the reward or punishment were no longer automatic results, but now bound up with the divine action. Those New Testament texts which look to the action of God in the future are evidence of the wisdom tradition becoming accommodated to that of apocalyptic.⁷³ Placed in the mouth of Jesus,

⁷⁰ Those whose protasis begins with ὅς (ὃς) ἔάν; those which begin with with πᾶς ὁ + present participle, or πᾶς ὅστις followed by a future verb in the apodosis; those with the protasis introduced by ἔταν followed by an imperative or vetitive in the apodosis; and those which follow the similar patterns either of ἔάν + subjunctive + aorist imperative, or καὶ ἔάν + aorist imperative. *Sätzen*, 16-19. It should be noted that Aune incorrectly describes Berger's sentence of the first type when he states that the present participle comes in the apodosis rather than the protasis (*Prophecy* 418 n. 41), and that Gillespie mistakes the sentence of the fourth type when he states that ἔάν is followed by a conjunction rather than a subjunctive (*Coniunctivum*). *The First Theologians*, 13 n. 59.

⁷¹ "Die 'Eschatologie' dieser Sätze ist denkbar einfach: Die Zukunft wird die Verhältnisse so umkehren, daß Ungerechte bestraft und Gerechte belohnt werden, und zwar genau ihrem jetzigen Tun entsprechend." "Zu den sogenannten Sätzen heiligen Rechts," 20.

⁷² "Nicht die Autorität des Redenden verpflichtet, sondern die aufgezeigte Folge soll den Angeredeten zur richtigen Erwägung von Schaden und Nutzen und zur Einsicht bringen." "Zu den sogenannten Sätzen heiligen Rechts," 20.

⁷³ "Sätze dieser Art sind daher weisheitliche apokalyptische Belehrung. Eine Nähe zu einem 'Prophetentum' oder gar zu enthusiastischen Äußerungen ist nicht festzustellen. Die Autorität dieser Sätze beruht nicht auf der Person ihres Verkünders oder des Sendenden, sondern besteht in ihrer inneren Logik, daß nämlich jedes Tun entsprechend vergolten wird -- hier unter der

these sayings ought to be classified as sapiential apocalyptic instruction rather than sentences of holy law.⁷⁴ The *Sitz im Leben* would have been catachesis of early converts in the Gentile mission.⁷⁵

David Aune has brought another three criticisms to bear upon Käsemann's thesis. Firstly, he points out, it assumes rather than proves the connection between early Christian prophecy and these sentences. Secondly, it presumes that the sentences were a stable form of speech. In fact, there existed wide variations in early Christian and Jewish literature, the only fixed element being the two part structure, with human behaviour described in the first, and God's response in the second. Finally, Käsemann's view that these sentences were the products of the early Church rather than of Jesus remains an assumption.⁷⁶ Aune concludes that "the distinctive feature of prophetic speech was not so much its *content* or *form*, but its *supernatural origin*."⁷⁷ Regarding the formal characteristics of prophetic speech suggested by Boring, T. Gillespie brings further criticisms.⁷⁸ He notes that Boring himself admits that the absence of the first-person form in Paul is striking, and that the blessing and curse formula is not explicit in Paul's writings, that the eschatological correlative is only "somewhat characteristic" of prophetic speech and is not limited to Christian prophets. Regarding the *Amen* sayings, Boring can only say they were not peculiar to Jesus and were "appropriate" on the lips of early Christian bearers of Revelation.⁷⁹

Voraussetzung, daß es ein Gericht geben wird, das die Umkehrung bringt. Zu einer Naherwartung besteht keinerlei Beziehung, auch nicht dazu, daß eine innerweltliche Gerichtsbarkeit durch Verweis auf das nahe Gericht 'ersetzt' werden soll." "Zu den sogenannten Sätzen heiligen Rechts," 32.

74 "Die These E. Käsemanns, daß es im NT so etwas wie Sätze heiligen Rechts gebe, deren Sitz im Leben die Verkündigung von Propheten gewesen sei, hat sich uns als formgeschichtlich nicht haltbar erwiesen. Denn die genannten Sätze besitzen eben nicht die Form von Rechtssätzen. Weisheitliche Formen und Stoffe werden im Munde Jesu zu apokalyptischer Belehrung und Paränese." "Zu den sogenannten Sätzen heiligen Rechts," 39.

75 "Sätze heiligen Rechts," 16-18.

76 *Prophecy*, 166-68. See, Hill, *Prophecy*, 170-74.

77 *Prophecy*, 338.

78 *The First Theologians*, 18-20.

79 *Sayings*, 132. Jeremias remains unconvinced by the attempts to view these sayings as the product of early Christian prophetic circles, or Jewish apocalyptic. *Theology of the New Testament*, 35-36. Berger fails to find

This brief overview of the state of the question concerning sentences of holy law has been necessary in order to show that Käsemann's thesis is not as widely accepted as might be thought.⁸⁰ In the next section, the insights from ancient rhetoric will be applied to this way of speaking in order to discover whether further understanding may be gleaned from that perspective. Special attention will be paid to investigating whether these sentences reflect a genre which is essentially forensic (Käsemann) or epideictic (Berger).

e) Conclusion

The original controversy dialogue was conceived in a unitary fashion, verse 23b being a suitable response to the accusation, and verses 24-26 supplying a further argumentative strategy. Both originated in the everyday world of wisdom. When the equally proverbial verse 27 was added, a certain eschatological dimension was added, since the strong man became equated with Satan, and his end envisaged. This eschatological thrust was extended with the addition of verses 28-29. It was shown that there is no consensus regarding the form and function of these verses. These will be examined from a rhetorical perspective in the following section.

4. Rhetorical Analysis

a) Introduction

Robbins has offered a rhetorical analysis of this unit in its Markan, Matthean, and Lukan forms, as well as in its common synoptic

parallels with apocalyptic overtones in Hellenistic Judaism. *Die Amen-Worte. Eine Untersuchung zum Problem der Legitimation in apokalyptischer Rede*, BZNW 39 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970), 4-6. See, Jeremias, *ABBA: Studien zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 145-52; id., "Zum nicht-responsorischen Amen," ZNW 64 (1973): 122-23.

⁸⁰ It is curious that Weiss, in his investigation of Mark 3.22-30, has nothing to say concerning verses 28-29.

form.⁸¹ He argues that Mark 3.22-30 is part of the larger rhetorical unit, 3.20-35, and that the argument is structured around the topics of kinsfolk, possession, and casting out. These are introduced, in order, in verses 20-21, 22ab, and 22c, and responded to, in an inverse manner, in verses 23-27 (casting out), verses 28-30 (possession), and verses 31-35 (kinsfolk). He suggests that various kinds of argument are employed: an argument from implausibility from analogies (verses 24-26); an argument from falsity, from a contrary (verse 27); an argument from a judgement (verses 28-30); an argument from comparison (verses 31-32); and a concluding judgement with rationale (verses 34-35).

Essentially, Robbins is arguing that the whole section is structured in a chiasmic way, following the pattern ABCC¹B¹A¹. Although he accepts this in a footnote,⁸² he fails to discuss the rhetorical force of such an arrangement. What is clear, however, is that he does not see the unit as an elaborated *chreia*, since *chreiai* did not function in this chiasmic way. However, even though he does not deal with the chiasm as such, he does note the various types of argument, as listed above, which are used in Jesus' response to the three topics. In this way he treats the three responses as *though* they were parts of *chreia* elaboration. This is clearest in his examination of Jesus' first response to the topic of casting out. Jesus' response in the form of a question (verse 23b), he argues, is a paraphrase of the scribes' accusation concerning casting out. This, he maintains, follows Hermogenes' advice that the first step in an elaboration should be a paraphrase of the *chreia*. Although he does not spell it out, he is tacitly saying that the scribes' accusation functions as the *chreia* which is then elaborated in Jesus' reply. In this way, he would

⁸¹ "Rhetorical Composition and the Beelzebul Pericope," in *Patterns of Persuasion*, 161-93.

⁸² "Beelzebul Pericope," 172 n. 27. He adds that the section could also be considered an intercalation (verses 20-21, 22-30, 31-35), or even a "three-step progression" (verses 20-21, 22, 23-35). This latter is Robbins' own understanding of formal patterning in Mark. See, "Summons and Outline in Mark: The Three-Step Progression," *NovT* 23 (1981): 97-114; *Jesus the Teacher*, 19-51. He fails to say whether he thinks the unit was constructed in such a sophisticated way by Mark, so that all three outlines were intended by him, or whether they are simply different ways for the reader to respond to the unit. Neither does he say whether he himself is more convinced by the chiasmic arrangement or the three-step progression. A certain confusion results.

consider the *chreia* to be of the single sayings category of the responsive kind. However, Hermogenes never gives any examples where the *chreia*-saying is given by an objector or opponent, and the elaboration taken up by the accused. The student was expected to choose his own *chreia* and then elaborate upon it.

However, even given that the scribes' accusation is the basic *chreia* to be elaborated, it must be asked how verses 31-35 respond to that *chreia*. Robbins calls these an "argument from comparison with concluding question and answer."⁸³ The impression is given that the various arguments (analogies, contrary, judgement, comparison) all belong to the seamless robe of the elaborated *chreia*. But, originally, these verses had nothing to do with the scribes' accusation, as was seen in the previous section. More importantly, it is difficult to see how they function as part of an elaborated argument against the accusation of the scribes in their present context.

Moreover, a question may be raised concerning Robbins' division of the material into three topics. He chooses to call the first topic "kinsfolk" and the second topic "possession." In the first, his classification is guided by the characters who make the accusation; in the second, by the accusation itself. Since madness and possession were considered to be very similar, if not identical phenomena, it must be asked why the second topic was not called "religious leaders," or something similar. In other words, in identifying these two different topics, he is using different criteria. In addition, in the previous section it was argued that the distinction between demonic possession and assistance should not be overdrawn. Finally, verses 28-29 do not by themselves address the topic of demonic possession. It is only Mark's explanatory comment in verse 30 which brings up the topic of possession and so allows those verses to be read in that light.

In sum, Robbins' analysis is flawed because of methodological weakness. While tacitly accepting that these verses are chiasmic in structure, he proceeds to analyse them in terms of an elaborated *chreia*. By not taking seriously the intercalatory nature of verses

⁸³ "Beelzebul Pericope," 175.

22-30, and their different tradition history from the surrounding context, he fails to offer a persuasive case for the existence of an integrated argument in Mark 3.20-35. That being the case, and given that it has been argued that the bulk of verses 22-30 came to Mark from the tradition, it is more valid to investigate those verses in search of *chreia* elaboration. In what follows, it will be argued that verses 22-26 constitute the original unit and may be described as a double sayings *chreia* (verses 22-23), with the arguments from analogy in verses 24-26 functioning as a simple elaboration. The additions of verse 27 (argument from example) and verses 28-29 (argument from authority) disrupted the thrust of the original *chreia* and introduced themes which were quite foreign to the original exchange. From the point of view of *chreia* analysis, the pericope may be set out in the following way:

Setting: καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες

Quaestio: Chreia-Saying: ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.

Chreia-Saying: καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Πῶς δύναται Σατανᾶς Σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν;

Argument from Analogy: καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἢ βασιλεία ἐκείνη καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δυνήσεται ἢ οἰκία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι. καὶ εἰ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμερίσθη, οὐ δύναται στήναι ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει.

Argument from Example: ἀλλ' οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δῇσῃ, καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει.

Authoritative Statement: Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πάντα ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ αἱ βλασφημίαι ὅσα ἐὰν βλασφημήσωσιν· ὃς δ' ἂν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ ἔνοχός ἐστιν αἰωνίου ἀμαρτήματος· ὅτι ἔλεγον, Πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ἔχει.

b) The Setting: Verse 22a (20-21)

Mark created the setting for an exchange which originally had no indication of the questioners, and no relationship to verses 20-21. His redactional activity continued his theme of the opposition of the religious leaders to Jesus, and introduced the possibility of betrayal and opposition by those who were close to him.

c) The *Chreia*-Sayings: Verses 22b-23

Previously, it was argued that Mark was also responsible for slightly reforming the accusation, which came to him in a form similar to that in Q. He also added 23b. Once these additions are eliminated, what is left is a very good example of a double sayings *chreia*, in which the saying of one party is topped by the saying of the other:

They said, "He is possessed by Beelzebul, and by the prince of demons he casts out demons." And Jesus said, "How can Satan cast out Satan?"⁸⁴

The brevity, pointedness, and wit of Jesus' reply reflect well the *chreia* tradition. Here we are in the world of epideictic rhetoric, as Robbins points out.⁸⁵ The opponents do not accuse Jesus of any breach of the law (forensic), nor encourage him to re-consider (deliberative), but rather make a full scale attack upon his character. Since they do not deny his exorcistic activity, the *stasis* is not one of conjecture, but rather of quality (*feci, sed iure*). The *stasis* is overcome by the *chreia*-saying, which functions as a *reductio ad absurdum*. The gnomic quality of the saying indicates that the milieu from which it emerged was the everyday world of wisdom. The response is formulated as a rather obvious answer which did not need any deep theological or philosophical reflection. The final topic of the "possible" is the one cogent argument used. Consequently, there is a sting in its tail, a tacit criticism of the accusers that they themselves were lacking in being unable to work out the answer for themselves. Jesus' response, then, is also

⁸⁴ See, Theon 84-95.

⁸⁵ "Beelzebul Pericope," 174.

characterized by epideictic rhetoric since it responds to vituperation with vituperation. The use of the exchange by the early community reflects a rhetorical situation filled with tension and suspicion. The appeal to ordinary logic contained in Jesus' response suggests a moment when his early followers had not developed any mature Christological or theological reflections upon the person or status of Jesus. Nor is there any indication that the break with the synagogue had already been made--the exchange has the marks of a family quarrel, with the intensity which can mark such a quarrel.

d) The Argument from Analogy: Verses 24-26

Verses 24-26 came from the same milieu as the *chreia* itself. The final topic of the "possible" continues to be the core argument, with further arguments from analogy taken from the domestic and political arenas.⁸⁶ Furthermore, there is a process of syllogistic reasoning underlying these verses, as Robbins notes.⁸⁷ "A kingdom or house divided against itself cannot stand; If Satan casts out demons, he, his kingdom, and house are divided against themselves; Therefore, if Satan casts out demons, he, his kingdom, and his house cannot stand." Given this syllogistic nature of the analogy, it may be concluded that verses 24-26 function as a rationale for the *chreia*-saying in verse 23b. The everyday world of wisdom is still the milieu out of which these verses came, though their syllogistic nature show that a certain amount of logical thought had been applied to the *chreia*-saying. The rationale functions to demonstrate the underlying logic of Jesus' response. The final phrase, ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει, does not announce Satan's end, but simply spells out the result, were Satan divided against himself. There is no need to view it as some eschatological statement.

e) The Argument from Example: Verse 27

An eschatological outlook first enters with the addition of verse 27. As has already been noted, the verse of itself reflects the world of

⁸⁶ Robbins suggests that the analogy is used to show the implausibility of the accusation, but the repeated use of the verb *δυνέσθαι* shows that the purpose of the response is to show its impossibility. See, Lausberg, *Rhetorik*, §§375, 1123.

⁸⁷ "Beelzebul Pericope," 165,

proverbial wisdom. Its original rhetorical situation may only be conjectured. The rhetoric, however, is clearly deliberative, inviting choices to be made, and so perhaps the saying functioned as a plea for unity in face of opposition. Very likely, its use of the final topic of the "possible," as well as its use of the motif of a house, provided the reasons for its being joined to the preceding verses. Likely, too, is that the concept of "the end" at the conclusion to verse 26 was another catalyst for the addition. With that conjunction, however, the entire argumentative thrust was transformed. Now the argumentative strategy no longer focused upon the charge made against Jesus, but rather upon the proclamation of the end of Satan's reign. The wisdom argument was thus changed into an eschatological statement. As such, it has a somewhat proclamatory air through which the downfall of Satan is promulgated. The rhetorical situation suggested is of a more confident community, not involved in apologetics or polemics, but broadcasting forth its eschatological belief. The rhetoric is epideictic, but now in the sense of praise for that community which shared the victory of Jesus.

f) The Authoritative Statement: Verses 28-29

As we have seen, Käsemann considers verses 28-29 to be a sentence of holy law, whereas Berger prefers to see it as an apocalyptic wisdom instruction. In rhetorical terms, Käsemann would consider the verses to belong to forensic rhetoric, whereas Berger would consider them to reflect the epideictic genre. Relative clauses introduced by $\epsilon\varsigma$ appear quite frequently in Mark: 3.35; 4.9, 25ab; 8.35ab, 38; 9.37ab, 40, 41, 42; 10.11, 15, 29, 43, 44; 11.23. In most cases, the protasis is introduced by $\epsilon\varsigma \dots \epsilon(\acute{\alpha}\nu)$ and followed by a verb in the aorist subjunctive, but in four cases the relative pronoun is followed by a verb in the present case (4.9, 25ab; 9.40),⁸⁸ and, in one case, by a future indicative verb (8.35b). The tense of the verb in the apodosis varies: it may be in the present (3.29, 35; 4.9; 9.37ab, 40, 42; 10.11), or the future (4.25ab; 8.35ab, 38; 10.43, 44; 11.23) or the aorist subjunctive (9.41; 10.15).⁸⁹ There

⁸⁸ These three sayings are introduced simply by $\epsilon\varsigma$ + verb in the present.

⁸⁹ This is best described as the proleptic use of the aorist, in which the future condition is presented as already present in some way. Used after an "implicit or explicit condition" it denotes that "what is enunciated as a consequence of

is a related construction in which the relative clause is placed in the negative, according to the pattern οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὅς (9.39; 10.29).

A cluster of this type of clause appears in the section 9.38-42, and the following brief analysis will show how that clause can have various rhetorical functions.⁹⁰ Verses 38-42 are a slightly elaborated single sayings *chreia* of the responsive kind. Verse 39 is a *chreia*-saying, based on example and enthymematic reasoning; verse 40 offers a rationale of the *chreia*-saying, and is a maxim reflecting proverbial wisdom;⁹¹ verse 41, with its *Amen*-saying, functions as an authoritative statement using an example, as does verse 42.⁹² Verses 39 and 41 use quite dense enthymematic reasoning, flagged three times by the explicatory γάρ. That reasoning works both from the general to the particular, and vice versa. The former is present in verses 38-39: "Whoever works wonders in my name will not soon curse me; This man worked in my name; Therefore he will not curse me." Behind verse 40 is a reasoning from the particular to the general: "This man worked in my name and did not curse me; Whoever does not curse me is not against us; Therefore, whoever is not against us is for us." The authoritative statement in verse 41 also uses enthymematic reasoning; "Whoever is for us will receive his reward; to give a drink of water is to be for us; therefore, the one who gives ... will not lose his reward."

the condition is expressed as if it had already come to pass, the condition being regarded as fulfilled." Max Zerwick, *Biblical Greek Illustrated by Examples*, trans. Joseph Smith, 4th ed. (Rome, Biblical Institute Press, 1963), §257.

⁹⁰ Mark 9.42 should be read as the conclusion to verses 38-41, since nowhere else in the Gospel does a pericope begin with the relative clause. Moreover, verses 42-48 deal with the question of self-ensnarement in sin, a topic quite different from that of the previous pericope. See, Lane, *Mark*, 345.

⁹¹ Cicero quotes something very like it in *Oratio pro Ligurio* XI: [*1*] *te enim dicere audiebamus nos omnis adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent; te omnis, qui contra te non essent, tuos.* ("For we have often heard you assert that, while we hold all men to be our opponents save those on our side, you counted all men your adherents who were not against you.") See, Cicero. *The Speeches with an English Translation*, trans. N. H. Watts (London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931).

⁹² Lane notes that the threat would not have been lost on the audience who would have heard of a similar punishment inflicted upon the followers of Judas the Galilean. *Mark*, 346.

This dense rhetorical strategy reveals that a problem had to be faced which required good persuasive strategies. Clearly, it concerned the relationship of the community with outsiders and pleas were being made against a strict sectarian mentality. Those pleas point to the presence of deliberative rhetoric, where the addressees were being urged to take one course of action rather than another (openness versus closedness). But they also show the flexibility of the relative clause which could be used now to offer an example, now a maxim, now enthymematic reasoning, and now to make an authoritative declaration about the future. Although the rhetoric is predominantly deliberative, there is an epideictic element, in so far as the man who was working wonders is implicitly praised by Jesus. The epideictic genre becomes explicit in verses 41-42, where there is praise of whomsoever would react positively to Jesus' followers, and vituperation of those who would give cause to stumble. The use of the final topic of the good (καλόν) confirms the epideictic nature of the verses. Although the themes of reward and punishment are employed, as is the *Amen*-formula, there is no strong eschatological note. The rhetorical situation concerned how the community should relate to those outside, and the arguments employed, example, enthymeme, argument from the opposite, authoritative statement, do not reflect an apocalyptic outlook. It may be concluded, then, that this type of relative clause did not necessarily originate in prophetic, apocalyptic circles. Indeed, the dense rhetorical strategy indicates that a great deal of reflection and reasoning underpins the unit.

A very similar problem and rhetorical situation is reflected in the saying in 3.35, and there too there is no trace of an apocalyptic outlook. Rhetorically, that saying is very similar to 9.41: it functions as an authoritative statement with the use of an example. Other sayings in which there is no sign of an apocalyptic mentality are 10.43, 44 and 11.23. All three sayings use deliberative rhetoric. It is interesting to note that the one saying which is marked by forensic rhetoric is 10.11, the ruling on divorce, where, once again, no apocalyptic language appears.

However, this is not to say that this type of clause could not be used with eschatological overtones, as 4.25ab, 8.34-38, 10.15, and 10.28-31 show. The language of reward and punishment is still used but in an eschatological key. The divine passive appears (4.25ab), kingdom language is used (10.15), the coming of the son of man is referred to (8.38), as are the two ages and persecution (10.30), and the present generation is seen as adulterous and sinful (8.38). Lacking, however, is any sign of forensic rhetoric. Rather, these units are characterized by a blending of the deliberative and epideictic genres, as is most clear in 8.35-38. There, the final topic of the useful/useless (συμφέρον/βλαβερόν) is used in verses 35-37 (τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἄνθρωπον κερδεῖσαι κτλ.), indicating deliberative language, and the final topic of the shameful (καλόν/αἰσχρόν), indicating epideictic.⁹³

Given the importance of the reward/punishment discourse, it may be concluded that the argumentation depends not only upon *logos* (e.g., enthymematic reasoning) and *ethos* (the authority of Jesus), but also *pathos*, the appeal to the emotions of the audience: fear of punishment and hope of reward. The future dimension gives sense and purpose to present practice, and reinforces it. Thus the need for the mixture of both epideictic and deliberative rhetoric. The conclusion is that future reward and punishment are not so much anticipated here and now by charismatic, legal utterances (Käsemann), or automatically follow from certain actions (Berger), but rather depend upon the choices, not only of the individual, but of the entire community. The argumentative strategies employed suggest that these units were the product of a process of reasoning and reflection and cannot be viewed simply as oracular utterances or commonplace wisdom sayings. The deliberative aspects of the discourse indicate that the audience was in a process of decision making. On the other hand, the epideictic aspects indicate that those choices have already been made, even if commitment to them has become shaky. The crisis in past choices is particularly evident in Peter's exclamation to Jesus, Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολουθήκαμέν σοι (10.28).

⁹³ See, Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1358b; Quintilian *Instit.* 1.7.1.; 3.4.15. Lausberg, *Handbuch*, §61.3.

Mark 3.28-29 is an authoritative statement which uses the example of one who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit. Its apocalyptic outlook is clear from its double reference to the *αἰών*, and its use of the divine passive. It differs from those other relative clauses which have an apocalyptic colouring in that its verbs in the apodosis are framed in the present tense. All the others are in the future or aorist subjunctive. Moreover, the deliberative and forensic aspects of the others are replaced by a forensic genre, indicated by the adjective *ἐνοχος*. Here the punishment is declared, rather than threatened, just as 10.11 declares that a man who divorces and marries another woman is committing adultery. In a similar way, it resembles those non-apocalyptic relative clauses which also declare a present actuality (e.g., 3.35; 4.9; 9.37, 40, 42; 10.11, 43, 44; 11.23).

In light of these observations, it may be concluded that 3.28-29 is unique in Mark's Gospel, even though it shares certain formal features with the other clauses. Its forensic nature, apocalyptic colouring, and use of the present tense, all show that an eschatological judgement was pronounced, the effects of which were considered to take place forthwith. The similarities it shares with the other clauses indicate that it was formed according to their pattern. The equal distribution of those clauses in apocalyptic and non-apocalyptic contexts shows that this way of speaking did not necessarily arise in Christian or Jewish apocalyptic/prophetic circles, although it did prove highly amenable to prophetic utterance. It seems unlikely, however, that those utterances were considered to have legal status, since 3.28-29 is the only text in Mark which brings together forensic language with an eschatological outlook. Rather, as the brief analysis of 9.38-42 indicated, this type of clause belonged more to the world of deliberative and epideictic rhetoric which demanded rational arguments and persuasive strategies.

g) Genre, *Stasis*, and Rhetorical Situation

These have already been discussed in the analysis of each of the sections of the pericope, and only a brief word is now in order. The original *chreia*, verses 22-23.24-26 was characterized by epideictic rhetoric, since each of the sayings was used in personal attack. The *stasis* was one of quality, since both the questioners and Jesus implicitly accepted that Jesus cast out demons. Jesus' answer in verse 23 worked as a *reductio ad absurdum*, as did the argument from analogy in verses 24-26. The argument used the final topic of the "possible," and so functioned to demonstrate the impossibility of the accusation. The appeal to ordinary logic, and the lack of any mature Christological or theological argumentation, point to an early moment in the history of the community, probably before the break with the synagogue.

A more eschatological outlook entered with the addition of verse 27. In its detached form, the saying was characterized by deliberative rhetoric, perhaps functioning as a plea for unity in face of opposition. Once attached to the preceding verses, the strong man became a metaphor for Satan, and the destruction of his house was announced. An epideictic rhetoric was utilized which depicted Satan as the enemy, and victory over him assured, with the community presented as sharing in that victory. The lack of polemic or apologetics point to an inner-community discussion.

Finally, verses 28-29 are clearly of a forensic nature. Judgement was being pronounced upon those who sinned against the Holy Spirit. This discourse of reward and punishment is characterized especially by the use of *pathos*. It is unlikely, however, that this sort of utterance points necessarily to charismatic circles who made legal pronouncements since, at least in Mark, it is used in so many different ways.

This oscillation between rhetorical genres and situations is further confirmation that the various parts of the pericope arose at different times and in different situations.

5. Evaluation and Conclusions

a) Superficially, Mark 3.22-30 looks like a rather well elaborated *chreia*. It begins with a double sayings *chreia* which is then elaborated by means of analogy (verses 24-26), example (verse 27), and an authoritative statement with an example (verses 28-29). The formal analysis showed, however, that verses 27 and 28-29 had previous independent existences. The rhetorical analysis confirmed the heterogeneous nature of the various parts.

b) The original exchange is a very good example of a double sayings *chreia*. This was reasonably elaborated by the analogies of verses 24-26. The arguments reflected the everyday world of wisdom, and did not depend upon any profound theological reflection.

c) The addition of verse 27 distorted the argumentative strategy of the previous verses, and focused upon the end of Satan's reign, rather than the topic of Jesus' exorcisms. The metaphor of division was replaced by that of invasion. The eschatological note created through the juxtaposition of the verses points to a moment of heightened eschatological expectation, rather than the community's defence of Jesus' (and their) exorcistic activity. Two quite different rhetorical situations are reflected.

d) The pronouncement in verses 28-29 marks a moment of Christian reflection about the forgiveness announced by Jesus, and the limits to it. A more theological moment is indicated. These verses confirm that the discussion regarding Jesus' exorcistic activities had moved on to new topics. Nonetheless, the preservation of the double *chreia* and the following argument from analogy show that the topic of exorcism was still relevant to the community. There was a move, then, from the quickwittedness of the original *chreia* to deeper reflection concerning the cosmic effect of Jesus in ending Satan's reign and bringing universal forgiveness. Though superficially resembling elements of an elaborated *chreia*, verses 27.28-29 have little relationship to the rhetorical situation and argumentative strategy of the initiating *chreia*.

e) Mark's interventions in the material further disrupted the original *chreia*. His addition in verse 23a reflects more his desire to portray Jesus in a certain way and serves to separate the two *chreiai*. His explanatory addition in verse 30 does not reflect any of the argumentative elements of the elaborated *chreia* as described in the handbooks. Finally, by embedding the pericope between verses 20-21 and verses 31-35, he succeeded in giving the whole section, verses 20-35, a much more narrative dimension, and so showed his main concern was not in highlighting, expanding, or creating *chreiai*.

CHAPTER ELEVEN. MARK 7.1-23

1. The Limits of the Unit

The difficulties presented by these verses are immediately apparent from the disagreement among commentators concerning the structure of the final form. For some, there is a two-fold structure consisting of a controversy dialogue (verses 1-13) and a teaching narrative (verses 14-23).¹ Others prefer to see a three-fold structure consisting of a controversy dialogue (verses 1-13), a teaching of the people (verses 14-15), and a teaching of the disciples (verses 17-23).² Still others consider the verses to have been conceived as an original unit.³

This disagreement already suggests that there may have been more than one level in the development of the tradition, and this is confirmed not only by the repeated introductory statements in verses 6, 9, 14, 18, and 20, but also by the parenthetical comments in verses 2, 3-4, 11d, and 19c. Moreover, the many topics treated also argue against a single unit of tradition.⁴

Despite these observations, it is best to view 7.1-23 as a related whole, much of which came to Mark from the tradition. There is a clear break between the summary statement in 6.56 and the notice of the arrival of the Pharisees and scribes in 7.1. Similarly, 7.24 signals the beginning of a new unit with its description of Jesus' departure for the territory of Tyre. Within the unit itself, there is

¹ See, Guelich, *Mark*, 361; Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:367; Gnllka, *Markus* 1:278-79; Gundry, *Mark*, 347; Nineham, *Mark*, 189.

² See, Ernst, *Markus*, 200; Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 137.

³ See, Cranfield, *Mark*, 230. Whereas Cranfield sees it as a traditional unit, Lambrecht sees it as a unit created by Mark's redactional activity. "Jesus and the Law: An Investigation of Mk, 7.1-23," *ETL* 53 (1977): 24-82. Gundry accepts that there are two divisions making two points, but considers that the whole consists of an original unit. *Mark*, 347, 368-69.

⁴ Handwashing, hypocrisy, infringement of God's law through adherence to tradition, defilement by eating, defilement by evil designs. See R. P. Booth, *Jesus and the Laws of Purity: Tradition History and Legal History in Mark 7*, JSNTSup 13 (Sheffield, University of Sheffield Press, 1986), 60; Klauck, *Allegorie*, 260.

only one change of place (verse 17), and no time notices. Moreover, the language of κοινός is present throughout the passage, and gives it a certain unity.

2. Redaction

a) Introduction

Lambrecht notes that it would be an "endless task" to list and discuss the agreements and differences among commentators regarding both tradition and redaction in this passage.⁵ While this is true, there does nonetheless exist a certain consensus regarding the redactional nature of some of the verses, especially those which present themselves as explanations and generalizations, and those which reflect typical Markan themes. In what follows, it will be argued that Mark was responsible for verses 1-4, for the explanations in verses 11d-12, 13b, 19c, and for those verses which describe Jesus calling the crowd to himself (verse 14), his entering the house, being questioned by his disciples, and their failing to understand (verses 17-18a). Moreover, it will be argued that the quotation of Isaiah in verses 6-7 with the conclusion in verse 8 is best understood as a Markan redactional insert.

b) Verses 1-4

Verses 1-4 contain many traces of Markan redaction. Verse 1 reflects both Markan style (καὶ συνάγονται πρὸς αὐτόν: see, 2.2; 4.1; 5.21; 6.30) and vocabulary (γραμματεῖς, Ἱεροσόλυμα, συνάγειν, Φαρισαῖος, ἰδὼν ... ὅτι).⁶ The association of the scribes with Jerusalem is one of Mark's ways of preparing the Passion narrative (see, 3.22). The use of the plural τοὺς ἄρτους rather than the verb followed by the singular noun, meaning "to eat food," may be explained as Mark's

⁵ "Jesus and the Law," 28.

⁶ See, E. J. Pryke, *Redactional Style in the Marcan Gospel. A Study of Syntax and Vocabulary as Guides to Redaction in Mark*, SNTSMS 33 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 161; Dschulnigg, *Sprache*, 191, 216.

way of referring back to the loaves of 6.41, 44.⁷ The description of the disciples' eating food is taken from the traditional verse 5. The explanatory addition (τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀνίπτους) is Mark's aside to those in the audience who did not understand precisely what the phrase meant, or did not know of the Jewish custom of handwashing.⁸ The unusual τοῦτ' ἔστιν should not be taken as from a hand other than Mark's, since his otherwise preferred ὅ ἔστιν generally signals the translation rather than the explanation of a word or phrase, as in this case.⁹

The long parenthesis in verses 3-4 is also best ascribed to Mark.¹⁰ It constitutes not only an explanation of Jewish practices to his Gentile readers, but also functions to make an initial link between the questions of unwashed hands and the tradition of the elders, by way of explaining the other washing practices of the Jews.¹¹

Guelich argues against Markan redaction on lexical, stylistic, and contextual grounds.¹² While it is true that the collective designation

⁷ See, Guelich, *Mark*, 363; Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 139 n. 1; Lambrecht, "Jesus and the Law," 45; Weiss, *Lehre*, 80; Sariola, *Gesetz*, 26.

⁸ The use of ἀνίπτους rather than the more usual ἀκαθάροις is to be explained as an anticipation of the verb ὑψοῦται in the following verse. Booth argues for the traditional nature of the verse, apart from the explanatory aside, on the grounds that if Mark had been freely composing, he would have directly substituted ἀνίπτους for κοινὰς. *Laws of Purity*, 35. But Mark was preserving the tradition which came to him in verse 5, and so chose to repeat the phrase but add the necessary explanation.

⁹ Contra Guelich, *Mark*, 363; Sariola, *Gesetz*, 27. See, 3.17; 5.41; 7.34; 12.42; 15.16, 22, 34, 42. In other words, in those places where the word μεθερμηνεύμενον does not appear, it is presupposed. The only possible exception is 15.16, but see Taylor's discussion of this difficult phrase where he suggests the confusion comes from the original Aramaic. *Mark*, 585. Similarly, Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:471.

¹⁰ See, Pryke, *Style*, 161; Taylor, *Mark*, 335; Lohmeyer, *Markus* 139; Gnllka, *Markus* 1:227; Suhl, *Zitate*, 80; Klauck, *Allegorie*, 260-61; Booth, *Purity*, 35-36; Schweizer, *Markus*, 81; Lambrecht, "Jesus and the Law," 41, 48; Weiss, *Lehre*, 81.

¹¹ Booth comments: "These other practices prepare the reader for the general subject of the tradition, on which the argument later centres." *Purity Laws*, 36. Similarly, Schweizer, *Markus*, 81.

¹² *Mark*, 363. Sariola also considers these verses to be traditional on the grounds of the similarity of narrative structure and sarcastic tone between them and the traditional verses 18d-19b.20b. *Gesetz*, 43-44. Yet verses 3-4 are explanatory of Jewish custom, whilst verses 18-20 present a teaching of Jesus. Only the end of verse 19 constitutes the explanatory comment of the redactor. It is also difficult to see a sarcastic tone in verses 18-20.

of the Jews (πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι) occurs only here in the Gospel, it is wrong to conclude that a *hapax legomenon* cannot come from the hand of the redactor. In so far as it represents a generalization, it is characteristic of Mark. In any case, the title "King of the Jews" (15.2, 9, 12, 18, 26) does seem to present the Jews in a collective way.¹³ Similarly, the elliptical nature of the aside does not prove that it comes from a hand other than Mark.¹⁴ Finally, it is difficult to see how the context of 7.24-37 shows that Mark's main interest lay in the question of defiled hands, and that consequently he had little interest in underscoring the various traditions described in verses 3-4. That context has nothing to say about the question of defiled hands, whereas verses 3-4 function to give a background to the Jewish rituals of cleansing, and so to relate handwashing more closely to those ritual traditions.¹⁵

c) Verse 5

If verses 1-4 stemmed from Mark, then verse 5a must have come to him in some form in the tradition. It could be that the questioners were not named. However, given the nature of the accusation concerning a practice which was not general among the Jews of the time, the Pharisees, with their strict interpretation of the law and customs, would certainly have been considered appropriate interlocutors. Consequently, the Pharisees may well have been mentioned in the tradition.¹⁶

¹³ See, Taylor, *Mark*, 335.

¹⁴ Gundry comments: "But the kind of ellipsis that occurs in v 4a does not characterize anybody's style and therefore again counts neither for nor against this or that redactor [or tradition]." *Mark*, 361.

¹⁵ Both Taylor (*Mark*, 335) and Weiss (*Lehre*, 78 n. 100) consider that both κρατέω and παραδοσις are characteristic Markan vocabulary. See also, Pryke, *Style*, 143.

¹⁶ One of the main purposes of Booth's study is to show that the Pharisees, or at least some section of them, practised handwashing in the time of Jesus. "We conclude that the Pharisaic question is credible in the time of Jesus on the basis that the Pharisees concerned were *haberim* who did handwash before *hullin*, and were urging Jesus and his disciples to adopt the supererogatory handwashing which they themselves practised, i.e. to become *haberim*." *Purity Laws*, 202. This position is very close to that of Dunn's, "Pharisees, Sinners, and Jesus."

Regarding the rest of the verse, the two main problems concern whether the question was conceived in a unitary fashion, and whether Mark had any role in its final formulation. Lambrecht argues that the question which Mark received concerned only the disciples' lack of handwashing. Mark, however, knew the Q tradition about the washing of eating utensils (see, Matt. 23.25-26//Luke 11.39-41), and introduced it into the present context. This then allowed him to make the general point about the Jewish tradition.¹⁷ Booth further notes that the οὐ ... ἀλλά construction is used in two ways in the Gospel.¹⁸ It may simply be used as a positive/negative contrast, the two limbs making parallel statements (e.g., 2.17). In other cases, a new idea is introduced and a fresh statement made (e.g., 1.44; 4.17; 10.40; 12.25). The question in verse 5, he argues, is characterized by the latter usage. He maintains that Mark was responsible for the introduction of the first limb of the question concerning the tradition because of his editorial hostility to the law visible in verses 3-4. He also notes that the topic of handwashing does not re-appear in the passage, so it could hardly have been mentioned in the question in order to give a setting for a suitable saying of Jesus.¹⁹

Both authors, in their different ways, are trying to grapple with the question of why, in the first place, handwashing was mentioned. It seems hardly likely that such a minor topic was introduced by Mark as an example of the larger tradition of the elders. Consequently, it is more likely that it came to him from the tradition. However, neither Lambrecht nor Booth is persuasive in arguing the case that it was Mark who introduced the more general charge concerning the tradition of the elders. Lambrecht brings three arguments in favour of Mark's knowledge of Q. Firstly, it is suggested by the ending of verse 7.4 which describes the various utensils washed by the Jews. The only word link, however, between verse 7 and Matt. 23.25-26 and Luke 11.39.41 is ποτηρίου. He is on firmer ground when he notes the similarity of the "inside"/"outside" dichotomy, yet this appears neither in verses 3-4 nor verse 5. It does appear elsewhere in the

¹⁷ "Jesus and the Law," 46, 48.

¹⁸ For the occurrences of the construction, see Neirynck, *Duality*, 90-94. He does not, however, deal with verse 5.

¹⁹ *Purity Laws*, 62-65.

chapter, but only, as will be seen, in traditional material. This suggests that the link with Q, if that were the case, took place well before the time of Mark. His final point notes the use of the topic of "hypocrites," but since it does not appear in the Lukan text and is more characteristically a Matthean term, as he himself admits, the argument is not persuasive. Booth reasons that Mark was responsible for the introduction of the first limb of the question because of his hostility to the traditional law, visible in verses 3-4. The opposite could equally be argued. Mark received the first limb of the question from the tradition, inserted a similar phrase in verse 3, alongside of various instances of the tradition which he described in verses 3-4, and in the second limb of the question in verse 5. Moreover, as Booth himself notes, this is the only instance in the Gospel of the οὐ ... ἀλλά phrase used in a question, and in which there is a move from the general to the particular.

In the section on formal analysis it will be argued that Lambrecht and Booth are correct to see the question concerning handwashing as original, but err when they suggest that Mark added the initial question.

d) Verses 6-7

The citation of Is. 29.13 is clearly dependent upon the LXX version.²⁰ In the Masoretic text, God's complaint is aimed at improper worship, which was learned by rote. The LXX, on the other hand, indicates the pointlessness of the worship of the Jews, since they taught the commandments of men. The Markan text has two changes at the beginning and end of the passage. Firstly, the beginning of the Isaiah text, Καὶ εἶπεν κύριος Ἐγγίξει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος,²¹ is abbreviated to the sharp οὗτος ὁ λαός. Secondly, the end of the Isaiah text (διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας) becomes διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων. This latter change, with its emphasis on teaching, is reminiscent of the pericopes in 2.15-28, which present Jesus as a teacher gathering disciples. Moreover, this

²⁰ See, Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu*, 262; Schmithals, *Markus*, 1:347; Guelich, *Mark*, 366; Berger, *Gesetzesauslegung*, 1:484-86; Weiss, *Lehre*, 74; Booth, *Purity Laws*, 38.

²¹ Codex Vaticanus and Lucian's recension add: ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν....

change explicitly states that the teaching is man-made, since ἐντάλματα no longer functions as an object, as in the LXX version, but stands in apposition to διδασκαλίας.²² This repositioning of διδασκαλίας as an appositional accusative, Booth suggests, would have implied the meaning: this people teach the commands of men as though they were the doctrines (of God).²³ Consequently, Mark, with his interest in presenting Jesus as teacher, may well have been responsible not only for the changes to the LXX text, but also for the insertion of the entire quotation.

This possibility becomes more probable when the similarities between the introductory phrase here and the redactional introduction to the Gospel in 1.2 are noted.²⁴ The quotation of Isaiah in 1.3 is also based on the LXX. Furthermore, καλῶς appears five times in the Gospel, and is most probably Markan.²⁵ Given these indications of Markan activity, and given the way the entire quotation reflects Mark's desire to portray the religious leaders as misguided teachers, it is best to ascribe the insertion of verses 6-7 to Mark.²⁶

It also seems likely that verses 6-7 circulated independently, since the reference to the Isaiah passage also appears both in Col. 2.22 (κατὰ τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων) and in certain non-canonical texts.²⁷ That the Colossian text specifically links these human teachings to purity laws (2.16, 21) indicates that Is. 29.13 was considered useful in that discussion. However, mention is also made of "human traditions" which came about διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης ... κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (2.8). This shows how the topos of human teaching/tradition could be used in a non-Jewish

²² See, Lambrecht, "Jesus and the Law," 50.

²³ *Purity Laws*, 39.

²⁴ Similarly, Sariola, *Gesetz*, 30-31.

²⁵ See, 7.9, 37; 12.28, 32. Lambrecht considers the two-fold double occurrence of the word in 7.6, 9 and 12.28, 32 to be very significant. "Jesus and the Law," 49 n. 81.

²⁶ Similarly, Lührmann, *Markusevangelium*, 126; Suhl, *Zitate*, 80-81; Klauck, *Allegorie*, 264; Lambrecht, "Jesus and the Law," 48-53; Weiss, *Lehre*, 74-78.

²⁷ A list is given by Weiss, *Lehre*, 76-77. He suggests that Mark 7.6 and the extra-canonical parallels concentrate on hypocritical behaviour based upon the separation of the lips and the heart, whilst Mark 7.8 and Col. 2.22 are more interested in the question of tradition and behaviour.

context. Col. 2, then, instances another occasion where the allusion to Isaiah was brought together with the *topoi* of human traditions and Jewish purity laws.

e) Verses 8-9

Verses 8-9 are in a "redaction-prone area"²⁸ since they are situated at the seam of two units. There is no consensus regarding Mark's activity here. Various, he is given responsibility for verse 8,²⁹ or verse 9,³⁰ or both.³¹ The close similarity between the verses suggests that one was modelled upon the other: the commandment of God is contrasted with the tradition of men in verse 8 and with "your tradition" in verse 9. The antithetic parallelism of verse 13a mirrors the same parallelism in verse 9, and suggests that verse 9 was an integral part of the unit from the beginning. The final τῶν ἀνθρώπων of verse 8 picks up on the reformulated final line of the Isaiah citation, and suggests that whoever did that reformulation was responsible for verse 8. Moreover, the addition of verse 8 succeeds in bringing verses 6-8 into formal parallelism with verses 9-13: an introductory phrase (verses 6a, 9a); a charge (verse 6b: hyopocrisy; verse 9b: the abrogation of God's law in favour of tradition); a proof from Scripture (verses 6c-7, 10-11), a final summary (verses 8, 13a).³² Verse 8, then, is best seen as Markan redaction, and verse 9 as traditional.

f) Verses 10-13

There is a good deal of agreement that the explanation of Corban at the end of verse 11, and the generalizing statement at the end of verse 13, came from Mark. Equally, there is general agreement that the rest of verses 10-11 is traditional. Sariola argues that verse 12 should be considered redactional because of the characteristic Markan usage of οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς and ἀφήμι in the finite form followed

²⁸ Booth, *Purity Laws*, 41.

²⁹ See, Gnllka, *Markus* 1:277; Pryke, *Style*, 161; Booth, *Purity Laws*, 41-43; Weiss; *Lehre*, 78.

³⁰ See, Taylor, *Mark*, 339.

³¹ See, Lambrecht, "Jesus and the Law," 51-53.

³² See, Booth, *Purity Laws*, 40-43.

by the accusative and infinitive.³³ When this verse is excised, verse 13 follows on well from verse 11. It should also be noted that verse 12, as an anacoluthon, functions as a continuation of the explanation of Corban given in verse 11. That is to say, if it was felt necessary by Mark to explain the practice, then the translation he offers in verse 11 would hardly have succeeded in achieving this for an unknowing audience. Verse 12, on the other hand, makes explicit the consequences of the declaration of Corban and so, as an explanation of the practice, probably derived from Mark's hand. Verse 13a functions as an *inclusio* with verse 9 and is best seen as traditional, since the passage then has the following clear structure: A: verse 9; B: Verse 10; B¹: Verse 11; A¹: Verse 13a.³⁴

g) Verses 14-15

There is general agreement that verse 14 came from Mark, characterized as it is by his vocabulary and interests.³⁵ The invitation to the crowd to hear and understand is used to prepare the subsequent teaching of the disciples and their lack of understanding. Verse 15 is generally recognized as traditional.³⁶

³³ Gesetz, 33. See, Dschulnigg, *Sprache*, 83, 122-23.

³⁴ Contra Booth, *Purity Laws*, 42, 44.

³⁵ προσκαλεσάμενος : 3.13, 23; 6.7; 8.1, 34; 10.42; 12.43; 15.44. See, Dschulnigg, *Sprache*, 186. The use of πάλιν is generally accepted as a favourite link word of Mark: 2.13; 3.1, 20; 4.1; 5.21; 7.31; 8.1, 13; 10.1, 10, 24, 32; 11.12; 15.12. Peabody argues that "πάλιν used retrospectively uniting two or more separated pericopes" is an almost certain indication of Markan redaction." *Mark as Composer*, 27. Lambrecht notes the similarities between verse 14 and the equally redactional 3.23a, which is also a transitional verse. He also points out the links with chapter 4: the saying in verse 15 is called a "parable" in verse 17; both chapters emphasize the disciples' lack of understanding, and there is the same pattern of public and private teaching. "Jesus and the Law," 57.

³⁶ See, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 15; Dibelius, *Formgeschichte*, 222; Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 137-38; Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesus*, 265; Schweizer, *Markus*, 77; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:277; Lambrecht, "Jesus and the Law," 60; Berger, *Gesetzesauslegung*, 463; Booth, *Purity Laws*, 46-47; Sariola, *Gesetz*, 37. W. Paschen's attempt to eliminate Markan additions and to reconstruct the original saying has not met with any support. *Rein und Unrein. Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte*, StANT 24 (München: Kösel, 1970), 174.

h) Verses 17-23

Although verse 17 is considered traditional by some,³⁷ it is best to see it as Markan redaction. Paschen argues that though the motif of the contrast between Jesus' public and private teaching is traditional (see, 4.10), its use here and in 9.28 and 10.10 contains more clearly Markan language, and so points to his redaction.³⁸ The question which follows in verse 18a is not only an example of his stylistic attraction to double questions,³⁹ but also introduces a favourite motif, the disciples' lack of understanding. Both point to Markan redaction. The remainder of the verse is traditional, as is verse 19ab. The formal resemblance between the explanatory note in verse 19c and the parenthesis in verses 3-4, and its echoes of typical Markan summaries, both point to Markan redaction.⁴⁰ The insertion of this explanation, and the following introductory ἔλεγεν δέ, together suggest that the commentary in verses 20-22 was already in the tradition which came to Mark.⁴¹ Regarding the final verse, Booth confidently assigns it to Mark, since he claims it adds nothing new, has a generalizing tendency, and a summarizing character.⁴² What he fails to note is that its redundant character functions positively to form an *inclusio* with verse 20 and as such could well have come to Mark from the tradition. There is nothing specific to the verse which points with probability to Mark's redaction.

³⁷ See, Gnllka, *Markus* 1:278; Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:380; Booth, *Purity Laws*, 47-48.

³⁸ Rein und Unrein, 159. Similarly, Guelich, *Mark*, 377; Taylor, *Mark*, 344; Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu*, 263; Grundmann, *Markus*, 195; Lambrecht, "Jesus and the Law," 61-62; Sariola, *Gesetz*, 34-35; C. E. Carlston, "The Things that Defile (Mark 7.15) and the Law in Matthew and Mark," *NTS* 15 (1968-69): 92.

³⁹ See, Neyrinck, *Duality*, 54-63, 125-26.

⁴⁰ See, Taylor, *Mark*, 345; Cranfield, *Mark*, 241; Klostermann, *Markusevangelium*, 71; Lambrecht, "Jesus and the Law," 41; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:278; Booth, *Purity Laws*, 49-50.

⁴¹ See, Lambrecht, "Jesus and the Law," 62-63. A number of commentators follow up Bultmann's suggestion that these verses may have been added by Mark. In the rhetorical analysis it will be shown how these verses are formally similar to verses 18b-19, each set of verses being a *chreia*-saying with accompanying rationale. Given that both together function as commentaries on each part of the saying in verse 15, it seems most probable that they originated together.

⁴² Similarly, Hübner, *Gesetz*, 168; Lambrecht, "Jesus and the Law," 65.

i) Conclusion

In sum, Mark received verses 5, 15, and 18b-23 substantially from the tradition. His major redactorial activity is visible in verses 1-4, the inclusion of the Isaiah quotation and commentary in verses 6-8, the explanatory translation in verses 11d-12, the final comment in verse 13b, the connecting seams in verses 14 and 17-18a, and the explanatory aside in verse 19c.

Together, these additions reveal some narrative, theological, and sociological interests. The narrative interests are most visible by his specification that the scribes came from Jerusalem and his plural description of the bread in verse 2. Mark thereby succeeded in linking the story to what preceded (the feeding of the five thousand, 6.30-44) and in anticipating the final fate of Jesus in the Holy City. His theological concerns were two-fold. Firstly, by inserting the description of the various ritual washings of the Jews, Mark wanted to place the ritual of handwashing within a larger context, and so prepare for the theme of the traditions of the elders. Secondly, the specific tradition which exercised his mind was the question of clean and unclean food, which his addition in verse 19c underlines.⁴³ From this it may be concluded that the specific question of eating with unwashed hands did not present itself as a problem for his audience. The aside he gives in verse 2 confirms this, as does the longer aside in verses 3-4. His sociological concern was to confirm the distance between his audience and Jewish belief and practice. The generalizing tendency of his remarks concerning "all the Jews" and the "many similar things" practised by them points in this direction, as does his insertion of the passage from Isaiah. Verse 19c clearly also works for this purpose. From this it may be concluded that the traditions of the elders was a problem within his community, and that the particular problem concerning Mark in this passage was the question of clean and unclean food. This situates Mark well within the discussions of early Hellenistic Christianity.

⁴³ Similarly, Lührmann, *Markusevangelium*, 125. Lambrecht comments: "In v. 19c Mark intends to make absolutely clear that Jesus declared all food clean. We may ask, however, whether the original speaker in v. 15a (Jesus) meant his statement to be so explicit." "Jesus and the Law," 63.

3. Form and Transmission

a) Introduction

There is no consensus regarding which verses represent the original controversy: verses 1-2.5-8; 1-2.5.9-13; 1-2.5.6-13; 1-2.5.15, or parts thereof, have all been argued variously as constituting the original core. The various diachronic analyses depend upon whether the original objection is understood to have been about the tradition of the elders or unwashed hands, motifs which are both present in the question of verse 5. In what follows, it will be argued that verse 15 is the best candidate for the response to the question and that, since verses 1-4 were Markan additions, the substance of the original question is to be found in verse 5.

b) Verses 1-13

For Bultmann and others, the original unit comprised verses 1-8, and the point of the story lay in a polemic against the scribes conducted by means of the Isaiah citation. It originated in the Palestinian community for whom the παράδοσις of the law was a living issue. Mark then added, by means of the usual formula καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, another polemic in verses 9-13 which he also received from the tradition. After this he added the commentary in 18b-19 along with verse 15, all of which were traditional, and linked it up with what preceded by creating verses 17-18a. Connected by the usual formula, verses 20-23 form the latest addition to be added, and may have come from Mark or from some Hellenistic author.⁴⁴

Gnilka offers a similar analysis to Bultmann's, but considers verse 8 a redactional bridge and sees most of the formation to have occurred at a pre-Markan stage. For him verses 1-7 constituted the

⁴⁴ *Geschichte*, 15-16; Similarly, Albertz, *Streitgespräche*, 37; Taylor, *Mark*, 334; Branscomb, *Mark*, 123; Nineham, *Mark*, 195; Carlston, "The Things that Defile," 91. Banks argues that Mark compiled the unit from two previously independent passages: verses 1.5-8.15-20 and verses 9-13. *Jesus and the Law*, 132-46.

original controversy, the structure of which is similar to 2.23-26. Contrary to Bultmann, he suggests a Hellenistic Jewish *Sitz*. Mark added the traditional verses 9-13a, of Palestinian origin, because of the similar theme of "tradition." The originally independent logion in verse 15, again of Palestinian origin, was added at the pre-Markan stage to verses 17-19, which in turn was connected by a subsequent Greek author to verses 20-22. Mark locked this material into verses 1-13 by his redactional activity in verse 14, and rounded off the entire complex with his conclusion in verse 23.⁴⁵ Both Suhl and Hultgren take the opposite view, arguing that verse 8 was an independent logion for which the setting and charge in verses 2 and 5 were created. The verses were formulated as an apologetic against Hellenistic Jewish criticism which was denounced as human tradition.⁴⁶

Like Bultmann, Gnllka, and Hultgren, both Pesch and Ernst consider that the original unit dealt with the tradition of the elders, but argue that verses 6-13 in their entirety functioned as the original response. Neither is convinced that verses 9-13 could have circulated separately because, apart from the lack of any initiating question, they have thematic links with the preceding verses and can only be understood in light of the situation described in verses 1 and 5.⁴⁷ Pesch is of the further opinion that verses 9-13 function as an example of the teaching in verses 6-8, and is another example of a "two-step" answer seen elsewhere in the Gospel (see, 2.15-17; 2.18-22; 2.23-28).⁴⁸ Both are of the opinion that Mark was responsible for adding the equally traditional verses 14-23.

Hübner take a quite different approach.⁴⁹ For him, verses 9-13 constituted the original answer to the question which concerned both eating with unwashed hands and the tradition of the elders. Since the answer mentions only "your tradition," he argues that the

⁴⁵ Markus 1:276-78.

⁴⁶ *Adversaries*, 115-19. Suhl argues that verse 8 originally functioned as a question. *Zitate*, 79-82.

⁴⁷ Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:367-68; Ernst, *Markus*, 200-1.

⁴⁸ *Markusevangelium*, 1:369. On the following page, he remarks: "Die Erzählung ist kunstvoll-bewußt gefügt...."

⁴⁹ *Gesetz*, 142-74.

aim of this response was to question the authority of the Pharisees who upheld that tradition, rather than enter a specific discussion regarding purity. The logic of the interchange was to demonstrate how the religious leaders had discredited their own tradition and authority by breaking the fourth commandment, and at the same time were inviting the disciples to be part of their tradition and authority. Consequently, the problem concerned not so much handwashing, but the Pharisees' authority itself.⁵⁰ The mention of the disciples' eating with unclean hands was necessary, since a question which simply accused them of not observing the tradition of the elders would have been too general. It was Mark who changed the whole focus onto the question of clean and unclean by his addition of verse 15.⁵¹ Hübner claims this reading is confirmed by more formal considerations. In 2.23-28, reference is also made to an Old Testament text, which is then followed by the original answer, indicated by the introductory phrase καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς. Moreover, since 7.6-7 reflects the LXX text rather than the MT, it clearly originated in a Greek speaking community and so could not be a word of the historical Jesus.⁵²

Sariola takes a similar position to Hübner, but in a more nuanced form. The original controversy consisted of verses 5b-6a, 9b-11c, 11e. The question, for him, concerned handwashing, but linked up that practice with the tradition of the elders, rather than the law. The response, in turn, contrasted the two in order to show the impossibility of following both.⁵³ Verse 12 was a redactional addition by Mark. Verse 13ab was added together with verses 3b-

50 "Am Mißbrauch des Qorban seht ihr, wie eure Überlieferung dem Willen Gottes widerspricht. Wie wollt dann ausgerechnet ihr, die ihr doch selbst die Autorität eurer Überlieferung durch die Verletzung des Vierten Gebotes diskreditiert habt, meine Jünger dazu bewegen, die Händewaschung - um dieser diskreditierten Überlieferung willen! - vorzunehmen? Das allerdings wäre eine sinnvolle Argumentation. Sie geschähe nicht als Diskussion um rein oder unrein; vielmehr ginge es um die Autorität seiner pharisäischen Gegner." *Gesetz*, 146.

51 *Gesetz*, 146.

52 Verse 8 forms a doublet with verse 9 because of the agreement in content and vocabulary, and so functions as a secondary bridge with what precedes. The original exposition consisted of verses 1.2.5 (minus καὶ τινες...ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων). *Gesetz*, 144, 156-57.

53 *Gesetz*, 50-51.

4c, 18d-19b, and 20b at the pre-Markan stage, probably because of the relationship between purity and food.

Dibelius stands alone in maintaining that Mark composed verses 1-5 to introduce the entire section. For him it is quite clear that verses 15 and 9-13 were at one point independent, not only because of the presence of special introductions but also because neither has to do with the question of handwashing. Verses 6-8 are linked thematically with verses 9, 10-13 and concern the opposition: commandment of God/tradition of men. The saying in verse 15 concerns cleanliness in regard to eating and was attached to verses 6-8 at the pre-Markan stage. The two explanations in verses 17-19 and 20-23, neither of which suit the radical character of verse 15, were the final additions, probably at the pre-Markan stage. Both these explanations reveal the Church's doctrinal concern in the food question.⁵⁴

These different attempts at the reconstruction of the transmission history all bring their own problems. Behind Bultmann's position are two questionable pre-suppositions: firstly, that the introductory formula καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς indicates the later addition of the following verses, and secondly, that the tendency of Mark was to enlarge his apophthegms with new material.⁵⁵ It has already been pointed out that such an introductory formula, if it were from the hand of Mark, need not necessarily point to primary or secondary material. Simply, it indicates that Mark was capable of distinguishing small units from each other. If it did not come from him, then it could be seen as introducing an independent *chreia*-like saying. In any case, according to this presupposition, the similar introductory formula in verse 6 could equally indicate the secondary nature of verses 6-8. Consequently, if Mark did have a tendency to enlarge his apophthegms, then these latter verses could equally be the expansion of some other material in the present pericope.⁵⁶ Most important to note is Bultmann's correct recognition that verses 6-8, as the response to the question, contain no argument of their own.

⁵⁴ *Formgeschichte*, 222-23.

⁵⁵ *Geschichte*, 15.

⁵⁶ Similarly, Weiss, *Lehre*, 60.

From this he concludes that they derive from the traditional polemic of the Church. Yet it is difficult to understand why the particular setting was created for them if they fail to answer the problem posed there. This problem is compounded when Gnilya deletes verse 8 as redactional. The citation from Isaiah functions as pure invective and fails to respond to the objection in any cogent way. It is difficult to see how such a setting could have been created for the citation.

Hultgren's and Suhl's suggestion suffers from its implications. If verse 8 were the original response, then a parallelism is created between question and response: A) the tradition of the elders; B) eating with unclean hands; A¹) the tradition of men; B²) the commandment of God. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that the religious leaders were being accused of abandoning God's commandment because they washed their hands. Finally, verse 8 contains no response to the second limb of the question.

Contrary to both Pesch and Ernst, there is no reason to suppose that both verses 6-7 and 9-13 could not have circulated independently. Isaiah 29.13 is quoted and alluded to elsewhere both within and outside of the New Testament. In the rhetorical analysis, it will be shown how verses 9-13 function well as a *chreia* followed by rationale, and consequently have a certain coherence.

For Hübner, the argument was not about the question of clean and unclean, but about the authority of the Pharisees. His explanation that the first limb of the question was considered too general, and that the second limb was introduced to make the objection specific, is unpersuasive. Elsewhere in the Gospel, the religious leaders can ask a question of a very general nature (see, 11.28). In any case, even if Hübner were correct, he fails to answer why precisely the question of eating with unclean hands was taken as an example.⁵⁷ The same may be said for Sariola's similar position. Furthermore, to argue that Jesus rejected the whole tradition on the basis that he

⁵⁷ Weiss comments: "Seine Argumente sprechen mehr für den Stichwortanschluß einer sekundären Tradition als für eine formgemäße Überlieferung." *Lehre*, 64.

used the Corban story as an example of how the Pharisees' tradition broke the law sounds rather extreme.

c) Verse 15

An alternative way forward is to consider whether verse 15 could have provided the original response. A number of arguments in its favour have been put by various commentators.⁵⁸ The verse's antithetic parallelism and understandable content indicate that it could have existed as an independent logion.⁵⁹ But does it constitute a fitting response to the question or, at least, a more fitting response than verses 1-8, or 9-13? Certainly, it does not answer explicitly the question concerning the tradition of the elders in verse 5b.

Regarding the practice of handwashing before meals, Booth has presented convincing evidence to show that handwashing as a supererogatory practice did characterize the *haberim* faction of the Pharisees, both in the time of Jesus and afterwards.⁶⁰ However, that practice could not have been considered a "tradition," certainly not in the sense of Corban, and therefore it may be concluded that verse 5b is incongruent with verse 5c, and so may be viewed as a later addition.

⁵⁸ See, Berger, *Gesetzesauslegung*, 1:461-65; Klauck, *Allegorie*, 262; Lambrecht, "Jesus and the Law," 66-70; D. Lührmann, "...womit er alle Speisen für rein erklärte (Mk 7,19)," *WD* 16 (1981): 81-91; id., *Markusevangelium*, 125; Johnson, *Mark*, 181; Booth, *Purity Laws*, 55-114; Weiss, *Lehre*, 57-82. Schweizer takes a similar position, but maintains that verses 18b-19, 20-23 were added to verse 15 before the setting in verse 1-2.5 was created. *Markus*, 82.

⁵⁹ There is a wide ranging discussion regarding the original form of the saying, its scope, redactional additions, and its authenticity. See H. Räisänen, "Jesus and the Food Laws: Reflections on Mark 7,15," *JSNT* 16 (1982): 79-100. The move from a literal to a metaphorical usage of the verb πορεύεσθαι hardly indicates that a clumsy addition has been made to the original verse 15a. Contra H. Merkel, "Mk 7,15 -- das Jesuswort über die innere Verunreinigung," *ZRGG* 20 (1968): 353. Moreover, the very structure of the saying which places the phrase οὐδέν ἐστιν ἕξωθεν at the very beginning and the verb δύναται only towards the end indicates that it functions to prepare for a teaching concerning what does make unclean. That Mark added the words ἐισπορευόμενον and ἐκπορευόμενα is impossible to prove, certainly not on the grounds of the Markan use of the respective verbs (apart from the traditional 4.19, he uses them in the sense of geographical movement). The authenticity of the logion does not concern us.

⁶⁰ *Purity Laws*, 189-203. Similarly, Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 185-86.

The original question, then, concerned the disciples' eating with unwashed hands.⁶¹ The problem remains that the answer concerns food, rather than the condition of the person eating the food. A certain *petitio principii* is apparent. It could be argued that impurity could be passed on from hands to food, but Booth points out that urging handwashing would not have made any sense, since the whole body would have been presumed to be impure.⁶² His interpretation of handwashing as something supererogatory, a practice pointing to a higher standard of piety, fits well with the picture of the Pharisees which has emerged in the analysis of the other units. That is, the criticism was based not on general practice of tradition or law, but rather upon the Pharisees' own stricter observance, and aimed at Jesus and his followers who did not share that observance.⁶³ Jesus' answer, in turn, rejects their higher piety by downplaying the possibility of ritual impurity and highlighting the danger of ethical impurity.⁶⁴ Once again, Jesus refuses to answer the question solely on the grounds set before him.

Jesus' answer also reflects discourse concerning prohibited foods evidenced elsewhere in the New Testament (see, Acts 10; Acts 15; Rom. 14.14-23; Gal. 2.11-14, 1 Cor. 8) and also in the *Gospel of Thomas* 14. This discourse confirms that the saying in 7.15 should be taken in a relative rather than absolute way, since there was

⁶¹ Contra Weiss, *Lehre*, 72. He describes the action of eating with unwashed hands a "banale[n] Anlaß." It is no more banal than the disciples' plucking grain. His objection to Lührmann, who also considers verse 5c to be the original question, that 2.18 also contains the grounds to the objection within the reproach, hardly offers a convincing parallel. *Lehre*, 68. In 2.18, the actions of one group are contrasted with the actions of Jesus' disciples; in 7.5 it is the tradition of the elders which is presented as the grounds of the objection.

⁶² *Purity*, 173-185. Similarly, Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 387-88 n. 51.

⁶³ Booth comments: "In this sense, the question could be elaborated--'Why do your disciples (since you, their Teacher, are 'true, and teach the way of God truthfully') not wash their hands before they eat and observe the same standard of purity as we pietists do?'" *Purity Laws*, 202.

⁶⁴ This is another instance where the οὐδέν ... ἀλλὰ construction indicates a relative rather than absolute negation. See, Booth, *Purity Laws*, 68-71. Berger argues for the absolute sense, maintaining that this (wisdom) saying arose in Hellenistic Judaism and was framed in an apocalyptic tradition. *Gesetzesauslegung*, 465-69. His reading of the various Jewish texts remains questionable, since it seems highly unlikely that a Jew could deny all purity laws and still remain in the synagogue. See, Booth, *Purity Laws*, 84-90.

clearly no unanimity about the question.⁶⁵ Clearly, food laws were being questioned by early Christian communities, and it is against this background that Mark 7.15 should also be read.⁶⁶ It is recognized commonly that the entrance of Gentiles into the early Christian community raised questions concerning certain Jewish practices, specifically circumcision and food laws. With regard to these latter, Paul takes a principled stand in Gal. 2.11-14 based upon "the truth of the Gospel" (2.14). He does not expand upon how he deduces this principle from the Gospel, but his argumentation may be described as an "evangelical" hermeneutic. A general accusation of anti-Gospel behaviour is made of Peter, Barnabas, and other Jewish Christians. 1 Cor. 8 and Rom. 14.14-23 register not only a softening of Paul's principled stance in Galatians, but also a change in argumentative direction. He states clearly his own (principled) conviction (Rom. 14.14), but does not impose that way forward upon the community. The hermeneutic he employs is ethical rather than "evangelical"--the decision is up to the conscience of each individual who should be aware of the possibility of scandal. Love of the brethren now becomes the guiding principle (see, Rom. 14.15; 1 Cor. 8.9-10). Between Galatians, on the one hand, and 1 Corinthians and Romans on the other, one can glimpse Paul struggling to offer adequate grounds for Christian behaviour regarding food. Mark 7.15 records another step in the discourse, in which the grounds for behaviour now rested upon a word of the Lord himself. The texts concerned chart an hermeneutical process in early Christian discourse, which began with general "evangelical" reasoning, through ethical exhortation, to a word of the Lord himself.⁶⁷ To this extent, Mark 7.15 resembles the teaching on fasting in 2.20, where the practice was grounded in a word of the

⁶⁵ Similarly, Booth, *Purity Laws*, 219.

⁶⁶ This is not to argue for literary dependence between the Markan text and the others, or vice-versa. The authenticity of the saying is of no relevance in this discussion concerning the relationship between setting and saying. Räisänen suggests that it is best seen as a creation of a Galilean community engaged in the Gentile mission and influenced by the insights gained there (Rom. 14.14, 20). "Food Laws," 89.

⁶⁷ In modern jargon, this process may be described as the move from "orthopraxis" to "orthodoxy." Räisänen makes a similar point: "That verse (scil. Rom. 14.14) gives expression to a conviction reached in *faith*, instinctively as it were, that nothing is unclean of itself.... But at some point a need for more reflective theological arguments must have made itself felt..." "Food Laws," 88.

Lord and also given a specific rationale--to mourn the death of Jesus.

d) Verses 18b-23

The "commentaries" in verses 18b, 19a-b, and 20-23 sit well with verse 15. Verse 19 makes it quite explicit that verse 15a is talking about food, whilst verses 20-23 list those actions and attitudes which make individuals unclean, and so specify what is only alluded to in verse 15b. These additions further show that the topos of unclean hands was left in the background, whilst the more general topos of "clean/unclean" was taken up. It is this latter which created the environment which made possible the addition of the Corban unit in verses 9-13. For although the topos of "tradition" does not appear in the core controversy, it was the commentaries in verses 18c, 19a-b, 20-23 which implicitly raised that subject by referring to the purity laws. The first limb of the question would have been added at the same time as the Corban unit.

e) Conclusion

In summary, this proposed outline of the transmission history suggests that the original controversy consisted of verse 5, minus the mention of the tradition of the elders, with verse 15 as the original response. The commentaries in verses 18b, 19ab, 20-23 function to make the answer in verse 15 more specific. By emphasizing the topos of ritual impurity in contrast to ethical impurity, they created the environment for the addition of verses 9-13, which read that discussion in terms of human tradition in contrast with the command of God. The addition of these latter verses was the catalyst for the inclusion of the first part of the question in verse 5.

4. Rhetorical Analysis

a) Introduction

Mark 7.1-23 has been analysed from the rhetorical point of view in two separate studies. Since both studies are rather detailed, a lengthier introductory section is demanded here, in order to present both their analyses of the unit, and their consequent conclusions.

In his general study on the composition of Mark's Gospel, Mack suggests that 7.1-23 is an example of "a very elaborate expansion of a chreia," and offers the following brief analysis:⁶⁸

Introduction: Verses 1-4

Chreia Setting: Verse 5

Chreia Response: Verses 6-7

Rationale: Verse 8

Contrast: Verses 9-13

Analogy: Verses 14-15

Explanation of the Analogy: Verses 17-19

Examples: Verses 20-22

Pronouncement: Verse 23

Like Mack, Gregory Salyer is also convinced that these verses are structured according to the principles of rhetorical elaboration.⁶⁹ However, he goes beyond Mack when he maintains that the unit is structured according both to the outline of Hermogenes' full elaboration (Robbins' "second-level" elaboration) and to Theon's remarks concerning the confirmation of an argument ("first-level" elaboration). It comes as no surprise, then, that his formal analysis differs quite significantly from Mack's. He offers the following outline:⁷⁰

Narrative Introduction: Verses 1-2

Digression: Verses 3-4

⁶⁸ *Myth*, 189-92.

⁶⁹ "Rhetoric, Purity, and Play: Aspects of Mark 7:1-23," *Semeia* 64 (1993): 139-69.

⁷⁰ "Aspects," 144-45.

Quaestio (seeking Rationale): Verse 5

Argumentatio (functioning as a reply to the Quaestio): Verses 6-15

Praise: Verse 6a

Chreia: Verses 6b-7

Paraphrase: Verse 8

Citations of Ancient Authority: Verses 9-10

Example: Verses 11-12

Paraphrase: Verse 13

Contrary as Counterthesis: Verses 14-16⁷¹

Scene/Setting Change: Amplification of the Counterthesis

Interrogatio: Verse 17

Restatement of First Part of Counterthesis as Interrogatio: Verse 18

Rationale: Verse 19a

Inference: Verse 19b

Restatement of Second Part of Counterthesis: Verse 20

Rationale: Verses 21-22

Conclusion: Verse 23

Mack is of the opinion that the unit presents a good example of how an original *chreia* was "domesticated" in the process of transmission. "Domestication" for him was the process whereby the logic of the original *chreia* (not necessarily "authentic" in Bultmannian terms) which functioned on the basis of scatological humour, appeal to common sense, and insight, was overtaken, though not entirely replaced, by a logic which rested upon "far-fetched" arguments and appeal to traditional authorities such as Scripture. In that process, the original humour gave way to a much more serious, hostile, and polemic tone.⁷² This general understanding of the growth and transmission of the pronouncement stories in general leads him to the conviction that verse 15, or something very like it, constituted the original *chreia*-saying. He paraphrases the original *chreia* in the following way: "When asked why he ate with hands defiled, Jesus

⁷¹ *Sic.* Although he mentions verse 16 here, it plays no part in his analysis.

⁷² *Myth*, 194.

replied, 'It is not what goes in, but what goes out that makes unclean.'⁷³ The issue involved in the exchange regarded "clean/unclean" and the topic was table manners.

During the process of transmission, such a response was considered too "risqué" and the *chreia* was domesticated by means of two rhetorical moves. Firstly, the setting was reformulated so that the focus moved from the disciples, who did not wash their hands, to the Pharisees who did. This allowed the more general question concerning the "traditions of the elders" to be introduced and demanded that a new response be made. This new response constituted the second rhetorical shift, the replacement of the original *chreia*-saying with the *chreia*-saying from Isaiah. In other words, the change of focus introduced a polemical note and the Isaiah citation was considered a more appropriate response to the changed circumstances. At the same time, the original saying, considered too risqué to use as the thesis, was nonetheless "too good to dismiss altogether," and so was retained further on as an analogy.⁷⁴

Mack argues that this process of domestication recorded a process of social formation. That is, behind it lies the history of a group which was once merged with the synagogue but which gradually came into conflict with Pharisaic Judaism. This group he calls the "Synagogue Reform Movement," and it is their history of group formation which the pronouncement stories recorded.⁷⁵ Given that these stories centred around the Pharisaic laws of purity and that their settings were typically house-gatherings, Mack deduces that table fellowship was the distinguishing feature of this group of reformers vis-à-vis other Jewish groups. He assumes that their practice had spread into the Hellenistic cities of Galilee and perhaps southern Syria, in which regions the Pharisees' point of view would have been as recent a development as that of the reform movement. "In southern Syria and beyond, both positions may well

⁷³ *Myth*, 189.

⁷⁴ This, Mack suggests, explains the later scholion, "If anyone has ears to hear, let that one hear." The scribe who inserted it was afraid that it might get lost among the larger material. *Myth*, 189.

⁷⁵ *Myth*, 94-97, 172-207.

have been viewed as export ideologies from Palestine, the Pharisees sounding a conservative position, the Jesus people taking the opposite tack."⁷⁶ The Pharisees argued from institutional precedents and practical considerations, whereas the reform movement, deprived of such arguments, was forced simply to rely on the sayings of Jesus. Those sayings were of the Cynic variety and contained implicit critiques of society and accepted logic, and celebrated the unconventional. That sort of saying, however, was insufficient to counter the more conservative challenge, and so the *chreiai* became domesticated and elaborated in response to the Pharisaic objections and questions. Mack comments:

An exceptionally odd thing happens. Jesus becomes his own authority. Everything is attributed to Jesus: *chreia*, rationale, supporting arguments, and even the authoritative pronouncements. Jesus elaborates his own saying and ends up pronouncing authoritatively upon it.... The circle closes. There is no point of leverage outside the sayings of Jesus to qualify or sustain the argumentation and its conclusion. Jesus' authority is absolute, derived from his own Cynic wisdom, and proven by his own pronouncements upon it.... By the very simple means of manipulating the sayings of Jesus rhetorically, the synagogue reform movement turned the Cynic sage into an imperious judge and sovereign. He rules by fiat.⁷⁷

For Salyer, the *chreia* in verse 15 is the pivot around which the two different elaborations revolve. Although he does not make himself entirely clear, he does seem to accept that the saying in verse 15 functioned as the original response to the question in verse 5.⁷⁸ The process of elaboration not only displaced this response but changed its purpose: it no longer functioned as a *chreia*-saying but as an argument from the contrary in support of another *chreia* (the Isaiah saying). However, placed in the context of the following verses, it

⁷⁶ *Myth*, 95.

⁷⁷ *Myth*, 199.

⁷⁸ "The *chreia* uttered by Jesus in v. 15 is a response to the question brought by the Pharisees and scribes in v. 5." "Aspects," 143. He does not expand upon this rather unclear assertion.

reverted to its previous form and function and acted as a "counterthesis as *chreia*."

Salyer agrees with Mack that the entire unit should be classified as epideictic rhetoric, given its polemical nature. The issue in question was "the tradition of the elders" of which unclean hands was simply a synecdoche.⁷⁹ The first *chreia* and its elaboration functioned to indict the Pharisees and set the scene for a redefinition of purity, which the second *chreia* then completed and refined that new definition. The polemical tone of the passage, Salyer maintains, reflects a community which had already accepted the division between cultic and ethical purity. Consequently, the rhetorical situation was the conflict between the different ideas of purity held respectively by Jesus (and presumably his followers) and the Pharisees and scribes.⁸⁰ In Salyer's reconstruction, this latter group represented the "controlling group" of society, whose power derived from the purity system of the Temple. The concern of that system was the internal ordering of society and the maintenance of clear boundaries with those outside. For Jesus to challenge this system, however, it was essential that he be viewed as an "insider" for only then would he maintain not only credibility with the power structure but also his ability to minister to those at the margins of the system. The first elaborated *chreia* succeeded in achieving this since it moved "within the sphere of the ideology of the tradition."⁸¹

Before moving on to an analysis of the various argumentative sections of the pericope, a few words of evaluation of the positions of Mack and Salyer are in order. Mack exaggerates when he claims "Jesus becomes his own authority." When the various elements of the fully elaborated *chreia*, as Mack sees it, were attributed to Jesus, this is neither more nor less than what happened in the rhetorical

⁷⁹ "The primary motivation in this passage is to invalidate the cultic idea of purity as it has been handed down via the traditions of the elders. To accomplish this goal, Mark has Jesus attack the tradition in verses 6-15." "Aspects," 146.

⁸⁰ His reconstruction of the rhetorical situation is guided by the anthropological insights of Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), and the sociological insights of Jerome Neyrey, "The Idea of Purity in Mark's Gospel," *Semeia* 35 (1986): 91-128.

⁸¹ "Aspects," 164.

tradition. In other words, the student elaborating the *chreia* was expected to make the various argumentative elements his own. According to Mack's analysis, Jesus is depicted in this pericope as using a rationale, a contrast, an analogy, an explanation of the analogy, and examples. This is no different from that which was expected of the rhetorical student. Mack cannot have it both ways. Either "there is no point of leverage outside the sayings of Jesus" or there is a pattern of formal argumentation borrowed from the surrounding culture and used to press his viewpoint. Furthermore, in Mack's reconstruction of the original *chreia*, the objection is made against Jesus' eating with unwashed hands. It is strange then that Mack claims that the first rhetorical move towards the "domestication" of the *chreia* was the shift of focus from the *disciples* who did not wash their hands to the Pharisees who did. There is an inconsistency in his argument. The main problem with Salyer's analysis is his assumption that an observant Jew could have expected to remain within Judaism whilst totally rejecting the purity codes of the day. Moreover, it seems strange that this community, personified by Jesus, should have adopted a polemical approach in its attempt to be treated as an "insider."

b) The Setting and *Quaestio*: Verses 1-4, 5

As a reasonably lengthy setting, verses 1-4 may be considered to reflect that type of *chreia* which Robbins calls "amplified." No argumentative figure is added, and the verses function mainly as an explanatory aside to the audience. Both Mack and Salyer agree on their essentially introductory nature. Mack inaccurately defines verse 5 as the *chreia* setting, whereas it is more correctly the *quaestio*. Once again, the *stasis* is one of quality, and the rhetoric forensic, since an accusation is being made.

c) The Argument from Authority: Verses 6-8

Mack describes verse 8 as a rationale. The rationale Hermogenes gives to his thesis is: "For the most important affairs generally succeed because of toil, and once they have succeeded they bring

pleasure."⁸² Mack understands the function of the rationale in terms of re-statement, interpretation, and argumentation. Firstly, it should restate the *chreia* in such a way that both together, *chreia* and rationale, supply the basic argument of the case. Secondly, it should interpret the *chreia* in such a way that the issue at hand is stated, or that the side the orator will take is clarified. Finally, it ought to make some advance on the argumentation of the *chreia* itself. For instance, in the case of Hermogenes' rationale, Mack notes that argumentative advance consists in the transposition of the figural speech of the *chreia* into plain discourse, and in the clarification that labour is the issue in need of elaborative argumentation.⁸³ Given the importance of this relation between rationale and *chreia*, all the other arguments which follow have only a supporting role.

There is, it is true, a certain amount of restatement present in verse 8. Specifically, the "teaching the teachings and precepts of men" is transposed into "you ... hold fast the traditions of men." There is also a two-fold interpretative move. Firstly, the scribes and the Pharisees are addressed directly and identified with the "people" of the Isaiah citation. Secondly, and more importantly, the emphasis upon teaching disappears in verse 8, with the result that the religious leaders are not even dignified with such an activity--they simply "hold fast" to "human traditions." Finally, an argumentative move is made through the use of comparison whereby the activity of the leaders is put clearly at odds with the commandment of God.

Even given all this, however, verse 8 still sits uneasily as a rationale when compared with the example given by Hermogenes. Firstly, it is an accusation and as such hardly functions to elicit that general agreement which a good rationale should. Secondly, it continues to move in the same narrow discourse of verse 7b rather than moving

⁸² τὰ γὰρ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκ πόρων φιλεῖ κατορθοῦσθαι, κατορθωθέντα δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν φέρει. Hermogenes 42-44.

⁸³ "Elaboration," 58. He also notes that "[i]f the rationale introduces a reason why a generally accepted view is true, it functions as an apodosis, thus constructing a rhetorical syllogism (enthymeme)." This implies that some rationales do not supply a reason. Yet, this contradicts their very *raison d'être* which is plain not only from the English term "rationale" but even more so from the original Greek (αἰτία). It may be concluded, then that every rationale should be enthymematic by nature.

into a quite different and more general discourse, as Hermogenes' rationale does. Thirdly, it picks up on only a very small part of the *chreia*, abandoning entirely the topics of hypocrisy, the lips/heart divide, and worship. In fact, verse 8 only comments upon verse 7b. This would be acceptable if the supporting arguments then functioned to expand the basic issue of the contrast between the commandment of God and human traditions. But this happens only in verses 9-13 and the topic of human traditions/commandment of God disappears from the rest of the passage. In sum, then, verse 8 fails as a rationale, since it establishes neither a basic issue which is then argued through in the following units, nor a point of view which the supporting arguments attempt to prove.

Salzer does not offer any reasons why he disagrees with Mack's analysis of verse 8, but simply suggests that the verse functions as a paraphrase.⁸⁴ According to Hermogenes, the paraphrase ought to amplify the *chreia*.⁸⁵ A certain amplification does occur insofar as the traditions of men are explicitly compared with the commandment of God. Nonetheless, the larger part of the citation is ignored and consequently verse 8 may be considered as only a partial paraphrase.

Verses 6-8 present themselves as pure invective, and so may be classified as epideictic rhetoric. Unlike verses 9-13 and 14-23, as will be seen, there is no sign of any attempt at reasoned argumentation, whether in the form of enthymemes, legal debate, or whatever. From an argumentative point of view, then, the Isaiah text would have had very little effect in the cut and thrust of debate with Pharisaic or rabbinic Judaism.

Despite their superficial appearance, verses 6-7 do not work well as a *chreia*--the citation of Isaiah fails the test of conciseness both in its length and content. The citation of Isaiah only has apparent argumentative force since, as indicated above, it clearly would not

⁸⁴ He restricts himself to saying that the verse as paraphrase functions as a countercharge. "Aspects," 149.

⁸⁵ Εἴθ' ἡ χρεῖα εἶπε τόδε, καὶ οὐ θήσεις αὐτὴν ψιλὴν ἀλλὰ πλατύνων τὴν ἐρμηνείαν. ("Then the *chreia*: 'He said thus and so,' and you are not to express it simply (ψιλὴν) but rather by amplifying the presentation.") Theon 40-41.

have been accepted as applicable by those against whom it was directed. But what provoked this high level of invective?

It has already been noted that the citation in Mark most closely resembles the LXX version. When compared with the versions of the MT and the Aramiac Targum,⁸⁶ the thrust of the LXX is apparent. Whereas the first part of the verse is substantially the same in all three versions, there is substantial divergence in the culminating line.⁸⁷ The MT attacks a type of worship based upon the rote learning of human instructions; the Targum criticizes their fear of God as based upon human precept rather than rooted in the heart; the LXX emphasizes that true worship is impossible if based on human teaching. It is this particular thrust of the LXX that was of particular usefulness to the Christian circle within which it was cited. The issue at stake concerned the credentials of those in teaching positions. This last line, therefore, may be understood as a precision of the initially general accusation—"this people" is specified as those who teach. The citation functions as an attack upon the authority of the Pharisees rather than as a general attack upon the Jews. A partial confirmation of the above reading is given by the surrounding context of Is. 29.13 which is an attack on those false teachers who deny the people both justice and true learning.⁸⁸ Further confirmation is given by Matthew's use of the topos of the hypocrisy of the religious leaders (see, Matt. 15.7; 22.18; 23.13, 14, 15, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29. Cf., 6.2, 5, 16; 7.5; 15.7).⁸⁹

86 "[B]ut their heart is far removed from me; and their fear of me is become as a precept of those that teach." See, J. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), 93-94.

87 Contra Guelich, *Mark*, 367-68.

88 See, Is. 29.11-12, 14-15, 20-21. See, C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures. The Substratum of New Testament Theology*, (London: Nisbet, 1952), 61-62, 126. Booth comments: "Thus, by implicit reference to these adjacent verses, the quotation in this unit incorporates a wide attack on the teaching of the scribes (wise men) who obstruct the people from true learning and whose false teaching denies them justice." *Purity Laws*, 92.

89 Papyrus Egerton 2 uses the Isaiah citation to show that those who call Jesus "teacher" do not obey his words, and Clement's First Letter to the Corinthians uses the charge of hypocrisy together with the first line of Is. 29.13 against self-proclaimed religious leaders. Clearly over a substantial period of time, the Isaiah citation was considered useful in the discussion regarding true and false teaching.

From this it may be concluded that the rhetorical situation which gave rise to the use of the citation was one in which the teaching credentials of the Jewish religious leaders were coming under criticism. The use of the LXX points to an Hellenistic environment, and the presence of invective suggests that the audience for whom this quotation was written no longer accepted the authority of those leaders.

d) A *Chreia* with Arguments from Authority and the Opposite:
Verses 9-13

Mack and Salyer also disagree on their formal analyses of verses 9-13. For Mack, they are an argument from contrast. This cannot be considered the same as Hermogenes' argument from the opposite. For Hermogenes, the contrary argument functions in direct relation to the rationale, as his example shows: "For ordinary affairs do not need toil, and they may have an outcome that is entirely without pleasure; but serious affairs have the opposite outcome."⁹⁰ Here "ordinary affairs" are contrasted with "the most important affairs;" the former succeed "because of toil" and "bring pleasure," the latter "do not need toil" and their outcome "is entirely without pleasure." This contrary argument receives its force not only from the inversion of the terms of the rationale, but also through the introduction of the topics of the unpleasant and the worthwhile. If Mack does intend these verses to be understood as a contrary argument, he is understanding that argument in a way quite different from Hermogenes. If he is saying that the verses simply contrast God's commandment with human traditions, then he has left formal analysis behind, since nowhere in Hermogenes' discussion of the elaborated *chreia* is there mention of an argument from contrast.

Salyer's analysis of verses 9-13 is only partially correct. Verse 10 certainly functions as an argument from authority. However, by assigning verse 9 to that authoritative argument, and by describing verses 11-12 as an argument from example, he fails to identify the

⁹⁰ τὰ μὲν γὰρ τυχόντα τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ δέχεται πόνων καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀηδέστατον ἔχει, τὰ σπουδαῖα δὲ τούναντίον. Hermogenes 45-47.

persuasive strategy of the section. In fact, these verses (minus the *καλῶς* of verse 9, verse 12 and the final part of verse 13) are themselves a slightly elaborated *chreia*. Verse 9 is the *chreia*-saying, of the single voluntary variety, verse 10 is an argument from authority functioning as a rationale, and verse 11, as the contrastative *δὲ* indicates, is an argument from the opposite, which demonstrates how the opponents invert the rationale. It cannot be an example, since the force of the argument lies in the fact that *ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε* lies in opposition to *Μωϋσῆς γὰρ εἶπεν*. That *γάρ*, furthermore, reveals that enthymematic reasoning is part and parcel of the argument, suggesting that the underlying logic is something like: Moses, who gave God's law, said...; You go against what Moses said by your words and deeds, and call them "tradition;" therefore, you go against God's law by following your "tradition." Verse 13, though out of place, functions as a paraphrase of the *chreia*-saying. As a whole, then, this little section reflects well the structure of a slightly elaborated *chreia*.

Verses 9-13 provide clear evidence of social demarcation. The quotation of the law indicates forensic discourse. Since there is good evidence that in the first century CE. Corban was used in the sense of a vow,⁹¹ it could seem at first glance that Jesus is dealing with the question of two contradictory laws: Ex. 20.12 (Deut. 5.16) and Ex. 21.16 (Lev. 20.9) against Num. 30.2-3 and Deut. 23.21-23.⁹² This would mean that the *stasis* was a legal question. On closer inspection, it becomes clear that something rather different was going on.

Verse 9 sets the scene through the rhetorical use of comparison, whereby God's commandment is clearly set against "your tradition." These two form the poles of the figure and set up a good polemical context. That comparison is then continued in a different key way when what "Moses said" is contrasted with what "you say." The first argumentative move is the identification of the commandment of God with what Moses said. This suggests that the interlocutors were

⁹¹ See J. Fitzmyer, "The Aramiac Qorban Inscription from Jebel Hallet Et-turi and Mk 7:11/Mt 15:5," *JBL* 78 (1959): 60-65; id., *Essays in the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), 93-100.

⁹² So Nineham, *Mark*, 195-96; Branscomb, *Mark*, 124-25.

Jews who accepted this identification. The second argumentative move is more subtle. The Corban practice is used as an illustration of "your tradition" and what "you say." In this way, it is denied scriptural justification and legal precedent, even though there clearly was one. Presumably, whoever quoted Moses in Exodus was equally capable of quoting Deuteronomy or Numbers, but by refusing to do this the author emptied Corban of all precedent or justification and simply reduced it to a perverse human practice. In this clever rhetorical move, the opponents of Jesus were thus presented not only as the ones who disobeyed the law, but who could no longer appeal to the Scriptures for justification. The argument, then, is concerned not with a legal question, such as the discrepancy between two contradictory laws, but rather sets out to prove how the law as set out in Exodus was broken by those accused. Consequently, the *stasis* is a rational rather than legal question and concerns fact or conjecture (*an fecerit*). Jesus' purpose in comparing Moses' words with the accused's words and actions is to prove how they infringed the law. Though essentially a forensic argument, the section is also marked by epideictic discourse, by means of which the opponents are discredited as people living outside the law. Mark's redactional and sarcastic *καλῶς* intensifies the vituperation.

e) The Argument from Authority: Verse 15

Mack accepts that verse 15 furnished the original response to the question in verse 5. In the process of "domestication," however, it was dislodged by the quotation from Isaiah which introduced a polemical note more suited to the new occasion. Once Mack sees the Isaiah citation as the controlling *chreia*, he is forced into the position in which he can give verse 15 only a supporting argumentative function, that of analogy. He thereby separates himself from the majority of commentators who consider the verse to lie at the heart of the passage. To say that it was included because "it was too good to dismiss" hardly recognizes its importance. Further, if the saying were included simply because of its wit, then why was the need felt to insert an explanation of it in verses 17-19?

Moreover, it remains unclear how he sees it as an analogy. For Hermogenes, the analogy must clearly relate to the *chreia* itself. Thus, for the *chreia*, "Isocrates said that education's root is bitter, its fruit is sweet," he offers the analogy, "For just as it is the lot of farmers to reap their fruits after working with the land, so also is it for those working with words."⁹³ Mack understands well the argumentative function of the analogy when he comments: "The correlation by analogy achieves the illusion of the universal truth of the thesis by expanding the context to which it applies...."⁹⁴ Hermogenes' analogy works because he expands the context of education to the world of the farmer, and by stating a particular truth accepted by all, he implies that that truth applies equally to his thesis. The Isaiah citation homes in on two topics: the lip/heart divide, and human teaching. Neither of these is taken up in verse 15. With some process of reasoning, a listener could possibly deduce that the content of verse 15 was being presented as human teaching, but that process denies the immediacy which should characterize analogy. Further, what verse 15 says would clearly have been denied by many, and so the function of analogy of moving from a particular truth accepted by all to a more universal truth would not have worked.

Salyer is more accurate when he accepts the *chreia* nature of verse 15. His argument, however, is too complex. From being the original *chreia*-saying, he argues, verse 15 was displaced and became an argument from the contrary in support of another thesis, the Isaiah quotation. Placed in its present context, it then reverted to its previous form and function and became a "counterthesis as *chreia*." Not only is all this simply stated rather than demonstrated, but no examples of a comparable process are adduced. It is much simpler to view verse 15 as the original *chreia*-saying which was then dislodged, the process of which destroyed both the form and the force of the original *chreia*, verses 5 and 15.

⁹³ Ἰσοκράτης ἔφησε τῆς παιδείας τὴν μὲν ῥίζαν εἶναι πικράν, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν γλυκύν. Hermogenes 35-37. ὅσπερ γὰρ τοὺς γεωργοὺς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν γῆν κομίζεσθαι τοὺς καρποὺς, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς λόγους. Hermogenes 48-50.

⁹⁴ *Myth*, 59. In *Rhetoric*, he writes: "The effect of an apt analogy would be the suggestion that the principle stated in the proposition was the same as that implied in the familiar instance. If true of the analogy, then it would be true for the proposition as well." 46.

f) The Rationales: Verses 18b-23

It has already been mentioned that Mack formally describes verses 17-19 as an explanation of the analogy in verse 15. Hermogenes makes no mention of the need for an explanation. This comes as no surprise, since an analogy in need of explanation would hardly be considered a powerful argumentative tool. Moreover, verses 20-22, from the formal point of view, are very similar to verses 17-19, yet Mack classifies the former as examples. The formal similarity consists in the further explanation which each set of verses gives to the saying in verse 15: verses 18b-19 pick up the first part of the saying and comment upon it, whilst verses 20-22 pick up the second part of the saying and supply a further commentary. Both commentaries are introduced by *ὅτι* and *γάρ* clauses respectively, and so create an enthymematic context for the sayings. As a result, verse 15 is split up into two separate *chreia*-sayings (verses 18b, 20), and each is given a rationale (verses 19, 21-22), with verse 23 functioning as a paraphrase of verse 20. The underlying syllogistic reasoning may be outlined in the following way:

Verses 18b-19

- Major premise: Whatever goes into a person's belly rather than heart cannot defile,
 Minor premise: Things from outside enter the person's belly,
 Conclusion: Therefore, everything entering from outside is incapable of defiling a person.

Verses 20-23

- Major premise: True defilement comes from evil thoughts etc.,
 Minor premise: Evil thoughts etc. come from the inside, the heart,
 Conclusion: Therefore it is what comes from inside someone that defiles.

Salzer accurately notes the enthymematic nature of these verses with their underlying syllogistic reasoning. He further notes that verse 19 functions as a rationale of the first part of verse 15, and verses 21-22 as a rationale of the second part. He concludes that

together they function as examples of Theon's "first-level" elaboration. It has already been pointed out that this type of elaboration is deduced from Theon's rather laconic remarks concerning the exercise in the confirmation of a *chreia*: "It is necessary, however, to provide arguments for each part of the *chreia*, beginning with the first ones, using as many topics as possible."⁹⁵ Also already noted is that by "each part of the *chreia*" (ἐκαστον μέρος τῆς χρείας), Theon is thinking of those grammatical, logical, and ethical topics which are obscure, implausible, shameful, etc. In this exercise in confirmation, the task of the orator was to identify those topics and then argue against them. This exercise, then, encourages a process of argumentation from the opposite.⁹⁶ Salyer fails to understand the "parts" of the *chreia* in this topical way. Without discussing the rather obscure phrase in Theon, he adopts a more syntactical approach, dividing the *chreia* into two clauses (verses 15ab) and considering these clauses to be the "parts" mentioned by Theon. Furthermore, his definitions of verses 19c and 23 respectively as "inference" and "conclusion" do not reflect what the handbooks have to say about the elaborated *chreia*.

Given that Theon fails to furnish any examples of his exercise on confirmation, it seems more prudent to explain the relationship of these verses to verse 15 on firmer grounds. In the formal analysis, it was suggested that they functioned as an early commentary on the saying in verse 15. Given their clear enthymematic nature, it seems likely that they originated in a circle which did understand the chreic nature of the saying, and wished to augment the argumentation through the addition of two rationales. They split the *chreia* in two, added the rationales and so succeeded in creating two new "argumentative" *chreiai*. The interpretative move involved was an ethical one whereby the main interest lay in listing those actions and attitudes which caused real defilement.

The rhetoric used is deliberative, since it invites the audience to ponder the meaning of the saying and then decide appropriately. The issue at hand was simply whether to wash or not before meals,

⁹⁵ Theon 384-86.

⁹⁶ See, Hock and O'Neil, *The Progymnasmata*, 72-73.

in imitation of stricter Pharisaic practice. At some point, the need to unpack the saying was felt, and the enthymematic reasoning of verses 18c-19ab, 20-23 was added. These sayings could only have been formed in relation to the saying in verse 15. The argumentative move consisted precisely in the use of the enthymemes, which invited the audience to ponder the problem upon a more reasoned basis. The interpretative move was to downplay the cultic (the first enthymeme) and to highlight the ethical (the second enthymeme). The list of vices reflects a Diaspora environment, and its emphasis upon the ethical points to a group where cultic concerns were rapidly disappearing. The deliberative nature of the rhetoric, however, suggests that cultic concerns were still alive within the audience, though there is no sign of strong social demarcation lines being laid down. However, the reasoned nature of the enthymemes does suggest a more "learned" context for the discussion in which (rhetorically) trained individuals were bringing their energies to bear upon the Jesus tradition.⁹⁷ The issue at hand focused upon the cause of true defilement and introduced ethics into the discourse.

g) Genre, *Stasis*, and Rhetorical Situation

Mack recognizes that more than one rhetorical situation lay behind the present unit when he argues that the issue involved in the original *chreia*-saying in verse 15 concerned the matter of clean and unclean.⁹⁸ As the *chreia* underwent the process of domestication and elaboration, it began to reflect a situation of conflict with the synagogue and formation of a group outside it. As the issue shifted to the tradition of the elders, the focus of the passage moved from the disciples to the religious leaders. The original rhetorical situation of social critique consequently hardened into a polemic

⁹⁷ Theissen comments: "Deutlich ist: Die in den Apophthegmen dargestellte Kommunikation ist eine Auseinandersetzung zwischen "Gelehrten", d.h. zwischen Inhabern einer besonderen Rolle, in die nicht jedermann eintreten kann.... Die Annahme liegt nahe, daß Apophthegmen anders als die Wundergeschichten keine allgemeinen Volksüberlieferungen waren, sondern bestimmten Rollenträgern zuzuordnen sind: nämlich jenen, die im entstehenden Urchristentum predigten und lehrten." *Lokalkolorit*, 121.

⁹⁸ *Myth*, 189.

which attempted to justify this new movement in face of criticism from without.

Salyer prefers to read the story more in terms of class conflict, with the consequent rhetorical situation being described in terms of an attack upon the dominant ideological structures of the society. Flouting the purity laws, Jesus and his disciples were in danger of being expelled from that society altogether, and it was this transgression and its consequent danger that created the need for the discourse in chapter 7. "How Mark's Jesus can make this challenge and maintain his own ethos as a valid member of society is the rhetorical problem which he must overcome."⁹⁹ The rhetorical situations envisaged by Mack and Salyer are radically different. For Mack, the passage reflects a group engaged in the process of uncoupling itself from the larger society; for Salyer, it reflects a group whose behaviour was threatening them with expulsion from that society but whose discourse was arguing strongly for the validity of their continuing membership.

The foregoing analysis has attempted to trace the different rhetorical strategies pursued in the various parts of the unit. Verse 5 (the second limb) and verse 15 were the original *chreia*. The forensic discourse apparent in the accusation of the religious leaders was replaced by a more deliberative style of speech in the response. That response reflects the world of wisdom sayings, and refuses to take up the legal discourse of the questioners. Previously, it was argued that verse 15 does not represent an absolute rejection of the traditions. If that is the case, then the original *chreia* had a rhetorical situation within the synagogue, in which the stricter standards of Pharisaic piety were being resisted.

The commentaries in verses 18b-19, 20-23 represent a moment of more reasoned discourse, in which the underlying logic of the saying in verse 15 was being uncovered. They reflect a similar rhetorical situation to that verse.

⁹⁹ "Aspects," 161.

A comparison between verses 9-13 and verses 15-23 shows how the two units go in different directions. Whereas the teaching in verses 15-23 argues in favour of present (Jewish-Christian) practice and against the stricter ritual understanding of defilement, verses 9-13 argue against (Jewish) practice and in favour of the traditional understanding of the law *secundum mentem legislatoris* (Moses). They achieve this by denying Corban practice legal status, and by ignoring the fact that it was also Moses who legislated for it.

This reading suggests that the group to whom this teaching was addressed was already clearly differentiated from other Jewish groups. The thrust of the teaching indicates that the problem concerned who were the true inheritors of the Mosaic law. The answer *ad intra* is clear. At the same time, the mixture of both epideictic and forensic rhetoric does indicate that the teaching was not only for the benefit of the Christian group, but was also used *ad extra* in disputation with Jews. If the argumentation *ad intra* was forceful, especially if the group consisted mainly of Hellenistic Gentiles, that same argumentation *ad extra* could not have had the same power, since the Jews could equally have argued that their practice was rooted in Scripture and law. The passage, however, did not allow that argument to be voiced.¹⁰⁰ When these verses were added to the complex, so too was the question regarding the tradition of the elders in verse 5.

Mark's addition of the Isaiah quotation has a polemical tone, and his addition of verse 8 makes it quite clear that he considered the commandment of God to be contrasted to the tradition of men. That addition, it was argued, should be understood as addressed most specifically to the religious leaders as false teachers. This heightened polemic introduced by Mark, then, had its focus on a specific part of the Jewish community. Mack, therefore, is closer to the mark than Salyer, when he sees a gradual hardening of

¹⁰⁰ Moreover, there is evidence from the Rabbis that not all Jews held the Corban to be binding. See H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 275. Z. W. Falk notes: "While Jesus considered the vow to be illegal and void, the Rabbis held it to be merely voidable." "On Talmudic Vows," *HTR* 59 (1966): 311.

positions between two opposing groups, rather than a pleading to remain within Judaism, as Salyer reads it.

5. Evaluation and Conclusions

a) The plotting of the history of the transmission of 7.1-23 from original controversy to final Markan form and the rhetorical analysis of each of its component parts has brought some interesting results regarding *chreia* analysis. The original controversy of verses 5 (minus the mention of the tradition of the elders) and 15 presents itself as a rather good *chreia*. It is a responsive single sayings-*chreia* giving a longer explanation (τὸ κατ' ἐρώτησιν αἰτιώδης). The additions of the commentaries in verses 18b-19b and verses 20-23 record the first attempts to "argue" the *chreia* by means of enthymematic reasoning. Both enthymemes function as rationales, with the result that verses 18b-19 and 20-23 are themselves *chreiai*, slightly elaborated by means of rationales. These commentaries were the work of reasonably learned individuals who had acquired a certain rhetorical sophistication. A similar sophistication is evident in verses 9-13 which contains a good *chreia* (verse 9) with an authoritative argument as rationale and an argument from the contrary. The Isaiah citation, on the other hand, contains no real argument, as Bultmann insightfully notes, but consists of pure vituperation. Its length and varied content argue against characterizing it as a *chreia*.

b) The respective rhetorical situations underlying the various sections differ from one another in a number of respects. The original controversy shows some signs of polemic rooted in two quite different views of what constituted impurity. The commentaries register a clear move away from a cultic understanding of purity towards an ethical stance. Although no clear polemic is evident here, there are signs of social demarcation taking place in which the audience to whom the words were addressed was being offered a new way of understanding what was an important issue for Judaism. Deliberative rhetoric characterizes this rhetoric. The first sure evidence of a break with the synagogue

is given in the Corban example, where good rhetorical argumentation is used to show how "your tradition" goes against the commandment and word of God. The argumentation in these verses is basically forensic, but epideictic discourse is also evident.

c) Mack's claim, then, that the original humour of the Cynic *chreia* hardened into a hostile polemic is too sweeping. The commentaries on the saying in verse 15 are reasoned and their logic in no way depends upon a polemical attitude. The Corban illustration, while coloured by epideictic discourse, is based on reasoned, forensic, argument which contrasts the commandment of God with the actions of those criticized. Mark's addition of the Isaiah quotation is polemical, but directed more at the religious leaders. Mack's further claim that Jesus' words and authority were the only real source for early Christian argumentation is highly debatable. Firstly, the very fact that he is convinced that elaborated *chreiai* were constructed and used by these Christians already shows that a highly stylized form was considered useful in the argumentative process. By separating form and content in this way, Mack ends up undermining his own position concerning the presence of elaborated *chreiai*. Secondly, it is clear that Jesus makes the various arguments his own but this does not mean "[h]e rules by fiat." Rather, as has been shown, he is presented as capable of using enthymematic reasoning in a deliberative setting and of building up a forensic argument to demonstrate how the law had been broken. This is hardly the approach of "an imperious judge and sovereign."¹⁰¹ In any case, every student of rhetoric had to make the various arguments his own. Salyer's reconstruction of a community in the process of defending its place in the synagogue, whilst at the same time abandoning ritual purity, is very unlikely.

d) Mark's redactional activity consisted in the supplying of the enlarged setting in verses 1-4, the Isaiah quotation and conclusion in verses 6-8, the explanation in verses 11d-12, the bridge verses in verse 14 and 17-18a, and the generalizing remarks in verses 13b and 19c. His explanation of "unclean hands" suggests that the practice of washing hands before meals was not only of no concern

¹⁰¹ *Myth*, 199.

to his audience, but also may well have been unknown to them. The comments in verses 3-4 about more general Jewish washing rituals indicate that Mark was concerned not about one particular practice, but Jewish practices in general, namely the tradition. The verses functioned to make a clear boundary between Mark's audience and the larger Jewish world which is depicted as rather strange and arcane. These verses were written for the benefit of Mark's audience, among which there must have been a strong Gentile group quite ignorant of the practices described. Given that he aimed the Isaiah quotation against the Jewish teachers, his redactional aside in verse 13b may also be read as against that specific group, rather than the Jews in general. Presumably he also read verses 9-13 in that way. The comment in verse 19c may well have functioned as a reminder to some in his community that the food laws belonged to this Jewish world and as such were to be abandoned. His insertions of verses 14 and 17-18a result in three different audiences being created for Jesus' discourse: the Pharisees and scribes (and disciples) in verses 1-13; the crowd (and the disciples) in verses 14-15; the disciples in verses 17-23. This change in audiences presents yet another difficulty for reading the entire unit as an elaborated *chreia*. Through these insertions, Mark was pursuing more narrative and theological purposes--the contrast between public and private teaching,¹⁰² and the disciples lack of understanding. *Chreia* elaboration was not uppermost in his mind.

¹⁰² Even if the contrast between public and private teaching in 4.1-20 came from the tradition, Mark has chosen to continue that contrast not only here but also in 9.28, 33, and 10.10. See Best, *Following Jesus*, 226-27.

CHAPTER TWELVE. MARK 11.27-33

1. The Limits of the Unit

a) Introduction

A number of commentators argue that Mark 11.27-33 either was connected originally with 11.15-17, or was radically rewritten by Mark to bring it into close connection with 12.1-12. Since both positions maintain that this section on the question of Jesus' authority did not in substance have an independent existence, a detailed investigation of their arguments is demanded before the redaction, form transmission, and rhetorical analyses can be pursued.

b) Mark 11.27-33 and 11.15-17.

Jean-Gaspard Mudiso Mbâ Mundla is an example of those commentators who argue that the indeterminate ταῦτα of verse 28 indicates that the pericope belonged originally to a larger context.¹ On the basis of form and redaction critical comments, he suggests that verses 15-16 supplied the original context. His reasons are: verse 17 is only loosely connected with verses 15-16; both Matthew (21.12-13) and Luke (19.45-46) noted the artificiality of that connection and integrated the verse into the unit in a more organic fashion; verse 17 bears all the signs of Markan redaction, as do verses 18, 19 and 27a; and it is most unlikely that verses 15-16 could have circulated independently without a saying of Jesus. To these arguments he adds two others: he notes Daube's remark that the verb ποιεῖν in verse 28 "would as a rule be used of undertakings

¹ *Jesus und die Führer Israels. Studien zu den sog. Jerusalemer Streitgesprächen*, NTA 17 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1984), 5-7. The word ταῦτα appears eight times in Mark: 2.8; 6.2; 7.23; 10.20; 11.28; 13.4, 8, 29. All except 13.4 and 29 clearly refer to what precedes.

not purely academic"² and so need not necessarily refer only to Jesus' teaching activity, and he maintains that the connection of the two incidents in the Fourth Gospel (2.13-22) also points to the connection in this instance. Hultgren further argues, following Nineham, that the most natural original sequence of events would have been that of triumphal entry, cleansing, and question of authority. It was Mark who disrupted this sequence by inserting the pericopes about the fig-tree (11.12-14, 20-27a), and who thereby broke the connection between the action and question.³

These arguments for an original connection between the Temple cleansing and the question on authority are shared by a larger group of commentators.⁴ Certain difficulties arise, however, from such an analysis. From a formal point of view, verse 15 was quite capable of being transmitted independently. Mundla's difficulty arises from Bultmann's conviction that, stylistically, the emphasis in the apophthegm must fall on the saying.⁵ In this instance, it is the action which is emphasized and the saying which is explanatory. However, the previous investigation of the *chreia* showed that action-*chreiai* did exist and were used in the larger Hellenistic world. Verse 15 could, therefore, have circulated as an independent action-*chreia*. Again, from the point of view of *chreia* analysis, there is no reason to suppose that verse 17 was not part and parcel of the unit from the beginning (even if one suspects Mark's hand in the

² *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion II (London: The Athlone Press, 1952), 220.

³ *Adversaries*, 70-72; Nineham, *Mark*, 298.

⁴ For example, W. R. Telford, *The Barren Temple and the Withered Tree. A Redaction-critical Analysis of the Cursing of the Fig-Tree in Mark's Gospel and its Relation to the Cleansing of the Temple Tradition*, JSNTSS 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1980), 42-49; Albertz, *Streitgespräche*, 23; Cranfield, *Mark*, 362; Taylor, *Mark*, 469-70; Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 243; Schmithals, *Markus*, 2:505; Schweizer, *Markus*, 135; Grundmann, *Markus*, 316; Gundry, *Mark*, 666; Lane, *Mark*, 413; Josef Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation, Geschichte, Wirkungsgeschichte*, BZNW 53 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 34; id., *Markus*, 34. Further references are given by Mundla, *Führer*, 7 n. 13; Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 90 n. 14; Ulrich Mell, *Die "anderen" Winzer. Eine exegetische Studie zur Vollmacht Jesu Christi nach Markus 11,27-12,34*, WUNT 77 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), 42 n. 3. Sanders accepts the "conjecture" that 11.27-33 followed 11.16 immediately, "though probably not as part of the same unit." *Jesus and Judaism*, 363 n. 1. Unfortunately, he does not expand upon this rather enigmatic remark.

⁵ *Geschichte*, 36.

phrase καὶ ἐδίδασκεν). In that case, the verses would have been an example of a *chreia* of the mixed variety, with both action and saying. The saying itself consists of an argument from authority (the *chreia*-saying, verse 17b) bolstered by an argument from the contrary, by use of comparison (verse 17c). Verse 17, then, is a slightly elaborated *chreia* which offers a rationale for Jesus' action and thereby reveals a certain sophistication. The major problem with this analysis is the intrusion of verse 16. Sanders comments upon its strangeness, though from a different point of view, and suggests that it was a later addition.⁶ Bultmann also, who thinks verse 15 by itself could possibly be understood as an imaginary setting for the saying in verse 17, fails to see the purpose of verse 16, which could not have been created in view of the saying.⁷ It should also be noted that verse 16 disrupts the relationship between action and saying. Most likely, then, it was a later intrusion, the purpose of which is no longer clear.

Regarding the argument concerning ταῦτα, it is first of all important to note that the tone of this controversy is quite different from that of the controversies in 12.13-34. In these latter, Jesus gives clear answers to various questions, but none of the questions present themselves as a direct challenge to his authority.⁸ Consequently, it seems unlikely that 11.27-33 formed part of an already formed complex of Jerusalem controversies.⁹ Secondly, the interest in the ἐξουσία of Jesus and the central place of the Baptist in the discussion suggest that this pericope sits better with those controversies placed at the beginning of the Gospel in closer connection with the Baptist material.¹⁰ The words ἐξουσία /ἐξουσίαν appear in 1.27; 2.10,

⁶ His reasons are both literary and historical. Such a general prohibition he maintains, does not sit well with the action of the overthrowing of the tables, nor is such an admonition appropriate to the Temple in Jerusalem, given the placement of the gates. *Jesus and Judaism*, 364 n. 1.

⁷ *Geschichte*, 36.

⁸ See, Donahue, *Christ*, 117-18.

⁹ Contra Albertz, *Streitgespräche*, 16-36, 107-8. The majority of commentators disagree with Albertz' position. See the discussions by Kuhn, *Sammlungen*, 40-41 n. 179; Mundla, *Führer*, 299-302; Weiss, *Lehre*, 19-20.

¹⁰ See, Virgil P. Howard, *Das Ego Jesu in den synoptischen Evangelien. Untersuchungen zum Sprachgebrauch Jesu*, Marburger Theologische Studien 14 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1975), 108. Donahue, *Christ*, 119; Hooker, *Mark*, 271. Contra Weiss, *Lehre*, 153-54. Taylor, taking a more historical approach, considers that the question in 11.28 comes from a time when the

24, 26; 3.4. In each of the stories in 2.1-3.6, differently from 12.13-34, some specific activity of Jesus or the disciples is questioned. Thirdly, it is possible for ταῦτα to be used in a general way. Matt. 11.25 does precisely this.¹¹ Fourthly, the activity in the Temple of Peter and John which prompts the religious leaders' question in Acts 4.7 is referred to in the singular (τοῦτο). Given the closeness of the parallel, one would expect a similar singular in Mark 11.28.¹² Fifthly, Mark's redactional activity argues against an original connection. In the close parallel in 6.1-2, most commentators assign to Mark's redaction the opening scene in verses 1-2a because of its similarity to 1.21-22. Equally, there is general agreement that verses 2b-6 were a traditional core.¹³ This implies that a double question very similar to the question in 11.28 was in circulation, and which referred to Jesus' activity in general as ταῦτα. Mark then proceeded to specify that activity as teaching through his addition of verse 2b. A similar process occurred through Mark's situating 11.27-33 in its present place. The originally general reference to the activity of Jesus was brought into close contact with the Temple scene and so became much more specific.¹⁴ It is also important to

Baptist's ministry had not long ended. *Mark*, 461. From a literary viewpoint, see Christopher D. Marshall, *Faith as a Theme in Mark's Narrative*, SNTSMS 64 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 195-200.

¹¹ Mell offers an extensive list of biblical parallels where ταῦτα together with ποτέ is used in a non-specific sense. *Winzer*, 43 n. 11.

¹² See, Mell, *Winzer*, 43. Moreover, if verse 27 is redactional, as will be argued, then the original exchange took place between Jesus and unnamed questioners. This makes the connection with the Temple act even less likely. Similarly, G. S. Shae, "The Question on the Authority of Jesus," *NovT* 16 (1974): 16.

¹³ See, Guelich, *Mark*, 306, 308.

¹⁴ Although none of the commentators mention it, there is no reason to exclude, at the narrative level of the Gospel, a reference to the cursing of the fig-tree in the question of the religious leaders. A similar process in which Mark gave ταῦτα a much more specific reference may have taken place in 13.3, if Mark placed verses 1-2 in their present position. See, Schweizer, *Markus*, 150. Pesch suggests that the original specific reference to the Temple act of 11.15 was given by Mark a much more comprehensive reference to the whole of Jesus' ministry. *Naherwartungen. Tradition und Redaktion in Mk 13*, KBANT (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1968), 103. The opposite view is taken here. Pesch's view is clearly influenced not only by his stance concerning the extent of a pre-Markan Passion Narrative, but also by his conviction that the Temple act, the question on authority, as well as the parable of the tenants, are all good historical reports. "Der Text ist (zusammen mit 12, 1-9) ein wichtiges Dokument für Jesu in Jerusalem erhobenen Vollmachtsanspruch und macht auch die Hohenpriesterfrage 14,61 mit verständlich." *Markusevangelium*, 2:212.

note that the situating of the controversy in the Temple is the result of Mark's redaction and that the story itself contains no indication of place. Moreover, while it is true that Mark could separate one originally unified narrative through his sandwich technique, there is no evidence that he did this with two, as would be the case here, viz., the fig tree episode (11.12-14, 20-25) and the Temple act and question (11.15-19, 27-33).¹⁵ Finally, it is not unimportant to note that both Matthew (21.23) and Luke (20.1) understand the question on authority to be a specific response to Jesus' teaching activity. In light of these observations, it is more likely that the ταῦτα of verse 28 originally functioned as a general reference to the ministry of Jesus.¹⁶

Regarding the argument concerning the Johannine parallel, a number of comments are in order. Firstly the phrase in John, ὅτι ταῦτα ποιεῖς, is connected with a request for a sign, rather than a question concerning authority. Even though the point of the request and the question may be similar, there remains a formal difference, as Mark. 8.11-13 demonstrates.¹⁷ Secondly, in the Fourth Gospel, the demand for a sign is directly connected with the Temple act, and the answer of Jesus takes up the Temple theme. Thirdly, Jesus does not refuse an answer, but makes a direct if metaphorical response. Cause, question, and response form a certain unity.¹⁸ Lastly, it is interesting to note that the Johannine presentation is less polemical than the Markan, even though the Fourth Gospel in general uses a greater polemic against the Jews.

Till Arend Mohr uses some of these arguments not only to hold that the Johannine sequence is older and independent than that of Mark,

¹⁵ See, Howard, *Ego*, 109; Mell, *Winzer*, 44. Similarly, Dibelius, *Formgeschichte*, 42 n. 1, 280-1 n. 4.

¹⁶ Similarly, Weiss, *Lehre*, 144; Mell, *Winzer*, 42-43; Gnllka, *Markus*, 2:137 n. 4; Hooker, *Mark*, 271 ("possibly"); Howard, *Ego*, 110; Best, *Temptation*, 85; Dibelius, *Formgeschichte*, 42 n. 1, 280-1 n. 4. K. L. Schmidt notes: "Es kann sich das ταῦτα auch auf irgend eine andere Sache beziehen, die uns nicht bekannt ist." *Rahmen*, 294.

¹⁷ Similarly, Weiss, *Lehre*, 144; Mell, *Winzer*, 44.

¹⁸ This is not to say that the Johannine sequence was itself original, but only that it creates a more harmonious whole. The change of name for the Temple in John 2.19 may indicate Johannine redaction. See, Shae, "Authority," 16 n. 1; Mell, *Winzer*, 44.

but also to maintain that it has its roots in the activity of the historical Jesus.¹⁹ Although he admits that Mark may have made use of a quite separate tradition, he prefers to view 11.27-33 as a Markan reformulation of the Johannine sequence. In this reformulation, according to Mohr, John the Baptist replaced the Temple saying as the sign given to the Jews. As he sees it, this reformulation was executed principally to maintain the theological motif of the messianic secret. Also in view was his desire to underline the sharp break with the old cult, and the opening of salvation to the pagans.²⁰

Now, while it is true that Jesus' refusal to answer the question of the religious leaders could be taken as pointing to the presence of the motif of the messianic secret, it is strange to the context into which Mark has placed the exchange. The chapter begins with Jesus' messianic entry into Jerusalem, goes on to the Temple cleansing and the cursing of the fig tree, and continues in the following chapter with the parable of the wicked tenants. In none of these pericopes does the messianic secret play any major role.²¹ This fact alone points to the strangeness of 11.27-33, and already suggests that the unit had a different tradition history. Moreover, it is difficult to see how Mark considered John to be the sign given to the Jews in place of the Temple saying.²² John's role in the Gospel is as the one who prepares. Indeed, in 8.11-13 where the word σημεῖον appears three times, Jesus explicitly rejects the request for a sign.²³ It is also difficult to see how 11.27-33 functions to mark the break with the old cult and the opening to the pagans. Mark takes care to have the question placed by the religious leaders, not by the Jews as such, as

¹⁹ *Markus- und Johannespassion. Redaktions- und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der Markinischen und Johanneischen Passionstradition*, AThANT 70 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1982), 100-8.

²⁰ *Passionstradition*, 104-6.

²¹ See, Telford, *Barren Temple*, 254-57; Räisänen, *Secret*, 232-35.

²² Shae notes the difficulty: "This line of argument in the conflict story seems to indicate that the actions of Jesus (ταῦτα) under question have some relationship to what John had said or done." "Question," 20. Similarly, Mell, *Winzer*, 44.

²³ The word also appears in 13.22 in a pejorative sense. Only in 13.4, where it is used by the disciples, does it receive an answer from Jesus. But there, the question is not about the authority of Jesus, but concerns the beginning of the apocalyptic woes.

in John. The polemic is not against the nation in this pericope, but against those who would lead them. Caution must be shown regarding Markan characterization.²⁴ It is certainly true that the cursing of the fig tree symbolizes the passing of the old cult,²⁵ but there is nothing in the encounter between Jesus and the religious leaders which takes this up. Something similar may be said concerning the opening of salvation to the pagans. This is specifically addressed in Jesus' quotation of Isaiah in 11.17, yet once again this motif is not taken up in the later exchange.

Jan Lambrecht assumes a position similar to Mohr's.²⁶ That Mark knew the Johannine Temple saying, he maintains, is evidenced by 14.58 and 15.29, and perhaps even 13.2. His main argument, however, for Mark's knowledge of the Johannine sequence is his use of the phrase *ταῦτα ποιεῖς* which is identical to the formulation in John 2.18. This argument he bolsters with more redactional comments: Mark's three-day division, his connecting verses, the topographical notices, the a-b-a¹ structure in 11.12-25, and the secondary interpretation of the cleansing in 11.20-25. All these functioned to disrupt the original sequence. Mark's reasons for these changes were his desire to form a grand *inclusio* with the beginning of the Gospel (authority, the Baptist), to change the Temple saying into a prophecy of destruction (13.2), and to replace the request for a sign by a question concerning Jesus' authority. The redactional results were that the starting point of 11.27-28 now became the decision of the religious rulers in 11.18 to destroy Jesus, that the question on authority referred not only to the Temple act but to Jesus' entire activity, that the opposition to Jesus deepened, and that the counter-question of Jesus, through its reference to the prophetic character of John, contained a real revelation about Jesus'

²⁴ See, for instance, Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, "Disciples/Crowds/Whoever: Markan Characters and Readers," *NovT* 28 (1986): 104-30. Scholtissek also notes: "Markus unterscheidet sehr genau zwischen dem Volk und einzelnen jüdischen bzw. staatlichen Gruppierungen.... In der markinischen Darstellung ist es gerade der Konflikt mit den Vertretern der jüdischen Synhedrialparteien (nicht mit dem jüdischen Volk als ganzem), der Jesu Geschick heraufbeschwört...." *Vollmacht*, 207-8.

²⁵ See, Schweizer, *Markus*, 130-34.

²⁶ *Die Redaktion der Markus-Apokalypse. Literarische Analyse und Strukturuntersuchung*, *Analecta Biblica* 28 (Rom: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1967), 37-44.

authority. Consequently, Lambrecht concludes, "Markus hat redaktionell und sekundär ein Traditionsganzes aufgelöst, auseinandergenommen und aufgeteilt."²⁷

Lambrecht is unclear at one crucial point. He argues that the phrase ταῦτα ποιεῖς not only indicates that Mark knew the Johannine sequence, but also that in his source the question in 11.28 was directly connected with the Temple act in 11.15-17.²⁸ The problems with this connection have already been discussed. At the same time Lambrecht is of the opinion that 11.28-33 was "ein gesondertes Traditionsgut."²⁹ This would seem to imply that Mark had two sources in front of him: a source which followed the Johannine sequence, and a source which had Mark 11.15-17, 28-33 in direct sequence. At the same time he entertains Taylor's remarks concerning the possibility that 11.28-33 may have been a self-contained story in the tradition.³⁰ His way out of this is to suggest that in that scenario Mark simply lifted the phrase ταῦτα ποιεῖς from his Johannine source. Finally, he comments that the possibility of a full-blown Markan creation is "nicht notwendig unrichtige."³¹ At the end of Lambrecht's treatment of the pericope, one is left with a number of possibilities regarding the origin of 11.27-33: either Mark reworked the sequence of the Johannine source; or he had before him both the Johannine sequence and another sequence which directly connected the Temple act with the question on authority; or he had a self-contained unit which he inserted, taking the phrase ταῦτα ποιεῖς from the Johannine source; or he wrote the whole incident from scratch. Given the inconclusiveness of his results, his arguments for Mark's dependence upon the Johannine sequence remain unpersuasive.

c) Mark 11.27-33 and 12.1-12

There are very few commentators who would agree with Pesch in maintaining that 11.27-33 and 12.1-12 formed an original unity

²⁷ *Redaktion*, 40.

²⁸ *Redaktion*, 39.

²⁹ *Redaktion*, 43.

³⁰ *Mark*, 468.

³¹ *Redaktion*, 43 n. 2.

based on the pre-Easter sequence of events rooted in the life of Jesus.³² Lambrecht accepts that Mark was responsible for connecting the parable of the tenants to the question on authority, but maintains that 11.27-12.12 now form a literary whole which signals the first attack of the authorities upon Jesus, but not their capitulation. He bases this analysis upon the Markan character of the introductory verse (11.27), bridge verses (11.32; 12.1a), and concluding verse (12.12).³³ Scholtisek also considers 11.27-12.12 a literary unit, but goes much further than Lambrecht in claiming that the two units are so closely intertwined that the tradition history behind 11.27-33 is now irretrievably lost.³⁴ His argument is based on literary, material, structural, formal, thematic, and linguistic observations.

At the literary level, he notes the narrative relationships between the two pericopes. The story which begins in 11.27 achieves relative closure in 12.12: Jesus' opponents, who first appear in 11.27, do not go away until 12.12; those described impersonally in 12.1a and 12.12 can only be the religious leaders in 11.27; the narrator presumes that 11.27-12.12 is a literary unit, since the question put in 11.28 is only fully answered by the following parable.³⁵

At the material level, the content of the two units is similar. Jesus is rejected by the religious leaders both in the answer regarding his authority and in his status as son and heir. The tactics of the authorities and their lack of faith in the first unit correspond to the rejection and condemnation of the son in the second. The opportunism which unmask the lack of faith in the first instance is

³² However see, Seyoon Kim, "Jesus—The Son of God, the Stone, the Son of Man, and the Servant: The Role of Zechariah in the Self-Identification of Jesus," in *Tradition & Interpretation in the New Testament. Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis for his 60th Birthday*, eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne with Otto Betz (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1987; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1987), 134-35. Similarly, Gundry, *Mark*, 666.

³³ *Redaktion*, 37-38.

³⁴ *Vollmacht*, 188-97; Curiously, Scholtisek attributes Shae with the opinion that the connection between the two pericopes was the work of a pre-Markan redactor. *Vollmacht*, 188 n. 478. Yet there is no sign of any discussion of the relationship between the parable and the previous verses in his article. See, Shae, "Question," 20-24.

³⁵ *Vollmacht*, 184.

further reflected upon within the horizon of salvation history in the parable, and the consequences outlined. Finally, the divine origin of Jesus' authority corresponds in the parable to the authority of the only beloved son sent by the owner.³⁶

His structural analysis is a straightforward outline of the contents:

Exposition: 11.27

Centre: 11.28-12.11

Controversy dialogue: 11.28-33

Bridge: 12.1a

Parable: 12.1b-11

Conclusion: 12.12

The controversy dialogue he further subdivides:

A verse 28: Opening question

B verses 29-30: Counterquestion

C verses 31-32: Discussion of the opponents

B¹ verse 33a: Opponents' refusal to answer

A¹ verse 33b: Jesus' refusal to answer

From a more formal point of view, Scholttisek suggests that there are two types of synoptic and rabbinic controversy dialogues. The first is characterized by the simple structure of three elements: an offensive situation, an objection in the form of a question, and an answer in the form of a counter-question. The second is more complicated with five elements:

A Offensive situation

B Objection in the form of a question

C Preparatory answer in the form of a counter-question

C¹ Questioner's answer in the form of a counter-question

B¹ Concluding answer to the opening question

Scholttisek notes not only the difference in pattern between this second type of controversy dialogue and the structure of 11.28-33, but also its negative conclusion with Jesus' refusal to answer. He

³⁶ *Vollmacht*, 185.

maintains that there are no parallels to such an ending either in the synoptic tradition or elsewhere.³⁷

Both thematically and linguistically, Scholttisek goes on to claim, there are signs of Mark's heavy re-working of whatever tradition came to him in order to bring it into line with the important motifs of his Gospel. Firstly, Mark already stressed the theme of authority as a leitmotif of his Christology in 1.21-28 and 2.1-3.6.³⁸ Mark 11.27-33 thus constitutes an overview of Jesus' ministry and the refusal of the religious authorities to believe. This type of later reflection is a Markan characteristic (e.g., 8.14-21). Secondly, the accent on the preparatory role of John in verses 31-33 fits in well with the Markan depiction of John: both he and Jesus are rejected by their unbelieving people and so share the lot of the prophets before them. Thirdly, both in 2.1-3.6 and 11.27-12.12, the lack of faith in Jesus and the rejection of him is grounded in the opponents' view that Jesus' responses are blasphemous. From the point of view of vocabulary, the high priests, scribes, and elders are mentioned in 8.31; 14.43, 53; 15.1 as the unbelieving opponents of Jesus; their discussion among themselves recalls 2.6, 8; their fear of the crowd is taken up in 12.18; 14.2; 15.10.³⁹ The type of double question regarding the identity and mission of Jesus also is used in 1.27; 2.7; 4.41; 6.2; 8.27, 29. Finally, the large amount of repetition in 11.27-33 points to Markan redaction (verses 28b and 28c; verses 28b and 29fin.33fin; verses 30a and 31bc.32a; verses 30b and 33a). As a result of all these factors, Scholttisek concludes: "Inwieweit Markus in 11,27-33 auf eine traditionelle Überlieferung Bezug nimmt, ist nicht mehr en detail auszumachen."⁴⁰

This rather full exposition of Scholttisek's analysis has been necessary because of the quite radical position he takes regarding the origins of the pericope and its relationships with the parable.

³⁷ *Vollmacht*, 192-93.

³⁸ Lührmann also considers this theme of authority so important that he concludes that Mark composed the entire unit. *Markusevangelium*, 197.

³⁹ Scholttisek also considers the question they put to themselves about their lack of belief in John as a sign of Mark's hand, but does not offer any comparable texts. *Vollmacht*, 195.

⁴⁰ *Vollmacht*, 196.

The following critique will attempt to address his observations and conclusions.

Regarding his literary observations, the narrative relationships which he notes between 11.27-33 and 12.1-12 correspond to what many commentators see simply as the redactional activity of Mark when he brought the two pericopes together. When he states that the narrator simply presupposes the unity of the two pericopes, he is making a literary judgement which says nothing of their historical origins. Scholttisek's remarks regarding their literary unity adds nothing to what previous redactional analysis of the passages has provided.

Regarding the relationship in content between the passages, there is hardly the "gleiche Konstellation" which he claims. That constellation Scholttisek sees as Jesus' answer and the authorities' refusal to respond, on the one hand, and the refusal of the son and heir on the other. Yet the first unit has no trace either of Jesus' being sent, or of his rejection. On the other hand, the themes of sending and double rejection, of the heir and of the tenants, lie at the heart of the parable. Regarding the respective tactics in the two units, these are discussed, it is true, by the religious leaders and tenants respectively. The first discussion, however, ends with a lack of decision; the second discussion concludes with a clear decision to make away with the heir. Similarly the opportunism which is present in both pericopes is hardly equivalent--the opportunism of the religious leaders is with a view to extracting themselves from a tricky situation; that of the tenants is with a view to taking over. In general, there is a difference both in tone and purpose. In the exchange concerning authority, the tone is one of testing, even of opposition, whereas that of the parable is one of condemnation and exclusion. The purpose of the opponents in each of the units is quite different: whereas the tenants want something from the son which they do not have (inheritance), the religious authorities presumably believe that they are the heirs already. These material differences, then, in theme, tone, and purpose suggest that 11.27-30 was not composed in light of the parable.

Scholttisek's structural analysis of the units is lacking in two ways. Methodologically, he fails to offer any clear criteria which guide his analysis and consequently offers no more than a break-down of the various constitutive elements. Neither his structural nor his literary analysis is informed by contemporary or ancient literary theory and both suffer as a result. This lack of method then leads to a scarcity of results. He breaks down 11.27-12.12 as a whole, and then proceeds to analyse the structure of 11.27-33, but fails to demonstrate how both pericopes are structurally and organically related one to the other. To say that 11.28-12.11 is the "Zentrum" hardly provides a structural analysis.

It is, however, Scholttisek's formal, thematic, and linguistic observations which are most important for his conclusions regarding 11.27-33. While it is true that the negative conclusion with the refusal to answer both by Jesus and the religious authorities is peculiar, this says nothing by itself either for or against Markan redaction. The onus of proof, in fact, is on the one who argues for Markan redaction but, since there are no formal parallels in the Gospel, this is impossible. At the thematic level of the Gospel narrative, it is true that Mark credits John with a preparatory role, but in 11.27-33 there is no hint of that role. Moreover, John is not rejected by an unbelieving people; indeed, quite the reverse (see, 1.5). He is, in fact, executed by an infatuated Herod who had made a foolish promise.⁴¹ The question on authority does recall the encounters in 2.1-3.6, but does not function as a later reflection in the way that 8.14-21 does. There, Jesus makes an

⁴¹ Neither is there any sign of an allusion to Mal. 3.1-4, via Mark 1.2. Contra Hooker, *Mark*, 272; Donahue, *Christ*, 121. For Lane, the reference to John is appropriate, since John had already effected that split between the people and the religious leaders which characterized Jesus' ministry in the Temple. *Mark*, 413. While it is true that Mark stresses the authorities' fear of the people (11.32; 12.12), and Jesus' hold over them (11.18), it must be said that during Jesus' second and third days in the Temple (11.12-12.44) the crowd is mentioned directly only three times. The first instance records their amazement at his teaching (11.18), the second that they heard him gladly (12.37), but the third contains a criticism of them (12.41, 44). In fact this criticism is anticipated by 12.37 which is an ominous echo of Herod's reaction to the Baptist in 6.20 (καὶ ἠδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουεν). If anything is stressed, it is the crowd's fickleness and indecision. Lane's further suggestion that the parallel may be based on an earlier act of expulsion from the Temple by John is purely conjectural. *Mark*, 414 n. 60.

explicit reference to a previous event. If his question in 8.19 came from Mark, as seems likely,⁴² it seems strange that he would not have created some similar question in this context. In sum, Scholtissek's formal, thematic, and linguistic observations no more prove the Markan provenance of the pericope than do his literary, structural, and material comments.

d) Conclusion

The preceding investigation was necessary because of the various arguments concerning the relationship between the pericope and 11.15-17 or 12.1-12. I have concluded that Mark 11.27-33 was neither connected in the tradition to the story of the cleansing of the Temple, nor radically rewritten in the light of the subsequent parable. This being the case, the substance of the pericope most likely came to Mark, like others, in isolation from the tradition.

2. Redaction

a) Introduction

Various positions have been taken regarding the extent of Markan redaction in this passage. He has been given responsibility for part of verse 27, for the remolding of verses 28-29, and for the addition of verses 31-33. In what follows, it will be argued that the most prudent position to take is to credit Mark with the introductory verse 27 and with the explanatory aside in verse 32bc.

b) Verse 27.

Although there is general agreement about the Markan nature of verse 27a, there is no such consensus regarding the remainder of the verse. The use of the historical present,⁴³ the καί parataxis, and the re-appearance of πάντες are all good indicators of Markan

⁴² See, Guelich, *Mark*, 425. Cf. 6.52; 7.18; 8.17.

⁴³ Lambrecht notes that the historical present followed by the imperfect occurs no fewer than 21 times in the Gospel. *Redaktion*, 37-38 n. 4.

composition in verse 27a, as is the formula καί + verb of arrival + εἰς with location (see, 1.21a; 6.1; 8.22a; 9.33; 10.1, 46a; 11.15a).⁴⁴ Typical arguments against the Markan origin of verse 27b are the following: the move from the plural of verse 27a to the singular of verse 27b;⁴⁵ the naming of two locations;⁴⁶ the addition of the πρεσβύτεροι to the opponents of Jesus;⁴⁷ the traditional nature of the verb περιπατεῖν;⁴⁸ and the parallel of Jesus' walking in the Temple in John 10.23.⁴⁹

If, however, as has been argued, this pericope was not connected to the Temple act in the tradition which came to Mark, then these seemingly strong indications become more fragile. The mention of both Jerusalem and the Temple echoes 11.11,15 and so serves to strengthen the narrative link between the Temple act and the question of the religious authorities.⁵⁰ The question, which originally related to Jesus' ministry in general, now focuses upon his expulsion of the merchants, while not losing entirely its general reference. The change in number in the two verbs in verse 27 is driven by the contents of verses 28-33 which contain no reference to the disciples. The debate is between the religious authorities and Jesus alone.⁵¹ The addition of the elders may be seen as one of Mark's ways of anticipating the role all three groups would have in the arrest and execution of Jesus (see, 14.43, 53; 15.1). In this way, the pericope functions as a preliminary trial before the Sanhedrin.⁵² The irregular use of the genitive absolute is not uncommon in

⁴⁴ See, Klostermann, *Markusevangelium*, 119; Shae, "Question," 4; Gnllka, *Markus*, 2:137; Schmithals, *Markus*, 2:505; Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 70; Mundla, *Führer*, 6, 9, 12; Weiss, *Lehre*, 113 n. 36, 146 n. 18; Mell, *Winzer*, 30-31.

⁴⁵ See, Schmithals, *Markus*, 2:505.

⁴⁶ See, Mundla, *Führer*, 9; 188-89.

⁴⁷ See, Mundla, *Führer*, 9. Cf., 11.18.

⁴⁸ See, Shae, "Question," 5. Cf., 2.9; 5.42; 6.48, 49; 7.5; 8.24; 12.38.

⁴⁹ See, Shae, "Question," 5. He also mentions the parallel in papyrus Oxyrinchus 840.

⁵⁰ Similarly, Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 18. Peabody notes: "Again, this πάλιν passage (11:27) and its previous referents (11:11 and 11:15) can be seen to aid in structuring a section of Mark's gospel which extends from 11:11 to 13:1. Such structure is probably the work of the author." *Mark as Composer*, 145.

⁵¹ Similarly, Weiss, *Lehre*, 146.

⁵² Similarly, Donahue, *Trial Narrative*, 117.

Mark;⁵³ the same may be said for the use of the historical present followed by the imperfect. The unlikelihood of the Johannine parallel has already been discussed. In sum, then, these observations point to the probable Markan origin of the whole verse.

c) Verses 31-33.

Bultmann suggests the possibility that verses 31-33 may have stemmed from Mark himself. He argues that verse 30 makes an indirect claim concerning Jesus' divine authority by analogy with the Baptist. Verse 31 as it stands does not pick up on that claim but rather depicts the authorities musing over a possible accusation concerning their lack of belief in John. This lack of belief motif was a Christian, perhaps even Markan, concern.⁵⁴ Consequently, Bultmann is of the opinion that verses 31-33 were a Christian (Markan?) addition to the original Palestinian apophthegm in verses 28-30.⁵⁵ Bultmann is correct to note the change in point of view between verses 28-30 and verses 31-33, and to argue for the secondary nature of these latter verses. However, he does not offer sufficient reasons to claim Markan provenance. Use is made of *moreúein* followed by the dative both in the LXX and elsewhere in the New Testament. It was not therefore an exclusively Christian or Markan concern.⁵⁶ Weiss takes up Bultmann's position regarding the Markan provenance of these verses and attempts to offer further grounds for this view. He notes the change from direct to indirect speech between verses 31 and 32; the Markan motif of the

⁵³ Examples of the genitive absolute followed by an accusative dependent upon a preposition are 5.18, 10.17, and 13.3. See, Blass-Debrunner, *Grammar*, §423, 2; Robert H. Stein, "The 'Redaktionsgeschichtlich' Investigation of a Markan Seam (Mk 1.21f.)," *ZNW* 61 (1970): 75 n. 15; Lambrecht, *Redaktion* 27 n. 4.

⁵⁴ Similarly, Hooker, *Mark*, 272; Donahue, *Christ*, 118-19. Donahue, however, considers that only verses 31-32 are Markan. Cf., Best, *Temptation*, 85.

⁵⁵ In other words, the logic of verses 27-28 expects the discussion among the leaders to focus not on their lack of belief in John, but on the consequence of their admission that John's authority came from Heaven viz., that Jesus would make a similar claim. *Geschichte*, 18-19.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Gen. 15.6; 45.26; Ex. 4.1, 5, 8, 9; 14.31; 19.9; Num. 14.11; Deut. 9.23; 28.66; John 4.21; 5.24; 14.11; 1 John 5.10. See, Lohmeyer, *Markus*, 242 n. 5. Moreover, this is the only case of the verse followed by the dative of the person in the Gospel.

leaders' fear of the crowd (11.18; 12.12; cf., 14.2); the motif of John as prophet (6.15; 8.28) and forerunner, compared with whom Jesus has greater authority; and, with Bultmann, the Markan motif of lack of faith.⁵⁷

The change to indirect speech in verse 32, and the motifs and vocabulary there, certainly do point to Markan redaction. The anacoluthon would have been unlikely during the oral transmission of the story,⁵⁸ and the explanatory γάρ, the use of ὄχλος in the singular form, the motif of fear, and the prophetic role of John are all Markan words, techniques, or motifs.⁵⁹ Taken together, these observations indicate the very probable Markan origin of verse 32bc. Yet they say nothing regarding the Markan origin of the rest of verses 31-33. Weiss, in fact, adds nothing new to Bultmann's two points regarding the break between verses 30 and 31 and the motif of unbelief. There are no cogent reasons, then, for defending the Markan authorship of verses 31-32a, 33.⁶⁰

d) Verses 28-29

Weiss is at one with those commentators who argue for an intense Markan activity in this pericope. Not only does he attribute to Mark verses 31-33, but also the first part of the question in verse 28 and the whole of verse 29. Regarding the latter, he notes that if the traditional material ends with verse 30, then the question in verse 29 becomes meaningless, since τὴν εἰς λόγος presupposes an answer. Although he is aware of the Semitic style of the verse, which could

⁵⁷ *Lehre*, 147-48.

⁵⁸ See, Stein, *Methodology*, 112; Taylor, *Mark*, 50.

⁵⁹ γάρ appears 64 times; ὄχλος, 38 times; φοβέομαι, 12 times, often in a redactional context, e.g., 9.32; 10.32; 11.18; 12.12. Mell considers that verse 32c, minus γάρ, is traditional, and that verse 32b is Markan. He goes on to argue that this leaves an aporia in the text between verses 32a and 32c. His way out of this is through emendation, so that the traditional text which came to Mark would have read: ἀλλὰ εἰπομεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ πάντες εἶχον τὸν Ἰωάννην ὄντως ὡς προφήτην ἦν. Winzer, 32-35. While it is true that there are some unusual words and usages in verse 32c which Mell indicates, it is too much to say that Mark did not see John as a true prophet. Mell's presupposition that behind the present ragged text there lay something much more coherent and symmetrical remains unprovable.

⁶⁰ The verb διαλογίζομαι also describes the reaction of the religious leaders in 2.6, 8, and its use there is clearly traditional.

indicate an origin earlier than Mark, he maintains that a classical conditional construction would have damaged the dramatic nature of this counter-question.⁶¹ He also notes that there are no rabbinic parallels in which the answer to the opponents' question depends on their answering a counter-question.⁶² Regarding his first point, it is difficult to say what exactly he means by the dramatic nature of the counter-question, and how exactly a change to a conditional clause would have damaged it. Certainly, the verse as it stands with its three-clause structure and repetition of verse 28a has the characteristics of oral story telling, and so enjoys a certain dramatic quality. But this very point ought to argue against written composition. In any case, there is no positive evidence within the verse of composition by Mark himself, rather than some traditionist. The same may be said regarding his second point: because there are no precise rabbinic parallels, it is incorrect to suggest Markan composition. Such a negative reason cannot be used to come to so precise a conclusion.

Weiss is also convinced of the Markan origin of verse 28a, the first question, for three reasons.⁶³ Firstly, he argues that the break Bultmann sees between verses 28-30 and verses 31-33 is also present between the two questions--the denial of belief in the Baptist in verse 31 corresponds to the intention of the first question. Mark's redactional activity in verses 27-33 followed the direction of the first question. It has already been argued, however, that verses 29, 31-32a.33 are traditional. Discussion of the tradition history of verse 28 will be taken up in the next section. Suffice to say here that verse 31 could also respond to the intention and direction of the second question. His second argument, that Markan redaction is visible in double questions, does not of itself decide which of the questions came from the tradition and which from the redaction.

⁶¹ The imperative clause followed by a statement in the future tense are the semitic equivalent of the classical conditional clause. See, Klaus Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), 1:1, 252; Shae, "Question," 6; Pesch, *Markus*, 2:210 n. 5; Gnllka, *Markus*, 2:137 n. 7.

⁶² *Lehre*, 150-51.

⁶³ *Lehre*, 150-54.

His last argument is based on Mark's use of the theme of authority throughout the Gospel. The pre-Markan material in 11.27-33 (28b.30), he maintains, sits well with Mark's understanding of authority, but clashes with its presentation in the first part of the Gospel insofar as it clearly points to that authority's divine origin.⁶⁴ The redactional verses 3.15 and 6.7, he argues, reveal that Mark was concerned not only about the subjects of the authority (the demons), but also about the very notion of the conferral of authority. For Mark, Jesus was conferred that authority when he was raised as son of man, but it already characterized his earthly ministry. The second question in 11.28 went against this understanding of the moment when authority was conferred, and Mark corrected it by inserting the first question.

Weiss' discussion of this last point is rather dense and even confused. Firstly, he cannot decide whether 2.10, the only text he refers to which links up the son of man with authority, is traditional or redactional.⁶⁵ Secondly, it is not at all clear that 1.22.27 reflect the son of man connection made in 2.10. In the first two texts, Jesus' authority is associated with his teaching activity, whereas in 2.10 the son of man motif is linked with the ability to forgive sins. Thirdly, he simply states that the "from heaven - from men" dilemma in 11.30 is equivalent to the comparison with the scribes in 1.22. This goes against his basic argument that through his insertion of the first question Mark changed the *Übertragungsmoment* of Jesus' authority to the moment he was raised as son of man. If the dilemma in 11.30 points to the Resurrection, then clearly the comparison in 1.22 must equally do so, if Weiss is to be coherent. Finally, he confuses the narrative level of the story with the events they purport to describe. The story was directed at an audience who accepted that Jesus' authority was of

⁶⁴ Thus, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ-ἐξ ἀνθρώπων is the equivalent of ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς in 1.22. *Lehre*, 153-54. Although he does not specifically mention it, it would seem that he is arguing that such a direct question would damage the theme of the messianic secret.

⁶⁵ On the one hand he says, "Die Aussagen gehen insgesamt, mit Ausnahme von 2,10, auf Markus zurück." Yet, on the other, he concludes, "Die erste Frage in 11,28 steht damit auf der Linie von 2,10 und entspricht dem Interesse des Markus, aus dem er 2,10 in sein Evangelium einfügt." *Lehre*, 154. It is not even clear to which *Aussagen* he is referring.

divine origin. To their ears, therefore, the second question would not have sounded out of place, even if it did not originate from the historical Jesus. In general, then, Weiss fails to demonstrate how the second question goes against the notion of authority in the first part of the Gospel, how the insertion of the first question succeeds in correcting its wrong understanding, and how the two questions are so different.

e) Conclusion

The various attempts to argue for intense Markan activity in this pericope are, in their various ways, not persuasive. The most prudent conclusions of this analysis are that verse 27 and the comment in verse 32bc came from Mark, and that the rest came from the tradition.

3. Form and Transmission

a) Introduction

There is no general consensus concerning the formal analysis of the pericope and its transmission history. There are those who argue that the story in its present form was unitary in origin. Others consider that verses 29 and/or 31-33 were later additions. Still others suggest that the one of the questions in verse 28 is older than the other. In what follows, it will be argued that the original dialogue consisted of verses 28ac.30a, which was unitary in origin. The addition of verse 29 changed Jesus' original response, which was a rhetorical question, into a real question. The response to that question came with the insertion of verses 31-33. The repetition of the first question in verse 29 indicates that it was placed alongside the second question at the same time as the other additions.

b) Verses 27-33

At first glance, the verses appear to be structured rather carefully: the leaders' question (verse 28) is met by a counter-question from

Jesus (verses 29-30), which is followed by a refusal to answer both by the leaders (verse 33a) and by Jesus (verse 33b). Daube suggests that this exchange, as well as many similar rabbinic stories, was modelled upon an Hellenistic form which he calls the "Socratic Interrogation." These exchanges take the following form: 1) hostile question, 2) counter-question, 3) answer by which the enemy becomes vulnerable, 4) refutation stated by way of inference from the answer.⁶⁶ This analysis, however, has raised a number of objections. In the rabbinic stories, the counter-question posed by the Rabbi presupposes what the answer will be; there is a clear relationship of analogy between question and counter-question; the final answer is clear; and the rabbinic stories expunge any extraneous details. In Mark 11.27-33, Jesus' question leaves itself open to either answer; the analogy between question and counter-question is not as clear as in the rabbinic stories; verses 29 and 31 impede the quick-fire of the exchange, and the story ends in a negative fashion with refusals to answer.⁶⁷

Recognizing these difficulties, but still wanting to argue for the unitary origin of the bulk of 11.28-33, Mell suggests that formal parallels exist in those synoptic apophthegms in which Jesus' "dialogue partners" refuse to answer an alternative posed by Jesus, since to answer would prove Jesus right and themselves wrong. Unfortunately, Mell offers only two parallels, Mark 3.1-5 and Matt. 17.24-27. Regarding the first, he is explaining the difficult by means of the more difficult. The problems of fitting the story of the man with the withered hand into one formal category are generally

⁶⁶ *Judaism*, 219. The only Rabbinic parallel he cites (*Judaism*, 151), however, is bSan 65b: "Der Tyrann Rufus, der Frevler, fragte den Rabbi Aqiba: Was ist denn für ein Unterschied zwischen dem einen Tag (dem Sabbat) und den übrigen Tagen? Rabbi Aqiba antwortete: Was ist denn für ein Unterschied zwischen dem einen Mann (Rufus) und anderen Männern? Rufus entgegnete: Mein Herr (der Kaiser) wollte es so! Rabbi Aqiba sprach: Auch betreffs des Sabbats wollte es mein Herr (Gott) so!" See, Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 1:861. Gundry notes that both the chiasmic structure and lack of closure are paralleled in many Rabbinic stories. *Mark*, 670. See also, Mundla, *Führer*, 19. That Bultmann was aware of this quadripartite structure is clear not only from the examples he gives but also from his understanding that the point of such argumentation was to lead the opponent *ad absurdum*. *Geschichte*, 43-45, 46.

⁶⁷ See, Mell, *Winzer*, 45; Scholttisek, *Vollmacht*, 193, 194; Howard, *Ego*, 111, Weiss, *Lehre*, 151.

recognized. Mell categorizes Mark 11.28-33 as a controversy dialogue, yet elements of controversy (3.2, 4), healing (3.1, 3, 5), and biography (3.5a, 6) are all present in 3.1-5.⁶⁸ Moreover, the initiating question, which gives the alternative, comes from Jesus. It is he who is trying to wrong-foot his opponents, rather than vice-versa. Finally, the people to whom the question is addressed are characterized by silence, rather than discussion among themselves. They are hardly "dialogue partners." Neither in form nor content, then, does Mark 3.1-5 offer a parallel to Mark 11.28-33. Matt. 17.24-27 is an even less likely formal parallel. Mell's admission that it is a "Schulgesprächs-Variante zur Form von Mk 11,28-33 als Untergattung des Apophthegmas"⁶⁹ already highlights the problem—it is a variant. On closer inspection, however, it is clear that the only point of contact it has with Mark 11.28-33 is the alternative question. The initiating question comes once again from Jesus (17.25c); it receives a direct answer from Peter (17.26ab), which in turn is followed by a conclusion from Jesus (17.26cd-27). Again, there is no real parallel in form or content.

From the pericope itself Mell is convinced of its unitary origin principally because he sees no logical break between verse 30 and verses 31-33. Given that the response in verse 30 does not have an analogical relationship with the question, as in the rabbinic stories, and given the alternatives which allow the response to issue in two ways, he argues that Bultmann's attempt to end the original dialogue at that point ends up with "einen textlichen Torso." In any case, he continues, Bultmann's view that the questioners came from the Baptist's circle turns Jesus' answer into a *petitio principii*.⁷⁰ His first point stands only if verse 29 belonged to the original response of Jesus. Verses 29-30 together clearly demand an answer. However, if verse 29 did not belong to the original exchange, as will be argued, then verse 30 takes on much more the status of a rhetorical question. Regarding his second point, it is true that there is a certain question-begging going on. However, in some Hellenistic

⁶⁸ See, Guelich, *Mark*, 131-33.

⁶⁹ Winzer, 52.

⁷⁰ Winzer, 45. Although he does not expand upon it, Mell presumably means that the question-begging lies in Jesus' claim to divine authority because his questioners believed in John's divine authority.

chreiai, especially those which are characterized by a "change of subject," a *petitio principii* seems to be demanded.⁷¹ Moreover, the rabbinic stories are not averse to such a procedure. In the exchange between Rufus and Rabbi Akibah quoted above, it is interesting to note that the argument is built up by the use of univocal terms (day/days; man/men), but is clinched by equivocal terms (Lord/Lord=God).⁷² Rufus is invited to accept the argument based upon the will of a God in whom he has no belief. The presence of question-begging, then, does not necessarily point to an incomplete argument.

Other commentators suggest that there are both formal and material parallels in the Jewish wisdom book, the *Testament of Job*.⁷³ According to Dankwart Rahnenführer, these parallels are: Job's assertion that his heart is fixed on heaven and not on earth (XXXVI.3; Mark 11.30); his reaction to his fellow kings: ἐρωτήσω σε λόγον καὶ εὖ ἀποκριθῆς μοι (XXXVI.5-6.); the similarity between Jesus' question in 11.29 and Job's reply to Baldad's second question (XXXVIII.3); and the similarity between Ἄγρω (XXXVIII.4) and οὐκ οὔδαμεν (11.33).⁷⁴

⁷¹ See, Theon 172-78.

⁷² A similar equivocity resulting in a *petitio principii* is seen in the exchange between the emperor Hadrian and the Rabbi Gamliel's daughter: "Ihr sagt, daß die Entschlafenen wieder aufleben werden; sie sind doch zu Staub geworden, u. kann Staub wieder aufleben? Da sprach Gamliel's Tochter zu ihrem Vater: Laß ihn, ich werde ihm antworten! In unsrer Stadt, sprach sie, gibt es zwei Töpfer; der eine bildet (die Gefäße) aus Wasser u. der andre aus Lehm. Welcher von ihnen verdient das größere Lob? Der Kaiser antwortete: Der, welcher aus Wasser bildet. Sie sprach: Wenn er (Gott) aus Wasser (dem menschlichen Samentropfen) einen Menschen schafft, um wieviel mehr kann er es aus Lehm (dem Grabensstaub)." Sanh 91^a. See, Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 1:895. Once again, the force of the argument depends upon the equivocal use of the terms. The argument is made more fallacious by the implausible alternative given by Gamliel's daughter—a potter can hardly throw pots from water. What is interesting to note is that the questioner in this and other rabbinic stories never queries the terms of the argument. The similarity to Mark 11.27-33 is evident.

⁷³ See, Pesch 2:209 n. 1. He fails to mention what these parallels are and rather strangely concludes that they add nothing to our understanding of the text. Similarly, Schmithals, *Markus*, 2:506.

⁷⁴ "Das Testament des Hiob und das NT," ZNW 62 (1971): 87. The full text is given by S. P. Brock in *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece*, Vol. 4, eds. A. M. Denis and M. De Jonge (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

This parallel is hardly convincing. Firstly, the exchange between Job and Baldad takes place over three chapters (19 verses) and has the form of a long and intricate dialogue. Secondly, Baldad's confession of ignorance (XXXVIII.4) is not opportunistic, but a real expression of his lack of knowledge. Thirdly, Job's response to this confession is not a refusal to answer, but rather an attack on Baldad's ignorance.⁷⁵ The whole thrust of the passage is to demonstrate the hubris of those who have their "lot in dust and ashes" (XXXVIII.2) attempting to inquire into the mind of God, especially when they cannot answer questions regarding earthly matters. Both in form and content, the passage differs fundamentally from Mark 11.28-33.⁷⁶

It may be concluded, then, that there are no exact formal parallels either in rabbinic literature, or in Hellenistic Jewish literature, or in the synoptic tradition. The only alternative is to explore more fully Bultmann's suggestion that the original exchange consisted of verses 28-30, and the resulting logical contradiction created through the addition of verses 31-33. This will be done in three stages through the analysis of the double question in verse 28, the introduction to Jesus' question in verse 29, and the concluding verses 31-33.

c) Verses 28 and 30

Lohmeyer maintains, by reference to Acts 4.7 (Ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο ὑμεῖς;), that the question is "doppelt in der Form, aber einheitlich in der Richtung."⁷⁷ This suggests that the question was conceived in a unitary fashion. There are, however, certain indications that the two questions were separately conceived. Firstly, the reference to Acts is misleading, since the parallel is true only of the first question. Moreover, in comparison to Acts, Mark 11.28c is rather copious (the use of the article, the demonstrative, and the ἵνα clause). Secondly, verse 30 directly responds to the second question rather than the first: "from Heaven"

⁷⁵ "If you do not understand the functions of the body, how can you understand heavenly matters?" XXXVIII.5

⁷⁶ Similarly, Weiss, *Lehre*, 155-56 n. 57; Mell, *Winzer*, 45-46 n. 31.

⁷⁷ *Markus*, 241. Similarly, Gnlika, *Markus*, 2:137; Mundla, *Führer*, 14.

(God)/"from men" responds well to the personal status of the pronoun (τίς).⁷⁸ Thirdly, the second question is repeated in verses 29d and 33d, whereas the first is only echoed in verses 30.31-32a. Fourthly, the second question is characterized by Semitisms. The *ἐνα*-clause corresponds to the Aramaic *dē*, and the phrase *δίδοναι ἐξουσίαν* occurs many times in the LXX and Josephus. There is a primitive colouring to the question.⁷⁹ Fifthly, the emphasis upon *ἐνα λόγον* in verse 29b suggests that it read verse 28 as a double question.⁸⁰ These observations cumulatively suggest separate origins of the two questions.

On balance, the second question in verse 28c appears the more original. Its personal nature (τίς) and Semitic colouring, and also its copious nature, indicate a primitive Palestinian milieu. Verse 30a functions as a perfectly adequate response to the question in verse 28c. On the other hand, if verse 28b functioned as the original question, it is extremely difficult to see why a later traditionist wanted to introduce the extra question in verse 28c.⁸¹ In the section on rhetorical analysis, the reasons for the later addition of verse 28b will be discussed.

Finally, the fact that the first question is twice repeated in verses 29 and 33 indicates that the point of the second question had receded and that the whole unit was reformulated in the light of the first. From these observations, it may be concluded that the original unit consisted of the introduction in verse 28a, or something very like it, the question in verse 28b and the response in verse 30, minus the ἀποκρίθητί μοι.⁸²

⁷⁸ Similarly, Shae, "Question," 11.

⁷⁹ Similarly, Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 69-70; Shae, "Question," 11; Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 81.

⁸⁰ See, Blass/Debrunner, *Grammar*, §247.2

⁸¹ This is what Mell suggests, but he can offer no reasons why verse 28c was a later insertion. *Winzer*, 46-47.

⁸² Similarly, Shae, "Question," 11-12; Hultgren, *Adversaries*, 69.

d) Verses 28b.29.30b.31-33

We have already gone beyond Bultmann's analysis by suggesting that the original apophthegm consisted of verses 28ac.30a. It was the inclusion of verse 29 in the original that brought so much criticism of Bultmann's position.⁸³ However, once the function of verse 29 is recognized, it becomes clear that it belongs to the same tradition as verses 31-33. The original apophthegm functioned as a rhetorical question, the answer to which was presumed to be obvious. The addition of verse 29 succeeded in turning that rhetorical question into a real question which demanded an answer. That answer, or refusal to answer, now appears in verses 31-33. Verse 29 was therefore necessary to flag that the coming question was not just a rhetorical flourish. That it was inserted at the same time as verse 28b is confirmed by its repetition of that question. The demand to answer at the end of verse 30 shares the same function as verse 29, and so was inserted at the same time.

e) Conclusion

The original exchange, once again, is a *chreia*-like question (verse 28ac) and response in the form of a rhetorical question based upon analogy (verses 29a, 30). The later additions functioned to emphasize the qualitative nature of Jesus' authority, rather than its origin in God. In the next section, a possible reason for this change will be suggested.

4. Rhetorical Analysis

a) Introduction

In their present form, these verses resist any attempt to read them as an elaborated *chreia*. They resemble more a dialogue. In what follows, it will be argued the the original core controversy was, however, constructed according to the *chreia* form. The later

⁸³ Schmithals, for instance, accuses him of arguing "im Rahmen eines formgeschichtlichen Formalismus." *Markus*, 2:506.

additions represent a move away from the question concerning Jesus' authority to a question concerning the community's.

b) The *Quaestio* and Response: Verses 28ac.30a

Mark 11.28ac.30 is a single responsive sayings *chreia* of the interrogative variety (καὶ ἐρωτήσιν).⁸⁴ The emphasis on authority indicates forensic discourse. The stasis is one of quality, since there is no attempt by Jesus to deny his activities--his response is of the type *feci, sed iure*. The real problem regards how Jesus' answer functions as a defence. Bultmann has an inchoate understanding of the rhetorical dimensions of the exchange when he identifies an argument from analogy--just as John's authority came from God, so too did Jesus'. To an extent this makes sense, since it presupposes that the questioners held John in high esteem. However, it does not demonstrate how this argument from analogy would have been persuasive to those original questioners. A certain *petitio principii* is apparent. Daube's explanation that the authority talked of here is official rabbinic authority has a certain attraction. Jesus stands accused as one acting with rabbinic authority (*resuth*) without formal "ordination" and is being asked to produce his "licence."⁸⁵ Jesus' rhetorical question would thus imply that just as John's ministry was not humanly sanctioned but derived directly from God, so too was his. The questioners would have been forced into accepting that it was possible to act in certain ways without the legitimation of formal ordination. Unfortunately, it is very doubtful that this practice of formal appointment to rabbinic authority existed in the time of Jesus or the early Church.⁸⁶ In any case, this

⁸⁴ That the question in verse 28b constitutes a *chreia*-saying is evidenced by a similar saying in Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars* [*M]iliti cuidam occisum a se Othonem glorianti, "Quo auctore?" responderit. ("When one of the soldiers had boasted he had slain Otho, he (Galba) asked him, "On whose authority?") Galba, 7.19.2. See, Suetonius. *Lives of Galba, Otho & Vitellius*, ed. and trans. David Shotter (Aris and Phillips, Warminster, 1993).*

⁸⁵ *Judaism*, 207-10. Scholttisek comments on this authority: "(Sie) wird weder direkt auf Gott zurückgeführt noch steht sie in einem unmittelbaren Zusammenhang zur Jahweherrschaft." *Vollmacht*, 66.

⁸⁶ On the whole problem of the legitimation of charismatic authority, Mell argues that a clear division must be made between the periods before and after 70CE. It was only after the Jewish war that the idea of ordination of the pupil by the Rabbi gradually emerged in Pharisaic Judaism in order to overcome the problem of charismatic teachers. *Winzer*, 55-65. For a further

reading presumes that the questioners belong to the religious establishment.

Mell situates the whole exchange within the Jewish discussion regarding the criteria for distinguishing between true and false prophets. That this was the case is indicated, he claims, by the use of the adverb *συντος*. According to the criterion of verification set forth in Deut. 18.22, he argues that reference to John was made because his words came to pass in the life of Jesus. John's legitimacy, like that of the true prophets before him, was grounded *ex eventu* in the life of Jesus.⁸⁷ Four problems emerge here. Firstly, the criterion of fulfilment of the prophet's word was only one among a number of criteria which the Old Testament listed regarding the problem of a prophet's legitimacy.⁸⁸ There is no evidence that the deuteronomic criterion became standard in the first century CE. Secondly, there is no evidence that either Mark or the traditions which came to him gave the criterion of fulfilment any importance. Indeed, Mark 13.22 associates the falseness of prophets with their ability to give signs and wonders (cf., Mark 8.11-13). No mention is made of their prophecies not coming true. Thirdly, while Mark saw John as the one who announced the coming of Jesus (1.7-8), popular Jewish memory associated him as one who preached the coming of some unnamed person who would bring about social and political change.⁸⁹ Clearly, Jesus, in the minds of many, did not fulfill this prediction. Fourthly, there is a lack of logic in the argument. If the deuteronomic understanding had been the

critique of Daube's position, see A. W. Argyle, "The Meaning of *ἐξουσία* in Mark 1:22, 27," *ExpT* 80 (1968-69): 343.

⁸⁷ Winzer, 65-69. "Das Kernstück dieses literarischen Versuches *ex eventu historiae* ist erstens die Meinung, daß Johannes der Täufer ein vom jüd. Volk allseits akzeptierter göttlicher Prophet (V. 32c) und daß zweitens Jesus in seiner Funktion als Gottes Beauftragter die inhaltliche Mitte der prophetischen Ankündigung des Täufers gewesen sei (V. 31c)." Winzer, 69.

⁸⁸ See, R. P. Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant. Uses of Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah* (London: SCM, 1981), 192-97.

⁸⁹ A detailed argument for this position is given by Robert L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet. A Socio-Historical Study*, JSNTSS 62 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 261-306. It is interesting to note that Josephus (*Ant.* 18.116-19) portrays John positively as both a baptizer and an ethical preacher, but does not mention his perceived prophetic status. In all likelihood, this was because of the revolutionary preaching associated with other prophets, and possibly the negative associations prophecy had for Roman ears. See, Webb, *John*, 308 n. 4.

hermeneutical key to the discussion, then the questioners would more correctly have anticipated Jesus' conclusion to be: διὰ τί οὐκ ἔπιστεύσατε μοι. Finally, Mell himself describes the argumentation of 11.30-33 as "half-hearted," since, even if the Jews used the deuteronomic criterion of fulfilment, there is no reason in the world why they would have had to apply John's words to Jesus rather than some other.⁹⁰

c) Genre, *Stasis*, and Rhetorical Situation

Awareness of the rhetorical interplay between question and response allows more insight into the strength of the argument. Above it was noted that the question is characterized by forensic rhetoric. Jesus' reply in the form of a rhetorical question gives the discourse a much more deliberative tone. Rather than answering directly, Jesus places the questioners in a situation where they must ponder the facts. The first rhetorical move, then, was to move from forensic to deliberative discourse, and so turn the question directed at Jesus back on the questioners themselves. The second move created a "change of subject" which allowed Jesus to leave behind the charge and introduce a quite separate topic. The third move was to introduce the reference to John which worked both as an example and as an enthymeme. There was a quite dense rhetorical strategy at work, made all the more impressive by the few words used in Jesus' response. The enthymematic reasoning has the following pattern: John's authority came from God rather than men (major premise: example based on popular belief); Jesus and John are similar since Jesus' authority did not come from men (minor premise: argument from analogy); therefore, Jesus' authority also came from God. Of course there is some question-begging going on here, but the persuasiveness lies in the restriction of the choice given: like John's, Jesus' authority can only come either from God or men--*tertium non datur*. Jesus forces his questioners into an "either-or" answer, and no other option is made available. The laconic nature of the response and its rhetorical load indicate that

⁹⁰ Winzer, 69-72.

there is no need either to suggest that the original ending has disappeared,⁹¹ or to reconstruct some putative ending.⁹²

The rhetorical situation reflected in the exchange presupposes that the questioners held John in high esteem, even if they did not necessarily belong to his immediate circle. Without this, the response could not have worked. No claim is made that Jesus is greater than John--Jesus simply claims the same divine (prophetic) authority. It has already been noted that the response is characterized by Semitisms. Both this observation and the lack of any profound Christology suggest a rather primitive origin of the saying, probably in Palestine. The equality between Jesus and John, underlined by the analogy, further indicates that exchanges such as this could have typified the discussions of Jewish groups who had attached themselves respectively to Jesus and John. Most likely, discussions of this sort took place before the Jesus group broke with the synagogue. Finally, the rhetorical density and subtlety of Jesus' answer indicates that the exchange was crafted in a reasonably educated milieu.

d) Verses 28b.29.30b.31-33

The major change which occurred in the tradition was the transformation of the rhetorical question in 11.28c into a real question demanding an answer. This is the main function of verse 29, the addition of which serves to emphasize the interrogatory nature of Jesus' question. This is evidenced both by the announcement of the coming question in verse 29b (Ἐπερωτήσω) and the double demand for an answer in verses 29c and 30b (ἀποκρίθητέ μοι). The verse also serves two other purposes. Its emphasis upon ἓνα λόγον favourably contrasts Jesus with the questioners, who need to ask two questions. The traditioner who inserted verse 29 also inserted the first question in verse 28a. This suggests that he was interested in showing Jesus' intellectual superiority in comparison with his opponents'.⁹³ There is a strong emphasis upon the *logos* dimension of the argument.

⁹¹ Contra Gnllka, *Mark*, 2:137

⁹² Contra Shae, "Question," 13-14.

⁹³ Similarly, Gnllka, *Markus*, 2:139.

But something more important was happening, and this is the second purpose of the addition of verse 29. The question which came to the traditioner was interested in the divine origin or otherwise of Jesus' authority. That original question and answer reveal no special polemical intent. It was the traditioner who introduced the polemic by characterizing the questioners as opportunistic and devious (verses 31-32). In this way they became clear opponents, not only of Jesus but also of the community which had preserved the original *chreia*. Once that community saw that the question concerning the origin of Jesus' authority also concerned the origin of their own authority, they found themselves in a difficult corner. Most likely, they believed that their authority originated in Jesus' himself--certainly this is how Mark would later understand it (3.15; 6.7; cf., 13.34). And there is no evidence in the Gospel that the community claimed authority directly from God. Therefore, the second question in verse 28b left *the community* with only one answer--Jesus himself. And that is precisely the answer the opponents were looking for, since it was no answer at all. By introducing the first question, the traditioner changed the emphasis from the (personal) origin of the community's authority to the (divine) quality of that authority. Consequently, the community, while not denying Jesus as the source of their authority, could claim that their authority was of the same divine nature as Jesus', even if not directly bestowed on them by God himself. Direct appeal to Jesus was thus avoided.

The repetition of the first question in verses 29d and 33d confirms this concern to establish the divine quality of the community's authority rather than the personal source. Moreover, the opponents' discussion in verses 31-32 shows that the traditionist's aim to move the discussion away from Jesus was successful--they stick to the terms of Jesus' question in verse 30, rather than introducing arguments more favourable to their viewpoint. This is the fundamental mistake they make. The original *chreia*-saying sought common ground with the questioners. The traditioner changed the nature of that question, since clearly the questioners no longer held John in any esteem (verses 31-32ab). Consequently, the question no

longer sought common ground as the way to carry the argument. Rather, by presenting the questioners' deliberations in terms of self-interest, the traditioner sought to win the argument by attacking the *ethos* of his opponents. The opponents fall into the trap by attempting to answer the dilemma, rather than by denying its appropriateness, and in so doing present themselves in a negative light. It may well be that the questioners were already deemed to be part of the religious hierarchy. The traditionist succeeded in freeing the community from a tight corner both by avoiding direct appeal to Jesus as the source of his and their authority, by focusing rather upon the status of the Baptist, and also by making a final response in kind to the questioners. The impression is given of two quite separate groups, hostile to each other and unable to convince each other of the validity of their respective positions. It is likely that the break with the synagogue had already occurred.

The polemic introduced by the traditionist indicates that the Christian community had moved to an offensive stance. The initial *chreia*-saying took place in a deliberative environment and invited the questioners to answer the question themselves, based upon their own beliefs. The traditionist attacked the legitimacy of the questioners themselves by characterizing them as dissimulating and opportunistic, and so introduced a more epideictic discourse. It was through *vituperatio* that the traditionist hoped to win the argument. Interestingly, the questioners are honoured with a certain amount of sophistication, as their discussion in verses 31-32ab shows. That discussion resembles somewhat the form of a *chreia* "in the manner of a syllogism."⁹⁴ However, it is that very sophistication which works against them: they are condemned by their own argumentation. Their *logos* is undermined by their *ethos*.

⁹⁴ Theon gives an example: Διογένης ὁ φιλόσοφος ἰδὼν μετράκιον περισσῶς καλλωπιζόμενον, εἶπεν, Εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἀνδρας ἀτυχεῖς, εἰ δὲ πρὸς γυναῖκας ἀδίκεις. ("Diogenes the philosopher, on seeing a youth dressed foppishly, said: 'If you are doing this for husbands, you are accursed; if for wives, you are unjust.'") Theon 139-41. Note that such a syllogistic response functions to corner the addressee, who is given no way out. The difference in the Markan text is that the questioners corner themselves.

e) Verses 27.32bc

Mark continued the polemic by specifying that the questioners were the religious leaders and by emphasizing their fear of the crowd as the basic reason for their refusal to answer. A clear break-down in communication had occurred which resulted in two quite separate groups locked into mutual condemnation.⁹⁵

The pericope both in the form which came to Mark and in its final form in the text bears no resemblance to any type of elaborated *chreia*. The point of elaboration was always to demonstrate the thesis. Jesus' refusal to answer, as well as the religious leaders' dialogue among themselves, indicate that the original *chreia* moved quite definitely away from the forms of argumentation set out in the handbooks. There is a definite argumentative strategy which works through *vituperatio*, but there is no sign of the reasoned process of persuasion which characterizes elaboration.

5. Evaluation and Conclusions

a) Once again there is good reason for accepting that the present pericope began as a *chreia*. The question in verse 28c is followed by a *chreia*-saying which is quite dense with rhetorical tactics. Rhetorical question, analogy, change of subject, enthymematic reasoning, and change of genre were all put to good use and together succeeded in answering the questioners. A certain sophistication is evident. The problems of authority and legitimacy lie at the heart of the dialogue and reveal that these were real concerns of the Judaisms of the first century CE. The appeal to popular belief (in the Baptist) implied in Jesus' question suggests that no coherent criteria for determining legitimacy had yet been worked out. Certainly, appeal to the deuteronomic criterion is nowhere in evidence. One is left with the impression of different

⁹⁵ Mell comments: "[I]hr Nicht-Wissen (11,33b) ist schon nicht mehr Position, sondern Korruption." Winzer, 176. See, Gnllka, *Markus*, 2:139-40; Pesch, *Markus*, 2:211. Mark's note explaining the crowd's estimation of John may indicate that memories of the Baptist were already passing for his generation.

groups of Jews, not yet in opposition to each other, appealing to different authorities (such as John and Jesus).

b) The additions of verses 28c.29.31-32ab.33 introduced a much more polemical tone. Now the comparison was no longer so much between Jesus and John, but between Jesus and, most likely, the religious leaders. His intellectual superiority is indicated by the "one question" he asks, as opposed to the two of the questioners. That they were worthy sparring partners is shown by the syllogistic reasoning they employ in verses 31-32ab. Yet that reasoning serves to show how they condemn themselves: they are set up by Jesus to work out how they themselves are mistaken. The polemic further underlines their deceitful and opportunistic character. A clear separation between two religious groups is evident. That is confirmed by the strongly vituperative nature of the passage. By attacking the *ethos* of the questioners, the traditionist succeeded in bringing their good faith into question. Thereby he succeeded in avoiding a direct answer to the question regarding the community's authority, but clearly brought the authority of the questioners into doubt. This argument from *ethos* confirms the conclusion that this passage is no elaborated *chreia*. If it were, one would expect much more use of *logos*. There is, however, a clear rhetorical strategy which was to take the community onto the attack. It was that attack upon the questioners which succeeded in bringing them under pressure and so letting the community off the hook upon which the opponents hoped to hang it.

c) Finally, Mark specified the questioners and continued the polemic against them by describing their fear of the crowd. His further explanatory comment in verse 32d suggests that the figure of the Baptist was already receding in the memory of the community for whom he was writing.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to examine the rhetorical dimensions of a sample of Markan apophthegms in order to evaluate whether it is accurate, as some scholars claim, to define them as examples of simple or elaborated *chreiai*. The investigation was principally a formal analysis, although certain historical conclusions emerged.

I offered in the first section an overview of the scholarly discussion of the apophthegms from Dibelius and Bultmann to the present day. From this I concluded that certain insights of the classical form critics still stand the test of time. These are that much of the Markan material originated at the oral stage, that it circulated in small units, and that over time more material was added to those small units as they were used by different people at different times and in different contexts. Consequently, I maintained, it was reasonable to make an attempt to isolate the original form of the apophthegms from their later accretions, and to offer some persuasive explanation of their transmission histories. Since the thesis was essentially a formal investigation, I chose not to engage in the debate concerning the authenticity of the various sayings since this would have led me away from the main aim of the thesis. In any case, given the lack of scholarly consensus in contemporary history of Jesus research, this would have been to expand vastly the scope of my enquiry. I further argued that redactional additions by Mark should be identified before the formal analysis itself. This had the purpose not only of ensuring a proper formal analysis but, more importantly for my investigation, of allowing a judgment to be made about Mark's knowledge of the *chreia* form.

In section two I presented the various definitions, classifications, and elaborations of the *chreia*, prefaced with an overview of the place of rhetoric in the Greco-Roman world. This was necessary for an informed understanding of the influence of the *chreia* upon the Markan materials. I noted the differences in understanding among the three great rhetoricians of antiquity, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, and noted that rhetoric itself must be seen as a deeply

encultured phenomenon. All of them were convinced that rhetoric, based upon an epistemology of the probable, was a valid avenue into the truth. They understood that rhetoric was about persuasion and argumentation. I concentrated upon what they had to say about the creation of the speech (*inventio*) and its outline (*dispositio*). This was necessary in order to show how the production and structure of the fully elaborated *chreia* related to both. For the same reason, I introduced the subjects of the topics, rhetorical genres, rhetorical situation, and *stasis* theory. From all this I concluded that these rhetoricians understood rhetoric to be a practical art, aimed at producing action, and based upon persuasion and judgement. Consequently, rhetoric must be seen as social discourse using conventions, beliefs, and codes upon which the audience appealed to could agree. Rhetoric was, in other words, highly contextual.

I then set forth the definitions, classifications, and elaboration of the *chreia* and suggested that there was a lack of conceptual clarity among the authors of the handbooks in respect to each of those areas. At the heart of this chapter was the comparison between Aristotle's outline of the speech and the structure of the fully elaborated *chreia* as expounded by Hermogenes. This showed that the elaborated *chreia* was in fact a mini-speech. Further, I showed that the *chreia* was a very malleable form, able to expand, to contract, or to use different terminology. I argued, however, that it is unlikely that there was any single system of elaboration generally agreed upon at the time of the formation of the Gospel materials. Nonetheless, I accepted that Hermogenes' model of elaboration could be used as a heuristic device to discover the extent to which the Gospel materials reflect that structure.

The choice of Markan pericopes to study was guided not only by the definition of the *chreia* but also by the outline of its elaboration. I chose six sample texts in which there is a question or objection followed by an answer of Jesus which is either brief or followed by some further responses which may have followed the outline of the elaboration. I proceeded to analyse the pericopes in the following way. Firstly, where necessary, I established the limits of the unit as it came to Mark. This was necessary since for successful *chreia*

analysis the beginning and end of the unit had to be clearly demarcated. I then examined the redaction, form, and transmission histories of each as necessary steps before the rhetorical analysis, not only of their present form but also of the various stages of their transmission histories. It was in this latter section that I suggested a possible rhetorical situation out of which the various parts of the pericopes may have originated.

A number of interesting results have emerged. Most importantly, I have argued that at the very bedrock of the post-Easter tradition there were small stories that were crafted as *chreiai*. It seems highly likely that this was a conscious crafting, since *chreiai* were popular in the culture of the day and Hellenism would have brought them to Palestine. Moreover, various different argumentative strategies were used. There are both single and double sayings *chreiai*; there are *chreiai* which respond to an enquiry, and others which seek a longer explanation. There are arguments from authority, example, analogy, maxim, and enthymematic reasoning. Even at the primitive stage, then, there are signs of some slight elaboration. It should also be noted that the form did not come from the Old Testament, since there is very little use of them there, if any.

To this extent, I am in agreement with Weiss. I also agree that the rhetorical situation of the original *chreiai* was discussions among different groups of Jews within the synagogue. Bultmann was methodologically correct to seek out parallels to the apophthegms elsewhere, but I noted the problems with the rabbinic parallels he chose. His basic insight, however, might remain if it could be shown that the rabbinic tradition also flowered out of basic *chreiai* and that the form was used in debate within the synagogue. This would demand a further extensive study. It may be what Neusner is groping toward when he notes that the type is common to both the rabbinic and synoptic traditions but that the forms tended to become separate in each. Weiss is also correct to say that these dialogues had an apologetic rather than polemical purpose. I would prefer to say, however, that many of the questions had a polemical purpose, flagged by the use of forensic rhetoric, but that the

responses are characterized by a rhetoric of a more deliberative kind. In general, Jesus avoids arguing in legal terms, and the deliberative discourse which he chooses works not only to defend his actions and those of his disciples, but also to appeal to those who lodged the objection or placed the question. Those responses functioned, in other words, to invite reflection among the questioners or accusers concerning their own activities. Mack, therefore, goes too far when he claims that the responses functioned to reduce the questioners to silence. Both the use of deliberative discourse and the various argumentative strategies chosen function together to persuade the questioners to deliberate over their then current practice. It is also worth noting that in almost all of the pericopes the *stasis* is one of quality. The accusations and questions do not make false statements about the activities of Jesus and the disciples. The answer of Jesus is of the type *feci, sed iure*. The original *chreiai*, then, record the attempts of the early community to explain both why their lifestyle was different from that of other Jews and why it was licit.

I have found no persuasive evidence, however, to support Weiss' general argument that a framework scene was later added to the "basic form" (the dialogue) which marked a move away from the apophthegm form to that of the *chreia*. I have argued that a setting was added to 3.22.23, 7.5.15 and 11.28.30, but not to the other *chreiai*. Care has to be taken regarding the establishing of general tendencies throughout the entire material. Apart from an increasing polemic, no general tendencies or laws of transmission have been identified, at least from the rhetorical point of view. Each of the original *chreiai* developed in different directions. In the *chreia* tradition, settings were optional, but quite acceptable (Robbins' "amplified" *chreiai*). From the point of view of *chreia* analysis, it is illicit to argue that the shorter form of the *chreia* was necessarily the original. Regarding Weiss' point about the move from the apophthegm to the *chreia*, I argued that it is highly unlikely that there was any clear distinction between the apophthegm and *chreia* in antiquity.

Weiss' point about the basic form of the apophthegms is that they all contained *general* questions or objections and it was to them, rather than the action in the setting, that the response was directed. In other words, the question or objection was directed at the community's general behaviour. The setting was added later to give the dialogue an historical grounding in the life of Jesus which allowed the community to defend its behaviour through specific reference to Jesus. Yet the questions in 2.16, 18 and the accusation in 3.22 are all quite specific. In any case, it must be noted that the basic form already works by appeal to Jesus, and it is difficult to see why anchoring the dialogue in the life of Jesus would have made the argument any more cogent. In other words, if the basic form worked by appeal to the words of Jesus, why would appeal to his activity make the response any more persuasive? And it should be remembered also that in the *chreia* tradition, the setting had no argumentative function.

To an extent, my argument reflects the positions of both Dibelius and Bultmann, and goes against that of Taylor. The former maintain that pure forms lay at the bedrock of the tradition and that, as time went by, those forms decayed. I also argued that pure forms lay at the bedrock of the tradition and that they decayed as new needs and situations caused further material to be added to them. By the time these apophthegms reached Mark, they had moved a long way away from the *chreia* form. It is important to understand the words "pure" and "decayed" in strictly formal terms. The later additions were responding to specific needs just like the original *chreia*. Function not only creates form, as Bultmann and Dibelius insightfully note, but it also distorts it. But that distortion of form does not mean that the later additions are of any less import than the original *chreia*. That is why I attempted to give an argumentative function to each of the later additions in order to discover the changing rhetorical strategies of the early Christian community. Consequently, it was important to note, for instance, that authoritative arguments from Scripture (2.25-26; 7.6-7), or the law (7.9-13), were not used in the original *chreiai*, but that gradually they were introduced.

I part with Dibelius and Bultmann, and also K. L. Schmidt, in their description of the primitive tradition as anonymous, collective, and unliterary. The *chreia* was a clear literary form which, like many such forms, was able to be used in oral communication. Consequently, the form was chosen consciously by individuals as an appropriate vehicle for them to defend their practice against criticism or attack. It is of course impossible now to identify who those individuals may have been, but it does seem likely that they had received at least some minimal education. Consequently, I described them as people with a certain intellectual sophistication. It is quite possible that they were the leaders of the Jesus group within the synagogue who were expected to give some account of the group's way of life. Perhaps they even originated in scribal groups.

I further argued, against Bultmann and Hultgren, that these *chreiai* were created in a unitary fashion. Once the various types of response allowed by the *chreia* tradition are understood, it is unnecessary to talk of ideal settings having been created for free-floating sayings. This is not to say, however, that some of these sayings never had an independent existence. However, rather than saying with Bultmann that the saying produced the setting, I have argued that the question or objection represented real problems, and the saying was either created or retrieved in order to answer them. In this way, we can glimpse into the thought process of early Christians struggling to counter the questions and objections coming from outside their circle. To this extent, then, these *chreiai* are short stories, in the way that Taylor, Tannehill, Hultgren, Mack, and Robbins understand them. There is a unity and roundedness to them, a clear relationship between stimulus and response. Emphasis ought to be placed upon all the elements of the unit, and not just upon the saying itself.

Just as it is important to note that neither the Scriptures nor the law were used as arguments in the original responses, it is equally important to note what kind of arguments were used. Mark 2.17 and 2.27-28 both argue from a maxim and an authoritative statement; in 2.19 there is an argument from analogy and a paraphrase; 3.23b-26 argues from a rhetorical question and an

analogy; 7.15 functions as an authoritative statement; and 11.27 argues from example. It is interesting to note that in only one case, 7.15, does the argument rest solely on a word of Jesus used as an authoritative statement. Very quickly, however, the need was felt to bolster that statement through further argumentation which is visible in the commentaries in verses 18b-19 and 20-22. That these also are *chreiai* suggests that they were added to the original response at a very early stage.

Mack goes too far, then, when he claims that there is no point of leverage outside of the sayings of Jesus to sustain the argumentation. On the contrary, it is remarkable that in these six stories direct appeal to a word of Jesus as an authoritative argument is made only in half of them, and twice it is accompanied by a maxim (2.17, 28). From the point of view of *chreia* analysis, it is rather strange that sayings attributed to Jesus were used as arguments from authority. The point of such an argument was to elicit agreement from the interlocutors by quoting the accepted wisdom of some ancient. In the case of the Gospel materials, the interlocutors would not have accepted Jesus as an authority. This suggests that these original *chreiai* were directed towards two audiences--the Jews who were interrogating the followers of Jesus but also those followers themselves who may have needed some support as their practices came under criticism. These arguments from authority show that the persuasive strategies relied not just upon *logos* but also upon the *ethos* of Jesus. The *logos* dimension of the responses, however, depend for their argumentative force upon common-sense values and behaviour. They came from the world of everyday wisdom. It is also interesting to note that only in one instance (3.28-29) is there an argument based on *pathos*, fear of punishment and hope of reward.

None of the stories contain any high Christology, although all, among other things, have something to say about Jesus. In the three stories in chapter two, Jesus is depicted as a disciple-gathering teacher, very like those other philosopher-teachers in the larger Hellenistic world. He is also a teacher in chapter seven, whereas the Beelzebul story presents him as an exorcist, and in the story concerning his

authority it seems that he is claiming the same prophetic status as John. This is in line with the *chreia* tradition which aimed to characterize its various heroes in different ways.

Two stories in particular focus precisely upon the identity of Jesus, and in both reference is made to the Baptist (2.18-22; 11.27-33). This suggests, I argued, that the rhetorical situation out of which these original *chreiai* emerged was discussions between the followers of the Baptist and those of Jesus. Not all controversy dialogues had the same originating *Sitz*, as Hultgren notes. This becomes clearer when those *chreiai* which dealt with breaches of law or tradition are taken into account (2.15-17, 23-28; 7.1-23). The *chreiai* which lie at the bottom of these stories represent an exchange, still within the synagogue, between a rigorist party who wanted a much stricter application of the law to everyday life, and a more "laxist" group who were pleading for a less strict interpretation. Perhaps this was the reason why this group did not appeal to the law or tradition in defence of its practice, since it was the interpretation of the law and tradition which was precisely in question. By offering common-sense reaction and humane values, this group hoped both to defend its own activity and offer reasonable arguments why its opponents should come to share their lifestyle. In any case, these six *chreiai* suggest that there was lively debate going on in the synagogue at the time, not only between the followers of Jesus but also with other groups, as the Baptist stories show. This indicates that the synagogue was made up of groups who had different understandings of their religion, and that consequently it is accurate to speak of the *Judaisms* of the day. Differently from Weiss, I argued that there is no need to seek a *Sitz* outside of Palestine for these stories because there are Hellenistic parallels. Given the deep in-roads Hellenism had made into Palestine, it cannot be a surprise that the *chreia* form was known there also.

There is evidence that the *chreia* form continued to influence some of the additions to the basic form. 7.18-19, 20-22 are themselves *chreiai* which argue on the basis of enthymematic reasoning. A very similar process is evident in 7.9-13. Finally, however, there was a

move away from the form. I have argued against Mack and Robbins that, although some of the stories may contain the beginnings of an argumentation (2.15-17, 18-19, 27-28), there is no evidence of any fully elaborated *chreia*. Later traditionists either did not know the form or chose to discard it in pursuit of other ends. This is an important point regarding the synchronic analysis of Mark from a rhetorical point of view. It is valid to enquire into the rhetorical load of each element of a particular pericope, but when that pericope is forced into the procrustean bed of the elaborations of Hermogenes or Theon there results a distortion of both text and interpretation.

Nor is there any evidence that Mark knew the *chreia* form. From the redactional analysis Mark emerges as a moderately conservative redactor who chose to insert the various materials much as they came to him. His additions had various motivations. In chapter two, Mark added verses 13-14 for the narrative purpose of pursuing his theme of teacher-disciple. This is also the case regarding his additions in verse 18 and verses 21-22, and for his addition of the David story in verses 25-26. This latter addition also functioned to give biblical precedent for the disciples' action. Mark also inserted the quotation from Isaiah in 7.6-7 but, differently from the David story, used it in a much more polemical way, most probably against the religious leaders rather than the Jews in general. From these two instances, it may be concluded that Mark understood that the Scriptures could be used as an argument from authority which established precedence, and also that they in some way announced the future. His additions in 3.22-30 are more theologically driven. By mentioning the scribes from Jerusalem, Mark adumbrated the final fate of Jesus in the Holy City (see also, 7.11). He also continued his characterization of Jesus as the one who called (see also, 7.14), and prepared for the parable discourse in chapter four and anticipated the theme of insiders/outsideers (verse 23). Finally Mark inserted explanations (3.30; 7.2, 11c), and generalizations (7.3-4, 19c). In all this, Mark was pursuing narrative and theological purposes and there is no trace of any attempt to mould the materials that came to him into a *chreia* form.

All these *chreia* depict Jesus as a teacher of wisdom, appealing to common sense and humane values. I chose not to examine the authenticity of these sayings for the reasons stated earlier. If these results, however, were replicated on a greater scale and throughout the Gospels, there could be significant implications for history of Jesus research.

In brief, the thesis has argued that a well known literary form was used at the earliest stages of Christian formation. This would have given the early community a certain amount of intellectual credibility, since that same form was used to depict philosophers, kings, generals, and such like. It would also have allowed the movement to gain a foothold in the general Hellenistic culture of the day insofar as the *chreia* was common linguistic currency. It offered, in other words, a language which the larger world could understand. Gradually the form decayed as the various *chreiai* were expanded in response to new questions and problems. It may be that this process of decay coincided with the movement turning inward to discuss specific community problems where a common form was no longer necessary for establishing common ground. Certainly, many of the additions came about after the break with the synagogue. By the time Mark was utilizing the various traditions which came to him, the *chreia* form had long since been discarded and the need was clearly felt for a longer narrative depiction of Jesus rather than the brief characterizations so beloved of the *chreia*.

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