The NIV HARMONY of the GOSPELS

with Explanations and Essays

Using the Text of the
NEW INTERNATIONAL VERSION

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A Revised Edition of the John A. Broadus and
A. T. Robertson Harmony of the Gospels

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PREFACE TO THE 1988 REVISION

The roots of this *Harmony* extend deep into the soil of nineteenth-century biblical scholarship. The renowned John A. Broadus began teaching the life of Jesus in 1859. At the suggestion of his colleague A. T. Robertson, in 1893 he published the fruit of these thirty-plus years of instruction. Robertson himself began offering the same course in 1888, and after thirty-four years published his own *Harmony*, which was a revision of Broadus's work. In the meantime Robertson had prepared notes for the end of Broadus's first edition and had published a minor revision of Broadus's work in 1903. This lineage of gospel harmonies has gone through many printings and has been a powerful force in the church of Jesus Christ through the decades of the twentieth century.

One of the reasons for this widespread influence is that Broadus blazed a trail that has been followed by many twentieth-century harmonists. Rather than trying to force an issue and make the feasts into turning points in Christ's ministry, as had his predecessors, he organized Jesus' ministry into well-defined periods according to a gradual progress in three realms: in Jesus' self-manifestation, in the hostility of his enemies, and in the training of the Twelve. This new approach, as Broadus noted in his preface in 1893, facilitated an understanding of "the *inner movements* of the history, towards that long-delayed, but foreseen and inevitable collision, in which, beyond all other instances, the wrath of man was made to praise God."

Robertson built upon Broadus's successful endeavor with his 1922 revision by refining, expanding, and updating the work of his former mentor. It is the purpose of this 1988 revision to build upon Robertson's revision and fine tune the work even more in the light of more than six decades of Christian thought that have passed since the popular revision was first published.

The current work, for one thing, attempts a greater precision in defining the "inner movements" of Jesus' life. This is done through the subdivision of some of the longer sections into smaller, more manageable portions. For convenience, however, Robertson's paragraph numbers have been retained and assigned lowercase suffixes, such as *a*, *b*, *c*, to indicate subdivisions. Also, explanatory footnotes of historical and geographical features, of theological and chronological relationships, and of a variety of other matters have been multiplied in this revision. These

enable a reader to focus quickly upon major themes in the process of their unfolding.

The Broadus-Robertson proposed divisions of Christ's life have been retained because of their accuracy. Differences in viewpoint about the placement of a few sections, however, are reflected in the footnotes of this revision. In such cases the placement of the text remains the same as is found in Robertson, with the preferences of the revisers indicated by bracketed section titles and Scripture references only. Another difference from Robertson lies in the choice of section titles. In practically all cases a new title that more accurately portrays the substance of the section's content has been assigned.

Perhaps the greatest expansion in our revision lies in the reworking of Robertson's "Notes on Special Points," found at the end of his *Harmony*. Criticism of the gospels and of specific features in them has been the focal point of New Testament scholarship through the middle six decades of this century. Discussion generated by this activity has necessitated a thorough reworking of these, even to the point of isolating new topics to which the essays (no longer "notes") are devoted. A selected reading list appears at the conclusion of each of these twelve essays, so that those interested in pursuing the subjects further have suggested resources.

Another marked difference from the earlier works is the Bible translation employed. In place of the English Revised Version (1881) of Broadus's *Harmony* and Robertson's *Harmony*, the New International Version has been chosen for this revision. This version is a fresh translation into smoothly flowing contemporary English that provides insights into the gospels that have often been veiled from those less familiar with the Old English style of the Revised Version.

Other aspects of this *Harmony* are explained in "Explanation of the *Harmony's* Format and Features," and their resemblance to or difference from Robertson can be observed by those familiar with this time-honored work. Two broad comparisons are worthy of special note here. First, Broadus's column sequence for listing the texts has been followed. From left to right, it is Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. This varies from the order of Robertson, who reversed Matthew and Mark because he thought Mark wrote first and Matthew depended on him. After more than a century of popularity, the theory of Marcan priority is encountering a declining acceptance and, in the opinion of the revisers, has little to commend it in comparison with the more traditional view of Matthean priority. Hence the reversion to Broadus's sequence.

The second comparison lies in eschatological perspective. Occasionally Broadus and Robertson reflected the amillennial or postmillennial temperament of their times. The twentieth century has witnessed a surge of interest in the premillennial interpretation of Scripture. It is the

persuasion of the revisers that a consistent grammatical-historical interpretation of the Bible inevitably leads to this latter view. For this reason several of the explanatory footnotes reflect a corresponding difference in perspective from the earlier editions.

Besides the text of the *Harmony*, a number of other features have been incorporated. An outline of the *Harmony*, which follows the probable chronological sequence of Christ's life, follows this Preface. The same outline is woven into the body of the *Harmony*. A glance at this outline reflects when various events occurred in relation to each other. Whenever possible, the geographical location of each event is given in the body of the *Harmony*. The maps at the close of the volume provide a means of identifying these places in relation to the rest of Palestine. The sources of Old Testament quotations have also been included, as have notes clarifying some of the New International Version renderings.

Sections of the *Harmony* that bear a special resemblance to other sections have also been noted in the *Harmony* proper. All section cross-references are listed in the "Table of Section Cross-References" found at the back of the volume. This table also notes what the points of similarity between sections are. The "Tables for Finding Passages in the *Harmony*" facilitates the locating of any passage in the *Harmony* by listing the passages according to chapter and verse sequence. Time lines for the whole Life of Christ, the Ministry of Christ, and Passion Week have also been included for the sake of showing broad chronological relationships.

A harmony of the gospels provides an important means for studying the four gospels at one time. Though it could never completely replace the four gospels studied individually, it is an indispensable tool for gaining a well-rounded overview of Jesus' life in all its facets. The editors have geared this work to provide such an overview for those studying in a college or seminary. Yet a serious student of Scripture studying privately and without a familiarity with New Testament Greek will be able to follow the discussion easily. Detailed and technical issues belonging to more advanced levels of scholarship have not, of course, been included in the work.

In recent years the practice of harmonization has received increasing criticism in some scholarly circles. Even some who are evangelical have wondered about its legitimacy. Needless to say, we make no apologies for this *Harmony*, because we have confidence in the historical accuracy of the events recorded in the gospels. If they are historically accurate, they are in principle harmonizable into a historical sequence that can be read and studied with profit by followers of Jesus Christ. Christianity is a faith that is solidly anchored in history. It requires such an exposition of its historical foundation as is provided by a harmonization of the gospels.

A prolonged exposure to the person of Jesus Christ is inevitable when one studies a harmony of the gospels. Such exposure is bound to enhance appreciation for him. When we appreciate him more, we will serve him more faithfully and glorify him more consistently. May God grant this as the fruit of his servants' labors.

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PREFACE TO THE 1922 REVISION

It is now just thirty years since one day his young assistant suggested to Dr. John A. Broadus that he prepare a harmony of the Gospels that should depart from the old plan of following the feasts as the turning points in the life of Jesus. He acted on the hint and led the way that all modern harmonies have followed. The book has gone through a dozen large editions and has become the standard harmony for many thousands of students all over the world. Broadus was concerned to bring out "the *inner movements* of the history, towards that long-delayed, but foreseen and inevitable collision, in which, beyond all other instances, the wrath of man was made to praise God." This he succeeded in doing with marvelous power.

A generation has passed by and it is meet that the work of Broadus should be reviewed in the light of modern synoptic criticism and research into every phase of the life of Christ. So I have made a new analysis that preserves Broadus's real purpose, but with new sections and new notes. The notes at the end of the old volume, written by me for the first edition, have been thoroughly revised and brought up to date. The Old Testament passages referred to in the Gospels are given in the text. The Gospel of Mark appears in the first column, then Matthew, Luke, and John. It is now known that Matthew and Luke made use of Mark for the framework of their Gospels. This change simplifies amazingly the unfolding of the narrative.

There is still dispute concerning the historical worth of the Gospel of John, but the Johannine authorship is not disproved. It still holds the field in my opinion. Dr. C. F. Burney's theory of an Aramaic original is already giving a new turn to Johannine criticism.

A harmony of the Gospels cannot meet every phase of modern criticism. The data are given, as free from bias as circumstances allow, so that all students can use the book and interpret the facts according to their various theories. Numerous historical items call for notes of various kinds that throw light on the passage in question. No effort is made to reconcile all the divergent statements of various details in the different Gospels. The differences challenge the student's interest as much as the correspondences and are natural marks of individual work. The notes and appendices at the end of the volume are meant for students who wish help for historical study of the life of Christ. A harmony cannot

give all the aid that one needs, but it is the one essential book for the serious study of the life of Jesus. Students in colleges, theological seminaries, Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association classes, Sunday School teachers and pupils, preachers, all who read the Gospels intelligently must have a modern harmony of the Gospels. One who has never read a harmony will be amazed at the flood of light that flashes from the parallel and progressive records of the life of Jesus Christ.

Broadus began teaching the life of Jesus in 1859 and kept it up till his death in 1895. I began like work in 1888 and have kept on without a break till now. I count it one of the crowning mercies of my life that I have led so many successive classes of young ministers and young women (some five thousand in all) through the study of Christ's life. If only one can pass on to others in all their freshness and power the teachings of Jesus, he cannot fail. There was a time when men hung in wonder upon the words of Jesus, listening with awe and rapture as he spoke. The Figure of Christ fills the world today as never before. Back to Christ the world has come, the Christ of Faith and of Experience, the Jesus of History, the Man of Galilee, the Hope of Today, the Jesus Christ of the Four Gospels in the full blaze of modern critical and historical study.

Louisville, Kentucky A. T. ROBERTSON.

PREFACE TO THE 1903 REVISION

It has been ten years since Dr. Broadus issued his Harmony, which has already gone through six editions. This has seemed a fitting time to give the book a close revision. Some important changes have been made in the notes at the end of the book. Dr. Broadus' Harmony was the first one to depart from the traditional division of the ministry of Christ by the Passovers rather than by the natural unfolding of the ministry itself. He also introduced an Analytical Outline into the body of the Harmony in italics, made cross references to similar incidents or sayings, had helpful summaries at the beginning of each of the General Divisions (Parts), preserved the marginal notes of the Revised Version, which is the text used, and added at suitable points very valuable footnotes that helped the student to seize the movement of the history. The plan of his Harmony is to give the best helps for historical study. The Gospel material is arranged in the order accepted by the best New Testament scholars, but difficulties at various points are freely recognized and indicated. The student at least has a working basis to start with.

In accordance with this conception of the Harmony some further helps are added in this Revised Edition. An excellent map of Palestine is furnished, the Analytical Outline is put by itself in front as well as preserved in the body of the text, the cross references to similar incidents and sayings are added in a separate appendix, besides being preserved in the text, Dr. Broadus' "Analysis and Peculiarities of the Gospel" is given in an appendix, besides new lists of the Parables, Miracles, Old Testament Quotations, Uncanonical Sayings of Jesus, and a list of the chief Harmonies. References to the sections and pages of the Harmony go with those appendices. There is added, moreover, a full Index of Persons and Places which will be helpful. There is also the usual Synopsis with tables for finding passages. It is believed that this Harmony thus offers peculiar advantages to the student engaged in historical study. Dr. Broadus' work in the volume is the ripe fruit of a lifetime of rich study and reflection by one of the rarest teachers of the New Testament that any age or country has ever seen.

Southern Bapt. Theol. Seminary,
Louisville, Ky., Jan. 1, 1903.

A. T. ROBERTSON.

PREFACE TO THE 1893 EDITION

This work is the fruit of more than thirty years spent in teaching the English New Testament. I first used as a text-book the Harmony of Dr. Ed. Robinson, and for some twenty years past that of Dr. G. W. Clark. Both are valuable works, deserving their wide reputation. But I have become more and more convinced that most harmonists seriously err in laying stress on the division of our Lord's ministry into Passover years. It is quite impossible to determine with any great confidence whether the feast of John 5:1 was a passover, and the two known passovers of John 2:13 and 6:4 have really no important relation to the development of our Lord's ministry. Besides, the length of his ministry, and the dates of his birth and death, cannot be precisely fixed. But cease to labor for an exact chronology, quit regarding the feasts (except the last Passover) as important epochs in his work, and you presently perceive that his ministry divides itself easily into well-defined periods, in each of which you can trace a gradual progress, (a) in our Lord's self-manifestation, (b) in the hostility of his enemies, and (c) in his training of the Twelve Apostles. Thus we become able to follow the *inner movements* of the history, towards that long-delayed, but foreseen and inevitable collision, in which, beyond all other instances, the wrath of man was made to praise God.

The chief marks of this historical progress in the Life of our Lord I have tried to indicate by brief foot-notes, and other notes in italic letters placed here and there between the sections. Many of these brief notes also touch various points of harmonizing, of chronology, and other matters, so that the reader may quickly get the most important necessary information or help, and move forward. Questions requiring more elaborate discussion have been treated by my colleague, Dr. A. T. Robertson, in longer notes placed at the end of the volume, which in my judgment are remarkably complete and discriminating, and will greatly aid the careful student.

It has seemed best to print the Harmony in the Revised Version, commonly known as the Canterbury, or Anglo-American Revision, which is nowadays given in many lesson helps and commentaries along with the Common or King James translation. In printing this revised text some use has been made of Waddy's Harmony.

Probably most persons look upon a Harmony of the Gospels as useful only to Bible class work or other regular forms of study. But I invite any one who takes pleasure in reading his Bible to try the experiment of reading this Harmony as a connected and complete Life of Christ, moving steadily on through the successive periods, and striving to come ever nearer to him as our Teacher, Exemplar, Redeemer, Lord. It is hoped also that Y.M.C.A. classes, in Colleges and elsewhere, may in many cases like to take up a series of lessons in that great Life, which is the focus of human history, and the centre of Scripture. When Sunday School lessons are taken from any one of the Gospels, it is an important advantage for all teachers, and the more intelligent pupils, to compare every such lesson with the other Gospels as presented in a Harmony; while for regular lessons on the Life of Christ a Harmony is indispensable to thorough treatment. In Theological Seminaries, not merely students who use only the English Bible, but those who study the Gospels in Greek, would be much profited by first making a survey of the Harmony in English. And no minister can afford to prepare a sermon on any text from a Gospel without looking up the parallel passages from other Gospels, and also considering where his text stands in the gradual unfolding of the Saviour's teaching and work.

Southern Bapt. Theol. Seminary,
Louisville, Ky., June 15, 1893.

J.A.B.

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EXPLANATION OF THE *HARMONY*'S FORMAT AND FEATURES

1. THE TEXT OF THE GOSPELS The text of one, two, three, or four gospels, depending on how many describe each episode, is found on each page of the *Harmony*. The gospel text is arranged in columns, and material in each column is placed so as to be adjacent to similar material in other columns. The width of the columns varies in accordance with how many gospels record the events of each section. The order of the gospels, from left to right, is the same as that in the modern editions of the New Testament.
2. SECTION NUMBERS The text of the gospels has been divided into sections and arranged in a probable chronological sequence. Each section has been assigned a number that appears in Arabic numerals at the beginning of each section heading. The numbering system is based on A. T. Robertson's *Harmony*, the 1922 revision of earlier John A. Broadus editions of the *Harmony*. In every case this new edition follows the sequence preferred by A. T. Robertson and assigns the same Arabic numerals to the sections. In some cases, however, Robertson's sections are too long and unwieldy. The editors have subdivided these sections, retained Robertson's section numbers, and added suffix letters to the numbers to indicate the subdivisions. Thus where Robertson simply had a Section 8, this edition has Section 8a, Section 8b, and Section 8c. As a result this edition can be used with other works based on the Robertson numbering system, but the student can deal with smaller units of text, units that more accurately reflect the natural divisions within the texts of the gospels.
3. SECTION TITLES Each section has been assigned a title. The titles are intended to be analytical and descriptive. The editors have not felt bound to use the wording of Robertson's section headings, just as Robertson himself was not bound by the headings in the earlier Broadus editions of the *Harmony*.
4. SECTION CROSS-REFERENCES WITH POINTS OF SIMILARITY Just after some section titles are parenthetical notations begun by the abbreviation *cf.* and followed by other section numbers and a brief description of the point of similarity. These are sections that contain features in some way similar to the section where the cross-reference is in-

dicated. The "Table of Section Cross-References" on pp. 329–32 summarizes the points of similarity between all sections.

5. GEOGRAPHICAL NOTATIONS Below most section titles is a word or phrase set off by dashes, indicating the place where the events of that section took place.
6. SCRIPTURE REFERENCES Just above each column in the *Harmony* are the book name, chapters, and verses. These tell which biblical passage is found in that column.
7. OLD TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS The sources of quotations from the Old Testament are shown in brackets immediately after each quotation. The brackets indicate that these Old Testament references are not part of the NIV text itself, but are inserted into the text by the editors of the *Harmony* and express their own judgment. The perceptive reader will notice that frequently these same Old Testament references are also found in the NIV textual notes collected at the end of each section. The committee that controls the text of the NIV requires that in a work such as this *Harmony*, the textual notes be printed in their entirety, regardless of possible redundancy.
8. NIV TEXT NOTES AND FORMAT FEATURES Superscript italic letters within the text (which follow the words with which they belong) refer to notes from the NIV translators dealing with such matters as alternate translations and uncertainty regarding the original text. Some sources of quotations from the Old Testament are also given in these notes. The NIV text notes are collected at the end of each *Harmony* section. These are related to the NIV text in the section above by book-chapter-verse notations, or by verse only whenever book and chapter are not needed for easy location.

   To achieve clarity of style, the NIV translators sometimes supplied words not in the original texts but made necessary by the context. When there is uncertainty about such material, it is enclosed in brackets.

   In the NIV prose is printed in paragraph form (rather than in verse divisions), and poetical passages are printed as poetry (that is, with indentations of lines and with separate stanzas). The *Harmony* preserves this format so far as possible, but the required rearrangements of material in a harmony sometimes make it impossible for paragraphs to be preserved as united wholes in one location.
9. EXPLANATORY FOOTNOTES Superscript boldface letters within the text or a heading (which precede the words with which they belong) refer to notes at the foot of the page. The explanatory notes, written by the revising editors, contain information especially helpful in harmonistic and comparative study of the gospels and the life and ministry of Jesus Christ. On occasion the revising editors also use

them to explain how and why they disagree with A. T. Robertson's judgments on parallel passages and chronological sequence. Because this edition is a revision of Robertson's *Harmony* published in 1922, it seemed best to retain Robertson's original arrangement and sequence of gospel materials and to place the revising editors' disagreements in the footnotes.

10. ALTERNATE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE When the revising editors differ with Robertson regarding chronological sequence, the alternate placement of a passage is indicated in the body of the *Harmony* by the section title and Scripture references enclosed in brackets. The text itself is not reprinted in such instances.

ESSAYS RELATED TO HARMONISTIC STUDIES

ESSAY 1

Is a Harmony of the Gospels Legitimate?

Until the nineteenth or possibly the twentieth century, it was a foregone conclusion that constructing a harmony of the gospels was a legitimate undertaking. Since the rise of modern criticism, however, harmonization is no longer universally admitted to be a valid procedure. An increasing number of people are concerned about whether research into the life of Jesus—in other words, compiling a harmony of the biblical records of that life—can or should be undertaken.

Opposition to this type of project has followed various approaches:

1. One thrust has been to emphasize that the four gospels were not designed to be histories, but gospels. With such bias on the part of the writers admitted, it is held, one could hardly expect to derive much value in drawing up a biography of Jesus. This objection to harmonization is, however, logically weak. An evangelistic interest and purpose does not preclude historical accuracy. In fact, the wise evangelist will compose an accurate account so that the cause being promoted will not be undermined by being shown to be fallacious (Luke 1:3–4). Furthermore, a principal ethic of Christianity and the gospels is honesty. Because the evangelists intended to give accurate reports based on thorough investigation (Luke 1:3–4), it is unlikely that those who wrote about this ethic would have practiced distortions of historical truth in the very books where it is taught.
2. Another attempt to discredit the harmonizing approach to the gospels has come from some who doubt that the historical Jesus ever existed. To these extremists, who incidentally are few in number, Jesus is no more than a mythological figure such as those encountered in the nature myths and mystery religions of the Graeco-Roman world. That Jesus Christ was a historical person is subscribed to by an impressive collection of ancient documents, however, including those from Jewish and Roman writers as well as Christian. In addition, the existence of the Christian church is explicable only on the ground of his being a historical person.
3. Others attempt to demonstrate the fruitlessness of harmonies by placing strong emphasis on alleged loose handling of traditions by the earliest Christian churches. Supposedly the church took fragmentary

reports about the person Jesus and elaborated upon them so as to attribute to Jesus sayings and actions that would meet its own needs. The process held to be necessary in separating the facts from the elaborations is called Form Criticism (see essay 4, pp. 268–74). Several difficulties confront such criticism of the gospels' historical worth. Among them is the critics' assumption that those who had the strongest reason for being interested in the historical facts of Jesus' life had little or no interest in ascertaining and transmitting those facts. Form Criticism also maintains that eyewitnesses of Jesus' life stood by in silence while falsehood about Jesus was promoted as the truth. This is inconceivable.

4. A more recent theory, Redaction Criticism, has also proposed obstacles to accepting the gospels at face value (see essay 5, pp. 275–84). This discipline takes special note of the gospel writers and their distinctive theological purposes. The writers purportedly took the traditions handed down to them and molded them so as to reflect the church's and their own understanding of the *kerygma* ("proclamation; the preached Word; gospel"). In so doing, Redaction Criticism claims, they beclouded the historical Jesus and his teachings even more than the generation before them had done. It may be agreed that each gospel writer had a distinctive purpose in mind, but it is unwarranted to conclude that he altered the facts at hand in order to attain this purpose. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were truthful men writing about a system of truth built around him who is the Truth. To arbitrarily attribute to them an almost endless stream of lies, even "white lies," as does the redaction critic, is to impugn the truth itself. No tangible grounds have as yet been forthcoming to support this objection to harmonizing the gospels.
5. Closely akin to number 4 is the position of some evangelicals who advocate redaction critical methodology. They do not agree that the evangelists altered the facts at hand, but still maintain that the gospel narratives and other connective features are of questionable value in constructing a chronological sequence of the life of Christ. These scholars do not label the gospels as unhistorical, but they do assume an agnostic stance, expressing doubts about the possibility of harmonizing the gospel accounts. They find themselves occupying an in-between position regarding the historical accuracy of the gospels and continually struggle to reconcile their views with a high view of biblical authority (see the section entitled "Evangelical Use of Redaction Criticism" in essay 5, pp. 281–83). If the gospels are historical documents, this must include the connective portions and chronological indicators also, these objectors notwithstanding.
6. Another problem, insuperable to some, is the extreme difficulty encountered in attempting to harmonize parallel accounts (see essay

7, "Problems and Principles of Harmonization," pp. 293–99). So difficult are some areas that the only solution is the presumption that there is no solution. This viewpoint is often associated with a lower estimate of biblical inspiration than orthodox Christianity has traditionally held. It unfortunately reflects a willingness to concede a point here and there to those who actively support biblical errancy. Yet this is not necessary. For those who are willing to approach the Bible from the perspective of what it says about itself, namely, that it is free from error, satisfactory explanations for most problems of harmonization can be found. The remaining problems can be explained reasonably, although it is granted that completely satisfying solutions to them must await further discoveries.

7. Others, who represent a more conservative approach to the gospels, object to attempts to harmonize them on the basis of not wishing to "tamper" with the text of Scripture. If God had wanted us to have a harmony of the life of Christ, they say, he would have given us one gospel instead of four. In response, it should be noted that a harmony of the gospels, especially one such as this where the text of each gospel is retained in its entirety in a separate column, is not an attempt to destroy the distinctive contribution of each gospel. The grammatical and historical interpretation of each gospel as an entity must remain the basic element in understanding God's revelation of Jesus Christ. At the same time, however, much can be added to that grammatical-historical understanding through a systematic comparison of the light the gospels shed on each other. Harmonization is not contradictory, but supplementary, to exegesis of the individual books.
8. One last objection may be cited. Some contend that the gospel writers, principally Luke, disagree with secular sources on points of history, and that it is thus foolish to try to combine the four gospels as though they were historical documents. Although discrepancies of this type have been proposed, however, none has as yet been verified. In fact, the findings of archaeological and historical research have consistently certified the accuracy of the scriptural record. No convincing reason, therefore, has emerged for believing that the gospels err by violating nonbiblical evidence. In fact, it is possible that the evidence from nonbiblical sources, or our interpretation of it, may at times be in error.

On the other hand, good reasons exist for arranging the gospels so as to point out their parallels as well as their distinctive contributions.

1. In the first place, harmonization grants deserved recognition to these writings as historical documents. Places in the gospels have geographical significance. Dates and chronological notations are also

components worthy of historical note (see essay 10, "The Day and Year of Christ's Crucifixion," pp. 311–14, and essay 11, "Chronology of the Life of Christ," pp. 315–19). The people mentioned in the gospels were actual people. A harmony clarifies relationships among these places, times, and people, resulting in a better understanding of the separate writings.

2. Also, a harmony highlights the historical basis of Christianity. Without such a factual basis, Christianity becomes just another world religion, something that has been concocted by the human imagination. Unfortunately, a delusion widely propagated today reasons that it does not matter what Jesus said and did; the important thing is that Christianity meet human needs now. What Jesus said and did, however, does matter. It is essential that Christianity have the historical Jesus as he is described in the four gospels. It is essential that Christianity be built on the foundation of his Resurrection from the dead. Without historical foundation, Christianity would be just another sham. A harmony of the gospels helps demonstrate how very solid is the historical foundation of Christianity.
3. Further, a harmony of the gospels enhances our knowledge of the historical Jesus. Much additional insight is gained by allowing each gospel to fill in gaps in the others' accounts. The result is a fuller record of the Lord's life. Some instances of this type of mutual help are discussed in the explanatory footnotes of this work.
4. Finally, the twentieth-century church should note that the Body of Christ has found harmonies to be conducive to its growth since very early in its existence (see essay 2, "A History of Harmonies," pp. 254–259). Though the nature of these harmonies has varied, the principle of the need for them remains. The replacement of harmonies by synopses in more recent years is doubtless attributable to the rise of the aforementioned objections. But the church can hardly afford to deprive itself of this means of growth because some have unjustifiably doubted the validity of harmonization. Furthermore, the church can rejoice in this added opportunity to know Jesus Christ better, especially in a day when historical research is enhancing our knowledge of the times in which he lived.

In summary, let it be recalled that the objections to the practice of harmonizing the gospels are not formidable. Each argument seems to be based on ill-founded presuppositions about Jesus, the gospels, or the objectives of harmonization. On the other side, good reasons exist for study of the gospels in relation to one another. In fact, it may be affirmed that harmonies of the gospels are not only legitimate but necessary to the fullest comprehension of the person and work of Jesus Christ.

Selected Reading List

Guthrie, Donald. *A Shorter Life of Christ*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970.
Harrison, Everett F. *A Short Life of Christ*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968.

ESSAY 2

A History of Harmonies

Harmonies of the gospels are by no means recent innovations. In spite of the difficulties and limitations involved in putting together the four accounts of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, obvious practical advantages were recognized early in the history of the church. The earliest known attempt at combination was Tatian's *Diatessaron*, compiled about A.D. 170. Present knowledge of the *Diatessaron* is sketchy and indirect. Nevertheless, Tatian appears to have woven the four gospel accounts into one continuous narrative of the life and words of Jesus Christ. He retained so far as possible the words of all the evangelists. On what principles or with what success he carried out his work is simply not known.

In the early third century, Ammonius of Alexandria devised a system that made it possible to compare passages in Mark, Luke, and John with parallel passages in Matthew. He gave the full text of Matthew and then copied alongside what he regarded as the parallel portions of the other gospels. Consequently, only those portions of Mark, Luke, and John that parallel Matthew were reproduced, and they were presented in the sequence of Matthew. In the next century, Eusebius of Caesarea developed a system of cross-references that preserved the sequential arrangement of each gospel and yet allowed the reader to find and study similar passages in the other gospels.

Although a few occasional attempts were made in subsequent centuries to establish sequence and parallels among the gospels, an outpouring of harmonies has appeared since the Protestant Reformation. In the sixteenth century itself, such works came from Andreas Osiander, R. Stephanus, John Calvin, Cornelis Jansen, Molinaeus, Codomanus, Paul Crell, and Martin Chemnitz. Between the time that Chemnitz's work appeared and the nineteenth century, the trickle of harmonies became a flood. Well-known scholars producing harmonies during this period were John Clericus, John Lightfoot, Jean LeClerc, J. A. Bengel, Joseph Priestly, and J. J. Griesbach. Griesbach's work is especially noteworthy; in 1776 he established a new format for published harmonies with his *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthaei Marci et Lucae una cum iis Johannis pericopis*. He hit upon the device of printing the gospels in parallel columns when they recorded the same or similar material.

Since Griesbach's time, most harmonies have either been of the dia-

tessaron type (one continuous narrative with the material from the four accounts interwoven and changed as little as possible) or of the parallel column type. The parallel column format has two variations. One type attempts no rearrangement of the text to achieve a probable chronological order. Instead, the text of each gospel is given in its original sequence. Most who have taken this approach, however, also print the same or similar material that occurs in a different sequence in the other gospels alongside the material with which it seems to be at least a secondary parallel. Usually some printer's device (brackets, or smaller or lighter type) is used to indicate that such material has been removed from its original context. Works taking this approach often have the word *synopsis* in their title. This saves the editor from the necessity of making difficult, and sometimes arbitrary, decisions of probable chronological sequence, and yet allows the reader to have on one page an overview of all primary and secondary parallels for comparative purposes. Sometimes, however, this approach also reflects the editor's skepticism that harmonization is possible or that basically accurate chronological sequence can be established.

New Testament scholars have a primary concern for the Greek text of the gospels, and there has been no lack of harmonies placing the Greek text in parallel columns. The better known of these were prepared by Robinson (1846), Tischendorf (1851), Anger (1852), Stroud (1853), Strong (1859), Gardiner (1876), Rushbrooke (1880–1882), Huck (1892), Wright (1896), Veit (1897), Campbell (1899), Burton and Goodspeed (1920), Huck, Lietzmann, and Cross (1935), Mgr. de Solages (edition with notes in English, 1959), and Aland (1963). Some of these would be more accurately described as synopses rather than harmonies, and some deal only with the text of the first three gospels. Several were issued in more than one edition. The work of Edward Robinson had an especially long and useful history. In the twentieth century, *A Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels in Greek* by Ernest De Witt Burton and Edgar Johnson Goodspeed long held the field, and Huck's *Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* has been periodically revised and is still widely used. The thirteenth edition of Huck, fundamentally revised by Heinrich Greeven, appeared in 1981. But Kurt Aland's *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* (1972) is presently unmatched in utility and completeness. It has also been published with the English Revised Standard Version text on facing pages. For the serious student who uses Greek, Aland's work is indispensable for a comparative study of the gospels.

A more recent addition to the reservoir of Greek harmonies is the one by John Bernard Orchard, *A Synopsis of the Four Gospels* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983). Orchard's work is influenced both in its arrangement and in the selection of its Greek text by the Griesbach or "two-gospel" hypothesis regarding the origin of the synoptic gospels.

The average reader, though, must use a harmony of the English text. Since the mid-nineteenth century English harmonies have been even more numerous than Greek. Unfortunately, the care with which many of these have been executed leaves much to be desired, and results are mixed. This is especially true of the diatessaron type. Their primary purpose is to create a continuous narrative of the life, works, and words of Jesus Christ. If done carefully, this method can communicate a sense of the course of development of Christ's life and ministry. But the approach, even in its best forms, also has severe limitations. Passages are presented out of their original contexts. The distinctive purposes of each evangelist are almost hopelessly obscured. The method does not allow for comparative study of parallel passages. And when their wording differs, the texts of parallel passages are combined in an arbitrary manner. But apparently the desire to produce such "lives of Christ" has been compelling. The following is a partial listing of such works appearing since the mid-nineteenth century:

C. F. Holley and J. E. Holley, *Jesus the Christ: A Complete Gospel Harmony* (n.d.), KJV.

R. Mimpriss, *A Harmony of the Four Gospels, Arranged as a Continuous History* (1845), KJV.

J. Glentworth Butler, *Bible Reader's Commentary, New Testament*, vol. 1, *The Fourfold Gospel* (1878), KJV.

Arthur T. Pierson, *The One Gospel* (1889), KJV.

William Pittenger, *The Interwoven Gospels* (1890), ERV.

Fred'k L. Chapman, *The True Life of Christ* (1899), KJV.

Horace J. Cossar, *The Four Gospels Unified* (1911), KJV.

Eva Livingston, *His Life: The Story of Christ's Life* (1912), ASV.

Helen Barrett Montgomery, *The Story of Jesus As Told by His Four Friends* (1927), Centenary translation.

Robert Edgar Beall, *The Short Story Combined Gospels, and Reference Harmony Supplement* (1928), ASV.

Andrew J. Reynolds, *Jesus of Nazareth, "The Prince of Life"* (1933), KJV.

Loraine Boettner, *A Summary of the Gospels* (1933), ASV.

Vaughan Stock, *The Life of Christ* (1934), KJV.

J. W. Lea, *The Unified Gospels: The Complete Life of Christ in the Words of the Evangelist* (1935), KJV.

Russell Hubbard White, *The Combined Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John* (1947), KJV.

Fred Fisher, *A Composite Gospel* (1948), an original translation.

Freeman Wills Crofts, *The Four Gospels in One Story* (1949), an original paraphrase.

Edward F. Cary, *The Life of Jesus in the Words of the Four Gospels* (1951), an original translation.

Thomas U. Fann, *Behold the Son of Man! Or the Complete Gospel Interwoven from the Four Gospels* (1955), ASV.

William F. Beck, *The Christ of the Gospels* (1959), an original translation.

Who is This Man Jesus? The Complete Life of Jesus from the Living Bible (1967).

Johnston M. Cheney, *The Life of Christ in Stereo: The Four Gospels Combined as One*, ed. Stanley A. Ellison (1969). "We have sought to preserve the beauty of the 'King James' version, testing each rendering by the original."

Chester Wilkins, *The Four Gospels Arranged as a Single Narrative* (1976), KJV.
Baird W. Whitlock, *The Gospel of the Life of Jesus* (1984), KJV.

Harmonies using the parallel column format are obviously more useful for careful comparative study of the text of the gospels. When skillfully arranged and outlined, they can also portray the course of development in Christ's life and ministry. Although rearrangement of some of the materials is necessary if there is to be a chronological account of Christ's life in the text of the harmony, the wording of each evangelist is allowed to stand in its own integrity rather than being amalgamated with the others. Still, the individual success of a harmony primarily depends on the care the editor has taken. The following harmonies appearing since the mid-nineteenth century are of varying value:

Lent Carpenter, *A Harmony of the Gospels* (1831), KJV.
Benjamin Davies, *Harmony of the Four Gospels* (n.d.), KJV.
Adam Fahling, *A Harmony of the Gospels* (n.d.), KJV.
J. M. Fuller, *The Four Gospels Arranged in the Form of a Harmony* (n.d.), KJV.
Edward Robinson, *A Harmony of the Four Gospels in English* (1846), KJV.
Simon Greenleaf, *The Testimony of the Evangelists Examined by the Rules of Evidence Administered in Courts of Justice* (1874), KJV.
John A. Broadus, *A Harmony of the Gospels* (1893), ERV.
William Arnold Stevens and Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Harmony of the Gospels for Historical Study* (1893), ERV.
I. N. Johns and J. F. Kempfer, *The Parallel Gospels* (1896), KJV.
E. S. Young, *The Life of Christ: A Harmony of the Four Gospels* (1898), KJV.
John A. Broadus, *A Harmony of the Gospels* (1903) (a minor revision of Broadus's 1893 work by A. T. Robertson), ERV.
John H. Kerr, *A Harmony of the Gospels* (1903), ASV.
Ernest De Witt Burton and Edgar Johnson Goodspeed, *A Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels for Historical and Critical Study* (1917), ASV.
A. T. Robertson, *A Harmony of the Gospels for Students of the Life of Christ* (1922), ERV.
G. C. Savage, *Time and Place Harmony of the Gospels* (1927), original translation.
Walter E. Bundy, *A Syllabus and Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* (1932), ASV.
Ralph Daniel Heim, *A Harmony of the Gospels for Students* (1947), RSV.
Albert Cassel Wieand, *A New Harmony of the Gospels: The Gospel Records of the Message and Mission of Jesus Christ* (1947), RSV.
Henry J. Cadbury, Frederick C. Grant, and Clarence T. Craig, *Gospel Parallels: A Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* (1949), RSV.
Throckmorton, Burton H., Jr., *Gospel Parallels: A Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* (1949), RSV.
John Franklin Carter, *A Layman's Harmony of the Gospels* (1961), ASV.
H. F. D. Sparks, *A Synopsis of the Gospels* (1964), ERV.
Frederick R. Coulter, *A Harmony of the Gospels in Modern English* (1974), original translation.
Robert L. Thomas and Stanley N. Gundry, *A Harmony of the Gospels with Explanations and Essays* (1978), NASB.
J. Dwight Pentecost, *A Harmony of the Words and Works of Jesus Christ* (1981), NIV.

Edward Robinson's work went through many editions, and was eventually revised by M. B. Riddle; it also served as the basis for the work of other harmonists. The year 1893 marked the advent of two harmonies that were long to be standards, those by Broadus, and Stevens and Burton. Both used the English Revised Version of 1881, and both used divisions that showed the historical unfolding of Christ's life; previous practice had been to divide according to the feasts. Broadus's work of 1903 contained endnotes by his younger colleague, A. T. Robertson. Robertson's major revision (in 1922) of Broadus's work and the Burton and Goodspeed harmony of 1917 became the new standards in the field. Robertson's revision has had an especially long and useful life, even in the face of more recent entries into the field, such as Sparks's widely used *Synopsis*.

In 1975 Reuben J. Swanson presented to students of the gospels a completely new concept in *The Horizontal Line Synopsis of the Gospels* (Dillsboro, NC: Western North Carolina). He followed this up with Volume I, *The Gospel of Matthew*, of *The Horizontal Line Synopsis of the Gospels, Greek Edition* in 1982. Swanson's innovation grew out of the frustration students experience in identifying the details of similarity and differences among the gospel accounts. Even when put in parallel columns, one's eye must still jump from column to column to pick out the points of comparison and contrast. To eliminate this tedious work, Swanson hit upon the idea of placing the parallel material in parallel horizontal lines rather than in parallel vertical columns. Thus the similarities and differences would be immediately apparent. Using the text of the Revised Standard Version for the English edition and the third edition of the United Bible Societies' *The Greek New Testament* in the Greek edition, he gives the text of Matthew line by line. Parallel with each line he gives whatever corresponding material there may be from any of the other three gospels, again line by line. The same procedure is then followed in the English edition with the texts of Mark, Luke, and John, the Greek version of these three gospels being unpublished at the time of this writing. This method has obvious advantages for the kind of detailed comparison Swanson has in mind. Also, each gospel in its original sequence can be examined and compared with line-by-line parallels from the other gospels placed there for easy reference.

If such detailed comparison is not one's primary purpose, however, the horizontal line format has severe limitations. It is difficult to read with any feeling for continuity of thought even in the lead line of the lead gospel. Furthermore, because the method presents each gospel line by line with parallels to each line, it does not integrate all the materials and give an overall picture of the historical unfolding of Christ's life and ministry.

Thus although Swanson's innovation should receive appropriate rec-

ognition, its value is limited for the general reader. Unless one primarily wishes to discover possible literary interrelationships among the gospels, the parallel column format, in spite of its own limitations, is still superior for general study of the life of Christ, because the material from all four gospels is integrated.

In 1985 another variation in format appeared. It was *New Gospel Parallels, The Synoptic Gospels* in two volumes, designed and edited by Robert W. Funk (Philadelphia: Fortress). Using the Revised Standard Version, this work follows sequentially the text of each gospel in turn, placing a paragraph or two at the upper left corner of the page. In the center and right of the page tops are whatever may be parallel in Mark and Luke, with parallel expressions indicated in boldface type. The lower left corner is reserved for parallels from the gospel of John, with the lower center and right reserved for parallels from the gospel of Thomas and other noncanonical works. The goal of this format is to avoid neglecting the narrative setting in which each segment appears. It also seeks to avoid "the artificial chronology of the harmonies and the arbitrary sequences of the synopses" (vol. I, p. viii).

The advantages of Funk's format are obvious. Beginning with either gospel, one can move quickly to parallels in the other two. Every text is easy to locate, too. On the other side, however, it is more difficult to make detailed comparisons because of the distance on a page the eye must travel to find agreements in wording. Also, no help regarding chronological sequence of the Lord's life is derived from this type of work. And, of course, a work of this type is more bulky because of the necessity to cite some of the same portions two, three, or even four times.

Selected Reading List

Ebrard, J. H. A. *The Gospel History: A Compendium of Critical Investigations in Support of the Historical Character of the Four Gospels*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1873. Pp. 47–55.

Fabricus, J. A. *Bibliotheca Graece*. Hamburg: 1790/1809. Pp. 4.882–4.889.

Youngblood, Ronald. "From Tatian to Swanson, from Calvin to Bendavid: The Harmonization of Biblical History," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 25 (1982): 415–23.

ESSAY 3

Source Criticism

Matthew, Mark, and Luke have in modern times been referred to as the synoptic gospels because the three take a more or less common view of the Lord Jesus' life. Supposing that extensive agreement among the three indicates some sort of direct literary collaboration, much New Testament scholarship of the past century or so has attempted to explain the nature of that literary relationship. A complicating factor in these studies, however, has been a substantial number of instances where one gospel describes matters differently from one or both of the others. The difficulty encountered in devising a scheme of literary dependence to account for the combinations of similarities and dissimilarities has been labeled the Synoptic Problem and the field of studies devoted to solving the problem as Source Criticism.

Ancient Christianity was not concerned about this difficulty. It was generally assumed that the gospel writers drew upon personal memory and firsthand reports rather than upon one another's writings or some common written source. The church historian Eusebius indicated that Matthew, one of the twelve apostles, was the first to write. About to leave the Palestinian area, he supplied a written substitute for his oral ministry, which apparently in turn was drawn largely from his apostolic experience. Luke, according to his own word (Luke 1:1–4), drew from a number of sources, both oral and written, none of which had the authority of Matthew or Mark. Mark is said by Clement of Alexandria to have based his gospel on the apostolic tradition through Peter. John alone, writing at a much later time a gospel quite different from the synoptics, was in possession of the other gospels before he wrote. He could have copied from them, yet he did not. Instead, he verified their truthfulness and supplemented their contents with material not found in the other three.

This near-unanimous consensus in the church that the synoptic gospel writers did not see each other's works before writing lasted until the mid-eighteenth century, when scholars began exploring various hypotheses as to how one writer may have depended on others or on a single source also available to the others. Theories of one source used by all three and of various orders of writing, with the second writer depending on the first and the third on the other two, were typical forerunners of the Two-Source Theory, an approach that eventually gained

wide acceptance among New Testament scholars. This theory advocates that Mark was written first, and that Matthew and Luke were based on this and another source called Q, now nonextant.

B. H. Streeter's five considerations given in *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* are the most widely cited supports for the prior writing of Mark. These considerations, along with possible responses to each one, are:

1. Most of the material in Mark (93 percent, according to Westcott) is found in Matthew and Luke. Because it seemed inconceivable to Streeter that Mark would have abbreviated the other two, Streeter concluded that Matthew and Luke must have expanded Mark.

   In answer, it should be noted that Mark may have had a special reason for condensing one or both of the other gospels. In fact, literary practice in English writings indicates the tendency of a writer to shorten the work of another when editing it. If there was literary dependence, the likelihood of Mark's being last rather than first is just as strong, if not stronger.

   Another possible answer postulates no literary dependence. Material common to two or three gospels may conceivably be traced to a common oral tradition, in which case Mark may never have seen Matthew's and Luke's gospels before writing his own, and vice versa.
2. Though agreeing often with Mark in actual words used, Matthew and Luke do not agree with each other when they diverge from Mark. Allowing for exceptions to this generalization, Streeter explained these exceptions as either irrelevant, deceptive, agreements because of an overlap of Mark and Q (Matthew's and Luke's other major source), or agreements because of textual corruption. Mattheau-Lucan diversity is taken to prove their dependence on Mark.

   Like Streeter's first proposition, this one too can be turned to prove the priority of Matthew or Luke, if literary dependence is assumed. Depending on the parallel passages chosen and on which two gospels are pitted against the other, one can prove the priority of either Matthew or Luke as well. Though not as numerous, agreements between Matthew and Luke where Mark says something different are substantial enough to indicate their independence of Mark in almost all sections where the Two-Source Theory says they were dependent. The absence of a convincing explanation of these "exceptions" forces this premise to fail.

   Furthermore, it need not be granted that copying among the three writers took place. Many accounts, both written and oral, of the events and discourses of Christ's life were in circulation for the writers to draw upon without borrowing from each other. This is the most plausible explanation of the randomness of their agreements

and disagreements with each other, that is, Matthew and Mark against Luke, Matthew and Luke against Mark, and Mark and Luke against Matthew.

3. The order of events in Mark is original, for wherever Matthew departs from Mark, Luke supports Mark's order, and wherever Luke departs from Mark, Matthew agrees with Mark's order. This, it is said, demonstrates Marcan priority and that the other two gospels are secondary, because they never follow each other when departing from Mark's order.

   Again, however, the conclusion does not necessarily follow. For example, if copying was involved, Mark may have worked from Matthew and Luke; he may have followed their order when they agreed and followed one or the other of them when they disagreed.

   Other explanations are also plausible. One option is that all three were working from an order dictated by a tradition agreed upon by eyewitnesses and transmitted in varieties of ways among early Christians. All three writers, then, as the occasion arose, deviated from this traditional sequence in their gospels.

4. The primitive nature of Mark as compared with Matthew and Luke demonstrates Mark's priority. To illustrate, Matthew uses *kurie* ("lord") nineteen times and Luke sixteen times, compared with the word's appearing only once in Mark. This is taken to indicate a more developed reverential attitude and hence a later date for the two longer gospels.

   This evidence is neutralized, however, when it is noted that *kurie* lacks the alleged reverential connotation, because Matthew uses such an address seven times when referring to mere man (Matt. 13:27; 21:29; 25:11, 20, 24; 27:63). Certainly this was not a form of address Matthew reserved for deity. Consequently, no chronological argument can be built on its use or nonuse in any of the gospels.

   The same disposition may be made of other alleged signs of primitivity, such as Mark's Aramaisms. According to most standards of judgment, Matthew is much more Semitic than Mark. Couple with this indications of Mark's lateness (his Latinisms and his translation of Aramaic expressions for the sake of those who knew no Aramaic), and one has good reason for postulating the priority of Matthew.

5. The distribution of Marcan and non-Marcan material in Matthew and Luke shows their dependence on Mark. Matthew uses Mark as a framework and arranges his material into that structure, and Luke gives Marcan and non-Marcan material in alternate blocks.

   If literary borrowing transpired, however, it is just as reasonable to suppose the opposite procedure. Rather than Matthew's picking words or phrases here and there and weaving them into a smooth, polished narrative, Mark, in coming up with his account, just as

feasibly may have taken the book of Matthew and added details for vividness. If the assumption of Mark's priority is dropped, it can be shown how Luke could have extracted sections from Matthew and, in turn, Mark could have done the same from Luke.

Another possible explanation is that all three could have drawn from a common core of tradition among early Christians.

Thus Streeter's support of the Two-Source Theory, though enjoying wide acceptance for a long time, in some cases presupposes the point to be proven and in others rests on overgeneralizations that fail to account for substantial exceptions. His case has therefore met with increasing opposition. Realizing the demise of Streeter's supports, other proponents of Marcan priority have advanced arguments to try to sustain this century-old theory, but none of these attempts has had enough merit to earn significant attention.

Aside from the weakness of evidence supporting the Two-Source Theory, it also clashes directly with the unanimous testimony of more than eighteen hundred years of Christian history to the effect that Matthew was the first gospel written. That the apostle by this name composed an Aramaic work before his Greek gospel did not concern the early Fathers. They apparently took the Greek writing to be a natural sequel of the Aramaic, written after Matthew left Palestine to undertake a ministry among non-Aramaic-speaking people. Coupled with this, inherent weaknesses in support of Mark and Q as sources for Matthew and Luke have given rise to growing opposition that questions the Two-Source Theory's validity. Five of the theory's more prominent shortcomings may be mentioned:

1. The Two-Source Theory cannot account for what has been labeled "The Great Omission." If Luke used Mark as a source, no adequate explanation has as yet come as to why he omitted any reference to Mark 6:45–8:26. This important section includes Jesus' walking on the water, the healing at Gennesaret, a major conflict over the tradition of the elders, the Syrophoenician woman's faith, the healing of a deaf and dumb man, the feeding of the four thousand, the Pharisees' demand for a sign, the instruction regarding the leaven of the Pharisees and that of Herod, and the healing of a blind man at Bethsaida. Though Luke may have had reasons for omitting such a long, consecutive body of material, it is simpler to suppose he had no access to Mark's gospel when he wrote.
2. Recent archaeological findings and increased knowledge about first-century Palestinian conditions have made it increasingly difficult to sustain the argument for Q as a single written body of tradition. Ancient historical records indicate that in this locale traditions did not tend to unify, but they proliferated in a random manner. They

did not coalesce into a homogeneous body.

Furthermore, if Q is insisted upon as a single written source, the changes made by Matthew and Luke are anomalous. Attempts to analyze the alleged use of this source by these two writers are frustrated by the absence of any consistent rational procedure.

If the symbol Q must be retained, a doubtful necessity, it is more satisfying to explain it as gospel material belonging to many different strands of tradition, both written and oral. Far from being homogeneous, it has no definable limits. Because the Two-Source Theory rests on the foundation of a homogeneous Q, it is essentially disproved by such a redefinition of Q.

3. In sections of triple tradition (that is, those covered by Matthew, Mark, and Luke) a considerable number (about two hundred thirty) of agreements between Matthew and Luke are different from a parallel portion of Mark. ("Different from" does not mean that Mark contradicts the other two, but that his wording varies.) Such agreements are admittedly not as numerous as agreements of Matthew and Mark where Luke differs, and Mark and Luke where Matthew differs, but they are sufficient, and their arrangement is such as to prove a common source other than Mark for Matthew and Luke. For example, Matthew 9:1–8 and Luke 5:17–26 agree with one another verbatim in nine separate expressions, whereas Mark 2:1–12 records different wording in its parallels. In Matthew 8:1–4 and Luke 5:12–16, seven identical words or expressions are found, but Mark deviates from these. Perhaps these agreements could be explained individually as accidental or as a textual corruption, but when their proximity to one another is considered, the possibility of coincidence is rendered quite remote. The fact of the matter is that the Two-Source Theory cannot account for such agreements between Matthew and Luke when Mark reads differently.

These first three weaknesses should be apparent to people of any theological persuasion, including the extremely liberal. The last two that follow have special impact upon those who are evangelicals.

4. The priority of Mark poses a serious challenge to the heretofore unchallenged testimony of early Christianity that Matthew the apostle wrote the first gospel. It necessitates understanding that Matthew, an eyewitness of Jesus' ministry, depended on Mark, a noneyewitness, for his information. The dependence extends even to Matthew's reliance on Mark for a description of his own conversion! Even excluding this last, such dependence is improbable, even though Mark did have the highly respected Peter as his source.

It boils down to accepting what the early Fathers said about Matthean authorship or accepting the "findings" of nineteenth-cen-

tury rationalism. The latter, unconcerned about retaining Matthean authorship of Matthew, placed the first gospel's composition much later than the traditional date of writing, even into the second century. In such a choice, probability of accuracy is on the side of the ancient church, because this generation of the church was much nearer and had access to better information about the authorship of the gospels. No good reason for doubting the accuracy of these ancient sources has been forthcoming, so the Two-Source Theory falls short in another respect.

5. The Two-Source Theory takes insufficient notice of personal contacts between the synoptic writers. Unless one rejects the traditional authorship of the three synoptics, he or she must be impressed by the opportunities available to the three writers to exchange information about the life of Christ orally, without having to resort to a form of documentary dependence. Matthew and Mark must have been close associates immediately following Pentecost, while Jerusalem Christians used Mark's home as a meeting place (cf. Acts 12:12). Mark and Luke were associated during Paul's Roman imprisonment (Col. 4:10, 14; Philem. 24). Possibly Luke encountered Matthew during his two-year stay with Paul in Palestine in the late A.D. 50s (cf. Acts 24:27). If not, in the process of his gospel research he must have talked to some people close to Matthew. Personal contacts such as these render unnecessary the literary dependence advocated by the Two-Source Theory.

These and other weaknesses reflect the inadequacy of the Two-Source Theory and have contributed to the recent decline in its popularity. No one theory has emerged to replace it, but an approach that treats the gospels as independent entities is growing in appeal. This approach is superior, not only because of evidence cited, but also because it is an endorsement of the tradition of ancient Christianity: each of the three synoptic gospels arose in relatively independent circumstances.

The writers probably exchanged information in personal contacts, but each had sources of information different from the other two. Matthew's contacts with the Lord were primarily personal. Mark's were predominantly through Peter. Luke utilized what he could derive through interviews and whatever accurate written records he could find. All three drew heavily on various oral traditions that accumulated rapidly around Jerusalem through the concentrated post-Pentecostal preaching of the first Christians. Constant repetition directed toward Spirit-quickened minds (John 14:26; 16:13) was more than adequate to account for the large number of agreements in the synoptic gospels. It was unnecessary for the writers to see each other's work, or for all three to draw upon one or two common sources. The times and places of composition were

sufficiently scattered that these three can be called independent witnesses of Jesus' life.

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ESSAY 4

Form Criticism

The Nature of Form Criticism

In the early twentieth century a new variety of gospel criticism came on the scene. In Germany, its place of origin, it is known as *Formgeschicte* ("form history"). Its English name is Form Criticism. Source Criticism attempted to solve the Synoptic Problem by analysis of the gospels in terms of positing source documents upon which the gospel writers were supposedly dependent. Thus Source Criticism generally held that Mark was the earliest gospel and that Matthew and Luke drew upon Mark and another conjectural written source known as Q, which mainly contained sayings. By this means the similarities and divergencies among the synoptics were explained. Form critics for the most part accept some form of Source Criticism theory, but they have not been content to let the matter rest there.

The reasons for this discontent are significant. In the effort to account for all the phenomena of the synoptics, source critics found it necessary to multiply the hypothetical written sources; this in itself tended to discredit the theory as an adequate solution. Furthermore, as a literary method Source Criticism could not push behind the written sources. Yet the written sources did not appear for at least twenty years following Jesus' death. What had been the status of the gospel tradition during this period? In addition, W. Wrede and others challenged the historicity of the Marcan account by arguing that the framework of Mark was the author's own creation. Thus Mark could not be considered reliable chronologically or geographically; Mark and those dependent upon him were not biographically accurate. With the elimination of the integrity of the chronological-geographical framework of the synoptics, the units of gospel material that had been tied together by that framework were left in isolation, subject to critical analysis in their own right.

The intent of Form Criticism has been to investigate these units of gospel tradition in the twenty-year oral period before they were edited into the first written sources proposed by source critics. Form critics attempt to classify this material into forms of oral tradition and to discover the historical situation (*Sitz im Leben*) within the early church that gave rise to each of these forms. In other words, Form Criticism generally accepts Source Criticism as far as it goes, but Form Criticism

aims to push the inquiry of gospel origins behind the written sources into the oral period. New Testament scholars most readily identified as form critics have been Martin Dibelius, Rudolf Bultmann, Burton S. Easton, Frederick C. Grant, Edwin B. Redlick, R. H. Lightfoot, Vincent Taylor, and D. E. Nineham.

Even these leading advocates, however, represent widely different perspectives. For some form critics the study of the forms of gospel material is simply and only a matter of literary analysis. At the other extreme are those whose theories are highly speculative and who are skeptical in their evaluation of the historical worth of the material. To such scholars the units of tradition are products of the earliest Christian community. The units usually reflect more of the life and teaching of the early church than of the life and teaching of Jesus. The forms in which the units are cast are clues to their relative historical value. Among form critics there are also differences of judgment as to what forms the units of tradition are cast in, what they should be named, and what the significance of each form is. Dibelius spoke of paradigms, tales, legends, sayings, and myths. Bultmann divided the traditional material into three general categories: miracle stories, *apophthegmata* (utterances of Jesus resulting from controversies that followed Jesus' miracles), and sayings of Jesus.

Analysis and comparison of the form critical theories of classification and interpretation would require detailed discussion and are outside the scope of this essay. This type of discussion, however, is not necessary to an evaluation of Form Criticism. To get to the heart of the matter, one must evaluate the fundamental assumption of Form Criticism in its more thoroughgoing forms as typified by Dibelius and Bultmann. If the foundation of radical Form Criticism is without footing, there is little point in giving serious consideration to the details of its superstructure. And if Form Criticism is viewed only as a method of literary analysis devoid of value judgments, there is no cause for it to create much stir.

But what is the fundamental assumption of Form Criticism? It is that form tradition first existed as brief, rounded units, circulating orally in the Christian community, and that their contextual connections in the gospels are the creations of the evangelists. This assumption in itself could be innocuous. Indeed, when stated in this manner, it nearly corresponds to the oral tradition theory regarding the origin of the gospels. But by this assumption, the thoroughgoing form critic means something entirely different. He or she means that the primitive Christian church not only transmitted the accounts of the words and deeds of Jesus, but also molded and changed the tradition to fit its own changing perspectives and needs. It even created new words and deeds of Jesus if the occasion demanded. The evangelists, in turn, took over the units of this tradition with little change or discrimination. They arranged the material in an artificial context so as to serve the purposes of their compositions.

This assumption contains two key elements. First, it holds that the early Christian community was so lacking in genuine biographical interest or honesty that it thought nothing of creating and transforming the tradition that it passed on. Supposedly this was done in order to meet certain types of needs within the community. These needs allegedly are discernible now from the various forms that the units of the tradition assumed. Thus, the gospels become primary sources of knowledge concerning the life of the primitive church and only secondary sources concerning the words and deeds of Jesus. The second element of the basic assumption is that the evangelists were merely editors of these individual, isolated units of tradition (though not much attention was focused on their editorial changes until the advent of Redaction Criticism; see essay 5). Without regard for historical reality, they likewise arranged and rearranged material to suit their own purposes. Virtually all descriptions of place and time that connect the individual units are regarded as editorial creations and therefore historically unreliable. This view of the early church and of the gospel writers is open to serious challenge because of a number of weaknesses, which are outlined in the following discussion.

The Evidence of Eyewitnesses

The first and most obvious factor to be considered in an evaluation of Form Criticism is the evidence from eyewitnesses of the life of Jesus. The failure of this discipline to account adequately for the role of eyewitnesses in the early church is sufficient to discredit its basic assumption and implications. The presence of eyewitnesses means that there could have been no "creative" community that formed and transformed tradition to suit its own needs without attention to readily accessible facts.

In effect, form critics see Christianity as cut off from its founder and his disciples by either an inexplicable ignorance or an unexplainable silence on the part of eyewitnesses. The new sect had to invent situations for the words of Jesus and put into his mouth words that memory could not check and that he may not have spoken. But leaders and disciples who had heard and seen what they recounted (Acts 2:1–4) were still alive during the time of the early church. The form critic either forgets or ignores the fact that Jesus had a surviving mother and followers, who had many vivid memories of his life and ministry. There is no reason to suppose that the individuals mentioned in Mark 3:31–35; 4:10; 15:40; and 16:1–8 would not have remembered Jesus.

By their theory form critics call into question the integrity of the disciples, who had seen and heard Jesus and even been personally involved in his ministry. Yet, if form critics are correct, the disciples did

not control the accuracy of the tradition. Such, however, could hardly have been the case. Is it conceivable that in its own discussions and disputes the early church would not have examined doubtful statements concerning Jesus' ministry? If the church, in fact, did not scrutinize such statements, why is there such close agreement as to the nature and details of that ministry? A community that was purely imaginative and lacking in discrimination would have found it impossible to form a consistent tradition. The tradition must have been under the control of eyewitnesses within the church.

Equally important is the fact that outside the church opponents of Christianity also had been eyewitnesses of Jesus' ministry. Again, is it possible that opponents would have allowed false statements to pass as facts concerning his life as they knew it? Christianity would have become hopelessly vulnerable if it had created stories in order to perpetuate itself. Peter not only said, "We are all witnesses" (Acts 2:32), but he also said to the men of Israel, "You yourselves know" (Acts 2:22).

The Biographical Interest of the Community

The assumption of Form Criticism that the primitive Christian community was imaginative not only disregards the eyewitnesses, who could have checked the accuracy of the developing tradition, but also, as its second weakness, disregards the fact that the early church would surely have wanted to guard the accuracy of the tradition. In other words, the early church *did* have biographical interest in the life of Jesus. Form Criticism, asserting the opposite, claims that early Christians were so absorbed in the possibility of the Lord's return that they were not interested in the facts of the life of Jesus. It is inconceivable, however, that memories of Jesus would not have been carefully and accurately retained. No solid evidence proves that the early church was preoccupied with other interests. In fact, all indicators point to the opposite conclusion.

If no biographical interest in Jesus existed among them, why did Paul distinguish between his words and those of the Lord (1 Cor. 7:10, 12, 25)? Why had many taken pen in hand to draw up narratives of the events of Jesus' life, and why had they used the material of eyewitnesses (Luke 1:1–2)? Why did Luke, after careful research, add to this collection his own accurate account of the Lord's ministry (Luke 1:3–4)? Why did early Christians appeal constantly to the fact that they were eyewitnesses of the events about which they spoke (Acts 2:32; 3:15; 10:41)? The form critics must thoroughly discredit Luke's prologue and his Acts account if they are to eliminate a case for the early church's biographical interest.

Besides the evidence of eyewitnesses spoken of in Acts, the book also directly proves that the early church had a biographical interest extending beyond the bounds of the passion story. This is seen in the

choice of Matthias to replace Judas (Acts 1:21–22), in Peter's sermon at Pentecost (Acts 2:12–24), in Peter's words to Cornelius's household (Acts 10:36–43), and in Paul's message in Antioch of Pisidia (Acts 13:23–31).

Contrary to what form critics say, it can be confidently asserted that early Christians had an intense desire to know about Jesus. The form critic forgets that the person of Jesus is central to the Christian faith. That faith would have no meaning if an accurate picture of him were not drawn. Faith in Christ is central, but this is impossible without a knowledge of who and what he was. Thus the historical Jesus, being identical with the Christ of Christianity (and not a mere shadow of him, as the form critic holds), was the heart of the Christian message, no matter who was preaching (cf. Acts 2:32; 3:12–26; 4:10–20; 5:30–32; 8:35).

The Impossibility of a Creative Community

A third weakness of the fundamental assumption of Form Criticism is that it involves the concept of an imaginative, creative community; that is, the primitive Christian church supposedly exercised the power of creating and changing tradition about Jesus to suit its own needs.

To the form critic, Jesus is a faint and remote figure. The community was supposedly alert and ready for every enterprise of creation or corruption. But could this have been the case? Sayings as striking and pointed as those preserved in the gospels are not created by communities but by individuals. In this case the individual could only have been Jesus. Nor would the sayings necessarily have been taken from Hellenistic or rabbinic sources and put into Jesus' mouth. The occasional similarities in Jesus' teachings to teachings from other sources is no proof of borrowing on the part of the early church. Even great teachers may say familiar things.

Nevertheless, for the sake of argument, let it be supposed that the community did have the inclination to create a tradition about Jesus, including sayings and stories about him. If such were the case, where did the community get the wisdom to select the best? That such a selection would have had to be made is evident from the consistency of synoptic tradition. No contradiction is found between Jesus' doctrine and actions. A logical and chronological sequence marks the gospel story from beginning to end. Accuracy in the descriptions of Palestine is acknowledged. But if the early church had been "creative," it would have had no standard by which to govern its selections and thus form such a harmonious tradition.

The impossibility of such a creative church is demonstrated by noting that gospel history created the community, not vice versa. To put it another way, if early Christian faith created the gospel record, what created Christian faith? The idea of a creative community responsible for

originating synoptic tradition supposes the almost spontaneous appearance of an organized religious life built upon an intense faith in the deity of a crucified Jew—all without the dominant influence of Jesus or any other person. Such speculation contradicts the facts.

The Evidence for Reliable Historical Contexts

A fourth weakness surfaces when it is noted that form critics question the reliability of historical contexts into which the units of tradition are woven. In fact, their first task is to free the units from alleged artificial contexts. But allegations of such artificiality are without proof. The character of the gospels themselves leads to the opposite conclusion.

To support the idea of artificial contexts, the form critics hold that most historical, geographical, chronological, and biographical references in the gospels are a fictional means by which the evangelists combined isolated units of tradition. An examination of the references to place, time, sequence, and persons, however, shows these to be so interwoven with the other material of the units, and to present such a natural ordered sequence when considered separately, that to view them as editorial creations of the evangelists is highly speculative. The contexts, as well as the sayings and events, are rooted in history.

The gospel of Mark is a good example. Close examination of its sequence and its chronological and geographical notations reveals an integration and development that is natural, not artificial, and that is confirmed by close parallels with the outlines, or partial outlines, of the gospel story in Acts. These accounts cover the period from the preaching of John the Baptist to the resurrection of Christ, and especially emphasize the passion story (cf. Acts 10:37–40; 13:23–31). Here is the heart of the message of the early church. This is also exactly the scope of the gospel of Mark.

The Real Significance of Stereotyped Forms

It would be difficult to deny that some parts included in the gospels originally circulated in the early church as isolated units. Even form critics, however, recognize that the passion story existed as a long, continuous narrative. Why not also recognize other continuous sections, such as Mark 1:21–39 and 2:1–3:6? It is evident from synoptic material that probably some stereotyped forms existed, although the extent of these has been exaggerated by form critics. The real question is, Do the stereotyped forms indicate particular historical situations (*Sitz im Leben*) of the church in which each kind of form originated to fill certain needs of that primitive church? That is, do these forms sometimes indicate the nonhistoricity of what is recounted?

The answer to this question can only be an emphatic No, and herein lies a fifth weakness of Form Criticism. Forms do not give the material

of the text a relative historical value. Form is in no way related to truth or falsity. Nothing can be inferred from stereotyped forms other than that the church customarily related episodes in a certain way or that Jesus taught in certain patterns.

Accounts of miracles would naturally be related in similar ways, for the general outline of conditions and events is likely to be the same. The same may be said of controversies with the scribes and the Pharisees. As for the poetic form of many of Jesus' sayings, what would have been more natural for him, speaking to Jews, than to cast his declarations in poetic form? Such, in fact, was normal Semitic style. This practice made it easier for his followers, whether Jews or not, to remember his words. It makes just as much sense, perhaps more, to say that the real originator of the forms of those sayings attributed to Jesus is Jesus himself.

In summary, it is noted that Form Criticism as a method for study of the synoptic gospels falls short in five respects: its failure to account for the evidence of eyewitnesses, its lack of acknowledgment of the biographical interest of the community, the impossibility of its theory of a creative community, its questioning of the evidence for the reliability of the gospels' historical contexts, and its conclusions about historical worth based on stereotyped forms.

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ESSAY 5

Redaction Criticism

Just as Form Criticism originated as a further refinement of Source Criticism, so Form Criticism has itself given birth to a further subdiscipline called Redaction Criticism (*Redaktionsgeschichte*). With the amount of attention being devoted to synoptic gospel forms and church theology (*Gemeindetheologie*), the question was not *whether* but *when* the scrutiny of New Testament scholarship would be redirected to the gospel writers who put together Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Though not recognized immediately as separate from Form Criticism, Redaction Criticism eventually earned the status of a separate discipline.

As compared with Form Criticism, the primary focus of Redaction Criticism is the theology of the evangelists as distinguished from that of the Christian community. A clear-cut line of demarcation between the two is not easily drawn. In fact, in some cases overlap must be acknowledged. Because the gospel writers were part of the community, inevitably they would reflect the community's theological outlook, at least in part. Otherwise these composers must be unnaturally separated from the people whom they served.

Redaction critics, for the most part, do not embrace traditional viewpoints of authorship. They look upon the originators of the synoptics as later theological editors to whose works the names of Matthew, Mark, and Luke were attached for the sake of prestige. These anonymous writers are, then, the ones whose theological views are in question in this type of research. Such views are assumed to be distinct from any specific, systematic teaching delivered by Jesus.

The emergence of Redaction Criticism as a separate discipline dates from the mid-twentieth century. Most prominent among its early advocates are Gunther Bornkamm, Hans Conzelmann, and Willi Marxsen. Each of these has concentrated his efforts on one gospel—Bornkamm on Matthew, Conzelmann on Luke, and Marxsen on Mark. In the discussion to follow, these three along with Werner Kummel and Norman Perrin will be representatives of Redaction Criticism.

Theology of Mark

Because the Two-Source Theory and Form Criticism endorse the priority of Mark, so does Redaction Criticism. This gospel is then a suitable starting point for theological analysis. Redactional analysis of Mark

is more difficult because of the unavailability of sources used by its writer.

According to Marxsen, Mark joins, edits, and expands isolated units of tradition in accordance with four guidelines:

1. The passion story is linked to the rest by his addition of predictions of its coming.
2. He invents the Messianic-secret theory to explain the late (post-Easter) emergence of Messianic teaching.
3. He introduces the new literary concept of a "gospel" (*euangelion*). It is the "proclamation of a message of salvation" and is derived from Paul.
4. He weaves into the narrative a geographical orientation toward Galilee. The resultant force of the gospel is, therefore, not a historical account of Jesus' life but a proclamation of the salvation to be expected by Christians subsequent to the Easter (that is, resurrection) "experience." The evangelist anticipates an imminent return of Christ and directs his readers to make their way to Galilee, where he expects the *parousia* ("coming") to happen.

Theology of Matthew

For the redaction critic the theologies of Matthew and Luke are more easily discernible, because these gospels were based on a known source (Mark) and a reconstructed source (Q). Bornkamm contends that Matthew was written in the A.D. 80s or A.D. 90s, somewhere between Palestine and Syria. The book reflects a deep cleavage between Judaism and Christianity and, more specifically, a turmoil within the church between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity. In siding with the Gentile position, this evangelist arranges his sources (Mark and Q plus some special Matthean material) and adds material so as to create a Teacher who has captured the true essence of the Law that had been missed by Pharisaic Judaism. Unlike his predecessors, this "rabbi" teaches with authority supported by miracles, and his disciples never cease to be pupils. Although having much in common with Judaism, this new system is distinct from it and earns its own title of "church" (*ekklesia*), a term put into the mouth of the earthly Jesus by the Christian community. The church has become universal and is not local like a Jewish synagogue. The presence of the Lord with his church replaces the Law and the temple as a unifying factor. Yet ultimate perfection has not been attained in the church. Need still exists to obey Jesus' teachings in light of future judgment that will issue in promised salvation.

In Matthew's scheme, then, Mark's exclusive attention to Christ's imminent return has been replaced by a joint emphasis on ecclesiology and eschatology. Late first-century Christian thought came to grips with

the fact that the Messiah's return was not to be immediate and therefore originated the concept of a new institution, the church, to fill the interval before the return.

Theology of Luke

In Conzelmann's view, Luke, coming at about the time of Matthew or later (perhaps around A.D. 90 or after), delineates three distinct periods: the period of Israel, the period of Jesus' ministry, and the period since the ascension. The second and third periods are kept distinct by this writer. The former, when Jesus was alive ministering on earth, was the time of salvation, when Satan was far removed and temptation was nonexistent. Since his passion, however, Satan has returned and temptations are very real. The work of the Spirit in the church is presented as essentially fulfilling prophecies of the "last days." Hence Luke reflects a more general, weakened, eschatological expectation in the church of his time. The delay of Christ's return is, then, Luke's motif.

This means that Luke shifts from his predecessors' focus on a short time of waiting to deal with a Christian life of longer duration. This shift entails a development of ethical standards, among which perseverance is prominent. It also leads to development of a complete redemptive plan and the replacement of an imminent end by one that is "endlessly" remote.

Characteristics of the Method

Several additional observations will provide a better understanding of Redaction Criticism:

1. The following are examples of how the gospel writers allegedly incorporated their theological emphases:
    a. In the narrative connected with Caesarea Philippi (Mark 8:27–9:1), the writer reports questions and answers as from the lips of Jesus and Peter. In reality, Redaction Criticism alleges, the titles are from the Christological vocabulary of the early Christian community. Furthermore, though persons bear the names of individuals and groups connected with Jesus' ministry, the principal reference is to circumstances in the church of the late A.D. 60s. "Jesus" and his sayings represent the Lord from heaven and his message to this church. "Peter" pictures misled believers, who confess correctly but interpret their own confession erroneously. "The multitude" stands for the total church membership, for whom the teaching is intended. In other words, Redaction Criticism sees this story as bearing the form of a history about Jesus, but its actual purpose was the conveying of the risen Lord's message to his church, as con-

ceived by Mark. The historical impression is only a vehicle and is not to be equated with actual happenings.

b. Matthew took over the same incident at Caesarea Philippi and reworked it. Dominated by an ecclesiological interest, Matthew reshaped the Marcan narrative by inserting a formal blessing of Peter, on the basis of which Peter assumed full authority as founder and leader of the early church (Matt. 16:17–19). For Matthew the church was the sole medium of salvation. In fact, to the person within this church, salvation is assured. In effect, Matthew moved the "Son of Man" reference from 16:21 (cf. Mark 8:31) to 16:13, because, unlike Mark, he was not interested in generating a Christological discussion. Matthew's interest was in a formal proclamation by Jesus regarding the Christian church.

c. In the Lucan parallel (Luke 9:18–27) Luke removed the Marcan urgency based on an imminent return in favor of highlighting a consistent life of testimony over a considerable period of time. Such touches as the addition of "daily" to Luke 9:23 and the omission of "in this adulterous and sinful generation" and "come with power" from 9:26–27 changed the account's complexion drastically. This resulted when Luke rethought Mark's outlook regarding eschatology and introduced his own emphasis on delay. By attention to details such as these, the redaction critic purposes to capture this or that theological point being made by a gospel writer.

2. The preceding examples demonstrate in a small way how the redaction critic conceives the gospels writers' roles as that of theologians, but not historians. Mark supposedly was wholly dependent on the isolated units identified by Form Criticism. Matthew and Luke each had access to some special sources of their own, which they utilized along with Mark and Q. The task of these three consisted of adapting and connecting these units in ways that seemed best to them, so as to attribute to Jesus the viewpoints and emphases that they deemed most crucial for nurturing the faith of the church of their time. They were, then, theological editors, but not recorders of historical happenings. It was inconsequential to them that they falsely attributed to Jesus and his associates many things they never said or did. Their prime concern was to construct a theology that would meet the needs of the church, even if doing so successfully meant fabricating a life of Jesus in order to give the system more credibility.

3. The philosophical basis by which the redactionist attempts to grant respectability to this system of falsification is similar to that behind the neoorthodoxy of Karl Barth and the demythologizing of Rudolf Bultmann. Besides the obvious realm of reality where space, time,

and the physical senses prevail, another realm is visualized: the realm of faith. Anything that one is inwardly persuaded is true is taken to be real regardless of whether it is fact. For example, the postresurrection faith of early Christians was so strong that it became confused with space-time happenings to the point that many were fully convinced that the physical body of Jesus rose from death and departed, leaving an empty tomb. To the redaction critic, as to the form critic, this mental persuasion is not wrong, even though Jesus' resurrection cannot be advocated as a fact of history. To this person the resurrection is a fact of faith that proved to be health-giving for the early church, and this is enough. It need not coincide with history. Similarly, as a whole, the synoptic gospels need not portray the historical Jesus in toto. It is sufficient that they proved beneficial in the development of the early Christian community.

4. The preceding philosophical basis of Redaction Criticism eliminates the possibility of reconstructing a life of Jesus or of determining a theology of Jesus that is based on the gospels. Just as Form Criticism says that the events recorded in the gospels are fabrications of the early church, Redaction Criticism says that the theological teachings in the gospels are those of the individual writers, not of Jesus. Allegedly, early Christians were not guided by the modern concept of "historical" (that is, "factual"). Motivated by a strong religious experience, they had no qualms about imputing to the historical Jesus words that he never spoke. The gospels and the traditions behind them, therefore, are to the redaction critic primarily reflections of the early church's experience and theology. Only by stringent application of carefully contrived criteria for authenticity can one hope to derive accurate data about Jesus' life and teachings. And, says the redactionist, whatever is derived in this respect will be at best minimal.

EVALUATION

One who evaluates Redaction Criticism will note only a few "by-products" in the way of benefits rendered to gospel study. As a corrective to Form Criticism, it has brought a recognition that the gospel writers were not mere compilers of tradition, but men who each wrote with a different purpose, which must be taken into account for an understanding of the differences in emphasis between the gospels. The rise of Redaction Criticism has also revived interest in a comparative study of the Synoptic Gospels, an interest that had lagged because of earlier efforts to merge the three into one strand of tradition. Furthermore, in its efforts to discover theological motivation it has induced scholars to pay closer attention to first-century Christianity. This is beneficial in that the more we know about the first century, the better we can understand the New Testament.

These "by-products," however, are of little value compared with the debilitating weaknesses of this method of study.

1. Redaction Criticism is based on the Two-Source Theory and on Form Criticism and therefore inherits their irresolvable problems (see essays 3 and 4). The redactionist methodology is vulnerable at the same points because of the foundational assumptions on which the discipline is built.
2. The period of time during which these theological and factual alterations were supposedly made and became universally accepted in Christendom is unbelievably short. For instance, to believe that the Christian community modified the factual data about Jesus' life and Mark contrived the theological data attributed to him and that these extensive alterations were accepted throughout first-century Christendom in only thirty to forty years is impossible. In these ancient times it took centuries for myths to be standardized and widely accepted.
3. The ethical question about this theory is also inevitable. Christianity in general and the gospel writers in particular have been noted for the high system of truthfulness for which they stand. Can the origin of such a system be traced to practitioners of extensive falsification regarding the life and teachings of Jesus, or can it be traced to Jesus himself, whose words and actions as found in the gospels were accurately transmitted by his early followers? The case for the latter alternative is by far the stronger.
4. Redaction critics utilize an approach to the gospels that is different from the way they handle other ancient writings. They initially assume the nonhistorical character of the bulk of gospel literature, as though some barrier separated the gospel writers from any interest in real happenings of the earlier portion of their century. They suppose that events and sayings were invented or reshaped for theological purposes. This is uncharacteristic of the way of handling other teachers in the ancient world, both Jewish and Greek. The unanswered evidence to the contrary says that early Christians did have considerable historical interest in Jesus of Nazareth. The writers' theological purposes, therefore, were not separate from, but rather anchored in, history.
5. The philosophical basis of Redaction Criticism is questionable. To grant recognition to a set of "faith realities" that stand in opposition to physically observable historical data must, after serious analysis, be rejected. Only the mind thoroughly conditioned by theories of modern rationalism can envisage two realms of reality in conflict with each other, and yet regard both as equally valid. The endorsing of such a state of affairs calls one's intuitive understanding of reality into serious question. Such a dualistic concept is quite artificial.

6. An unregulated subjectivism also characterizes Redaction Criticism. This is an outgrowth of the system's underlying philosophy. Redactors become their own norms, with the result that interpretations are often stretched. For example, Marxsen's explanation of "Peter" as Mark's representation of misled believers must be traced to Marxsen, not to Mark (cf. Mark 8:27–9:1). "Peter" in his confession could just as easily be taken by someone else to represent discerning believers. Only the factual data about who Peter was can rescue one from the dilemma of endlessly conflicting opinions about him. An objective control on these must be found. In other words, "faith realities" must be reduced to one "faith reality" by reaffirming the only reality to be the one that is historical. "Peter" was either a historical person or the figment of someone's imagination. He cannot be both.

   Differences of opinion among redaction critics reflect this personal bias in their assumptions. That they have taken unjustified liberties in arguing for various emphases in each author could not be more clearly reflected than it is by their disagreements with one another. For example, theories of Mark's purpose variously hold his guideline to be typological fulfillment of Old Testament texts, the liturgical calendar, stages in the revelations of Messianic dignity, a geographical-theological outline, Pauline theology, and others. If redaction proponents cannot agree what theological theme Mark sought to inaugurate, it is probable he was not trying to inaugurate any such theme; the theological theme originates in the mind of the modern redactionist, not the gospel writer. Differing foundational assumptions by different modern scholars create different opinions, which are then read back into the gospel. This does a great injustice to the ancient record.
7. Redaction critics' method for recognizing "authentic Jesus material" is also subjective. Their three criteria, distinctiveness, multiple attestation, and consistency, stem from the presupposition that tradition about Jesus contains much that is unhistorical. If this is the foregone conclusion, it is impossible to examine historical sources without bias. The verdict is already passed before the beginning of the trial. It is not a question of whether the defendant will be found guilty, but how and when this person will be condemned. Thus Redaction Criticism has determined in advance what it will discover. The results of the process can therefore be nothing less than devastating to the synoptic gospels as historical records.

Evangelical Use of Redaction Criticism

Some evangelical scholars have argued that there is a legitimate use of Redaction Criticism, pointing out that *redact* simply means "edit" and noting that evangelicals have long recognized editorial activity by the

gospel writers. Redaction Criticism has observed four categories of editorial activity: selectivity, arrangement, modification, and creativity. "Selectivity" sees the gospel writers as not incorporating all the material available to them, but choosing what was best suited to accomplishing their purposes. "Arrangement" detects that they did not always put their material in chronological order, but sometimes arranged the material in a thematic sequence in order to emphasize some particular point about the life of Christ. "Modification" attributes to the writers the prerogative of changing material to accord with a writer's habits or purposes. Some of these modifications were minor, simply reflecting the individual styles of the writers, but others were more extensive, molding the accounts in accord with the theological interests of the evangelists and their communities rather than accurately portraying the situation in Jesus' day. "Creativity" allows that the writers creatively shaped their gospels by adding events to historical narratives and putting into his lips words that the historical Jesus did not utter. These creative additions maintain a continuity with the historical situations the accounts allege to describe.

These four categories represent the normative approach among evangelical practitioners of the redaction methodology. The methodology differs substantially from radical Redaction Criticism in the degree to which the historical validity of the Synoptic Gospels is questioned, but the tendency to dismiss historicity is still present.

In two and one half of the proposed categories the evangelical version is merely a continuation of long-standing evangelical methodology in gospel study. Well before the advent of Redaction Criticism, evangelicals advocated that the writers selected only part of the material available to them, but the selection was understood to be a truly representative and accurate portrayal of the historical happening. Matthew, a companion of Jesus, had to leave something out. "Selectivity" is not a discovery of Redaction Criticism.

The same is true of "arrangement." Evangelicals have always recognized that at times the writers put descriptions in a nonchronological sequence, understanding, of course, that nothing in the text specified chronological arrangement. In Matthew 8–9, for example, the grouping of Jesus' miracles emphasizes his authority. These miracles are not related in the order they occurred.

In the categories of "modification" and "creativity," however, evangelical redaction critics have veered toward radical procedures. Minor modifications of materials reflecting stylistic preferences of individual authors are in accord with the historic evangelical approach to biblical inspiration. When these modifications are alleged to be extensive enough to revise the substance of what was done or said on a given occasion, however, the long-standing evangelical commitment to the historical accuracy of Scripture has at least been undermined and more probably

violated. Thus major modification and creativity move into the realm of radical Redaction Criticism by attributing to the gospel writers the recording of what was nonhistorical as though it were history.

The gospels must be interpreted according to the grammar of the Greek language and the historical background of their settings. To use questionable critical assumptions to override the latter is to open the historical basis of Christianity to serious question. Yet this is what Redaction Criticism, even the evangelical type, has done.

One must not allow whims arising from "discoveries" of redactional emphases to creep in and exclude the more obvious emphases of the gospels. "Redactional signals" in the text are usually inconsequential details that are blown out of proportion and given a far-reaching significance unintended by the author. Such a magnification of minor points is traceable to the imagination of the redaction critic, not to the text. Ignoring the meaning of larger units of thought in the text and dwelling upon minutiae is an example of tunnel vision exegesis. Advocates of verbal inspiration are often accused of focusing too strongly on individual words of the text and neglecting the broader message, but their fault is minuscule in comparison with how the redaction critic finds subtle but profound significance in the smallest elements of the text at the expense of the total meaning of the larger section. When one of these "redactional discoveries" raises questions about the gospels' historicity, to prefer the "discovery" over obvious historical import is extremely subjective on the part of the interpreter.

It is legitimate to endeavor to discover the theological emphases of the gospel writers, but it must be done without questioning the historical accuracy of what they record. Theological purpose and historical accuracy are compatible. Each writer has retained parts of Jesus' emphasis, so that when the emphases are combined, the theology of Jesus himself is the result. Redaction Criticism is an example of an approach that raises question about the reliability of gospel reports of Jesus' words and deeds, and as such is incompatible with a thoroughgoing commitment to the authority of Scripture.

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ESSAY 6

Criticism of the Gospel of John

The gospel of John and its historical integrity have long been objects of severe attack. Some believe that the gospel could not have been written by John the apostle, because no contemporary of Jesus could have held such a high view of his person. Past attitudes have at times bordered on skepticism about the value of a work that would picture the deity of Jesus Christ so clearly. Because of further research and discoveries, this near skepticism has largely disappeared. Nevertheless, many are still reluctant to endorse the gospel as completely reliable.

Recent Challenges of Historical Integrity

One frequently mentioned difficulty is related to the problems encountered by any theory of unified authorship. The differences in the gospel's Greek style, problems of sequence, and repetitions in discourse material have been cited as proving that more than one author was involved. So in modern times various attempts to explain the manner of composition have been made. One group of theories explains the alleged confusion in the gospel by suggesting that some of the sections were displaced accidentally; it seeks to correct the problem by rearranging the order. Another approach accounts for apparent stylistic differences and other problems by proposing that the gospel's compiler used a number of independent written sources in putting the work together. A third proposed solution has been to suggest that the gospel went through a number of editions before arriving at its present form.

Still another theory, called gradual composition, is perhaps the most prominent recent theory. It combines elements of the other theories and identifies five stages of growth and embellishment in the gospel's development. Stage one was the crystallizing of a body of traditional material pertaining to the words and works of Jesus. This was material that was similar to, but had origins independent of, material in the tradition of the synoptic gospels. The input of John the son of Zebedee was a major source of this historical tradition. Stage two saw this material creatively developed over a period of several decades into the form and style of the individual stories of the fourth gospel. The development was under the auspices of a close-knit school of thought and expression, which was led by a leader or master preacher (or evangelist). This same school is often theorized to have originated the Johannine epistles and

Revelation also. Stage three witnessed the organization of this material into a consecutive gospel, which was the first edition of the fourth gospel. The dominant figure from stage two, the evangelist, wrote this work in Greek, selecting from the much larger body of Johannine material developed at stage two. Stage four consisted of a second edition of this work issued by the evangelist to provide solutions to problems arising subsequent to stage three. This edition added material not previously incorporated into the work. Stage five was a final editing or redacting of the work by someone other than the evangelist. This redactor was probably a close friend or disciple of the evangelist. He was certainly a member of the school described at stage two. A main contribution of the redactor was to preserve from stage two all the available Johannine material not included in previous editions. Because it resulted from the preaching of the evangelist, it would not differ in style and vocabulary from the two previous editions. Chapter 21 was among the new material added by the redactor that had not come from the evangelist.

Thus the theory of gradual composition identifies three individuals in the process of the fourth gospel's development: John the apostle, who is called the author; the anonymous evangelist; and the anonymous redactor. It holds the process from beginning to end to have taken from about A.D. 40 to about A.D. 100, with stage three placed between A.D. 75 and A.D. 85. John the apostle is said to have survived until just before the gospel was put into its final form by the redactor.

Difficulties encountered by this theory are numerous. Unanswered is the question of how John the apostle, an eyewitness of gospel events, could have faded into the background while the evangelist rose to leadership in the school that derived its tradition from John himself. Also, would John have remained silent while unhistorical embellishments about Jesus' life were accumulating in his own circles? Furthermore, could three individuals, no matter how closely associated, have developed patterns of speech and writing almost identical to one another? Could such a tradition so tainted by exaggeration and myth have been developed and have been unanimously and universally accepted in six short decades? By no stretch of the imagination could this have happened. This and other challenges to the gospel's historical integrity fail to commend themselves as being the least bit probable.

Relationship to the Synoptics

Other issues pertaining to John's gospel are discussed with far more benefit because they relate to objective data that is available. At stake here also is the book's integrity.

The critical questions surrounding the fourth gospel are nearly all interrelated. Thus, discussion of any one area of critical questions necessarily presupposes matters relating to another area. This is true

whether one discusses authorship, date, or the relationship existing between John's gospel and the synoptics. Choice of a starting point for the discussion is somewhat arbitrary, but the last of these issues may be the best way into the other two.

The first three gospels in the traditional order are commonly spoken of as the synoptic gospels, because they treat the life and ministry of Jesus from a similar perspective (*synoptic* means "seeing together"). Striking and extensive similarities of content, arrangement, and wording occur. One may readily see their similarity by examining the parallel columns of material in this *Harmony*.

But also evident is the fact that the gospel of John is in a class by itself. One notes more differences than similarities between John and the synoptics. Differences in material content are the most obvious. John does not record the virgin birth, the baptism, the temptation, the transfiguration, the institution of the Lord's Supper, the agony in the garden of Gethsemane, or the ascension. Synoptic-type parables and cures of demoniacs and lepers are notably absent. Many omissions of less significant material occur also.

Just as critical is the fact that John includes much material that is unique to it. John's prologue is without parallel (1:1–18). It is John that records the early Judean ministry (chaps. 2–3), including such notable events as the first miracle and the discussion with Nicodemus. It is John that details the journey through Samaria to Galilee, including the encounter with the Samaritan woman at Sychar. High points of the remaining material unique to John are the Sabbath healing of the lame man in Jerusalem, Jesus' failure in Capernaum to conform to popular Messianic ideas, the healing of the blind man in Jerusalem, the Good Shepherd discourse, the raising of Lazarus, the washing of the disciples' feet, the discourse in the upper room, Christ's intercessory prayer, and the miraculous catch of fish. In sum, there is an obvious difference in material content between the synoptics and John.

These, however, by no means exhaust the differences that set John apart. John's manner of presentation is different. The material content cited has already hinted at this. John has less narrative and more discourse, in contrast with the short aphorisms and parables characteristic of the synoptics. The book portrays Jesus more in the role of the rabbi. Jesus' manner of teaching in the synoptics would be more appropriate to the common people of Galilee, but in John to the more educated populace in and around Jerusalem.

Differences of chronology between John and the synoptics are also found. There is the question of whether there were one or two cleansings of the temple. The dating of the Last Supper is also a problem (see essay 10). Even more far-reaching in its implications is the duration of Christ's ministry. The synoptic accounts apparently require a ministry of only

one year, although their chronological details are vague. But John's requires more than three years (see essay 11).

Our discussion of John's relationship to the synoptics must also embrace their similarities, although these are not so obvious. Indeed, because the differences do not necessarily involve contradiction or incompatibility, the similarities become especially significant. At least two of the synoptic gospels and John include material on John the Baptist, the feeding of the five thousand, the storm at sea, the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, Mary's anointing of Jesus, and parts of the Last Supper and passion narratives. In addition, similar material often occurs in the same order in John as in the synoptics. Little verbal similarity exists between John and the synoptics, however, except in some of the cases of words spoken by Jesus or others.

To identify these similarities and differences is not enough. What relationship between the synoptics and John do they evidence?

1. One solution offered is that John wrote with the intention of replacing the synoptic gospels. But taken by itself, John is an incomplete account of the life and ministry of Jesus. That any author would suppose that this account could replace one or all of the synoptics is stretching imagination too far.
2. A second proposal is that the book of John is an interpretation of Jesus and his teaching designed for Gentile readers. Those who hold this view, though, usually assume that John's intentions are not historical; if the assumption is wrong, the theory collapses. And if John is interpreting the other gospels, why is so little material held in common with them?
3. Closely akin are the views holding that John, having been written later, was dependent on one or more of the synoptics. John supposedly is a reworking of synoptic material. Attempts to identify sections of John that are dependent on written sources result in failure, however, because John is stylistically uniform. Furthermore, the similarities are not significant enough to justify the assumption of John's dependence on the synoptics. Variation is much more characteristic. John cites incidents not even in the synoptics, and its accounts of the same incidents differ in detail.
4. These considerations suggest a fourth view—that John is independent of the synoptics, that it was written neither to interpret nor to replace them, that it is in no sense dependent on them. This independence theory is preferable to the first three theories and has much more to commend it. It challenges the assumption of much gospel criticism that the gospels form a documentary series in literary dependence on one another.

Advocates of the independence view point out that in supposed instances of John's using synoptic or Marcan material, he so drastically alters it that either John's credibility is called into question or else the theory of literary dependence is itself in doubt. Yet nothing in John itself casts doubt on its credibility. As for the points of similarity and contact that do exist between John and the synoptic authors, these are precisely what would be expected from authors drawing upon an interlocking oral tradition about Christ. The tradition was stable and held great respect for the historical verities; John, as well as the synoptic authors, would have drawn on this and on his own recollections (assuming he was John the apostle).

Such a view of John's relationship to the synoptics has much to commend it and is a helpful corrective to those views already discussed. Some advocates of the independence theory, however, maintain that John either was unaware of the synoptics or that he wrote without any reference to their content and purpose. Because it is difficult to imagine a situation later in the first century in which the synoptics would be unknown, some have postulated an early date for John, perhaps earlier than any of the synoptics. But such an extreme view of John's independence is neither necessary nor the best accounting of the evidence.

It is preferable to combine the theory accepting John's essential literary independence with the supplemental view of its relationship to the synoptics. According to this view John did not use the synoptics as sources, but he did apparently write with a knowledge of their contents. He assumed his readers also knew their contents. Among his purposes seems to have been conscious supplementation of synoptic material; John filled in the gaps and avoided unnecessary duplication. Thus, John concentrated on the Judean, rather than on the Galilean, ministry of Jesus. By his mention of three Passovers and possible implication of a fourth, he made clear that Jesus' ministry lasted between three and four years. This is not clear from the synoptics. On the other hand, John's omission of so much important synoptic material, such as kingdom teaching and the institution of the ordinances, is difficult to explain unless we assume that he knew the synoptics and saw no need to repeat their content. Thus a view that accepts the literary independence of the gospel of John but that also sees its purpose as that of supplementing the synoptics best accounts for both the similarities on the one hand and the significant differences on the other. This seems to be the relationship of the fourth gospel to the first three.

Authorship of the Fourth Gospel

Traditionally, John the apostle has been thought to be the author of the fourth gospel. A recent variation of this view of apostolic authorship holds the apostle John to be the source of the gospel's historical data but

suggests that a disciple or disciples of John actually wrote it. Under John's influence, it is said, they preached and developed John's reminiscences even further so as to meet the needs of the community to which they ministered. This viewpoint aligns itself with modern theories of composition connected with the synoptic gospels (see essays 4 and 5, "Form Criticism" and "Redaction Criticism," pp. 268–84, and the gradual composition theory described earlier in this essay). The proposal does injustice to the gospel of John itself, however, when it fails to recognize the gospel's own claim that the beloved disciple of Jesus wrote the book (John 21:20, 24).

Others have proposed that the John to whom early tradition ascribed authorship is John the Elder, referred to by Papias as quoted by Eusebius. Eusebius's interpretation of Papias's statement distinguishes between two persons in Ephesus by the name of John. Motivation for such a distinction is probably traceable to influential Christian leaders in Alexandria who questioned the millennial views of Revelation and therefore were seeking to dispense with the apostolic authorship of this last book of the Bible. By postulating another John in Ephesus at the time it was written, they thought they had grounds for doing this. It is not at all clear, however, that Papias intended to distinguish John the Elder from John the apostle in his quoted statement. A good argument can be advanced that the two were one and the same person, so that no confusion in the traditional ascription of authorship to John the apostle results.

Some theories of non-Johannine authorship discredit the external evidence for a John as author and argue that internal evidence makes apostolic authorship impossible. Actually, though, both external and internal evidence firmly support authorship by John the apostle.

Irenaeus is the first to say clearly (c. A.D. 180) that John the apostle wrote this gospel and that it was published by John at Ephesus, where he resided. Other late second-century evidence testifies to John the apostle's residence in Ephesus late in the first century. But Irenaeus's testimony is especially important; he was a disciple of Polycarp, and Polycarp had known the apostle John personally. Here then is a direct line between Irenaeus and John with only one connecting link—Polycarp. Writers after Irenaeus assume apostolic authorship of the fourth gospel without question.

At one time New Testament critics of the school following F. C. Baur argued that the fourth gospel was not written until about A.D. 160, so that John could not have been its author. The discovery of a papyrus fragment of this gospel in the collection of the John Rylands Library, however, demolished this view. Dated no later than A.D. 150 and perhaps as early as A.D. 130, the fragment (P^{52}) came from a community along the Nile in the hinterland of Egypt. When one calculates the time necessary for the processes of copying and circulation in order for this frag-

ment to reach a remote Egyptian community, the origins of this gospel are easily pushed back into at least the late first century, when John was probably still alive.

Nowhere in the fourth gospel does the author identify himself by name, and the interpretation of internal evidence is subject to the preconceptions of the individual critic. Nevertheless this evidence fits well (many would say best) with apostolic and Johannine authorship. The writer claims to be an eyewitness (1:14; 19:35; 21:24–25). He has an accurate knowledge of Jewish customs and Palestinian topography before Jerusalem's destruction in A.D. 70. He employs the kind of vivid, incidental detail one would expect of an eyewitness (2:6; 6:19; 21:8). His writing style is Semitic. Even more specifically, the author seems to identify himself as the "disciple whom Jesus loved" (21:20, 24). James, John, and Peter formed the inner circle of disciples closest to Jesus (Mark 5:37; 9:2; Luke 22:8). James was martyred early in the history of the church (Acts 12:1–5), too early to have written the gospel. "The disciple whom Jesus loved" is distinguished from Peter in 13:23 and 21:7. By process of elimination, it must be John the son of Zebedee, one of the group from whom was singled out "the disciple whom Jesus loved" (John 21:2, 20). Although the beloved disciple is not identified by name, this very anonymity is best explained by John the apostle's authorship.

Date of the Fourth Gospel

Although it is impossible to date this gospel with certainty, most scholars today place it in the last ten or fifteen years of the first century or very early in the second. This view finds support from the early church Fathers. As already noted, the early dating of the P^{52} fragment hardly allows for a much later date. Critics who view this gospel as either corrective of or supplemental to the synoptics obviously must place its writing after one or more of the synoptics. Thus they usually prefer a later date, although it is difficult to place apostolic authorship after A.D. 100.

Scholars who maintain that the author either did not know or use the synoptics find it possible to place the writing very early, perhaps as the earliest of the gospels. In fact, those who maintain that John neither knew nor consciously supplemented the synoptics finds a pre-A.D. 70 date to be the easiest to maintain. There are no compelling reasons to insist on such an early date, however; those who see John as a conscious supplement to the synoptics usually date it between A.D. 85 and A.D. 100.

Conclusion

Because the gospel of John presents no insuperable problems in its relationship to the synoptic gospels and encounters no insurmountable

difficulties as to its apostolic authorship and date, no valid reason exists for questioning its right to respect as another accurate report of the life of Christ. Jesus was recognized as God by his contemporaries even as John represents him to be.

Selected Reading List

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ESSAY 7

Problems and Principles of Harmonization

Distinct advantages accrue from studying the gospels in a harmony. All available information on the same or similar events, conversations, and discourses is put side by side on the same page. Narratives describing different occasions from all four gospels are integrated into probable chronological sequence so that one has an overview of the course of Jesus' life from his conception to his postresurrection ministry. For many readers this will be a new experience with great benefit.

But the first careful reading of a harmony can also be a disturbing experience, especially for the reader who accepts the inspiration and historical integrity of the gospels. Although readers recognize the obvious fact that there are *four* gospels and that they are not identical, many have never explored the implications of that fact. But when reading a harmony, one can hardly avoid noting the divergences. The reader begins to notice that the accounts of Christ's words sometimes differ. One evangelist's report of the same conversation, saying, or discourse may be more or less complete than another's. Differences may occur in grammatical construction. Synonyms may be substituted, verb voice or tense changed, or nouns replaced by pronouns. There may be differences in the order of discussion. Sometimes the differences in details reported even involve what appear to be contradictions. Occasionally the same or similar statements will be found in contexts that appear to reflect different situations. The Beatitudes as recorded by Matthew and Luke contain a number of typical variations. Which report is correct? Or are both correct? How are the variations to be accounted for?

Similarly, when reading of the activities of Jesus, one may notice that similar events occur in different situations. Are they different events, or are they the same events erroneously reported? To complicate matters, sometimes what appears to be the same event is reported in a different order in another gospel. Sometimes diverse descriptive details are given for what appears to be the same event, and sometimes these details may have the appearance of discrepancy. A few readers may be surprised to find that the gospel writers do not always report the same events.

The questions arising from these phenomena are as significant as they are obvious. Do these phenomena undermine the historical integrity of the gospels? Or are they fully consistent with historical integrity? Do they call in question the inspiration and inerrancy of the gospels? Or are

they consistent with the orthodox concept of inspiration? One thing seems certain: if the evangelists really are guilty of inaccuracies, misrepresentations, and contradictions, their reliability and the claim to inspiration are suspect.

It is neither possible nor necessary within these notes to give answers to all the harmonistic problems that might be raised in a comparative reading of the gospels. But the editors of this *Harmony* without equivocation hold to both the historical integrity and verbal plenary inspiration of the gospels. They also believe that most harmonistic problems can be resolved adequately when certain common-sense principles of reporting and writing are applied in the interpretation of the evidence. The remainder of the problems have reasonable explanations, though further information about them would help in reaching more clear-cut solutions.

Some general considerations especially apply to the manner in which Jesus' words are reported. Jesus most likely spoke three languages, as did many of his contemporaries (see essay 8). It must not be forgotten that in many cases the Greek text reporting what someone said is actually a translation of what was originally said in Aramaic or Hebrew. In translation a certain amount of variation is possible, even necessary; seldom, if ever, is there only one legitimate way to translate from one language into another. At times the evangelists may even have deemed it more suited to their purposes to depart from a strictly literal translation of what Jesus said. So long as what Jesus intended is faithfully represented in language that accurately and effectively communicates to the intended readership, they cannot properly be faulted for this. Sometimes a more free translation may have been employed in reporting what Jesus said, for occasionally free translation can communicate the impact of what was originally said with gestures, intonation, and expression better than a verbatim account.

Aside from the inevitable variations arising from literal and free translations of Jesus' words, there are other equally significant considerations. Modern writing style employs various devices to indicate direct and verbatim quotations. Words included within quotation marks are assumed to be the exact words of the speaker. Ellipses are used to indicate words left out of the original statement, and brackets indicate words added by the reporter to clarify the sense of the quotation even though they were not originally part of the quotation. Footnotes may be employed to distinguish quotations coming from different sources or made at different times. None of these devices was available to first-century writers, and it is wrong to impose upon them standards of writing that presuppose their availability.

Furthermore, the exacting rules for quotations in modern writing may presuppose the mechanical means by which oral speech can be

exactly recorded. Obviously early writers had no tape recorders, but shorthand techniques were widely used in the first century. Matthew, a tax collector accustomed to keeping records, may have acquired this skill. It has even been suggested he may have kept records of Christ's words and deeds, thus creating a core of written tradition upon which early Christians, including the gospel writers, could draw. This would partially explain the remarkable similarities among the gospels. But it would not eliminate differences, because he was only one of a number who contributed to this core of tradition.

With these general considerations in mind, then, one should examine the theory that varying accounts of what Jesus or other individuals said are instances of unavoidable inaccuracy. Is this a necessary conclusion? By no means. The gospels should not be called inaccurate when there are at least two viable options for defending their accuracy.

1. One approach is to note that the writers were not necessarily bound to conform to standards of verbal exactitude that later times developed. This explanation does not see verbatim reproduction of Jesus' words as the real question always. Rather the issue is, Do the words of the evangelists that report what Jesus said faithfully represent what Jesus in fact said; and, apart from verbal differences, are the reports of what Jesus said as given by the different evangelists consistent with one another in meaning? If the answer is Yes, then their accuracy cannot be impugned.

   Actually, in ordinary oral discourse this manner of reporting what others have said is still followed, and so long as it is done carefully, no one questions the integrity of what has been said. To repeat word for word the speech of another is not in every case the natural or even possible thing. It would sometimes be impossible to repeat every word and phrase. What one does expect to be reproduced from an ordinary discussion are the striking or important statements, the leading thoughts, the major divisions or topics, and the general drift of discussion, including transitions from one topic to another. Although different reports are expected to agree on these matters, it is also expected that there will be differences in details, reflecting the interests and purposes of the reporters. Modifications such as changes of person; substitutions of pronouns for nouns or vice versa; changes in tense, voice, or mood of the verbs; and substitutions of synonyms are too trivial to call into question a reporter's accuracy in ordinary discussion. Although wording is important, meaning can be conveyed in a variety of ways. Verbal inspiration does not imply that truth can be accurately communicated in only one way. Rather it means that what the Holy Spirit did speak through the human agents was inspired and hence accurate, word for word.

2. A second option for defending the gospels' accuracy despite differing parallel accounts of the same speech is based on the possibility that these accounts do in fact retain verbatim utterances of Jesus and others. These of course would be the occasions when the Greek language was used. It is certainly not inconceivable that those recording Jesus' teachings in shorthand did so in a manner so as to retain the very words spoken. In addition, sufficient allowance should be made for the highly trained memories among the Jewish people of this time. It is generally acknowledged that they were much more adept in remembering details than the average Western mind of the twentieth century.

   Beyond the use of shorthand and memory, allowance must also be made for the activity of the Holy Spirit in calling to mind the words that Jesus had spoken. Jesus had promised such a helper when he said, "The Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you all things, and will remind you of everything I have said to you" (John 14:26). If the Spirit could provide for verbally inspired writings in the composition of other parts of Scripture, he could surely do the same in the gospels.

   If one follows this approach, differences between parallel accounts of the same discourse or conversation are explained by noting that no single gospel records everything spoken on a single occasion. In fact, it is doubtful that any combination of parallel accounts records the entirety of a speech or dialogue. Christ undoubtedly repeated some of his teachings in slightly differing forms on different occasions. He most probably did so on the same occasion also. Thus parallel accounts reporting the same substance in slightly different forms may be examples of different but similar statements made on the same occasion, each writer selecting only a part of what was said for his account. A sample of this may be seen in the first Beatitude. Matthew relates, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:3), and Luke writes, "Blessed are you who are poor, for yours is the kingdom of God" (Luke 6:20). Jesus probably repeated this Beatitude in at least two different forms on the occasion of his Sermon on the Mount. If so, he used the third person once, the second person another time, and referred to the kingdom by two different titles. Also, in one case he qualified the poverty with the addition "in spirit," and in the other he did not. Because we know that neither gospel records the whole sermon, this explanation is quite plausible.

   The parable of the mustard tree (Matt. 13:32; Mark 4:32) may also illustrate how Jesus on the same occasion repeated something in a slightly different form. According to Matthew he said that the birds of the air perch "in its branches," but according to Mark they

perch "in its shade." Which did Jesus say? The chances are good that he said both. Again, according to Matthew Jesus in his Olivet discourse gives the claim of future imposters as "I am the Christ" (Matt. 24:5), but Mark and Luke quote him as saying, "I am he" (Mark 13:6; Luke 21:8) ("he" being supplied by the NIV translators). Minor variations of this type are numerous.

In other places the variations are not minor. The difference between "this is why" (Matt. 13:13) and "so that" (Mark 4:12) has far-reaching implications as to meaning. Did Jesus use parables because his rejectors were already spiritually blind, or did he do so as to produce their blindness? He probably said both. The alleged displacement of Matthew 13:12 in Mark (4:25) and Luke (8:18b) most likely has the same explanation: in Matthew's account the words speak of Jesus' enemies and in the other two, of his disciples. Again the difference in meaning is substantial. Differences of this magnitude are not infrequent and can well be resolved by postulating that Jesus often repeated the same essential meaning in more than one form on one occasion.

Either of the options, then, or a combination of the two is sufficient to show that inaccuracy is not an inevitable or even a likely means of accounting for differences in parallel accounts. Whether we have an accurate summary of what Jesus said or the very words he spoke is difficult for us to determine at this point. It may very well be that we have some cases of both. The important thing is to recognize the Holy Spirit's part in inspiring what was written so as to guarantee an accurate report. It is not difficult to see this in light of the many instances where the gospels confirm rather than differ from one another.

What is to be said of events that are put in different order by the evangelists? First, it is quite possible for two different occurrences, happening within the same sphere and under similar circumstances, to resemble each other in several respects. If the leading features of the accounts differ, however, they should not be understood to be reports of the same event. Thus apparent divergency of order may in fact indicate different events with differing details at certain crucial points. The fact that the gospels do not always give their material, whether of word or event, in the same order is a problem only if it is assumed that they must follow a strict and uniform chronological sequence, or if they categorically state that they will use only a chronological sequence and then proceed to violate it. The latter cannot be shown to be the case, and the former assumption is clearly inappropriate. Although a chronological arrangement might usually be expected to prevail, such is not a necessary condition of good writing. At their own discretion, authors are free to arrange materials according to subject rather than chronological sequence

if that better serves their purposes. This freedom that authors may legitimately exercise creates many variations of order in the gospel. This, of course, causes problems for the harmonist, who is seeking to establish a chronological sequence. Which evangelist preserves that order? Sometimes indications of time or place give the necessary clue, but not always. This is, however, the problem of the harmonist, not the fault of the author.

Finally, the careful reader of a harmony will eventually notice cases of what appear to be discrepancies in the recounting of events by two or more gospel writers. The reader may discover that a few such instances may in fact be different events, so that no discrepancy, either real or apparent, exists. In most cases this is not the solution, but the solution is not hard to find. It is both possible and probable that when several writers narrate the same occurrence, they will differ at several points in their descriptions of what was said, what happened, and the attendant circumstances.

This fact is confirmed in daily experience. Referees are stationed at different positions on the court or playing field so that they can see different things. Equally calm and intelligent observers stationed on different corners of an intersection will report an automobile accident somewhat differently. Equally competent media reporters at a convention will differ in their accounts of what happened. Why? Each reports from the angle of his or her own vantage point or that of the sources used. Each chooses and narrates material in a manner that is consistent with his or her purposes. What one reports, another might pass over without falsity occurring in either account. In fact, reports that are too closely identical provide grounds for suspecting collusion.

Although gospel accounts might superficially *appear* to conflict with one another, the variety of perspectives and selectivity of reporting they exhibit are themselves marks of accuracy and reliability. In such instances the contradictions are *apparent*, not *real*. Careful analysis will generally resolve the apparent conflicts and harmonize the accounts. Even in those cases where clear or persuasive resolution of conflicting descriptions is lacking, one is not forced to the conclusion that the contradictions are real. Just as possibly, not enough information is available to bring to the surface the *real underlying harmony* between *apparently conflicting* accounts.

These considerations do not solve all the problems that comparative study of the gospels in a harmony may raise. They are valid principles, however, assumed to be true and operative in other areas, and they are equally apropos in a study of the gospels. They successfully resolve most of the problems of harmonization. For those matters that have no evident satisfactory solution, it is better to leave the matter unresolved than to resort to strained and artificial exegesis of the text. Textual corruption

in copying manuscripts is a possibility, but this is a plea easily abused. The student believing in the inspiration of Scripture is not obligated to find a solution to every difficulty therein. In view of the repeatedly established integrity of the gospels, is it not presumptuous for anyone to claim sufficient knowledge to conclude that the gospels are in fact contradictory? Historical accounts of all kinds are selective in the material they include; such is an inescapable necessity. The gospel writers did not write with the idea in mind that one day someone would put together a harmony. Their purposes were much different, although we have no credible reason to doubt their reliability in reporting history. Had they wanted to produce accounts more easily harmonized, they could have done so and made the present task much easier. But that would have diverted them from the direction in which the Spirit led them and radically changed the literary character of the gospels. In the process their character as gospels, four independent accounts of the good news, would have been rendered ineffective.

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ESSAY 8

The Languages Jesus Spoke

The language milieu of first-century Palestine has more than a passing interest for the reader of the gospels. It involves the question of what languages Jesus spoke and indirectly may have implications for one's view of the origin and integrity of the gospels as historical documents. For instance, on the assumption that the language exclusively, or at least primarily, spoken by Jesus was Aramaic, it has been commonplace to argue that the closer the language and style of the gospels to the language and style of Aramaic, the greater the presumption for authenticity. Conversely, it has often been argued that the absence of Semitisms creates a presumption against authenticity.

What has been the state of the debate? Almost certainly Latin was not in common use in Palestine, for conquest by the Roman armies had not involved conquest by the Latin language. Stemming from Alexander the Great's conquests in the fourth century B.C. and the subsequent Hellenistic movement, Greek had already been established as the *lingua franca*, and the conquests of Rome made no significant change. What was the use of Greek in Palestine in the time of Christ? Was it a language of culture and commerce for an elite few, or was it also used by the common people? And if it was used by more than the elite, how extensive was that use? Or was Aramaic the language of almost universal usage by the masses? A view commonly held since the Middle Ages is that beginning with the Babylonian exile, Hebrew gradually ceased to exist as a living language and that among Jewish people Aramaic became the language of everyday discourse. But did Hebrew really cease to be a living language; did it come to be only the religious vernacular of Jewish scholars? Advocates for the dominance of any of these three languages in Palestine have not been lacking, and cogent arguments have been made for the common usage of *all three* languages among Jews in first-century Palestine.

Perhaps this in itself should have alerted the advocates of the different viewpoints to the possibility that all three languages were in fact in common use. Robert H. Gundry has persuasively argued that this was the situation, and his work has been supplemented by that of Philip Edgcumbe Hughes.

Recently discovered archaeological data have done much to resolve the problem. Ossuaries, receptacles in which the bones of the dead were

placed, often have writing on them. It is to be expected that in the presence of death the languages used would be those in which people customarily thought and spoke. Gundry briefly surveys ossuary finds in Palestine from the period in question and concludes that all three languages appear on them in roughly equal proportions.

This evidence for the currency of all three languages is further strengthened by discoveries coming from excavations in caves around the Dead Sea. In his two expeditions to the "Cave of Letters," Yigael Yadin and his associates unearthed some fifteen letters and more than forty other papyrus documents such as contracts and receipts. These date from the last years of the first century to the time of Bar Kokhba's revolt in A.D. 132–135. The cave appears to have been the hiding place of Bar Kokhba and his guerrilla band, and the documents are apparently representative of their routine correspondence on everyday and military matters. All three languages—Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic—are represented in both the correspondence and miscellaneous documents. These men were not academicians. That they understood and used these languages strongly suggests their use among the people of Palestine generally. It appears that Hebrew was not confined to the scholars of Judea, and that Greek was not merely the language of commerce and culture. Apparently both were in common usage along with Aramaic, and therefore Jesus might easily have used any one of the three.

Impartial examination of the gospels seems to confirm that this was indeed the language environment of Jesus' day. Based on extensive research in Old Testament quotation material shared by Matthew and the other synoptic writers, Robert Gundry concludes that the modes of citation in these quotations reflects the trilingual situation evidenced in the archaeological data. The presence of Semitisms in the Greek of the gospels does not necessarily indicate that a Semitic language (Aramaic or Hebrew) was used exclusively in first-century Palestine. In polylingual areas, languages tend to interpenetrate one another in their vocabulary and manner of expression; the Septuagint, for example, is full of Semitic forms of expression. This widespread polylingualism would have influenced powerfully the type of Greek spoken in Palestine. The fact that Greek had been imported into an originally Semitic language milieu also gives reason to expect that the Greek spoken there reflected Semitic idiom and thought patterns.

But the gospels and Acts offer more positive evidence for the common currency of Greek in Christ's day and among those whom he taught. Two of the twelve disciples, Andrew and Philip, had Greek names. John 12:20–23 strongly suggest that Philip, Andrew, and Jesus understood and spoke Greek. Peter, the foremost among the twelve, bears not only Hebrew and Aramaic names (Simon and Cephas) but also is referred to by his Greek name (Peter). It is also likely that this same Peter spoke Greek

to Cornelius's household in Acts 10 and wrote in Greek the two letters bearing his name. That a Galilean fisherman would have a Greek name and speak and write Greek testifies to the fact that those with little formal education were competent in that language as well. In the Greek text of John 21 Jesus uses two different Greek words for *love* and for *taking care of* the flock, and Peter uses two different words for *know*. None of these pairs, however, can be reproduced in Hebrew or Aramaic; this was apparently a conversation originally carried on in Greek. Also, the play on the Greek words *petra* and *petros* in Matthew 16:18 cannot be reproduced in Hebrew or Aramaic and is best explained as occurring in a discussion originally carried on in Greek. In all likelihood, Jesus' conversations with the Syrophoenician woman, the Roman centurion, and Pilate were in Greek. Stephen (Acts 7) and James (Acts 15) quote from the Septuagint, thus giving evidence of their facility in the Greek language.

That Aramaic was a language in popular usage in first-century Palestine is so clear from both biblical and extrabiblical sources that it is unnecessary to argue the point. Indeed, some have found the evidence so compelling they have argued that the language of the Jewish people in all districts of Palestine had become Aramaic long before the time of Christ. Semitic forms of expression and thought patterns in the gospels were cited as general evidence; more specific evidence was found in what were thought to be a large number of Aramaic terms and names in the gospels. Aramaic as the only language for common discourse was commonly held to be so firmly established that Josephus's references, the biblical references (John 19:20; Acts 21:40; 22:2; 26:14), and the patristic references to the Hebrew language were taken as really referring to Aramaic.

The obvious evidences of an Aramaic background for the gospels do not establish the exclusive use of Aramaic among the people of the land. In addition, much recent research has challenged the opinion that the transliterated Aramaic terms in the Greek text of the gospels are really Aramaic (see, for example, Matt. 27:46; Mark 5:41; 7:34; 14:36; 15:34). It is now argued that at least some of these transliterations are really Hebrew, and that when Josephus, the biblical writers, or the church Fathers refer to the Hebrew language, they do mean Hebrew. This is further confirmed by linguistic evidence that the Hebrew used by Jewish scholars was not a dead language. Instead it bears the earmarks of a typical vernacular language: new words are coined, it has a vocabulary that covers all of daily experience, and it is simple and direct. In rabbinic literature, Hebrew is used in conversations, and the subject matter is not confined to scholarly questions but includes matters of everyday life. Also, a number of Qumran documents are written in Hebrew. Again, subject matter is not confined to scholarly pursuits, and evidence sug-

gests that the common person at Qumran understood it. Some have argued that one should not expect Aramaic to have so quickly and completely replaced Hebrew as the language of the common people. Aramaic initially was spoken in the commercial or governmental levels of Jewish society. Only gradually did it filter down to become the spoken and written language of the lower-class, ill-educated community. Hebrew long remained the language of the common people; the final blow to it as a spoken language came from the wars of A.D. 132–135, when the Jewish revolutionaries were crushingly defeated.

Apparently, then, Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic were all commonly spoken and understood among the Palestinian Jews of Jesus' day. To determine precise proportions and use is not possible, and perhaps one language tended to predominate in one area more than the others. But it was a mixed language milieu. Almost certainly Jesus spoke in all three languages, and evidences for this exist in the gospels themselves.

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ESSAY 9

The Genealogies in Matthew and Luke (Matt. 1:1–17; Luke 3:23b–38)

Both Matthew and Luke give a genealogical list for the descent of Jesus. When these are compared, differences and difficulties appear immediately. The most obvious difference is that Matthew's list begins with Abraham and descends to Jesus, whereas Luke's list begins with Jesus and ascends to Adam, the son of God. This in itself presents no difficulty; but when one of the lists is put in inverse order for convenience in comparing, it is quite another matter. Of course only Luke gives the generations from Adam to Abraham, and the lists of progenitors between Abraham and David as given by Matthew and Luke are nearly identical. No problem comes until we compare the two versions of the succession from David to Jesus:

Matthew's list	Luke's list (in inverse order)
David	David
Solomon	Nathan
Rehoboam	Mattatha
Abijah	Menna
Asa	Melea
Jehoshaphat	Eliakim
Jehoram	Jonam
Uzziah	Joseph
Jotham	Judah
Ahaz	Simeon
Hezekiah	Levi
Manasseh	Matthat
Amon	Jorim
Josiah	Eliezer
Jeconiah	Joshua
Shealtiel	Er
Zerubbabel	Elmadam
Abiud	Cosam
Eliakim	Addi
Azor	Melki
Zadok	Neri
Akim	Shealtiel
Eliud	Zerubbabel
Eleazar	Rhesa
Matthan	Joanan
Jacob	Joda

Joseph (husband of Mary)	Josech
Jesus	Semein
	Mattathias
	Maath
	Naggai
	Esli
	Nahum
	Amos
	Mattathias
	Joseph
	Jannai
	Melki
	Levi
	Matthat
	Heli
	Joseph
	Jesus ("the son, so it was thought, of Joseph")

For students of a harmony of the gospels the above comparison presents two problems: the difference in the number of generations and the dissimilarity of names. How can the two genealogies be harmonized without sacrificing the historical integrity of either?

Recent critical studies have generally regarded past attempts at harmonization as just so much frustrated effort. Both H. C. Waetjen and M. D. Johnson summarily dismiss past efforts to preserve full historical authenticity as unconvincing, strained, and beside the point. In any event, it is said, historicity will not affect significantly the reader's existential response or understanding of New Testament theology. Instead, each genealogy must be understood individually and theologically in relation to the gospel in which it appears and the thought of the evangelist that it is intended to express. The content and structure of each supposedly is arbitrary to suit the evangelist's purpose. What those specific purposes were need not occupy our attention here, for the analyses of scholars such as Waetjen and Johnson follow the assumptions and methodology of much recent New Testament critical scholarship. Their analyses will be no better than their assumptions and methodology. And the fundamental question of the historical reliability of the genealogies cannot be bypassed in so cavalier a fashion. Consequently we turn our attention to the problems of harmonizing the two lists of Jesus' ancestral descent.

The first problem, the difference in the number of generations, is the easier to resolve. Although it is true that Matthew lists twenty-six progenitors between David and Jesus, compared with Luke's forty, two factors must be kept in mind. First, it is not uncommon for the generations in one line of descent to increase more rapidly than in another. Second, and more important, in Jewish thinking *son* might mean "grand-

son," or, even more generally, "descendant" (as "Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham," Matt. 1:1). Similarly, *begat* (rendered by the pattern " 'X' [was] the father of 'Y' " in the New International Version, Matt. 1:2–16) does not necessarily mean "was the actual (that is, immediate) father of" but instead may simply indicate real descent. Just the fact that Matthew casts his list in the form of three groups of fourteen generations suggests this was a convenient though arbitrary arrangement from which some generations may have been omitted. In fact, it can be shown that Matthew's list has omissions (cf. 2 Kings 8:24; 1 Chron. 3:11; 2 Chron. 22:1, 11; 24:27; 2 Kings 23:34; 24:6). Omission of generations in biblical genealogies is not unique to this case, and Jews are known to have done this freely. The purpose of a genealogy was not to account for every generation, but to establish the fact of an undoubted succession, including especially the more prominent ancestors.

The second problem is more difficult to resolve. In the two lists of succession, between David and Joseph all the names are different except Shealtiel and Zerubbabel (connected in the list by dotted lines). How is this to be accounted for? Some exegetes unnecessarily despair of finding an adequate solution or even suggest the lists are in error. Others see them as redactional devices by which the writers sought to fulfill their theological purposes in writing (see essay 5). But among the attempts to harmonize the genealogies with each other, four proposals deserve consideration.

1. Julius Africanus (d. A.D. 240) suggested that Matthew gives the genealogy of Joseph through his actual father, Jacob, but Luke gives Joseph's genealogy through his legal father, Heli. In this view, Heli died childless. His half-brother, Jacob, who had the same mother but a different father, married Heli's widow and by her had Joseph. Known as levirate marriage, this action meant that physically Joseph was the son of Jacob and legally the son of Heli. Jacob was the descendant of David through David's son Solomon, and Heli was the descendant of David through David's son Nathan. Thus, by both legal and physical lineage Joseph had a rightful claim to the Davidic throne and so would his legal (but not physical) son Jesus. Matthew gives Joseph's physical lineage, Luke his legal lineage.
2. In his classic work, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, J. Gresham Machen argued for the view that Matthew gives the legal descent of Joseph whereas for the most part (he does allow for levirate marriage or transfer of lineage to a collateral line in Joseph's physical line), Luke gives the physical descent. Although the physical and legal lines are reversed, the purpose is still to establish Joseph's rightful claim to the Davidic throne. This view holds that Solomon's line failed in Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) (Jer. 22:30). But when the kingly line through

Solomon became extinct, the living member of the collateral line of Nathan (Shealtiel, Matt. 1:12, cf. Luke 3:27) inherited the title to the throne. Thus, Machen asserts, Matthew is tracing the legal heirship to the throne from David, through Solomon, through Jeconiah, with transfer to a collateral line at that point. Luke traces the physical descent (with a possibility of jumps to a collateral line or levirate marriages) to David through Nathan. Matthew starts with the question, Who is the heir to David's throne? Luke starts with the question, Who is Joseph's father?

A large number of scholars have preferred some form of this view, including A. Hervey, Theodor Zahn, Vincent Taylor, and Brooke F. Westcott.

3. A third view suggests that the apparent conflict between the two genealogies of Joseph results from mistakenly assuming Luke is intending to give Joseph's genealogy. Instead it should be understood as Mary's genealogy. Joseph's name stands in for Mary's by virtue of the fact that he had become son or heir of Heli (Mary's father) by his marriage to her. This view holds that Heli died with no sons, and that Mary became his heiress (Num. 27:1–11; 36:1–12). The first of these passages seems to provide for the preservation of the name of the man who dies with daughters but no sons. In the case of Heli and his daughter, Mary, this could have been accomplished by Joseph's becoming identified with Mary's family. Joseph would be included in the family genealogy, although the genealogy is really Mary's. Thus the genealogies of Matthew and Luke diverge from David on because Matthew traces the Davidic descent of Joseph, and Luke the Davidic descent of Mary (with Joseph's name standing in).

Each of the three proposals discussed thus far would resolve the apparent conflict between the genealogies in Matthew and Luke. Each also appears to be within the realm of reasonable possibility. It must be pointed out that all three, however, rely upon conjecture that is possible but far from certain. In the first two views one must appeal to levirate marriages or collateral lines to resolve difficulties. The third view rests on the conjecture that Joseph takes Mary's place in the genealogy. In addition, the first must explain why Luke rather than Matthew is interested in the legal lineage of Joseph. Both the first and second views must explain why Luke, in light of his apparent interest in and close association with Mary, would be concerned with Joseph's genealogy at all. Interested as he was in Jesus' humanity, birth, and childhood, why would Luke give the genealogy of the man who was Jesus' legal but not physical father? These questions are not unanswerable, but they do leave the field open for a view less dependent on conjecture, one that does not raise these questions.

4. There is such a view. Like the third proposed solution, this fourth view understands the genealogy in Luke really to be Mary's, but for different reasons. Here Heli is understood to be the progenitor of Mary, not of Joseph. Joseph is not properly part of the genealogy, and is mentioned only parenthetically. Luke 3:23 should then read, "Jesus . . . was the son (so it was thought, of Joseph) of Heli." The support for this view is impressive.
   a. Placing the phrase "so it was thought, of Joseph" in parentheses, and thus in effect removing it from the genealogy, is grammatically justified. In the Greek text Joseph's name occurs without the Greek definite article prefixed; every other name in the series has the article. By this device Joseph's name is shown to be not properly a part of the genealogy. Jesus was only thought to be his son. This would make Jesus the son (that is, grandson or descendant) of Heli, Mary's progenitor, and is consistent with Luke's account of Jesus' conception, which makes clear that Joseph was not his physical father (Luke 1:26–38).
   b. This view allows the most natural meaning of *begat* to stand. In other words, *begat* refers to actual physical descent rather than to jumps to collateral lines.
   c. Matthew's interest in Jesus' relation to the Old Testament and the Messianic kingdom makes it appropriate that he give Joseph's real descent from David through Solomon—a descent that is also Jesus' legal descent—and thus gives him legal claim to the Davidic throne.
   d. Because Luke emphasizes the humanity of Jesus, his solidarity with the human race, and the universality of salvation, it is fitting that Luke show his humanity by recording his human descent through his human parent, Mary. His pedigree is then traced back to Adam.
   e. The objection that Mary's name is not in Luke's version needs only the reply that women were rarely included in Jewish genealogies; though giving her descent, Luke conforms to custom by not mentioning her by name. The objection that Jews never gave the genealogy of women is met by the answer that this is a unique case; Luke is talking about a virgin birth. How else could the physical descent of one who had no human father be traced? Furthermore, Luke has already shown a creative departure from customary genealogical lists by starting with Jesus and ascending up the list of ancestors rather than starting at some point in the past and descending to Jesus.
   f. This view allows easy resolution of the difficulties surrounding Jeconiah (Matt. 1:11), Joseph's ancestor and David's descen-

dant through Solomon. In 2 Sam. 7:12–17 the perpetuity of the Davidic kingdom through Solomon (vv. 12–13) is unconditionally promised. Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) later was the royal representative of that line of descent for which eternal perpetuity had been promised. Yet for his gross sin (2 Chron. 24:8–9), Jeconiah was to be recorded as if childless, and no descendant of his would prosper on the Davidic throne (Jer. 22:30). This poses a dilemma. It is Jeconiah through whom the Solomonic descent and legal right to the throne properly should be traced. Solomon's throne had already been unconditionally promised eternal perpetuity. Yet Jeconiah will have no physical descendants who will prosper on that throne. How may both the divine promise and the curse be fulfilled?

First, notice that Jeremiah's account neither indicates Jeconiah would have no seed, nor does it say Jeconiah's line has had its legal claim to the throne removed by his sin. The legal claim to the throne remains with Jeconiah's line, and Matthew records that descent down to Joseph. In 1:16, Matthew preserves the virgin birth of Jesus and at the same time makes clear that Jesus does not come under the curse upon Jeconiah. He breaks the pattern and carefully avoids saying that Joseph (a descendant of Jeconiah) begat Jesus. Instead he refers to "Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus." In the English translation the antecedent of "whom" is ambiguous. But in the Greek text, "whom" is feminine singular in form and can refer only to Mary who was not a descendant of Jeconiah. As to human parentage, Jesus was born of Mary alone, though Joseph was his legal father. As Jesus' legal father, Joseph's legal claim passed to Jesus. But because Jesus was not actually Jeconiah's seed, although of actual Davidic descent through Mary, descendant of Nathan, Jesus escaped the curse on Jeconiah's seed pronounced in Jeremiah 22:30. Thus the problem is resolved.

What we have then are two different genealogies of two people. Probably even the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel of Matthew and Luke are different persons. This view does not depend on conjecture, rests on evidence within the texts themselves, fits the purposes of the evangelists, and easily resolves the problem surrounding Jeconiah. Of this view L. M. Sweet appropriately wrote, "Its simplicity and felicitous adjustment to the whole complex situation is precisely its recommendation."

Although it is not, strictly speaking, a harmonistic problem, one other difficulty of lesser significance found in Matthew's record of Joseph's genealogy needs discussion here. In 1:17, Matthew divides the

generations from Abraham to Christ into three groups of fourteen generations: from Abraham to David, from David to the deportation to Babylon, and from the deportation to Christ. In part, this was likely a device used by Matthew to aid memory; it does not imply that he mentioned every progenitor. At least five names are omitted: Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, Jehoiakim, and Eliakim. As previously stated, this procedure was not unusual and presents no real problem.

With three groups of fourteen generations, however, one does expect to find forty-two different names. But there are only forty-one. Although one set has only thirteen different names, the problem is only apparent. Matthew does not speak of forty-two different names but of three groups of fourteen generations, which he divides for himself. David's name concludes the first set and stands first in the second set (cf. 1:17). In other words, David is counted twice and is thus given special prominence in the genealogy that shows Jesus' Davidic throne rights through his legal father, Joseph. Another means used for increasing the focus on David is the title assigned to him in Matthew 1:6. He is called King David, and is the only person in the genealogy to whom a title is given. Possibly the Davidic emphasis is even further enhanced by the number 14. The sum of the numerical value of the Hebrew letters in the name *David* is 14. To the modern reader this might seem overly subtle, but it was not necessarily so in ancient Semitic thought. The numerical value of David's name, however, is not necessary to the resolution of this problem. Again, alleged discrepancies between and in the genealogical lists of Matthew and Luke are shown to be more apparent than real. Reasonable solutions to the problems exist and even throw further light on the text.

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ESSAY 10

The Day and Year of Christ's Crucifixion

Determining the day of the week, the date of the month, and the year of Christ's crucifixion is of greatest importance in settling upon a broad chronology of the life of Christ. For clarity's sake these three issues will be discussed in this article before proceeding to a study of other chronological aspects of the gospels that relate to the life of Christ. The three will be considered in the above order and discussed separately from each other insofar as is possible.

The Day of the Week

The Christian church has traditionally looked upon Friday as the day on which Jesus died. No strong reason has been advanced for abandoning this understanding. The most frequent objections to a Friday crucifixion arise from a misunderstanding that the "three days and three nights" found in Matthew 12:40 requires Jesus to have been in the tomb for three full, twenty-four-hour days. With this assumption, by counting backward from Sunday some settle upon Thursday or Wednesday as the day of crucifixion.

Such a conclusion, however, contradicts the explicit statement of all four gospels that Jesus was crucified on the day called preparation (*paraskeuē*) (Matt. 27:62; Mark 15:42; Luke 23:54; John 19:14, 31, 42), a technical designation among the Jews for the day of the week that corresponds to our Friday. Such a contradictory situation vanishes when it is observed that "three days and three nights," rightly understood, can encompass anything from just over twenty-four hours to up to seventy-two hours.

Jesus compared himself to Jonah in predicting a stay of "three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" (Matt. 12:40). In this statement he chose one of several possible ways to say the same thing. It was common practice among the Jews to refer to a fractional part of a day or a night as one day and one night (cf. Gen. 42:17–18; 1 Sam. 30:12–13; 1 Kings 20:29; 2 Chron. 10:5, 12; Esther 4:16; 5:1). Hence "three days and three nights" does not necessitate three twenty-four-hour days between Christ's crucifixion and resurrection but was just another way of saying he was raised on "the third day" (Matt. 16:21; 17:23; 20:19; 27:64; Luke 9:22; 18:33; 24:7, 21, 46; Acts 10:40; 1 Cor. 15:4) or after "three days"

(Matt. 26:61; 27:40, 63; Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34; 14:58; 15:29; John 2:19–20).

In light of the gospel accounts, then, it can be safely concluded that Jesus died at 3:00 P.M. on a Friday and was placed in the tomb later that same day (that is, before sundown). He remained there part of Friday (until sundown), all of the next day (from sundown Friday until sundown Saturday), and part of the third day (from sundown Saturday until early Sunday morning). The system of reckoning each day from sunset to sunset was followed by the Sadducees in Jerusalem. Another system of reckoning from sunrise to sunrise was also in vogue, but the sunset-to-sunset scheme was the more officially recognized of the two (cf. pp. 312–13 of this essay).

The Date of the Month

It is also of great moment to ascertain on which date of the Jewish calendar Christ was crucified. Was it on the fourteenth or the fifteenth of Nisan? The gospel of John gives an initial impression that it was the fourteenth, but the synoptic gospels appear to say the fifteenth. Stated another way, John seems to indicate that the Last Supper the night before the crucifixion was not a Passover meal, but the synoptic writers say it was.

John 13:1 says the supper the night preceding Jesus' crucifixion was "just before the Passover Feast." The gospel of John also says that Jesus' trial was on "the day of preparation of Passover week" (John 19:14). John 18:28 says that Jesus' Jewish accusers had not yet eaten the Passover. Also, in John 13:29 the misimpression of the other disciples about the nature of Judas' mission seems to be based on their anticipation of the Passover feast's coming on the next day. Because the Passover was normally eaten on the evening marking the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth (Lev. 23:5), it appears that John understands Jesus' death to have come on the fourteenth of Nisan.

On the other side of the question, Matthew, Mark, and Luke are specific in placing the Last Supper after sundown, ending the fourteenth and beginning the fifteenth of the month (Matt. 26:17–20; Mark 14:12–17; Luke 22:7–16). They refer to the sacrifice of the lambs, which occurred on the fourteenth, and the meal following it that same evening.

Different attempts have been made to resolve this apparent contradiction. Some have proposed that the synoptic gospels are right and John is wrong, and others have suggested the opposite. Another proposal has been to say both versions are correct and to strain the interpretation of one account to make it harmonize with the other.

The best approach to the issue is to accept the accuracy of both methods of dating the crucifixion. This can be done because the Jews of Jesus' day apparently recognized two methods of reckoning dates. In ad-

dition to the better-known system that regarded each new day as starting at sundown, the policy of some was to reckon from sunrise to sunrise. Each of these customs finds support from the Old Testament, the former in such places as Genesis 1:5 and Exodus 12:18 and the latter in Genesis 8:22 and 1 Samuel 19:11.

The system of reckoning used by Jesus and his disciples and described by Matthew, Mark, and Luke was from sunrise to sunrise. John describes the events from the perspective of a sunset-to-sunset reckoning because this system enjoyed more of an official recognition (see earlier discussion entitled "The Day of the Week" in this essay). Indications are that this difference in systems was also a point of disagreement between the Pharisees (sunrise to sunrise) and the Sadducees (sunset to sunset).

The synoptic accounts therefore see Jesus as eating a Passover meal the evening before his crucifixion. For those who followed the sunrise-to-sunrise reckoning, the Passover lambs had been slain a few hours earlier, in the afternoon. For them the slaughter took place on the fourteenth of Nisan, as did the Passover meal. The fifteenth did not begin until the next morning, Friday, at about six.

The Johannine description, however, views the events from the standpoint of the Sadducees, who controlled the temple. Jesus was crucified at the normal time of killing the Passover lambs, that is, the afternoon of Nisan 14. Nisan 14 had begun at sunset on Thursday and would not end until sunset on Friday. This was the normal time for the lambs to be slain, but the temple authorities had apparently compromised with those who followed the other calendar and allowed them to slay the lambs on Thursday afternoon. Otherwise, the facilities could not have accommodated the large number of people with their sacrifices who came to the Passover each year. This difference explains why Jesus' accusers had not yet eaten the Passover (John 18:28). They were about to do it Friday evening, Nisan 15, which began at sunset.

If the preceding solution is correct (and it is impossible to say dogmatically that it is, but it does seem to handle all the data more effectively than other proposals), then Jesus was crucified on Nisan 15 according to the sunrise-to-sunrise reckoning and on Nisan 14 according to the sunset-to-sunset method.

The Year

The field of astronomy offers the most help in fixing the year of Christ's crucifixion. The Jewish calendar was based on lunar months. Hence by noting the dates of the new moons' appearances in the general period of Jesus' death, it is possible to determine in which years Nisan 14 (according to the sunset-to-sunset reckoning) fell between Thursday at sundown and Friday at sundown.

It is known that Jesus was crucified sometime between A.D. 26 and

A.D. 36, because this was the period of Pontius Pilate's governorship (cf. John 19:15–16). Complex astronomical calculations reveal that during this period Nisan 14 fell on Friday twice, in A.D. 30 and in A.D. 33.

Deciding between 30 and 33 is no easy matter. To a large degree the issue hinges upon chronological features related to the life of Christ as a whole. Such matters as the time of Christ's birth, what Luke means by "the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar" (Luke 3:1–2) and "about thirty years old" (Luke 3:23), what John means by "forty-six years to build this temple" (John 2:20), and other related matters must be analyzed before reaching a final decision as to the year of the crucifixion. The next essay will undertake this investigation.

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Hoehner, Harold W. *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1977. Pp. 65–114.

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ESSAY 11

Chronology of the Life of Christ

Much uncertainty pervades a study of the chronology of Christ's life. It is generally assumed that he was born in about A.D. 1 and died in about A.D. 30. Yet these are only generalizations. Our Gregorian calendar, which sought to use his birth as its reference point, erred at that very point when it was initially established in A.D. 525. Anno Domini (A.D.) means "in the year of the Lord," but information that has come to light subsequently has shown that Jesus was born prior to A.D. 1.

Though complete certainty regarding dates is impossible, much light can be shed on the subject of when Jesus lived. Certain selected happenings and statements will be discussed to give more detailed data.

The Death of Herod the Great

According to Matthew 2:1 and Luke 1:5, Herod the Great was still reigning as king over the Jews at the time of Jesus' birth. It is now known from other sources that Herod's death came in 4 B.C., soon after Nisan 1 of that year. Jesus must have been born within the two years prior to that, because Herod after ascertaining the time of the star's appearance (Matt. 2:7) gave orders to execute all the male children who were two years old and younger (Matt. 2:16). Hence Jesus must have been born between 6 B.C. and 4 B.C.

The Census Under Augustus Caesar

Luke 2:1–2 places the birth of Christ within the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus Caesar and also probably synchronizes it with Quirinius's governorship in Syria, though some understand Luke to say that the census came before this governorship. Augustus during his reign (30 B.C.–A.D. 14) established a system of census taking, and Luke refers to it in Luke 2:1. The particular census that brought Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem when Jesus was born was the first of these while Quirinius was governor (cf. Acts 5:37 for a reference to what was probably the second, which came in A.D. 6).

Evidence has surfaced to show that a census was taken every fourteen years. By counting back from those taken in neighboring Egypt, one discovers that a census must have been scheduled in 8 B.C. It is quite possible that turbulent conditions in Palestine and Syria at the time may have delayed the census for a couple of years.

Quirinius is known to have been governor of Syria in A.D. 6 at the time of a census, but this is about ten years too late for the birth of Jesus. Evidence from inscriptions, however, has shown the probability that Quirinius was involved in the Syrian government as joint ruler at an earlier time, about 8 B.C. His rule may well have extended until 6 B.C., when the governorship of Sentius Saturnius, alongside whom he ruled, ended.

The Fifteenth Year of Tiberius Caesar

In Luke 3:1 the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar is given as the date when John the Baptist began his public ministry. Because John's ministry began a short time before Jesus', this chronological note is helpful in setting time limits for Jesus' ministry.

Exact placement of this fifteenth year is attended with a great deal of difficulty, however, because Tiberius's rule had two beginnings. He became joint ruler with Augustus, his father, at some time before his father's death, but at Augustus's death in A.D. 14 he became sole ruler of the empire. If Luke is using an earlier date, John's prophetic ministry was probably initiated some time in A.D. 26 or A.D. 27. If the later date is meant, the fifteenth year was probably A.D. 28 or A.D. 29.

The latter of these two possibilities looks more probable when compared with the customary modes of dating practiced in ancient times, but the former finds more favor in light of biblical data yet to be discussed as this study proceeds. Specifically, A.D. 26 or A.D. 27 agrees better with the statement of Luke regarding Jesus' age at the outset of his ministry.

"About Thirty Years Old"

Luke says that Jesus at the beginning of his ministry was "about thirty years old" (Luke 3:23). Although this expression may denote an age anywhere from twenty-eight through thirty-two, customs of the times and other details of Jesus' life seem to indicate that Jesus was within one year of his thirtieth birthday when he began his ministry. Viewing this as a closer definition of Jesus' age also accords better with Luke's interest in furnishing precise chronological details (cf. Luke 1:5; 2:1–2; 3:1–2).

If his birth is placed in 6 B.C., he reached the age of thirty sometime in A.D. 25. If in 5 B.C., he was thirty years old sometime in the year A.D. 26. The latter date is more probable, because Jesus' crucifixion cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 30, as shown in the essay, "The Day and Year of Christ's Crucifixion" (pp. 311–14).

It is difficult to place the beginning of Jesus' ministry any later than A.D. 27, because this would put an intolerable strain on Luke's statement about his age. Furthermore, unless Jesus' ministry was only one or two years in duration, he could not have completed it by A.D. 30. Also, unless

his ministry was more extensive than commonly thought—about four or five years—it could not have lasted until A.D. 33, the other possible date discussed in essay 10.

Forty-Six Years of Temple Remodeling

In John 2:20 Jesus' antagonists refer to a building project or, more correctly, remodeling project that had been initiated by Herod the Great forty-six years earlier. This consisted of the renovation of Zerubbabel's temple. According to secular history, Herod initiated the work sometime in 20 B.C. or 19 B.C. This statement was addressed to Jesus at the first Passover after he began his public ministry. The "forty-six years" therefore furnishes another means for identifying the year when his ministry began.

This extensive project had not been completed when Herod died in 4 B.C. In fact, it was still in progress when the Jews uttered the words of John 2:20. Completion of it did not come until A.D. 64.

Though some disagreement has arisen regarding the word translated *temple* and the tense of the verb for *build*, the more obvious meaning and the one that satisfies the context better is that the Jews were pointing to how long the project had taken up to that point in contrast with the three days in which Jesus said he could build the temple (John 2:19).

By counting forty-six years from 20 B.C. or 19 B.C., one arrives at A.D. 26 or A.D. 27. Hence the first Passover of Jesus' ministry must have been in the spring of A.D. 27.

The Length of Jesus' Ministry

A date having been established for the beginning of Christ's ministry, the length of that ministry must be determined before a specific date for his crucifixion can be set.

Some have argued for a one-year ministry because the first three gospels mention only one Passover during his ministry, the one when he was crucified (Matt. 26:17–20; Mark 14:12–17; Luke 22:7–16). The gospel of John, however, contradicts this theory. John specifically names three Passovers in which Jesus was involved after he began public ministry (John 2:13; 6:4; 11:55).

Others favor a ministry of a little more than two years. They take the three Passovers in John's gospel as opening and closing each of the two years. This theory, however, is most often defended on the basis of transposing John 5 and 6. Because no manuscript evidence exists for this rearrangement, the two-year theory is weak.

Attempts to prove a ministry of a little more than four years have usually rested on the assumption of two Passovers not mentioned by John. One of these additional Passovers comes between John 4:35, which indicates the time is winter after the Passover of John 2:13, and John 5:1,

which probably refers to the Feast of Tabernacles the following fall. To postulate this unmentioned Passover seems to be quite probable. The postulation of the other additional Passover, however, does not rest on good grounds. Some place it before the Passover of John 2:13, and others after the one mentioned in John 6:4. In neither case, however, has convincing evidence been adduced for concluding that there was a fifth Passover.

The most widely held viewpoint is that Jesus' ministry extended a little more than three years. The period of time from Jesus' baptism by John (Matt. 3:1–17; Mark 1:9–11; Luke 3:21–23a) until his first Passover (John 2:13) was several months, which found him in both Galilee and Judea. The first full year of ministry (between Passovers), also spent in Judea and Galilee, was terminated by a Passover, not mentioned in the biblical record, that came a few months after Jesus' statement of John 4:35 and six months before the Feast of Tabernacles mentioned in John 5:1. His second year, most of it spent in Galilee, ended with the Passover of John 6:4. The final year was spent in areas around Galilee, in Judea, and in Perea, and came to its conclusion with the Passover referred to in John 11:55.

The conclusion that Jesus had a ministry of a little more than three years is, then, the one supported by the strongest evidence and the one most free from difficulty.

The Crucifixion

As shown in the essay "The Day and Year of Christ's Crucifixion" (pp. 311–14), Nisan 14, the day of Passover, fell on Friday only twice between A.D. 26 and A.D. 36. This leaves two possible years for Christ's crucifixion, A.D. 30 or A.D. 33. If conclusions reached earlier in this essay are valid, the former possibility must be chosen as the year in which Jesus was crucified.

Conclusions

The conclusions of this essay may be summarized in a table into which more probable options from the preceding discussion are incorporated:

6 B.C. or 5 B.C.	(late in year) or (early in year)	birth of Christ
4 B.C.	(after Nisan 1)	death of Herod the Great
A.D. 12		beginning of Tiberius Caesar's rule
A.D. 26	(early in year)	beginning of John's ministry
A.D. 26	(middle or late in year)	beginning of Christ's ministry
A.D. 27	(Nisan 14)	first Passover in Christ's ministry

A.D. 28	(Nisan 14)	second Passover in Christ's ministry
A.D. 29	(Nisan 14)	third Passover in Christ's ministry
A.D. 30	(Nisan 14)	crucifixion of Christ

Although not completely free from difficulty, the preceding table of dates appears to provide a solution with stronger cumulative evidence than any other that has been proposed. It enables the student of the gospels to know more precisely when Jesus lived, ministered, and died.

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ESSAY 12

The Arrest and Trial of Jesus

When the evangelists came to the events that brought Jesus' earthly life to a close, they gave much more information than for the other periods of his life. When taken together, the gospels give a detailed description of Passion Week. Their accounts of Jesus' arrest and trial in particular have long fascinated both Jewish and Christian scholars.

If we assume the evangelists have given us reliable information, events leading up to Jesus' crucifixion apparently took the following course:

1. On Thursday evening of Passion Week, after the journey from the upper room to the Garden of Gethsemane, Judas, Jesus' betrayer, approached Jesus in the darkness of the garden. But Judas was not alone. What is described as a great multitude included representatives of the Sanhedrin, the temple police, and a company or cohort (probably about two hundred) of Roman soldiers. Although Jesus readily identified himself as the one whom they were seeking, Judas betrayed him to his captors with a kiss. With that they took Jesus and arrested him.

   Peter momentarily tried to thwart the arrest by drawing his sword and cutting off the right ear of the high priest's servant. But Jesus rebuked Peter and restored Malchus's ear. After being chastened for his bravado and misguided zeal, Peter, with all the disciples, left Jesus and fled. Peter did return to follow from a distance.
2. Jesus was then taken to Annas, the ex-high priest. In what constitutes the first phase of his Jewish trial, he was briefly questioned by Annas and then sent to Annas' son-in-law, the current high priest, Caiaphas.
3. In Caiaphas's house at least a quorum of the Sanhedrin had been brought together for a night session. This was to be the second Jewish phase of Jesus' trial. Witnesses were called to try to establish charges against Jesus, but no two witnesses could agree, and Jesus by his silence refused to confirm the charges. Finally, after badgering from Caiaphas, Jesus confessed he was the Messiah, the Son of God, the Son of Man. Caiaphas took this to be blasphemy and worthy of death. The assembled council concurred in this judgment, passed sentence upon him, and began to physically abuse him.

4. The third Jewish phase of the trial took place early the next morning. Although the earlier night session may have had only a quorum of the Sanhedrin, the entire council was clearly in attendance this time. The charge and sentence of the previous session were confirmed.
5. Now the trial of Jesus was to enter a new phase. Because the Jews did not have the general authority to administer a sentence of death, Jesus was taken before the Roman governor Pilate for the first Roman phase of the trial. The Sanhedrin presented a threefold charge against Jesus: "subverting our nation," opposing "payment of taxes to Caesar," and claiming "to be Christ, a king" (Luke 23:2).
6. Mention of Galilee led to the second Roman phase of the trial, for much of Jesus' activity had been in Galilee, the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas. Herod happened to be in Jerusalem at the time. Perhaps partly as a means of getting rid of a difficult case and perhaps partly as a means of gaining favor with Herod, Pilate sent Jesus to him. Herod was glad for the opportunity to question Jesus and make sport of him, but he did not adjudicate the matter, sending Jesus back to Pilate.
7. With the case back in Pilate's hands, the trial entered its third Roman phase. Pilate restated the charges that had been brought against Jesus and reaffirmed his own judgment of Jesus' innocence. He observed that Herod also had not found Jesus worthy of death. But Pilate was caught between his own conviction of Jesus' innocence and the rising clamor of the Jewish leadership for his death.

   Then Pilate hit upon a scheme by which he thought he could solve the dilemma. He customarily released a prisoner to the Jews at Passover, and a crowd was gathering to demand the annual favor. Pilate decided to let them choose the release of either Jesus or an insurrectionist named Barabbas. Pilate knew that envy was behind the Jewish leadership's hatred for Jesus. Surely the multitudes would choose Jesus over Barabbas, and thus Pilate would be free of the case.

   But Pilate had not taken into account the persuasiveness of the chief priests and elders who incited the crowd, or the popularity of Barabbas. Confronted with the choice, the crowd demanded the release of Barabbas and the crucifixion of Jesus. All Pilate's efforts to dissuade them only increased the uproar. When Pilate made a move to release Jesus anyway, the Jews charged that Pilate could not then be Caesar's friend. Such an accusation could have demolished Pilate's political standing. Putting career above conviction, he decided to accede to their demands. Hoping to absolve himself of responsibility for the death of an innocent man, Pilate washed his hands before the multitude and proclaimed his innocence of Jesus' blood. Barabbas was released. Jesus was scourged and delivered to what was the will of the Jews, a Roman crucifixion by Roman soldiers.

Such is the probable reconstruction of events surrounding the arrest and trial of Jesus. But there is a large body of contemporary literature that challenges this reconstruction by assuming the unreliability of the evangelists' accounts. The claim is often made that the tradition the evangelists drew upon was merely the creation of a Christian community having no biographical interest. This tradition, it is said, was adapted by the evangelists for their own purposes of propaganda. Thus from beginning to end the gospels are biased literature. Many of the recent attempts to rescue the "few bits of objective information" embedded in the passion story, and then to reconstruct what may have actually happened, follow the methodology laid down by source critical, form critical, and redaction critical assumptions (see essays 3, 4, and 5). Once the credibility of the gospel record is surrendered, that record becomes subject to the most arbitrary reinterpretation. To illustrate, we cite several recent theories of the arrest and trial.

Haim Cohn, a justice of the Supreme Court of Israel, argues that Jesus appeared before the Jewish authorities in a hearing, not a trial. Their purpose was not to find fault with and convict Jesus; rather, the high priest and court were attempting to find a way to save him.

Arguing that the gospel accounts of the arrest and trial contain incongruities and inconsistencies that prevent us from accepting them at face value, Cohn asserts that in fact the intention of the Jewish leaders was to prevent Jesus' execution by the Romans. Jesus enjoyed the love and affection of many of the people. The court tried to bring about his acquittal, or at least a suspension of sentence on condition of good behavior. But to achieve this, Jesus had to be persuaded not to plead guilty, and reliable witnesses to Jesus' innocence of the insurrection charge had to be found. Furthermore, they needed a commitment from Jesus not to participate in treasonable activities against Rome in the future. But reliable witnesses to his innocence were not to be found, and Jesus insisted on continuing to proclaim the teaching that Rome found seditious, and for which he was convicted and crucified. Thus, according to Cohn, Jesus was executed in spite of the efforts of the high priest and Sanhedrin to save him. Jesus had refused to cooperate and to bow to their authority, and nothing could be done to prevent a Roman trial from taking its course.

S. G. F. Brandon takes a different approach to the accounts of the arrest and trial. He claims Jesus was a nationalist patriot and either a member of, or a sympathizer with, the Zealots. His message reflected these concerns and, according to Brandon, Jesus' nationalistic concerns were well understood by both the Jews and Romans. As one espousing the cause of Israel's freedom from the yoke of heathen Rome, Jesus had many sympathizers and followers among the Jewish populace. But Jesus was obviously a threat to Rome and to those Jewish leaders who had

compromised themselves with Rome. Jesus' appearances before the Sanhedrin were inquiries resulting in charges of sedition against Rome. The cooperation of Jewish leaders with Pilate led to Jesus' crucifixion as a rebel against the Roman government.

Obviously this is not how events are portrayed in the gospels. Nevertheless, following the assumptions and methodology of Source, Form, and Redaction Criticism, Brandon argues that the purpose of the gospels, of which the accounts of the arrest and trial are an integral part, was not to provide an objective, historical account of the career of Jesus. Instead, he claims, the evangelists consciously altered the facts to suit their apologetic purpose. The earliest Jewish followers of Jesus had not been troubled by the circumstances of Jesus' death. Indeed, in the tradition they developed they emphasized the Roman cross, for it enhanced the reputation of Jesus as the martyred Messiah of Israel.

According to Brandon the situation was different for later Gentile followers of Jesus. The Jewish revolt against Rome in A.D. 66, the initial atrocities against Gentiles, and the four years of bitter warfare that followed had inflamed an already existing anti-Semitism and had caused Jewish Messianism to be seen as a subversive force. The fact that Jesus had been executed by Pontius Pilate for sedition had become both embarrassing and a potential source of danger for Gentile followers of Jesus. The gospel accounts supposedly reflect this Gentile concern to shift the blame for Jesus' execution from Pilate to the Jews. Thus Mark, writing for Christians in Rome shortly after Flavian's triumph over rebel Judea in A.D. 71, initiated a different version of the trial of Jesus. Although not denying that Jesus had been put to death as a rebel against Rome, he tried to modify the tradition. Mark, Brandon asserts, presented Jesus as endorsing Jewish obligation to pay tribute to Rome, and he showed the Jewish leaders as condemning Jesus for blasphemy and then forcing Pilate to crucify him. This set the pattern, drawn upon and elaborated on by the later evangelists, of representing the Roman trial as a contest between Pilate, who was now represented as recognizing the innocence of Jesus and seeking to save him, and the Jews, who were intent upon his destruction.

Thus Mark's account of the arrest and trial is an apologetic, not history. Mark's record explained the scandal of a Roman cross; it showed the Jews to be criminally responsible; and it assured the Roman government that Christianity was not subversive. The later gospel writers, Brandon said, accepted this apologetic and further developed in their own ways the picture of the pacific Christ. Their common purpose was to make Pilate a witness to Jesus' innocence and the Jews solely responsible for his death. The fact that their purpose was apologetic rather than historical explains why the four accounts are (according to Brandon) full of contradictions, elusiveness, and absurdities.

Brandon's assessment of the gospels as biased and apologetic and the implications of this for the arrest and trial of Jesus are similar to the view of Paul Winter. He shares the opinion that Jesus was arrested, convicted, and executed as an insurrectionist against Rome, and that beginning with Mark the gospel writers were embarrassed by this fact. Because of this, the evangelists, writing in the post-A.D. 70 period, portray Pilate as convinced of Jesus' innocence and unwilling to pass the death sentence. They do this to ingratiate Christians with the Romans and to avoid persecution for Christians as subversives. But Winter is not convinced it can be shown that Jesus was closely aligned with the Zealots, or that the charge of insurrection was justified. The charge may have been concocted by his enemies, Jewish or Roman, but that would not necessarily indicate his own intentions. Winter feels it is impossible to make trustworthy, historical deductions from the gospels about Jesus' conflicts with other Jews before his last visit to Jerusalem.

Winter does argue, however, that Jesus stood close to Phariseeism, indeed, that he was a Pharisee, and that his teaching was Pharisaic in ethics and eschatology. He recognizes that Jesus probably had altercations with (other) Pharisees, but whatever quarrels he may have had with any Jewish individual or group prior to his last visit to Jerusalem had no determining influence on his fate. It was not the content of his teaching that led to his arrest and conviction; it was the effect his teaching had on certain sections of the populace that induced the authorities to take action against him. This would have been sufficient reason for Pilate to order his execution.

In widely read books and articles, Hugh Schonfield has popularized still another view that assumes the gospel accounts to be historically unreliable. He contends that from before his baptism by John, Jesus had carefully mapped out a program of events that would have to be fulfilled if he were to successfully carry out what he regarded as his Messianic task. This meant not only that he would have to do and say certain things necessary to the plan, but he would have to contrive situations in such a way as to produce certain reactions on the part of others. It was a conspiracy, a plot, that would produce a contrived fulfillment of the Scriptures. Moves and situations would have to be engineered so that others involved would perform their functions without their realizing they were being used. The road that Jesus mapped out was to culminate in the events of Passion Week. The arrest, trial, conviction, and crucifixion were the torturous conclusion of the contrived scenario.

If nothing else, one thing emerges from this survey of contemporary reinterpretations of the arrest and trial of Jesus. When one gives up on the historical reliability of the accounts, he or she cannot be assured of being any nearer the truth. Although he has no confidence in the trustworthiness of the gospels, Professor Samuel Sandmel is at least more

consistent and realistic when he confesses that he does not know what happened historically, and that he sees no possibility of reconstructing a factual account of what really happened at the arrest and trial. Such would seem to be the inevitable conclusion if one surrenders the only accounts we have of the events to the whims of the reinterpreters.

But a significant segment of recent New Testament and historical scholarship has argued for at least the essential trustworthiness of the gospel accounts of the arrest and trial. Among these may be counted C. H. Dodd, A. N. Sherwin-White, Everett F. Harrison, and Josef Blinzler. Blinzler's work towers over that of all others. For the most part Blinzler accepts the essential historicity of the gospel accounts and the consequent traditional Christian understanding of the events as summarized in the opening part of this essay.

Many issues are raised by the radical reinterpretations of the arrest and trial. The most fundamental is that of the reliability of the gospel record. It is beyond the scope of this essay to argue the case for historical trustworthiness. But it should be noted that radical reinterpretations of the type previously mentioned proceed on the assumption of untrustworthiness. Evidence to give credibility to this assumption is either absent or of the most flimsy and subjective nature. The supposition argues from silence, assumes that the gospels are contradictory rather than allowing that they might be complementary, or is based on a prior assumption that the gospels cannot be accepted as credible by their own testimony and evidence because they are fundamentally apologetic pieces. The assumptions that are behind the allegedly objective methodology of the radical critics are themselves tendentious. For this reason it is difficult to find a common ground with them. The reliability of the evangelists' statements is dismissed when they do not happen to fit the critics' theories. Nevertheless, some of the more important issues should be mentioned.

Was Jesus really a Pharisee, as Winter argues? It must be granted that Jesus was often the guest of Pharisees, and that they held some things in common. The gospels, however, show the relationship, at least with the more legalistic branch of the Pharisees, to be fundamentally negative. There were many conflicts between Jesus and Pharisees. Jesus spoke against their understanding of Sabbath laws, external defilement, fastings, and divorce. Their hypocritical self-righteousness was the object of his most scorching denunciations.

Was Jesus closely aligned with the Zealot, as Brandon contends? A Zealot would never have advocated paying the taxes due the Roman emperor or loving one's enemies. A Zealot's message and concern were political; Jesus' was religious. To him membership in the kingdom depended on meeting moral and spiritual prerequisites.

One can make Jesus a Pharisee or a Zealot only by totally dismissing the portrayal of him in the gospels.

John's statement (18:3) that a detachment or cohort of Roman soldiers participated in the arrest is frequently said to be a fabrication. That Roman soldiers would participate in an arrest that involved Jewish concerns is considered inconceivable. But that they would be present to keep the peace at the request of Jewish authorities does not stretch the imagination. Again, a cohort at full strength consisted of six hundred men. Because it does seem strange that six hundred soldiers should be required for this mission in the middle of the night, some have taken this as another evidence of historical untrustworthiness. The term, however, can also be used of a detachment of two hundred men, which may well have been the situation.

One of the most serious claims is that there was no Sanhedrin trial. Grounds for this claim are various. It is pointed out that in the Jewish trial Jesus was convicted of blasphemy, which has no direct relation to the reason for conviction in the Roman trial, sedition. But there is no inconsistency in supposing that the Jews realized the difficulty of persuading Pilate to execute Jesus on religious gounds, so they assigned different charges when bringing him before Pilate. It is also pointed out that death by stoning was the usual Jewish method of execution. Crucifixion, however, does not becloud the credibility of a Jewish trial, for it is natural that an execution carried out by Roman soldiers would follow the Roman method, even if the original instigator were the Sanhedrin.

The most serious charge is that the Sanhedrin trial could not have taken place because it was so manifestly illegal. Instead the Sanhedrin trial is argued to be the creation of early Christians, primarily Mark, in order to try to shift the blame for a Roman crucifixion from Pilate to the Jews. Thus Christianity hoped to avoid the onus that its founder was an insurrectionist.

The Mishnah, in the Sanhedrin tractate, gives the procedures for the conduct of a trial in capital cases. It is true that the Sanhedrin trial, as recorded in the gospels, is in violation of these provisions at a number of crucial points. But that this indicates no such trial ever occurred does not follow. Possibly the Jewish leaders were so obsessed with quickly disposing of Jesus before the Sabbath and Passover Week that they knowingly violated their own procedures. This has been the traditional Christian explanation. More likely, however, the provisions of the Sanhedrin tractate were not operative in Jesus' time. The Mishnah was a collection of orally transmitted laws drawn up toward the close of the second century. By this time the ruling Sanhedrin, as it had existed historically, had ceased to exist and was only an academic institution having no authority. The regulations of the Sanhedrin tractate conflict with other Jewish sources closer to the first century, and its provisions are probably not a reflection of actual Sanhedrin procedures in the first third of the

first century. Consequently it is probably wrong to accuse the Sanhedrin of illegal procedures, and definitely wrong to say such a trial could not have occurred.

Another focus for debate has been the statement attributed to the Jews in John 18:31, "We have no right to execute anyone." Critics assert that the Jews did have this authority and that this alleged statement was another device created to try to shift the blame for Jesus' execution from Pilate to the Jews. Everett F. Harrison, though, shows that, of the arguments given to establish that the Jews had general authority to execute, none is convincing. Alleged evidences were either exceptional cases or illegal acts.

A. N. Sherwin-White, renowned historian of Roman law, convincingly argues for the credibility of John 18:31. It was not Roman practice to grant the authority of capital punishment to local officials. Otherwise, anti-Roman groups might be able to eliminate pro-Roman groups by judicial action. Sherwin-White confidently asserts that turbulent Judea is the last place where one would expect such an extraordinary concession. Indeed, on the basis of his knowledge of Roman law and practice, he is willing to grant credibility not only to John 18:31 but to the basic gospel portrayal of events, moving from the Sanhedrin trial to the conviction for blasphemy to the alternative charge of sedition before Pilate.

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TABLE OF SECTION CROSS-REFERENCES (WITH POINT OF SIMILARITY)

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7	6, 8b, 13—song because of a miraculous birth
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Sec. No.	Cross-Referenced Sections and Point of Similarity
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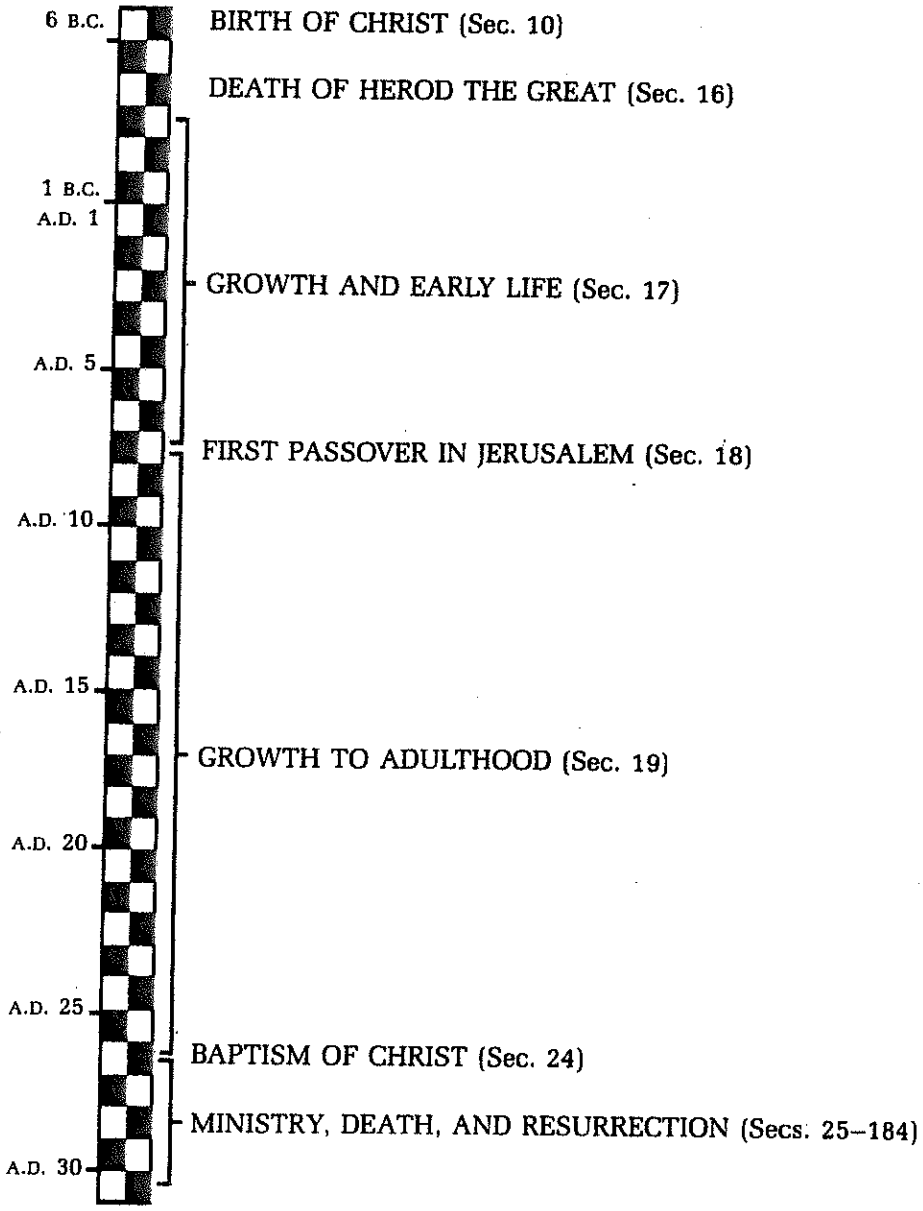
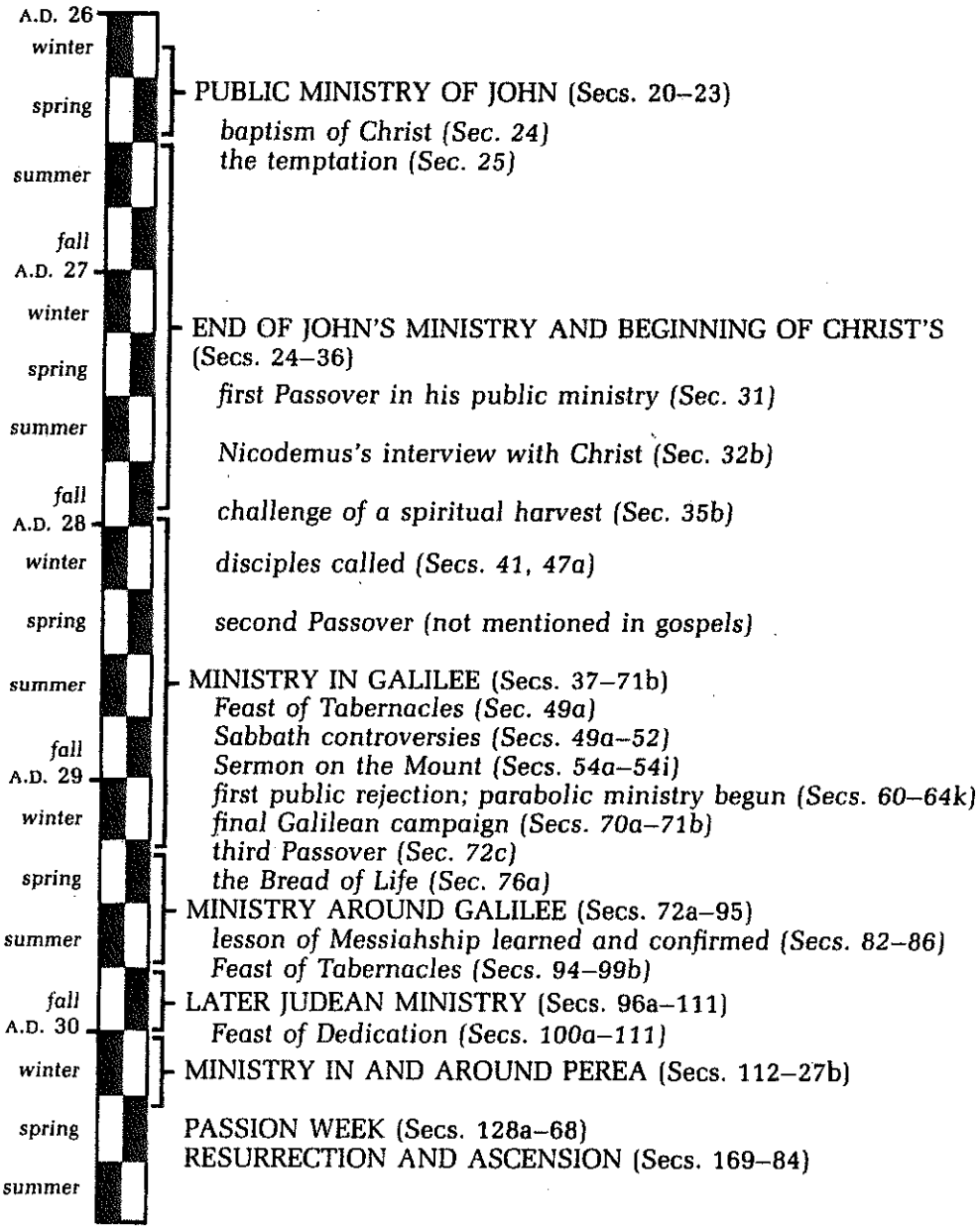
11	20–30	58	81
12	1–8	50	67
12	9–14	51	68
12	15–21	52	69
12	22–37	61	83
12	38–45	62	84
12	46–50	63	85
13	1–3a	64a	85
13	3b–23	64b	86
13	24–30	64d	88
13	31–32	64e	89
13	33–35	64f	89
13	36–43	64g	90
13	44	64h	90
13	45–46	64i	90
13	47–50	64j	90
13	51–53	64k	91
13	54–58	69	97
14	1–2	71a	100
14	3–12	71b	101
14	13–14	72b	103
14	15–21	72c	104
14	22–23	73	106
14	24–33	74	106
14	34–36	75	107
15	1–20	77	109
15	21–28	78	112
15	29–31	79a	113
15	32–38	79b	113
15	39–16:4	80	114
16	5–12	81a	115
16	13–20	82	116
16	21–26	83	117
16	27–28	84	118
17	1–8	85	119
17	9–13	86	120
17	14–20	87	121
17	22–23	88	122
17	24–27	89	123
18	1–5	90	123
18	6–14	91	124
18	15–35	92	126
19	1–12	122	160
19	13–15	123	161
19	16–30	124a	161
20	1–16	124b	163
20	17–19	125a	164
20	20–28	125b	165
20	29–34	126	165
21	1–11	128b	169
21	12–13	129b	173
21	14–17	128b	169
21	18–19a	129a	173
21	19b–22	131	175
21	23–27	132a	176
21	28–22:14	132b	177
22	15–22	133	180
22	23–33	134	181
22	34–40	135	182
22	41–46	136	183
23	1–36	137a	184
23	37–39	137b	185
24	1–3	139a	187
24	4–14	139b	187
24	15–28	139c	189
24	29–31	139d	190
24	32–41	139e	191
24	42–25:30	139f	192
25	31–46	139g	194
26	1–5	140	195
26	6–13	141	195
26	14–16	142	196
26	17–19	143	197
26	20	144	198
26	21–25	146	199

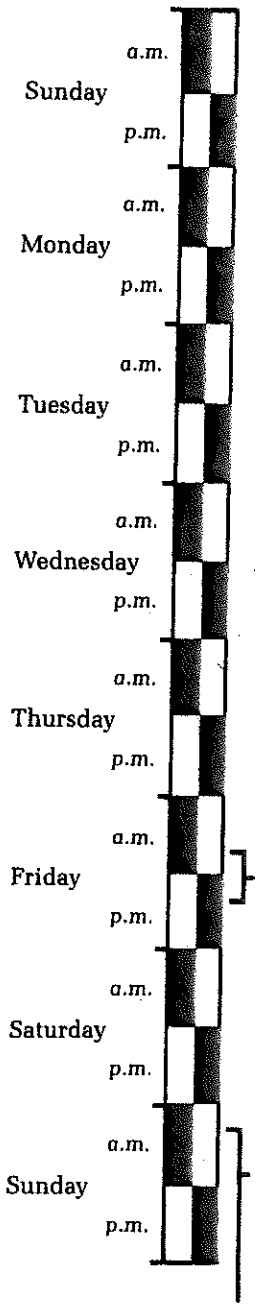
THE LIFE OF CHRIST



THE MINISTRY OF CHRIST



PASSION WEEK



TRIUMPHAL ENTRY (Sec. 128b)

CURSING OF THE FIG TREE (Sec. 129a)
REQUEST OF SOME GREEKS (Sec. 130a)

WITHERED FIG TREE (Sec. 131)
OFFICIAL CHALLENGE OF CHRIST'S AUTHORITY (Secs. 132a–135)

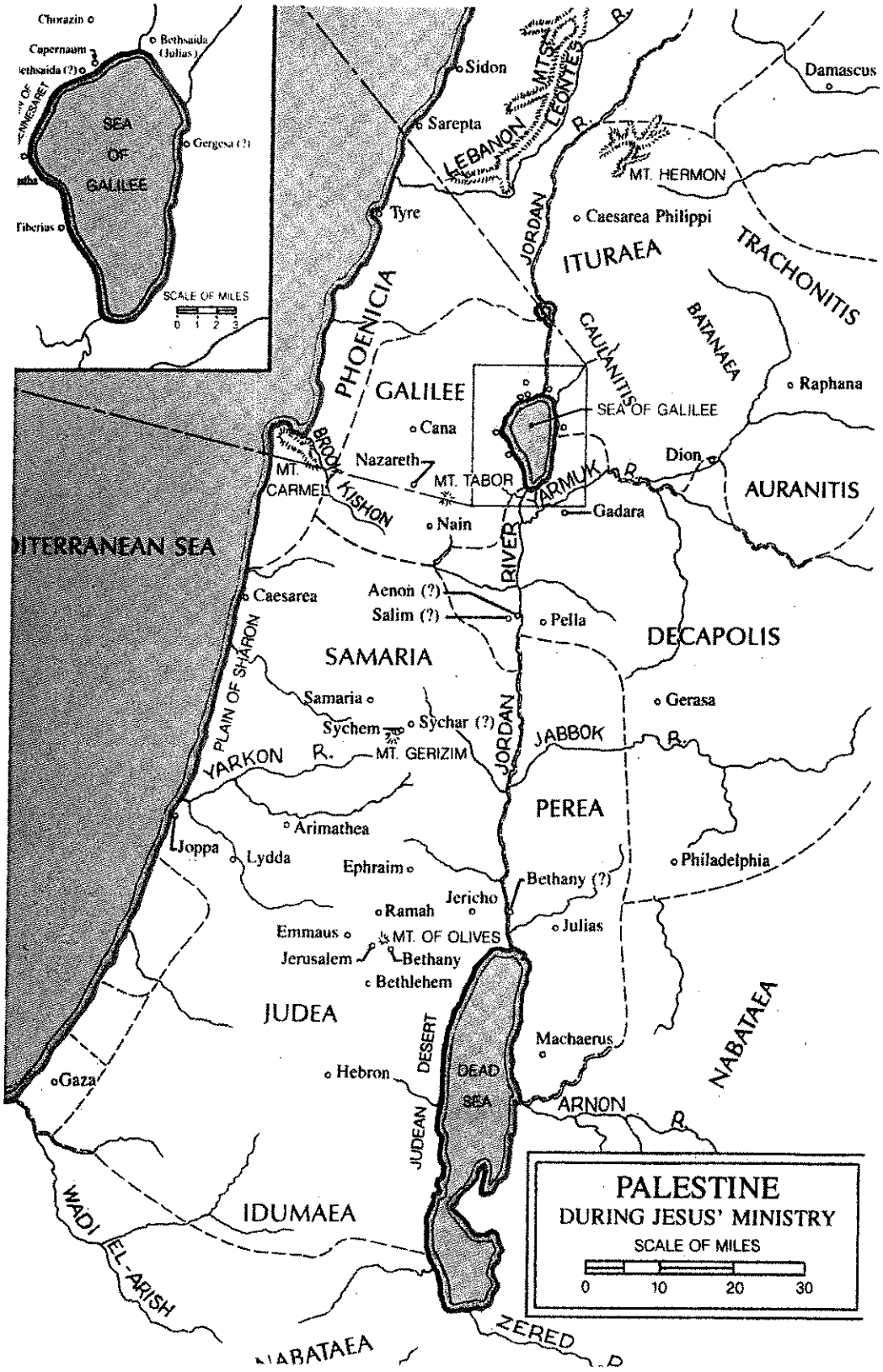
THE OLIVET DISCOURSE (Secs. 139a–139g)

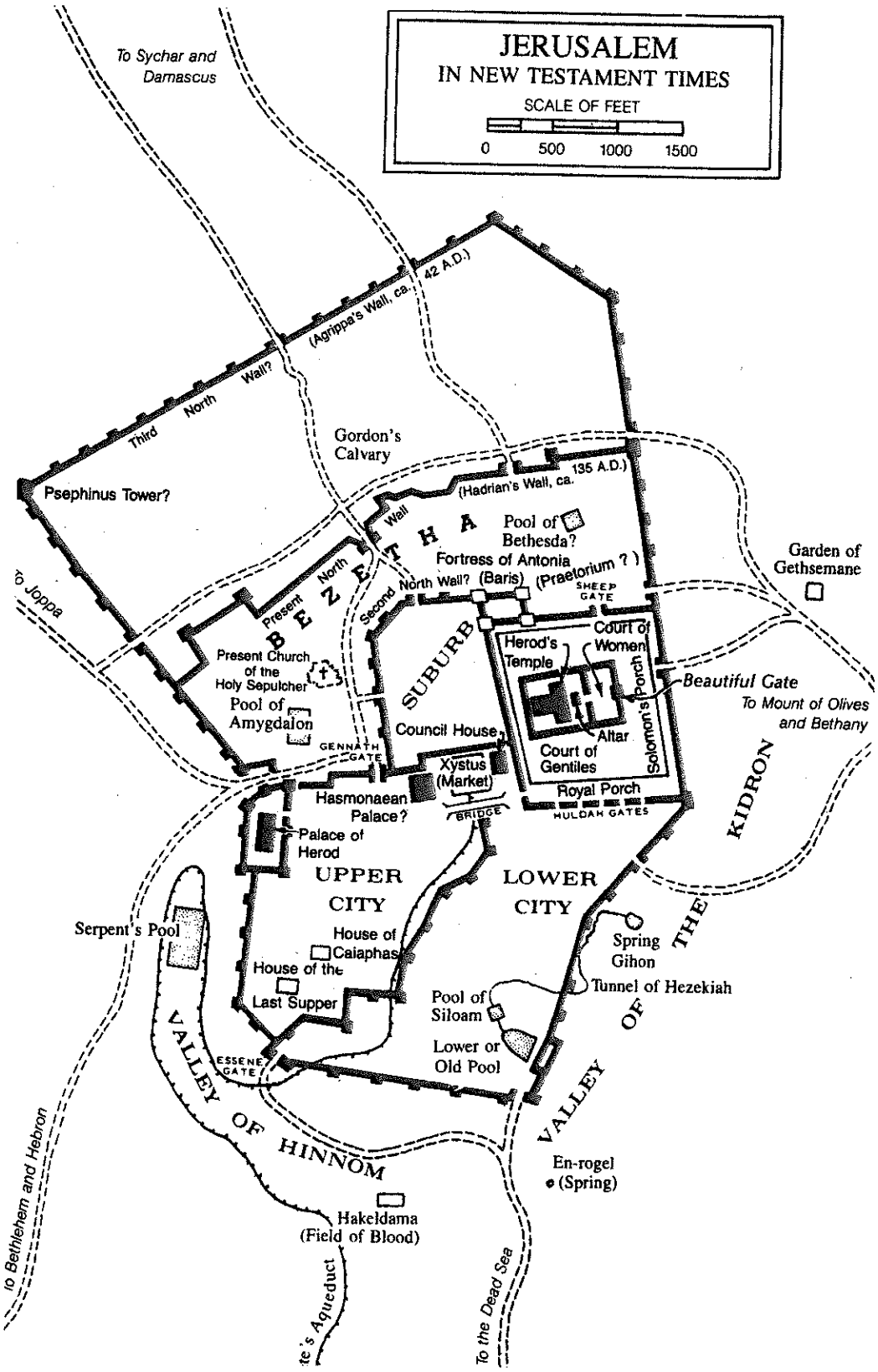
ARRANGEMENTS FOR BETRAYAL (Secs. 140–42)

THE LAST SUPPER (Secs. 143–48)
THE UPPER ROOM DISCOURSE (Secs. 149–51)
BETRAYAL AND ARREST (Sec. 153)
TRIAL (Secs. 154–61)
CRUCIFIXION (Secs. 162–66)

BURIAL (Secs. 167a–68)

POSTRESURRECTION APPEARANCES (Secs. 173–83)


PALESTINE
DURING JESUS' MINISTRY
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30
SEA OF GALILEE
SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 3
Chorazin
Capernaum
Bethsaida (Julias)
Gergesa (?)
Tiberias
Sidon
Sarepta
Tyre
LEBANON
MTS. OF LEBANON
LEONTES R.
Damascus
MT. HERMON
Caesarea Philippi
JORDAN
ITURAEA
TRACHONITIS
BATANAEA
GAULANITIS
Raphana
PHOENICIA
GALILEE
SEA OF GALILEE
Cana
Nazareth
MT. TABOR
Dion
AURANITIS
MT. CARMEL
BROOK KISHON
YARMUK R.
Gadara
Nain
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RIVER
Caesarea
Aenon (?)
Salim (?)
Pella
DECAPOLIS
SAMARIA
PLAIN OF SHARON
Samaria
Sychem
Sychar (?)
Gerasa
JABBOK R.
YARKON R.
MT. GERIZIM
JORDAN
PEREA
Arimathea
Joppa
Lydda
Ephraim
Philadelphia
Bethany (?)
Jericho
Ramah
Julias
Emmaus
MT. OF OLIVES
Jerusalem
Bethany
Bethlehem
JUDEA
DESERT
Machaerus
NABATAEA
Gaza
Hebron
DEAD SEA
ARNON R.
JUDEAN
IDUMAEA
WADI EL-ARISH
ZERED R.
NABATAEA


JERUSALEM
IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES
SCALE OF FEET
0 500 1000 1500
To Sychar and Damascus
(Agrippa's Wall, ca. 42 A.D.)
Third North Wall?
Gordon's Calvary
Psephinus Tower?
(Hadrian's Wall, ca. 135 A.D.)
Wall
BETHA
Pool of Bethesda?
Fortress of Antonia
(Baris)
(Praetorium ?)
SHEEP GATE
Garden of Gethsemane
To Joppa
Present North
Second North Wall?
SUBURB
Present Church of the Holy Sepulcher
Pool of Amygdalon
GENNATH GATE
Herod's Temple
Court of Women
Solomon's Porch
Beautiful Gate
To Mount of Olives and Bethany
Altar
Court of Gentiles
Council House
Xystus (Market)
Hasmonaean Palace?
BRIDGE
Royal Porch
HULDAH GATES
KIDRON
Palace of Herod
UPPER CITY
LOWER CITY
Serpent's Pool
House of Caiaphas
House of the Last Supper
Spring Gihon
Tunnel of Hezekiah
Pool of Siloam
Lower or Old Pool
ESSENE GATE
VALLEY OF HINNOM
VALLEY OF THE
En-rogel (Spring)
Hakeldama (Field of Blood)
To Bethlehem and Hebron
To the Dead Sea