

NEW TESTAMENT PROPHECY  
AND THE GOSPEL TRADITION

D.Phil. Thesis

by

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## P R E F A C E

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W.J.Houston

Nsukka,

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ABBREVIATIONS (JOURNALS AND WORKS OF REFERENCE)

BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs; Hebrew and English Lexiconon (see bibliography, sect.B)
BH	Biblia Hebraica (see bibliography, sect.A)
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
CBC	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, Greek-English Lexicon (see bibliography, sect.B)
Nov. Test.	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
Rev.Bib.	Revue Biblique
RHPR	Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse (or Rech. Sci. Rel.)
SNTS	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas
Stud.Theol.	Studia Theologica
Th.Bl.	Theologische Blätter
Th.Z.	Theologische Zeitschrift
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament (see bibliography, sect.B)
ZNW	Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

For abbreviations of names of commentary series, see the bibliography, sect.C. Other abbreviations are either customary or, I hope, self-explanatory.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Recent Works: Object of the present thesis

In studying the development of the Synoptic Tradition, form-critics have often been led for various reasons to assert that it was the post-Resurrection Church that created or remoulded this or that saying or series of sayings. But the bald statement that such-and-such is a "Gemeindebildung" is not enough, even when backed up with reasons. We need a specific type of situation in the life of the Church (Sitz im Leben)<sup>1</sup> in which the uttering of the saying and its ascription to the authority of Christ would be plausible. Most critics have found one such in the prophetic activity of the primitive Church. This fills the bill admirably. Many of the sayings in the Gospels are prophetic in character, and the fact that the Christian prophets spoke in the name of the risen Lord<sup>2</sup> gives a perfect explanation why their sayings could have been ascribed to Jesus. Thus Bultmann<sup>3</sup>:

"We can see with complete clarity what the process of formulation of such dominical sayings was like in sayings like Rev.16.15:... or Rev.3.20... Here, as above..., it is possible to ask whether it was originally intended to ascribe such prophetic sayings to Jesus. They could have gained currency at first simply as utterances of the Spirit in the Church. The exalted Christ would assuredly have spoken in them sometimes - as in Rev.16.15 - and it would only be gradually that such sayings would come to be regarded as prophecies by the Jesus of history. The Church drew no distinction between such utterances by Christian prophets and the sayings of Jesus in the tradition, for the reason that even the sayings of Jesus in the tradition were not the pronouncements of a past authority, but sayings of the risen Lord, who is always a contemporary for the Church."

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<sup>1</sup> The phrase denotes a typical (sociological) situation, in which a particular Gattung is used; not a particular (historical) situation, in which an individual saying could have arisen. See below, p.4.

<sup>2</sup> Below, p. 10

<sup>3</sup> R. Bultmann, *Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition*, 7th ed., Göttingen 1967, 134f. The translation is from ET, Oxford 1963, 127f. slightly modified; but reference will always be made to the 7th German edition, cited as "Bultmann".

The theory is unassailable<sup>1</sup>; few scholars would now deny that some Synoptic sayings, at least, may have been originally pronouncements of Christian prophets. But which ones? Here, in its practical test, the theory seems strangely useless, at least in Bultmann's own hands. His treatment seriatim of individual "prophetic and apocalyptic sayings"<sup>2</sup> yields no formal criteria by which the products of Christian prophets may be distinguished, but a bewildering variety of judgments on grounds of content or style, often arbitrarily applied, together with sheer unreasoned *ex cathedra* pronouncements that here "the Exalted One speaks"<sup>3</sup> or there "the words look back on the ministry of Jesus, now closed".<sup>4</sup> The basis of Mk. 13 is declared to be a Jewish apocalypse, and the question whether this might be the result of prophetic work in the church hence evaded altogether.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the category "prophetic and apocalyptic sayings" in his book does not include all sayings of a prophetic nature, nor are all sayings in the category actually prophetic.<sup>6</sup> Most seriously, neither the main category nor the four sub-classes into which it is divided are defined in formal terms, and their relationships to the known functions of the Christian prophet are never stated. As a piece of form-criticism the chapter is useless, and as an attempt at elucidating the history of the tradition a failure. One's constant reply is "It might be so, but you have not shown me that it is so". Bultmann may have made it necessary to prove rather than to assume that any particular saying in fact goes back to Jesus; but equally we must prove rather than assume that any particular saying goes back to a Christian prophet, if we want to trace the prophetic influence on the Gospel tradition and not abandon the field to scepticism.

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<sup>1</sup>V. Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition*, London 1935, 107f.; H.A. Guy, *New Testament Prophecy*, London 1947, 116; F. Neugebauer, *Geistsprüche u. Jesuslogien*, ZNW 53 (1962), 218ff.; Moffatt on I Cor. 7 all attempt to prove that the early Christians did distinguish between prophetic sayings and traditional sayings of Jesus. Their arguments need no detailed refutation; the only adequate refutation is the demonstration that prophetic material is in fact found in the Gospels, and that is what these pages attempt. However, on the repeated argument from I Cor. 7, let me say: (a) that Paul does not speak as a prophet at any point in the chapter; (b) that his apostolic command (v.12) has equal authority with the Lord's word (v. 10); (c) that in 14.37 the authority of the Lord is asserted where there cannot be any saying of Jesus.

<sup>2</sup>*Op. cit.*, 113ff.

<sup>3</sup>*Ib.* 116

<sup>4</sup>*Ib.* 118

<sup>5</sup>*Ib.* 129ff.

<sup>6</sup>*cf.* L. Gaston, *No Stone upon Another*, Leiden 1970, 446f.

Ernst Käsemann<sup>1</sup> stands in Bultmann's tradition, but attempts to avoid his master's mistake of abandoning true form-criticism for arbitrary judgments on content. He adopts a strictly formal criterion and sticks to it as long as he is able. His distinction is to have isolated a previously unrecognised Gattung, the "sentence of holy law", consisting of a generalized conditional clause, as in casuistic legal formulae, followed not by directions for the punishment to be inflicted by man, but by a proclamation of the "eschatological jus talionis" - God's punishment expressed by the future tense of the same verb as described the transgression in the protasis. Examples are I Cor.3.17: εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθειρεῖ, φθερεῖ τούτου ὁ θεός ; 14.38; Rev.22.18f.; Mk 8.38 and Mt.10.32 & pars. Such formulae he considers to have enshrined the law of the primitive community, and to reflect a time when the ordering of its life was in the hands of charismatics rather than of a hierarchy, and when the Parousia was expected imminently, to fulfil the eschatological threats pronounced by these leaders.<sup>2</sup> Wherever such or similar sayings occur in the Synoptic Gospels, he attributes them to Christian prophets, and uses them as a key to the earliest state of the Christian church, a state distinguished from Hellenistic Christianity by being centred on a future expectation rather than a realized eschatology and from the later Jerusalem church by its "enthusiastic" and prophetic rather than hierarchical ordering.<sup>3</sup> He uses other types of speech in the same way, including all pronouncements of future eschatology, "I am come" sayings and curses and blessings.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Sätze Heiligen Rechtes im NT", NTS 1 (1954/55), 248ff.; "Die Anfänge christlicher Theologie", ZTK 57 (1960), 162ff.; "Zum Thema der unchristlichen Apokalyptik", ZTK 59 (1962), 257ff.; all now in NT Studies for Today, London 1969 (ET of Exegetische Versuche u. Besinnungen, II, Göttingen 1964), 65-137.

<sup>2</sup>NTS 1, 257. Cf. however K. Berger, "Zu den sog. 'Sätzen heiligen Rechtes'", NTS 17 (1970/71), and see below.

<sup>3</sup>NT Studies for Today, 92.

<sup>4</sup>Ib. 92-102.

Kasemann's historical imagination is brilliant and his results are fascinating. But upon what grounds can he justify his method, to take whole classes of sayings and declare them the work of post-Easter prophets? There is first the formal argument, that these Gattungen are typical of prophetic activity. Sätze heiligen Rechtes, for example, imply a community to whom the law may be addressed and an inspired speaker to whom the standard of the Last Judgment has been revealed<sup>1</sup>; they are therefore the work of church prophets. But is there not a fallacy here? Even if we grant the function of these sentences as law and their origin in prophetic inspiration<sup>2</sup>, it is true of Jesus that he spoke to a community - the nation of Israel - often, according to our sources, deciding questions of law, and that he was a prophet.<sup>3</sup> The formal criterion cannot distinguish between the prophetic work of Jesus and that of the church. In general, it is impossible to base historical judgments, on date and historical situation, on grounds of form alone. The attempt to do so has discredited form-criticism and obscured its real value; which is to supply grounds for sociological judgments, on the typical situation of classes of speech.<sup>4</sup> We may be able to say that such and such a type of speech is prophetic, but we cannot go on to say that Jesus cannot have used it unless we can show that the situation presupposed is impossible in the life of Jesus.

Secondly there is the argument from what Käsemann calls "apocalyptic": Jesus' preaching

"did not bear a fundamentally apocalyptic stamp but proclaimed the immediacy of the God who was near at hand. I am convinced that no-one who took this step can have been prepared to wait for the coming Son of Man, the restoration of the twelve tribes in the Messianic kingdom and the dawning of the Parousia (which was tied up with this),

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<sup>1</sup>NTS 1, 249.

<sup>2</sup>Disputed by Berger, op.cit., who gives grounds for thinking they are typical of wisdom teaching.

<sup>3</sup>See below, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>See above, p. 1, n. 1.

in order to experience the near presence of God. To combine these two would be, for me, to cease to make any kind of sense".<sup>1</sup>

Hence the futuristic, apocalyptic elements in the sayings tradition must be ascribed to the prophets in the post-Easter community. It is curious that after denying that the combination of "future" and "present" eschatologies is possible in Jesus' preaching Käsemann is able to discover that that very combination or reconciliation is the genius of Paul's theology.<sup>2</sup> To suppose that the two are incompatible is to misunderstand the symbolic nature of eschatology. Any eschatology, however futuristic, has something to say about the "immediacy of the God who is near at hand", about the Word of God now present in the situation which guarantees its transformation by his will. Before we can say that such and such an eschatology must be assigned to such and such a stage, we must be quite sure that we know what it is really saying. Later I shall consider the ways in which eschatology may be related to the present.<sup>3</sup>

The way forward out of this impasse has been shown by Lloyd Gaston, in his wide-ranging and imaginative study of the significance of the fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>4</sup> If simple criteria of form or eschatology are inadequate, then we must pay careful attention to the aims of the Christian prophets and to their exegetical methods, and see if we can detect work with such aims and methods in the Synoptic Gospels. And since, even so, conclusions on isolated sayings are always precarious, it might be as well to begin with the connected discourses, particularly Mk 13, which was long overdue for examination as a product of the Christian church rather than as a genuine speech of the earthly Jesus, a patched-up Jewish apocalypse, or a redactional composition out of isolated fragments.<sup>5</sup> Gaston has done both these things. Indeed he begins with a form-critical examination of Mk 13. We do not need to agree with the

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<sup>1</sup>NT Studies for Today, 101f.

<sup>2</sup>Ib., 124ff.

<sup>3</sup>Below, pp. 18 ff

<sup>4</sup>No Stone on Another, Leiden 1970. To be cited henceforth as "Gaston".

<sup>5</sup>For a complete history of the exegesis of Mk 13 in modern criticism up to 1954, see G.R. Beasley-Murray, Jesus and the Future, London, 1954, and from 1954-1966, R. Pesch, Naherwartungen, Düsseldorf 1968, 19-47.

details of his analysis to see the importance of his conclusion that the chapter is "eschatological paraclesis grounded in apocalyptic instruction".<sup>1</sup>; for these are among the functions of Christian prophets. The further discovery that the "apocalyptic instruction" is grounded midrashically in the OT acquires importance in view of the later chapter in which Gaston studies the prophets of the early church as a particular example of late Jewish prophecy and shows that the latter consists of "an application to the present of the older oracles interpreted in terms of charismatic exegesis."<sup>2</sup> He goes on to explain the character of Mk 13 and other possible prophetic material in the Synoptic Gospels as "apocalyptic programme" by reference to the task laid on the prophets of offering consolation in persecution.<sup>3</sup>

Here, however, he goes wrong in the same way as Käsemann and most others, in misunderstanding the nature of eschatology. The question he sets himself is, "why two such disparate conceptions as the end of the world and the fall of Jerusalem should ever have been brought together."<sup>4</sup> It would be as well, before asking that question, to ask whether there is any mention of the end of the world in the Synoptic Gospels, and then what that conception, if it is there, or any which might suggest it, really means. The answer might show that the two conceptions are not really so disparate after all.<sup>4a</sup>

One other writer should be mentioned in this survey, although he would protest against the idea that his work supports the supposition of prophetic work in the Gospels. Nevertheless, Lars Hartman's exhaustive demonstration that the foundation of Mk 13 is a continuous midrash on the book of Daniel,<sup>5</sup> when placed side by side with Gaston's observations on "charismatic exegesis" and the surveys in Part I of this

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<sup>1</sup>Op. cit. 15.

<sup>2</sup>Ib. 447; cf. below, pp. 139f.

<sup>3</sup>Ib. 449ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ib. 433

<sup>4a</sup>  
Cf. below, pp. 93f.

<sup>5</sup>Prophecy Interpreted, the formation of some Jewish apocalyptic texts and of the eschatological discourse Mark 13 par., Lund 1966.

thesis, give valuable support to the theory of prophetic origin for that chapter. His own hypothesis of a school of Christian scribes like that postulated by Stendahl<sup>1</sup> for the development of the formula-quotations in Matthew becomes dubious when we see that the way in which the OT is used in Mk 13 is much more like that of Revelation than like the Matthean formula-quotations.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the Christian scribe is a hypothesis, Mt.13.52 notwithstanding, and the Christian prophet a known fact.

My line of inquiry will be similar to Gaston's; this appears to be the most profitable one, and my conclusions are sufficiently distinct from Gaston's to make it worthwhile; while some of my material and one of my most valuable methods, will be drawn from Hartman. The object of this thesis is to demonstrate that the Synoptic evangelists, particularly in the eschatological discourses Mt.24, Mk 13 and Lk 21, have employed traditions developed by Christian prophets; and to consider the origins and meanings of these traditions. To show the precise meaning of these words, and to provide a secure basis for the discussions later on, I shall consider here a) the meaning of prophecy (of contemporaries) in the NT; b) the sense in which we can speak of tradition in talking of the work of the NT prophet; c) the nature of the language used by prophets; d) the criteria I intend to use to establish the presence of prophetic traditions in the Gospels.

#### B. N.T. Prophecy: General

Excluding references to OT prophets, the words προφήτης, προφητεία etc. in the NT are used in two distinct situations - that is to say, one of two distinct audiences may be in mind when the word is used. In the first usage, a prophet is one who speaks in the name of God to Israel (or in one place - Rev.10-11 - to the world in general), just as in the OT. It is used of John the Baptist<sup>3</sup> and several times of Jesus himself, especially in Luke's special source.<sup>4</sup> There are also

<sup>1</sup>Op.cit. 211f.; K. Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, Uppsala, 2nd edition, 1966.

<sup>2</sup>Below, chps. III, V.

<sup>3</sup>Mt. 14.5, 11.9/Lk.7.28, Mk.11.32 & pars., Lk.1.76.

<sup>4</sup>Mt. 21.11 (redactional); Mk 6.4 & pars.; Lk 4.24, 7.16, 39, 13.33, 24.19 (all L); Jn 4.19, 7.40, 52, 9.17. Generally only of others' estimate of Jesus; Jesus himself applies it to himself only by implication - Mk 6.4, Lk 13.33.

traces of its use for the preaching of the post-resurrection church to Israel - certainly in Mt.23.34/Lk.11.49 and no doubt also Mt.7.22; some would add Mt.23.37/Lk.13.34.<sup>1</sup> Except for the passage cited from Revelation, it is not used of the witness of the church to the Gentiles, though Paul at one point says that prophecy within the assembly may be incidentally useful in converting an unbeliever.<sup>2</sup> This would suggest that prophecy requires a defined community in which to work, with certain shared assumptions. However shocking or surprising the prophet's message of salvation or judgment may be to his hearers, he is essentially recalling to the community what they already know to be true. The term is therefore inapplicable to the evangelist of the Gentiles, who reveals things entirely new to them, and also inappropriate to the man preaching the resurrection and Messiahship of Jesus to the Jews. How then can it be used at all, as it is, of missionaries of the early church, even to the Jews?

The most striking instance of this use, Mt.23.34/Lk.11.49, occurs in the denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees and leads up to the proclamation of judgment on "this generation" for "the blood of the prophets", and emphasizes the persecution of Christian prophets (and apostles) by their Jewish opponents. This would suggest that such prophets were closer in function to OT prophets than to evangelists, though probably no hard and fast distinctions can be drawn. They proclaimed to Israel "the promise of peace and the threat of war",<sup>3</sup> and according to Gaston Proto-Luke is the deposit of their preaching.

These prophets to Israel were the successors in a direct line of the OT prophets, through the Jewish prophets. There ought by now to be no question of the activity, and even the importance, of prophets in first century Judaism.<sup>4</sup> The "decline of prophecy" is a mirage, caused by taking seriously as statements of historical fact Rabbinic formulations of a theory of the canon, and no doubt by the canon itself, as well as by the appearance of apocalypses in place of the prophetic

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<sup>1</sup>Gaston, 345.

<sup>2</sup>1 Cor. 14.24f.

<sup>3</sup>Gaston, 334 and ff.

<sup>4</sup>See Gaston 433ff.; Ph. Vielhauer in Hennecke's NT. Apocrypha, ET London 1965 (original 1964), II.58ff.; O. Michel, "Spätjüdisches Prophetentum", in NT. Studien für R. Bultmann, 1954, 60ff.

collections in the literary activity of post-0 T Judaism. Though its literary expression changed, the evidence of Josephus in particular shows that prophecy had not died; nor was it merely the obsession of marginal groups such as the Essenes and the Zealots - Josephus records prophets springing from the Pharisees, the priests and the 'am ha-'ares.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly, then, the Christian prophets who brought their message of crisis to Israel were not a new phenomenon.

Much more commonly, however, outside the Gospels, the words refer to prophecy exercised within the community of the Church. It would be unwise to regard prophecy in the two different situations as different phenomena; in both we are dealing with speech held to be inspired by the Holy Spirit, in which the prophet proclaims the action of God in the present or the near future. We have no evidence to let us suppose that different people exercised the prophetic function in the different situations in the primitive Jewish Church; later in the Gentile environment prophecy and evangelism are more or less distinct functions - but only more or less; Paul, for example, is certainly both apostle and prophet. But from the first the man prophesying within the Church was speaking to a more intimate community, one which he believed to be the elect, and one with which he identified himself unconditionally as he did not with the Jewish commonwealth. This does not mean that he could not preach judgment to the Church - the letters to the Seven Churches in Rev. 2f. show that he could. It does mean that his primary function in the church is not to demand a response to crisis but to strengthen, comfort and reassure.

The functions and characteristics of prophecy as the N.T. writers saw them can be seen in various passages in the Acts and the Epistles, especially in I Cor. 14, where Paul urges the Corinthians to rate the gift of prophecy higher than that of speaking with tongues;

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<sup>1</sup>Ant. XVII 43ff.; BJ VI 299, 300-9; cf. Vielhauer op. cit. 601ff.

and above all in Revelation,<sup>1</sup> the only work in the NT which claims prophetic inspiration as a whole.

Distinctive of Christian prophecy is that the prophet speaks in the name of the risen Christ in the same way as the OT prophet speaks in the name of Yahweh. This means, not only that he speaks with the authority of Christ, but that what he says comes to him directly from Christ and that he may often speak in the person of Christ. Jewish theology named the Holy Spirit as the inspirer of prophecy, and in the NT Christ and the Holy Spirit may appear indifferently as the source of Christian prophecy. Thus the letters to the Seven Churches in Rev. 2f. are spoken by Christ - "thus says he who holds the seven stars in his right hand", etc.; but in each case John warns "He who has an ear let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches". (2.7 etc.) Cf. II Cor. 3, 16-18, and note the interchange in Mk. 13.11/Lk. 21.15. It seems likely that no clear distinction is drawn between the risen Christ and the Spirit. In the experience of the Church, Christ had identified himself as the Spirit by inspiring prophecy and other charismatic gifts. Wherever the command of either Christ or "the Lord" or the Spirit is mentioned, we are entitled to assume that the command was mediated by prophecy. This is the simplest way of understanding a passage such as Ac. 16.7 ("the Spirit of Jesus would not allow them"), and inescapable in, for example, Ac. 13.2. However, even where the prophet does not bear a direct verbal message from the Lord, he speaks with his authority. Most of the Revelation consists of visions described by the prophet in his own person; yet he entitles his book ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ

<sup>1</sup> D. Hill, in "Prophecy and Prophets in the Revelation of St. John", NTS 18 (1971-2), 401ff., distinguishes the function of the author of Revelation within his community rather sharply from that of the Christian prophets in general; for Christian prophets did not enjoy absolute authority (cf. I Cor. 14.29-33), whereas John clearly does, and in this respect stands "above or at least apart from his brethren". (p.410). If this were so, then indeed "it would be very unwise to extrapolate from his activity and from the contents of his prophesying to theirs". (Ibid., 416). But Hill himself (416f) shows the parallels between the activities of the Christian prophets as we know them from other parts of the NT and John's book. In any case, his distinction is based on failure to distinguish between objective and subjective views of authority. If prophets did not claim absolute authority, the necessity to test their authority (I Cor. 14.29, I Jn. 4.1) would not arise. Apart from its length and elaboration, there is nothing known to me to distinguish John's utterance from those of other Christian prophets.

Χριστοῦ, and the solemn warning at the end (22.18f.) shows that the authority of Christ attaches to the whole work.

For this reason it seems to have been customary to call the message of a prophet an ἀποκάλυψις - I Cor.14.26, Rev.1.1. I Cor.14.30 shows that the primary idea in this word is of a revelation made to the prophet, which he must then (immediately!) pass on to the community. The term is certainly not the description of a particular speech-form, but rather indicates the origin of prophetic speech.

The object of prophecy, according to Paul (I Cor. 14.3) is to supply the church with οἰκοδομήν καὶ παράκλησιν καὶ παραμυθίαν - "his words have power to build; they stimulate and they encourage" as the NRB paraphrases. Broadly synonymous, the three words emphasize different aspects of the prophet's task: οἰκοδομή the strengthening and improvement of the church as a society, the "temple of Christ", παράκλησις exhortation, the stimulation of the members to alertness and activity and endurance, παραμυθία the reassurance of God's ultimate victory and vindication of his people: but there is little difference between παράκλησις and παραμυθία - both of them cover both exhortation and reassurance.<sup>1</sup> The most important of the words is παράκλησις; cf., for example, Ac.4.36, 15.32, I Thess. 4.18, 5.11, II Thess. 2.17. In each of the last three cases, Paul asks the Thessalonians to take παράκλησις from a piece of eschatological teaching.

Prophecy obviously, then, has a very wide range of functions. Indeed, form-critically speaking we find an immense range of different forms of speech, with varying functions: announcement of the Source of the message, and his authority, for example, Rev.2.f., 8f.; call for attention - 2.7a etc.; prediction - Ac. 21.11, Rev.1.7, 13.8;; description of vision - Rev. passim; interpretation of vision in the pesher style - 17.7ff. (not common in Revelation)<sup>2</sup>; admonition - 2.5, 15;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gaston, 450; Selwyn, Comm. I Peter, 262.

<sup>2</sup> Note also that the pesher method is nowhere applied to scripture in prophetic utterances in the N.T. (unless Ac. 4.24ff. is prophetic).

promise - 2.7b, and threat - 2.16 (including the Satz Heiligen Rechtes - 22.18); praise - 2.6, 3.4, and blame - 2.4, 14; blessing - 16.15, and curse - 8.13; encouragement - 1.18, 2.10; instructions for a specific situation, whether now - Ac. 13.2, Rev. 1.11, or in the eschatological future - 22.10. Parable appears to be absent, though common enough in the prophetic message to Israel in e.g. Lk 13; but in Revelation symbolic vision seems to perform a somewhat similar role to that of parable in the Gospels. The wide variety of forms and their commonness everywhere in the Bible make it impossible to base anything on purely formal arguments, as I said above.

Broadly speaking, these utterances fall into three main groups. First and most prominent are those strengthening and reassuring the church in situations of crisis, especially persecution. In such situations, as we can see everywhere in John's Apocalypse, the prophet both exhorts his flock to vigilance and endurance, and proclaims the imminent vindication by Christ of his own (the "Parousia"). We would expect this function to be prominent in Revelation, which was certainly written in and for such a situation; but the term *παράκλησις*, regularly used to define prophetic work, perfectly describes it, and so it must always have been a principal function of the prophets. This makes it very probable that the persecution-form which appears so widely in the epistles (and in Mk. 13.33ff., Lk. 21.34ff.)<sup>1</sup> was developed by the prophets.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, however, the prophets give moral guidance and proclaim God's judgment on the Church. This also is quite clear in Revelation, particularly in the Seven Letters, in each of which the Lord draws up a balance sheet of the church's faithfulness and failures, commends the staunch and warns the unfaithful and lazy of his judgment. If Käsemann is right about the "Sätze Heiligen Rechtes" the Christian prophets had

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<sup>1</sup> See Selwyn, op. cit., 439ff.

<sup>2</sup> So Gaston, 56ff.

exercised the moral leadership of churches from the earliest days and had developed a characteristic form for the expression of their judgments. The trial and condemnation of the incestuous man described in I Cor. 5.3ff. bears the marks of a prophetic act.<sup>1</sup> The prophet thus judges in Christ's name both the whole community and individuals, and exercises towards the Church all the functions of the OT prophets towards Israel.

Thirdly, we see prophets in Acts giving instructions for specific situations - 13.1-3, 16.7. If it is true that they occupied a position of leadership in the primitive community, then this is only what we would expect. According to Eph. 3.5f., I Pet. 1.10ff. the most radical change in the theology and policy of the early church - the decision to go to the Gentiles with the Gospel - was the result of prophetic revelation.<sup>2</sup> This was of course far more than a mere change in strategy - it involved a fundamental change in theology, a new eschatology. The only possible authority on which the early Church could have accepted such a change would be that of the risen Lord speaking through his prophets; and it was a completely new approach to the task of assuring the Church of the ultimate victory of her Lord, and hence came into the prophets' brief under the first heading.

### C. Prophecy as Tradition

#### a. Prophecy's use of tradition

How can we speak of tradition in connection with prophecy?

Is not the very essence of prophecy the spontaneous outpouring of the mind touched by the Spirit, who blows where he wills? Can such a mind be bound by the embalmed products of other minds? There may have been a period in the very early history of Israelite prophecy when this view of it as a purely charismatic phenomenon would have been correct: but even the earliest of the surviving collections show considerable acquaintance with and use of some of the traditions now enshrined in the

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<sup>1</sup>See Käsemann, NTS 1, 25f.

<sup>2</sup>On I Pet. 1.10ff. and the Gentile mission: see further below p.17.

Pentateuch; later prophets draw also upon the oracles of their predecessors, and the anonymous additions to the prophetic books (notably "Trito-Isaiah") are often deliberate attempts to interpret the message of the master for a later day. At a later date still, prophecy is confronted with the absolute and all-embracing authority of a fixed canon, both Law and Prophets. It cannot set its own authority up against that of Scripture, nor can it ignore it. If it wishes to be heard, it must base itself on Scripture, throw off the camelhair coat and don the doctor's gown, and become an interpreter - yet a charismatic interpreter, offering an interpretation given by inspiration and applying the text to ever-new contemporary situations.

This we find to be actually true of Jewish prophecy.<sup>1</sup> Admittedly, if we follow Vielhauer's dictum<sup>2</sup> that "unlike the Apocalyptic writers they (the Jewish prophets) were not productive of literature" we can know next to nothing of its methods. But can we thus separate prophecy and apocalyptic? Apocalyptic has a similar function to that of prophecy, shows signs of a familiarity with genuine inspiration<sup>3</sup>, and seems to be associated especially with the Zealot and Essene groups among whom oral prophecy is also prominent.<sup>4</sup> There is a case for saying that apocalyptic is the literary expression of late prophecy, though clearly some features of it are purely literary - the pseudonymity, the reviews of history and so on - and some examples may have no direct connection with oral prophecy. It is particularly notable that the first Christian apocalypse and the most important expression of early Christian prophecy are one and the same work. With some caution, therefore, apocalyptic may be used as evidence for the nature of Jewish prophecy.

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<sup>1</sup>For the following, see Gaston, 433ff.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit. 604.

<sup>3</sup>See D.S. Russell, *Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London 1964, 158ff.

<sup>4</sup>cf. Vielhauer, op. cit. 601ff.; Russell op. cit. 23ff.

And apocalyptic is certainly heavily dependent on scripture for ideas and phraseology. But more than this, it is very frequently an interpreter of scripture; it does not merely use it in an anthological or decorative manner: a passage of apocalyptic may paraphrase or remodel, and hence interpret, a passage of scripture, or it may offer allusions to various scriptural texts relating to a single theme, and hence to the initiated suggest a particular interpretation of them all. This is well demonstrated by Hartman<sup>1</sup>, who analyses in detail the relationship to the OT of four passages of Jewish apocalyptic, and shows that in every case the sequence of allusions is not arbitrary but is governed either by the theme of the passage or by the contextual associations of the OT texts used.

Sometimes, too, the interpretation is quite explicit; for example, Dan. 9 interprets the Jeremianic prophecy of the seventy years, and in IV Ezra 12.10ff. the interpretation of the vision of the eagle is explicitly said to be a new interpretation of "the fourth kingdom which appeared in a vision to your brother Daniel". Note in these cases the supernatural origin of the interpretation: it is not to be reached by the application of human exegetical rules, but is granted as a mystery to those to whom the Most High has chosen to reveal it. It is in this way that the gap between charisma and exegesis is bridged. We find precisely the same idea at Qumran, again in the context of the explicit interpretation of scripture. To the Teacher of Righteousness "God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets" (1 Qp Hab 7. 3-5). The specific, tendentious interpretation of the prophets which is embodied in the peshet commentaries was believed to be the result of the Teacher's charismatic illumination. It was handed on within the community, and probably expanded by later prophetic exegetes.<sup>2</sup>

In Part I of this thesis I shall be showing (chps. II, III) that to a large extent NT prophecy offers an interpretation of OT passages; further,

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<sup>1</sup>Op. cit. 102ff. Cf. also Russell 178ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Jos. BJ VI 312f.

(chp. IV) that the words of Jesus are used in much the same way as the OT. The text of the OT, and the tradition of the words of Jesus, are used with total freedom to create a new text appropriate to the circumstances of the prophet and his audience. The assumption is always that Scripture contains a meaning relevant to the prophet's contemporaries, 'upon whom the ends of the ages have come'; it is the prophet's task to make this meaning clear. We may therefore be justified in considering these prophetic texts the result of "charismatic exegesis",<sup>1</sup> even though as in Jewish apocalypse the interpretation is implicit rather than explicit, there is no explicit quotation, and the allusions are woven into the fabric of paraclesis or vision.

For a similar structure which he has discovered to underlie Mark 13,<sup>2</sup> Hartman uses the term "midrash" (always in cautious inverted commas), or "parennetic midrash". If his argument is correct, the use of the word, which after all simply means "exegesis", with some emphasis on the discovery of meanings other than the plain sense, is entirely justified and the inverted commas unnecessary. But the exegetical function of apocalyptic is not overt, and this has led A.G. Wright<sup>3</sup> to deny that the word "midrash" is normally appropriate to apocalyptic works, or to any work in which the material is not presented "for the sake of the biblical text". Under this criterion, Wright accepts Dan. 9 and IV Ezra 12.10ff. as midrashic, but "in the NT, the anthological style of Apc, however, is of the non-midrashic variety".<sup>4</sup> I hope I shall be able to show that this verdict is over-hasty. Where there is no explicit citation of the OT text, one should not on that account conclude that an interpretation of it is not among the writer's objects. In any case, Wright's idea that midrash is a definable literary genre is incorrect. In this study the word will be used almost

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<sup>1</sup>Gaston's phrase: 441 etc.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit. 145ff. See below, chps. V, VIII.

<sup>3</sup>"The Literary Genre Midrash", CBQ 28 (1966), 105-38, 417-57.

<sup>4</sup>Ib. 453.

interchangeably with "interpretation", but with primary reference to the product rather than the activity.

It is possible that one passage in the NT speaks directly of the exegetical work of Christian prophets - I Pet. 1.10:

περὶ ἧς ὁωτηρίδας ἐξεζητήσαν καὶ ἐξερῶνῶσαν προφητῶν  
οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς χάριτος προφητεύσαντες .

Selwyn's interpretation<sup>1</sup> refers it to the Christian rather than the OT prophets, and the "searching and investigating" to the study and interpretation of the Scriptures. Surprisingly, he does not refer to the Rabbinic use of the verb  $\text{וַיִּתְּ$  . This verb, when used as a technical term, refers to the discovery, by various techniques, of the hidden meanings in a passage of scripture, in contrast to the exposition of its plain sense (  $\text{וַיִּתְּ}$  ).<sup>2</sup> Either  $\text{ἐκζητεῖν}$  or  $\text{ἐξερῶνῶσαν}$  could easily represent it in Greek. If this interpretation were correct, the Christian prophets would be engaged in exegesis and "midrash" would be an appropriate title for their productions.

#### b. Prophetic creation of tradition

To speak of "prophetic tradition" we should be able to show, however, that the prophets not only took up but also passed on material, however radically remoulded. This is what I shall attempt to show on a large scale in Part II of this thesis. I Pet.1.10f., however, if Selwyn's interpretation is correct, suggests that this could happen. The truth announced by the prophets after their searching of the scriptures -  $\text{ὅτι οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς ὑμῖν δὲ διηκόνουσιν αὐτὰ}$  - "has now been proclaimed to you through those who preached you the gospel in the Holy Spirit sent from heaven": v.12. A prophetic midrash becomes part of the preached gospel. If, as seems probable, the author is referring to the discovery that the gospel was to be taken to the Gentiles,<sup>3</sup> it has also entered the written Gospels - Mk 13.10, Mt.24.14. The "persecution-form" mentioned earlier<sup>4</sup> is another likely example of a prophetic midrash which has this time become part of

<sup>1</sup> Comm. ad loc. & 262f. The interpretation is however disputed; cf. NEB.

<sup>2</sup> Wright op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> As is certain in Eph.3.5, see below, p. 30ff.

<sup>4</sup> p. 12.

the parenetic material used by apostles in their letters, and was probably earlier catechetical material. Thus the whole church benefited from the prophetic activity, took up their material, and passed it on to us; but the prophets were essential links in the chain, and probably took over each other's material to a very large extent.

I must emphasise in conclusion that when I use the word "tradition" I am not talking about the transmission of a fixed form of words with an unalterable and untransferable meaning. The NT prophets are creative artists who deal with their material in freedom, and remould and transform its expression and its patterns of thought to whatever extent may be necessary to make it relevant to the needs of the day, to make God's imminent action for salvation or judgment and the fact that he has revealed it in scripture clearer to their contemporaries. And if the words change, the meanings do to an even greater extent. As we shall see, the same eschatological pattern or myth may refer to quite different things in different writers. We shall find radical differences both in expression and in reference between the various versions of each of the eschatological patterns that we investigate, and we must assume that the variation occurs at all stages of the tradition; there is not, within the NT period, any stage at which the tradition freezes, though certain ideas and clichés constantly recur.

#### D. The language of prophecy

The language of prophecy is normally eschatological. This is generally taken to mean that the prophets are pre-occupied with the imminent end of history, the reversal of all earthly circumstances, the eternal vindication of Christ and his Church and the eternal humiliation of their adversaries. In one word, a word which does not denote all this, but is generally taken to imply it all, with the Parousia. I noted several examples of this assumption above.<sup>1</sup>

Granted that the Christian prophets' central motif is the Parousia, and granted that they do speak of the return of the exalted

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<sup>1</sup>pp. 4 ff.

Jesus to earth with other supernatural accompaniments, what compels us to take this literally?

We shall come across much evidence in the course of this study that eschatological language was in fact very frequently used symbolically. By this, I do not mean merely that it expresses in pictorial or physical terms ideas that are inexpressible literally, though this is clearly true of the cosmic catastrophes of Mk.13.24f., or of a figure such as the Messianic banquet; but that speech about the end of the world or the coming of Christ may have reference to events within the course of history. As a simple example, let us take Rev.3.3<sup>1</sup>: "If you do not keep awake, I shall come like a thief, and you will have no idea what time I shall come upon you." The reference to the parable Lk. 12.40/Mt.24.43 is clear enough<sup>2</sup>, and other uses of the phrase "I shall come" in the book make it clear that this is eschatological language. Yet the conditional clause shows that we are not dealing with the Parousia, with the one inevitable end of history, which presumably does not depend on the conduct of the church at Sardis. No, Christ is here speaking of the judgment which the church of Sardis must experience in the course of history, and which as it is spoken of in language appropriate to the Parousia, may be said to anticipate or embody it. It is in fact the final judgment for those addressed. As this may be said of many historical events, there is no reason why many historical events should not be spoken of in eschatological language.

Let us explain how this could be<sup>3</sup>. An eschatology is a myth of the end. But any myth is capable of many applications - for example, Antichrist in Revelation stands for the self-deifying tendency of the Roman Empire, in Luther for the same tendency in the Papacy.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. G.B. Caird, *Comm. ad loc.*, and for what follows, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 50ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Caird, *op. cit.*; "Les Eschatologies du Nouveau Testament", *RHPR* 49 (1969), 217ff.; A.N. Wilder, *Eschatology & Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus*, New York 1939.

In any particular passage, a myth of the end may have reference to events in time; whether it does, and if so in what way, will need to be investigated afresh for each passage. Here I shall simply provide a theoretical framework to make clear the possible modes of relation.

The eschatological myth is a story or picture which expresses, I assume, primarily a theological idea - for example, the Last Judgment expresses "judgment according to one's works". It can thus express the theological significance of present or imminent events. In each case we must ask, first, what is the theological idea, secondly, how is the idea related to the course of history? The first is usually a simple question; the second may often be involved in uncertainties and sometimes be impossible to answer, but the answer if it can be found will lie upon one or more of three main lines. God's moral demand, or his offer of salvation, may be contained in present events. "If I by the finger of God cast out demons, then the kingdom of God is come upon you." (Lk 11.20). The existence of this "realized eschatology" in the teaching of Jesus, and elsewhere, has long been recognized.<sup>1</sup> But it is not the only way in which the theological ideas expressed in eschatological language may be related to history. A threat of judgment or promise of salvation points to an imminent fulfilment. The prophet may or may not be thinking of some particular fulfilment which he expects within history; but even if he is not, it is a mistake to assume that he would not recognize anything but a supernatural consummation of history as the fulfilment. Thirdly, the doctrine of ultimate recompense may provide sanctions for present conduct; this is of course the motive of most myths of judgment. But this type of relation may easily co-exist with one of the others: for example, one might claim that all three are present in Lk. 12.8f. and pars.

We must also ask why eschatological language is used to express the theological idea, rather than any other type of myth. I can again think of three possible reasons. There may be a reference to the final fulfilment of God's purpose, whether the reference is thought of as being

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<sup>1</sup>First by C.H. Dodd in Parables of the Kingdom, in 1935.

that final fulfilment, at least in a certain area, or as a step on the way. It may refer to the ultimate character of God's ethical demand or salvation-promise present in the event. Or it may emphasize that the subjects of God's judgment are being given, or have lost, their last chance, and that the threatened judgment is final.

Although we need not exclude references to supernatural events, the theological importance of the use of eschatological language will nearly always be found in one of the above reasons. The evidence I present in this thesis will tend to support the symbolic view of eschatological language put forward by Caird and Wilder.<sup>1</sup>

#### E. Prophecy in the Gospels; the criteria

If we wish to prove that there are prophetic traditions, as defined above, in the Synoptic Gospels, what criteria may we adopt? We have already seen the impossibility of applying purely formal criteria to distinguish the oracles of Christian prophets from authentic sayings of the earthly Jesus; we have also seen that the formal variety of prophetic sayings makes it difficult even to distinguish prophetic sayings from others, regardless of date and provenance, by formal criteria.

In theory it should be possible to distinguish prophetic material by features discussed in the last three sections; because they have a paracletic purpose, or show signs of being based on an apocalyptic midrash, or use eschatological language. In practice none of these features is adequate by itself, though the second is more distinctive than the others. Moreover, when we are dealing with small units, a saying or even a small group of sayings, it is often difficult to be certain about the precise purpose (most of those who have studied the history of the Synoptic tradition are convinced that often the same saying or parable has been used for different purposes at different stages of the tradition)<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> Opp. citt.

<sup>2</sup> For an admirable elucidation of the process, see J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, London 1963 (ET of *Die Gleichnisse Jesu*, Göttingen, 6th ed. 1962).

generally speaking it is meaningless to ask whether a possible OT reference in a small unit is midrashic or not - to establish this we need some sort of continuity or consistency in the references over a few verses or more. For these reasons, I shall concentrate on the longer eschatological passages in the Synoptic Gospels.

It may be possible, in addition to the distinguishing marks of prophetic material I have just listed, to use certain features which may distinguish material originating in the Church from authentic sayings of Jesus. There may be references to known history later than Jesus' life time - though certain references of this kind are notoriously difficult to find, and it has been questioned, in my view rightly, whether many of the sayings usually held to be vaticinia ex eventu are so at all. There may be references to peculiarly churchly concerns, such as the evangelization of the Gentiles or the hope for judgment on the persecutors of the church; in fact we shall discover as we go on that certain motifs, such as the Parousia, are extremely unlikely to have originated with Jesus. Finally, we may find sayings of Jesus, attested elsewhere, employed as part of an apocalyptic midrash, or quoted in a clerly secondary form, or themes from Jesus' teaching used in a way which we will have discovered to be derived rather than original<sup>1</sup>.

Part II of this thesis will demonstrate not only that prophetic material is present in such passages as Mk 13, but that much of this material is traditional. Chapter V will show that the eschatological discourse of Mk 13 is likely to consist of prophetic material; I shall examine in particular its basis in an interpretation of Scripture (cf. Chp. III) and its use of the sayings tradition (cf. Chp. IV). Chapter VI will compare and contrast with this the eschatological material in the sayings of Jesus as collected in Lk 12f., showing how little they have been affected by the objects or the methods of church prophecy. This will lead on in Chapter VII to a study of the tradition history of the Son of Man motif in the Synoptic Gospels, which will show that the upper strata of this

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<sup>1</sup> As happens with "Son of Man": cf. Chp. VII below.

tradition have been affected by prophetic traditions of exegesis. In Chapters VIII and IX, I shall demonstrate the existence of prophetic traditions through a study of the parallels to Mk 13 in the NT (and one in other early Christian literature). Chapter VIII will show that the prophetic midrash upon which Mk 13 is founded is traditional; Chapter IX that the pattern of consolation shown there is also widespread. Chapter X will study the use made of the traditions by the evangelists, and the motives and means of their reinterpretations.

PART I

PROPHECY'S USE OF TRADITION

CHAPTER II

Μυστήριον

AND PROPHECY IN THE NT

There are several places in the NT where the word μυστήριον obviously refers to contemporary prophecy in the church. This is clearest in I Cor.13.2: "if I have prophecy and know all the mysteries and all knowledge" - which implies that one who "has prophecy" will naturally know "all the mysteries." Again Eph.3.1-12 speaks of a particular "mystery", that was made known to Paul κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν <sup>1</sup> and was revealed also to the other "holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit."<sup>2</sup> In these passages, then, a "mystery" is information that may be given to the prophets "in the Spirit," and through them to the church.

I have asserted<sup>3</sup> that to a large extent NT prophecy offers an interpretation of OT scripture. To prove this, my first approach will be to investigate the use of this word μυστήριον in the NT, particularly in the Pauline epistles. This will also illustrate other important features of prophetic activity in the early church.

What is a "mystery"? What are "all the mysteries" of I Cor.13.2? Does not the idea that prophets are granted "revelations" of hitherto unknown secrets of God argue against the view of them as interpreters of a tradition? Not at all; for, as we have already seen<sup>4</sup>, at Qumran the interpretation of Scripture was believed to be itself the result of inspiration.

The antecedents of the NT use of μυστήριον may be traced in the LXX and the Rabbinic writings, but more particularly in apocalyptic and the Qumran literature. In the LXX it is not used to translate any Hebrew word, but it does stand regularly for the Aramaic ܡܝܫܬܪܝܢ

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<sup>1</sup>cf. I Cor.14. 6,26,29-30 for the use of this phrase in connection with prophecy.

<sup>2</sup>See further below,pp. 30 ff.

<sup>3</sup>pp. 15ff.

<sup>4</sup>p.15.

in Daniel. The importance of this is not in the use in Daniel itself, but in that it enables us to recognise in the use of  $\text{מְסֵתֵרִים}$  in later literature without any Greek translation the counterpart of the use of  $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  in the N T. The characteristic use in apocalyptic is illustrated by Enoch 103.2-3: "I know a mystery, and have read the heavenly tablets, and have seen the holy books, and have found written therein and inscribed regarding them (the righteous): that all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them", etc. "Mysteries" are "hidden realities which are prepared", "God's counsels destined finally to be disclosed".<sup>1</sup> They are revealed to the seer, and communicated by him to his secret books. The whole content of the apocalyptic could be described as "mysteries".

In the Qumran literature  $\text{מְסֵתֵרִים}$  constantly recurs, usually in the plural. God's "marvellous mysteries" ( $\text{מְסֵתֵרִים מְרַבִּים}$ ) are the special knowledge granted to the community; the psalmist of the Hodayoth is constantly praising God for this grace. These mysteries are primarily the purpose of God for the last days: e.g., 1 Qp Hab.7.7. "The final time will last long and will exceed everything spoken of by the Prophets; for the mysteries of God are marvellous." But the reference may sometimes be to the marvellous ordering of the heavens and the rest of creation.<sup>2</sup> How are the mysteries made known to men? Within the community they are handed on by the community as a whole to the novices<sup>3</sup>; they are in fact traditional; and as we have seen<sup>4</sup> they were originally revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness, in the form of insight into the meaning for the present of the words of the prophets.

This Jewish eschatological use is the most significant background to the use of the word in the N.T.<sup>5</sup> Most instances in the N.T. can be brought under the definition derived from apocalyptic: "God's secret purpose for the last times, concealed for ages but now revealed to his

<sup>1</sup> Dornkamm, TWNT s.v.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. 1QH 1. 11, 13, 21.

<sup>3</sup> 1QS 9. 18f.

<sup>4</sup> Above p. 15, 1 QpHab.7. 3-5.

<sup>5</sup> It can also be used in a secular, non-technical sense, e.g. I Cor.14.2.

chosen people." Several times in the Pauline corpus it is used simply of the Gospel: see Eph. 6.19, Col.4.3, and (if it is the correct reading) I Cor.2.1. In I Cor.4.1., Paul calls himself and his colleagues οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων Θεοῦ and must certainly refer to their apostolic office. This use of the word is quite natural: Christ was God's age-old purpose now revealed "when the fulness of time had come".<sup>1</sup> Thus the message that proclaims him is the revelation of the secret of God's purpose. And so the phrase used in Col.4.3 is λαλῆσαι το μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

But as we have already seen<sup>2</sup> there are a number of other instances where there is no reference to the preaching of the Gospel; where the revelation of the mystery comes through prophecy. Another important, but controversial, passage which I believe should come under this head is I Cor. 2.6ff. - cf. ἐν μυστηρίῳ v.7 . Paul has just demonstrated that the Christian faith is not a matter of "wisdom" as understood in the Gentile world, and as the Corinthians imagined it to be. He then (v.6) makes the concession that there is a sort of wisdom in the Christian Church, but it has nothing to do with the wisdom of "this world," and it belongs only to mature Christians - not to the Corinthians! The rest of the chapter considers this wisdom further. The questions we must ask are, first, how is the phrase ἐν μυστηρίῳ in v.7 to be construed, and what does it signify? Secondly, is this Θεοῦ σοφίαν the same as the Θεοῦ σοφίαν of 1.24? Finally, how does the passage suggest Paul thought this wisdom became known?

ἐν μυστηρίῳ may be construed either with λαλοῦμεν or with σοφίαν . It is not uncommon in the N.T. to find a prepositional phrase attached to the noun without an article, and this is how most of the interpreters<sup>3</sup> take it. The wisdom of God then becomes defined as a "mystery" in the normal apocalyptic sense, "because it has been for

<sup>1</sup> Gal.4.4.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p.24.

<sup>3</sup> Including Robertson and Plummer Comm.ad loc., and Barrett, Comm. ad loc.

so long a secret, although now made known to all those who can receive it".<sup>1</sup> But it is more natural grammatically to take it with the verb, with Weiss.<sup>2</sup> He compares 14.6: ἀλλήσω ἢ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει κτλ., and suggests that the meaning would be "in the form of a mystery," that is, an apocalyptic revelation of God's hitherto secret purpose. This gains point from 15.51 and Rom.11.25, where Paul declares that he is "speaking a mystery."

That the "wisdom of God" in this passage is essentially identical with the Gospel of Jesus Christ, "the power of God and the wisdom of God" according to 1.24, is strongly argued by many - in a special aspect, however, as apprehended by mature Christians. But it is difficult to know what is meant by talk of "aspects" and the like. Undoubtedly it would be a truism to say that any discourse with a distinctively Christian character was an "aspect" of the Gospel. What is certain here is that the speaking of wisdom is restricted to mature Christians, spiritual men, among whom the Corinthians are not included - 3.1f. It is therefore something more than the Gospel itself. The use of θεοῦ σοφία in chapter I is entirely different; there the argument is highly polemical and the use almost ironical - "the only sort of wisdom we know anything about is Christ." Here Paul is speaking of "wisdom" in a much more literal sense.

Several interpreters<sup>3</sup> speak of this wisdom as being achieved by means of the "insight" of mature Christians. This misses two points which for Paul are all-important: the role of the Holy Spirit, and the emphasis on speech. Vv. 10-12 make clear how this wisdom can only be made known to man through the Spirit, and as a result can only be understood by those who are themselves spiritual (vv.13ff.). Further, throughout this wisdom is thought of as "spoken": Paul begins σοφίαν δὲ ἀλλοῦμεν, and after discussing the source of the

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<sup>1</sup>Robertson and Plummer, ad loc.

<sup>2</sup>c.f. also J. Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, ET London 1959, 155ff.

<sup>3</sup>e.g. Moffatt, Comm. ad loc.

wisdom he returns in v.13 to its expression. The wisdom of God is pre-eminently a message to be proclaimed, though only to those who can understand it. Who are the subject of *λαλοῦμεν* ? It is not too clear, and the commentators vary between Paul only, the apostles in general, the prophets, and all the *τελείοι* . But if our estimate of the meaning of *ἐν μυστηρίῳ* is correct, it is arguable that what is thought of is a prophetic function; and this is also suggested by the combined emphasis on the Holy Spirit and on speech. This conclusion is strengthened by the observation that the content of the wisdom is eschatological, concerning "our glory." It is true that the audience for prophetic pronouncements is never restricted to any group such as "the mature." But the point probably is that the Corinthians, being immature, hardly ever heard prophecy in their assembly because of their exaggerated estimate of glossolalia: chapter 14. It is not improbable, then, that what Paul means by Christian wisdom, "spoken in a mystery", is the activity of the prophets.

We shall consider now those places in the Pauline epistles where "mysteries" are declared. Apart from passages in Colossians and Ephesians we have I Cor.15.51, Rom.11.25f. and 16.25. The last we shall leave on one side as probably late and non-Pauline. I Cor.15.51f. presents no difficulties. Though it is the culmination of the discourse on resurrection, it is not the logical conclusion of the argument; it is an authoritative word coming from outside the argument supplying *οἰκοδομῆς*, *καρὰ κλησὶς* and *παρὰ μυσθία* where argument falls short. In a word, it is a prophetic declaration. Note that it is not a totally new coinage, but shows affinities with I Thess.4.13ff. and depends on passages in the OT.<sup>2</sup> This is a parallel to the use of *אֵל* at Qumran. It is a perfect example of what Paul means by "speaking the wisdom of God in a mystery ... not in words taught by human wisdom, but in words taught of the Spirit." And yet it is in origin an interpretation of the OT!

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<sup>1</sup> So Barrett.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 181 n. 3.

The "mystery" of Ro.11.25 apparently differs toto caelo in its relation to the context from the one we have just discussed. So far from supplying the deficiencies of the argument, it is simply a statement of the result of the argument, which depends on Scriptural exegesis, Rabbinic logic, parable and other "words (apparently) taught by human wisdom". Dodd<sup>1</sup> shows the way to the correct understanding of this assertion. "By this (viz. "mystery") he means a truth given by special revelation, rather than deduced by argument, and in particular he means a truth divined by religious intuition in the facts of the Gospel... It is indeed a religious intuition that lies behind all this exposition, even though in form it is largely an argument from Scripture quite in the Rabbinic manner. But Paul would have said that only the revelation which Christ had brought could give a true understanding of Scripture." It is in fact the whole argument which is the exposition of the hidden wisdom of God "in a mystery." Ultimately, the assertion of these verses depends solely on faith in the promise and mercy of God seen in Christ and it is only on this assumption that the exegesis carried out by Paul is at all possible. The "mystery" is again the result of a Spirit-guided interpretation of Scripture. Although Paul says (v.33), "How unsearchable are his judgments and his ways past finding out", he has in fact shown in the three preceding chapters how God's plan for the last times can be understood by one who studies prophecy under the guidance of the Spirit of prophecy, precisely as he says in I Cor.2.10 - "even the deep things of God."

In Colossians, besides the passage I have already mentioned<sup>2</sup>, the word occurs twice (vv.26,27) in the long sentence beginning at 1.24, and again at 2.2. At its first appearance in the former passage, it appears to be in apposition with τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ and might naturally be referred simply to the Gospel, which was indeed "concealed for ages and for generations" until revealed in Christ.

But would this meaning also fit in v.27? ὧν δὲ ἐφανερώθη τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ, οἷς ἠβέλγησεν ὁ θεὸς γνωρίσαι τί τὸ κρυπτόν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

<sup>1</sup> Comm. ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Col.4.3; p. 26

It seems most natural to take ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν with τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου rather than with γνωρίσαι as γνωρίσαι already has an indirect object in οἷς . Thus - to the "saints", that is to the Church, God willed to make known what was the wealth of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles. The "mystery" is the calling of the Gentiles through the agency of Paul, the revelation of this as God's intention taking place at some moment in the history of the Jewish Church. Now τὸ μυστήριον in v.26 must obviously have the same reference; if it is in apposition with τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ Paul's apostolic mission to the Gentiles has become part of the preached Gospel<sup>1</sup>. The means of revelation are unspecified, but it is inescapable to compare Eph.3.5, where the same "mystery" is revealed "to the holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit."

Col.2.2 does not offer a great deal for our special study. If the reading of P46 B Hil is correct (τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ Χριστοῦ) , the "mystery" is clearly said to be Christ, though indeed it is Christ as understood by the mature Christian taught by Paul's agony on his behalf (v.1) of the full meaning of Christ. Eph. 1.10 also offers us little. Here the "mystery" is that God intends ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ; but we are told little of the means by which this is made known to the church, except that it is through the special insight (v.8 - πάση σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει ) granted by grace to Christians.

Eph. 3. 1-13 is a much more important passage for our purpose. It speaks of a particular mystery, defined in v.6, the admission of the Gentiles to "the promise in Christ Jesus through the Gospel."

What does the passage tell us about this "mystery"?

Five things. First, that the message was revealed "to apostles and prophets." (v.5) Secondly, it was revealed especially to Paul, (v.3) as part of the specific grace given him for the sake of the Gentiles - εἰς ὑμᾶς , as part of his apostolic endowment. Cf. Gal. 1.12,15f.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, pp.31,34, and above, p.17.

Thirdly the revelation was made *ἐν Πνεύματι* (v.5), which implies much the same thing as *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν*: "La prédication de l'Évangile aux païens ne remonte pas à un ordre de Jésus pendant son ministère terrestre, mais au Seigneur gouvernant son Église par son Esprit."<sup>1</sup> As far as Paul himself was concerned, the order came from the Risen Christ in person<sup>2</sup>, but NT usage shows that little distinction was made between the Risen Christ and his Spirit. This means that the Church's mission to the Gentiles was determined by prophetic revelation.<sup>3</sup>

Fourthly, the mystery so revealed became part of the Gospel preached to the Gentiles<sup>4</sup>. This appears to be the implication of v.4, provided that the "mystery" here is the same as that in v.5. In the view of the writer of this epistle, perhaps Paul himself, a prophetic word had become part of the preached Gospel. This should affect our view of the history not only of the "kerygma", but also of the written Gospels<sup>5</sup>.

This cannot be regarded as a view peculiar to a late and deutero-Pauline author. It is implicit in the missionary policy of Paul, if Munck's<sup>6</sup> views on its development are correct. If Paul and his companions broke with a prevailing Jewish-Christian belief that the admission of the Gentiles to salvation must wait upon the conversion of the Jews, and became convinced that God had called them to preach to the Gentiles first in order (ultimately) to gain the salvation of the Jews, then we should expect this new act of God executed through his apostles and prophets, declaring and securing the salvation of the Gentiles, to be an essential part of the message of the mercy of God in Christ that they proclaimed to them. The quotation of Is.49.6 in Ac. 13.47 seems to suggest as much.

<sup>1</sup> Masson, Comm. ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Comparison of Gal. 1.12, 15f. and I Cor.15.8 would appear to suggest this.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Ac. 13.2.

<sup>4</sup> So Schlier and Masson, Comms. ad loc.

<sup>5</sup> But see below, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit.

Finally, we note that this passage tells us that the πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ is made known to the "principalities and powers" through the church. The ultimate object, it seems, of the prophetic revelation is to assist in the reconciliation and rebirth of the cosmos itself.

There is no reference here to the OT Scriptures as the basis of a prophetic interpretation, but if as I believe I Pet. 1.10-12 refers to the same series of events,<sup>1</sup> it supplies evidence lacking in Ephesians that the prophetic discovery of the calling of the Gentiles was the result of the study of the scriptures and their interpretation through charismatic illumination.

In Eph.5.32 a particular scriptural text (Gen.2.24) is described as "a great mystery" and given an allegorical and specifically Christian interpretation - "of Christ and the church". The OT text is interpreted in the light of the Christian revelation; but the author gives the interpretation on his own authority<sup>2</sup> - ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω - so that we cannot say with confidence that we have here a charismatic interpretation. But we can say that a hidden meaning, relevant to the present, is being drawn out of the text by a man of God under the general inspiration of the Gospel. μυστήριον here is often translated "allegory"; but this translation is too narrow and fails to suggest the associations of the word which we have noted in this chapter. Allegory or not, there is a message concerning God's purpose for the last times contained in every scripture, which may require to be drawn out by a charismatic interpreter. Any such interpretation may be described as a "mystery".

The only place to be considered in the Gospels is Mark 4. 11. Whatever the original meaning of the saying, Mark connects it with the problem why Jesus taught in parables whose meaning was unclear to his generation of Christians. The "mystery of the Kingdom of God" is for him the meaning hidden in the parables but revealed by an

<sup>1</sup> Above, p.17.

<sup>2</sup> If the work is pseudonymous, the author gives it on Paul's authority - this is closer to prophetic inspiration.

interpreter, who is in this case also the Author, to the church. For Mark, then, the interpretation of the parables of Jesus was an exercise closely parallel to the charismatic interpretation of Scripture, with the same assumptions and methods and in some ways the same conclusions. The interpretation of the parable of the Sower applies it to the situation of the Church in the mission field, and very many parables are interpreted of the eschatological situation of the church. In these cases Jesus' parable is treated as a kind of prophecy whose fulfilment is to be found in the present situation of the church. This consideration suggests that the interpretation in the church of Jesus' parables, and his teaching in general, may have at least partly been the function of the prophets. Some important support for this hypothesis will appear in chapter IV.

We have learnt from this study that the word *μυστήριον* in the NT and especially in the Pauline corpus, is a term for those purposes of God, long hidden, which have been made known in Christ. It characterises them as they have been made known to the Christian community, rather than as made known to the world in general: this follows the "esoteric" use of *סֵתֵר* in Qumran, but in the NT there is always the idea, in the foreground or the background, that the mystery is ultimately to be made known to the whole world. Christ himself is the fundamental mystery, containing in himself the whole revelation of God's purpose; but to the community who believed in him came further insights, mediated by teachers and prophets, any of which may be called a *μυστήριον*. To understand such a "mystery" is the gift of the Spirit, so the revelation of "mysteries" is essentially a function of prophecy. And among the most important ways in which the prophet reveals mysteries is the inspired exegesis of scripture. We saw this in I Cor.15.51, in Rom. 11.25f, in Eph.5.32 and very likely in Eph.3.5 and Col.1.24ff.

Further, we have detected evidence that "mysteries" thus revealed could become part of the preached gospel. This is only what we should expect. We do not know of a time when the "gospel" was

simply an eyewitness account of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus without any kind of interpretation; indeed such a thing would be impossible; without theology, that is interpretation, there could not be a gospel. The simplest form of the kerygma, for example I Cor.15.3ff., not only asserts that "Christ" - the title itself interpretative - died "for our sins" - an interpretation, not a statement of relatively objective fact such as ἰπέθανεν, - but adds both to this clause and to the following one the phrase κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς. This implies that exegetical activity, in which the death and resurrection of Jesus were discovered to be a fulfilment of scripture, had already taken place before the formulation of this simple announcement of the gospel. What sort of exegesis it was, and what texts were used, may be gathered from the kerygmatic speeches in Acts, as well as from the NT's common tradition of exegesis<sup>1</sup>. We cannot prove that this exegesis was carried on under charismatic inspiration, but it seems not unlikely when we consider the exegetical functions of the prophet in the later church<sup>2</sup> and the fact that the earliest church seems to have been continuously under the influence of the Spirit.

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<sup>1</sup> See C.H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, Melbyn 1952; and B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, London 1961.

<sup>2</sup> See next chapter.

### CHAPTER III

#### CHARISMATIC INTERPRETATION OF THE OT IN NT PROPHECY

I have shown that in the conception of Jewish and Christian prophetic circles the interpretation of the OT is neither self-evident nor to be reached by the application of logically intelligible exegetical rules: it is given by God through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. I now wish to show, by means of a detailed example from Revelation, the way in which prophetic discourse in the New Testament Church may be to a large extent an interpretation of Scripture. Many parts of Revelation depend on particular passages of the OT for their themes and structure; conversely, by taking up such OT themes and structures into a new work with its own tendency, an interpretation, a new application is offered of each OT passage used; while the combination of allusions to various OT passages casts light upon them all. We should remember, however, that to the writer the "new" reference is there all the time, put there by God ready to be revealed at the time to which it refers.

It is at first sight paradoxical to assert that Revelation has in part an exegetical purpose. Many other works have a far more obviously exegetical purpose. Not to mention the rabbinic midrashim and the Qumran "pesharim", which quote Scripture verse by verse in order to expound it, all or nearly all other works in the NT quote passages of scripture, with greater or less frequency, and proceed to expound them. Almost alone among the books of the NT, Revelation never formally quotes a line of the OT. But at the same time, it is crammed with scriptural allusions. Many long passages are simply centos of OT texts, and few verses are without at least one allusion. But they are quoted in general with great freedom,<sup>1</sup> and always without acknowledgement. There

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<sup>1</sup> It is usually unwise to deduce from the form of a text in Revelation or other apocalyptic works that the author had access to a peculiar current recension of the text. The case here is quite different from that of the Qumran pesharim, where different readings of a text which is directly quoted are deliberately exploited. Cf. K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew*, Uppsala, 2nd ed. 1966, pp. 195f.

is no attempt at formal exposition; the whole work is taken up with the account of "what is to happen soon" in visionary or admonitory style, and a divergence into the teaching or expository style would be quite out of place. The same could be said of many other apocalyptic works. "The prophetic spirit creates, it does not quote in order to teach or argue."<sup>1</sup>

Should we then be justified in calling Revelation's use of the OT merely "anthological",<sup>2</sup> in saying that the allusions are there simply because John wants to speak in OT language and use OT themes, and that he has no interest in the OT for its own sake or as a prophecy to be fulfilled? Hartman<sup>3</sup> has shown for several passages of Jewish apocalyptic that OT themes have guided their choice of OT allusions. If I can do something similar for one passage of Revelation, I shall have gone some way towards proving that the use of the OT in that book is much more than anthological.

One passage where John's dependence on a single OT passage is particularly clear is the first part of Rev.13, the vision of the beast rising from the sea.<sup>4</sup> I hope to show first, that the passage is consciously and systematically based on the seventh chapter of Daniel and that allusions to other texts are derived from this main source by associations to themes or key-words;<sup>5</sup> and secondly, that by creating a new structure out of this material John has brought the themes and symbolism of the Daniel chapter to bear on the situation of the churches of Asia facing the divine claims of a new world empire. In other words, by weaving OT threads into a new web instead of quoting didactically, he has effectively interpreted it with reference to his own times. The symbolism of Daniel is always of potential validity: by his treatment, John applies it specifically to the Roman empire.

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<sup>1</sup> Stendahl, op. cit. p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> A.G. Wright, op. cit. (CBQ 28 (1966)), 453. See above, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 102ff.; see above, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> I shall attempt to show in a later chapter that the choice of the book of Daniel, and the main themes drawn from it here, are traditional. But the particular use made of Dan.7 is unique to Revelation and almost certainly John's own work.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hartman, passim.

We must realise also that the Daniel chapter in its turn is a re-application of very ancient mythological symbolism. The myth of God's battle against the sea, or its mythological counterpart the cosmic deep (  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}$ , the Akkadian Tiamat), and the monsters of her alliance, whose defeat made creation possible, is universal among the ancient Sumerian and Semitic peoples.<sup>1</sup> Although the nature of Israel's religion excluded the use of the myth, except in fragments, in the OT accounts of creation, fleeting allusions to it are found in several places in the OT, very often with reference to the Exodus or to the coming salvation; but nowhere is it anything like as well developed as in Daniel.<sup>2</sup> And the author of Daniel seems to be the first to apply it to the self-deifying state. Now in Revelation, the myth of the primeval dragon has already been employed in chapter 12, where the dragon stands for Satan, the arch-enemy of God and man, the principle of evil within the world order. The same myth is now used again with reference to one of Satan's chief creatures or incarnations, the totalitarian state. Since this transference has already been made in Daniel, it is natural for John to use the text of Dan.7 in building up the description of his own vision. We shall see that some of the other references to the myth in the OT are also picked up by John. Undoubtedly, not only the text of Daniel, but the myth which stands behind it, has been directly employed in this passage.

The appearance of the beast is told in vv. 1-3a. It is a conflation of the characteristics of all the four beasts which Daniel saw. Like them (Dan.7.3), it is "coming up out of the sea". The phrase is a direct quotation from Daniel; and it is certain that John was aware of the symbolic significance of the sea in the OT chapter as the centre of opposition to God's rule, the symbol of chaos. Within

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<sup>1</sup> For the texts, see J.B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 2nd ed. Princeton 1955, 60ff., 129ff. (cf. also 6f).

<sup>2</sup> The principal passages are: Gen.1.2, 6f. (very much demythologised); Is.27.1, 51.9ff.; Jer.51.34, 36, 42; Ezk.29.3ff, 32.2ff; Pss.74.12-19, 89.9f., 104.26; Job 7.12, 9.13, 26.12, 38.8ff., 40f; Prov.8.29; Dan.7. See Charles, *Comm. Rev.I.* 317f.

the Bible such passages as Job 38.8-11, Isaiah 51.10, will have made him aware of this symbolism. There may also be a contemporary historical reference in the mention of the sea, which appears when it is contrasted with the emergence of the second beast (v.11) "from the land"; the second beast represents the local power of the imperial cult, while the representative of the Roman power in Asia, the proconsul, arrived every year from Rome by sea.<sup>1</sup> Hence this feature derived directly from Daniel is invested with at least two layers of meaning, one traditional and one a contemporary reference, but both of significance for John's purpose.

The "ten horns" of the beast come from the fourth and most important beast of Daniel's vision (7.7). They wear "diadems", for according to Dan.7.24 they are kings, and are so interpreted in Rev.17.12ff. The precise contemporary reference is disputed.

The "seven heads" may be got by adding together the total number of heads possessed by the four beasts of Daniel's vision.<sup>2</sup> But it is probable that John knew that the dragon of the creation myth had seven heads, at least in certain versions,<sup>3</sup> and has enriched the Danielic material by drawing from its source. His object in doing so is seen in the interpretation in 17.9ff; the heads represent both the seven hills of Rome and the series of individual emperors. But all attempts to make the number seven tally with any count of emperors have failed - the number is arbitrary and existed before the emperors did.<sup>4</sup> The ten horns wear the diadems of kingship: the seven heads wear *δύομικ* or *δύομικτα βλασφημίας*. The manuscripts are divided as to the number; if the singular is read, undoubtedly we are to understand the chief and inclusive title of the Princeps, *Ἐβαστός*.<sup>5</sup> To the Jew this has a blasphemous implication, demanding worship for one

<sup>1</sup> Caird, Comm. ad. loc., following Ramsay, W.M., The Seven Churches of Asia, London 1904, 103f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Charles ad. loc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pritchard, op.cit., 137a (epic of Baal and Anath, V. AB 39)

<sup>4</sup> Charles, Caird ad. loc.

<sup>5</sup> So Charles ad loc.

who is not God. If the plural is read, those titles making more overt divine claims are included - θεοῦ υἱός, κύριος καὶ θεός etc. But this detail too is derived from Daniel, thus: the "little horn" of the fourth beast speaks blasphemy (7.8, 20, 25); and this feature is taken up again in 8.10f., where we learn that the horn "grew great, even to the host of heaven", and "magnified itself, even up to the prince of the host." His blasphemy consists in self-glorification, and so John is justified in referring it to the blasphemous titles of the Principate.<sup>1</sup>

In v.2a the specific characteristics of the first three beasts of Daniel's vision are combined in the description of John's. The new beast consummates in himself the whole demonic nature of the old empires. Authority is given to it. This was said in various ways of each of the first three beasts in Daniel: straightforwardly of the third (7.6): "and dominion was given to it"; the second is told, "Arise, devour much flesh"; and the first is "given the mind of a man."<sup>2</sup> But the words "gave him his power and his throne and great authority" recall most closely the opening of Dan.7.14: "And to him (the one like a son of man) was given dominion and glory and kingdom". But this is the same dominion as has been taken away from the beasts; the reminiscence is deliberate and points to the time when the beast will be deprived of his invalid authority. Invalid, since according to John it is derived, not from God as is implied in the Daniel texts, but from the dragon. He thus glosses the Daniel text with the deduction that a state which puts itself in the place of God ceases to have any valid authority; what power it has is a usurped power derived from the devil, not divine authority. Compare chapter 4 of Daniel.<sup>3</sup>

At first sight, the following verse, about the mortal wound which one head of the beast had suffered, has no relation with the basic text. Its phraseology deliberately recalls Rev.5.6f. - the Lamb which was as if it had been slain - and we understand that the monster parodies Christ.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, chp.V, p.81; ~~p.81~~ chp.VIII, p.185

<sup>2</sup> That this implies the grant of authority emerges from the Biblical view of the place of man in God's world. Cf. Gen.1.26ff., Ps.8, Dan.4, 7.13; and see M.D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark*, London, 1967, 11ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Caird ad loc.

But nothing like this is said of any of the beasts in Daniel. However, in Is.27.1 we are told, "In that day Yahweh with his hard and great and strong sword will punish Leviathan the fleeing serpent, Leviathan the twisting serpent, and he will slay the dragon that is in the sea." And again in Ps.74.13f. "thou didst break the heads of the dragons<sup>1</sup> in the waters, thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan."<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly John would have taken "Leviathan" and "the dragons" as equivalent to the beasts of Daniel's vision, and these and other passages mentioning them as legitimate sources of interpretation for Daniel. The two texts taken together would suggest that God slays the dragon by slicing its heads with a sword, and this is in fact the picture which John gives - cf. v.14 τὴν πλῆθὺν τῆς μαχαιρῆς . But the execution is not yet complete. Only one of the heads is injured, and that has healed. What is John's source for this miraculous healing? Here we must go back to the original myth, in which, as Lohmeyer<sup>3</sup> points out, the chaos-dragon is not destroyed but only wounded and chained up till the End.

Clearly the passages from Ps.74 and the Isaiah "Apocalypse" reflect this myth. John applies to the Danielic monster and to the present time this feature of the myth of creation which these OT passages had led him to. The contemporary reference inspiring this piece of research may well be, as most commentators consider, the story of Nero redivivus.

In vv.3b-4a (καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη . . . . . λέγοντες) there may be a reminiscence of the words in Dan.7.14 "that all peoples and nations and languages should serve him."<sup>4</sup> This may not be a very convincing parallel by itself, but it is rendered more so by the closer parallel in vv.7b-8a. Parody again: the beast gets the devotion which is due to the Son of Man.<sup>5</sup> This is not said of the beasts in Daniel: but then the Roman empire is much more systematic and pressing in its

<sup>1</sup> For [ ] should perhaps be read [ ] (cf. BH).

<sup>2</sup> Other passages suggested are Job 40.19 (Lohmeyer Comm. ad loc) and Gen.3.15 (Farrer Comm. ad loc). But the two quoted in the text are more directly relevant.

<sup>3</sup> Comm. ad loc.

<sup>4</sup> προδουεῖν is used once by the LXX to represent 724: Ps.96.7.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also Dan.7.23.

demand for divine worship than the Seleucid empire. Daniel was written for a people who were being prevented from worshipping their God; Revelation for a people who were being forced to worship another.

"Who is like the beast, and who is able to fight with him?" - language that rightly belongs to God. But why are these particular words chosen? Wherever the phrase "who is like (thee, God, Yahweh)?" is used in the OT, the theme of God's destruction of his enemies for the sake of his people is generally present; cf. Ex.15.11, Ps.35.10, 71.19, 89.6, Mic.7.18. Now, of these, Ps.89.6ff. will be found very significant. "For who in the skies can be compared with Yahweh? or is like Yahweh among the heavenly beings (שׁוֹמְרֵי יְהוָה) ... Yahweh God of hosts, who is mighty as thou art, Yahweh (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ), with thy faithfulness round about thee?" Then comes the section about the overthrow of the enemy expressed in mythological terms: "Thou dost rule the raging of the sea; when its waves rise, then stillest them. Thou didst crush Rahab like a carcass, thou didst scatter thine enemies with thy mighty arm." Here we have another reference to the creation-myth, and in "Rahab" another sea-monster. I would suggest that from among the OT scripture referring to the myth, John has selected a phrase which can be parodied on the lips of those who glorify the monster, but which to anyone who knows his OT will suggest its ultimate overthrow. "And who is able to fight with him?" is not a quotation, but a natural extension of the context in Ps.89. The words put into the mouths of the inhabitants of the earth are of course extremely appropriate to the Roman empire, whose power was based on the legend and reality of the invincibility of the legions.

With v.5 we return to the main text, and to the blasphemy of the little horn; for στόμα λαλοῦν μέγαρα see Dan.7.8,16. This leads us to the closely related v.25, where the figure of "a time, times and half a time" first appears. John translates this into "42 months." The assurance that the persecution of Antiochus will be short-lived becomes the assurance that the persecution of Rome will be equally short-lived.

Closely parallel to Dan.7.24f. is the passage in the following chapter describing the activity of the little horn: Dan. 8.9-14; and this has also clearly contributed to the making of vv.5f here which describe the activity of the beast. First of all, the difficult  $\rho\omicron\iota\eta\delta\alpha\iota$  in v.5b has been explained by Charles<sup>1</sup> as follows (the first of his two suggestions): " $\rho\omicron\iota\eta\delta\alpha\iota$  (=  $\rho\iota\omega\iota$ ) may mean ... 'to do', 'to act with effect': cf. Dan.8.12, 11.28." To suggest on this ground that there is actually a reference to  $\rho\iota\omega\iota$ , Dan.8.12, here would be far-fetched if it were not for the other references to the passage in the context. The period of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years appears again in v.14. The blasphemies against God, "his name and his dwelling," can be connected with v.11: "It magnified itself, even up to the Prince of the host... and the place of his sanctuary was overthrown." The self-deification of the state is repeated in the Roman empire. But since John is not interested in Rome's destruction of the literal temple in Jerusalem, the desecration of the temple needs further definition. John interprete it of the persecution of the church.<sup>2</sup> In place of the  $\omega\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$  of Daniel John uses the term  $\delta\kappa\eta\upsilon\eta$  (=  $\delta\eta\chi$ ) derived from the Pentateuch, and follows it up with the cognate verb  $\delta\kappa\eta\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ , thus indicating his interest in the aspect of the Temple as the dwelling-place of God.<sup>3</sup> Further, he places the phrase  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \epsilon\nu \tau\hat{\omega} \alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha\tau\hat{\omega}$   $\delta\kappa\eta\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$  in apposition with  $\eta\nu \delta\kappa\eta\upsilon\eta\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ <sup>4</sup>. The dwelling-place of God is people, as in 7.15 and 21.3. In the first of these passages it is the triumphant martyrs among whom God dwells, and in the second the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem. At this point, at the beginning of the persecution, neither of these can be in view. It is usual to refer the phrase to "the angels," but though the idea is obvious enough, it lacks point. In what way was the Empire blaspheming the angels? But it was directing its blasphemy and its

<sup>1</sup> Comm. ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> For what follows cf. Caird ad loc.

<sup>3</sup> There may be a play on  $\rho\iota\omega\iota$ ; cf. Charles ad loc.

<sup>4</sup> The reading which adds  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  is weakly attested and the easier reading; it should be rejected.

violence against the Church, and the places cited suggest that it is only men, not angels, who are privileged with God's presence. We may suggest that John envisaged the Church militant as thus receiving a foretaste of the honours of her triumph. It is she in whom God has pitched his tent, and who herself is a citizen of heaven. The beast's blasphemy of God's temple thus stands for its attack upon the Church. By a few words John has thus radically reinterpreted one of the central features of the book of Daniel.

For v.7 we come back to chapter 7 of Daniel; v.7a= Dan.7.21. The "war against the saints" is a natural description of the great persecution, and John does not alter Daniel's phrase in any way. V.7b appears to be a general statement derived from Dan.7.14, 23 (cf. above on v.3b). John emphasises (ἐδόθη αὐτῷ repeated) that the monster's power is only exercised within the temporary permission of God.

Vv.8-10 summarise (in predictive form) the vision of the first beast. V.8a links up with v.7b by continuing the reference to Dan.7.14, and v.8b expands it with the reference to "the Lamb's book of life." This is a constant theme in Revelation,<sup>1</sup> but it is here surely suggested by Dan.12.11, whose subject is the "time of trouble" which Dan.7 also deals with. "Everyone whose name shall be found written in the book" will be delivered; hence it is everyone whose name is not written in the book who will have compromised themselves, for whom deliverance is not possible. But the phrase "book of life" comes from Ps.69.28. Both Ps.69 and the book of Daniel were important apologetic scriptures for the primitive church,<sup>2</sup> so it is not surprising that a connection between them should be made here. V.9 inserts a prophetic call to attention which we shall be considering in the next chapter.

V.10 presents problems of text and interpretation which we shall have to deal with briefly. The derivation from Jer.15.2 or 43.11 is not in doubt, but for our present purpose the most important problem

<sup>1</sup> 3.5; 17.8; 20.12; 15; 21.27; 22.19.

<sup>2</sup> See Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 57ff.; Lindars, *NT Apologetic*, 99 ff.

is the relation of this allusion to the main source in Daniel. The textual evidence is presented by Charles,<sup>1</sup> and should be studied there. The choice is between three main texts: the Textus Receptus and similar texts, with  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$  (or  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ ) after the first  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\chi\mu\alpha\lambda\omega\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ ; the Revisers' (and Nestle's) text, without  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ ; and Charles's text, an emendation of A, without  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota$  and with  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\tau\alpha\nu\ \theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$  in place of  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\tau\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota},\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ .

Now this last may be excluded immediately. It has no support beyond A, which even so requires emendation, and may be simply explained as a corruption of either of the others:

$\text{ΑΠΟΚΤΕΝΕΙΔΕΙΑΥΤΟΝ}$  becomes  
 $\text{ΑΠΟΚΤΑΝΘΙΝΑΙΑΥΤΟΝ}$  under the influence of the  
 following line.

On the other hand, none of the manuscript texts can easily be explained as a corruption of Charles's (they read  $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  uniformly).

The conclusion "Here is the endurance and the faith of the saints" calls for a warning to the church of some sort; when a similar phrase recurs at 14.12, it is preceded by a warning of the punishment which awaits those who are seduced into worshipping the beast. Something similar is needed here. Now the TR certainly gives us a warning - a double Satz Heiligen Rechtes - but it is not addressed to the church, nor is it concerned with the worship of the beast: it is addressed to the persecutors, and warns them that the "eschatological jus talionis" will be exacted from them. It is entirely inappropriate to the context.

We are left with the Revisers' text. This may be understood as a warning to the church, functioning as a call to endurance and faithfulness. It is true that its parallelism is faulty,<sup>2</sup> the first sentence being a warning of the inevitability of the martyr's fate, the second a Satz Heiligen Rechtes warning against armed resistance;<sup>3</sup> here the

<sup>1</sup>Comm. Vol.I ad loc., Vol.II p. 316.

<sup>2</sup>cf. Charles ad loc.

<sup>3</sup>So B. Weiss, Swete, , Caird.

Jeremiah text seems to have been reformulated under the influence of the saying attributed to Jesus in Mt.26.52. This objection however is purely formal: the two cola are complementary, warning that endurance is necessary and that it should not and cannot be evaded.

How are the Jeremiah quotation and the saying of Jesus related to the main Daniel passage? The mention of the "book of life" has turned our attention to the end of Daniel, to 12.2. The sentence which rounds off the section, *ἔΔΕ ΕΣΤΙΝ ἡ βίβλος τῆς ζωῆς κτλ.* may be connected with almost the last sentence of the book, 12.12: "Blessed is he who waits..." This idea is the central point of Revelation and the ultimate object of the description of the vision: but it is also the main object of Daniel. The verbal link emphasises how closely the two books stand together, not only in their use of symbolism, but in basic ideas and objects. In this context, it seems not unlikely that the Jeremiah quotation was suggested by Dan.11.33b: "they shall fall by sword and flame, by captivity and plunder, for some days." The key words *277* and *220* occur in both, and it is just these two which reappear in Revelation. It seems likely that John selected the parts of the Jeremiah text that he did because of the overlap with the Daniel text. The Daniel text points to the necessity of suffering for the saints before victory can be achieved. Although the original meaning of the Jeremiah text is not this, it can be used to express this idea, in the form of a warning, and very dramatically, and hence John's text is modelled on the latter. It seems that the idea of Dan.11.33 has been expressed in the style of Jer.15.2. But both have been modified in the second part of the verse to conform with the saying from the Jesus-tradition. He evidently felt that even the slight suggestion of resistance contained in the Daniel passage must be excluded for his readers, and hence brought in the saying to Peter to tilt the balance firmly onto the side of passive endurance.

This selection of texts from the end of Daniel - 12.2, 11.33, 12.12 - is not arbitrary. They bring into prominence three points which are for John essentially implied in the vision of the beast, and which together form an interpretation of the vision in Daniel: the predestination of the "saints" delivered from the worship of the beast and its consequences, their fate of suffering meanwhile, and the necessity of endurance. This is the way in which the vision of the beast applies in practice to the church, and John derives it all from Daniel. The fate of the faithful of Israel in the Maccabean conflict becomes the fate of the unresisting Christian martyrs in the great persecution.

I have shown that every verse (except v.9) in this half-chapter can be connected directly or indirectly, with the seventh chapter of Daniel. This is true of the allusions to other Biblical passages: they are all connected with Daniel either by themes or by key-words. I have also, I hope, shown that this reworking of the Daniel material is also a re-application: the way in which the material is reworked makes clear its relevance to the situation in which John lived and for which he was writing. This is no arbitrary historicisation of selected details like so many modern sectarian interpretations of Revelation itself; it is the symbolism and real theological themes of Daniel which are validly applied to the present time because they are not bound to any one historical moment. At this time of supreme crisis for God's people under the demands of the self-deifying state, it is impossible to avoid the symbolism, the theology and the eschatology of Daniel, which spring from the same situation as it presented itself 250 years before.

In the face of these two facts, that the passage is based on Daniel, and that it applies the themes of Daniel to the contemporary situation, it would be absurd to deny that John is offering an interpretation of Daniel. But it is not an interpretation made in order to appeal to the authority of Scripture. John has no need to do this, for everything he says proceeds from the risen Christ (1.1f.) and needs no further authentication. This is why he never

formally quotes Scripture. On the contrary, precisely because he is inspired by the One who also inspired the Scriptures, he is able to interpret them with full authority. His interpretation has equal authority with Scripture itself, the direct authority of Christ, and indicates the way in which it must be understood in the present situation. The letter which by itself is dead is made alive by the prophetic Spirit - alive, because relevant to the times. This is why the prophet can treat the text of Scripture with complete freedom, alter it, extend it, re-arrange it, combine it with new material, interweave texts from different parts of the OT, in a word, why he can create something entirely new on its basis. This is what I mean by "charismatic interpretation".

What I have proved for this short passage is true in greater or less measure of much of the book. For instance, it would not be difficult to show how chapter 8 depends on Jer.51 and Ezk.27, or 21-22.5 on Ezk.40-48. In chapter IX of this thesis we shall be having a close look at a series of interpretations of this type in Rev.6f. We may, however, provisionally conclude that charismatic interpretation of this type is characteristic of prophecy. In chapter V I shall begin to demonstrate that certain passages of the gospels also offer such interpretations.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SAYINGS TRADITION IN PROPHECY

Alongside the OT scriptures, the teaching of Jesus has stood as an authority for Christian faith and conduct from the earliest times. The view that the tradition of Jesus' sayings was not widely known or authoritative in the first-century church, before the writing of the Gospels, is difficult to square with the evidence<sup>1</sup>, and the facts I am about to present will cast further doubt on it. But the sayings of Jesus were not used without interpretation any more than Scripture. On the contrary, the history of the tradition, so far as we can deduce it from its present state in the Gospels, suggests that the sayings were felt to need interpretation from a very early period, and that interpretation and re-interpretation were given and became as much a part of the tradition as the sayings themselves.<sup>2</sup>

We saw above in connection with Mark 4.11 some evidence that the interpretation of the sayings-tradition may have been considered to be a task similar to the interpretation of Scripture, to be carried out under charismatic inspiration. This would make it likely that the prophets played the most important part in the work. If we found a prophetic writer copiously using and re-interpreting sayings known to us from the Gospels, this assumption would be strengthened.

We may therefore again turn to the Apocalypse. My hypothesis is that John's treatment of Jesus' sayings will be similar to his treatment of the OT. He will constantly allude to them, without acknowledgement or formal quotation, and by the form and context of his allusions he will indicate his interpretation or reapplication of them. How far are these hypotheses proved by the evidence?<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. D.A. Resch, *Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu* (Texte und Untersuchungen NF 12), 1904.

<sup>2</sup> The best demonstration is *Jeremias' Parables of Jesus*.

<sup>3</sup> I have unfortunately not had access to L.A. Vos, *The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse*, Kampen, 1965.

There are in Revelation possible allusions in plenty to sayings found in the Gospels, none of them formally quoted or acknowledged.

The following list gives all the parallels I can find. A large proportion of them, at least, must be real and deliberate allusions.

I shall deal below only with a selection of the more obvious parallels.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Rev. 1.7 - Mt. 24.30 (Dan.7.13, Zech.12.10, 12) | 12.11 - Mt 10.39, Mk 8.35 & pars., Lk 17.33, Jn 12.25                                   |
| 2.10 - Mk 3.9-13 & pars.                        | 13.9 - cf. on 2.7   |
| 2.26 - Lk 19.17                                 | 13.10 - Mt 26.52 (Jer. 15.2)  |
| 2.7 etc. (3 <i>Exar. 13.20</i> ) - Mk 4.9 etc.  | 13.14, 18.23 - Mk 13.22 etc.  |
| 3.3, 16.15 - Mt.24.43, Lk 12.39                 | 14.4 - Lk 9.57 etc  |
| cf. I Thess. 5.2, 4, II Pet. 2.10               | 14.6 - Mk 13.10   |
| 3.5b - Mk 8.38 & pars., Mt 10.32, Lk 12.8       | 14.14 - Mk 13.26, 14.62 (Dan.7.13)  |
| 3.7 - Mt 16.19 (Is. 22.22)                      | 14.14ff. - Mt 9.37f., 13.30, Mk ch. 4 & pars., esp. v.29, Lk 10.2, Jn4.35ff. (Joel 3.3) |
| 3.8 - Mt. 10.32 etc.                            | 16.15 - cf. on 3.3.   |
| 3.20f. - Lk 22.29f.                             | 18.4 - Lk 21.21 (Jer. 27.8, 28.6, Is.48.20, 52.11)                                      |
| ch.6 - Mk 13.5-27 & pars                        | 18.23 - cf. on 13.14  |
| 6.10 - Lk 18.7f.                                | 18.21 - Mk 9.42 & par.  |
| 6.15f. - Lk 23.30 (Hos. 10.8)                   | 18.24, 19.2 - Lk 11.50f.  |
| 10.7 - Mk 4.11                                  | 19.7ff. - Mt 22.1ff., 25.1ff., Mk 2.19, Lk 14.15ff.                                     |
| 11.2 - Lk 21.24                                 | 19.17f. - Mt 24.38, Lk 17.37 (Ezk.39.17ff.)   |
| 11.15 - Synoptics, <i>passim</i>                | 22.12 - Mt 16.27 (Ps. 62.12)  |
| 12.9 - Lk 10.18                                 |   |

Provisionally, we may take the first part of the hypothesis as confirmed; the studies that follow will place it beyond doubt for about one-third of the passages. But does John offer any distinctive interpretations of the sayings he alludes to? Does he remould and re-interpret them as we saw him remoulding and re-interpreting Dan.7? Our investigation here is set about with greater pitfalls than the study of Revelation's use of the OT. Whereas we can be certain, within very narrow limits, what text John's words are based on when he uses the OT, our knowledge of the transmission of the sayings tradition is not certain enough to give us any a priori rule for deciding which of several different forms, contexts or meanings of any one saying in the various gospels, in Revelation, and sometimes elsewhere, was familiar to John. This must be established by an estimate of the probabilities in each case. There is no clear evidence to suggest that John knew, or at any rate used, any of our written Gospels.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, we must always allow for the possibility that an element in the gospel tradition may be in fact of prophetic origin. Although it is probably impossible,

<sup>1</sup>See below, p.70.

chronologically, for any saying originated by John himself to have reached our written Gospels<sup>1</sup>, it is not impossible for an earlier prophetic utterance to have reached John by some other route than the sayings tradition, even when it is also found in the Gospels. We must be ready to suspect this whenever the form or context of the saying in Revelation appears to be more primitive than in the Gospels.<sup>2</sup>

I shall therefore take a large number of examples and try to establish first of all in each case what seems likely to have been relatively the most primitive form, context and application. This should give us some idea of the form and context of the saying as John received it. On this basis we should be able to consider what changes in form the saying has undergone in John's hands, and how he has re-applied it.

1. Rev.3.3, 16.15

Cf. Mt. 24.43f., Lk 12.37a, 39f., I Thess.5.2, 4, 6. II Pet. 3.10 should probably not be regarded as an independent witness, as the author was familiar with the letters of Paul.<sup>3</sup> The figure of the burglar thus appears in three separate traditions: in the sayings common to Matthew and Luke,<sup>4</sup> in Paul, and in Revelation twice. Though the wording varies, there can be no doubt that all three versions have the same origin, for the figure is an unusual one, and the point is the same: that something is to happen as unpredictable in its timing as the arrival of the burglar in the best-regulated household; the time is unknown, and the surprise will be complete. Another point of contact is the beatitude found at Lk 12,37a and at Rev. 16.15. Admittedly it is connected in Luke with another parable, but its reappearance in the close vicinity of the "burglar" in Revelation is

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<sup>1</sup> I accept the usual Domitianic dating for Rev., but am aware that an earlier date is possible.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 65ff.

<sup>3</sup> 3.16.

<sup>4</sup> In future I shall label this tradition 'Q', without implying thereby any particular theory of its documentary character.

still significant. It suggests that John knew the parable in its Lucan context, which could have been formed already in the oral tradition.

The most original form of the saying is that common with slight differences to Matthew and Luke. For the saying in Mt.24.43/Lk 12.39 is fully-formed parable, not a simile. The allegorizing interpretation in the following verse is probably secondary<sup>1</sup>, and the metaphor was thus probably originally without an explicit referent. Nevertheless the interpretation was probably in the tradition as John knew it. On the other hand, the versions in Revelation and I Thessalonians are similes: Christ, or the Day of the Lord, comes like a burglar. In our gospels we constantly meet a tendency to supply parables originally without interpretation with interpretations of an allegorizing tendency; the present case exemplifies it. If this is the normal development in the tradition, as it is certainly a natural one, then these forms outside the Gospels stand at its end. We can understand how the original parable without an explicit referent could, under the influence of an allegorizing interpretation, have been harnessed to provide the material for a simile. We must therefore put down these forms as secondary developments of the parable, perhaps as it stood in Q.

There is a second most important change of form in the Revelation version. The parable has become a first-person declaration of the Risen Lord, speaking through the prophet: "I shall come ..." The word of the Lord speaking in the first person is the mark of prophecy in the OT, and also often distinguishes it in the Revelation. The development in I Thess. is quite different. There the burglar is identified with an impersonal "Day of the Lord."

What of the sense and application of the saying? The interpretations given in the different places where it is found all agree that it warns of the imminence and unpredictability of divine judgment.

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<sup>1</sup> Jeremias, Parables, pp.49, 87; below, pp.123ff.

The author of the interpretation in Q speaks of the "coming of the Son of Man".<sup>1</sup> For Paul "the day of the Lord" comes like a thief in the night. This OT phrase denotes the day of judgment.<sup>2</sup> In Rev.3.3 the saying is a direct warning to a church in dire spiritual peril that judgment is imminent unless they awake and regain their faith. In 16.15 it proclaims the presence of Christ and his divine judgment in a situation of earthly crisis.

The fact that the interpreters agree on the general sense does not mean that the specific reference is the same in each case. The reference of the original parable is perhaps irrecoverable. Undoubtedly Jesus meant to refer to a day of divine judgment; but the form of the parable suggests that his hearers could by taking action avoid the threatened doom: it is a warning, not a prediction. But who were his hearers, and what precisely was the threatened crisis? Exegetes disagree.<sup>3</sup>

All the interpreters of the parable use eschatological language - the language of a unique and final event of worldwide significance. But, as I have tried to show<sup>4</sup>, when we have said this we have only begun the task of exegesis. Eschatological language must be used because final judgment is an eschatological idea. God's judgment is an irrevocable expression of the meaning of the history of the world and of every individual and institution in it; hence it is represented as the consummation of world history. It may nevertheless take place within history, when a particular judgment expresses within a limited area the full meaning of the judgment to which the whole world is hastening.

It is perhaps unnecessary to invoke this principle to interpret the Q and Pauline versions. Here the emphasis of the parable has been

<sup>1</sup>For the meaning of this motif in Q, see chp.VII.

<sup>2</sup>It is not found in this form elsewhere in Paul, but several times he uses the phrase "day of the Lord Jesus Christ" or "day of Christ".

<sup>3</sup>Cf. below, pp. 127f.

<sup>4</sup>Introduction, pp. 18ff.

altered to make it speak of the inevitable day of doom for which Christians must be ready if they are to escape destruction, but which they cannot avert. There is no apparent reference to particular historical circumstances; indeed in Paul there is a specific reference in the context to the resurrection and assumption of the faithful. The reference may then be in the most general way to the consummation of Christ's eschatological judgment; but this does not preclude anticipatory embodiments of that judgment from fulfilling the warning.

This is clearly what we have in Revelation. We cannot make sense of the text in either passage unless we assume that the eschatological can for John be embodied in the temporal. The judgment in 3.3. represented by the coming of Christ is conditional<sup>1</sup> on the conduct of the church at Sardis; hence contingent and particular - it would apply only to the Sardian church, not to the whole world; hence within time. It is impossible to evade this conclusion by saying that it is not the judgment which is conditional but its result, not the coming but the coming like a thief. This is a perversion of the natural meaning of the Greek.<sup>2</sup> Again, in 16.15, although the reference is quite different, we still have to speak of a coming in the process of history. The verse occurs in the middle of the account of the invasion from the East, and has no immediately apparent connection with the context. This has led most commentators to athetize it. Charles<sup>3</sup>, for instance, regards it as displaced from 3.3. Surely, before such expedients are resorted to, some attempt should be made to explain the verse in its actual context. In fact, it is possible to understand it as expressing the inner meaning of the invasion. The coming of the Lord is embodied in it - that is, it is a vehicle for his judgment on the world. The danger is that Christians may fail to recognise this - hence his coming is like a thief: it is necessary to be prepared for it.<sup>4</sup> Christ's

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p.19.

<sup>2</sup> Caird ad loc.

<sup>3</sup> Comm., vol.I p.1x, vol.II ad loc. The cause assigned for the dislocation is quite implausible.

<sup>4</sup> Caird ad loc.

judgment is unpredictable precisely because it is embodied in historical events.

In both these passages, then, John is giving new interpretations of the saying, in exactly the same fashion as he reinterprets Daniel in chp.13. The myth of the beast, God's eschatological opponent, is applied to the Roman empire. The parable of the burglar, the warning of the unpredictability of eschatological judgment, is applied to specific situations where Christians must be especially careful to be ready for Christ's judgment.

We thus see this element of the sayings tradition receiving two radical changes of form and equally radical reinterpretations. The parable becomes two first person declarations of the risen Lord, employing a simile based on the parable, declarations of his totally unpredictable judgment in the immediate events of history and upon the specific conduct of his own people. But although the reference is totally changed, the essential meaning of the original parable is precisely preserved, especially in 3.3. The original parable implies that doom may be avoided if the hearers awake to the reality of their situation - it probably implies a crisis within history. And just the same is true of Rev.3.3. But precisely in order to preserve this real meaning of the parable, the reference must be changed: for whatever crisis Jesus was speaking towards had already passed even out of memory by the time the Spirit began to speak to John.

## 2. Rev.3.5

Cf. Mt.10.32 f., Mk 8.38, Lk 12.8f. The last clause of Rev.3.5 is clearly a fragment of the saying of Jesus found in Mt.10.32, Lk 12.8 and in the negative form in Mt.10.33, Mk 8.38, Lk 12.9. The protasis is omitted and in its place stands the phrase  $\acute{\omicron} \nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ , which appears regularly in the letters to the seven churches. This formally destroys the character of the sentence as a Satz Heiligen Rechtes, but we shall see in a moment that that has little effect on the sense. The relationship of the form here to those in the gospels is complex. It is positive, and therefore does not properly correspond to Mk 8.38;

and secondly the use of the phrase "confess before" also places it with Matthew and Luke over against Mark. Yet in that it mentions both "my father" and "the angels" it is closer to Mark. On the other hand, fourthly, the use of the first person appears to place it with Matthew against Luke and Mark who use "the Son of Man".

The first point may be unimportant, since there is nothing to prove that a positive form of the sentence may not have stood in the tradition drawn on by Mark. The second may be dealt with as follows: the Parousia of Christ as Judge is a standard Christian concept; on the other hand, in the Matthaean and Lucan forms, and in Revelation, Christ or the Son of Man is a witness or advocate, in a subordinate position to God rather than the judge; this is unusual and would tend to be replaced by the idea of Christ's coming as judge rather than vice versa.

ὁ παρ' ἁγγέλων ἐν τῇ δόξῃ is hereby revealed as a secondary modification in the Marcan form.<sup>1</sup> The third point tends to cast doubt on the usual view that Matthew altered the words "the angels of God" in Q, preserved by Luke, to introduce his favourite phrase "my father who is in heaven". The parallels<sup>2</sup> are none of them exact, and the combined evidence of Mark and Revelation appears to show either that the double phrase is the original, which has been differentially modified in Matthew and Luke, or that "my father" and "the angels" are alternating forms which have been combined by Mark and by John. All the phrases are of course ways of referring to God.

The fourth point has occasioned the greatest dispute. What was the original subject? - was it "the Son of Man" as in Lk 12.8, Mk 8.38<sup>3</sup> or the first person as in Matthew and Revelation<sup>4</sup>, or was the sentence perhaps in the passive as in Lk 12.9<sup>5</sup>? All we want to know in fact is which form John was familiar with; but even this is most uncertain. Q probably had "Son of Man"<sup>6</sup>, and so has Mark. But this does not dispose

<sup>1</sup> See also below, pp. 152 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mt. 12.50, 18.14, 20.23, 26.29.

<sup>3</sup> Bultmann, 117; Manson, Sayings, 108ff.; and most.

<sup>4</sup> So recently Jeremias, "Die älteste Schicht der Menschensohnes Logien", ZNW 58 (1967), 159ff., p.168.

<sup>5</sup> Ph. Vielhauer, "Gottesreich und Menschensohn in der Verkündigung Jesu" in Festschrift für Günther Dehn, ed. W. Schneemelcher, 1957, 51ff., p.69; followed by N. Perrin, Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus, London 1967, 164-73.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p.141

of the question. The suspicion that an independent form existed using the first person is raised by the apparently independent appearance of the first person in Matthew and Revelation. John may have been familiar with a form of the saying in which the first person was used instead of the third with "Son of Man". But whether he created it or took it from tradition, we can surely regard it as a prophetic variation, in which the risen Lord proclaims himself the witness who will accept or reject men before the judgment seat of God. John must inevitably cast his own prophetic utterance in this form.<sup>1</sup>

Like the original saying, John's version proclaims the eternal consequences of a choice made today. The gospel version speaks of confessing Christ. Does not John's substitution of  $\sigma \nu \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$  radically alter the meaning, basing Christ's acknowledgement of his follower on an achievement rather than a decision? No; the distinction is illusory; for even the original terms "confess" and "deny" refer to persecution, as the context shows in all three gospels. To "confess Christ" is to acknowledge oneself his in the face of martyrdom; but this is precisely what John means by "conquering."

John may thus not have made any significant alteration in the form or meaning of the saying. His creativity is shown, however, in his supplying a new context: not only the subject "the conqueror" but the parallel predicates "he shall be dressed in white garments, and I shall never wipe out his name from the book of life." The white garments refer to the resurrection body.<sup>2</sup> The reference to the book of life shows that John understands the saying we have been discussing as concerned with incorporation in a community. I should tentatively suggest that behind the three clauses lies, once again, Dan.12.1-3, with its references to the resurrection, to the book (of life) and to the separation of the judgment. The second reference is achieved by means of a parallel OT passage (as in 13.8), but the third by means of a relevant saying of Jesus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, pp. 71 f.

<sup>2</sup> Charles etc.; cf. I Enoch 62.16, Asc. Is. 8.26, etc.

3. Rev.19.7-9

The messianic feast is an OT idea (Is.25.6, cf. II Bar.29.3ff., II Esd.6.52); also from the OT is the idea of Israel as the bride of Yahweh (Hos.2.5, Jer.2.2, etc.). But the image of the wedding-feast comes from the parables of Jesus (Mt.22.1ff.<sup>1</sup>, 25.1ff., Mk 2.19). No precise parallels may be quoted, but the affinity of idea is obvious. Again, however, we have a radical transformation, in the expression of the idea as well as in its application.

Some allegorization has taken place. The bridegroom is identified with the Lamb and his bride with the Church, though in the parables the bride does not even appear<sup>2</sup>. The influence is obvious: it is the OT idea of Israel as the bride of Yahweh, as that is transferred to Christ and the Church in the Pauline writings (II Cor. 11.2, Eph.5.22ff.). A further allegorical identification in v.9 is that of the guests at the reception with the members of the Church. This of course is a very short step, if a step at all, from the parables<sup>3</sup>, and indeed from OT visions of the messianic feast to which the members of Israel are invited. The overlapping of the symbols need cause no difficulty in a work of poetry.<sup>4</sup>

The use of the idea of the bride is notably different from that in the Pauline writings. In Ephesians, and perhaps also in II Corinthians, the Church is already the bride of Christ, whereas in Revelation the marriage is the symbol of the future attainment of an eschatological perfection; it succeeds the destruction of the great harlot, and is part of the celebration of that event. This is surely because it is through the faithful witness of the Church that the destruction of her antithesis is achieved; the divine wedding is the crown of her tested loyalty. So Caird<sup>5</sup> may well be right when he

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<sup>1</sup> The wedding here may, however, be editorial (cf. Lk 14.16)

<sup>2</sup> The "Western" text of Mt.25.1 has *καὶ τῆς νύμφης*. But Jeremias (Parables, p.174 n.2; TWNT IV, 1093) shows that the words are an addition: they conflict with vv.5f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jeremias, Parables loc. cit.

<sup>4 & 5</sup> Caird, Comm. ad loc.

connects the bride's wedding-dress of "bright clean linen" with the white robes given to the martyrs (6.11, 7.14) and regards <sup>τὸ</sup> *δικαιώματα τῶν ἁγίων* (by which the wedding-dress is interpreted) as the sanctity achieved through martyrdom. The marriage may in fact be a way of bringing out another aspect of the significance of the imminent ordeal - it is God's way of bringing the Church to her perfection.

But because this image is not in itself eschatological it can only be given the eschatological significance that John wants for it by being combined with one that is: hence the introduction of the Gospel feature of the wedding-feast. This is clearly eschatological in its OT origins, being an image of the ultimate bliss of God's people in his perfected kingdom. In the Synoptics it is used to underline how necessary it is to be prepared for the present or imminent invitation into the kingdom. Matthew places the parable of the ten girls in the eschatological discourse of his Gospel, and appends to it the conclusion, illogical in terms of the story, but a commonplace of the Church's eschatological teaching, "Keep awake, for you do not know the day, nor the hour."

Now in John's eyes the approaching persecution has central eschatological significance. By placing the marriage of Christ and the Church in this clearly eschatological framework he indicates that this perfection of the Church's being is the result of that central eschatological event. The gospel parables are at the same time given a new reference in these imminent events, without losing their sense of the final bliss of God's elect.

#### 4. Rev.11.2

Cf. Lk 21.24. There are also many OT parallels: Zech.12.3, Is.63.18, Dan.8.10, 13, Ps.79.1, I Macc.3.45, 51, 4.60, II Macc.8.2, cf. Ps. Sol.7.2, 2.2, 20, 17.25. John may have some of these in mind, but none of them is as close to this passage as Luke is. A very large number of critics consider the passage Lk 21.20-24 a vaticinium ex eventu, a radical rewriting of the Marcan passage in

the light of the actual events of 70. If this were so, any connection would be improbable; but as I shall show later on<sup>1</sup>, the Lucan passage is not a rewriting of Mark at all, and cannot reasonably be regarded as a vaticinium ex eventu. We may suppose that it is a genuine prophecy of the downfall of Jerusalem as the punishment for her sin, circulating well before the siege. The version in Luke is the more original: for in Revelation the prophecy is intended symbolically, whereas in Luke it is literal. The exact interpretation in Revelation is disputed, but what is quite certain is that it does not refer to the earthly Jerusalem. "If John had wanted to speak about (Jerusalem and the temple) he would have found some imagery to convey his meaning without lapsing into the inconsistency of literalism."<sup>2</sup> It is natural to suppose that the symbolic use has developed out of the literal, and not the other way round.

John develops the prophecy considerably: the assertion about Jerusalem that the Gentiles would trample it down for a time has been transformed into one ostensibly about the temple: that the Gentiles will not be allowed to trample the sanctuary even though they trample the city and the outer court. There is no evidence available to us that this development had occurred before the prophecy reached John.<sup>3</sup> There is also a change in mood: in Luke the fall of the city is presented as divine judgment: here the trampling is allowed (εἰδὼν). not positively willed by God.

The significance of the saying may be, in Caird's words<sup>5</sup>, that "the measuring of the temple betokens an inner security against spiritual dangers. But the angel's<sup>4</sup> orders are to 'leave the outer court exposed', because God does not offer to the Church security

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<sup>1</sup> pp. 218 ff, 229 f.

<sup>2</sup> Caird, Comm., ad loc.

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen's theory (followed by Bousset and Charles, ad loc.) that the prophecy protecting the sanctuary was originated by a Jewish prophet at the time of the siege has little to commend it. It is very improbable that the words of a Jewish prophet uttered as late as the time of the siege could have been incorporated into the Christian tradition existing in Asia 20 years later.

<sup>4</sup> But the speaker here is in fact Christ himself, as shown by v. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Caird, Comm. ad loc.

from bodily suffering or death." Whatever the significance, a literal prediction of the humiliation of the city of Jerusalem has not been thrown away after fulfilling its original purpose; it has been altered in form and sense to encourage the Church, the New Jerusalem, in its suffering.

A time limit is given both in Luke and here; but the vague "till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled"<sup>1</sup> has become the specific "42 months". This time is of course derived from Daniel's "a time, times and half a time" - three and a half years. The book of Daniel is never very far from John's mind; and although the main reference here is to the prophecy we find in Lk 21.24, Dan 8.10-13 may well lie behind it. Here the OT reference supplies what is lacking in that of the sayings tradition - a definite promise of the end of persecution and vindication for the persecuted. The "times of the Gentiles" will be short. The OT is thus used to re-interpret the gospel tradition. In a later example<sup>2</sup> we shall see the opposite thing done: the use of OT allusions governed by the gospel tradition. That they should influence one another in these ways is only what we should expect.

Having investigated several examples of John's use of eschatological imagery derived from the sayings tradition, we shall now notice a couple of places where the material is not distinctly eschatological in John's hands.

##### 5. Rev.12.11b

Cf. Mt 10.39, Mk 8.35 (& pars.), Lk 17.33, Jn 12.25. Dodd<sup>3</sup> shows that the Johannine form is derived from tradition and perfectly parallel to the other three, if allowance is made for a couple of typically Johannine phrases which have been inserted. The sentence about the martyrs clearly alludes to this saying. A comparison of the various forms shows that Jn 12.25 is the only one which uses the word "love" like Revelation. It is true that the Gospel uses  $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  and

<sup>1</sup> For which in any case Luke may be responsible; cf. below, p. 234

<sup>2</sup> pp. 62ff.

<sup>3</sup> Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel, Cambridge, 1964, pp. 338ff.

Revelation ἡγαπᾶω ; but in the Fourth Gospel the words alternate with each other and are clearly synonymous. It is therefore probable that both writers drew on a tradition which used the antithesis ἡγαπᾶω / μισέω .

The allusion is used to refer to the actual martyrdom of the saints - "they did not love their lives - even to the point of death." John thus actualizes the possibility envisaged by the original saying, which is a warning that if persecution comes, it must be faced, not fled.<sup>1</sup>

6. Rev. 14.4c: οὗτοι οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες τῷ ἀρνίῳ ὅπου ἐν ὑψίστῳ .

This does not reproduce any particular Gospel text; its interest lies in the fact that it is the only place outside the Gospels where the idea of following describes the relation of man to Christ. The form recalls the affirmation of the would-be disciple in Mt. 8.19/ Lk 9.57: ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου ἐάν ᾖ εἰσέρχῃ . That man received an answer suggesting that if he did follow Jesus wherever he went, he would be liable to hardship at the least. More pertinently, in Mk 8.34/Mt. 10.38/Lk 14.27, Jesus connects "taking up one's cross" with "following me". The implication is that following Jesus means martyrdom. And that is precisely the significance of the word here. The 144,000 are the martyrs: cf. 7.4, 3.12.<sup>2</sup> And of course in this book the Lamb is the symbol for Christ specifically as the crucified one - 5.6. To follow the Lamb wherever he goes is to follow him to the Cross.

So John is here taking up a term familiar to him from the words of the Lord as a symbol of readiness to endure martyrdom, and using it again in the same way, though thoroughly enmeshed with his own peculiar language and imagery.

The next passage I shall deal with <sup>is</sup> an example not so much of the use of sayings material as of the use of OT material under the guidance of the sayings tradition.

<sup>1</sup> Lk 17 gives a quite different context, but it seems most improbable that it can be the original one: v.35 directly contradicts vv.31f.

<sup>2</sup> For further details, see Caird ad loc.

7. Rev. 14.14ff.

The passage is reminiscent of the Gospel harvest-parables (cf. Mt. 9.37ff., 13.24-30, 36-43, Mk 4.3-20, 26-9, & pars., Lk 10.2, Jn 4.35ff.), but there is no clear verbal parallel which would enable us to connect it with any one of these. The whole passage is clearly based on Joel 3.13 (4.13 Heb.), where one finds the juxtaposition of the images of wheat-harvest and vintage. Is. 63.3 has also contributed. Is there any need to postulate a further source in the sayings tradition? Only if characteristic themes or phrases of that tradition are found which cannot be explained from the OT.

The fact that Joel 3.13 is apparently quoted in Mk 4.29 might not be significant, since there is no similarity in the manner of quotation, and the two could be quite independent. But a similar conclusion seems less likely when we compare the passage with Matthew's interpretation of the parable of the tares (13.37-43). The reapers there are "the angels" (v.39), in fact they are the angels of the Son of Man and sent by him (v.41). Here the reaper is "one like a Son of Man", ordered to act by an angel, and the vintner is another angel. It could almost be a dramatized version of the harvest in Matthew.

From details we turn to the general sense. The harvest in the OT, in other places besides the two I have mentioned - Hos. 6.11, Jer. 51.33, Lam. 1.15, etc. - is a symbol of the divine judgment and in particular of punishment and destruction. It is the fulfilment of God's purpose of justice as the literal harvest is the fulfilment of the farmer's purpose. In the Gospels, the symbolism, though related, has a different tendency. In spite of the passage just cited from Matthew, the emphasis is normally not on the punishment of the wicked, but on the ingathering of the redeemed into the Kingdom of God. This is so even in that passage, and also clearly in Mt. 9.37ff./Lk 10.2 in its context; so also Jn 4.35-8. I lay no emphasis on the apparent difference of time between the disciples' mission (Mt. 9.37ff./Lk 10.2, Jn 4.35ff.) and the Last Judgment (Mt. 13.37ff.). Both are in their context eschatological, though the first has a setting in history and the second is mythical. As for the parables (the Sower, the seed growing

secretly, the tares; cf. also the mustard-seed) it has been customary recently<sup>1</sup> to interpret them as if the harvest were not an independent symbol, but simply placed in contrast with the insignificant or unpromising beginnings to show what God would make of the insignificant beginnings of the kingdom. Not to allow for more than one point of comparison in a parable is however probably a mistake; in these parables we can say that the harvest represents the consummation of the Kingdom of God, though there is in the two Marcan parables no emphasis on the idea of ingathering. In general, then, the Gospel use refers to the triumphant fulfilment of God's gracious purpose for his people and especially to the ingathering into God's Kingdom.

This would at first appear to argue against any influence from the Gospels in Rev.14. Does this passage not clearly use the OT imagery in its OT sense, meaning the bloody vengeance of God upon his enemies?<sup>2</sup> What of "the great winevat of the wrath of God" (v.19), the blood (v.20)? There are, however, certain signs which point to a quite different interpretation. The use of Dan.7.13 at the beginning of the scene is one such; for in the Gospel tradition this is applied not merely to the Son of Man's destruction of his enemies but to the gathering of his people from the whole world - Mk 13.27; cf. Mt.24.31, I Thess. 4.15-17.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, "John has prepared us for a scene of ingathering by his earlier use of the word 'firstfruits' (v.4) Where the firstfruits have been offered to God, the full ingathering may be expected to follow."<sup>4</sup> Considered in isolation from the vintage, the harvest could then be a symbol for the great ingathering into the Kingdom, as it is in the Gospels. But the vintage is clearly parallel to the harvest, and we still have that bloody winevat in the way of such an interpretation. John does indeed mean to refer to a slaughter, and one certainly of vast

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<sup>1</sup>Particularly in Jeremias.

<sup>2</sup>So Charles

<sup>3</sup>Cf. below, pp. 92, 94, 198.

<sup>4</sup>Caird ad loc., 190.

dimensions, whatever the precise meaning of v.20b. is. But there is one phrase which proves that the slaughter is not that of the enemies of the one like a son of man;  $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\kappa\omega\theta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \rho\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  v.20. It is probable that there is a reference to the source in Joel; 3.12 reads "let the nations bestir themselves and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat..." The "valley of Jehoshaphat" was just outside Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> But this does not explain the use of this particular phrase, nor throw light on its meaning in this context. The city must be "Babylon the great" (v.8), and Caird points out that we should expect judgment on its inhabitants to take place within its walls, as actually happens in ch.18. But we are reminded, and surely meant to be reminded, that it was Christ who died outside the city, a fact which was deeply graven on the Christian consciousness - cf. Heb.13.12 and Mt.21.39 and Lk 20.15 as contrasted with Mk 12.8. This suggests that it may be the slaughter of the "followers of the Lamb" that is meant here. But what about "the winevat of the wrath of God"? The right way to interpret this is pointed out by Caird once again. He connects it with the references to the cup of God's wrath in 14.10, 17.6, 18.6. The winepress is not itself the punishment of Babylon, it is the place where the wine of her punishment is prepared - that is "the blood of God's people and the blood of the witnesses of Jesus" (17.6). This again points to the martyrdom.<sup>2</sup>

If then the harvest signifies the ingathering of the saints into the Kingdom, and the vintage, which is closely parallel to it, signifies their slaughter, the passage taken as a whole must be a symbol for the martyrdom viewed as the ingathering of the martyrs into the Kingdom, the fulfilment of God's gracious purpose for them. Once again John has given new meanings to two images by combining them into a new whole. But he would not have been able to use the

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<sup>1</sup> Charles ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> For further arguments in favour of this interpretation see Caird's commentary.

OT harvest texts in this way but for the knowledge that this was how the Gospel tradition used the symbol. He has used the Gospel tradition to re-interpret the OT tradition in a radically different sense and with the transformed tradition he refers to an event which neither the OT nor the NT harvest imagery had yet encompassed, but which he sees as implicit in them both. The witness of the saints unto death consummates the eschatological kingdom and expresses the judgment of the world. For John it is the central eschatological event.

I shall conclude with two examples where the evidence shows that we have to do with the inclusion of prophetic material in the Gospels rather than with the use of the sayings tradition by John.

8. Rev.2.7, 11, 17, 29; 3.6, 13, 22; 13.9

ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

This sentence either introduces or concludes the promise to the Conqueror at the end of each of the letters to the seven churches. 13.9 has εἰ τις ἔχει οὖς, ἀκουσάτω. The challenge "he that hath ears to hear, let him hear" occurs in slightly differing forms in five or possibly six different places in the Synoptic Gospels (excluding parallels to Mark). It occurs three times after parables - those of the sower (Mk 4.9), of the lamp (Mk 4.23), and of the salt in Luke only (14.35); while Matthew has it after the saying about Elijah (11.15) and after the interpretation of the parable of the tares (13.43). It also occurs five times as the conclusion of parables in the Gospel of Thomas (8, 21, 63, 65, 96).

Now it can very easily be shown that the sentence is secondary wherever it occurs in the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>1</sup> At Mk 4.9 the warning is linked to the parable by the words καὶ ἔλεγεν. Although they "may be pre-Markan"<sup>2</sup> these words prove that the connection is not original. In 4.21f. Mark brings together two sayings which also appear in the Q material and there are separate (Mt.5.15<sup>1</sup> Mk 11.33, Mt.10.26/Lk 12.2; several verses intervene in Lk). Now if the connection between these sayings is editorial, so also must be their rounding off with the

<sup>1</sup> Jeremias, Parables, 110, but without demonstration.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 14 n.8.

warning-cry; for it does not appear in connection with either of the sayings in Matthew or Luke. A similar argument must apply to Lk 14.35; the warning is not attached to the salt-parable in either Mt.5.13 or Mk 9.50. The presumption must be that it has been attached editorially, or at least at a late stage in the tradition. The same applies to Mt.11.15. If v.14 is parallel to Mk 9.13, then the lack of the warning there goes to prove its secondary nature in Matthew; if on the other hand it is an editorial addition to the Q saying Mt.11.12f./Lk 16.16, then v.15 must be editorial also. As for 13.43, we know that the whole of the interpretation is editorial, so this last verse must be also. Similar arguments can be applied to most of the examples in the Gospel of Thomas. Three of them come as the conclusion to parables which have parallels in the Synoptics which are without it; one comes after a "parabolic conglomerate" and must be as editorial as the conglomeration. Only one concludes a parable unknown in the canonical Gospels - the Great Fish, no.8. This, then, is the only example in or out of the canonical Gospels which cannot be proved to be secondary.

This sentence, then, is a piece of floating tradition which tends to become attached chiefly to parables at the secondary and particularly the editorial stages of the tradition. In view of the connection with parables, the purpose of the sentence must be to warn the hearer or reader to be careful to look below the surface of what he hears or reads to understand the hidden meaning. The use of the warning in this sense appears to be connected with the theory of parables outlined in Mk 4.10-12 - not everyone is given the gift of understanding parables.

But in Revelation the use of the sentence is quite different. There is no suggestion of a hidden meaning in the promises; here it is a simple warning that attention is necessary. It resembles, in fact, the prophetic call for attention that we find throughout the OT prophets; e.g., Is.1.2, 10, 44.1, Jer.2.4, Hos.4.1. Charles notes: "Here the speaker turns from the individual Church to the whole Christian community." The fact that the messages to the individual churches do apply to the whole Church is here driven home.

It seems certain, therefore, that this phrase is the traditional formula whereby the prophet commanded attention. The usage in the Gospels is clearly derivative from this. It is no doubt not impossible that Jesus did use the phrase in the sense in which it is used in Revelation, and that it was used by Christian prophets in a continuous tradition stemming from him; while the Gospel writers, being aware that it was used by Jesus, introduced it into their accounts of Jesus' teaching, adapting its sense to their own convenience. It is perhaps more likely that a formula becoming fixed among the Christian prophets was adopted by the Gospel tradition; and we may tentatively suggest that one reason why the formula was picked up and used in this particular way was that the task<sup>of</sup> interpreting the parables and the teaching of Jesus in general was entrusted to the prophets. We have seen ample evidence that they were capable of the task.

#### 9. Rev.1.7<sup>1</sup>

Cf. Mt.24.30; Dan.7.13, Zech.12.10. 12a, 14a. Both Matthew and Revelation combine the Daniel verse with Zech.12.12, 14. Revelation adds to this Zech.12.10, which is also quoted at Jn 19.37; further the quotation "all the tribes of the earth shall mourn (over<sup>2</sup> him)", which comes before the Daniel logion in Matthew, is placed at the end in Revelation; and the second line, from Zech.12.10, is given in a form considerably removed from the original, unlike Jn 19.37; but  $\kappa\acute{o}\psi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \xi\acute{\iota}\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \gamma\eta\varsigma$ , although differing considerably from both MT and LXX, is found word for word (except for  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ ) in both Revelation and Matthew. The Daniel allusion is given in widely differing forms, but Matthew's appears to depend on Mark.

<sup>1</sup>The most important discussion is that of B.Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, London, 1961, 122ff.; see also Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus*, 181ff.; K.Stendahl, *The School of St Matthew*, Uppsala 1966, 212f.; H.E.Tödt, *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition*, London 1965, 80ff.

<sup>2</sup>For this translation, cf. Caird, *Comm.* ad loc.

Both Dan.7.13 and verses from Zech.9-14 appear frequently among the scriptural testimonies of the early church.<sup>1</sup> But the collocation of these two passages in two widely different works calls for special explanation. The two cannot be independent of each other, yet a literary connection is unlikely. They must both be dependent on tradition; but in this case we cannot suppose that John has remoulded a piece of tradition given more directly in the Gospel. Lindars argues<sup>2</sup> that the passage Zech.12.10ff. was originally used by the early church as part of their passion apologetic, showing that the Messiah had to suffer, specially in this case that he had to be crucified - "whom they had pierced". He reconstructs the original form of the quotation as: *καὶ ὀφόνται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτόν πᾶσι δι' οὐραὶ τῆς γῆς* . Clearly the form presented by Revelation is closer to this; in Matthew the connection with the Cross has (at least at first sight<sup>3</sup>) been obscured. But Lindars goes on to point out that there was an element of warning in the Passion apologetic, which is prominent in this particular testimony; and concludes that this accounts for the appearance of the quotation in the "Christian apocalyptic tradition", combined with Dan.7.13. "The moment of vindication and judgment is the Parousia, when the Son of Man is revealed."<sup>4</sup> We can say slightly more than this. The use of the Zechariah quotation must from the beginning have elicited the question, mocking or anxious, "When?" Answer: "When you see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven". Hence it is likely that the association between the two texts was made as part of the apologetic; but it would then be convenient for use in prophecy, or as a liturgical unit; this latter is suggested by the response *ὦαί, ἰμην* in Rev.1.7.

Revelation alters the form of the first line "in order to have two subjects, *τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν* and *οὐραὶ*."<sup>5</sup> This distinguishes

<sup>1</sup> See C.H.Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, Welwyn 1952, 64ff.

<sup>2</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp 168f.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. 125

<sup>5</sup> Ib. 124.

between "the whole of humanity who see the sight and the smaller group within the whole who had pierced the Son of Man."<sup>1</sup> The distinction is obvious; yet Lindars's deduction that the modification is "due to the desire to apply the passage to the apocalyptic programme" - the vindication of the righteous and the condemnation of the wicked - is dubious, for the verse says nothing about either. But it may be that the modifications are due partly to reasons of rhythm. Further, John wishes to emphasize that it is the whole world that will eventually have its suffering Lord revealed to it. The verse stands at the beginning of the book to circumscribe the whole. The world must be judged, it will be compelled to choose: but the form that the judgment will take is the revelation of the Son of Man with the scars of his suffering - it is by one's reaction to that that one judges oneself.

However, we do not know whether we are still dealing here with John's use of the sayings tradition. For there is no evidence that before Mt. 24.30 was written this combination of Dan. 7.13 and Zech. 12.10ff. ever circulated as a saying of Jesus. It was first of all used in Christian apologetic; then it was probably taken up by the prophets and used in their midrash on Daniel<sup>2</sup>, and, as Rev. 1.7 suggests, as an independent unit in worship. It was in the latter form that John knew it. It is possible that he also knew a form of the midrash on Daniel with the Zechariah quotation, but it is not likely to have circulated as a discourse of Jesus. On the whole, it would be better to regard it as a piece of prophetic tradition which became part of a discourse of Jesus only in Matthew.

#### Conclusion

The hypotheses with which we began have been confirmed. John copiously uses material from the sayings tradition, and he treats it in a very similar way to his scriptural material. The sayings are

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<sup>1</sup> Ib. 125

<sup>2</sup> I am here anticipating latter results: see chp. VIII, especially pp. 168ff.

worked into the structure of his oracles or accounts of visions, usually undergoing much change in form. They are not quoted formally or attributed to the authority of Jesus - for, as we have seen, the whole book has the authority of the risen Lord. All the same, in most cases John must have intended them to be recognized by his readers. By changes in their form, but even more by the context in which they are set, the application of the sayings to the present situation is indicated. In a word, they are given charismatic interpretation.

There is absolutely no evidence to suggest that John was familiar with any of the written Gospels that we know, or at least no evidence that if he knew them he used them. The verbal relationship between his versions of the sayings and the Gospel ones shows him closer now to this, now to that Gospel, but never close enough to any one of them for us to regard it as his source. We must conclude that his only source was oral tradition.

The nature of the interpretation in Revelation determines the transformations the sayings undergo. Almost without exception, each separate saying is given some reference to the expected persecution, which is viewed as the eschatological conflict and the foundation of the divine judgment. This is particularly important with the eschatological material. However other-worldly the eschatology of this or that pericope in the tradition may appear to be, John usually gives it a clear reference point in the unfolding events of his own day.

Thus the rejoicing of the wedding feast, or the ingathering of the harvest, is seen in context to represent the triumph of the martyrs whom John expects the immediate future to yield. The prediction that the Gentiles would trample down the holy city becomes the metaphorical prediction of the physical persecution of the Church and of its spiritual immunity. Rev.3.5 gives a personal promise of vindication from Christ to the Christian facing persecution. The parable of the burglar is used to warn the weak and unfaithful church of the danger of the final judgment lying in wait for it. John does not specify the circumstances in which this danger lies, but in the general context of the book, there can be no doubt that it is the

outbreak of persecution. If the church at Sardis does not "wake up", the persecution will take them off balance and get them all to deny their Lord, thus utterly destroying the church.

In this list you will notice several different types of relationship between history and eschatology<sup>1</sup>; but in all the examples there are two basic assumptions. The first is that the persecution which John believes to be approaching is an eschatological event; that is, it is a last judgment which sifts men and discriminates between those that belong to the Lamb and those that belong to the Beast; it brings wrath to **one** group and triumph and salvation to the other. The distinctions which it makes, and the decisions which are taken in the face of it, are final. This is what gives it its eschatological character. Such a situation may be called a "crisis". It is a crisis that releases the unrealized potential of an eschatological image or proclamation and enables it to be applied to the present day, to receive its true interpretation. The second assumption is that because most of these sayings have an eschatological character, they can be pressed into service in this crisis. Whatever the original setting of any saying, its eschatological character enables it to be given a reference in the eschatological crisis. This shows the flexibility of the tradition and the originality of the prophet John.

The Gospel material in Revelation undergoes certain typical changes in form, partly as a result of its application to the crisis, partly for literary reasons, and partly as a result of its history. The first of these changes (cf. examples 1 and 2) is the appearance, in oracles, of the first person, whereby parables and other sayings are converted into personal oracles of the risen Lord. The first person oracle of Yahweh is a characteristic feature of O T prophecy, and it was to be expected that the N T prophet should have an equivalent. However, the majority of the book consists of visionary narrative rather than oracles, so that this type of transformation is confined

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<sup>1</sup> cf. above, pp.18ff.

to certain passages. We noted that a similar alteration in Mt.10.32 may well have been due to prophetic influence, and there may well be other cases in the Gospels.

More widespread is the transformation of parables into allegories, similes or apocalyptic pictures, as in examples 1, 3 and 7; it happens also with the predictive material in ex.4. The allegorization takes place in two related directions. Firstly the eschatological implications are drawn out or sharpened; thus the parable of the burglar is made to speak of the "coming" of Christ; the reaping is done by "the Son of Man sitting upon a cloud"; the trampling of the temple is for "42 months" - that is, "for a time, times and half a time". Secondly, one of the figures is identified with Christ: the burglar, the bridegroom, the reaper. Combining the two, we can say that the parables become predictions or pictures of the Parousia.

Now this development of course also occurs within the Gospel tradition. Consider the interpretation of the parable of the burglar in Q; the conclusion of the parable of the ten girls in Matthew, and that of the parable of the bridegroom's companions in Mk 2.20; or especially the interpretation of the parable of the weeds in Mt.13.37-43. The usual modern approach to these interpretations is to say that their "Sitz im Leben" is the "delay of the Parousia", and their purpose consolation by declaring the swiftness and certainty of that event.<sup>1</sup> This seems to me a superficial view. The ways in which the parables are used in the tradition are too diverse. The exhortations to "keep on the alert" cannot be called "consolation". The interpretation of the parable of the weeds says nothing about the imminence of the consummation it proclaims: it simply assures the church that God's justice will ultimately be revealed. I should therefore prefer to say more generally that these "Parousia" interpretations tend to convert warnings of crisis into predictions, and in place of the call for decision implied by the warning simply ask the Church to remain

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<sup>1</sup>Jeremias, Parables, 48ff.

on the alert. They are addressed to a close-knit community which finds itself in a hostile environment, attempting without much visible success to bring in converts: to such a Church this type of interpretation foretells the vindication of Christ with his own, and the destruction of his enemies, but at the same time warns them to be ready lest through sloth they suffer the fate of the enemies. It need not ask for decision or repentance, since these may be assumed to have been already given. In other words, this development corresponds roughly to the distinction which I have drawn between public prophecy and church prophecy, or between the two principal functions of church prophecy.<sup>1</sup> This would suggest that the original parables and their interpretations arise respectively out of prophecy in these two different contexts.

John shares the environment and motives which made his predecessors interpret the parables in this way: hence he not only preserves their allegorical interpretations, but sometimes extends them: thus Rev.19.7-9 makes explicit the Christological implications of Mt.25.11f. while maintaining the apocalyptic allegory of v.13. From one point of view his task is to assure his churches of the victory of Christ and to exhort them to endure and to keep alert. There are also literary reasons for allegorization: John is offering an interpretation of the tradition, and the early Christians, having no Jülicher, could not interpret the parables without allegory. But from another point of view, as I have said, John is displaying an eschatological crisis and asking for decision: are you going to serve the Lamb or the Beast? Are you going to conquer or succumb? This enables him to apply the myth of the Parousia directly to historical circumstances: in each of these cases the issue of the persecution itself embodies the coming of Christ. Thus in these circumstances the parables regain their critical character, though in an entirely different guise from that in which they were originally uttered.

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<sup>1</sup>Introduction, pp.8-10, 13f.

Frequently we have seen allusions to scripture and to the sayings tradition brought together, each to cast light on the other. In our example 7, a quotation from Scripture is used in a way which suggests the influence of the sayings tradition - in fact it is interpreted with the help of the latter. In other examples - nos. 3 and 4 - allusion to the OT helps to interpret the gospel material. All this is quite characteristic of Revelation's style of composition.

We found a couple of places where it appeared that traditional prophetic material had been taken over by Revelation without reference to the sayings tradition and appeared in the Gospels only as secondary material. These passages bear out the hypothesis of Bultmann, but they are a rather small haul. They suggest that when dealing with the Synoptic Gospels one should be on the lookout for such material, but not that it forms a very large part of the whole material of the Gospels.

At the same time, we have refuted those who claim that the early church maintained a careful distinction between the sayings of the earthly Jesus and those of its own prophets. John makes no such distinction, and never appeals to the authority of Jesus to guarantee these sayings taken from the tradition of his words. He has no need to appeal to a special authority for these sayings, because his whole book enjoys the authority of the risen Lord. It is this authority, the authority of him who originally uttered the sayings, which also enables him to reshape the tradition with perfect freedom, and which guarantees the new interpretations. The meaning of the sayings for the present generation of Christians may be obscure: the guidance of the Spirit reveals to John and his prophetic colleagues their present meaning and relevance.

## PART II

### PROPHETIC TRADITION IN THE GOSPELS

#### CHAPTER V

#### MARK 13 AS PROPHETIC MATERIAL

If any part of the Synoptic Gospels is of prophetic origin, the discourse of Mark 13.5-37 and its parallels have the first claim to be considered as such. This chapter will be concerned only with the Marcan version. This may submit a claim to be considered on several grounds. None of them by itself is conclusive, but taken together they form a very strong argument. They are: firstly the subject matter of the discourse; secondly its formal character as "eschatological paraclesis grounded in apocalyptic instruction"<sup>1</sup>; thirdly its use of OT material; and fourthly its treatment of sayings of Jesus known in other parts of the tradition. In this chapter I shall consider the weight of each of these features as evidence of prophetic origin, the last two in considerable detail; and in the next I shall contrast with this discourse a section of Luke's gospel which is also eschatological, but more typical of the Synoptic material in general, in order to prove that the features considered are not merely normal features of the Synoptic tradition. While this will prove the prophetic nature of the discourse, the possibility must still be considered that it is Mark himself, as a prophet, who has created it without any basis in tradition apart from the OT and sayings of Jesus. In chapters VIII and IX, therefore, I shall show that the OT basis and much of the structure of the discourse are traditional; and in chapter X I shall consider Mark's own contribution.

#### A. Subject Matter

The speech of Jesus in Mark 13 is concerned with coming crises in the world and in the church, supremely with the fate of Jerusalem, but specifically with the proper conduct to be adopted by Christians in the face of these crises; with the coming of Christ for the gathering of the elect; and with the church's duty of vigilance. I have

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<sup>1</sup>Gaston, 15, etc.

shown<sup>1</sup> that the primary functions of prophecy in the church are to give it guidance and encouragement in crisis, to exhort to vigilance and endurance, and to assure the church of the ultimate vindication by Christ of his own. Even without going into the manner in which the subjects are treated, we can say that in subject matter the discourse of Mark 13 fits the prophetic pattern.

Further, Gaston<sup>2</sup> shows that apocalyptic instruction of the type found in Mark 13 is regularly given by the risen Lord in other parts of early Christian tradition. He quotes, among other passages, Acts 10.42, the book of Revelation, the "Apocalypse of Peter", and various later works; and with particular stress, Ac.1.6-12, "which could be understood as a summary of a tradition parallel to Mark 13, as instructions of the risen Christ on the Mount of Olives."<sup>3</sup> He deduces from this that the discourse was originally conceived as a discourse of the risen Christ. But this is equivalent to saying that it was mediated by the prophets, and the tradition that the risen Christ gave his disciples eschatological instruction may be interpreted as a mythical expression of the fact that the early church's eschatological viewpoint was formulated by prophecy.

It is true that the use of eschatological language is limited to one or two short passages in this chapter - in the strict sense it is only found in vv. 13b, 24-27, 30-32. But although eschatological language is typical of prophecy, it is not the only way in which prophecy speaks, nor is it confined to prophecy. The oracles of Agabus in Acts, for example. (Ac. 11.28, 21.11), have no eschatological features so far as we can tell. Much of the material in Mark 13 which is not strictly eschatological is characteristic of Jewish apocalyptic. We cannot, however, prove from the subject matter alone that the discourse is prophetic, and so turn to other criteria.

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<sup>1</sup> pp. 9 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 42ff.

<sup>3</sup> 46

B. Form-critical considerations

Gaston's analysis shows that the whole of the discourse, vv.5-37, is dominated by one repeated formal pattern. It can be seen quite simply in the opening verses. The discourse commences with a word of warning - Gaston uses the technical term "paraclesis", which may cover warning, exhortation or reassurance.<sup>1</sup> "Watch that no one leads you astray." The opening word βλέπετε, repeated in vv. 9, 23 and 33, "runs like a Leitmotiv through the chapter"<sup>2</sup>: the whole discourse can be understood as a warning to "watch". This is immediately followed by the reason why it is necessary to watch against being led astray. (v.6) Then, in v.7a, comes another word of paraclesis, which is in its turn given a grounding in a predicted course of events: the immediate ground (v.7b) is followed by its own ground (v.8a). The section is concluded by the words 'this is (only) the beginning of the troubles' - a statement which functions as a final and summarizing piece of paraclesis. The pattern is that a piece of paraclesis is followed by its grounds in an apocalyptic prediction. It is not necessary for me to go through the whole discourse to demonstrate the ubiquity of the pattern, as this has been done adequately by Gaston, and anyone may check it for himself.<sup>3</sup>

The question arises what Sitz im Leben is represented by this formal pattern. The 'little apocalypse' theory evades it altogether, by supposing that the apocalyptic predictions formed an independent source to which the paracletic elements had been added.<sup>5</sup> For this there is no evidence; indeed it is made highly improbable by the fact that the same alternation of paraclesis and apocalyptic grounding is found in other passages also, as Gaston points out<sup>4</sup>: I Thess. 4.13ff.,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Gaston, 13. Cf. below, pp. 111 f. and 252

<sup>3</sup> The only exception appears to be vv.24-27. Gaston attempts to strengthen his case by reading ἴατε in several places (e.g. 6a, 7b) where it is not read by the Nestle text. He is on weak ground here, which certainly cannot be strengthened by appeal to Matthew and Luke, for they habitually remove Mark's asyndeta. But in fact this support for the general case is unnecessary: it is clear in any case that the sentences in question supply the grounds for those that precede them.

<sup>4</sup> 53.

<sup>5</sup> So even now Pesch, 108 and passim: this conception is the foundation of his analysis; cf. below, p. 252.

II Thess. 2.1ff, Didache 16, are examples. These examples of course help us to answer the question as we know the Sitz im Leben of the passages in I and II Thess. In I Thess. 4.13ff. Paul is giving reassurance to the community to deal with their anxiety about the fate (in the consummation) of those of their number who had died.<sup>3</sup> In II Thess. he is combating false ideas which had been spread among the Thessalonian Christians concerning the consummation.<sup>4</sup> The situations are very different, but in each case Paul has to give eschatological exhortation to his people, and supports it by appeal to the definite information supplied by 'a word of the Lord' or some other authoritative source. We note that the situation is that which is assumed in prophecy.<sup>2</sup> Many recent critics have accepted that the object of the discourse is to give "eschatological promise, not apocalyptic instruction"<sup>1</sup> - though the opposition between the two may betray a misunderstanding of the purpose of "apocalyptic instruction" in general. Is there an apocalypse which does not have among its objects the giving of 'eschatological promise'? At all events, the identification, in these broad terms, of the purpose and Sitz im Leben of the discourse tends to support the idea of a connection with prophecy suggested in the first place by its subject matter.

### C. Mark 13 as a charismatic interpretation of scripture

I showed in chapter III that the charismatic interpretation of Scripture is an important element of NT prophecy. The method which I adopted there to demonstrate that Rev. 13 was a charismatic interpretation of Dan. 7, and how this interpretation worked, was derived from Hans Hartman's "Prophecy Interpreted". The centre of this work is a demonstration that the greater part of the discourse in Mark 13 (viz. vv. 5-27) is based on a continuous "midrash" on (i.e. interpretation of) the book of Daniel. Hartman does not himself

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<sup>1</sup> W.G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment*, ET, 2nd ed., London 1961, 88.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 10 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 171.

draw the conclusion that Mk 13 is of prophetic origin, but prefers to think of a school of Christian scribes.<sup>1</sup> But the application of his own method to Revelation makes this hypothesis less likely than one of prophetic work. It will be necessary to show in detail how Hartman's method applies to Mk 13, because I shall wish to question his conclusions in several places, and because a detailed grasp of the way in which the discourse is an interpretation of Daniel is essential to understanding how it is related to other passages which I shall later<sup>2</sup> show depend on Daniel, interpreted on the same, traditional lines.

Daniel is directly quoted at least four times in the discourse - v.7 (Dan.2.28), v.14 (Dan.9.27, 11.31, 12.11), v.19 (Dan.12.1), v.26 (Dan.7.13); and the last three of these quotations occur at climactic points of the discourse. Also in the introduction (v.4) there is an allusion to Dan.12.7. Hartman points out<sup>3</sup> that a man at the beginning of the Christian era who went to the book of Daniel for information about "the time of the end" would find what he wanted in precisely the sections that these quotations come from - 2.27-45, 7.2-27, 9.22-27, 11-12, with the addition of ch.8. Related material appears in all these sections. "It would therefore be almost unnatural if these pericopes, which from the beginning were so closely associated with each other, were not also readily kept together in the exposition."<sup>4</sup> We may expect the situation to be rather more complicated here than in Rev.13 - we should look for an interpretation not of a single passage but of a whole series of related passages.

The central idea of all these passages in Daniel is the emergence of an evil king of immense power, who sets himself up in opposition to God, and persecutes the saints, but is eventually overthrown and replaced by the kingdom of God or of his saints. At first

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<sup>1</sup>  
211

<sup>2</sup>  
in chp. VIII.

<sup>3</sup>  
145f.

<sup>4</sup>  
ib. 146

sight there is no such idea in Mk 13. Mark's introduction (vv.1-5a) makes clear the significance he intends the discourse to have; for he gives it as an explanation of Jesus' prediction of the destruction of the temple, and in reply to the disciples' question about the time and the sign "when all these things are due to be accomplished." He wished to expound the eschatological significance of the impending or recent fall of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore all the more remarkable that the discourse does not say anything which would be likely to be interpreted of the destruction of the temple by anyone who did not have the introduction before him. This suggests that Mark has adapted a tradition which had a different purpose, and if the theme of the tradition was closer to the Danielic idea of the God-defying king (like the accounts in II Thess. 2 and Rev.13), it would not be surprising if Mark had obscured the lineaments of an idea so irrelevant to his own purpose. A careful study of the scriptural background of each section of the discourse will show that most of the vv.5-27 can in fact be connected with this idea; vv. 5f are connected with the king's claim to divine status and his corruption of many of the people (Dan.11.32); vv. 7f. with his wars; vv. 9-13 with his persecution of the saints (7.25); vv. 14-20 with his desecration of the temple; vv. 21f. is related to vv.5b-6; vv.24-7 describe the victory of the saints (Dan.7). All, however, is thoroughly reshaped in the service of a contemporary interpretation.

#### Vv. 5-8

We only have to dig a little way below the surface to find the idea of the godless king in v.6 (I am leaving v.5b aside for a moment).<sup>2</sup> Hartman shows<sup>3</sup> that  $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu$  here is a paraphrase of the name of God, corresponding in the LXX to  $\chi\ \iota\ \eta\ \nu\ \delta\ \epsilon$  and in Is.45.19 to  $\eta\ \eta\ \eta\ \nu\ \delta\ \epsilon$ . In Is.47.8, 10, Zeph. 2.15 it translates  $\nu\ \delta\ \epsilon$  alone. But in Is.47 it is Babylon who in her heart blasphemously calls herself by the name of God. What we have here in Mark is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist*, BT Nashville and New York 1969, 166ff.; Gaston, 64, 468ff.; below, pp. 253 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, pp. 90 f.

<sup>3</sup> 159-62.

therefore an exact reproduction of this blasphemy of Babylon in Is. 47. But we now note that blasphemous self-exaltation of this kind is in several places asserted of the evil king in Daniel: 7.25; 8. 10f., 25; 11.36. Hartman quotes also Is.14.13f., "a text which probably provided the themes of Dan.8".<sup>1</sup> "It would have been reasonable ... to associate the great words and self-exaltation of the horn (king) with the rising of Babylon above the stars and its making itself like 'Aelyon (sic) and Babylon's use of the paraphrase of God's name in Is.47.8, 10 respectively... The saying that people will come saying ἐγὼ εἰμι was originally an interpretation of the great words and arrogance of the horn (king) in Dan.7f. and 11."<sup>2</sup>

There are however considerable difficulties in the exegesis of this verse, which Hartman's hypothesis does nothing to explain. The main difficulty is the apparent inconsistency between ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου and ἐγὼ εἰμι, the one suggesting claims made in Jesus' name, the other that they claim divine status themselves. This has led to some bizarre exegesis - for example, the idea that there will be men who will claim to be Jesus himself returned to earth<sup>3</sup> - as well as to the obvious suggestions that either ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου<sup>4</sup> or λέγοντες ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι<sup>5</sup> is an addition by Mark. The usual interpretation, that the verse refers to the Messianic pretenders at the time of the Jewish War, collapses in the face of two facts - firstly, that there were no Messianic pretenders at the time of the Jewish War,<sup>6</sup> and secondly that the Zealot leaders did not speak in the name of Jesus. The correct interpretation of the verse is best gained in the light of vv.21f., and we shall return to it at a later point.<sup>7</sup>

We move to v.7. The evil king in Daniel is frequently said to wage war - ch .11, and also 7.21, 9.26 ("to the end there<sup>shall</sup> be war").

<sup>1</sup> 160

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 161.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Hartman, 198.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Taylor, Comm. ad loc.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Pesch, 108ff.

<sup>6</sup> Taylor, ib.: bar Kochba is the first we know of.

<sup>7</sup> below, p. 90.

The war waged by the fourth kingdom forms part of Daniel's interpretation of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar in ch. 2 (v. 40), and it is from this context (v. 28; or v. 45 which is identical in the Aramaic) that  $\delta\epsilon\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\theta\alpha\iota$  appears to have been drawn. In 1.27 the description of the "contemptible person's" war against the king of the south ends with the words "the end is yet to be at the time appointed." "The words  $\acute{\omicron}\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega\ \tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  in Mark must be said to be very closely related to this sentence."<sup>1</sup> In other words, the assurance or warning that the wars do not immediately presage the end is drawn directly from Daniel. On this is based the parenthetic word  $\mu\eta\ \theta\rho\omicron\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon$ , which cannot be directly connected with Daniel.

The theme of war is expanded by means of further OT passages in v. 8 - Is. 19.2, II Chr. 15.6. Hartman suggests that the two passages were connected with each other by a common catchword, the phrase "city against city" ( $\tau\psi\zeta\ \tau\psi$ ), which only occurs in these two passages in the OT.<sup>2</sup> The "common sense" of many scholars looks askance at such subtleties;<sup>3</sup> yet to use passages united by a  $\delta\iota\varsigma\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$  for mutual illumination is a very simple application of the Rabbinic principle  $\eta\eta\eta\eta\ \eta\eta\eta\eta$ .<sup>4</sup>

The earthquakes and famines of v. 8b cannot be so easily connected with the basic text, particularly the earthquakes. Hartman<sup>5</sup> regards these motifs as "loosely associated with this passage from several OT descriptions of times of tribulation and war, possibly with 'eschatological' overtones", citing Dt. 28.20ff., Is. 13.4ff., Jer. 6.22ff. = 50.41ff., 4.19ff., 49.20ff., Ezk. 7.5ff., Joel 2.1ff. But though this may account for the famines, it cannot do so for the earthquakes. The Deuteronomy and Ezekiel passages, and Jer. 6.22ff., none of them mention earthquakes, and in Jer. 4.19ff., v. 24, which does, should not be regarded as part of the same pericope. In Is. 13.4ff.

<sup>1</sup> Hartman 149

<sup>2</sup> Ib.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M.D. Hooker, Review of Hartman in JTS 19(1968), 263ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hartman, 111f., and literature cited 112 n.47.

<sup>5</sup> 149f.

and Joel 2.1ff. we have typical Day of Yahweh passages: here the earthquake symbolizes the wrath of God, and has no direct connection with the theme of war; the same can probably be said of Jer.49.20ff. I shall leave these motifs for further discussion in a later chapter.<sup>1</sup>  
 Ἰσὴν ἠδὲ τὸν τῶν Τάδε "gives the impression of being a commentary with no direct relationship with the OT".<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that prominent themes in this opening section of the discourse are those of blasphemous self-exaltation and war from the book of Daniel, which are applied, it seems, to contemporary events, with the warning that these things are only "the beginning of the travail", not as might be hoped the immediate prelude to deliverance for the elect.

#### Vv. 9-13

Vv.9-11 have no obvious OT associations. V.10 has the appearance of an insertion by Mark into a context which originally joined v.11 directly to v.9.<sup>3</sup> V.11 is part of the tradition of sayings of Jesus, as attested elsewhere (Lk 12.11ff.). Hartman concludes that vv. 9 and 11 have been inserted from the sayings tradition into the already completed Daniel "midrash" as an expansion of v.12 on the catchword παραδωθεῖ.<sup>4</sup> But the lack of OT connections need not mean that there is no connection with the interpretation of Daniel. Hartman himself points out<sup>5</sup> that persecution is mentioned in Daniel - 7.25, 8.24f., 11.30ff.; 7.25 says that the saints "shall be given into his hand" - hence perhaps the thrice-repeated use of παραδωθεῖ.<sup>5</sup> We have seen that Christian prophets made use of the tradition of Jesus' sayings, weaving them into sequences based on the OT. This may well be what has been done here; the hint given in Dan.7.25 would be sufficient to bring in a well-known saying (or two?) of Jesus dealing with

<sup>1</sup> pp. 223 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 150.

<sup>3</sup> The vocabulary is entirely Marcan; Taylor ad loc., cf. Lohmeyer ad loc., Kämmel op. cit., 84, Marxsen op. cit., 119f., Gaston, 19ff., and cf. below, p.97.

<sup>4</sup> 213f.

<sup>5</sup> 150.

persecution, and providing the encouragement to endure which the prophetic exegete desired to give the Church which he served. But I will deal with this in greater detail in my next section.<sup>1</sup>

Vv. 12-13a show clear connections with Mic.7.2, 5f., particularly, according to Hartman,<sup>2</sup> with the interpretation of Targum Jonathan: "A man delivers up his brother to destruction." Hartman notes that the same theme is found in Is.19.2, the last OT connection found in the discourse (in v.8). But this scarcely supports his theory of the later addition of vv.9-11 for these verses have also been concerned with the theme of "delivering up". The particular use of the Micah reference here may be influenced again by the sayings tradition - see below.<sup>3</sup> In v.13b we return to Daniel by way of Mic.7.7: Hartman suggests that phrases in Dan.11.32: "The people who know their God shall be strong"; v.35 "until the time of the end", and probably also 12.1, have been combined to give a word of encouragement to the Christians who are suffering under persecution as the Daniel passage predicts.<sup>4</sup>

The evidence for a basis in Daniel may seem rather weak for this second section of the discourse; but if it turns out that we can demonstrate one for the rest, it will become the more difficult to deny the validity of what evidence there is even here.

#### Vv. 14-20

We therefore proceed to the next section, which gives instructions for the action to be taken by Christians in Judaea in the face of an unprecedented calamity there. The leading theme of this section, the "abomination of desolation", is certainly from Daniel: cf. Dan.9.27, 11.31, 12.11. The second of these references is to the same context as may have formed v.13b. Another clear reference comes in v.19, which is derived from Dan.12.1, though "since there was a nation" has been replaced by "since the beginning of creation." It may be suggested that the intervening verses are

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<sup>1</sup> pp. 98 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 168f.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 100 f.

<sup>4</sup> 150f.

a development of the theme of tribulation in Daniel.

I shall deal with v.14 in more detail. The masculine participle ἔδθηκότα has caused much trouble, but it is possible to explain it directly from Daniel. It has often been referred to "Antichrist" - who is himself an interpretation of the evil king in Daniel<sup>1</sup>; and it is at least possible that Mark has obscured a reference to the king which was clearer in the tradition, and substituted the impersonal βδέλυμα. This would be comprehensible in view of his desire to speak of the destruction of the temple. But what justification could he have for confusing the genders? Rigaux<sup>2</sup> gives at least a partial answer to the question. This depends on noting the different readings of the MT in the three different places:

אבדן א' אבדן אבדן 9.27  
 אבדן א' אבדן אבדן 11.31  
 אבדן א' אבדן אבדן 12.11

In the versions, the first two places appear to be assimilated to the last: so in 9.27 they apparently read אבדן and interpreted אבדן as absolute. Hence LXX, Thdt. (Γ) ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν βδέλυμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων. But if MT is read, אבדן must be construct, and אבדן א' grammatically separate: "on the wing of abominations one who makes desolate" (so AV, RSV, and cf. LXX 8/mg). There is thus a personal reference. The same is possibly also true of 11.31. The MT is grammatically impossible, and requires emendation. Presumably Thdt. (βδέλυμα ἡφανισμένου) read אבדן א' but I propose אבדן א' in agreement with the subject, from which אבדן א' could have arisen by haplography (אבדן א' אבדן א' אבדן א'). But in 12.11, as well as in various readings of the versions elsewhere, we have the impersonal "Appalling abomination". A combination of readings such as we find in the Qumran pesher commentaries might

<sup>1</sup> cf. below, chp. VIII

<sup>2</sup> βδέλυμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, Biblica 40 (1959), 675ff.

then result in what we find in Mark - the phrase βόλευμα τῆς ἐρημ-  
 ῶσεως made to refer to a man. Rigaux notes that the translations  
 using ἐρημώσις are inaccurate, whatever the reading of the  
 Hebrew, and suggests that the word is due to the influence of  
 passages in Jeremiah dealing with the capture of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> Mark  
 may of course be using the LXX, but it is not impossible that he  
 is himself influenced independently by these passages of Jeremiah.  
 This is a point we shall need to return to.<sup>2</sup>

The note ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτο is worth looking at.  
 (Whether it is Marcan, pre-Marcan or post-Marcan is irrelevant for  
 this purpose). "The reader" of what? It has often been taken as  
 the book of Daniel, but most recent writers have preferred to see a  
 reference to Mark's own words.<sup>3</sup> But to say merely that one should  
 understand what one is reading seems pointless, however cryptic  
 the context. The remark would have much more point as a veiled  
 reference to Daniel; but if Mark's original readers were aware that  
 the discourse was a commentary on Daniel, it would be natural to  
 understand "he who reads" as the reader of the text being commented  
 on. It is therefore possible that this note gives further evidence  
 that the discourse is based on an interpretation of Daniel.

In vv. 14b-16 we trace the influence of the story of Lot -  
 Gen.19.17 reads "Flee for your life; do not look back or stop  
 anywhere in the valley; flee to the hills, lest you be consumed."  
 But the matter is complicated by the fact that vv.15f. reappear  
 at Lk 17.31. I shall argue in the next section that vv.15f. are  
 derived from the sayings tradition, whence (and not from this place)  
 Luke also has drawn them. It is possible to conclude either that  
 a pair of sayings with a more primitive context in Lk 17 has been  
 employed in the building up of the Daniel midrash in Mk 13 owing  
 to its reference to Gen.19.17 which has just been alluded to; or  
 that Gen.19.17 is alluded to because of the sayings with this

<sup>1</sup>25.11; 25 (32).17; 44(51).6, 22; cf. 4.1, 7; 7.10, 13, 34.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. p. 233.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Marxsen 163, Gaston 28.

reference which are about to be introduced. In other words, either Gen.19.17 formed a bridge to the sayings, or the sayings formed a bridge to Gen.19.17. I shall argue below<sup>1</sup> that the latter is more likely.

But can either the allusion to the flight of Lot from Sodom or the use of these sayings be connected with Daniel, and in particular with the "abomination of desolation"? In general, the escape of Lot from Sodom may parallel the escape of God's people from tribulation in Dan.12.1.<sup>2</sup> But this parallel is only superficial, as Lot was escaping from the wrath of God, and this is also the theme of the Lucan context of the sayings, Lk 17.22-37;<sup>3</sup> whereas in Daniel the saints are delivered from the persecution of God's enemy. Hartman, however, demonstrates verbal connections between Daniel and Gen.19 not only directly but also via Dt.29.22 and Lam.4.6.<sup>4</sup> These and other passages use Sodom as an example of God's merciless and unavoidable judgment on sin. Whether the transition to Gen.19 was mediated by them or by the sayings, Hartman must be right in suggesting that the bridge "was the idea that an ungodly or blasphemous place or thing will be destroyed by God's wrathful judgment", and that the flight "is a matter of escaping from God's punishment, the judgment that will befall an ungodly thing."<sup>5</sup> In other words, the flight is not from the "abomination" itself, but from the wrath that is to fall on it.

But this connection is rather loose: vv.15f. have no verbal connection with Daniel, the idea of flight (though not of course that of the destruction of the abomination), is foreign to Daniel and in this immediate context in Mark God's judgment is not mentioned. It is however not absent, for the theme of vv.24-7 is judgment, though they do not speak directly of the destruction of the abomination. We may

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<sup>1</sup> pp. 103f.

<sup>2</sup> Hartman, 152, who points out that the same verb ( *יָצָא* Hiph.) is used in Gen.19.17 and Dan.12.1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, pp. 142 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For the details, see Hartman, 152f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, 153, after G. Harder, "Das eschatologische Geschichtsbild der sogenannten kleinen Apokalypse Markus 13", *Theologia Viatorum* 4 (1952), 71ff., 83f.

say that although there is a connection with Daniel, it appears somewhat contrived; the command to flee does not flow naturally from the data of Daniel but may have been brought in by someone wishing to introduce the motif of flight for other reasons. To this, and to the meaning of the abomination and the command to flee, we must return.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to discover the background of vv.17f.; but Hartman may be right in comparing with v.17 Lk 23.29, of which this is the converse, and from which it may have been developed. V.19 as we have seen returns to the main text at Dan.12.1, with which also the Lot association may have been made. "Underlying this text is a collocation of passages in Daniel on the abomination of desolation with the description of the time of trouble in Dan.12.1."<sup>2</sup> The change in the temporal expression is not easy to explain, but it is at least interesting that LXX makes no mention of "the nation" (ἐξ ἅπαντων τῶν ἐθνῶν), and that Thdt. adds ἐν τῇ γῆ. Hartman<sup>3</sup> thinks it possible to derive v.20 from the same verse by means of a transposition of letters typical of the Rabbinic midrashim; from  $\chi\iota\pi\eta\eta\ \sigma\mu\eta\eta\ \tau\mu\ \pi\lambda$  is derived  $\chi\iota\pi\eta\eta\ \sigma\mu\eta\eta\ \mu\tau\eta\lambda$  "one who cuts short that time", and Yahweh as the subject could be got out of  $\sigma\tau\iota\pi\eta\eta\lambda$ .  $\mu\tau\eta\lambda$  like  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\acute{\omicron}\omega$  is used with reference to trees (Is.9.2, 10.33); and the figurative use of  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\beta\acute{\omicron}\omega$  is found apparently only here. "For the sake of the elect" parallels "everyone whose name shall be found written in the book".

The evidence that we have an interpretation of Daniel is strong in this section. That Mark applies it to the situation of the Roman-Jewish war is doubted by few, but what the extent was of the material existing before him, and what its original application was, are matters that we still have to discuss.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, pp. 251 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hartman, 154.

<sup>3</sup> 163f.

Vv. 21-3

The origins of vv.21 and 22 are clear: v.21 is a saying of Jesus - cf. Mt.24.26/Lk 17.23/Lk 17.21;<sup>1</sup> v.22 is derived from Dt.13.2. V.23 repeats the "watch" theme; it is an important structural element of the discourse, but lacks any relationship to its OT basis.<sup>2</sup>

Is the reference to Deut.13 also based on Daniel? This chapter warns Israel against prophets who make true predictions and perform miracles but are false in the sense that their achievements are designed to draw Israel away to the worship of strange gods. Now it is also said of the evil king in Daniel immediately after the mention of the "abomination" in 11.31 that he will "make profane with flattery those who violate the covenant":  $\text{וַיַּשְׁמַדְוּ בְּרִי'וֹתָיו אֶת־הַקְּדוֹשִׁים}$ ; the LXX has the verb in the plural. The root  $\text{קָדַשׁ}$  is used with reference to the pollutions of idolatry - in fact of "strange gods" - e.g. Jer.3.1, 2, 9. The uncommon root  $\text{קָלַה}$  (cf.  $\text{וַיִּקְלַהְוּ} \text{ v.34}$ ) is used of false prophecy in Is.30.10, Eek.12.24. It would thus be very easy to deduce from this passage in Daniel either that the king himself would be a false prophet similar to those warned against in Dt.13, or that there would be many of them in Israel at the last time<sup>3</sup>. Attention is paid particularly to the signs and wonders with which the false prophets will attempt to lead astray the elect. The expression "lead astray" ( $\text{לְהַטְוִי'וֹתָם}$ ) is clearly derived from Dt.13 - cf. vv. 6f, 11, 14. And as we have seen, it is the idea of seduction to a false worship which draws in Dt. 13 as a comment on Dan.11. But the application in Mark is made by means of the prefixed saying of Jesus (v.21); and conversely v.22 supplies the grounds for the exhortation of v.21. The false prophets of Dt.13 are identified with those in Jesus' saying who say "lo here is the **Messiah**, lo there!" In other words, the false prophets whom Mark wishes to warn against are men who are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, pp. 104 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, pp. 112 & 252.

<sup>3</sup> Hartman, 170; he gives another connection (between Dan.11.37f. & Dt. 13.7) on p.155.

encouraging an enthusiastic Messianic expectation; if they are Christians they may be asserting, like the Christians mentioned in II Thess. 2.2<sup>1</sup>, that the Parousia has already happened. At first sight the  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$  of the common text of Mark supports this interpretation. The words  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$  are omitted by the Western text (D 124 1573 d i k); they are either an omission due to haplography or an insertion due to assimilation to Matthew.<sup>2</sup> There are two main difficulties with them, which incline me to reject them. The first is, as I mentioned above,<sup>3</sup> that they have no known basis in history; the second, that, after all, to point out the Messiah here or there is not the same thing as to assert one is the Messiah oneself. It may be, therefore, that Mark made no reference to pseudo-Christ<sup>s</sup> but only to pseudo-prophets asserting Messiah's presence.

This interpretation is confirmed when we return to vv. 5b, 6,<sup>4</sup> which are clearly related to vv. 21f. In both places we have people making false assertions which are calculated to "deceive". It seems probable that vv. 5b, 6 are also related to Dt. 13 and derive the word  $\pi\lambda\alpha\upsilon\delta\upsilon$  from there, like v. 22. There is other evidence that v. 6 is talking about false prophets: the formula  $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\tau\hat{\omega}$   $\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\iota$   $\mu\omicron\upsilon$  is frequently used in the LXX in respect of false prophets:<sup>5</sup> Jer. 14.14f., 23.25, 34.15, 36.9; cf. also Jer. 11.21, Zech. 13.3ff. And the formula  $\epsilon\gamma\hat{\omega}$   $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ , which has seemed so difficult alongside  $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\tau\hat{\omega}$   $\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\iota$   $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ , also finds its true explanation here. The true prophet, after all, may legitimately say  $\epsilon\gamma\hat{\omega}$   $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$  "in the name of" Christ (cf. Rev. 1.8); and therefore presumably the false prophet will do so. If we refer the verse exclusively to false prophets, without any idea of false Messiahs, we get for the first time a coherent and credible interpretation. Those who come "in my name" are false prophets speaking

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Taylor, ad loc.

<sup>3</sup> p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, pp. 80 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Pesch, 110.

deceptively in Christ's name. This does not mean that Hartman's explanation of  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota$  as a blasphemous formula of self-revelation is incorrect. If the false prophets claim to speak in the name of God, that is a false and therefore blasphemous claim to inspiration, and the formula in which it is expressed a false and blasphemous formula of self-revelation. But the idea of the claim to divine status, derived directly from Daniel, is subordinated to that of the false prophets, derived from Deut.13.

Vv.24-7

The climactic section centres on the allusion to Dan.7.13f. in v.26. The quotation is sufficiently close for observations to be made on its form. The pertinent words of Dan.7.13 read:

MT  $\text{וַיֵּרְאֵה בְּרִזְוֹתַי וְיָצְאָה אִתִּי מִן הַיָּם בְּנֵי אֲנָשִׁים וְיָצְאָה אִתָּם מִן הַיָּם$   
 $\text{וְיָצְאָה אִתָּם מִן הַיָּם}$  (literally: "I was seeing in the visions of the night, and behold with the clouds of heaven one like a son of man was coming")  
 LXX  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\omicron\nu\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\tau\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \nu\upsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \nu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \nu\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\eta}\epsilon\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron$  (presumably reading  $\beta\eta$  for  $\alpha\eta$ . Thdt. has  $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \nu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  agreeing with MT.

As against both MT (Thdt.) and LXX, Mk 13.26 has "the Son of Man" in place of "one like a son of man", defers the phrase about the clouds of heaven until after the participle, and makes "the Son of Man" the object of the verb  $\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\nu\nu\tau\alpha$ .<sup>1</sup> All these features are found in other allusions to Dan.7.13 in the NT - for the first cf. Mk 14.62, for the second Mk 14.62, Rev. 1.7, for the third Mk 14.62, Rev. 1.13, 14.14.<sup>1</sup> Mk 13.26 also has  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \nu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma$  and omits  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon$  (cf. I Th.4.17 and contrast Rev.1.7 ( $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}$  with MT), Mk 14.62 and Rev.14.14 ( $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$  with LXX); Rev.1.7, 14.14 omit  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ ). Whatever the significance of these variations, it is clear they are firmly embedded in the Christian tradition; the similarity of the text here to that of Mk 14.62 is especially notable.<sup>2</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> Cf. N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus*, 173ff. But Perrin is not correct in saying that the change in position of the "clouds" phrase is common to every allusion to Dan.7.13 in the NT: cf. Rev. 14.14, I Th. 4.16f.

<sup>2</sup> This is discussed below, pp. 106 f.

interpretation of Dan.7.13 is either derived from Christian tradition or is itself the source of the use of the text in Christian tradition. This casts doubt on theories<sup>1</sup> which distinguish Mk 13.26 sharply from other interpretations of Dan.7.13 in the NT, especially from Mk 14.62.

The use of "Son of Man" is of course dependent on the tradition of the sayings of Jesus. It is intended to place Jesus and his "coming" at the climax of the events spoken of, and at the climax of the interpretation of Daniel. The verb  $\delta\psi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$  recalls the  $\delta\psi\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$  of Mk 14.62; but as it stands it has no explicit subject and appears to be a generalizing plural, a Semitism equivalent to a passive,<sup>2</sup> in fact to  $\delta\phi\theta\eta\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  or  $\phi\alpha\nu\eta\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ . It defines the coming of the Son of Man as an epiphany. This is confirmed by the other changes. According to Perrin,<sup>3</sup> the change in the position of the "clouds" phrase is made "to make unambiguous the fact that the clouds are the medium for the figure's movement and that the movement is one from heaven to earth;" and the use of  $\epsilon\nu$  is another "pesher type change" emphasizing "the fact that the coming of Jesus as Son of Man is an epiphany"; he compares Ex.16 .10, 19.9; Lev.16.2; Num.11.25. Both these suggestions appear to me very probable.<sup>4</sup>

The vision of Daniel is interpreted, in short, as the eschatological epiphany of Christ for judgment which here represents, as we see from the next verse, primarily the gathering of his elect - their vindication and deliverance out of all the troubles described in the foregoing verses. There appears to have been a radical change in the application: the "one like a son of man" in Daniel comes to God the judge for vindication; the Son of man in Mark 13.26 is the divine judge who comes to earth to gather the elect for their vindication.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Gaston, 33, 384ff., Kümmel 103, J.A.T. Robinson, Jesus and his Coming, 53ff.

<sup>2</sup> M.Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, 3rd ed., Oxford 1967, 126ff.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 173, 174.

<sup>4</sup> But see below, pp. 149ff.

The difference, however, is only apparent; the Son of Man in Daniel is a symbolic figure representing the collective of the "saints of the Most High". His coming to God for judgment represents their vindication in victory. There is no essential difference in the meaning of the symbols: in both cases the coming of the Son of Man is the vindication of the elect after their sufferings, and the words is a word of consolation in the present sufferings and disappointments, holding out the promise of imminent salvation. The great difference is in the conception and use of the symbols themselves. But to discuss the motives and history of this change needs a chapter to itself.<sup>1</sup>

Elucidating this interpretation of Daniel are phrases of celestial symbolism drawn from other parts of the OT which describe the intervention of Yahweh for judgment: vv.24f. The effect is to identify the vindication of the Son of Man with the Day of the Lord. The verses are drawn from the three closely related passages: Joel 2.10, Is.13.10 and Is.34.4<sup>2</sup>, all of which are concerned with the "Day of the Lord", in each case the intervention of Yahweh for judgment embodied in historical events. The celestial language is of course symbolic. Much of the trouble in the exegesis of Mark 13 has been caused by the feeling that these verses must describe "the end of the world", as indeed they do if they are taken literally, and the difficulty of connecting this with historical events in Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> The OT sources use language which is traditional in depicting the epiphany of Yahweh for intervention in the affairs of his chosen people; this language is here transferred to the epiphany of the Son of Man. It seems reasonable to conclude with Hartman<sup>4</sup> that the Son of Man has taken over God's function of coming for judgment; it is also reasonable to conclude that the function of the language of cosmic catastrophe is to signalize the coming of the Son of Man as an

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chp.VII.

<sup>2</sup> See Hartman, 157, for the details.

<sup>3</sup> See Beasley-Murray op. cit. for the history of the exegesis.

<sup>4</sup> 157

epiphany of decisive intervention, not to depict the end of the physical world.<sup>1</sup> This is really confirmed by vv.26f.: the goal of the description is <sup>the</sup> gathering of the elect, not the end of the world. As many commentators have noted, some with surprise, even after such cosmic disasters there are still men left alive on earth to see the coming of the Son of Man and to be gathered<sup>2</sup>.

It should be noted that the connection of the Day of the Lord passages with Daniel is fairly loose. Much the same collocation of passages occurs in Rev.6.12-14 without any reference to Daniel or the Son of Man.<sup>3</sup> But in the present context there is no doubt that their function is to interpret the Daniel quotation which is the climax of the discourse.

The goal of the epiphany is the gathering together of God's people, "the elect of the Son of Man". The negative side of the judgment is left on one side, but it is not true to say that there is no mention of the Last Judgment in Mk 13.<sup>4</sup> Such an assertion shows a lack of appreciation of the breadth of the idea of judgment in the Bible. The gathering of the elect is an act of intervention on behalf of the oppressed (cf. v.20), and so fulfils the OT conception of judgment. According to Hartman<sup>5</sup>, the gathering is described with the use of Dt.30.3f. and Zech.2.10 in their LXX form<sup>6</sup>, together with Is.43.6. None of these texts, however, shows any particular connection with Daniel, and the suggestion of Gaston<sup>7</sup> that Zech.14.5 has been involved in the formation of this verse should be adopted. It is closely related in theme to Dan.7.13 and its context. As Gaston notes, it explains why the Son of Man should be said to have angels at his command - מַלְאָכָא אֲנִי מְבָרֵךְ: "Who is being addressed, if not the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pesch, 158ff., who lists the authorities on either side.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lohmeyer, *Comm. ad loc.*, and the survey in Pesch, *loc.cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, pp. 212 ff.

<sup>4</sup> As e.g. Taylor 517, Hartman 157 do.

<sup>5</sup> 158.

<sup>6</sup> Against T.F.Glasson, *The Second Advent*, 3rd ed. London 1963, 194ff., the use of a variant found in the LXX rather than the MT does not prove dependence on the LXX, since the LXX may be following a lost Hebrew reading, as MSS from Qumran indicate.

Son of Man?" And the context (16ff.) speaks of the gathering of the nations to Jerusalem; with this as link, the employment of other texts which speak of a world-wide gathering is readily comprehensible.

At this point the midrashic material comes to an end. The remaining ten verses of the discourse are parenthetic material on the theme of watchfulness, much of it with parallels elsewhere in the Gospels, but without substantial OT connections; it is a collection of sayings and parables more typical of the Synoptic tradition in general.

### Conclusion

If these remarks have created at least a presumption of probability that Mk 13.5-27 is based upon an interpretation of Daniel of charismatic type, I had better summarize the results so that the general drift of the interpretation may be seen. The data of Daniel become a prophetic message for the Christian church standing, in a situation of perplexity and persecution, between the resurrection of their Lord and his vindication of them. The data on war, false prophets, the persecution of the saints and the desecration of the temple are referred to present experiences of the church. Daniel gives the assurance that the dominion will eventually pass to the one like a son of man, and this assurance is applied to the same present situation: "in those days, after that distress", there will be a great intervention, spoken of in the figure of the epiphany of Christ, the Son of Man himself, which will result in the gathering of the elect.

This type of interpretation is characteristic of prophecy.<sup>1</sup> In the present context it derives its authority from the impression that it was delivered far in advance by Christ while still in his earthly ministry; cf. v.23: προείηκε ὑμῖν πάντα . But if it has any traditional basis and if it has not always been transmitted as the words of Jesus, then at one stage its consolation must have lain in the fact that these things, which the church was now suffering, had been foretold in scripture, as interpreted by the

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<sup>1</sup> See Chp. III.

## Risen Lord through his prophets.

Naturally we ask what experience of the church the interpretation refers to. If we only know the scriptural basis of the discourse and not its present application, it is only half-explained.<sup>1</sup>

But the question is by no means as straightforward as in Rev.13, which is part of a longer work written in a plain enough situation with a clearly recognisable object. Opinions differ on the situation and object of Mark's gospel, though it is widely agreed that in chapter 13 there is some reference to the events of the Jewish War; moreover we cannot say at this stage of our investigation how far the material of the interpretation had been formed in tradition before Mark and how far it is his own creation. We cannot assume without proof that there was any traditional basis for Mark's discourse. We have proved that it contains prophetic exegesis; but Mark himself may have been the prophetic exegete! If the interpretation is entirely Mark's work, then the question is a matter of Mark's authorship and situation - how did Mark interpret Daniel? If it is taken over entirely from tradition, especially if Mark took over a finished midrash without being aware that it was in fact an interpretation of Daniel, then we must find a situation in the pre-Marcian church to which it may apply. The truth is more likely to fall between the two extremes - Mark took over a traditional interpretation of Daniel and gave it its present form in order to speak to a new situation. In this case one must reckon with a deliberate intention to apply the book of Daniel to a present situation both among prophets before Mark and in Mark himself. It may be asked, if Mark and earlier prophets apply the data of Daniel to different situations, how can one say that they give the same interpretation? Simply in that the main lines of interpretation, including some of the texts from outside Daniel,<sup>2</sup> were laid down by tradition and the specific application created by Mark.

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<sup>1</sup> It is the great weakness of Hartman's book that he fails to consider this question seriously.

<sup>2</sup> We shall see that Dt.15 is particularly important in this regard.

My procedure in deciding these questions will be as follows. In Chp. VIII I shall investigate parallel interpretations of Daniel in other documents. This will securely demonstrate that the main lines of interpretation are traditional, but will not offer any justification for regarding Mark's wording as such. At this point,<sup>1</sup> I shall suggest a situation in which the interpretation originated. In Chp. X I shall show that in fact the discourse as we have it is composed by Mark,<sup>2</sup> and interpret it in the situation which its context in the gospel seems to suggest.

D. The Use of the Sayings Tradition in the Discourse of Mark 13

At several points in the examination of the OT basis of Mk. 13, we have come across places (whether with or without an OT background) which are similar or even closely parallel to sayings of Jesus elsewhere attested in the Synoptic Gospels. Hartman generally deals with these places by assuming that separate logia from the tradition have been added to the "midrash" at some time subsequent to its original composition. But as we found in chp. IV that the employment and re-interpretation of sayings of Jesus from the tradition, and their interweaving with midrashic material based on the OT, is a characteristic feature of NT prophecy, we need not assume that these places are not integral to the prophetic interpretation of Daniel. Indeed, if I can show that sayings from the tradition have been used in this way in Mk 13, the case for regarding the discourse as prophetic will be greatly strengthened. The parallels which suggest themselves are these:

(Parallels in Matthew and Luke obviously derived from Mark are of course omitted)

V. 10 - Mk 14.9

11 - Mt. 10.19f., Lk 12.11f., 21.14f.

12f. - Mt. 10.35f., Lk 12.52f. (Mic. 7.6)

15f. - Lk 17.31 (Gen. 19.26)

17 - Lk 23.28f.

21 - Mt. 24.26, Lk 17.21, 23

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 201ff.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 251f.

- 26 - Mk 14.62 (Dan. 7.13f.)  
 30 - Mk 9.1, Mt.23.36/Lk 11.51b  
 31 - cf. Mt.5.17/Lk 16.17  
 33,35 - Mt.24.42, 24.44/Lk 12.40, Mt.25.13  
 34 - Lk 12.36, Mt.24.45/Lk 12.42, Mt.25.14f./Lk 19.12f.  
 35 end,36 - Lk 12.38.

We deal first with those parallels occurring within the mid-rashic material. Those lying outside it, at the end of the discourse, will require a rather different treatment. There are three possibilities for each logion - that it originated as part of the interpretation of Daniel, and has subsequently been taken into other parts of the Gospel tradition either at the oral or the written stage; that it has been derived from tradition and used as part of the interpretation; that it has been inserted in the discourse from the tradition without being integrated into the interpretation, as Hartman suggests for vv. 9-11, 15. If for any logion either of the latter two answers is given, we must go on to ask what changes in form and meaning it has undergone.<sup>1</sup>

#### V. 10

There is a close resemblance in theme and phraseology between this verse and the <sup>α</sup> <sup>τι</sup> <sup>ο</sup> <sup>του</sup> <sup>ε</sup> <sup>δ</sup> <sup>ν</sup> clause in 14.9. But it can be shown that the vocabulary which coincides in the two passages is wholly and distinctively Marcan, and that both (in 14.9 at least the <sup>α</sup> <sup>τι</sup> <sup>ο</sup> <sup>του</sup> <sup>ε</sup> <sup>δ</sup> <sup>ν</sup> clause) are Marcan constructions.<sup>2</sup> There is here therefore no influence from the sayings tradition, only an editorial formulation by Mark which he has introduced in two different places.

#### V. 11

It is possible to leave Mt. 10.19f. out of consideration here: it stands in a context (10.17-22) which is certainly dependent on

<sup>1</sup> For the following, cf. many of the discussions in J. Lambrecht, *Die Redaktion der Markus-Apokalypse*, Rome 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor ad 13.10; cf. J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology* vol.I, London 1971, 133f. *Εὐαγγέλιον κηρῦσθαι* occurs also at 1.14, not elsewhere in words of Jesus in any Gospel, in narrative only Mt.4.23, 9.35 with addition of *τῆς βασιλείας* ; *εὐαγγέλιον* otherwise only in Mark (1.1, 15; 8.35, 10.29).

this passage of Mark, and shows no important independent contact with the version of Lk 12.11f. Only the Lucan parallels need be considered. The usual view is that Lk 12.11f. comes from Q and that Lk 21.14f. is a rewriting of Mark. But if Lk 12.11f. is not Marcan it is hardly likely that 21.14f. could be; for a brief examination of the texts shows that the forms of Mk 13.11 and Lk 12.11f. stand close together compared with Lk 21.14f.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it might be suggested that 12.11f. is Marcan. But this is not likely, as it stands in the largest block of non-Marcan material in Luke, and can easily be understood as the conclusion of the Q context 12.2-10 = Mt. 10.26-33, (12.32): it is connected to the previous verse by the catchword τὸ δύιο πνεῦμα, often an indication of connection at the oral stage; and its omission by Matthew is inevitable, since he would otherwise have repeated himself in the space of 15 verses. The conclusion must be that the three versions are independent of each other, and that while Mark has used a form very close to the Q form, Lk 21.14f. is connected more remotely (as well as having probably undergone transformation). As our concern is with the Marcan discourse, we need not discuss the form in Lk 21 any further at this point.

Neither of the Lucan forms offers the παραδιδόσθαι of Mark at the beginning, and even in Mark it comes in very awkwardly (Mt.10.19 smooths out the awkwardness). This suggests that far from παραδιδόσθαι determining the addition of v.11 at this point, before v.12<sup>2</sup>, it has actually been added to assimilate the verse to its context, and perhaps also to link the saying with Daniel (7.25)<sup>3</sup>.

We note the absence in Mark of the phrase ἐπὶ τὰς βουαγωγάς καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας, which nevertheless resembles phrases in his own v.9. It has been omitted in the Marcan rather than <sup>added</sup> in the Q context: <sup>or</sup> δύνω in this sense is very often

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also below, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Hartman, 213f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 83. Dibelius (Der Brief des Jakobus, Göttingen, 11th ed. 1964, 21) mentions the possibility that catchwords may be added.

construed with  $\epsilon\tau\tau\iota^1$ ,  $\delta$  and the  $\theta\tau\delta\upsilon$  clause as a whole is unnecessary in Mark's context. The origin of v.9 is obscure: it may be a separate saying not attested elsewhere, or it might be an exposition of "deliver up" in Dan.7.25<sup>2</sup>; but there is at least a strong possibility that it has been created out of the initial clause of this saying as it appears in Lk 12. The differences at the end of the saying can most easily be explained as the result of abbreviation in the Lucan form.

If this suggestion for the origin of v.9 is correct, the saying, although little changed in sense or reference, has been expanded to form an exposition of Dan.7.25 ("the saints shall be given into his hand") which relates it to the experience of the Church,<sup>3</sup> and gives it an important, though subsidiary, parenetic point.

It must be admitted, however, that the suggested link with Daniel is weak, and the creation of v.9 out of v.11 dubious. The view that v.11 is an isolated logion attached to the discourse without relation to the interpretation of Daniel is equally defensible.

#### V. 12

The verbal relationship to Mt.10.35f., Lk 12.52f., is not very close, nor are these two forms very close to one another, but they are closer than either is to the Marcan form. What unites them all is their dependence on Mic.7.6. Since in the Q form the saying is closely involved with the previous one, it is impossible that Mk 13.12 should have influenced it - indeed it shows no sign of such a thing. Are they then totally independent of one another, and is it a mere coincidence that they depend on the same OT text, or is Mk 13.12 a "secondary form"<sup>4</sup> of the Q saying?

There is little evidence of relationship in the form. Mt. 10.35f. quotes the Micah text in a free version, and Lk 12.52f. makes it the basis of a more elaborate new formation; but Mk 13.12 merely alludes to it. The clearest mark of the allusion is the verb

$\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\delta\omicron\tau\eta\delta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ , which occurs in the LXX of Mic.7.6, but

<sup>1</sup> Moulton and Milligan sub  $\delta\gamma\omega$ .

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hartman, 213f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Taylor ad v.9.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor ad loc.; cf. Lambrecht, 137.

not in either of the Q forms. There is only one slight suggestion of a relation to the Q saying in the form:  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\ \tau\epsilon\kappa\nu\omicron\nu$ , in which the older generation become the aggressors as well as the younger, as in the Lucan version. There is too little verbal similarity to say that the Marcan verse is simply a secondary form of the Q saying.

It is when we come to the sense that the Q saying becomes important. There is a common Jewish eschatological motif based on the Micah passage: the prediction of the breakdown of the social order in the last days.<sup>1</sup> But the Gospel verses bear little relation to this motif. The Q saying emphasizes strife in families, but not as an apocalyptic "woe": it is the presence and mission of Jesus which creates division. Mk 13.12 speaks of treachery within the family only as part of the wave of persecution Christians will have to undergo: the verb  $\pi\rho\sigma\omega\delta\epsilon\iota$  anchors the verse to its context.<sup>2</sup> It is the effect of the Gospel that makes close relatives hate each other. It is not therefore the current apocalyptic motif that has suggested this use of the Micah text: rather, the text of Mark is a development of the way in which the Micah text is used in Q. We can say that the Q saying has influenced the way in which Mic.7.6 is used; but better, seeing that it could not be used otherwise in this context, would be to say that Mic.7.6 is used because of the memory of the saying of Jesus recorded in Q. The sense of the Micah text is transformed in Q to express the effect of Jesus' ministry: the young turn against the old not as a horrifying example of the decadence of the times, but as proof of the critical importance of Jesus' message. In a situation of persecution, this idea is taken up, with fresh reference to the OT text, to provide a warning to Christians of the serious nature of the trials facing them.

<sup>1</sup> Mishnah Sot.9.15, b Sanh.97a, Jub.23.16; cf. also Jub.23.19, I En. 100.1f., II Bar.70.3, II Esd. 5.9, 6.24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pesch, 133f.

Vv. 15f. (Lk 17.31)

The two sentences here must be taken together; Hartman's conclusion<sup>1</sup> that v.15 is a separate logion added later and breaking the continuity of vv. 14b and 16 based on Gen.19.17 founders on the fact that both logia are found together in Luke. If Luke has derived them from Mark, there is no evidence that v.15 ever existed in isolation; if not, the two must always have existed together in the tradition. As in the previous example, we have to consider whether it is a coincidence that the same OT text is used, this time not only in the saying itself but in both the contexts in which it is found, even though they are otherwise apparently quite different.

The stylistic evidence would suggest that the Lucan form is the more removed from the original. "In that day" is an OT phrase which unites the verse with its context in Luke, and could well have been added by him. The construction of v.15 in Mark is awkward if εἰς τῆν οἰκίαν is read and obscure if it is not<sup>2</sup>; Luke's looks like a tidying up, and his phrase καὶ τὰ ὄρεον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ reproduces the typical Semitic circumstantial clause, so that it might be one of Luke's "Septuagintalisms". (It could however equally well go back to an Aramaic original). ἐν for εἰς, and οἰκίως, are obvious stylistic improvements, and "to take his cloak" is much more likely to be an omission than an addition. Several commentators therefore propose that the Lucan verse is an editorial expansion of the Q context from Mark.<sup>3</sup>

A careful study of the context shows how unlikely this is. I shall be showing in greater detail later,<sup>4</sup> that the whole context Lk 17.28-32 is a short midrash on Gen.19 which Luke is not likely to have created; let us here consider only the one v.32, "Remember Lot's wife".

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<sup>1</sup>173, cf. 226.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Taylor ad loc. for the MS evidence.

<sup>3</sup>Klostermann, Creed, Comms. Lk ad loc.

<sup>4</sup>p.143.

What sense could this possibly have had attached directly to v.30? Yet how perfectly it fits in its present context! V.31 is absolutely necessary as the transition between vv.30 and 32; nor is it possible that v.32 could ever have existed in independence. The only alternative, that it has been formulated by Luke<sup>1</sup>, would only be possible if there were some evidence that the context as a whole was Luke's creation. It has been objected against an original connection between v.31 and its context that the injunction to flee is inappropriate in the circumstances of the Parousia, when no place could offer protection from the searching glance of the Son of Man.<sup>2</sup> This is so only if the eschatological language is taken literally. If with Caird<sup>3</sup> we see it as expressing an ultimate confrontation with divine judgment within history, then the connection is perfectly logical: v. 28-30 speak of the suddenness with which divine judgment will fall on the unwary, vv. 31f. of the necessity for evasive action (of course only conceivable within history) for those who have paid attention to the divine warnings. Like Lot, one who takes action in time may avoid even the judgment of the Son of Man.

Luke therefore did not derive the verse from Mark, but found it already part of the context which he reproduces. The stylistic features may be accounted for by Luke's work not directly on Mark's text but on one closely parallel to it. Vv. 15f. therefore did not originate in Mark's context, but were derived, doubtless from the context where they are found in Luke. Are they an integral part of the interpretation of Daniel?<sup>4</sup> At any rate it seems to me more probable <sup>that</sup> they suggested the allusion to Gen.19.17 in v.14 than that they were brought in to extend an already existing allusion. For if the latter is true, then it is a coincidence that both v.14b and the Q context refer to Gen.19.17.

<sup>1</sup> Bultmann, 123.

<sup>2</sup> Klostermann ad loc.; Manson, Sayings of Jesus, 144.

<sup>3</sup> Comm. Lk ad loc.; cf. Classon, op. cit. 83ff., Robinson, op. cit. 73ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, pp. 86 f.

As the passage is not otherwise of importance in the NT, this seems improbable. Rather, reference was made to Gen.19 because it was known that Jesus had used the passage in a prophecy about the day of the appearance of the Son of Man (cf. Dan.7.13), and if so it is natural that the prophecy itself should be quoted. But the connection with Daniel is weak. Later<sup>1</sup> I shall examine a possible motive for the introduction of the sayings.

The change of context has led to a change, not perhaps in the reference of the saying, but certainly in emphasis. In Lk 17 the themes which are emphasized are the complacency of the people, the suddenness of the disaster and the necessity of instant flight. Of these, only the last remains in Mt 13, which concentrates on the magnitude and horror of the disaster. This difference of emphasis can be explained as the result of a change in the Sitz im Leben. Originally the saying was a warning to the people to take heed of the seriousness of their situation before it is too late: if it is too late to avert the disaster, they may at least take evasive action.<sup>2</sup> But the Marcan discourse is addressed to the church, who must be warned not to involve themselves in the general disaster.<sup>3</sup> The change corresponds to the difference between public prophecy and prophecy within the church.<sup>4</sup>

V.17 may well be a reminiscence of the saying recorded in Lk 23.29, but it is too remote to draw any conclusions from.<sup>5</sup> It may alternatively be an otherwise unattested saying of Jesus.

V. 21 (Mt.24.26/Lk 17.23; Lk 17.21)

Besides the Q version of the saying, which refers in its present context to the "day of the Son of Man", there is the variant in Lk 17.21 referring to the Kingdom of God. It is clear that both variants could not have been derived from the context in which the

<sup>1</sup> pp. 239, 258 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, pp. 144 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, pp. 260 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hartman 162, and above p. 88.

saying is found in Mark; and it is very likely that the Q and Marcan forms, being more elaborate, are secondary forms of the saying about the Kingdom of God.<sup>1</sup> But even leaving Lk 17.21 out of account, we can show that the saying is not original in the Marcan context. The widely differing forms of the Q saying in Matthew and Luke either go back to different recensions of Q, with translation variants of Aramaic<sup>2</sup>, or are the result of rewriting by Matthew, who has coloured it with popular Jewish notions of the political Messiah and altered some details under the influence of Mark.<sup>3</sup> But in either case Lk 17.23 represents a more primitive form than either Matthew or Mark: for he has parataxis rather than a conditional clause, and in common with Matthew but not Mark the Aramaizing impersonal third person plural, instead of  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ .<sup>4</sup> The Marcan saying must have been derived from a form very similar to Luke's.<sup>5</sup>

The main change made here, apart from stylistic ones, is the addition of  $\acute{\omicron}\ \chi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . This probably expresses the intended sense in the Q context, but it has special significance in the new context because the saying has influenced the interpretation of Dt.13 in the next verse.<sup>6</sup> The false prophets are those who deceptively proclaim the presence of Messiah. It seems likely that the saying has been combined with the reference to Dt.13 in order to interpret the reference in this sense. The saying has always been an integral part of the discourse, for v.22 supplies the ground for the warning of v.21; and as the repeated form of the discourse is "eschatological paraclesis grounded in apocalyptic instruction"<sup>7</sup>, the two verses belong together and cannot be separated.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> So Robinson, *op. cit.*, 72.

<sup>2</sup> A. Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, Leipzig 1896, quoted in Beasley-Murray, *A Commentary on Mark 13*, *ad loc.* The reconstruction is dubious, depending rather on Hebrew than on Aramaic. Black (*op. cit.*) does not deal with the saying.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Manson, 142, Taylor, 515, Gaston, 29; Mid. Ruth 2:14 (132b).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Black, 61ff., 127.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the reconstruction in Lambrecht, 101.

<sup>6</sup> Above, pp. 89 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Above, 77f.; Gaston 15.

<sup>8</sup> So Gaston, 30; contra Pesch, 113ff.

V. 26 (Mk 14.62)

This verse is based on Dan.7.13f.<sup>1</sup>; but the form in which it is presented is closely related to Christian tradition, and in particular to Mk 14.62. As there can be no doubt that the verse is integral to the interpretation of Daniel, the only question is whether it has been influenced by Mk 14.62 or vice versa, or whether both have been formed by the same influence. I must here anticipate the results of an investigation into the history of the Son of Man tradition in a later chapter,<sup>2</sup> and say that synoptic passages which refer clearly to the eschatological parousia of Christ and use "Son of Man" are secondary and usually editorial. Now we saw that the changes to which Dan.7.13 is subjected in Mk 13.26, in common for the most part with 14.62, have the effect of presenting the coming of "the Son of Man" as an epiphany. But 13.26 has more of these changes than 14.62.<sup>3</sup> As the development in the tradition is in the direction of emphasizing the idea of the Parousia, 13.26 must be more advanced than 14.62 and therefore could not have influenced it.<sup>4</sup> It is another question whether the interpretation of Daniel in 13.26 has been directly influenced by the reply of Jesus to the High Priest as it is recorded in Mark<sup>5</sup>; or whether both have been influenced in parallel by the Parousia tradition based on OT passages about the epiphany of Yahweh. I am inclined to think that the coincidence in phrasing, nowhere so close among other references to Dan.7.13 in the NT, is sufficient evidence of direct influence.<sup>6</sup>

If this is so, then the tradition of Jesus' reply to the High Priest has determined the sense in which Dan.7.13 has been interpreted in the midrash Mk13: it makes clear that the Son of Man is the

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<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 91

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 146ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 91ff.

<sup>4</sup> Contra Pesch, 170.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gaston, 388ff.

<sup>6</sup> Lindars (New Testament Apologetic, London 1961, 48f.) believes that 13.26 and 14.62 have employed distinct versions of Dan.7.13. This would exclude direct influence, but is highly uncertain.

divine judge who comes to execute judgment, not simply the defendant for whom judgment is given, as in Daniel.<sup>1</sup> This accords with the usual usage of 'Son of Man' by the evangelists.<sup>2</sup> Viewed from the other side, as an interpretation of Mk 14.62, 13.26 again shows a shift in emphasis. 14.62 is kerygma: it reveals who it really is who thus stands humiliated before earthly judges: the Messiah? - yes, and more than the Messiah; it is they who stand before their judge, their divine judge, and must shortly answer to him. 13.26 is paraclesis for the Church: the proclamation of judgment has become the consolation that deliverance is not to be delayed.

### Vv. 28-37

We now move beyond the midrashic material. The whole of the concluding section of the discourse consists of parables and sayings: probably all of them are from the tradition of Jesus' words, and most of them are attested in some form elsewhere.

Taylor<sup>3</sup> considers that the verses 28-31 are a complex already built up in the oral tradition, because of the use of catchwords to connect the individual logia. This is dubious: although the use of catchwords originates as an oral technique, and is frequently a sign of oral connection in the gospels, it is transferred to literature, for example in the Epistle of James.<sup>4</sup> Later<sup>5</sup> we shall see that in the <sup>the</sup> sense/complex conveys what Mark wishes to convey, and therefore was probably created by him. However, it is difficult to account for the attachment of v.31 to v.30 otherwise than as an oral mnemonic.

The parable of the fig-tree (v.28) has no parallel elsewhere in the tradition; but there is no reason to doubt that it may nevertheless be drawn from tradition. A parable such as Lk 12.54ff. offers a close analogy in sense and structure.<sup>6</sup> Present signs reveal the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 92; and C.F.D. Moule, "From Defendant to Judge..." *SNTS Bulletin* 3 (1952), 40ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, pp. 146ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Comm. Mk* 519.

<sup>4</sup> *Dibelius, Comm. Jas.*, 21.

<sup>5</sup> p. 264

<sup>6</sup> Cf. below, p. 129.

imminence of the Kingdom of God - or of the judgment.<sup>1</sup> It may be different, however, with the application, v.29;<sup>2</sup> verbal features link it with other parts of the chapter<sup>3</sup> (for ἡμεῖς of vv.9, 23; for ὄτι ἰσχύει v.14; for ταῦτα γινόμενα vv.4, 30) and the sense is best interpreted in the context of the discourse: when you see the events of vv.5-23, know that the Parousia is near. The application was probably therefore added when the parable was included in the discourse; and the reference back to v.4 makes it likely this was done by Mark.<sup>4</sup> The setting of the parable in this context, immediately after the climax, together with the application, gives it a new referent appropriate to the new audience and situation; not now the signs of the ministry of Jesus but those of the Roman-Jewish war. In the dramatic setting the reference is to future signs by which the disciples may realize the imminence of the Parousia. But it is very likely that in reality, in the situation of Mark's gospel, the signs were already present, and hence the sense intended was not the kind of apocalyptic calculation rejected in Lk 17.20f. but a warning or consolation based upon the present situation.

V.30 in the present context puts a time limit to all the events mentioned in vv. 5-27. It makes precise the meaning of "is near" in v.29. But compare Mt.23.36/Lk 11.51. Here the point is not to give a time limit but to emphasize that this generation, and no other, in its guilt must pay the penalty for the crimes of all its ancestors. Robinson<sup>5</sup> suggests that the chronological reference of Mk 9.1, 13.30 is a secondary development of such a saying as Lk 11.51. Instead of being a warning of responsibility and judgment to the guilty, it has become a promise of salvation to the elect, an emphatic assurance that

<sup>1</sup> Dodd, Parables, 102n.; cf. Jeremias, Parables, 119f., Lohmeyer, Taylor ad loc., Hartman, 223.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hartman, 223; Bultmann, 187; Pesch, 177, 179f.

<sup>3</sup> Pesch, 179.

<sup>4</sup> Pesch, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. 83ff.

it will not be delayed. This seems likely. Though there can be no certainty about the precise basis of the saying in tradition;<sup>1</sup> it is certain that in the earlier tradition  $\eta \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \alpha \delta \upsilon \tau \eta$  has a qualitative connotation;<sup>2</sup> it is a secondary development to use it as a mere chronological definition. Once again the address to the church rather than Israel has resulted in a radical change of sense. If the link  $\pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \lambda \theta \eta / \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \delta \omicron \nu \tau \alpha$  is oral,<sup>3</sup> the saying was formulated before Mark.

V. 31 adds a striking assurance of Jesus' authority to this bold statement. The comparison with Mt. 5.18/Lk 16.17<sup>4</sup> seems strange, since this<sup>is</sup> concerned with something different. The saying may be traditional, but we have no genuine parallel for it. I have said above<sup>5</sup> that vv.24f. do not describe the end of the physical universe. This verse does not disprove that view, since what we have here is a typical example of Aramaic parataxis. What is meant is "Though heaven and earth should pass away,<sup>6</sup> my words..."; and the saying could still have been understood in this way even by Mark, whose style is full of Aramaic idiom.<sup>7</sup> It thus has no particular relevance to eschatology.

V. 32 makes it clear that although the consummation is near, the precise time is unknown. This is a theme enlarged on by the following verses. The verse has no known source in tradition, yet it can be understood as an originally separate saying:  $\tau \eta \varsigma \eta \mu \acute{\epsilon} \rho \alpha \varsigma \acute{\epsilon} \kappa \epsilon \iota \nu \eta \varsigma$  would naturally have been understood in its OT sense, "the Day of the

<sup>1</sup> Pesch (181ff.) thinks that Mark has repeated the sense of Mk 9.1 and introduced the expression  $\eta \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \alpha \delta \upsilon \tau \eta$  from the previous verse 8.38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mk 8.12,38; 9.19; Mt. 11.16/Lk 7.31, Mt. 12.41f./Lk 11.31f., Mt. 23.36/Lk 11.51.

<sup>3</sup> Denied by Pesch (189), who makes v.31 the centre of Mark's composition in vv.28-37.

<sup>4</sup> Gaston, 38; cf. Taylor ad loc.

<sup>5</sup> pp 93f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. W.B. Stevenson, Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, 2nd ed. Oxford 1962, p.50, 18.8(4), for this use of the imperfect.

<sup>7</sup> Black, op. cit., 271f., and passim.

Lord", and the saying would have been a warning that the time of judgment is altogether unknown.<sup>1</sup> But Pesch, doubtless rightly, considers οὐδὲ οὐκίς, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ an addition by Mark.<sup>2</sup>

Vv. 33-7

This complex is clearly related to the parables of the absent householder that we find elsewhere, but it hardly presents the tradition in a pure form. The "parable" is fragmentary and inconsistent<sup>3</sup>, and heavily overlaid with the Church's "vigilate" parenesis.<sup>4</sup> It is easiest to suppose that we have here fragments of at least two parables conflated and placed in a parenetic framework which makes them the grounds of the injunction "keep awake". The complex conforms to the form-critical pattern of the discourse as a whole.<sup>5</sup> The pattern exhortation-ground appears first in v.33, then in v.35, and the exhortation is repeated in conclusion, v.37. With the ground v.33b compare Mt.24.42, 25.13 - like these the sentence is derived from the language of the parables, but is probably not authentic, but a secondary application. V.34 consists of genuine parabolic material, but has been derived from at least two inconsistent parables. The parabolic material reappears in v.35, but the second person cannot be original and must be an assimilation to the parenetic context. The original parable has been turned into a metaphor of direct address and warning. With this verse compare Lk 12.38; it may be taken as a fragment of a parable similar to that found in Lk 12.36ff.<sup>6</sup>

The original meaning of the parables which have been drawn on here is not easy to determine. It is likely, however, that all the parables of the absent householder in various ways enforced the

<sup>1</sup> Robinson, 86f., Nineham ad loc., Pesch, 191f. Cf. Mt.24.43f./Lk 12.39f., Mt.24.50/Lk.12.46, etc., and below, pp. 127.

<sup>2</sup> 192ff.

<sup>3</sup> The householder is said to be ἀποδημιός, away on a journey, the situation of Mt. 24.45/Lk 12.42ff., Mt. 25.14ff./Lk 19.12ff., and most of v. 34 presupposes this. But the final clause with its reference to a watchman, and especially vv.35f., presuppose that he is simply away for the night, the situation of Lk 12.36ff. Cf. Gaston 39ff., Jeremias, Parables 53ff., Bultmann, 125. Contra Pesch, 197 n.905.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. E.G. Salwyn, Comm. I Peter, 439ff.; P. Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism, Cambridge 1940.

<sup>5</sup> Gaston, 39.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Jeremias, Parables, 54 n.21; below, pp. 124f.

idea that Israel must soon, but at a moment she will not know in advance, present an account of her stewardship - to God, her Master.<sup>1</sup> In the Church's circumstances the "master of the house" has become identified with Christ; it is for his coming that Christians must be on the alert. For Christians, of course, there is no question of an imminent reckoning for their sins which they may yet avoid by repentance; rather there is an unavoidable tribulation which will test them, but which holds no terrors if they simply remain on the alert. The Parousia is not simply a day of deliverance and joy for Christians; it is also the day on which it will become plain how their loyalty and responsibility have stood up to trial. The command to be on the alert is not motivated by the mere imminence of the consummation, still less by its supposed delay. These ideas do not explain why the church should be asked to keep awake; the Parousia is inevitable, and its outcome for the church surely depends on their previous conduct, not on their posture at the time. No, it is the tribulation itself which demands alertness, for it is the tribulation which will test them; the day of judgment will simply disclose the verdict.

So when Mark says that "you do not know when the master of the house comes" his language may have a double referent. Certainly the time of the judgment outlined in vv.24-7 is unknown; but so also, and more vitally, is the arrival of the time of testing. If the consummation will only follow the events of vv.5-23, the time of testing may be any time. If Lightfoot<sup>2</sup> is right, Mark has hinted at almost immediate fulfilment of the words for the disciples in the story of the Passion. But clearly the tribulation described in vv.5-23 is the main context intended in which Christians will need

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<sup>1</sup>Dodd, Parables, 112.

<sup>2</sup>R.H. Lightfoot, The Gospel Message of St. Mark, London 1962, 52f.

to keep awake. Notice that the introductory *plénère* (v.33) has been repeated throughout these very verses (vv.5, 9, 23).

These observations are confirmed by our discussion of Rev.3.3<sup>1</sup>; as well as by the fact that according to Selwyn<sup>2</sup>, the "vigilate" parenesis of the epistles belongs to a "persecution-form". Warnings for Israel of the unpredictability of the day of judgment if they do not repent have been transformed by the parenetic framework into warnings for the church of the unpredictability of the time of testing, which is unavoidable. A crisis-warning has become admonitory paraclesis, though not without some reference to the critical nature of the present situation.<sup>3</sup>

This reformulation of material from the parables into parenesis with a quite new significance and referent is so reminiscent of what has been done with the OT in the earlier part of the discourse, and of the transformation of the sayings material in Revelation, that we must describe it similarly: it is midrash of charismatic type, the result of prophetic work on the parables of Jesus. And since it agrees with the main body of the discourse in form and doubtless refers to it, we may suppose it was composed in the same creative act.

Looking back over the whole section vv.28-37 we see that throughout it the sayings out of which it is built have been reformulated with the same end in view: to offer what is at once a consolation and a warning that the awaited coming of the Son of Man is very close but its time quite unknown. Since his coming will disclose the verdict upon the present conduct of Christians in the face of the trial (cf. 8.38), it is all the more necessary to be on the alert so as to emerge from the trial with loyalty unscathed.

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<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 50ff.

<sup>2</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, pp. 132 ff., 265f.

Conclusion

Firstly, on vv.5-27: the evidence shows that at several points the interpretation of Daniel which we found to be the basis of this passage has been affected by the tradition of the sayings of Jesus. Sayings have been employed to assist the interpretation: vv.15f., 21, probably vv. 9 and 11, perhaps v.17. Other sayings have affected the expression and meaning of OT allusions: vv.12f., 26. After v.27 we have complexes built up almost entirely from the words of Jesus, which drive home the message of the whole: "Watch, for you do not know the time." Here the material is profoundly modified to convert it into parenthesis in the characteristic manner of charismatic interpretation. All these processes are typical of prophetic words; they may all be paralleled in the employment of sayings of Jesus in Revelation.<sup>1</sup>

Regularly the interpretation has made of crisis-warnings predictive or admonitory paraclesis. This is true of all the cases studied with the exceptions of vv.11, and 21, which were paraclesis before, and v.31, whose previous status is uncertain. This is once again typical of the difference between public prophecy and church prophecy.<sup>2</sup> But in Mark a definite eschatological crisis gives meaning to the critical note in the sayings: the crisis of the Jewish War which would test the loyalty even of the elect to the breaking-point (vv. 6, 13, 20, 36). He holds before the faint hearts the ultimate promise of deliverance. The decision between salvation and destruction is theirs now!<sup>3</sup>

E. General Conclusion

The four lines of investigation we have taken have all led to the same goal: the discourse of Mk 13 is typical of the creative activity of the early Christian prophets, and in particular of their creative interpretation of the OT and the sayings of Jesus. The

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, chp IV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, pp. 72f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, pp. 251ff.

discourse may be described as a composition of eschatological parenthesis grounded in a charismatic interpretation of parts of the book of Daniel, assisted by other OT passages and the words of Jesus.

Apart from the question of the origin of the interpretation itself, raised above,<sup>1</sup> several questions are raised by the form which it takes here. How can we account first of all for the sequence of events or motifs in the chapter, which cannot logically be derived from Daniel? We shall see<sup>2</sup> that the same sequence occurs in other documents which do not show any dependence on Daniel. There is much material which is only loosely connected with the main text: the earthquakes and famines of v.8; the warnings of persecution in vv.9,<sup>11</sup> the warnings to flee in vv.14-16; the Day of the Lord material in vv.24f. How can we account for the inclusion of this material? We shall realize the importance of this question when we discover<sup>3</sup> that parallels to this material can be found in just those documents which exhibit the same sequence of motifs. Further, the material from Daniel undergoes two significant transformations in the application. In Daniel, the blasphemous claim to be equal to God, the war, the persecution, the abomination of desolation, the false prophecy, and the destruction before the face of the Son of Man, are all aspects of one man - the evil king. But here in Mark, these have all become separate and apparently unconnected phenomena.<sup>4</sup> Connected with this is the point that the one false prophet has become "many". What accounts for this splitting up and multiplication of one personification of evil? No doubt it is connected with the origin of the sequence of motifs. We shall find these questions answered by an investigation of the Lucan parallel to this Marcan discourse, and of the further parallel in Rev.6f.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> p. 96

<sup>2</sup> below, pp. 204ff.

<sup>3</sup> below, pp. 204ff.

<sup>4</sup> Hartman, 205.

<sup>5</sup> Below, ch. IX.

It will first be necessary to ask how far the eschatological material in the Synoptic Gospels generally partakes of this prophetic character, and for this reason I shall include an investigation of Lk 12.35 - 13<sup>1</sup> and of Lk 17.22ff.<sup>2</sup> in this thesis. The latter will also provide much of the basis for an investigation of the Son of Man tradition which we found above<sup>3</sup> to be necessary. As I have said, chp. VIII will deal with the parallels to and origin of the Daniel interpretation in Mt. 13.

I end by presenting, overleaf, a conspectus of the OT passages and sayings of Jesus employed in building up the discourse. The main sources of the wording are underlined; passages which may simply have provided a link between others, without contributing to the wording, are bracketed; passages which supply a connection by context from one verse to another are starred. Reference to the Gospels, in the last column, do not of course indicate the sources, but parallel (but as we saw usually more primitive) presentations of the same saying; only the closest parallel is given in each case.

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<sup>1</sup> Chp. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Chp. VII.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 93, 106.

<u>Verse</u>	<u>Daniel</u>	<u>Other OT passages</u>	<u>Sayings</u>
5b-6b	(11.31)*	Dt.13.6f., 11, 14	
6	(7.25*, 8.10f., 25 11.36)	<u>Is.47.8, 10;</u> 14.13f.	
7	7.21*, 9.26 etc.; <u>2.28.45, 11.27</u>		
8a		<u>Is.19.2*; II Chr.15.6</u>	
9	7.25*		<u>Lk 12.11f.?</u>
11	"		<u>Lk 12.11f.</u>
12-15a	"	<u>Mic.7.2ff.*; Is.19.2)*</u>	<u>Mt.10.35f./Lk</u> <u>12.52f.</u>
15b	<u>11.32*, 35.12.1</u>	(Mic.7.7)*	
14a	<u>9.27.11.31*, 12.11</u>		
14b	(12.1)*	<u>Gen.19.17;</u> (Dt 29.22*?; Lam.4.6*?)	(Lk 17.31*?)
15f.	"	Gen.19.17	<u>Lk 17.31</u>
17			Lk 23.29?
19f.	<u>12.1*</u>		
21	(11.31)*	(Dt.13.1ff.)*	<u>Mt.24.26/Lk 17.</u> <u>23</u>
22	(11.31*)	<u>Dt 13.2, 6f., 11, 14</u> (Is.30.10, Ezk.12.24)	
24f.	(7.9ff.)*	<u>Joel 2.10, Is.13.10</u> 34.4	
26	<u>7.13f.*</u>		<u>Mk 14.62</u>
27		(Zc.14.5*, 16ff.); <u>Dt,</u> <u>30.3f., Zc 2.10, Is.43.6</u>	
28f.			<u>Not attested</u> <u>elsewhere</u>
30			<u>Mt.23.38/Lk 11.</u> <u>51?</u>
31			uncertain
32			<u>Not attested</u> <u>elsewhere</u>
34			cf. <u>Mt.24.45/Lk 12.</u> <u>42ff.,</u> <u>Lk 12.36ff.</u>
35f.			cf. <u>Lk 12.38.</u>

## CHAPTER VI

### THE PREACHING OF CRISIS IN THE SAYINGS TRADITION:

#### A STUDY OF LK 12-13

Much of the sayings material used in the eschatological discourses of the gospels appears in two chapters of the central section of Luke, specifically in the passages 12.1-12, 35-53; 17.20-37. I shall deal with 17.20-37 separately in the next chapter; here I shall take into account not only 12.1-12, 35-53 but also 12.54-13.9, 13.24-35, which allow for a broader view of the eschatological material in this tradition, besides being part of the same complex in Luke. I hope to show that the form it takes here is for the most part close to its most primitive form, and hence that these chapters provide a convenient base-line for the measurement of later developments in the tradition. Some of the early use of this material in the Church can also be traced, but the original application is not hard to see. I shall survey the history of the tradition, beginning with Luke's redaction, not only to uncover the earliest form of the material, but to demonstrate its use at all stages of the tradition. On this basis I shall show that the "eschatological" material here is radically different from the discourse in Mk 13 by all the criteria which there revealed the work of a prophet or prophets speaking to the congregation (though some work of such prophets may be detected), but that in common with much of the rest of the Synoptic material, it does have the character of public prophecy or preaching to Israel. It is of course obvious from the start that the material here has not been built up into the kind of connected whole found in Mk 13. It is a collection of sayings, not a guide to the future such as Mk 13 purports to be. Nevertheless it does have a structure imposed upon it by the writer of the Gospel, and this structure and its significance we proceed to examine.

A. Luke's Redaction

I shall make no attempt to distinguish between "Lucan" and "Proto-Lucan" editorial work, as is done by Gaston in his survey of "Proto-Luke"<sup>1</sup>, but shall deal with all redactional elements at once.

A conspicuous feature of Luke's gospel is the careful distinction between different audiences in the introductions to blocks of teaching. Frequently the audience for teaching on the same subject alternates between the crowd (or the Pharisees) and the disciples. This is so here. The speech against the Pharisees and Scribes (11.39-52) is followed by teaching addressed to the disciples (12.1-12) introduced by a warning to beware of the hypocrisy of the Pharisees. There follows teaching on the danger of worldly possessions or cares, first to the crowd<sup>2</sup> (12.14-20 (21)), then to the disciples (12.22-34). Then comes a series of sayings of an eschatological character: first teaching for the disciples (12.35-53), then for the crowds (12.54-13.9). The warnings in 13.24-30 are also addressed to the crowds, and 34f. is an apostrophe to Jerusalem.

What is the significance of these alternations? The teaching addressed to the crowds consists of warnings of the urgency of the time and the necessity for immediate repentance.<sup>3</sup> Now in the context of Luke's own situation this teaching could no doubt be understood as addressed to the unbelieving Gentiles - Repent, before the time allotted you is exhausted. (cf. Ac.17.30f.). But by the structure of the passage Luke has left little doubt that he intends it to have in the first place a historical reference to the situation of Israel in Jesus' own day. The whole passage, chs.12f., is framed by two

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<sup>1</sup>244-369, especially 298ff.

<sup>2</sup>Gaston (324) is incorrect in calling it "exhortation for the disciples".

<sup>3</sup>This is true even of the Rich Fool: it is clearly the original meaning (Jeremias, Parables, 165), and that it is also Luke's is seen clearly when the moralizing addition (ib.106) in v.21 is eliminated with D a b d as an intrusion (cf. Creed, Comm. ad loc.).

prophetic threats uttered against "this generation" (11.49-51) and against Jerusalem (13.34f.). Both of these would for Luke foreshadow the fall of Jerusalem in 70. The first is addressed to the scribes and the second to the Pharisees; but the latter must be intended to go with the preceding warning against being shut out of the Kingdom of God (13.24-30), which is phrased in such a way that it can only apply to Israel<sup>1</sup> and is addressed to the crowds. The earlier block of teaching also is concluded (13.6-9) with a parable which must be understood as a historical warning to Israel. There is here no question of a fixed day of reckoning (contrast Ac.17.30!) when the impenitent will be destroyed, but a judgment to be expected on a particular group which may be deferred or, in the case of repentance, remitted. This block of teaching to the crowds also opens (12.54-6) with teaching asking them to examine τὸν κριθὸν τοῦτου: again a pointer to a historical crisis.

The address to the crowds, then, is intended to have an objective historical reference, - the crowds are Israel faced with the choice between repentance and destruction. What of the address to the disciples? Naturally, the disciples are the church, the followers of Jesus, exhorted to watchfulness and single-mindedness. But in what situation? Is the reference historical or contemporary? 12.41, which is undeniably redactional (cf. Mt.24.44<sup>f.</sup>), is helpful here. Peter, making himself the spokesman for the disciples, questions whether the parable of the thief should not also have been addressed to the crowds; in other words he points out that it is a parable of crisis with a message for Israel.<sup>2</sup> Jesus replies with another parable which reminds him that the followers of Jesus have a special responsibility which exposes them to special danger in a

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<sup>1</sup>See below, p.130.

<sup>2</sup>For κριθὸν cf. 9.23. It is unnecessary and implausible, in interpreting κριθὸν and κριθὸν, to go outside the scheme of alternating audiences given by the context. This rules out the interpretation of Klostermann & Creed ad loc., Bultmann 209, Jeremias, Parables 50, who interpret κριθὸν of the apostles as church leaders and κριθὸν of the laity, and equally that of Caird, Comm.166, who interprets κριθὸν of the disciples in the historical situation of Jesus' ministry and κριθὸν of future generations of Christians.

situation of crisis. It is natural to suppose that the crisis is the same - that the reference is to the disciples in the historical situation of Jesus' ministry. It agrees with this that these parables are followed immediately (vv.49-53) by words of Jesus about his own death and the eschatological conflict his coming must ignite. The crisis both for Israel and the disciples centres on Jesus' "baptism" of death.<sup>1</sup>

It is not inconsistent with this interpretation that these parables are preceded by words of encouragement in persecution and warnings against worldly anxiety. For Luke puts the words about persecution in a historical context: he records a plot by the Pharisees to trap Jesus in his words (11.53f.) and follows this (12.1b) with a warning against their hypocrisy, which he has added to the Q section on persecution to serve as an introduction. The warnings against worldly anxiety, on the other hand, have (as against Mt.<sup>6</sup>25-33) an eschatological point (12.31f.), and so are not simply moralizing.

Against Conzelmann<sup>2</sup>, who regards this section as dominated by the delay of the Parousia, one must point out that the verses thought to reflect the delay (12.38, 45) are undoubtedly taken over by Luke from his sources (cf. Mk 13.35, Mt.24.48) and that he does not emphasize the idea in any way: all the emphasis falls on those pericopae that bring out the shortness of the time. So far from deferring the Parousia to the indefinite future, Luke defines in terms of it the significance for the disciples of what is happening in "der Mitte der Zeit". I am <sup>not</sup> denying that Luke did expect the return of Christ as an event in the future, nor that Conzelmann is probably correct in thinking that Luke's expectation was less imminent than that of the primitive Church.<sup>3</sup> Lk 12.35-53 serve also as instruction for Christians standing

<sup>1</sup>Here I follow Caird, Comm. Lk 165.

<sup>2</sup>The Theology of St Luke, London 1960, 108.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. below, pp. 277 ff.

between the crises of Resurrection and Parousia. But its primary reference is to the historical situation of Jesus' ministry; Conzelmann sees that "the characteristically Lucan expression  $\delta\pi\omicron$  τοῦ  $\nu\upsilon\nu$ " "in v.52 refers" to the epoch of conflict that is now beginning".<sup>1</sup> He should have interpreted the rest of the passage in its light. This is Luke's "imminent expectation"!

The following are identifiable, by comparison with the parallels, as redactional additions and alterations to the passages under consideration: 12.1<sup>2</sup>; in 12.4ff. it seems likely that Luke has expunged references to the destruction of the soul (Mt. 10.28) because belief in his Gentile church had already been affected by the Hellenistic doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Matthew is closer to one type of Jewish belief<sup>3,4</sup>. 12.41 is a redactional introduction (with v.42 up to  $\kappa\upsilon\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ )<sup>5</sup>. In 12.51-3, the differences from Matthew cannot be certainly laid to Luke's charge except for  $\delta\pi\omicron$  τοῦ  $\nu\upsilon\nu$ . 12.57 is probably an addition. (cf. Mt. 5.25)<sup>6</sup>. 13.1 may be an exception to the rule that settings for teaching are normally redactional, since the teaching would in this case be unintelligible without it. 13.22f. are certainly a redactional introduction; no doubt the question is typical of theological speculation in Luke's own church, but as II Esdras shows it was also among the Jews, a fact which Luke may have known. The collection 13.24-9 probably existed in oral tradition, as the catch-words show.<sup>7</sup>

Identifiable changes are thus very few, and most of them can be seen to have the object of placing the collections in a historical

<sup>1</sup>Ib. 109.

<sup>2</sup>See above, p. 12.3 is quite different in sense from Mt. 10.27, but whereas the latter is appropriate for its setting in the Mission Charge, the former barely fits its setting. There is therefore no reason to suspect alteration by Luke.

<sup>3</sup>Tos. Sanh. 13.3. (Moore, Judaism II, 387); cf. Manson Sayings 107, who, however, draws the wrong conclusion.

<sup>4</sup>For vv. 8f. see pp. 55f., 140f.

<sup>5</sup>See above, p. 119.

<sup>6</sup>The alterations in this parable which fit it for a non-Palestinian setting may also be Luke's.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. however above, p. 107.

situation. They thus confirm the deductions we have drawn from the structure. Luke's primary object was to illumine what he believed to be the situation of Jesus' ministry. We can thus be confident that he will have made few modifications under the influence of his church's situation. It is quite another question whether the setting and interpretation he has given the sayings are correct, and this is one of the questions we shall bear in mind as we go on to discuss the history of the tradition. It may be, however, that Luke's setting will give us important clues to the original meaning of the sayings.

#### B. The History of the Tradition

- a) Lk 12.2-12 (=Mt.10.26-33, 12.32; cf. Mk 4.22, 8.38, 3.28f., 13.11, Lk 21.14f.)

As we have seen<sup>1</sup>, the Q context should be regarded as extending from v.2 to v.12. It is a collection of six sayings (2f.; 4f.; 6f.; 8f.; 10; 11f.) strung together in part by the use of catchwords; four of the sayings appear in widely separated parts of Mark, showing that their association is secondary, but also that there has been no radical reformulation of any of the sayings in Q (for v.10 see below). It is paraclesis for Christians under the threat of persecution. This makes it probable that it has been compiled and transmitted by prophets. This is supported by the appearance of a double Satz Heiligen Rechtes in vv.8f., and by the references to the Holy Spirit (rare in the Gospel tradition) in vv.10; 12. The collection originated in a Greek-speaking community: this is shown by v.10, which is a mistranslation of the saying more correctly reproduced by Mark at 3.28f.<sup>2</sup>; and the mistaken "Son of Man" forms the connection with the previous saying. Gaston<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Above, Chp. V, p. 99; and above p. 120.

<sup>2</sup>Jeremias, NT Theology, I, 261; cf. Wellhausen, Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien, Berlin 2nd ed. 1911, 67, 123, 129f.; Manson, Sayings, 109f. Tödt (The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition, 118ff., 312ff.) finds the Q form to be the original; but he fails to deal effectively with the linguistic argument.

<sup>3</sup>323; cf. the similar interpretations of Manson, loc. cit., and Tödt, op. cit., 119.

may be right, however, in suggesting that the Q saying "refers to the mission situation of the first generation in Jerusalem: rejection of Jesus can be forgiven (cf. Acts 3.17) but blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, the refusal to hearken to the preaching of the church cannot be forgiven." But if so, it must have been the Hellenistic section of the church that used it, and in any case it cannot have been a warning to the public in its present context, which is paraclesis for Christians. Its meaning in this context is quite uncertain.

The collection was thus made by the prophets of the early Hellenistic church, probably in Palestine, as encouragement for its members threatened by persecution. It does not however bear the marks of radically creative work by them, except in the Matthaean version of the logion on confession (Mt. 10.32f.)<sup>1</sup>. The interest of the collection lies in its eschatological background, which appears in vv. 2, 5, 8f.: these make it clear that one's eternal fate is determined by the decisions one takes now; the eschatological crisis is the present situation of challenge to the loyalty of the confessor of Christ. For this reason nothing need be said of the time of the final revelation and judgment, not even whether it is imminent or not. We shall see that it is typical of the earliest material that it points to a present situation in which the meaning of the eschatological myth is embodied, and calls men to a decision. Even when speaking within the church, these prophets felt it unnecessary to make any predictions, even of early vindication. But the proclamation of crisis may develop into the prediction of vindication or judgment. In the case of sayings in this section, we can see this in the parallels at Mk 13.11 (in its context) and still more Lk 21.14f, 18. Here persecution becomes part of a schedule of events leading to the vindication of the Church. Mk 8.38 is also instructive: both sides of the eschatological correspondence have been fixed at a point in time - "in this generation ... when he comes."

b) 12.35-48 (Vv. 39f, 42-6 = Mt. 24.43-51; with 35-8 cf. Mk 13.34-6)

First of all we must identify the secondary expansions of these parables. There is no difficulty with those of the burglar and the steward. Jeremias has shown<sup>2</sup> that the application of the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. above, pp. 55f.

<sup>2</sup>Parables, 49.

parable of the burglar, v.40/Mt.24.44 is secondary, a Christological allegorization. Its absence from the Gospel of Thomas (21b and 103) is alone decisive, and the appearance of a different expansion in I Thess. 5.1ff.<sup>1</sup> supports this. In vv. 42-6 there is nothing to suggest any expansion, but the conclusion of the parable is strange: the returning master, having cut the servant in half, makes him take his place, evidently still alive, with the faithless. διχοτομήσει is probably a misunderstanding of an Aramaic expression<sup>2</sup>, though what expression precisely is not agreed. But since Matthew and Luke saw no incongruity, they must have understood τὸ μέρος κτλ. of the punishment of hell.<sup>3</sup> The translation has thus introduced an allegorizing feature. Vv.47f. are no doubt authentic in themselves but as an interpretation of the preceding parable their position is secondary (they are not in Matthew).

The question is more difficult in vv.35-8.<sup>4</sup> The vague parallel in Mark is useless, and Dodd's and Jeremias' assumption that they are different versions of the same parable may be incorrect (there is no doorkeeper in Luke)<sup>5</sup>. V.35 is taken by Dodd<sup>6</sup> as a secondary homiletic expansion. But it appears, in a different form, in the Didache, 16.1, associated with the same general ideas, but not in connection with the parable of the waiting servants. Whatever its relation to Matthew,<sup>7</sup> the Didache is certainly independent of Luke. I should conclude that the saying is not an expansion of the parable, but an originally independent saying which has here been secondarily associated with it. Of course its function in this context is to sharpen the parenetic point of the parable. V.36 at least may be

<sup>1</sup> See above, p.51.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Manson, op. cit., 118; Jeremias, Parables, 57 n.31; Black, op. cit., 256f.

<sup>3</sup> Jeremias, op. cit., 56.

<sup>4</sup> Discussions in Dodd, Parables of the Kingdom, 120ff.; Jeremias, op. cit., 53ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also Gaston, 40.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., 121.

<sup>7</sup> Discussed below, pp. 164ff.

regarded as part of the original nucleus.<sup>1</sup> V.37a may have been added from the parable of the steward: cf.v.43, which is almost identical.<sup>2</sup> But v. 37b, which Dodd and Jeremias agree in finding a secondary allegorizing addition, seems to me to be nothing of the sort. One expects an allegorical feature to correspond to some common expectation of the Church; but what does this correspond to? Nothing else in the NT suggests directly that Christ will serve at the Messianic banquet. "No earthly master would act thus"<sup>3</sup>; but not all parables argue from what would be expected in a typical situation; some depend for their point on the paradoxical - God acts contrary to all human expectation (e.g. the Labourers in the Vineyard, the Great Supper, the Tares). So here the point may originally have been that God is ready to give the Kingdom to those who are ready for him. V.38 on the other hand looks very much like an after thought. A similar feature occurs among the parabolic fragments in Mk 13.33ff. One cannot be certain that it is not an original part of this parable; but in the Church's situation it would mean that the promise remains valid however long its fulfilment may be delayed.

The expansions undergone here by the nucleus serve to apply the parable to the Church, asking them to keep on the alert and assuring them of ultimate reward however long it may be deferred. V.38 has naturally suggested the theme of the delay of the Parousia to critics, but that this is a sufficient description of the Sitz im Leben of the parables in their present form,<sup>4</sup> I am more than doubtful. There has been no Christological allegorization; of course the *κύριος* would naturally have been understood of Christ in the early Church<sup>5</sup>. This adaptation would have been carried out by the prophets in line with their function of giving eschatological paraclesis. But the adaptation is much less radical than in Mk 13.33ff., where fragments of two or three inconsistent parables are combined into a complex which is no

<sup>1</sup>Jeremias (op.cit.,54) contends that the fact that the watchers are the whole staff instead of the doorkeeper alone as in Mk 13.34 is a secondary feature. But this only follows on the unwarranted assumption that the Lucan and Marcan passages represent the same original parable.

<sup>2</sup>Dodd, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Jeremias, op. cit., 53.

<sup>4</sup>As it is to Jeremias, op. cit., 48ff.

<sup>5</sup>So Bultmann, 125.

longer parabolic but hortatory. Here the opening is hortatory, but the parabolic style is not lost, and the material is self-consistent.

The parable of the burglar in its present form makes the Christological reference explicit. Christians, unlike others, will not be overtaken by the coming of the Son of Man as long as they remain "ready": The same parable is used in the same general way in I Thess. 5.1ff., except that there the parable itself has been subordinated as a simile to the real subject - the Day of the Lord. The same passage shows the way in which the exhortations ought to be understood. The need to "keep awake" has nothing to do with the delay of the Parousia<sup>1</sup>, for Paul says that "times and seasons" are of no significance. Christians are already "in the day" - vv.4-8; that is, their salvation is already assured (v.9). "Keeping awake" is to be understood quite differently: it refers to the conduct of Christians (vv.7f.), not to waiting for the Parousia. It is necessary to act in a way worthy of the "children of light" in order to avoid the fate of the unbelievers.

That this interpretation applies also here is shown by the final parable, where the emphasis is on conduct, on the proper discharge of responsibility. The remark of the slave in v.45, "My master is delayed" must originally have simply been part of the picture<sup>2</sup>, nor can any particular importance have been attached to it in the Church, for there is no evidence whatever that the "delay of the Parousia" led to irresponsible conduct. On the contrary, Paul has to rebuke such conduct especially in those who are carried away by intense eschatological excitement (II Thess.3.6ff.). This emphasis is still further marked by the added verses 47f. which lay down a principle of judgment according to responsibility.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jeremias, op. cit., 47.

The main warning of this section is not that the Church may have to wait for the Parousia, but that it is dangerous for them to neglect their responsibility, since their Lord's judgment may come upon them at any time. Concern at the delay is no doubt reflected in v.38; it is not determinative of the meaning of the section as a whole. When it is said that the master or the Son of Man will come at a time they do not know, this is not intended to maintain an imminent expectation in spite of the delay, but to warn that judgment may come at any time, regardless of human calculation. Judgment is here presented under the form of the Parousia; but it may be embodied in a historical event; hence Luke's setting of the material is perfectly legitimate, even if mistaken as a matter of history.<sup>1</sup>

This is paraclesis for a continuing situation, not in conception warning for a time of crisis. But it is quite capable of being used in a situation of crisis. It does not predict, it does not announce vindication for the Church against their enemies, it does not lay down any time scale or pattern of events. It does warn that any moment may make the difference between salvation and destruction. It is thus not too remote from the warnings of crisis which as we shall see in a moment these parables originally were.

For it is not hard to see the original setting of all three parables in the crisis of Jesus' ministry - the proclamation of the imminent Kingdom. This is perceived by Luke and indicated by his setting of the parables: but in our own time it has been re-discovered by Dodd.<sup>2</sup> The audience to which the first two were addressed cannot be stated for certain, but by means of Peter's question at v.41 Luke suggests that they could have been addressed to Israel, and I would incline to this view myself. Taking v.37b as integral to the parable of the waiting servants, I would interpret it as a call to

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the use of the parable of the burglar in Rev.3.3 (above, pp. ).

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., 115ff.; cf. Jeremias, op. cit., 48ff.

the nation to be on tiptoe with expectation for the coming of the Kingdom, lest they miss God's gracious gift. The parable of the burglar, by contrast,<sup>1</sup> warns of the alternative - catastrophic disaster for the unready.<sup>2</sup> The parable of the servant entrusted with supervision was obviously aimed at the leaders of Israel and warned them "that the day of reckoning was at hand when God would reveal whether they had been faithful to the trust committed to them or had abused it."<sup>3</sup> The same contrast between alternatives appears here within one parable.

This presentation of alternatives with the implied demand for decision is far removed from the form and spirit of the eschatological discourse, with its paraclesis based on definite predictions. This difference corresponds to the difference between public prophecy and church prophecy.

The critical character of the primitive preaching is confirmed by the verses that follow. From here to 13.9 the material is more or less in its original form, without any paracletic development.

c) 12.49-52 (vv.51-3 = Mt. 10.34-6)

Although vv.49f. have no parallel in Matthew, the connection with vv.51-3 is shown to have already existed in the oral tradition, and in Aramaic, by the catchwords  $\beta\lambda\lambda\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota} \tau\eta\nu \gamma\eta\nu / \delta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\nu\lambda\iota$   
 $\epsilon\nu \tau\eta \gamma\eta$  <sup>4</sup>. Jesus declares "I have come to set fire to the earth".  
 "The eschatological conflagration"<sup>5</sup>, of course: but embodied as we can see at once in an immediate historical conflict, which will cost Jesus his life (v.50), and set families at loggerheads. Although it is Luke who has added  $\lambda\iota\tau\omicron \tau\omicron\upsilon \nu\omicron\nu$ , there is no reason to suppose

<sup>1</sup> Dodd, op. cit. 127 n.21, suggests that the two may have formed a pair.

<sup>2</sup> Jeremias, op. cit., 49.

<sup>3</sup> Ib., 58.

<sup>4</sup> Alternative translations of the same Aramaic - cf. Black, op. cit., 133n.1.

<sup>5</sup> Conzelmann, 109. There is no basis for his assertion (ib.) that vv. 49 & 50 are contrasted.

that Jesus did not mean it. The quotation from Mic.7.6 appears here (not in Matthew) in a midrashic form, making it clear that the hostility is reciprocal.<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain which form is the original. This should warn us to be cautious in taking such use of the OT as a sign of the activity of Christian prophets; all the same it is rare in the earliest stratum of the tradition, and in the passage 12.35-13.9 it appears to be the only OT reference worth speaking of. The passage, which was probably always teaching for the disciples, warns them of the critical nature of the message Jesus brings. In Mk. 13 the same quotation, as we have seen has been used in a context which connects early deliverance with the onset of persecution; once again crisis warning has become prediction.

d) 12.54-13.9 (vv.54-6 = (Mt.) 16.2f.; vv. 57-9 = Mt. 5.25f.)

These sayings addressed to the crowd are even more obvious crisis warnings: the present time is shown by the clearest signs to be one of the approach of judgement - repent, before it is too late! Luke's setting must be correct: this teaching is the final appeal of Jesus and the early Church to the nation to consider the position they are in. The parable of the fig-tree (13.6-9) makes quite explicit the contingent nature of all this prophecy. It is not prediction: the fig-tree may yet bear fruit, and then "if that nation, concerning which I have spoken, turns from its evil, I will repent of the evil that I intend to do to it." (Jer.18.8).<sup>2</sup> None of this material has been re-used in a context of predictive paraclesis. In Matthew the parable of Going before the Judge has become a trivial piece of moral exhortation, but with this type of transformation we are not concerned.

e) 13.24-30 (cf. Mt.7.13f., 25.10-12, 7.22f., 8.11f., 19.30/20.16/  
Mk 10.31)

Here it is made explicit that it is Israel who is addressed. The passage is a compilation of originally separate fragments<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, ch.V, pp.100 f.

<sup>2</sup> The idea of contingent prophecy is well explained by Gaston, 426ff.

<sup>3</sup> Jeremias, op. cit., 96.

which appears to have been made specifically for the purpose of issuing a warning to the nation.<sup>1</sup> The use of catchwords shows that it was probably made orally. The metaphor of the narrow door (v.24) has become attached to a parable about the closed door, which itself appears to consist of the conclusion of the parable of the Ten Virgins attached by the catchword  $\text{οὐκ οἶδα ποτεν ἑστε}$  to a parallel to Mt.7.22f. But the result is that the parabolic features fade out, to be replaced by a symbolic picture of the Last Judgment. As a whole, the context is scarcely a parable, but a Mahnrede with parabolic elements like Mt 13.33ff. The protest of the excluded is in a manifestly more original form than in Mt.7.22: Matthew's version applies the warning to Christians who have not done the will of God, and the words of the protest are in conformity with this; but Luke's appears to refer to Jesus' ministry, and is therefore spoken by Israel. Vv.27-9 confirm this with their fearful picture (fearful only for Israel, who had expected the opposite)<sup>2</sup> of the present generation of Israel cast out of the Kingdom and their place taken by others (the Diaspora or the Gentiles?<sup>3</sup> Surely the latter, since the former would have been expected to partake in the Kingdom).

These sayings look like predictions, but in fact they are again warnings. There is a time, a limited time, for repentance:  $\text{ὁ ὅρος ἔσται}$   $\text{ἐν ᾧ ἔσται ἡ κρίσις}$  ... When this limited time runs out, there comes the judgment and the coming of a Kingdom without Israel. These symbolize the historical events which will shortly make Israel's choice irrevocable, and hence will function for them as a Last Judgment.

In Luke it is the association of these sayings that is secondary: in Matthew it is the interpretation: in each case he has converted it into exhortation for Christians, on the same lines as Lk 12.35-48.

<sup>1</sup>Gaston, 343.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Caird, Comm. ad loc.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Gaston, 344.

f) 13.34f. (=Mt.23.37-9)

We have here a clear example of a prophetic oracle, from the public prophecy of the Jerusalem church.<sup>1</sup> It is precisely similar in form to the oracles of the OT prophets, in that the "I" of the subject is not the actual speaker. Attempts to understand it as spoken by the historical Jesus of himself have only resulted in triviality.<sup>2</sup> But in the mouth of a Christian prophet the "I" is naturally the risen Christ, in whose name these prophets have appealed again and again to Jerusalem in vain. Note also the significant use of OT allusion (Jer.22.5, 12.7; Ps.118.26), which may also indicate the hand of a prophet. The saying consists<sup>3</sup> of a lament (v.34), followed first by a threat (ἰδοὺ ὁμοῦν) and then by a word which is Manson<sup>4</sup> and Gaston<sup>5</sup> have shown is at once a threat and a promise. Manson shows that the quotation of Ps.118.26 is a reference to the feast of Tabernacles, which foreshadowed the deliverance of Israel, and in itself it suggests the coming of the Messiah (cf. Mk 11.9). The message is "You shall not see me until you are ready to receive me". Beyond the desolation lies the offer of return and reconciliation. It is possible also to see the words as spoken actually by the historical Jesus in the name of God;<sup>6</sup> but the meaning is the same, and for our purpose the Sitz im Leben in the preaching of the Jerusalem church is more important. If prophets directed this appeal to their compatriots, then they probably also compiled the appeal in vv.24-30 and transmitted those in 12.54-13.9.<sup>7</sup>

C. Conclusion

The eschatological material in these chapters reveals itself, usually even in its present form, and always in its earliest form,

<sup>1</sup> Correctly emphasized by Gaston, 344, 321f., against Bultmann's idea of a quotation from a lost Wisdom book (Geschichte, 120).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Manson, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Gaston, 344.

<sup>4</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> 347

<sup>6</sup> Caird ad loc.

<sup>7</sup> Gaston's view of Proto-Luke is that it represents the prophetic preaching of the Jerusalem church to Israel. (244ff., esp. 298ff.)

which is seldom very different, as fundamentally distinct from the "eschatological discourse" in Mk 13 (and also from its parallels). We may list these differences under several heads.

First, that of form. We found the prevailing form of the small units in Mk 13 to be "eschatological paraclesis grounded in apocalyptic instruction"; and the whole discourse is a "farewell discourse" giving instruction for a whole series of events leading up to the consummation. By contrast, we have in these chapters collections of short warnings, usually in parabolic form, or at least strongly figurative. The characteristic form found in Mk 13 appears only at 12.40, which we have identified as an accretion on other grounds. We should here distinguish the persecution paraclesis in 12.2-12: this is straight-forward paraclesis; the characteristic form of the eschatological discourse appears in 11f., and a double Satz Heiligen Rechtes in 8f. The forms which tend to be associated with prophecy appear where its influence is in any case probable: otherwise not.

The difference in form of course reflects a difference in Sitz im Leben and purpose. The material from 12.35 onwards is warnings of imminent crisis, directed usually in the first instance to Israel and her leaders, offering them an alternative: a choice between repentance and the bestowal of the Kingdom of God, and refusal, with its consequence - abandonment to disaster. Luke's setting is for the most part correct: the Sitz im Leben is the preaching to Israel. I have called it "public prophecy" rather than preaching, because the burden of these collections is not the kerygma, but the warning to the nation. There can be no reasonable doubt that it was in the first place the preaching of Jesus, though its very preservation shows that it was also used by the early church in its proclamation to Israel.

Here we must except not only 12.2-12, but in its present form 12.35-48 also: this serves as teaching for the church as they await the judgment of Christ, and shows the activity of prophets within the church. 12.49-53 were probably teaching for the disciples from the

beginning, but they bear the signature of crisis more clearly than anything else.

The other characteristic features of Christian prophecy within the Church - the midrashic use of the OT and sayings of Jesus - are rare in these chapters. The OT is referred to only in 12.53, 13.27, 29, 35. Certainly these verses may all be said to be charismatic interpretation, but with the exception of the two quotations in 13.35 they are isolated. The characteristic interweaving of allusions is not found. The midrashic treatment of sayings of Jesus is found, as we saw, in 12.35-8, 40, 13.25-30, but in the last example the interpretation remains in agreement with the original reference.

Now it can easily be shown that the crisis preaching to Israel covers a much larger amount of material in the Synoptic tradition than the small segment we have been studying. W.D. Davies has shown<sup>1</sup> that the Q material as a whole has this character. Gaston<sup>2</sup> has attempted it for Proto-Luke as a whole. For example, the parable of the money in trust corresponds closely to that of the steward;<sup>3</sup> the threat of vengeance for the "blood of the prophets" (Mt.25.34-6= Lk 11.49-51) is similar to the lament over Jerusalem;<sup>4</sup> in the Marcan material the parable of the tenants (12.1-9) defines the responsibility that will be incurred by the nation in rejecting the last messenger of God. The whole of Jesus' teaching, particularly as it is presented in the Q material, is an appeal to Israel to act in the crisis brought by the coming of Jesus with the message of the Kingdom of God.

The meaning of the crisis is expressed in eschatological terms. This preaching presents the choice between the joy God offers his children and the disaster that awaits those who reject his offer in terms so absolute that they can only be expressed in eschatological

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<sup>1</sup> The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount, Cambridge 1964, 366ff.

<sup>2</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dodd, op. cit., 106ff., Jeremias, op. cit., 58ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gaston, 344.

language: God is about to work his final work of salvation and judgment. The question whether this work will be within history or outside it would be unintelligible, not to say untranslatable, to a first-century Jew. Moreover, even the very nature of God's action is left completely open - everything depends upon the response of the hearers.

When therefore we find a special class of Synoptic material embodying not this public message of eschatological crisis but either warnings of tribulation for Christians, or assurances of <sup>vindication</sup> or warnings of future judgment according to works, and when we find further that in contrast with the primitive strata this material exhibits features of form and technique that we have found to be typical of Christian prophecy, it is a reasonable conclusion that we have the work of Christian prophets who have turned from addressing Israel to give paraclesis to the Church. We can also suggest that the development of the special forms and techniques which we have been studying, took place in response to the needs of a church finding itself in the midst of an on-going and indeed hostile world, the crisis brought by Jesus not yet resolved. The complexes of Lk. 12.2-12 and 35-48, discussed above, offer very simple examples of this process. The eschatological discourses, Lk 13 and parallels, are much more developed and thorough going, and more sharply differentiated in form from the primitive material. In chps. VIII and IX I shall try to lay bare one or two of the precise situations and motives which led to this development, and to show how the techniques answered the need. Meanwhile, in chapter VII I shall take one motif from the Synoptic material, that of the coming of the Son of Man, and show that it is an example of an element of the crisis-message to Israel which has been reinterpreted as part of the prophetic message to the Church.

## Chapter VII

### "SON OF MAN"

After Lk 12-13 the passage Lk 17.22-37 draws our attention. Not only does it exhibit in a different context many of the logia used in Mk 13 and Mt 24<sup>1</sup>, but it can be seen as another eschatological discourse of a very different character from these, yet also perceptibly different from the collections of eschatological material in Lk 12-13. It has more logical unity than the latter, and scriptural motifs are much more prominent; it relies more on typological comparison than on parable; but as I shall show its fundamental form is that of warning and its message is the same as that of the Q material as a whole. As the motif  $\delta \upsilon \iota \sigma \varsigma \tau \omicron \varsigma \kappa \upsilon \theta \rho \omega \nu \omicron \nu$  is very prominent in it it makes much more pressing the question of the origin and history of this motif raised for us already by Mk 13.26 and Lk 12.40.<sup>2</sup> I shall therefore embody my discussion of Lk 17.22-37 within a discussion of the phrase "Son of Man".

The discussion of "Son of Man"<sup>3</sup>, after chasing its own tail

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<sup>1</sup> v.23 = Mk 13.21, Mt.24. (23), 26; v.24 = Mt.24.27; vv.26f. = Mt 24.37-9; v.31 = Mk 13.15f. (Mt 24.17f.); v.35 = Mt 24.41; v.37 = Mt 24.28.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 93, 106, 52.

<sup>3</sup> The following selection from the more recent literature includes those works that I have found most helpful:

- C.K. Barrett, *Jesus and the Gospel Tradition*, London 1967.  
C. Colpe, "Υιός τος κυθρωωνου", *TWNT VIII*, 1969, 403-81.  
L. Gaston, *op. cit.*, 347-53, 370-409.  
T.F. Glasson, *The Second Advent*, London, 1963.  
J.C. Hindley, "The Date of the Similitudes of Enoch", *NTS* 14 (1967-8), 551ff.  
M.D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark*, London 1967.  
J. Jeremias, "Die Älteste Schicht der Menschensohnes-Logien", *ZNW* 58 (1967), 159ff.  
J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, vol. I, ET London 1971, 257-99.  
R. Leivestad, "Exit the Apocalyptic Son of Man", *NTS* 18 (1971-2), 243ff.  
T.W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, Cambridge, 1931.  
id., "The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels", *BJRL* 32 (1950), 171-93, reprinted in *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, ed. M.Black, Manchester 1962, 123-45.  
C.F.D. Moule, "From Defendant to Judge - and Deliverer", *SNTS Bull.* 3 (1952), 40ff.  
N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus*, London 1967, 164-73.  
J.A.T. Robinson, *Jesus and his Coming*, London 1957.  
E. Schweizer, "Der Menschensohn", *ZNW* 50, (1959) 185-209.  
H.E. Tödt, *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition*, ET London 1965 (2nd German ed. 1963).  
G. Vermes, "The Use of  $\omega \nu \nu \nu / \omega \nu \nu \nu$  in Jewish Aramaic", Appendix E in M.Black, *Aramaic Approach to the Gospels*, 3rd ed., Oxford 1967, 310ff.  
Ph. Vielhauer, "Gottesreich und Menschensohn in der Verkündigung Jesu", *Festschrift für Günther Dehn*, ed. W. Schneemelcher, Neukirchen 1957, 51-79, & in *id.*, *Aufsätze zum NT*, Munich 1965, 55-91.

for so many years, has recently broken out in a new direction with a number of scholars<sup>1</sup> becoming sceptical of the recently universal belief that the phrase is an apocalyptic title, whether of a transcendent Messiah<sup>2</sup> or of the eschatological Israel,<sup>3</sup> derived from Dan.7.13 or contemporary apocalyptic. This new discussion has hardly started yet, but the following points already appear to me to require serious consideration:

1.  $\text{ܘܢ ܗܘܐ}$  or  $\text{ܕܘܢ ܗܘܐ}$  in Aramaic<sup>4</sup> cannot be understood as a title, being simply an expression for "a man" or (as a pronoun) "anyone", "someone" or even "I". This leads Vermes, who supplies the evidence, to suggest that it was in Jesus' mouth simply a self-designation.<sup>5</sup>

2. For the same reason, a reference to Dan.7.13 could not be understood simply from the mere phrase  $\text{(ܕ)ܘܢ ܗܘܐ}$ ; it is far too commonplace. A further allusion would be required, such as is supplied by the "coming with clouds" in Mk 13.26, 14.62.

3. No Son of Man title is known to have existed in contemporary Judaism.<sup>6</sup>

4. There is no evidence that "Son of Man" was used as a title even in the Church.<sup>7</sup>

5. It is not clear that "Son of Man" is a title even in the Gospels. Many sayings can be most satisfactorily interpreted on the assumption that "Son of Man" is a simple self-designation of Jesus e.g. Mt 11.19/Lk 7.34.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Leivestad, Perrin, Vermes, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Manson, *op. cit.*, followed by Gaston, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Vermes, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> but cf. Leivestad, *op. cit.*, 265.

<sup>6</sup> Leivestad, Perrin; cf. Hindley, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Leivestad, 248ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, 256ff.

Even if these points are not eventually proved, we cannot for the present take any of the old assumptions for granted. We cannot take it for granted that "Son of Man" is a title; we cannot take it for granted that it points to Dan.7.13. The only possible procedure is to grasp the meaning of the sayings as wholes; and for our present purpose this is all that is necessary. I wish to establish the following points:

1. The Son of Man sayings in Q cohere with the crisis-theme of that stratum as a whole. "Son of Man" refers to Jesus, who is the man who brings the crisis.
2. The earliest layer of the tradition contains no Son of Man sayings which referred to the Parousia.
3. There is a development of Parousia sayings using the expression "Son of Man" in the later parts of the Gospel tradition. This development is the result of Christian reflection on Daniel 7 and certain Day of the Lord texts from the OT applied to the traditional sayings in which the Son of Man is the bearer of the eschatological crisis. In the one case where we have the phrase  $\delta \text{ υιός τοῦ ἀνθρώπου}$  outside the Gospels (Ac.7.56) there is a deliberate allusion to a saying in the Gospels. The nature of this secondary development of the Gospel tradition conforms to what we know of prophetic work on the sayings of Jesus. "Son of Man" was not used as a title of Jesus, even with reference to the Parousia, in the early Church.

#### A. The Man of Crisis

My aim here is to show that many sayings, chiefly from Q, which use the expression "Son of Man" are in complete conformity with the crisis-message of that stratum as a whole: the Son of Man appears in them as the figure who brings the message of crisis and in face whom his hearers must decide their eternal fate. This appears clearly in the Lucan version of the saying rejecting the demand for a sign, (Mt 12.39f.)/Lk 11.29f. (cf. Mk 8. 12). V.29 - the desire for a sign

is decisive evidence of the corruption of this generation; evidently Jesus' message was held to be self-authenticating. It is in this light that we must understand the "sign of Jonah". Compare v.32: "they repented at the preaching of Jonah" - the Ninevites needed no sign to convince them of the truth of Jonah's message. V.30 is the original form of the interpretation of v.29 which stood in Q. It has been expanded and re-interpreted in a Christological sense by Matthew, or by a tradition drawn on by him. The comparison with the Marcan version shows that Luke must preserve the original form - in effect an ironic rejection of the demand. The objection<sup>1</sup> that the "sign" must mean a miracle falls on this point. The Ninevites received no sign but the word of God spoken by the mouth of Jonah; and "this generation" will get no sign but the word of God **spoken** by the mouth of the Son of Man. This is the simple and obvious sense of the comparison.<sup>2</sup> Other meanings have been seen in it - it refers (in Luke!) to the resurrection<sup>3</sup> or the Parousia<sup>4</sup>. But these are read into the saying; there is in fact nothing in the context to suggest them. The only way in which Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites was as a preacher.

Other sayings also speak of the Son of Man coming into Israel with the almighty self-authenticating word of God; Mk 2.10: "the Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins" is one, though it is doubtful whether it is original to the context where Mark has placed it; this looks like an attempt to do what in fact Jesus said he would not do - authenticate his message with a "sign". "The Son of Man has come to seek and to save what is lost" (Lk 19.10), by means primarily of the word of forgiveness. It is this word that demands decision.

Men may of course try to avoid decision by a carping criticism which examines the messengers of God in order to evade the point of their message: this is the point of Mt 11.16-19/Lk 7.31-5.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 416

<sup>2</sup> So Leivestad, 259.

<sup>3</sup> Jeremias, *TWNT III*, 412.32ff.; *Parables*, 108, 187.

<sup>4</sup> Bultmann, 124.

Here the "Son of Man", as the correlative of John the Baptist, clearly represents Jesus; and again we find him in opposition with "this generation". This is another aspect of the crisis; that it is made more serious by the fact that the hearers of John and Jesus refuse to acknowledge its existence: the question of asceticism seems to be more important to them than the message of the Kingdom of God. This shows that they either have not perceived or have deliberately closed their eyes to the real significance of the Son of Man; not his habits but his message. It is only as the bearer of the divine challenge to decision that he has significance.

A further stage in the conflict between the Son of Man and "this generation" is seen in Mt 8.20/Lk 9.58, the reply to the would-be disciple, "Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head." The saying first of all warns the enthusiastic but incautious follower of the simple fact, that Jesus and his band are homeless vagabonds "of no fixed abode"; he will have few of the comforts of civilised life if he follows Jesus. But there are probably two aspects of deeper meaning to this homelessness, both emphasised by Tödt.<sup>1</sup> The first is the homelessness "which the Son of Man takes upon himself" - the "radical separation from all attachments" which is demanded in the following verses, "Let the dead bury their dead." The task of proclaiming the Kingdom of God demands total singleness of mind. But also, "it is men's hostility to Jesus' claim to full authority which refuses a home to the Son of Man as well as to Jesus' followers." - or rather, it is their hostility to his call to eschatological decision. There is a paradox in this saying - foxes and birds have homes, but "man", pre-eminent among the animals for building homes, is homeless. Manson<sup>2</sup> holds that this points to a symbolism in which the animals stand for

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., 120 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sayings of Jesus, 72f.; cf. Hooker, op. cit., 11-74.

the Gentile nations and the Son of Man for Israel; the meaning thus is that Jesus and his followers, as the true embodiment of Israel, have no home in a world where their enemies are in charge. The saying may well point to a national significance in the designation "Son of Man", which would reinforce its appropriateness as the name of the bearer of the call to decide for or against the Kingdom of God.

The Marcan "passion - predictions" are not fundamentally at variance with this last couple of sayings. Gaston<sup>1</sup> shows that it is possible to extract from them a nucleus of phrases which do not appear to be inspired by the Passion story itself: It is written of the Son of Man that he will suffer many things (and be delivered into the hands of men?) and be killed and after three days will rise."<sup>2</sup> The last clause is included because Mark uses μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας in place of the elsewhere uniform τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ or τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ<sup>3</sup>. But McArthur<sup>4</sup> has recently shown that the two phrases are taken as meaning the same thing in the Rabbinic homiletic midrash. The statement that this phrase is unaffected by the Passion story is therefore very dubious. It may all the same be pre-Markan. If this reconstruction, with or without the resurrection clause, is the real original of the Marcan predictions, it is clearly the logical conclusion of the progress towards rejection exhibited by the previous two sayings. If the resurrection clause is authentic, its original intention was doubtless to express God's vindication of his messenger.

I have already dealt from other points of view with the important saying transmitted in various forms at Mt.10.32f./Mk.8.38 (second half only)/Lk 12.8f. (cf. Rev.3.5)<sup>5</sup>. The debate over what the original subject of the main sentences was<sup>6</sup> may be of considerably

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<sup>1</sup>397 ff.

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<sup>3</sup>400.

<sup>4</sup>H.K. McArthur, "On the Third Day", NTS 18 (1971/2), 81ff. (85).

<sup>5</sup>See above, pp. 54 ff

<sup>6</sup>See refs. above, p. 55

less importance than has been thought, if "Son of Man" was simply a self-designation of Jesus. Leivestad<sup>1</sup> shows that the supposed distinction between Jesus and the Son of Man in Lk 12.8/Mk 8.38 is a modern invention, which cannot conceivably have occurred to any of the evangelists. It is worth pointing out, however, against Jeremias<sup>2</sup>, that the presence of "Son of Man" in the Marcan tradition as well as in Luke means that Matthew's and Luke's evidence do not stand upon an equal footing.<sup>3</sup> There is no need to ask whether Matthew could have removed the reference to the Son of Man. The combined evidence of Mark and Luke shows that the form with "Son of Man" at least goes back to a very early period. I have already shown<sup>4</sup> that the reference to the Parousia in Mark must be secondary. In the authentic form of the saying there is no reference to the Parousia; rather the scene is laid in the heavenly court. God is the judge; the "Son of Man" is a witness offering evidence on the attitude taken up by each man to him in the eschatological crisis. The context in each of the three gospels makes the saying a warning for Christians under persecution. The form of the saying is a double Satz Heiligen Rechtes; the context in Luke we found<sup>5</sup> to be a prophetic compilation. There is no evidence that the saying was ever addressed to the crowd. Yet as we also saw<sup>6</sup> it is firmly rooted in the crisis which gave birth to the sayings of Luke 12-13. It lays bare the meaning of the crisis for those who have chosen to follow Jesus, or are thinking of it. The conflict between the "Son of Man" and "this generation" will be fought in them. They will decide their eternal destiny by their conduct now, under pressure. This is expressed by the idea that at the judgment they will meet again the bearer of the eschatological challenge whom in Jesus they acknowledge or deny now. The meaning of the judgment of God becomes embodied for them

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<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., 261f.

<sup>2</sup>ZNW 58, 168.

<sup>3</sup>Since Matthew and Luke are close in other respects, Mark is independent evidence for the "Son of Man".

<sup>4</sup>Above, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup>Above, pp. 122f.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

in the decision that they have to take now: this is why it can be called an eschatological crisis.

Note that not only is there no parousia in this saying: there is no demonstrable connection with Dan.7.13. On the other hand, looking forward, Acts 7.56 has a clear connection with it: the Son of Man "standing at the right hand of God" is ready to give evidence on behalf of his martyr, to confess his confessor.

We now return to the passage Lk 17.22-37. In Luke's intention this is teaching for the disciples (v.22); this is justified by vv.31-3, which give instruction for flight and the abandonment of possessions in the final crisis. The same verses make it difficult<sup>1</sup> to interpret the passage, as is normal, of the final consummation, when flight would be impossible; for the attempt<sup>2</sup> to interpret the verses metaphorically, "of the renunciation of all earthly possessions"<sup>3</sup>, stumbles on the phrase ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Obviously, if the renunciation of possessions is to be effective it must be done now (cf. 12.15ff., 18.22ff.). V.27 also suggests that Luke was reckoning with contingent fulfilments of the prophecy of the day of the Son of Man; the question "where?" is otherwise meaningless, and the answer means "the judgment will operate wherever it is called for."<sup>4</sup> As before, I propose<sup>5</sup> that Luke referred the passage to the crisis facing Israel which culminated in the Roman war of 66-70. Jesus here warns his disciples against involvement in the fate of their people. They must not be fooled by messianic movements (v.23), for the Son of Man will reveal himself unmistakably "on his day", which will overtake the people like the Flood, or like the destruction of Sodom; the disciples must abandon their life as they have lived it up to that moment, and get out.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Manson, Sayings, 144f.; Caird, Comm. ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Klostermann, Creed, Comms. ad loc.

<sup>3</sup> Creed, Comm. ad loc.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.; Creed does not perceive the contradiction with his general interpretation.

<sup>5</sup> Following Glasson, op. cit., 83ff., Robinson, 73ff., Caird ad loc.

There is good evidence that the bulk of this passage was given to Luke by tradition. Those parts of it that appear in Mt 24 occur in the same order as in Luke with the exception of the "vultures" saying (Lk 17.37/Mt 24.28)<sup>1</sup>. While some<sup>2</sup> do not believe that Matthew could have omitted vv. 28-30, had they stood in his source, it is even more improbable that such an exact parallel to 26f. could be a Lucan addition.<sup>3</sup> V.31: It is only an unnecessarily literal interpretation of the eschatological language of the passage that will consider v.31 incompatible with the rest.<sup>4</sup> It can be seen that vv. 28-32 form a short midrash on the escape of Lot from Sodom (for μή ἐπιστρέψατω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω cf. Gen.19.26), making it a paradigm of the approaching day of judgment with instruction to follow Lot's example, not his wife's. In 34f. the tradition appears in a rather different form from Mt 24.40f. (we reject, of course, the "Western" v.36), but the difference is typical of differential development in oral tradition. The only verses which Luke may be suspected of adding are 22, 25 and 33: 25 would be from Mark, and 33 perhaps from another context in Q (cf. Mt. 10.39); but if he added v.22 what could he have meant by it?<sup>5</sup> Otherwise the passage was probably available to Luke as it stands; possibly<sup>6</sup> v.37 stood immediately after v.24, as in Matthew (without the question). Where Matthew uses the phrase ἡ παρουσία κτλ. , various phrases stand in Luke; Mt. 24.3 (Mk 13.4) shows that παρουσία is editorial and Luke's phrases probably original.

This block of teaching as it stands is clearly aimed at the Christian church standing between the Resurrection and "the day on which the Son of Man is revealed". They will be in a state of perplexity and frustration (v.22, whatever the meaning of the phrase "one of the days of the Son of Man" may be), and are warned not to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tödt, op. cit., 48f.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Creed ad loc., Bultmann, 123.

<sup>3</sup> If the Lot example were a later but still pre-Lucan elaboration this would solve the problem. This appears to be proposed by D. Lüthmann, Die Redaktion der Logienquelle, WMANT 33, Neukirchen, 1969, 71ff., but unfortunately I have not seen this work.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 103

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Manson, Sayings, 142, 145, who argues (after Torrey) for an Aramaic origin.

<sup>6</sup> Tödt, loc. cit.

pay attention to the deceptive messianic movements (v.23) - for the appearance of the true Son of Man will be universally visible. Then follow warnings of the abruptness with which disaster will fall on the unwary "in that day" and instructions for Christians to escape from the avenging fire.

In the earlier part of the passage (vv.22-4) the reference does seem to be to a supernatural parousia. But this is scarcely in its original form. V.23 is a form of the saying in v.21 which certainly refers to the coming of the Kingdom of God. If vv. 23 and 24 together originally had this reference, the mention of the Son of Man must have<sup>been</sup> introduced. Originally v.24b may have run οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ .<sup>1</sup> If so, it would fit in with the meaning of Lk 17.21 as interpreted by Manson<sup>2</sup>: "One moment the world is just its normal self: then Lo!, the Kingdom of God is among you." But the sense of the lightning simile has been altered from that of suddenness to that of world-wide visibility in the present form. Alternatively, with Robinson,<sup>3</sup> one might take v.24, with "Son of Man", as parallel to the following sayings and the connection with v.23 to be secondary. The "day of the Son of Man" then means "the day on which the Son of Man is vindicated." But then we have a change from "on the day of the Son of Man" to "the Son of Man on his day." which is difficult to account for. In either case, the original form was a crisis-warning, which has now been re-interpreted as an instruction for the church in a later historical situation.

The main block of teaching, vv. 26ff., is clearly consonant with the crisis preaching studied in the last chapter; cf. especially 12.39ff., 42ff., 16ff., which likewise warn that calamity will strike the unaware without warning; 13.1-5 - compare here the phrasing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Glasson, op. cit., 81; Perrin, 196; Geston, 350 (who however absurdly attributes the change to Luke (cf. Mt 24.27)).

<sup>2</sup> Sayings, 504.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., 71.

πάντες..... ἀπολεσθε with 17.24, 27 καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντα<sup>1</sup>.

Vv. 31f. show that the calamity threatened is not the absolute end of the world. It is a judgment of God thought of in historical as well as eschatological terms, a sudden catastrophe from which escape is possible by prompt action, but also "the day on which the Son of Man will be revealed." This is not remarkable; as Caird<sup>2</sup> shows, it is characteristic of OT prophecy, which identifies coming disasters for the nation with the "Day of the Lord" on which God's final purpose for his people was to be accomplished. The eschatological consummation is brought to full expression within the imminent historical event, and the two cannot be separated in the mind of the prophet.

It is already clear that the passage does not have a supernatural eschaton in mind when it speaks of the revelation of the Son of Man. But in its original form was there even this formal similarity to the Parousia doctrine? (v.30). Robinson<sup>3</sup> suggests that some more original phrase has been altered into conformity with the language of the early church.<sup>4</sup> The whole verse may even be an interpretative addition, as its position may suggest.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the mention of the Son of Man in v.26 is entirely consonant with its use in the individual sayings we have been investigating. "The days of the Son of Man", corresponding to the "days of Noah" and the "days of Lot" simply mean "my time" in Jesus' mouth, and imply that the present is the time when the eschatological challenge is thrown down before this generation and so the time when the judgment must take place.

As Tödt emphasises<sup>6</sup>, the manner in which the comparisons are expressed draws attention to the men who successfully escaped the

<sup>1</sup>Jeremias in ZNW 58 does not notice these parallels; they go far to reduce to absurdity his theory that Son of Man sayings with parallels are secondary.

<sup>2</sup>Comm. Lk, 198f.

<sup>3</sup>Op. cit., 78.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. I Cor. 1.7, II Th. 1.7, I Pet. 1.7, 13, 4.13, also Rom. 8.18.

<sup>5</sup>Lucan according to Gaston, 350; but ἀποκαλύπτειν only occurs once elsewhere in Lk-Ac. without a Matthaean parallel (Lk 2.35), but is common in Q (Mt 10. 26/Lk 12.2, Mt. 11.25, 27/Lk 10.21f.)

Ἀποκαλύψις also does not occur at all in Lk-Ac.

<sup>6</sup>Op. cit., 50f.

disasters - Noah and Lot; and v.31 applies this lesson to the present. The comparison implies that the Son of Man will create a division in the nation between those who have heeded the warning of judgment and taken action, and those who have ignored it and carried on with their careless lives. An emphasis is thus given to the message of crisis which is not prominent in Lk 12-13, where we found the dominant theme to be the alternative facing the whole nation, but is of course clearly expressed in 12.8f., 51-3. This passage appears, moreover, to regard the nation's case as hopeless: constant preaching has failed to arouse them to the peril of their situation: now there is nothing left but disaster - yet a remnant may escape! The passage appears to be addressed to this remnant. It is therefore open to us to interpret it as prophetic paraclesis addressed to the church; and the midrashic form of vv. 26-32 would appear to support this.

Yet there is no word of consolation here, only warning. Even the existence of the remnant is a hypothesis that may only be made reality by this preaching. The original Sitz im Leben of vv. 26-37 is, I believe, not the preaching of consolation to the church, but the eschatological crisis preaching. The note of despair is no louder than in Mt 11.20-24/Lk 10.13-15, which is explicitly addressed to the cities of Galilee. The addition of the references to the Son of Man's appearing in vv. 24 and 30 is what has turned the passage into paraclesis for the church, warning them not to involve themselves in the downfall of the nation. The original mention of the Son of Man here thus finds its place among the sayings we have already treated. The parallels and basis for the introduction of new references will be discussed in the next section.

#### B. The Parousia of the Son of Man

Our hypothesis, that the references to the Parousia in Lk 17.22ff. are secondary, would appear to be rash were such secondary formulations, using "Son of Man", not so common in the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>1</sup> Son of Man

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. E. Schweizer, op. cit.

sayings referring to the Parousia occur in all branches of the tradition and with few exceptions can be shown to be developments, reformulations or interpretations of sayings already in the tradition. Only Mk 14.62, Mt. 10.23 and Lk 21.36 appear to be quite independent. From this, and from the fact that the name 'Son of Man' only occurs once<sup>1</sup> outside the Gospels or on the lips of anyone but Jesus, I shall conclude that there was no 'Son of Man concept' or 'Son of Man theology' in the early church<sup>2</sup>, but that the expression Son of Man was used by the evangelists, and by developers of the tradition of Jesus's sayings before them, simply because it had been used by Jesus. But the manner in which the expression is used with reference to the Parousia is seen to be dependent on the Christian exegesis of certain passages, which we can assume to have been carried on by Christian prophets, especially as it has left important traces also in Revelation.

In Mark we have 8.38, a variant of Mt. 10.33/Lk 12.9. The reference to the Parousia here is plainly secondary.<sup>3</sup> The dependence of 13.26 on 14.62 we have also discussed.<sup>4</sup> 14.62 itself will need more extended treatment.<sup>5</sup>

In Q, apart from the sayings just discussed, there is Mt 24.44/Lk 12.40, a secondary<sup>6</sup> interpretation of the parable of the burglar. In Mt. 24.37-39, we have Matthew's development of the Noah saying. He substitutes ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου for ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and adds the same phrase at the end.

Peculiar to Luke are 18.8b and 21.36.<sup>7</sup> 18.8b is the conclusion of a parable. It cannot be decided with confidence whether it has been formulated for this purpose,<sup>8</sup> or is an originally independent saying.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ac. 7.56.

<sup>2</sup> Contra Tödt, op. cit., and Perrin, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 55

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 106 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See below, pp. 149 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> 17.30 we have dealt with above, p. 145.

<sup>8</sup> See Tödt, op. cit., 99.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Jeremias, Parables of Jesus, 155.

At all events examples of the formulation of parable conclusions are frequent enough to make it impossible to assert with confidence that we have here a genuinely independent Son of Man Parousia saying. Even if independent its original reference may have been to the present - "when one (i.e. Jesus) comes, is one likely to find faith on earth?" It would then fit in with the Q sayings which we have discussed. 21.36 is one of the few examples of a Son of Man saying referring to the future which appears to be independent. But it does not clearly refer to the Parousia; and as it is part of Luke's eschatological discourse, and as the main purpose of our discussion is to gain light on the eschatological discourses, it would be circular to discuss it here.

Matthew has a large number of such sayings. Most of them are obviously editorial and dependent. 13.41 is part of the interpretation of the parable of the Tares.<sup>1</sup> 16.27 is a virtually new saying created on the basis of Mk 8.38. In 16.28 the reference to the Son of Man is introduced editorially in place of Mark's reference (9.1) to the Kingdom of God. 19.28 is parallel to Lk 22.30 where there is nothing to correspond to the clause "when the Son of Man sits on the throne of his glory." A similar phrase occurs in the introduction to the description of the Last Judgment in 25.31<sup>2</sup>. 25.31 is plainly editorial, dependent on Mk 8.33<sup>3</sup>. In view of 16.28, the clause in 19.28 should also be considered a secondary elaboration of the saying in Lk. 22.30. 24.30a is an addition to a Marcan context. Once again, this will be dealt with when considering its context at length.<sup>4</sup> 24.37, 39 as we have seen are Matthew's modifications of a Q context. This only leaves 10.23, which alone<sup>5</sup> among these sayings is to be assigned to Matthew's special traditional material. But can even this be regarded as a genuine and independent Son of Man Parousia saying? When one considers

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. *ibid.* 81ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *Eth. Enoch* 61, 62.2.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. J.A.T. Robinson, *NTS* 2 (1955-6), 226 ff.

<sup>4</sup>See below, pp. 163, 168 ff.

<sup>5</sup>With the possible exception of 19.28.

its resemblance in theme to 16.28, there is a high likelihood that "the Son of Man" has replaced some other phrase such as "Kingdom of God". It is an isolated saying appended to a Marcan context, and without a parallel of any kind, and its isolation increases the difficulty of assessing it. The example of the other sayings using the expression "the Son of Man comes"<sup>1</sup> is not, however, encouraging for one wishing to defend its authenticity; it seems likely that only a secondary stratum of the tradition spoke of the Son of Man's "coming", without any further qualification, with reference to the Parousia.<sup>2</sup>

But the centre of the problem is Mk 14.62. To one school of criticism this is clear evidence that Jesus thought of himself as Son of Man in the terms of Dan.7.13, hence a key to the interpretation of the genuine sayings;<sup>3</sup> another school regards it as the deposit of a Christian tradition of exegesis based on the resurrection.<sup>4</sup> The facts are that there is no original exegesis of Dan.7.13 here and that there is no specifically Christian exegesis of either of the texts quoted. The context is concerned with the question "Are you the Messiah?" It is therefore obviously of the first importance that both Ps.110 and Dan. 7.13 are Messianic texts. Dan.7.13 is frequently given a Messianic interpretation in the rabbinic sources,<sup>5</sup> and that Ps.110 is a messianic psalm would be obvious. Further, when Dan.7.13 is used as a Messianic text, the Rabbis quote it in the form "coming with the clouds of heaven", which is thus not an exclusively Christian transformation. Leivestad is surely correct in claiming<sup>6</sup> that "it is most unlikely that the rabbis would take over a new, Christian understanding of the text; hence the messianic use of the text must be pre-Christian." The result of these observations is that ὁ υἱος τοῦ κτλ. must simply be an amplification of the answer εἶπω ὑμῖν: "Yes, and you will see the OT texts

<sup>1</sup> 24.44/Lk 12.40, Lk 18.8.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson's argument to the contrary (Jesus and his Coming, 78ff.) is scarcely wholehearted enough to be convincing.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, 69ff.; Robinson, op.cit., 43ff.

<sup>4</sup> B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, 48ff.; Perrin, op.cit.

<sup>5</sup> b. Sanh, 98a (R. Joshua b. Levi). R. Joshua's date is early third century, but Moore (op.cit. II, 334f.) notes that his object is to harmonize the interpretations of the conflicting verses: ex hypothesi the Messianic interpretations already existed. References also to the midrashim in Perrin, op. cit., p.172.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., 247.

proclaiming the enthronement of the Messiah fulfilled in the person of the Son of Man." The context shows that "Son of Man" must here, again, be simply a self-designation. It cannot be a title derived from Dan.7.13; for the sentence to make sense, it must designate the person to whom Dan.7.13 applies. Still less can it imply a depreciation of the title "Messiah" in favour of "Son of Man"<sup>1</sup> since the Messianic claim is being asserted in the same breath. But if it simply alternates with  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ , the meaning of the saying is perfectly lucid.

Any further examination must depend on whether we regard the saying as authentic or not. The alternatives, it seems to me, are these. If the saying is authentic, Jesus acknowledges his claim to be Messiah, making the paradoxical assertion, helpless as he is before his adversaries, that he is God's anointed and will hereafter receive his vindication in the sight of those who have despised the Son of Man and rejected his message. Just how he conceived this would happen is immaterial; but there is no reason to take either quotation literally. The Rabbinic use of Dan.7.13 does not imply a literal coming with clouds, nor need Jesus's use here; but it does imply a coming to his people, to be their king.

On the other hand, one may consider that the conditions of the investigation before the High Priest make it unlikely that any accurate report about it could have reached the Christians, and that they are likely to have built up the scene as an assertion of Jesus's messiahship at the point of his condemnation.<sup>2</sup> In this case, some variant of Lindars' theory<sup>3</sup> would appear to account best for the saying. Ps.110 was certainly a central text in the Christian apologetic proving from the resurrection that Jesus was Messiah, and Dan.7.13 may well also have been used in this way. They would then have formed in this place a reference to the resurrection, which was to demonstrate the truth of the assertion  $\epsilon\gamma\omega \epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\iota$ .

<sup>1</sup> As is suggested by Dodd, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Bultmann, 290ff.; Tödt, op. cit. 36ff., etc.

<sup>3</sup> loc. cit.

But later, the quotation from Daniel 7.13 would have been understood as a reference to the Parousia, that is, the coming of Christ as judge. Belief in Christ's function as judge is a natural corollary of belief in his Messianic dignity; and he is naturally represented as exercising it in a "coming", since in the OT Yahweh regularly "comes" to judge the world.<sup>1</sup> It has been shown by Glasson<sup>2</sup> that the descriptions of the Parousia in the NT (outside the Gospels) are largely derived from OT passages describing the appearance of Yahweh for judgment. But Dan. 7.13 is also found in such descriptions of the Parousia: besides Mk 13.26 we have three allusions in the Revelation of John- 1.7, 1.13, and 14.14,<sup>3</sup> and a possible one<sup>4</sup> in I Thess. 4.16f. Ac.7.56, however, should not be counted.<sup>5</sup> As we have seen, the mere use of the phrase Son of Man is not sufficient to establish a connection with Dan.7.13. The existence of the others is, however, reasonable evidence that there was a Christian tradition of exegesis applying Dan.7.13 to the coming of Christ as judge, rather than to be judged. But - mark this! - there is no evidence that this tradition used "the Son of Man" as a designation of Jesus. No such phrase is found in Rev.1.7 or I Thess.4.16f.; Rev.1.13 and 14.14 use the phrase ὅμοιον ὄντι ἐνθρώπου, clearly intending, despite the distortion of the grammar, to quote directly from Dan.7.13 with the sense "one like a Son of Man" as a description of the figure, not a designation of his identity. Only the gospel passages, Mk 13.26 and 14.62, use "the Son of Man." There is thus no basis for Perrin's postulate<sup>6</sup> of a "Son of Man concept" in the primitive church created on the basis of the exegesis of Dan.7.13. What we do have is a use of Dan.7.13 alongside so-called "Day of the Lord" passages from the OT.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Robinson, op. cit., 55. But the belief comes to expression in historical circumstances which make judgment necessary: cf. below, p.153

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., 156ff. esp. 162-71.

<sup>3</sup> These last two do not directly refer to the Parousia, but in both cases the "one like a Son of Man" is Jesus as the divine judge.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> Against Perrin, 176.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit.

But if this is so, then what accounts for the so frequent use of "Son of Man" in the gospels in Parousia contexts? We have already noticed that in nearly every place it is developed from an earlier formulation within the gospel tradition. We must now ask what elements, particularly what OT references, have been employed in these developments.

There are two types of development. In the first, exemplified by Mk 8.38, a Son of Man saying already in existence is modified or expanded in such a way as to make it refer to the Parousia, or to underline a reference to the Parousia already there. Beside Mk 8.38 over against Lk 12.9, there is Mk 13.26<sup>1</sup>; Lk 17.30 may be counted here, although at least the mention of the Son of Man and possibly the whole verse are secondary,<sup>2</sup> since the Son of Man is already present in the immediate context (v.26). Lk 18.8b also should perhaps be included.<sup>3</sup> The remaining examples are Matthaean: Mt.13.41; 16.27; 24.27, 37; 24.29; 24.30; 25.31. The interest in these sayings lies in the material which is introduced to convert them into Parousia sayings, and the question is why it has been introduced.

The other type is references to the Son of Man and his "coming" introduced into contexts which previously did not have any. Such in Q are Mt. 24.44/Lk 12.40, and Mt.24.27/Lk 17.24; in Luke perhaps 18.8b; and in Matthew's editorial work the interpretation of the tares, 13.36ff; 16.28 and 19.28. The question here is why the Christian expectation should be expressed with the use of the phrase "Son of Man" when, as we have seen, this was not used at all outside the gospels.<sup>4</sup>

The influence of the exegetical traditions of which I was speaking just now can clearly be seen in these developments. Leaving aside the Matthaean material for the moment, we meet first Mk 8.38, where a saying

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 14.62, and see above, pp. 106f.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 145

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 147f.

<sup>4</sup> With the single exception of Ac.7.56.



Mk 13.26f we have already discussed.<sup>1</sup> Slight modifications in Jesus's declaration before the High Priest, again, as we have seen, under the influence of the epiphany passages in the OT, have transformed the enthronement of the Son of Man as Messiah into his coming to gather his elect: and v.27 again employs Zech.14.5. It seems to me quite unnecessary to postulate, as Perrin does<sup>2</sup>, that the combination of Dan.7.13 with Zech. 12.10ff. seen in Mt. 24.30 and Rev.1.7 underlies both Mk 13.26 and in its present form Mk 14.62. Again the transformation relies on the experience of the church that the enthronement marked by the resurrection of Jesus did not result in his immediate and visible reign.

Ac. 7.56 ought also to be considered an allusion to the saying handed down at Mk 14.62, and not with Perrin,<sup>3</sup> as an independent reference to a Christian tradition of exegesis linking Dan. 7.13 and Ps.110.1. As I have already said, the use of the phrase "Son of Man" could not of itself indicate a reference to Dan.7.13; and in any case it is hard to distinguish between a tradition of exegesis and the saying in which it is embodied. This verse in fact does not require us to think of a Son of Man tradition outside the tradition of the sayings of Jesus, and if it does not, there is certainly no other passage which does. It is not necessary to suppose that the reference was introduced by Luke; indeed the surprising  $\xi\sigma\tau\omega\tau\alpha$  would suggest he is dependent on tradition<sup>4</sup> though the precise meaning has not been determined. Moule<sup>5</sup> suggests that the standing position is that of a witness: the Son of Man rises to vindicate his martyr (as he had promised in Lk 12.8!); and the words deliberately recall those of Jesus at his trial when he proclaimed his own vindication. There is no reference to the Parousia here, and this may well be a sign of early origin.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> pp. 91 ff., 106 f.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., 179.

<sup>4</sup> So Tödt, 305; Perrin 178

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., 47.

<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, it may simply be the effect of the dramatic setting.

Lk 17.30 cannot be connected with any particular OT text, but it is certainly connected, as we have seen, with the frequent use of ἀποκάλυψις for the Parousia in some of the epistles. The primitive form of this complex already spoke of a divine visitation "in the days of the Son of Man" - i.e. immediately impending. Inevitably, yet significantly, "the days of the Son of Man" becomes "the day on which the Son of Man is revealed", and thus the judgment is identified with the Parousia of Jesus Christ. It is thus not only placed at a distance from the immediate moment, but becomes identified with the vindication of the church, who are warned not to share the fate of their enemies.

Lk 18.8b may<sup>1</sup> be a case where the mere change in situation has altered the meaning of a saying without the help of any alteration in form. Being attached to a parable promising "God's speedy vindication of his elect", it has taken on a futuristic sense.

In these four cases the change in the Sitz im Leben has converted sayings of eschatological crisis mentioning the Son of Man as the bearer of the crisis into parousia sayings, where the Son of Man comes in judgment. In Mt. 24.44/Lk 12.40 and Mt. 24.27/Lk 17.24, "the Son of Man" has been used from the beginning to express this expectation of the church. The question is why. Both these are Q passages. In Q, as we have seen, "the Son of Man" is the name for Jesus as the bearer of the eschatological challenge. In the development of this tradition, when the Parousia became established as the focus of the eschatological drama, it was natural to use for Jesus as the one who is to come in judgment the name which had been his as the one who had come bringing judgment. It is only a slight extension of the use in Lk 12.8f. What is remarkable is that this development takes place so rarely. The formulation of Mt. 24.44/Lk 12.40 employs not OT material but material from the parables of waiting in the sayings tradition: cf. Mk 13.34f; Lk 12.36, 38, 46. Mt.24.27/Lk 17.24, on the other hand, ("so shall the

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 147f.

Son of Man be in his day,") recalls the OT expression "the day of Yahweh", thus alluding yet again to the OT epiphany material.

Lightning, again, is frequently mentioned in epiphany passages: e.g. Ex.19<sup>16</sup>; Ps.18.14, 77.18, 97.4.

In Matthew this occasional use of the Son of Man in reference to the Parousia becomes regular. Yet Matthew's use is based firmly on the gospel tradition that we have been investigating; indeed the specific influence of Mk 8.38, 13.26, 14.62 is easy to trace. Leivestad<sup>1</sup> shows that it is certainly true of Matthew that for him "Son of Man" is simply a name for Jesus; yet in reference to the Parousia it is presented as Jesus's customary name for himself. This can be understood when we remember that Matthew gives much greater prominence to the idea of the Parousia than any of the other evangelists. The material for expressing it was therefore scanty, but such as it was it already tended to have the name "Son of Man" associated with it, for reasons already examined. The term therefore multiplied in Matthew to fill the much greater space allowed for reference to the Parousia. Now the theological purpose served in Matthew by the concept of the Parousia is the proclamation of the judgment according to works on both Christian and non-Christian. If "Son of Man" is taken as a technical theological term it therefore looks as though the Son of Man is in Matthew the name of the Judge of the World,<sup>2</sup> identified with Jesus. According to the hypothesis I have been using, the truth is precisely the opposite: The Son of Man is the name of Jesus, who is seen, among other roles, as the Judge of the World.

However, in addition to this reliance on the gospel tradition, and in particular on that one gospel which lay before him, Matthew like his predecessors employs scriptural and possibly also contemporary

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., 257

<sup>2</sup> T&dt, 78ff.

apocalyptic material to fill out the references to the Son of Man who is to come and make them refer more explicitly to the coming judgment of the world.

In three places, where his Vorlage spoke of, or probably alluded to, the Kingdom of God, Matthew replaces this with a reference to the coming of the Son of Man in his kingdom - 13.36ff; 16.28; 19.28; and cf. 25.31ff. This seems to reflect the tradition of exegesis of Dan.7.13 seen in Mk 13.26 where the enthronement of the Son of Man as king is replaced by his Parousia from heaven. 13.41 certainly depends on Mk 13.27. In 16.28 the substitution of the Son of Man for the Kingdom of God is no doubt due in part to the influence of the previous verse. In 25.31 the material of Mk 8.38 is reshaped by means of the LXX text of Zech.14.5 to eliminate the Father altogether and attribute the glory and the angels to the Son of Man. In 19.28 and 25.31 occurs the expression "the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory." This cannot be traced to any source in the OT or to a saying of Jesus; a similar expression occurs only in the Similitudes of Enoch<sup>1</sup>: It appears therefore that Matthew has in addition to traditional and scriptural material used contemporary apocalyptic phrases to reshape the Son of Man sayings.

In 16.27 Matthew cuts out the primitive material from Mk. 8.38, leaving only the Marcan reference to the parousia, and adds a quotation from Ps.62.12 or Pr.24.12, thus transforming the specific ius talionis into a general statement of the world judgment.

In 24.30<sup>2</sup> the material introduced has already been associated with Dan.7.13 in tradition, as is clear from Rev.1.7; here once again the exegesis of Dan.7.13 in Christian tradition is reflected.

In 24.27, 37, 39, references to the coming "of the Son of Man" already present in Q are reshaped and added to, so that the phrase ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου appears three times.

<sup>1</sup>See above, p. 148 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. above, pp. 68f. and below, pp. 163, 168 f.

We may be quite confident that Matthew (not contemporary apocalyptists!) was the inventor of this phrase. Not only does Παρουσία occur in Paul with τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου, etc., but Matthew, by introducing the discourse with a question from the disciples about τῆς οἰῆς παρουσίας makes it quite clear that it is the appearance of Jesus for judgment that he is speaking of. Q's phrases are simply made more explicit by the use of a word which clearly implies an epiphany and was probably in common use among Christians in Matthew's day and milieu.<sup>1</sup>

### CONCLUSION

This brief survey of the use of Son of Man in the Gospels with reference to the Parousia has shown that such usage is strictly confined to the Gospel tradition, but has been influenced by traditions of exegesis which are often found elsewhere in the NT. These traditions are eschatological reinterpretations of eschatological passages of the OT. This, combined with the tendency for the traditions to recur particularly in Revelation, makes it highly probable that they were handed on by prophets. Such a formulation as Mk 8.38 was probably first spoken in the community by a prophet as a natural development of Lk 12.9. We have already<sup>2</sup> made the same suggestion with regard to Mt. 24.30/Rev.1.7, while if our hypothesis<sup>3</sup> that one of the prophet's functions was to interpret the parables is correct, the same origin must be assumed for Mt. 24.44/Lk 12.40 and Lk 18.8b. The passage Lk 17.22-37 must also have reached its present form through prophetic activity. The many reformulations of this sort in Matthew are of course due to the evangelist, but there is no reason to doubt that prophetic influence lay in the background.

What of the function of the references to the Parousia thus introduced into the gospel tradition? We have seen that they are

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jas. 5.7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 33, 73

frequently associated with the transition from preaching to Israel to consolation for the church; frequently also with the realisation that the resolution of the crisis brought by Jesus was still delayed. He himself had been vindicated, but those who had refused to accept his message remained in their earthly seats of power and had begun to persecute his church. It then begins to be affirmed that he who has been exalted to the right hand of God must appear in glory to complete the vindication of his servants. We have seen the OT texts relied on for this affirmation - Dan.7.13 and Zech.14.5 and other "Day of Yahweh" texts. Yet in spite of this the Son of Man sayings transformed by the use of such text often still speak of a crisis with a choice of alternatives: cf. Mk 8.38, Mt.24.44/Lk 12.40, Lk 18.8b; even in Lk 17.22-37 there is a warning to escape. But the context shows that in each case the warning is given to the church. The doom of the nation has already been assumed. This is merely hinted at in the sayings we have been studying; in chp.IX we shall come across a more developed statement of the theme, much less closely tied to the authentic tradition of Jesus' words.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE ANTICHRIST MIDRASH

In this chapter I hope to show that the interpretation of Daniel which in chp.V we found to lie behind Mk 13 is traditional, by demonstrating its independent presence in several texts from different parts of the NT and even outside it.

We naturally turn first to the parallels to Mk 13 in Mt 24 and Lk 21, to ask if they show any evidence for the interpretation of Daniel independently of Mark. We shall find that there are some traces of an independent version of the midrash in Matthew. But the non-Markan material in Lk 21 shows no connection with the Daniel interpretation, and it will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Next, we go outside the Gospels. Hartman<sup>1</sup> analyses the apocalyptic material in I Thess.4.13-18 and 5.1ff. and II Thess.2.1-17 and comes to the following conclusion:

"In both 1 and 2 Ths. Paul bases his eschatological teaching on a form of the eschatological discourse which he regards as an authoritative παράδοσις, originating from the Lord. He presumes that it is known to those he is addressing, since he has passed it on to them in his previous teaching. He shows that he is probably aware of the "midrashic" basis of this tradition, in that he supplements it with more OT material, with which it may very well have been associated via the texts which are used in the midrash adopted."<sup>2</sup>

He also suggests, without following it up, that there are "several similarities" to the Marcan midrash in Rev.13.<sup>3</sup> but denies that Did.16 or the Apocalypse of Peter offer any valid comparative material.<sup>4</sup> I will discuss Did.16 in comparison with Mt 24 and show that this may be an error as far as the Didache is concerned. We should also not forget the very source of the name "Antichrist" itself, the epistles of John, though these do no more than allude to the tradition.

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<sup>1</sup> 178ff.

<sup>2</sup> 204f.

<sup>3</sup> 250

<sup>4</sup> 206f.

I shall demonstrate that these texts each offer an interpretation of the book of Daniel, an interpretation apocalyptic in character and with a parenetic point; and that these interpretations are mutually independent but present certain common features which suggest that they depend on a common tradition also found in Mark. Comparison of the various versions of this tradition should also help to elucidate obscure connections between the various OT texts alluded to. The "eschatological discourse" and these apostolic or sub-apostolic writings alike depend upon a tradition of the exegesis of Daniel which bears all the marks of prophetic origin; not a fixed form of words but a complex of lines of interpretation and associated texts. I shall end by suggesting a possible Sitz im Leben for the tradition in the task of the prophets of the early church.

A. Traces of a non-Marcian source in Mt.24

Obviously most of Mt.24:1-36 is derived directly, with editorial modifications, from Mk 13:1-32. The only places where there can be any question of an independent source<sup>1</sup> are in vv.9-14 and 30f., where the wording is substantially different from Mark. Even here it has most often<sup>2</sup> been assumed that all the differences between Mark and Matthew can be accounted for by Matthew's editing. But certain points may, in combination, suggest an independent source, irrespective of the view taken of Matthew's editorial work.

Firstly, Hartman shows that the non-Marcian material in these sections can be seen as extensions of the Daniel midrash found in Mark. On 9-14, first, he points out<sup>3</sup> that compared with Mk.13:9-13, "this section of Matthew yields far more associations with the OT, especially Daniel and with the verses in Daniel which deal with persecutions, especially 11.32-5."<sup>4</sup> Briefly, these associations are as follows.

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<sup>1</sup> Apart from Q in vv.26-8.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. by Allen, Klostermann, Schmid, Comms. ad.loc.; Bultmann, 124.

<sup>3</sup> 169-72.

<sup>4</sup> 170.

ἀποκτενοῦσιν v.9: cf. Dan.11.33 2772 150 311; σκανδαλισθήσονται  
 v.11: cf. 1503 Dan 11.35. Verse 11, dealing with false prophets  
 will<sup>be</sup> derived like Mk 13.22<sup>1</sup> from Dan.11.32, 34. Πλανήσουσιν πολλούς  
 could allude to 12.4 according to the reading ( 1205 ) adopted  
 by the LXX, as well as to Dt.13, especially as v.12a could also be  
 derived from it (LXX εἰς τὸν ἀπομανῶσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πλησθῆ ἡ γῆ ἀδικίας )<sup>2</sup>.  
 Hartman also connects vv.13 and 14 with this passage: v.13 with v.35,  
 and v.14 with v.33 - "those among the people who are wise will make  
 many understand", and v.35 again.

In 30f. there are three details not derived from Mark:-  
 the "sign of the Son of Man", the quotation of Zech. 12.12(14), and  
 the trumpet.

Hartman suggests that there is a connection of midrashic  
 type between all three and the Marcan text: Matthew has once again  
 been extending the midrash.<sup>3</sup> Mk 13.27 or the OT texts behind it led  
 to an association with Is.11.10-12, which is on the same subject and  
 contains some of the same words: this yielded the information that  
 "The root of Jesse shall stand as an ensign to the peoples" ...  
 "the Lord will raise an ensign for the nations" - 2115 01,  
 LXX σημεῖον εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. The "root of Jesse" is of course the Messiah,  
 and so would be identified with the Son of Man (Jesus!) coming on the  
 clouds of heaven. Thus arises the sign, or rather ensign, of the Son  
 of Man in heaven. The motif of the great gathering also brought in  
 the reference to Is.27.12f., from which the trumpet was selected as  
 the most prominent detail. However, "in the last case a desire to  
 supplement the Parousia picture with traditional motifs may also have  
 played a part."<sup>4</sup> As for the reference to Zech.12.10ff., Hartman

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> LXX reads 17477 for 51477, with according to Hartman (171 n.83)  
 the doublet 8478.

<sup>3</sup> 165-7

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 167.

wavers between connecting it with Is.11.10ff. and with Dan.7.13.

In the first case the connection is by way of the idea of "the peoples" in Is. 11 and "the earth" and its "tribes" in Zech.12.

These observations would suggest that Matthew, or whoever wrote these verses, was either independently midrashing Daniel or, more likely, was aware that Mark's discourse was based on Daniel, and was extending the midrash. Hartman himself would say the latter: "Mt.24.9-13 may be said to be composed of partly re-interpreted Marcan elements and of a Daniel exposition."<sup>1</sup> Since v.13, although taken from Mark, may be connected with the short passage of Daniel which is used, it seems likely that it served as a point of departure for vv.9-14. If this is so, then although it becomes slightly less certain that Matthew himself, the final editor, is the author, the passage must still be seen as based on the written text of Mark, as well as that of Daniel, perhaps the work of a school of prophets carrying on the work of Mark, and with whom Matthew was connected.

But doubt can again be cast on this conclusion. There are details in the chapter which must be derived from tradition, such as the connection between Dan.7.13 and Zech.12.10ff. in v.30, found also at Rev.1.7.<sup>2</sup> The only question here is whether Matthew found the collocation in an isolated prophetic word such as we have in Rev.1.7, or in a longer prophetic midrash, which the author of Revelation has perhaps also drawn on. The 'trumpet', on the other hand, is mentioned by Paul in a passage which as we shall see<sup>3</sup> is a fragment of the common Daniel interpretation (I Thess.4.16; cf. I Cor. 15.52).

We cannot proceed further without examining the evidence of the Didache: for Didache ch.16 contains much the closest parallels to Matthew's text in these places:

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<sup>1</sup> 214.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 179 ff.

Did.16.3 πληθουνθήσονται  
οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται

1b. ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος

v.4 ἀξάνουσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας

1b. μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ...  
παράδωσουσιν

v.5 καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί

1b. οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες...  
σωθήσονται

Mt.24.11 καὶ πολλοὶ  
ψευδοπροφῆται ἐγερθήσονται. Cf.  
πληθουνθήναι v.12.

v.12 φυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη

1b. διὰ τὸ πληθουνθήναι τὴν ἀνομίαν

v.10 ἀλλήλους παράδωσουσιν καὶ  
μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους

1b. καὶ τότε σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί

v.13 ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας...  
σωθήσεται.

Did. 16.6 gives three "signs of truth<sup>2</sup>" as the precursors of the coming of the Lord: πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῶ, the second the sound of the trumpet, and the third the resurrection of the dead.

The usual view of these parallels<sup>1</sup> is that the Didachist is dependent on Mt 24. Clearly, they are only significant if we can prove that this view is incorrect and that Did.16 is independent of Matthew.<sup>2</sup>

The superficial impression given by the Didache is that its general connections with the Synoptic tradition are through Matthew. Certainly there are hardly any logia from the Jesus tradition found in the Didache that are not also found in Matthew.<sup>3</sup> But a closer examination<sup>4</sup> reveals that remarkably few of the connections with Matthew touch Marcan material - by my count, of 27 such connections

<sup>1</sup> Aply defended by B.C. Butler, "The Literary Relations of Did.16," JTS 11 (1960), 265ff.

<sup>2</sup> See also J.-P. Audet, *La Didache*, Paris 1958, 176ff., 468ff.; R. Glover, "The Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels," NTS 5 (1958/9), 12ff. J.P. Brown, "The Form of Q known to Matthew," NTS 8 (1961/2), 27ff. (42). H.Köster, "Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern" (Texte und Untersuchungen 65, 1957), 173ff.; E.Bammel, "Schema und Vorlage von Did.16", Texte und Untersuchungen 79, 253ff.

<sup>3</sup> Probably only two: "it is more blessed to give than to receive" in 1.5, and the saying about loins and lamps here, 16.1.

<sup>4</sup> Glover, art. cit.

outside ch.16, only two<sup>1</sup> are with unquestionably Marcan material - that is, where there is no Q parallel or OT quotation to queer the pitch. All the rest are with Q or M material. This is singular, when one considers how large the Marcan material bulks in Matthew. Further, many of the sayings with contacts in Q agree in one or more points with Luke against Matthew. I agree with Glover that the correct conclusion from these facts is that the tradition used by the Didachist was not Matthew, but Q with M material, or a modified form of Q, perhaps even identical with Brown's Q<sup>Mt</sup>.

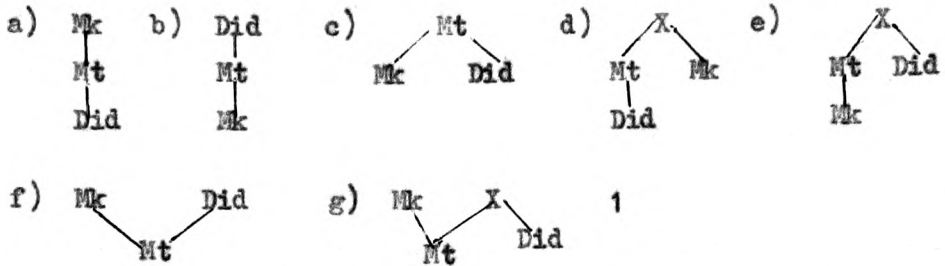
This removes one argument for the dependence of v. 16 on Matthew, but it does not disprove it, since even if the Didachist did not himself know Matthew, it is conceivable that he took this chapter from someone who did. Certainly this chapter presents rather different features from the rest of the book. Only v.1 shows contact with Q, and there are three or four contacts with Mark 13; v.5 οἱ δὲ ὑπομεινάντες...σωθήσονται and v.8 are the clearest; probably ποιήσῃ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα v.4 is one, while ψευδοπροφήται v.3, μισησοῦσιν, παραδώσουσιν, οὐδέποτε γέγονεν v.4 are more fleeting allusions. (But the phrases in the second half of v.4 are away out of their context in Mark and Matthew). There is thus a strong case for the dependence of Did.16 on Mt 24, and Butler makes it very well. But all his arguments boil down to this one general argument: "Matthew is 'middle term' between Mark and D[idache] in this passage. [vv.6-8; but the argument applies generally.] And this implies that either D is dependent on Matthew, or else Matthew, D and Mark are dependent on a source... which we have no criteria for distinguishing from Matthew."<sup>2</sup> But this argument is inadequate, because not all the possible deductions from mediation are given; indeed the one is stated incompletely and the other, in the form stated, is incorrect.

<sup>1</sup> Ὅρα μή τίς σε πλανήσῃ 6.1 (cf. Mt.24.4, Mk 13.5); σύνταξον αὐτήν [τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων (cf. Mt.24.31, Mk 13.27).  
Is it perhaps significant that both concern Mt 24, Mk 13?

<sup>2</sup>

277 n.1.

The possibilities are as follows:



Butler has failed to observe that Matthew's mediating position does not exclude his having conflated sources.<sup>2</sup>

If of the above possibilities b), c), and e) are excluded because of our (unargued, but unavoidable) commitment to the Marcan priority, and f) by chronological probability, we are left with a) - the usual view - and g), which I intend to argue, though it obviously requires modification to allow for a degree of parallelism between Mark and "X". There are two principal arguments in its favour.

The first is the distribution of Did.16's contacts with Mt 24 within the latter chapter. I underlined in my synopsis all the phrases in Mt 24 that appeared to have some contact in Did.16, and found that with a possible minor exception in v.21, all the underlining occurred in three short contexts: vv.10-13, v.24, and vv.30f. It is no doubt possible that the Didachist found only these restricted passages relevant to his view of the future, but when we consider that two of the three coincide with the passages where we already have reason to suspect a

<sup>1</sup> See H. Palmer, *The Logic of Gospel Criticism*, London 1968, 70, 80ff. Conflation, however, adds to the possibilities.

<sup>2</sup> Palmer, *op.cit.*, 101, remarks of MSS, "a conflated copy is not really medial to its exemplars, for the copyist follows now one, now the other. If his exemplars have some common ancestor, and if he makes a slip in copying from either of them, the result will be that their readings agree together against his." If we substitute "deliberate alteration" for "slip" the same will tend to apply to literary relations. I shall show below that the medial position of Matthew can be qualified in this way.

special source (the third supplying only fragments out of their context), and that the Didache offers about three of the four and a half verses of new material in Mt 24.4-31 but only a verse and a half and a few fragments of the 23½ Marcan verses, then it appears too much of a coincidence. Moreover, all of the apparently Marcan material is easily assigned a source in the OT, and is central to the interpretation of Daniel which we found to form the basis of Mk 13. It is preferable, therefore, to think of Did.16 as a summary of an alternative midrashic structure to that behind Mark, built up, however, round the same fixed points, which Matthew knew and inserted into the Marcan framework at these same points.

This is confirmed by the second argument, that in v.4b, *καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς κτλ.*, we are presented with a feature of the tradition testified to in II Thess. 2.1ff., which could not be derived from Matthew, and of which only a trace (*ἔστηκότα* v.14) remains in Mark. The "signs and wonders" performed in Matthew and Mark by the plural "false Christs and false prophets" are here assigned to the single Antichrist (or Satan?), as in II Thess. 2.9, and he himself takes the place of the "abomination of desolation." "But the Didachist has derived this directly from II Thessalonians". So he might, but if so we should expect to find some verbal reminiscence of the epistle: there is none, except for the *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα* which Paul shares with the Gospels. Butler<sup>1</sup> would have it that both Paul and the Didache have developed this feature independently from the Matthaean gospel tradition. This would mean they have not only both reduced the many deceivers to a single one, but independently hit on the idea of substituting him for the Abomination. It is easier to suppose that the development has been in the other direction, that the Didache represents with Paul the original state of the tradition, and that Mark and Matthew have successively obliterated the mythical features of the Antichrist from it, and substituted their more commonplace message for him. In that

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., 282 n.1.

we still have trace of the original idea in Mark, we have to that limited extent the agreement between Mark and the Didache against Matthew which qualifies Matthew's medial position and hence suggests conflation.<sup>1</sup>

We shall give a full exegesis of Did.16.3-8 as a midrash on Daniel further on; as far as Matthew is concerned, enough has been said to prove that Did.16 is independent of the Gospel and hence that Matthew had a special source in ch.24, very similar to that of Did.16.3-8.

I should tentatively reconstruct the history of vv.9-13 as follows; (v.14 is entirely editorial). Matthew has here drawn on a prophetic tradition of the exegesis of Daniel parallel to, but significantly different from, that used by Mark. Matthew used it to supplement the discourse drawn from Mark, and almost certainly placed it at this point because of the verse "he that endures to the end", which afforded a connection with the Danielic source of the verses. At the same time he drew on Mark for parts of the wording. I am led by the evidence to conclude that Matthew was quite well aware of the Danielic basis of Mark 13, and in composing these verses deliberately extended the basis as well as the superstructure.

In v. 30f. the parallel with the Didache is less close. The σημεῖον ἐκπέλοσης may be seen as a parallel to the "sign of the Son of Man" if the latter is taken as a reference to the Cross;<sup>2</sup> for the most satisfactory explanation of the strange phrase used by the Didachist is Butler's<sup>3</sup>: that it refers to the "stretching out" of Christ's hands upon the Cross, and to Is. 65.2, which is quoted in that connection at Barnabas 12.4. Could it perhaps be more than a coincidence that Is.65.1f is quoted also by Paul (Rom.10.20f.) in connection with the disobedience of Israel and the calling of the Gentiles - precisely

<sup>1</sup> See above, p.166, n.2. Κτίσις, v.5, immediately after οὐδέποτε γέγονεν, might conceivably be another such agreement.

<sup>2</sup> See the comms. for the patristic testimony, etc.; also Gaston, 484; Lindars, 126; A.J.B. Higgins, "The sign of the Son of Man", NTS 9 (1963/4), 380ff. Cf. also Hartman, 165; T.F. Glasson, "The Ensign of the Son of Man", JTS 15 (1964), 299f.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., 278f.

the subject treated here by Matthew<sup>1</sup>, though of course his interpretation is quite different? But in a very similar connection (Rom.15.12) Paul also quotes Is.11.10, the opening of the passage considered by Hartman to underlie the phrase used by Matthew. The variation between Matthew and the Didache could therefore be due to the selection of different alternatives from a number of texts connecting the Cross with the world-wide gathering.

The trumpet is sounded as the signal for the world-wide gathering in Is.27.13. The resurrection (Did.16.6) appears in the same context (Is.26.19).

If Matthew took the Zechariah quotation over from a connected midrash, we can more easily explain the parallel "sign of the Son of Man" and σημεῖον ἐκπέδησεως in Matthew and the Didache respectively. We said above that they were alternative ways of connecting the Cross with the great gathering. But why mention the Cross at all? The combination of the Zechariah testimony to the Crucifixion with Dan.7.13 would explain it adequately. In Matthew, it has been suggested<sup>2</sup> that the "sign" has replaced "him whom they had pierced."

The sentence "they shall look upon him whom they pierced" would be difficult to combine grammatically with the Marcan form of the Dan.7.13 quotation. The Isaiah quotation about the ensign of the root of Jesse might be a suitable substitute, but only if the ensign had already been identified with the Cross. This might have been achieved by a midrash bringing both the Zechariah and the Isaiah quotations into connection with the gathering. Matthew will have identified the ensign with the Cross and transferred it to the beginning of the passage. In the Didache, on the other hand, the brevity and obscurity of the phrase suggest that the author was summarising a source which contained a more extended allusion to Is.65.2. The transition to this allusion would have been greatly helped in the source if the Zech.12 quotation were there; the theme is similar and "piercing" would (by way of Ps.22.17) suggest "hands".

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Lindars, loc.cit. Higgins, loc.cit.; Todt, loc.cit.

I would therefore suggest as a tentative conclusion that in this section Matthew has combined with the Marcan text fragments of an independent prophetic tradition, also drawn on by the Didachist and by Paul in I Thess. 4, which made allusion to the following OT texts: Dan. 7.13f., Zech.12.10ff. (connected with the previous one by use), Is.11.10-12<sup>1</sup> (connected with the following text by theme, and by key-words - Assyria, Egypt,  $\square' \square \square$ ) - in the context; also with Dan. 7.14 by a key-word -  $\square' \square \square$ ): Is.27.13 (connected with the following text by the general context); Dan.12.2 (like 7.13 this is related to the end of the affliction and the vindication of Israel.)

#### B. The Tradition in Paul; I and II Thessalonians<sup>2</sup>

It has always been obvious that the eschatological material in the letters to the Thessalonians parallels, sometimes quite closely, the eschatological discourses in the Gospels.<sup>3</sup> But the divergences are equally obvious. What is important for us is that the parallels, especially in II Thessalonians, can be explained largely from the OT basis that Paul takes in common with Mark (and to some extent independently Matthew), and that where Paul diverges from the Gospels it is generally to stick more closely to the OT source. Hartman's analyses prove this, and I shall demonstrate it now by analyses of my own, dependent on Hartman but incorporating suggestions of my own and others'. I shall begin with II Thess.2, as this gives much more

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<sup>1</sup> Alternating with Is. 65.2

<sup>2</sup> I shall call the author of these letters Paul, since that is what he calls himself. Even if one or both of them were inauthentic, it would not matter unless there was a possibility that the author was dependent on the Gospels. The text affords no grounds for this.

<sup>3</sup> See the commentaries, among which B. Rigaux's (Paris-Gembloux, 1956) stands supreme; J.E.Frame (Edinburgh, 1912) and M.Dibelius (Tübingen, 1925) are also useful. See also; J.B. Orchard, "Thessalonians and the Synoptic Gospels", *Biblica* 19 (1938), 19-42, probably the most exhaustive comparison; D.Buzy, "L'adversaire et l'obstacle," *Rech. Sci. Rel.* 24 (1934), 402-31; E. Cothenet, "La Seconde Épître aux Thessaloniens et l'Apocalypse synoptique", *Rech. Sci. Rel.* 42 (1954), 5-39; J.P.Brown, "Synoptic Parallels in the Epistles and Form-History", *NTS* 10 (1963/4), 27-48; D.M. Stanley, "Pauline Allusions to the sayings of Jesus", *CBQ* 23 (1961), 28.

extensive and important parallels than I Thess.4.

a) II Thessalonians 2

We must first of all place Paul's teaching here in context. What was the belief by which he feared that this converts might be disturbed? That the day of the Lord (just defined more precisely as "the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ and our gathering to him")  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$ . Rigaux<sup>1</sup> shows conclusively that this verb must mean "est venu, est present, est là", not "est imminent". The view was being canvassed among the Thessalonians that the day of the Parousia had already arrived. We cannot of course guess what precisely was meant by this, but at any rate the fact proves that a symbolic understanding of the teaching of the Parousia was as easy for ordinary Christians in the time of Paul as it is for sophisticated modern theologians. And although Paul has just given a dramatic picture of the descent of the Lord from heaven in fire and flame with a train of angels for judgement, he does not tell his readers that they are talking nonsense because that has not happened. There is no logical bar to the Parousia having already taken place. The only bar is the teaching which Paul had given them in person (v.5) that certain things must happen before the Parousia can take place.

We come then to the scriptural basis of this material. Paul, like Jesus in Mark, tells his readers not to be alarmed or excited because some people say that the day of the Lord has already arrived. One of the verbs used is  $\theta\rho\omicron\zeta\upsilon\theta\alpha\iota$ , which only occurs elsewhere in the NT in the corresponding passages in Mark and Matthew.<sup>2</sup> In both cases it may be taken as expressing one of the parenetic purposes of the material, even though the precise circumstances in which Christians may become alarmed differ.<sup>3</sup> I suggest that the source could be

<sup>1</sup> Comm., 653. So also Frame. Dibelius otherwise, quoting von Dobschütz.

<sup>2</sup> Mt 24.6, Mk 13.7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, pp. 265 ff. and see Hartman's discussion, 203f., of the differing applications of "do not be alarmed" and "do not be deceived". He perhaps makes too heavy weather of the problem; such shifts in application are typical of the tradition.

Dan.8.17, where Daniel speaks of his terror - ὄραμα ἐλαμπήθη on seeing the angel who is about to explain his vision to him as being "of the time of the end".<sup>1</sup> This is followed (v.3) by the similar exhortation "let no-one deceive you", which may be compared with Mark's "see that no-one lead you astray". Here we may accept Hartman's suggestion<sup>2</sup> that the exhortation is derived from the prophecy of Mk 13.6, which we have found<sup>3</sup> to be based on Dt.13. As we go on, we shall find other motifs which could derive from either Daniel or Deuteronomy, perhaps both.

So far, I must admit, I have not been able to show the dependence of Paul on a Daniel midrash without the help of Mark. But as we get into the main body of the prophecy, we find ourselves on firmer ground. Here we do not need to invoke any parallel with Mark to discover that Paul's message is based on Daniel - indeed, Mark here is remoter than the OT basis. Paul's explanation begins with an anacoluthic ἐὰν μὴ... πρῶτον. The implied apodosis is obviously "the day of the Lord cannot come." The first of the conditions that must be fulfilled before it comes is that "there come the apostasy". The meaning of ἡ ἀποστασία has been disputed: does it mean an apostasy within the Jewish community or the Christian church, or is it, as both Frame<sup>4</sup> and Rigaux<sup>5</sup> maintain, on the basis of vv.10-12, the "religious revolt" of all those who have refused to accept the Christian gospel, and therefore are fatally deceived by the Antichrist? This certainly seems to fit Paul's context most closely, but if it is correct it involves another characteristic shift of application from the OT basis. For as we have in the next verse a clear quotation from Dan.11.36, it would be reasonable to see the source of the "apostasy" in the immediate context of that verse, vv.30, 32, where we hear of "those who forsake the Covenant" and "those who condemn the Covenant" and are won over by the honeyed words of the lawless king.<sup>6</sup> Here the apostasy is the

<sup>1</sup>I think this is better than Hartman's tortuous suggestions (176)

<sup>2</sup>Ib.

<sup>3</sup>p. 90.

<sup>4</sup>Ad. loc.

<sup>5</sup>258

<sup>6</sup>Cf. above, on Mk 13.22, p. 89.

knowing renunciation of covenant by members of the covenant community. If Mt. 24.10-12 is also based on this passage, as seems probable<sup>1</sup>, this reference is there retained. Vv. 10-12 of our present passage are characteristically Pauline, and it may well be that this particular slant has been given to the motif of apostasy by Paul himself. Once again there is a parallel source in Dt.13, where apostasy from Yahweh is what the postulated false prophets urge; in vv. 10, 13 the LXX uses the verb ἀποστήσαι.<sup>2</sup> (Heb. v.11: אָפְסִיף אָפְסִיף). It should also be noted<sup>3</sup> that Aquila regularly, and LXX<sup>A</sup> once, use ἀποστασία to translate אָפְסִיף. The significance of this will be obvious shortly.

When we come to the "revelation of the man of lawlessness"<sup>4</sup> the picture is clearly based on Daniel, though other OT texts have contributed to it. The opening of v.4 is a clear quotation of Dan.11.36 אָפְסִיף אָפְסִיף אָפְסִיף, Paul adding λεγόμενον presumably<sup>5</sup> to exclude the possibility of polytheism. The three main points in the description of the man - his arrogant opposition to God, his possession of the temple of God, and his claim to be himself God, are all prominent features of the activity of the king in Daniel. The first is found not only at 11.36 but also at 7.25, 8.10ff., 25. It is true that Daniel does not literally assert of the lawless king that he will sit in the temple, but it does say that he will desecrate it, compel the daily sacrifice to cease, set up "an abomination that

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hartman, 199

<sup>3</sup> Frame, ad loc.

<sup>4</sup> For the text, see below.

<sup>5</sup> So the comms.

appals", and even destroy the building itself. (8.10ff., 9.27, 11.31, 12.11). The third is implied by 8.10f., 11.36f. As we have seen in connection with Mk 13.14<sup>1</sup>, Dan.9.27 and 11.31 in different readings could have suggested that the "abomination" was a god, and hence "sitting in the temple of God".<sup>2</sup>

For the expression of these ideas, however, Paul goes further afield than Daniel. We had better take each phrase by itself. The designation "man of lawlessness" itself I intend to leave on one side for the moment, and come back to it when I have set out some further information.  $\delta \upsilon \acute{\iota} \omicron \varsigma \tau \eta \varsigma \lambda \omicron \upsilon \lambda \epsilon \acute{\iota} \alpha \varsigma$  is a Semitising phrase which means "one destined to destruction", like his followers in v.10.<sup>4</sup> It is correct to point out, as Frame and Rigaux do, that  $\lambda \omicron \upsilon \lambda \epsilon \acute{\iota} \alpha$  in the LXX renders  $\text{לְאַבְדָּן}$ , but not as relevant as that the evil king in Daniel is several times said to be destined for destruction; 7.11, 26 (the LXX uses  $\lambda \omicron \rho \acute{\omicron} \lambda \upsilon \mu \epsilon$  in both these places); 8.25 (not in LXX text); 9.27 end (according to the most usual interpretation of MT);<sup>3</sup> 11.45. Dt.13.9f., 15f. (Heb.10f., 16f.) should also be compared.

I have already dealt with the first half of v.4. The rest of the verse is a free rendering of Ezek.28.2 (not dependent on the LXX), the proud words of the king of Tyre, "I am a god, I sit in the seat of God" (or "the gods") -  $\text{אֲנִי אֱלֹהִים וְאֵיִשׁ יָשָׁבַע בְּעִדְיָי}$   
Cf. vv.6, 9. "Temple" however has replaced "seat", surely because the Ezekiel text is only being quoted to throw light on the main texts being interpreted from the book of Daniel, which speak of the desecration of the temple. It is obvious that it was the passages in Daniel on the evil king's aspiration to the dignity of God that suggested this parallel from Ezekiel, possibly, as Hartman suggests, through the similar

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp.

<sup>2</sup> This is strong evidence for a connection with the episode of the statue of Gaius Caesar - see below, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> See Montgomery ad loc.

<sup>4</sup> Frame, ad.loc.

passage in Is.14.13f., which has several verbal contacts with Dan.8.10f., 25.<sup>1</sup>

If we may now be permitted to jump over a few verses to v.9, which takes up and completes the description of the lawless one and his advent, we see that his activity is described in the terms of the false prophets postulated in Dt.13<sup>2</sup> - see there vv.1f. (Heb. 2f.), which assumes that they will perform miracles and make true predictions - but the signs are "false" in the sense that they are intended to lead the children of Israel to embrace falsehood (v.5/6) and forsake the Lord. As we have seen, it is asserted of the king in Daniel - 11.30, 32 - that he will seduce some to abandon the Covenant. This is probably the point whence it became possible to apply all the assertions of the Deuteronomic passage to the Antichrist.<sup>3</sup> Vv.10-12 here, although written up in typically Pauline style and employing characteristic Pauline motifs, also shows distinct signs of contact with Dt.13. It is "to those destined to destruction" that the man's signs come with deceptive power; and in the legal passage the death penalty is demanded of all who accept the guidance of the false prophets (vv.12/13ff.) as well as of the false prophets themselves. The explanation in the second half of v.3/4, "The Lord your God is testing you to discover whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart and soul" seems to be the basis for the use of τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας in v.10, as well as for the assertion in v.11 that it is God who sends the ἐνεργεῖαν πλάνης (with this again compare Dt. 13.5/6) which leads them astray "so that all may be judged who do not believe the truth but approve of unrighteousness".

It is also probably this passage which accounts for the name ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας<sup>4</sup>. Bousset<sup>5</sup> long ago suggested that the name  $\text{ܘܚܘܢܐ}$  lay behind this:  $\text{ܘܚܘܢܐ}$  is regularly translated ἄνδρες παράνομοι in the IXX. And in fact the phrase is used in Dt.13.13/14 for the men who attempt to seduce their fellow-citizens away from their

<sup>1</sup>Hartman, 159ff., 199.

<sup>2</sup>Ib., 199.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. above, p. 89

<sup>4</sup>Hartman, 199.

<sup>5</sup>The Antichrist Legend, ET, London 1896, 99ff.

loyalty to Yahweh. This would tend to confirm the impression of most commentators that the correct text is ἀνομιᾶς, not ἀμαρτίας. The fact I mentioned earlier, that Aquila's regular rendering of  $\text{בְּיָדָיו}$  is  $\text{ἀποστασία}$  may also be significant: we might have here a double rendering of the phrase, both renderings emphasizing aspects of the activity of the king in Daniel.

The lawless man is at length destroyed by Christ at his appearing. This, the culminating point of the apocalypse, is expressed in words derived from the Messianic passage Is. 11.1ff. So far as I can tell, this passage was chosen precisely because it does relate how the Messiah will deal with "the wicked" ( $\text{לְרָשָׁעִים}$ ) - interpreted as the particular supreme example of wickedness spoken of by Daniel.

Of Paul's account this only leaves the  $\text{κατέχου}$ . Hartman, perhaps wisely, avoids any discussion of this part of the chapter. And indeed it is possible to argue that the  $\text{κατέχου}$  need have nothing to do with the teaching which Paul gave his converts "when I was with you" and hence nothing to do with the Daniel midrash. It is something that they know "now", though how they have come to know it is something that can only be guessed at.<sup>1</sup> But it is also possible that what they "now know" is something concrete which confirms teaching given in the abstract by Paul when he was at Thessalonica. In that case it might be worth while attempting to connect it with the Daniel midrash. O. Betz has made an attempt to give the  $\text{κατέχου}$  an OT background.<sup>2</sup>

He begins by pointing out the double meaning of  $\text{κατέχευ}$  - not only "restrain" but also "hold, dominate, hold sway over". A Qumran parallel is found in the fragment 1Q27 (the "book of mysteries"), which speaks (1.7) of "restrainers" -  $\text{מְכַלְכְּלִים}$  - "of the wonderful mysteries", who will cease to be at the consummation. This word suggests that behind II Thess. 2.7 stands the alliterative and anagrammatic

<sup>1</sup> So Rigaux. See his whole discussion ad loc. Frame & Dibelius give different interpretations of the  $\text{κατέχου}$ .

<sup>2</sup> "Der Katechon", NTS 9 (1962/3), 276-91.

phrase  $\text{קָדְשׁוֹ קְדָשִׁי} - \delta \text{ κατέχων ἐκ μέσου}$ . But it is clear that the "restrainers" in the Qumran text are analogous to the Antichrist himself rather than to his opponent. Betz therefore turns to Daniel to find the source of the "Endzeitkalender" which must govern the pattern of God's purpose set out in II Thess.2. He finds it, of course, in 9.24ff., where he points out there are three "anointed ones" mentioned. The last of these, in v.24 ( $\text{אֲנֹכְיָךְ שִׁירְךָ מִשָּׁמַיִל} -$  always interpreted by the Christian tradition, and often by Jews, of the Messiah)<sup>1</sup> marks the end of the "Frevler"; the second, in v.26 ( $\text{יְבַרְכֵנּוּ מִשָּׁמַיִל יְיָ}$ ) marks with his "cutting off" the rise of that king. Precisely as in II Thess.2, the disappearance of a previous power is necessary for the revelation of the lawless one. But since the term used by Daniel is  $\text{מְשִׁיחַ}$ , where does the designation  $\delta \text{ κατέχων}$  (=  $\text{קָדְשׁוֹ קְדָשִׁי}$ ) come from? This is explained by the phrase  $\text{לְשֵׁנֵי קְדָשִׁי}$  used at Amos 1.5,8 to refer to kings. The ambiguity of  $\text{κατέχειν}$  exists also in Hebrew! The  $\text{κατέχων}$  is thus a "dominating power" and a king (anointed literally or symbolically) who "restrains" the Antichrist until he is cut off. The only possible entity which could fulfil this role in Paul's own time ( $\text{ἀρχὴ}$ ) is the Roman empire and its emperor.<sup>2</sup>

Betz's exegesis is interesting and plausible, and undoubtedly it would be surprising if the calendar in Dan.9.24ff. were not used at all by any version of the midrash. Yet the jump between the "anointed one" and the  $\text{קָדְשׁוֹ קְדָשִׁי}$  is a large one. The explanation may be accepted tentatively, in the lack of a better.<sup>3</sup>

It is therefore possible to see the whole of II Thess.2.1-12 as a (summarised) apocalyptic midrash on the texts in Daniel dealing with the evil king who was to appear in the last days. It appears to

<sup>1</sup> See Montgomery ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Betz here follows, of course, a long tradition and numerous exegetes.

<sup>3</sup> That of A. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zum Eschatologischen Verzögerungsproblem*, Leiden and Cologne, 1964, 98ff., is quite unconvincing.

be guided by the thought that the power of evil already at work in the world (v.7a) needs to come to a climax in a supreme manifestation - an incarnation in a man who will bring the God-defying, self-deifying tendencies of fallen human nature to its extreme point - so that it may be identified and destroyed at a single blow, and Christ may enter unhindered on his reign. How literally did Paul take the picture? We have already seen that he cannot have intended the picture of Christ's parousia in the previous chapter literally, hence there is no need to believe that he was literally looking for a miracle-working tyrant to establish himself in the temple at Jerusalem and demand worship as a god, before being struck down by fire from heaven together with his followers. Yet, allowing for some metaphorical language, this was more or less what Caligula had very nearly succeeded in doing ten or twelve years before.<sup>1</sup> Paul must have been as well aware as anyone else in the Church of the demonic tendencies in the Roman state, even though he apparently saw that state itself as a bulwark against them. We cannot be more precise than this in stating the referent of Paul's mythological language, for this passage is virtually isolated in his writings, and nothing else helps us to place it in his thought.

Summary of texts alluded to

(For v.1 see next section)

v.2	Dan.8.17	
3	Dan.11.30,32	Deut.13.5f. ib., 5, 10, 13
	7.11 etc.	9f., 15f.
4	11.36	Ezk.28.2 (via Is.14)
6f.	9.26	
8		Is.11.4
9	(11.32)	Deut.13.1f.
10a		ib.12
10b-12		ib.3, 5.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 201 ff.

b) I Thessalonians 4f.

Studies of the eschatological passage in I Thessalonians have also revealed contacts with Mk 13 and particularly Mt.24.<sup>1</sup> They are slighter, but probably equally important in that they cover the later parts of the predictive material in the gospel passages and the parenetic material which follows it - parts with which the passage on the man of lawlessness shows little direct contact. In this passage (I Thess. 4.13-18, 5. 1-11) Paul appears<sup>2</sup> to be answering two questions addressed to him by his converts: "about those who sleep" (4.13) and "about times and seasons" (5.1). In answering both questions he uses traditional material. The first question appears to have formulated an anxiety of the Thessalonians about their members who had died - could they really see the day of the Lord and participate in its glory? Paul's answer is based first (v.14) on the community's belief in the resurrection of Jesus; but he continues, giving to what he says the authority that he says it ἐν λόγῳ Κυρίου. Most of the difficulty of this passage is concentrated in this phrase: what does it mean? - is the λόγος a saying of Jesus, known or unknown, or a prophetic word; does Paul intend to quote it directly or merely allude to it; how far does the allusion or quotation extend? V.15 cannot be identified with anything in the Gospels, and both it and vv.16f. are thoroughly integrated into the style of the letter, with Christians spoken of in the first person plural. It is therefore difficult to suppose that Paul is making a literal quotation from anything. On the other hand, the obvious parallel between vv.16f. and Mt.24.30f. must suggest that Paul is here at least alluding to a tradition of some sort. Hence Hartman<sup>3</sup> gets "the impression that Paul is interweaving with a tradition his own interpretation and application. " V.15

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<sup>1</sup> See Orchard, op. cit., 2 n.2; Hartman, 181-94.

<sup>2</sup> See the comms.

<sup>3</sup> 185.

may then be "a Pauline dictum based on a logos from the Lord"<sup>1</sup> which he then proceeds to allude to in vv.16f., and which may turn out to be identical with the midrash on Daniel which lies behind the eschatological discourse in Matthew.

We need not then waste time trying to establish some traditional basis for v.15. It can be regarded as Paul's deduction from the tradition he proceeds to render, after his own fashion, in the following verses, which associates the parousia with the resurrection. Now this association, which is clearly the pivot of the argument, does not connect the tradition directly with the eschatological discourse in the Gospels: rather, it points to the very few passages in the OT where the resurrection of the dead is prophesied, always in connection with the final consummation. Dan.12.2 is the chief of these; here, as Hartman points out, "death is spoken of as a sleep from which one awakes",<sup>2</sup> just as in Paul, and the resurrection is bound up with the assertion that "Your people will be delivered." If the interpreter, as he had every right to do, associated this moment with the victory of the "people of the saints of the Most High" in ch.7, the basis of Paul's confident association of the parousia with the resurrection is already there. A look at the other allusions will not only prove that Daniel is the basis, but show that Paul has not made the association for himself, but following tradition.

The curious phrase in v.14,  $\alpha\ \xi\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ , is brilliantly explained by Hartman<sup>3</sup> on the basis of Dan.7.13: "there came one like a son of man, and he came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him before him." "Thus, according to Paul, it is the risen Jesus who is the Son of Man who is brought forward in Dn 7.13 and Paul means that the dead Christians will then be brought forward together with him."<sup>4</sup> This collective reference is also of course derived from the context

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<sup>1</sup>Ib., 188 (underlining mine)

<sup>2</sup>189

<sup>3</sup>186f.

<sup>4</sup>186

in Daniel (vv.18, 27); but Hartman also notes that some MSS of the LXX have the reading  $\text{οἱ παρεστηκότες παρεῖσαν αὐτῷ}$  at the end of the verse. Dan.7.13 is of course the central text quoted in the description of the parousia in Mark and Matthew.

When we go forward to vv.16f. we find details which do not merely link the passage with that section in the Gospels, but can themselves be explained on the basis of Daniel and hence help to elucidate the Gospel texts. The Lord's descent from heaven is, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> a Christian interpretation of Dan.7.13 dependent on belief in his exaltation as Messiah to the right hand of God, and hope for the full revelation of his judgment. Yet note that according to v.17 the Lord descends into the air to meet his exalted brothers, and then presumably goes with them in triumphal procession to the true fulfilment of Dan.7.13; v.14 suggests this. It is not clear whether the fulfilment is on earth or in heaven: probably it makes little difference. Here we have once again the collective interpretation of Dan.7.13. Note also that  $\text{ἐπάντησις}$  (v.17) may mean the official welcome of a newly arrived dignitary.<sup>2</sup>  $\text{ἐν νεφέλαις}$  is also presumably to be derived from Dan.7.13 (in the version used by Mark, 13.26). We may thus have in I Thess.4 two alternative interpretations of Dan.7.13 combined: the collective glorification of the people of God and the coming of the individual Messiah for judgment.

The details in v.16 found also in Mt.24.31 - the angel and the trumpet - suggest that Paul is dependent on tradition. Though the origin of the archangel is uncertain (could there be any connection with Dan.12.1?), the trumpet is easily explained: for the trumpet of Is.27.13 stands in the context of the resurrection (26.19) and the deliverance of the people (27.13)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Rigaux, *Frame* ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 152 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 169. I Cor.15.52 presumably gives a fragment of the same tradition.

I Thess. 4.13-18 is therefore based on Daniel-particularly on chs. 7 and 12 - interpreted on the same lines as in the description of the parousia in the Gospels, particularly in Matthew. This interpretation is described by Paul as a *λόγος Κυρίου*. In II Thess. 2.1 *καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ' αὐτόν* clearly refers to the present passage, but in language reminiscent of Mark 13.27 (*ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ κτλ.* (cf. Mt. 24.31)). The connection with Daniel is not close, but probably "the traditional motif of the gathering together is connected with the Danielic consummation (the eternal Kingdom)".<sup>1</sup> It is the gospels which reveal that the interpretations of different parts of Daniel used respectively in I and II Thess. are in reality parts of the same complex of tradition. The differences between Paul and the gospels may partly be explained by Paul's own work on the basis of the tradition; this must apply particularly to vv. 14 and 15. But the association between the resurrection and the parousia itself - and this is the pivot of Paul's argument - must have been taken from tradition, for it is present in the Didache<sup>2</sup>. Further, the general picture is obviously modelled on that in Dan. 7.13 and, as we have seen, reflects more than one interpretation of that verse.

Like the evangelists, Paul follows the midrashic "apocalyptic instruction" with a passage of "vigilate" parenthesis based at least in part on the words of Jesus. 5.3, and less closely vv. 6f., are parallel with Lk 21.34-6, the conclusion to Luke's eschatological discourse.<sup>3</sup> Orchard discovers a general parallelism of themes and motifs between vv. 1-7 and Mt. 24.36-51; but except for the comparison of the thief<sup>4</sup> this parallelism does not extend to the use of the same material. There is thus no justification for concluding that Mt. 24.36-51 existed as a collection in its present order before Matthew wrote and has been

<sup>1</sup> Hartman, 174.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 195

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 235 f. Cf. Hartman, 191ff., Orchard, op. cit., 29, Frame, ad loc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, pp. 50 ff.

followed by Paul. The most that can be said is that both Paul and Matthew are treating a common theme of prophetic parenthesis - "keep on the watch!" - in rather different ways and both to some extent at least in dependence on the words of Jesus. Paul's words, however, are as we have already seen<sup>1</sup> of great importance in revealing the fundamental significance of this theme.

It has often been asserted that Paul's eschatology underwent a radical development from simple concentration on the hope of an imminent parousia in the Thessalonian letters to the more sophisticated approach of e.g. Phil.1.19ff. Yet already in I Thess. we find Paul bringing his argument to a close with the assertion "whether waking or sleeping we shall live together with him." It does not matter whether we live or die, because our salvation is already assured (5.9f.). We must therefore understand the assertion about the parousia, the resurrection and the triumphal procession of the redeemed in the air as a symbolic expression of the equality in Christ of the living and the dead.

<u>Summary of texts used:</u>		<u>I Thess.4.14-17</u>
14		Dan. 7.13
15	deduced from	12.2 in context
16		7.13                      Is.27.13
		12.2
17		7.13 with help of 7.18, 27
		12.3

c) General conclusions

I have shown that this eschatological teaching of Paul is based upon the same OT interpretation as lies behind Mark 13 and Matthew 24. If so, we can also say that his text lies closer to the OT basis than the gospels do in several important respects. Firstly, the man of lawlessness is a simple transcription of the picture of the evil king in Daniel, whereas in Mark, followed by Matthew he is reduced to the shadowy status of the mysterious

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<sup>1</sup> p. 126.

"abomination", and ceases to play any active part in the events described. Secondly,<sup>1</sup> whereas in Mark and Matthew the "abomination" and the false prophets appear to be entirely separate phenomena, in II Thess. they are aspects of the lawless man's activity; just as in Daniel the evil king at once desecrates the temple, blasphemes arrogantly, and seduces those who are not faithful to the covenant. Thirdly, in Paul he is destroyed at the Parousia, whereas the gospels do not mention the abomination after the warning to flight. Fourthly, in I Thess.4 the resurrection (Dan.12,2) takes the place of the gathering, which is not mentioned in Daniel. There is at least a strong presumption that in all these respects Paul gives us the tradition in an earlier form than Mark and Matthew.

#### C. The Beasts of the Apocalypse

In Revelation we have rather a different picture. In the vision of the beasts in Rev.13, and its anticipation in ch.11, as well as its expansion in ch.17, John has created virtually a new midrash based primarily on the seventh chapter of Daniel, as I showed earlier. The seventh chapter had been used very sparingly in Paul and the gospels, and the vision of the beasts not at all; their primary sources had been the less dramatic, less mythological, more historical chapters 8, 11 and 12. John's use of the ancient mythical image of the beast opens up an entirely new range of biblical and mythical motifs which he deploys to great effect and without parallel in the NT. Nevertheless, I believe there is a case for saying that John's vision is based on the same interpretation of the book of Daniel that we have investigated in Mark, Matthew and Paul. There may not be much external resemblance between the imperial beast of Revelation and the man sitting in the Temple in II Thessalonians, but the basic moral conception is the same - man setting himself up against God and taking his place.

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<sup>1</sup> Hartman, 205.

Moreover, there are many detailed points of contact. The "names (i.e. titles) of blasphemy" in v.1 display the same use of Dan.7.8, 25, 8.10f., 25 as II Thess. 2.4 and Mark 13.6. In each place the "proud words", the aspiration "to be as great as the Prince of the host" is identified as a claim to divine status. (Cf. v.5). In reality, the power of the arrogant one comes from the devil - v.2b; this is also what is said by Paul, II Thess.2.9: κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ. The emphasis in both Paul and Mark on the Temple as the scene of the blasphemous apparition is paralleled in v.6.<sup>1</sup>

The most convincing evidence that John is using the same traditional interpretation of Daniel as Mark and Paul is his picture of the second beast, which comes from the earth. It is true that much of it cannot be connected with scripture or Christian tradition. But the essential point, that this beast is a false prophet (actually so called at 16.13, 19.20, 20.10), who "leads astray the inhabitants of the earth by means of the signs which it has been allowed to perform" (v.14), is familiar. Here we have once again the allusion to Dt. 13 to describe the purpose of seduction and the powers of deception possessed by the Antichrist. The commentators all rightly compare Mk 13.22 and II Thess.2.9, but generally fail to notice the dependence on the Deuteronomic description of the false prophet, who seduces his people into the worship of other gods. Idolatry (v.14b) is not specifically mentioned in that passage, but it is assumed throughout the Bible that the worship of "other gods" (Dt.13.1, 6, etc.) implies idolatry. In the Decalogue the command to worship "no other god beside me" is immediately followed by the prohibition of making images, which the false prophet here persuades the inhabitants of the earth to do. In v.15, with the death penalty for "all who would not worship the image" the text returns momentarily to Daniel (3.5f) again.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p.42.

These correspondences make it sufficiently clear that John was using the Antichrist tradition, for he has retained many of its features. But so far we have not noticed any allusions to the final section of the midrash, dealing with the coming of the Son of Man, the destruction of the Antichrist and the resurrection or gathering of the elect, and used by Paul in his first letter to Thessalonica as well as by Mark and Matthew. But then we have not dealt with the allusions to the Antichrist tradition and mentions of the beast elsewhere than in ch.13. Many of these either repeat or anticipate material in this chapter, but not all.

In 11.7 "the beast which rises out of the abyss will make war with" the two witnesses of Christ "and will defeat them." Dan.7.21; but there is nothing here that we have not already found in ch.13 - v.7 - except the identification of the "sea" of Dan.7.1 as the "abyss" - i.e.  $\square \square \square$  cf. Gen. 1.2 LXX etc. and Rev.9.11. This confirms that John uses the sea as an image of the reservoir of evil. More important than this is the context, which places the scene in or near "the temple of God" (v.1) and in a city known "allegorically" -  $\tau\upsilon\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup> as that "where their Lord also was crucified." (v.8) Whatever the meaning which John gives to these expressions, they tend to confirm that he was relying on a tradition which placed the final conflict in Jerusalem. But the real value of this chapter as a witness to the tradition John was using comes in vv.11f., the resurrection of the witnesses. After life again comes into them, they hear a voice saying "Come up here", "and they went up into the sky in the cloud, and their enemies watched them." The commentators unflinchingly refer to the assumption of Elijah. But according to II Kgs 2.11, Elijah was carried up to heaven not in a cloud but in a whirlwind. Minear<sup>2</sup> is more to the point when he compares Christ's

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<sup>1</sup> See Caird ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> P.S. Minear, I saw a new Earth, Washington/Cleveland, 1968, 100.

own ascension, and Farrer<sup>1</sup> hits the nail on the head with his reference to Dan.7.13 - hence the cloud - for the vindication of the martyr church. Here as there the one like a son of man is interpreted collectively, and the coming is an ascension. But there is also a contact with Mk 13.26; for "their enemies watched them" reminds us at once of the  $\delta\psi\upsilon\tau\alpha\lambda$  there, and of the mourning of the tribes in Mt.24.30. Cf. Rev.1.7. Unlike this last passage, these verses are not isolated, but stand in a chapter which describes in brief the whole conflict between Antichrist and the Church. We can say, then, that John was familiar with the whole of the tradition giving an apocalyptic interpretation of the book of Daniel.

Ch.17, as well as recalling and developing much of what has already been said in ch.11, combines the vision of the beast with that of the great whore "Babylon the Great". The following chapter is an exposition of passages in Isaiah and Ezekiel which proclaim the overthrow of the God-defying cities Babylon and Tyre. We do not need to follow out this exposition, but only to note two facts; that the combination of texts about the evil king from Daniel with ones expressing the self-deification of Babylon or Tyre had already been made in II Thess. -2.4<sup>2</sup> and in Mark -13.6;<sup>3</sup> and that the phrase "Babylon the great" comes from Daniel - 4.30 (27). John could of course have easily made the connection for himself, but since the evidence that he knew this tradition is overwhelming, this connection also is likely to have been among the material he received from his prophetic predecessors.

The evidence is, therefore, that John in creating his new Beast-midrash on Daniel founds it to a large extent on the traditional Antichrist-midrash of the same book. The Antichrist with human features has become the Beast out of the sea by the use of Dan.7.1ff. It requires comment, however, that he has in fact become not one

<sup>1</sup> A. Farrer, *Revelation of St. John the Divine*, Oxford, 1964, ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p.174-Ezek. 28.2

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp.80f - Is.14.13f., 47.8, 10.

beast but two. Or has he? After v.11 the so-called ἄλλο θηρίον is never given any beastlike traits; he is never again referred to as a beast, but only as the "false prophet" (16.13 etc.); everywhere τὸ θηρίον without further definition means the beast from the sea. All this suggests that the characterisation of the false prophet as a beast is somewhat artificial; it is probably done for the sake of parallelism, but could well have been suggested by the pairing of Leviathan and Behemoth in the mythology.<sup>1</sup>

Several reasons can be suggested for this splitting of the Antichrist's personality. It is done also in the gospels, but there in a quite different way: Mark and Matthew speak of many false prophets; the reality to which they direct their readers' attention is clearly quite different, and probably not very much emphasis should be laid on this parallel. John probably wished to endow the false Christ with a false prophet as a parallel and antithesis to the true prophets of the true Christ. But the basic reason must be sought in the historical reality in which John saw Antichrist revealed. There can be no doubt what John intends the Beast to represent; his whole apparatus of biblical allusions tends in the same direction - the self-deified state, which demands the total allegiance of its subjects because it itself recognises no higher allegiance. The meaning of the Beast is not exhausted in the Roman empire: "it is both more and less: more, because Rome is only its latest embodiment; and less, because Rome is also, even among all the corruptions of idolatry, 'God's agent of punishment, for retribution on the offender.'<sup>2</sup> But Rome is in fact its present embodiment. It is not, however, from Rome that the immediate danger to faith, against which John has to warn his readers, comes. The false prophet rises out of the land; it was in historical fact the sycophantic enthusiasm of the Oriental populations and the Oriental local authorities which originated the cult of Roma et Augustus.<sup>3</sup> It is local pressure, moral and material,

<sup>1</sup> See Lohmeyer ad v.11.

<sup>2</sup> Caird, 164; and cf. his whole exposition of chs.11, 13, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cambridge Ancient History, X, 485ff., 493.

which Christians must resist. It was thus necessary for John to separate the features of the Antichrist derived from Daniel and those derived from Dt.13 in two separate figures, representing respectively Roman power and Asian sycophancy.<sup>1</sup>

Synopsis of Texts used (only a selection outside ch.13)

13.1f.	Dan.7.1-8 (8.10f.)	
	7.14	
3a		Is.27.1, Job 40.19
3b-4	7.14	Ps.89.6
5	7.8, 25, 11.36	
6	ib.; 8.11ff.	
7	7.21, 23	
8	7.14, 23; 12.1	Ps.69.28
10a	(11.33)	Jer.15.2, Mt.26.52
10b	12.12	
11	(7.1-8)	
13		Dt.13.1, I Kgs 18.24ff.
14	(11.32, 37f.)	Dt.13.1-5; 5.7f.
15	3.5f	
11.11	7.25, (12.2)	Ezk.37.5, 10
12	7.13	

D. Traces in the Johannine Epistles

Three times in the Johannine Epistles (I Jn 2.18, 4.3, II Jn 7) the word ἀντιχριστος is used with reference to the groups of heretical teachers against whom the author (or authors) wishes to warn his flock. It does not occur elsewhere in the NT, though it is common in patristic writers; yet I have been using it, in accordance with a tradition going back at least to Irenaeus<sup>2</sup>, of the adversary figures in Daniel and II Thessalonians. I must now justify this usage by showing that John is dependent on the same tradition. I hope that in the process I shall shed some further

<sup>1</sup> So most commentators, e.g. Caird, 171, who identifies the false prophet specifically with the commune Asiae.

<sup>2</sup> Adv. Haer. 25.

light on the Antichrist tradition, or at least give additional confirmation of the results already obtained. Although John only alludes to the tradition, his evidence is not unimportant.

One of the problems raised for John by the false teachers was the identification of false prophecy; for it is evident that to some extent at least the heretics were charismatics, and gave their teaching as prophecy. (I Jn 4.1ff)<sup>1</sup> If all bore the charismatic signs of prophecy, how could true prophets, inspired by the Holy Spirit, be distinguished from false ones, who must be inspired by the devil? John's answer, "Every spirit that acknowledges Jesus Christ to have come in the flesh is from God, and every spirit that does not acknowledge Jesus is not from God" (4.2ff.), had been anticipated in principle (not in detail), and not only in I Cor.12.3, quoted by Dodd. The problem had been equally pressing in OT times, and the Deuteronomic law-givers made two attempts at its solution. That in 18.21-2 does not concern us; but in ch.13 is outlined in principle the confessional test which John lays down. Any prophet who "calls on you to follow other gods whom you have not known" should not be listened to and should be put to death. Any Jewish or Christian writer in the first century A.D. who applies confessional test to distinguish between charismatics may therefore be expected to refer to Dt.13. Now John does not overtly do so. What he does say is: τὸ τοῦ (the spirit which does not acknowledge Jesus) ἔστιν τὸ τοῦ ἀντιχριστοῦ (4.3); and in the second epistle (v.7) "he is the deceiver and the Antichrist."

This word ἀντιχριστός must have been coined in Greek without any Semitic background, for such compound nouns are impossible in Semitic languages. Philologically, therefore, Greek analogies

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<sup>1</sup> See especially Dodd ad loc. and on 2.18ff.

may be expected to throw more light on its formation and meaning, and theologically its meaning is probably determined by the normal usage of  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  in the Gentile church - i.e. as a proper name, not as a title meaning "the Messiah". The interpretation "adversary of the Messiah" given by the lexica<sup>1</sup> seems dubious, for scarcely a single example can be found in Greek of a noun of the form  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\text{-}X$  with the meaning "adversary of X". The nearest thing to this is  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ , the title of the pamphlet written by Caesar in reply to Cicero's eulogy of Cato the younger.<sup>2</sup> The notion of correspondence is central to the prefix; the word  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , as a noun, means not so much "opposed to God" as "hostile deity".<sup>3</sup>  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ , unlike  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  in a pagan context, is not a common noun; but the meaning "corresponding to Christ" is possible, and indeed necessary. The word implies that as Christ is the head of God's kingdom, Antichrist is in the same way the head of the forces opposed to it.

Since this role is adequately filled by the figures we have been discussing from Paul and the Revelation, there is every reason to accept that the name "antichrist" is a brief way of referring to that tradition; especially as 2.18 shows that the appearance of Antichrist was considered in the tradition which John assumes his readers have received to usher in the eschatological conflict: "it is the last hour." As far as one can tell from the brief allusions, the tradition John's readers knew was similar to that found in Paul, with the addition of the title.

In 4.1ff., therefore, in place of the expected reference to Dt.13, we get a reference to the prophetic tradition outlined by Paul in II Thess.: that is to say, to a prophetic midrash on the book of Daniel combined with Dt.13. In other words, John is using

<sup>1</sup> Arndt-Gingrich, Grimm-Thayer s.v.

<sup>2</sup> See LSJ s.v.

<sup>3</sup> LSJ s.v.; cf. Arndt-Gingrich, Grimm-Thayer s.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

the midrash as it were in reverse, to illuminate Dt.13 and hence the modern situation to which Dt.13 may be held to apply, rather than beginning with Daniel. The midrash revealed that the evil king of Daniel would be just such a false prophet as Deuteronomy expects, using signs to mislead the people into apostasy. From this John deduced, illogical though it may be, that false prophets which agreed with this specification must be identified with the evil king in Daniel - in fact, must be Antichrist.

It is only when we recognize that John is using a midrash which combined Daniel and Dt.13 that we can understand why he should make this identification of the false prophets with Antichrist, which otherwise seems quite arbitrary.<sup>1</sup>

Notice, finally, the flexibility in John's conception of Antichrist. At 2.18 the single Antichrist of tradition is transformed into "many Antichrists"; at 4.3 the false prophets have "the spirit of Antichrist", as if Antichrist were a figure of the invisible demonic world (unless it means "the spirit which dwells in Antichrist"); at II Jn 7 the author jumps disconcertingly and ungrammatically from plural ("many deceivers") to singular ("this is the deceiver and the Antichrist"). John has no fixed pattern of eschatological expectation; rather, he treats the eschatological midrash of Christian prophecy as a store of bullion which may be recast in the mould of present circumstance as often and as variously as required. It supplies ideas, associations and scriptural bases; the form is given by the individual writer, and by the times in which he lives. There is no reason why this should not apply as much to the assertion that "this is the last hour" as to the form in which Antichrist appears. Tradition associated the appearance of Antichrist with the appearance of his Conqueror, Christ; but the precise way in which Christ would manifest himself may be as various as that of his enemy. Dodd expresses it well: "The idea stood for a concentration of evil to such a degree that man must stand helpless before it, saved from

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<sup>1</sup> It is true that Dodd, on 2.18ff., makes a perceptive effort to explain it; but his main point, that false prophecy was evidence of possession of a diabolic spirit, leaves unexplained why such possession in itself should qualify one for the post of Antichrist.

despair only by the faith that now at last, at the moment of utmost need, the Lord would come."<sup>1</sup>

### E. The Didache

I have shown in the chapter on Matthew that Did. 16 should be considered independent of Mt 24 and supplying an independent witness to a version of the Antichrist midrash also employed there alongside Mark. I have only to show here that the chapter can be understood coherently as another midrash on Daniel.

With the help of the NT passages we have already studied, we can see that Did. 16.3-8 is based primarily on Dan. 11.29-12.4. (For the moment we may ignore vv.1f.) But in places, at least, there are signs of compression and abbreviation which have obscured the scriptural links. As one might expect, what we have is not an original prophetic midrash but a catechetical abstract of the prophetic tradition: at v.7, contrary to prophetic usage, a direct quotation is made. But that the passage is no mere catena of NT texts can be seen from v.5a: τότε ἤξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται. Certainly the language is exemplified in the NT (cf. e.g. I Cor.3.13, I Pet.4.12), but the "fiery ordeal" is not mentioned in any of the passages we have been concerned with, which otherwise offer such close parallels to the chapter, not even in Matthew, who has the phrase σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί . But as soon as we turn up Dan.11.35, we see that this is the source, and that the Didachist, or rather the tradition behind him, has selected phrases from this verse overlooked by all the other passages I have dealt with. "And of the wise some shall stumble" - אֲבִיבִים? - of which σκανδαλισθήσονται in its literal meaning is an accurate translation (if the context is ignored)<sup>2</sup> - "to smelt them and purify them" - אֲבִיבִים אֶת־הֶם וְאֶת־הֶם אֲבִיבִים; cf. Theod. τοῦ πυρῶσαι αὐτούς, καὶ τοῦ ἐκλεῖξάσθαι.

אֲבִיבִים can mean to test.<sup>3</sup> The extension

<sup>1</sup> Comm. ad 2.18ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 11.41 LXX; Hartman, 170, on Mt. 24.10.

<sup>3</sup> Eccl. 3.18; BDB s.v.

of this testing from "some of the wise" to "the creation of mankind" is justified by v.33, where it could be held that  $\text{וְיִשְׁרָאֵל}$  is the subject of  $\text{לְכָל הָעוֹלָם}$ ; and "the many" could easily be taken to mean "everyone", "the whole world".<sup>1</sup>

The rest of the passage can be dealt with more briefly by referring to our discussion of the parallel NT passages. We have seen how an expositor could derive false prophets from this passage of Daniel.<sup>2</sup> The  $\phi\theta\sigma\pi\upsilon\varsigma$  may then refer either to the parallel passage 8.23ff., where it is three times said that the king will "destroy"; or possibly to the seduction of Dt.13.5/6.<sup>3</sup> "And the sheep will turn into wolves": this seems to be a saying of Jesus drawn into the exposition because it dealt with false prophets, and somewhat adapted. The final clause of this verse and the first half of v.4 appear to be derived partly from Dan.12.4 in the form used by the LXX, reading  $\text{וְיִשְׁרָאֵל}$  in place of  $\text{וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$ .<sup>4</sup> This accounts for  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\{\alpha\upsilon\text{-}\sigma\upsilon\sigma\eta\varsigma\ \lambda\upsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ ; the meaning of this phrase is made more precise by reference probably to Mic.7.1-7:<sup>5</sup> "love will turn into hatred" is a broad rendering of vv.5f. there; "they will hate and pursue and surrender one another" reflects v.2, especially in its Targumic version - Targ. Jon. reads "a man delivers up his brother to destruction". Note that  $\text{וְיִשְׁרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$  is correctly rendered by the reciprocal pronoun.

It is at this point that signs of compression begin to appear. The designation of Antichrist as "the World-deceiver" clearly has some connection with Dt.13; and that he appears "as a son of God" with Dan.11.36f., etc. But how the references have reached their present form is quite obscure. There follows the usual reference to the "signs and wonders" of Dt.13.1/2. After this the Didache

<sup>1</sup>Hartman, 171.

<sup>2</sup>Above, pp. 89, 162.

<sup>3</sup>Above, p. 89

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Hartman, 171, on Mt.24.12; above, p.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Hartman, 165f., on Mk 13.12f.; above, p.

begins to follow its own path, yet sticks all the more clearly to the basic text. Καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ; γῆ like is ambiguous: the Didachist means "the earth", but we should be justified in looking for references to "the land", i.e. the Holy Land, in Daniel. 11.42 reads in Theod.: καὶ ἐκτενεῖ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν . This seems the most likely source; but the two previous verses also mention "the land". The Hebrew ז רב מלחמה means "to seize", so that the correspondence of meaning is closer than appears from the Greek.<sup>1</sup> Πουήσσει ἀθέμιτα no doubt gives the sense of 8.24f., which also deal with the activities of the king, and ἀ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν κτλ. is derived from 12.1, about the "time of trouble." (cf. Mk 13.21).

I have already dealt with the first half of v.5; it again does not take us outside the limits of the key passage 11.29-12.4. For the second half we have a Marcan parallel (13.13b), and may accept Hartman's explanation<sup>2</sup> from ἡριπ' 11.32 and ὠβ' 12.1. For the moment I shall leave on one side the cruz ὅπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος .

The "signs" of v.6, which I have already discussed incidentally in connection with Mt 24.30f., combine the proclamation of the resurrection, derived from Dan 12.2 (with the trumpet from Is.27.13<sup>3</sup>) with that of the gathering of the nations, expressed probably<sup>4</sup> in terms derived from Is.65.1f.: "I said 'Here am I, here am I' to a nation that did not call upon my name; I spread out my hands all the day to a rebellious people." The connection arises partly from the combination of the two themes in Is.26f. and elsewhere, partly perhaps from Zech.12.10ff., with its mention of the "tribes of the land/earth" which as I have remarked may lie behind the allusion to Is.65.2 here. Further, Dan 7.14 says that the dominion of the one like a son of man - i.e. the "saints of the Most High" - will be

<sup>1</sup> Equally possible is derivation from 7.25 "they shall be delivered into his hand".

<sup>2</sup> Hartman 150f.; above, p. 64.

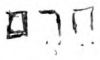
<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 168f.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 169.

over "all peoples, nations and languages"; Dan.7.13 is about to be quoted and as we have seen<sup>1</sup> was always connected with 12.2.

The citation of Zech.14.5 (cf. Mk 13.27, 8.38)<sup>2</sup> which follows confirms this connection; for though cited in connection with the resurrection, it is verbally very close to Dan 7.13. Its use here proves that behind the Didache lay a tradition which applied Dan 7.13, and hence Zech.14.5, to the vindicating "resurrection" of Christ and his followers. The conception is the same as in I Thess.4.16f. and Rev.11.12<sup>3</sup>. The 'holy ones', who in Mk 13.27, 8.38 are the angels, are here the Christians. There follows, however, a quotation of Dan 7.13 in the traditional Christian form, which in effect functions as an alternative interpretation of the verse, just as we have alternative interpretations in I Thess.4.16f. I have defined the second interpretation as "the coming of the individual Messiah for judgment". It is likely that the original text of the Didache referred to one more OT text, presenting the Lord's function of judgment<sup>4</sup>. Both the Georgian version<sup>5</sup> and the Apostolic Constitutions have "to reward everyone according to his works" although they do not otherwise agree on how the text should end. The allusion to Ps.62.12 is found also at Mt 16.27, and may depend on the same tradition.

We may now return to the closing words of v.5, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατὰ  
 γέφυρος. These have generally confounded critics, but an explanation is possible on the assumption that the chapter is a midrash on Daniel illuminated by Dt.13 and Zech.14. The unusual word κατὰ γέφυρα is (apart from one inscription)<sup>6</sup> only found elsewhere at Rev.22.3 in a quotation from Zech.14.11, where it translates . A reference to Zech.14.11 is therefore a likely possibility. It is moreover part of the context concerned with the deliverance of Jerusalem from which v.7 is drawn. The original sense of the clause

<sup>1</sup> Above pp. 170, 182.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 94f., 153.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 181, 186f.

<sup>4</sup> See Audet, La Didache, 73f.

<sup>5</sup> Given by G.Peradze, ZNW 31 (1932), 111ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. LSJ s.v.

probably is that Jerusalem will never again be put to the ban (i.e. destroyed), with  $\square\eta\eta$  in its abstract sense; but it could be interpreted, and clearly was so by John in Rev.22.3, "and there will not be any devoted thing (there) any more", with  $\square\eta\eta$  in its concrete sense. Now is Dt.13.16ff. it is ordained that a city which has been led astray to worship other gods shall be  $\square\eta\eta$ . A comparison of the two passages could have led to the conclusion that Jerusalem would be saved because the false prophet and those seduced by him had been made  $\square\eta\eta$  and destroyed. The conclusion about Jerusalem could easily have been transferred to the enduring faithful of Dan.11. Thus we should get the statement in the text: that "those who endure in their faith will be saved by the very ban" pronounced on their adversary.<sup>1</sup>

The combination of alternative interpretations, not only *in xv.7f.*, but also in placing "false prophets" in the plural alongside the picture of the Antichrist as false prophet, blurs the edges of this catechetical summary of the tradition and makes it difficult, if not impossible, to give a clear picture of the Didachist's historical situation and the relevance of his final chapter to it. But we do know that he was concerned, like the author of the Johannine Epistles, about the problem of false prophets (chs.11-13); so his reference to them here is by no means intended as a future "woe"; rather, it is likely that he took their appearance as a sign that the eschatological conflict between the "World-deceiver" and the Lord was about to burst forth. Hence the importance of his parenetic opening (1f.)<sup>2</sup>. But how he conceived the appearance of the World-deceiver and the events which were to follow is probably unanswerable.

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<sup>1</sup> This explanation was suggested to me by my supervisor, Dr. Caird.

<sup>2</sup> Similar to the parenetic sections of the discourses in the Gospels; but the closest parallel in the Gospels is Lk 12.35. (to v.1, v.2 has no clear parallel in the NT; cf. Barn.4.9)

Summary of texts used

3	Dan.11.32 etc., 8.25	Mt.7.15
3c-4a	12.4	Mic.7.2f.,6
4b	11.36f.	Dt.13.1
	11.42, 7.25	
	8.24ff.,12.1	
5a	11.35	
5b	11.32, 12.1	Zech.14.11 (Dt.13.16ff.)
6	12.2, (7.14)	Is.65.2 (Zech.12.10ff.)
		Is.27.13 (26.19)
7	(7.13)	Zech.14.5
8	7.13	(Ps.62.12)

F. Conclusions

If we now take from each of these versions of the Antichrist midrash the main points in which they agree with Mark, noting the motif and the texts in Daniel or elsewhere on which they are based, we shall get a picture of the tradition as it was received by Mark, on which he based his speech of Jesus. A few extra points are those which are not found in Mark, but are quite common elsewhere. Those marked with a star only occur once outside Mark, except where Matthew is following Mark.

A. Points common to Mark and other sources (in Mark's order)

*Do not be alarmed (I Thess.2'2)	<u>OT text</u> (Dan. unless named) 8.17
False prophet(s), signs	(11.30, 32, 37f.), Dt.13.1ff.
Self-magnification (of deceivers)	7.8, 11, 20, 8.10f., 25, 11.36 Is.14.13f.
Leading astray	Dt.13.5f.
*War (Rev.13'7)	7.21, etc.
*Delivering up (Did.16.4)	7.25, Mic.7.2ff.
He who endures to the end...	11.32, 35, 12.1
Desecration of the temple	8.11, 9.27, 11.31, 12.11
*Tribulation "as has never been..." (Did.16.4)	12. 1
(Son of Man) coming on clouds	7.13f.
The gathering	(7.14, 12.2)

B. Other common points

Increase of wickedness	12. 4
Destruction of Antichrist	7.11, 26, etc. Is.11.4
The resurrection	12. 2
The trumpet	Is.27.13

As well as listing these points, we should discount the effects of Mark's schematisation, which has made into separate events the appearance of false prophets, the wars, the persecution and the desecration of the temple. In II Thessalonians there is one false prophet who is also the desecrator of the temple, in Revelation the beast and the false prophet are distinct, but closely connected, and both are concerned in the persecution; in the Johannine Epistles the Antichrist is the false prophets; even in the Didache, though a certain degree of schematisation has set in, we still have the central figure of the "world-deceiver" who is both false Christ and false prophet. In this all these texts are closer to the source in Daniel, and are therefore certainly more original than Mark.

The diversity of the different versions of the interpretation does not allow us to reconstruct any original wording. But we can speak of the original form of the midrash in the sense of the main lines this interpretation must have taken when it originated. In its original form, then, the first part of the midrash spoke of a man who would represent on earth the powers of evil. He would set himself up as a god in God's holy place; he would be the king spoken of in Daniel, and at the same time the false prophet spoken of in Dt.13, performing signs and wonders which would lead astray all but the elect; he would create unprecedented distress in Israel - no doubt the earliest tradition spoke of his "making war on the saints" and of their "being delivered into his hands", but the themes of war and persecution do not seem to have been as prominent in general as they were made by Mark. Through all this, "he who endures to the end will be saved."

The end of the midrash raises special problems. In most of the versions we have, the reference to Dan.7.13 has been interpreted as a Parousia. In Mark (followed by Matthew) material derived from the Day of the Lord passages in the OT is associated with it; in II Thessalonians such material is not far away (1.7-10) and in I Thessalonians the Lord is said to "descend from heaven"; while in the Didache, 16.7 is again derived from a day of the Lord passage, though

it is used in a different way.<sup>1</sup> Most of the writers, then, were thinking of the descent of Christ for judgment (I am not suggesting that they took this literally, but all, I think, had this image in their minds). They thus follow the Christian tradition of exegesis of Dan.7.13 which we noticed in the last chapter. Naturally the idea of the judgment and destruction of the Antichrist must have been present in the original form of the tradition, and this would partly account for the presence of such material. But we found in I Thessalonians, Revelation and the Didache<sup>2</sup> traces of another interpretation of Dan.7.13: the resurrection and ascension of the saints of God - in non-mythological terms, their vindication. The gathering of the elect from all the nations, besides being a frequent element in Jewish eschatological expectation, is mentioned in Is.27.13 close to the resurrection passage in 26.19. Hence we are not surprised to see it mentioned or alluded to in Mark, Matthew and the Didache. There is no need to ask which interpretation is the original, since both appear alongside each other in most versions.

The earliest Christian use of Dan.7.13 that we were able to trace in chpVII, in Mk 14.62, proclaims the resurrection of Christ as his vindication at the point of his present humiliation before his enemies. But the vindication of Christ implies that of his saints; and the idea of vindication may be expressed not only in the image of the resurrection but also in the coming of the Judge to perform the act of vindication. Hence a Messianic interpretation of Dan.7.13 referring it to the Parousia is not at variance with one of collective vindication, but complementary to it - <sup>a</sup>thought which is clearly expressed in I Thess.4.13ff. Both may be symbols for the vindication of the saints against their oppressor Antichrist, and it may be that the whole of the Antichrist interpretation of Daniel was developed round the nucleus of the Christian interpretation of Dan.7.13.

This midrash in all its forms is addressed to the church; it must have originated out of a situation of distress and danger for

<sup>1</sup> Also important is the appearance of Messianic allusions and motifs - a reference to p.114 in II Thess., the ἰδεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν of Mark 13.21, ἀντίχριστος of I, II Jn.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 181, 186 f., 196.

the community. It assures them that the Lord understands their plight and exhorts them to "endure to the end," when, they are assured, they will receive their vindication. This is confirmed not only by the prominence of the exhortation to endure in most versions of the midrash (Mk.13.13, Mt.24.13, Rev.13.10, Did.16.5, and cf. II Thess.2.15) but also by the opening "Do not be alarmed" (Mk.13.7, II Thess.2.2).

Can we identify the crisis out of which it arose? Many, led by Piganol and Hölischer, think they can, and point unhesitatingly to the attempt by Gaius Caesar in 40 to have his image placed in the temple at Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, in the years between the ministry of Jesus and the fall of Jerusalem, this was the most startling self-assertion of the Beast in the Roman administration of Judaea, and though it offered no specific threat to the Christian community, it did to Israel as a whole, of which they still saw themselves as members. The specific references to the temple and in Mark to the βδελυγμα are particularly strong evidence for the formative influence of this episode. We see from Josephus' account that the Jews felt that the attempt if successful would have involved not merely the temple in pollution but themselves in transgression of the law;<sup>2</sup> force majeure would have been no defence. The action would also raise fears of a Kulturkampf similar to that launched by Antiochus. Both these points make it possible to understand how Rome could be seen in this crisis not merely as the evil king attempting to set himself up in the place of God and in God's Holy of Holies, but as the false prophet of Dt.13 seducing the people to worship "a god whom their fathers had not known". At all events, Rome could now be seen as the newest expression of the self-deified kingdom revealed as the beast in Daniel, opponent of God's lordship over the world and of his purpose for Israel and through her for humanity. It is therefore not improbable that much of the material which we find in the various versions of the midrash was brought

<sup>1</sup> A. Piganol, "Observations sur la date de l'apocalypse synoptique", RHRP 4 (1924), 245ff.; G. Hölischer, "Der Ursprung der Apokalypse Mk.13", Th.BI.12 (1933), 193ff.; followed by e.g. Caird Comm. Rev., 166; Gaston, 25ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ant.XVIII.263 (8.2); cf. BJ II 195f. (10.4)

together at this time.

It should <sup>not</sup> be thought that the Christians of Judaea were radically opposed to their fellow-countrymen on the question of the relations with Rome. They were able to prophesy that God would use Rome to bring judgment on an Israel that had refused to acknowledge her Messiah, as we shall see in the next chapter. But confronted with the "dragon" (cf. Ps. Sol. 2.29(25)), their feelings were the same as those of any Jew. Rome was the ultimate enemy of the Messiah and his elect. Herod, the chief priests and the Pharisees might do what they could; the decisive battle would be with Rome. The book of Daniel offered prophecies which could be applied simply and effectively to this coming confrontation with the power of Rome revealed in all its totalitarian arrogance. From them could be drawn the assurance that though the saints would be forced to suffer and would appear to have destroyed, God would bring forth his people victorious to meet their victorious Messiah. The culmination is expressed in eschatological terms - the terms of absolute and final victory - because the conflict with totalitarian Rome embodies the decisive conflict between the powers - good and evil, Christ and Antichrist - competing for the lordship of the world and the destiny of mankind. This creative interpretation only required the impulse of some particular crisis to suggest itself, and this episode of the statue may well have supplied it.

We can be sure that it was created by Christian prophets, working as I have suggested round the nucleus of the interpretation of Dan. 7.13 given in their tradition. It was their task to provide comfort and exhortation to the community in the form of revelations, and by searching the scriptures. Our midrash fits this specification precisely.

If it was first formulated in the Caligula episode it certainly achieved its fullest glory in Revelation, where though radically reshaped it is used just as its originators had intended. Paul in

II Thessalonians draws out a more general implication: the battle with evil is not yet done, the "mystery of iniquity" is at work - to combat a misguided form of realized eschatology. The idea of direct conflict with the Antichrist is unnecessary to his argument, hence the themes of suffering and endurance disappear. Indeed generally speaking Paul did not regard the Roman power as an enemy. In its normal character, it actually restrains the appearance of the Antichrist. Hence the tradition is hardly found in his later correspondence (though cf. I Cor.15.51f.). The development in Mark and Matthew is the most remarkable. We shall see in the next chapter that Mark places the material of the Antichrist midrash in a traditional structure of prophetic assurance for the time of persecution, and reinterprets it of the fall of the temple as the decisive moment for the salvation of the elect. The embodiment of evil here is no longer Rome but the Jewish religion. Matthew's interpretation is much the same, but carried further. All this I shall demonstrate in chp.X.

## Chapter IX

### A PATTERN OF PROPHEPIC ASSURANCE

#### A. Introduction

I ended chp. V<sup>1</sup> by pointing to a number of features in Mk 13.5-27 which could only loosely or not at all be connected with the interpretation of Daniel which we had found to underlie the discourse. Foremost was the sequence or order of motifs - false prophets, war, famine and earthquake, persecution, the "abomination," false prophets again, signs in heaven, the coming of the Son of Man, the gathering. These motifs occur in an order which for the most part cannot obviously be derived from Daniel, and they split up into separate and apparently unconnected<sup>2</sup> phenomena what are in Daniel simply different aspects of the activity of the evil king. These observations have been strengthened by our survey of the other presentations of this interpretation of Daniel. This sequence of motifs does not occur in any of the parallel texts, except very partially in the Didache. Moreover, the motifs which are separate in Mark are still firmly united in the figure of the Man of Lawlessness in II Thessalonians and only seemingly split in Rev.13. Even in Did.16 although there are false prophets and persecution as (apparently) separate phenomena we still have an Antichrist figure - ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς - who unites in himself features of the false king and the false prophet, and whose activity causes the "fiery trial" and the demand for endurance. The extreme schematization of Mark's version calls for some explanation.

Further, some of the material in Mark is only loosely or with difficulty connected with the basic text; the famines and particularly the earthquakes<sup>3</sup> in v.8; <sup>the</sup>warnings in vv.9.11<sup>4</sup>; the command to flee in vv. 15f.<sup>5</sup>; the Day of the Lord material in

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<sup>1</sup>p. 114

<sup>2</sup>But cf. below, pp. 254, 260

<sup>3</sup>See pp. 82 f.

<sup>4</sup>See pp. 83 f, 100

<sup>5</sup>See pp. 87 f, 103

vv.24f.<sup>1</sup> Again an observation based on the assumption that Daniel is the fundamental text is confirmed by considering the parallel interpretations: these themes are rare or entirely absent in them.

There are also certain internal inconsistencies and obscurities in the Marcan discourse. These centre on the "abomination of desolation." In the first place, we are led by the introduction (13.1-4) to expect some reference to the destruction of the temple. But in fact the nearest we get to it is the vague reference to "desolation" in this mysterious phrase. Secondly comes the uncertainty over the gender of τὸ βδέλυγμα. I have attempted to explain this above.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, it is not clear in the text of Mark why the setting up of the abomination should in itself be the signal for instant flight. I have suggested<sup>3</sup> that the allusion to Gen.19 was made by the mediation of the saying vv.15f. (=Lk 17.31). But what accounts for the introduction of this saying which has no connection with Daniel or the Antichrist conception?

The most glaring inconsistency is that there is no mention of the destruction of the "abomination", though it is "standing where it ought not." Contrast Dan 7.11.26; 8.14.25; 9.27; 11.45; 12.7 and II Thess. 2.8: in each case the destruction of the Antichrist or the removal of the abomination is the climax of the story. In Mk 13 the abomination is never mentioned again after being introduced in v.14; when the Son of Man appears in v.26 nothing is said about it. It is as if it had never been.

It is possible to explain most of these features as accommodating the traditional interpretation of Daniel to the historical experience of the Church<sup>4</sup>, and in particular as Mark's application of the interpretation to the contemporary events of the Roman-Jewish war<sup>5</sup>. This would account for the introduction of further logia on

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 93 f.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 85 f.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 103 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hartman, 206ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Marxsen, op. cit., below, pp. 253 ff.

persecution, for the separation of the Danielic data on persecution, false prophets, and the Antichrist, and for the radical reshaping of the Antichrist interpretation including the addition of the command to flee.

But it is difficult to account for everything on these lines, and before we embark on the task of explaining how the traditional interpretation of Daniel has come to take the form it has in Mark, we must take account of further parallels to the discourse in Mark which I believe give valuable help in explaining the origin of that form. These are the non-Marcian material in Lk.21.8-36, which I believe is of traditional origin, and the vision of the Seven Seals in Rev.6-7. We shall find that while they have little discernible connection with Daniel or the Antichrist midrash, they provide parallels to a great many of the points in which Mark diverges from these. Rev.6f. and the Lucan discourse each provide partial parallels to the sequence of motifs in Mk 13; and the material which we had difficulty in connecting with Daniel in Mark is prominent in either or both of these parallel texts. The account in Revelation has no more than one or two verbal connections with Mk 13, and it is probably safe to deduce that there is no literary connection. That in Lk 21 has generally been thought to be a rewriting of the Marcan discourse by Luke; the identification of a parallel without any literary connection with Mk 13 gives strength to the alternative hypothesis that Luke is here using a connected group of oracles independent of Mark, as well as Mk 13. I shall conclude that a traditional structure of prophetic prediction or assurance has not only dictated the shape of those two prophetic documents in Luke and Revelation, but was also employed as the model for reformulating the Antichrist midrash on Daniel as it appears in Mark. This structure consisted of a number of key themes ordered according to a standard pattern, and included certain characteristic material, but was not reduced to a single verbal stereotype.

## B. General Comparison

That the discourse of Lk 21 parallels that of Mk 13 is obvious: it is clearly meant to do so. It is significant only if the non-Markan material is derived from tradition, and again only if it formed a connected whole before reaching its present position. Both these points are disputed by the majority of scholars, and I shall therefore have to adduce some points in their support when I come to discuss Lk 21 in detail. For the moment let us assume they are true in order to draw up this table of relationships between the three documents under discussion,<sup>1</sup> to show that they possess a common pattern:

<u>Mark</u>	<u>Luke</u>	<u>Revelation</u>
wars		war; civil war
earthquakes	(opening uncertain)	
famines		famine
	plagues	plague
	signs in heaven	
persecutions	persecution	persecution
abomination of	capture of Jerusalem	
desolation		
command to flee	command to flee	
false prophets		
		an earthquake
signs in heaven	signs in heaven	signs in heaven
	general panic	general panic
coming of the		Day of the Lord
Son of Man		
gathering of the	salvation	Sealing and
elect		salvation

It is true that the motifs which are found in the same order in all three are very few: but there is much more agreement between any two of the lists. We may therefore provisionally agree that there

<sup>1</sup> The parallelism of Rev.6 and the eschatological discourses of the Gospels is noted by Charles, *Comm. Rev. I*, 158ff., who gives a table similar to this one.

is a common pattern in all three documents. The next step is to analyse Rev.6f. and the Lucan apocalypse in detail, showing that there is no literary connection with Mk 13 and laying bare the basis of each in the OT and the sayings tradition. This will show up inter-connections between the three in points of detail.

### C. The Vision of the Seven Seals

We begin with Rev.6-7, since in spite of allusions in the commentaries,<sup>1</sup> this passage has never been used to elucidate the eschatological discourses in the gospels; so this is the more important part of our work, which will yield significant conclusions for both the Gospel discourses.

We shall take the opening of the first four seals (vv.1-8) as a section. Here we can find nothing that has any connection in wording or motif with the corresponding section of Mk 13, except the bare sequence of war and famine. Nor is there much contact with the OT, except for the motif of the four horsemen, which comes from Zechariah (1.8, 6.1-8), until the end of the section. The context in Zechariah gives no hint why the horsemen should have been chosen as ministers of woe: they go forth to patrol the earth, not to punish it. In v.8, however, we have a reference which gives the clue to the whole section. The figures of Death and Hades revealed by the opening of the fourth seal serve not only to represent pestilence, but also to sum up the plagues of the section: "power was given them over a quarter of the earth, to slay by the sword and by hunger and by pestilence and by the wild beasts of the earth." This is a reference to Ezek 14.21: "How much more when I send upon Jerusalem my four sore acts of judgment, sword, famine, evil beasts and pestilence, to cut off from it man and beast!" (The prophet is declaring that the presence of good men in an evil land cannot save it.) Now the phrase "my four sore acts of judgment" ( ארבע אצילות ) is not, it is true, quoted directly. Yet it is

<sup>1</sup> Charles, loc. cit.; Lohmeyer, Comm. Rev. ad 6.1ff.

this phrase which has determined the form of the whole section; it is the only text on such a subject which can account for the number four. Of all the texts dealing with God's judgments, this one defines their number. It will be objected that the woes in the text do not correspond with those given in this verse. There is no rider who represents wild beasts, and "the sword" appears twice over. But Lohmeyer<sup>1</sup> points out that if v.8 does define the woes brought by the four riders, then "Hades" must correspond to the wild beasts; "und in der Tat scheint eine mythische Verbindung zwischen den beiden Mächten zu bestehen"; the evidence for this connection is to be found in Ps.73(74).19 LXX (not the Hebrew text); I Enoch 85-90, Lk 10.19, Test Naphth. 8.4, 6, Benj.3.5, 5.2. Moreover, wild beasts could not easily be represented by one of the four horsemen themselves.

This same verse from Ezekiel will account for the use of the symbol of the horsemen from Zechariah. Farrer<sup>2</sup> points out that the four horsemen in Zechariah represent the four winds. "If the four cherubim, that is, the four aspects of the sky, cry aloud, who shall be the executive ministers of their voices? Who but the four winds of heaven, which blow from the four quarters? The four riders of Zech. 1 are not actually said to be the four winds; but Zech.6 presents four chariots, explicitly so named, and drawn by horses of the same four colours as those on which the riders of Zech. 1 are mounted." "Explicitly so named" needs a little qualification; the Hebrew is actually  $\text{אלה הרוחות הנהלם ויצאו}$ , whose meaning may be either "these are the four winds of heaven, going forth" after presenting themselves, etc.; or, as the RSV takes it, "these are going forth to the four winds of heaven". But the former interpretation is the simpler and would be current in John's time. Now in several places in the OT prophets the winds are mentioned as agents

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<sup>1</sup> Comm., ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Comm. 99.

of God's judgment, notably Jer.49.36, "and I will bring upon Elam the four winds from the four quarters of heaven and I will scatter them to all those winds, and there shall be no nation to which those driven out of Elam shall not come." Cf. also Am.1.14, Jer.23.19, 30.23, Hos.13.15, Eccles.39.28-31. The number four taken from the Ezekiel text suggested the four winds of God's judgment, and thus the symbol of the horsemen in Zechariah. That is how this symbol has acquired a meaning quite alien to its function in Zechariah himself.

The text from Ezekiel gives a connection with Mk 13.7f. and Lk 21.10f. For this text is only one of a number in Jeremiah and Ezekiel giving lists of woes which God is sending on Israel. Lohmeyer quotes Jer. 15.2, 21.7, 24.10; we may add Jer.14.12, Ezek.33.27, 5.12. The standard list is "the sword, famine, and pestilence", which is roughly what we have here (and in Luke); Mark omits "pestilence", and both add "earthquakes". Lohmeyer says<sup>1</sup>: "Die nahe Verwandtschaft beider Schemata ist nicht durch literarische Abhängigkeit der Apc 6 und Mc 13 parr zu erklären, sondern durch Verwendung einer beiden gemeinsamen apokalyptischen Tradition, deren Anfänge schon in Jer. 15.2, 21.7, 24.10 usw. angedeutet liegen". If Mk 13 at this point is using the predictions of war in Dan.7.21, 9.26, 11.25ff.,<sup>2</sup> then the war-theme has been expanded by the use of these traditional lists of woes from Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But the text of Rev.6 does not contain any signs of connection with Daniel. The bare sequence of themes is all that we have; there is no evidence here of any connection with the Antichrist midrash, and the text Ezek.14.21 and its parallels are the most fundamental connection we can find between Rev.6.1-8 and Mk.13.5-8 and pars.

With the opening of the fifth seal John's attention is turned to those martyred in the persecutions, just as the Gospel apocalypses move on from the general woes to the persecutions of Christians. But there is again very little in the way of verbal contact between

<sup>1</sup>Comm. Rev., 58.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. above, p. 81.

vv. 9-11 here and Mk 13.9-13, Lk 21.12-19. We do note, however, that all of them contain the theme of witness - μαρτύριον, μαρτυρίαν, and all end with an appeal for patience and the granting of life - for the meaning of the "white garment" in Rev.6.11 is the resurrection body. But there is no direct reference to the resurrection in the Gospel sections; nor is there any idea of the death of the martyrs as a sacrifice, nor of the avenging of their blood, nor of the completion of the roll of the martyrs.

Most of these features in the Revelation section can be connected, I think, with an OT passage lying beneath the text. The phrase ἕως πότε (v.10), is of course a common one in the OT: many references are given in Charles and Caird<sup>1</sup>. But one of these is of particular interest. Of all the psalms of lamentation which use this phrase, there is only one that uses language which recalls the rest of the sentence in Revelation: οὐ κρύψεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν κτλ. This is Ps.79: "How long" v.5; v.10.: "Let the avenging of the outpoured blood of thy servants be known among the nations before our eyes." It seems more likely that John was thinking of this psalm than of any other. The psalm could also have supplied references to the resurrection (vv.11,13); but there are no verbal allusions to these verses in Revelation. The importance of the use of this psalm lies in the fact that it is a lament for the capture of Jerusalem. The lack of a section here on the subject of Mk 13.14-20, Lk 21.20-24 may be only apparent. As we have seen,<sup>2</sup> at Rev.11.2 traditional material on the fall of Jerusalem is re-used with reference to the persecution. There is no evidence of the use of Ps. 79 anywhere else in the tradition; but it is a reasonable hypothesis that John alludes to this psalm because it at once parallels material on the fall of Jerusalem used in a traditional eschatological schema lying also behind Mk 13 and Lk 21 and offers a suitable lament for the martyrs. Thus the

<sup>1</sup> Comms., ad loc. One is at Zech.1.12: but the context does not give any other contacts with vv.9-11 here.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 58 ff.

parallelism between Rev.6 and the Gospel discourses is more complete than appears at first sight. It should be noted that though the martyrs here in Revelation appear as innocent sufferers, Ps.79 itself makes it clear that the desolation of Jerusalem is a judgment on the sins of the people - vv.5,8. This gives a contact with Lk 21 (vv.22f.) which is apparently lacking in Mark, and at variance with the conception of the Antichrist midrash.

There may however be an allusion to Daniel in this section in Revelation. The words ἕνα ἀναπύσωνται ἔτι χρόνον μικρόν κτλ. recall Dan.12.13, and the σπολή λευκή recalls Dan.11.35, which contains the same idea of waiting for "the time of the end." The words "you shall stand in your allotted place" may have been connected by John with the idea of a fixed roll of martyrs. As we have noted,<sup>1</sup> Hartman associates Dan.11.35 also with Mk 13.13b, which parallels the idea of Rev.6.11 (cf. also Dan.12.12). There is no reason why John should not at this point be alluding to the Antichrist interpretation of Daniel; but note that apart from the motif of resurrection after the great tribulation in the next chapter,<sup>2</sup> this is the only reference to Daniel in the "Seals" sequence.

In vv.12-17 there is an elaborate interweaving of related OT texts taken from various passages on the Day of the Lord. It falls into two halves: vv.12-14, with its cosmic symbolism, is a close parallel to Mk 13.24f.; vv.15-17, describing the panic which overtakes the inhabitants of the earth, is a less close parallel to Lk 21.25a, 26b. Although the two parts are related, it is easier to take them separately to begin with.<sup>3</sup>

"And there was a great earthquake." Charles and others have spent considerable space explaining why John has changed the position of the earthquake in the eschatological scheme. One might equally

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<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 84

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 215

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the rather different analysis in Caird, *Comm.* 88ff.

well ask why he has changed its number! In fact we have already seen that it is difficult to explain the earthquakes in their context in the Marcan discourse. We are now about to discover that the earthquake's natural place is here, where John has put it. Among the places in the prophets where the symbol of the earthquakes is used significantly are Amos 8.8, 9.5, Ezek.38.19, and Joel 2.10. But as soon as we look up this last passage we realize its relevance. "The earth quakes before them, the heavens tremble. The sun and moon are darkened, and the stars withdraw their shining". It contains everything in vv.12f., even where the actual words have come from somewhere else. We should then note that Hartman gives Joel 2.10 as the origin of  $\delta \eta \lambda \iota \omicron \varsigma \sigma \kappa \omicron \tau \iota \sigma \theta \eta \sigma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$  in Mk 13.24; and that the passage is one of those concerned with the "day of Yahweh": v.11: "For the day of the Lord is great and very terrible; who can endure it?" - cf. v.17. "The sun become as black as sack-cloth" seems to owe as much to Is 50.3 as to Joel. No doubt there was an association from  $\text{לָחֹדֶשׁ}$  in Joel 2.10 to  $\text{לַיָּמִים}$  in Is 50.3. Joel 2.31(3.4) supplies the next clause, "and the moon wholly turned to blood". There are close parallels to the imagery of v.12 also in Is 13.10, Ezek.32.7f. Vv. 13, 14a, are adapted from Is 34.4; the simile of the fig-tree has been altered and expanded. This is another Day of Yahweh passage (v.8), but it was suggested in particular no doubt because of the reference to the stars in the Joel passage. The last clause has no exact parallel in the OT, but the phrase  $\epsilon \kappa \tau \omega \nu \tau \omicron \pi \tau \omega \nu \lambda \upsilon \tau \omega \nu$  was no doubt suggested by Is 13.13: "the earth will shake out of its place".

Note that Mk 13.24 may most easily be explained from the same starting point as the three verses in Revelation, that is Joel 2.10.<sup>1</sup> All the clauses of the verse are to be found there in one form or another, and the first and last are closer in form to Joel 2.10 than to any other place in the OT. The middle two depend immediately on Is 13.10 and 34.4, but the themes are to be found in Joel 2.10. The similarities and differences between the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Lambrecht, op. cit., 178.

two are more easily explained on the assumption that both have started out from the same basic text in Joel and have added allusions to parallel passages as they have pleased, than that they depend on a common source with fixed wording, written or oral. For all that they have in common verbally is the sequence "sun, moon, stars of heaven, heavens"; and this sequence can be explained from the Joel text.

In vv.15-17 the basic text seems to be Is.2.10-21: "For the Lord of hosts has a day against all that is proud and lofty, against all that is lifted up and high..." It is in fact another Day of Yahweh passage. With it is combined Hos.10.8, which is concerned with the same theme of judgment, and is also connected by the key-word "rocks". This is also quoted by Jesus in Lk 23.28-31, and there is a distinct possibility that John was aware of this. The last verse leads us back by way of Is. 2.12 to Joel 2.11, with the addition of Mal.3.2, which was obviously suggested by Joel 2.11. To the phrase "the great day of his wrath" there are also of course many other parallels: notably Is.13.6, 9, 13, Zeph. 1.14f., 18, 2.2.

The theme of the panic of the inhabitants of the earth is paralleled in Luke (vv.25b, 26a). He, however, employs a progression of texts based mainly on Is. 13, if we are to believe Hartman. The quotation from Ps.65.8 or Is. 17.12 is suggested by the key-words ῥῆμα, ῥῆμα in the text of Is. 13.4, which supplies the words συνοχὴ ἐθνῶν; v.26a is then based on Is. 13.6-8. But Is. 13 is another "Day of the Lord" passage, and v.11 is very similar to Is. 2.10-21 which is the basis of the section in Revelation. Again we find that in spite of almost total dissimilarity in the wording, which indicates that there can be no question of dependence on a worked-up source, there is a parallelism in the choice of traditional material to express similar ideas.

We have above treated vv.12-14 and 15-17 as separate sections, because it was easy to prove that they each depended upon a single basic text; but there is clearly a close connection between them, and it ought perhaps to be possible to make this sort of analysis of vv. 12-17 as a single whole.

In fact, the two main texts, from Joel and Isaiah, are united by their theme of the Day of the Lord, the day of judgment, and do not really need any further unification; but it is significant to note that nearly all the themes that appear in all the three parallel texts that we have studied can be derived from Is. 13. This is a text of similar type. We have already seen that it lies behind the Lucan version; it would equally easily lead (by v.10) to Joel 2.10 and (by v.11) to Is.2. And it mentions the earthquake (v.13). Almost as good as Is. 13 is Is. 24.17-23. Either of these, or both, could have been in John's mind throughout this whole section.

As we have noted, the Day of the Lord material is in part parallel in Mark and Revelation. But the climax of Mark's account is the coming of the Son of Man in clouds. John delays his climax; but this section as it stands at any rate offers no evidence of contact with Daniel.

Chapter 7, on the protective sealing of "the servants of our God" and the bliss of the martyrs, who are certainly the same people,<sup>1</sup> appears to be broadly parallel to Mk 13.27. I shall not analyse it in detail, but shall indicate one or two points of significance for the parallels. In the "white robes" of v.9 there is a reference back to 6.11 and hence perhaps to Dan.11.35; but Farrer's<sup>2</sup> further reference to Dan. 12.1-3 for the combination of numbering and numberlessness has little foundation. There is certainly a reference to Dan.12.1 later on in v.14: "those who are coming out of the great tribulation." Again, this picks up the allusion to this context made in 6.11. It does not seem to bear much relation to the way in which the text is used in the Antichrist midrash. More significant is the prominence of Is. 49.10 (assisted by Jer. 2.13 and Is.25.8) in the picture of the life of the martyrs before God's throne in vv.15-17. This is one of the texts on the return of the exiles to a restored Israel which have also influenced Mk 13.27<sup>3</sup>, Mt. 24.30f.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Caird, 94ff.

<sup>2</sup> Comm., 110

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 94

<sup>4</sup> pp. 168f.

Did. 16.6,<sup>1</sup> and I Thess. 4.15-17.<sup>2</sup> The choice of texts is however much closer to that in Mark than in other sources. Mark is the only one of the four sources for this final section of the Antichrist midrash actually to mention the gathering of the people of God. Again I must emphasize that there is no evidence even here of a literary connection between Mark and Revelation. The connection, if there is one, is one of tradition, and it suggests either that Rev.6f. presents a version of the Daniel interpretation closer to Mark than the others and also very far removed from the basic text - which just because there is no sustained connection with Daniel seems improbable - or that it presents an independent tradition which has influenced Mk 13 in addition to the Antichrist interpretation of Daniel. This is the thesis which I intend to argue in this chapter.

For if we look back over the results of our survey we see that these two chapters of Revelation, though they present a structure remarkably similar in outline and in some of its details to Mk 13, have little in common with the scriptural basis of that discourse which we elucidated in Chp. V: rather, it is precisely those parts of the discourse which are most loosely connected with the basic text - the "woes" of v.8, the Day of the Lord material of vv. 24f., the gathering of v.27, which have the closest parallels in scriptural basis in Rev.6f. The simplest explanation for this relationship - that Mk 13 is a literary source for John - is virtually excluded by the lack of verbal resemblance. The only alternative is that a tradition lying behind Rev.6f. has been also drawn on by Mark in addition to the Antichrist tradition. It is not necessary to suppose a tradition quite as elaborate as the latter. Perhaps it was no more than a habitual sequence of thought combined with habitual choices of certain texts from Scripture to express particular thoughts in the sequence. The sequence as it appears in Revelation, so far as it depends on tradition, consists of:

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 168f., 195

<sup>2</sup> P. 181.

- a) the series of "woes": war, famine, plague, etc., depending on a number of similar texts in Ezekiel and Jeremiah.
- b) The persecution of the faithful; this section ends with the encouragement to endure expressed in words taken from some part of the closing section of the book of Daniel.
- c) The fall of Jerusalem - that this formed part of the tradition behind Revelation is deducible, though not demonstrable.
- d) The day of God's judgment on the apostate world, expressed with imagery taken from passages like Is. 13.
- e) The gathering home of the people of God, based on passages in the OT about the returning exiles.

John of course did not employ this sequence merely because it was traditional, but because it expressed what he wanted to say at this point of his book. I should indicate briefly its function in Revelation; it will help us in investigating its history. It is the first of John's visions of events now and to come, and is the broadest in its scope. The fate of the martyrs, which is always John's central concern, is placed within a historical framework which enables the reader to perceive how it is regarded within God's purpose.<sup>1</sup> Before the martyrs are even mentioned, we have seen unloosed upon the world God's "four sore acts of judgment", which in John's conception are powers of sin<sup>2</sup> given authority to work their inevitably destructive effects; the sequel shows that they are the premonitory signals of God's retribution. Undoubtedly John was thinking of the real disasters of invasion and civil strife and their consequences, which had been seen in his own time. The horsemen do not bring unprecedented "apocalyptic" calamities, for their power is limited to "a quarter of the earth" (v.8), and the famine of v.6 is only moderate. Contemporary events therefore already suggest the answer to the cry of the martyrs which rises in v.10: the rebellion against the rule of God which has killed them is already bringing its own recompense. But this is only the prelude to "the great day of their wrath" (v.17) when the whole worldly order which has presided over the persecution will be brought to its doom and

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Caird, Comm., 78ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ib., 81ff.

the martyrs thereby vindicated. Finally we see those who have borne witness for Christ gathered to their own country in peace.

#### D. Behind Lk 21

##### a) A separate source?

I shall not here argue in full the case for a separate (non-Marcian) source behind Lk 21. The hypothesis of a separate source helps to account for the form of the Marcian discourse and is given support by the evidence of Rev.6 that we have just studied; these facts are themselves a contribution to the argument for it. The basic arguments for the presence of the non-Marcian traditional material in Lk 21 are given by others. I shall simply summarize them and attempt to repel the most important argument that has been brought against it. Briefly, the hypothesis is that those verses or parts of verses in the discourse Lk 21.8-36 which show little or no verbal similarity to Mark form part of a non-Marcian source or sources which has been placed by Luke in the setting of the Marcian discourse and enlarged by the addition of sentences from Mark.<sup>1</sup> The alternative is that Luke has thoroughly rewritten the Marcian discourse and depends on no other sources.<sup>2</sup> In favour of the hypothesis it is argued: that Luke does not usually alter substantially words of Jesus given in Mark; that a similar method of composition is followed by him in the Passion narrative<sup>3</sup>; that if the verses close in

<sup>1</sup> V. Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel*, Oxford 1926, 101ff.: followed substantially by T.W. Manson, *Sayings of Jesus*, 323ff.; J.A.T. Robinson, *Jesus and his Coming*, 123ff.; G.B. Caird, K.H. Rengstorff, and A. Schlatter, *Comms. Luke ad loc.* Further arguments in C.H. Dodd, "The Fall of Jerusalem and the Abomination of Desolation", *JRS* 37 (1947), 47ff., and L. Hartman, *Testimonium Linguae (Coniectanea Neotestamentica 19)*, Lund and Copenhagen 1963, 57ff., and *Prophecy Interpreted*, 226ff. Cf. also P. Winter, "The treatment of his sources by the third Evangelist in Lk 21-4", *Stud. Theol.* 8 (1954), 138ff.; L. Gaston, "Sondergut und Markusstoffe in Lk 21", *Th.Z.* 16 (1960), 161ff., and *No Stone upon Another*, 16ff., 355ff.

<sup>2</sup> Most commentators on Luke, including J.M. Creed, E. Klostermann, A.R.C. Leaney, and J. Schmid; F.C. Burkitt in F.J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity*, II, London 1922, 106ff.; Bultmann, 129; Conzelmann, *op. cit.*, 125ff.; Marxsen, *op. cit.*, 190f.; Harder, *op. cit.*, 81ff.; Jeremias, *NT Theology*, I, 126f.; J.C.O'Neill, *The Theology of Acts*, London 1961, 1ff.; W.G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the NT*, ET London 1966, 94.

<sup>3</sup> This is also disputed; but cf. B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, London, 1924; Taylor, *op. cit.*; F. Rehkopf, *Die Lukianische Sonderquelle*, Tübingen 1959; Caird and Rengstorff, *Comms. Luke*.

wording to Mk 13 are removed,<sup>1</sup> the rest forms not a collection of disparate fragments but a coherent whole; not only that, but in places the connection is improved - e.g. between vv.20 and 21b - and the contradiction between vv.16 and 18 removed; that vv.20-24 are not necessarily a vaticinium ex eventu, since they show little connection with the facts of the siege of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 but a good deal with OT descriptions of that in 586 B.C.<sup>2</sup> or with texts describing divine visitation on various cities or nation<sup>3</sup>; that the progression of texts on which vv. 25b-26a is based<sup>4</sup> is grounded in the Hebrew rather than the LXX.<sup>5</sup> Further, it is difficult to account for the whole of Luke's supposed rewritings with the second hypothesis. This can easily be seen in Conzelmann.<sup>6</sup> The plan and assumptions of his book require him to make the greatest possible use of Luke's alterations of Mark; yet here, where according to the hypothesis they are thicker and more radical than in most places, he uses a comparatively small proportion of them.

Against these arguments may be set one of substance: that the linguistic features of the non-Markan parts of the discourse are overwhelmingly Lucan, such as might be expected in an editorial composition on the basis of Mark, but not in a pre-Lucan source.<sup>7</sup> It is perfectly true that in these approximately fourteen verses there appear to be fifty-two words of expressions occurring fifty-eight times which are commoner in Luke than in the other gospels or which are common in Acts.<sup>8</sup> But lest this should be thought conclusive some comparisons should be made. The seven verses of the parables of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Drachma (Lk 15.4-10) contain twenty-two

<sup>1</sup> Markan seen to be vv. 8-11a (to ἐξουσια ; but λιμοῦ may be a reminiscence of the other source), 12b (παρὰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι κτλ. ), 13?, 16f., 19?, 21a (to ὄρη ), 23a, 25a?, 26b-27, 29-33.

<sup>2</sup> Dodd, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Hartman, Prophecy Interpreted, 230ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 214

<sup>5</sup> Hartman, ib., 232f.

<sup>6</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup> Jeremias (loc. cit.), who is reluctant to let our theory go, finds that the linguistic argument compels him to do so.

<sup>8</sup> For details see the Appendix, pp. 245 ff.

different "Lucan" expressions, measured by the same criteria, occurring forty-one times<sup>1</sup> - an even higher proportion: yet the Lost Sheep indubitably, and presumably the other also, are derived from a source. Even in the parable of the Sower and its interpretation (Lk8.4-15), which is derived from Mark, so that typically Marcan expressions retained by Luke will reduce the proportion of typically Lucan expressions, there are twenty-two "Lucan" expressions occurring twenty-seven times in twelve verses.<sup>4</sup> Of course many of those in Lk 15.4-10 may be typical of Luke's source rather than of the final editor, though in fact only two (χαίρω and φίλος (n)) are so listed by Rehkopf.<sup>2</sup> But it is equally true in Lk 21 that many of the expressions we have called "Lucan" are not really typical of Luke's vocabulary (eight do not occur at all in Acts).

More important are the definitely non-Lucan expressions which can be found in these verses: ἐπι' οὐρανῶ v.11 - Luke always uses ἐκ, and usually the article as well, except in Lk 9.54 and 17.29, in both places probably depending on a source; οὐ μὴ v.18 - it can be said with some confidence that Luke never uses οὐ μὴ except in dependence on a source: it occurs in Acts only three times, in each case in a LXX quotation; and of the six examples peculiar to Luke in the gospel, it will be generally acknowledged that all except that in 1.15, which is again a quotation, are likely to come from a source;<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς v.23: Luke does not elsewhere appear to use γῆ without qualification of the land of Israel; ὀργή ib.; this important theological term is never used in Acts, and at its only other occurrence in Luke (3.7) it is clearly derived from Q (Mt 3.7). This is important, as the word is largely determinative of the theological sense of the vv.20-24. ἔσται πικρῶς v.24: εἶμι in the future with the present participle never occurs in Acts, and in Luke normally in dependence on a source. μερίμνα (v.34) occurs not at all in Acts and elsewhere in Luke

<sup>1</sup> For details see the Appendix, p.246.

<sup>2</sup> Rehkopf, op. cit., 91ff.

<sup>3</sup> Those who do not admit Luke's use of sources other than Mark in the Passion Narrative would make 22.67f. editorial. But if Luke did use other sources, this may be attributed to one of them.

<sup>4</sup> App. pp.245f.

only in dependence on Mark (8.14); ἀφνίδιος v.34 is hap. leg. in the gospels, only occurring elsewhere in the NT in the parallel passage in I Thess.5.3; yet Luke uses ἀφνω three times and ἐξαίφνης four times. ἔμπροσθεν v.36; Luke's normal word is ἐνώπιον ; ἔμπροσθεν occurs only twice in Acts. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου v.36; Luke cannot anywhere be shown to have introduced the phrase where it was not, or composed a sentence containing it. It is Luke's normal practice to eliminate Mark's asyndeta. Yet asyndeton occurs here in four places (vv.10, 13, 19, 23) where there is connection in the corresponding Marcan sentence. That in v.10 is accounted for by the new beginning in τότε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ; in the other cases we are at possible points of transition between Marcan and non-Marcan material, and Hartman<sup>1</sup> may be right in suggesting that the asyndeton was used "to avoid making the sentence so introduced stand out markedly in the narrative."

If these observations make it more probable than not that there is non-Marcan traditional material in Lk 21<sup>2</sup>, we still have to show that this material forms a continuous source.<sup>3</sup> For it may be that Luke has placed disparate material in the Marcan framework, or rearranged a continuous source to fit the Marcan order. I hope the following analysis will provide the chief support for the hypothesis of a continuous source, but one or two preliminary remarks may not be out of place.

Firstly, Luke's order does not precisely correspond with Mark's: v.11b would go most naturally, following Mk 13.24ff., in v.25 -

<sup>1</sup> 229.

<sup>2</sup> We are not of course denying that Luke has probably made additions of his own - cf. pp. 234, 279

<sup>3</sup> Winter (op. cit.) assigns it to various origins; Manson and Robinson (op. cit.) consider that the original order was different; Gaston (op. cit.) combines these suggestions, rearranging the order and assigning vv.12-19 to a different source.

Manson's hypothesis that vv.11 and 25 were originally connected cannot explain why if Luke was rearranging the material, he made a break at this point. And Mark's vv.21-3 have nothing to correspond to them.

Secondly, Luke has admitted the doublet 21.14f. = 12.11f. It is improbable that he would have allowed an isolated saying to duplicate a saying already in the Gospel: vv.14f. must be there as an integral part of a larger piece of tradition, just as sayings in the Marcan parts of the Gospel duplicate ones in the non-Markan parts because they are part of large blocks of Marcan material. But the large block in this case might only be the section 12-19.<sup>1</sup>

b) Analysis

On the assumption that the non-Markan material in Lk.21 does form a continuous source, I shall now show its relationship to the OT and to the sayings of Jesus. In these respects it shows connections not only with Mk 13 but with Rev.6, and is revealed as another example of the pattern we have found the two to have in common. I shall treat the following verses, the minimum, as belonging to the source: 11b, 12a, 14f., 18, 20, 21b-22, 23b-24, 25b-26a, 28, 34-6.

v.11

Assuming that the source mentioned "plagues" we have a partial parallel with Rev.6. But the following reference to the "terrors and great signs from heaven" has no parallel at the same stage of the account in Revelation. It is impossible to give a

<sup>1</sup> A special word on vv.14f. may be needed, since they show a particularly large number of typical features of the Lucan style, and since there appears to be a reminiscence of v.15 at Ac.6.10. It may be admitted that Luke has rewritten the saying; but if it was the Marcan form that he was rewriting, some of his changes are inexplicable. The one significant point in the Lucan version which distinguishes it from the Marcan is the promise that the opponents will be dumbfounded; yet the presumed changes run throughout the saying. The reminiscence at Ac.6.10, moreover, contains the phrase *καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα*; the mention of the Spirit in this very connection makes it the more inexplicable why Luke should have removed it here. Rather, Luke was working on the basis of a non-Markan version which already contained *ἐγώ*.

precise OT source, but "Day of Yahweh" passages have surely suggested the wording; cf. e.g. Joel 2.30. But the reference to earthquakes in Mk 13.8, taken over by Luke here, is of similar origin. If I am correct in my conjecture<sup>1</sup> that texts from Jeremiah and Ezekiel linking war, famine and pestilence, but not earthquakes or other theophanic symbols, lie behind Mark here as well as Revelation, what accounts for the introduction in Mark and Luke of these themes from "Day of Yahweh" passages? We had already taken note of this difficulty in chapter V<sup>2</sup>, and left it for discussion until now.

Hartman<sup>3</sup> observes: "These motifs would seem to have formed part of this context, not because the OT texts used gave occasion for it but because these OT motifs had come to occupy a relatively permanent position in the expectations of the distress that would prevail in the last days." Hartman himself examines a series of texts employing the motif of the earthquake.<sup>4</sup> His conclusion is that in the earlier literature the motif is related to its use in OT texts and is therefore theophanic (e.g. I En. 1.3-9, 102,1ff.) But "with 4 Ez. and 2 Bar. we move on to the explicit description of earthquakes and similar catastrophes as 'signs', which may be taken as indications to expect the approaching end" and no longer as the accompaniments of a theophany. There is no direct dependence on the OT, "but rather an apocalyptic tradition, which may certainly have adopted OT motifs but enlarged on them fairly freely."<sup>5</sup> It is this "apocalyptic tradition" that Hartman believes Mark and Luke are following here.

It is therefore worth looking at the tradition of pre-monitory "signs" in apocalyptic in general, apart from the specific

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<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 210

<sup>2</sup> pp. 82 f

<sup>3</sup> 150.

<sup>4</sup> 71ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. 79, 77.

matter of the earthquake, and seeing what its significance is. D.S. Russell<sup>1</sup> defines the meaning as follows: "Sin and wickedness will do their worst and bring desolation and woe in their train before God's kingdom is established and the End at last will come". And then again, rather differently, "'The Day of the Messiah', like 'the Day of Yahweh', is ushered in by portents and signs of a supernatural order which herald the triumph of God over all his foes." He also gives a list of the chief passages relating to these signs<sup>2</sup>: Dan.12.1; I Enoch 80.2-7; 99.4, 5, 8; 100.1ff.; Jub.23.13-25; Sib. Or. III.538ff., 633ff., 796ff. V.512ff.; Ass. Mos. 8.1, 10.5; Apoc. Abr. 29f.; II Bar.25-27, 32.1, 48.32ff., 70.2ff., II Esd. 5,1-12, 50-55, 6.21-24.<sup>3</sup>

I took this list as a useful starting-point for an investigation. A few of the texts mention earthquakes: Ass. Mos. 10, II Bar. 25-7, 70.2ff. Indeed this number is so few that it is difficult to see how we can talk, as Hartman does, of the earthquake as being part of an apocalyptic tradition of the coming distress. But leaving the contents of these lists aside for the moment - they are very various, except that war is a fairly consistent member, usually heading the list - we shall have a look at their significance. And we note at once that with few exceptions these lists of woes present them as the judgment of God on an "adulterous and sinful generation." For instance the pericope I Enoch 80.2-8, which speaks of the perversion of the order of nature "in the days of the sinners" ends with the words "and evil shall be multiplied upon them, and punishment shall come upon them, so as to destroy all." I take these words to be a summing up of the significance of the preceding verses. And again in Jub.23 (v.14): "And all these shall come on an evil generation, which transgresses on the earth"...(v.18) "Behold, the earth shall be destroyed on account

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<sup>1</sup> Jewish Apocalyptic, 272

<sup>2</sup> 274 n.1

<sup>3</sup> Quoted according to R.H. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, vol.II.

of their works." (this is not meant literally, but only refers to preliminary calamities). And in II Bar. 48, v.31: "For that time shall arise which brings affliction; for it shall come and pass by with quick vehemence, and it shall be turbulent coming in the heat of indignation"; v.38: "And it shall come to pass at the self-same time, that a change of times shall manifestly appear to every man because in all those times they polluted themselves and practised oppression, and walked every man in his own works, and remembered not the law of the Mighty One." In all these cases it is misleading to speak of these "woes" as mere premonitory signs: they are evidently part of the judgment, though they are not directly associated with the final judgment. The passage cited from the Assumption of Moses, ch.10, is not quite of the same sort: it is a strictly theophanic passage, depending on the standard theophanic texts of the OT, and therefore bearing a close resemblance to Mk 13.24ff., Rev.6.12ff.. These "signs" are symbols of the coming of God for final judgment (vv.7-10).

The classical view of the Messianic woes seems to be derived from such a passage as II Bar. 25-7. "Thou too shalt be preserved till that time till that sign which the Most High shall work for the inhabitants of the earth in the end of days. This therefore shall be the sign. When a stupor shall seize the inhabitants of the earth, and they shall fall into many tribulations, and again when they shall fall into great torments. And it will come to pass when they say in their thoughts by reason of their much tribulation: 'The Mighty One doth no longer remember the earth' - yea, it will come to pass when they abandon hope, that the time will then awake." This prediction emphasises the function of the woes as premonitory signs, and plays down their aspect of judgement. (But this is not altogether absent, as 29.2 shows: "For at that time I will protect only those who are found in those self-same days in this land" - i.e. Palestine. Thus even at this stage of events a distinction is made between those who are for destruction and those who are for salvation.) A similar

conception is seen in II Esd. 5, where the list of "signs" comes in answer to Ezra's questions about how much longer there will be before the end. There is much the same idea, in connection with heavenly portents, in Or. Sib. III. 791ff., but nowhere else in the texts cited by Russell.

The conclusion must be that the idea of the woes as premonitory signs is <sup>a</sup>comparatively late development in Jewish apocalyptic. In origin and natural meaning they are the first stage of the judgment of the earth, and this meaning persists even as late as II Bar. Their meaning is in fact just the same as that of the four horsemen in Rev.6: God's judgment upon a corrupt world is proclaimed even in contemporary events. It is natural therefore that the theophanic symbols of the earthquake and the heavenly portents should have infiltrated into these lists; they are symbols of the final judgment of which the "woes" are foretastes and portents; they are there for their symbolic, not their realistic value. It is true that the idea of judgment is not clearly expressed in these sections of the Gospel discourses; but the parallel in Rev.6 shows that it could not have been so in the tradition drawn on by Mark and Luke. What is certain is that the idea of premonitory judgments on the world has no connection with the Antichrist midrash on Daniel. We are here moving in a quite different sphere of thought.

#### Vv. 12-18

There are here, as Hartman<sup>1</sup> notes, a number of reminiscences of the OT, not always in its LXX form: ἐπιβαλοῦσιν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν v.12;<sup>2</sup> θέτε οὖν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν v.14;<sup>3</sup> δώσω ὑμῖν στόμα καὶ σοφίαν v.15;<sup>4</sup> v. 18.<sup>5</sup> But the first two or three could have been introduced by Luke, and they do not form

<sup>1</sup> 229 f.

<sup>2</sup> Gen.22.12, 46.4; Ex.7.4; Dt.12.7; 15.10; I Kgs 21.6; Esth.6.2; Is.25.11, rendering various Hebrew expressions.

<sup>3</sup> Dt.11.18; I Sam.21.13; Hag. 2.15; Mal. 1.1; Ezek.14.3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ex. 4.12, 15.

<sup>5</sup> I Sam. 14.45; 2 Sam. 14.11; I Kgs 1.52; Dan.3.27 - but never with οὐ μὴ in the LXX!

a coherent system. The connections with the tradition of the sayings of Jesus are much closer, and in particular one should compare the context Lk 12.2-12 which we studied in chp. VI;<sup>1</sup> for not only are vv.14f. here parallel to vv.11f. there, but v.18 recalls Lk 12.7/Mt.10.30: "the hairs of your head are all numbered." The section seems to be a prophetic interpretation of selected sayings from the earlier context which has stamped on them the message that the disciples will be safe if they trust in Christ's power. V.15 has introduced the first person of the Risen Lord, speaking through his prophet,<sup>2</sup> in place of the Holy Spirit of the earlier version.

The one important resemblance to Mark here - the inclusion of the logion forbidding the arraigned to precompose their defence - touches just that part of the Marcan section which is least closely connected with the Danielic midrash and which we admitted above<sup>3</sup> could be easily understood as a late insertion. This is a remarkable parallel to the relationship we discovered between Rev.6 and Mk 13, and between Mark, Luke and Rev.6 in the last section.

#### Vv. 20-24

Before I say anything about these verses, I should put in a word about Lk 19.42-4, which are in some respects a parallel - as a detailed prediction of the fall of Jerusalem the only parallel in the Gospels. They have frequently been regarded as a vaticinium ex eventu and as a Lucan composition.<sup>4</sup> But Dodd<sup>5</sup> has shown that, as with 21.20-24, the language does not necessarily demand the conclusion that it is an ex eventu composition, being derived from accounts and predictions of the siege of 586 B.C. As for Lucan authorship, the position with regard to vocabulary<sup>6</sup> is much the same as in chapter 21: the proportion of "Lucan" vocabulary is in fact quite small, and not all the expressions which have been regarded as Lucan are necessarily

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 122f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, pp. 71f.

<sup>3</sup> p. 100

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. Creed and Klostermann, Comms. ad loc.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix, p. 247.

so. The phrase τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην only occurs elsewhere at Lk 14.32, which is part of a parable, and therefore more likely to belong to the Lucan source than to Luke himself. And though the verb ἐπισκέπτεσθαι is prominent in theologically significant places in Luke, the noun ἐπισκοπή is only used by him elsewhere at Ac.1.20 in a LXX quotation with a totally different meaning. ἦκεν does not occur in Acts, and elsewhere in Luke (except perhaps in 13.35) it is obvious or probable that it is dependent on a source.

It may be possible, therefore, to regard the oracle as belonging to the Lucan source and as circulating before the siege. If so, there is no obvious bar to its being an authentic saying of Jesus; but all that is necessary for my thesis is to give it a Sitz im Leben in the primitive church. The predictions appear definite enough, yet there is an implied appeal in the opening εἰ ἔγνωσ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ and the closing echo οὐκ ἔγνωσ .... It is in spite of its definiteness a last desperate appeal at the eleventh hour of the crisis.<sup>1</sup> It may well have been employed by Christian preachers in Jerusalem in the years immediately before the war or before the siege. It should be placed alongside such appeals as Mt 23.37<sup>9</sup>/Lk 13.34f.<sup>2</sup>

Now in 21.20-24 we have a more elaborate warning of the fall of Jerusalem, containing two principal points - an admonition to the Christians to leave the doomed city to its fate, and a theological explanation of that fate as divine punishment. It is not stated for what sins the punishment is to be exacted. This is perhaps a sign that the pericope was never an independent unit of tradition, but was always intended to be understood in the light of the section which precedes: it is as a persecutor that Jerusalem must suffer. This

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gaston, p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 131.

is confirmed by the word ἐκδίκησις - "vengeance" in v.22(cf.18.7f.) and by the form of the Section: it is parenthesis (for the disciples, or the church), and there is no sign that it was ever anything else;<sup>1</sup> it entirely lacks the urgency of 19.42-4 or 13.34f. and is not addressed like them to Jerusalem. In this respect it is also in contrast with pericopes which we have studied in Lk 12.35-48<sup>2</sup> and 17.22-37<sup>3</sup>, which function as parenthesis for the church in their present form, but were originally eschatological crisis-preaching, and even with the threat of vengeance for "the blood of the prophets" in Mt 23.34-6/Lk 11.49-51, which also has the character of a last appeal to the people to repent.

Like Lk 19.42-4, 21.20-24 has frequently been seen as an ex eventu composition by Luke. Dodd<sup>4</sup> examines it to show that the expressions describing the siege are drawn rather from the OT descriptions and predictions of that of 586 B.C. than from the facts of that of 70 A.D. It is possible therefore to regard Lk 21.20-24 as a word of warning given to the Christian community in Jerusalem at some time before the siege (doubtless after the beginning of the war, when the result would except for the fanatics be no longer in doubt.);<sup>5</sup> and in its context not only a word of warning, but a solemn announcement of the punishment of Jerusalem

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<sup>1</sup>Gaston (No Stone upon Another, 355ff.) interprets the majority of Lk 21 as preaching addressed to the people of Jerusalem, on the ground of the introduction, vv.5-7, which makes the audience the crowd, and which he takes to be derived mainly from Proto-Luke. But clearly it is rather the abbreviation and modification by Luke of Mark's introduction.

<sup>2</sup>pp. 123 ff

<sup>3</sup>pp. 142 ff

<sup>4</sup>Op.cit.

<sup>5</sup>Taylor, op. cit., 124, dates it in 67-9.

for its contempt of the Christian message and persecution of the messengers, and hence of vindication ( ἐκδίκησις ! ) for them.

Though its function and Sitz im Leben are thus quite different from those of the pericopes of warning to Jerusalem, it seems that its predictions are a concentration and transmutation of their threats, with the contribution of a large number of phrases from OT texts. First we shall consider this background in the sayings tradition. Κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων (v.20) recalls Lk 19.43. For ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς I may mention that the word ἐρημος is given in most MSS at Mt 23.38 and in many at Lk 13.35. Whether it should be read at either place is immaterial for our purpose, because it is in any case derived from Jer.22.5 which is there quoted: it could have been suggested to a prophetic interpreter of the saying as easily as to the scribes who may have inserted it. The warning to leave Jerusalem (v.21) has of course already been given at Lk 17.31/Mk 13.15f.<sup>1</sup> It is here repeated in a much more colourless and therefore doubtless secondary form. Vv.22a and 23b surely bear a close relationship to Mt 23.36/Lk 11.51b, even though there is no verbal similarity; v.24 may be a reminiscence of 19.44. The predictive elements of the pericope combine the precise vision of 19.42-4 with the theological evaluation of Mt 23.34-6/Lk 11.49-51, and at the same time transmute warning to Jerusalem into prediction as the basis of a combined warning and assurance for the Church.

The OT background of this pericope is complex, and gives the impression rather of a piling-up of allusions to a multitude of related texts than an interpretation of any one or two. Even the two phrases which Nestle-Kilpatrick and Huck venture to indicate as quotations cannot confidently be assigned each to one clear source:

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 102 ff, 145

Nestle-Kilpatrick offer three possibilities for ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως and four for πατούμενη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν . This OT background has been investigated not only by Dodd but also by Hartman.<sup>1</sup> Hartman brings a large selection of parallel texts together for comparison with each element in the pericope; some of these provide several motifs. He notes that "the commensurable OT texts are not only those which relate to the sack of Jerusalem, but also those which deal with the days of vengeance and similar motifs. The manner of using OT motifs here shows that stress was placed not on the fact that Jerusalem will be destroyed but on the assertion that the destruction will be a divine punishment". The parallels are derived from prophecies of the capture of Jerusalem such as Jer.20.1-6, prophecies of the capture of hostile cities such as Jer.50 (Babylon), and prophecies of either with Day of Yahweh symbolism, such as Is.13.4-15 and Zeph.1.7-15. He lays particular emphasis on these last two and on Is.10.3-6, pointing out that Is.13 also serves as a basis for the following section in Luke. To summarize, Is. 10.3-6 gives "the day of punishment", "flee", "prisoners", "slain", "anger", "people of my wrath", "tread down"; Is.13 "day of Yahweh", "destruction", "wrath", "desolation", "punish", "flee", "fall by the sword"; Zeph. 1 "day of Yahweh", "punish", "laid waste", "wrath", "distress and anguish", "ruin and devastation". But some of the other passages mentioned in his footnote<sup>2</sup> also give quite long lists of correspondences: e.g. Jer.50, which is a prophecy of the fall of Babylon and of the restoration of Israel:

V.8: Flee from the midst of Babylon, and go out of the land of the Chaldeans...9 For behold, I am stirring up and bringing against Babylon a company of great nations, from the north country; and they shall array themselves against her; from there she shall be taken ... 12...Lo, she shall be the last of the nations, a

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<sup>1</sup> 230ff.

<sup>2</sup> 230 n. 29.

wilderness dry and desert. 13 Because of the wrath of the Lord she shall not be inhabited, but shall be an utter desolation...

14 Set yourselves in array about Babylon round about, all you that bend the bow; shoot at her, spare no arrows, for she has sinned against the Lord. 15 Raise a shout against her round about, she has surrendered; her bulwarks have fallen, her walls are thrown down. For this is the vengeance of the Lord; take vengeance on her, do to her as she has done. 16 Cut off from Babylon the sower, and the one who handles the sickle in time of harvest; because of the sword of the oppressor, everyone shall turn to his own people, and everyone shall flee to his own land.

Later in the chapter there is another remarkable cluster of parallels: 25 The Lord has opened his armoury, and brought out the weapons of his wrath ... 27..Woe to them, for their day has come, the time of their punishment ( ἡ ἡμέρα αὐτῶν, καὶ κριτὸς ἐκδικήσεως αὐτῶν ) 28 Hark! they flee and escape from the land of Babylon, to declare in Zion the vengeance of the Lord our God, vengeance for his temple. 29 Summon archers against Babylon, all those who bend the bow. Encamp round about her; let no-one escape. Requite her according to her deeds... 30 Therefore her young men shall fall in her squares, and all her soldiers shall be destroyed on that day, says the Lord.

Such parallels could be multiplied - compare, for instance, Ezek.26, or Jer.46. Prophecies against Babylon, such as Jer.50 and 51, are in more than one respect closer to the conception in the Lucan verses than the many prophecies against Jerusalem itself - the destruction is promised in recompense for Babylon's oppression of Israel, as here the fall of Jerusalem is promised in recompense for Jerusalem's oppression of the Church; and they contain the flight motif, warning the Israelite exiles to flee from the doomed city. (Jer.50.8; cf. Is.52.11f.) At all events, the conclusion must be

that Lk 21.20-24 is a prophecy of judgment based on sayings of Jesus, but written in the language of the OT prophecies of Judgment.

This analysis should have shown up the relationship of the section to Rev.6.9-11, with its use of Ps.79, another text about the fall of Jerusalem to the Gentiles; it may also be significant that Revelation, in ch.7, goes on to use texts about the exiles' return which are connected in theme with the prophecies of the fall of Babylon also drawn on for this Section in Luke. It is more closely related to Mk 13.14-20. The latter uses the word ἐπιπίωρις (v.14). We have noted<sup>1</sup> that this was an inaccurate translation of the Hebrew; and that it may have been used in LXX and Thdt. because of its frequency in similar connections in Jeremiah. We now find that it may have been used in the Lucan parallel because of the influence of Jeremiah. The same could be true of Mark. In Mk 13.14b-16 the theme of flight from the doomed city appears, with the saying also found at Lk 17.31 and an allusion to Gen.19. However, it is notable that the theme of wrath, the theological understanding of the suffering of Jerusalem as punishment for her sin, is played down in Mark. Once again, it is the most loosely connected parts of the Marcan discourse which turn out to give the closest correspondence to the parallel in Luke.

#### Vv. 25-28

I have shown above<sup>2</sup> that vv. 25b-26a may be understood as an interpretation of Is.13. V.28 has no clearly discernible OT background, but the idea that the fearful events of the Day of the Lord are a prelude to deliverance and rest for the Lord's people is a commonplace, and is in fact found in the sequel to the grim descriptions in Is.13: "The Lord will have compassion on Jacob, and will again choose Israel, and will set them in their own land, and aliens will join them and will cleave to the house of Jacob" - Is.14.1.

<sup>1</sup> p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> p. 214.

It is clear therefore that these verses show no break with what precedes: Is.13 and similar texts are also drawn on for vv.20-24. There is probably also originally no break in the sense. The fall of Jerusalem, chief among oppressors, leads directly on to the world-wide revelation of God's judgment - hinted at rather than described - and thus to deliverance for his oppressed people. Luke has clearly separated the two stages, the first of which is already past at the time he writes, by means of the last clause of v.24:

ἔχρι οὖν πληρωθῶσιν καιροῦ ἐθνῶν . This shows a particularly high concentration of Lucan expressions<sup>1</sup> and may well have been added by Luke. Without this clause, and without the πρὸ δὲ τούτων πάντων of v.12, also probably added by Luke,<sup>2</sup> there would be no indication that there was any break at all between the fall of Jerusalem and the panic of v.25. The punishment of Jerusalem is being seen in a perspective of world-wide judgment, which has already been prepared for by the "woes" of vv.10f.

In OT prophecy events of local significance are frequently given the colouring of world-wide events, in addition to, and perhaps as a consequence of, the cosmic symbolism of the Day of the Lord: e.g. Is.13.4f., 9; 34.1f.; Jer.50.46 especially Is.34.2: "The Lord is enraged against all the nations". "All the nations" stand under the same judgment, the prophet sees: one however is being picked out as an example to have the sentence executed. It is the same here. The punishment of Jerusalem is the immediately impending, significant act in the judgment which God has prepared upon the whole world. The removal of the immediate oppressor is an earnest of the sweeping away of all God's enemies, and consequently the picture of world-wide, even cosmic, judgment is an effective symbol for God's absolute and final judgment upon the present oppressor: the predicted fall of Jerusalem

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, <sup>p.248,</sup> and below, p. 280

<sup>2</sup> Below, p. 279.

is seen in eschatological terms. This puts out of court Conzelmann's view<sup>1</sup> that Lk 21.20-24 is "a polemical excursus about matters which are mistakenly included among the eschatological events". Certainly Luke wishes to distinguish between events which have happened and those still awaited<sup>2</sup>; but if he composed this section himself his choice of the OT language shows that he is not removing eschatological significance from those which have happened.

The parallels in Mark and Revelation are quite clear: both introduce their climax with Day of the Lord material from passages related to Is.13; and in both the climax is an act of world judgment, signified in Mark by the gathering of the elect "from the four winds" and in Revelation by the panic of the inhabitants of the earth.

#### Vv. 34-6

This parenetic conclusion has often been described as "a Lucan addition based on the eschatological exhortation of the Hellenistic church",<sup>3</sup> or as a rewriting of the Marcan conclusion Mk 13.33-7.<sup>4</sup> The latter it most certainly is not - it only has one significant word ( ἀγρυπνεῖτε ) in common with Mk 13.33-7. If the former description is meant to indicate that it was composed by Luke, this may be partly true;<sup>5</sup> it also may be true that it is Luke who has placed it in the position it now occupies: it does not form part of the system of correspondences with Rev.6-7. But it has connections too numerous and subtle with I Thess.5.1ff. and not just with the eschatological exhortation of the epistles in general to be regarded as the free composition of Luke.

These connections are set out by Hartman<sup>6</sup>: at least in vv.3 and 6 Paul is using a tradition parallel with Lk. 21.34-6. This is

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., 128; cf. Hartman, 232.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Caird, Comm. Lk 229, and below, pp. 277 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Gaston, 357f.

<sup>4</sup>Creed, Comm. ad loc.

<sup>5</sup>See Appendix for Lucan expressions. (Pp. 249 ff.)

<sup>6</sup>192f.

shown by the choice of words -

αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται ἄλεθρος ὡσαυτὴ ἢ ὠδίν·  
 (see below) ... καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐκφύγωσιν ... γρηγορῶμεν καὶ  
 νήφωμεν ... οἱ μεθυσκόμενοι νυκτὸς μεθύσωσιν.  
 αἰφνίδιος occurs only in these two passages in the NT; ἐφίσταται

only once elsewhere outside Luke's writings, with whom it is a favourite. ὠδίν should be compared with παγίς Lk 21.35 - Hartman points out that in Hebrew or Aramaic 527 may mean "travail" or "snare" with different vocalisations. This coincidence not only confirms the subterranean connection of the two passages, but rules out any literary connection and disproves the idea that Luke depends on a peculiarly Hellenistic tradition of exhortation; on the contrary this tradition emerged in a semitic-speaking area and has come to Luke and Paul through two different routes. The faint echo of Is.24.17 which we find in Luke appears to be absent in I Thessalonians, and it may have been brought in only in the line of tradition leading to Luke.

In Paul we find the tradition associated with a fragment of the Antichrist midrash<sup>1</sup>; but in Luke its only connection with the latter is Luke's use of Mark in the same chapter. The connection in Paul may therefore be secondary.

On the other hand, its association with the non-Marcian material in Lk 21 may be original, in spite of the lack of a parallel in Rev 6f. Hartman<sup>2</sup> points out the similarity of I Thess.5.3 and Mt 24.37ff/Lk 17.26ff. In fact, the theme of the sudden overtaking of the unwary is one we have found to be characteristic of the earliest layers of the sayings tradition<sup>3</sup>, and the mention of the Son of Man almost certainly indicates a connection with the sayings tradition. The Son of Man appears to be the judge, yet originally the conception may have been the same as in Lk 12.8f.<sup>4</sup> There therefore seems no obstacle to

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 132

<sup>2</sup> 195.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 127ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 141.

supposing we have here an otherwise unknown saying or couple of sayings of Jesus, which has also contributed to I Thess.5. We have seen that such sayings are the basis of the earlier parts of the discourse. We cannot of course recover the original form of the saying or sayings: there has been an adaptation to the parenetic needs of the Church, in view of ταῦτα πάντα τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι. This is the tribulation which has been described in the previous verses. As we have noted in connection with Mk 13.33-7<sup>1</sup> Selwyn<sup>2</sup> assigns the "vigilate" parenesis of the Epistles, of which this is an example, to a "persecution-form"; and we have seen that persecution is the starting-point of the events warned against in the preceding verses. Not that persecution is the only thing to be watched for; but, as I have said<sup>3</sup>, it obscures the significance of the language of "keeping awake" to refer it to the "delay of the Parousia". The Parousia is not even mentioned in the non-Marcian material here; but these verses would form an appropriate parenetic conclusion to this material, if it was indeed a continuous discourse, and may always have been associated with it.

c) Summary

The non-Marcian material in Lk 21 is now shown to be coherent by its parallelism with Rev.6f. as well as with Mk 13, and by the fact that like Rev.6f. it finds its closest parallels in Mk 13 not only in general structure but in specific material which on quite other grounds we have decided is less closely connected with the main Scriptural basis of that chapter. This is a fact which I can only account for on the assumption that the non-Marcian material in Lk 21 offers not a collection of heterogeneous sources, but a version of a single tradition, also drawn on by Mk 13.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> E.G. Selwyn, Comm. I Peter, 439ff.

<sup>3</sup> p. 111.

Its structure was this: it opened with a warning of premonitory judgments, based upon the Jeremiah and Ezekiel passages we have mentioned, including among them "terrors and great signs from heaven" as symbolic of God's final judgments; followed this with parenthesis for the time of the persecution, based upon the teaching of Jesus; and reached its climax with warnings for the time of judgment upon Jerusalem and the world based upon Jesus' teaching and OT texts proclaiming judgment, including the "Day of the Lord" type. It may have concluded with further parenthesis of the "vigilate" type, possibly based upon Jesus' teaching.

It is possible to make a fair guess as to the Sitz im Leben and function of this discourse, or oracle, from its structure and the way in which the predictions are combined with parenthesis for the Church. The central interest is in the divine visitation on Jerusalem; but this is combined with warnings to the disciples to flee, and motivated by the preceding mention of the persecution of the Church. It is reasonable to conclude that we are dealing with a prophetic assurance to the Church of Jerusalem at a time of persecution for the Church and at the same time of danger for the city. Let us recall that the martyrdom of James<sup>1</sup> took place only four years before the outbreak of war with Rome, and that according to tradition<sup>2</sup> the Christian community in Jerusalem warned by an oracle, did not even wait to "see Jerusalem surrounded by armies" but "withdrew" from "the midst of her" to Pella - and no doubt "not a hair of their heads" perished! Jerusalem as the place, the days round about the outbreak of war as the time, and of course the Church's prophets as the authors, from its objects and construction, are indicated for the origin of this discourse. It is not inconceivable that it was the "oracle" mentioned by Eusebius in the passage I have just alluded to.

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<sup>1</sup> Josephus, Ant. XX. 200 (9.1).

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius, H.E. III. 5.3.

E. Traces in Mark

We have been made constantly aware in our study of Rev.6f. and Lk 21 of the parallels to Mk 13 offered by them. If my hypothesis of a common tradition linking the three documents is correct, we should be able roughly to separate those elements in Mk 13 for which it is responsible from those generated by the traditional interpretation of Daniel studied in the last chapter. In the first place, the general structure of the discourse: the sequence of premonitory  $\omega\delta\iota\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ , persecution parenthesis, distress in Judaea, world-wide judgement and deliverance (but not the false prophets): all this is clearly due to the eschatological tradition we have just been studying. Within each of these divisions, some of the detail can be attributed to the same source: in each case this helps us to fix the origin of motifs that had before, in chapter V, appeared only loosely or not at all rooted in the main scriptural source.

The earthquakes and famines of v.8 are explained<sup>1</sup> as in origin premonitory judgments, as in Rev.6. The logia (or logion) in vv.9, 11, are not adequately accounted for on the basis of Daniel<sup>2</sup>. But the tradition we have been considering deals directly with persecution by the authorities, and in Lk 21 the self-same logion is presented in a different form. Again, the warning to flee in vv.14b-16<sup>3</sup> is included because it is an essential part of the tradition prophesying the fall of Jerusalem. It is also, as we saw<sup>4</sup>, just conceivable that the use of the word  $\epsilon\pi\eta\mu\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$  in v.14 is influenced by some of the same texts as have created Lk 21.20-24. In the climactic section, the Day of the Lord material (vv.24f.) is even verbally parallel with that in Rev.6.12ff., and only loosely connected with Dan.7.13. Less certain is the influence of this tradition on v.27<sup>5</sup>.

There is no evidence that the compiler of Mk 13 drew on a worked-up discourse similar to that behind Lk 21 and conflated it with the Antichrist midrash. Rather, he appears to have cast the Antichrist

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 222 ff., 82 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, pp. 83 f., 99 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, pp. 103 f.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, pp. 94 f.

midrash in the mould of a traditional pattern of prophetic assurance, which had no particular texts indissolubly associated with it, and hence could accommodate the texts of the Antichrist midrash as well as any others. The object of this procedure, and the function of the discourse so created, will be discussed in the next chapter.

#### F. Conclusions

We can now give a general description of this traditional eschatological pattern as we find it in all three documents. In the table below elements found in at least two of the three are included:

<u>Premonitory judgments:</u>	<u>Sources commonly drawn on:</u>
War )	Ezek.14.21 and parallel texts.
famine )	
plague )	
Cosmic signs	Day of the Lord texts (as below)
<u>Paraclesis for persecution:</u>	
warning not to compose defence	Sayings tradition: cf. Lk 12.11f.
encouragement to endure	Dan.12.
<u>Day of the Lord</u>	
a) on Jerusalem	Day of the Lord texts, e.g. Is.13. Warning of judgment on Jerusalem, e.g. Is.10.3-6, Zeph. 1.7-15, or on foreign nations, e.g. Jer.50f. Sayings tradition: cf. Mt 23.34-6/ Lk. 11.49-51; Mt 23.37-9/Lk 13.34f.; Lk. 17.22-37; Lk.19.42-4.
Warning to flee	Lk. 17.31.
b) signs in heaven )	
panic on earth )	Is.13, Joel 2.10f., Is.34.1ff.
gathering of the elect	Texts on the return of the exiles.

The central ideas of this pattern - the paraclesis for persecution and the visitation of Jerusalem - are derived from the teaching of Jesus. As always the sayings undergo radical reinterpretations for new purposes. In the sayings tradition as our studies have revealed it, the paraclesis offered for times of persecution<sup>1</sup> consists of simple

<sup>1</sup>See above, pp. 122 f.

exhortations to trust God and assurances of help now and ultimate vindication before God, while the prophecies on, or rather to, Jerusalem, are crisis-warnings, appeals to consider the situation and choose before it is too late between life and death. But in this pattern the two are combined in such a way as to suggest that one aspect of the vindication of the persecuted saints will be the now inevitable divine visitation of Jerusalem. We have already often<sup>1</sup> seen crisis-warnings to Israel becoming paraclisis for the Church. It now appears that in certain situations the warning of the danger of divine retribution may be hardened into the prediction of inevitable divine retribution.

One may suggest three possible circumstances contributing to this result: years of unsuccessful pleading to the people of Jerusalem to accept Christ; continued harrassment from the authorities; and events which made it very likely that such a prediction would come true in the near future. Even then, the appeal to the people would still have left a loophole for repentance - Lk 19.42-4 may date from the years immediately before the war; but the encouragement of the Church by its prophets was a situation which called for the decisive assurance of the end of the oppression through the defeat and humiliation of the oppressor. It is because of this that the recasting of the message of the sayings tended to follow a standard form or pattern: the situation recalled a recurring situation in the OT history which had given rise to a recurring pattern of assurance, and it is this pattern which is followed. Israel under the oppression of Gentile rulers is promised vindication by the punishment of her oppressors, consisting usually in the capture and destruction of their city; and this is followed by deliverance for the Israelites and their restoration to their own land. This pattern is found in all the texts mentioned above,<sup>2</sup> and also for example in Deutero-Isaiah; and it is not a pattern of expectation only: it is what actually happened when Cyrus took

<sup>1</sup> pp. 52 f., 72, 100f, 104, 107-9, 110-13, 123ff, 146, 152f, 156

<sup>2</sup> pp. 231 f.

Babylon. But the pattern does not first appear in the exilic period: it also appears *mutatis mutandis* in early Psalms, such as Pss. 18, 46, 56. One of the constant themes of the Psalter is the cry of the Psalmist to God for help against his enemies who surround and oppress him, and it is very often followed by thanks for answering the prayer, by destroying his enemies and giving him peace and security. It is generally assumed that the Psalmist speaks for his nation in these Psalms, and in many this is explicit - e.g. 46, 80, 85. Ultimately, I believe, it is possible to trace this theme back to the Exodus. And indeed, the traditional story of the Exodus shows an extensive correspondence to our eschatological scheme. There is not only the oppression followed by the punishment of the oppressor and the deliverance of Israel; there is also the flight, and the plagues corresponding to the woes with which our scheme opens. Not that there is much overt reference to the Exodus story in our texts. But the experience of the Exodus gave a permanent cast to Israel's mind which made them regard all their later experiences on its analogy, and was thus responsible for the form which prophetic and apocalyptic expectation took.

I should now say a few words about some of the characteristic material that, in our extant NT documents, tends to be associated with the scheme.

The judgment on Jerusalem is placed in the perspective of a world-wide judgment, a Day of the Lord. I have sufficiently indicated the significance of this in discussing the Lucan version<sup>1</sup>. Following the OT models, this is symbolised by cosmic catastrophes. It should hardly be necessary by now to emphasise that this language is not to be taken with the prosaic literalness of a laundry list. It is a poetic way of underlining the decisiveness of his intervention who made the sun and moon and stars and can unmake them when he chooses. Wherever it appears in the OT it is plainly non-literal, since the historical subject of the passage is quite obvious; and even if we

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<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 234.

admit that the early Christians may have believed in<sup>a</sup> supernatural conclusion to world history, it is by no means necessary that this language should be speaking of that conclusion. It simply asserts that judgment awaits the enemies of God, without carrying any implications about the time or the nature of that judgment. But a historical event may be an embodiment of that judgment, and conversely of deliverance for the elect.<sup>1</sup>

The premonitory judgments also call for comment. Although as I have pointed out the story of the Exodus involves a parallel to these introductory woes, they do not form a normal part of this pattern of expectation as it exists in the OT. We have suggested that both in Revelation and the gospels this section takes up contemporary events into a proclamation of God's judgment upon the world, enabling their audiences to see it already at work, demanding the world's decision. An early anticipation of this idea occurs in Amos 4.6-12 (cf. Is.9.7-10.4) where Yahweh rehearses to Israel the long series of disasters which he had inflicted on them, each one followed by the refrain, "yet you did not return to me, says Yahweh."<sup>2</sup> The disasters include famine, drought, blight, plague and the overthrow of some of Israel's cities. The important point, however, is not the disasters themselves, but what they signify. They are deliberately restricted acts of judgment intended to wake Israel up to her sin and her danger and thus to save her from the last resort, the ultimate judgment, the total destruction of the nation. They serve thus both as real embodiments of the wrath of God and also as signs intended for recognition and repentance.

Note also that in the prophetic passages cited above, Amos and Isaiah are quoting real events of their own time and seeing in them the action of God. The events they speak of were no worse and no more frequent than similar events at any other period of history. But whatever the period, and whatever the events, it is characteristic of the prophet to see in them the intervention of God, and a foretaste of his ultimate and decisive future intervention. In the same tradition,

a large element of the apocalyptic picture is provided by the natural

<sup>1</sup>Cf. above, pp. 53ff., 20.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1905, 168ff.

and political disasters in the midst of which the writers lived. The staple of the apocalyptic woes is provided by war and its companions, famine and pestilence; these are what we meet in the scheme we are studying, and the descriptions given in Mark, Luke and Revelation do not go beyond anything that was within the experience of their readers.

This is true even of the earthquakes and "signs from heaven" - by the latter may be meant such things as comets. Thus the announcement of premonitory judgments gives theological meaning to contemporary events, making them the harbingers of God's final judgment and possibly also his last appeals to repentance.

Such were the influences, and such the materials, which went to create this widespread prophetic pattern of assurance: the tradition of Jesus' pronouncements on the vindication of his followers from suffering and on the risk run by Jerusalem of the judgment of God; the common OT pattern, traceable back to the Exodus, of the suffering nation and its vindication by God with the defeat of their enemies, seen as an act of world-judgment; and contemporary events, which required theological explanation.

I should emphasise that this tradition is not in any way verbally fixed: it is a pattern which finds expression in various ways in similar situations. We can describe the tradition as "prophetic" since all three examples of it are prophetic in origin<sup>1</sup>; since its object is plainly to console the Church in its afflictions; since the form is that of the revelation of the purposes of God; and since it is based upon the OT and the sayings of Jesus, which are in the actual examples interwoven without actual quotation to create new interpretations in the characteristic manner of charismatic exegesis.

In Revelation parenthesis is transformed into vision; and the pattern also is modified; the fall of Jerusalem drops out of view, although the theme has influenced the choice of texts in the previous section, and attention is concentrated on the fall of the world-empire

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<sup>1</sup> Revelation obviously; for Mk 13 and Lk 21 see pp. 251 ff, 277 ff.

which is at that time guiding the persecution of the Church. The use made of the pattern in Mark (and by derivation Matthew) and Luke will be the subject of my next chapter.

Appendix: "Lucan" vocabulary in selected passages of Luke

In passages A and B only those words and phrases are shown which are commoner in Luke or Acts or both than in the other gospels, proportionately to the length of the works. In passages C and D the whole vocabulary is shown, with the exception of such very common words as are not clearly commoner in the Lucan writings; words and phrases which are commoner in these are indicated with a star (\*); hapax legomena are not counted. Expressions commoner in Acts than in Matthew, Mark or John are indicated by the solidus (/). The statistics are taken from Morgenthaler<sup>1</sup>, or in some cases by counting examples in Moulton and Geden; the information on the articular infinitive is from Blass-Debrunner.

A. <u>Lk 8.5-15</u>		Number of occurrences in:				
		Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Ac
τοῦ	+inf.	see Blass-Debrunner sect.400				
ἐν τῷ	+ inf.	id. 404				
οὐρανός	sing.	27	12	31	19	24
(id.)	plur.	55	6	3	0	2)
καταφαγεῖν		1	1	2	1	0
/ ἕτερος	(3)	9	1	33	1	17
/ καταπίπτειν		0	0	1	0	2
φύειν		0	0	2	0	0
διὰ τὸ	+ inf.	see Blass-Debrunner sect.402				
/ ἐν μέσῳ	+ gen.	3	2	7	0	4
/ εἶναι	optat.	0	0	7	0	4
/ λοιπός		4	3	6	0	6
/ καρδίᾳ	(2)	16	11	22	7	20
/ ὅς, ἡ, ὅ	(2)	83	63	125	105	164
δέχεσθαι		10	6	16	1	8
καρπός	(2)	10	5	13	3	9

<sup>1</sup> R. Morgenthaler, Statistik des Neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes, Zürich and Frankfurt, 1958.

A.(cont.)	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Ac
πειρασμός	2	1	6	0	1
/ ἀφίστάναι	0	0	4	0	6
μέριμνα	1	1	2	0	0
βίος	0	1	4	0	0
/ πορεύεσθαι	29	3	51	13	37
/ κατέχειν	0	0	3	0	1
ὑπομονή	0	0	2	0	0
Total: 22					

Number of occurrences: 27. Total number of words: 222.

Proportion of "Lucan" expression: 12% Commoner in Acts 14 (6%)

B. Lk 15.4-10

ἀπολλύναι (5)	19	10	27	10	2
/ πορεύεσθαι	29	3	51	13	37
/ εὐρίσκειν (6)	27	11	45	19	35
/ χαίρειν	6	2	12	9	7
/ id.pres. ptc.	0	0	2	0	2
/ οἶκος	10	12	33	4	25
/ συγκαλεῖν (2)	0	1	4	0	3
φίλος (2)	1	0	15	6	3
γείτων (2)	0	0	3	1	0
συγχαίρειν (2)	0	0	3	0	0
οὐρανός sing.	27	12	31	19	24
ἁμαρτωλός (2)	5	6	18	4	0
μετανοεῖν (2)	5	2	9	0	5
/ μετάνοια	2	1	5	0	6
γυνή	29	16	41	17	19
δραχμή (3)	0	0	3	0	0
οὐχί	9	0	17	5	3
ἄπτειν (act.)	0	0	3	0	1
λύχνος	2	1	6	1	0
σαροῦν	1	0	2	0	0
/ ἐνώπιον	0	0	22	1	13
/ ἄγγελος	20	6	25	3	21
/ ἐπί + dat. (3)	17	16	35	5	27

Total: 22

Number of occurrences: 41. Total number of words: 134.

Proportion of "Lucan" expressions: 31% Commoner in Acts 17 (13%)

C. <u>Lk 19.42-4</u>	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Ac
/ * εἰρήνη	4	1	13	6	7
τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην	0	0	2	0	0
νῦν	4	3	14	28	25
κρύπτειν	7	0	3	3	0
ὀφθαλμός	24	7	17	18	7
* ἤκειν	4	0	5	4	0
παρεμβάλλειν	0	0	1	0	0
* ἐχθρός	7	1	8	0	2
χάραξ	0	0	1	0	0
περικυκλοῦν	0	0	1	0	0
/ * συνέχειν	1	0	6	0	3
πάντοθεν	0	1	1	0	0
ἐδαφύζειν	0	0	1	0	0
τέκνον	14	9	14	3	5
ἀφίεναι	47	34	31	14	3
λίθος	11	8	14	6	2
/ * ἄνθ' ὧν	0	0	3	0	1
* καιρός	10	5	13	3	9
/ * ἐπισκοπή	0	0	1	0	1
/ * ἡμέρα (2)	45	27	83	31	94

Total "Lucan": 8.

Number of occurrences: 9. Total number of words: 62.

Proportion of "Lucan" expressions: 14.5% Commoner in Acts 6 (10%)

D. Lk 21.11b, 12a, 14f., 18, 20, 21b, 22, 23b, 24, 25b, 24, 26a, 28, 34-6

	φόβητρον	0	0	1	0	0
/ *	τε	3	0	9	3	140
*	οὐρανός sing.	27	12	31	19	24
/ *	μεγας (2)	20	15	26	5	31
	σημείον	13	7	11	17	13
	πρό	5	1	7	9	7
	ἐπιβάλλειν	2	4	5	2	4
/ *	id. + χεῖρα, χεῖρας	1	1	4	2	4
/ *	διώκειν	6	0	3	2	9
/ *	τίθεναι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ	0	0	2	0	1
	προμελετῶν	0	0	1	0	0
/ *	ἀπολογεῖσθαι	0	0	2	0	6
	στόμα	11	0	9	1	12
/ *	σοφία	3	1	6	0	4
/ *	ὅς, ἡ, ὅ	83	63	125	105	164
/ *	ἀνθίσταναι	1	0	1	0	2

D. (cont.)	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Ac
/ * ἀντιλέγειν and ἀντειπεῖν	0	0	3	1	4
* ἀντίκεισθαι	0	0	2	0	0
/ * ἄπαξ	3	4	11	1	10
θρίς	3	1	4	2	1
οὐ μὴ	19	10	18	17	3
κεφαλῆ (2)	12	8	7	5	5
* ἀπόλλυναι	19	10	27	10	2
κυκλοῦν	0	0	1	1	1
/ * ὑπό + gen.	23	9	23	1	38
στρατόπεδον	0	0	1	0	0
/ * ἱεροσολήμ (2)	2	0	27	0	36
/ * ἐγγίξειν (2)	7	3	18	0	6
ἐρήμωσις	1	1	1	0	0
/ * ἐν μέσω + gen.	3	2	7	0	4
ἐχωρεῖν	0	0	1	0	0
/ * χώρα	3	4	9	3	8
id pl.	0	0	1	1	1
εἰσερχεσθαι	36	30	50	15	32
/ * ἡμέρα (2)	45	27	83	31	94
* ἐκδίκησις	0	0	3	0	1
* τοῦ + inf.	see Blass-Debrunner, sect. 400				
/ * πλήθειν	2	0	13	0	9
/ * πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα	0	0	3	0	2
* ἀνάγκη	1	0	3	0	0
* ὀργή	1	1	2	1	0
/ * λαός	14	2	36	2	48
πίπτειν	19	8	17	3	9
στόμα μαχαίρης	0	0	1	0	0
μάχαιρα	7	3	5	2	2
αἰχμαλωτίξειν	0	0	1	0	0
/ * τὰ ἔθνη	10	4	5	0	23
/ * ἔθνη (anarthrous) (2)	2	0	4	0	8
εἶναι fut. + ptc.	6	2	6	0	0
/ * ἄχρι οὗ	0	0	1	0	2
πληροῦν	16	2	9	15	16
* πατεῖν	0	0	2	0	0

D. (cont.)	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Ac
/ * καιρού (pl.)	2	0	1	0	4
συνοχή	0	0	1	0	0
ἀπορία	0	0	1	0	0
/ * ἦχος	0	0	2	0	1
θάλασσα	16	19	3	9	10
σάλος	0	0	1	0	0
ἀποψύχειν	0	0	1	0	0
/ * φόβος	3	1	7	3	5
/ * προσδοκία	0	0	1	0	1
/ * ἐπέρχασθαι	0	0	3	0	4
/ * οἰκουμένη	1	0	3	0	5
* ἀνγκύπτειν	0	0	2	0	0
/ * ἐπαίρειν	1	0	6	4	5
/ * διότι	0	0	3	0	5
ἀπολύτρωσις	0	0	1	0	0
/ * προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς	0	0	3	0	1
μήποτε	8	2	7	1	2
* βαρεῖσθαι	1	0	2	0	0
/ * καρδία	16	11	22	7	20
κραυπή	0	0	1	0	0
μέθη	0	0	1	0	0
* μερίμνα	1	1	2	0	0
βιωτικός	0	0	1	0	0
/ * ἐφίσταναι	0	0	7	0	11
κίφνιδιος	0	0	1	0	0
παγίς	0	0	1	0	0
ἐπεισέρχασθαι	0	0	1	0	0
καθησθαι	19	11	13	4	6
/ * πρόσωπον	10	3	13	0	11
/ * πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς	0	0	1	0	1
ἀγρυπνεῖν	0	1	1	0	0
* καιρός	10	5	13	3	9
/ * δεόμενοι	1	0	8	0	7

D. (cont.)	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Ac
* κατισχύειν	1	0	2	0	0
/ * ἐκφεύγειν	0	0	1	0	2
/ * μέλλειν	10	2	12	12	34
/ * ἵσταίναι	21	9	26	18	35
ἐμπροσθεν	18	2	10	5	2
υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	28	14	24	13	1

Total "Lucan": 52.

Number of occurrences: 58. Total number of words: 222.

Proportion of "Lucan" expressions: 26% Commoner in Acts: 43 (19%)

## CHAPTER X

### THE EVANGELISTS AS PROPHETS

I have shown that the eschatological discourses of the Synoptic Gospels are based upon traditions which we can reasonably suppose to have been developed by Christian prophets. I have identified two such: one is a tradition of the exegesis of the book of Daniel developed in response to the threat of Roman totalitarianism; the other is a tradition of consolation for a time of persecution, consisting in the combination in a fixed order of certain themes derived from Scripture and the teaching of Jesus.

Having identified these traditions, we must now of course see how they are employed in the gospel discourses where we found them. I intend to take severally Mk 13, Mt 24f. and Lk 21, and attempt to explain their redaction on the basis of our conclusions hitherto. This should help to confirm the correctness of these conclusions. I shall attempt to show that each of the evangelists has dealt with the traditions and (in the case of Matthew and Luke) written sources presented to him in such a way as to create a largely new structure with a message of consolation or warning for the contemporary church. This will lead inevitably to the conclusion that the evangelists themselves fulfilled a prophetic function.

#### A. Mark

##### a) Introduction

I have already suggested<sup>1</sup> that in Mk 13 the material of the Daniel interpretation has been set within the framework of the persecution assurance form. We must now try to decide when, how and why this was done, and what part Mark himself played.

We must first note that Mark himself is responsible for the general structure of the discourse. This has been shown by recent writers on the redaction-history of Mk 13.<sup>2</sup> Several touches

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<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 239f.

<sup>2</sup> W. Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist*, ET Nashville-New York 1969, 151ff.; J. Lambrecht, *Die Redaktion der Markus-Apokalypse*, Rome 1967; R. Pesch, *Naherwartungen*, Düsseldorf 1968.

assume the dramatic setting of the discourse, which was obviously given it by Mark - cf. vv. 6, 23, 37<sup>1</sup>. Of these v. 23 is important, since it includes the injunction βλέπετε which is repeated at several structurally significant points of the discourse: vv. 5, 9, 23, 33.<sup>2</sup> Since there can be little doubt that Mark composed v. 23,<sup>3</sup> it is also probable that he is responsible for all the instances of βλέπετε and thus for the present structure of the discourse.<sup>4</sup> This is confirmed by the following observation. The structure of the discourse seems to be determined by the question of time - repeatedly instructions are introduced by a ὅταν clause<sup>5</sup> - vv. 7, 11, 14, 21 (virtually), 29; and most of the main sections, as well as the whole discourse, are concluded by a remark about the relation of the events there treated to the final consummation - cf. vv. 7, 8, 10, 13, 20, 28-37.<sup>6</sup> But we can see from v. 4, which is undoubtedly Mark's work,<sup>7</sup> that this is the idea which he regarded as central to the discourse.

But if Mark is responsible for the structure of the discourse, it follows that he composed the discourse as a whole, on the basis of traditional materials, and did not simply make additions to a Vorlage (or Vorlagen.<sup>8</sup>) For formally the discourse is a unity<sup>9</sup>: the structure of eschatological parenthesis and apocalyptic instruction repeats itself regularly almost throughout; and frequently the origin of both is in tradition even where Mark is responsible for the structure (e.g. in vv. 5b-6). Mark therefore composed the discourse, and is himself responsible for the combination of the Antichrist and persecution-consolation traditions, together with sayings of Jesus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pesch, 78, and Lambrecht, 171.

<sup>2</sup> Marxsen, 166; Lambrecht, 94ff.; Pesch, 77ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Pesch, 155f.

<sup>4</sup> Marxsen, 166f.; Lambrecht, 94; Pesch, 77f., 107.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pesch, 78.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Marxsen, 166f.

<sup>7</sup> Marxsen, 169; Lambrecht, 87ff.; Pesch, 101ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Marxsen, 162.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. above, pp. 77f.

The question before us is, how and why did he do it?

The "how" can be stated thus: he arranged the material of the Antichrist midrash in the framework of the persecution-assurance tradition, and formed each small section as a piece of eschatological parenesis, grounded in apocalyptic instruction. (It is true that the section vv. 24-7 contains no parenesis - obviously because at the twelfth hour no human activity can turn the scale of the divine judgment in either direction). To this he added further material from the sayings tradition on the time of the end, and rounded off the whole with an injunction to keep on the alert based on traditional parabolic material and formulated in the same structure as vv. 5-23.<sup>1</sup> To introduce the discourse he composed<sup>2</sup> a pronouncement-story leading up to the saying of Jesus predicting the destruction of the temple, and followed by a private scene in which the four leading disciples question him about this. This latter is a characteristic compositional device of Mark (cf. 4.10ff., 7.17ff.)

The "why?" of Mark's redaction may be approached first from this introduction, then from the side of the traditions used. Whatever Mark meant by the introduction he certainly intended it to be a guide to the contents of the following discourse. Undoubtedly the destruction of the temple (v.2) is in the forefront of his mind as he composes the discourse. But one may ask, why the destruction of the temple in particular, and not that of Jerusalem in general? Now the temple is a prominent theme in the final chapters of Mark. The account of Jesus's days in Jerusalem opens with the so-called "cleansing" of the temple, in which Jesus calls it "a den of robbers" (11.17, from Jer. 7.11!), dovetailed into the story of the cursing of the fig-tree, which is generally taken as symbolic of the fate awaiting fruitless

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 110ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lambrecht, 70ff.; Pesch, 83ff.; Gaston (10ff.) uses Lk 21.5f. to justify the theory that the scene is traditional. But there is no reason to think that Luke's introduction has any other origin than as an abbreviation of Mark's. Cf. p. 229 n.1.

Israel. Naturally the two episodes thus dovetailed are intended to throw light on one another<sup>1</sup>; the lethal futility of Israel is concentrated for Mark in their treatment of the temple. In this light we must see the rending of the temple veil at the death of Jesus (15.38). The temple, already defiled by misuse, becomes superfluous with the sacrificial (14.24) death of Jesus. Therefore in the whole  $\theta\lambda\tau\psi\iota\varsigma$  of the Roman-Jewish war the one event that stands out for Mark as symbolically significant is the destruction of the temple, and it is this that he brings forward midway between the other two references as the central subject of his eschatological parenthesis for the church of his own day.

The disciples' question (v.4) concentrates the attention on the time and premonitory signal of this event - subjects which as we have seen are indeed prominent in the discourse. Their question is phrased as a double one, and it has generally<sup>2</sup> been assumed that the second half broadens the view to eschatological events in general (as specifically expressed in Matthew). As Taylor<sup>3</sup> rightly notes, this interpretation is difficult, since nothing but the destruction of the temple has yet been mentioned, and since<sup>4</sup>  $\tau\alpha\hat{\upsilon}\tau\alpha$  cannot mean two different things in the same sentence. He suggests the use of a source which turned directly to the events at the temple. This we have already decided is improbable. Would it not be simplest to suppose that in Mark's view the discourse is actually about the fall of the temple and the events associated with it? - that he does not set out to describe a long chain of events covering decades, but a crisis of a few years at most?  $\tau\alpha\hat{\upsilon}\tau\alpha$  can then retain its natural meaning in both halves of the question. At any rate, the hypothesis is worth testing, and I propose to adopt it in my explanation of Mark's composition.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pesch, 71 and the exegetes there cited.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. Lohmeyer, *Comm. ad loc.*; Marxsen, 168; Pesch, 103f.

<sup>3</sup> *Comm. ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cranfield, *Comm. ad loc.*

We now approach the question from the side of the traditions employed by Mark. The Antichrist midrash would suggest itself as a prominent Christian eschatological tradition located in the temple, and one which to judge from II Thessalonians lent itself to the damping down of heightened eschatological expectations. And there may have been reasons why Mark had to use this tradition. The Antichrist midrash was popular among Palestinian Christians - this is shown by the number and variety of the versions in which it has come down to us - and may have encouraged the expectation that Roman occupation of the temple would be the signal for instant divine intervention, and the final vindication of his people.<sup>1</sup> Mark had to show his readers that this was a dangerously misleading way of nuancing the interpretation. They could expect nothing of the sort. (Alternatively, if he was writing after the event, he had to explain the disappointment). So far from there being any miraculous intervention to strike down the desecrator, the temple was doomed - not one stone would be left upon another. The whole Antichrist tradition is transformed by both the context and the arrangement into a statement of the downfall of the temple.

On the other hand, the traditional persecution-assurance form, together with the warning to flee, dealt more adequately with the realities of the catastrophe and doubtless also with the facts of life for Palestinian Christians at the time of the war<sup>2</sup>, than the Antichrist midrash. It was possible to reinterpret the latter in the direction Mark wanted by placing the material in the framework of this form. How he did this, and the precise message which results, will emerge from an exegesis of the text, to which we now proceed.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the Jewish traditions reviewed by Gaston, 458ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, pp. 238, 241.

b) Exegesis

The discourse falls into three principal sections<sup>1</sup>: vv. 5-23, 24-7, and 28-37. The first gives instruction for the period preceding the judgment; its beginning and end are marked by the injunction βλέπετε, and it is concluded with Jesus's remark προείρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα - all, that is, that they need to know to act rightly in the coming crisis or crises. The second division describes the judgment itself. The third gives general instructions to be on the watch, because "the master of the house" is coming soon, yet at a time that cannot be predicted.

Within the first division, five principal sections may be discerned: 5f., false prophets; 7f., the ἀρχὴ ὀδίνων; 9-13, instructions for the persecutions; 14-20, the instructions to flee on the appearance of the "abomination of desolation"; vv. 21-3, the false prophets again. The arrangement of the three middle sections is determined by the persecution-assurance tradition; but Mark, besides incorporating much of the Danielic material in them, has framed them between two closely related references to the Anti-christ tradition.

Mark is not responsible for the reference to many false prophets - cf. Did.16, I Jn. 2.18, 4.3.<sup>3</sup> But he has interpreted them as false announcers of the Messiah's presence, by linking them with the saying of Jesus in v.21, and interpreting this with the addition ὁ χριστός. He has further placed these references in the significant places at the beginning and end of the first division of the discourse. By this he means to say that the most inclusive advice Jesus could give his disciples is not to heed anyone who promises them present deliverance, especially by making deceptive announcements of Messiah's presence. This warning may be directed against the general atmosphere of Messianic expectation created by the rebel leaders' promises. Such men as John of Gischala may have filled the role of false prophets in Mark's mind. But compare the way in which Paul uses the Antichrist interpretation in II Thess.2<sup>2</sup>; it seems likely that Mark could be using it in the

<sup>1</sup>Lambrecht, 267; Pesch, 77; Cranfield, 394.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. above, pp.171, 202f.

<sup>3</sup>Above, pp.194, 189ff.

same way - to refute the idea that Christ had already returned, that deliverance was already virtually a reality, and the Roman armies due to be swept away in an instant. Such a belief may have been encouraged during the war by current versions of the Antichrist midrash itself as well as by the Zealots' predictions.

Within this general warning against misguided hope come three more specific warnings. Firstly, the outbreak of war and other calamities is not to be interpreted as the inbreaking of God's final judgment: they are merely the  $\xi\rho\chi\eta\ \omega\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\omega\nu$ , the premonitory judgments - a thought, like the list of "woes" themselves, derived from the pattern of persecution-assurance. This assertion would have great relevance in the period of the Roman war, when besides this war there was unrest in many parts of the Roman world, culminating in the imperial civil war of 69.

Secondly, and very much more important, the Christian community is warned that it must undergo persecution; indeed that it is necessary to "endure to the end" in order to partake of the coming salvation (v. 13b). Mark here combines a saying or sayings (vv.9, 11) associated with the persecution-assurance pattern in Lk 21 as well as here, with material associated with Daniel and originally no doubt referring to the civil strife stirred up by the Antichrist. (vv.12f.) Mark underlines the significance of these injunctions by repeating the structural  $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  at the outset. He has of course already hinted at the necessity of persecution in earlier parts of the gospel. (cf. 8.34ff., 10.29f., 10.35ff.) Here it is spelt out in unmistakable terms. Of course, the mere prediction of the persecution is for Mark a partially fulfilled prophecy: but clearly this section has more importance than in the apocalyptic manner to show Jesus a true prophet. "He that endures to the end shall be saved". The warning of persecution is at the same time an eschatological paraclesis for those already suffering persecution. Their suffering gives hope - there is an end, which will bring vindication - and also calls for endurance, without which hope is vain (cf. Rom. 5.3ff.) At this point the two traditions on

which Mark is drawing coincide to give Mark his central message: "Your real business is (not to go star-gazing after Messiahs, but) to watch, for the trial which is upon you requires endurance". Cf.

14.38. The disciples again face suffering and death. The test ( $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ) which they failed at Gethsemane they face again and this time they must win salvation through endurance.<sup>1</sup>

In Mark's hands the persecution-assurance form is no mere consolation, but a real challenge for a time of crisis.

In the middle of this section on persecution comes the seemingly intrusive v.10. Unless one adopts Kilpatrick's punctuation<sup>2</sup> (and in view of 14.9 this does not appear probable to me), the verse asks for the Gentile mission to take place before the end - clearly before the gathering of the elect from the four winds in v.27. The main question for us is whether this implies for Mark a long perspective before the end<sup>3</sup>. If we assume modern conceptions of mission, of course it does. The gospel has still (A.D. 1973) not been preached to every individual Gentile! But Munck<sup>4</sup> has shown that Paul's conception was that it was sufficient for a representative group in each nation of the known world to hear the Gospel and give their response. In principle an enterprise with such an object could already have been over, or almost over, by Mark's time. Thus Pesch<sup>5</sup> may well be correct when he puts this down as a fulfilled prophecy. He explains that in v. 10 Mark is giving an explanation for the persecution - it enables the gospel to be preached, which must take place before the end. It is an interpretation of a present experience, and hence there is no obstacle to its being now fulfilled, or almost fulfilled. Thus Mark, as well as offering hope and calling for endurance, gives a rational explanation why the suffering is necessary.

The last of these three warnings is that "those in Judaea" should flee when they see the abomination of desolation. Most writers assume that this refers to the desecrating presence of the Roman

<sup>1</sup>R.H. Lightfoot, op. cit. 48ff.

<sup>2</sup>G.D. Kilpatrick, "The Gentile Mission in Matthew and Mk 13.9-11", in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in memory of R.H. Lightfoot*, ed. D.E. Nineham, Oxford 1955, 145-58.

<sup>3</sup>Cranfield (389) assumes it does; Marxsen (176f.) regards v.10 as filling a "pause" between the present and the end, but not a long one: indeed the proclamation of the gospel hastens the end.

<sup>4</sup>Op. cit., 277f.

<sup>5</sup>128 ff.

troops in the sanctuary, by whom it was destroyed. Mark has probably<sup>1</sup> replaced by this phrase a more explicit reference to the Antichrist, and if so he no doubt intended the word ἐρημώσεως to be significant. Cf. also Dan.9.26 (the abomination is in v.27). Also, if this is the meaning, the verse supplies some kind of answer to the disciples' question. There is therefore no doubt that Mark intended an allusion to the destruction of the temple (and the city). But does τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως actually denote the capture or destruction of the temple? Surely once the temple had been captured, let alone destroyed, it was far too late for anyone "in Judaea" to escape? If the "abomination" means the destruction of the temple, the flight must be understood symbolically. "Die Tempelzerstörung ist für ihn das Symbol für das Ende des religiösen, an den Tempel gebundenen Judentums."<sup>3</sup> And the flight, consequently, is that "weg vom gerichteten Judentum."<sup>4</sup>

And indeed the temple<sup>5</sup> does symbolise for Mark the religion which was brought to an end by the death of Jesus, and its destruction he surely understands as the decisive completion by God's will of the process begun when its curtain was torn in two. Then if the flight is for him a symbol of the necessity for Christians in the post-war situation to turn their backs on discredited Judaism we have a reasonable insight into what meaning he could intend the section to have for his readers, who one must presume did not live in Judaea. (cf. the third person in vv.14b, 15f.)

All this is true, But the fall of the temple is not merely a symbol, even for Mark: it is an actual event (past or expected) with a symbolic meaning. Likewise surely the flight must be not merely a symbol, but a realistic command (with a symbolic meaning). It must stand in some intelligible relationship to the "abomination of desolation" which is supposed to be the signal for it.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pesch, 146f.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

<sup>4</sup> Ib., 147

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 253f.

This leads me to suggest that it is possible that by the "abomination" Mark does not mean the capture of the temple, but some earlier event which would have left time for flight. This can only be the occupation of the temple by the nationalist forces, which happened at the beginning of the revolt<sup>1</sup> and permanently from early in 68;<sup>2</sup> the ensuing fighting caused the deaths of priests and worshippers within the sacred courts.<sup>3</sup> Because of this, but principally because the "Zealots" were in his view murderers, Josephus does not hesitate to speak of the pollution of the temple.<sup>4</sup>

Josephus of course had (or affected) a strong bias against the Zealots. But so had Mark.<sup>5</sup> He could certainly call this occupation an "abomination", and from here it is only a step to the identification with Antichrist - for the leaders of the revolt who were committing this sacrilege also filled for Mark the role of false prophets, and seducers of the people. It is possible therefore that the "abomination" and the false prophets are not disconnected phenomena after all. The allusion to the destruction of the temple in *τῆς ἐρημώσεως* can still be acknowledged: in Mark's view the desecration of the temple by the nationalists has led, or is likely to lead, to its destruction.

If this is the signal for flight, Mark is probably alluding "ex eventu" to the recent flight of the Christians from Jerusalem to Pella<sup>6</sup> as a symbolic example for his readers, who live outside Judaea, but probably have Jewish-Christian connections. The time has come for them to break off connections with Judaism. The temple

<sup>1</sup> Jos. BJ II.422ff. (17.1).

<sup>2</sup> ib. IV. 150f. (3.6f.), cf. ib. 204 (3.12), V.7 (1.2).

<sup>3</sup> ib. V. 13ff. (1.3).

<sup>4</sup> ib. II.424 (17.1): τοὺς μιλύοντας τὸν ναόν  
IV.150 (3.6): καὶ μεμυσημένους τοὺς πρὸς παρεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ ἕλυον  
ib.163 (3.10) (speech of Ananus): τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ τοσοῦτος ἕλυον  
καταγόμενοι; cf.183, and the whole speech (163-92); cf. 388  
(6.3); V.19 (1.3).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 12.13-17; and 12.1-11 with J.E. and R.R. Newell, "The Parable of the Wicked Tenants", Nov. Test. 14 (1972), 226ff.

<sup>6</sup> Or possibly, if the tradition is incorrect, to their failure to flee.

has fallen into the control of the Antichrist and on this swiftly follows its doom. Much of his material is derived from the Antichrist tradition of interpretation of Daniel, but it occupies the position in the persecution-assurance scheme which is occupied in Lk 21 by the prophecy of the fall of the city; and is carefully combined with the motif of the flight from the doomed city, which is characteristic of the latter scheme.

By this means the Antichrist midrash is utterly transformed: it now serves the idea of the doom of the temple, not that of its desecrator. Mark, however, despite the hint in the reference to Gen.19, does not overtly use the theme of guilt and vengeance, as Luke does. He is evidently interested not so much in the fall of the city as in that of the temple, and proclaims judgment, not on a people, but on a corrupt religious system. Primarily, after all, his interest is in the church - "the elect" (v.20) and their safety, spiritual as well as physical.

The three specific warnings, then, which Jesus gives according to Mark in the first section of the discourse are these: Do not be excited by the approach of war and other premonitory signs; prepare yourselves for persecution and suffering; take the Zealot occupation of the temple as a sign that its end, and the end of the religion it symbolizes, is near.

We need to answer now the question we have been leaving open all this time: was Mark writing before or after the fall of Jerusalem? As we have seen, he is indeed writing after the initial stages of the war - let us say not earlier than 68. But do his comments necessarily indicate a date later than 70? Unless one requires that the prediction in v.2 cannot have been made before the event, they do not. Do the warnings he gives, then, fit better with a date before or after the fall? My feeling is that vv.5f., 7f., 21f. and 24 point distinctly to a date before the fall. The expectation of an end closely associated with the war would

be swiftly deflated by the capture and destruction of the city. The warning against excitement at the approach of war would also have no point in the profound peace which descended on the Roman world after the victory of Vespasian and the fall of Jerusalem. One can say if one likes that all these are references to past events in the apocalyptic manner. But then one must explain Mark's assertion that the Parousia would take place *ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις* (v.24; cf. vv. 17, 19). How long *μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην* could it be to be still "in those days"? What particular reason might there be for Mark to expect the Parousia at some indefinite moment in the very near future in a time of peace?<sup>1</sup> But if he was writing in the last stages of the war, then he might reasonably expect the Parousia in the near future and still "in those days."

If this is so, it would be natural to suggest that Mark, who also expects the fall of the temple at any time (v.2), identified this with the Parousia, or more precisely expected the Parousia to be embodied in the fall of the temple<sup>2</sup>; in other words that he intended the description of the Parousia to set forth the theological meaning - judgment - of the event which Jesus has already predicted in literal terms at the beginning of the chapter. He has not yet mentioned the latter in the discourse, if my hypothesis is correct, and vv. 24-26 undoubtedly describe <sup>a</sup> /divine intervention for judgment: this is the only possible meaning of the OT imagery.<sup>3</sup> V.27 indeed directs the attention to the vindication of the elect, and Mark lays no emphasis on the punitive aspect of the judgment; but it is implied. Now the idea of world-wide judgment set forth in these verses has far wider horizons than the fall of Jerusalem. But if we have reason to suppose that Mark might have believed

<sup>1</sup> Contra Pesch, 235ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Feuillet, "Le discours de Jésus sur la ruine de la temple d'après Marc XIII et Luc XXI, 2-36", Rev. Bib. 55 (1948), 481-502; 56 (1949), 61-92; also id., "Le sens du mot parousie dans l'évangile de Matthieu", in *The Background to the New Testament and its Eschatology*, ed. W.D. Davies and D. Daube, London 1956, 261-280; Gaston, 468ff.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 93.

that the gathering of the elect would follow the fall of the temple, there is no obstacle to my hypothesis. I cannot argue this case in detail. I can only point to the following suggestive facts.

The fall of the temple is for Mark an eschatological event. It marks the completion of the sacrificial work of Christ upon the Cross, to which the tearing of the temple veil pointed in the hour of his death. Mark places immediately after that report (15.38) that of the centurion's confession as he saw Christ die: ἀληθῶς οὐτος ὁ υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν. (15.39) The centurion is the first-fruits of the Gentiles. The full harvest (v.10) may have seemed to Mark not far away<sup>1</sup> in his own time. This also is plainly an eschatological event. It may be that Mark thought of the fall of the temple as an essential precondition of the ingathering - the only obstacle being the continued existence of the religion which was opposed to the gathering of the Gentiles and which was represented by the misused and polluted temple (cf. again 11.17: οἶκος προσευχῆς... πάντων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ). If the earliest Jewish Christians believed that God would call the Gentiles together after the conversion of Israel and the Parousia<sup>2</sup>, Mark may have believed he would do the same after the purification of Israel by the fall of the temple.

Thus this impending event within time may for Mark have concentrated within itself the whole promised action of God for judgment and salvation, and called urgently for response and action by the church. It can therefore properly and truly be represented by the image of the return of Christ in glory.<sup>4</sup>

The coming of the Son of Man, and the gathering of the elect, are part of the Daniel interpretation;<sup>3</sup> but if we are correct in thinking that Mark connects them with the fall of the temple, then

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 258

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Jeremias, "The Gentile World in the Thought of Jesus", *SNTS Bulletin* 3 (1952), 18-28.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 9155.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 20.

the influence of the persecution-assurance form has considerably altered the emphasis of the Daniel interpretation. It is not now the desecrator of the temple but the temple itself which is condemned; and this act of judgment is placed in a perspective of world judgment, with the cosmic accompaniments customary in OT descriptions of judgment.<sup>1</sup> Another influence, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> is the developed tradition of the Son of Man sayings of Jesus, and in particular that found at Mk 14.62. Now for Mark the primary use of the name "Son of Man" is in connection with the suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus. This is true not only of the "passion predictions" but also of the predictions of the Parousia in 8.38 and 14.62 - the one in close connection with predictions of suffering for Jesus and his disciples, the latter in the passion narrative itself. If Mark had been following Daniel only he could have said "one like a son of man"; by saying "the Son of Man" he means: it is the suffering, crucified Jesus who will appear in glory to gather his elect. The passion narrative which follows is meant to be read in this light.<sup>3</sup>

That Mark expects the fall of the temple as the Parousia is confirmed in a general way by the admonitions which conclude the discourse. For these warn the readers to be on the watch because the events which have been described herald the Parousia (v. 29), and because it will all happen in the first generation of the Church (v.30), but not at a time known in advance (v.32). The command to keep on the alert is necessary not because the Parousia is delayed but because of the trials which impend.<sup>4</sup> The warning to watch sums up the specific warnings which have been given in vv. 5-23.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. further on this, above, pp. 93ff., 234ff., 242ff.

<sup>2</sup> p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. again, Lightfoot, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 111.

Conclusion

Mark reworks the Antichrist interpretation of Daniel more radically than any of the writers studied in chapter VIII. The Daniel materials are there, and they are associated notably with texts from Dt.13 - the essential feature of this type of interpretation. But both the arrangement and the application are radically new. The arrangement, we saw, is based on the contemporary form of persecution-assurance of the prophets. But this form is adopted in order to facilitate the application of the Antichrist prophecy to the Jewish leadership in the revolt of 66 rather than to the Romans. Like the author of the non-Marcan tract used by Luke, Mark finds the eschatological embodiment of evil within the city, not in the attacking troops. Thus both in their character as false prophets of deliverance and as polluters of the sacred courts, and no doubt also as persecutors, the nationalist leadership fulfils for Mark the prophecies of Daniel. But as compared with Lk 21, there is a notable difference: the fate of the city fades into the background, and the theme of punishment is not stressed; Mark is concerned with the approaching doom of the temple as the symbol of the final victory of the crucified Christ, but above all he addresses himself to the Christian community which is living in perhaps too eager expectation of Christ's coming as a result of the apocalyptic enthusiasm generated by the war. He is not concerned with the fate of the Jewish people; what he gives is strictly paraclesis for the community.

The form of the small units of the discourse, as we have seen, is one which had been developed by Christian prophets to give eschatological exhortation to the community based upon definite information of an authoritative nature. In this case the authority is the book of Daniel and the words of the Lord. This means that the discourse has a substantial predictive basis. But this should not obscure the fact that Mark's object is to give warning for a crisis. He offers an interpretation of the events of his own day which makes them the sign of the imminent inbreaking of God's final act of salvation. His readers must accept or reject this interpretation; if they accept, they must act accordingly; if they reject it, they may lose the offer of

salvation now held out. The warning and challenge may be summarized thus: "Do not believe those who say the Messiah has come, but keep on the alert; be prepared for the trial of persecution. Decide now - you have seen the fate of the temple - to abandon all connections with Judaism; if you do, your vindication will follow speedily." The choice is given to them in Mark's eschatological parenthesis; only those who have obeyed the instructions given here will at the end be counted among the elect (cf. v.22). Therefore in spite of the traditional form of the discourse, Mark is essentially creating a new eschatological crisis like that created by the teaching of Jesus, except that it concerns the church rather than Israel.

This account shows that it is Mark who has reworked the traditional interpretation of Daniel to offer a message of challenge and through challenge, consolation, to the church of his day; it is he who has given the discourse its form of eschatological paraclesis based on apocalyptic instruction; it is he who has created a considerable number of the interpretations of particular texts; it is he who has worked in the quotations of Jesus' sayings. In a word, he is responsible for nearly all the features in the discourse which are identified as prophetic in chapter V; and his own message is prophetic, offering challenge and comfort to the church. The conclusion is inevitable: Mark himself was a prophet.

We need not shrink from this conclusion: there would have been no obstacle in the early church to combining the offices of prophet and evangelist - it would be more appropriate to say that Mark is a prophet in that he is a gospel writer, and not merely a gospel-writer, but the original gospel-writer. Could anyone in the early church have invented the literary form "gospel", as Mark probably did, and used it not just to collect what was known of the works and words of Jesus, but to give an urgent message to the church, without knowing himself to be inspired by the Holy Spirit? - and inspired specifically as a prophet, to speak intelligible words to the church for οἰκοδομή, παράκλησις and παρηγορία ?

I leave the question for discussion.

B. Matthew

Mark's expectation would appear to have been unfulfilled. Jerusalem fell - and Rome stood! Persecution continued; the elect were not gathered. Here, if ever, was a problem of "Parasieverzögerung"; Mark's incautious predictions must surely have caused grave embarrassment? One would have expected his gospel to have fallen out of circulation or suffered drastic alteration. Indeed, it was altered and expanded by Matthew. But it is a mark of the richness and flexibility of the eschatological ideas of the Christian prophets that Matthew was not thus embarrassed, and not moved to make any substantial changes in the text of Mk 13. And I shall try to show that he has not even made any substantial change in the ideas. Mark was correct, after all! He predicted the coming of the judgment in the fall of the temple, and so it came about. But for Matthew the leading significance of the image of the Parousia is the coming judgment according to works for all;<sup>1</sup> and by expanding the discourse he gives his readers a message of warning about this and solves without difficulty the problem created by the fall of Jerusalem.

Matthew places Mk 13.9-13 in his mission charge (10.17-22), and when he reproduces Mk 13 as a whole in ch.24 replaces it with a section of largely new material (24.9-14), which we have seen to include references to a parallel version of the Antichrist tradition. Further references to this tradition appear in vv.30f., but otherwise Mk 13.1-32 is reproduced fairly closely; the Q saying parallel to Mk 13.21 (=Mt 24.23) is placed alongside it (vv.26-28) as Matthew's custom is. Vv.33-7 are omitted, and replaced by a very much longer collection of parenetic material from Q and M, mainly parabolic (24.37-25.30). The Q material is part of that discussed in its Lucan context in chs. VI and VII. The discourse is concluded by an account of the Last Judgment, which has been shown to be in its present form Matthew's composition.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. esp. 16.27, 25.31ff. and above, p.156, and below, pp.276f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. J.A.T. Robinson, art. cit. in NTS 2 (1955/6).

We must account for these shifts and expansions. The mission charge in ch.10 is concerned with the mission to Israel (cf. vv.5f.), while ch.24 mentions the mission to the Gentiles (v.14, and compare the implication in 25.32, 40). There is an apparent contradiction between 10.5f. and 15.24 on the one hand and 24.14 and 28.19 on the other. It can be resolved by supposing that Matthew believed that the mission was restricted to Israel during Jesus' lifetime but extended to the Gentiles at some time thereafter.<sup>1</sup> He gives his conception of the history of salvation in his version of the parable of the great supper (22.2ff.) Matthew's version is shown to be an allegory by the incongruity of the details in vv.6, 7 and 11ff., which do not appear in the Lucan parallel (Lk 14.16-24). The message is taken first to Israel (v.3), but they reject the message and murder the messengers (v.6). For this reason their city is destroyed (v.7), and the message is taken instead to the Gentiles (v.9). Once called, however, the Gentiles' responsibility is as grave as Israel's had been, and failure to observe Christ's law of love (v.11) leads to ruthless condemnation (v.13). Cf. also 23.32ff., 27.25.

The mission to the Gentiles here appears to begin as a result of the rejection of Israel formalized in the fall of Jerusalem. However, in 28.19 Jesus seems to give the eleven the task of making disciples of the Gentiles immediately following his resurrection. Possibly Matthew came from a Jewish-Christian community which had come to recognize the necessity of the Gentile mission as a result of the fall of Jerusalem, but naturally recognized the Pauline mission as valid.

Hence we may regard ch. 10 as having primarily a historical significance, though the instructions may also be valid within limits for the Gentile mission. Matthew's purpose, then, in transferring Mk 13.9-13 to the mission charge must be to point to the fact of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Schmiewind, *Comm. Matthew*, 128; R. Hummel, *Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kirche und Judentum im Matthäusevangelium*, Munich 1963, 141; R. Walker, *Die Heilsgeschichte im ersten Evangelium*, Göttingen 1967, *passim*.

persecution of the missionaries to Israel (vv.28ff. are not specific enough about the fact)<sup>1</sup>. In 23.32ff. this is given as the reason for God's rejection of Israel; here it may rather serve as a warning paradigm for the missionaries to the Gentiles. The change in situation is signaled by the omission of Mark's v.10. A fragment remains in *καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* (10.18); but this is explained by the situation of trial before Roman *ἡγεμόνες*.

Matthew immediately follows the Marcan passage with an isolated saying (v.23) from his special material.<sup>2</sup> He is still dealing with the mission to Israel, which for him has come to an end with the fall of Jerusalem; cf. the reminiscence of this verse in 23.34. The flight from city to city is part of the mission to Israel, and has therefore now come to an end. But according to this verse, it cannot come to an end before the coming of the Son of Man. We cannot evade the problem by saying that Matthew is simply reproducing his source; for he deliberately placed this isolated verse where it is, and must have meant something by it.<sup>3</sup> No, in this verse we see that the Son of Man has already come!

Now, the theological purpose served in Matthew by the concept of the Parousia of the Son of Man is the proclamation of judgment according to works.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere it often refers to the judgment to which the whole world (25.31) must come. But here it can only refer to the fall of Jerusalem, which brings to an end the sufferings of the Christian missionaries to Israel. Thus for Israel the coming judgment has already taken place, and sentence has been passed. For Israel the ultimate judgment is embodied in the fall of Jerusalem; for the Gentiles it still lies in the future; but both have come or will come to the same point, where they are judged for their conduct towards "one of the least of these my brothers". Thus there is no contradiction in holding, as Matthew does, both that the Son of Man has come and that he will come: his ultimate judgment may be embodied in many events

<sup>1</sup> D.R.A. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel according to St Matthew*, Cambridge 1967, 96ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> Against Marxsen, 202; Hare, op. cit., 111.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 156 ; below, pp 276f.

in the course of history.<sup>1</sup>

Thus already we find that Matthew accepts Mark's view that the Parousia would be embodied in the fall of the temple. The lapse of time since the event is not an embarrassment, since eschatological language may be applied equally well to past events and to future ones, provided that they are seen as mediating the last word of God to a particular situation.

With this insight we go on to discuss Matthew's eschatological discourse, chs.24f.

Its general context is worth noting. Matthew has connected ch.24 closely with the denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees, ch.23, which culminates in the threat of vengeance for "the blood of the prophets".<sup>2</sup> His customary formula for denoting the conclusion of a discourse does not appear until 26.1, and Mark's story of the widow's mite has been swept aside, for no discernible reason but to bind chs.23, 24 and 25 into a single "speech complex"<sup>3</sup> broken only by a couple of questions from the disciples. V.2 states explicitly the judgment which is implied in 23.35f., 38. The disciples then ask further about this: *πότε ταῦτα ἔσται;* - and it is important that this sentence referring to Jesus' pronouncement in v.2 is retained from Mark and not eliminated in favour of the formulation which is rather placed alongside it, *τί τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σῆς παρουσίας καὶ συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος* ; This is surely parallel and not additional to the first question. The discourse even in Matthew is still concerned with the fall of the temple;<sup>4</sup> or more precisely, it is concerned with "your Parousia", as embodied in the fall of the temple; but the phrase with its multiple reference takes in also the "consummation of the age" (cf.13.40) and the judgment of the Gentiles. It is however one subject not two. Whenever the Son of Man comes, it means the same thing for those to whom he comes. However, now even the fall of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 19ff.

<sup>2</sup> Marxsen, 198f.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Against Marxsen, 199.

temple is spoken of from the point of view of the church in the era of the Gentile mission, as will become clear from the exegesis.

Matthew follows Mark closely in vv. 4-8, and there is little here to define any particular historical context. But in vv. 9-14 he departs radically from Mark; in vv. 9, 13, 14 he briefly summarizes the warning and promise of Mark's verses which he has already reproduced in ch. 10, and in vv. 10-12 alludes to the version of the Antichrist tradition found also in the Didache<sup>1</sup>, as well as to Mk 13.6, 22. It is not merely in order to avoid repetition that he does this; rather, he says something different from what he says in ch. 10 because the situation is different. We are now in the era of the Gentile mission, as is emphasized in v. 14 (composed by Matthew<sup>2</sup> on the basis of Mk 13.10 and the last phrase of Mk 13.9). But apart from this, the traditional material brought in by Matthew deals not with persecution, but with division and disloyalty within the church.

Is this description of apostasy, betrayal, false prophecy, disloyalty to the moral demands of Christ - is this a picture of future horrors (from Matthew's point of view) which were yet to come upon the church in the time immediately before the end,<sup>3</sup> or is it intended to describe the present condition of the church in Matthew's day?<sup>4</sup> The references to false prophecy and *κρομιά* in 7.15, 23, which obviously warn Matthew's church against a present danger, make it almost certain that Matthew intends these verses also to prophesy the present state of the church. Furthermore, Matthew links the "end" chronologically not with this apostasy but with the completion of the Gentile mission.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 161 ff.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον only again in the NT at 26.13; τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας confined to Matthew: 4.23, 9.35, 24.14; πρὸς - it is characteristic of Matthew to heighten the emphasis of his source by the use of πρὸς ; καὶ τότε constantly in Matthew.

<sup>3</sup> So apparently A.H. McNeile, *Comm. ad loc.*, and in effect G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, 2nd ed., Göttingen 1966.

<sup>4</sup> So Schmiedewind *ad loc.*

But if vv. 9-14 deal with the era of the Gentile mission, that is, the present, how can vv. 15-22, which follow them, have reference to the time of the Jewish War, as the introduction would suggest? Most commentators<sup>1</sup> indeed consider that Matthew refers not to the Jewish War but to a future "apocalyptic" event which will be the climax of the apostasy just described. But if the latter is a present state, this is slightly less probable.

Certain features within vv. 15-22 in fact suggest that Matthew refers them to the past event of the Jewish War. In v.15 Matthew corrects Mark's ἑστηκότα to ἑστός. We must assume that he knew why Mark had written the masculine.<sup>2</sup> In that case the alteration is more than a mere grammatical correction; by it Matthew deliberately strikes out the last trace of the personal Antichrist from Mark's discourse. But if he was familiar with the tradition and wished to point to a mysterious apocalyptic happening of the future, one would have expected him to underline the personal features of the Antichrist.

Matthew makes no attempt to widen the horizon of these verses; they remain addressed strictly to "those in Judaea"; and his definition of Mark's vague ἡμεῖς οὐδεὶς by ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι serves to underline the precise localization of the events. If they were intended as a "sign" for world-wide Christianity of the imminent approach of the Parousia, it is odd that they are so localized (contrast v.27).

The addition of μηδὲ σαρβᾶτω in v.20 is decisive; for Matthew did not believe that the sabbath commandment was binding on present-day Christians. This has been shown by Strecker.<sup>3</sup> Once again, we cannot dismiss the phrase as an anachronism<sup>4</sup> forced on Matthew by his source: for, whatever its origin, it is Matthew who

<sup>1</sup> McNeille, Schniewind ad loc.; Marxsen, 203; Strecker, 239; Hare, 177ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 85f.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 30ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 32; Walker, op. cit., 86.

has deliberately added it to Mark. The insertion cannot mean that it would be impossible for Christians to flee on the Sabbath in a future catastrophe. The only possibility is that Matthew understands Jesus' command as addressed to people who did still observe the Sabbath - that is to say, Jewish Christians of the time before the fall of Jerusalem. To them, Matthew believed<sup>1</sup>, it would have mattered that the disaster should not fall on the Sabbath. Cf. also v.34 - Matthew was writing fifty years or more after these words were supposed to be spoken.

I believe the connection of v.15 with the preceding verses can be interpreted thus (remembering the historical setting in which the words are spoken): "the end cannot come until the gospel has been preached to the Gentiles; therefore when you see the abomination of desolation, do not treat it as the end of your sufferings, but take evasive action and prepare for the second stage of your life and work". Matthew is telling his readers, perhaps in reply to the problem created by Mark's expectation, that though the fall of Jerusalem was indeed the coming of the Son of Man to Israel, it could not be the end for the church, because the work the church must do and the suffering it must undergo before the end are still outstanding. Therefore they must pay no attention to anyone who may attempt to persuade them that the Parousia has already taken place (vv. 5, 23-6). It may be that Matthew understands these verses as an attack on the kind of gnosticism seen in II Thess.2.2, II Tim.2.18. The Parousia does not consist in someone performing wonders to prove that he is the Christ, or that the Christ has come. Rather, (v.27) it is the unlooked-for, universal stroke of doom, that like the lightning is visible to all and leaves no room for doubt. This the world still awaits.

Εβθέως δὲ μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν - yet for Israel, the blow has already fallen! Clearly, if the θλίψιν is in the past, the coming of the Son of Man described in v. 30 must also be in the

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<sup>1</sup> Probably wrongly, since no contemporary interpretation of the sabbath law made it wrong to save one's life on that day.

past. Conversely, I must admit, if the coming is in the future, so must be the distress. I believe, however, that vv.29-31 can be interpreted of the judgment embodied in the fall of Jerusalem, that coming of the Son of Man spoken of in 10.23.

Matthew has here again introduced some material from another version of the Antichrist midrash.<sup>1</sup> The most important new feature is the quotation from Zech.12.12, 14. *κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς* is usually translated "all the tribes of the earth shall mourn" and would thus appear to be against the idea of a judgment confined to Israel. But that is not what it means in Zechariah! If we translate "the land" we may then remember that the Christian interpretation of the passage in Zechariah refers it to the crucifixion (cf. Jn 19.37, Rev.1.7).<sup>2</sup> Thus Matthew may intend to suggest by this phrase a judgment of Israel for the crucifixion of Christ (cf.27.25)<sup>3</sup>. And we have seen<sup>4</sup> that the most satisfactory interpretation of the "sign of the Son of Man" is the Cross.

V.31 would appear to be against this view; the gathering of the elect is surely still in the future for Matthew? And in 13.41 similar language, probably also derived from Mk 13.27, is used of the ultimate separation of the good from the bad in the kingdom of the Son of Man. This is true; yet the gathering of the elect by the angels may be seen as the culmination of the Gentile mission, which for Matthew is the positive counterpart of the negative judgment on Israel. It is implied and made possible by the judgment on Jerusalem.

Vv.29-31 therefore speak of the coming of the Son of Man to Israel in visitation for their rejecting him and handing him over to death; they at once confirm Mark's interpretation and point to the ultimate victory that it implies. Thus the eschatological meaning

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 168 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, pp. 68, 169.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Justin, Dial. 126.2.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 168.

of the fall of Jerusalem is preserved while its place in history is recognised.

In the parenetic section of the discourse, which begins with the Marcan material of vv. 32-6 and continues with the Q and M material of 24.37-25.30, two complementary themes are dominant, and are emphasised in the slight editorial additions. The first is that the time of the Son of Man's parousia is unknown, and therefore vigilance is needful at all times. This theme appears in 24.36, 37-44; 25.1-13, and is emphasised in the additions οὐκ ἔγρωσκον ἕως  
 in 24.39;<sup>1</sup> 24.42; ἐγρηγόρησεν ἄν καὶ in 24.43;<sup>2</sup>  
 25.13.<sup>3</sup> But it is necessary to keep awake not merely because the Son of Man is coming at some unknown time, but because when he comes he will come with punishment for those who have neglected their responsibilities - 24.45-51, 25.14-30, and in particular the typically Matthaean<sup>4</sup> ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν δδόντων, added to both parables - 24.51b, 25.30.

These verses are addressed to the church; for them the Parousia, the judgment, is still outstanding, because their work is still outstanding. One day, at a time when they least expect it, it will be tested. No change of subject has been announced since 24.31 - true. There has been no change of subject: the coming of the Son of Man is one subject, whether he comes to Jerusalem in the past or to the church or the world in the future.

The picture of the world judgment which concludes the discourse is the goal towards which the whole discourse has been tending; for it lays down the principle on which the non-Christian world will be judged. "Insomuch as you did it to one of these least

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lk 17.27; identified as Matthew's addition rather than Luke's omission by the awkward and unnatural way in which it breaks the connection between εἰσηλθεν Νάε... and ἦλθεν ὁ κατακλυσμὸς.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lk 12.39; the phrase introduces an illogicality into the application - the householder would have stayed awake if he had known, but the readers are urged to stay awake because they do not know.

<sup>3</sup> Again an application which does not quite fit the parable; "all slept, the wise as well as the foolish!" (Jeremias, Parables, 52); and probably Matthaean because of its closeness in ideas and phraseology to the other additions.

<sup>4</sup> 8.12, 13.42, 50, 22.13.

of my brothers, you did it to me". They will be judged by their conduct towards Christians in distress. Surely it was by this standard that Israel also was judged. Matthew has here probably reworked a traditional saying or group of sayings;<sup>1</sup> this accounts for the discrepancy between "the Son of Man" of v.31 and "the king" of vv.34, 40. But certainly Matthew identifies the coming Son of Man with "the king" of the account; and the king identifies himself with his "brothers". The effect is that Matthew points to the presence of the Son of Man in every one of the needy brethren. Here it is that the Son of Man comes to the nations, unexpected and universal as the lightning, as they go unsuspecting about their daily tasks: the mute appeal of the needy brother conceals the judgment of the Son of Man. Here is the separation made. This is the stroke of doom!

We can hardly call Matthew a prophet in the same creative sense as Mark. In the composition of his discourse he merely places side by side with slight changes the Marcan discourse, and material from Q and his special tradition. Yet in so doing he gives to the church a distinctive message necessitated by the situation following the fall of Jerusalem. Firstly, he defines the meaning of that event in God's plan, confirming Mark's expectation of the Parousia embodied in it - i.e. that it has the theological meaning of judgment - but noting that for the church it is only the beginning of the era of the Gentile mission. Secondly, he defines the nature of the Parousia as divine judgment; it comes upon men where they are and as they are, and is as instantly and universally recognizable as the lightning. Thirdly, he shows how the church and the world stand in relation to the Parousia. The Son of Man came at the fall of Jerusalem, but he will come again, confronting us in the midst of our task as a church, confronting the world with the need of his brethren. Thus Matthew clearly sees his task as a prophetic one. The traditional material has a meaning for the church of his own day; this meaning he brings out by his arrangement and editorial touches. He has no

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Robinson, art. cit.

particular crisis to speak to; he has discovered that the language of eschatological crisis used by the primitive tradition is applicable in ordinary life. The moral decisions we make, or avoid making, in the course of our lives as Christians or as non-Christians have the character of finality and determine the future we create for ourselves. Thus Matthew gave a permanent value to the concept of the Parousia which it retains to this day, in spite of a long history of stupidly literal interpretation.

### C. Luke 21

Luke was faced with a similar, though more complex problem. He had been presented with two broadly parallel prophecies which he regarded as in part fulfilled. He had both to harmonize the prophecies and to indicate their relation to history. It is probable that both of them set the expected judgment on Jerusalem in the context of world judgment and cosmic symbolism; but their story has only one judgment, one climax. For Luke the judgment on Jerusalem was a matter of past history, the judgment of the world still awaited. He solves the problem by drawing a firm line between the fall of Jerusalem which is described in terms of divine judgment taken from the OT, but not with cosmic imagery, and the world-judgment, with which he associates the coming of the Son of Man<sup>1</sup>. It is not that he is unwilling to associate eschatological language with a past event, for in 17.26ff. he has already accepted into his gospel a passage designating the crisis impending in the life of Jesus as the appearance of the Son of Man.<sup>2</sup> Rather it is the specific context of ch.21 which impels him to make clear the distinction between the past act of judgment on Jerusalem and the world-judgment, by applying the Parousia imagery only to the latter.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Creed, Comm., 256; Caird, Comm., 228; Marxsen, 190ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 142 ff.

Luke's concern for historical context extends not only to the content of Jesus' words but also to their setting, and we have seen<sup>1</sup> that the naming of the audience is consciously used by Luke as a method of interpretation and may offer a key to his meaning. It is therefore surprising to find here that the identity of the audience is ambiguous. It is not said who the τῶνες (v.5) were who questioned him about the temple, but in Luke disciples do not address Jesus as διδάσκαλε (v.7), but usually as κύριε. Presumably therefore Luke intends them to be members of the crowd. Yet vv.12-19, 28, 34-6 (at least) can only be understood as addressed to Christians. Perhaps therefore one should take the elaborate designation of the audience for the remarks about the scribes in 20.45 as meant also for 21.8-36 - ἡκούοντος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς. This would designate the discourse as fundamentally paraclesis for the church, but with a final warning also for Israel; and this does seem to correspond to its contents.

Luke follows the common order of his two sources, that is, the persecution-assurance form, but the form now serves a radically different function. Originally, in both Mk 13 and Luke's special source, the preliminary woes and the persecution were present events and the fall of Jerusalem was promised as the destruction of the persecutor, and defined as God's judgment by being placed in a context of world-judgment.<sup>2</sup> But in Luke all the first three sections are fulfilled prophecies; the paracletic function of the form is to assure the church that world-judgment will follow as surely as the judgment of Jerusalem has already done. But it also has a kerygmatic function, appropriate to a gospel rather than to prophetic speech; it traces the progress of God's purpose of salvation through the past history of the church and into the future. Since Luke places a chronological break at v.24, one may assume that all that goes before is concerned with the time before A.D. 70.

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<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, pp. 240 ff.

Thus vv.8-11 will have the same reference as the corresponding section in Mk 13, vv.5b-8, i.e. the beginnings of the Roman-Jewish war. They cannot refer to events of this type in general, for the persecution of the Christians could not then be said to precede them (v.12: *πρὸ δὲ τούτων πάντων*). Even the "terrors and great signs from heaven" are to be connected with the war - Josephus reports several such.<sup>1</sup> The reason for Luke's here using Mark as his main source is clear: it enables him to begin the discourse with a warning against those who falsely consider "the time" to be near, and he emphasises this theme by adding *ὁ κερὸς ἤγγικεν* as one of the assertions of the tempters. The series of "woes" are no longer contemporary events interpreted as premonitory judgments, for the judgment they could have foreshadowed is now past; *ἔρχῃ ὡδίνων ταῦτα* is not taken over from Mark, and their significance is simply that they "must happen" (v.9): i.e. they are events allowed for in the plan of God and cannot be taken as 'signs'.

Vv. 12-19 would presumably apply to the Jewish persecutors of the period before the war. This is why Luke finds it necessary to introduce a chronological correction (v.12) of the traditional order of the persecution-assurance form. Here he combines the texts of Mark and his special source. It is surprising that he places Mark's prophecies of martyrdom (v.16) alongside the optimism of his own source (vv.15, 18); but perhaps v.19, which is more likely to be a rephrasing of Mk 13.13b than to be drawn from the special source, gives the clue. *ψυχῆ* in Luke-Acts usually means "soul" rather than "life". Spiritually, the disciples will be unharmed, even though physically "they will kill some of you."

The climax of this period comes "when you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies." Luke here (vv.20-24) follows mainly his special source, adding only vv.21a, 23a from Mark. Again, the reason is quite plain. Luke is not, like Mark, interested in the fall of the temple as a sign of the end of the Jewish religion, but in the fall of the city as a sign of God's judgment on the nation that refused to recognise his messengers. This is a theme that recurs frequently in the gospel: cf.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. BJ VI 289.

11.49-51, 13.34f., 19.42-44, 23.28-31. Its kerygmatic function becomes clear in the Acts - the rejection of Israel leads to the calling of the Gentiles (Ac.13.46f., 28.25-28). Its presence here accounts for the crowd's forming a secondary audience: these verses are directed more at them than at the disciples. From Mark Luke has taken whatever was not inappropriate to his main theme, except for vv. 15f., 21ff. which he has already given in various forms (17.21, 31; 21.8).

The transition from Luke's past to his future is effected in v.24: "until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled." We have noted<sup>1</sup> that this could well have been added by Luke in order to place a distance between the judgment on Jerusalem and the judgment on the Gentiles.

The καιροὶ ἐθνῶν are the present. From v.25 we read of Luke's actual expectation, his προσδοκία τῶν ἐπερχομένων τῆ ἀποκρίσεως.

It is the destruction of Gentile political power and the beginning of Christ's visible reign which brings with it the "deliverance" of the Christians. Most of the section is derived from Luke's special source, now severed from its connection with the fate of Jerusalem, so that it serves as a substantive announcement of judgment upon the Gentile world. The "sea", as Caird points out,<sup>2</sup> is "the turbulent ocean upon which God imposed his will at Creation, the reservoir of evil things over which he has still to secure his final conquest." V.26b., added from Mark, also has a mythological reference, to the angelic rulers of the nations,<sup>3</sup> with whose destiny their own is bound up (cf. Is.24.21). "Thus the shaking of the powers of heaven denotes... the overthrow of pagan imperial supremacy."<sup>4</sup> But the addition of v.27 from Mark is still more important: it identifies this overthrow of pagan power with the coming of the Son of Man, which has already been used several times in the gospel as the symbol of ultimate judgment.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Comm., 232; cf. above, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Caird, *ibid.*, and cf. *id.*, *Principalities and Powers*, Oxford 1956, 1ff.

<sup>4</sup> *id.*, *Comm. Luke*, *loc.cit.*

<sup>5</sup> 9.26, 12.40, 17.24, 30, 18.8; cf. above, pp. 151, 159.

Luke has unloosed this eschatological symbol from its connection with Jerusalem and tied it firmly to the expected judgment on the Gentiles. It is this that is now God's supreme awaited action of mercy and justice. For the oppression of the pagan power, destruction; for the Christians, deliverance; and this is further defined in v.31 as "the kingdom of God." The pagan power, rival to God's reign, must be swept away, before God's can be fully established.

What Luke means by v.32 has occasioned much difficulty. It seems very difficult to refer the absolute  $\pi\lambda\nu\tau\alpha$  to everything up to v.24;<sup>1</sup> Marxsen<sup>2</sup> suggests that  $\eta\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\ \alpha\delta\tau\eta$  is taken by Luke to mean "this race" - i.e. the Jews. This is perhaps the best that can be made of a bad job.

But the coming of the Son of Man is not unconditionally a day of deliverance for Christians. The parenetic conclusion (vv.34-6) warns them to remain on their guard lest "that day" should catch them unawares and sunk in the pleasures or cares of the world. It is not of course the prospect of deliverance that requires this vigilance, but that of judgment - Christians are at risk as much as the pagan world, and if they neglect their responsibilities, they will be tested and found wanting when they least expect it. (Cf. 12.35-48)<sup>3</sup>. It may come at any time! The disciples are asked to pray that they may "escape all these things that are about to happen". Any of the events that Jesus has described may bear judgment for them. Only those who have been single-minded and vigilant will be able to "stand" when they come before the Son of Man. (cf. 12.8f.)

Luke thus offers his church a double message: one of assurance that the Son of Man's judgment will extend to the Gentiles, one of warning lest it extend to them. The situation has changed since his two sources were written. The assurance now relates to the Gentiles rather than to Jerusalem; yet there is less basis for it in the obvious facts of history.

<sup>1</sup> Despite Klostermann and Caird ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> 196.

<sup>3</sup> and above, pp. 123 ff.

To all appearances, the present order of the world is unchangeable. It is only the eye of faith that can see it giving place to the kingdom of God.

Luke is writing in no crisis which might make his words more credible. Written in faith, they must be accepted in faith. Yet not without reason: the judgment executed upon Jerusalem gives the assurance that God is not sleeping, and will perform what he has promised. Like Matthew, he has ventured little radical alteration of his sources; but, again like Matthew, he has made certain creative changes and rearrangements which have given to his generation of Christians a clear prophetic message. If creative manipulation of written and oral tradition in the service of the church is the mark of a prophet, then Luke deserves the name.

#### D. Conclusion

The prophetic adaptation and interpretation of the OT and the sayings of Jesus was not brought to an end by the inclusion of prophetic words in the Synoptic Gospels. Rather, the evangelists themselves act as prophets as they interpret and adapt the traditional material, and the forms in which we know it today owe at least as much to the prophetic creativity of the evangelists, especially Mark, as to that of their anonymous predecessors.

The evangelists do not merely continue processes begun in the oral tradition. They use the material also for purposes distinctive of gospels rather than of prophetic speech. All of them have a kerygmatic purpose: Mark sets forth the meaning and achievement of the passion of Christ which he is about to narrate; Luke and to a lesser extent Matthew use their material to write a Heilsgeschichte, to show the progress of God's purpose of salvation for the church.

But apart from this, all have prophetic motives in shaping the material as they do. In Mark we see the logical conclusion of the tendency to concentrate the attention more exclusively upon the Christian community which is characteristic of the prophetic adaptation

of Jesus' eschatological teaching.<sup>1</sup> The traditions which Mark employed in composing the discourse were indeed primarily directed to the Christian community as paraclesis, but they also had an interest in the fate of Israel. In the Antichrist tradition the church is addressed as representative of Israel, and probably the redemption of Israel is implied in the vindication of the saints. In the persecution-assurance form the fall of Jerusalem is predicted (no longer threatened!) as punishment for her sins. Whether it consists in solidarity or rejection, the interest in the nation is there. In Mark the fall of Jerusalem is simply the means to the salvation of the "elect", with whom the discourse is exclusively concerned and to whom the warning is directed. The only positive role played by non-Christian is as the object of the mission to the Gentiles (v.10).

Matthew and Luke widen the vision by proclaiming a world-judgment. The fate of Jerusalem cannot now be the subject of a prophetic word: it takes on historical, kerygmatic or paradigmatic interest. But the fate of the Gentiles, or the Gentile power - that can be the subject of the assurance or warning. These later evangelists also exemplify two different approaches to the use of eschatological language, originating in a situation of crisis, outside the critical situation. Matthew concentrates upon the moral aspect of eschatological language, seeing in God's eschatological action the sanction for present conduct.<sup>2</sup> His expectation is that the Son of Man will come "to reward everyone according to his works" (16.27). This means that he can generalize the crisis, regarding each moment as potentially determining the verdict when one stands before the coming Son of Man. This, again, continues a process of development begun in the prophetic adaptation for parenetic purposes of some of the Q material which Matthew uses.<sup>3</sup>

Luke, on the other hand, sticks to the older meaning of judgment derived from the OT, which connotes vindication for the saints at the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, pp. 122-5.

same time as punishment for their oppressors. Therefore he maintains the application of eschatological language to a specific crisis (although in vv.34ff. he accepts a moralization given to him by the tradition). As the crisis does not at present exist, its coming must be asserted as a matter of faith. Again, this development had already been adumbrated in the prophetic use of eschatological sayings.<sup>1</sup> Matthew becomes the ancestor of conventional Christian eschatological thought ("the four last things"), Luke of adventist thought (though he himself is of course careful to avoid maintaining an imminent expectation where there is no justification for it).

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. above, pp. 153f.

## Chapter XI

### RESULTS: A HISTORY OF THE PROPHETIC TRADITIONS

We set out to find evidence for the influence of church prophecy upon the material of the Synoptic Gospels, especially for the embodiment in them of prophetic traditions. In Part I I fashioned out of the material of Revelation and the Pauline epistles certain keys which, in Part II, I used to unlock doors in the gospels. I showed that the charismatic interpretation of scripture for present needs was considered fundamental to the prophet's business<sup>1</sup>, and is in fact the foundation on which rests much of the structure of the Revelation of John.<sup>2</sup> I showed further that this prophet treated the traditional sayings of Jesus in much the same way as the text of the OT, that is, he remoulded them, extended them, combined them with OT passages, in order to interpret them for the time.<sup>3</sup> In embarking on the study of the eschatological material of the Synoptic Gospels, I took such treatment of Scripture and of the sayings as marks of prophetic work, and did in fact find signs of prophetic activity. The results of our study may be expressed as a history of the prophetic tradition as it appears in the Synoptic Gospels.

The starting-point in the teaching of Jesus is found in two categories of utterance. There is first his preaching of crisis to Israel.<sup>4</sup> This may be classified as "public prophecy".<sup>5</sup> We call it "crisis-preaching" in that Jesus offers to the nation a moment of decision as they stand before God's judgment: a choice between repentance and the kingdom of God on the one hand and rejection followed by national disaster on the other. He does not predict, he offers an alternative of threat and promise<sup>6</sup>. The eschatological character of this utterance expresses the finality of the choice with which he confronts the nation.<sup>7</sup> The other category consists of warnings of suffering given to his disciples.<sup>8</sup> In these he assures them of God's

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<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 28ff.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 35ff.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 48ff.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 127ff., 137ff.; cf. also 110f., 113.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 7f.

<sup>6</sup> pp. 127ff., 132.

<sup>7</sup> pp. 133f.

<sup>8</sup> pp. 122f.

help and eventual vindication if they endure and warns them of rejection if they do not, but he does not connect that vindication or that rejection with the threatened disaster for Israel. That would have involved him in predicting that disaster without qualification.<sup>1</sup>

At probably a fairly early stage in the history of the church, sayings of Jesus of these types begin to be re-used by Christian prophets in their addresses of encouragement and warning to the congregation,<sup>2</sup> and the charismatic interpretation they give to them tends to follow certain lines which reflect the change of address and situation and suggest a change of reference. The situation is this. Christ has been vindicated by being raised from the dead; but the crisis which he proclaimed is still unresolved; the nation has neither accepted his message nor received the divine judgment, and they are now moreover persecuting his followers. The church therefore looks forward to a second moment of judgment for Christ and his saints, which drawing on OT pictures of the judgment of Yahweh they express in the image of the appearance of Christ in glory.<sup>3</sup> This means the punishment of those who have rejected Christ and his messengers and the vindication of those who have accepted him.

This must result in the gradual assimilation of the utterances of Jesus to Israel and to the disciples: the moments of judgment upon the nation and of vindication for the disciples have become one. The danger in this is that the desire for vindication will convert the threat of disaster for the nation into a prediction<sup>4</sup> - and this is what actually happens in the "eschatological discourse", and of course makes impossible any further communication between the Christians and the rest of the nation. But over most of the tradition this process has not gone very far. Where Christians themselves are declared to be under judgment, the danger is least. For the same image of the Parousia, with its essential

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<sup>1</sup> p. 129

<sup>2</sup> pp. 72ff., 125ff.

<sup>3</sup> p. 151

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gaston, pp. 450ff.

connotation of judgment, may be used of the imminent time of testing for Christians, of which Jesus had spoken, which will distinguish between the faithful and firm and those who will betray their trust or their allegiance.<sup>1</sup> The reference may be either to persecution<sup>2</sup> or to the tribulations of the general judgment.<sup>3</sup> It is in this sense that most of the crisis-warnings in Jesus' sayings are used by the prophets addressing themselves to the church.<sup>4</sup>

The history of the phrase "Son of Man"<sup>5</sup> illustrates an aspect of this development. Starting as a self-designation of Jesus who usually presents himself as the messenger of crisis,<sup>6</sup> the phrase is associated with predictions of the Parousia,<sup>7</sup> and so becomes prominent in paraclesis warning the church of the time of testing<sup>8</sup> or assuring them of the coming judgment.<sup>9</sup>

The logical culmination of this line of development is reached in the later persecution-assurance form, as it is exemplified for us in the pre-Lucan eschatological discourse,<sup>10</sup> a free composition based on a large extent upon sayings of Jesus,<sup>11</sup> but shaped by OT themes.<sup>12</sup> Here the threat of disaster for the nation which Jesus uttered to warn them not to reject his message becomes a prediction made by a Palestinian Christian prophet to assure the church that judgment is at hand - judgment which will vindicate the persecuted church and destroy its enemies. It acquires this significance by being placed in juxtaposition with assurances of present help in persecution based upon the older persecution assurances stemming from Jesus. This is the cry of a church at the end of its tether, not so much because of persecution, which we cannot suppose to have been severe,<sup>13</sup> but because of the total

<sup>1</sup> pp. 111, 153, 126 ff.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 111, 153.

<sup>3</sup> p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 123 ff.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 135 ff.

<sup>6</sup> pp. 137 ff.

<sup>7</sup> pp. 146 ff.

<sup>8</sup> pp. 153, 146, 155.

<sup>9</sup> pp. 154, 155.

<sup>10</sup> pp. 218 ff.

<sup>11</sup> pp. 227, 230.

<sup>12</sup> pp. 241 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Hare, op. cit.

failure of their message. They have come to that point of despair where only the immediate intervention of God can release them. Communication with their people has already broken down, so it is not surprising that they should now identify their own certain vindication and the certain judgment upon those who have rejected the message with the threatened disaster for the nation of Israel, so that the latter becomes an unqualified prediction.

Meanwhile, other prophets had been engaged in a very different type of work, searching the scriptures rather than the sayings of Jesus. The threat offered by the attempt of Gaius Caesar to have his statue placed in the temple spurred them to consider what the Bible had to say about the power of Rome.<sup>1</sup> They found what they were looking for in the book of Daniel. Here they discovered the coming of a king who would arrogate divine honours to himself, seduce the people like the false prophet of Dt.13, desecrate the temple and persecute the saints. And it was only after his seeming triumph that God would act to destroy him and bring the saints to their reward. This interpretation of the book of Daniel gave a necessary assurance for the time of trouble.<sup>2</sup> But it was not discarded after the immediate threat had receded, because the power of Rome remained, and hence the threat of a new crisis. It became very widespread and has left traces in many different Christian writings of the first century. When a new religious threat from Rome arises, it is used once again for the purpose of assurance and encouragement to endure (Rev.13).<sup>3</sup> But it is also used to warn against a misconceived "realized eschatology" (II Thess.2, Mk 13, Mt.24).<sup>4</sup> By simply pointing to the "mystery of iniquity"<sup>5</sup> at work, the prophet can dismiss the ideas of those who claim that God's work is complete with the resurrection of Christ (and the labours of the Christian prophets therefore in vain!).

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<sup>1</sup> pp. 201f.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 198f.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 184ff.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 171ff., 256ff., 267ff.

<sup>5</sup> II Thess. 2.7.

All these traditions, at various stages of development, are drawn on by the evangelists, and Mark is followed by Matthew and Luke in placing a long "eschatological" - i.e. prophetic - discourse immediately before the Passion narrative and using it to express his own prophetic message to the church. He composes a typical prophetic discourse<sup>1</sup> giving eschatological paraenesis based on apocalyptic instruction,<sup>2</sup> and employing the prophetic traditions we have identified as the Antichrist interpretation of Daniel<sup>3</sup> and the persecution-assurance form,<sup>4</sup> and also some sayings of Jesus.<sup>5</sup> All are radically reinterpreted. To contemporary Christians Mark offers an interpretation of the events of the Jewish revolt which makes them the sign and the actual beginning of God's final act of salvation.<sup>6</sup> Hence he throws his readers into a new crisis, and offers them the decision whether to accept or reject God's new eschatological work.<sup>7</sup> The style and method of expression, shaped throughout by decades of prophetic custom, is very different from that of Jesus but the message is entirely analogous. Certainly Mark predicts, but many of his "predictions" are *ex eventu*<sup>8</sup> and the others in fact leave room for a choice to the church,<sup>9</sup> with whom Mark is exclusively concerned.

Matthew and Luke, employing the same material, interpret it according to two of the earlier prophetic ideas, appropriately to the situation of Gentile or Diaspora Christians after the war: Matthew,<sup>10</sup> and also Luke,<sup>11</sup> take up the idea of the Parousia as the day of testing for Christians, and Matthew draws out the moral implications for non-Christians as well as Christians. Luke also, and especially in ch.21,

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<sup>1</sup> pp. 75ff., 252, 266.  
<sup>2</sup> pp. 77f.  
<sup>3</sup> pp. 78ff., 160ff.  
<sup>4</sup> pp. 239f.  
<sup>5</sup> pp. 97ff.  
<sup>6</sup> pp. 262ff.  
<sup>7</sup> pp. 265f.  
<sup>8</sup> pp. 256f., 260.  
<sup>9</sup> p. 266.  
<sup>10</sup> p. 275.  
<sup>11</sup> p. 281.

maintains and extends the theme of vindication for Christians associated with the visitation of their enemies.

Such in brief is the history of the prophetic traditions that we have identified in the gospels. Each new interpretation of older material is guided by two fundamental ideas: that the scripture or tradition exists for the enlightenment and comfort of the present generation of Christians, and that the Holy Spirit, speaking through the mouth or the pen of the prophet, is able to make plain the meaning for them.<sup>1</sup> The evangelist do not hesitate to place these interpretations on the lips of Jesus. This does not mean that they could not distinguish between words of the earthly Jesus and those of his prophets, though in many cases the lapse of time would indeed have made this impossible, but that the authority of the two was identical.<sup>2</sup> He that proclaimed crisis for Israel now proclaims crisis for the church, or offers her consolation. Although Mark composed ch.13 himself, he is justified in placing it on the lips of Jesus, not only because he based it on traditions that he may have had reason to suppose went back to Jesus, but because it was what the risen Christ had indeed said to him and - more important - was now saying to the church. The real significance of the early Christian prophets for the modern church lies not in their dependence on tradition - this, after all, is too amply exemplified in all types of churchly activities, but in the sovereign freedom they exhibit - the freedom of the Holy Spirit - to interpret, modify and transform tradition, to make of tradition a new creation, adapted to the life of the church of their day, yet implicit in what they have received, in order to meet the urgent needs of their brothers.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 15f., 36, 46f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 74.

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### C. General

The following abbreviations have been used for commentary series:

- Black Black's New Testament Commentaries
- CGTC Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
- CNT Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
- HBNT Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
- ICC International Critical Commentary
- Meyer Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, begründet von H.A.W. Meyer
- Moffatt Moffatt New Testament Commentary
- NTD Das Neue Testament Deutsch
- Pelican Pelican Gospel Commentaries
- Regensb. Regensburger Neues Testament
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# NEW TESTAMENT PROPHECY AND THE GOSPEL TRADITION

by

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## A B S T R A C T

The aim of the thesis is to demonstrate that the Synoptic evangelists, particularly in the eschatological discourses Mt. 24, Mk 13 and Lk 21, have employed traditions developed by Christian prophets; and to consider the origins and meanings of these traditions.

### Chapter I (Introduction)

The essence of Christian prophecy is that it is inspired speech spoken in the name of the risen Christ. Its internal function in the NT church was to provide encouragement in persecution and trial and exhortation in spiritual danger. Its speech-forms are manifold; but it is distinguished in the NT by the treatment of scripture and tradition which it shares with Jewish apocalyptic; this may be described as "charismatic exegesis". (It is dealt with in greater detail in chapters II-IV.) The language of prophecy is normally eschatological, and the Parousia of Christ is its central symbol. This language is symbolic of the absoluteness of God's offer of salvation or moral demand, which may be embodied within the course of history.

The thesis falls into two parts after the introduction. In the first, the way in which prophecy uses scripture and tradition is investigated in greater detail. In the second, the longer eschatological discourses of the Synoptic Gospels are examined for the presence of prophetic traditions to be recognized by the clues supplied in Part I.

### Part I: Chapter II

A study of various NT passages employing the word *μυστήριον* shows that it often designates the purpose of God as it is revealed by his Spirit through prophets in the church; that one characteristic mode of such revelation is by the inspired exegesis of scripture; and that "mysteries" of this kind might become part of the preached gospel.

Chapter III

Rev.13.1-10 is taken as a sample to illustrate the use of the OT in Christian prophecy. It may be seen that these verses constitute an interpretation of Dan.7, although there is (as everywhere in Revelation) no explicit quotation. The material of the OT passage is presented in a new form and combined with other passages and new themes in order to be applied to the situation of the church for which the author was writing. This must be considered as an interpretation of the scriptural passage, and may be described as a charismatic interpretation in that there is no appeal to the authority of scripture, but rather scripture itself is interpreted with the absolute authority of the Spirit. I assume that other parts of Revelation have the same relation to scripture and that this relation is typical of Christian prophecy.

Chapter IV

A study of several passages in Revelation which appear to be related to sayings of Jesus in the Gospels leads to the conclusion that the author has frequently drawn on the tradition of Jesus' sayings, charismatically reshaping and re-interpreting them in the same way as he does OT passages. He invariably refers them to the coming persecution, which is viewed as the eschatological conflict and the basis of God's judgment. Characteristic of the remodelling of the tradition as it is seen in Revelation is the allegorization of parables, christologically and eschatologically. And this is also characteristic of the tradition as it is displayed in the Gospels. Here the work of the Christian prophets may be clearly seen in the Gospels - but in the interpretation, not in the creation, of material. Warnings of crisis addressed to Israel are here re-interpreted as predictions of vindication for the church or calls to Christians to keep on the alert in view of the approach of the time of testing. More distinctive, however, of John's work in Revelation is the re-application of these crisis-warnings to his own situation of crisis, in which the reference of the sayings is changed but their essential sense retained.

Part II: Chapter V

In the Synoptic Gospels the passage which most easily lends itself to interpretation as the deposit of prophetic activity is the eschatological discourse, Mk 13. Investigation shows that the subject matter and literary form are quite typical of prophecy, and in particular that vv.5-27 may be seen as a charismatic interpretation of the book of Daniel, particularly of chs.7,8, 11, 12, in which the data on the activities of the evil king in these chapters are radically reshaped and applied to the experiences of the church in the post-resurrection period. Any further definition of the Sitz im Leben must await an investigation how far the material of the discourse is traditional and how far it comes from Mark himself (chapters VIII-X). Further, the discourse contains many sayings of Jesus known from other sources, scattered in vv.5-27, grouped in vv.28-37, and these show changes in form and reference characteristic of prophetic interpretation: generally, crisis-warnings for Israel have become predictions or warnings to be watchful <sup>addressed</sup> to the church.

Chapter VI

The eschatological material in Lk 12f. may be taken as typical of the most primitive state of the Synoptic tradition. It forms a contrast to Mk 13 in almost every respect. It consists of parables and short sayings which even in the present context may be seen to have been addressed for the most part to Israel, to give warning of the crisis that was upon them with the ministry of Jesus, and the necessity to choose between his offer of the Kingdom of God and the threat of disaster. Prophetic reinterpretation in these chapters is limited to a few passages.

Chapter VII

The phrase "Son of Man" in the Synoptic Gospels is an example of the way in which the tradition of Jesus' sayings has been developed through prophetic influences. In the earliest stratum it is a self-designation of Jesus associated with his ministry of warning to Israel, and not connected with a "Parousia". In the development

of the tradition seen in the Synoptic Gospels, especially in Matthew, it comes to be associated with the Parousia of Christ. This depends upon a tradition of exegesis, particularly of Dan.7.13 and related texts, which has also left traces in the book of Revelation. It may therefore be suggested that the tradition was developed by Christian prophets. The successive stages may be observed in Lk 17.22-37.

#### Chapter VIII

The interpretation of the book of Daniel found in Mk 13 may be seen to be traditional in that it has parallels independent of Mark: in the non-Markan parts of Mt.24, in I Thess.4 and II Thess.2, Rev.13, the epistles of John and the Didache. In these sources we meet with various forms or fragments of one basic myth: the evil king of great power ("Antichrist") who sets himself up in God's place, persecutes the saints and seduces men as a false prophet by his signs of power; who is at last destroyed by the Lord at his appearing, when the saints are vindicated and gathered. It is especially characteristic of these Christian and presumably prophetic interpretations of Daniel that texts on the false prophet from Dt. 13 are invariably associated with those from Daniel. I presume that all these documents present in different ways a prophetic tradition of the interpretation of the book of Daniel, applying it to present dangers facing the church. The conjecture may be approved that it was developed first to symbolize and reply to the threat of Roman totalitarianism seen in the attempt by Gaius Caesar in 40-41 A.D. to have his statue placed in the temple of Jerusalem.

#### Chapter IX

This is however not the only traditional source contributing to Mk 13. A quite different set of correspondences may be traced with the vision of the seven seals in Rev.6f. and the non-Markan parts of the discourse in Lk 21 (here presumed to form an independent source). All these sources present a common pattern: a sequence of preliminary woes, persecution of the saints, and final judgment on Jerusalem (a trace of this idea still survives in Rev.6) set in a context of world-judgment. In Mk 13 the material derived from the

interpretation of Daniel is organized within the framework supplied by this pattern. The Sitz im Leben of this pattern appears to be the consolation addressed by prophets to the church at times of persecution, specifically persecution from the Jewish authorities against the Palestinian church, and its effect is to assure the church of its vindication. It probably originated in the period immediately before the Roman war.

#### Chapter X

The contributions of the evangelists to the present form of their eschatological discourses are now studied, with the conclusion that in this part of their work they are themselves discharging the functions of prophets. Mark is found to be entirely responsible for the composition of the discourse of Mk 13, even though the material and plan are derived from tradition. The aim of the composition is seen from the introduction, 13.1-4: Mark is concerned with the fall of the temple, which is imminent (the evidence suggests that Mark was writing shortly before rather than after the fall of Jerusalem). He sees this as the symbol of the eclipse of the Jewish religion and the sign of imminent salvation for the elect. The occupation of the temple by the nationalist forces is the signal for its downfall, and hence for Christians to cut themselves off from a Judaism on the verge of judgment. Both salvation and judgment are symbolized by the Parousia. Thus Mark applies the old material to the present crisis in the life of the church; his work is prophetic and he is a prophet.

Matthew, in Mt. 24, expands Mark's discourse. The subject of his new discourse is the Parousia, seen as embodied first in the fall of Jerusalem, and then in the judgment that threatens the world. The aims of the discourse are to define the place of the fall of Jerusalem in the plan of God, and to warn the church of the ever-present danger of judgment, which will overtake the world without warning: the church will be judged according to its fulfilment of its responsibilities, the world according to its treatment of needy Christians.

Luke, in Lk 21, distinguishes between the past judgment on Jerusalem and the future eschatological judgment. He identifies the coming of the Son of Man with the overthrow of the Gentile political power; it is not, however, without danger for Christians who have neglected their responsibilities.

Matthew and Luke also use the material presented to them by their sources to construct a message to the church of their own day, and so their work too may be considered prophetic.

#### Chapter XI

The final chapter summarizes the results in the form of a history of the prophetic traditions uncovered by the thesis.