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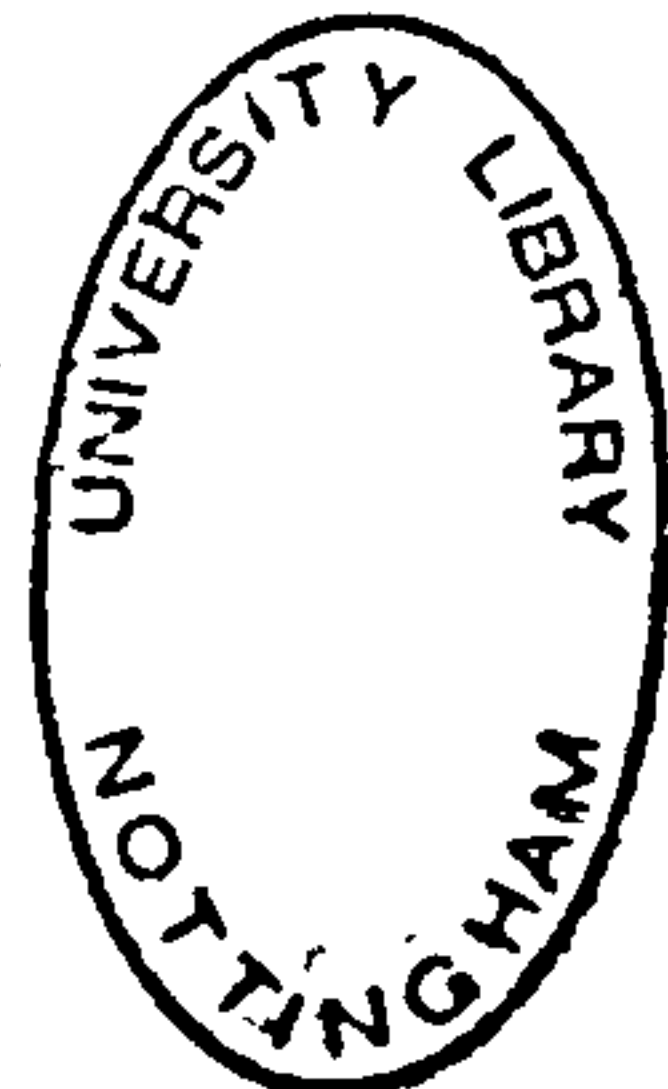
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JESUS THE EXORCIST:
A HISTORY OF RELIGIONS STUDY

- by -

Graham H. Twelftree, B.A.

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, May, 1981.



CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	iv
Preface	vi
Abbreviations	viii
I INTRODUCTION	1
II BACKGROUND AND SETTING	9
(Exorcism in first century Palestine)	
2.2 The Babylonian Texts	12
2.3 Egyptian Material	17
2.4 The Old Testament	33
2.5 Tobit	36
2.6 Jubilees	38
2.7 The Dead Sea Scrolls	43
2.8 Pseudo-Philo	50
2.9 The New Testament	52
2.10 Josephus	61
2.11 The Rabbinic Material	71
2.12 Lucian of Samosata	74
2.13 Apollonius of Tyana	77
2.14 The Testament of Solomon	83
2.15 The NT Apocrypha	88
2.16 Conclusion	99
III JESUS-THE-EXORCIST	104
(the data)	

		iii
	3.2 The Demoniac in the Synagogue	108
	3.3 The Gadarene Demoniac	135
	3.4 The Syrophoenician Woman's Daughter	166
	3.5 The Epileptic Boy	178
	3.6 The Beelzebul Controversy	204
	3.7 The Temptations	226
	3.8 Jesus' Answer to John	232
	3.9 The Disciples' Mission(s)	237
IV	JESUS-THE-EXORCIST	245
V	AS OTHERS SAW HIM	286
	-In the Gospels?	
	-A Magician?	
	-A Necromancer?	
	-A Hasid?	
	-Conclusions	
VI	JESUS-THE-EXORCIST	347
	(His Self-Understanding)	
VII	CONCLUSIONS	357
	Notes	363
	Bibliography	418

ABSTRACT

This study attempts to make a contribution to the quest for the historical-Jesus. The Synoptic Gospels give the impression that exorcism was very important in the ministry of Jesus. Yet when we note current studies on Jesus there is not only a general neglect of the miracle stories, but especially of the exorcism stories associated with Jesus. Is this neglect justified? Was exorcism an important part of Jesus' ministry? Have exorcism stories found their way from other traditions into the Jesus material? To answer these questions we begin by surveying a wide variety of material to answer the prior question - what notions of exorcism and exorcists would probably have been available to Jesus' audience in first century Palestine?

Having answered this question we examine the principal data in the Synoptic Gospels relating to Jesus and exorcism. We attempt to ascertain which elements of the material can, with reasonable confidence, be attributed to the reports of those who witnessed Jesus as an exorcist and, how the early Church handled this material.

We are then in a position to make our sketch of the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist which includes an enquiry into how Jesus' audience may have assessed him and how the early Church understood him. Finally as part of our sketch of the historical-Jesus there is a brief chapter on how he

may have understood his exorcistic activity.

As a result of our examination of the Jesus tradition we are able to conclude, at least, that Jesus was an exorcist, at one with his time, that the Synoptic Tradition is correct to give considerable emphasis to this aspect of Jesus' ministry, and that Jesus was the first to associate exorcism and eschatology.

PREFACE

Although I must take full responsibility for the contents of this study I am very conscious of the debt I owe to others. Professor George B. Caird introduced me to the world and critical study of the New Testament and I thank him for his encouragement of, and patience with, a beginner. I cannot say how much I appreciate Dr. James D.G. Dunn's supervision of my research over the last three and a half years. He has given generously of himself and his time. His love of the text and enthusiasm for discovering both the intention of the ancient writers and their meaning for the present has had a considerable impact on me. I continue to value his scholarship, friendship and critical Christian faith.

The Ministerial Education Board of the Uniting Church of South Australia has kindly granted me leave to come to Britain and I thank them as well as those to whom I am presently responsible, Prebendary Michael A. Baughen and the Revd. Andrew C.J. Cornes of All Souls Church Langham Place, for allowing me time to complete this thesis. Thankyou also to those who have typed various stages of the thesis - Sue Aston, Linda Blake, Sue Debenham, Cheryl Haworth, Robin Lawson, Sue Radford, Liz. Scott and Sarah Shephard. I could not have undertaken this project without the complete support of my parents - thankyou Mum and Dad!

Finally, to Barbara my wife I offer my gratitude for her love, help and patience. And now the 'Uni. Paper' is finished Catherine and Paul will be able to play with their Dad again.

Easter 1981

Graham H. Twelftree

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AJP</u>	<u>American Journal of Philology</u>
<u>AQ</u>	<u>Archiv für Orientforschung</u>
<u>AP</u>	<u>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</u>
<u>ARW</u>	<u>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</u>
<u>BA</u>	<u>Biblical Archeologist</u>
<u>BASOR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</u>
Bauer	W. Bauer <u>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</u> (1952) trans. and adapted by W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich (University of Chicago, Chicago, 1957)
<u>Beginnings</u>	F.J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake (eds.) <u>The Beginnings of Christianity Part I The Acts of the Apostles</u> (Macmillan, London, 1920ff.)
<u>BHH</u>	<u>Biblich-Historisches Handwörterbuch</u> (hrsg.) B. Reicke und L. Rost 3 Bände (Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1962ff.)
<u>BHM</u>	<u>Bulletin of the History of Medicine</u>
<u>BJRL</u>	<u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</u>
<u>BL</u>	<u>Bibel und Leben</u>
<u>BMP</u>	<u>British Museum Papyrus</u>
<u>BR</u>	<u>Biblical Research</u>
<u>BS</u>	<u>Bibliotheca Sacra</u>
<u>BT</u>	<u>Bible Translator</u>
<u>B.Th</u>	<u>Biblical Theology</u>
<u>CBQ</u>	<u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>
<u>CC</u>	H. Chadwick <u>Origen: Contra Celsum</u> (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1953)
<u>Cd'E</u>	<u>Chronique d'Egypte</u>
Crémer	H. Cremer <u>Biblio-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek</u> (1886, ET, T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1895)

- CSNT Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: Studies in Honour of C.F.D. Moule(eds.) B. Lindars and S.S. Smalley (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1973)
- DNTT The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology (ed.) C. Brown 3 Vols. (Paternoster, Exeter, 1975ff.)
- DUJ The Durham University Journal
- Eb.P The Ebers Papyrus, see B. Ebbell
The Papyrus Ebers (Oxford University, London, 1937)
- Ed.Smith P The Edwin Smith Papyrus, see J.H. Breasted The Edwin Smith Papyrus 2 Vols. University of Chicago, Chicago, 1930)
- Enc.Jud Encyclopedia Judaica Jerusalem
- ENTT E. Käsemann Essays on New Testament Themes (1960, ET, SCM, London, 1964)
- Ep.R Epworth Review
- EQ Evangelical Quarterly
- ER Ecumenical Review
- ERE Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (ed.) J. Hastings 13 Vols. (T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1908ff.)
- ET English Translation
- ETL Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
- Exp. The Expositor
- Exp.T Expository Times
- Hennecke New Testament Apocrypha (eds.) E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher 2 Vols. (1959 and 1964, ET, SCM, London, 1973-4)
- HR History of Religions
- HSE L. Gaston Horae Synopticae Electronicae (Scholars, Missoula, 1973)
- HTR Harvard Theological Review
- IB The Interpreters Bible

- (ed.) N.B. Harmon 12 Vols.
(Abingdon; Nashville, 1952ff.)
- IDB The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (eds.) G.A. Buttrick and K. Crim 4 Vols. and Supp. (Abingdon, Nashville, 1962ff.)
- IEJ Israel Exploration Journal
- Interp. Interpretation
- ITQ Irish Theological Quarterly
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
- JBL Journal of Biblical Literature
- JBR Journal of Bible and Religion
- JEA Journal of Egyptian Archeology
- JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies
- JJS Journal of Jewish Studies
- JPOS Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society
- JQR Jewish Quarterly Review
- JR Journal of Religion
- JRS Journal of Roman Studies
- JSS Journal of Semitic Studies
- JTS Journal of Theological Studies
- Lampe G.W.H. Lampe (ed.) A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford University, Oxford, 1961)
- LCQ Lutheran Church Quarterly
- Liddell and Scott H.G. Liddell and R. Scott A Greek-English Lexicon, revised H.S. Jones (Oxford University, Oxford, 1940, Supp. 1969)
- LXX Septuagint
- Miracles Miracles. Cambridge Studies in their Philosophy and History (ed.) C.F.D. Moule Mowbray, London, 1965)

Moulton and Milligan	J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan <u>The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament</u> (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1930)
<u>Nov.T</u>	<u>Novum Testamentum</u>
<u>NRT</u>	<u>Nouvelle Revue Theologique</u>
<u>NTQT</u>	<u>E. Käsemann New Testament Questions of Today</u> (1965, ET, SCM, London, 1969)
<u>NTS</u>	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
P	Papyrus
par(s).	parallel(s)
<u>PBA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the British Academy</u>
<u>PGM</u>	<u>Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</u> (hrsg.) K.Preisendanz 3 Bände. (Teubner, Leipzig und Berlin, 1928ff.). The papyri are cited by papyrus and line numbers.
<u>PSB</u>	<u>Princeton Seminary Bulletin</u>
<u>PSBA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology</u>
<u>RB</u>	<u>Revue Biblique</u>
<u>RE</u>	<u>Review and Expositor</u>
<u>RGG³</u>	<u>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</u> (hrsg.) K. Golling 6 Bände (Mohr, Tübingen, 1957ff.)
<u>RQ</u>	<u>Revue de Qumran</u>
<u>SB</u>	H.L. Strack und P. Billerbeck <u>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash</u> 6 Bände. (Beck, München, 1922ff.)
<u>SBL</u>	<u>Society of Biblical Literature</u>
<u>SE</u>	<u>Studia Evangelica</u>
<u>SEA</u>	<u>Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok</u>
<u>SEAJT</u>	<u>South East Asian Journal of Theology</u>
<u>SJT</u>	<u>Scottish Journal of Theology</u>
<u>SR</u>	<u>Studies in Religion</u>
<u>St.Phil</u>	<u>Studia Philonica</u>
<u>St.Th</u>	<u>Studia Theologica</u>

Supp.	Supplement
<u>T.Bull</u>	<u>Tyndale Bulletin</u>
<u>TDNT</u>	<u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u> , 10 Vols. (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1964ff.) ET of <u>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</u> (hrsg.) G. Kittel und G. Friedrich 9 Bände (Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1933ff.)
<u>Th.B</u>	<u>Theologische Berichte</u>
<u>Th.R</u>	<u>Theologische Revue</u>
<u>Th.T</u>	<u>Theology Today</u>
<u>ThWNT</u>	<u>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</u> (see TDNT above)
<u>TPAPA</u>	<u>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</u>
<u>Tradition</u>	<u>Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew</u> (eds.) G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H.J. Held (1960, ET, SCM, London, 1963)
<u>Tradition und Glaube</u>	<u>Tradition und Glaube: Festgabe für K.G. Kuhn</u> (hrsg.) G. Jeremias, H-W. Kuhn und H. Stegemann (Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1971)
<u>TZ</u>	<u>Theologische Zeitschrift</u>
<u>USQR</u>	<u>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</u>
<u>VC</u>	<u>Vigiliae Christianae</u>
<u>VT</u>	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>
<u>WANT</u>	<u>What About the New Testament? Essays in Honour of Christopher Evans</u> (eds.) M. Hooker and C. Hickling (SCM, London, 1975)
<u>ZA</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</u>
<u>ZAS</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterumskunde</u>
<u>ZAW</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>

ZKTZeitschrift für Katholische TheologieZNWZeitschrift ^{für die} neuentestamentliche

.....

Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren KircheZTKZeitschrift für Theologie und KircheZWTZeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche
Theologie

In abbreviating Rabbinic texts I have followed
 .. G. Vermes Jesus the Jew (Fontana, London, 1976) but using
 j. (not y.) for the Jerusalem Talmud. In abbreviating
 the Dead Sea Scrolls I have followed J.A. Fitzmyer The Dead
 Sea Scrolls Major Publications and Tools for Study
 (Scholars, Missoula, 1977). Other abbreviations for biblical
 and ancient texts should be sufficiently clear to require
 no explanation here.

INTRODUCTION

"Men kicked woman to death in attempt at exorcism, court told.

A preacher and his friend went berserk and kicked a mentally unstable woman to death as they tried to rid her of Judas Iscariot's evil spirit, the Central Criminal Court was told yesterday.

During the 'exorcism' John Sherwood and Anthony Strover punched Miss Beatrix Rutherford, aged 31, unconscious and then kicked and jumped on her stomach, it was alleged.

Mr Strover was said to have told the police that as they tried to chase the devil out of her, Miss Rutherford spoke in a strange voice which claimed to be the spirit of Judas Iscariot". (1)

Reports like this, (2) popular interest in the occult, (3) and renewed interest in Christian exorcism, (4) has generated considerable discussion on exorcism in the Church. However there is by no means a consensus of opinion within the Church. The Bishop of Exeter's report on exorcism recommends -

"It is much to be desired that every diocesan bishop should appoint a priest as diocesan exorcist". (5)

But in an open letter to the Archbishops, the bishops and the members of the General Synod of the Church of England Don Cupitt and G.W.H. Lampe say

"...we believe that the Church of England is in danger of making a serious error of judgment... We believe that exorcism should have no official status in the Church at all..."⁽⁶⁾

The different views represented in these two quotations usually seek the support of the NT, especially the activity of Jesus.⁽⁷⁾ In the current debate the student of the NT, particularly of Jesus and the Gospels, therefore has a weighty responsibility to elucidate the data in the Gospels.

Even a brief survey shows how important exorcism was for the Synoptic Gospel writers. For example, of the thirteen healing stories of Jesus in Mark's Gospel - 1:29-31, 40-45; 2:1-12; 3:1-6; 5:21-43; 7:31-37; 8:22-26; 10:46-52, and 1:21-28; 5:1-20; 7:24-30; 9:14-29 - the last four mentioned are exorcism stories, thus being the most numerous category of healing story in Mark. And though (apart from Mtt.12:22ff./Lk.11:14, see pp.206ff. below) Matthew and Luke provide no extra detailed stories of exorcism they, like Mark, agree that exorcism was an important aspect of Jesus' ministry and go so far as to suggest that Jesus' dealings with the demon-possessed is of central significance in understanding Jesus and his ministry (Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20, see pp. 22 ff. below).

The importance of the miracles for the Evangelists'

portrayal of Jesus and the Gospel was reflected in eighteenth and nineteenth century scholarly preoccupation with miracles in their 'lives' of Jesus.⁽⁸⁾ But in various ways the major contributors to this early search for the historical-Jesus sought to remove the miracles from the centre of the theological stage. Hermann Reimarus dismissed all the miracles as inventions of the Gospel writers.⁽⁹⁾ Heinrich Paulus, who exemplified the rationalist approach in NT scholarship, offered rationalistic explanations for the miracles so that they were no longer an important part of the NT witness to Jesus.⁽¹⁰⁾ In his Das Leben Jesu lectures of 1832 Friedrich Schleiermacher saw the miracles as humane moral acts, not contrary to nature "but only a potential ascendancy on Christ's part, which was a constituent of his peculiar nature and disposition".⁽¹¹⁾ But as Schweitzer pointed out this solution to the problem of the miracle stories places Jesus outside the sphere of human life.⁽¹²⁾

The turning point came in 1835 and 1836 with the publication of D.F. Strauss' Life of Jesus.⁽¹³⁾ He faced head on the problem of miracle, proceeded not by seeking 'what actually happened' but by examining the narratives, and postulated that much of the NT, including the miracle stories, should be understood as, and put in the category of 'myth'.⁽¹⁴⁾ Strauss' Life unleashed^h a torrent of criticism directed primarily at the problem of miracle and myth.⁽¹⁵⁾

But -

"with Strauss begins the period of the non-miraculous view of the Life of Jesus... the question of miracle constantly falls more and more into the background..."⁽¹⁶⁾

In the early part of What is Christianity? Adolf Harnack⁽¹⁷⁾ attempted a protest at the fear of treating the miracles.⁽¹⁸⁾ But was he still under the spell of Strauss when he said that miracles did "not possess the significance for that age which, if they existed, they would possess for ours"⁽¹⁹⁾ and "that Jesus himself did not assign that critical importance to his miraculous deeds which even the evangelist Mark and the others all attributed to them"?⁽²⁰⁾

Richard H. Hiers has pointed out that in more recent times exorcism in the NT has been neglected in scholarly NT work.⁽²¹⁾ Hans Conzelmann's famous RGG³ article⁽²²⁾ which reviewed the then current position in the life of Jesus research offers no treatment of the miracles or exorcism traditions associated with Jesus. Noticeable is this neglect in the 'lives' of the New Quest. For example Bornkamm's emphasis is on the words of Jesus and his authoritative ministry. There is a token mention of Jesus' activities⁽²³⁾ but the works, miracles or exorcisms play no significant part in Bornkamm's Jesus.⁽²⁴⁾ And now even more recently, James Mackey's Jesus the Man and the Myth gives only a very small place to the treatment of Jesus' miracles.⁽²⁵⁾

So despite the apparent importance of Jesus' exorcistic activity for the Synoptic tradition (see p.2 above) the present state of NT research on the life of Jesus gives the impression that it is still under the spell of Strauss when it comes to this aspect of the reports of Jesus' ministry.⁽²⁶⁾

Over against this general neglect there have been a number of specific studies that have taken up the theme of miracle in the Gospels. One of the most formidable studies is that by Van der Loos in which he has a significant section on 'Healing of the Possessed'.⁽²⁷⁾ However it is mainly a compendium of the views of others with little analysis from a historical-critical perspective. Many of the other studies of the miracles have given only a low priority to the exorcism stories.⁽²⁸⁾

James Kallas has recognized the central significance of the miracle stories in the Gospels and has in turn seen the importance of the exorcism stories in Jesus' cosmic struggle.⁽²⁹⁾ Nevertheless Kallas does not critically examine the exorcism stories nor does he clarify our knowledge of the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist.⁽³⁰⁾

Geza Vermes⁽³¹⁾ also recognizes the importance of the exorcism stories in understanding the historical-Jesus. However his very brief treatment of this aspect of Jesus'

ministry does not do justice to the Synoptic data. We will also need to examine (Chapter V below) Vermes' suggestion that Jesus was simply a Hasid.

John Hull⁽³²⁾ gives considerable attention to the exorcism stories in the Synoptic Gospels using Hellenistic magical traditions in an attempt to throw new light on the Synoptic Evangelists' portrayal of Jesus, especially as a miracle-worker. The present study is an advance on Hull in that we want to press behind the Evangelists' portrait and we want to concentrate on exorcism rather than all of the miracle stories. Hull's work raises the question of the definition of 'magic' as well as whether or not it is legitimate to see the background of the Synoptic miracle stories in an exclusively Hellenistic light. In this connection we will be asking if Bultmann is correct in saying that folk stories of miracles and miracle motifs have come into the Synoptic oral tradition.⁽³³⁾

In Jesus the Magician Morton Smith⁽³⁴⁾ examines the Gospel material to try and show that Jesus' contemporaries considered him a magician. Because it so directly cuts across our study we will be discussing this book at some length in chapter V where we will be asking - would those who saw Jesus perform an exorcism have thought him to be a magician?

In the light of what we have said so far we need to do two things. We need to make an attempt at recovering the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist. This involves not only trying to sketch a picture of this aspect of the historical-Jesus, but also endeavouring to see how Jesus understood himself in relation to his exorcisms. We will also need to see if we can say how Jesus' audience and the early Church assessed and understood Jesus as an exorcist.

In order to do this we will begin (in Chapter II) by addressing the question - what notions of exorcism and exorcists would probably have been available to Jesus' audience in first century Palestine? Then (in Chapter III) the principle data in the Gospels on Jesus and exorcism will be examined. This analysis provides the basis for the next three chapters where we will be sketching out a picture of the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist (Chapter IV), then (in Chapter V) we will see if we can say how his contemporaries and the early Church saw him and finally (in Chapter VI), very briefly how Jesus understood himself in relation to his exorcisms.

Two themes that are closely allied to our own are demonology and demon-possession. In contrast to exorcism,

both in the ancient world and in relation to Jesus, these themes have been dealt with relatively well. (35)

Therefore, apart from occasional necessary references we will

not give our attention to demonology and demon-possession.

Another area that is arguably related to, but outside the scope of this study is exorcism in our own time. Though in view of the present debate in some quarters of the Church on the validity and form of Christian exorcism,⁽³⁶⁾ it is possible that the results of our historical-critical analysis of exorcism in the Jesus tradition might have some bearing on that debate.

II

BACKGROUND AND SETTING

(Exorcism in first century Palestine)

2.1 According to the programme we outlined our first task is to set out the background against which we will be able to examine the NT exorcism stories of Jesus. Before going further we will want to know: (a) What we mean by exorcism and (b) What material should we use as an appropriate background to the Jesus stories?

(a) As we require a definition that will enable us to provide a background to the stories of Jesus we furnish the following definition.

Exorcism was the attempt to control and cast out/expel evil spirits/demons from their present habitat.⁽¹⁾

Our definition omits reference to 'technique',⁽²⁾ for as we will see in this and the next chapter, the techniques vary so much that at times it might be said not to exist beyond a few words of command.

The notion and practice of exorcism presupposes a belief in 'demons' and 'demon-possession'. Although the NT in general, and the Gospel writers in particular, show little interest in demons for their own sake it is clear (eg. from the Beelzebul Controversy pericope (Mk.3:22-27 and Mtt.12:22-30/Lk.11:14-23) see pp.204ff below) that evil spirits/demons are the agents of Satan whose chief role is to cause illness

through totally dominating or possessing individuals. (3)

(b) What material should we use in our attempt to set Jesus-the-Exorcist within his own milieu? Involved in making this decision are two problems having to do with dating. Firstly, it will be important, when dealing with each story, idea, or body of tradition, that we can reasonably establish that these ideas were in fact part of the intellectual currency of first century Palestine. Secondly, it will be important to deal not only with material that ante-dates and is contemporary with Jesus but also later literature for, as we will see, it sometimes contains themes and ideas that predate the literature in which they are now found. But herein lies a problem - which we shall deal with from time to time - of ascertaining which ideas belong to the time of publication of the literature and which ideas can be traced back to the times referred to in the literature. This problem, though evident elsewhere, is particularly apparent when dealing with exorcism stories within the NT that are not reported as part of Jesus' activity (the Sons of Sceva (Acts 19:13-20), and the Strange Exorcist (Mk.9:38ff./Lk.9:49f.), and the Jewish exorcists of the Beelzebul Controversy (Mtt.12:27/Lk.11:19)). We will need to be aware of the distinct possibility that these stories have been reshaped in the light of the Jesus stories.

In our introduction it was noted that some recent works

related to our theme have greatly concentrated on either the 'Hellenistic' or the 'Jewish' milieu of Jesus and earliest Christianity.⁽⁴⁾ Such a rigid approach is now seen to rest on doubtful premises.⁽⁵⁾ One of the objects of this chapter is to show the validity of 'widening' the background against which we should set the stories of Jesus. Tcherikover points out that -

"Palestine has always been a country of transit, which has never ceased to absorb the cultural influences of the neighbouring lands and to adapt them, successfully or otherwise, to its own original culture. This was the situation in the Hellenistic period".⁽⁶⁾

Tcherikover may have overstated his case - the Maccabean Revolt is a clear sign that not all of the Palestinian Jews so readily accepted imported cultures.⁽⁷⁾ But as we will see there is ample evidence to support the idea that Palestine was not entirely insulated from the outside world (see pp.23 ff. below).⁽⁸⁾

The first part of this chapter ('The Babylonian Texts' and 'The Egyptian Material', pp.22 to 33 below) covers material that is both from outside Palestine, and apart from the PGM (pp.26 ff. below, which is dealt with here because of its place of origin rather than date), predates our period.

Literature that was either more obviously known in first century Palestine (the OT, Tobit, Jubilees, and the Dead Sea

Scrolls, pp.33 to 44 below), or was actually written in that period (LAB and the NT, pp.50 to 61 below) is then discussed.

Josephus wrote just after the Evangelists and so his exorcism stories are then dealt with (pp.61 ff. below). The Rabbinic material though arranged later, purports to contain a small amount of relevant first century material and is thus discussed (pp.71 ff. below) before moving on to Lucian (pp.74 ff. below) and Apollonius (pp.77 ff. below) who are both later, and from outside Palestine and the Jewish tradition.

The Test. Sol. and the NT Apocrypha and its pertinent material is discussed last because, as we shall see (pp.83 to 99 below), they are probably some of the least useful material for our purpose - answering the question - 'what can we say about exorcism and exorcists in first century AD Palestine?

2.2 The Babylonian Texts

We want to ask 'what does this material tell us about exorcism in first century Palestine?' We will first ask what this material tells us, and then enquire how useful it is for understanding first century Palestine.

2.2.1 The exorcists who used these incantation-texts⁽⁹⁾ were the priests. One of the reasons why the people went to the temple was to take advantage of this function of the

priest.⁽¹⁰⁾ The exorcists do not rely on their own strength or power but ally themselves with some powerful divine authority. For example one incantation has

"I am the sorcerer - priest of Ea,
I am the messenger of Marduk;
To revive the (?) sick man
The great lord Ea hath sent me."⁽¹¹⁾

It is difficult to generalize about the form of an ancient Babylonian exorcism from the enormous number of texts prescribing a multitude of different incantations and remedies, but many of the incantations begin with the direction to hold a tamarisk branch over the patient and to hold a meteorite in his other hand.⁽¹²⁾

The exorcist then had to identify the offending demon. However as Babylonian demonology had accumulated an almost endless list of demons, and as trouble might be caused by some forgotten or unknown devil, the exorcist recited great lists of devils in order to impress upon the demon the fact that he was in possession of his name or description.⁽¹³⁾ For example -

"Whether thou art an evil Spirit or an evil Demon,
Or an evil Ghost or an evil Demon,
....
Be thou removed from before me,...."⁽¹⁴⁾

There followed the equally difficult task of knowing

which spiritual powers would be effective in combatting this battalion of possible offenders. So there was an equally long list of gods to be invoked. One incantation has 29 lines invoking different gods. The first two lines read -

"By Ea mayest thou be exorcised,
By Damkina mayest thou be exorcised". (15)

Sometimes this quite simple approach to exorcism had other elements added to it. (16) And so for curing headache an incantation gives the direction -

"Take the hair of a virgin kid,
Let a wise woman spin (it) on the right side
And double it on the left,
Bind twice seven knots
And perform the incantation of Eridu, (17)
And bind the head of the sick man,
And bind the neck of the sick man.
And bind his life (or 'soul'),
And surround (or 'stand round') his couch
And cast the water of the Incantation over him,
That like the water-lees poured out
It may go down into the earth". (18)

Not only do these actions seem to symbolise what was thought to take place, but in some cases the transference of the demon from the sufferer to an object seems to be intended. (19)

The clearest example of transference is the incantation which says -

"Put water upon the man and

Pour forth the water of the Incantation;
 Bring forth a censer (and) a torch,
 As the water trickleth away from his body
 So may the pestilence in his body trickle away.
 Return these waters into a cup and
 Pour them forth in the broad places,
 That the evil influence which hath brought low (his)
 strength
 May be carried away into the broad places". (20)

The exorcism, whether attended by some activity, or of words alone, moved towards a climax associated with the demon's flight. Most often these climactic words are -

"By Heaven be ye exorcised! By
 Earth be ye exorcised!". (21)

The demon leaves the person not only because the demon has been terrified by the exorcist, but because the demon has been bound or put under a ban. This is clear from the line -

"By the Great Gods I exorcise (or bind) thee, that thou
 mayest depart". (22)

On this point it is worth quoting R.C. Thompson at some length.

"... the principle of the ban or tapu underlies everything, both the affection of the sick man and the method of exorcising the devil which possess him. For demons as well as mankind are subject to the divine tapu and it is on this principle that the magic of the

incantations depends, since the priest invokes the help of the gods to drive away the evil spirits, and to lay it under a ban and bind it. In the Assyrian exorcisms, when the prayers end with the line

'By Heaven be thou exorcised! By
Earth be thou exorcised!'

it is intended that the powers of Heaven and Earth shall lay the demon under a tapu". (23)

Little or nothing is said in the tablets about the sufferers' subsequent condition or recovery. However there are two lines of particular interest to us in the light of the Parable of the Returning Spirit (Mtt.12:43-45/Lk.11:24-26). (24)

"Perform the Incantation of Eridu

...

That the evil Spirit, the evil Demon
may stand aside,

And a kindly spirit, a kindly Genius
be present". (25)

2.2.2 If this material is relevant in providing a background to first century Palestinian ideas on exorcism then we must be able to show that it was known both later in time and wider in area - particularly in Palestine. (26) That this material, or at the very least the ideas in this material survived in time is apparent from the contact of ideas

between it and the Rabbinic material. For example in the Babylonian tablet texts the favourite habitats of demons are deserts, mountains, any place deserted by man.⁽²⁷⁾

In b. San.65b demons are also said to live in deserted places - a cemetery. And in the Jerusalem Targum to Dt.32:10 the wilderness is "the place of howling demons".⁽²⁸⁾

That Babylonian ideas on exorcism were known in Palestine cannot be proved. But a number of factors show that it is possible. Palestine was a road junction with trade routes linking it with the outside world, not least Babylon.⁽²⁹⁾

Along this route came not only artifacts, but also people attending festivals (Mekilta on Dt.14:23) who would have brought back ideas from the Diaspora.⁽³⁰⁾ And in Jerusalem Maccab[̄]eus knows of happenings in Babylonia for he reminds his troops of Jewish victories there (2 Macc.8:20).⁽³¹⁾

2.3 Egyptian Material

The material from Egypt covers a vast span of time. There are Papyri from ancient as well as Greco-Roman Egypt and the Bentresh stele which contains information that is potentially relevant to our study. Having surveyed these writings we will again need to ask how relevant this material is in helping understand the views on exorcism in first century Palestine.

2.3.1 Ancient Egyptian Papyri.⁽³²⁾ One 'medical' papyrus⁽³³⁾

from ancient Egypt, the Ebers Papyrus,⁽³⁴⁾ is a collection of incantations⁽³⁵⁾ and medical prescriptions. In the opening incantation of the papyrus there are the lines -

"... assuredly I have come from Sais with the mother of the gods. They have given me their protection. I have formulae composed by the lord of the universe in order to expel afflictions (caused) by a god or goddess,..."(Eb.P I).

This incantation seems to be designed to accompany any one of the great variety of medical incantations that follow.

One of these incantations, a remedy for a fetid nose reads -

"Flow out, fetid nose! Flow out... Behold. I have brought thy remedy against thee, thy protecting drink against thee: milk of (a woman) who has borne a male (child), and fragrant gum; it expels thee, it removes thee..." (Eb. P XC; cf. LX).

Here the actual illness is addressed, though in the introductory incantations the offending god is confronted and so we can probably take them as being synonymous for those who prepared the recipes. This papyrus shows just how early the practice was for the exorcist to identify himself with the god whose aid he sought as a power-authority. We also see here a combination of incantations and supporting remedies and activities.⁽³⁶⁾

In Eb.P XLVII there is the direction to rub the side of the aching head with the head of a cooked fish so that the

migraine can be transferred from the person's head to that of the fish (cf. LVII). Thus the combination of medication and incantation was designed to transfer the sickness or demon from the patient to some external object (cf. p. 14{above}).⁽³⁷⁾

The Edwin Smith Papyrus,⁽³⁸⁾ of about the same period as the Ebers Papyrus, has a few short incantations for use in exorcism. One has the lines -

"Another (incantation) for exorcising the plague-bearing wind, . . . 'Withdraw ye disease demons the wind shall not reach me, that those who pass by may pass by to work disaster against me. I am Horus who passes by the diseased ones of Sekhmet, (even) Horus, Horus, healthy despite Sekhmet. I am the unique one, son of Bastet. I die not through thee.' Let the words be spoken by a man having a stick of des-wood which the man pronouncing the charm carries in his hand as he makes the circuit of his house walking around the outside, and thus preventing the winds from entering".

(Ed. Smith P XVIII:11-16).

Again there are the directions for the incantation to be supported by particular activities by the exorcist. The exorcist-magician⁽³⁹⁾ identifies himself with a god,⁽⁴⁰⁾ Horus, whose appropriateness for this role seems to be indicated by saying that Horus is healthy despite Sekhmet the source of the plague-winds. The incantation begins with the word 'Another' (incantation). Breasted notes that this

is a common beginning for a new recipe having the same purpose as the last. Breasted also points out that this phenomenon passed over into later Greek magical papyri, saying - "We have in this fact a clear indication of the use of the old Egyptian papyri in Greek times".⁽⁴¹⁾

The British Museum Papyrus 10685C,⁽⁴²⁾ a charm for exorcising headache, begins by calling on the aid of a great number of gods, and then continues -

"... Come ye(?) to remove that enemy, dead man or dead woman, adversary male or female which is in the face of N, born of M".

The exorcist does not identify himself with the gods but is to recite this over a clay crocodile and images of the gods called upon. The exorcist was also to inscribe a piece of linen with a drawing of the gods and place it on his head.

So what do these papyri tell us about exorcism in ancient Egypt? We see that not only were gods called upon to give aid, but the exorcists also identified themselves with these gods. The illness or offending demon was addressed and told to go out of the person. Sometimes the god was asked to remove the offender. In many cases the exorcist combined incantation and activity. In the last example cited (B M P 10685C) we see an early form of amulet⁽⁴³⁾ in that the exorcist placed a piece of inscribed linen on his head.

2.3.2 The Bentresh Stele.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Last century Rosellini discovered this stele in a small Greco-Roman Temple near the ancient Khonsu temple at Karnak.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The main feature of the stele is a 28 line inscription telling of the journey of the god Khonsu⁽⁴⁶⁾ and some officials to Bekhten to cure a princess of demon possession (line 11). The central section of the stele reads:

"This god arrived in Bekhten in a full year and five months. Then the chief of Bekhten came, with his soldiers and his nobles, before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker. He threw himself upon his belly, saying: 'Thou comest to us, thou art welcome with us, by command of the King Usermare-Setepre' (Ramses II).

Then this god went to the place where Bentresh was. Then he wrought the protection of the daughter of the chief of Bekhten. She became well immediately.

Then said this spirit which was in her before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes: 'Thou comest in peace, thou great god, smiting the barbarians. Thy city is Bekhten, thy servants are its people, I am thy servant. I will go to the place whence I came, to satisfy thy heart concerning that, on account of which thou camest. (But) let thy majesty command to celebrate a feast-day with me and with the chief of Bekhten.' Then this god nodded to his priest saying: 'Let the chief of Bekhten make a great offering before this spirit.' While these things were happening, which Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-

in-Thebes wrought with the spirit, the chief of Bekhten stood with his soldiers, and feared very greatly. Then he made a great offering before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes and the spirit; and the chief of Bekhten celebrated a feast day with them. Then the spirit departed in peace to the place he desired, by command of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, and the chief of Bekhten rejoiced very greatly, together with every man who was in Bekhten"(lines 17b-23a).⁽⁴⁷⁾

According to John Hull who provides no evidence, this story is probably the oldest extant case of individual possession and exorcism, coming from the thirteenth century BC.⁽⁴⁸⁾ But the evidence supports a later date. Erman places the story in the reign of Alexander IV and Ptolemy II (fourth to third centuries BC) and Spiegelberg says it comes from the reign of Ptolemy VI (second century BC).⁽⁴⁹⁾ Breasted also dates this story in the Persian or early Greek period.⁽⁵⁰⁾ If so, what does this stele tell us about exorcism just a few centuries before the time of Jesus? Firstly the locus of power-authority for the exorcism is not in incantations or physical aids or potions, but in a god who is all but thoroughly anthropomorphised.⁽⁵¹⁾ Secondly, we have here, not a mere collection of recipes for exorcism, but a story told to glorify Khonsu.⁽⁵²⁾ This is reminiscent at least of Josephus' story of Eleazar which is told not simply to illustrate exorcistic techniques but to

glorify Solomon and his God given wisdom (see p. 63 below).

Thirdly, there is the speaking of the demon or spirit which

is also a familiar feature of exorcisms in and around the

NT period (eg. p. 73 below). Fourthly, the spirit departs

to the place which the god commanded (line 22). This reminds

us of the end of the Tobit story (Tobit 8:3) and Mk. 5:12f..

Fifthly, the story ends with the chief and people rejoicing

in the cure of the Princess. This ending is also paralleled

in our period, in the NT (for example Mk. 1:27f.) and in

Philostratus' Life IV:20. (53)

But how useful is this ancient material in understanding exorcism in first century Palestine? That ancient Egyptian ideas about exorcism continued to be known, even beyond the first century is not difficult to illustrate. To be noted is the basic stability of Egyptian civilization from before the second millenium through until the coming of Christianity. (54) This is born out in the practice of exorcism in that some of the features that are found in the ancient papyri are still to be found in the Greek magical papyri of the second and following centuries AD. For example, in the Edwin Smith Papyrus the exorcist identifies himself with Horus and says "I am Horus" (XVIII:13-15). And in the PGM we often meet the same identification and phrase.

PGM IV:2999 has the exorcist say "I am Hermes"

(cf. p. 31 below). We have also just mentioned the fact

that the much later papyri sometimes began one of a series

of incantations with "Another" (incantation) just as the ancient Egyptians did.⁽⁵⁵⁾

But not only did ancient Egyptian notions about exorcism survive in time, they also spread far beyond their country of origin. We can show this (a) from the literature, (b) from the political and social conditions of the Hellenistic period, and (c) from evidence in Palestine itself.

(a) In the second century AD Lucian of Samosata (see p. 74 below), the Greek satirist and rhetorician, who was known throughout the Roman Empire, thought that Egypt was the fount of magical literature and practice.⁽⁵⁶⁾ He has one of his characters in Philopseudes say that he had a great number of Egyptian works on controlling demons (Philops. 31; cf. 34). Celsus, the pagan philosopher who wrote against the Christians in the last quarter of the second century, probably from Rome⁽⁵⁷⁾ considered the Egyptians important teachers of magic. He describes the Egyptians as those

"who for a few obols make known their sacred lore in the middle of the market place and drive demons out of men and blow away diseases" (C C I:68; cf III:36).⁽⁵⁸⁾

But what of Palestine in particular? Hengel has collected data indicating that Egyptian religion had, by the third century BC found a footing in Palestine. Notably a whole

series of towns were centres of the Isis cult, possibly even Jerusalem. (59)

(b) Not only does the literature (and archeological evidence) indicate how widespread was the knowledge of Egyptian 'magic', but the political and social conditions of the period before and around the first century AD indicate that there was most probably a considerable knowledge of Egyptian life, literature and religion in Palestine. There is plenty of evidence that there was a large Jewish population in Egypt. (60) A large number of these Jews returned to Palestine and carried Egyptian ideas with them. (61) Not only was there the inevitable political relationship between the two countries, but there were social connections as well during the Ptolemaic hegemony over Palestine. (62) The brother of Tobiad Joseph even sought to have his daughter marry a Jew in Egypt. (63)

(c) There is evidence from Palestine itself that Egyptian practices in exorcism were known in Palestine. For example James A. Montgomery published three, second to fifth century Hebrew amulets from Irbid which lies east of the southern end of Lake Galilee. (64) Goodenough has also published amulets from Palestine, (65) and as we shall see later (p. 72 below), first century Palestinian Rabbis performed exorcisms like those represented in the magical papyri. (66)

Thus it is reasonable for us to conclude that these ideas on exorcism in ancient Egypt not only survived in time but most probably spread widely in area to include Palestine. In turn then we can use these ideas on exorcism as part of the background to the Synoptic exorcism stories.

2.3.3 The Magical Papyri.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Despite much of this material being known for at least a century little use has been made of it in NT studies.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Recently Hull⁽⁶⁹⁾ has drawn attention to the importance of the magical papyri in providing a background to some NT ideas, particularly its cosmology and healing techniques. But Hull's work not only proceeds on a misunderstanding of 'magic' (see p. 337 below) but his interests are wider than NT exorcism and so we need to reexamine the papyri with exorcism specifically in mind.

There may be a number of reasons why these papyri have not been more thoroughly utilized in NT studies. (a) Some scholars readily recognize the vast difference between the ethos of the Gospels and papyri and so seem to want to keep the two apart.⁽⁷⁰⁾ (b) Also the magical papyri are being ignored because most of them have never been fully translated into English, and what is in English has not been collected together.⁽⁷¹⁾ (c) And an important reason why these texts have not been more extensively used is because they are seen to be too late to be useful in understanding the NT.⁽⁷²⁾

Is it then legitimate to allow the magical papyri to contribute to our picture of the background of first century Palestine? However, we have already been able to show that this kind of material and its associated notions were known in Palestine. And we can further substantiate this conclusion by showing that the magical papyri probably represent ideas on exorcism which were already current in the first century.

Firstly, the magical papyri may be earlier than some scholars think, ⁽⁷³⁾ and in specific instances some can be dated much earlier. For example PGM LVII comes from the time of Hadrian, PGM XVI is, on palaeographical grounds dated to the first century AD and PGM XXXb carries a date equivalent to 6 AD. ⁽⁷⁴⁾

A second indication that this material is useful in telling us about first century AD exorcism is the stability of the notions in this material. Hull has been able to show the 'forward' stability of ideas in the papyri. ⁽⁷⁵⁾ What we have to do is show that this stability extends 'backwards' to the first century.

In PGM V:110 ⁽⁷⁶⁾ there is the line "I am Moses your prophet". Further on there are also the lines - "I am Thouth the inventor and founder of medicines and letters" (V:249) and "I am Heron..." (V:251; see also 474ff.). ⁽⁷⁷⁾ This

phenomenon of the exorcist assuming the role of another more powerful being is known in earlier Egyptian papyri (see p. 19 above)⁽⁷⁸⁾ as well as Babylonian texts (see pp. 15f. above). So we see how ancient and stable this aspect of exorcistic technique was.⁽⁷⁹⁾

The use of astrology in the magical papyri, (see for example P. Warren; P. Tebt. 276) is a legacy of the Persians.⁽⁸⁰⁾ We have already seen that the Babylonians and ancient Egyptians used plants and stones etc. in their cultic techniques; this also has found its way into the magical papyri (for example PGM IV; 30008f.). The use of apparently meaningless names was encountered in our survey of ancient Egyptian material (see p. 20 n. 42 above) and it is found again in the PGM, for example XIII passim.⁽⁸¹⁾

A third factor which indicates the magical papyri do represent ideas of earlier times is the composite nature of the material. That is, it seems that older material has been included, and relied upon. PGM IV:1227ff. reads -

"An excellent practice for casting out demons. An incantation to be said over his (the sufferer's) head. Put olive branches in front of him and stand behind him saying ...".

Here we see the use of a very ancient practice of using tree branches, which we came across in the Babylonian texts (see p. 13 above) which indicates a geographical as well

as a temporal spread of these ideas.

Direct inclusion of older material can also be detected in these papyri. For example PGM IV:3019ff. takes up numerous details from Jewish traditions about Yahweh. The god which is adjured in lines 3033-3037 is

"him who appeared unto Osrael in the pillar of light
and in the cloud by day and who delivered his word
from the taskwork of Pharaoh and brought upon Pharaoh
the ten plagues because he heard not".

The very structure of some of the papyri, for example PGM V⁽⁸²⁾ with its ten sections for various effects simply juxtaposed, shows that material was probably collected together from older sources and preserved.⁽⁸³⁾ And importantly within the sections of this papyrus it is clear that older material is being used for where lines 136, 137, 138 all begin with "This is..." the writer has crossed out "lord" in the centre line - an error best explained if he was copying another earlier papyrus.

What these last few paragraphs have tried to show is that even though much of the magical papyri comes from after the first century, they are of such a nature that we can legitimately use them to provide material for the background to the first century.

So we ask our question - What can this material tell

us about exorcism?⁽⁸⁴⁾

(a) Many of the texts begin by calling up the aid of the god whose help is sought in performing the exorcism. "I call you, the headless one..." begins the incantation PGM V:99-171. This god is usually carefully identified. So PGM VIII:6f. shows the importance of knowing the name of the being that is addressed - "I know your name which was received in heaven, I know you and your forms,...." PGM IV:3075 identifies the invoked god as "him that looketh down on earth and maketh tremble the foundations " (see (e) below).

(b) The description sometimes extends to a brief history of the god (eg. see PGM IV:3033ff. quoted above, cf. V:110ff.). Knowing the origin of a god seems to have been important, for example PGM VIII:13 has "I know you Hermes, who you are and whence you came and which is your city".

(c) The users of these incantations seem to have had some difficulty in gaining the help of the gods. Thus in PGM V:258ff. the text says that if the god does not tell the enquirer what he wants to know he

"will pour out the blood of the black dog-eared one into a new unpolluted vessel, and I will place it over a new chafing-dish... Your belly shall be eaten by the fish, and also your body, and I will not stop the fish from gnawing it with their mouths,

indeed the fishes shall not shut their mouths...".⁽⁸⁵⁾

(d) The demon also had to be frightened and brought into submission. Thus PGM IV:3039ff. has an incantation to get the demon to talk.

"...I adjure you by the seal which Solomon laid upon the tongue of Jeremiah and he spoke".

The incantation continues to adjure the demon to speak - by the god "who knows what is in the heart of all life" - presumably even the demon's name so, as his silence is to no avail he may as well speak.⁽⁸⁶⁾

(e) These points so far directly lead to a related characteristic of the exorcistic technique evident in this material; the importance of knowing the name or names of the power-authority whose involvement is sought. PGM IV:3019ff. has

"I adjure you by the god of the Hebrews, Iēsou, Iae, Abraōth, Aia, Thoth, Ele, Elō, Aēō, Eu, Iiibaech, Abarmas, Iabarau, Abelbel, Lōna, Abra, Maroia,..."⁽⁸⁷⁾

(f) A very common part of the technique was to assume the role of another more powerful identity. In PGM V:99ff. the incantation is directing the exorcist to first call up the god then say "I am Moses your prophet". A little later the exorcist says "I am the angel of Phapro Osoronnohris". Then the exorcist goes so far as to identify himself with

the god whose power-authority he seeks to use.⁽⁸⁸⁾

(g) In many of the incantations there are not only words to be repeated but activities to be performed in an exorcism. PGM IV:3007ff. has

"Take oil made from unripe olives, together with the plant mastigia and lotus pith, and boil it with marjoram (very colourless) saying ... come out of this person..."⁽⁸⁹⁾

(h) Many of these directions cited involved amulets.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Thus for example in PGM XXXVI:1ff; the incantation is written on a plate of lead with a bronze pen. One of the purposes of the amulet was that the incantation could be carried with the sufferer. Thus PGM IV:3014ff. says

"...write this phylactery⁽⁹¹⁾ upon a piece of tin... and hang it round the sufferer: it is of every demon a thing to be trembled at, which he fears".

Another purpose of the amulet was to be able to reproduce the figures of magical texts (eg. PGM XXVII:69ff.).

(i) In virtually all incantations of every kind, including exorcism, special words and sounds are used (see (e) above).⁽⁹²⁾ A word which is particularly common is Abrasax. Its origin is unknown but the oldest and generally agreed explanation is found in Irenaeus (H₃aer.1:24:7) where he says the letters' numerical value is 365 - the number

of heavenly intelligences in Basilides pleroma.⁽⁹³⁾

Palindromic words were also popular - especially

Ablanathanalba.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The vowels were also used in a variety of ways⁽⁹⁵⁾ often to produce a geometric shape.⁽⁹⁶⁾

(j) Although perhaps belonging under the previous heading, special mention should be made of $\delta\rho\kappa\iota\zeta\omega$ because it is also used in the Gospels (see p.158f. below). PGM IV in particular has the word many times. The formula in which the word is found is "I adjure you by..." The meaning of $\delta\rho\kappa\iota\zeta\omega$ seems to be to 'bind' the demon by some other power-authority in order to get the demon to leave the person.

These seem to be the most important features of the techniques of the exorcists that are represented by the magical papyri.

2.4 The Old Testament

There is no doubt that the OT was an important source for earliest Christian theology,⁽⁹⁷⁾ as well as informing the Jewish mind of the first century.⁽⁹⁸⁾ There are two passages in particular which contributed to first century Palestinian thinking on exorcism: 1 Sam. 16:14-23 (see Ant.6:167f.; p.69 below; LAB 60, see p.50 below; cf. 1 Sam.18:10; 19:9), and 1 Kings 4:29-34 which seems to have provided the basis for all future

speculation with regard to Solomon's prowess in magic (cf. Ant.8:46ff.).

2.4.1 But a third passage, Psalm 91 seems to have actually played a part in the exorcisms as an incantation. Regardless of the psalmist's original intentions⁽⁹⁹⁾ this psalm was later used, perhaps extensively, as a means of combating the onslaught of demons.

In 1971 van der Ploeg published a Qumran scroll from cave 11 (11 QPsAp^a)⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ which is a recension of Ps.91. The roll is severely damaged but a number of expressions suggest that it contained curses against demons.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Thus the Qumran community appears to have used Ps.91 for the purpose of exorcising demons.⁽¹⁰²⁾ (Ploeg goes so far as to suggest that we might have here in 11 QPsAp^a the 'Davidic Compositions' referred to in 11 QPs^a, published by J.A. Sanders,⁽¹⁰³⁾ which were "for making music over the stricken" (11QPs^a XXVII:10)). As we will also see (p.69 below) Josephus saw the Psalms of David as useful in exorcism. In view of the apparent importance of Ps.91 in exorcism in our period Josephus may have had it in mind when relating the cure of Saul by David playing and singing of Psalms in Ant.6:168 (cf. Ant.7:305).

These tentative conclusions are strengthened by the use of Ps.91 in the Rabbinic material. The psalm is

actually called 'Song for Demons' (j.Erub.10:26c), 'Song for the Stricken' (j.Shab.6:8b), and 'Song Referring to Evil Spirits' (b.Sheb.15b). Though in the Rabbinic literature the Psalm is used for protection against demons rather than for exorcism (eg. b.Sheb.15b).⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

What of the early Church's use of Ps.91 in the combat with demons? The most obvious use is in the Temptation story where Ps.91:11 and 12 are used (Mtt.4:6/Lk.4:10f.)⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ In a particularly interesting and appropriate context Luke probably alludes to Ps.91:13. The Seventy have returned and told Jesus that even the demons are subject to them in his name. As part of the reply Jesus says -

"Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions..." (Lk.10:19).⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

And Ps.91:13 has -

"You will tread on the lion and the adder, and young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot".

This is clearly not a quotation but the common details and the idea of protection of the faithful in both the Psalm and Luke suggest a firm allusion.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ We have then in the Qumran scrolls, the NT, and perhaps Josephus, clear evidence that Ps.91 was used in combating evil, and in some cases in actual exorcism in first century Palestine.

2.5 Tobit⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

Although this book may be from the second century BC diaspora⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ we can legitimately use the book of Tobit as part of the literary background to first century Palestine because of the book's place in the LXX and because of its being known to the Qumran community.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

In the book Tobit sends his son Tobias to recover a large sum of money from relatives in Ecbatana. Raphael, the angel of healing, posing as a reliable relative who knew the way was employed to guide Tobias. One night during the journey, while camped by the Tigris river, a fish jumped out of the water and attempted to eat Tobias' foot. Raphael told Tobias to catch the fish and keep the gall, heart and liver for a useful medicament (6:5). On being questioned about this he was told -

"As for the heart and the liver, if a demon or evil spirit gives trouble to any one, you make a smoke from these before the man or woman, and that person will never be troubled again. And as for the gall, anoint with it a man who has white films in his eyes, and he will be cured"(6:7f.).

The gall was eventually used on the eyes of Tobit, but in the mean time Tobias marries a certain Sarah. However Sarah has been married seven times before, and as the demon Asmodeus (the only demon mentioned in Tobit) is in

love with her, each of the previous husbands had been killed by the demon on the wedding night. Raphael instructs Tobias -

"When you enter the bridal chamber, you shall take live ashes of incense and lay upon them some of the heart and liver of the fish so as to make a smoke. Then the demon will smell it and flee away, and will never again return"(6:17f.).

Raphael also tells Tobias to pray with his new wife before they sleep together. All this Tobias does,

"And when the demon smelled the odor he fled to remotest parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him"(8:3).

The prayer which Raphael said was to be for grace and protection (6:18) turns out in fact to be a simple prayer for God's blessing of the marriage (8:5-8), and has little or nothing to do with the defeat of Asmodeus - that took place as a result of the demon smelling the burning fish.

This story is clear evidence that Jewish healings involved the use of mechanical or physical aids. The source of this Jewish healing technique is disputed, but it may have Persian origins as the reference to the use of fish in exorcism may indicate.⁽¹¹¹⁾

However the effectiveness of the exorcism, or at least defeat of Asmodeus, was not seen to lie entirely in the cultic performance, for the angel's direction included not only the use of the fish but also the charge -

"When you approach her (Tobit's wife) rise up, both of you, and cry to the merciful God, and he will save you and have mercy on you"(6:17).

So this text tells us that first century Palestinian notions about exorcism included the use of incense and prayer.

2.6 Jubilees⁽¹¹²⁾

Three factors compel us to include this book in our survey of relevant background material; firstly its date of composition (the middle of the second century BC⁽¹¹³⁾) and secondly its use in the Qumran community⁽¹¹⁴⁾ - which means that it was known in Palestine. Not only because fragments of Jubilees have been found among the Qumran material but also because of theological and cultic similarities - notions about cleanliness and separateness⁽¹¹⁵⁾ and the solar calendar⁽¹¹⁶⁾ - Jubilees has been considered a product of the Qumran community.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ However B. Noack and more recently James C. VanderKam are probably correct in pointing out significant dissimilarities between Jubilees and Qumran. For example there are differences on matters relating to the New Covenant, the Holy Spirit, Messianic expectation, the Temple, the Jerusalem priesthood, Community Rule, communal meal, baptism or ritual bathing, wars, and sectarian/national interests.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ These are differences that reasonably justify the conclusion that Jubilees is not to be regarded as a product of the Qumran community but

.. simply a document which they took into their library, for as we have noted, at points it would have proved their ally.

The third reason why we should include Jubilees in our background to the exorcism stories in the Gospels is that some of the NT writers may have been aware of this book.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ And there are in fact several points of contact between the demonology of Jubilees and the NT.⁽¹²⁰⁾

2.6.1 It is part of chapter 10 which is of particular interest to us. The sons of Noah are being led astray, made blind and destroyed. Noah prays -

"God of the spirits of all flesh, who

hast shown mercy unto me,

And hast saved me and my sons from

the waters of the flood,

And hast not caused me to perish as

Thou didst the sons of perdition;

For Thy grace has been great towards me,

And great has been Thy mercy to my soul;

Let Thy grace be lifted up upon my sons,

And let not wicked spirits rule over them

Lest they should destroy them from

the earth.

But do Thou bless me and my sons, that we may increase

and multiply and replenish the earth. And Thou

knowest how Thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits,

acted in my day: and as for these spirits which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation, and let them not bring destruction on the sons of thy servant, my God; for these are malignant, and created in order to destroy. And let them ^{not} rule over the spirits of the living; for Thou alone canst exercise dominion over them. And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous from henceforth and for evermore ""(10:3-6).

In response to Noah's prayer God bids the angels (cf. 1 Enoch 10:4, 12) to bind all the evil spirits. However Mastema, the chief of the demons says

"Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them hearken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these are for corruption and leading astray before my judgment, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men " (10:8).

So the Lord permits a tenth of the spirits to remain with Mastema and Raphael is told to teach Noah all the angel's medicines -

"for he (God) knew (the sons of Noah) would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness" (10:10).

The story ends with Noah writing the angels' instructions on "every kind of medicine" in a book thus preventing the evil spirits from hunting Noah's sons. This book, Noah handed

on to Shem the eldest and most loved son (10:13f.).

2.6.2 From this story we make a number of observations.

(a) Although this is not an exorcism story involving a single patient, healer and evil spirit(s), such as we encounter in for example 1 QapGen (see p. 43 below), it has to do with the control and rehabilitation of demons.

(b) The story centres around one holy individual (5:5; cf. 10:3, 17). And the means by which the demons are brought under control is not incantations or cultic performances, but Noah's prayer.

(c) The prayer of Noah begins (10:3, see above) with a brief recitation of the history of the God's activity whose aid Noah seeks in removing the demons from his sons. This feature of an exorcism has been found already in the *Magical Papyri* (see p. 29 above). This introductory part of the prayer ends with a mild threat - "... Lest they should destroy them from the earth" (10:3). The threatening of the god whose aid is sought has also been found in

the *Magical Papyri* (see p. 30 above).

(d) Towards the end of the prayer (10:5) Noah says "Imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation". This is a notion on the end of demons that is familiar in the NT (Mtt. 8:29; Jude 6, see p. 140 below).

(e) The plea with which Noah ends his prayer - "And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous from henceforth and for evermore" (10:6) is an element we will find in

other exorcism stories where the demon is expelled and told not to return (see pp.64,cf.90 below).

(f) The 'binding' of the demons is to be done, not directly by God, but by his angels (10:7).

(g) It is to be noted that in response to the impending binding Mastema speaks in defence of his demons. We will, in the next chapter, be dealing with the reported demons' defence in the Synoptics. Though it is Satan and not the demons who attempt a defence in the face of being rehabilitated, to my knowledge, it is the earliest extant story that includes such a 'demonic-defence'. The request is not for complete immunity, but as in other literature, for leniency in the face of a superior power (cf. p.73 below). As in the other stories this leniency is granted.

(h) The story could have ended at 10:9 with most of the demons being condemned, however what appears like an after thought is the mention of Noah writing down "all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he might heal them with herbs of the earth " (10:12). So Jubilees witnesses not only to exorcisms being effected by particular special individuals (see (b) above) but also to the use of medicines and herbs. But in view of 10:10 ("...He commanded that we should teach Noah all their medicines; for He knew ^{that} they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness.") - in view of this, such healing, if not being frowned upon, is certainly considered a second best method of exorcism.

(i) In concluding the section on Noah with (v.17) - "And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men save Enoch because of the righteousness, wherein he was perfect," - the purpose of the 'exorcism' story is manifest - to enhance the reputation of Noah.

(j) Finally, we can note that the control of the demons by Noah was not thought to have any cosmological repercussions beyond the actual 'event'. That is, the 'exorcism' of the demons, is not given a meaning beyond itself. This point will be borne in mind when we examine the significance attributed to Jesus' exorcisms (see pp.221ff. below).

2.7 The Dead Sea Scrolls (121)

Though the dating of this material has at times been placed quite late and out of our period, the general consensus of scholarly opinion is that there is every justification for thinking that this literature arose in the middle of the second century BC and was being used right up to the time of Jesus. (121a)

There are two passages in particular in this literature which we need to examine.

2.7.1 Genesis Apocryphon XX (1 QapGen.XX). This section of the Apocryphon is devoted to Gen.12-15. In particular column XX recounts the courtiers' description

of Sarah to Pharaoh, and his taking of Sarah as his wife.

Abraham then prays for Sarah's protection. Then

"...during that night the Most High God sent a spirit to scourge him (Pharaoh), an evil spirit to all his household; and it scourged him and all his household.

And he was unable to approach her, and although he was with her two years he knew her not". (122)

Eventually the illness reaches a point where Pharaoh finds it necessary to call all the sages and magicians - who it turns out, are unable to help him. Finally on hearing that Sarah was not Abraham's sister, as he had been led to believe, but his wife, Abraham was summoned. He was told -

"Depart and go hence from all the land of Egypt; and now pray for me and my house that this evil spirit may be expelled from it.'

So I prayed (for him)... and I laid my hands on his (head); and the scourge departed from him and the evil spirit was expelled (from him), and he lived". (123)

This is an important and interesting story not least because, as far as I know, this is the earliest extant story that relates the ability to control and expel demons with a particular individual (Abraham) in the way that we find in material a little later in our period - particularly in the NT.

It is also to be noted that the source of power-authority is not to be found in cultic traditions of amulets, incantations or special words or ceremony. The success of the exorcist lies in his own prayers.

Along with the prayer went the 'laying on of hands'. This is probably the first instance of healing through the laying on of hands to be found in Jewish material.⁽¹²⁴⁾

In this document the exorcism is described as - "and the evil spirit was expelled (רפא)" . Primarily from the use of רפא in 1 QM. XIV where God 'expels' Satan's spirits from the elect, H. C. Kee says that

"רפא is a technical term for the commanding word, uttered by God or by his spokesman, by which evil powers are brought into submission, and the way is thereby prepared for the establishment of God's righteous rule in the world".⁽¹²⁵⁾

But Kee is probably introducing too much into the significance of רפא in the exorcism story. (a) To begin with it is not clear in the War Scroll that the 'driving away' of Satan's evil spirits results in God being able to establish his righteous rule in the world.

"Blessed be the God of Israel

who keeps mercy towards His Covenant,
and the appointed times of salvation

with the people He has delivered!

...

... we, the remnant [of Thy people,
shall praise] Thy name, O God of mercies,
who has kept the Covenant with our father.

In all our generations Thou hast bestowed

Thy wonderful favours on the remnant [of Thy people]
under the dominion of Satan.

During all the mysteries of his Malevolence

he has not made [us] stray from Thy Covenant;
Thou has driven his spirits [of destruction]
far from [Thine elect] " (1QM XIV:8F).

Rather than this portraying the triumph of the redemptive plan of God culminating in the overcoming of Belial and the evil spirits, ⁽¹²⁶⁾ the 'driving out' or 'destruction' of Satan is simply one of the things for which the people of God praise his name. Just how Belial is driven out is not made clear.

(b) What Kee's interpretation does is to equate exorcism with the defeat of Satan in the Qumran material. But this is a connection that Qumran does not seem to have made, for in this passage in the Genesis Apocryphon, (apart from Kee's interpretation of $\gamma\upsilon\lambda$) there is no hint of any wider significance of the exorcism. And in the passage from the War Scroll, which we have just quoted, there is no indication that it is through exorcism that God drives the

spirits of destruction from the elect.

(c) $\gamma\upsilon\lambda$ has a range of meanings⁽¹²⁷⁾ that extend beyond Kee's alternatives of 'rebuke', and 'to overcome the enemies of God'. On the basis of 1 QH IX:11 and Fr.4 Kee rightly rejects the translation 'rebuke'. But in the last two paragraphs we have in effect also cast doubt on Kee's interpretation of $\gamma\upsilon\lambda$ as - 'to overcome the enemies of God'. As Kee himself, and others, have noted, $\gamma\upsilon\lambda$ is the Semitic equivalent of $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\iota\mu\alpha\acute{\nu}$.⁽¹²⁸⁾ Thus we need to take into account some sense of 'to exorcise'.⁽¹²⁹⁾ If we take note of the lines previous to line 29 we come to a clearer understanding of exorcism at Qumran and how $\gamma\upsilon\lambda$ should be translated. The reading of XX:26 has been considerably debated but, following Fitzmyer, it should probably be translated - "the plague will depart from you".⁽¹³⁰⁾ This then is what is expected to happen in the exorcism. Thus what is said to have happened in line 29 is probably that the evil spirit left or 'departed'. One of the possible translations of $\gamma\upsilon\lambda$ would be to expel.⁽¹³¹⁾ As this suits the element of 'rebuke' in the word,⁽¹³²⁾ as well as describing the expulsion of the evil spirit we suggest it as the correct understanding of what Qumran thought was happening in exorcism.

2.7.2 The second passage that is of interest to us is the Prayer of Nabonidus (4QPrNab.).⁽¹³³⁾ The entire fragment

reads -

"The words of the prayer uttered by Nabunai king of Babylon, [the great] king, [when he was afflicted] with an evil ulcer in Teiman by decree of the [Most High God].

I was afflicted [with an evil ulcer] for seven years... and an exorcist pardoned my sins. He was a Jew from among the [children of the exile of Judah, and he said], 'Recount this in writing to [glorify and exalt] the Name of the [Most High God]'. And I wrote this]:

'I was afflicted with an [evil] ulcer in Teiman [by decree of the Most High God]. For seven years [I] prayed to the gods of silver and gold, [bronze and iron], wood and stone and clay, because [I believed] that they were gods...'"⁽¹³⁴⁾

The book of Daniel relates a similar story of Nebuchadnezzar and it has been suggested that originally the story there concerned Nabonidus, and that his name was later replaced by that of Nebuchadnezzar.⁽¹³⁵⁾ This prayer then may belong to a cycle of Danielic stories and the unknown⁽¹³⁶⁾ exiled Jew may have been intended to be Daniel.

In the Prayer Vermes⁽¹³⁷⁾ has translated $\gamma \tau \lambda$ as 'exorcist' rather than 'diviner'.⁽¹³⁸⁾ While as Dupont-Sommer says, this might be irreproachable linguistically,⁽¹³⁹⁾

it is not the most natural translation of the term. The noun, literally 'diviner', occurs in Dan.2:27,⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ and it is probably this translation that is to be preferred here. Also there is no suggestion, in the Prayer that the writer has an exorcism in mind. There is no doubt that the gZR is involved in a healing, but there is no mention of an evil spirit or its departure, simply that the Jewish exile pardoned the king's sins.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ Thus 4QP_rNab. is not an exorcism story.

2.7.3 It seems then that the Qumran material has only one exorcism story from which we can draw conclusions about this kind of healing in Palestine in the first century. The healing is related to a particular individual and is told to enhance the reputation of Abraham for as a result of the healing the King is said to have given many gifts to Abraham (and Sarah) and an escort out of Egypt. Abraham uses no mechanical or physical aids in his exorcism, save the practice of laying on of hands. The document sees no significance in the exorcism outside the particular healing. The Qumran people understood exorcism as expelling an evil spirit. (From the Prayer of Nabonidus we also see a healing, without 'aids' or incantations, related to a particular individual, perhaps Daniel.)

2.8 Pseudo-Philo⁽¹⁴²⁾

The Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum is of some considerable interest to us for the passage which we are about to quote probably comes from Palestine and from the same time as the NT was being written.⁽¹⁴³⁾

"And at that time the spirit of the Lord was taken away from Saul, and an evil spirit oppressed (lit. choked him). And Saul sent and fetched David, and he played a psalm upon his harp in the night. And this is the psalm which he sang unto Saul that the evil spirit might depart from him.

There were darkness and silence before the world was, and the silence spake, and the darkness became visible. And then was thy name created, even at the drawing together of that which was stretched out, whereof the upper was called heaven and the lower was called earth. And it was commanded to the upper that it should rain according to its season, and to the lower that it should bring forth food for man that (should be) made. And after that was the tribe of your spirit made.

Now therefore, be not injurious, whereas thou art a second creation, but if not, then remember Hell (lit. be mindful of Tartarus) wherein thou walkedst. Or is it not enough for thee to hear that by that which resoundeth before thee I sing unto many? Or forgettest thou that out of a rebounding echo in the abyss (or chaos)

thy creation was born? But that new womb shall rebuke thee, whereof I am born, of whom shall be born after a time of my loins he that shall subdue you.

And when David sung praises, the spirit spared Saul" (LAB 60).⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

2.8.1 For the purpose of our study we should draw attention to the following points.

- (a) It is noticeable that the evil spirit that oppresses Saul is not said to be sent by God, as in 1 Sam.16:14.
 - (b) However, the evil spirit is still said to be created by God, on the second day.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾
 - (c) As we have seen, and will see again (p.69 below), music is an important feature of the healing technique of the period.
 - (d) What was sung by David is said to be a psalm.
 - (e) According to LAB David's singing and playing took place at night. Demons were thought not only to live in the darkness but also to be particularly active at night.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾
- In the Talmud (b. Kid. 20b) a school house is also exorcised at night.
- (f) The most interesting contribution of Pseudo-Philo to this story is the 'psalm' that David is said to sing. The psalm is a story or history of creation which climaxes by focusing on the creation of evil spirits. The psalm is not directed to any invoked power-authority but to the evil spirits.

(g) The third paragraph of the chapter begins by reminding the evil spirit that as he is a second order creation - created out of a rebounding echo to walk in Hell - he should not be injurious.

(h) The incantation if we may call it that, has the interesting line - "Or is it not enough for thee to hear that by that which resoundeth before thee I sing unto many?" This gives the impression that the 'psalm' or paragraph was commonly used in exorcism.

(i) The concluding words against the demon are to be noted. The ultimate weapon against the demon is prophecy that someone born of the same womb as David will rebuke the demon. Various suggestions have been made as to the intended identity of this person who is to have power over demons, but the most likely candidate is Solomon. (147)

2.9 The New Testament

In seeking to build up a picture of exorcism and exorcists in first century Palestine it may be possible to use the NT as a source of information. That there were exorcists who were Jesus' contemporaries, Q (Mtt.12:27/Lk.11:19) and Mark (9:38; cf.Lk.9:49) agree. We will consider three passages: Mtt.12:27/Lk.11:19; Mk.9:38-40/Lk.9:49-50, and Acts 19:13-19. (148)

2.9.1 Mtt.12:27/Lk.11:19 has the saying, "... If I cast out demons by Beelzebul, by whom do your sons cast them out?" As this saying probably goes back to the historical-Jesus⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ it means that we probably have here some evidence of exorcists in first century Palestine.

Exactly who *oi υιοι* were has been a matter of debate. Some commentators think that the term is meant in the general sense of "your people".⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ But others think it refers to the sons of the Pharisees.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ However, as the reference to the Pharisees may be redactional (see p.209 below) we cannot be certain who Jesus had in mind.

The methods of these Jewish exorcists is not elaborated beyond the hint that they exorcise by someone or something. So these Palestinian exorcists may have had a simple technique that centred around calling upon, or at least relying upon some power-authority, by which to cast out demons. The context of this verse limits the source of power-authority to either God or Beelzebul (see pp.219f.below) and the latter is excluded by the context.

2.9.2 In Mk.9:38 (cf.Lk.9:49)⁽¹⁵²⁾ John is said to report to Jesus - "Teacher we saw a man casting out demons in your name, and we forbade him, because he was not following us". Not a few critics propose that this story arose in the early Church.⁽¹⁵³⁾ This is an important matter

for if the story arose in the early Church we may not have evidence of exorcists in Palestine but in another part of the ancient world.

The case for the early Church origin of this story centres on the vocabulary,⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ supported by the notion that the pericope is assembled around the catch phrase 'in my name'.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ While the pericope may indeed have coalesced around a catch phrase, it still has to be shown where the source has its origin. The vocabulary which is of particular interest in 9:38 is ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου and οὐκ ἠκολούθει ἡμῖν . And the question is whether or not this vocabulary was more likely to have arisen in the post-resurrection community or whether it is quite plausible that such terms would have been used in the pre-Easter situation.

(a) The phrase ἐν ὀνόματι ,⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ denoting "that which characterises or accompanies the act, the sphere (according to the Greek manner of thinking) in which it is performed"⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ - has not been found in secular Greek.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ However, this does not mean that this notion of ἐν ὀνόματι was a Christian innovation. Firstly, this study shows that independently of the NT, 'the name' of someone - usually a god, was efficacious in healing (cf. PGM IV:3019 (see p. 31 above) and Ant. 8:46f. (see pp. 63f. below)). Secondly, Deissmann came across the phrase, without ἐν but with the dative alone, - ἔθεσαν τῷ τῆς πόλεως ὀνόματι .⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

In the light of this Deissmann rightly rejects Cremer's hypothesis that "it was Christianity which first introduced the use of the phrase 'in the name of, etc.,' into occidental languages". (160)

Bultmann says that "the use of ὄνομα Jesus in the exorcisms of demons could hardly have antedated its use in the early Church". (161) The force of this argument is difficult to see, for, if Jesus was the successful exorcist the Gospels and later extra-canonical material would have us believe it would not be at all surprising if Jesus' contemporaries quickly took up the use of his name in their exorcisms. (162) With this should be compared Acts 19:13 where the sons of Sceva were very quick to pick up the name of Paul as a possible source of power-authority. And in Acts 8:18f. Simon the sorcerer was very quick in recognizing a potentially useful source of power-authority.

The most reasonable conclusion regarding ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι σου is that the ideas involved in the phrase were not at all new in the early Church - but of course the early Church adopted the phrase, and it came to have special significance for the Church - and it would have been a quite natural way of expressing the thoughts of Mk.9:38.

(b) Ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν . A look at a concordance makes it very clear how ἀκολουθεῖν was used by the

early Church. It is worth quoting Kittel at some length for he summarizes its use very well.

"... the connection of the word with the concrete processes of the history of Jesus is so strongly felt and retained that no noun ever came into use corresponding to the concept of discipleship. The NT simply has the active term, because what it was seeking to express is an action and not a concept. On this basis it is no accident that the word ἀκολουθεῖν is used only in the Gospels, (163) that there is agreement as to its uses in all four Gospels, and that they restrict the relationship signified by it to the historical Jesus. In the Epistles other expressions are used (σύν, ἐν) in which the emphasis falls on relationship to the exalted κύριος and his πνεῦμα " (164)

Wellhausen has noted that - "The subject of v.38 is not following Jesus but association with the Apostles." (165)

Bultmann takes this as testimony to a post-Easter origin of the saying. (166) However with overwhelming evidence in favour of ἀκολουθεῖν being used of following the historical-Jesus, in this instance at least, it seems most reasonable to equate 'being one of the disciples' with following the earthly Jesus, rather than as being part of the post-Easter community.

(c) What we have said so far is leading to the conclusion that the origin of this pericope is to be located in the

ministry of the historical-Jesus. One further small point helps strengthen this conclusion. That is, in his attempt to apply this pericope to the post-Easter situation, Luke altered Mark's 'us' (Mk.9:40) to 'you' (Lk.9:50). Thus Mark's form of the answer of Jesus was not seen by Luke to be directly applicable to the Church after Easter and so perhaps did not have its origin there. (167)

If this conclusion is right then this small pericope is further evidence on exorcism in first century Palestine. But all that it tells us is that the exorcists were using the name of another (powerful) exorcist as a source of power authority.

2.9.3 The third and most informative canonical reference to exorcists of our period is in Acts 19:13-19. (168) It cannot be claimed that we have direct evidence of exorcism in first century Palestine for the story is set in Ephesus. However as the exorcists are said to be Jews, and peripatetic, they may represent notions on exorcism in Palestine. (169)

The precise identity of the exorcists involved need not detain us for the moment. (170) Nor do we need to deal with the many textual difficulties in the passage. (171) The exorcists are described as *περιερχομένων* (19:13). This could be to distinguish them from the exorcists who would have been attached to the Ephesian pagan temple (172) of Artemis - among many other things a goddess associated with healing. (173)

These 'door to door' exorcists had taken up the name of Jesus into their incantations and the form in which they used it is interesting - Ὀρκίζω⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν Παῦλος κηρύσσει.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ This form "I adjure you by..." is very common in the magical papyri (see p. 33 above).⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ But I can find no instance of this term in incantations prior to Mk.5:7 and here in Acts. The term is of course commonly used in other contexts prior to the first century AD. For example 1 Kings 22:16 has (LXX), "... the king said to him, 'How often shall I adjure you, that you speak to me truth in the name of the Lord?'" The general meaning of ὀρκίζω is clear; - to adjure or implore someone, or more correctly to cause to swear by.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ Its particular meaning in the context of an exorcist's incantation is made plain with reference to earlier incantations. In dealing with the Babylonian exorcisms and incantations it was noted (see p. 15 above) that the climax of an exorcism was very often indicated by the line -

"By Heaven be thou exorcised!

By Earth be thou exorcised"

- by which "it is indicated that the powers of Heaven and earth shall lay the demon under a tapu",⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ ban, or supernatural restriction. That this is the way in which ὀρκίζω should be approached is made all the more likely in that in the magical papyri ὀρκίζω is also placed at the climax of the incantations, at the point where the supernatural is called upon to act on behalf of the exorcist.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾

If these conjectures are correct then what the sons of Sceva were doing in using $\acute{\omicron}\rho\kappa\iota\zeta\omega$ was not imploring⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ the demons to leave because of Jesus, but rather using Jesus' name to put a supernatural restriction on the demons.

It has been suggested that the formula - "I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul preaches" - is of the type in which the exorcist recited the history of the invoked God in order to impress and terrify the demon.⁽¹⁸¹⁾ This is an important question relating to the methods the ancient exorcists used.

That exorcists' incantations included, usually at the beginning, a brief history of the god under whose aegis they worked can be easily documented (cf. p. 30 above). For example Origen says that Christians get their power to subdue demons "by the name of Jesus with the recital of the histories about him" (CC I:6).⁽¹⁸²⁾

But Acts 19:13 the phrase "Jesus whom Paul preaches" does not easily fit the form of a history. Notably the sons of Sceva are not said to mention the past, powerful activities of their source of power - authority. What they are doing is identifying him as he is presently known ($\kappa\eta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota$ - present tense).

That we are justified in thinking that this is a formula of identification rather than 'glorification' can be

shown from places where the name of Jesus is mentioned along with an identificatory phrase.⁽¹⁸³⁾ For example Justin Martyr says

"So now we who believe on Jesus our Lord who was crucified under Pontius Pilate exorcise all the demons and evil spirits, and thus hold them subject to us" Dial. 76:6).⁽¹⁸⁴⁾

Although parts of these references appear credal, or are in parts statements of belief, details appended to the name of Jesus are probably best understood as 'identificatory'. In each case Pontius Pilate is the 'reference'. This strengthens the present case, for early Christian writers assumed that statements they made about Jesus could be checked in the Acts of Pilate.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

So to conclude this point, it is probable in the light of these passages (rather than those like LAB 60) that Acts 19:13 is to be understood. "I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul preaches" was the exorcists' method of unmistakably identifying a (perhaps) previously obscure, yet recently powerful name as a power-authority for use in exorcism. And this understanding is further confirmed by v.15, "But the evil spirit answered them, 'Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you?'"⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ - the demons (successful) defence.

Acts 19:13-19 tells us that the exorcists were using

incantations to put a supernatural restriction on demons. Their source of power-authority was the name of a renowned exorcist whose aid was sought through a careful identificatory formula. And finally the demons make a successful self-defence.

2.10 Josephus (187)

Although the works of Josephus may be a little later than some of the writings of the NT⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ they are sufficiently close in time to be of considerable potential value in sketching a background to the activities of Jesus. There are two stories in particular that are of some interest to us; the story of Eleazar the Jewish exorcist, and Josephus' retelling of Saul's illness in 1 Sam.16:14ff. (Cf. Ant.6:211).

2.10.1 Before looking in detail at these stories we need to ask about any 'Tendenz' that may have affected the way Josephus has told these stories. In the Prologue to the Antiquities Josephus says (1:15ff.) he wants to make stories of the Jewish people known to the Roman world. His purpose is more than a simple retelling - it is apologetic for he says a little further on in the prologue

"...men who conform to the will of God, and do not adventure to transgress laws that have been excellently laid down, prosper in all things beyond belief, and for their reward are offered by God felicity; whereas, in proportion as they depart from the strict observance of

these laws, things (else) practicable become impracticable, and whatever imaginary good thing they strive to do ends in irretrievable disasters" (Ant. 1:14).

That Josephus' purpose is to make Judaism more acceptable to the skeptical pagans is clear from his treatment of the Old Testament. Josephus of his readers says

"...nothing will appear to them unreasonable, nothing incongruous with the majesty of God and his love for man; everything, indeed, is here set forth in keeping with the nature of the universe"(1:24).

Thus Thackeray says of Josephus' treatment of the miraculous/

"For miraculous events in the O.T. narrative he constantly suggests rationalistic explanations; he is here accomodating himself to incredulous heathen readers ..."(189)

The rationalistic tendency is seen for example in his treatment of the story of the quails-

"...wearied by their flight and withal accustomed more than other birds to skim the ground, settled in the Hebrews' camp. And they, collecting them as the food devised for them by God..."(3:25).

Even though we must place over against this rationalizing tendency the fact that Josephus does not always so treat the miracle stories (for example the story of the water from the rock has no explanation, 3:33-38) and that he does believe in the miraculous, ⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ - (events which manifest God's providence ⁽¹⁹¹⁾)

this Tendenz cannot be ignored in Josephus. This rationalizing tendency is accompanied by the occasional appeal to Scripture (for example 9:46, 208, 214; 10:218, 281) which in part at least, besides giving added authority to his words, does shift the burden of responsibility for the incredibility of some of the stories he relates. (192)

His general objective, this selfconsciousness about the miraculous, and general Tendenz away from the delight in the miraculous for its own sake means that Josephus may be less likely to create or rewrite stories that would be out of character with his age. Or in other words, the stories he relates may be taken as conscious representations of the way Josephus' contemporaries viewed the miraculous. With this in mind we can turn to his exorcism stories.

2.10.2 The best known exorcism story that Josephus relates is that of a Jewish exorcist Eleazar. Josephus' purpose in telling this story is to show that Solomon's God-given knowledge of the art used against demons, the incantations to relieve illness and the forms of exorcism were still used to great effect (8:45). So Josephus begins his story -

"for I have seen a certain Eleazar, a countryman of mine, in the presence of Vespasian, his sons, tribunes and a number of other soldiers, free men possessed by demons, and this was the manner of the cure: he put to the nose of the possessed man a ring which had under its seal

one of the roots prescribed by Solomon, and then, the man smelled it, drew out the demon through his nostril and, when the man at once fell down, adjured the demon never to come back into him, speaking Solomon's name and reciting the incantations which he had composed.

Then wishing to convince the bystanders and prove to them that he had this power, Eleazar placed a cup or footbasin full of water a little way off and commanded the demon, as it went out of the man, to overturn it and make known to the spectators that he had left the man" (Ant. 8:46-49).

We cannot neglect the question of the relationship between this story and those associated with Jesus in the Synoptic tradition. Bultmann cites this exorcism story in support of the notion "That folk stories of miracles and miracle motifs have come into the oral tradition" of the Gospels. ⁽¹⁹³⁾ It is not possible here to engage in the discussion of the origin of the Synoptic exorcism stories - we will attempt that in *chap. IV.* However, an important contribution to the debate is a clarification of the relationship between this story in Josephus and those of the Gospels.

There are, as has been pointed out before, ⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ points of contact between this story and those of the Gospels.

(a) In the next chapter we will see that one of the intentions of the Evangelists in relating exorcisms of Jesus is to

glorify him and highlight their interest in him (for example Mtt.12:23 see p.206 below). Josephus has a similar intention in telling the story of Eleazar. He concludes the narrative quoted above:

"And when this was done, the understanding and wisdom of Solomon was clearly revealed, on account of which we have been induced to speak of these things, in order that all men may know the greatness of his nature and how God favoured him, and that no one under the sun may be ignorant of the king's surpassing virtue of every kind" (8:49).

(b) In a Jesus story (Mk.9:26) the demon leaves the sufferer who immediately falls down as dead. Here Josephus says that on being cured "the man at once fell down"(8:47).

(c) In the same story in Mark Jesus commands the demon to come out of the lad "and never enter him again" (Mk.9:25). Similarly Eleazar is said to have "adjured the demon never to come back into him" - the sufferer (Ant.8:47).

(d) In the Antiquities Josephus says that Eleazar spoke Solomon's name in adjuring the demon. Although no parallel to this can be found in the Jesus stories, other exorcisms in the NT exhibit this use of a 'strong name'(Mk.9:38f./Lk.9:46f; Lk.10:17; Acts 16:18 and 19:13). Just as success in these exorcisms depends on the use of Jesus' name as an effective power-authority source, so in the Eleazar story the success of the cure relies on the name of Solomon as the power-authority.

(e) Fuller has shown that the form of this Josephus story is similar to the Gospel exorcism stories. (195)

Over against these points of contact, that would help support Bultmann's conclusions, we need to set out the differences between the two traditions.

(a) In the Jesus tradition the centre of attention is Jesus-the-Exorcist (note Mk.1:27f.). But in the Josephus story, it is not Eleazar who is on centre stage but Solomon the wise composer of incantations.

(b) Another difference between the NT stories of Jesus and this one in Josephus is that Eleazar not only uses incantations but also a finger "ring which had under its seal one of the roots prescribed by Solomon" (Ant.8:47). This physical aid is used to draw out the demon.

(c) An important difference between this and the Synoptic exorcism stories is the mention of the overturning of the basin of water. The Gospel parallel that is usually given to this is the episode of the pigs in Mk.5:1-20. (196) The purpose of this element in the Markan story will be discussed in the next chapter. However, if we may anticipate some of that discussion, the pigs episode is not a proof of cure (see p.149f. below). Yet in Ant.8:48 Josephus specifically states that the bowl of water was used to convince the bystanders that the exorcism had been successful.

(d) Also anticipating our discussion of the Gospel material we can note that the cured individual is at least of some

interest in those stories (eg. Mk.5:1-20, on which see pp.

.154f. below). In Ant.8:46ff. the individual who is healed and even Eleazar are of little or no significance. What interests Josephus is that Eleazar was a Jew and that he was using methods that came from and relied upon Solomon.

(e) If there was any kind of direct relationship between the Josephus and the Jesus traditions we might have expected some hints of this at least in the vocabulary. However none of Josephus' vocabulary is at all characteristic of the Synoptic exorcism stories. (197)

We have seen that there are points of contact between this story of Josephus and those by the Evangelists. However there are such differences between the two traditions that we should conclude that they are most probably entirely independent of each other. Nevertheless it is still possible, as Bultmann maintains, (198) that folk stories of miracles and miracle motifs came into the Gospel oral tradition from a milieu such as Josephus knew. We will have to explore this possibility in the next chapter.

In any case, as the story we have been discussing appears to be entirely independent of the Synoptic stories it is legitimate to ask what it tells us about exorcism in the NT era in Palestine. In the first place we have evidence to confirm the idea of the period that the Jews were well known for their ability in incantations and the handling

of demons.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ Secondly physical aids were used as part of the technique of the exorcist - in this case a finger ring with roots under its seal. Thirdly the exorcist enacted the exorcism in that he let the demon smell the roots and then drew the demon out through the sufferer's nose. Fourthly, on being cured the man fell down. Fifthly the exorcist took precautions to prevent the demon returning to the person just cured. Sixthly a 'strong name' was used as a power-authority to effect the exorcism. It is important to note that the reason why Solomon's name is thought by Josephus to be useful in incantations is because of Solomon's own skill in this area. Josephus began this section

"Now so great was the prudence and wisdom which God granted Solomon that he surpassed the ancients, and even the Egyptians, who are said to excel all men in understanding,..."(Ant.8:42).

The climax of Josephus' praise is what he has to say about Solomon's expertise in the field which includes exorcism -

"And God granted him knowledge of the art used against demons for the benefit and healing of men. He also composed incantations by which illnesses are relieved, and left behind forms of exorcism with which those possessed by demons drove them out, never to return "
 (Ant.8:45).⁽²⁰⁰⁾

Then follows the exorcism, using Solomon's name, illustrating Solomon's skill as an exorcist. The conclusion Josephus gives

this story confirms this suggestion (Ant.8:49, quoted p.65 above). And seventhly the Eleazar story shows that exorcisms of the time involved the use of proofs of a successful cure, here at least for the benefit of the spectators.

2.10.3 The second story that is of particular interest to us in the works of Josephus is his retelling of the OT story of Saul being soothed by David's harp playing (1 Sam. 16:14ff.). Josephus begins the story at the point where

"...the Deity abandoned Saul and passed over to David, who, when the divine spirit had removed to him, began to prophesy. But as for Saul, he was beset by strange disorders and evil spirits which caused him such suffocation and strangling that the physicians could devise no other remedy save to order search to be made for one with power to charm away spirits and to play upon the harp, and whensoever the evil spirits should assail and torment Saul, to have him stand over the king and strike the strings and chant his songs " (Ant.6:166).

Josephus goes on to say that a search was ordered for such a man. David is found and described.

"...Saul was delighted with him... for his illness was charmed away by him; and against that trouble caused by the evil spirits, whensoever they assailed him, he had no other physician than David, who, by singing his songs and playing upon the harp, restored Saul to himself " (Ant.6:168).

We ask of this story the same question we have been ask-

ing all the material so far - what does it tell us about exorcism in first century Palestine?

Like the story we have just discussed this one is told in order to enhance the reputation of the central character, in this case David's reputation. Once again although incantations or hymns are used, the source of power-authority is not in them but in the force of the person of David, who in this story is also the exorcist.

Saul's illness is said to have two facets. Firstly the divine spirit leaves Saul and it seems then that as a result he is secondly beset with strange disorders and evil spirits that affect his breathing. The leaving and entering of spirits is a notion we have met in Josephus' last story and we encounter it again in *Mt. 12:43ff./Lk. 11:24*.

The cure that is related involves David 'charming away' (ἐξῆδω) the evil spirits.

· ἐξῆδω involves not simply music or sound as the use of a harp might imply, but as in a song, words as well. ⁽²⁰¹⁾ We have already seen (p.34) that it is possible that Josephus may have had Ps.91 in mind.

David's charming away is said to have been done 'over the head' of the king. It is quite possible that by 'head' Josephus simply means the individual. ⁽²⁰²⁾ But the

importance of the head has already been seen in the Babylonian exorcisms, in their placing or holding tamarisk branches over the patient's head (see p.13 above), and at Qumran in the use of the laying on of hands. In the light of this and the Greek notions, taken up by the LXX, which include the idea that the head is the first chief member which determines all the other members of the body,⁽²⁰³⁾ it is most unlikely that in the story of Saul Josephus understood that the cure was directed towards the head.

Finally, the cure is described by Josephus as Saul being restored to himself (cf. Lk.15:17). Plummer is probably correct in saying that the term implies that a person has been 'beside himself'.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ For it was for being 'beside himself' that those close to Jesus sought to take him home (Mk.3:21). Ἐξέστη is a neutral term in relation to a mental condition,⁽²⁰⁵⁾ Mark so relates the thoughts of Jesus' friends (3:21) with the scribes' charge of him having a demon (3:22, see p.211 below). But it is clear that for Mark, one writer of our period, the two ideas were equivalent. Thus by saying that Saul was restored to himself Josephus is probably implying that an exorcism has taken place - the demon has left Saul.

2.11 The Rabbinic Material⁽²⁰⁶⁾

A major problem in dealing with this material is assigning dates to the various layers of tradition. There

is the need to proceed carefully in assigning ideas to any particular time. (207)

We ask the now familiar question - 'what does this material tell us about exorcism in first century Palestine?' Particularly the Babylonian Talmud has an abundance of references to demons, their origin and means of protection from them. (208) In the Talmud the attitude of the rabbis to healing techniques ranges between "He who utters an incantation over a wound has no portion in the world to come" (b. Sheb. 15b) and a total acceptance of amulets, recipes and incantations (for example b. Pes. 112a). (209) But this literature tells us little about exorcism in first century Palestine.

2.11.1 One of the best known first century rabbis is Johanan ben Zakkai. (210) He has a direction for exorcism that resembles elements in both the Tobit (6-8) story and the Babylonian texts (see p. 14 above).

"Take roots with herbs burn them under him (the possessed person), and surround him with water, whereupon the spirit will flee " (PR 40b). (211)

This kind of exorcism is represented many times among the rabbis of later times (for example b. Shab. 67a; b. Yoma 83b-84a). This tells us that at least some exorcists' success in this period depended upon a careful observation of prescriptions for exorcism.

2.11.2 On the other hand there seem to have been successful exorcists whose methods were entirely different. Both rabbi Simeon ben Yohai and Eleazar ben Yose are said to perform an exorcism with a simple and direct command to the demon -

"Ben Temalion, get out! Ben Temalion, get out! (b.Meil. 17b). Here the successful expulsion of the demon depends entirely upon the personal force of the exorcist (see p.101 below).

2.11.3 Another well known rabbi from the turn of the first and second centuries is rabbi Hanina ben Dosa of Galilee.⁽²¹²⁾ There is a story associated with him which further confirms a phenomenon that was believed to be part of the first century world. Hanina was out walking one evening when he was met by Agrath, the queen of the demons. She said

"Had they not made an announcement concerning you in heaven, 'Take heed of Hanina and his learning', I would have put you in danger".

Hanina replies

"If I am of account in heaven, I order you never to pass through settled regions "(b.Pes.112b).

Agrath pleads with Hanina for leniency and she is permitted freedom on Sabbath and Wednesday nights.

This is not an exorcism but it shows that in first

century Palestine it was thought that conversations took place between demons and those who sought to manipulate them. The basis of Hanina's authority over the demon is his standing in heaven, or relationship with God. It is also notable that the demon pleads for leniency and the request is granted (see p.40 above).

2.11.4 One of the NT exorcism stories is a healing from a distance (Mk.7:24-30/Mtt.15:21-28, see p.166 below). In this connection another story of Hanina is to be noted.

"It happened that when Rabban Samabiel's son fell ill, he sent two pupils to R. Hanina ben Dosa that he might pray for him. When he saw them, he went to the upper room and prayed. When he came down, he said to them: Go, for the fever has left him...It was at that hour that the fever left him and he asked us for a drink of water" (b.Ber.34b).⁽²¹³⁾

So although the rabbinic material has little information that is useful to us it does tell us that at least some Jews in first century Palestine were using physical aids as well as simple commands to perform exorcisms. Conversations between demons and those who sought to control them and healing from a distance was not unknown.

2.12 Lucian of Samosata⁽²¹⁴⁾

This pagan satirist of c.120-c.180 AD stands at a

high water mark of criticism in the rise and fall of incredulity in the ancient world.⁽²¹⁵⁾ His How to Write History and True History makes clear that he regards as worthless the stories including the exorcisms in Philops. 16 and 31.⁽²¹⁶⁾ But the way he sets up the first of these stories with one of the characters defending the veracity of the story shows that Lucian is probably representing the popular level of religion (cf. Philops.17). For that reason Lucian's stories are potentially useful to us.

2.12.1 That potential is probably actualised because the report in Philops. 16 is of a Palestinian exorcist and comes from a time so close to the first century that we can most probably take him to reflect that period. The full report is as follows.

"For my part, I should like to ask you what you say to those who free possessed men from their terrors by exorcising the spirits so manifestly. I need not discuss this: everyone knows about the Syrian from Palestine,⁽²¹⁷⁾ the adept in it, how many he takes in hand who fall down in the light of the moon and roll their eyes and fill their mouths with foam; nevertheless, he restores them to health and sends them away normal in mind, delivering them from their straits for a large fee. When he stands beside them as they lie there and asks: 'Whence came you into this body?' The patient himself is

silent, but the spirit answers in Greek or in the language of whatever foreign country he comes from, telling how and whence he entered into the man; whereupon, by adjuring the spirit and if he does not obey, threatening him, he drives him out. Indeed, I actually saw one coming out, black and smoky in colour".

It is immediately apparent that there are some points of contact between this story and those told of Jesus. The reference to the demoniac falling down and foaming at the mouth is reminiscent of Mk.9:18 and 20 as is the conversation about the onset of the illness. Though in Mk.9:21 the conversation is between Jesus and the boy's father - not the demon. The Syrian's actual request "Whence came you into this body?" is an echo of Jesus' request "How long has he had this?" (see p.192 below). On the other hand this report is set apart from the NT stories of Jesus not only by the mention of the large fees charged by the exorcist (cf. Acts 8:19) but also by the exorcist's commands which unlike the Jesus stories mention 'adjuring' (or binding) and 'threatening' (see pp.270f. below).

2.12.2 So what does this story or report tell us about exorcism that will help fill in the background against which to view the Jesus stories? (a) Firstly it seems that the exorcist stood beside the sufferer who is prostrated on the ground. (b) In this situation there is

a dialogue between the demon and the exorcist regarding the genesis of the illness. (c) Then the exorcist binds or puts a supernatural restriction on the demon (*ἔρκουσ*), but if the demon does not obey - that is leave the person, (d) the exorcist threatens the demon - (perhaps with some phrases and sounds from his store of incantations?⁽²¹⁸⁾). As a result the demon is (e) driven out. What happens then is not altogether clear but, in view of the use of *παρὰ λαβῶν* and *ἐνίστησι* earlier in the story, it may be that the exorcist takes hold of the patient and (f) helps him up. (g) The 'evidence' for the success of these exorcisms is - "I actually saw one (demon) coming out, black and smoky in colour".⁽²¹⁹⁾

2.13 Apollonius of Tyana⁽²²⁰⁾

The fame of this Neo-Pythagorean sage (died c.96-98AD) rests on a biography of him by Flavius Philostratus (c. 170-c.245). Apollonius of Tyna was written about 217 AD at the suggestion of the Empress Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus in whose circle of philosopher-friends Philostratus moved (LifeI:3).

2.13.1 As the Life is about a century removed from the subject there is the same problem as in the Gospels - the relationship between the 'historical' Apollonius and the

stories about him. This is particularly evident in the interesting points of contact the Life has with the formation of the Gospels, in that Julia Domna placed in Philostratus' hands some memoirs by Damis a disciple of Apollonius (Life 1:3). Philostratus was also able to use a history of the career of Apollonius at Aegae by Maximus an admirer (Life 1:3), as well as many letters of Apollonius that were in circulation and various treatises of the sage which have not survived. Finally Philostratus had been able to travel to cities where Apollonius was honoured - especially to Tyana where there was a temple specially dedicated to the cult of Apollonius. (221)

How far then the Life represents views apparent in Philostratus' time and how far it represents earlier views is difficult to determine. Conybeare suggests that Damis, a disciple of Apollonius whose memoirs reached Philostratus may have

"like the so-called aretologi of the age, set himself to embellish the life of his master, to exaggerate his wisdom and his supernatural powers"

and in turn

"the evident aim of Philostratus is to rehabilitate the reputation of Apollonius, and defend him from the charge of having been a charlatan or wizard addicted to evil and magical practices". (222)

In relation to our particular study on exorcism we can note a few points Philostratus makes which may give us some idea how he might have handled the exorcism stories of Apollonius. In Life VII:39 Philostratus says that Apollonius tells Damis of the people he finds discredited and condemned by nature and law - those who ask vast sums of money for their feats and those who sell boxes containing bits of stones, which people wear to gain success. In Life VIII:7 Philostratus has the sage disassociate himself from those who get men to believe that the unreal is real and to distrust the real as unreal and thereby seek to gain vast fortunes. Thus as we would expect, Philostratus portrays Apollonius as a poor philosopher neither misleading people, nor asking reward for his activities.

But in at least two ways Philostratus opens up the way for portraying Apollonius as a miracle-worker. Firstly in Life I:2 Philostratus mentions the apparently well known story of how Anaxagorus at Olympia, in a time of severe drought predicted rain, the fall of a house and stones being discharged from heaven. Then Philostratus complains that those who accept the works of Anaxagorus as the results of his wisdom rather than wizardry are the very same people who would wish to discredit Apollonius for the same kind of activities. Then secondly Philostratus' method is to represent Apollonius as somewhat skeptical - so that his miracles will seem more probable.⁽²²³⁾ Thus Apollonius refuses to believe that trees

are older than the earth (Life VI:37; cf, III:45 and V:13) and Philostratus voices his own doubts about Apollonius raising a dead girl (Life IV:45).

What implications do these factors have for Philostratus' handling of the individual exorcism stories? It probably means that Philostratus will at least heighten the simplicity of Apollonius' technique. If Philostratus wants to align Apollonius with the great philosopher-miracle workers of the past then the miracles of Apollonius may well be presented as spectacular.

2.13.2 The best known exorcism story in the Life (IV:20) is that which concerns a young lad who interrupts Apollonius while he is speaking in Athens in the king's portico. Apollonius looked at the young lad and said "It is not yourself that perpetrates this insult, but the demon, who drives you on without knowing it". At Apollonius' gaze the demon cried out, screamed and "swore that he would leave the young man alone and never take possession of any man again." But Apollonius reprimanded him and ordered him to quit (ἀπαλλάττεσθαι) the youth and to give some definite proof that he had done so. The devil said that he would throw down a nearby statue. The statue moved gently and then fell down, the result of which was a hubbub and a clapping of hands with wonder by the crowd. The lad rubbed his eyes as if he had just woken. The lad is also described as "coming to himself"

(ἀλλ' ἀπενήλθεν ἐς τὴν ^{φύσιν} ἑαυτοῦ /) a phrase already shown to be associated with exorcism by Josephus (see p.69 above). The story ends with a report that the young lad fell in love with the austerities of the philosophers, put on their cloak, took off his old self, and modelled his life upon that of Apollonius (Life IV:20).

Can we suggest which parts of this story may have come from the reports of those who saw this incident take place, and which have been appended? The distress of the demon/demoniac, and the simple technique of Apollonius are elements of an exorcism story that are found associated with other exorcists (see pp.57ff above). The episode of the toppling statue is much like that of the destruction of a statue in the apocryphal Acts of Peter (see p.89 below). So our only other parallel is also late and from material which, as we will see (pp.98f) is quite an unreliable indication of notions of exorcism at the time. This kind of proof may stem from the more simple kind of proof of disturbing a bowl of water which Josephus mentions (see p.64 above). But at least here in the Apollonius story I do not think we can use it to help us understand exorcism in the first century. The demon saying he would not take possession of any man again reflects the view of Mk.9:25 and Ant.8:47 but does not seem dependent on them so probably represents a widely held view of what took place in an exorcism.

The end of the story - the young man's following the austerity of the philosopher - is so obviously in line with Philostratus' objective to portray Apollonius in this way (see p.79 above) that we cannot be sure that it does not come from Philostratus' own hand.

2.13.3 Another story (Life III:38) deals with a mother who petitions Apollonius for her 16 year old son who for two years had been possessed by a devil. The mother says that the demons drive the boy into deserted places and that the boy has lost his former voice for another which is deep and hollow in tone. She says that she has wept and torn her cheeks as well as reprimanding her son - but to no avail for the boy does not know her. The woman says that she is frightened of the demon, and because of its threats to her of steep places, precipices and the death of her son, she has not brought the boy to Apollonius. Finally Apollonius says "Take courage, for he will not slay him when he has read this. Upon this Apollonius took out a letter from his pocket and gave it to the woman..." The letter, it appears, was addressed to the ghost and contained^a threat: (ἀπειλή) of an alarming kind. There is no indication of the efficacy of the letter, all that we are told is that on reading the letter the demon would not kill the boy.

This story is again clearly intended to enhance the reputation of Apollonius for the incident occurs during a

discussion between the sage and some Indian wise men.

This story tells us of exorcism at a distance, of talking demons and of the use of a written incantation to rid the boy of the demon. Both of these things would have been widely and well known in the ancient world (see pp.32,73 above) and apart from its setting Philostratus may not have altered this story very much. These elements as well as the distress of the demon/demoniac, and the simple technique of Apollonius are probably those which would represent notions of exorcism in first century Palestine.

2.14 The Testament of Solomon (224)

2.14.1 This 130-paragraph long document is headed "Testament of Solomon, son of David, who was king in Jerusalem, and mastered and controlled all the spirits of the air, on the earth and under the earth. By means of them also he wrought all the transcendent works of the Temple. Telling also of the authorities they wield against men, and by what angels these demons are brought to nought" (§ 1a, cf.66).

It is hardly surprising then that this pseudepigraphon is used to help construct the background to NT demonology and exorcism. (225) But how legitimate is this? What date should be assigned to this Testament? And if it is late, is it a

Jewish work independent of the NT, or Christian and dependent on it, or what? Conybeare thinks that it is a Christian recension of a Jewish book.⁽²²⁶⁾ McCown sees it as a Christian work incorporating Jewish material.⁽²²⁷⁾

To begin with there are whole passages which are dependent on Christian theology. For example § 71 has the lines

"He destroys me who is to become Saviour, a man whose number, if any one shall write it on his forehead, he will defeat me, and in fear I shall quickly retreat "
(cf. 104b and 122).

If there were only isolated units of Christian tradition then we could postulate that a Christian hand had simply added these to an already existing (Jewish) document.

However we must take into account the continuous and frequent thematic and vocabulary contacts with, and echoes of the NT. Conybeare's introduction⁽²²⁸⁾ and footnotes isolate them. For example in §§ 15 and 26 Beelzeb_{ul} (a name unknown before the NT, see p. 218 below) is described as the chief of demons (cf. Mk. 3:22/Mtt. 12:24; (9:34)/Lk. 11:15). In § 72 a corporate demon describes itself as "the world-rulers of this darkness" (cf. Eph. 6:12). In § 114 one demon says "we fall down like lightnings" (cf. Lk. 10:18).

Conybeare explains this evidence by saying that

"the writer of the document was a Hellenistic Jew, who naturally employed the same phraseology and idioms as the writers of the New Testament".⁽²²⁹⁾

However the writer seems to be so familiar with the NT that it is more likely that the Test.Sol. was written by a Christian. This does not preclude us from supposing that he has taken up material and ideas from elsewhere. For example in § 24 the demon Asmodeus says

"By Raphael, the archangel that stands before the throne of God. But the liver and all of a fish put me to flight, when smoked over ashes of the tamarisk" (cf. § 22).

This is obviously dependent upon Tobit 6:1-9, 18 (see p.36 above).⁽²³⁰⁾ This dependence, as well as the interest in the building of the Temple (§§ 2 etc.), and knowledge of Jewish writing (cf. § 14 and Wis.Sol.9:4; § 26 and Gen.6:4; Enoch 7; § 40 and 1 Ki.2:25; § 118, 123 and Ps.118:22 (cf. Mk.12:10 and pars. ; 1 Pt.2:6f.); § 128 and Song of Sol.6:12f.) suggest that we have here a Jewish Christian writing.⁽²³¹⁾

So far our conclusion to the problem of the origin of the Test.Sol. is that it is a Jewish Christian document dependent on the NT, but using material and notions from outside the NT.⁽²³²⁾ McCown has shown that the Test.Sol. should be dated in the early third-century AD.⁽²³³⁾ In turn

we need to conclude that it is only with the greatest of care that the Test. can be used to provide data for understanding exorcism in first century Palestine. This applies not only to those parts of the Test. which are clearly reliant on the NT, but also because of its relatively late date other elements will need to be shown to be more antique than the document itself.

2.14.2 What does the Test.Sol. tell us about exorcism in Palestine in the first century? The Test. is carried forward by a series of conversations between Solomon and various demons. This confirms what we see from other literature that it was believed that demons and exorcists undertook conversations (see p.30 above), and the conversations in the Test. Sol. do not seem to be directly modelled on the NT. In §§ 5 and 12 the wearing of a ring as an amulet is used to control demons (cf. §§ 83,90,92ff. etc.). We can be confident of the antiquity of this technique for the use of amulets was both ancient and widespread (see p.32 above). The dependence on Tobit in §§ 22 and 24 (see p.35 above) indicates the persistent belief in the efficacy of incense of fish liver and gall. In § 51 (for example) Solomon asks a demon its name and he answered -

"If I tell you my name, I bind not myself alone, but also the legion of demons under me".

Although there is a slight possibility of dependence on

Mk.5:9 it does confirm and clarify the notion contained there that knowing a demon's name gives the exorcist power over the demon (see p.163 below). Solomon's response to the demon is probably dependent on the NT but again it does show the persistence of the idea of the use of a strong name.

"I adjure thee in the name of the God Sabaoth, to tell me by what name thou art frustrated along with thy hosts" (§ 52a).

Many of the conversations between Solomon and the demons are designed to set out the 'angels' or strong names that can be used to overpower the demons. We have already (see p.83 above) cited the stated purpose of the Test.. Hence in § 69 (for example) Solomon says to a demon; "'Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated.' And he answered: 'By Iameth'" (note §§ 74-103).

The Test. Sol. is an important witness to exorcism in parts of the post-apostolic Church. Nevertheless it does yield some information that is of help to us in the first century in Palestine. We see from the Test. Sol. that conversations between demons and exorcists, amulets, the key importance of knowledge of the demon's name, the use of potions and appropriate strong names in the exorcists' incantations persisted through the NT era into the period represented by this present document.

2.15 The NT Apocrypha (234)

There are a number of exorcism stories in this literature which are sometimes cited as appropriate background material to the gospel stories. (235) But the late date, Christian tradition in which this material stands, and the fantastic elements in the stories cast some doubt on the usefulness of these stories for our purpose. Thus while ideas may have been thought, by the publishers, to reflect their own times, they may have considered that these 'fantastic' elements were appropriate to the 'apostolic-age' and so worked them into the material. That is, while the publishers may not have expected exorcists of their own time to behave as portrayed in the Apocryphal Acts they may have felt (wrongly?) that the Apostles would have so behaved. Consequently our examination of these stories must involve a discussion of their dependence on, or relationship to, earlier Christian literature.

2.15.1 The Acts of Peter. This piece of literature most likely comes from the last decades of the second century. (236) The theme of these Acts is confrontation between Peter and Simon (Magus) to demonstrate that God through his servant Peter is greater than Satan and Simon his messenger. (237)

In chapter 11, just before he confronts Simon, Peter turned

"and saw in the crowd a man half laughing, in whom was a most wicked demon. And Peter said to him.

'Whoever you are, that laughed, show yourself openly to all who stand by'".

This the young man does. Peter then says

"'You too, then, whatever demon you may be, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, come out of the young man and do him no harm; (and) show yourself to all who stand by!' And hearing this he left the young man; and caught hold of a great marble statue, which stood in the courtyard of the house, and kicked it to pieces".

The first thing that stands out in this story is the detail of the statue which is remarkably similar to Philostratus' Life IV:20 (see p. 80 above). Any number of reasons could account for this. But in view of our having been unable to find evidence of the use of proofs in healing stories in and before the NT period, and Philostratus' aim to rehabilitate Apollonius' reputation, (see p. 78 above) and the Acts of Peter seeking to enhance the reputation of Peter, this element in the exorcism story would (what ever its relationship to Life IV:20) seem to reflect the times of the publication of the Apocryphal Acts, or what they thought was appropriate to the apostolic age

rather than the time of the setting of the story.

Secondly in Peter's call for the man (or woman) to - "show yourself openly to all who stand by" - there may be an echo of the Gospels, especially Lk.4:35 (cf.Mk.3:3; 9:19). But the dependence of the Acts of Peter on the Gospels is probably minimal if it exists at all, for the wording is not very close to the Gospels and it was a widely held notion after the first century that exorcists and demons should confront each other. (238)

Thirdly the words of Peter to the demon. They begin with an address to - "whatever demon you may be". This lack of precision is uncharacteristic of the stories where the demon is often directly addressed (cf.Mk.5:9f.; 9:25). This all embracing address is more characteristic of the incantational traditions preserved in the ancient and magical papyri (see pp.17ff. above) and so probably reflects the practice of exorcists from the time of the ancient Egyptian papyri right through to the time of the publication of the Acts of Peter. The use of the 'name of the Lord Jesus Christ' is, in a Christian tradition, not at all surprising for its use in exorcisms dates from the earliest days of the Christian community (cf.Lk.10:17). The call on the demon to do no harm to the lad brings to mind Lk.4:35 where the demon leaves the boy, doing him no harm. It is reasonable to suspect then that the Acts may be dependent on Luke.

Fourthly it is a noticeable feature of the first part of the story that no mechanical or physical aids like hands, or rings or mixtures are used to help drive out the demon. The success of the exorcism is thought to lie in the personal force of Peter and his use of the name of 'our Lord Jesus Christ'. This is reminiscent of Paul's charge to the spirit in the slave girl in Acts 16:18, as well as perhaps Apollonius' ordering the demon to leave the young lad (Life IV:20). We have seen that such a view of exorcisms is not entirely unique to the Christian tradition and so the Acts of Peter may be faithfully reflecting a technique of both its own time and the time of its setting.

Thus, in its desire to strengthen Peter's reputation these Acts have included an exorcistic technique characteristic of Christian tradition -the use of 'the name of our Lord Jesus Christ' as a source of power-authority by an exorcist who relies on no mechanical aids. And in the mention of the demon being commanded to do no harm the Acts of Peter may be reflecting a practice that stretched back into the first century. This story also shows the maintainance of exorcistic practices which were not particularly confined to the Christian tradition, notably the command to 'show yourself'. The influence of other traditions is evident in the vague fashion in which the demon is addressed and the mention of the destruction

of the statue as proof of the exorcism.

2.15.2 The Acts of Andrew. No agreed date has been assigned to the fragment of these Acts published by G. Quispel in 1956.⁽²³⁹⁾ However the contacts with the Acts of Paul⁽²⁴⁰⁾ and its encratite milieu⁽²⁴¹⁾ place these Acts somewhere in the last half of the second century.

The fragment is an exorcism extended over five pages of papyrus by a dialogue between Andrew and the demon.⁽²⁴²⁾

Andrew goes into the street, where there is some trouble on his account. While he was speaking one of four soldiers "in whose body was hidden a demon" on coming into the "presence of the apostle" (page 9 lines 9-12) cried out-

"O Varianus, what have I done to you that you should send me to this god-fearing man" (page 9 lines 13ff.).

The demon then threw him to the ground, foaming at the mouth. There then follows an extended conversation involving the soldiers, (who come to the aid of their colleague), the demon and Andrew. The poorly preserved state of the text makes it very difficult at times to determine the identity of the speakers of some of the lines. In any case Quispel says that the purpose of the conversation is to establish the history and origin of the malady.⁽²⁴³⁾ But is the conversation as simple as that?

From what we have seen so far of exorcism and exorcism

stories it is the exorcist who does most of the speaking. Rather surprisingly here, the demon has as much to say as the Apostle, and contrary to our expectations the information is freely offered.⁽²⁴⁴⁾ In fact the demon's speech may be a later addition to an earlier more simple story, for the demon's words are in themselves a complete self contained story of a virgin's fight with, and use of prayer (page 10 lines 36f.) to repel, an attacking demon (page 10 line 1 to page 13 line 16). The impression, that all of this section is a later intrusion into an earlier story is confirmed by the existence of another speech by the demon which, despite the poor state of the text, also seems to describe the history of the possession (page 13 lines 25-37). And these words of the demon, through the theme of 'height', fit better with the words of Andrew than the extended 'secondary' speech. The Gregory of Tours version of this story⁽²⁴⁵⁾ shows how readily this kind of material was altered and embellished during its transmission.

The reply of Andrew to the demon may also contain secondary material. On page 14 lines 6ff. of the text there is an unconnected hymn/eulogy, not to any power-authority as we might expect but, to the champions of virtue.

Having praised virtue Andrew turns to the demon and says-
 "Now indeed it is already time for you to come out from this young man, so that he may enter service at the

heavenly palace" (page 14 lines 27ff.).

The last part of this 'command' may have been added in the light of the man's being a soldier. Also the first half of Andrew's words so lack the authoritative force of the exorcists we have so far met that we are inclined to suspect that it is a pure literary creation having no relation to any actual practice of exorcism.

The demon submits to Andrew's command saying that he has never in the past harmed the young man. The violence of the departure of the demons seems, even in the Gospel stories, to be well established.⁽²⁴⁶⁾ The only suggestion to the contrary is in Luke's addition to his tradition in Lk.4:35 (see p.112 below). That this aspect of the story here may simply be a literary creation is also indicated by the possible conflict with the violence of the demon in the beginning of the story (page 9 lines 17ff.).⁽²⁴⁷⁾

On being cured the young man takes off his soldiers' uniform, falls before the apostle and asks for "the garment of the immortal king of the Ages" (page 15 lines 21f.). We have found no early parallel to this practice though there is a similar response by a young man to Apollonius (Life IV:20)-the exchange of one set of clothes for another. In view of Eph.4:24; 6:11; (cf.Gal.3:27) and Col.3:9 it may be that the Acts of Andrew relies on a Christian motif here.

Our purpose in discussing this story has not been to disentangle various layers of tradition. Nevertheless we have discovered just how composite this story may be. The original story probably was little more than a simple exorcism of a soldier who was accompanied by some of his fellows. (248)

Despite later emendations, remnants of the familiar exorcism story are still visible. There is the dramatic confrontation, the conversation, the exorcist's preliminary command, the submission of the demon and finally the 'conversion' of the sufferer. Beyond this we have found little that would take us back to the techniques and notions of exorcism in the NT period. The one clear glimpse of continuity with earlier times is the mention in the 'secondary' words of the demon to the virgin praying to cause a demon to flee. The contact of these Acts with its own times is probably to be found in the mention of the healed soldier exchanging clothes.

2.15.3 The Acts of Thomas are probably to be placed at about the beginning of the third century (249) and contain a number of stories that are of interest to us.

In chapters 42ff. a beautiful woman confronts Thomas, tells of her terrible plight and asks the Apostle to drive out the demon. Although the woman's request is prolix and for the most part an introduction to a declaration of confidence in the Apostle's ability, we have seen (see pp. 44, 69 above) that other traditions also know of possessed persons not

always fleeing from a potential healer but actually asking for their healing. Accordingly then this element in the story may reflect a method of first century Palestinian exorcism.

The Apostle's tirade of abuse on the demon (§ 44) which in its repetitive listing of demonic characteristics, is not unlike the forms of addresses to demons which we have also seen in earlier pagan literature. Thus despite the 'Christianizing' of this element (eg "O bitter tree, whose fruits are like him") we may have reflected here Christian borrowing from the pagans - the practice of listing the demons' characteristics in order to be certain of subduing them (see p. 13 above).

The demon's reply to Thomas (which quotes Mk.5:7), four times repeats the phrase "What have we to do with you..?" and echoes Mk.1:24 and Mtt.8:29 (thus clearly being dependent on the NT), and is not so much a defence against the Apostle⁽²⁵⁰⁾ as a speech in his (and Jesus') praise. A little later at the point where he says he will leave the woman, the demon even parodies the heavenly voice in Mtt.3:17/Mk.1:11/Lk.3:22. There then follows a prayer, virtually unconnected with the exorcism story, which, again, is heavily dependent upon the NT.⁽²⁵¹⁾

A second story in the Acts of Thomas (§§ 62ff.) mentions demons in a captain's description of his wife and

daughter's illness. But no other element in the story would suggest that we are here dealing with an exorcism story. The climax of the story is Thomas' saying

"Commit yourself then to Jesus, and he will heal them and bring them help" (§ 65).

In chapter 73ff. there is a highly embellished story with long speeches which have so smothered any event that may lie behind them that it is no longer recoverable. The story involves an ass, with the gift of human speech, calling out in a courtyard for all the demons to show themselves (cf. § 104). A woman and a girl come out. The Apostle then says-

"God forbid that there be propitiation or sparing for you, for you know not sparing or compassion. In the name of Jesus, depart from them and stand by their side" (§ 75).

Although the woman falls down and dies the demon continues to speak - supposedly in his own defence, in fact the speech is a tribute to the power of Christ and his destruction of evil. The ass, which has been given speech by Thomas, even gives a long monologue exalting Christ and his Apostle. Finally the woman is raised to life and the ass departs in peace to his pastures! This strange story tells us little about exorcism, being primarily a collection of 'hymns' to Christ and the Apostle.

The last story in the Acts of Thomas (§ 170) is a

relatively brief exorcism story. One of the sons of Misdaeus⁽²⁵²⁾ was possessed by a demon and so he sought the bones of an apostle so that he could fasten them on to his son. Thomas appeared to Misdaeus reprimanding him for believing in the dead rather than in the living, but promises Misdaeus that Jesus, in his goodness, would act kindly towards him. Though Misdaeus found no bones - they had been stolen - he took dust from the tomb and attaching it to his son confessed his faith in Jesus and his son was healed.

This short story is interesting simply because it tells us of the uneasy relationship that at least some sections of the early Church continued to experience, with its members persisting in the use of pagan methods of healing rather than the simple^{use} of 'the name' of Jesus.

2.15.4 This survey of the exorcism stories in the NT Apocrypha⁽²⁵³⁾ has shown how much this material is dependent upon the New Testament and how little it helps us in understanding exorcism in NT times.⁽²⁵⁴⁾ However a few points have emerged which confirm the continuation of some techniques of exorcism which had been used during and even before the NT period. This helps us to substantiate parts of the picture of exorcism in the NT period which is emerging as the result of our discussions. Thus there were the notions that the demon and the exorcist must

(sometimes willingly) confront each other, that the exorcist should address/abuse the demon, that the personal force of the exorcist (verbally relying on some power-authority), was, without mechanical or physical aids, sufficient to effect success, the conversation between demon and exorcist, and the 'conversion' of the sufferer.

In the toppling of the statue as 'proof' of the success of the exorcist in the Acts of Peter, the use of prayer (see p.195 below) and the exchange of old clothes for new ones in the Acts of Andrew we probably have reflected practices of the period of the publication of the Acts rather than an earlier time. Apart from this the writers seem to offer us no reliable material as background information to the stories of Jesus; what they seem to do is project back, notions and speeches which they felt appropriate to the Apostles they sought to venerate.

2.16 Conclusion

In this chapter we have been asking the question - 'what can we say about exorcism and exorcists in first century Palestine?'

In our analysis of the material which was of potential help in answering this question we have had virtually to

exclude the Test. Sol. and the NT Apocrypha because of their manifest dependence on the NT. For our study all these pieces of literature can do is confirm the continued existence of much older notions and practices.

The first impression given by the material in this chapter is the great variety of forms of exorcism that would have been known and used in Palestine in Jesus' time. But there may be a pattern in all this evidence.

Firstly some of the texts we surveyed showed that there were exorcists who were successful because of the particular things they said and/or did. The best example of this is Eleazar (Ant.8:46-49) but we also saw it represented in the Rabbinic material (PR 40b) and especially the PGM. Although these examples are all relatively late, the very earliest material (Babylonian and Egyptian) exhibit this notion of exorcism. Of paramount importance in these exorcisms was the exorcist's knowledge of both the demon he sought to combat and the god or power-authority whose aid he could rely upon. In order to impress the demon or the god the exorcist used prescribed descriptions and histories of the demon and god. Sometimes the exorcist went so far as to identify himself with some other powerful individual (for example Hermes or Moses in the PGM) or even the invoked god (as also in the PGM). Most of these kinds of exorcisms involved using the god or power-authority to put a

'supernatural restriction' on the demon, by speaking special words and sounds so that the demon could be made to leave the person. Sometimes the demon would speak in his defence and plead for leniency (Jub.10:8; Acts 19:15; b.Pes.112b). Usually the exorcists' words were accompanied by some kind of activity - like burning incense or boiling a special brew. The activities prescribed by some texts were designed not merely to represent what was expected to happen in the exorcism, but enabled the exorcist to transfer the demon from the person to say a bowl of water which was then poured away. Where the exorcist depended on diagrams or particular words an amulet was sometimes employed.

Secondly there seem to have been exorcisms that were successful not because of what was said and/or done but because of who performed them. The earliest evidence of this kind of exorcism is in Jub.10, but it is in the Genesis Apocryphon that we have the earliest extant story that relates the ability to control and expel demons not to particular words or prayers but to a particular individual's personal force.

At least at the level of the story Tiede⁽²⁵⁵⁾ has argued for the glorification in specifically Greek stories, of the combination of the ability to work miracles and wisdom or holiness. But in Jub.10 the righteous man,

Noah(10:17), is glorified by relating his ability to control demons(10:5). And in the Genesis Apocryphon the wise and godly Abraham is credited with the healing of the king (cols. XIX and XX). Thus we have the combination of healer and holy individual acclaimed in Palestinian stories.

The individual who is most often represented in these stories as combining the attributes of wisdom and miracles is Solomon.⁽²⁵⁶⁾ The locus classicus of the tradition that associated the wise Solomon with miracle working - especially exorcism, is Ant.8:46-49 (cf. the later Test. Sol.). But earlier in Palestine in LAB 60 (see p.50 above) and in the Qumran community⁽²⁵⁷⁾ the wise Solomon was directly linked with exorcism and the ability to control demons.

This shift in the stories from focusing on the technique (as in Tobit) to the individual healer (as in the Genesis Apocryphon) is most importantly not confined to these mythical or literary figures. A little later in the first century AD it is reflected in 'historical' individuals (as represented by Lucian's Palestinian exorcist, Apollonius and, notably for Palestine, some of the Rabbis).⁽²⁵⁸⁾

The methods of these individual healers in literature

and history seems to vary from the simple '...Get out!' used by some Rabbis, to simple prayer and laying on of hands in the Genesis Apocryphon, to the more involved prayers and incantations of Jub.10 and LAB 60. And finally the success, in the literature (Solomon) or in actual terms (Jesus), of these particular individual healers is reflected in their names being used in 'incantational' exorcisms (cf. Ant.8:46-49, Mk.9:38/ Lk.9:49 and Acts (16:17;) 19:13).

III

JESUS-THE-EXORCIST

(the data)

3.1 In this chapter we want to examine the gospel material relating to exorcism from a historical and critical perspective. This is in preparation for the next two chapters where we will (in chap.IV) attempt to sketch out a picture of the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist and (in chap.V) attempt to discover what responses Jesus evoked during his life. So as we examine this material we will be attempting to do two things - to ascertain which elements of the material can, with reasonable confidence, be attributed to the reports of those who witnessed Jesus as an exorcist and, to note how the early Church handled this material.⁽¹⁾

3.1.1 A preliminary matter which has important implications for any gospel research is the solution to the Synoptic Problem.⁽²⁾ In this study we will accept the traditional components of the solution to the problem. That is, in the first place we accept the priority of Mark.⁽³⁾ In the second place, assuming Markan priority, there seems at present no other viable alternative⁽⁴⁾ in explaining the origin of the material found to be common to Matthew and Luke, but not Mark, than to suppose that there is a common source of tradition - Q.⁽⁵⁾ The nature of Q has been variously described.⁽⁶⁾ It is probably best to see it as

a stratum of tradition rather than a single document for, as C.K. Barrett says it is "more scientific since it makes no assumptions which, however probable, in the nature of the case cannot be proved".⁽⁷⁾ The material which Matthew and Luke have in common can hardly be the limit of the extent of Q, for we cannot be sure that they have used all of the Q tradition available to them. In fact if the treatment of Mark by Matthew and Luke is any indicator⁽⁸⁾ then we can be fairly certain that we do not have all of Q represented in Matthew and Luke.⁽⁹⁾ Indeed, later we shall have cause to suggest material relating to our theme which was probably part of Q yet outside the material common to Matthew and Luke not found in Mark (see p. 242 below).⁽¹⁰⁾ We do not assume that there is a literary relationship between Q and Mark,⁽¹¹⁾ or a direct literary relationship between Matthew and Luke.⁽¹²⁾

3.1.2 If we accept the traditional solution to the Synoptic Problem then we are faced with at least one long-standing problem - the redaction history of Mark. In recent years much has been done in trying to discover Mark's contribution to, and use of traditional material.⁽¹³⁾ The point at which we know so little and where certainty is least assured is in determining what is to be taken as a word or stylistic feature of the last stage(s) of redaction and what is to be taken as being from earlier tradition(s). Up until now the works of Sir John Hawkins⁽¹⁴⁾ and C.H.

Turner⁽¹⁵⁾ have been heavily utilized. But these studies rely on simple frequency of occurrence and do not allow for the possibility that the prominence of a linguistic characteristic may be due to (Mark's) tradition rather than redaction. Even Lloyd Gaston's useful work (HSE) which is a considerable advance on Hawkins, particularly with regard to Matthew, Luke and Q, still does not offer any way of distinguishing Mark's redaction and tradition for he also uses simple frequency.⁽¹⁶⁾ The implication of this for our present study is that, in assigning a feature of style, including vocabulary, to a particular level of tradition we should be extremely cautious and avoid depending entirely on mere frequency of occurrence.

3.1.3 We shall now proceed to examine the principal Synoptic pericopes that have to do with Jesus and exorcism, dealing first with those which occur in Mark (1:21-8 par.; 5:1-20 pars.; 7:24-30 par.; 9:14-29 pars.) and then Q (Mtt.12:22-30/Lk.11:14-23 and /Mk.3:22-7). Then we shall examine the Temptation narratives (Mtt.4:1-11/Lk.4:1-13 and Mk.1:12f.) because of the suggested connection between this story and the defeat of Satan and Jesus' Answer to John the Baptist (Mtt.11:2-6/Lk.7:18-23) because it refers to Jesus performing exorcisms and may illuminate Jesus' self-understanding. Finally we will look at the Disciples' Mission(s) (Mk.6:7-12. 30/Mtt.10:1-15/Lk.9:1-6; 10:1-11, 17-20) because it may be important in assessing Jesus' understanding of his exorcisms.

In discussing each pericope we will begin by noting how Matthew and Luke have used their sources (Q and/or Mark) then we will discuss, so far as is possible, how Mark and Q have used their tradition before, finally seeing if we can say which parts, if any, of the stories and sayings probably go back to Jesus and the reports of those who saw Jesus-the-Exorcist at work.

3.2 The Demoniac in the Synagogue ⁽¹⁷⁾

(Mk.1:21-8 / Lk.4:31-7)

Mark. 1, 21-28	Luk. 4, 31-37
<p>²¹Και εισπορεύονται εις Καφαρναούμ· και εὐθὺς τοῖς σάββασιν εισελθὼν εις τὴν συναγωγὴν <u>ἐδίδασκεν</u> .</p>	<p>²¹Και κατήλθεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας . και ἦν διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν·</p>
<p>²² και ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ· ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων και οὐχ ὡς οἱ γραμματεῖς .</p>	<p>²² και ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, <u>ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἦν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.</u></p>
<p>²³Και εὐθὺς ἦν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ και ἀνέκραξεν ²⁴λέγων· τί ἡμῖν και σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; ἤλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ. ²⁵και ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων· φημί· ὅτι και ἐξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ . ²⁶ και σπαράξαν αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον και φωνῆσαν φωνὴ μεγάλη ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ²⁷ και ἐθαμβήθησαν ἅπαντες ὥστε συζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς λέγοντας· τί ἐστὶν τοῦτο; διδαχὴ καινὴ κατ' ἐξουσίαν και τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ἐπιτάσσει, και ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ. ²⁸ και ἐξῆλθεν ἡ ἀκοὴ αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς πανταχοῦ εἰς ὅλην τὴν περιχώρον τῆς Γαλιλαίας .</p>	<p>²³Και ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἔχων πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου, και ἀνέκραξεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ²⁴ ἔα, τί ἡμῖν και σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; ἤλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ. ²⁵ και ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων· φημί· ὅτι και ἐξελθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. και βίβαν αὐτὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲν βλάψαν αὐτόν . ²⁶ και ἐγένετο θάμβος ἐπὶ πάντας και συναλάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες· τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ και δυνάμει ἐπιτάσσει τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασιν και ἐξέρχονται; ²⁷ και ἐξεπορεύετο ἡχος περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς πάντα τόπον τῆς περιχώρου.</p>

3.2.1 It is immediately apparent that this story is not found in Matthew. Apart from any hesitancy that Matthew is said to have had about exorcism, ⁽¹⁸⁾ or his tendency to abbreviate miracle stories, ⁽¹⁹⁾ the main reason why Matthew left out this story was probably because it did not suit his

purpose here to include it. One of the motifs of the story in Mark is the authority of Jesus' teaching. Matthew adopts this motif (Mk.1:22/Mtt.4:29) but has illustrated it more directly and fully in the Sermon on the Mount (5:1-7:27). Matthew may have felt that there was no need to transfer this story to a later part of his Gospel for there were other quite suitable stories there in his sources.

3.2.2 Luke on the other hand, taking up the theme of Jesus' authoritative teaching, and including the miracle story, also provides a programmatic teaching pericope (4:16ff.) as background to this exorcism story. In Mark exorcism stands out as the first activity of Jesus' ministry. In Luke this perspective is less sharp though exorcism is still portrayed as being of central significance - each of the three healing pericopes (31-37; 38-39 (see p.337 below); 40-41) has to do with exorcism - but alongside and more obviously in conjunction with teaching. In the 4:14-44 complex of Jesus' teaching and healing Luke emphasises three facets of this ministry. Firstly, he begins at 4:14 by saying that Jesus began his ministry "in the power of the Spirit"; and secondly the overriding theme of the preaching was (4:43) 'the Kingdom of God'; and thirdly the healing ministry is dominated by exorcism. We shall come across this combination again later (see below).

(a) In the detailed use of Mk.1:21ff. Luke has made

a number of alterations. Some of the changes have to do with improving Mark's style. But Luke has made other changes to his source that require more specific explanation. In 4:33 Luke has replaced the Semitic phrase *ἐν πνεύματι...*⁽²⁰⁾ with *ἔχων πνεῦμα ...*. In fact Luke consistently uses *ἐν* in conjunction with the Holy Spirit (1:17; 2:27; 3:16; 4:1, 14, 10:21) and never of a demon or unclean spirit. Mark, on the other hand, shows no consistency in that he uses *ἐν* and *ἔχω* interchangeably in relation to evil spirits (cf. eg. 3:30 and 5:2) but, like Luke, he never uses *ἔχω* in relation to the Holy Spirit. Why? To have (*ἔχειν*) a spirit can, though not always,⁽²¹⁾ mean to possess, or have a single spirit in one's control. But in the NT "it is astonishing how seldom we find the phrase *πνεῦμα ἔχειν*".⁽²²⁾ Hanse says that this is linked to the fact that an individual did not receive his own spirit but shared in one divine Spirit.⁽²³⁾ In particular the Pauline literature stresses that there is one Spirit, see 1 Cor.12:13;(Eph.4:4).⁽²⁴⁾ But Luke also believes that the one Spirit was shared by all, (cf. Acts 2:4, 17, 38; 10:44f.; 19:1ff.).⁽²⁵⁾ Thus Luke's consistency in using *ἐν* in relation to the Holy Spirit and not of evil spirits, and *ἔχειν* of evil spirits and not of the Holy Spirit⁽²⁶⁾ may be simply because an evil spirit was something an individual could have while the Holy Spirit was something in which one shared. Also in 4:33 Luke adds *δαμονίου* in between Mark's *πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτου* so that the man in the Synagogue has a 'spirit of

an unclean demon'. Why has Luke made this addition? For the Greeks an 'unclean spirit' did not necessarily carry the sense of 'demon-possession' as *ἐκκαθαρτος* had to do primarily with the closely related concepts of physical and cultic uncleanness. Thus Luke never introduces the Semitic term 'unclean spirit', and when he takes it up from his tradition he always either alters it,⁽²⁷⁾ or if he uses it, modifies it somewhere in the pericope,⁽²⁸⁾ or also cites words of Jesus.⁽²⁹⁾ So Schürmann is probably correct in saying that here Luke is accomodating his Greek readers.⁽³⁰⁾ Still in v.33, Luke alters *λέγων* to *φωνῆ μεγάλη*. Luke most likely brings this forward from Mk.1:26 where the demon cries out after Jesus has *required* silence of the demon. Luke avoids an apparent contradiction and lack of obedience as well as characterizing a typical description of demoniacs' form of speech.⁽³¹⁾

(b) In v.34 (/Mk.1:24) there is the addition *ἔα*.

What does Luke intend by this? He could mean (i) to continue the feeling of the previous words and have the demoniac yell "Ah! ha!," equivalent to *אָהַיָּהוּ*.⁽³³⁾ Or (ii) Luke could intend the imperative *ἔαω*, "Let go!" or "Leave alone!"⁽³⁴⁾ We cannot determine its meaning from elsewhere in the NT for it is a hapax legomenon. Nevertheless the former meaning is unlikely for the form *ἔα* is not common and is rare in prose.⁽³⁵⁾ On the other hand the latter *ἔαω* is more common.⁽³⁶⁾ And if, as we shall see,⁽³⁷⁾ the words of the

demoniacs are to be taken as disarming defences against the enemy/exorcist, then the meaning 'Leave (us) alone' fits the context well.

(c) In Lk.4:35 (/Mk.1:25f.) there are the two minor alterations of ἐξ αὐτοῦ to ἀπ' αὐτοῦ . There is little to be made of this for the confusion of ἀπό and ἐκ was common in Hellenistic Greek and the process of absorption of ἐκ in ἀπό had begun in the NT⁽³⁸⁾ and Luke had a clear predilection for ἀπό.⁽³⁹⁾ Luke's alteration means, as Deissmann noticed, that 4:35 is paralleled in PGM IV:3013 ἐξελεθες ἀπὸ τοῦ (δείνα).⁽⁴⁰⁾ Also in v.35 (Mk.1:26) Luke has ῥίψαν instead of σπαράξαν . It may be that Luke is undertaking a literary improvement of Mark,⁽⁴¹⁾ but as ῥίπτω (to throw) is less violent than σπαράσσω (to tear, pull, or convulse⁽⁴²⁾) and in view of Luke's following statement that the demon did not harm the man, Luke was probably trying to emphasise the demon's submission to Jesus' command. Luke does use σπαράσσω⁽⁴³⁾ of a demon's activity in 9:39 (Mk.9:26) but this is before meeting Jesus. On Luke's treatment of πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον see above. That he says the demon threw the man "into the middle" is most likely Luke's providing a subject to the demon's activity, perhaps in line with the idea found elsewhere in the NT (Mk.3:3⁽⁴⁴⁾) and outside it that the sufferer and healer/exorcist must confront each other.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Luke says that the demon leaves the man without harming

him (v.35). Along with this it is noticeable that Luke omits Mk.9:26⁽⁴⁶⁾ where the demon is said to cry out, convulse the boy, and leave him like a corpse. Luke is clearly making the exorcism stories less violent.⁽⁴⁷⁾

(d) In v.36 (Mk.1:27) the replacement of ἐθαμβήθησαν ἅπαντες with ἐγένετο θάμβος is an example of his characteristic periphrasis.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Συζητέω can contain an element of dispute or dissension⁽⁴⁹⁾ but by using συναλέω there is no dispute⁽⁵⁰⁾ - all agree in their amazement.⁽⁵¹⁾ The vocalization of the crowd's amazement is significantly different from that found in Mark. In Mark the amazement is directed more generally at Jesus' authority and teaching. In Luke - τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος (cf. v.32) is directed more narrowly at Jesus' command. That Luke wants to highlight the authority of Jesus' command in particular is probably the reason why he specifies the demon's obedience (Mk.1:27) with ἐξέρχομαι and why he adds δύναμις. And we notice that Luke also highlights Jesus' command in 8:29 (Mk.5:8) by making an almost casual reference to it; and in 9:42 (Mk.9:25) the actual command is dropped leaving only a simple mention of it, highlighting its effectiveness.

(e) In the final verse (v.37/Mk.1:28), perhaps for variety, Luke exchanges ἐξέρχομαι for ἐκπαρεύομαι.⁽⁵²⁾ ἦχος⁽⁵³⁾ being a much stronger word than 'report',⁽⁵⁴⁾ used also of the roar of the sea (Lk.22:29) and the rush of

a mighty wind (Acts 2:2)-may have better characterized the excited report about Jesus that went abroad.

(f) We can now summarize what we have said about Luke's treatment of this exorcism story. In the wider context he has used it as part of his section on the opening stages of the ministry of Jesus where teaching (about the Kingdom of God) and healing, (particularly exorcism) are entwined. In particular Luke stresses the demon's obedience and Jesus' authority - about which a report went out.

3.2.3 We can turn now to the pericope in Mark⁽⁵⁵⁾ and address ourselves to the questions - (a) how does Mark use the story? - and, (b) what might have been the nature and extent of the story in Mark's tradition?

(a) As Luke did after him, Mark has used this, an exorcism story, as Jesus' very first miracle. The Holy Spirit motif, though highlighted in the introduction (1:8, 12) is just slightly removed from the miracle story. However the story is set in the shadow of the theme of preaching of the Kingdom of God and in the pericope itself the crowd's amazement (1:27) ties this story to Jesus' teaching. This pericope embraces many Markan themes. There are the themes of Galilee (1:21, 28; cf. 1:9, 14, 16, 39; 3:7; 6:21; 7:31; 9:30; 14:28; 15:41; 16:7);⁽⁵⁶⁾ Jesus the teacher (1:21f., 27; cf. 6:2; 11:17; 12:35; 14:49);⁽⁵⁷⁾

and Jesus the teacher of the disciples (1:21, 29^{cf. (29) 4:34; 8:31ff.});⁽⁵⁸⁾
 encounter with the demonic and Satan⁽⁵⁹⁾ (1:23f.; cf.
 1:32-34, 39; 3:11f.; (3:20-30); 5:1ff.; 6:7-13; 7:25; 9:20);⁽⁶⁰⁾
 Christology - Jesus is "of God" (1:24; cf. 1:1, 3; 3:11;
 5:7; (8:30, 38; 9:7; 12:6; 13:32; 14:36); 14:61; 15:39);⁽⁶¹⁾
 the authority of Jesus (1:25ff.)⁽⁶²⁾ Jesus possesses charis-
 matic power (1:22, 27; cf. 2:10; 3:15; 6:7; 11:28-33),⁽⁶³⁾
 and his ministry produces a universal echo.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Thus we can
 probably say that this miracle is indeed programmatic for
Mark.⁽⁶⁵⁾

The introduction to this story has been a matter of
 some discussion.⁽⁶⁶⁾ That 1:21f. is a separate unit seems
 clear from the fresh introduction to 1:23⁽⁶⁷⁾ and vv. 16-20
 and 21 could not have originally belonged together because
 fishing and the repairing of nets were strictly forbidden
 on the Sabbath.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Thus regardless of the extent of Mark's
 hand within vv. 21 and 22⁽⁶⁹⁾ they probably have not always
 belonged to this exorcism story. That it is Mark who has
 placed vv. 21f. in their present position is generally
 agreed and in particular shown by the καὶ εὐθὺς beginning
 v. 23. This method of joining stories and pericopes is not
 uncommon in Mark (1:12, 23, 29; 6:45; 7:25(?); 14:43;
 15:1), and it is not used to join pericopes in the two large
 passages (2:1-3:6 and 4:35-5:43) generally recognized to
 be pre-Markan complexes.⁽⁷⁰⁾

What is Mark's purpose in giving this introduction to the exorcism story? Why mention that Jesus taught "with authority, and not as the scribes"?⁽⁷¹⁾

The conclusion of the exorcism story, itself contains references to Jesus' authoritative teaching, and the introduction reinforces this authority. The synagogue was the institution associated with teaching,⁽⁷²⁾ particularly on the Sabbath,⁽⁷³⁾ and it was the scribes who were venerated as bearers of sacred knowledge.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Yet Jesus had an authority unlike these scribes. But in what way could Jesus have authority unlike the scribes to which Mark twice draws attention (1:22 and 27)? D. Daube suggested that it meant a Rabbi's licence to give authoritative doctrine.⁽⁷⁵⁾ But as A.W. Argyle pointed out,

"though ἐξουσία occurs over fifty times in the Septuagint, in not a single instance does it translate תּוֹרָה, which is the Hebrew word that Daube conjectures as corresponding to ἐξουσία in Mk.1:22, 27".⁽⁷⁶⁾

It cannot be that Jesus' authority is different from the scribes in that it is not borrowed or derived, but is his own, based on his knowledge of, and relationship with God. For as A.M. Ambrozic points out,⁽⁷⁷⁾ in particular this view does not take into account Mk.7:1-13; 10:1-12, 17-22; 12:28-34, 35-37 where Jesus does rely on authority other than his own. And if we look at how Mark characterizes the scribes - especially in that they accuse Jesus of

blaspheming (2:6), of exorcising by Beelzebul (3:22), and plotting to destroy Jesus (11:18; 14:1) - and how Jesus accuses the scribes of blaspheming against the Holy Spirit (3:29f.) and nullifying the command of God (7:8, 9, 13), we see that in placing Jesus' teaching over against the scribes Jesus appears as one acting under the authority of God.⁽⁷⁸⁾ We can conclude here that Mark gave this exorcism story the introduction, that he did it to bring into focus what he saw as an integral relationship between Jesus' message and miracles.

(b) In deciding how Mark has used the body of this miracle story we can do two things. We can, on the one hand, isolate Markan redaction, and on the other hand we can discuss the possible historicity of various elements in the story. For the moment we shall attend to the former task and direct our attention to the end of the pericope (vv.27f.) where we might expect some redaction for it is the beginnings and ends that are generally considered to be areas where redactors have been most active.⁽⁷⁹⁾

The first thing that is said about the crowd's response is that they were 'afraid'. Only Mark uses *θαμβιομαι* ((1:27); 10:24, 32) but in none of these cases does it seem that Mark is responsible for the idea.⁽⁸⁰⁾ But has Mark added the concept here? Jesus' teaching⁽⁸¹⁾ and even mere presence may have had a great impact on his hearers and those

around him so that they are said to be afraid, or amazed.⁽⁸²⁾ At a number of places the crowd is said to be amazed (or afraid) as the result of a miracle of Jesus.⁽⁸³⁾ This is generally thought to be a stereo-typed closing motif in the miracle stories,⁽⁸⁴⁾ probably taken over from Greek story telling. However the Jesus tradition shows no consistency in the occurrence of this motif, Matthew (15:31; cf. Mk.7:37) and Luke (9:43a; cf. Mk.9:23/Mtt.17:18) only once each add the motif to their traditions. Mark never adds it to the Sammelberichte,⁽⁸⁵⁾ it is present in the exorcism stories at 1:27, and 5:(14), 15 and (17?) but absent at 7:30 and 9:28 perhaps where we (and Luke (9:43a)) would most expect it. So, Mark does not seem particularly interested in adding this motif to the miracle stories in general or to the exorcism stories in particular.⁽⁸⁶⁾ So to conclude this point it seems quite probable that the mention of the crowd's fear was part of Mark's tradition at 1:27.

That Mark has contributed to his tradition in vv.27f.⁽⁸⁷⁾ so that he can convey a particular point seems clear from the vocabulary - τὸ συζητεῖν,⁽⁸⁸⁾ διδαχή, ⁽⁸⁹⁾ Γαλιλαία, ⁽⁹⁰⁾ and the grammar - ὥστε with an infinitive.⁽⁹¹⁾ The most important thing that Mark wants to say is that exorcism was important in understanding Jesus' ministry and that it is in turn important in his retelling of the Jesus story.⁽⁹²⁾ That is, for Mark, this miracle - an exorcism, not only

illustrates the preaching-teaching of Jesus, but itself also functions as proclamation.⁽⁹³⁾ Consequently we must credit Mark, at least at this point, with associating Jesus-the-Exorcist with Jesus-the-Teacher, possibly after the pattern of the great Rabbis, a connection perhaps suggested by the mention of the synagogue in Mark's tradition. Mark also is making clear his Christology - that is despite the absence of the title his readers are being confronted by the Son of God.⁽⁹⁴⁾

3.2.4 We must now examine the core of the story (vv. 23-27a) to see how it is to be related to the historical-Jesus. (a) The first element of the story is the presence of the demoniac in the synagogue. Some have doubted the authenticity of this, expressing surprise that a man with an 'unclean' spirit should find his way into a synagogue.⁽⁹⁵⁾ However spasmodic characteristics of demon-possession could well mean that at times the man showed no adverse symptoms of his condition.⁽⁹⁶⁾ (b) That the man is said to have an unclean spirit is an indication of the Semitic origin of this story.⁽⁹⁷⁾

(c) The man is said ἀνακράσειν . Ἀνακράσειν is not a synonym for καλεῖν - 'to call out' - for apart from its use here, and in Lk.8:28, the NT uses it of an aroused crowd (Lk.23:18) and of terrified men who think they have seen a ghost (Mk.6:49).⁽⁹⁸⁾ It is then clearly a cry of

extreme consternation. Does this reported consternation go back to the accounts of those who witnessed the historical Jesus-the-Exorcist?

The word has a religious significance in the Greek world,⁽⁹⁹⁾ but only in relation to the demonic, and the Greeks and Romans generally felt it barbaric and unworthy of the gods,⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ and so we can infer nothing in the use of the word itself in Mark save that, as far as Mark is concerned, we are dealing with the demonic. In the LXX ἀνακράζω is used especially in the context of crying or calling on God in some individual or national emergency.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ In contrast, the NT does not use ἀνακράζω in this sense - save, it might be argued, in 1:23/Lk.4:33 - and so we can detect no religious motif in its use here. We are left with the question - is it likely that when a demoniac met Jesus the demoniac became extremely disturbed and cried out? We have seen in the first part of this study that in the presence of other exorcists of the era demoniacs were said to be disturbed and cried out.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Thus it is possible that as an exorcist Jesus would have been seen to have had a similar affect on those sufferers who were confronted by him. At the same time there are a number of reasons for thinking that the early Church probably did not need to introduce this element into the stories of Jesus.

(i) Matthew prunes the Markan accounts,⁽¹⁰³⁾ yet he does not obliterate the consternation of the demoniacs - though in

17:17f. he removes Mk.9:20, the most grotesque instance. Thus in Mk.5:7 the demoniac κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλη, but in Matthew (8:29) this is toned down to ἔκραξαν⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ so that the consternation is only barely evident. (ii) Mark shows no consistent use of this element in his stories. Thus in 1:23 he has καὶ ἀνέκραξεν as the expression of this consternation; in 3:11 Mark has προσέπιπτον (cf.5:33) ...καὶ ἔκραγον; in 5:6 προσεκύνησεν and in 9:20 συνεσπάρμαξεν...πεσών.

This variety of expression shows, for example, no desire on the part of Mark to portray the demons or demoniacs worshipping Jesus. So also Luke, (4:33, 41; 8:28; 9:42) pays no particular attention to this element. (iii) We could add a third indicator of the early Church's lack of interest in this part of the form of an exorcism story - viz. that the lack of consistency in dealing with the consternation of the demoniacs indicates not only did they not seek to coopt it into their theological enterprise, but that they did not even seek to draw attention to this factor.

Therefore we can conclude here, that - in so far as the first three Evangelists represent the interests of the early Church - it is quite unlikely that the early Church introduced the consternation of the demoniacs into the form of the stories of Jesus and that on the other hand, like his contemporaries, Jesus-the-Exorcist evoked a disturbance in the demoniacs that confronted him.

(d) In 1:24 (Lk.4:34) the distress of the demoniac is vocalized - "What have you to do with us?" which corresponds to $\eta\lambda\iota\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ - $\eta\delta\epsilon$.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ The actual speaking of a demon was well known as we have seen (p.83 above). However any decision regarding the historicity of the demon's words in Mk.1:24 (and 5:7ff.) depends to a large extent on the interpretation given to them. Wrede assumed that the demons were declaring Jesus' messiahship and so brought the demoniacs' utterances into his scheme of the 'messianic secret' deleting them from the real history of Jesus.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ We shall see, especially in relation to 3:11, that Mark did understand and use the demons' words as messianic confessions. Nevertheless, in a moment, we shall also see that in 1:26 and 5:7f. the demons' words were probably not framed as 'messianic confessions', and were part of Mark's tradition. Fridrichsen maintains that in these exclamations of the demons "we have to see a confession attributed (my emphasis) to the demon and intended to defend Jesus from the accusation of being in alliance with Beelzebul."⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ But Fridrichsen's theory can easily be dismantled. Firstly he says that in Mk.1:24 the name ^{of the exorcist} is an additional component.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Here Fridrichsen has confused form and content. History of religions parallels make it obvious that the name was part of the form of the prescriptions used in preternatural control (see p. 3/ above).⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Secondly the name of 'Jesus' does not in any way seem to be an intrusion into the content, for not only does it

also appear in 5:7 but, as we will see, it is not a name of particular messianic or christological significance that would be expected to be deliberately added to the tradition.

Thirdly, Fridrichsen says that the demon's discourse (1:24) is only long and prolix because it serves an apologetic end.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Burkill provides a sufficient reply to this.

"The address includes but three concise clauses, and if these are read as though they were meant to have apotropaic significance, the two affirmations which follow on the opening question are seen to increase the effectiveness of the utterance of a defensive weapon. Neither assertion is superfluous".⁽¹¹¹⁾

Fourthly it is unlikely that 1:24 was framed to counter the Beelzebul Charge for nowhere is a connection made between the demonic confessions and the Beelzebul Charge.⁽¹¹²⁾

How then should we interpret the words of the demons?

We shall examine the words of the demons, following and supplementing O. Bauernfeind's thesis⁽¹¹³⁾ that they are the demon's defensive or protective words.

(i) The words "What have you to do with us (Jesus of Nazareth)?" have parallels, both in and outside the Bible, and generally have the meaning "Do not interfere with us"⁽¹¹⁴⁾ with the intended purpose of stopping the person interfering (note Jn.2:4).⁽¹¹⁵⁾ The hints here that this phrase can take the stronger meaning of 'to ward off' are confirmed

by Philo's use of a parallel construction of 1 Kings 17:18 - *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Θεοῦ* . Here in Kings the mother of a sick boy is warding off Elijah whose presence as a man of God might occasion further suffering.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ In Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit 138 Philo clearly uses this passage in a way that shows that it was used to ward off evil in the NT era. Philo says -

"Every mind that is on the way to be widowed and empty of evil says to the prophet, 'O man of God, thou hast come in to remind me of my iniquity and my sin'".⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Philo has not reversed the notion of 'warding off' to one of 'welcome' of the man of God as Bauernfeind thinks,⁽¹¹⁸⁾ for, as Burkill points out,⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Philo is talking about how a God inspired man, on the remembrance of past iniquities and sins, attempts to keep them in check and ^{to keep himself} from returning to his old ways.⁽¹²⁰⁾

What can we say about the historicity of this part of the words of the demon - "What have you to do with us..."? On the one hand its introduction ("and he cried out saying") would conform to no theological motif in the early Church and the phrase is certainly appropriate here as warding off Jesus the enemy/exorcist. And, importantly it could have a Semitic origin (see p.122 above). But on the other hand we have to face the possibility that it has been included to conform to literary conventions. However not only is the phrase not used consistently in Mark (cf.5:7) but it

does not conform to 1 Kings 17:18 the passage which best explains the meaning and purpose of Mk.1:24. Thus although its historicity seems quite likely, in the end I think that the final decision will have to be made in the context of the whole of v.24.

(ii) We have seen previously, and in the paragraph above, that from the history of religion parallels the name can be part of this opening defensive formula. But we need to ask - is Mark or the early Church likely to have added this title, either to conform to the literary pattern of such formulae or for dogmatic purposes?, or - is it a title likely to be original to the earliest Jesus story?

From what we have just said on the nature of the characters involved in this story 'Jesus' might be expected so we will direct our attention to 'Nazareth' in order to determine the meaning and origin of this component of the demon's words. It is not a term that was of special significance in the early Church as a designation of Jesus. (1) Paul uses neither term, nor does any later Christian Greek writer.⁽¹²¹⁾ (2) And for Matthew (cf. 2:23⁽¹²²⁾ and 21:11), Luke (Acts 10:38) and John (1:45) the terms refer to Jesus' coming from Nazareth in Galilee.⁽¹²³⁾ (3) When they were used, *Ναζαρηθός* and *Ναζαρωεύτης* were terms restricted to the Palestinian Church.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Mark coming from a community that did not use

the title would have no special interest in promoting the term as a title of Jesus.

So up to this point we can conclude that there are no obvious dogmatic reasons why Mark or the early Church would have wanted to introduce the name into the tradition.

If we view Mk.1:24 in the light of PGM VIII:13 ("I know you Hermes, who you are and whence you come and which is your city"), we see that the origin of the one being named was of interest (see p.30 above). If Mark or the early Church had introduced a name and origin in order to conform to a literary convention it is surprising, in this 'supernatural' context that they should have chosen 'Jesus of Nazareth' rather than the more appropriate 'Son of God' as Mark seems to have done in 3:11. Thus, as it is not out of place for the demon to address Jesus as 'from Nazareth', and as there appear to be no dogmatic reasons why the early Church would want to introduce this particular appellation, we conclude that, so far as we can see, this term/title probably does come from the earliest pre-Easter telling of the story. (125)

(iii) ἡλθες ἐπολέμα ἡμῶν. This phrase clearly serves well the early Church's dogmatic purposes. The destruction of evil in the messianic age was expected (eg. Ass. Mos.10:1, 3), the early Church took it up as a

theme (Lk.10:18 and Rev.20:10; cf.pp.351f below) and Jesus is portrayed in the Gospels as one who destroys the evil powers (eg. Mtt.12:28ff./Lk.11:20ff. see p.221 below). Yet neither in Mark, nor in the rest of the NT is ἀπόλλυμι used in relation to the ministry of Jesus.⁽¹²⁶⁾ (Also ἀπιόλλυμι is by no means a word of particular interest to Mark).

Nor did any section of the early Church - as represented in the Gospels - think that Jesus' exorcisms were the destruction of evil (see chap. VI below). And once again when we examine the history of religions parallels to addresses to spiritual entities we find, as we did when discussing Acts 19, that the mention of the spiritual entity can involve a description of him - including his activities. In Acts 19:13 the qualification appended to Jesus' name was argued to be designatory or identificatory rather than descriptive (see p.59 above). Here, as we will see, the reverse is the case. In Mk.1:24 Jesus is not yet being identified, that comes after "I know...", but described. A good parallel example of this is PGM IV:3045f. where God (who is being invoked) is described as the light bringer, invisible,... and causes rain to come upon the earth.⁽¹²⁷⁾ So once again it is reasonable to conclude that this description of Jesus' activity by the demon is part of the original story.

(iv) So far, apart from the initial words of general defence, the demon has, in a continuing effort to overpower Jesus, made known Jesus' origin (Nazareth), and his

activity (the demon's destruction). Now the climax of the defence comes with the "I know" formula - knowledge of Jesus' identity. We have already mentioned some of the appropriate parallels to this part of the verse (see p.30 above). Note particularly PGM VIII:6f. - "(I know) your name which was received in heaven, I know you and your forms,..."⁽¹²⁸⁾

These statements occur in incantations designed to gain control over spiritual beings. And so from what we have said so far this formula is not out of place in its setting in Mk.1:24. Finally we need not doubt its historical veracity for the phrase is in a Hebrew idiom. That is we have here the prolepsis of the subject of a subordinate clause as in Gen.1:4 "God saw the light, that it was good".⁽¹²⁹⁾

However, what should we make of the originality of "the holy one of God"? We can begin by noting that in relation to Jesus "the holy one" is used, albeit rarely, (in Jn.6:69; Acts 4:27, 30; 1 Jn.2:30; (3:3); Rev.3:7) but it is only here in Mk. 1:24 that there is the possibility of interpreting it as a messianic title. But the term has no recognizable tradition at all as a messianic title.⁽¹³⁰⁾

The basic intention of the word is to signify that which is marked off from the secular, that is it denotes the sphere of the divine.⁽¹³¹⁾ Thus the term is used of beings that belong to this sphere.⁽¹³²⁾ And importantly it is used of individuals.⁽¹³³⁾ In Jer.1:5 the prophet is 'sanctified' - that is, he belongs to God. In Sir.45:6 Aaron (and Moses?)

are called 'holy'. And in Ps.105:16(LXX) Aaron is referred to as "the holy one of the Lord". These parallels make a Semitic background to Mk.1:24 quite probable,⁽¹³⁴⁾ and its status as a genuine reflection of the words of the demon is high. If this is right then what the demon was doing was simply identifying Jesus as belonging to God or perhaps being in the service of God as an exorcist.

We have completed the investigation into the origin of the elements of Mk.1:24. It will be apparent that few of the history of religions parallels cited are actually words of demons. In particular I can find no precise extra-biblical parallels to the 'I know' formula. All the precise parallels are - like PGM VIII:13 - words addressed to a power-authority in order to gain its aid. Bultmann⁽¹³⁵⁾ called attention to this as it related to Bauernfeind's work. Bultmann said that in Bauernfeind's evidence the demon appeared in the role of the threatened man, who utters the 'protective' words while Jesus takes on the role of the demon. But in fact this is not quite the case. Rather, in Mk.1:24 the demon appears to be using technical devices which in the parallels were used to call up the aid of the power-authority. Thus the situation is the same in that in both cases control over a powerful being is sought, in one case for aid, in another to disarm.

(e) Mk.1:25 has to do with the technique Jesus used

to exorcise the demon. In the first part of the verse Jesus is said to ἐπιτιμᾶν the demon. It has been pointed out, (136) that 7Y א the Semitic ^{equivalent} of ἐπιτιμᾶν occurs in the Qumran material (137) where, as Kee shows, it is a technical term and designates the commanding word spoken by God or his representative upon which evil powers are subjugated (138) (see p.45 above). That in Mk.1:25 ἐπιτιμᾶν takes on the dimension of subjugating a demon is suggested not only by the Markan context of this story, (139) but also by the immediate context of the word. And the demon has, according to our investigations, been making an attempt to disarm Jesus. But also from what we have seen ἐπιτιμᾶν may highlight the dogmatic potential of the story. So we should ask, at what stage this interpretation of Jesus' activity entered the gospel material? Although at first sight the word does not appear to be particularly Markan, (140) of its 9 occurrences (141) 6 of them (142) are in what are generally accepted to be areas where Mark has been particularly active. (143) Thus although he may not have been particularly active here, it seems as if it was Mark who drew out the theological motif in this confrontation between Jesus and the demon.

(f) Mk.1:25b ^{contains} the words of Jesus to the demon -

Φιμώθητι καὶ ἔξελε εἰς αὐτοῦ . And again the question is - is it probable that these words reliably reflect Jesus' words, or did they originate in the early Church?

(i) In relation to $\phi\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\tau\iota$ we need to take into account the notion that this injunction to silence may have been part of a Messiasgeheimnis constructed by the early Church.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ From 1:34 it seems that Mark, at least, might have understood Jesus' prohibition as a general injunction to silence.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ However if the early Church wished to include the more general conception of ceasing to talk about Jesus in this command it is perhaps surprising that it did not use $\sigma\iota\omega\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ as in 10:47f. rather than $\phi\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\tau\iota$ which is so strongly related to 'incantational restriction' rather than 'talking'.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ That is, the use of $\phi\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\tau\iota$ puts someone in a position where they are unable to operate,⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ whereas the other other injunctions in Mark⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ are requests and commands to silence. Further, if by $\phi\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\tau\iota$ the publishers understood the meaning 'be silent',⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ then the $\phi\omega\nu\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ \phi\omega\nu\eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ is a glaring oversight by the redactor(s).⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ In other words $\phi\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\tau\iota$ in 1:25 does not fit the pattern of interdictions in the rest of Mark, nor of a conscious reworking at this point,⁽¹⁵¹⁾ and was probably understood in terms of being bound or restricted.

On the other hand $\phi\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\tau\iota$ is well known in the magical papyri. For example P.Oslo.1:161f. - "Remedy to prevent the wrath of a person:...muzzle ($\phi\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$) the mouths which speak against me...!"⁽¹⁵²⁾ And in the defixiones found at Cyprus $\phi\iota\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu$ and $\phi\iota\mu\omega\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ are equivalent to $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$ (to bind) or $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (magical

knot) used in incantations.⁽¹⁵³⁾ And the original meaning of $\phi\mu\acute{o}\upsilon\nu$ was to 'bind',⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ sometimes in relation to the tongue.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Thus in the context of an exorcist's command $\phi\mu\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\tau\iota$ is quite appropriate in Mk.1:25, and $\phi\mu\acute{o}\omega$ corresponds to the Aramaic ܩܘܢܐ , so it is most likely part of the primary tradition.

(ii) Ἐξελεθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ. In discussing the Lukan form of this phrase (4:35) with $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ in place of $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ we noted that Deissmann pointed out its parallel with PGM IV:3013ff.. With this can be compared PGM IV:1243ff. - ἔξελεθε...καὶ ἀπόστηθι ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίνα. Very similar expressions are found in Philostratus' Life IV:20 where Apollonius orders the demon to quit ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$) the young lad,⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ and in Lucian's Philos.^P 11 where a spell drives out ($\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$) poison, and in 16 where a Syrian drives out ($\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$) a demon.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ And in the Babylonian Talmud (Meil. 17b.) two Rabbis order a demon to leave ($\text{אף} = \acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon$)⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ a girl. In view of all this, and there being no obvious reasons why this command should have been added to the tradition, it is reasonable to assume that this command of Jesus belongs to the bedrock of historical tradition.

(g) Mk.1:26ff. relates the response to Jesus' command, first by the demon, and then in turn, by the crowd. (i) The demon is said to tear or convulse the man ($\sigma\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$). We should then ask - Did Jesus' technique result in a violent

exit of the demon? (Mk.1:26; and see Lk.4:35; Mk.9:26; (cf. Mk.4:13)).⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ There are a number of parallels to this violence in other literature.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

Mark, or his tradition, seems to be fairly consistent in portraying this element in his stories; if 5:13 is included then the element is in all his stories. That Mark did not add this violence to the stories of Jesus is clear from the fact that he shows no particular consistency of interest in its function. Thus in 9:26f. the violence could be a means towards portraying Jesus' compassion but this could hardly be said of 5:13, and in 1:27 the violence may have been a vehicle for dramatising and heightening Jesus' authority.

However it is unlikely that any sector of the early Church appended this factor to the Jesus stories. Matthew and Luke's attitude to this violence makes this obvious. Matthew omits the whole of the first story (Mk.1:23-28), and in 8:32 he changes Mark's strong ἐπνίγοντο (they were suffocated/strangled) to a less violent ἀπέθανον (they died) and he also omits the violent convulsions of Mk.9:26 (Mtt. 17:18). Luke's treatment is also telling of the early Church's embarrassment over this aspect of Jesus' exorcisms. Most noticeable is his addition of "having done him no harm" (4:35) to Mark's reference to 'convulsions' and 'loud crying'.

In so far as the first three Evangelists represent the attitude of the early Church on this point it seems unlikely that the early Church introduced this violence into the Jesus tradition and we can take it that in all probability it goes back to the earliest report of the event.

(ii) The crowd's response is said to be amazement (Mk.1:27). We have already discussed this (pp.117f.above) and shown that it was most likely part of Mark's tradition and, notably that the Jesus tradition shows no consistency in the occurrence of this motif. Thus, although we cannot be sure, it may go back to the original reports of the event.

Finally we can ask, by way of summary, here, how much of the story can be confidently said to belong to the very first reports of this event? From our discussions the following elements should probably be included -

- (1) A demoniac confronts Jesus in the synagogue at Capernaum,
- (2) the dialogue between Jesus and the demoniac and possibly
- (3) the crowd's amazement.
- (4) although (particularly in vv.27bf.) Mark has heightened the connection between Jesus' teaching and healing a connection probably already made, at least in Mark's tradition, by the very venue of the healing.

3.3 The Gadarene Demoniac (161)

(Mk. 5:1-20/Mtt. 8:28-34/Lk. 8:26-39)

Math. 8, 28-34

²⁸ Και ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πέραν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γαδαρινῶν

ὁπήνησαν αὐτῷ δύο δαμονιζόμενοι ἐκ τῶν μνημαίων ἐξερχόμενοι.

χαλεκοὶ λίαν,

ὅστε μὴ ἰσχύειν τινὰ παρελθεῖν διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης.

²⁹ και ἰδοὺ

ἔκραζαν λέγοντες· τί ἡμῖν και σοί, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ; ἦλθες ἕδε πρό καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς;

³⁰ ἦν δὲ μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀγέλη χοίρων πολλῶν βοσκομένη. ³¹ οἱ δὲ δαίμονες παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν λέγοντες· εἰ ἐκβάλλεις ἡμᾶς, ἀποστείλον ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀγέλην τῶν χοίρων. ³² και εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὕπαγετε. οἱ δὲ ἐξεληθόντες ἀπῆλθον εἰς τοὺς χοίρους· και ἰδοὺ ἔωρμησεν πασσα ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημοῦ εἰς τὴν

Mark. 5, 1-20

¹ Και ἦλθον εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γερασηνῶν.

² και ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθὺς ὁπήνησεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν μνημαίων ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτου,

³ ὃς τὴν κατοίκησιν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς μνημασιν, και οὐδὲ ἀλύσει οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο αὐτὸν δεῖσαι· ⁴ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν κυλάειν πέδας και ἀλύσειν δεδέσθαι και δεσπάζεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀλύσεις και τὰς πέδας συντετριφῆσαι, και οὐδεὶς ἰσχυεν αὐτὸν δαμάσαι· ⁵ και διὰ παντὸς νυκτὸς και ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς μνημασιν και ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἦν κράζων και κατακόπτων ἑαυτὸν λίθοις. ⁶ και ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἴδραμεν και προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ· και κράζας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγει· τί ἐμοὶ και σοί, Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὀψίστου; ὀρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν, μὴ με βασανίσῃς. ⁷ ἔλεγεν γὰρ αὐτῷ· ἔξελθε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

cf. v. 4, 5

⁸ και ἐπηρώτα αὐτόν· τί ὀνομά σοι; και λέγει αὐτῷ· λεγιῶν ὀνομά μοι, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἐσμεν. ⁹ και παρεκάλει αὐτόν πολλά ἵνα μὴ αὐτὰ ἀποστείλῃ ἔξω τῆς χώρας. ¹⁰ ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἀγέλη χοίρων μεγάλῃ βοσκομένη. ¹¹ και παρεκάλεσαν αὐτόν λέγοντες· πέμψον ἡμᾶς εἰς τοὺς χοίρους, ἵνα εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσελθῶμεν. ¹² και ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς· και ἐξελθόντα τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα εἰσῆλθον εἰς τοὺς χοίρους, και ἔωρμησεν ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημοῦ εἰς τὴν

Luk. 8, 26-39

²⁶ Και κατέκλευσαν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γερασηνῶν, ἧτις ἐστὶν ἀντιπέρα τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

²⁷ ἐξελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὁπήνησεν ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔχων δαίμονια και χρόνῳ ἰκανῷ οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἡμάτιον και ἐν οἰκίᾳ οὐκ ἔμενεν ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μνημασιν.

cf. v. 29 b

²⁸ ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνακράζας προσέειπεν αὐτῷ και φωνῇ μεγάλῃ εἶπεν· τί ἐμοὶ και σοί, Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὀψίστου; δέομαί σου, μὴ με βασανίσῃς. ²⁹ παρήγγαλεν γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. πολλοῖς γὰρ χρόνοις συνηπάκει αὐτόν και ἔδεσμεύετο ἀλύσειν και πέδας φυλασσόμενος και διαρρήσων τὰ δεσμά ἠλαύνετο ὑπὸ τοῦ δαμονίου εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους. ³⁰ ἐπηρώτησεν δὲ αὐτόν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· τί σοὶ ὄνομά ἐστιν; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· λεγιῶν, ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν δαμόνια πολλά εἰς αὐτόν. ³¹ και παρεκάλουν αὐτόν ἵνα μὴ ἐπιτάξῃ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἀπελθεῖν. ³² ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ ἀγέλη χοίρων ἰκανῶν βοσκομένη ἐν τῷ ὄρει· και παρεκάλεσαν αὐτόν ἵνα ἐπιτρέψῃ αὐτοῖς εἰς ἐκείνους εἰσελθεῖν· και ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς. ³³ ἐξελθόντα δὲ τὰ δαμόνια ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσῆλθον εἰς τοὺς χοίρους, και ἔωρμησεν ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημοῦ εἰς τὴν

[Matt. 8, 28-34]	[Mark. 5, 1-20]	[Luk. 8, 26-39]
θάλασσαν και ἀπέθανον ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι. ²⁹ οἱ δὲ βόσκοντες ἔφυγον, και ἀπελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήγγειλαν πάντα και τὰ τῶν δαιμονιζομένων. ³⁴ και ἰδοὺ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ὑπάντησιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, και ἰδόντες	θάλασσαν, ὡς βισχιλιοι, και ἐπνίγοντο ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ. ¹⁴ και οἱ βόσκοντες αὐτοὺς ἔφυγον και ἀπήγγειλαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν και εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς· και ἦλθον ἰδεῖν τί ἐστιν τὸ γεγονός ¹⁵ και ἔρχονται πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, και θεωροῦσιν τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον καθήμενον ἱματισμένον και σωφρονοῦντα, τὸν ἐσχηκότα τὸν λεγιῶνα, και ἐφοβήθησαν. ¹⁶ και διηγήσαντο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἰδόντες πῶς ἐγένετο τῷ δαιμονιζομένῳ και περὶ τῶν χοίρων. ¹⁷ και ἤρξαντο παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων αὐτῶν. ¹⁸ και ἐμβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον παρεκάλει αὐτὸν ὁ δαιμονισθεὶς ἵνα μετ' αὐτοῦ ᾗ. ¹⁹ και οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ λέγει αὐτῷ· ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς και ἀπάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ κύριός σοι πεποίηκεν και ἠλέησέν σε. ²⁰ και ἀπῆλθεν και ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν ἐν τῇ Δεκαπόλει ὅσα ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, και πάντες ἰθαύμαζον.	λίμνην και ἀπεκνήγη. ²⁴ ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βόσκοντες τὸ γεγονός ἔφυγον και ἀπήγγειλαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν και εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς. ²⁵ ἐξῆλθον δὲ ἰδεῖν τὸ γεγονός και ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, και εἶρον καθήμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀφ' οὗ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐξῆλθεν ἱματισμένον και σωφρονοῦντα <u>παρα τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ</u> , και ἐφοβήθησαν. ²⁶ ἀπήγγειλαν δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἰδόντες πῶς ἐσώθη ὁ δαιμονισθεὶς. ²⁷ και ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν ἄπαν τὸ πλήθος τῆς περιχώρου τῶν Γερασηνῶν ἀπελθεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι φόβος μεγάλῳ συνείχοντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐμβὰς εἰς πλοῖον ὑπέστρεψεν. ²⁸ εἶδετο δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀφ' οὗ ἐξεληλύθει τὰ δαιμόνια εἶναι σὺν αὐτῷ· ἀπέλυσεν δὲ αὐτὸν λέγων· ²⁹ ὑπόστρεφε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου και διηγοῦ ὅσα σοι ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός· και ἀπῆλθεν καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν κηρύσσων ὅσα ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς.
αὐτὸν παρεκάλεσαν ὅπως μεταβῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων αὐτῶν.		

This story is both the most 'astounding' of the Synoptic exorcism stories and the one with the most textual and redaktionsgeschichtlich problems. These difficulties have provoked a wide spectrum of opinions on the historicity of this story as well as a variety of interpretations of the meaning and intention of the story for the various stages in its transmission. Some see the story as faithfully reflecting a historical event ⁽¹⁶²⁾ while others see it as a popular folk tale appended to the Jesus tradition. ⁽¹⁶³⁾ And some interpret the story psychologically ⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ while

others interpret it in the context of first century demonology.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

And it has been seen as a Christian midrash inspired by

Is.65:1-5.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ This variety of approaches signals to us

not only that we may not yet fully understand the nature of

the Jesus tradition, but also that we should proceed with

caution.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾

3.3.1 Matthew 8:28-34. It does not appear from the structure of this Gospel⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ that Matthew wishes to draw particular attention to this miracle story,⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ - the story simply appears in a section given over primarily to miracles (8:1-9:34).⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ This balances out the preaching in chapters 5-7 so that finally in 9:35 he draws the two motifs together - "And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, and healing every disease and every infirmity".

The particular ends to which Matthew wished to press this story are clear from the way he alters Mark. The most significant Matthean alteration of his tradition is the mention of two demoniacs. A number of Matthean characteristics probably combine here to bring about this alteration. When dealing with 12:22 (/Lk.11:14) we will see (pp204f. below) that Matthew seeks to heighten what he considered to be healings with special messianic significance. Thus to that passage he adds the mention of blindness, and when treating the stories of the healing of the blind in 9:27 and 20:30 (/Mk.10:46/

Lk.18:39) he adds that there were two blind people involved. And here, in what turns out to be a pericope to which Matthew attaches considerable messianic significance, he mentions the involvement of two demoniacs. Apart from this theological motive, Matthew seems not only to have a predilection for being explicit where the text already implies that two are involved,⁽¹⁷¹⁾ but he also seems to have an inclination towards using numbers.⁽¹⁷²⁾

Matthew describes the two who met Jesus as δαιμονιζόμενοι . Luke also says that the man had a δαίμόνιον . But the agreement is probably due more to a movement away from the less precise Semitic idiom ἐν πνεύματι καθάρω⁽¹⁷³⁾ rather than to any literary dependence, as the use of different forms of the word might indicate. Matthew indicates the severe plight of the demoniacs by saying that they were "so fierce that no one could pass that way", but he has avoided the more detailed grotesque description in Mark that involved the breaking of chains, crying out, and self flagellation.

It seems rather surprising that Matthew does not avail himself of the opportunity of taking up προκυβεῖν (cf. Mk. 5:6), for in a number of places he has expanded Mark so as to include the word - (Mtt.8:2/Mk.1:40; Mtt.9:18/Mk.5:22; Mtt.14:33/Mk.6:51; Mtt.15:25/Mk.7:25; Mtt.20:20/Mk.10:35). Yet here (8:29) and in 27:29 (/Mk.15:19) Matthew deletes Mark's use of it. In Mk.15:19 the attitude to Jesus is one

of mockery and where Matthew uses προσκυνεῖν it is of true 'worship',⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ so perhaps Matthew classified 8:29 as an attack on Jesus despite what he believed to be the truth of the words of the demoniacs.

In this same verse (v.28) the cry of the demoniacs is softened by the removal of φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (Mk.5:7). The phrase has a variety of uses,⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ but in view of its particularly noticeable close association with the praise of God (Lk.17:15-16; 19:37-38; Rev.5:11-12; 7:9-10) and the voice of God and the risen Jesus (Rev.1:10; 4:1; 10:8; 11:12; Mtt.3:13-17; 17:1-8)⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ Matthew probably thought it inappropriate here. The address of the demons to Jesus is altered to the plural (ἡμῖν not ἐμοί), and the words are pared down to isolate and highlight -υῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Another obvious omission is Mark's (5:7) ὀρκίζω σε τὸν Θεόν. When discussing the Babylonian material, and particularly Acts 19:13, we said that in the context of an exorcism ὀρκίζω did not take the rather weaker, mundane sense of imploring⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ but rather it meant to put a supernatural restriction on an opponent. Thus when Matthew alters the demon's words to a question, he is not merely 'softening' the words⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ but completely changing them to remove the concept of the demons putting a 'spell' on Jesus.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ Yet in retaining βαρανίζω Matthew preserves the conflict between Jesus and the demoniacs.

Matthew's alteration of Mk.5:7 goes beyond deleting

material from his tradition to inserting a whole new proposition. Matthew's demoniacs say - "Have you come here to torment us before the time?" Three things stand out here.

(a) Matthew enters the concept of ἐρχομαι which was of significance for early Christological thinking.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ Not only did the early Church use it of the coming Christ and his kingdom (eg. Mtt.6:10; 16:28; Lk.3:16; Jn.4:25; 7:27, 31; cf. Mtt.11:3; Lk.7:19f.; Heb.10:37; and Mtt.21:9; 23:39; Jn.6:14; 11:27; 16:28) but there are also sayings in which Jesus speaks in the first person of his coming (eg. Mtt.5:17; 9:13, 39; 10:34f.; Jn.10:10; 12:46; 18:37).⁽¹⁸¹⁾

(b) Matthew, though using ἄστυ, draws attention to the setting of the story - a pagan country. This may suggest Matthew's interest in the Church's mission to the Gentiles. In this, the first visit to the Gentiles, Jesus is both hailed as 'Son of God' and rejected (v.34), perhaps reflecting a dilemma the early Church was facing in its mission here.⁽¹⁸²⁾

(c) As we will see later, part of the expectations of the end time was the destruction of the powers of evil.⁽¹⁸³⁾

With this verse we should compare 25:41. In the final judgment the king says to those at his left, "Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels".⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ So, regardless of whether or not the words of the demons are understood as a question or a statement,⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ Matthew is saying in 8:29 that the

eschatological torture of the demons has already begun.

Yet from the end of the pericope we see that the eschatological torment is not finalized.

Matthew's abbreviation is severe to the point of removing the whole of Mk.5:8-10 - both the dialogue between Jesus and the demon, and Jesus' technique. All that remains (Mtt.8:30-32) is the demons' request to enter the pigs and Jesus' simple and authoritative command - "Go!" - the only time Matthew actually mentions Jesus' words to the demons. (186) The authority and power of Jesus are recognized as a matter of course and for Matthew need no elaboration. (187) From what we will say about ἐκβάλλειν it is not without significance that Matthew has introduced it to describe what Jesus was doing to the demons - overthrowing an enemy of God. (188)

We need to ask here whether Matthew thought the demons or the pigs ἀπέθανον ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι . The case that the demons were drowned (189) must rest on the plural ἀπέθανον . Up to this point in v.32b the pigs are referred to in the singular - 'the herd', but then finally Matthew says they were drowned. Thus abiding strictly by the grammar it is the demons who drown. But on the other hand we must consider - (i) the demons are not mentioned in v.32b - it is the pigs who are the centre of interest; (ii) if the pigs were not thought to be drowned but, say, swam back

to shore⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ then one would expect the story to mention their safety, or the response of the herdsmen to be less traumatic. (iii) One of the habitats of demons was water⁽¹⁹¹⁾ and it would be surprising then to find the demons drowning in it. (iv) Nowhere else in the Gospels is the fate of the demons, after an exorcism, said to be their destruction. (v) Ἀποθνήσκειν is an unexpected way to describe the fate of the demons in view of other extra-biblical views of the end of evil spirits. Demons are transferred from one habitation to another,⁽¹⁹²⁾ bound or fettered,⁽¹⁹³⁾ simply flee or are cast out,⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ but they are never said to just 'die'. And in Mtt.25:41 the imagery for the destruction of the demons is a fire not water. (vi) If Matthew had had the destruction of the demons in mind here he would have been expected to have more carefully linked the eschatological aspect of v.29 with v.32. (vii) And if such a momentous theme as the destruction of the demons was in Matthew's mind then one would have expected him to make it more obvious in v.33. In view of all this it seems to me that in fact Matthew did only have the death of the pigs in mind. And so, importantly, Matthew does not associate this exorcism of Jesus with the final destruction of the demons.

Matthew follows his source in telling us that the herdsmen responded to what had happened by fleeing into⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ the city. In view of Matthew's use of ἀπαγγέλλω elsewhere, primarily in relation to 'proclaiming' (rather than

simply 'reporting') good news about Jesus (11:4; 12:18; 28:8, 10 and perhaps 2:8 and 28:11) we should take it that Matthew intends the herdsmen to be 'proclaiming' - the good news of what Jesus had done.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ The response of the towns-people is heightened when Matthew says that πᾶς went out to meet Jesus. It is interesting to note that ὑπάντησις is only used three times in the NT, here and in 25:1 (of the maidens 'meeting' the bridegroom) and in Jn.12:13 (where the crowd 'meets' Jesus, entering Jerusalem, with the refrain "Hosanna..."). Thus Matthew has the crowd meet not a mere miracle-worker who possesses frightening powers, but the Son of God (cf. v.29). This interpretation is supported by Matthew's construction of the remainder of v.34. In Matthew's tradition (Mk.5:15f.) the towns-people see the demoniac seated, clothed, and in his right mind and are afraid. However, Matthew deletes all mention of the healed demoniac(s) and has the people meet, and behold (ὄραω) Jesus (αὐτόν). And the consequence of meeting Jesus is a request for him to leave their region.

Finally Matthew eliminates Mk.5:18-20 from his story. The missionary motif in this story does not interest him, from what we have seen Matthew's preoccupation in this story is its christology.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾

3.3.2 Luke 8:26-39. This pericope in Luke is bound by 8:1f. and 9:1f. into a coherent block on 'discipleship'.

Having mentioned the call of the Twelve in 6:12-16, 8:1ff. this is their first appearance in Luke. The Twelve (and some other disciples - notably some women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities) accompany Jesus as he preaches and brings the good news of the kingdom of God. Having heard Jesus preach, teach (8:4-18), heal (8:26-55), witnessed his authority⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ (8:25, 30ff.?), and had lessons on discipleship (8:16-21) and mission (8:38ff.; cf. 8:2f), then in 9:1f. the disciples are given power and authority in these same areas - over all demons, to cure diseases and to preach the kingdom of God.

In his use of tradition for this story Luke has followed his source fairly closely. Most of the minor alterations seem to be motivated by a desire to improve the grammar and style of Mark.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ One major structural alteration is Luke's transposition of the description of the demoniac's plight (8:29b) to a point where it highlights Jesus' compassionate response to the demoniac. The confrontation between Jesus and the demoniac is no longer merely mechanical and inevitable but is couched in compassion.

However, there are some Lukan alterations of the story that merit specific attention. Luke accepts, with little alteration, the first part of the demoniac's address to Jesus. But in the second part he prefers *δίδομαι* (v.28) rather than Mark's *ὀρκίζω*. Matthew omitted *ὀρκίζω*

altogether, but Luke also entirely alters the sense of the demon's words by changing them from an attempt to 'bind' Jesus, to *δέομαι* - 'asking' or 'imploring' Jesus. In Mark, Jesus' response to the demon is simply *ἔλεγεν γὰρ αὐτῷ*. Luke in using *παραγγέλλω*, has Jesus command⁽²⁰⁰⁾ the demon to leave the man. Luke adds that the demon had driven the man into *τὰς ἐρήμους* - voicing the common opinion that deserted places were the homes of demons.⁽²⁰¹⁾ It is clear (cf. v.29a) that Luke thought Jesus was confronting and conversing with the demon rather than the man. In the adversative *δέ* Luke (v.30) hints at the possibility of a contradiction between Jesus' request for the demon's name and the reply *λεγιῶν*, for he goes on, altering Mark slightly, to explain that it was because many demons had entered the man. The request of the demons (v.31) is no longer simply 'to remain in the region' (Mk.5:11) but not to be sent into the *ἄβυσσος*.⁽²⁰²⁾ The 'abyss' was the bottomless pit into which it was expected that in the final judgement Satan and his angels would be thrown (1 Enoch 10:4ff., 11ff.; Jub.5:6ff.; 1QH.3:12-17; (cf.5:36-39); Rev.17:8; 20:1-3⁽²⁰³⁾). Again the adversative *δέ* beginning v.32, and the remainder of the story, show that Luke did not connect the final destruction of 'evil' with anything in this story. Thus again, as in Matthew (8:32), it is the herd of pigs (*ἀπεπνίγη* - singular) that drowns in the lake - no mention is made of the fate of the demons, save that they entered the pigs (see p.149 below). Luke maintains the same response

to the episode as Mark, but when the people went out to see what had happened they saw, not only a clothed man in his right mind (as Mk.5:15), but also that he was "at the feet of Jesus" (v.35). In view of 10:39 (where Mary, at Jesus' feet, listens to his teaching), and 17:16 (where the grateful leper returns, and falling at Jesus' feet thanks Jesus for his healing), Luke may intend the healed demoniac to have taken up the position of a grateful disciple.⁽²⁰⁴⁾

Another interesting Lukan addition to this pericope is $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ to describe the healed man. For as Foester says

"In the healings of Jesus $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ never refers to a single member of the body but always to the whole man... The choice of the word leaves room for the view that the healing power of Jesus and the saving power of faith go beyond physical life".⁽²⁰⁵⁾

Luke also makes clear why the people ask ⁽²⁰⁶⁾ Jesus to leave - because they were seized with great fear (v.37). Unlike Matthew (8:34), Luke preserves the 'missionary ending' to the narrative. However he heightens its impact by using $\delta\iota\eta\gamma\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ - 'to relate in detail'⁽²⁰⁷⁾ and to make clear that in the miracle it was God ($\delta\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$) who had been at work.

3.3.3 Mark 5:1-20. We must now face what is generally recognized to be a difficult task, of deciding what

contribution Mark has made to this pericope. It is generally thought that this pericope belongs to a longer pre-Markan unit (4:35-5:43) which, with few modifications, Mark used in his Gospel.⁽²⁰⁸⁾ Following this unit of material there is in 6:1-6 the rejection of Jesus at Nazareth. That Mark juxtaposed 5:43 and 6:1ff. is suggested by the Markan hand evident in 6:1-2a.⁽²⁰⁹⁾ Mark probably intends the theme of this short pericope to reflect back on to, and sum up, the last four miracle stories:⁽²¹⁰⁾ the use of *ἰκτεῖσθαι* closely connects the two units.⁽²¹¹⁾ In 1:21-28, a pericope that closely resembles 6:1-6⁽²¹²⁾ Mark has already showed his interest in the relationship between Jesus' teaching and his miracles. Thus the first contribution Mark has made to the episode of the Gadarene demoniac is to place it under the rubric 'Jesus the teacher and healer' - rejected by his people.⁽²¹³⁾

(a) Some of the more involved problems relating to the exorcism story itself have to do with its difficult structure and form critical problems. That is, where did the pre-Markan, or earlier story end, and, have two stories been combined here - and do both belong to the original tradition of the historical-Jesus?

(i) It has long been proposed that in 5:1-20 two previously separate stories have been brought together.⁽²¹⁴⁾

D.L. Bartlett⁽²¹⁵⁾ has given a thorough treatment of this theory. One story is the original exorcism and call-story with features in common with 1:23-27; 3:17-19; 4:35-41; and 9:14-29. A second story involved the tale of the destruction of the pigs. Such a division of the material seems to rest on a number of presuppositions.

(1) The proof of an exorcism fits better with the milieu of someone like Apollonius or Josephus than with Jesus. The feature of the pigs points to a story of a Jewish exorcist which was later appended to the Jesus story.

(2) The exchange between Jesus and the demon, and particularly the use of the term ἁγίων is more likely to be of Roman or Hellenistic origin than Jewish.

(3) Formal criteria, based on the other Gospel exorcisms, suggests there are two stories, one conforming to the criteria⁽²¹⁶⁾ and a second which does not.

(4) Different subject matter and centre of interest are best explained by such a division of the material.

(5) The start and end of the story are difficult to sort out as 5:1-20 stands, but such a division as proposed above reduces the difficulties.

(6) Finally, it is supposed that the apparent textual difficulties and inconsistencies etc. are to be attributed to the result of the joining of two stories - rather than say, among other things, a particular style of writing.

We should now examine these presuppositions. (1) As we

have not completed our examination of Jesus as an exorcist it is not possible for us to say at this stage whether or not the episode of the pigs fits the general character of the exorcism stories of Jesus. This notwithstanding we can investigate the notion that this mention of the pigs in the story is proof of the success of the exorcism.

As parallels to this phenomenon Josephus Ant.8:48; Philostratus Life IV:20; Lucian Philops.16; and Acts of Peter II:4:11 have been cited.⁽²¹⁷⁾ We have already expressed severe reservations about the use of the Apocryphal Acts in illuminating the NT stories of Jesus as they seem often to be dependent upon the NT. But as the Acts of Peter has been mentioned in connection with 'proofs' we can note that in II:4:11 Peter ordered the demon to show (ostendo⁽²¹⁸⁾) himself to all who stood by. The demon responded by leaving the young man and breaking up a statue. Yet on the other hand when we examine Mk.5 we find some points that contrast with the above parallels. Firstly in Mk.5:13 the demons actually enter into the pigs (εἰσῆλθον εἰς) rather than act upon them as in the parallels just cited. Secondly the exorcist (Jesus) makes no request for proof of his success. Thirdly the demons themselves make the request to leave the man and transfer to the pigs - in preference to being sent out of the region.⁽²¹⁹⁾ I know of no single parallel exorcism story that would cover all of these points.

On the other hand the first aspect of the pigs incident that we have just mentioned - the demons' displacement from the man to the pigs - has other parallels. We saw (p. 14 above) that in the Babylonian material exorcists transferred demons from the sufferer to some object.⁽²²⁰⁾ On these parallels in the Babylonian texts Thompson says -

"the intention of the magician is that the demons which have been transferred to the water in the vessel with which he has been working the spell, will be dissipated when the pot is broken and the water poured forth on the ground".⁽²²¹⁾

In this connection it is also worth quoting from Count D'Alviella's Hibbert lectures of 1892.

"Sometimes it is deemed essential to make the spirit thus expelled pass into the body of a living being, a pebble, a scrap of wood, or some object which can be thrown away,..."⁽²²²⁾

What these comments and history of religion parallels show is that it is more appropriate to view the destruction of the pigs as part of the cure of the demoniac rather than a deliberate 'proof' of the exorcist's success. That is, the demons pass from the man to the pigs (and then possibly from the pigs to their watery home). Indeed, as even Dibelius admits,⁽²²³⁾ "the miracle is proved by the fact that the people find the former invalid now 'sitting properly clothed and in his right mind'". It remains to be shown later whether or not this episode can be regarded as

belonging to the original tradition of the historical-Jesus.

(2) A second presupposition upon which the two story hypothesis is based is that the exchange between Jesus and the demon, and particularly the use of the term *Λεγιών*, is thought more likely to be Roman or Hellenistic in origin than Jewish. The first part of this presupposition can be dispensed with more quickly than the second. That is, firstly, it is sufficient to note that when we were examining the exchange between Jesus and the demoniac in Mk.1:21-28 a sufficient number of appropriate parallels were adduced to make it apparent that such exchanges were not out of place in a Jewish milieu. Secondly, *Λεγιών* is indeed a Latin loan word (Legio) but it is found in Greek writings from the first century BC (cf. Diodorus Siculus XXXVI:5) and there are many examples of its use in Greek papyri (eg. P.Oxy. 1666:5f.⁽²²⁴⁾). Thus there is good evidence for thinking that the word *Λεγιών* was quite at home outside a strictly Roman milieu - even in Palestine.⁽²²⁶⁾ So we conclude that the second presupposition is unsupported. The verbal exchange and the word *Λεγιών* are not foreign to a Palestinian milieu.

(3) Another presupposition is that 5:1-20 does not fit the form of an exorcism⁽²²⁷⁾ and that a division of the material would bring one story into line with the form of other Gospel exorcisms. But the use of Formgeschichte to determine which stories do, and do not, belong to a

particular tradition is a highly questionable methodology. (228)

Few stories, if any, show a pure 'form', to set one story up against the others will always reveal differences, and arbitrarily to assign stories to a Sitz im Leben on 'form' alone is to use "the wrong tool". (229)

(4) It is supposed that a different centre of interest and subject matter is being added by the addition of the incident of the pigs. But is it to be assumed that a story must have only one focal point? And, instead of introducing conflict, could not the pigs incident reflect upon, and heighten interest in the manifestly cured man? In other words, the fate of the pigs resulted in a crowd coming to see what had happened and they see a man clothed, seated, and in his right mind.

(5) Such a division of the story is presumed to reduce difficulties in sorting out the start and end of the pericope. But the difficulties in the beginning of the pericope have been attributed to Mark, by Bartlett, and the difficulties of where the story ends remain in the first story.

(6) Finally it was supposed that the textual difficulties and inconsistencies can be solved by dividing the story. However the division of the story does not help explain the difficulty of the position of v.8, nor does it explain the variation in vocabulary, nor does it help in solving the

problem of the end of the narrative. In fact creating two stories creates at least one major difficulty - that of giving sufficient explanation as to why, in the first story, the crowd makes the radical demand for Jesus to depart from their region. From other exorcism stories of Jesus we might expect either fear or wonder but not a request to leave the area. (230)

The result of this investigation into the two story hypothesis has cast some considerable doubt on its usefulness in explaining either the origin of parts of the story or the difficulties in the story as it stands. We will have to see if there are other explanations which could help explain the problems of the story.

(ii) Another major problem that has been tackled from time to time is the ending of the story. Lightfoot says that the story could satisfactorily end at 5:15 for -

"evidence is given in this verse, first of the reality and completeness of the cure ('clothed and in his right mind'), and, secondly, of the effect upon the witnesses ('they were afraid')". (231)

Nevertheless the obvious point to make is that while v.15 could end the story it does not, and it must be shown, to support Lightfoot, that vv.16-20 are an addition. But the request for Jesus to leave their region follows naturally from their fear of him (v.15). (232) And that vv.16 and 17

are a Markan insertion is unlikely for there is little evidence of Mark's hand.

Finally, are vv.18-20 an addition to the original story? Wrede takes these verses as being supplementary and in the same category as 7:36 where Jesus is proclaimed against his will. For the view that it is a Markan supplement Wrede adduces a number of pieces of evidence, but they are open to other interpretations. Burkill has enumerated them.⁽²³³⁾ Firstly the contrast between v.19 ("go home and tell what the Lord has done") and v.20 ("he proclaimed in Decapolis") is not a formal one as v.20 begins with *καί* and not *δέ* (cf. 1:45a; 7:36b).⁽²³⁴⁾ Secondly *οἶκος* is not always a place of secrecy and retreat (cf.3:30). Thirdly *ὁ κυριός* need not stand over against *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* at any stage in the story's history. Fourthly the man is not thought to be proclaiming Jesus' Messiahship⁽²³⁵⁾ - but simply "what Jesus had done". So Burkill is justified in concluding that Mark did not compose these verses in line with any Messias-geheimnis.⁽²³⁶⁾ Further evidence that the connection between vv.18f. and the rest of the story is pre-Markan is the reference to the boat in v.18 which probably comes from the same pre-Markan redactor who is responsible for the 4:35-5:43 complex⁽²³⁷⁾ which as we have noted is bound up in part by references to 'the boat'.

Though it seems correct to conclude that the connection

between vv.18f. and 1-17 was pre-Markan, it is still possible that Mark has contributed to the ending⁽²³⁸⁾ in such a way to make it conform to his objectives for the pericope. (1)

It is noticeable that the man's request *ἵνα μετ' αὐτοῦ ᾦ* (5:18) is virtually the same as the only other occurrence of the phrase in a similar form (*ἵνα ὡσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ*) in 3:14 as the purpose for which Jesus appointed the Twelve.⁽²³⁹⁾

(2) While there is no contrast between vv.19 and 20 in the way that Wrede intended, there is an obvious difference between them. The usual widest sense of *οἶκος* is 'family' or 'clan'.⁽²⁴⁰⁾ Thus the healed man's 'parish' (Decapolis), while not conflicting with *οἶκος*, is certainly more extensive.

This extension of the man's activities is probably Mark's responsibility for his hand is evident in the use of *ἀπέρχομαι*,⁽²⁴¹⁾ *ἦρξεν* with an infinitive,⁽²⁴²⁾ and particularly *κηρύσσειν*.⁽²⁴³⁾

(3) The combination of *ἵνα μετ' αὐτοῦ* and *κηρύσσειν* here further highlights the links between vv.18-20 and the call of the disciples. Thus while the connection between vv.18ff. and the preceding verses was probably made in his tradition Mark's reworking of vv.18ff., especially v.20, shows Mark's interest in using this pericope to serve his theme of discipleship.

(b) We should now examine the whole of the pericope noting any further significant Markan contributions, the difficulties in the text and how far particular parts, or the story as a whole, relates to the historical-Jesus.

(i) In vv.2 and 6 Jesus twice meets the demoniac. Schweizer gives two possible explanations for this. His first solution is based on the possibility that the tradition has been altered so as to lose ἔδραμεν from v.2. Schweizer's second, attractively simple explanation, is that v.6 can reasonably be accounted for as being a rather unskillful resumption of the story after the digression of vv.3-5.⁽²⁴⁴⁾ And we note that Luke (8:29) has attempted to tidy up this point of the story.

(ii) For the variation in vocabulary in vv.2-5 between *μνημιερον* (v.2) and *μνημα* (vv.3 and 5) I can suggest no clear explanation, though *μνημα* could be a Markan word.⁽²⁴⁵⁾ But in any case nothing can be made of the distinction between the words.⁽²⁴⁶⁾ Even if *μνημα* is a Markan word - in that he introduced it into vv.3-5, there seems to be no evidence to suggest that either Mark has added, composed or significantly contributed to this section.

(iii) V.6 says that the demoniac ran from afar and προσέβησεν Jesus. In view of what we have previously said on this term, even if Mark is not responsible for this interpretation of the demoniac's activity, it is more likely to have arisen in the early Church in the light of v.7 than in the earliest strata of the tradition.⁽²⁴⁷⁾ But on the basis of what we have said about the consternation on the part of the demon⁽²⁴⁸⁾ that probably lies behind this interpretation

it is likely that v.6 represents an aspect of the original story. What of the phrase *φωνὴ μεγάλη*? We can probably draw the same conclusion about this as we did about *ἀνακράζειν*. That is, as it is not used consistently in the exorcism stories, and as it has history of religion parallels,⁽²⁴⁹⁾ the phrase probably is an echo of an historical event.

(iv) (1) Τὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί. This is the first of four phrases that constitute the demon's words to Jesus. In discussing Mk.1:24 it was established that the words of the demon there are to be understood as a defensive mechanism designed to disarm the threatening exorcist. The content, structure and wording of this verse indicates that we should also understand this verse in the same way. That this first phrase is not dependent on 1:24 is suggested by the change in number from *ἡμῖν* to *ἐμοί*.⁽²⁵⁰⁾ The form here in 5:7 could be dependent on the apotropaic formula in 1 Kings 17:18⁽²⁵¹⁾ - as Philo's use of it suggests.⁽²⁵²⁾

(2) We have also previously argued that the name should be taken as part of the demon's address.⁽²⁵³⁾ We do not need to be detained by *Ἰησοῦ* but we should make mention of the important phrase υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ. There is no doubt that this appellation is of particular interest to Mark.⁽²⁵⁴⁾ Yet there is little evidence of Mark's hand in this verse and this is the only time the phrase occurs in the vocative.

Even if Mark has not added the reference to Jesus as the 'Son of God', it is possible that the Church before Mark felt it appropriate to introduce the title here. We will leave the matter until the next chapter.

The last part of the titular address to Jesus is "The Most High (God)". Although I can find no exact parallels to this title in the context of a demon's defence, the title is found in the magical-incantation literature and the appellation is not out of place here. PGM IV:1067f. calls a god "good and holy light of the most high god." In PGM V:46 an incantation's authority is "the name of the most high god."⁽²⁵⁵⁾ In the NT this title is attested in two different traditions as being part of a demon's defence against Christian exorcists: Mk.5:7 and Acts 16:17 - of Paul as a "Servant of the Most High God". This, along with the fact that Ὑψιστος, as a divine name, is on the margin of NT tradition,⁽²⁵⁶⁾ points to the improbability that Mark or the early Church needed to introduce it into the demon's defence. So again it seems that we can be reasonably confident that this 'title' was included in the first report of this event.

(3) ὀρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν is the third element in the demon's words of defence.⁽²⁵⁷⁾ We have seen the appropriateness of ὀρκίζω in this context (p.33 above). That it would not need to have been added at any stage in the

history of the transmission of this story is clear from later reactions to it. Matthew (8:29) omits it and Luke (8:28) softens it as if they object to the thought of an attempt to supernaturally bind Jesus. The form of the adjuration '...by God' is entirely in keeping with the form found in the PGM. Two examples from PGM IV - line 3019 reads - "I adjure you by the God of the Hebrews...", and lines 3045f. reads "...I adjure you by God the light bringer..."⁽²⁵⁸⁾. Thus Mark (in 5:7) probably understands the demon to be using God as his source of power-authority to fetter Jesus.

(4) In dealing with Mtt.8:29 and Lk.8:28 we mentioned the significance that the early Church saw in the demon saying *μη με βασανισης* (Mk.5:7). That is, the term had clear eschatological significance for the early Church. So have we any confidence in the historicity of this part of the defence? I think in view of what is said to happen to the demons, (they are not finally destroyed or sent into the abyss), this phrase is probably original. That is, the demon is said to expect the final torment but that is not his fate. The early Church is unlikely to set up this situation.

(v) The position of v.8 has long been a problem⁽²⁵⁹⁾ and Burkill mentions three possible solutions: (1) v.8 stood before v.7 but the position was later changed because the demon did not immediately obey the command. But then

why was the command not simply omitted? (2) V.8 was not part of the original story but was added later by an editor. However, from what we have seen of other exorcism stories it would be surprising if such a command would need to have been added. (3) V.8 is in its original position. Jesus is so powerful that the demon at once senses that it must leave its victim. That is, an explicit command is not really necessary and it now comes as an after thought in a subordinate clause. Burkill prefers this alternative as the story as a whole shows delight in the narration of subordinate details. (260) But v.8 certainly reads like an explicit command. So it seems that none of these three solutions is adequate. There is another possibility, and one which permits v.8 to remain in its present position. In ἔλεγεν γὰρ αὐτῷ the narrator clearly intends the following command to relate to what the demon has just said. So, perhaps as in Mk.1:24f., on meeting Jesus the demon cries out in his defence. Then, perhaps simultaneously with the command of Jesus, the demon further attempts to ward off Jesus' attack. So in order to convey this fast or overlapping dialogue the narrator adopted the solution that we have in v.8. The advantage of this explanation is that it makes sense of v.9. The possession of someone's name was widely held to be equivalent to having power over him. If this is how we are to understand v.9 and this we shall show in a moment, then v.9 is redundant if the command of v.8 was thought to be successful. If on the other hand the adjuration of the

demon 'by God' and the command to the demon 'to come out' overlap in some way (and cancel each other out?) so that Jesus is not at first successful in his exorcism, v.9 becomes significant and important. That Jesus was not always thought to be initially successful in his healings is shown by the two-part cure of the blind man in Mk.8:22-26.⁽²⁶¹⁾ If we are right in this interpretation then Burkill has let dogmatic presuppositions proceed exegesis in saying "Jesus is so powerful that the demon at once senses that it must now leave its victim".⁽²⁶²⁾

But are we justified in taking v.9 as being Jesus' further attempt to gain ascendancy over the demon? Probably 'yes' for as historians of religion are well aware the possession of someone's name meant power over that person.⁽²⁶³⁾ And further, of the historicity of this notion in the context of a supernatural conflict we can be confident. On the one hand we have no knowledge of any dogmatic reasons why the early Church would want to introduce this element into the tradition and on the other hand we have examples of exorcists' request for names over which they sought to exercise control. For example we have cited PGM IV:3039ff. as well as PGM XIII:242ff..⁽²⁶⁴⁾ We have already noted, when discussing Mk.1:25, that other exorcists often seem to have had considerable difficulty in getting demons to speak or obtain their names. Jesus seems to have had no such difficulty according to this story, for the demon

immediately supplies his name. But has this success been attributed to Jesus? We cannot be certain, but if our interpretation of the position and significance of v.8 is correct then the early Church did not always seek to make Jesus instantly successful. And some exorcists in the history of religions had similar success in gaining the name of demons.⁽²⁶⁵⁾ So on balance it seems, quite likely that the demon's reported immediate reply accurately reflects an historical situation.

(vi) In what way should we understand the reply in v.9b - "My name is Legion; for we are many"? (1) Paul Winter says that in this passage "an anti-Roman attitude definitely comes to the fore",⁽²⁶⁶⁾ discernible in the use of Λεγεῶν. Winter says that during the great revolt the Legio Decima Fretensis was stationed in Galilee near the place where this story has its locale,⁽²⁶⁷⁾ and that the emblem of this legion was a boar. However, not only did Vespasian have the fifth, and fifteenth Legions with him when he took Gamala (BJ IV:13), but the Roman legions were not restricted to any one area. Jeremias also attempts to see the narrative as making a specific connection between the number of pigs and the number of soldiers in a Roman legion. However the body of soldiers he cites is not a legion but a telos which had a strength of 2,048 men.⁽²⁶⁸⁾ And in any case the lack of precision (ὡς - about) in the use of δισχίλιοι indicates no special significance was attached

to the particular number of pigs in the herd. It is best then to return to the notion that no specific link was intended between the number of pigs and a Roman legion.

(2) Mk.5:9 includes the phrase "because we are many" in the direct speech of the demon. Luke on the other hand limits the demon's reply to one word "Legion" and then adds "for many demons had entered him". We should ask then if the second part of the demon's reply in Mark was originally part of the tradition. History of religions parallels show, as we pointed out when dealing with the PGM, that it was important not only to know the name, and also how it related to the nature of the demon, but also the actual nature of the demon. A good example of this, which we have not so far cited is PGM IV:1017ff. where a god reveals his name and nature.

"My name is Bairchooch. I am he that sprang from heaven, my name is Balsames".

The phrase "for we are many" fits this form of a demon disclosing its nature. However we cannot be sure that the tradition has not been shaped to fit the form - though Luke's alteration suggests that the early Church did not make such attempts.

(3) A potential difficulty here is the constant change of numbers of demons, exemplified in the demon's reply to Jesus - "My name is Legion for we are many" (cf.5:7f.).

The change of numbers makes it obvious that the demon in mind here is multiform. (269)

(vii) In verses 10 and 12 the demon pleads for leniency. This element in the story was probably not introduced by the early Church for, as we have seen, other exorcism stories outside the NT contained this feature. (270) And in view of the non-theological nature of the plea (contrast Mtt.8:29; Lk.8:31) we can see no motivation in adding the element. It was held that demons were specially associated with areas, from which they did not want to move. (271) In Matthew and Luke the 'torment' which the demons seek to avoid is the eschatological punishment (Mtt.8:29; Lk.8:26 and 29). But in Mark that which the demons fear is simply being sent 'out of the region'. It seems then, that at least in this story, that neither Mark nor his tradition associated this exorcism of Jesus with the final punishment of the demons. The second part of the demon's request (v.12) is that they should be allowed to enter into some pigs that were grazing on the side of the hill. As we have already said, whether or not this element of the story is foreign to the Jesus tradition we cannot decide until we have finished our examination of Jesus as an exorcist. All that we are able to say at this stage is that the pre-Markan tradition contained the pigs episode. And, in so far as water was understood as one of the appropriate havens of demons, the destruction of the pigs is the description of the demons plunging into a new home. (272)

(viii) It remains for us to say something on the response to the healing (vv.14-16). (1) V.16 seems out of place, not fitting well with v.14 and made redundant by v.15.⁽²⁷³⁾ It is possible that it might be a later addition to the story⁽²⁷⁴⁾ though there is no indication that Mark is responsible for it. (2) Though we have so far seen no reason to divorce the pigs episode from this story it is noticeable that the focus of attention in these verses is on Jesus, and particularly the man sitting, clothed, and in his right mind.⁽²⁷⁵⁾ (3) In the Markan framework the response of fear to Jesus' miracle is probably to be associated with 4:41.⁽²⁷⁶⁾

Our survey of this Markan pericope leads us to support Bultmann's conclusion on this story, in that he says - "clearly this story is essentially intact in its original form".⁽²⁷⁷⁾ We could also support Schweizer's suggestion that the inconsistencies and apparent redundancies in the text are probably due to the narrator's lack of skill⁽²⁷⁸⁾ rather than the accumulation of material around an early story. We have also shown that much of this story most probably reflects tradition that rightly belongs to the original Jesus story though we have reserved final judgement on the relationship between the pigs incident and the historical-Jesus until we have completed our examination of the data on Jesus-the-Exorcist.

3.4 The Syrophenician Woman's Daughter (279)

(Mk. 7:24-30/Mtt. 15:21-28)

Matth. 15, 21-28

²¹ Καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐκεῖθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος.

²² καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνὴ Χαναναία ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἐκείνων ἐξελθοῦσα ἔκραζεν λέγουσα· ἐλέησόν με, κύριε υἱὸς Δαυὶδ· ἡ θυγάτηρ μου κακῶς δαιμονίζεται. ²³ ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῇ λόγον. καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἠρώτουν αὐτὸν λέγοντες· ἀπολύσον αὐτήν, ὅτι κράζει ὀπισθεν ἡμῶν. ²⁴ ὁ δὲ ἀπακριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ. ²⁵ ἡ δὲ ἐλθοῦσα προσεκύνη αὐτῷ

λέγουσα· κύριε, βοήθει μοι.

²⁶ ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐκ

ἔστιν καλὸν λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων καὶ βαλεῖν τοῖς κυναρίοις. ²⁷ ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· ναί, κύριε·

καὶ γὰρ τὰ κυνάρια ἐσθίει ἀπὸ τῶν ψιχίων τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν.

²⁸ τότε ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ· ὦ γύναι, μεγάλη σου ἡ πίστις· γενήθητω σοι ὡς θέλεις.

καὶ ἰάθη ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης.

Mark. 7, 24-30

²⁴ Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναστὰς ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὰ ὄρια Τύρου .

Καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς οἰκίαν οὐδένα ᾔθελεν γνῶναι, καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη λαθεῖν. ²⁵ ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀκούσασα γυνὴ περὶ αὐτοῦ,

ἣς εἶχεν τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον,

ἔλθοῦσα προσέπεσεν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. ²⁶ ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἦν Ἑλληνίς, Συροφοινίκισσα τῷ γένει· καὶ ἠρώτα αὐτὸν ἵνα τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐκβάλῃ ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς. ²⁷ καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ· ἄφες πρῶτον χορτασθῆναι τὰ τέκνα, οὐ γάρ ἐστιν καλὸν λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων καὶ τοῖς κυναρίοις βαλεῖν. ²⁸ ἡ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· κύριε· καὶ τὰ κυνάρια ὑποκάτω τῆς τραπέζης ἐσθίουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ψιχίων τῶν παιδίων.

²⁹ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ·

διὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὕπαγε, ἐξεληλυθεν ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου τὸ δαιμόνιον.

³⁰ καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς εὗρεν τὸ παιδίον βεβλημένον ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐξεληλυθός.

Again our particular interest in this pericope is motivated by an attempt to discover something about the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist and to see what response was made to him both by his immediate audience and by the Synoptic tradition. (280)

3.4.1 Matthew 15:21-28. In the section 14:1-16:12 Matthew is closely following Mark. This particular story is one of three (15:21-39/Mk.7:24-8:10) miracle stories following the section (15:1-20) on the question of clean and unclean. And yet the context makes it clear that the interest of this section is in the teaching of Jesus conveyed by the stories - (see 15:10-20, 24-28). That 15:21-28 would have had at least some interest to Matthew, and Mark, in the context of the Gentile Mission seems obvious from the story. It is in turn interesting that the question of cleanness and the Gentile Mission are here associated, for in Paul's letters it is the question of food laws that first highlights the tension between Jews and the Gentiles. (281)

(a) The most pressing question with which we should begin our investigation of the Matthean story is - what is Matthew's source for this story? (i) Because of the Judaistic addition of vv.22b-24 Streeter suggested that Matthew has conflated Mark and a parallel version in M. (282) Dibelius assumed, because only the words of Jesus and the reply of the woman approximate word for word, that there

... was a common source behind Matthew and Mark which contained only these speeches - the healing being obvious and assumed. (283)

Against these suggestions Held has brought objections. Firstly Matthew abbreviates the novelistic peculiarities of Mark, especially at the beginning and end (cf. Mk. 7:24b. 25a, 30). Secondly, Matthew also inserts sayings in other places in conversation scenes. (284) But we must explain the origin of vv. 23 and 24 (where Matthew's story differs most from Mark). Two things are noticeable about the verses. (1) These two verses abound in Matthean vocabulary - ἀποκρίνομαι (twice), (285) προερχομαι, (286) μαθητής, (287) ἀπολύω, (288) πρόβατον (?). (289) (2) Themes in this pericope link it with other Matthean themes and pericopes in which he shows particular interest - (the faith of the Gentiles, cf. 8:5-13; the kindness which motivated Jesus, cf. 8:5-13; Jesus' mission to Israel, cf. 10:5ff.; and exorcism and the Son of David, cf. 12:23). What we can propose is that in the light of his interests in these themes Matthew has, in his own hand, inserted these two verses.

(ii) Although there is substantial agreement between Mtt. 15:21 and Mk. 7:24 it seems that Matthew has rewritten it. Firstly it is characteristic of Matthew to repeat a phrase or construction within a short space, particularly at the beginning and end of a pericope - cf. καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐκείθεν (v. 21) and καὶ μεταβὰς ἐκείθεν (v. 29). (290) Secondly, Sidon, not in Mark, (291) has been added - probably because

it was, both in and out of the NT combined with Tyre, almost as a formula. (292)

(iii) V.22 is also substantially different from Mk.7:25f.. In particular there is a difference in the way the woman is designated - a Greek Syrophoenician in Mark (7:26) and a Canaanite in Matthew (15:22), but it need not be an obstacle to seeing Matthew as reliant on Mark for his source. G.D. Kilpatrick has shown that in the period after the OT, apart from its other uses, Canaan is employed as an equivalent of Phoenicia. (293) But even if 'Canaan' was current as the Semitic equivalent of 'Phoenicia', (294) why did Matthew make the change? Again we can follow Kilpatrick. (295) The story in Mark is hardly flattering to this woman or her people. This in turn may have offended the Greek speaking Matthean community. (296) As the villages and countryside remained unaffected by Hellenism (297) Matthew's alteration diverts the reference to the story from the Hellenists to the Semitic people of the area. To this practical or diplomatic reason there is probably to be added a theological motivation for the alteration, for in the OT the Canaanites, who occupied the land before the Israelites, were the heathen par excellence. (298) Apart from this particular alteration in v.22 being an understandable alteration of Mark by Matthew, the rest of the verse also indicates that Matthew has been particularly active, note *ἰδού*, (299) *ἀπό*, (300) (*ἐκεῖνος* (301)?), *ἐξέρχομαι*, (302)

... υἱὸς Δαυίδ (303)

(iv) Held is correct when he says that the harder and more Jewish traits in this story are not evidence for literary priority but that we are transplanted into the Jewish-Christian world. But we cannot agree with Held when he suggests that Matthew does not take up Mk.7:27a - "Let the children first be fed" - because this verse is a later insertion into the Markan narrative.⁽³⁰⁴⁾ (1) There is no evidence that would suggest that this sentence is a later addition to Mark. (2) In view of 15:24 - "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel"- it would have been contradictory to use Mark's sentence on feeding the children first. Thus Matthew finding Mk.7:27b superfluous, simply left it out.⁽³⁰⁵⁾

(v) The last verse in Matthew's pericope (v.28) is also substantially different from Mk.7:29f.. However the vocabulary (τότε⁽³⁰⁶⁾, ἀποκρίνομαι[?](307), Ἰησοῦς (308), and thematic interests - notably the faith of the woman,⁽³⁰⁹⁾ and the girl being healed 'in that hour'⁽³¹⁰⁾ - mark the verse out as being from Matthew's hand. So we conclude this point by accepting the theory that for this story Matthew's source is the Markan story to which he has added isolated pieces of material.⁽³¹¹⁾

(b) We want to draw attention to a number of features

of the way that Matthew has handled Mark's pericope. (i)

Schweizer thinks that Matthew may have wanted Jesus not to actually enter the region of Tyre and Sidon as the woman is said to 'come out from' the region.⁽³¹²⁾ Schweizer is probably correct, for, although the *εἰς τὰ μέρη* in v.21 is ambiguous, in v.29 (/Mk.7:31) Matthew avoids saying that Jesus came (*ἐκ*) out of the region, he simply says Jesus "went on from there", and Mark's reference to Jesus passing through Sidon is excised. That it is Matthew's intention for Jesus not to enter the region is in line with v.24 - "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

(ii) The cry of the woman is *ἐλέησόν με ...* Of the 8 occurrences of *ἐλεεῖν* in Matthew (5:7; 9:27; 15:22; 17:15; 18:33 (bis); 20:30, 31) five of them (9:27; 15:22; 17:15; 20:30, 31) are the cries of those who seek healing from Jesus. Thus in the use of this word Matthew is suggesting what motivated Jesus' healing ministry, regardless of whether or not the sufferer was a Jew. This Matthew emphasizes in having the woman cry out "Lord help me" in v.25.

(iii) The appellation accorded Jesus is *κύριε υἱὸς Δαυειδ*. In Das Wahre Israel W. Trilling accorded *κύριος* the complete dominance of Matthew's Christology.⁽³¹³⁾ However J.D. Kingsbury has shown that it is to be seen rather in "the manner of an auxiliary christological title, the

purpose of which is to attribute divine authority to Jesus in his capacity as the 'Christ', 'Son of David', 'Son of God', or 'Son of Man'".⁽³¹⁴⁾

Our attention is then directed to asking in what way *κύριος* is here informing 'Son of David'. In view of 'Lord' being in the vocative case⁽³¹⁵⁾ it may be that the title is meant to refer beyond itself to 'Son of David'. This tentative suggestion of Kingsbury's is supported by 9:27f. where 'Son of David' is the title to which Matthew is drawing attention.⁽³¹⁶⁾ What then of the title 'Son of David'? Matthew uses the phrase more often than any other Evangelist.⁽³¹⁷⁾ Aside from the Birth Narrative where Matthew first shows Jesus to be the Son of David (cf. 1:1, 17⁽³¹⁸⁾ and 20) the phrase is used in the passages 9:27-34; 12:22-24; 15:21-28; 20:29-34; 21:1-17; 22:41-46. It is noticeable that in all but the last two passages the context is one of healing. We will mention this connection again (pp. 335 f. below) when we are dealing with Matthew's overall response to Jesus-the-Exorcist, but for the moment we should simply note that Matthew's Messiah is the 'Son of David' whose role is primarily one of healing.⁽³¹⁹⁾

(iv) We have already mentioned one achievement of the insertion of vv. 23-24 - emphasising Jesus' mission to Israel. By sharpening or hardening the words of Jesus Matthew brings the faith and persistence of the Gentile woman into sharper relief.

(v) V.25. We have said ((ii) above) that the woman's cry for help emphasises that Jesus' activity is motivated by mercy. In using προσκυνέω Matthew reflects both on the divine character of Jesus,⁽³²⁰⁾ and the Gentile woman's humble faith.

(vi) V.26. In Matthew's omission of Mark's reference to first feeding the children, and in prefacing Jesus' reply with the adversative phrase ὁ δέ, Jesus' exclusive mission to Israel is further accented. The reversal in the order of βασιῶν and κυναρίοις so that the reference to the dogs is pushed to the end of the sentence may be in line with Matthew's earlier attempt (v.22) to reduce the harsh perspective on the Hellenists.

(vii) In recasting⁽³²¹⁾ the whole of the end of this pericope (v.28, cf. Mk.7:29f.) Matthew once again emphasises the Gentile woman's great faith in Jesus, the Son of David, the Messiah.⁽³²²⁾ It is notable that this same theme is emphasised in 8:13 where another Gentile's faith is highlighted - and in contrast to Israel's lack of faith (cf. 8:10).

So in his use of this Markan story Matthew is pursuing clear dogmatic objectives, the story itself is certainly not of particular interest, save that it serves his theological purposes.

3.4.2 Luke has not used this story. The story does contain themes to which he otherwise shows an aversion - the negative attitude of Jesus to the Gentiles and the Gentile Mission.⁽³²³⁾ However Luke's omission of the pericope may not be due to any particular attitude he may have had to it for it forms part of Luke's 'great omission' - Mk.6:45-8:26 which he may have omitted because he thought it repetitive and parallel in content to other material.⁽³²⁴⁾ It could also be because, as John Drury put it, this episode ('Jesus'Gentile Mission'⁽³²⁵⁾), was removed because Luke "insists that the gentile mission was the great business of the Church in his second volume, not realized by its founder though he prophesied it".⁽³²⁶⁾ Thus we note that in Luke's treatment of the Centurion's boy (Mtt.8:5-13/Lk.7:1-20) the Gentile is kept 'off-stage', and in 21:24 the "time of the Gentiles" is not yet.⁽³²⁷⁾ But if all of this is right, why did Luke include the healing of the Gadarene demoniac - which by the mention of the pigs indicates a Gentile setting?⁽³²⁸⁾ However the demoniac was isolated from his Gentile community and Luke would have wanted to include the reference to the healed man (not Jesus) returning to his people to proclaim "how much Jesus had done for him".

3.4.3 Mark 7:24-30. From 7:24 to 8:26 Jesus is on a Gentile Mission.⁽³²⁹⁾ Mark usually begins his pericopes with καὶ, but as δὲ is used here we suspect he wishes to indicate a significant break in the story. For the

only other times Mark uses $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ to start a paragraph (1:14; 10:32 and 14:1) they imply a great break in the story.⁽³³⁰⁾ While this pericope might belong primarily to the Gentile Mission in Mark, Jesus' freedom from the law and the receptivity of the Gentiles is brought sharply into focus in this story as it stands after the section on Jewish legalism (7:1-23).⁽³³¹⁾

The evidence is not decisive for v.24,⁽³³²⁾ but Mark may have reworked the introduction. Whether or not the setting is Markan will depend to a large extent on the origin of v.26 (see below).⁽³³³⁾ The mention of going into a house as a retreat is probably Markan.⁽³³⁴⁾ Although $\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ is not a significant indicator of Mark's hand⁽³³⁵⁾ $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha$ may be Markan redaction.⁽³³⁶⁾ It is possible that the diminutive of daughter is Mark's responsibility,⁽³³⁷⁾ though as this could be due to Semitic influence⁽³³⁸⁾ and as the phrase begun with a relative and completed by a personal pronoun ($\eta\varsigma \dots \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$) is also probably due to Semitic influence,⁽³³⁹⁾ this whole phrase is probably pre-Markan, including $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha \acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu$.⁽³⁴⁰⁾ There is nothing in the last part of v.25 - the woman prostrating herself at the feet of Jesus - to intimate Markan activity. V.26a is a parenthetical clause and should probably be regarded as from Mark's hand.⁽³⁴¹⁾ This raises the question of the origin of the setting of this story. The question can be put thus - would Mark or the early Church give a Gentile

setting to vv.27f.? I think it is unlikely since Mark shows a special interest in the Gentiles⁽³⁴²⁾ and Jesus' Gentile Mission⁽³⁴³⁾ and would hardly create this potentially offensive situation. It has already been said that v.27a is not a later addition to Mark. Only *πρῶτον* might suggest Mark's hand, but the evidence is too slight to suggest that Mark is probably responsible for this phrase.⁽³⁴⁴⁾ Again in vv.27-28 there is little evidence upon which to build a case for Markan redaction. The severe and discourteous nature of the sayings⁽³⁴⁵⁾ tell against the Church ever creating this section of the pericope.⁽³⁴⁶⁾ The closing two verses also show little of Mark's hand save perhaps the reference to the woman going 'home'.⁽³⁴⁷⁾ Mark's interest in this pericope as an exorcism story seems slight. The centre of interest is on the woman, her origin, faith or persistence, and upon Jesus' words. It seems that Mark found this story in his tradition but has reworked its introduction.

3.4.4. What can we say about the historicity of this exorcism from a distance? (a) There is nothing in the pericope that necessitates a healing from a distance - the daughter could have accompanied the woman. (b) There is nothing in the pericope that dictates the need for a particular type of healing - in this case an exorcism. (c) Other stories of this kind can be cited. One in particular is from the Talmud (and is similar to the healing of the

Centurion's boy (Mtt.8:5-13/Lk.7:1-10) - b.Ber.34b see p.74 above). This story and Mk.7:24-30 are clearly independent, ⁽³⁴⁸⁾ yet come from the same milieu. It is then quite reasonable to assume that behind this Markan pericope there lies a story, of an exorcism at a distance, that properly belongs to the earliest memories of the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist.

3.5 The Epileptic Boy (349)

(Mk. 9:14-29/Mtt. 17:14-21/Lk. 9:37-43a)

Matth. 17, 14-21	Mark. 9, 14-29	Luk. 9, 37-43a
<p>14 Καὶ ἐλθόντων πρὸς τὸν δαίμονα</p> <p><u>προσῆλθεν...</u></p> <p>ἀνθρώπος γονυπετῶν αὐτὸν ¹⁵καὶ λέγων· κύριε, ἐλέησόν μου τὸν υἱόν, ὅτι σελιγιάζεται καὶ κακῶς πάσχει·</p> <p>πολλάκις γὰρ πίπτει εἰς τὸ πῦρ καὶ πολλάκις εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ. ¹⁶καὶ προσήνεγκα αὐτὸν τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου, καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν αὐτὸν θεραπεῦσαι.</p>	<p>14 Καὶ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶδον δαίμονα κολῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ γραμματεῖς συζητοῦντας πρὸς αὐτούς. ¹⁵καὶ εὐθύς πᾶς ὁ δαίμων ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐξεδαμβήθησεν καὶ προστρέχοντες ἠσπάζοντο αὐτόν.</p> <p>16 καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτούς· τί συζητεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς; ¹⁷καὶ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ εἰς ἓκ τοῦ δαίμονος· διδάσκαλε, ἦνεγκα τὸν υἱόν μου πρὸς σέ, ἔχοντα πνεῦμα ἄλαλον. ¹⁸καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃ ῥήσσει αὐτόν, καὶ ἀφρῆσαι καὶ τρεῖσαι τοὺς ὀδόντας καὶ ξηραίνεται.</p> <p>cf. v. 22</p> <p>τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου ἵνα αὐτὸ ἐκβάλωσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν.</p>	<p>37 Ἐγένετο δὲ τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ κατελθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους</p> <p>συνήνεγκεν αὐτῷ δαίμων πολὺς.</p> <p>³⁸καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐβόησεν λέγων· διδάσκαλε, δέομαί σου ἐπιβλέψαι ἐπὶ τὸν υἱόν μου, ὅτι μονογενὴς μοί ἐστιν, ³⁹καὶ ἰδοὺ πνεῦμα λαμβάνει αὐτόν καὶ ἐξαίφνης κρᾶζει καὶ σπαράσσει αὐτόν μετὰ ἀφροῦ καὶ μόγις ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συντρίβον αὐτόν.</p> <p>⁴⁰καὶ ἐδεήθη τῶν μαθητῶν σου ἵνα ἐκβάλωσιν αὐτό, καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν.</p>
<p>¹⁷ ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ὦ γενεὰ ἀπίστος καὶ διεστραμμένη, ἕως πότε μεθ' ὁμῶν ἔσομαι; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; φέρετέ μοι αὐτὸν ἴδε.</p>	<p>¹⁸ ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει· ὦ γενεὰ ἀπίστος, ἕως πότε πρὸς ὁμᾶς ἔσομαι; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; φέρετέ αὐτόν πρὸς με.</p> <p>²⁰ καὶ ἦνεγκαν αὐτόν πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτόν τὸ πνεῦμα εὐθύς συνεσπάραξεν αὐτόν, καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυλίετο</p>	<p>⁴¹ ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ὦ γενεὰ ἀπίστος καὶ διεστραμμένη, ἕως πότε ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; προσάγαγε ἴδε τὸν υἱόν σου. ⁴² Ἐπὶ δὲ προσερχομένου αὐτοῦ ἔρρηξεν αὐτόν τὸ δαιμόνιον καὶ συνεσπάραξεν.</p>

[Matth. 17, 14-21]

[Mark. 9, 14-29]

[Luk. 9, 37-43a]

cf. v. 15b

αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς

καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον

καὶ ἐθεραπεύθη ὁ παῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕρας ἐκείνης.

¹⁸ Τότε προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν εἶπον· διὰ τί ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό; ²⁰ ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· διὰ τὴν ὀλιγοπιστίαν ὑμῶν· ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, εἰπείτε τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ· μετάβα ἔνθεν ἐκεῖ, καὶ μεταβήσεται· καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδυνατήσει ὑμῖν.

¹⁸ καὶ ἐπετίμησεν

ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ. ²¹ καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ· πόσος χρόνος ἐστὶν ὡς τοῦτο γέγονεν αὐτῷ; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἐκ παιδιόθεν· ²² καὶ πολλάκις καὶ εἰς πῦρ αὐτὸν ἔβαλεν καὶ εἰς ὕδατα ἵνα ἀπολέσῃ αὐτόν· ἀλλ' εἰ τι δύνῃ, βοήθησον ἡμῖν· σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. ²³ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· τὸ εἰ δύνῃ, πάντα δυνατὰ τῷ πιστεύοντι. ²⁴ εὐθύς κρᾶζας ὁ πατήρ τοῦ παιδίου ἔλεγεν· πιστεύω· βοήθει μου τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ. ²⁵ ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἐπισυντρέχει ὄχλος, ἐπετίμησεν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ λέγων αὐτῷ· τὸ ἄλλοθεν καὶ κωφὸν πνεῦμα, ἐγὼ ἐπιτάσσω σοι, ἐξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι εἰσέλθῃς εἰς αὐτόν. ²⁶ καὶ κρᾶζας καὶ πολλὰ σπαράζας ἐξῆλθεν· καὶ ἐγένετο ὡσεὶ νεκρός, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγαν ὅτι ἀπέθανεν. ²⁷ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤγαγεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνέστη·

²⁸ Καὶ εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς οἶκον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν· ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό; ²⁹ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·

τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἐν οὐδενὶ δύναται ἐξελεθεῖν εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ·

ἐπετίμησεν δὲ

ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ

καὶ ἔλαστο τὸν παῖδα καὶ ἀπέθηκεν αὐτόν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. ⁴⁰ ἐξεκλήσσοντο δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλειότητι τοῦ θεοῦ.

17, 6

Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ κύριος·

εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, ἐλέγετε ἂν τῇ συκαμίνῳ ταύτῃ· ἐκρυσάθητι καὶ φυτεύθητι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ· καὶ ὁπήκουσεν ἂν ὑμῖν.

Once again we are seeking to shed light on the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist and how the Synoptics understood Jesus as an exorcist.⁽³⁵⁰⁾

3.5.1 To begin with we should note three agreements in Matthew and Luke against Mark (see broken underlining in the above text). Firstly Mtt.17:16/Lk.9:40 against Mk.9:18 where Matthew and Luke use $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ but Mark has $\iota\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\omega$. $\iota\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ reflects the disciples' ability (cf. Lk.12:25; 14:29; 16:26) rather than strength so in order to rescue the disciples' reputation Matthew and Luke could well have independently altered Mark.

Secondly regarding the agreement in Mtt.17:17 and Lk.9:41 against Mk.9:19, Mark has $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ and Luke and Matthew have $\delta\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\omicron}$ $\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\nu$. This variation is not difficult to explain for, except in the doubtful case of Lk.24:36, Luke never uses $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ of Jesus⁽³⁵¹⁾ and Matthew also prefers $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu$ rather than $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$.⁽³⁵²⁾ $\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ has been added for clarity as the subject of the verb, and $\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\acute{\iota}$ has been brought from the early part of Mk.9:19. Luke (9:41) and Matthew (17:17) add $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ ⁽³⁵³⁾ which makes the verse a semblance of Dt.32:5. In Moses' farewell - the Song of Moses - there is the lament over the faithlessness of Israel contrasted with the faithfulness of God. Dt.32:4bf. reads "A God of faithfulness and with-

out iniquity, just and right is he. They have dealt corruptly with him, they are a crooked and perverse generation (*γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη*)". The Song of Moses seems to have been in frequent use in the early Church and there are a number of echoes of Dt.32 in the NT.⁽³⁵⁴⁾ In Phil.2:15 Paul adopts the first part of Dt.32:5 and quotes the last part of the verse in the genitive (*γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης*) to contrast the Christian and non-Christian environment. Also of interest is the fact that Dt.32 was one of the passages the Qumran community used in their writing.⁽³⁵⁵⁾

But how could Luke and Matthew see in Mk.9:19 an echo of Dt.32:5? There are a number of relevant factors. (a) Firstly, Mk.9:19 is describing a 'faithless generation' just as Dt.32:5 does. (b) Further, as mentioned above, Dt.32:4 and 5 are contrasting the faithful and the faithless - a similar contrast would be evident to the early Christians in the story in Mk.9:19-20. (c) Also the early Christians may well have used *γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη* and/or similar phrases as 'catch-phrase-descriptions' of their faithless generation. So Peter is said to exhort his hearers in Acts 2:40 to save themselves from this crooked generation (*ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης*). In Phil.2:15, as just mentioned, Paul uses the exact phrase of Dt.32:5b to describe the Christian's environment. (d) Finally, of the 43 occurrences of *γενεὰ* in the NT, 33 are related to the OT.⁽³⁵⁶⁾ It is not difficult to see

how likely it is that on reading ὡ γενεὰ ἄπιστος in Mark, Luke and Matthew would have seen a possible allusion to a verse from one of the early Church's favourite passages - Dt.32, and wished either to strengthen the allusion or replace what he thought was a missing element in the verse.

Thirdly Matthew and Luke omit Mk.9:21f. - a description of the illness. If Matthew and Luke felt Mark was twice describing the illness, it would not be surprising to discover that they independently dropped the 'second' description. From what we have argued so far, the 'agreements' between Matthew and Luke do not shake the overall belief in Markan priority.⁽³⁵⁷⁾

3.5.2 Matthew 17:14-21. In the section 16:21-28:20 Matthew is dependent upon the outline of Mk.8:31-16:8, but occasionally provides supplements.⁽³⁵⁸⁾ In the smaller section 16:21-20:34, following on from Peter's confession (16:13-20), there are the passion predictions and the training of the disciples. Thus the section begins with the words "from that time Jesus began to show his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem and suffer... be killed,... and... be raised" (16:21).⁽³⁵⁹⁾ And within the section, for example, in the Transfiguration Narrative Matthew adds (17:6-7) the words of reassurance to the frightened disciples (cf.Mk.9:7f.). Thus although this miracle story seems at first to be misplaced⁽³⁶⁰⁾ the

... association between the ending of the story and its general context indicates that Matthew wishes to view it under the theme of 'discipleship training'.⁽³⁶¹⁾

(a) Matthew begins the story in the same way as Mark but misses out the reference to the disciples arguing with the scribes - probably because it shows a negative aspect of the disciples, for Matthew minimizes or overlooks their faults, casting them in a more favourable light (eg. Mk. 4:38/Mtt. 8:25; Mk. 10:35/Mtt. 20:20).⁽³⁶²⁾ The present story would seem to contradict this. But the end of the story, even in Matthew's tradition, gives sufficient indication that the disciples did not remain in their ignorance (cf. 17:23/Mk. 9:31f.).

(b) It has been noticed before that *προσέρχομαι* is an important word for Matthew.⁽³⁶³⁾ Held has established *προσέρχομαι... λέγειν* as a fixed formula for Matthew⁽³⁶⁴⁾ and concludes his study of it by saying that its intention is "to direct attention from the individual unique event to the general doctrine, or rather, proclamation contained in what follows".⁽³⁶⁵⁾

(c) Apart from Heb. 12:12 references to the 'knee' in the NT always have to do with genuflection and expresses humble supplication or worship.⁽³⁶⁶⁾ This is clearly in Matthew's mind in v. 14b for in v. 15a he substitutes

'Lord!' for 'Teacher!' (367) Once again the motivation provided for Jesus' activity is his 'mercy'. Matthew heightens this by including the father's description of his son's plight, probably explaining one of Matthew's motives (see p.335 below) for bringing the description forward from Mk.9:22.

(d) There is no suggestion at this stage in vv.15f. that Matthew is relating an exorcism story (cf.v.18). The father describes the boy not as having an unclean spirit/demon (cf.Mk.9:17/Lk.9:39) but as being 'moon struck'. (368) Thus Matthew says the lad falls (πίπτει) into the fire and water rather than being thrown (ἐββαλεν) as in Mark (9:22). No demon is here taking hold of the lad (καταλάβει) as in Mark (9:18). The disciples are said not to be able to 'heal' the boy rather than 'cast out' the demon (cf.Mk.9:18).

(e) To whom does Matthew understand Jesus' rebuke to be directed? What ever Mark intended (9:19), by the removal of αὐτοῖς Matthew takes away the ambiguity that the rebuke might have been intended for the disciples. By closing the story with Jesus explaining the disciples' inability as being due to 'little faith' rather than 'no faith', he also exonerates the disciples from this charge. There is also no clear indication that the words of Jesus are directed towards the father, for indeed it was the father who came in faith (vv.14bf.). In view of what

... we have noted^{on} the use of the *προερχομαι* ... *λίγαι* formula in Matthew, indicating the general relevance of what was to follow, Matthew probably wants the reader to understand the strong words of Jesus to be directed more widely than the 'crowd' in the story, for elsewhere Matthew refers to the crowds without any derogatory association. (369)

(f) Matthew omits the violence of the demon's activity when confronted by Jesus (Mk.9:20/Mtt.17:17f.). McCasland thinks that these details were omitted probably because

"he did not consider the sensational quality of Mark's story in good taste... It did not seem fitting to preserve the record of resistance and efforts of defense made against the Messiah by demons". (370)

But Matthew is not reticent about colourfully portraying mutual antagonism between Jesus and his opponents. (371)

Hull offers too simplistic an alternative explanation when he says that Matthew is omitting the technique of exorcism. Yes he omits this, but he also omits Jesus' questioning the father - (Matthew never has Jesus ignorant and asking questions) and he omits the possible suggestion (Mk.9:22) that Jesus might, along with the disciples, be unable to heal the lad. Thus Matthew probably has a number of reasons for omitting these verses from Mark.

(g) At last in v.18 Matthew gives clues that he is

relating an exorcism story. That Matthew takes up ἐπιτιμᾶν from Mk.9:25 shows that Matthew is not entirely embarrassed about portraying Jesus' technique as an exorcist (see p.334 below). This is the only time Matthew gives an indication of Jesus' technique, but he omits the details of Jesus' words (cf. Mk.9:25). Matthew does not include Mk.9:26a where the demon cries out and convulses the lad as it comes out after Jesus' command - such a suggestion would reflect on Jesus' absolute authority (cf. Mtt.8:32). It is not surprising that Matthew should omit either the reference to the immediate result of the exorcism - the child being as dead (Mk.9:26), or that the healing takes place in two stages, implying that the first attempt by Jesus was not entirely successful.

Matthew seems elsewhere to refuse to include this element in Jesus' miracles - he omits the two stage healing of Mk.8:22-26.

(h) Rather than admit to a two stage healing (cf. Mk.9:27) Matthew concludes his story in formal language by saying that the lad was healed "from that hour" (as he does in 8:13b; 9:22b; and 15:28b).⁽³⁷²⁾ The use of Θερραπλεύειν is probably a significant catch-phrase in view of 8:8, 13 (ἰαθεῖν) and 9:21, 22 (τῷ ζῆν) where a word in the concluding remarks is linked with the pericope.⁽³⁷³⁾ Thus this concluding formula in v.18 probably highlights Jesus' authoritative healing in contrast to the disciples' inability to heal in v.16.

(i) Matthew takes up Mark's conclusion to the story - the reason for the disciples' inability (Mtt.17:19/Mk.9:28). In the use of the formula *προσέρχονται ... εἶπον* Matthew is again probably indicating the significance of what follows is wider than the individual event in the story (see p.183 above).⁽³⁷⁴⁾ That is, the disciples' inability in exorcism and its reasons - too little faith, are of significance for the Matthean Church. Matthew has appended the saying about 'faith as a mustard seed' (cf.Lk.17:6) as it suits his theme of the disciples' little faith (cf.6:30; 8:26; 14:31; 16:8).⁽³⁷⁵⁾

3.5.3 Luke 9:37-43a. Luke follows the order of Mark in placing this story after the Transfiguration and the story is part of the Galilean ministry (4:14-9:50) prior to Jesus' journey to Jerusalem (9:51). This particular pericope is linked with the call of the Twelve (9:1f.) by reference to the disciples as exorcists, and to the Strange Exorcist (9:49f.) by reference to exorcism using Jesus' name as a power-authority. This suggests that Luke was using these three episodes in his theme of the 'Training of the Twelve'.

(a) In Luke's use of Mark it is immediately apparent that Luke has omitted reference to the disciples arguing with the scribes. Luke uses Mk.9:9 to begin the story, placing the story firmly against the background of the

Transfiguration by removing Mk.9:11-13 (about the coming of Elijah) - so heightening the OT background to the story (see p.180 above). (376)

(b) In v.38 Luke heightens the pathos of the situation and Jesus' merciful response by using *βοάω*, *δέομαι* and *μονογενής*. In using *ἐπιβλεψαι* Luke may be reflecting on the person of Jesus for as he uses it in 1:48 it has to do with God's vigilant care. (377)

(c) Luke's description of the illness of the boy, though in essence similar to Mark's (9:18), uses entirely different vocabulary. Luke is probably responsible for recasting this description for (i) of the five times *ἑξαίβνης* occurs in the NT, four are in Lk-Acts; (ii) *σπαράσσω* occurs elsewhere in the NT only in Mk.1:26 and 9:26 and in view of Luke omitting Mk.9:26 he probably brings this element of the description forward. (iii) From 9:38 we have noticed that Luke heightens the pathos of the incident; the mention of the spirit hardly leaving the boy is in line with this.

(d) Against whom does Luke consider the harsh words of Jesus to be directed? (378) As with Matthew, Luke's omission of *αὐτοῖς* (Mk.9:19) implies that it is not the disciples. In view of v.41b - "Bring your son here", following immediately upon Jesus' reprimand it seems as if Luke

understood the father to be the object of the words.

(e) Though in slightly different language, Luke (v.42) maintains the element of the boy being seized and convulsed by the demon when confronted by Jesus (cf.Mk.9:20).⁽³⁷⁹⁾ However Luke does not tell us that Jesus asked the father about the illness (cf.Mk.9:21 and Lk.9:42).

(f) Luke also maintains ἐπιτιμῶν, indicating an exorcism story. But like Matthew he does not mention the command of Jesus (cf.Mk.9:25) nor the demon's unruly response to Jesus (cf.Mk9:26). Also like Matthew, Luke adds that Jesus healed (ἰάσατο⁽³⁸⁰⁾) the boy. Neither Matthew nor Luke admit to a two stage healing story.

(g) In line with an interest of his, Luke (v.43) may be making explicit what he has hinted at in the use of δέομαι (v.38) - that in Jesus' healing activity, God has been visibly at work (cf.7:16).⁽³⁸¹⁾

What can we say about Luke's handling of this exorcism story? We have seen that this story forms part of Luke's 'training of the disciples'. The disciples are not placed in a harsh light at all, the severity of the illness and redirecting the criticism of Jesus to the father (d) exonerate the disciples. But Luke highlights Jesus' authority (f), his mercy (b,c), his needing no human aid (e) and, perhaps

here, that in Jesus, God is at work (g). That he is transmitting an exorcism story seems to be of no particular interest to Luke.

3.5.4 Mark 9:14-29. (a) It is Bultmann's opinion that in this pericope two miracle stories have been combined, in the pre-Markan material, presumably being brought together because of the similarity of the illness and healing.⁽³⁸²⁾ Bultmann admits that it is now difficult to make clear distinctions, but the first story may have occupied vv.14-20. This story has its point in the contrast between the Master and the magician's disciples, whose inability to heal provide the foil for the Master's power. Vv.21-27 are the second story describing the paradox of unbelieving faith. To support his theory, Bultmann offers three pieces of evidence. (i) The disciples have a part to play in vv.14-19 only, and thereafter pass from the scene, whereas in vv.21ff. the father takes the chief role, though he only has a minor one in vv.17-19. (ii) The illness is described twice in vv.18 and 21f.. (iii) The crowd is already present in v.14, yet according to v.25 comes on the scene for the first time.⁽³⁸³⁾

So, are there two stories here? (i) If we presume for the moment that the reference to the disciples in vv.28f. is Markan then the disciples do indeed pass from the scene after v.19a. However, this need not be an indication

of there once being two stories for in other stories characters are introduced and withdrawn within the story. In Mk.2:1-12 the four men who lower the paralytic through the roof are not mentioned in the latter part of the story. And Mk.5:1-20, which we have argued to be a single story, has the herdsmen entering late in the story (pp.147-53 above).

(ii) Bultmann's second piece of evidence is that the illness is twice described. In fact it is probably described three times, - vv.17c-18a, 20b, and 21c-22a. While this might indicate an amalgamation of stories there may be another explanation that would make these two (or three) 'descriptions' intelligible as they stand.

(1) The first description (17b-18a - "he has a dumb spirit; and wherever it seizes him, it dashes him down; and he foams and grinds his teeth and becomes rigid") comes at the very beginning of the story (after the introductory setting) as in Mk.5:2ff. and conforms to the first element in the form critics' analysis of miracle stories. ⁽³⁸⁴⁾

(2) We have seen, in dealing with the other exorcism stories, that a recurring element was the visible or audible consternation of the demon when confronted by the exorcist. That this second description of the illness (v.20b) fits this category is clear from its opening phrase - "and when he (the demon) saw him...".

(3) Also in our examination of exorcism stories so far it has been apparent that an important part of the stories

was the exorcist knowing the demon by gaining its name and thereby its character. That the third description of the illness (vv.21f.) fits this category is manifest not only because it begins with a question - "How long has he been like this?", but also by the answer which mentions the demon's predilection for fire or water. Thus the three descriptions of the illness do not require a two story hypothesis for their explanation.

(iii) Are there two crowds in this story - one in v.14, and another in v.25? Bultmann⁽³⁸⁵⁾ takes ἐπισυνορέγω (v.25) to refer to a second crowd coming to the area. No parallel to the word has been cited in classical Greek or in the papyri⁽³⁸⁶⁾ and so the meaning of the word is difficult to determine. Taylor says that the meaning is clearly that a crowd is converging on a single point⁽³⁸⁷⁾ and Black says it corresponds to the Aramaic rehat 'al - "to attack".⁽³⁸⁸⁾ In any case the story does not require a two story theory to explain the mention of the crowd in v.25 and it could be intended to be the same crowd as in v.14.⁽³⁸⁹⁾ It seems that we can conclude that the evidence of this story neither demands nor needs a two story hypothesis.

(b) In view of T. J. Weeden's work⁽³⁹⁰⁾ which in part involves the thesis that Mark conducts a polemic against the disciples, and as material relating to the disciples takes up a considerable amount of this pericope we should pay

particular attention to Mark's interest in the disciples,
and to the origin of this theme here.

(i) After discussing what he thinks are three stages in Mark's portrayal of the disciples' relationship to Jesus - Unreceptiveness, Misconception and, Rejection, Weeden concludes - "that Mark is assiduously involved in a vendetta against the disciples. He is intent on totally discrediting them".⁽³⁹¹⁾

But there are problems with this thesis. (1) Firstly, and this point is made by C. J. A. Hickling,

"one may legitimately question the method by which it is proposed, in any given case, to identify a document as polemic against adversaries whose views must be conjectured from this document itself".⁽³⁹²⁾

(2) In view of the continuing debate on the ending of Mark it is unwise to draw too many conclusions from the present ending of Mark.⁽³⁹³⁾ (3) As Quesnell has pointed out, much of the Markan material does not fit Weeden's thesis and this is most evident at points where Weeden takes the easy option of attributing inconsistencies to borrowed traditions.⁽³⁹⁴⁾

(ii) Over against the view, held by J. B. Tyson,⁽³⁹⁵⁾ J. Schreiber,⁽³⁹⁶⁾ and W. H. Kelber,⁽³⁹⁷⁾ as well as Weeden, that Mark is conducting a polemic against the disciples, E. Best has reassessed the place of the disciples in Mark as taking on the role of the early Church. So in 13:37 where Jesus says "what I say to you I say to all" -

"Jesus' teaching as Mark views it was not primarily intended for the few,... but was intended for all who would be his followers; the role of the disciples in the gospel is then to be examples to the community".⁽³⁹⁸⁾

Best has been able to show that if Mark was conducting an assault on the disciples he would have been expected to set up another group over against them but as he has not done so we are unable to argue that Mark was attacking the disciples.⁽³⁹⁹⁾ Where the disciples appear in a negative perspective they do so as foils so that Jesus can go on to give further instruction. This motif comes not only from Mark's redaction (eg. 7:17; 8:3),⁽⁴⁰⁰⁾ but it was also present in his tradition (eg. 6:35; 9:11; 10:35ff.).⁽⁴⁰¹⁾ So Best admits when we see the disciples failing to understand Jesus or being rebuked there may be grounds for suspecting a hostile attitude towards the disciples.⁽⁴⁰²⁾ But we should note, says Best, how much of the material in these categories relates to the power of Jesus which, if to be properly understood, can best be seen in contrast to the weakness of the disciples. And with regard to the cross, it is quite natural if Mark wanted to explain it that he should show the disciples as misunderstanding it.⁽⁴⁰³⁾ We need not pursue Best's work any further. Nevertheless what we should note from the results of Best's work is that much of the role of the disciples in Mark already appeared in Mark's tradition and that Mark was not in fact involved in a campaign against the disciples.

(iii) We should now return to the theme of the 'disciples' in Mk.9:14-29 and discuss its origin. Firstly vv.28f.. In view of the vocabulary (εἰς, οἶκος, μαθητῆς, ἴδιος, ἐπιρωτάω, δόναμαλ (bis) and ἐξέρομαλ)⁽⁴⁰⁴⁾ Mark has shown his interest in this particular ending to the pericope. Yet the reference to this kind of demon only being able to be cast out ἐν προσευχῇ⁽⁴⁰⁵⁾ is probably not Markan for he does not show prayer as an element in Jesus' technique of healing, or in anyone else's - notably the Strange Exorcist who is simply invoking a powerful name (Mk.9:38-41).⁽⁴⁰⁶⁾ The reported technique of the disciples in 6:13 is anointing with oil not prayer.⁽⁴⁰⁷⁾ Whether or not vv.28f. were in this position in Mark's tradition is difficult to tell, though in view of the inconsistency between the motif of faith in the pericope (vv.19, 23, 24) and prayer in this concluding sentence it may have been placed here by Mark. For, though it is possible that this inconsistency existed in Mark's tradition, inconsistencies would probably have been omitted in the transmission of tradition.⁽⁴⁰⁸⁾ This tentative conclusion to the healing story gives us an indication of Mark's possible perspective on this story. Using the disciples as examples to the community (see p.194 above), Mark may be illustrating how it is to carry out exorcism of this kind of demon.

Secondly, the introduction to the story - vv.14-16.

(These verses can be isolated as the introduction because in v.17 the miracle story proper begins). Once again Mark

has been particularly active here - note ἔρχομαι, πρὸς (ter.), μαθητῆς, ὄχλος (ter.) πόλις, γραμματεῖς, συνζητέω (bis.), εὐθύς, ἐπερωτάω .⁽⁴⁰⁹⁾ The question then is - what was the extent of Mark's tradition here? Reference to the scribes is probably Markan.⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ The mention of meeting the disciples could be part of the seam linking the Transfiguration with this story. Whether or not Mark made this connection I cannot determine. What of the crowd being greatly amazed on seeing Jesus? The suggestion that something of the glory of the Transfiguration could still be on the face of Jesus⁽⁴¹¹⁾ must be discounted because (1) no such hint is dropped by Mark.⁽⁴¹²⁾ (2) Mark would have created an obvious contradiction between this verse and v.9 - "As they were coming down the mountain, he charged them to tell no one what they had seen..." (Though perhaps v.15 was designed in deliberate contrast to this - cf. 1:44f.; and 7:36). (3) The suggestion of a 'visible glory' is an appeal to a detailed parallel with the glory on the face of Moses in Ex.34:29. While a general parallel between the confusion at the foot of both mountains might be possible,⁽⁴¹³⁾ the parallel in detail breaks down. In the first place Moses had been talking to God, and secondly the eventual result of the people's confrontation with Moses was not an eager greeting (contrast Mk.9:15 and Ex.34:30). Again this could be a deliberate construct of the early Church, intended to highlight Jesus' experience in contrast with Moses but it does at least warn against trying to read

too much into only a conjectured parallel. The naturalistic explanation, offered by Taylor,⁽⁴¹⁴⁾ that the amazement is due to the unexpected appearance of Jesus is inadequate. The explanation seems rather to be in the numinous sensation that is said to accompany being in the presence of Jesus (1:27; 5:27; (9:15); 10:17 and particularly 10:32). The question is whether this numinous element is Markan or whether it could be expected to have been in his tradition. James Robinson has shown that the numinous attitude is secondary to Mark's Christology and is not necessitated by the Markan view of Jesus.⁽⁴¹⁵⁾ The key verse (10:32 and indeed 9:15) falls within the section of debates between Jesus and the disciples about suffering. The interest in glory and greatness reflected in the numinous element is a response to Jesus which is rejected by Mark in 8:33.⁽⁴¹⁶⁾ Thus as this response to Jesus is condemned in Mark⁽⁴¹⁷⁾ it was probably to be found in Mark's tradition here. Can we go further and attribute this element to the strata of authentic reminiscences of the historical-Jesus? In relation to Mk.10:32 Dunn says that it is a variation without parallel in the 'messianic secret' motif.⁽⁴¹⁸⁾ (However as we have just indicated 9:15 may be such a parallel). Dunn moves quickly from this point and the awkward phrasing to historical authenticity. But without other evidence it is not wise to posit so easily this motif in the earliest strata.

Thirdly the theme of 'the disciples' reappears in vv.18b-

19a. That Jesus is meant, in his rebuke to the 'faithless generation', to be addressing the disciples is clear from the use of ἀδελφοί (cf. v.20a) which, being plural, can only refer to the disciples or the crowd - but the crowd is not the focus of attention here. And the conclusion of the pericope indicates that the disciples (and therefore the implications of this pericope for the early Church⁽⁴¹⁹⁾) are firmly at the centre of interest. A number of factors indicate that it is Mark who is responsible for the reference to the disciples and their inability here. (1) Markan activity at each end of the pericope predisposes us towards suspecting Mark's hand in this reference to the disciples. (2) In view of the father's desperate cry (in v.24) "I believe; help my unbelief" - the rebuke of Jesus (in v.19) may have once been directed towards the father. (3) Where faith is elsewhere mentioned in Mark as important in healing it is always that of those seeking the healing, either of the sick person (5:34; 10:52) or people acting on their behalf (2:5; 5:36). If 9:19 was intended to be directed towards the disciples it would be an exception to this pattern. But while Mark seems responsible for heightening the reference to the disciples' inability in vv.18b-f. the motif is so integral to this story that it was probably to be found in Mark's tradition.

Our conclusion regarding the theme of the disciples in Mk.9:14-29 is that while it was probably present in

the body of the story (vv.18bf. are likely to have been part of the introduction), the ending of the pericope may have been supplied by Mark. In any case Mark has clearly highlighted the role of the disciples in this story.

(c) We can now look more generally at this pericope, focusing on Mark's contribution to it and the likelihood of elements of the story belonging to the strata of authentic historical recollection.

(i) We have already offered an explanation for the three descriptions of the illness (vv.17b-18b, 20, 21b-22 - see pp.191f.above) - that they fit the common 'form' of an exorcism story. We should attribute these descriptions to the story of the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist for they do not conform to the pattern of descriptions elsewhere in Mark (1:23, 26; 3:11; 5:2ff.; 7:25) and the vocabulary of the descriptions betrays no early Church interests.

(ii) Does the rebuke by Jesus in v.19 belong to the original story? We have argued that the early Church - as represented by Matthew and Luke, saw an echo of Dt.32:5 in this saying. For some ⁽⁴²⁰⁾ such a conclusion casts doubt on the verse being in the earliest material. However the use of Dt.32:5 in Mk.9:19 is significantly different from the way in which the early Church used Dt.32:5. Here the saying - in the pre-Markan tradition - reflects the lack

of faith in someone coming to Jesus/the early community, but in the early Church Dt.32:5 seems to have been used to characterize the pagan world in contrast to the community of faith (see eg. Phil.2:15 and Acts 2:40).⁽⁴²¹⁾

(iii) As v.24 deals with the faith of the father and not the disciples it is probably pre-Markan in origin. However vv.22b-23 may have their origin in the post-Easter community, the father's cry for pity being a foil for Jesus' words on faith which are difficult to show as being pre-Easter in origin. On the other hand the father's cry for help is consistent with Jesus' rebuke and does not show Jesus in a kindly light, in that he causes the father some grief, and so ^{it} is probably to be associated with the original story.

(iv) V.25 is the report of Jesus' exorcistic technique. Ἐπετίμησεν is used to describe Jesus' words which follow. The command of Jesus is said to be "You dumb and deaf spirit, I command you, come out of him, and never enter him again". (1) When dealing with Mk.5:8 we noted that there were no particular reasons why the early Church should have added the detail of the address to the demon. And on the other hand the use of the demon's name in exorcistic incantations was a long and well established convention.⁽⁴²²⁾ We conclude then that this element of the words of Jesus belongs to the historical tradition.

(2) (Ἐγὼ) ἐπιτίσω (σοι); (cf. Mk.1:27). The phrase is

also well known in the magical literature in the context of incantations seeking to control demons and gods. For example PGM XII:171 has "I command you, Great one... demon of the great god..."; PGM VII:331 - "...Lord Aroubic, I command you; for I am...".⁽⁴²³⁾ So this is fitting vocabulary for an exorcist's command. Before discussing its origin we shall mention the next part of the verse.

(3) "...And no longer enter into him". In dealing with the Babylonian material (p.16 above) it was illustrated how the ancient world believed in the re-entry of a demon into a person. In PGM IV:3024f. there seems to be a provision to arrest a free-ranging demon to prevent it entering a person - "let thy angel descend... and let him draw into captivity the demon as he flies around this creature...".⁽⁴²⁴⁾ This apparent repetition in Mk.9:25 is a recognized routine in both Hellenistic and Jewish material. In PGM IV:1254 there is a Jewish prescription for the wearing of an amulet after a demon has been expelled. Eleazar (Josephus Ant. 8:47) is said to have "adjured the demon never to come back into him...". The demon with which Apollonius was dealing (Life IV:20) "swore that he would leave the young man alone and never take possession of any man again". So the reported technique of Jesus accords well with the history of religions parallels. But at this point, has the Synoptic tradition been shaped, during its transmission, in accordance with an accepted pattern of story telling technique? It is difficult to discover a precise literary convention

that is being followed; Josephus (Ant.8:47) has *μηκέτ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἵπτανήξειν* (or in some manuscripts *ἀπανελθεῖν*) but Mk.9:25 has *μηκέτι εἰσελθῆς εἰς αὐτόν*. The whole of v.25 is to my knowledge nowhere paralleled in its entirety. The last part of the formula in v.25 is found not only in a story (Ant.8:47), but also in a prescriptive incantation in the magical papyri (see p.201 above) and also apparently on amulets (PGM IV:1294). Further, Mark and his tradition shows no desire to be thoroughly consistent in their representation of Jesus' exorcistic words - that is they show no desire to adhere to a literary pattern. Finally, in view of the later Evangelists' hesitancy over this genre of Jesus' words in the tradition (cf. Mtt.17:18/Lk. 9:42) it seems that we can be fairly confident that v.25 is a genuine reflection of the words of Jesus-the-Exorcist.

(v) Vv.26f.. We have seen how reports of the violent departure of demons were common in the ancient world and it is found in other stories of Jesus (Mk.1:26; (5:13)). Again in view of Matthew (17:18) and Luke's reticence here (4:35) this element in the story probably goes back to eye witnesses. But as the reference to Jesus taking the lad by the hand and raising him not only closely resembles 1:31 and 5:41 but also could hardly fail to remind the early Christians of Jesus' resurrection (see Acts 2:24, 32; 3:26; 13:33f.; 17:31) and power to awaken the dead, ⁽⁴²⁵⁾ the formulation, if not the content of this verse, may have

... originated after Easter. (Over against these points it is necessary to note that the use of the hands in healing was so common in the Jewish world that it would in fact be surprising if Jesus did not use the technique⁽⁴²⁶⁾).

We began this section with the objectives of (1) bringing into focus Mark's contribution to this pericope as well as (2) tracing elements in this story that probably belong to the historical-Jesus. The contribution from Mark, about which we may have some confidence, is vv.22b-23 which could have been either brought into this story from elsewhere or created especially for this story in the light of v.19. In order to focus on Jesus' ability as an exorcist the disciples' inability is highlighted by redirecting Jesus' rebuke (v.19) from the father to the disciples. Mark's special contribution to this story was probably in concluding it with an application appropriate for the early Church. On the other hand we have seen that there is possibly a considerable amount of reliable historical recollection in this pericope, including the descriptions of the illness, the rebuke, Jesus' technique, and the violent departure of the demon.

3.6 The Beelzebul Controversy (427)

(Mk.3:22-27 and Mtt.12:22-30/Lk.11:14-23)

12, 22-30	Matth. 9, 32-34	Mark. 3, 22-27	Luk. 11, 14-15. 17-23 (v.16, see p.209 below).
<p><u>22</u> Τότε προσήνεχθη αὐτῷ δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός, καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τὸν κωφὸν λαλεῖν καὶ βλέπειν. <u>23</u> καὶ ἐξίσταντο πάντες οἱ ὄχλοι καὶ ἔλεγον· μὴτι οὕτως ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς Δαυὶδ;</p>	<p><u>22</u> Αὐτῶν δὲ ἐξερχομένων ἰδοὺ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπον κωφὸν δαιμονιζόμενον. <u>23</u> καὶ ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός, καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι λέγοντες· οὐδέποτε ἐφάνη οὕτως ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ.</p>	<p><u>22</u> Καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες ἔλεγον ὅτι <u>Βεελζεβούλ</u> ἔχει καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια. <u>23</u> καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτούς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· πῶς δύναται σατανᾶς σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν; <u>24</u> καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῆ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἡ βασιλεία ἐκείνη. <u>25</u> καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῆ, οὐ δυνήσεται ἡ οἰκία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι. <u>26</u> καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἑαυτόν καὶ ἐμερισθῆ, οὐ δύναται στήναι ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει.</p>	<p><u>14</u> Καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν κωφόν· ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐξελθόντος ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός, καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι, <u>15</u> τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶπον· ἐν <u>Βεελζεβούλ</u> τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια· ... <u>17</u> αὐτὸς δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὰ διανοήματα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν διαμερισθεῖσα ἐρημοῦται καὶ οἶκος ἐπὶ οἶκον πίπτει. <u>18</u> εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτόν διεμερισθῆ, πῶς σταθῆσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; ὅτι λέγετε ἐν <u>Βεελζεβούλ</u> ἐκβάλλειν με τὰ δαιμόνια. <u>19</u> εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν <u>Βεελζεβούλ</u> ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ</p>
<p><u>24</u> οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἀκούσαντες εἶπον· οὗτος οὐκ ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ <u>Βεελζεβούλ</u> ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων.</p>	<p><u>24</u> οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον· ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.</p>	<p><u>27</u> καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν <u>Βεελζεβούλ</u> ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ</p>	<p><u>25</u> εἰδὼς δὲ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· <u>26</u> εἰδὼς δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ διανοήματα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· <u>27</u> καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν <u>Βεελζεβούλ</u> ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ</p>
<p>πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐρημοῦται καὶ πᾶσα πόλις ἢ οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθῆσεται. <u>26</u> καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς τὸν σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλει, ἐφ' ἑαυτόν ἐμερισθῆ· πῶς οὖν σταθῆσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;</p>	<p><u>27</u> καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν <u>Βεελζεβούλ</u> ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ</p>	<p>οἱ υἱοὶ</p>	<p>οἱ υἱοὶ</p>

[Matth.] [12, 22-30]	[Mark. 3, 22-27]	[Luk. 11, 14-15. 17-23]
<p><u>ὁμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν;</u> διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἔ- σονται ὁμῶν . ²⁸ εἰ δὲ ἐν <u>πνεύματι θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλ-</u> <u>λω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθα-</u> <u>σεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία</u> <u>τοῦ θεοῦ.</u> ²⁹ ἢ πῶς δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ἄρπάσαι,</p>	<p>²⁷ ἀλλ' οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰ- σχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι,</p>	<p><u>ὁμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν;</u> διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ ὁμῶν κρι- ταὶ ἔσονται . ²⁰ εἰ δὲ ἐν δα- κτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλ- <u>λω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθα-</u> <u>σεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία</u> <u>τοῦ θεοῦ.</u></p>
<p>ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον δῆση τὸν ἰσχυρόν ;</p>	<p>ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρόν δῆση,</p>	<p>²¹ ὅταν ὁ ἰσχυρὸς καθωπλισμένος φυλάσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αὐ- λήν , ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐστὶν τὰ ὑπ- άρχοντα αὐτοῦ . ²² ἐπὰν δὲ</p>
<p>καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπά- σει . ³⁰ Ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορ- πίζει .</p>	<p>καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπά- σαι.</p>	<p>ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ἐπελ- θὼν νικήσῃ αὐτόν, τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ αἶρει ἐφ' ἣ ἐπεποιθεῖ, καὶ τα σκεῦα αὐτοῦ διαδίδω- σιν . ²³ Ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορ- πίζει .</p>

This is one of the most important passages relating to our theme and so we need to give it some attention. There is Q material here and we are presented with the possibility of Q containing a brief exorcism story. The Charge (Mtt.12:24/Lk.11:15/Mk.3:22, cf.30) has been variously understood and so we must attempt to answer some questions. What was meant by the term Beelzebub, and from where did it come? We should also ask what this passage tells us about Jesus' technique in exorcism and his impact on those around

him. And it will be necessary to take yet another look at Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20. In view of Best's treatment of Mk.3:27f. we will also need to ask how these verses relate to the idea of the fall of Satan.

3.6.1 But we should begin by making clear the nature and extent of the sources for this complex. The extent of the complex in Mark is made clear as it is bounded by references to Jesus' family (3:21 and 31ff). But what material has Mark brought into this section - apart from his subsequent reworking? It is possible to learn something of Mark's redaction here by comparing him with Q.⁽⁴²⁸⁾ In juxtaposing Mark and the Q tradition we will be noting not simply the differences between the two traditions, but how the differences follow lines found elsewhere to be characteristic of these traditions. In other words it is not possible to arbitrarily assign the differences to a particular tradition or redactor. Hence before discussing Mark and his tradition we should try and establish the extent of the Q tradition.

(a) Mtt 12:22f/Lk.11:14. It is fairly clear that Matthew has entirely reworked these two verses. This is particularly obvious when we take into account the doublet in Mtt.9:32f.. Note firstly the Matthean vocabulary, τότε⁽⁴²⁹⁾, προσφέρω⁽⁴³⁰⁾, and δαιμονίζομαι⁽⁴³¹⁾. Matthew's hand is also evident in the demoniac being

blind as well as deaf. (i) The healed man is described as a dumb man who spoke and saw; *καὶ βλέπειν* seems to be an awkward addition. (ii) Of all the healings in the NT the only one not having a precursor in the OT is the giving of sight to the blind. Accordingly a fond hope for the Messianic Age was that the blind would receive their sight (Is.42:7, 16; 61:1⁽⁴³²⁾ 29:18; (32:3); 35:5; 42:18-20; 43:8). And it is pertinent to notice that the only time where the theme of the reception of speech occurs in the OT it is twinned with the theme of the reception of sight - Is.35:5 and 6. In 11:4f. Matthew has already shown an interest in this passage. And one of the predominant themes Matthew continues to pursue is that Jesus fulfils the Messianic hopes of the OT (eg. Mtt.1:21f.; 2:15,23; 8:17).⁽⁴³³⁾ (iii) Thus in this eschatological/messianic context (Mtt.12:22-28) it is not surprising that Matthew would have wanted to heighten an already Messianic healing and so alter Q. (iv) Consonant with this is that among the Synoptics τυφλός has a relatively high frequency of occurrence in Matthew.⁽⁴³⁴⁾ (v) Also the title 'Son of David' is of particular interest to Matthew; he uses it about 10 times (Lk. = 5 times, Mk. = 4 times).⁽⁴³⁵⁾ (vi) Finally, as mentioned above, in Mtt.9:32-34 (which is more closely parallel to Lk.11:14-15), we can see how extensive Matthew's reworking has been in 12:22-24. At two points where Mtt.9:32-34 and 12:22 agree against Lk.11:14-15 - *προσφέρω* and *δαμονίζομαι* -

we have noted that we are dealing with Matthean vocabulary. Regarding the verbalization of the crowd's amazement in Matthew the evidence, though slight, is in favour of a Matthean origin. That is it seems to be a type of response to miracles that Matthew uses - see 7:28; 9:8; cf. 15:31; 21:14. Luke has it only at 7:16 and 13:17. ⁽⁴³⁶⁾

Even though Matthew has entirely reworked this material the juxtapositioning of the three parallel passages (see the text above) enables us to identify the common elements. From this it would seem that the common source material (Q) involved a dumb demoniac being healed so that he could talk, and the crowd's amazement.

But Fuller thinks that this miracle is an editorial composition. ⁽⁴³⁷⁾ It is, he says, a miracle which is an 'ideal scene' "deliberately created to carry the saying". ⁽⁴³⁸⁾ His support for this seems to be; (i) "After all, the church was interested in the saying, not in the setting", ⁽⁴³⁹⁾ and (ii) "the Beelzebul sayings (were) handed down without any setting by Mark and Q (Matt. 12.22 par)". ⁽⁴⁴⁰⁾

It is true that Mark does not use an exorcism story as a setting for the pericope, but to say that neither does Q is to beg the question, as both Matthew and Luke precede the controversy with an exorcism, and Fuller has not shown that this is not Q material, nor that one

Evangelist is dependent on the other. The most important point for Fuller is that this exorcism was created because "the church was interested in the saying, not in the setting". But at least Matthew and Luke have shown that they were interested in a setting for the material. And how is it that they so remarkably agree on the setting? On Fuller's own evidence it is more reasonable to presume that the exorcism story is pre-Matthean and/or Lukan material. If it can be assumed that Luke had no knowledge of Matthew⁽⁴⁴¹⁾ then we are justified in thinking that the Q tradition contained a brief exorcism story at this point in which a dumb demoniac is healed, the man talks and the crowd is amazed.⁽⁴⁴²⁾

(b) Mtt.12:24/Lk.11:15.⁽⁴⁴³⁾ Firstly Matthew and Luke agree (~~Q~~) that an accusation was levelled at Jesus - but by whom? As Matthew seems concerned to make the Pharisees Jesus' opponents⁽⁴⁴⁴⁾ and as proper names tended to enter the tradition during its transmission⁽⁴⁴⁵⁾ Luke probably best preserves the Q tradition. That is, some of the crowd directed the accusation against Jesus. Secondly, what was the nature of the accusation? Comparing Lk.11:15b with Mtt.9:34b Q appears to be best preserved in Lk.11:15b. In view of Mtt.12:27/Lk.11:19 'Beelzebul' was probably in Q here. There is no evidence for thinking that Q contained reference to Jesus 'having' Beelzebul (Mk.3:22).⁽⁴⁴⁶⁾ Thirdly, Lk.11:16 is similar to Mk.8:11 rather than any

possible Q material (cf. Mtt.16:1; 12:38)⁽⁴⁴⁷⁾ and so it probably does not belong to Q material.

(c) Jesus' Reply (Mtt.12:25ff/Lk.11:17ff.). (i) Matthew and Luke agree (=Q)⁽⁴⁴⁸⁾ that Jesus' reply (having mentioned that Jesus knew their thoughts), began with the saying of the divided house. (ii) Then follows (Mtt.12:26/Lk.11:18a) the saying about Satan being divided. (iii) Lk.11:18b (not in Matthew) is probably a Lukan explanation derived from Mk.3:30.⁽⁴⁴⁹⁾ The fact that it follows on rather awkwardly supports the view that Luke is responsible for this intrusion.⁽⁴⁵⁰⁾ (iv) Mtt.12:27f./Lk.11:19f. are almost exact parallels (=Q).⁽⁴⁵¹⁾ (v) In 11:21f. is Luke following Q (while Matthew (12:29) follows Mark (3:27)) or is he reworking Mk.3:27?⁽⁴⁵²⁾ Luke at least is following the order of Q here - cf. Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20 and Mtt.12:30/Lk.11:23. It is uncharacteristic of Luke to rewrite Mark so extensively⁽⁴⁵³⁾ and if he was here reliant on Mark it is surprising that he has only taken up ὁ ἰσχυρός into the vocabulary. There is some evidence of Lukan activity in τὰ ὑπάρχοντα⁽⁴⁵⁴⁾ yet in the allusion here - (τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ διαδίδωσιν) - to Is.53:12a - (τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μερῆς σκῦλα) - Luke does not follow the Alexandrian text as he usually does.⁽⁴⁵⁵⁾ Thus it seems probable that Luke is following a tradition here, other than Mark - probably Q.

(d) From the end of Mtt.12:30/Lk.11:23 the order of Q becomes less certain. Lk.12:10 (Mtt.12:32/Mk.3:28f.) is probably in its Q position in Luke "where it has a catch word connection ('Son of Man') with the preceding saying and also ('Holy Spirit') with the following saying".⁽⁴⁵⁶⁾ And in view of the appropriateness of Mtt.12:43-45a/Lk.11:24-26 in the context in which Luke has it, Luke is probably following Q.⁽⁴⁵⁷⁾ Lk.11:27 is unconnected with what follows and in Matthew the Beelzebul pericope does not extend beyond 12:37.

3.6.2 If the above reconstruction is the extent of Q, and we set it along side Mark, the following elements in Mark stand out which require some discussion.

(a) The pericope is introduced (3:21) with a reference to the family⁽⁴⁵⁸⁾ coming to seize Jesus because they said he was beside himself. The authenticity of this is all but assured as it is unlikely to have been created by the early Church⁽⁴⁵⁹⁾ and the Johannine tradition also preserves a similar reference (Jn.10:20).⁽⁴⁶⁰⁾ In view of Mark supplying vv.31ff. to the present context (see below) he may also have appended vv.19b-21 as the introduction to this pericope.⁽⁴⁶¹⁾

(b) Mark (v.22) has the scribes making the accusation against Jesus. Again⁽⁴⁶²⁾ in view of Mark's desire to make the scribes Jesus' opponents⁽⁴⁶³⁾ and the tendency for tradition to take on proper names,⁽⁴⁶⁴⁾ *there is the indication that*

Mark may be responsible for naming the accusers.

(c) That Jesus is said to be possessed (ἐξελίχθη) by Beelzebul⁽⁴⁶⁵⁾ is unlikely to be an invention of the early Christians - cf. Matthew and Luke's omission of the reference.

(d) V.23 - "And he called to them in parables..." is also highlighted by our comparison of Mark and Q and it is probably from Mark's hand.⁽⁴⁶⁶⁾

(e) It is also apparent that Mark does not have the Q sayings about the Jewish exorcists, Jesus' source of power-authority, and the Kingdom of God (Mtt.12:27f./Lk.11:19f.). In the light of Mark's evident interest in the relationship between the Kingdom of God, the Holy Spirit and the exorcisms of Jesus (see above on Mk.1:21-28) it is most unlikely that this Q saying was available to Mark.

(f) That the parable of the Strong Man was in this context in Mark's tradition is suggested by its parallel position in Q.⁽⁴⁶⁷⁾

(g) The comparison of Q and Mark draws attention to Mk.3:28ff.. Not only is its position in Q different (Lk.12:10) but it is in a different form. The question for us to answer here is not which is the earliest form of the saying⁽⁴⁶⁸⁾ but ^{what is} its form and position in Mark's tradition. R. Scroggs has given three good reasons for thinking that its position in Mark is secondary.

"1. Vs.23 introduces the defense by announcing that a series of parables is to follow. While vss.23-27 are parabolic, 28f. are not. 2. The introductory words in vs.28, "Amen I say to you," suggest an originally independent logion.⁽⁴⁶⁹⁾ 3. The parabolic discourse has given no hint in its imagery that thought of the Spirit belongs to the discussion. Mark himself feels this lack of consistency, for he explains to his readers in vs.30 just how the preceding logion is to be interpreted: "For they had said, 'He has an unclean spirit.'" The Scribes have not, however, said that, and Mark has to relate the Beelzebul controversy with vss.28f. by identifying Beelzebul with the unclean spirit, thus contrasting it with the Holy Spirit working in Jesus".⁽⁴⁷⁰⁾

Thus we should exclude vv.28ff. from Mark's tradition here.

(h) Although vv.31-35 presently belongs to Mark's unit 3:19b-35 they do not belong here in Mark's tradition as v.31 marks a new beginning and the subject of the material is not directly related to the Beelzebul controversy.⁽⁴⁷¹⁾

Our comparison of Mark and Q has revealed that the Beelzebul controversy in Mark's source probably only extended from 3:22b to 3:27.

3.6.3 We should now move on to ask about what Mark intended by his use of this tradition. (a) Crossan says that Mark utilizes this material "so that there is severe

opposition between Jesus and his relatives".⁽⁴⁷²⁾ But is this Mark's intention? Probably not. Consider the following. (i) In vv.31-35 no contrast is intended between Jesus' family and those seated around him;⁽⁴⁷³⁾ there is no adversative $\delta\epsilon$ between vv.32 and 33. The story is to be compared with Mk.9:36f. where Jesus is said to use a visual aid to make a point. (ii) There is no other evidence⁽⁴⁷⁴⁾ which suggests an "animosity of Mark to the relatives of Jesus".⁽⁴⁷⁵⁾ What we do have here is a clear misunderstanding portrayed in Jesus' family. (iii) "... without the warrant of fact no early narrator would have alleged that the family at Nazareth thought that Jesus was beside himself and went out to restrain him".⁽⁴⁷⁶⁾ Thus Matthew and Luke omit the reference. What then did Mark intend? The answer may simply be that on finding this material in his tradition Mark thought it appropriate to place it here for the charge of being $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\eta$ and being 'possessed' were thought to be synonymous.⁽⁴⁷⁷⁾

(b) Mark's redaction shows that vv.28ff. were intended to play the role of the Q saying Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20 - to show by what power-authority Jesus performed his exorcisms.⁽⁴⁷⁸⁾ Mark's intention is particularly evident in v.30. Again if Mark had intended Jesus' family to be subject to this severe criticism we would have expected v.30 to be more specific and vv.31ff. to have been more carefully reworked.

(c) In view of other present day contributions on the understanding of Mark's intention in the use of traditional material in this pericope we should draw particular attention to the Parable of the Strong Man (3:27).

This parable has two components; (i) the strong man is bound ($\delta\eta\sigma\eta$) and then (ii) his house is plundered. That the binding of Satan is to be seen as taking place at the Temptation is a view that is widely held.⁽⁴⁷⁹⁾ Yet we will find (p.230 below) little support for this notion, at least in the Temptation narratives. Thus we want to ask if both components, binding and plundering, at least for Mark, could be understood as referring to what happens in exorcism? Best takes it that the binding is a previous definite act - at the Temptation - because $\delta\eta\sigma\eta$ is an aorist subjunctive.⁽⁴⁸⁰⁾ However the strong man in v.27 is obviously understood as being Satan and in v.23 ("How can Satan cast out Satan?") it is Satan who is being cast out in exorcism. Furthermore the notions of binding (and loosing) are quite natural in the context of dealing with demons, exorcisms and healing. In Lk.13:16 the healing looses a woman whom Satan had bound. In Mk.7:35 a bound tongue is healed (cf. Mk.5:3b; Lk.8:29). And Deissmann has pointed out that running through antiquity is the idea that man can be bound or fettered by demonic influences.⁽⁴⁸¹⁾ Also the progressive pattern of v.27, binding first and then plundering, fits the form of dealing with demons illustrated, for example, in the

magical papyri: first the adjuring to bind or restrict the demon then giving directions to the demon - all in the same progressive act (see eg. PGM IV:3037ff.).

In Lk. 11:24ff. the metaphor of a house is used to describe the individual who is possessed by a demon. What is at stake is the 'house'.⁽⁴⁸²⁾ So also in Mk. 3:27c it is the house that is taken from the strong man - the 'Lord of the House' (3:23). Thus what we have here in Mk. 3:27 is a parable of an exorcism. Satan, the strong man is bound and his house, the possessed person, is taken from Satan. There is then no justification for thinking that any of this parable refers to the Temptation narrative.

From what we have said of this pericope in Mark we can say two things in particular. Firstly, Jesus is accused of exorcising by Beelzebul, but Mark affirms that Jesus' source of power-authority is the Holy Spirit. Secondly, in exorcism Jesus is defeating Satan.

What can we say about this parable reflecting words of Jesus? The following points can be considered. The comparison of a possessed person to a 'house' is still common in the East.⁽⁴⁸³⁾ Two Gospel traditions preserve this parable (Mark/Matthew and Luke⁽⁴⁸⁴⁾) and the Gospel of Thomas 35 also has it. Thus this parable most probably belongs to the authentic sayings of Jesus.

3.6.4 It must now be asked what the Q material can tell us about Jesus-the-Exorcist and how that material presented him. We have already established the fact that the Q pericope began with a brief exorcism story. But Q has given us very little information about this exorcism.

(a) Luke describes the healing using ἐκβάλλων (11:14) while Matthew says ἐθεράπευσεν in 12:22, but uses ἐκβλήθεις in 9:33. This predisposes us towards thinking that Q used ἐκβάλλω (485) as the word to describe what Jesus was doing in his exorcisms. We will discuss this word a little more fully in a moment (p.223).

The brevity of the account of the exorcism indicates not only that Q saw nothing special in Jesus' technique of exorcism but also that it is primarily introductory in nature to what follows. That this introductory exorcism is of a dumb spirit is important. That exorcism had eschatological overtones for Q will become apparent later in the pericope. However already in the introduction the eschatological dimension of exorcism is affirmed, as one of the hopes of the Messianic age was that dumb would sing for joy (Is.35:5 and 6). (486)

(b) What did the charge in Mtt.12:24/Lk.11:15 originally mean? (487) Did Jesus' audience think that he was using a particular foreign god to affect his exorcisms? (489)

This idea involves the notion that 'Beelzebul' is a Jewish distortion of 'Baal - Zebub', the name of the god of Ekron in 2 Kings 1:2. But (i) the connection of the name Beelzebul with the name of the Philistine god at Ekron seems quite late - no earlier than Jerome (c.340-420).⁽⁴⁹⁰⁾ (ii) Outside the NT Beelzebul is mentioned by Origen (CC VIII:25) and Hippolytus (Refutation of Heresies 6:34), but they make no connection with the name of Ekron. (iii) Josephus who mentions the incident of Ahaziah (Ant. 9:19) has the phrase - "the Fly-God of Akkron (Ekron)" using the "same words as the Septuagint to render the latter part of the Hebrew Baal-Zebub traditionally supposed to mean 'Fly-God'".⁽⁴⁹¹⁾ Thus even Josephus (c.37-100) does not seem to know of a connection between Baalzebub of 2 Kings 1:2 and a term 'Beelzebul'. A possible clue to the meaning of Beelzebul⁽⁴⁹²⁾ is in Mtt.10:25 - "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more will they malign those of his household". Though it is rare in the OT (1 Kings 8:13 = 2 Chr. 6:2; Is. 63:15; Hab. 3:11) Zebul can be used as a synonym for heaven and probably means 'dwelling'. A similar meaning is found in the Qumran scrolls.⁽⁴⁹³⁾ In the Hellenistic period Baal was the chief cultic rival of the Yahweh faith especially in the time of Antioches IV.⁽⁴⁹⁴⁾ In later OT writings the name 'Lord of Heaven' was available only to Yahweh.⁽⁴⁹⁵⁾ Now in Judaism and the NT pagan gods were said to be demons.⁽⁴⁹⁶⁾

"What better name then for Satan, the chief of the

demons than that of the chief of the heathen gods?
 He could not of course be called by his proper name -
 ... this title is restricted to Yahweh - but this name
 'Lord of Heaven' could be hinted at in a slight
 disguise". (497)

Gaston concludes here -

"The Pharisees accuse Jesus of being inspired by
 Satan. The name they use, Beelzebul = Baalshamaim =
 Satan, is transparent enough to be readily understood
 by Jesus and his hearers". (498)

Thus what the exorcisms of Jesus lead the crowd to think
 is that he is evil and inspired not by God but by Satan.

(c) Mtt.12:25ff./Lk.11:17ff. is Jesus' reply to the
 charge of casting out demons by Beelzebul. (i) The precise
 wording of the first two verses need not detain us and the
 meaning is clear. It is impossible for Jesus to be casting
 out demons by Beelzebul/Satan for that would mean Satan was
 divided. But even if he were exorcising by Satan, even if
 Satan was divided against himself, Jesus' exorcisms would
 still mark the destruction of Satan and his Kingdom.

(ii) The next argument that is used to counter the charge
 is to point out the inconsistency of charging Jesus with
 being in league with Satan while not considering by whom
 their own people cast out demons. (499) The question is
 "by whom do your sons cast out (demons)?" The natural
 response to this of course would be 'God' (and the context

supplies only two alternatives, Satan or God).⁽⁵⁰⁰⁾

There is a problem here in the next verse (Mtt.12:28/
Lk.11:20); Jesus is said to claim that his exorcisms mark
the arrival of the Kingdom of God. What then is Q's
understanding of Jesus' contemporary exorcists and their
exorcisms? In Q's present arrangement with vv.19 and 20
(Lk.11) juxtaposed it has generally been thought that the
obvious interpretation is that Q felt that the exorcisms
of the Jews were related in some way to the coming of the
Kingdom of God - an interpretation which has rightly
been variously and vigorously avoided by NT critics.⁽⁵⁰¹⁾
Creed⁽⁵⁰²⁾ for example resorts to Bultmann's hypothesis that
v.19 is a late insertion⁽⁵⁰³⁾ from the "controversies of
the early community with its Jewish opponents".⁽⁵⁰⁴⁾
But even if the reference to the Jewish exorcists is
'late' it was still part of the Q material that Matthew
and Luke used. And even to alter the present order of
the material so that Lk.11:19 and 20 are no longer
juxtaposed is of little help for the problem of Q's
understanding of the Jewish exorcists would still remain
unanswered.

There is however another alternative. The pericope
up until Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20 is not about the relationship
between exorcism and the inbreaking of the Kingdom of God.
The Pharisees' accusation and Jesus' reply have, so far,
only to do with Jesus' source of power-authority. Therefore,

all that Q can possibly be saying about the Jewish exorcists is that they in some way share the same source of power-authority as Jesus. This notion of Jesus tolerating others as allies is made more plausible when we note Lk.11:23/Mtt.12:30 and its positive doublet - 'For who ever is not against us, is for us' (Lk.9:50/Mk.9:40). In both Luke and Mark this saying follows John (the disciple's) report of a Strange Exorcist he tried to dissuade from operating because he was not following Jesus. Thus Q is not alone in seeing Jesus being tolerant of other exorcists whom he is said to regard, at least to some extent, as allies.

(d) Then comes Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20 - one of the most exciting verses we shall deal with; "But if in a spirit/finger of God I cast out demons, then the Kingdom of God has come upon you". But in understanding and interpreting this verse in the context of Q and perhaps the ministry of Jesus, we must face a myriad of problems including - What was the wording of this verse in Q? Why in Q are the exorcisms of Jesus linked with the inbreaking of the Kingdom of God? Can the saying be traced back to the historical Jesus? and, if so, what was its significance for Jesus?

(i) There is no need here to completely rehearse the debate about whether Q contained the word 'Spirit' of 'Finger'.⁽⁵⁰⁵⁾ Despite his hesitancy about his results

Dunn has in fact given good reason for taking 'Spirit' as original in Q.⁽⁵⁰⁶⁾ In any case the meanings of the variants are the same.⁽⁵⁰⁷⁾

(ii) Why are the exorcisms of Jesus linked with the inbreaking of the Kingdom of God? This verse has three components, the source of power-authority for the exorcisms (Spirit), the exorcist ('I'), and the meaning attached to these two components - the inbreaking of the Kingdom of God. So, are the exorcisms of Jesus linked with the coming of the Kingdom because Jesus performs the exorcism or because Jesus performs the exorcism in the Spirit of God? Or do we in fact have to choose between these two options?

It is generally recognized that the key element in this verse is 'Spirit/Finger of God' by, or in, which Jesus operates.⁽⁵⁰⁸⁾ However from what we have just said about the previous verse (Mtt.12:27/Lk.11:19) where Q seems to accept that the Jews also operate on the same side as Jesus (cf. the Strange Exorcist - Mk.9:38-41/Lk.9:49-50), Jesus' source of power authority may not be as unique as it has been claimed. Yet on the other hand while operating in the same sphere (of 'God') as the Jewish exorcists there is an aspect to Jesus' power-authority that was hitherto unknown. That is, in contrast to his contemporaries (note the adversative $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$) Jesus claimed

it was the Spirit of God which provided him with his power-authority. The Spirit of God was not one of the Jewish Rabbis' sources of power-authority.⁽⁵⁰⁹⁾ So far as I can tell Q is making a unique claim for Jesus.

Although the use of ἐγώ is not everywhere in the NT to be taken as implying a contrast, or used for emphasis,⁽⁵¹⁰⁾ Stauffer says -

"On the lips of the Synoptic Jesus the emphatic ἐγώ is relatively infrequent. It is found in warnings, promises and commands uttered by Jesus with the sense of His divine power and authority".⁽⁵¹¹⁾

And the only other time Q uses ἐγώ on the lips of Jesus (Mtt.8:9/Lk.7:8) it is to draw attention to the person of Jesus. Hence we can suggest that the inbreaking of the Kingdom of God is linked with Jesus' exorcisms in Q because Jesus in the Spirit casts out demons.

In Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20 ἐκβάλλω is put on the lips of Jesus in Q. How much is to be made of the use of this word is difficult to decide. So far as I know this is - along with Mark - the first time it is used in relationship to exorcism. In literature prior to the gospels, for example in Tobit (6:18), the demons are not 'cast out', but flee (φεύγω). When we take into account the two elements of Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20 - casting out demons (that is, Satan (Mtt.12:26/Lk.11:18) - the enemy of God) and

the coming of the Kingdom of God, the LXX's use of ἐκβάλλω may be useful in conjecturing the implication of its use in Q. Most of the occurrences of ἐκβάλλω in the LXX are in a context where an enemy, frustrating or standing in the way of God fulfilling his purpose for his chosen people of Israel, is cast out (ἐκβάλλω) so that God's purpose can be fulfilled. This purpose is most often the possession of the promised land. Two examples: "Little by little will I drive them out (ἐκβάλλω) before you, until you are increased and possess the land" (Ex.23:30); "The eternal God is your dwelling place, and underneath are the everlasting arms. And he thrust out (ἐκβάλλω) the enemy before you, and said, Destroy. So Israel dwelt in safety ... in a land of grain and wine..." (Dt.33:27f.). Though I do not want to press the point it may be that, in the light of the LXX use of ἐκβάλλω Q was implying that Jesus was casting out an enemy of God in order that God's purpose might be fulfilled - the coming of the Kingdom.

(iii) What can we say about the historicity of this Q saying? That the saying rightly belongs to the historical-Jesus seems quite likely from the following. (1) The 'Kingdom' was a central theme of the public ministry of Jesus.⁽⁵¹²⁾ (2) The fact that the Kingdom of God is said to have already come (ἔφθασεν),⁽⁵¹³⁾ which corresponds to אֵלֶּיךָ הָיָה (cf. Dn.4:21), suggests that the saying arose in Jesus' own ministry.⁽⁵¹⁴⁾ (3) Also the verse is part of

... an antithetic parallelism - a characteristic of Jesus' speech.⁽⁵¹⁵⁾ (4) The early church did not associate the dawning of salvation with Jesus' exorcisms (see pp. 354ff. below).

3.6.5 We conclude this discussion of the Beelzebul Controversy by briefly drawing attention to Matthew and Luke's unique contribution and understanding of it. Matthew has rearranged the order of Q, and follows Mark (3:28f.) to bring the saying about blasphemy against the Spirit into the present context. Matthew also introduces the acclamation of 12:23 so that the Messianic and eschatological characteristics inherent in his tradition are identified and highlighted. Matthew has also removed the parable of the Returning Spirit from the context of Jesus' exorcisms. There is to be no question of Jesus' attack on Satan being reversed. Luke maintains the Q perspective on this pericope (see above) and emphasises the continuing relevance of it. The parable of the Returning Spirit and 11:28 ("Blessed...are those who hear the word of God and keep it") along with v.23 - gathering with Jesus - show that Luke is encouraging his readers in their ministry of exorcism. For Mark Jesus-the-Exorcist is being charged with madness and demon-possession (3:21f.), hence in league with Satan (3:23) - an unforgivable, blasphemous accusation (3:29).

3.7 The Temptations (516)

(Mk.1:12, 13 and Mtt.4:1, 2, 11/Lk.4:1, 2, 13)

Matth. 4,12,11	Mark. 1,12-13	Luk. 4,12,13
<p>¹ Τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνίχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου. ² καὶ νηστεύσας ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα, ὕστερον ἐπείνασεν.</p>	<p>¹² Καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐβάλλει εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. ¹³ καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας <u>πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ</u>, καὶ ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων,</p>	<p>¹ Ἰησοῦς δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐπέστρεφεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, καὶ ἦγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ² ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα <u>πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου</u>. Καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ συνελεσθῶσάν αὐτὸν ἐπείνασεν.</p>
<p><u>ἀφίησιν αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος</u></p>	<p>¹¹ Τότε</p>	<p>¹³ Καὶ συνελεσθῶσας πάντα πειρασμὸν ὁ <u>διάβολος ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρι καιροῦ.</u></p>
<p>καὶ <u>ἰδοὺ ἄγγελοι προσήλθον καὶ διεκόνουν αὐτῷ.</u></p>	<p>καὶ <u>οἱ ἄγγελοι διεκόνουν αὐτῷ.</u></p>	<p><u>διεκόνουν αὐτῷ.</u></p>

The reason for drawing attention to this passage is that an examination of it may help to answer the question - When (for the various traditions) is Satan defeated, in the Temptations, the exorcisms, the cross, or at some future time?

3.7.1 For a start it seems fairly clear that Luke does not intend to convey the idea that Satan was finally defeated in the Temptations for he says that "The devil left Jesus until an opportune time" (4:13). This is confirmed when we look at the rest of Luke where Satan is referred to at (8:12); 10:18; 11:18; and 13:16. Thus

we have an indication that Luke thought that Satan was active throughout the ministry of Jesus. Conzelmann's contention that the period described between Lk.4:13 and 22:23 was "one free from the activity of Satan"⁽⁵¹⁷⁾ is thus hardly tenable.⁽⁵¹⁸⁾

3.7.2 Regarding Matthew's view of the relationship between the Temptations and the fall of Satan the situation is less clear. In v.10 Satan is told to 'go' (ὑπάγε) and in v.11 he 'leaves' Jesus (ἀφίησιν αὐτόν). However in view of 12:26 and 16:23 it seems that Matthew also saw Satan's activity continuing after the Temptations.

3.7.3 If neither Matthew nor Luke views the Temptations as the defeat of Satan, what can we say about Q? In fact we are in much the same situation as we were with Matthew and Luke. Reference in Mtt.4:11a/Lk.4:13 to the devil leaving comes from Q.⁽⁵¹⁹⁾ However the second part of the verse probably does not. Mention of the ministry of the angels in Matthew comes from Mark, (1:13) though ἰδοὺ and προσῆλθον being typically Matthean are probably from his hand.⁽⁵²⁰⁾ And although Luke shows no particular interest in καιρός he does favour ἄχρι ,⁽⁵²¹⁾ and only he uses the phrase ἄχρι καιροῦ (here and Acts 13:11). So it is most likely that it is Luke who adds the phrase at 4:13.⁽⁵²²⁾ If this is correct then the Q Temptations probably ended only with a simple reference to the devil

... leaving Jesus. From this we can hardly conclude that in the Q Temptations we have expressed the very important motif of the defeat of Satan. In fact, from other Q material, as with Matthew and Luke, we gain the distinct impression that Satan was not defeated at the Temptations. For, the Beelzebul controversy (p.215 above) and, (if it belongs to Q), the Return of the Seventy (p.241 below), portray not a defeated enemy but one in the process of being defeated.

3.7.4 It is E. Best's view that the defeat of Satan is attached to the Temptation in Mark.⁽⁵²³⁾ After an initial examination of the Markan Temptation pericope Best says that there is no overwhelming convincing theme in it nor is there evidence to indicate in any clear way the result of the Temptation.⁽⁵²⁴⁾ For this Best says we must look elsewhere in Mark - in 3:19b-35. This we have done, now we look at Mark's account of the Temptation and its immediate context.

Even if there is internal evidence suggesting that the Baptism and Temptation pericopes exhibit different strands of tradition,⁽⁵²⁵⁾ Mark at least has them juxtaposed. (That the present literary relationship is at least earlier than the Synoptics is indicated by the same relationship between the two pericopes in Q.) Thus in Mark we should understand these passages as contributing to the significance of each other and we might expect some consistency of

understanding between them on the part of Mark.

The Temptation pericope is a mere two brief sentences in Mark so it is difficult to draw out directly what Mark has in mind here. When we observe the role of Satan⁽⁵²⁶⁾ in the rest of Mark there seems to be a consistency of use. In 3:23 and 26 Jesus answers the Pharisees' charge that his ministry is authorized and empowered by Satan. In 8:33 Peter attempts to deflect Jesus from his intended mission and the retort is "Get behind me, Satan..." Thus these two references have to do with criticism of, and deflection of Jesus from his ministry. Into this pattern it is not difficult to fit 4:15 - where Satan destroys the 'mission' of the Sower. Turning to πειράζω we find that it is used on three other occasions (8:11; 10:2; 12:15) - all in the context of confrontations with the Pharisees. The reference in 8:11 is interesting for the Pharisees are asking Jesus for a sign to prove himself, with which we should compare the Q Temptation where Satan tempts Jesus to prove his sonship by throwing himself off the pinnacle of the Temple. So perhaps we have in 1:9-13 suggestions that Mark saw Satan's activity in the Temptation as having to do with an attempt to deflect Jesus from his mission.

Best says that on the basis of the Markan account alone we would be entirely ignorant of the outcome of the

III

... Temptation.⁽⁵²⁷⁾ However in view of the OT background to the concept of the ministry of angels in the wilderness⁽⁵²⁸⁾ where the purpose of the angels was to ensure the safety of 'God's Chosen' in a trying period, we should be alert to the possibility that Mark is assuming a positive outcome, even though he does not specifically say so. If we can press the OT background for light on Mark's reference to angels it is also possible that, although Mark may have in mind the successful outcome of the Temptations, there need be no thought of the victory over Satan - simply the safe passage through a difficult period.

Hence not only does the last part of v.13 not deflect us from our earlier suggestion, but it confirms the idea, that in Mark's Temptation it was Jesus' mission that was at stake. And, when we take into account the fact that immediately following the Baptism and Temptation Mark has Jesus emerging on mission (1:14-15) we are further justified in seeing Mark's Temptation narrative as relating to Jesus' mission.

So there is a victory in Mark's Temptation, discernible from the pericope itself, but it is not the binding or the overthrow of Satan:⁽⁵²⁹⁾ it is Jesus' overcoming Satan in relation to his mission, the preaching of the Good News (1:14f.;cf.1:1).⁽⁵³⁰⁾ So none of the Synoptic traditions

...
see the defeat of Satan being represented in the
Temptation story.

3.8 Jesus' Answer to John (531)

(Mtt.11:2-6/Lk.7:18-23)

Matth. 11, 2-6	Mark.	Luk. 7, 18-23
<p>2'Ο δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀκούσας ἐν τῷ δεσμητηρίῳ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ πέμψας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ 3 εἶπεν αὐτῷ· <u>σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν;</u></p> <p>4 και ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννῃ ὅτι ἀκούετε και βλέπετε· 5 τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν και χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται και κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν, και νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται και <u>πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται</u>· 6 και μακάριός ἐστιν ὁς ἐάν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.</p>		<p>18 Και ἀπήγγειλαν Ἰωάννῃ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ <u>περὶ πάντων τούτων</u>. και προσκαλεσάμενος δύο τινὰς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰωάννης 19 ἐπεμψεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον λέγων· σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν; 20 παραγενόμενοι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνδρες εἶπαν· Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστῆς ἀπέστειλεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς σέ λέγων· σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν; 21 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐθεράπευσεν πολλοὺς ἀπὸ νόσων και μαστίγων και πνευμάτων πονηρῶν και τυφλοῖς πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο βλέπειν. 22 και ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννῃ ὅτι εἶδετε και ἤκούσατε· τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν, χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται, και κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν, νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται, <u>πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται</u>· 23 και μακάριός ἐστιν ὁς ἐάν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.</p>

We must at least briefly consider this pericope because healing from unclean spirits is mentioned in Lk.7:21 and we need to discuss the origin of the reference. As this passage may have to do with Jesus' self-understanding in relation to his activities we need to consider the historicity of this passage. We will also want to see what meanings were assigned to these verses in the course of their transmission.

3.8.1 The Q tradition. It is fairly clear when comparing Matthew and Luke, that the Q introduction to this

pericope contained a reference to John the Baptist hearing of Jesus' activities (ἔργα Matthew, πάντων τούτων Luke) and then sending some (two?) of his disciples to Jesus to ask - "Are you the coming one, or should we expect another?"

Lk.7:20-21 does not appear in Matthew. That this material was originally part of Q could be indicated by Luke uncharacteristically leaving in a repetition⁽⁵³²⁾ in v. 21, and^{by the fact} that such repetitions (cf. Lk.15:21f; Lk.19:34) are to be attributed to traditional biblical style.⁽⁵³³⁾ On the

other hand the cumulative impact of a number of points leads to the conclusion that Luke is responsible for these two

verses. (a) παραχίνομαι,⁽⁵³⁴⁾ δέ⁽⁵³⁵⁾ ἀνὴρ,⁽⁵³⁶⁾ πρὸς,⁽⁵³⁷⁾ (perhaps) ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ᾠρᾷ,⁽⁵³⁸⁾ θεραπεύω ἀπὸ,⁽⁵³⁹⁾ πνεύμα πονηρῶν,⁽⁵⁴⁰⁾ and χαρίζομαι⁽⁵⁴¹⁾ seem to indicate

Lukan redaction. (b) V. 21 is an awkward addition into the context.⁽⁵⁴²⁾ (c) It is probably Luke who is responsible for

the aorist in v. 22 (εἶδεντε καὶ ἠκούσατε cf. Lk.10:23-24/

Mtt.13:16-17) so that the disciples of John can indeed report specifically what they had seen and heard.⁽⁵⁴³⁾ Our conclusion

is then that the Q tradition is best preserved in Matthew,

and that Luke is responsible for the reference to Jesus'

healings "from ... evil spirits" (Lk.7:21).⁽⁵⁴⁴⁾ On this we

shall comment in a moment.

The introduction to this pericope⁽⁵⁴⁵⁾ indicates that Q understood John's question as arising out of the activity (ἔργα - Mtt.11:2; Περὶ πάντων τούτων Lk.7:18) of Jesus. John the Baptist enquires - "Are you he who is to come, or shall we look for another?" (Mtt.11:4/Lk.7:19). In his reply Jesus directs attention to what can be seen and heard - including the healing miracles. But it is not that Jesus is simply appealing to the miraculous to prove his status, but he is helping John to see that the kingdom had come. Indeed the passage Jesus is said to echo - Is.35:5 and 6a "then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped; then shall the lame man leap like a hart" - illustrates this very point. This passage makes no reference to a messianic figure⁽⁵⁴⁶⁾ but only to the state of affairs in the New Age.

It is this state of affairs that Jesus is said to want John to notice. Even in the allusion to Is.61:1 (Mtt.11:5/Lk.7:22, cf. also Is.29:18-19) - all reference to the One bringing the good news is dropped so that what is emphasised is not the messenger but the good news which is being preached to the poor.⁽⁵⁴⁷⁾ But as the climax of the core of the reply comes with a reference to Is.61:1 there is the hint that Jesus is not without importance in the activities of the eschaton. For as Stanton says "it is not God himself but the one anointed with God's spirit who announces good tidings to the

poor - Jesus".⁽⁵⁴⁸⁾ This conclusion is enhanced by the climax of the pericope (Mtt.11:6/Lk.7:23) which appropriately refers to Jesus possibly hindering people perceiving the new state of affairs. Thus for Q the miracles and Jesus' preaching show that the kingdom has come and in turn this reflects on the identity of the One who performs the miracles and preaches to the poor.

3.8.2. Matthew and Luke take up this Q perspective, but with their own particular interests. While Q seems to have placed this pericope in a context that emphasised Jesus' person and authority,⁽⁵⁴⁹⁾ Matthew has placed it in the context of the coming of the Kingdom (chapters 11-13) so that Jesus and the Kingdom are twin themes and in turn Jesus is the Christ in word and deed.⁽⁵⁵⁰⁾ Luke has made the significant addition of 7:21 - "In that hour he cured many of diseases and plagues and evil spirits, and on many that were blind he bestowed sight".⁽⁵⁵¹⁾ This addition highlights Jesus' command to tell of what John's disciples had seen and heard. But it also directs more attention to what Jesus was doing and turns the miracles into proofs of Jesus' status.⁽⁵⁵²⁾ For our present study it is to be noted that Luke includes the cure of people from evil spirits as part of the evidence/proof that Jesus is the Coming One. If we note 10:18 (see pp 242ff. below, cf. 4:40f.) it may be that Luke wants to mark out exorcism as particularly important in his understanding

of the coming of the Kingdom. This relationship between exorcism, the person of Jesus, and the Kingdom will be explored in chap. IV below.

3.8.3. If Luke is responsible for 7:21 then this pericope can tell us very little about Jesus' understanding of his exorcism. But what of the historicity of the remainder of this passage? Dunn has thoroughly explored this question and concludes that -

"question and answer fit so neatly within the life-situation of Jesus and lack coherence if either or both were first prompted by a post-Easter situation, that the substance at least of the account must be regarded as historical. Jesus' words in vv. 4-6 only really make sense as an answer to such a question posed by disciples of the Baptist". (553)

If this conclusion is correct then it provides an important corrective or balance to the saying in Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20. There it is his exorcisms which are the focus of attention in relation to the kingdom. Here it is not only the healings but particularly his preaching to the poor in which God's eschatological reign is evident for Jesus. (554)

3.9 The Disciples' Mission(s) (555)

(Μκ.6:7-12, 30/Μττ.10:1-15/Λκ.9:1-6; 10:1-11, 17-20)

Matth. 10,1

¹Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς δώ-
δεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ

ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς
ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρ-
των ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὰ καὶ
θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶ-
σαν μαλακίαν .

Mark. 6,7

⁷Καὶ προσκαλεῖται τοὺς δώ-
δεκα καὶ ἤρξατο
αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο
καὶ ἔδίδου αὐτοῖς
ἐξουσίαν τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν ἀ-
καθάρτων .

Luk. 9,1

¹Συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς δώ-
δεκα

ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν καὶ
ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια
καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν.

Luk. 10, 17-20

¹⁷Ὑπέστρεψαν δὲ οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα
[δύο] μετὰ χαρᾶς λέγοντες· κύ-
ριε, καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑποτάσσεται
ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου. ¹⁸εἶπεν
δὲ αὐτοῖς· ἔθεώρουν τὸν σατα-
νᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρα-
νοῦ πεσόντα . ¹⁹Ἴδοὺ δέδωκα
ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν
ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων,
καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ
ἐχθροῦ, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς οὐ μὴ
ἀδικήσῃ. ²⁰πλὴν ἐν τούτῳ μὴ
χαίrete ὅτι τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῖν ὑποτάσ-
σεται, χαίrete δὲ ὅτι τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν
ἐγγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς .

It is beyond the scope of this present study to investigate fully the ministry of exorcism in the Christian community after Easter. But we must include at least a brief examination of the mission charge in so much as it may reflect something of the historical-Jesus' understanding of his exorcisms, and the relationship between them and those of the disciples.

Four different reports of the Disciples' Missions have come down to us. Hahn has convincingly shown that this variety of traditions arises out of two sources.⁽⁵⁵⁶⁾ Mark 6:7f. is one account followed by Luke in chapter 9, and the other is Luke 10, probably Q.⁽⁵⁵⁷⁾ Matthew 10:1-14 is to be seen as a conflation of these two accounts.⁽⁵⁵⁸⁾ Do these two traditions represent one common mission discourse or two? From the pattern of the two traditions which are roughly paralleled in Mark and Luke it is probably best to see just one source behind these two traditions.⁽⁵⁵⁹⁾ And when in 22:35 Luke refers back to instructions given to the Twelve he alludes not to 9:11f. but to 10:4⁽⁵⁶⁰⁾ the mission of the Seventy Two.⁽⁵⁶¹⁾

(a) In view of the contributions on this material by F.W. Beare it is pertinent that we should ask if Jesus ever sent his disciples out on mission before Easter. On the

basis of the witness of more than one tradition T.W. Manson said that "the mission of the disciples is one of the best attested facts in the life of Jesus".⁽⁵⁶²⁾ But, as we have just noted, these traditions probably go back to a common tradition. And on the other hand F.W. Beare says "that if such a mission took place, the gospels tell us next to nothing about it. In Matthew especially,... the whole story (as apart from the charge) shrinks to the words: 'These twelve Jesus sent out' (10:5); and Mark and Luke add only that they come back and reported success".⁽⁵⁶³⁾ Beare⁽⁵⁶⁴⁾ agrees with Bultmann that the missionary charge must in the end be included among the material produced by the Church.⁽⁵⁶⁵⁾

Yet there are clear hints in this material that it did not all arise in the early Church. (i) Of the two traditions (Mk.6:7-13 and Lk.10:1-11; (17-20)) the most primitive one is probably Luke's⁽⁵⁶⁶⁾ and it is noticeable that Mark felt that the stringent requirements of the commission (as in Lk.10:4) were inappropriate for his church.⁽⁵⁶⁷⁾ The wholly negative character of Lk.10:4, (despite Hoffmann⁽⁵⁶⁸⁾ and Schulz's⁽⁵⁶⁹⁾ suggestion to the contrary) is particularly appropriate to the Palestinian Sitz im Leben: the directive not to salute anyone on the road is so out of harmony with common courtesy in the East that its origin in the post-Easter community is unlikely.⁽⁵⁷⁰⁾ (ii) What the disciples are to proclaim is

the Kingdom of God.⁽⁵⁷¹⁾ The absence of any Christology in the disciples' message does, as Jeremias says, make it probable that we have here a piece of pre-Easter tradition.⁽⁵⁷²⁾ (iii) The Palestinian milieu of the personification of peace - "a son of peace"⁽⁵⁷³⁾ and shaking off the dust from their feet⁽⁵⁷⁴⁾ also points to the pre-Easter origin of at least some of this material.⁽⁵⁷⁵⁾ Thus even if the framework of the mission charge has been supplied by the early Church⁽⁵⁷⁶⁾ we have here clear evidence that Jesus sent disciples out on mission prior to Easter (cf. Mk.3:14).

(b) The next question that requires our attention is - did the disciples' mission charge contain specific instructions to cast out demons? This question arises because one of the sources (Mk.6:7) has Jesus specifically giving the disciples authority over unclean spirits (cf. Mk.3:15) while the other source (Q/Lk.10:9) has Jesus only mentioning healing the sick. As Mark may have added the reference to exorcism - (he shows a distinct interest in exorcism (see pp 114f. above), and in view of 10:17 Luke probably would not drop any such reference) it appears that no such charge was given to the disciples. However, while it is difficult to show that a specific charge to exorcise was given to the disciples it is not difficult to show that the disciples probably did involve themselves in exorcism.

(i) We have seen that the pre-Markan and historical tradition

in 9:14-29 assumed the disciples' ability to cast out demons. (ii) Mark himself believed the disciples to be exorcists - 3:15; 6:7, 13. (iii) The Strange Exorcist pericope (Mk.9:38f./Lk.9:49f.) assumes that the followers of Jesus were exorcists. (iv) The Return of the Seventy (Lk.10:19) mentions the disciples' being given "power over the enemy", which, as we will see, probably has at least a Palestinian origin. This variety of evidence is support for thinking that the disciples probably were involved in exorcism before Easter, ⁽⁵⁷⁷⁾ even though we cannot be sure that Jesus gave them a specific charge to be so. We could add in view of Jesus' sending the disciples out to preach the Kingdom of God, and the connection he made between the Kingdom of God and the fall of Satan's kingdom and exorcism (see chaps.IV and VI below), that Jesus would have assumed that his command to preach the Kingdom would have involved exorcism.

(c) What then of the disciples' return? Are there any historical reminiscences in the accounts of the disciples' return (Mk.6:30/Lk.10:17-20)? The Markan revision betrays the Evangelist's hand to such an extent that it appears to be entirely redactional. ⁽⁵⁷⁸⁾ As Mark is not in the habit of inventing details for literary purposes ⁽⁵⁷⁹⁾ we can perhaps say that the fact of the disciples' return was in Mark's tradition - but no more. Even the two part report on what

the disciples had done and taught may be from Mark's hand for, as we have seen, he is intent on holding both aspects together, at least in Jesus' mission. We must then rely on Lk.10:17-20 to gain insight into the history of this tradition.

The case for recognising this as coming from Luke's hand has not often been proposed⁽⁵⁸⁰⁾ nor is it generally thought to be from L.⁽⁵⁸¹⁾ It is the Q material that probably supplies Luke with this tradition.⁽⁵⁸²⁾ (i) The introduction to v.17 is cast in Lukan language and so we should release vv.17b-20 from the context of the mission of the seventy, but the subject matter of the following verses demands a missionary situation. (ii) The Palestinian elements in this pericope⁽⁵⁸³⁾ suggest an early origin for this material as especially does the connection between exorcism and the fall of Satan, a connection which the early Church did not use.

Of particular interest is 10:18 - "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven". As this is an unusual report in that Jesus is said to experience a vision⁽⁵⁸⁴⁾ it is often taken to be a reliable reflection of Jesus' words.⁽⁵⁸⁵⁾ This verse has been taken to refer to a number of different things.⁽⁵⁸⁶⁾ For example C.J. Cadoux says it is possible that we have here another allusion to the Temptations.⁽⁵⁸⁷⁾ But it is only possible to refer this verse back to the

Temptations if one begins with the assumption that the victory over Satan was represented in the Temptations. Edward Langton says that it has been referred "to the original fall of the angels, to which so many references are made in Jewish apocalyptic literature".⁽⁵⁸⁸⁾ Such a view is only possible if the verse is considered to be a saying detached from the present context.⁽⁵⁸⁹⁾ However authentic Jesus-sayings in the Beelzebul controversy (see pp.22/ff.above) so relate exorcism and the fall of Satan that we would expect Lk.10:18 to be in its present context.

On the face of it this verse seems to convey the idea that Jesus had seen Satan's defeat which was speedy and is completed.⁽⁵⁹⁰⁾ On closer investigation the verse probably tells a different story. To begin with, the modern eye regards the metaphor of lightning as conveying the idea of light, but above all speed. However, on the other occasions this word is used the accent is not on speed but on brightness (Mtt.24:27; 28:3; Lk.11:36; 17:24; Rev.4:5; 8:5; 11:19 and 16:18). This is especially the case in Revelation where the term is used of the stunning and arresting brightness of God's activity with duration and speed being of no particular interest or significance. Thus for Satan to fall like lightning would not necessarily mean that his fall had been speedy and complete, but that it was

both manifestly obvious and stunning. We should not make too much of the Greek tenses of this verse (ἐθεώρουν imperfect; πρὸντα aorist participle) but in being linked with exorcism this obvious and stunning fall of Satan would seem to be an ongoing process. If this is correct then this pericope, particularly Lk.10:18, tells us that Jesus viewed even his disciples' exorcisms as linked with the fall of Satan. (591)

IV

JESUS-THE-EXORCIST

4.1 So far we have done two things. In chap.II we set out the background against which we should view the Gospel material relating to Jesus as an exorcist, and then in chap.III we examined the principal data that relate to Jesus-the-Exorcist. In the light of this we can now sketch out briefly a picture of the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist. We will then go on in the next chapter to assess the various responses to, and interpretations of, this aspect of the ministry of historical-Jesus.

4.2 The fundamental question which we have so far left in abeyance, but which only now we have the evidence to answer, is whether or not the historical-Jesus was in fact an exorcist.⁽¹⁾

4.2.1 Beginning with the Synoptic tradition there are the stories of Jesus healing demoniacs - Mk.1:21-28; 5:1-20; 7:24-30 and 9:14-29; and Q, Mtt.12:22f./Lk.11:14. From the last chapter we have seen that the evidence demands that we place the origin of at least the core of these stories in the ministry of the historical-Jesus. This same tradition also contains sayings of Jesus that presume his ability as an exorcist (Mk.3:22-26 and Mtt.12:24-26/Lk.11:15-18; Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20; Mk.3:27 and Mtt.12:29/Lk.11:21f.; Mk.3:28f./Mtt.12:31-32/Lk.12:10.⁽²⁾

In the Synoptics and Acts there are also brief references to Jesus' exorcisms; Mk.1:32-34,39(pars.); 3:11f.(pars); Lk.7:21; Acts 10:38; Lk.(4:39); 13:32.

4.2.2 Names were used by exorcists in their incantations for a variety of reasons. In Ant.8:42ff. Josephus illustrates an important implication in the use of a 'name' of someone. Josephus begins this story (see p.68above) by considering Solomon's prowess in wisdom, cleverness, and musical composition. And to prove Solomon's ability in this field Josephus goes on to tell the story of Eleazar using Solomon's name in an exorcism.

So probably the strongest piece of evidence that the historical-Jesus was an exorcist is that a variety of material shows that Jesus' name was being used by other exorcists. (a) Even in the NT there is evidence of such practices. In Mk.9:38 (/Lk.9:49) John comes to Jesus and says - "Teacher, we saw a man casting out demons in your name ...". In Acts 19:13 the sons of Sceva attempt to perform an exorcism with the incantation - "I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul preaches". We could perhaps add Matthew's characterization of false prophets who say - "Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and cast out demons in your name, and do many mighty works in your name?" (Mtt.7:22).

The NT also shows the Christian community using Jesus' name in its exorcisms. The Seventy return with joy saying, "Lord, even the demons are subject to us in your name!" (Lk.10:17). Acts 16:18 portrays Paul casting out a spirit with the words, "I charge you in the name of Jesus Christ to come out ...". And, though most probably later, the longer ending of Mark is also evidence that the early Church used Jesus' name in its exorcisms - "And these signs will accompany those who believe: in my name they will cast out demons ..." (16:17). (b) Extra biblical material also shows that Jesus' name was thought to be powerful as an element in incantations for exorcisms. In CC Origen says of the Christians -

"... they do not get the power which they seem to possess by any incantations but by the name of Jesus ..." (1:6; cf. 1:67).

The magical papyri also make use of Jesus' name in its formulae -

"I adjure you by the god of the Hebrews Jesu, ..."
(PGM IV:3019f.).

To a lead defixio from Megara R. Wunsch supplies a lacuna to restore the name of Uesus'.⁽³⁾ Jews also took up Jesus' name into their repertoire. This is plainly evident in that the Rabbis prohibit healing by Jesus' name.⁽⁴⁾ (c) And finally, on the use of the 'name' of Jesus, we can note that later in the early Church Jesus' name was still being used as an effective means of casting out demons. For

example, Arnobius says that Jesus' name "when heard puts to flight evil spirits" (Adv. Gent I:46).⁽⁵⁾

4.2.3 Apart from mentioning the use of Jesus' name in incantations there are instances where Jesus is referred to which betray a tradition relating to Jesus as an exorcist. Thus the Rabbis preserve such a tradition in b.San.43a -

"Jesus was hanged on Passover Eve. Forty days previously the herald had cried, 'He is being led out for stoning because he has practised sorcery...'"⁽⁶⁾
Origen quotes Celsus as saying -

"He was brought up in secret and hired himself out as a workman in Egypt, and after having tried his hand at certain magical powers he returned from there, and on account of those powers gave himself the title of God" (CC I:38; cf. I:60).⁽⁷⁾

4.2.4 All this evidence requires us to agree with the consensus of scholarly opinion - that the historical-Jesus was an exorcist.⁽⁸⁾

4.3 Another question that remains to be answered is whether or not material from other traditions has entered the Jesus-tradition.⁽⁹⁾ This question arises in relation to the 'pigs episode' in the story of the Gadarene demoniac (Mk.5:1-20, esp.11-13). There is a sense in which this

aspect of the story is out of character with the other exorcism stories of Jesus, for no other story has such a dramatic ending. But it is clear that we only have very few of the exorcism stories which were once related to Jesus.⁽¹⁰⁾ And from different perspectives each story can be seen to have its unique or uncharacteristic feature. Thus Mk.1:21-28 is set within the synagogue; Mk.7:24-29 is probably a healing from a distance, and of a Gentile; and Mk.9:14-29 involves both the sick boy and his father. So perhaps it is unwise to begin by excluding 'uncharacteristic' elements from the Jesus stories. It is worth pointing out here that the early Church, in so far as it is represented by the Synoptic tradition, did not think this aspect of the Gadarene demoniac story was 'uncharacteristic' of Jesus. Thus it is notable that Matthew, who so often saw fit to cut and abbreviate stories of Jesus⁽¹¹⁾ did not delete this motif as 'uncharacteristic' or unworthy of Jesus. We showed above that the pigs episode is not to be regarded as a 'proof' of the cure, but as part of the cure - the demon being transferred from one abode to another. In the course of this argument a number of parallels were cited as evidence.⁽¹²⁾ Yet this aspect of the Jesus story does not appear to conform, or to be constructed to conform to any particular practical or literary convention relating to exorcism.⁽¹³⁾

There is, however, another possibility. H. Sahlin is of the opinion that Mk.5:1-20 is a Christian Midrash⁽¹⁴⁾ on

Is.65:1-5.⁽¹⁵⁾ As evidence Sahlin says that as the Gadarene demoniac in Mk.5 represents the heathen seeking Jesus, so Is.65:1 has the heathen seeking God. Then Sahlin mentions Is.65:4 - those sitting in tombs and eating swine flesh, and v.5 - "keep to yourself, do not come near to me, for I am set apart from you" - as being points of contact with Mk.5. However the contact between these two passages is less than might at first be thought. Although the early Church made use of Is.65 (cf.Rm.10:21), if there was a literary relationship between this passage and Mk.5 we would surely expect more definite contacts. In the LXX $\sigma\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is used, but Mark uses $\chi\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$ (pig). In Is.65:4 the people dwell in secret places, the implications of Mk.5:5 is that the demoniac was out in the open. And if Mk.5:7 does not have an incantation-al background (against what we have argued), but is modelled on Is.65:5 then it is surprising that there is so little verbal contact between the two passages. It seems then that Mk.5 did not originate as a Christian Midrash of the Isaiah passage. Consequently it is reasonable to conclude that 'foreign' material has not found its way into the Jesus tradition.⁽¹⁶⁾

4.4 We can now draw together those elements in the last chapter, which through historical-critical analysis, seemed rightly to belong to the tradition of the historical-Jesus.

4.4.1 In three of the exorcism stories (Mk.1:21-28; 5:1-20; 9:14-29) there is an initial dramatic confrontation between Jesus and the demoniacs. (Mk.7:25 has the residue of such a confrontation but as it may have theological overtones we should exclude it from consideration.⁽¹⁷⁾)

The first element of this confrontation is consternation on the part of the demoniac. In 1:23 the man cries out; in 5:6 the demoniac prostrates himself and cries out; and in 9:20, on meeting Jesus, the demon tears or torments the lad who, foaming, falls to the ground. Προσκυνέω (see 5:6) as used in the NT always has as its object something (truly or supposedly) divine⁽¹⁸⁾ and so we would suspect that this interpretation was introduced into 5:6 by the early Church. Nevertheless we still have to examine the possibility that on meeting Jesus the demoniacs cried out⁽¹⁹⁾ and fell (ie. πίπτω) to the ground (even if Mark has indulged in Vervielfältigung eines historischen Vorgangs⁽²⁰⁾).

So, is it likely that when a demoniac and Jesus met the demoniac became extremely disturbed? We have seen in our survey of exorcistic material that in the presence of other exorcists of the era demoniacs were disturbed.⁽²¹⁾ Thus it is possible that as an exorcist Jesus would have had a similar effect on those sufferers who were confronted by him. And on the other hand there are reasons for thinking that the

early Church probably did not need to introduce this element into the stories of Jesus.

(i) Matthew, who is decidedly reticent about the exorcism stories of Jesus,⁽²²⁾ prunes the Markan accounts.⁽²³⁾ Yet he does not obliterate the consternation of the demoniacs - though in 17:17f. he removes Mk.9:20, the most grotesque instance. Thus in Mk.5:7 the demoniac κράξας φωνῆ μεγάλη but in Mtt.8:29 this is toned right down to ἔκραξαν⁽²⁴⁾ so that the consternation is only barely evident.

(ii) Mark shows no consistent use of this element in his stories. Thus in 1:23 he has καὶ ἀνέκραξεν as the expression of this consternation; in 3:11 Mark has προσέπιπτον (cf. 5:33) ...καὶ ἔκραγον ; in 5:6 προσεκύνησεν and in 9:20 συνέστραξεν...πεσών . This variety of expression shows, for example, no desire on the part of Mark to portray the demons worshipping Jesus. So also Luke, (4:33,41; 8:28; 9:42) pays no particular attention to this element.

(iii) There is a third indicator of the early Church's lack of interest in this part of the form of an exorcism story - viz. that the lack of consistency in dealing with the consternation of the demoniacs indicates not only did they not seek to coopt it into their theological enterprise, but that they did not even seek to draw attention to this factor.

(iv) Finally, here we can make the point that the case for inauthenticity rests on literary or oral dependence on an established form,⁽²⁵⁾ but evidence is against precisely such a verbal dependence.

Therefore we are justified in concluding here that - in so far as the first three Evangelists represent the interests of the early Church - it is quite unlikely that the early Church introduced the consternation of the demoniacs into the form of the stories of Jesus. On the other hand, it is probable that like his contemporaries, Jesus-the-Exorcist evoked a disturbance in the demoniacs who confronted him.

The second element or dimension of the dramatic confrontation is the vocalization of the demoniacs' distress as in Mk.1:24 and 5:7. In dealing with the first of these passages we dismantled Fridrichsen's hypothesis that these exclamations were attributed to the demons in an attempt to defend Jesus from the accusation of being in alliance with Beelzebul. If the demons did vocalize their distress, what was the content of their words?

4.4.2 In the last chapter we established the historicity of Jesus being addressed by the demons as Jesus of Nazareth (Mk.1:24), ^{Son} of The Most High (God) (Mk.5:7), The Holy One of God (Mk.1:24), and that the demons used the 'I know' (Mk.1:24), 'I adjure' (Mk.5:7) and 'What have I to do with you' (Mk.5:7) formulae.

It remains for us to examine the demoniacs' use of

Son of God (Mk.3:11 and 5:7).⁽²⁶⁾ We must all but ignore Mk.3:11 (pars.) for it comes from what is generally recognised to be an editorial summary.⁽²⁷⁾ What we need to note is that at least the Evangelists thought that the demons addressed Jesus as 'the Son of God'. But we must examine Mk.5:7 more closely and ask the question, did the demons address Jesus-the-Exorcist as Son of God?

(i) Because it "was not a Jewish designation for the hoped-for bearer of salvation", Klümmel says that it is "historically extremely unlikely that Jesus was addressed by demon-possessed men as 'Son of God'".⁽²⁸⁾ Klümmel assumes that the title has a Hellenistic origin.⁽²⁹⁾ But can we assume that the title in Mk.5:7 originally had a deliberate messianic dimension, and is the title Hellenistic?

(ii) Recent NT research, notably by Klaus Berger⁽³⁰⁾ and Geza Vermes,⁽³¹⁾ clearly shows that the father-son language and the term 'son of God' is quite at home in a Palestinian setting. In fact Hengel concludes his survey of Hellenistic material, in relation to the search for the origin of the title 'Son of God' in NT Christology, by saying that the results are "entirely unsatisfactory".⁽³²⁾

(iii) If we survey the use of the term 'son of God'⁽³³⁾ in the OT and Judaism one important dimension of this word (ben/bar) emerges. To quote Hengel -

"In contrast to 'huios' it not only (or even primarily) designates physical descent and relationship, but is a widespread expression of subordination, which could describe younger companions, pupils and members of a group, membership of a people or a profession, or a characteristic. In this extended sense it was also used in a number of ways in the Old Testament to express belonging to God".⁽³⁴⁾

Hengel has in mind three ways. Firstly there were the members of the heavenly court. Thus in Dan.3:25 Nebuchadnezzar sees a figure "whose appearance is like a son of the gods" in the fiery furnace.⁽³⁵⁾ Secondly, as in Ex.4:22f. God's people Israel is addressed as 'son of God'.⁽³⁶⁾ Thirdly, the Davidic King, after Egyptian models, was called 'son of God' (cf. 2 Sam.7:12-14).⁽³⁷⁾

(iv) Moving to the Rabbinic material we see that some of the holy-men were designated 'son' by God and addressed as such by him. This evidence has been collected by Vermes and can be summarized as follows.⁽³⁸⁾ Hanina ben Dosa, for example, was designated or proclaimed 'son of God' by a heavenly voice. And Rabbi Meir is actually called "Meir my son" by the Holy One himself (b.Hag.15b). In the context of this present study it is important to note that these divine communications were also heard by the demons -

"They hear (God's Voice) from behind a curtain ..."

(b.Hag.16a). So we hear of Satan or Agrath, the Queen of the demons, saying to Hanina

"Had there been no commendation from heaven,

"Take heed of Hanina and his teaching!" I

would have harmed you " (b.Pes.112a).

Thus although in the Rabbinic material the demons do not actually refer to Rabbis as 'son of God' this literature does indicate that it was a Hasid's standing with God characterized as sonship - that particularly concerned the demons.

(v) In the Wisdom of Solomon there are the following lines -

(The righteous man) "professes to have knowledge of God, and calls himself a child of the Lord ... and boasts that God is his father.

Let us see if his words are true, and let us test what will happen at the end of his life;

for if the righteous^{man} is God's son, he will help him ..." (2.13,16b-18a).⁽³⁹⁾

Thus again 'son of God' is connected with, or even[→] denotes a special relationship with God.

(vi) This same motif is clear in a fragment from the Qumran material. J.A. Fitzmyer provides a tentative English translation of 4QPsDan A^a. The pertinent lines read -

"[But your son] shall be great upon the earth,
 [O King! All (men) shall] make [peace], and all
 shall serve [him]. He shall be called son of
 the [Great God], ... He shall be hailed (as)
 the Son of God, and they shall call him Son
 of the Most High ...". (40)

As this fragment is poorly preserved it is not possible to say to whom the third person singular masculine refers. (41)

In conjunction with the use of 'son of God' is the title son of 'the Most High' (cf. Mk.5:7). They appear here as synonymous or at least parallel designations.

What this evidence shows is (1) that the designation 'son of God' is at home in Hellenistic-Judaism and Palestinian-Judaism; (2) that one of its important functions was to signify the close relationship of the righteous man to God or a being operating in the sphere of God, particularly in relation to his dealings with evil spirits; (42) (3) that against Kümmel it may well have been a Jewish messianic title.

(vii) This last point would suggest that the very early Church may have thought it appropriate to introduce this 'messianic' title into the words of the demons.

However, as Dunn says "the earliest churches do not seem to have made much use of the title Son of God as a confession". (43)

He cites Heb.1:5 which suggests that the early Church took

over the association of Ps.2:7 and 2 Sam.7:14 in reference to the exalted Jesus⁽⁴⁴⁾ - rather than the pre-Easter Jesus. That is, it denotes an 'adoptionist' Christology⁽⁴⁵⁾ rather than a birth or incarnation Christology. The second point that Dunn makes here is that -

"If the confession of Jesus as Son of God plays little role in the witness of the earliest Christians it certainly came to full flower within the widening mission of Hellenistic Jewish Christianity".⁽⁴⁶⁾

These two points - that the use of the title was relatively late, and of particular interest to the Hellenists - suggest that the title may not have been added to the words of the demons by the earliest Church.

On the other hand it is more than likely that the earliest Church did not need to introduce the appellation into the tradition. If we keep in mind that the words of the demons in Mark are defensive words that include the name, character and origin of the opponent, then along with what we have just said about the 'son of God' it is particularly appropriate in designating the sphere in which Jesus operated as an exorcist. That is, the demons did not supernaturally recognize Jesus.⁽⁴⁷⁾ He was an exorcist in the Jewish tradition which often relied on 'God' as a source of power-authority, so the demons attempted to disarm Jesus by

suggesting his allegiance to God. We can conclude that the words 'son of God' in all probability belong to the historical tradition of Mk.5:7.

4.4.3 From the discussions in the last chapter we were able to establish that the words of Jesus-the-Exorcist to the demons included (a) "Come out ..." (Mk.1:25; 5:8; 9:25); (b) "Be quiet" (Mk.1:25); (c) "What is your name?" (Mk.5:9); (d) "(I) command you ..." (Mk.9:25); (e) "... and no longer enter into him" (Mk.9:25).

On these words of Jesus a number of points emerge.

(a) It is generally held that Jesus used no formulae to effect his exorcisms.⁽⁴⁸⁾ If what we have been arguing so far in this study is correct then this view is quite plainly wrong. We have seen that Jesus did use words and phrases or parts of incantations which would have been readily recognized by his contemporaries. Whether or not it is correct to call these words/incantations 'magical' - as that, for the twentieth century, is generally a negative value judgment - we shall have to enquire in the next chapter (see p.323below). For the moment it is plain, from our evidence, that Jesus was a man of his time in at least this aspect of his healing technique. (b) Associated with this is the extent to which Jesus' words as an exorcist are paralleled in other literature. Barrett says that the charge to silence in Mk.1:23 seems to have no parallel.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Indeed in lines that were quoted in chap. II some ancient exorcists clearly had great difficulty in getting the demon to speak (PGM.XIII:242ff., see p.31 above). Yet Jesus seems to have experienced no such difficulty; in the earliest recollections of Jesus' exorcistic ministry demoniacs were particularly vocal in his presence.

However although Jesus' charge to 'silence' involves an element of the sense 'be silent/keep quiet', the implications involved in the use of the word are clearly much stronger than this and best understood in Mk.1:25 as 'be bound' or 'be muzzled' (see pp.131f. above). Thus Barrett is incorrect to say that Jesus' charge in Mk.1:23 is unparalleled (see n.49 above).

4.4.4 At the close of the discussion of the story of the Syrophenician Woman's daughter it was concluded that the healing from a distance probably went back to the historical-Jesus' activities (see p.76 above). As a parallel to this b.Ber.34b was quoted - the story of Gamaliel's son. In this connection Van der Loos cites a story (from R. Herzog)⁽⁵⁰⁾ of a woman who dreamed that her daughter had been healed in the temple of Aesculapius at Epidaurus. However this story has few contacts with the NT story. Another story that does have closer links with the MK.7 story is the one quoted from Philostratus'

Life III:38 (see p.92 above). No literary links are to be found between this and the Jesus story but they do both have 'healing at a distance' in common. The phenomenon was clearly at home in both a Greek and a Jewish milieu and therefore this technique of Jesus' does not place him specifically against either background.

4.4.5 In the light of the material presented in chap. II there seem to be some aspects of contemporary exorcistic technique that Jesus did not use.

(a) Mechanical Devices. A feature common to most other exorcist's techniques was the aid of some apparatus, device, aid or character of speech. In the ancient Babylonian texts (see pp.14f. above) it was evident that hair, knots, water, branches of tamarisk, meteorites and pottery were used in association with the healing rite to expel demons. In the ancient Egyptian papyri (see p.18 above), for example, human milk and fragrant gum were used. In Tobit 8:3 burning incense caused the demon to flee. In Jubilees 10:10 and 12 'medicines' are used, and in the 1QapGen.XX Abraham lays hands on the Pharaoh. In Josephus' writing Eleazar uses a finger ring containing a pungent root, and a bowl of water. In another story Josephus tells of David using music to charm away an evil spirit. In the Talmud material aids were particularly abundant - amulets, palm tree prickles, wood chips, ashes,

earth, pitch, cummin, dog's hair, thread, and trumpets. Lucian of Samosata tells of exorcists' threatening the demons and using iron rings. The magical papyri also witness to the use of a wide variety of technical aids in expelling demons. For example the following are mentioned - amulets, olive branches, oil from unripe olives, mastiga plants, lotus pith, marjoram, and special sounds produced by the exorcist.

All this seems extremely remote from "Be bound, and come out of him" (Mk.1:25) or "You dumb and deaf spirit, I command you, come out of him, and never enter him again" (Mk.9:25).⁽⁵¹⁾ We have argued that the destruction of the pigs properly belongs to the authentic tradition of the historical-Jesus. However the pigs are not used to expel the demons, but to provide somewhere for the demons to go after they had been expelled.

Although the use of technical devices of one kind or another seems to me to be the most prominent method of exorcism in the ancient world - even among the Rabbis - Jesus cannot be said to be alone in his simple verbal technique. Although the tone of his voice and the gaze of his eyes was important to Apollonius' success, he did use only words to effect the exorcism in Life IV:20. A more important parallel which does not permit us to see Jesus' verbal technique as unique is from a Jewish milieu.

As we noted above Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai and Rabbi Eleazar ben Yose are said to have cast a demon out of a girl simply by calling out - "Ben Temalion get out, Ben Temalion get out". Nevertheless, despite these two parallels, the impression remains that even if it was not unique, Jesus' simple unaided words of command to the demons do stand out as particularly characteristic of his reported method.

But could this characteristic of Jesus be a construct of the early Church in that it sought to set Jesus over against the techniques that pervaded the era? Probably not. In other healings Jesus is said to have utilized means other than mere words. (i) To heal the deaf mute (Mk.7:33), the blind man near Bethsaida (Mk.8:23) and the man born blind (Jn.9:6) Jesus is said to use spittle as part of his healing procedure. There is ample evidence showing that the use of spittle was part of the healing technique of the ancient world. It is used for example in the Babylonian texts,⁽⁵²⁾ in the magical papyri⁽⁵³⁾ and in Pliny.⁽⁵⁴⁾ And importantly, the Rabbis prohibit its use.⁽⁵⁵⁾ And thus so far as I can see, against Calvin, Fenner, Strack-Billerbeck and Van der Loos⁽⁵⁶⁾ there is nothing to separate Jesus' use of spittle from its use in the ancient world, or that he or the Gospel writers thought he was using it any differently from anyone else. So the earliest Church was clearly not endeavouring to remove or isolate Jesus from his milieu. (ii) The use of his hands and

the laying on of hands were clearly a characteristic of Jesus' healing ministry.⁽⁵⁷⁾ This also was a part of the healing technique of the Jews as for example the story of Abraham's cure of Pharaoh in 1QapGen.XX illustrates. This healing story is an exorcism, yet the early Church did not introduce the method into the exorcism stories of Jesus.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In the light of this it is hard to see why the early Church would want to delete it if it was already part of the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist's technique.⁽⁵⁹⁾ So the characteristically simple unaided verbal technique Jesus is said to use in his exorcisms is probably not a construct of the early Church,⁽⁶⁰⁾ and should be posited among the authentic traditions about the historical-Jesus.

If we note which healings in our period rely on 'aids' and which do not, it is immediately obvious that the cultic or incantational tradition is saturated with aids, medicines, and devices whereby the generally unknown exorcist appeals to sources of power-authority beyond himself. What Jesus, Apollonius and some of the Rabbis have in common, besides their reputed ability to heal without tangible aids, is that their power-authority base does not appear to be other than their own personal force. It is to this that we now turn.

(b) No Explicit Prayers or Power-Authority Invoked.

One of the pervading characteristics of the exorcisms which we surveyed in chap.II was the exorcist's making plain,

in the preliminaries of the exorcism rite, by what authority he operated. That is, the exorcist either invoked the aid of a source of power-authority or aligned himself with some higher power in order to effect the submission of the demon.

In the Ebers Papyrus, from ancient Egypt, the healer or magician began with the announcement of his source of power-authority by declaring the origin of himself and his technique and accompanying remedies (see p.18 above). The Babylonian texts (p.13 above) also showed that the exorcist began by announcing himself as the agent of a god. The persistence of this practice is demonstrated by the magical papyri (for example PGM IV:3019).

It has also become clear that a frequent source of power-authority was sought in the use of powerful names. For example, one of the most commonly used names in our period seems to have been 'Solomon' (see p.102 above).

Not only were the origin of the exorcist's powers and the names invoked of significance, but as we have noted above (p.100) the essence of the power-authority was to be found in the spells or incantations and medicines themselves. This is the case in the Babylonian, ancient Egyptian, magical papyri, Tobit, Jubilees and Rabbinic material.

Sometimes where there is no evidence of a power-

authority being located in a higher power upon which the exorcist called, or in the use of a strong name, or in a particular incantation, the exorcist is said to pray as part of the healing technique. The Qumran scrolls (1QapGen.XX) portray Abraham as praying for the Pharaoh to expel the evil spirit. Hanina ben Dosa, though using no incantations, prays (b.Ber.34b (cf. Taan.24b)). A striking exception to this is the story we quoted (p.73above) of Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai and Rabbi Eleazar ben Yose who exorcised a demon from the Roman Emperor's daughter with a simple command. Another exception to this pattern is the tradition about Apollonius who neither prays nor exhibits any power-authority, ^{but} is an effective exorcist by reason of his personal force alone (Life IV:20). But the general picture remains - that the exorcists of the period conducted their healings using a conspicuous or recognizable power-authority, incantations or prayers.

Now we can look at the words and technique of Jesus as an exorcist (Mk.1:25; 5:8ff.; (7:29); 9:25). (1) Firstly Jesus does not appear to call on any source of power-authority. This is more than likely a clear reflection of Jesus' actual practice. 1. In view of Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20 - where Jesus confesses to operate on the basis of the Spirit/finger of God, and Mk.3:28 - where the saying about the Holy Spirit is linked with the question of Jesus' source of power-authority - it is indeed surprising that those

responsible for the transmission of the Jesus-material did not reflect this in the exorcistic words of Jesus. That is, if the early Church was attempting to accommodate Jesus to his environment we might have expected Jesus to be depicted as saying something like, "I adjure you by God/the Spirit/finger of God ...". But we do not.⁽⁶¹⁾ 2. We have already established the probable historicity of the Beelzebul Charge (Mtt.12:24/Lk.11:15/Mk.3:22; see p.211 above). The charge is more readily understood if in fact Jesus did not make clear his source of power-authority.⁽⁶²⁾ So the evidence suggests that, as part of his technique, Jesus did not intimate that he relied on any outside power-authority - not even on the 'Spirit/finger of God'.

(2) A coordinate of this point is that Jesus did not use any 'powerful name' as a power-authority or component of his technique. That is, for example, he does not use the name of God as other Jews did (cf. PGM IV:3019) or the Spirit of God as we might have expected if the tradition was seeking to conform Jesus' technique to the saying in Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20. It cannot even be argued that the early Church was attempting to distance Jesus from his contemporary healers for they have retained his exorcistic words which were formulae familiar in the world of incantations (see 4.4.3 (a) above).

(3) Thus as we have seen, Jesus did use words or incantations which were of a piece with his environment. To

this extent we should ask if it was in these incantational words and phrases that the early Church or Jesus saw the locus of the effect of his ministry of exorcism.

1. With respect to the early Church it seems plain that it did not see Jesus' words themselves as holding the key to his successful healings. If they did see Jesus' words as the significant factor in his exorcisms then it is surprising that they did not emulate them in their own healing ministry. What the early Church does do, as is illustrated by Acts 16:18, is use quite different wording (*παραγγέλλω σοι* rather than say *ἐπιτάσσω σοι* as in Mk.9:25) and take up using a 'powerful name' - 'Jesus Christ'. And the most important sign that the early Church did not place any particular significance on Jesus' actual exorcistic words, and that it did not see Jesus placing any special emphasis on them, is to be found in the brief allusions to Jesus' exorcisms where no 'words' are recorded. It is simply stated that he cast out a demon (see eg. Mtt.12:22/Lk.11:14). This conclusion is further confirmed in that though the Synoptic tradition preserves special words of Jesus in relation to other healings - "Talitha cumi"⁽⁶³⁾ (Mk.5:41) and "Ephphatha"⁽⁶⁴⁾ (Mk.7:34) it does not seek to do so in relation to the exorcisms. 2. If Jesus felt he was relying on the force of his incantations to bring about the subjugation of the demons, that is, if the particular form and content of the words was of vital importance then they display a surprising divergence of form and content. This is noticeable when we

set out Jesus' exorcistic words.

"Be bound and come out of him" (Mk.1:25).

"Come out, unclean spirit, from the man ...

What is your name?" (Mk.5:8f).

("... The demon has come out of your daughter"
(Mk.7:29)).

"Dumb and deaf spirit, I charge you, come out
of him and no longer enter him" (Mk.9:25).

(Mk.7:29 is not a command to the demon and so is to be excluded from consideration.) The form of the first command (1:25) is a binding and then a direction; the second (5:8f.) has a direction, an address, and then a subjugating question; and the third (9:25) has an address, a binding, and two directions. Thus there is no consistency in representing any form save that each has the minimal commands involving some kind of subjugating word - different in each case, and the directive - which is consistently represented as "Come out!" This variety does not seem to me to indicate any particular interest in using the correct formula save that in so far as an exorcism is involved, the words obviously require that the demon is overpowered and expelled.

(4) Finally here, it has just been noted how important prayer was in some traditions of exorcisms - notably in the Jewish milieu. Others have shown how important prayer was for Jesus.⁽⁶⁵⁾ A considerable amount of this importance has probably to be attributed to the early Church. Luke in

particular seems intent on enhancing Jesus' prayer life.⁽⁶⁶⁾
 In any case, regardless of the extent of the historical core here it is significant to notice that at no point does the tradition seek to attribute the practice of prayer to any part of Jesus' exorcistic technique. So in view of the importance of prayer in contemporary Jewish healings and the Gospel traditions' agreed importance of prayer for Jesus, the technique of exorcism - unaccompanied by prayer - is best taken as faithfully reflecting Jesus' healing procedure.

Thus one of the outstanding characteristics, though we cannot claim it to be entirely unique - is that Jesus invoked no power-authority, and neither saw any particular significance in his incantations nor used prayer as part of the healing of demoniacs.

(c) A third element of contemporary exorcistic technique that Jesus did not use was ὀρκίζω (ὤρκω). The use of this word could have been treated under the last section, but its reported absence from Jesus' words to the demons is potentially of such significance that it deserves separate treatment. So far as I can see from our discussion on pp.31ff. above, in connection with incantations or spells ὀρκίζω means to 'charge, adjure, or bind someone by another being'. This meaning is clear in Mk.5:7 "I adjure you by God, do not torment me", and in Acts 19:13 "I adjure you by

the Jesus whom Paul preaches" (cf. 1Thess.5:27).⁽⁶⁷⁾

In the light of this it is indeed surprising that in the transmission of the Jesus stories ὀρκίζω did not find its way into the material on the lips of Jesus. The use of a form of ὀρκίζω in 1 Thess.5:27 shows that the early Church did not totally object to its use. Ὀρκίζω is used in relation to an invoked power-authority, and the Synoptic tradition has it in Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20 that such an invoked power for Jesus' technique was the Spirit/finger of God. That the tradition did not translate this across into the incantations used by Jesus seems to me to be an indication again of the antiquity of the incantations reportedly used by Jesus.

The use of ὀρκίζω in exorcistic formulae is part of the practice of invoking a superior power to carry out the wishes of the exorcist. Jesus apparently neither acknowledged the use of a source of power-authority nor used the accompanying ὀρκίζω or its equivalent. Instead, and in line with this convention of Jesus' is the congruous appearance of ἐγώ/κ]κ in his incantation at Mk.9:25. The emphatic ἐγώ/κ]κ⁽⁶⁸⁾ is relatively infrequent on the lips of Jesus in the Synoptics⁽⁶⁹⁾ and it is not consistently used in the words of Jesus to the demons (only at Mk.9:25). This suggests that the early Church is not responsible for it in Mk.9:25. The use of ἐγώ is not a feature of contemporary incantations of

adjuration⁽⁷⁰⁾ and so it is possible that its use by Jesus is of some significance in understanding him as an exorcist (see p.294 below).

(d) No Proofs. The question of whether or not Jesus-the-Exorcist's technique involved seeking proof of success hinged on the nature of the 'pigs episode' in Mk.5. In discussing that passage it was argued that the destruction of the pigs was to be seen not as proof of success, but as an integral part of the cure. The seeking of a proof would decidedly enhance the reputation of Jesus and it is perhaps surprising that the tradition did not either maintain this element in the stories of Jesus, or add it if it was not already there. Since the tradition shows no interest in so doing and as Mk.5:11ff. shows no indication of being a 'proof' we shall take it that this element was not part of Jesus' technique.

The natural conclusions that we should draw from these last three sections are that, in declaring no reliance on a power-authority, and not using ὀρκίζω or proofs, but in simply ordering the demon out (once using the emphatic "I"), and then in saying that his power authority was the Spirit/finger of God - (i) Jesus' technique of exorcism, if not innovative, would have at least been very conspicuous and (ii) Jesus believed that while he was operating out of his own resources, at the same time he believed that in his

activity it was God who was to be seen as operative.

(e) In 1943 Campbell Bonner called attention to the physical acts of violence by which, in our period, a demon marked his departure.⁽⁷¹⁾ Bonner mentions the story in Ant.8:45-48 where, on leaving the person the demon overturned a bowl of water, and the story of Apollonius (Life IV:20) where the demon breaks a statue.⁽⁷²⁾ A similar violence is observable in the stories of Jesus. The destruction of the pigs in Mk.5 is the best example, but it may also be found in Mk.1:26 and 9:26. That Mark did not add this violence to the stories of Jesus is clear from the fact that he shows no particular consistency of interest in its function. Thus in 9:26f. the violence could be a means towards portraying Jesus' compassion but this could hardly be said of 5:13 and in 1:27 the violence may have been a vehicle for dramatising and heightening Jesus' authority. We can take it that in all probability this reported violence of the departure of demons goes back to the first report of Jesus' activity. So in contrast to his contemporary exorcists Jesus used no mechanical devices (apart from the pigs in Mk.5:1-20), no explicit prayers or invoked power-authority, no powerful name, and no proofs, though there seems to have been some violence associated with Jesus' exorcisms.

4.4.6 Miracle and Message in Jesus' Ministry

The "unity of word and work in the divine plan of salvation"⁽⁷³⁾ has been discussed on a number of occasions⁽⁷⁴⁾ and the theological necessity of the relationship between these two elements has been proposed.⁽⁷⁵⁾ This is not the issue for us. Our task here is to analyse the relationship between the exorcisms and wider ministry of Jesus. There is in the Gospels an intimate relationship between the activities of Jesus and his preaching. There is no doubt that much of this picture is the result of the activity of the Evangelists and their predecessors. This relationship is apparent in the work of the Evangelists on a number of levels. On a very basic level miracles and message are said by the Evangelists to be conducted in association with each other - for example: "And he went about all Galilee teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing every disease and every infirmity among the people" (Mtt.4:23/Mk.1:39). See also Mk.1:21ff./Lk.4:31ff.; Mk.6:1ff./Mtt.13:53ff./Lk.4:16ff.. On another level the material is actually grouped in such a way that the preaching/teaching and miracles are associated - for example in the two cycles, Mk.4:35-6:44 and 6:45-8:26, there are included in rough parallel, sea miracle, preaching, healings, and a feeding.⁽⁷⁶⁾ And the first part of Mark's gospel is structured so that Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom (1:14f.) is followed and

elaborated by a healing.⁽⁷⁷⁾ On yet another level the miracles are related in order that a particular point can be made either by or in relation to Jesus. Thus in Mk.4:41/Mtt.8:27/Lk.8:25 the miracle is related primarily so that the point can be made - "Who then is this ...?" And in Mk.9:28f. it is clear that one of the reasons why the preceding miracle story has been related is so that the Evangelist can incorporate some teaching of Jesus on prayer. Finally, we can note another level of this relationship. On occasions miracle and message are so woven together that they form a single fabric as in Mk.2:1ff./Mtt.9:1ff./Lk.5:7ff.; Mk.3:1ff./Mtt.12:9ff./Lk.6:6ff., but especially in the Fourth Gospel - for example in Jn.9:1ff.,⁽⁷⁸⁾ This intimate relationship between miracle and message portrayed in Jesus' ministry is also found reproduced in the mission of the disciples. In Mk.3:14f. the disciples are "sent out to preach and have authority to cast out demons" (cf. 6:12). In Lk.10:9 the command to the disciples is - "... heal the sick ... and say to them, "The kingdom of God has come near to you ..." (cf. Mtt.10:7f.;10:1/Lk.9:2).

(a) In spite of all this it is important to enquire whether a relationship between 'word and action' is to be traced back to the historical-Jesus, or whether it is a conception which has its origin in the primitive Christian community. Our most productive way forward is to note some sayings of Jesus where his proclamation and activity are

related, and also to notice those stories where miracle and message are interwoven in the very structure of the story.

(i) There are four sayings in particular that merit particular attention here, the Spirit/finger saying (Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20), the parable of the Strong Man (Mk.3:27/Mtt.12:29/Lk.11:21f.), the reply to John the Baptist (Mtt.11:5/Lk.7:22), and the judgment on Chorazin and Bethsaida (Mtt.11:21-23/Lk.10:13-15). We have already discussed and upheld the authenticity of the first three logia. On the judgment saying (Mtt.11:21-23/Lk.10:13-15)⁽⁷⁹⁾ Bultmann says that -

"... we have here a community formulation, since the sayings look back on Jesus' activity as something already completed, and presuppose the failure of the Christian preaching in Capernaum".⁽⁸⁰⁾

Käsemann says that the Revelation of John demonstrates that 'curse and blessing' are among early Christian forms of prophetic proclamation and that this particular passage is one of them, and it recalls the Christian-formulated Mtt.7:22f.⁽⁸¹⁾ However there is a minimal link with Mtt.7:22f. ('mighty works') and the 'curse and blessing' form in Revelation does not have the pairing of 'curse and blessing' (cf. Rev.8:13) nor the parallelism evident in Mtt.11:21-23. The passage does presuppose the failure

of mission but the towns mentioned are not determinative of the tradition, and the post-Easter Church shows no interest in Chorazin.⁽⁸²⁾ And notably Berger has shown that this form is to be found in the Wisdom material.⁽⁸³⁾ Finally there is evidence in the passage that the tradition comes from an early Aramaic tradition.⁽⁸⁴⁾ It seems best to suppose that the tradition behind Mtt.11:21-23/Lk.10:13-15 is to be traced back to the historical-Jesus. Mussner goes so far as to say that, "If there is one pre-Easter logion, then it is the lament of Jesus over these three cities of his native Galilee!"⁽⁸⁵⁾

These four sayings that are to be seen as originating from the historical-Jesus, associate miracle and mission. In Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20 Jesus makes a direct connection between his exorcisms and the coming of the kingdom of God - the essence of his proclaimed message (cf. Mk.1:14f.).⁽⁸⁶⁾ Mk.3:27/Mtt.12:29/Lk.11:21f. gives the exorcisms of Jesus a wider significance than the mere casting out of unclean spirits, viz. the very downfall or destruction of Satan and his kingdom; and we have seen (pp.215ff. above) that the establishment of the kingdom of God is directly related to the downfall of the kingdom of Satan. And Mtt.11:21-23/Lk.10:13-15 links the mighty miracles with a characteristic of Jesus' proclamation - that men should repent (cf. Mk.1:14ff.).⁽⁸⁷⁾ Mtt.11:4/Lk.7:22 brings the words and deeds of Jesus together as signs of the eschatological age.

(ii) Two miracle stories in particular are interwoven with Jesus' teaching/preaching. (1) Mk.2:1ff. (/Mtt.9:1ff./ Lk.5:1ff.), the paralytic and his four friends. Here the combination of teaching (Mk.2:5ff.) and miracle (Mk.2:1-4) may be the result of the amalgamation of what were once separate traditions.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Thus all we can conclude is that the early Church saw an indivisible link between what Jesus was doing and what he was saying. (2) Mk.3:1ff. (/Mtt.12:9ff./ Lk.6:6ff.), the man with a withered hand. This narrative is the last of a block of three conflict stories (Mk.2:18-3:6). Bultmann thinks that the origin of the controversies over the Sabbath usually cannot be put any earlier than the debates in the early Church.⁽⁸⁹⁾ On the other hand, as Shürmann points out, the early Church did not face conflict with the Jews about Sabbath healings.⁽⁹⁰⁾ The saying of Jesus in v.4 is the centre of the story. As it is both harsh and not decisive for the early Church's abandonment of the seventh day observance it is probably an authentic saying of Jesus.⁽⁹¹⁾ And as the saying presupposes a specific act like the one described⁽⁹²⁾ we will take both the saying and its present setting as authentic.

What does this story tell us about Jesus' link between his miracles and teaching/preaching? In short, the healing and the teaching are ^{of} a piece in Jesus' radical rejection of the Rabbinic *Halakah* on the Sabbath which prevented people

from fulfilling God's commandment to love (cf. Mk.2:27).⁽⁹³⁾

And we can go on to conclude that the integral relationship between 'word and action' is to be traced to ministry of the historical-Jesus.

(b) We have, in the last few paragraphs, been able to trace the origin of a relationship between miracle and message back to the historical-Jesus. Having established that one does exist, we can now focus attention on the nature of the relationship between miracle and message with respect to the exorcism of Jesus. The relationship has often been characterised by the use of the word 'sign'. That is the miracles have little or no intrinsic significance but point beyond themselves to something more important - the coming of the kingdom.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Van der Loos has collected together a number of scholarly statements that support this view. As examples we need only mention two opinions.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Ridderbos says that Jesus' miracles serve only as proofs of Jesus' power.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Fridrichsen gives pride of place to Jesus' message, with the miracles accompanying and confirming the proclamation.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Van der Loos does not mention Bultmann here, but he also sees the miracles, especially the exorcisms, as signs of the dawning of the coming kingdom.⁽⁹⁸⁾ There is no doubt that this view was held by at least some sectors of the early Church represented in the NT, the most important being John's Gospel which understands Jesus' miracles as authenticating Jesus and his message. For example -

"... even though you do not believe me,
believe the works, that you may know that
the Father is in me and I am in the
Father" (10:38).

(Cf. 2:23; 4:54; 12:18; 20:30).⁽⁹⁹⁾ In Acts the miracles of Jesus are mentioned only twice (2:22 and 10:38), and ⁱⁿ each case the miracles are seen as signs authenticating Jesus' mission.

When we examine the four sayings of Jesus which we have mentioned above, the picture is significantly different. In the judgment saying (Mtt.11:21-23/Lk.10:13-15) the relationship between miracle and message is not clear, all that is said is that the miracles are expected to bring about repentance. This could be construed to mean that Jesus saw his miracles as authenticating his mission. But over against this we should set the variety of traditions that relate Jesus' refusal to give a 'sign' - Mk.8:11 (/Mtt.16:1-4) and Q (Mtt.12:39/Lk.11:29) - and see the Gospel of Thomas 91. This is strong evidence against the view that Jesus used his miracles to authenticate his mission (cf. Mtt.4:3/Lk.4:3).

In the reply to John the Baptist (Mtt.11:5/Lk.7:22) the miracles and the message are equated, they are equally part of a whole - events of the New Age. In the parable of the Strong Man (Mk.3:27/Mtt.12:29/Lk.11:21f.) the exorcisms⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ do not illustrate the message of the downfall of the kingdom

of Satan, but they themselves constitute that very downfall. And in the Spirit/finger saying (Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20)⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Jesus says that the exorcisms themselves are the coming of the kingdom. They do not illustrate, extend, or even confirm Jesus' preaching. In the casting out of demons the mission of Jesus itself is taking place, being actualized or fulfilled. In short, in themselves the exorcisms of Jesus are the kingdom of God in operation.⁽¹⁰²⁾

So far as I can see it is this conclusion and dimension to Jesus' exorcisms more than anything else which sets him out over against his background and environment. Even if every other aspect of Jesus' technique may have had at least a faint echo in other material, it is this indivisibility of miracle and message which makes the exorcisms of Jesus especially unique. Jesus' exorcisms were not simply 'healing' but were the coming of the kingdom of God. We will take up this point in chap. VI when we discuss Jesus' self-understanding in relation to his exorcisms.

4.5 Conclusions. The whole of this chapter has in a sense been a conclusion and gathered the results of the previous two chapters. We have tried, in setting Jesus in his environment, to draw a picture of him as an exorcist.

4.5.1 Our study so far has shown that the milieu against which we should view Jesus, and the first century would have

viewed him is far wider than some scholars hitherto would have us believe. It was the error of Fiebig that he thought that the background of the miracle stories of Jesus were the Jewish miracle stories.⁽¹⁰³⁾ It was the error of Hull to have attempted to see the miracle stories in the Gospels against an almost exclusively Hellenistic background.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ The last two chapters have shown, and we will continue to explore this aspect in the next chapter, that clearly to demarcate Judaism and Hellenism as alternative backgrounds against which to place Jesus-the-Exorcist and to understand him, is to misrepresent the evidence. As Hengel has shown⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ the boundary between the two cultures was not at all times clear, and we need to admit material from both cultural-streams in order to assess and depict the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist.

4.5.2 From this chapter we are left in no doubt that the historical-Jesus was an exorcist. The biblical and extra-biblical material also leaves us in no doubt that he was an extraordinarily successful exorcist. We are left in no doubt that he was a 'man of his time'. We can see that the twentieth century notion that Jesus healed with a 'mere word' is an oversimplification, even misrepresentation, of Jesus' healing procedure. He was an exorcist who used words or incantations which would have been readily recognized by those around him. On one occasion Jesus even used a herd of pigs as part of his technique.

4.5.3 In his treatment of "The Form and History of Miracle Stories"⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Bultmann dealt with the ancient material that bears a resemblance to elements in the Synoptic miracle stories. What Bultmann was attempting to show through these 'parallels' was that early Christian oral tradition was dependent on Jewish and Hellenistic folk traditions for its stories and miracle motifs.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ While such a situation may for some reduce the 'culture-shock' between first and twentieth century Christianity, this historical and hermeneutical contortion is unacceptable for it needs to be stated categorically that Bultmann's is an unproven case. The most important factor which Bultmann has failed to notice is that all the evidence which he produces to show that folk stories and miracle motifs have come into the oral tradition on the exorcism of demons is later than the formation of the Synoptic tradition. So over against Bultmann it is just as likely and reasonable to suppose that folk traditions and miracle motifs have made their way from the early Christian tradition to these other traditions. This has been one of the results, in part, of Goodenough's work.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ We have shown also that at least the NT Apocryphal material was dependent upon the NT for some of its miracle motifs (see pp.98f. above). And we have seen that at least the use of Jesus' name made its way from the Christian tradition into other traditions. In chap. II we were able to show that the whole of the ancient

world was permeated with motifs which are familiar to us through the NT. In this and the last chapter our study militates against the notion of an accretion of elements of miracle traditions onto the Synoptic tradition from outside. These motifs are at home with, and truly belong in, the original Jesus tradition.

4.5.4 Thus in many ways Jesus as an exorcist was a very ordinary exorcist; demons were distressed and threatened by his presence, there was a struggle between demon and exorcist, there were familiar incantational-exchanges between Jesus and the demons, and we know of one occasion when Jesus healed a demoniac from a distance. On the other hand, there were aspects of Jesus' exorcisms which, although not unique, stand out as particularly characteristic of his procedure. Unlike probably most exorcisms of the era no mechanical or medicinal aids were used like the laying on of hands or special artifacts. Jesus neither used nor offered proof of his cures - save the evidence of the healed demoniacs (Mk.5:15); in contrast to others he did not even declare the source of his power-authority when he was performing an exorcism, not even that he was dependent upon God. Thus what begins to mark Jesus' exorcistic ministry out from the technique of his fellows is that not only did he claim no outside aid for his success, but also he emphasised that his resources were none other than his own person ("I ...").

(a) And, although in historical investigation it is hazardous to claim something as unique it appears that Jesus' giving his exorcisms a dimension of significance beyond the mere healing of demented individuals was just that. Jesus was the first one to link the relatively common phenomenon of exorcism with eschatology. Jesus stands out in his era as one who not only relied on his own resources for success in exorcism, but claimed that in them God himself was in action and that that action was the coming of God's eschatological kingdom.

(b) The historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist does indeed come to us as One unknown, as a stranger to our time.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ But we must not excise that strangeness from the historical-Jesus. How important it may be then that we should go on to discover how his contemporaries responded to him, and especially how the first Christians assessed him and interpreted this dimension of their Jesus. For thereby we, the Christians of the twentieth century, may find a way of beginning to understand and interpret Jesus-the-Exorcist for our time.

AS OTHERS SAW HIM

We are now in a position to explore the ways in which other people in the first century responded to Jesus-the-Exorcist. Although this is, in a sense, secondary to the purpose of the last two chapters (an attempt at recovering the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist), - if we can gain at least some impression of the early response^{to and} assessments of this aspect of Jesus' ministry it will, in turn, contribute to our principal objective by helping^{to} fill out our tentative picture of Jesus-the-Exorcist. For us, the most readily available materials for this response to Jesus are the writings of the early Church. From these we *may* be able to realize not only the responses to Jesus of the early Church, but behind these interpretations and responses we may also be able to recover some of the initial responses to Jesus' exorcisms by the original audiences. Apart from the NT there is other literature which acknowledges Jesus as an exorcist and we will not ignore this in salvaging early responses to Jesus' exorcistic ministry. It is to be made plain that in the first place we are conducting an historical inquiry and so we are not asking how we should understand or categorize Jesus-the-Exorcist but how those of his era responded to, and understood him.

5.1 In order to do this we shall (a) analyse the gospel material relating to Jesus' exorcisms to see what it

can tell us about his audience's response to him, and then (b) with the aid of extra biblical material, we will critically examine some of the suggestions as to how people in the first and second century assessed or categorized Jesus-the-Exorcist.

5.1.1 If we scrutinize the gospel material relating to Jesus-the-Exorcist four broad categories of response are preserved. (a) It is often said that Jesus' exorcisms moved the observers to fear and amazement (Mk.1:27/Lk.4:36; Mk.5:14/Mtt.8:33/Lk.8:34; Mtt.12:23/Lk.11:14). (b) On occasions the tradition proposes that as a result of Jesus' exorcisms some bystanders declared him to be mad and demon-possessed (Mk.3:21, 30; (Jn.7:20; 8:48; 10:20)). (c) Some said that it was by Beelzebul that he cast out demons (Mk.3:22/Mtt.12:24/Lk.11:15) and; (d) others are said to conclude that Jesus was the Messiah (Mtt.12:23). Our task now is to assess the historicity of the gospel records at these points.

5.1.2 Fear and Amazement as a response to Jesus' exorcisms. This is generally thought to be a stereotyped closing motif in the miracle stories. When we were dealing with Mk.1:27 in chap. III we were able to cast some considerable doubt on this assumption,⁽¹⁾ but we were unable to decide on the historicity of this element in the gospel stories.

A way forward in approaching this problem is to ask if there could have been anything in Jesus' exorcisms that might have created fear or amazement in the bystanders.

(a) In relation to Mk.1:27 - "And they were all amazed" - Taylor admits that *θαυμάσια* is remarkable since the Jews were not unfamiliar with exorcism.⁽²⁾ But Taylor goes on to suggest that "the astonishment is due to the fact that Jesus casts out the unclean spirit with a word, without the use of magical formulae..."⁽³⁾ But we have already shown, in the last chapter, that Jesus was using 'magical formulae' or 'incantations' in his exorcisms. (Taylor's idea that Jesus' technique was a mere word may come from Mtt.8:8/Lk.7:7 where the centurion asks Jesus to 'say a word' and his boy will be healed (cf. Mtt.8:16 and Lk.4:36)),

(b) We have shown, in chap. IV, that Jesus' lack of the use of mechanical aids in his exorcisms was not a feature introduced into the tradition. We have also seen that although healing by 'words alone' was probably not unique to Jesus, it seems to have been sufficiently extra-ordinary that it may have been the cause of some amazement in those who witnessed his exorcisms. The same could also be said on the brevity of his healing technique.

(c) In Mk.5:14 the drowning of the herd of pigs caused the herdsmen to flee. As the pigs episode properly belongs

to this exorcism story it is not surprising that this exorcism should produce such a response. The mention of fear at this point, may, however, as we saw (p.165 above), be redactional.

In conclusion, it seems that while nothing in Jesus' healing methods can be seen to be unique and thus certain to cause fear or amazement, there is sufficient evidence to more than counterbalance the doubt about the pagan origin of this motif and indicate that it quite probably goes back to the earliest accounts of the historical-Jesus.

5.1.3 Mad and Demon Possessed (Mk.3:21, (30;Jn.7:20; 8:48; 10:20)). As his introduction to the Beelzebul controversy Mark has οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ say that Jesus was beside himself (ἐξίσθημι).⁽⁴⁾ Whether οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ were the friends or family of Jesus⁽⁵⁾ need not detain us. That this charge goes back to the first Sitz im Leben is quite probable for it is hardly a charge that the Church would introduce into the tradition.⁽⁶⁾ In fact Matthew (12:22; cf. 46ff.) and Luke (11:14; cf. 8:19ff.) suppress the incident (see p.2/2 above). Our confidence in the historicity of the charge is further increased when we take into account the independent tradition of Jn.10:20 where Jews are said to charge Jesus with being mad (μαίνεται).

But did this charge in Mk.3:21 originally have any connection with Jesus' activity as an exorcist? The Fourth Gospel though containing no exorcism narratives preserves the charge of madness, but as we shall see, John consistently shifts all criticism away from the activity of Jesus to his teaching and so we cannot be sure of the relevance of his testimony on this point.

We are left with Mark. The Beelzebul controversy is obviously related to Jesus as an exorcist. However we cannot be sure that the motifs of 3:19b-21 were in the position that Mark gives them. In the first place these verses display a Markan hand⁽⁷⁾ and in the second place Q (Mtt.12:22f./Lk.11:14f.) has a miracle as an introduction to the Beelzebul controversy. However when we note that the Markan account of the Beelzebul charge (3:22) is one of demon possession (see p.2/2 above) - so severe that it is most probably authentic - and that demon-possession was thought to be equivalent to being mad⁽⁸⁾ we can see why 3:21, 22 (and 30) were brought together even if they were not originally part of the same report.

So in conclusion here, Jesus-the-Exorcist was most probably accused (by the original observers) of being demon-possessed. Although the charge is equivalent we cannot be sure that as an exorcist Jesus was considered mad.

5.1.4 Did the exorcisms of Jesus lead his observers to conclude that he was the Messiah? This question is brought into focus by Mtt.12:23 which specifies the crowd's response to Jesus' healing a demoniac as: "Can this be the Son of David?"⁽⁹⁾

When we examined the Beelzebul controversy in chap. III we concluded that the acclamation by the crowd had its origin in Matthew's redactional activity. It would be natural then to conclude that Jesus' exorcisms did not, at least for the crowd, evince his messiahship. However the matter cannot be left there for Matthew might be reflecting an earlier tradition about a response to Jesus. Also the work of a number of scholars suggests that the messianic hopes of the time involved the expectation that the Messiah would cast out demons.⁽¹⁰⁾ So the question remains open - 'did the exorcisms of Jesus lead to the conclusion that he was the Messiah?'

A positive reply to this question could be based on two points. (a) It is suggested that there was a hope which expected that the Messiah would deal with evil spirits.⁽¹¹⁾ The evidence that can be cited is: Test. Levi 12:11f.; Test. Jud.25:3; Test. Zeb.9:8; Test. Dan 5:10f.; Test. Reuben 6:10-12; Ass. Mos.10, 1, 3; Siphre Lev.26:6; PR.36 and 1 Enoch 10:4. (b) With Mtt.12:23 in mind - "Can this be the Son of David?" - and in view of the tradition of Solomon's

expertise in combating demons (see p.102 above), it might be thought that 'Son of David' is a particularly appropriate title for the Coming One in this context. To this we can add that the title 'Son of David' comes from the very earliest Christian traditions and was little used outside Palestine.⁽¹²⁾ And despite the uncertain history of this title prior to the Christian era⁽¹³⁾ there is some evidence that it was in use among the Rabbis in the late first century.⁽¹⁴⁾

What are we to make of this evidence? Firstly, the use of 'Son of David' in connection with exorcism. The certain pre-Christian uses of the title in a Messianic context⁽¹⁵⁾ are not related to exorcism or dealing with demons. For example the Ps.Sol.17:23 has "raise up unto them their king, the Son of David..."⁽¹⁶⁾ Here (vv.23-46)⁽¹⁷⁾ there is expressed the hope (based on 2 Sam.7)⁽¹⁸⁾ that God will raise up a king who will, for example, throw off alien domination, recapture Jerusalem and purify it of^{the} heathen and rule in purity and righteousness. But no mention is made of dealing with demons. Even later the Rabbinic material⁽¹⁹⁾ does not link the Son of David with exorcism or dealing with Satan and the demons. If we look at this from the other side we see that the expectation that the Messiah would do battle with evil spirits⁽²⁰⁾ does not involve the term/title 'Son of David'. The title is used in conjunction with the control of demons in Test. Sol., e.g. par. 5. However, this is, as we have seen (p.85 above) if not a wholly Christian

document at least so thoroughly reworked by a Christian hand that it cannot be used to establish the nature of the Messianic hope in relation to the use of 'Son of David'.

As the title is used frequently in Jewish literature from the Ps. Sol. on, it cannot be seen as a peculiarly Christian designation.⁽²¹⁾ But the association of the title with a therapeutic-Messiah does seem to be a Christian innovation that came about by using the one available Messianic title that had strong connotations of healing - and exorcism, even though it had never previously been used in this way.⁽²²⁾ So, in short here, prior to its use in Christian circles 'Son of David' was not connected with the Coming One's expected dealings with Satan and the demons, and thus evidence does not support the possibility that Jesus' observers would have responded to his exorcisms with the acclamation of Mtt.12:23.

Secondly we should examine the literature which was cited as evidence that the expected Messiah would deal with Satan and his demons. In the first place it is to be noted that much of the evidence comes from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. In using this material as part of the background of Christian origins some care must be exercised for it has long been accepted that the Testaments have undergone Christian interpolations.⁽²³⁾ There is at present a considerable debate over the origins of the Testaments which

was inaugurated primarily by de Jonge's work.⁽²⁴⁾ This debate need detain us only in so far as it alerts us to the necessity of examining each of the passages from the Testaments cited above to see whether or not the pertinent lines have a Christian origin.

Test. Levi 18:11f. The whole of chapter 18, which has some agreements with Test. Jud. 24 is probably a hymn which glorifies Christ.⁽²⁵⁾ Verses 6f. describe Jesus' baptism.

"The heavens shall be opened,

And from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification,

With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.

And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him,

And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall

rest upon him in the water".⁽²⁶⁾

Verse 3 - "And his star shall arise in heaven as of a King" - reflects Mtt.2:2. Verse 12b - "And he shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits" can be compared with Lk.10:19. The origin of v.12a - "And Beliar shall be bound by him" - is difficult to judge. If it is compared with Mtt.12:29/Lk.11:21, where Jesus binds the strong man, then perhaps v.12a could well have a Christian origin. However, though Beliar is a relatively late title for Satan,⁽²⁷⁾ it does have a brief pre-Christian history.⁽²⁸⁾ On balance I think that it is difficult to see v.12 as certainly being pre-Christian.

Test. Jud. 25:3. This verse is part of a section (vv.3-5) that has considerable textual problems.⁽²⁹⁾ One text (A) does not have v.4b ("And they who were poor for the Lord's sake shall be made rich") which is clearly dependent on Mtt.5:6/Lk.6:21. But in view of A's omissions in chapter 24 (2b) which is not clearly Christian, it cannot be said to be a less Christianized text.⁽³⁰⁾ Thus the differing texts are little help in discovering the origin of the motifs in v.3 for each text has its apparent Christian elements.⁽³¹⁾ In v.3 the reference to a 'spirit of deceit' is reminiscent of 1 Tim.4:1 (and 1 Jn.4:6). The idea of the destruction of Satan by casting him into the fire for ever may reflect Mtt.18:8. Thus we have little confidence in the pre-Christian origin of these notions in v.3.

Test. Zeb. 9:8. Most of the texts only have the first two lines of this verse with the last two lines being divergent.⁽³²⁾ However it is more likely to be from a Christian hand; the treading upon spirits of deceit clearly reflects Lk.10:19f.,⁽³³⁾ and that God will be seen in the fashion of man may come from a Christian hand (though see Ez.1:26). That reference to the defeat of Beliar is in the context of probable Christian material reduces our confidence in its pre-Christian origin.

Test. Dan 5:10f.. Once again we should probably attribute the second and following lines of vv.10f. to a Christian

writer -

"for after the usual 'and for you and the salvation of the Lord will arise from the tribes of Judah and Levi', there follows immediately: 'and he will wage war against Beliar...'. This is the beginning of a Christian passage dealing with the Messiah".⁽³⁴⁾

We should exclude Test. Reub. 6:10-12 from the evidence for its reference to dealing with Satan and the demons is not plain. In any case the section 6:5-12 looks like a later addition⁽³⁵⁾ and the awkward reference in v.12 to an eternal king dying in wars visible and invisible quite likely refers to Jesus.⁽³⁶⁾ Thus in conclusion, little confidence can be placed in any of the references from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs for portraying pre-Christian messianic hopes.

In the second place we must leave aside Enoch 55:4, part of the Similitudes of Enoch. In the light of none of chapters 37-71 being found at Qumram the date of this material can no longer be confidently placed in the pre-Christian period.⁽³⁷⁾

In the third place we have to consider Strack-Billerbeck's (IV:527) citation of Siphre Lev. 26:6 and PR 36⁽³⁸⁾ in relation to the pre-Christian messianic hope entailing the defeat of Satan and his demons. However

neither of these references can be admitted as evidence of the nature of the pre-Christian hope. The former reference can come from no earlier than the middle of the second century AD⁽³⁹⁾ and the PR is dated between the fourth and ninth centuries.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Fourthly we are left then with only the Ass. Mos. 10:1, 3 as a possible useful reference. However we must now discount its usefulness for informing the minds of Jesus' audience as they attempted to assess him in connection with his exorcisms. For in the Ass. Mos. 10:1 the hope - "And then Satan shall be ^{no} more" is related not to the work of any individual messianic figure⁽⁴¹⁾ but is simply what will happen when the Lord's Kingdom shall appear (10:1).⁽⁴²⁾ Verse 3 does mention an individual ('the Heavenly One') but he is not related to the destruction of Satan and he is not a human figure but God himself (cf. 10:7). In 9:1 there is a hero who seems to precede the appearance of the Kingdom, but his task is not part of either the establishment of the Kingdom or related to the destruction of Satan. His task is simply to exhort his hearers to good works, (perhaps as a preliminary to the coming of the Kingdom (9:7; 10:1)). Thus as far as we can see the author of the Ass. Mos. would certainly not be looking for a Messianic figure who would do battle with Satan.⁽⁴³⁾

Fifthly we can consider 1 Enoch 10:4 where Raphael is told to "Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness...". Here though God's representative is involved - exorcism is not. Thus as Russell said, the 'Messiah' was not indispensable to the eschatological Kingdom,⁽⁴⁴⁾ and 'messiah' and 'messianic concepts' are not always found together.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The conclusion we should draw from our examination of this material is that in pre-Christian literature there seems to be no connection between a messianic individual and his specific battle with Satan and the demons through exorcism. Thus it is difficult to see Jesus' observers connecting what was a common occurrence in their day with Jesus being self-evidently a/the Messiah. I am not here concluding that in general it was not possible for Jesus' audience to come to the conclusion that he was the Messiah, that is a different question. But, I am concluding that in the observation of Jesus as an exorcist there is little to suggest that bystanders would have so assessed Jesus and his significance, for they had no adequate frames of reference from which to draw such a conclusion. When Barrett says -

"The argument of Jesus,... that his exorcisms were a sign of the proximity of the Kingdom of God, would be perfectly comprehensible even to those who disagreed with its assumption" -⁽⁴⁶⁾

he is correct in so far as such an explanation of the significance of exorcisms would have been comprehensible. But we

must dissent from this as being a sign (see pp. 290f. above) and the implication that such an interpretation of the exorcisms was self-evident.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In the next chapter we must attempt to explain the origin of the relationship between exorcism and eschatology.

5.2 In view of these responses to Jesus, and the picture of the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist which we sketched out in the previous chapter, the question arises, - how would the bystanders or observers have assessed or categorized Jesus? Would they, for example, have seen Jesus as a magician (Morton Smith), or a Necromancer (Kraeling), or a Charismatic (Vermees) or what? Can it even be said that Jesus was so categorized at all?

5.2.1 We begin with one of the most recent suggestions, that Jesus was seen as a magician. It is Professor Morton Smith's belief that

"'Jesus the Magician' was the figure seen by most ancient opponents of Jesus" (and that this picture was "destroyed in antiquity after Christians got control of the Roman empire".⁽⁴⁸⁾

But the most important point about Smith's book is that he considers this view of Jesus to be correct,⁽⁴⁹⁾ so that not only was Jesus considered to be a magician, but Jesus actually was a magician in terms of the first century understanding of that category.

As we will discover Smith's book is so poor that ordinarily the lengthy reply that we are about to give would not be justified. However, as Smith's work cuts so directly across the path of our study we must engage in some considerable debate with him.

To support his theory Morton Smith first goes through the reports about Jesus in the gospels. Then he looks at the Jewish and pagan material. These two areas are assessed before returning to the gospels to see how ^{the} evidence accords with the picture that had emerged thus far - that Jesus was a magician.

(a) As the later Christian, Jewish, and pagan material is where we first came across explicit reference to Jesus being a magician it is best to start there in assessing Smith's work. And we shall proceed by taking up points that seem to be the most important to Smith's case.

(i) Two of the early corner-stones in Chapter 4 ("What the Outsiders Said - Evidence Outside the Gospels") of Jesus the Magician are that Pantera (and its variants) is the "name generally given by Jewish tradition to Jesus' father",⁽⁵⁰⁾ and that Ben Stada, the son of Pantera, is to be identified as Jesus.⁽⁵¹⁾ (The key passage, at one time censored from the Talmud is b.San. 67a).⁽⁵²⁾ Smith gives no evidence as to why any of these names should be identified as denoting

v

Jesus and his family. However R. Travers Herford,⁽⁵³⁾ on this particular point a precursor of Smith, rests his case for the identification on a passage from Tosephta Hullin II: 22-23 which mentions healing "in the name of Jesus ben Panthera", saying that in the light of these two passages "it is impossible to doubt that the reference is to Jesus of Nazareth".⁽⁵⁴⁾ The considerable evidence against this slim argument is firstly that the title Jesus ben Panthera is not uncommon in the Talmud,⁽⁵⁵⁾ and secondly that Ben Stada lived a century after Jesus.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Smith then has no good reason for identifying the names of b.San. 67a and t.Hul. II:22-23 with Jesus and his family. Epstein quotes H. Derenbourg as rightly denying the identity of Ben Stada with Jesus, and regarding him simply as a false prophet executed during the second century at Lydda.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The reason why Professor Smith is so anxious to make these connections is that in so doing, the following passage from b.Shab. 104b could be made to refer to Jesus -

"But did not Ben Stada bring forth witchcraft from Egypt by means of scratches (in the form of charms) upon his flesh?"

Smith says that this "tattooing almost certainly refers to Jesus".⁽⁵⁸⁾ Then a bit later Smith says -

"Moreover, Paul claimed to be tattooed or branded with 'the marks of Jesus', Gal.6:17 - most likely the same marks that Jesus carried" (p. 48).⁽⁵⁹⁾

For evidence he relies on Hans Lietzmann's note⁽⁶⁰⁾ on Galatians 6:17:- ("Henceforth let no man trouble me; for I bear on my body the marks of Jesus"). Lietzmann in turn is dependant upon Deissmann's use of the Demotic and Greek Papyrus J.383 of the Leiden Museum in relation to this verse. The spell reads:-

"Persecute me not, thou there! - I am PAPIPETOU METUBANES; I carry the corpse of Osiris and I go to convey it to Abydos, to convey it to its resting place, and to place it in the everlasting chambers. Should anyone trouble me, I shall use it against him".⁽⁶¹⁾

In the light of the spell Deissmann says:-

"One can hardly resist the impression that the obscure metaphor all at once becomes more intelligible: Let no man venture κίνους παρέχειν for me, for in the $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ of the marks of Jesus I possess a talisman against all such things".⁽⁶²⁾

Whatever we may make of De(ssmann here, we (and Smith) need to note that he sees it as a metaphor - and no more.⁽⁶³⁾

There is no evidence that disposes us to do otherwise. And Smith produces no evidence that would suggest that Paul thought he was tattooed after the fashion of a magician.

(ii) In his effort to make Jesus a magician Smith summons Suetonius and Tacitus to his aid. Firstly he quotes Suetonius' Life of Nero 16:2 - "Penalties were imposed on the Christians, a kind of men (holding) a new superstition (that

involves the practice) of magic". On the use of maleficus (which Smith here translates as magic), we shall have more to say later.⁽⁶⁴⁾ It is sufficient to note in anticipation that this translation is by no means certain.

Secondly Professor Smith quotes Tacitus (Annals XV:44:3-8) on the persecutions by Nero. In this passage Tacitus says that the Christians were convicted, not so much on the count of arson as for "hatred (odio) of the human race". Of the last phrase Smith says that it "is most plausibly understood as referring to magic" (p.51). This could only be the case if one's mind was predisposed to so seeing it. Smith contends that the usual explanation—

"that it is an application to the Christians, who were still a Jewish group, of the Roman belief about Jews in general, is derived from Tacitus' comment on the Jews in Histories V:5, 'among themselves they scrupulously keep their promises, and are quick to pity and help

(each other), but they hold outsiders as enemies'" (p.51) - is inadequate because when speaking of the Jewish hatred of others he does not consider it as grounds for total extermination of them as he does for the Christians. This, says Smith, indicates a different notion of what the Jews and Christians were doing (p.51).

But Smith fails to see two things. Firstly in the Annals Tacitus is not levelling charges against the

Christians - he is attempting to give reasons why Nero should have persecuted the Christians. And further W. H. C. Frend suggests that - "It does not seem... that odium could have been a legal charge".⁽⁶⁵⁾ Secondly Smith fails to note that the term 'hatred of the human race' is used in antiquity as grounds for Jewish persecution.⁽⁶⁶⁾ There is then no reason at all why we should assume that in the use of the phrase Tacitus thought that the Christians were guilty of anything different from the Jews.

But is "hatred of the human race... a charge appropriate to magicians as popular imagination conceived them" (p.52)? It is not clear, but it seems that Smith wishes to equate 'hatred of the human race' with cannibalism, which he adequately shows was thought in antiquity to be associated with magic, magicians and witches. However Smith has offered no evidence that we should make the prior connection between 'hatred of the human race' and cannibalism. Thus there is no need to see more in the phrase than Frend's definition -

"It involved not so much the desire to do personal damage but to turn one's back on obligations to one's fellow men, and it was regarded as a characteristic Jewish fault".⁽⁶⁷⁾

(iii) Next among Smith's witnesses is Pliny the Younger and his letter to Trajan.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The section of the letter of particular interest here is Pliny hearing of

Christian apostates -

"that it was their habit on a fixed day to assemble before daylight and sing by turns a hymn (carmen) to Christ as a god".

The operative word here is of course carmen. Sherwin-White⁽⁶⁹⁾ has reviewed the possible interpretations and he says:-

"The short answer is that carmen dicere is ordinary Latin for to sing a song or to intone verses... It is true that carmen may mean the set formula of, for example, an oath,... and carmen dicere might mean an invocation as in a magical rite. But the normality of the phrase from the pen of a literary man, the contrast with maledicerent christo in 5:5, and the conjunction of quasi deo, all favour the original interpretation as a hymn of praise".⁽⁷⁰⁾

Smith calls Sherwin-White's treatments a 'whitewash' (p.180) but as he offers no evidence to counter Sherwin-White's conclusions it seems reasonable to conclude that Pliny is not here referring to magical incantations or spells, but simply has in mind the Christian hymns.

(iv) With the Dialogue With Trypho by Justin Martyr reference to a charge of magic is at last clear! Smith again (pp. 55 and 81) centres his argument around the word πλάνοσ. This, as we shall see, is indefensible for πλάνοσ is by no means a synonym for 'magician'. This is clear in Dialog.69 where Justin distinguishes between the terms - "For they dored

call him a magician and a deceiver of the people". Strangely Smith relegates to a footnote,⁽⁷¹⁾ reference to this potentially important passage. Justin is noting Jewish opinion of Jesus - that he was a *μάγος*. Two important points need to be mentioned here. Firstly that this charge of magic is from those who wish to discredit the reputation of Jesus, and secondly that Justin is at pains to refute the charge as being false.

(v) Smith is also correct in seeing a contrast between the work of Jesus and the work of magicians as lying behind a fragment of an otherwise unknown Apologist Quadratus which is preserved by Eusebius. The fragment reads -

"But the works of our Saviour were always present, for they were true, those who were cured, those who rose from the dead, who not merely appeared as cured and risen, but were constantly present, not only while the Saviour was living, but even for some time (ἐπὶ χρόνον ἰκανόν) after he had gone, so that some of them survived even till our own time " (HE 4:3:2, cf. Smith p.55).

But I think that we can go beyond Smith's 'contrast' and see here a refutation by Quadratus of a charge of magic against Jesus. Here the same two comments that were made on the last point apply - the charge of magic is being made by opponents of orthodox Christianity, and the charge is roundly refuted.

(vi) The next major witness for Professor Smith's case is Celsus. (CC. I:7, 28, (df. 38), 68). Here again the evidence is clear that Celsus did consider Jesus to be one who practised magic (γοητεία). Smith rightly recognises the obvious import of these passages - that Celsus thought that Jesus was one who practised magic. But where Smith goes beyond his evidence is where he suggests that the picture Celsus gives us "may be correct" (p.59).

Summary. In chap. 4 Smith has been trying to do two things. Principally he wants to show that Jesus' contemporaries (pp. 67, 68, cf.53f.) outside the Gospels thought that he was a magician. The second objective of Smith which we will leave for the moment, is that this notion of Jesus being a magician may be the correct view of him, though Smith gives no evidence.

On Smith's principal objective a number of things should be said. Firstly Smith gives the misleading impression (p.64) that he has reviewed all of the non-gospel evidence for the outsiders' image of Jesus. But there is at least one snippet of information from Suetonius' Claudius 25:4 which shows that not all references to Jesus can be construed to refer to Jesus being a magician. Suetonius says of Claudius - "He expelled the Jews from Rome, on account of the riots in which they were constantly indulging, at the instigation of Chrestus". This reference to Christ -

'Chrestus' being a popular mis-spelling of the name 'Christ',⁽⁷²⁾

- is by no means complimentary, but Suetonius seems to have no wish to give any idea that Chrestus was a magician.⁽⁷³⁾

Secondly Professor Smith's case fails to convince at many points. He failed to convince us that the Jewish evidence he cites, Suetonius, Tacitus, or Pliny thought that Jesus was a magician. Thirdly, Smith is under the delusion that he is dealing with Jesus' contemporaries. He does not show that the views held by those he cites were the views of the contemporaries of Jesus. Fourthly, (and more encouragingly for Smith!) the material cited from Justin, Quadratus and Origen clearly shows that there were those who said that Jesus was a magician and that his miracles were performed by magic. But as has already been noted, each of these charges is forcefully rebutted. And it is untenable in the face of this, and without other evidence, to say that this picture of Jesus was correct. To determine the correctness of the charge there is no alternative but to return to the NT to see if from the (meagre) evidence we can come to some conclusion. This we shall do later.

(b) Having attempted to show that Jesus' 'contemporaries' thought him to be a magician Smith goes on in chap. 5 ("What the Outsiders Meant") to spell out what these 'contemporaries' meant when they thought Jesus to be a magician. Smith recognises the difficulty of this task (pp. 68f.) and, to his credit, sees the need of defining magic not in a twentieth

but in a first century context, The weakness of Smith's treatment is that, although he gives an adequate general picture of the various notions of what a first century magician was, he fails to relate these notions to his evidence in the previous chapter. The result is that of the whole spectrum of possible choices (p. 80), we do not know, from Smith, which one (or more) of these might have been in the mind of say Celsus or Quadratus' opponents. This also we shall have to correct later.

(c) We can now return to the Gospel material and see what Smith makes of it. In dealing with the Gospels he first considers "What the Outsider Said".⁽⁷⁴⁾ He deals with the opinions of various relevant sectors of first century society, for example, "Common Opinion", (pp. 21ff.) "Family and Townspeople", (pp. 24ff.) "Herodians and Pharisees" (pp. 28ff.). What Professor Smith does is to catalogue the opinions of these groups, almost invariably adverse. For example, he notes the charge of casting out demons by Beelzebul (Mk.3:20ff./Mtt.12:22ff./Lk.11:14ff.), (p. 81) and that Jesus was said to be a Samaritan, and that he had a demon (Jn.8:48) (p. 21).

(i) Smith contends that Jn.8:48 "You are a Samaritan and have a demon"⁽⁷⁵⁾ - means that the accusers thought that Jesus was a magician.⁽⁷⁶⁾ His reason for arguing this is that, "'had' a demon seemed sometimes to mean that he was himself possessed, sometimes that he had control of a demon

and could make it do miracles" (p. 77). Smith (pp. 31f.) is correct in noting that ἔχω does, in some cases, mean to have something under control.⁽⁷⁷⁾ But it is doubtful if this meaning is intended in the NT.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Hanse has pointed out that in Greek philosophy and religion there is, in the use of these two meanings of 'to have', an important linguistic distinction; namely that if the daemon is for good, it is the man who possesses it, but in relation to evil spirits it is the man who is passive in the spirit's possession of him.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Turning to the NT Hanse says " ἔχειν does not mean 'to have in one's power' or 'to possess'. It expresses a spatial relationship and means 'to bear in oneself'".⁽⁸⁰⁾

In the light of this, the accusation that Jesus performed miracles ὅτι βεελζεβουλ ἔχει (Mk. 3:22) may seem a difficulty. But (1) although "the concept of demonic ἔχειν is here extended... Beelzebul is still no more than the chief of demons".⁽⁸¹⁾ (2) The reply of Jesus, given by Mark (3:23), "How can Satan cast out Satan?" implies not that Jesus is using or manipulating the possessing power, but the reverse. And (3) in 3:30, Mark adds to the section following the Beelzebul controversy - "for they had said 'He has an unclean spirit'". We can conclude here then by repeating what has already been said that in the Gospels 'ἔχειν' does not mean to 'have in one's power' but 'to be controlled' - in this case by an evil spirit.

Nevertheless it is clear that two of the Evangelists⁽⁸²⁾ feel that Jesus' contemporaries charged him with having a demon. What we must decide here is what δαιμόνιον ἔχειν would have meant for (at least) the Evangelists and why Matthew and Luke do not agree here with John and Mark.

(1) The point at which to begin is by noting how Matthew and Luke deal with their tradition at points where Mark has ἔλεγον Πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ἔχει (3:30) and βεεζεβουλ (3:22). It would seem from the sense (ὅτι ἔλεγον), the position, (at the end of a pericope), and the vocabulary (πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον) (see p. 213 above) that 3:30 was not in Mark's tradition. Matthew (12:31f.), conflating Mark and Q,⁽⁸³⁾ does not take up Mark's phrase. Luke (12:10), though more faithful to his Q tradition, does not take up this final phrase. These points of themselves would be of little significance were it not for a similar situation just a little earlier in the Markan material. Neither Matthew nor Luke take up Mark's ἔχειν at 3:22, effectively altering the sense of Mark where the accusers say Jesus has Beelzebul and/or a demon, to the sense that Jesus acts by or in the power of Beelzebul.⁽⁸⁴⁾ We saw (p. 219 above) that Beelzebul was a pseudonym or synonym for Satan. Thus Mark is transmitting the idea that Jesus was possessed or controlled by Satan and performed his exorcisms under his aegis. Such a notion was clearly unacceptable to Matthew and Luke.

(2) In John's Gospel *δαίμόνιον ἔχειν* is used in an entirely different way from the Synoptics. In Mark the term is used in the context of a debate over Jesus' source of power-authority for his miracles; that is his miracles appear to the accusers as being authorized and enabled by Beelzebul. Similarly in Matthew (11:18 and Luke (7:33) the term is used as an accusation directed against the activity of John the Baptist. In the Fourth Gospel there has been no attempt to hide the accusation that Jesus had a demon (7:20; 8:48ff.; 10:20) but it has been removed from the context of Jesus' activity and is now to be found in relation to the words of Jesus.

John 8:48 ("The Jews answered him, 'Are we not right in saying that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?'" (cf. 7:20; 8:52; 10:20)). The accusation has two elements; first that Jesus is a Samaritan, and then secondly that he has a demon. The first element "You are a Samaritan" has been variously interpreted.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The best way forward is to note that Jn. 8:48 supplies only a single reply to the accusation - "I have not a demon",⁽⁸⁶⁾ Consequently even if the two elements are not exactly synonymous, an understanding of the second element of the accusation ("You have a demon") may clarify the meaning of being called a Samaritan.

In Jn. 10:20 *δαίμόνιον ἔχει* is immediately followed by *μαίνεται*. There is no reason to see the latter phrase

as more than supplementing the first so that the two phrases are little more than synonyms.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Besides this verse there are four other occurrences of *μαίνομαι* in the NT. In each of the cases it characterizes a disbelieved messenger of good news. Firstly in Acts 12:15 Rhoda is disbelieved (*Μαίνη*) when she relates the good news that Peter is standing at the door. Secondly in response to Paul's defence Felix says that Paul is mad (*Μαίνη*) to which Paul replies that he is not mad (*Οὐ μαίνομαι*) but is "speaking the sober truth" (Acts 26:24f.). Then thirdly in 1 Cor.14:23 Paul says that when outsiders hear an assembled Church speaking in tongues will they not say they are mad (*μαίνεσθε*)? This is not strictly or directly good news but is inspired by God and its interpretation may bring good news (1 Cor.14:5c, 13-19). Finally the verse in which we are presently interested is a response by some of the Jews put at the end of the Good Shepherd discourse. It is not a response to Jesus' miracles or activities but to his words, and in particular, (as in the other references to *δαλμόνιον ἔχει* - 7:20; 8:48f.; note 10:20b) a response to words of Jesus pertaining to his own status and his relationship to God. As the two parts of the accusation in Jn.10:20 appear to be synonymous we can conclude that: for John some of the Jews were characterizing what was for them an unbelievable message.⁽⁸⁸⁾

The phrase in 8:48 is the same, and the situation is similar to that in 10:20. We can then approach 8:48

assuming that *δαιμόνιον ἔχει* could well have a similar meaning for John. To confirm this we see that the first element of the 8:48 accusation ("You are a Samaritan") agrees with this interpretation. After noting the points of contact and the points of contrast⁽⁸⁹⁾ between Samaritan theology and the Fourth Gospel Bowman says -

"As to John 8:48 there is sufficient in the Johannine picture of Jesus which would suggest to Jews that Jesus was not as the scribes and Pharisees if we can judge these by later Rabbinic writings. His emphasis on faith, on belief instead of the fulfilment of ritual religious acts would seem strange. If there is any historical foundation for the speeches in John 8 it is not surprising that the Jews regarded him as a Samaritan".⁽⁹⁰⁾

Bowman is well aware that the Jews would not have meant their accusation literally⁽⁹¹⁾ - but it was as if Jesus were acting the Samaritan by putting forth such unbelievable opinions.⁽⁹²⁾

We have been trying to show that Smith is mistaken in thinking that Jn.8:48 is to be taken as an accusation of magic against Jesus. Matthew and Luke have altered their tradition to excise the idea of Jesus 'having Beelzebul' but even in their tradition (Mk.3:22, 30) the view is not that Jesus is controlling a demon but that he is possessed by Satan. This is surely a criticism of the severest kind and unlikely to have originally been anything different from

this. The early Church is unlikely to have altered a charge of magic - whatever that might have been - to the present criticism. Finally, we have shown that Jn.8:48 expresses the judgement that Jesus' message was unbelievable.

(ii) Vital to Smith's program of trying to show that Jesus was a magician is his interpretation of πλάνοσ as a 'magician'.⁽⁹³⁾ The mainstay of Smith's case is an article by Fr. J. Samain⁽⁹⁴⁾ who Smith says "has persuasively argued that in the gospels it (πλάνοσ) means 'magician'".⁽⁹⁵⁾ But in fact what Samain shows is that outside the NT πλάνοσ can mean magician and that one has to determine from the context how to translate it.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Only after this does Samain go on to suggest that the context, particularly of Mtt.27:63, invites the translation 'magician'.⁽⁹⁷⁾ It is necessary to make some brief comments of our own, for as with Smith, though to a far lesser extent, one senses with Samain that he has made up his mind prior to examining the evidence.

In Greek an early meaning of πλανάω was 'lead astray'. The active sense of 'deceit' is late and rare⁽⁹⁸⁾ - with a shift to its negative aspect.⁽⁹⁹⁾

It is this aspect of the word that was taken up into the LXX. Braun says that the word "group is used generally for transgression of the revealed will of God and more specifically for instigation to idolatry". And interestingly he says

"transgression is brought about, not by ungodly metaphysical forces like the devil, but by man, or even by God himself".⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

Notably the word group is used in the rejection of false prophecy.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ This glance at the pre-NT use of the $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ word group illustrates that there is neither a direct use of the word in connection with magic, nor is it used as a synonym for a magician.

We can now turn to Smith and Samain who suppose that the term was either equivalent to a direct accusation of magic⁽¹⁰²⁾ or that it actually means magician.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The evidence produced by these two men fits into three broad categories. Firstly there is that evidence which uses the word in the context of early Christian apologetics in defence of Jesus; and secondly there is the related use of the word in pagan condemnation of Jesus. Thirdly Smith and Samain have drawn on the use of the word outside the debate about Christ.

It is the last category of the use of the word that is most useful in discovering its relationship to such words as $\gamma\acute{o}\eta\varsigma$ and $\phi\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$. But at this point Samain has very little evidence indeed. He relies here on Josephus' use of $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Samain says that Josephus puts messianic pretenders among $\gamma\acute{o}\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\omicron\acute{\iota}\ \pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota$.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ What Josephus in fact does in using $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is to use it in parallel with $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$ (cheat, rogue, imposter) as a

synonym. (106) This is of little help to Samain as Josephus mentions nothing about these people that would suggest they were magicians. There is in Josephus no need to translate πλάνοσ other than by 'imposter' or 'deceiver'. Even γόησ is best translated 'charlatan' ^{rather} than 'magician'.

As we have noted above the πλανάω word group in the transferred sense in the pre-NT time is used primarily in relation to erring from right teaching or correct doctrine. It is not, so far as I can tell, used on its own to describe the work of a magician (γόησ). It only has this meaning where it is linked, as it is in relation to the later debate concerning Jesus, with miracles.

When we examine the use of πλανάω, πλάνη and πλάνοσ in the NT by or in relation to Jesus it is never related to miracles or the work of Jesus. The πλανάω group of words has always to do with being deceived in relation to the truth of the Christian message. (The one possible exception to this is Mtt.24:24 - "For false Christs and false prophets will arise and show great signs and wonders, so as to lead astray..." But even here it is not the signs and wonders that are themselves in question but the false Christs and prophets who will do the leading astray by means of signs and wonders.) I would propose then that for the Evangelists the use of πλάνοσ did not mean that any

aspersions were being cast on the way that Jesus performed his miracles but that Jesus' accusers felt that in general Jesus was leading the people astray.

It is only when we move into the second and following centuries that πλάνους was linked with the miracles of Jesus in such a way that makes it clear that those attacking and rejecting Christianity were rejecting the validity of the miracles of Jesus. Thus in his Proof of the Gospel Eusebius, in talking of the miracles, says he has been

"arguing with those who do not accept what we have said, and either completely disbelieve in it, and deny that such things were done by Him at all, or hold that if they were done, they were done by wizardry (γοητικά) for the leading astray (πλάνη) of the spectators, as deceivers (πλάνοι) often do" (Bk. III chap. 4 (end)).

And earlier Eusebius⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ sets the accusation of ὁ πλάνους over against the character and teaching of Jesus in such a way as to give the distinct impression that those with whom Eusebius was arguing were, in using πλάνους , referring to Jesus' miracles.

Thus it is necessary to conclude that ὁ πλάνους , by itself, cannot be equated with 'magician' and that neither Jesus' contemporaries nor the Evangelists used ὁ πλάνους to designate Jesus a 'magician'. It was only later in the second and following centuries that this word was linked

with the accusation that Jesus was a 'magician'.

(iii) Yet another item on Smith's agenda is to equate
κακὸς ποιός and κακὸν ποιῶν with 'magician' so that the
accusation by the Jews in Jn.18:30 ("If this man were not
κακὸν ποιῶν, we would not have handed him over") becomes
a charge of magic. (108)

This can be dealt with relatively quickly. Tertullian⁽¹⁰⁹⁾
 and Cyprian⁽¹¹⁰⁾ in citing 1 Pt.4:15 use maleficus
 for κακοποιός. For evidence that maleficus is in turn
 equivalent to 'magician' Codex Theodosianus IX:16:4; Codex
Justinianus IX:18:7, Lactantius,⁽¹¹¹⁾ and Jerome⁽¹¹²⁾ are
 cited.⁽¹¹³⁾ However not only is there no evidence for the
 use of κακοποιός in this sense in Greek legal terminology,⁽¹¹⁴⁾
 but also when maleficus is used, even if not synonymously, at
 least in a context where the term might carry the idea of
 'magician' or 'sorcerer', its magical connotations are made
explicit in the context by the use of some related or quali-
 fying word(s). So for example⁽¹¹⁵⁾ in Codex Justinianus
 (Smith's principle witness) maleficus is qualified so that it
might take the meaning of 'magician'.

"No person shall consult a soothsayer (haruspex), or an
 astrologer (mathematicus) or a diviner (horiolis). The
 wicked doctrines of augurs (vates) shall become silent.
 The Chaldeans and wizards (magi) and all the rest whom
 the common people call magicians (malefici), because of

the magnitude of their crimes, shall not attempt anything in the direction" (Codex Justinianus IX:18:5). But, against Smith, it could quite readily be argued that even in this passage maleficus is not a synonym for magic (etc.) but a generic term simply used to describe any evil activity.

However even if Smith's evidence is granted, there is still no evidence to show that in using maleficus for κακότητος Tertullian⁽¹¹⁶⁾ and Cyprian⁽¹¹⁷⁾ understood 1 Pt.4:15 as being a reference to 'magician' or 'sorcerer'. For in every other case where I have seen maleficus used it demands no other translation than 'evil doer'. That the sense of 'evil doer' is too vague to be a legal accusation under Roman law⁽¹¹⁸⁾ is an unsupportable notion. For apart from the major regular crimes condemned by Roman statutes for Italy, governors elsewhere were very largely left to their own discretion in recognising crimes and determining their sentences.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

At this point we conclude in the first instance that maleficus is a general term for 'evil doer', save where it is qualified to take on a specific meaning. Thus in the second instance we conclude that the use of maleficus for κακότητος by early Christian writers is not to be taken to mean that they thought the latter term equalled 'magic'.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Therefore finally, the Jews' charge in the Gospels of Jesus being a

κακό ποιῶν cannot be taken as being understood by the Evangelists as a charge of magic.

(iv) As there are clear charges of magic in some later literature we should examine them more carefully. (1) The Opponents of Quadratus. In HE 4:3:2 (see p. 306 above) Eusebius mentions Quadratus an Apologist during the time of Hadrian. Quadratus is quoted as saying that the Saviour's works were always present because they were true (ἀληθῆς); that is, those who were healed were not only seen being healed (or raised from the dead) but remained present during Jesus' ministry as well as after his departure. Now the charge of magic that Quadratus is countering has nothing to do with 'incantations' but with performing acts which give the impression or appearance of being miracles while in fact they are mere tricks.

(2) The Opponents of Justin Martyr. In chap. 69 of the Dialogue With Trypho Justin quotes Is.35:1-7 and says how Christ fulfils this prophecy; he

"healed those who were maimed, and deaf, and lame in body from their birth...raised the dead, and cause(d) them to live... But though they saw such works they asserted it was magical art. For they dared to call him a magician, and a deceiver of the people".

This passage is set in the context of a discussion of counterfeit miracles by the devil, and it is over against

this that Justin sets the reality, of the miracles of Christ, which in turn are said to be magical (φαντασίαν) and deceptive. In this connection Justin is clearly thinking of the charge against Christ as having to do with their authenticity or materiality rather than the means by which they were performed.

(3) Celsus. The charge of Celsus is that Jesus was just the same as those sorcerers who were trained by the Egyptians. What, says Celsus, characterized the activity of these people was their

"displaying expensive banquets and dining-tables and cakes and dishes which are non-existent, and who make things move as though they were alive although they are not really so, but only appear as such in the imagination" (I:66f.).

Celsus has in mind the stories of few loaves feeding many people, as well as Jesus raising the dead. Again the essence of the charge is that Jesus' miracles were magical in that they only appeared to take place. And indeed Origen answers the charge along these lines by trying to show that Jesus used no tricks. In essence Origen's reply is, would one whose moral character was above reproach fabricate his miracles and by these fabriactions call men to holy lives?⁽¹²¹⁾

(v) Summary. In our response to Smith we have tried to show that his programme has failed on at least three counts.

(1) Smith has not been able to show that Tacitus, Suetonius or Pliny thought that Jesus was a magician in any sense.

(2) Where the charge of magic is clear (Justin Martyr, Quadratus and Celsus) Smith has not only failed to notice that these opinions are not from contemporaries of Jesus, but he misunderstands the notions of magic involved in these accusations. That is, the substance of the charge against Jesus did not relate to him having used incantations or particular methods (this charge comes sometime later, as in Arnobius Adversus Gentes 1:43). In relation to performing miracles the charge of 'magic' here revolved around two important factors. Firstly, the life-style of the individual - who if as a miracle worker, was a cheat, liar or murderer (etc.), was a magician.⁽¹²²⁾ Secondly, of singular importance was the authenticity and longevity of the 'magician's' results (cf. Quadratus above). That is, if his work proved to be a fraud he was deemed a magician.

(3) Smith has failed to show that charges laid against Jesus in the NT relate to a charge of magic. What we have shown is that what Jesus' contemporary critics were concerned about was not his allegiance to any realm of 'magic', but that he must have been demon-possessed - by Satan himself.

As the second and third century charges against Jesus are quite different from that reflected in the Synoptics I cannot see it as being any value in understanding how Jesus' contemporaries assessed him as an exorcist. And as the Jesus tradition itself cannot support the view that Jesus was charged with magic we can take it that it is false to think that Jesus' contemporaries considered him to be a magician. (123)

5.2.2 "Was Jesus accused of Necromancy?" asks C. H. Kraeling. (124) And his answer is 'Yes'. Kraeling's case centres around his understanding of Mk.6:14-16(pars.) - Herod's view of Jesus, "John, whom I beheaded, has been raised". His argument is (briefly) as follows. Herod has heard a report of Jesus - most likely of Jesus' mighty works. But John did no miracles (Jn.10:41). What then is the connection that Herod is making between Jesus and John? It cannot be that Jesus is John redivivus for the ministries of Jesus and John overlap (Mtt.11:2-6/Lk.7:18-23). So Kraeling suggests that the connection is necromancy. (125) The backbone of Kraeling's case is that apart from the sayings relating to Jesus in John (7:20; 8:48, 49, 52; 10:20) and the reference in Lk.8:29 to the Gadarene demoniac, the locution ἔχειν δαίμονιον means "to have a demon under one's control and to make him do one's bidding". (126) Kraeling gives the impression that this phrase is used on a number of other occasions. In fact it appears only in Mtt.11:18/Lk.7:33, and Kraeling gives us no evidence for thinking that this verse

was intended to convey the notion of John having a demon under his control. Kraeling also mentions the Beelzebul charge in this connection (Mk.3:22). However we have just seen that this interpretation of the Beelzebul charge is incorrect. This severely undermines if not destroys Kraeling's case.

5.2.3 Would Jesus' audience have seen him as one of their charismatics? In Jesus the Jew Geza Vermes considers that Jesus is being represented in the Gospels

"as a man whose supernatural abilities derived, not from secret powers, but from immediate contact with God, (which) proves him to be a genuine charismatic".⁽¹²⁷⁾

This conclusion may adequately define Jesus' activity and character in terms of our understanding of a charismatic. But can we go so far as to say -

"that the person of Jesus is to be seen as part of the first-century charismatic Judaism and as the paramount example of the early Hasidim or devout"?⁽¹²⁸⁾

In other words, would Jesus have been considered (by his contemporaries) to have been just another of their charismatic Rabbis?

Vermes answers yes!⁽¹²⁹⁾ He places Jesus among the charismatic Rabbis through an examination of Jesus as a healer, particularly as an exorcist, and by comparing him with Honi and Hanina ben Dosa. (In relation to exorcism,

the material Vermes produces to set up the background for Jesus is from Tobit, Jubilees, Josephus, Qumran and the Rabbinic literature).

Over against Vermes, particularly in relation to Jesus as an exorcist, we are able to set out some evidence that provides a corrective to Vermes' position. I say 'corrective' for, as we have seen in the last three chapters, Jesus was indeed an exorcist at one with his Jewish milieu. But I also say 'corrective' because we have produced evidence that means that Jesus' audience may not ^{have} classed him simply as one of their rabbis.

Firstly, and most importantly, the rabbis were most probably not the only exorcists in Palestine in Jesus' time (see the conclusions to chap. II above). There were probably exorcists like Eleazar, ⁽¹³⁰⁾ like the Abraham of the Genesis Apocryphon, the exorcists represented in the PGM, the sons of Sceva, the Strange Exorcist, as well as rabbis like Honi and Honina ben Dosa. ⁽¹³¹⁾ This great variety of traditions means that Jesus' audience was probably aware of a great variety of exorcists and their methods with the rabbis as only one part of that variety.

Secondly, although of all the exorcists in first century Palestine Jesus was probably most like the rabbis there are some important differences between him and the rabbis.

(a) Although on occasions we see the rabbis using no technique save the command to the demon to get out (see p. 73 above), Jesus is almost (cf. Mk.5:10ff.) consistently simple in his exorcistic technique. Even Vermes recognizes this *difference* between Jesus and many of his contemporary exorcists in that

"no rite is mentioned in connection with these achievements. In fact, compared with the esotericism of other methods, his own, as depicted in the gospels, is simplicity itself". (132)

(b) In the last chapter we spent some time examining the relationship between miracle and message in the gospels. One of the conclusions of that discussion was that this unique relationship is to be traced back to the historical-Jesus. So far as I know none of the Ḥasidim made any connection between their miracles and a message.

(c) Closely related to this point is the specific significance that the historical-Jesus gave to his miracles. That is, in the last chapter we also saw that Jesus understood his exorcisms (in particular) to be the Kingdom of God in action. Not only is Jesus' general preoccupation with the Kingdom unique, but so also is this significance he attributed to his exorcisms. This preoccupation with the Kingdom of God and its relationship to exorcism is not something found in Judaism's charismatics. (133)

(d) We noted above (pp.269f.) that although prayer was probably important for the historical-Jesus, and the early Church enhanced this importance, prayer was never part of Jesus' technique of exorcism. There are examples (eg. b.Meil.17b) of Rabbis healing without prayer, but with a simple command. However this seems to be the exception (see m.Ber.5:5; b.Ber.34b).

If our argument is correct Vermes' view needs at least some correction. Although the nearest parallel to Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples are the rabbis and their pupils and although Jesus-the-Exorcist was at one with his Jewish environment the one thing that seems to mark Jesus off over against the rabbis is his healing/exorcistic ministry. So would Jesus' audience have simply viewed him as another ḥasid? If they did is it not probable that, as an exorcist, Jesus would have been seen as displaying characteristics that set him apart from his contemporaries?

We have, in the second part of this chapter, examined three possible ways in which it has been suggested Jesus' contemporaries would have assessed him. Our discussions have shown how unlikely it is that the categories of 'magician' or 'necromancer' would have been used. While Jesus' overall ministry may have caused him to be seen as a ḥasid, as an exorcist it is doubtful if those who witnessed him at work would have considered him just another of their rabbis. In

the conclusions to this chapter we will make our own suggestions in this connection.

5.3 In this, the last section of this chapter we will look at the response of the early Church to Jesus-the-Exorcist, as the Church is represented in the gospels. Thus we will see how Mark, Q, Matthew, Luke and John viewed Jesus as an exorcist. I do not mean any special significance to be placed on the order in which the Gospels and Q are treated here. Q may or may not be earlier than Mark, but I treat Mark first because it is from him that we learn most about Jesus-the-Exorcist.

5.3.1 So, what is Mark's interest in, or how does he understand, Jesus-the-Exorcist? (a) In 1:21-28 we learn most about Mark's attitude to Jesus-the-Exorcist. It is the first miracle that Jesus performs after being commissioned and empowered by the Spirit. That Mark believes Jesus-the-Exorcist to be authorized and empowered by the Spirit is also evident from his telling of the Beelzebul controversy (3:28ff.). Also in the immediate background of the first miracle is Jesus' conflict with Satan. The result of that conflict was, as we argued (p.230 above), a victory for Jesus in relation to his mission which, in Mark's view, is dominated, in part by a conflict with the demons. (134)

Another part of Jesus' mission, which is here linked with the ministry of exorcism is the preaching of the Kingdom of

God. For Mark there were two complementary parts to Jesus' ministry, his teaching/preaching and his healing (especially exorcism). Jesus was a teacher whose authority went beyond the law - when Jesus taught something happened. This first exorcism story is indeed, as was argued, programmatic for Mark.

(b) In the summary statements there are also indications of Mark's understanding of Jesus-the-Exorcist. In 1:32-34⁽¹³⁵⁾ Mark emphasises the exorcisms among the healings. Then at the end of v.34 Mark says that "he would not permit the demons to speak, because they knew him". As we will see in a moment, like Matthew (12:23), Mark highlights the messianic significance of the exorcisms.

In 3:11-12, another Markan section⁽¹³⁶⁾ Mark draws attention to the way that Jesus' exorcisms reflected his divine status. We have seen (pp.254f. above) that it is probable that ~~to~~ other Jewish exorcists may have been, Jesus-the-Exorcist was addressed as 'son of God' by the demons attempting to defend themselves. But here Mark picks up a piece of historical data (adding the article $\acute{\omicron}$ to $\upsilon\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ - contrast 5:7) and puts it to use as part of his Christological programme. Jesus-the-Exorcist is the Son of God, and is even worshipped (3:11) by his enemies, the demons of Satan (3:22). Thus even though we have argued for the historicity of much of the dialogue between Jesus and the demons, the preservation of this

material may be due to Mark's interest in the Christology implicit in the exchanges between Jesus and the demons.

Verse 12 says that Jesus strictly ordered the demons not to make him known. Wrede's theory of the 'Messianic Secret' is now generally discredited⁽¹³⁷⁾ and we should look elsewhere for an explanation of this verse. While the demons are the first to penetrate the mystery of Jesus Mark probably regards any assessment of Jesus that does not take into account the cross event as defective.⁽¹³⁸⁾ Thus the time for the proclamation of Jesus (in contrast to the time of the proclamation of the kingdom (1:15)) is 'not yet'.

(c) It is plain that the theme of 'discipleship' is closely connected with the exorcism pericopes in Mark. Although the disciples are absent from 7:24ff., the theme is not absent in that the woman's faith and submissive adoration is the centre of attention. In 1:21ff. the disciples are not merely present, but to hear Jesus preach and heal a demoniac is their first exercise as followers of Jesus. The idea of discipleship is present in 5:18 in that like the Twelve (3:14), the healed demoniac wants 'to be with' Jesus. In 9:14ff. the role of the disciples is emphasised by Mark. Best has shown (p. 194 above) that Mark used the disciples as paradigms for the early Church. They fail to understand and are unable to do what is expected of them - heal the possessed as Jesus did - but they are

taught that by prayer they would be more successful,

But this is only part of the disciples' lesson for in 9:19, and this is the second dominant theme there, the disciples' need for faith is stressed. Faith as a specific theme is not present in all of the exorcism pericopes but it is emphasised both here and in 7:24ff. as the appropriate attitude of those (disciples and those seeking help) who wish to be healed.

(d) From our discussions in chap. III it is most probable that Mark did not see Jesus as defeating Satan either at the Temptation or in his exorcisms. But in the exorcisms Satan was in the process of being defeated.

(e) In response to Morton Smith we have just discussed the idea that Jesus was a magician. John Hull has not sought to press behind the Gospel traditions to Jesus, but he says that Mark has been deeply influenced by magical beliefs. (139) But this, according to what we said earlier in this chapter, is a gross misunderstanding of Mark through an incorrect perception of what then constituted 'magic'. In chap. III we supplied ample evidence that Jesus was, and was portrayed as being in many ways like the contemporary exorcists in the technique he used. But none of these techniques would have been seen as 'magical'. (140) The decisive thing for Mark, was the source of Jesus' power-authority, and that was the

Holy Spirit. So we can repeat that to use the term 'magic' in relation to Mark's Jesus-the-Exorcist is quite to misrepresent Mark.

5.3.2 From what we said in the introduction to chap. III about the uncertainty of the nature and extent of the Q material what we say about exorcism in this material can only be of a suggestive and very tentative nature. Thus we will confine ourselves to the following brief comments.

(a) To begin with it seems that, although Q is quite rightly regarded as a sayings source, it did contain an exorcism story (Mtt.12:22f./Lk.11:14). (b) Most important in Q's understanding of Jesus-the-Exorcist is Mtt.12:28/Lk. 11:20; that is, in Jesus (authorized and empowered by the Spirit), and his exorcisms the Kingdom of God was inaugurated. This same view is held by Matthew and Luke. (c) The end of the Temptation pericope in Q makes it unlikely that Q thought that Satan was finally defeated in the Temptations. From the Beelzebul Controversy pericope (Mtt.12:22ff./Lk.11:14ff.) the Q material seems to suggest that in the exorcisms Satan was being cast out, perhaps even finally destroyed (Mtt.12:26/Lk.11:18).

5.3.3 (a) Although Hull had more than exorcisms in mind when he said that Matthew was a "tradition purified of magic"⁽¹⁴¹⁾

we must see if this is an accurate description of

Matthew's treatment of Jesus-the-Exorcist. Has Matthew purified his tradition of 'magic'? As we have said already (see also next section) Hull used 'magic' in a misleading fashion. What in fact Hull means is that Matthew has purged his gospel of the techniques used by Jesus' contemporary healers. But in the story of the Gadarene demoniac(s) (8:28-34) the defensive confrontation and speaking (though altered for dogmatic purposes), and the transference of the demons from one abode to another (both elements of pagan exorcisms), are retained in Matthew's story. Contrary to Hull's opinion⁽¹⁴²⁾ Matthew does give us clear indications as to how Jesus conducted his healings. In 8:32 Jesus used a single authoritative word - "Go". In 17:18 Jesus 'rebukes' the demon. It is also misleading for Hull to say that Jesus never handed on to his disciples any secret or committed to them any form of words, actions or instructions because he did not know any.⁽¹⁴³⁾ As we have just noted Jesus used the simple authoritative command (8:32) and in 17:18f. Jesus specifically told the disciples the secret of successful exorcism - faith. Hull's assessment of Matthew and exorcism is obviously defective.

(b) It has been reasonably established by Held⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ that one of Matthew's motivations in retelling the miracle stories is 'abbreviation'. We have, in chap. III, had no cause to disagree with this suggestion.

(c) However our investigations have suggested another, more important, factor that has directed Matthew's interpretation of Jesus-the-Exorcist. In Mtt.8:28-34 the plight of the demoniacs is emphasised, the more grotesque elements of the story are deleted, the tradition behind 8:29 is understood as an attack on Jesus and is softened, the demon's cry is softened, the idea of a supernatural restriction on Jesus is eliminated, attention is drawn to Jesus' 'coming' to the demons, in exorcism the final torment of the demons is begun, Jesus is not a mere miracle-worker but is the Son of God and the story is firmly focused on Jesus and not on the demoniacs. In Mtt.15:21-28 Jesus is motivated by mercy which we suggested (see p.171 above) was intended to reflect the divine nature of Jesus. And in 17:14-21, the divine nature of Jesus is also highlighted in the father's words "Lord, have mercy..." (v.15). Jesus asks for no help and there is no indication of Jesus being unsuccessful - Jesus is the authoritative healer,

If the last paragraph is a faithful summary representation of Matthew's treatment of his tradition, then what motivates Matthew's portrayal of Jesus-the-Exorcist is not an embarrassment over anything 'magical', or a desire to delete 'technique', but a certainty that Jesus is the Messiah and everything must serve to highlight that conviction.

(d) The centrality of the term 'Son of David' in Matthew's Christology is obvious from his use of it in 1:1. The

messianic significance of the title is highlighted by his connection of 'Holy Spirit' with the title in 1:20 and in his use of it in relation to the healing of the blind (9:27; 20:30f.) and the entry into Jerusalem (21:9, 15).⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ And it is Matthew who introduces the use of 'Son of David' into the exorcism stories (12:23; 15:22). Matthew's tradition already associates the 'Son of David' with healing (Mk.10:41/Mtt.20:30f.) and in view of the importance of 'Solomon' in exorcism in the NT era (p.102 above) it is not surprising that Matthew made the specific connection, not only between exorcism and the 'Son of David' but also between it and Jesus-the-Exorcist. Thus Matthew's use of the title reinforces the conclusion of the last paragraph - that Matthew's interest in the exorcism stories was Christological/Messianic.

(e) On Matthew's understanding and interpretation of Jesus-the-Exorcist we should not neglect to mention that he actively maintains the traditional association of Jesus-the-Teacher and Jesus-the-Exorcist.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ In 15:21-28 the story of the Canaanite woman's daughter the context is one of teaching (p. 167 above) on cleanness and uncleanness. And in 17:14-21 the undergirding theme is 'Jesus the Teacher of the disciples' (p.183 above).

(f) Finally it is to be recorded that, for Matthew, Satan was not defeated in the Temptation (p.227 above) or

in the exorcisms. Though the torment had begun, Satan and the demons were not finally destroyed (pp. 140f. above and pp. 351f. below).

5.3.4 In relation to Luke Hull says that his tradition is "penetrated by magic".⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ But Hull's treatment of Luke is, to say the least, weak.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Like the rest of Hull's book, his treatment of Luke is nullified by using a twentieth century perception of 'magic' to interpret and understand first century thought patterns. Hull's main thesis regarding Luke's treatment of the miracles has been undermined by Achtemeier. Thus what Hull thinks is a 'tradition penetrated by magic' in fact makes surprising omissions. The use of foreign words was important in 'magical' healing, yet Luke (8:45) omits "Talitha cumi" from Mk.5:41.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Achtemeier draws attention to the fact that although Luke interprets the healing of Peter's mother-in-law as an exorcism he omits the Markan material that implies that the stilling of the storm was an exorcism (cf. Mk.4:39 and 1:25 with Lk.8:24).⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ In relation to Hull's thesis Achtemeier is correct to conclude that

"there is as much evidence that Luke has toned down the magical aspects of Jesus' miracles, as there is that he presents such stories under the particular influence of the Hellenistic understanding of magic. In fact, the Jesus of Luke appears less influenced by magical practices than the Jesus in Mark".⁽¹⁵¹⁾

How then does Luke treat Jesus and his exorcisms?

(a) Though he does not place Jesus-the-Exorcist in the centre of his stage, Luke does make exorcism, the preaching of the Kingdom, and being empowered by the Spirit the three key factors in understanding Jesus (p. 109 above). From Lk. 7:21 (p. 233 above) and 10:18 (p. 242 above) it seems that Luke highlights the place of exorcism not so much in understanding Jesus but in evidence of the presence of the Kingdom.

(b) For Luke Jesus as an exorcist is God himself at work (8:34; cf. 7:16).⁽¹⁵²⁾ This has influenced the way he has related the exorcism stories. So as we saw in 4:31-37 (pp. 12 f above) Jesus' authority over the demons is emphasised and the demons are less violent and more submissive. The pathos of the healing situation is heightened (p. 188 above) and so Jesus' principle motivation is mercy and compassion. He asks for no information and there is no hint of a two-stage healing (p. 189 above). The Jesus of Luke does not simply speak to the demon - the demon is commanded.

(c) We have seen that Mark was interested in the disciples'/early Church's involvement in exorcism. Luke also maintains this interest. In fact in 9:1f, the disciples are involved in the same areas of ministry as Jesus. But Luke does (in 9:37-43) minimize the disciple's inability.

(d) We have concluded that Mark did not think that Satan was defeated in the Temptations. We can draw the same conclusions from Luke (p. 226 above). From 8:31ff, Luke also does not see the exorcisms as the final defeat of Satan and the demons (see p. 353 below).

5.3.5 If, as we saw in chap. IV, a significant part of the historical-Jesus' ministry involved dealing with the 'possessed' and the Synoptic tradition has attempted to reflect this, then we are faced with a puzzle. That is, from the Fourth Gospel we know nothing about Jesus as an exorcist.⁽¹⁵³⁾

How are we to account for this?

(a) One possibility is that the Jesus who is reflected in John is, in so far as he is not an exorcist, historically, more accurate than that reflected in the Synoptic Tradition. This is the view implied by Grayston.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ However, in the light of this study so far, it is clear that Jesus was in fact an exorcist and that the Fourth Gospel is omitting a significant part of Jesus' ministry in not referring to his exorcisms.

(b) Equally unlikely is the view that John removes exorcisms from his portrayal of Jesus' ministry because he was embarrassed about the 'magical' aspect of the stories.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ John cannot be attempting to remove Jesus from contemporary methods of healing because not only does he include a healing

from a distance (4:46-54), but he also includes the use of spittle (9:1-7).⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

(c) Fridrichsen offers the suggestion that exorcisms are not found in John because all demonism has been condensed into 'Darkness' and the 'World' and to suggest that it was in isolated exorcisms that Jesus fought against Satan would be to portray a fragmented campaign against Satan.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ But this explanation does not stand when viewed in the light of Jn.9:5. Here Jesus is saying that this 'isolated' miracle is a 'part' of his being the light in the 'world'.

There are two other solutions that are worth considering.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

(d) The Johannine theory of miracles is summed up in 20:30f..

"Jesus did many other signs in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book; but these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in his name".

So the miracles are important works of Jesus performed so that people will be led to faith in Jesus as the Messiah and Son of God. With this should be compared 2:11 where it is said, in effect, that the miracle, or sign was a manifestation of Jesus' glory and led to his disciples believing in him (cf.12:37; 2:23; 3:2; 6:2). Also it is to be noted that besides the word sign, the Fourth Gospel uses works to

describe Jesus' miracles (e.g. 7:21) and importantly these 'works' are also seen as being the work of God (e.g. 4:43; 5:36; 7:21; 9:4; 10:25-38; 14:10f.), That Jesus' miracles should manifest his glory and messiahship and be the work of God for John's Gospel has determined not only the choice of miracle story included in the Gospel, but also the way in which they are related.

A glance at the miracles show how spectacular most of them would have seemed to first century readers. I can find no exact parallel to the changing of water into wine (2:1-12) but the Dionysus legend⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ contains the story of empty jars being miraculously filled with wine. On the other hand the healing of the centurion's boy (4:46-54) does not appear to be very special or unique in the light of history of religion parallels,⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ nor in the way John has related it when compared with the Synoptic traditions of similar healings.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ At first the healing of the paralytic (5:1-9) does not seem at all special for there are many such stories in ancient literature.⁽¹⁶²⁾ However John makes this miracle special in the mention of the paralytic being sick for 38 years. Bultmann cites Rabbinic 'parallels' to the miraculous feeding (6:1-14),⁽¹⁶³⁾ But more interesting is Origen quoting Celsus who mentions magicians displaying choice meals and tables that were only apparitions (CC I:68). In the light of this the feeding miracle story appears spectacular! Food is said to be multiplied in vast proportions to feed thousands, and

there is more food left over than was originally available. The story of the walking on the water (6:15-21) has many parallels - notably related to gods.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ The healing of the blind man would also have been particularly significant for, as we have already mentioned (see p. 207 above), of all the healings in the NT the only one not having a precursor in the OT is the giving of sight to the blind. And a hope for the Messianic age was that the blind would receive their sight. It hardly needs mentioning that in the story of the raising of Lazarus (11:1-45) John chose to relate a spectacular miracle.

Thus even though, and sometimes because there were parallels to the Johannine miracles, it is clear that John has chosen to relate extraordinary miracles. From what we have seen of the NT era, exorcism stories would not fit into this category as they were comparatively common and performed by all kinds of individuals. Moreover, not only do the Johannine miracles symbolize aspects of the total significance of the incarnation in particularly appropriate ways (for example darkness into light and death to life) but the symbol of liberation from the 'power of this world' was probably thought better portrayed by the raising of a man four days dead than by an exorcism.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

(e) In the Synoptic tradition the exorcistic activity of Jesus is closely tied to the 'Kingdom of God' (see chap. IV

above), But in the Johannine tradition little is made of the theme of the Kingdom of God, so it is not surprising that Jesus' related exorcistic activity should not feature. It may also be that John is using a different concept of the Kingdom of God. In contrast to the Synoptic tradition, where the Kingdom of God is mentioned (3:3, 5; 18:36), it is not of this world (18:36), it already exists (3:5) and is not seen by all (3:3). Into this it would be difficult to fit the notion of Mtt,12:28/Lk,11:19 (cf,Mk,1:15) where the Kingdom of God is inaugurated by Jesus and strongly tied to this world, and is present for all to see (cf,Mtt,11:4/Lk, 7:22).

These seem to me to be the two most likely reasons why there are no exorcism stories to be found in John. However it may be worth considering another possible contributory factor. (f) In 5.2.1 above it was noted that John does mention 'demon-possession' - but only as a severe criticism of Jesus by his opponents. We also saw that all of the criticism directed towards Jesus arose in relation to what Jesus was saying rather than doing. In other words, if at this point the Synoptic tradition is faithfully reflecting history, John has redirected criticism away from the miracles to what Jesus was proclaiming. With this in mind it is instructive to take into account attitudes to Jesus' miracles in the second century. Quadratus,⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ Justin,⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ and Celsus⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ reveal that the miracles of Jesus (including

the exorcisms) suffered heavy attack for being fabricated, The way the Johannine tradition frames the criticisms of Jesus, and its avoidance of exorcism stories may be a response to later criticism of the exorcisms of Jesus, (169)

Conclusion. In this chapter we have been interacting with some of the suggestions as to how Jesus-the-Exorcist might have been understood or categorized by his contemporaries. We have cast doubt on two of the major suggestions that have so far been offered. It is unlikely that, in observing his exorcisms, bystanders would have deemed Jesus to be either a (or the) Messiah, or a necromancer, or a magician. And we have suggested a corrective to the notion that Jesus-the-Exorcist would have been viewed as just another rabbi. (170)

How then might Jesus have been assessed by his contemporaries? Our answer should be prefaced by three points, Firstly in chap. II we saw that there was a great variety of methods and types of exorcisms and exorcists in the traditions. There were traditions like the magical papyri which primarily preserved the techniques of exorcists, there were stories of healings in which, like that of Eleazar by Josephus, the exorcist was of little significance, there were stories, like those of Abraham in 1 Qap^cGen, where the healer was of central interest; there was material, both Hellenistic and Jewish which contained stories of men who were exorcists and

prophets or philosophers. There were traditions in which exorcisms relied on special techniques and others which relied on the personal force of the exorcist, and others which relied on a combination of these extremes. On this variety the most reasonable categories that could be applied to the material is that the success of some exorcisms depended on the performance of special traditions, while others depended on the person of the exorcist himself for their effectiveness. Secondly it is conspicuous that, so far as I can see, apart from the Synoptic tradition's objective to portray Jesus as the Messiah and later generations' accusation of magic, the background material we surveyed in chap. II and the earliest layers of the Jesus-tradition give no hint of an attempt to categorize Jesus along the lines reviewed earlier in this chapter. In fact the only clear category brought to bear on Jesus' activity was one of 'good' or 'evil' (Mtt.12:24ff./Lk.11:15ff.). Thirdly it cannot even be maintained that the exorcisms of Jesus would have suggested the divine origin of Jesus⁽¹⁷¹⁾ for as the story of Abraham (/Q_{sp}Gen) and Noah (Jubilees 10) indicate such stories could simply be used to reflect the upright character of the 'exorcist'.

It is appropriate then that we should conclude this discussion with the suggestion, not that as an exorcist Jesus 'transcended' the categories of the first century,⁽¹⁷²⁾ but that it is improbable that his contemporaries attempted

to use any categories or 'labels' to assess him and his exorcisms - save that they probably reflected on whether or not he was a 'good' or 'evil' man (cf. Acts 10:38). For the early Church the exorcisms of Jesus were yet another aspect of his ministry, albeit a most important aspect, perhaps for Mark the most important part of Jesus' ministry, which was conscripted into the programme of showing that Jesus was the Messiah. How the early Church was able to do this we will see in the next chapter. And we have seen, (p. 195 above) that in the exorcism stories of Jesus the early Church found the pattern and motivation for its own healing ministry. (173)

VI

JESUS-THE-EXORCIST

(His Self-Understanding)

In the introduction to our study (p. 7 above) it was suggested that part of the historian's picture of the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist involves not only the recovery of the outward features of this aspect of his ministry but also, so far as it is possible, some idea of Jesus' self-understanding. The recovery of Jesus' self-understanding may be not only something to be undertaken by the historian for its own sake but is perhaps also of interest to modern theology and the present day debate on exorcism. (1)

However in the wake of Schweitzer's exposure of much of the nineteenth century reconstruction of Jesus' self-consciousness telling us more about the nineteenth century rather than of the first century, it has generally been denied that it is possible to know much or anything about the mind of the historical-Jesus. For example in 1926 Fridrichsen wrote -

"What took place in the depths of Jesus' soul will always remain a mystery no source will be able to uncover..." (2)

But this view is now being called into question. For example James Dunn says -

"While a biography of Jesus is indeed impossible, particularly a biography in the modern sense which traces out the hero's growth in self-awareness and in understanding of himself and his world, that does not mean that we can say nothing at all about Jesus' self-consciousness and spiritual experience at some points in his ministry". (3)

So what we will do in this brief chapter is test this last statement and see if it is possible to say something about Jesus' understanding of his exorcisms, viz. - how did Jesus view himself as an exorcist? and what did he think he was doing?

From our analysis in chap.III it is the collection of sayings now found in the 'Beelzebul Controversy' (Mk.3: 20-30 and Matt.12:22-30, 43-49/Lk.11:14-26, see pp 104ff. above) which tells us a great deal about Jesus' views of his exorcistic ministry.

Arguably the most important saying in this collection is the 'Spirit/Finger Saying' of Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20. We have already argued for its authenticity (p.114above) - but what does it tell us about Jesus' understanding of his exorcisms? In Jesus and the Spirit Dunn has addressed this question and one of his answers is that "Jesus believed that he cast out demons by the power of God"(p.47). However

it is better to say that it was by the Spirit of God that Jesus cast out demons for, as we have seen (pp. 31 and 222 above) it was by the power of God that the Jews were already casting out demons, and it is the Spirit that is mentioned in the tradition here. In any/case Jesus is quite conscious that the source of his power-authority is in the wholly new eschatological 'Spirit' of God - and not simply in himself, nor in his techniques, nor in any other quarter. Also it is unhelpful, even unimportant to say that in this verse we can see that Jesus is aware of an 'otherly' power as if this was particularly significant here, (4) for most of the exorcists with whom we have dealt were aware of, and relied on, just this kind of power, - a power-authority outside of themselves.

But we have also argued that not only is 'Spirit' of significance in this verse but so also is the "I" (p. 223 above). If this is correct then Jesus was not simply claiming that the exorcisms performed by or through the eschatological Spirit of God meant that the Kingdom of God had come but that those exorcisms which he performs (by or through the eschatological Spirit of God) meant that the Kingdom of God had come. In other words we can say that for Jesus the hoped for Kingdom had arrived not only because of the activity of the Holy Spirit - but also because it was he who was, in the Spirit, casting out demons. Thus it is only half correct to say that "where

the Spirit is there is the Kingdom".⁽⁵⁾ Jesus' consciousness is better reflected by saying - 'where the Spirit is operative in Jesus there is the Kingdom'.⁽⁶⁾

From what has been said so far, for Jesus, the exorcisms were not preparatory for the coming of the Kingdom⁽⁷⁾ but were themselves the Kingdom of God in operation - "the longed-for Kingdom of God had already come upon his hearers".⁽⁸⁾

Another authentic saying in the Beelzebul controversy pericope to which we need draw attention is the Parable of the Strong Man (Mk.3:27/Mtt.12:29 and Lk.11:21f., see p.215 above). We have shown that in this parable Jesus takes his exorcisms to be the casting out or defeat of Satan (see p.216 above).

The binding of the powers of evil or the demise of Satan was expected in the Messianic Age (Is.24:21f.; 1 Enoch 10:4ff., 11ff.; 1QS.4:18f.).⁽⁹⁾ When we were reviewing the way others assessed Jesus-the-Exorcist we saw that the commonly suggested contemporary acclamation was that Jesus as an exorcist was the Messiah. This suggestion is represented in Matthew where on seeing Jesus cast out a demon an amazed crowd says - "Surely this is the Son of David?" (Mtt.12:23). The consensus of opinion among scholars is that it was expected that the

Messiah would defeat Satan by casting out demons (see p.291 below). That is there is nothing new in Jesus connecting exorcism and the defeat of Satan. But in examining the evidence that speaks of the Coming One's involvement in exorcism and the defeat of Satan two things emerged.

Firstly all connections between a Messianic individual, exorcism, and the defeat of Satan were found in material that had been either written or redacted by Christians. Secondly, Ass.Mos.10:1, 3, which is potentially useful in understanding first century Messianic expectation simply anticipates the demise of Satan in the New Age (see p.297 above). Thus (as we concluded on p.298 above) prior to the NT there is no connection made between exorcism and eschatology. From what we have said, that the connection is found in authentic words of Jesus, but not found before Jesus, that it was Jesus himself who made this connection between exorcism and eschatology.

But what was the nature of the defeat of Satan that Jesus had in mind? That is, were the exorcisms the final and complete defeat or perhaps the beginning of the defeat of Satan? This question arises because quite different notions of the defeat of Satan can be detected in the Gospels. What are their origin?

Matthew has the Beelzebul sayings about the defeat of Satan tied to Jesus' exorcisms (12:25-29). But along-

side this we must place three other passages in particular. The first is 8:29b where Matthew adds (see p. 139 above) to the demons' question the notion of being tormented before their time, the implication being that Matthew thought that the torment of the demons lay in the future beyond Jesus' exorcisms. With this future element, the two passages we are about to mention, and the use of 'torment' in Revelation of the last time (20:10; 14:11; cf. 9:5; 18:7, 10, 15) it seems likely that Matthew places the torment of the demons in the last time. Second to be noted is 13:36-43 - the interpretation of the Parable of the Tares which Jeremias has convincingly shown to be the work of Matthew.⁽¹⁰⁾ Here the devil is at work until the final judgment when all causes of sin and all evil doers will be thrown into the fire. The third and perhaps clearest expression of when Matthew thinks Satan will finally be defeated is 25:41, "Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels". This verse comes in a unit on the Last Judgment (25:31-46) that is so thoroughly Matthean that it may all be his own work.⁽¹¹⁾ In this verse, and the previous two, the end of Satan for Matthew is at the end of time, the Last Judgment.

Mark's view is less clear. However at least in so far as the disciples are paradigms of the post-Easter Church (see p. 194 above) and they have been given the task of

casting out demons (6:7-12;(cf. 16:12)) - he does not see Satan as finally or completely defeated in the exorcistic ministry of Jesus.

Like the other two Synoptic Evangelists Luke has the Beelzebul sayings relating exorcism and casting out Satan, and in 10:18 he records that Jesus says he saw Satan falling while the disciples were away on a mission that included casting out demons. But he still sees Satan active after the end of Jesus' healing ministry in Satan's inspiration of Judas' betrayal (22:3, cf. 31). Notably Luke has Paul performing an exorcism (Acts 16:16-18). Thus for Luke Satan was not finally or completely defeated in Jesus' exorcisms or any part of his ministry.

John's Gospel has a number of verses that let us see what he thought of the defeat of Satan. We have already discussed the absence of exorcisms in the Fourth Gospel (p.339 above) - the defeat of Satan could hardly be linked to them. Particularly important is 12:31. Jesus is talking about his death and says "now shall the ruler of this world be cast down". It is unlikely that we could trace this back to the historical-Jesus.⁽¹²⁾ Here the defeat of Satan, the ruler of this world, is directly linked with the death of Jesus (cf.14:30 and 16:11). Yet over against this we must put Jesus' prayer "that thou shouldst keep them from the evil one"(17:15).⁽¹³⁾ So

even if John saw Satan as being defeated in the death of Jesus he was certainly not saying Satan was finally destroyed for the early community still had to deal with him.

So all the future references to the defeat of Satan have their origin in the early Church's writing.⁽¹⁴⁾

None of the Gospel writers thought that Satan was finally defeated or destroyed in Jesus' ministry - let alone in the exorcisms.⁽¹⁵⁾ On the other hand the emphasis in the authentic sayings is on the final and complete destruction of Satan in Jesus' ministry (cf. Mtt.12:29/Lk.11:21 and Lk.10:18).⁽¹⁶⁾ Yet over against this conclusion we must place the future expectations of Jesus.⁽¹⁷⁾ In particular we need to take into account the parable of the Weeds among the Wheat (Mtt.13:24-30)⁽¹⁸⁾ - which considers Satan's influence to be apparent until 'the end'.

What then should we conclude on Jesus' view of exorcism and the defeat of Satan? We have just noted the future expectation of Jesus which cautions us against concluding that Jesus considered Satan's complete demise to have taken place in his ministry. But might we not conclude that Jesus understood his ministry - particularly of exorcism - to have brought about the final and complete defeat of Satan but that all traces of Satan's activity would not be removed until the end of time?

When we examined 'The Disciples' Mission(s)' (pp.237ff. above) we found clear evidence that Jesus did send disciples out on mission prior to Easter. But although we could not establish a specific charge 'to cast out demons' there seems plenty of evidence that the disciples were involved in exorcism and that Jesus saw their work as part of the fall of Satan.

Exorcism was then probably of great importance, even of central importance to Jesus in the conception of his ministry. But his reply to John the Baptist warns us against thinking that Jesus saw his exorcisms as of exclusive importance. In our discussion of the 'Reply to John' (pp.232ff. above) we concluded that Jesus probably did not mention his exorcisms when he was describing the 'signs of the times' to John's disciples (contrast Lk.7:21). Thus, for Jesus, the Kingdom was present because of his exorcisms, and also because of the preaching to the poor and the other miracles. (19)

We saw in chap.II that powerful exorcists or names with powerful reputations were used by others as power-authorities for their exorcisms (see p. 103 above). We also saw that Jesus was aware that others were using his name in their exorcisms (Mk.9:38f./Lk.9:49f.; Lk.10:17-20). Might we not then presume that this would have been reflected in his own self-consciousness - that he was

indeed a powerful exorcist?

We have seen in the last few pages that it is possible to say something about Jesus' self-consciousness in relation to his exorcisms. In the words of Dunn (referring particularly to the claims in Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20 and Lk.10:18) -

"These claims imply a clear sense of the eschatological distinctiveness of his power: Jesus' mighty acts were in his own eyes as epochal as the miracles of the Exodus and likewise heralded a new age". (20)

VII

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study has been to recover (as far as is possible), the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist. It was suggested that this was potentially a profitable objective for we noted the contrast between modern scholarship's relative lack of interest and the Synoptic Gospels' great interest in Jesus' ministry of exorcism. In other words is modern scholarship justified in this present neglect or is its view of the historical-Jesus unbalanced because it fails to take into account fully the importance of exorcism in the ministry of Jesus?

The first century Palestinian background against which we can place Jesus seems to have been rich in the variety of notions available on exorcism. The intellectual currency of the time was wider than simply that represented by the Jewish Rabbis and their healing methods. First century Palestinians were probably well aware of, and practised forms of exorcism that were well known in more Hellenistic cultures. They were probably aware of ideas on exorcism that are represented in the ancient Babylonian and Egyptian texts and papyri as well as the later magical papyri. Tobit, Jubilees, the Dead Sea Scrolls, LAB, the NT itself, Josephus, Rabbinic literature, Lucian, and Philostratus, it was argued, could legitimately

be used to fill out the background to Jesus' exorcistic ministry. However it seems illegitimate to rely on the NT Apocrypha and the Test. Sol. to give us independent information on first century ideas.

If this is right then there were exorcisms that ranged between those which were thought to be successful because of what was said in the incantations, and done in the rituals, and on the other hand those that were successful because of who performed the healing. These individuals with powers of healing are portrayed both as figures in literature and then in history. These individuals - indigenous to first century Palestine - were men whose reputable character and wisdom was thought to be reflected in miracles done either in their name or actually by them.

When, in the light of this, we examine the principal data on Jesus and exorcism a number of points emerge.

1. We are able to unhesitatingly support the common opinion that Jesus was an exorcist - probably an exceptionally successful one.

2. Exorcism stories have not been either appended to the Gospel tradition from other traditions or been rewritten in the light of other traditions. And the Jesus behind the

Gospels is at one with his environment not because the early Church adjusted its tradition but because the historical-Jesus-the-Exorcist was a man of his time.

3. Virtually all of the historical-Jesus' 'technique' would have been familiar to those who observed him. The dramatic confrontation with the demon's vocalized defense, the ensuing conversation, Jesus' words or incantations to the demons, the demons' plea for leniency, his healing from a distance, using objects (pigs!) to provide an alternative home for the evicted demons, the violence associated with his exorcisms, all made Jesus appear at one with his fellow exorcists.

4. Yet we cannot ignore some quite significant factors that most probably set Jesus apart from other exorcists. Although some of the Rabbis did not use mechanical aids Jesus' exorcisms are marked at least by his lack of any form of aid - his technique was limited to simply incantations and questions and commands. Jesus appeared to use no prayers, as some of his contemporaries probably did, nor did he seem to invoke any power-authority or use a powerful man. So Jesus never adjures or binds a demon by another authority; instead he is seen to rely on his own authority by saying "I command...".

5. On investigating the various proposed responses to

this Jesus-the-Exorcist we concluded that the evidence does not permit us to say that his contemporaries thought him a magician, necromancer or even simply another Jewish Rabbi - though perhaps from our perspective that may be the most appropriate designation for him as an exorcist. On the other hand there seems to have been such a variety of notions of exorcists and exorcisms available in first century Palestine that Jesus was probably not categorized beyond being good or evil. We can no longer recover why Jesus-the-Exorcist was thought to be evil/from Satan - perhaps it was because other aspects of his ministry were found offensive (for example his handling of the Sabbath which Luke actually connects with exorcism in 13:10-17).

6. Apart from the Fourth Gospel which ignores Jesus' exorcisms the response of the Evangelists is far less complicated than has sometimes been suggested. The Synoptic Evangelists portray Jesus in the light of their own convictions - that he is the Messiah; Christology determines their view of Jesus-the-Exorcist. In fact the exorcisms were a fertile soil for the growth of a Christology for in the 'demonic recognition' there were the first green shoots of a messianic confession.

7. Up to the present scholars have thought that the Messiah was expected to do battle with Satan through

exorcism. But so far as we could see from an analysis of the pertinent data the connection between exorcism and eschatology was one made by Jesus himself. Jesus was declaring that in the very act of relatively ordinary exorcisms Satan was being defeated and the Kingdom of God had come. Perhaps because of their own experience the early Church loosened this connection so that it took up an earlier expectation that Satan would be defeated at the 'end of time'.

8. 'The Spirit/Finger Saying' (Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20) elucidates Jesus' connection between exorcism and eschatology. Over against the idea that Jesus considers that Satan is defeated and that the Kingdom of God has come because of the coming of the eschatological Spirit we suggested that it may be a more faithful representation of Jesus' understanding of his exorcisms to say that where Jesus and the Spirit are there is the Kingdom. This means that we can probably say that Jesus would have been aware of some considerable uniqueness in his relation to God and in relation to what he thought God was doing around him.

9. If what we have been concluding is correct - that Jesus saw his (and his disciples') exorcisms as the final defeat of Satan and the coming of the Kingdom of God - then to neglect what was of central and fundamental

importance to Jesus is to misrepresent the historical-Jesus. But even though Jesus may have seen his exorcisms as the defeat of Satan it seems that he still expected traces of Satan's activity to remain evident until the end. I am not suggesting that Jesus was only, or saw himself only as an exorcist, or that most of his time was spent in performing exorcisms - the evidence does not support such a claim. But what does seem right to claim is that Jesus saw the vanguard of his ministry to be exorcism - a battle with Satan bringing in the Kingdom.

I
INTRODUCTION
(Notes)

1. The Times 4 September 1980, p.2.
2. Cf. the 'Barnsley Case' The Times 26 March 1975, p.4; 27 March 1975, p.6.
3. For example the English publishers informed me that they have sold almost two million copies of William Blatty's The Exorcist (Corgi, London, 1971 and Blond and Briggs).
4. See the bibliographies in John Richards But Deliver Us From Evil (Seabury, New York, 1974) pp.226-40; and Exorcism, Deliverance and Healing: Some Pastoral Guidelines (Grove Books, Nottingham, 1976) p.24.
5. Exorcism. The Report of a Commission Convened by the Bishop of Exeter (ed.) Dom Robert Petitpierre (SPCK, London, 1972) p.26. For other Church 'reports' see Richards Exorcism p.3 n.2.
6. Reprinted in D.Cupitt Explorations in Theology 6 (SCM, London, 1979) pp.50-3, quotation from p.50.
7. Cf. J.H.Crehan in Petitpierre (ed.) Exorcism pp.11-5; Cupitt Ibid. p.51; also K.Grayston "Exorcism in the New Testament" Ep.R 2(1975) pp.90-4.
8. See James D.G. Dunn "Demythologizing - The Problem of Myth in the New Testament" in New Testament Interpretation (ed.) I.H. Marshall (Paternoster, Exeter, 1977) p.289 and n.20.
9. Reimarus: Fragments (ed.) C.H. Talbert (SCM, London, 1970)
10. See A. Schweitzer The Quest of the Historical Jesus (1906, ET, Black, London, 1910) pp.52 and 57.
11. The Life of Jesus (1864, ET, Fortress, Philadelphia, 1975) p.209, cf. p.205.
12. Schweitzer Quest p.64, cf. Schleiermacher Life p.224.
13. D.F. Strauss The Life of Jesus (1835, ET, 1846, reprinted 1892, SCM, London, 1973).
14. See Dunn "Demythologizing...". p.289.
15. Schweitzer Quest pp.97ff..
16. Ibid. p.111; cf. James D.G. Dunn and Graham H. Twelftree "Demon-Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament" Churchman 94(1980) p.210.
17. (1899-1900, ET, Williams and Norgate, London, 1900).
18. Ibid. p.24.
19. Ibid. p.25.
20. Ibid. pp.28f.. Cf. Grayston Ep.R 2(1975) pp.90-4 who wishes to play down exorcism in the NT.
21. R.H. Hiers "Satan, Demons, and the Kingdom of God" SJT 27(1974) p.35 and n.2. He specifies Schweitzer, Bultmann, Morton Enslin and Pannenburg, Cf. James S. Stewart "On a Neglected Emphasis in New Testament Theology" SJT 4(1941) pp.292-301 and James Kallas The Significance of the Miracle Stories (SPCK, London, 1961) p.1.
22. RGG³ III cols.619-53, ET, Jesus (Fortress, Philadelphia, 1973); cf. N. Perrin Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus (SCM, London, 1967) pp.42 and 250.
23. G. Bornkamm Jesus of Nazareth (1956, ET, SCM, London, 1960) chap.8.
24. Cf. Hiers SJT 27(1974) p.35 n.2.

25. (SCM, London, 1979) pp.142-59. Cf. B.F. Meyer The Aims of Jesus (SCM, London, 1979) pp.154-8.
26. This is evident in the search for criteria which historians use in the search for the historical-Jesus. Much work has been done on the ipsissima vox/verba of Jesus (for example see D.G.A. Calvert "An examination of the criteria for Distinguishing the Authentic Words of Jesus" NTS 18 (1971-2) pp.209-19 and N.J. McEleney "Authenticating Criteria and Mark 7:1-23" CBQ 34(1972) pp.431-60) but little work has been done on the ipsissima facta of Jesus (though see F. Mussner The Miracles of Jesus (Ecclesia Press, Shannon, 1970) pp.27-39 and "Ipsissima facta Jesu?" Th.R 68(1972) cols.177-85).
27. The Miracles of Jesus (Brill, Leiden, 1965) pp.339-414.
28. For example Anton Fridrichsen The Problem of Miracle (1925, ET, Augsburg, Minneapolis, 1972) pp.102ff.; Alan Richardson The Miracle Stories of the Gospels (SCM, London, 1941) parts of chap.III; Mussner Miracles pp.41ff.; R.H. Fuller Interpreting the Miracles (SCM, London, 1963) pp.29ff.
29. Significance chaps. 5 and 6.
30. The same is to be said of R. Leivestad Christ the Conqueror (SPCK, London, 1954) J.M. Robinson The Problem of History in Mark (SCM, London, 1957); and G. Theissen Urchristliche Wundergeschichten (Gütersloh Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, Gütersloh, 1974).
31. Jesus the Jew (Collins, London, 1973). Cf. P. Fiebig Jüdische Wundergeschichten des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters (Mohr, Tübingen, 1911) pp.71ff. who sets Jesus' miracles against an exclusively Rabbinic milieu.
32. Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition (SCM, London, 1974).
33. R. Bultmann The History of the Synoptic Tradition (1921, ET, Blackwell, Oxford, 1963) p.231, cf. 38; cf. M. Dibelius From Tradition to Gospel (1933², ET, Clarke, London, 1971) chaps. V and VI.
34. (Gollancz, London, 1978).
35. To my knowledge the most important literature is:-
 F.C. Conybeare "The Demonology of the New Testament" JQR 8(1896) pp.576-608, 9(1897) pp.59-114, 444-70, 581-603;
 T.K. Oesterreich Possession Demoniacal and Other (ET, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London, 1930); B. Noack Satanas und Soteria (Gads Forlag, København, 1948); E. Langton Essentials of Demonology (Epworth, London, 1949); S. Eitrem Some Notes on the Demonology of the New Testament (Brøgger, Oslo, 1950); Otto Böcher Dämonenfurcht und Dämonenabwehr (Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, etc., 1970); and see also Dunn and Twelftree Churchman 94(1980) pp.215ff..
36. See ns.4 and 5 above.

II
BACKGROUND AND SETTING
(Notes)

1. As the Synoptic stories and indeed the whole of the NT do not touch on the exorcism of places we shall ignore this aspect of exorcism (see S. Langdon "An Incantation for Expelling Demons from a House" ZA 2(1925) pp.209-14). For other definitions of exorcism see for example Eitrem Notes pp.20 and 57; C.H. Ratschow RGG³ II cols.832ff.; I. Mendelsohn IDB II p.199; J.M. Hull IDB(Supp.) p.312.
2. Contrast Mendelsohn Ibid.
3. See Dunn and Twelftree Churchman 94(1980) pp.215-9; also T.H.Gaster IDB I pp.822ff.; Böcher Christus and Dämonenfurcht.
4. On the history of the use of the labels 'Hellenistic' and 'Jewish' in NT scholarship see A.F.J. Klijn "The Study of Jewish Christianity" NTS 20(1973-4) pp.419-31; Hengel Judaism and Hellenism (1973, ET, SCM, London, 1974) I pp.1ff..
5. See Hengel Ibid.
6. Victor Tcherikover Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews (Atheneum, New York, 1977) p.90.
7. On the insular nature of Judaism and its reaction against outside impact see for example M.Hengel Jews, Greeks and Barbarians (1976, ET, SCM, London, 1980) pp.123f..
8. See also Morton Smith Palestinian Parties and Politics (Columbia University, New York and London, 1971) chap.III, J.Jeremias Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus (1967, ET, SCM, London, 1969) chap.III; and Hengel Ibid. chap.12.
9. R.C. Thompson The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia 2 Vols. (Luzac, London, 1903-4); C.W. King Babylonian Magic and Sorcery (Luzac, London, 1896). On dating see Thompson Ibid. Vol.I p.XI who says they were known to Assurbanipal's scribes in the seventh century. Jastrow places them much earlier (The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria (Ginn, Boston, 1898) pp.257f.). For other secondary literature see H.W.F. Saggs The Greatness that was Babylon (Sidgwick and Jackson, London, 1962) chap.10 (includes a discussion of ancient Babylonian demonology).
10. See Jastrow Religion p.296 (and ff.).
11. Thompson Devils I p.13, cf. p.XXV.
12. For example Thompson Devils I pp.103, 119ff..
13. Further see Ibid. Vol.II pp.XXVIIIff..
14. Ibid. Vol.I p.17.
15. Ibid. pp.51(-61).
16. Cf. King Magic pp.xxvii f..
17. Most probably an incantation of about twenty lines containing the exorcists words of command to the demon; see Thompson Devils I pp.105ff..
18. Ibid. Vol.II p.71, cf. pp.77ff..
19. See also Langton Essentials pp.30f..
20. Thompson Devils II p.109. See also pp.19ff., 95ff., and Vol.I pp.103, 119 (and 151).
21. For example Thompson Devils I p.3.

22. Ibid. p.125.
23. Ibid. Vol.II p.XLI.
24. As this parable has more to do with NT demonology than Jesus as an exorcist we will not be discussing it in this study.
25. Ibid. pp.85, cf.8, Vol.I pp.205, 207 (etc.).
26. Cf. Saggs Babylon chap.14 "Legacy and Survival".
27. Langton Essential pp.20ff..
28. Note especially Ibid. (pp.10-34 and notes) who has given many examples of Babylonian notions being taken up into the Rabbinic literature.
29. See L. Herzfeld Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Altertums (Meyer, Braunschweig, 1894) pp.22f, 129f., and 141f. and J. Klausner "The Economy of Judea in the Period of the Second Temple" in The World History of the Jewish People. The Herodian Period (ed.) M. Avi-Yonah (Allen, London, 1975) pp.179-205 and notes and bibliography.
30. Note J. Neusner A History of the Jews in Babylonia I (Brill, Leiden, 1965) pp.41ff.; Jeremias Jerusalem pp.66ff..
31. Cf. Langton Essentials p.10.
32. Literature: E.W. Budge Egyptian Magic (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, London, 1899). R.T.R.Clark Myth and Symbol (Thames and Hudson, London, 1959), F. Lexa La Magie dans l'Egypte Antiqu 3 Vols (Geuthner, Paris, 1925), A. Erman A Handbook of Egyptian Religion (1904, ET, Constable, London, 1907).
33. For other papyri see Lexa Ibid. Vol.2 and P.Ghalioungui Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1963) pp.48ff..
34. About 1500 BC but containing older material. B. Ebbell The Papyrus Ebers (Ejnar Munksgaard, Copenhagen and Oxford University, London, 1937), and C.P. Byran Ancient Egyptian Medicine (Geoffrey Bless, London, 1930).
35. Eb.P I, XXX, LVII, LX, LXIX(bis), XC, XCII, XCV, XCVIII, CVIII.
36. See also Lexa La Magie I chap.5.
37. Cf. Ghalioungui Magic p.35.
38. For text, translation, introduction and commentary see J.H. Breasted The Edwin Smith Papyrus 2 Vols. (University of Chicago, Chicago, 1930).
39. On the men of healing see Ghalioungui Magic chap.VII; A.H.Gardiner "Professional Magicians in Ancient Egypt" PSBA 39(1917) pp.31-44.
40. This is also found in incantations not related to exorcism. In P. Harris 501:VI:10ff. the speaker is to assume the identity of the god Menu in working against a demon of the water. See Erman Handbook pp.150ff..
41. Breasted Smith Vol.I pp.476, quotation from p.477. See for example PGM V:172, 439, 459.
42. See A.H. Gardiner Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 3rd Series, Vol.I (British Museum, London, 1935) pp.50f.. Gardiner dates this around 1250-1100 BC.

43. See C. Bonner Studies in Magical Amulets (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1950) pp.8, 22-26; W.M.F. Petrie Amulets. (Constable, London, 1914) pp.1-7; F. Lexa La Magie I chap.4; Budge Magic chap.II. Also I.E.S. Edwards Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 4th Series, Vol.I (British Museum, London, 1960) pp.xviii, xix.
44. Literature: see J.H. Breasted Ancient Records of Egypt Vol.III (University of Chicago, Chicago, 1906) p.188^{n.b}; Gustave Lefebvre Romans et Contes Egyptiens (Adrien-Maisorreuve, Paris, 1949) pp.224f..
45. Rosellini Monumenti Storici II pp.48f. in A. Erman ZAS 21(1883) p.58 and n.3. On the ancient Karnak temples see E.Otto Egyptian Art and the Cults of Osiris and Amon (1966, ET, Thames and Hudson, London, 1968) pp.85-97.
46. On the god Khonsu see especially H. Bonnet Reallexikon der Agyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Gruyter, Berlin, 1952) pp.140ff.; W.A. Jayne The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations (Yale University, New Haven, 1925) pp.68ff.; J. Černý Ancient Egyptian Religion (Hutchinson's University Library, London, 1952) pp.18, 73, 120f. and Otto Art p.96.
47. From Breasted Records pp.193f..
48. Hull Magic p.62, cf. him in IDB Supp. p.313.
49. From Lefebvre Romans p.221 n.2; cf. A. Erman "Die Bentreschstele" ZAS 21(1883) pp.54-60.
50. Breasted Records p.189.
51. Khonsu was given human form; see S.Morenz Egyptian Religion (1960, ET, Methuen, London, 1973) p.264, and Bonnet Reallexikon pp.140ff..
52. Cf. Breasted Records p.189; Otto Art p.96.
53. These points support the idea of the late date of this stele, though the story may have its origin in the time of Ramses II; see Winkler (ed) Amarna Letters 20, pp.13-29; cf. Breasted Records pp.188f. and Erman ZAS 21(1883) pp.59f..
54. See Clark Myth pp.25ff..
55. See also PGM Vol.I p.67.
56. The Goddess of Surrye 2.
57. See the discussion of Celsus' place of origin by H.Chadwick Origen: Contra Celsium (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1953) pp.xxviii f..
58. See also Galen de composit. medicament V:2 and John Chrysostom Hom. Matt. 8.4; b. Kidd. 49b.
59. Hengel Judaism I p.158 and notes.
60. See Jewish Encyclopedia V p.60; S.W. Baron A Social and Religious History of the Jews Vol.I (Columbia University, New York and London, 1952) p.213 and note 1; Hengel Judaism I pp.68ff. and 76 and notes; Jeremias Jerusalem pp.69f..
61. Jeremias Ibid. and Hengel Ibid. pp.17 and 101.
62. Hengel Ibid. chap I:3 and 4, p.101 and notes. See also G. McLean Harper "A Study in the Commercial Relations Between Egypt and Syria in the Third Century Before Christ" AJP 49(1928) pp.1-35; Smith Parties chap.III and notes; and Jeremias Ibid.
63. Josephus Ant. 12:186f..

64. A. Montgomery "Some Early Amulets from Palestine" JAOS 31 (1911) pp.272-81.
65. E.R. Goodenough Jewish Symbols (Pantheon Books for the Bollingen Foundation, New York) Vol.I (1953) pp.165f. and Vol.III (1953) Figs.379-81.
66. If we are correct then L.Blau (Das altjüdische Zauberwesen) Trübner, Strasbourg, 1898, p.84) is incorrect to think that charms and incantations came from the Babylonian rather than Palestinian Jews.
67. Most of which has been published by Karl Preisendanz Papyri Graecae Magicae 3 vols. (Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin). Vol.3 is extremely rare and not easily accessible (see Hull Magic p.8 and n.15). For more recent discoveries see Preisendanz "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Spätantiken Magie" in Aus Der Welt Des Buches Georg Leyh Festgabe (Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1950) pp.223-40; and "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri" C d'E 26 (1951) pp.405-9. On the history of the collection of this material see the introduction to PGM Vol.I; T. Hopfner Griechischeägyptischen Offenbarungszauber I (Hassel, Leipzig, 1921); Preisendanz in Buches and Hull Magic pp.5ff..
68. Around the turn of the century Adolf Deissmann (Bible Studies (1895 and 1897, ET, T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1901); New Light on the New Testament (1908, ET, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1927)) made the first major contribution on the importance of the magical papyri for NT research (on earlier work see Hull Magic pp.16f.). Another important study was Wilhelm Heitmüller's study Im Namen Jesu (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1903) which placed the Christians' use of Jesus' name in a magical milieu. Bultmann (History for example p.232) made a few references to the magical papyri and Barrett has also made some references to them (eg. C.K. Barrett Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition (SPCK, London, 1947) p.56).
69. Magic pp.5ff..
70. For example V.Taylor Mark (Macmillan, London, 1952) p.355; Leon Morris The Cross in the New Testament (Paternoster, Exeter, 1967) pp.56f..
71. But see C.K. Barrett The New Testament Background (SPCK, London, 1957) pp.29-36.
72. Cf. A. Macpherson's review of Hull in Scripture Bulletin 5 (1974) p.48.
73. Ibid.
74. Hull Magic p.26.
75. Ibid. pp.20-7. Another example of this 'forward' stability of religious ideas is given by Thompson Devils I pp.XLIV; cf. H. Gollancz A Selection of Charms ("Actes du onzième Congrès international des Orientalistes" (London, 1898) p.X.
76. Variousy dated from the second to the fourth century, see PGM Vol.I pp.180f. and literature cited there.
77. The writer of these incantations makes good use of Egyptian gods. On this papyrus Goodwin concludes - "the

fundamental ideas seem to be derived from old Egyptian religion" (C.W. Goodwin Fragment of Graeco-Egyptian Work (Cambridge Antiquarian Society) (Deighton, Macmillan, Cambridge, 1852) p.39). But this identification formula is by no means confined to this papyrus. Notable is PGM XII:228-239 (cf. XXXVI:335-339). See also ἐγώ εἰμι in PGM Vol.III; A.J. Festugiere "À Propos des Arétologies d'Isis" HTR 42(1949) pp.221f. where the speaker identifies himself with a variety of gods (see Eitrem Notes p.24 n.2).

78. Indeed the early part of the 'Egyptian Book of the Dead' also has this identification of a speaker with the gods (see T.G.Allen The Egyptian Book of the Dead (Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago, 1960)). And then much later Iamblichus mentions the union of god and healer and the power the healer gains (Iamblichus 7:6).

79. Cf. Eitrem Notes p.24 and Goodwin Fragment p.39.

80. Hull Magic p.150 ns.36 and 37.

81. Further in Hull Ibid. pp.27ff.. This stability that we have been arguing for was aided by at least two things. Firstly it seems as if papyri were handed down from father to son (PGM I:192ff.; cf. IV:2518 and A.S. Hunt "A Greek Cryptogram" PBA 15(1929) pp.131f.). Secondly, as Hunt noticed, caution and secrecy are repeatedly insisted on (PGM I:130; IV:1872) and magical books were to be hidden (Ibid. p.132). See also E.W. Lane Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians Vol.I (Knight, London, 1842) chapter XII; F.C. Conybeare Myth, Magic and Morals (Watts, London, 1909) pp. 241f.; Deissmann Studies p.323.

82. See F.G. Kenyon Greek Papyri in the British Museum I (British Museum, London, 1893) pp.64f..

83. Cf. PGM IV:1230-40.

84. One incantation, PGM V:99-171, (which is too long to quote here) is a particularly good example of an exorcistic incantation. See Kenyon Papyri I pp.64-81. (Preisendanz clearly never saw this papyrus for his text contains many minor inaccuracies). Another complete text worth

consulting is a second to fifth century Hebrew amulet from Palestine published by Montgomery JAOS 31(1911) pp.272-281.

85. This difficulty in gaining the attention and aid of the prospective power-authority is illustrated by the often found direction to repeat an incantation. P. Warren 25ff. includes the words -

"Come to me, god of god, ... say this many times ...
If it again delays, speak thus aloud 'Abra a o na ...
give me an answer concerning the things I beg you'".

86. Cf. PGM XIII:242ff..

"Unless the demoniac speaks giving his name, on his nose shall be brimstone and asphalt, they should speak and leave immediately".

C. Bonner ("The Technique of Exorcism" HTR 36(1943) p.42 and n.10) thinks that this calling on the demon to give up his

name is not to discover his nature but simply to get the demon to identify itself. However the name of something was thought to be so bound up with its nature, and Test. Sol. (passim) so associates a demon's name and nature that it seems most likely that the exorcists represented in the PGM were seeking not simply a demon's name but his character and nature.

87. See also PGM XXXVI:42ff..

88. See also Goodwin Fragment p.39 and Montgomery JAOS 31(1911) p.274 where the exorcist uses the name of Yahweh.

89. Cf. lines 1227ff. In PGM V:161ff. the incantation directs the user to put the papyrus with the names (of the power-authority?) across his forehead and to turn to the north and repeat the incantation (cf. P. Warren 52ff.; PGM XXXVI:passim.; H.I. Bell, A.D. Nock and Herbert Thompson "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum" PBA 17(1931) pp.235-287; Preisendanz "Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln" AP 11(1935) pp.161ff..

90. The literature on 'amulets' is considerable. The most important studies are C. Bonner Amulets note his bibliography pp.xix ff. and chapters III and VII; and E.R. Goodenough Symbols Vol.II chap.7 and footnotes.

91. See Deissmann Studies p.352.

92. Cf. PGM IV:3014 and V:125ff..

93. Cf. Goodwin Fragment p.41. On 'Abraxas' see A.Dieterich Abraxas, Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Alterturns (Teubner, Leipzig, 1891); Bell (et al) PBA 17(1931) p.271; Bonner Amulets p.192.

94. For example PGM IV:3028ff. and V:474. Also IV:409ff.; XXXIII:1ff.; XIXA; XVIIa; XLI. Cf. Bonner Ibid. pp.332f.; Kenyon Papyri I pp.255 ff..

95. For example to form strange sounds (PGM V:142f.; see also I:12).

96. For example PGM XLIV. See also PGM XLII; I:13ff.; II:165ff..

97. B.Lindars and P. Borgen "The Place of the Old Testament in the Formation of New Testament Theology: Prolegomena and Response" NTS 23(1976-7) pp.59-75; C.H. Dodd According to the Scriptures (Nisbet, London, 1952) esp. p.127; and also the literature cited by J.D.G. Dunn Unity and Diversity (SCM, London, 1977) pp.425f..

98. On demonology in particular see Langton Essentials chap.2 and see below. On the wider use of the OT in first century Palestine see R.T.France Jesus and the Old Testament (Tyndale, London, 1971) chap.5.

99. W.O.E. Oesterley ("The Demonology of the Old Testament, Illustrated by Psalm XCI" Exp. 16-18 (1907) pp.132-51) has argued that the original intention of this Psalm was "a polemic, in devotional form against current methods of securing oneself against demons" (p.134).

100. "Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes (11 QPsAp^a)" in Tradition und Glaube pp.128-40. Cf. D.C. Duling "Solomon, Exorcism, and the Son of David" HTR 68(1975) p.239.
101. Ploeg in Tradition und Glaube p.128.
102. Cf. Duling HTR 68(1975) p.239.
103. J.A. Sanders Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan IV (Clarendon, Oxford, 1965) p.92, esp. line 10 of col.27. Ploeg in Tradition und Glaube pp.128f.; Duling Ibid.
104. See also b.Sot.8b; b.Pes.111b; b.Ber.6a, 55b; b.Yoma 53b; b.San.103a; b.Taan.11a, 16a; Midrash on Dt.6:6; Num.11:5; 12:3.
105. See Oesterley Exp. 16-18 (1907) p.151; I.H. Marshall Luke (Paternoster, Exeter, 1978) p.173. D. Hill Matthew (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, London, 1972) p.101.
106. Cf. Mk.16:17f..
107. France Jesus p.152.
108. Literature: W.O.E. Oesterley An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha (SPCK, London, 1935) pp.170f.; R.H. Pfeiffer History of New Testament Times (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1949) pp.258ff. and notes; O. Eissfeldt The Old Testament (Blackwell, Oxford, 1966) p.583; E. Schürer The History of the Jewish People II (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1891) pp.43f.; A. Wikgren IDB IV p.662.
109. See Pfeiffer History pp.273ff., cf. Metzger An Introduction to the Apocrypha (Oxford University, New York, 1977) pp.31f., cf. n.110 below.
110. 4Q Fragment. See R.Meyer RGG³ VI col.907; J.T. Milik "Cave 4 of Qumran (4Q)" BA 19(1956)p.88; esp. p.522 n.3; cf. Metzger Ibid.
111. See J.H. Moulton Early Zoroastrianism (Williams and Norgate, London, 1913) pp.338f. and notes; cf. his "The Iranian Background of Tobit" Exp.T 11(1899) p.259. See also T.F. Glasson "The Main Source of Tobit" ZAW 30(1959) pp.257-277; D. Winston "The Iranian Component in the Bible" HR 5(1965-6) pp.183-216; Pfeiffer History pp.264-71.
112. Literature: J.H. Charlesworth The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research (Scholars, Missoula, 1976) pp.143-7 and J.C. VanderKam Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees (Scholars, Missoula, 1977) pp.289ff..
113. VanderKam Ibid. chap.III.
114. D.Barthélemy and J.T. Milik Discoveries in the Judean Desert I (Clarendon, Oxford, 1955) pp.82-4; R. de Vaux "Un fragment du Livre des Jubiles en hebreu (pl.XVIA)" RB 56(1949) pp.602-5; M. Baillet "Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân (2Q, 3Q, 6Q, 5Q)" RB 63(1956) pp.54f.; J.T. Milik "La Grotte 4 de Qumrân (4Q)" RB 63(1956) p.60; W.H. Brownlee "Light on the Manual of Discipline (DSD) From the Book of Jubilees" BASOR 125(1951) pp.30-2;

- A. Dupont-Sommer The Jewish Sect of Qumran (1953, ET, Valentine, Mitchell, London, 1954) p.38; B. Noack "Qumran and the Book of Jubilees" SEA 22-3 (1957-8) p.193.
115. Cf. Jub.15:31-2; 22:16-20; 30:7-17 and IQS.1:1-24; 5:7-11; 8:4-10, 16-9:2.
116. Cf. for example Jub.5:27; 6:17-32 and IQS.10:1-8. See A. Jaubert "Le calendrier des Jubiles et de la secte de Qumran. Ses origines bibliques" VT 3(1953) pp.250-64; J. Morgenstern "The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees, Its Origin and Its Character" VT 5(1955) pp.34-76; J.B. Segal "Intercalation and the Hebrew Calendar" VT 7(1957) pp.250-307; E.R. Leach "A Possible Method of Intercalation for the Calendar of the Book of Jubilees" VT 7(1957) pp.392-7; Noack SEA 22-3(1957-8) pp.197f. and notes. On other points of contact between Qumran and Jubilees see Eissfeldt Old Testament pp.607f. and ns.53 and 54; N. Avigad and Y. Yadin A Genesis Apocryphon (Magres, Jerusalem, 1956) pp.16-39; and Noack Ibid. pp.197ff..
117. Dupont-Sommer Sect p.38 and n.1; Eissfeldt Old Testament pp.607f.; W. Noack "Lex insculpta (אֱלֹהִים וְאֱלֹהִים) in der Sektenschrift" ZNW 46(1955) p.139.
118. Noack SEA 22-3(1957-8) pp.200f.; VanderKam Jubilees pp.280ff..
119. See R.H. Charles The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament Vol.II (Clarendon, Oxford, 1913) p.10.
120. For example, demons are fallen angels (Jub.4:15, 22: 5:1-9; cf. Jude 6; 2Pt.2:4), disembodied spirits (Jub.10:1-14; cf. Mtt.12:43-45/Lk.11:24-26); ruled by Mastema or Satan (Jub.10:8; cf. Mk.3:22/Mtt.12:24/Lk.11:15), cause illness (Jub.10:2 cf. Mk.9:17; Mtt.12:22/Lk.11:14; 13:11, 16 (2Cor.12:7)), rule men (Jub.10:3, 6 cf. Jn.12:31; 16:11 (Eph.2:2; 6:12)), and imprisoned for final judgment (Jub.10:5 cf. Mtt.8:29; Jude 6).
121. Literature: J.A. Fitzmyer The Dead Sea Scrolls Major Publications and Tools for Study (Scholars, Missoula, 1977).
- 121a G. Vermes The Dead Sea Scrolls (Collins, London, 1977) chap.2, note bibliography.
122. From G. Vermes The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1975) p.219.
123. Ibid. p.220.
124. D. Flusser "Healing Through the Laying-on of Hands in a Dead Sea Scroll" IEJ 7(1957) pp.107f..
125. H.C. Kee "The Terminology of Mark's Exorcism Stories" NTS 14(1967-8) p.235. Cf. A.A. Macintosh "A Consideration of Hebrew אֱלֹהִים" VT 19(1969) pp.471-9; A. Caquot TDOT III pp.49-53.
126. As in Kee Ibid. p.234.
127. See n.125 above.
128. Kee NTS 14(1967-8) p.232 and n.2; cf. J.A. Fitzmyer The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I (Biblical Institute, Rome, 1971) p.138.

129. Fitzmyer Ibid.
130. Ibid.
131. Cf. G.R. Driver "The Resurrection of Marine and Terrestrial Creatures" JSS 7(1962) p.15 and Caquot TDOT III pp.50f..
132. Macintosh VT 19(1969) pp.475ff..
133. B. Jongeling (et al) Aramaic Texts from Qumran Vol.I (Brill, Leiden, 1976) pp.124ff..
134. From Vermes English p.229. Jongeling Ibid. adds a fragment to this text but it is so mutilated that its contents cannot be reconstructed or interpreted and so do not affect our discussion (cf. Milik RB 63(1956) pp.409ff.).
135. S. Smith Babylonian Historical Texts (Methuen, London, 1924) pp.36, 46, 50, 78; D.N. Freedman "The Prayer of Nabonidus" BASOR 145(1957) p.31(f.); A.Dupont-Sommer The Essene Writings from Qumran (1959, ET, Blackwell, Oxford, 1961) p.323.
136. Cf. Dupont-Sommer Ibid. and Dn.5:13.
137. See also Ibid. p.322 n.3 177ff. A. Dupont-Sommer "Exorcismes et guérisons dans les récits de Q̄umrôn" VT Supp. 7(1959) pp.246-61.
138. See Milik RB 63(1956) esp. p.409; Jongeling (et al.) Aramaic I p.128.
139. See n.137 above.
140. Jongeling (et al.) Aramaic I p.128; A.Lacocque The Book of Daniel (1976, ET, SPCK, London, 1979) p.42; see also J.A. Montgomery The Book of Daniel (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1950) p.163.
141. On forgiveness and healing see for example Loos Miracles pp.260ff.; cf. Dupont-Sommer Writings p.325.
142. Literature: Charlesworth Pseudepigrapha pp.171ff..
143. Ibid. p.170.
144. From M.R. James The Biblical Antiquities of Philo (SPCK, London, 1971) pp.232f..
145. See Ibid. p.233 n..
146. Böcher Dämonenfucht pp.73ff.; Das Neue Testament und die dämonischen Mächte (Katholische Bibelwerk, Stuttgart, 1972) pp.25f.. See also b.Pes.112b.
147. See Duling HTR 68(1975) p.240 and notes.
148. We must exclude Acts 16:16-18 from consideration because it originates entirely from within the Christian tradition.
149. See J.Jeremias New Testament Theology I (1971, ET, SCM, London, 1971) pp.5 and 15. Cf. p.225 and n.515 below.
150. Paul Gaechter Das Mätthaus Evangelium (Tyrolia, Innsbruck, Wien, München, 1963) p.401; Erich Klostermann Matthäusevangelium (Mohr, Tübingen, 1971) p.109; A.H. McNeile Matthew (Macmillan, London, 1915) p.127.
151. F.V. Filson Matthew (Black, London, 1971) pp.149f.; A.R.C. Leaney Luke (Black, London, 1971) p.189; P. Bonnard L' Evangile Selon Matthieu (Delachaux et Niestle, Paris, 1970) p.181; E. Schweizer TDNT VIII p.365 n.215.
152. Literature: R.Pesch Das Markusevangelium II (Herder, Freiburg, 1977) p.112.
153. For example Bultmann History p.25 and E.Haenchen Der Weg

- Jesu (Töpelmann, Berlin, 1966) p.327.
154. H.C. Kee Community of the New Age (SCM, London, 1977) p.43; Bultmann Ibid.; S.E. Johnson Mark (Black, London, 1960) p.165; Taylor Mark p.407.
155. W. Grundmann Das Evangelium nach Markus (Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Berlin, 1965) p.194.
156. For its use in the NT see Bauer.
157. Cremer p.457.
158. Bauer and Moulton and Milligan.
159. Studies pp.197f.. See other possible similar uses of the dative in Moulton and Milligan.
160. Deissmann Ibid. p.198 quoting Cremer.
161. History p.25.
162. See also Taylor Mark p.407.
163. G. Kittel (TDNT I) later on the same page (214) notes Rev.14:4 as an exception to this. (Jn.11:31) is the only instance in the Gospels of ἐκολοῦσθαι being used without Jesus as its object.)
164. Ibid.
165. Quoted by Bultmann History p.25.
166. Ibid.
167. Note M.Black An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (Clarendon, Oxford, 1967) pp.71, 169ff. who argues for an Aramaic source behind this small pericope.
168. Literature: E.Haenchen Die Apostelgeschichte (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1961) p.665 and R.E. Oster, Jr. A Historical Commentary on the Missionary Success Stories in Acts 19:11-40 (Ph.D Thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1974) bibliography.
169. Ephesus was renowned for its 'magical' tradition. Note particularly the 'Ephesia Grammata'; see C.C. McCown "The Ephesia Grammata in Popular Belief" TPAPA 54(1923) pp.128-40. (On the traffic between Asia and Jerusalem, see Jeremias Jerusalem p.65).
170. Beginnings IV p.241; B.E. Taylor "Acts 19:14" Exp.T 57(1945-6) p.222; R.P.C. Hanson Acts (Clarendon, Oxford, 1967) p.192; Jeremias Ibid. pp.175ff.; B.A. Mastin "Sceva the Chief Priest" JTS 27(1976) pp.405-12. On the identity of the exorcists and Luke's purpose see E. Haenchen Acts (Blackwell, Oxford, 1971) p.565. See also G. Klein "Der Synkretismus als theologische Problem: Apg 19:11-20" ZTK 64(1967) pp.50-60.
171. J.H. Moulton A Grammar of New Testament Greek (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1908) I pp.80f.; A.C. Clarke Acts (Clarendon, Oxford, 1933) pp.370ff.; Moulton and Milligan p.28; F.F. Bruce Acts (Tyndale, London, 1952) p.359; B.M. Metzger A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament (United Bible Societies, London and New York, 1971³) pp.470-2; G.M. Lee "New Testament Gleanings" Biblica 51 (1970) p.237.
172. See D.G. Hogarth Excavations at Ephesus (British Museum, London, 1908); W.J. Woodhouse ERE X pp.302ff.; C.T. Newton Essays on Art and Archeology (Macmillan, London,

- 1880) pp.136-209 esp.151 and 163; Homer Iliad 5:77; 16:234, 605; Pausanias ii.xii.2; Origen mentions exorcists at work in the market place CC I:68; III:50.
173. Hogarth Ibid. pp.232, 238.
174. Only here and in Mk.5:7 in the NT.
175. Cf. Lucian Philops. 16, a story which also has no command (see p.75 below).
176. See also Bell (et al.) PBA 17(1931) p.251, line 19, cf. p.266.
177. A.T. Robertson^s Grammar of the Greek New Testament (Hodder and Stoughton, New York, 1919) p.484; cf. Joshua 6:26.
178. Thompson Devils II p.XLI - quoted more fully p.15 above.
179. See for example Bell (et al.) PBA 17(1931) pp.254f. and 266.
180. As for example D.E. Nineham Mark (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1969) p.153; E. Schweizer Mark (1967, ET, SPCK, London, 1971) p.114; Loos Miracles p.386.
181. W.L. Knox "Jewish Liturgical Exorcisms" HTR 31(1938) p.195; Oster Acts pp.54ff..
182. See also CC III:24; IV:34. We have already quoted PGM IV:3034ff. (p.29 above) and LAB 60 (p.50 above).
183. Cf. R.H. Connolly "The Meaning of ἐπίκλησις : A Reply" JTS 25(1924) esp. pp.346-51.
184. See also Dial. 30:3; 85:2; Apology II:6; Irenaeus Adv.Haer.2:32:4; Apostolic Preaching 97.
185. Cf. F. Scheidweiler in Hennecke I pp.444f.. See also Justin Apology I:35; cf. I:48; Eusebius HE 1:9:3; Tacitus Annals 15:44. See also Acts 4:10 which seems to contain both elements of 'identification' and 'glorification'.
186. Our case is not, I think, substantially altered if Luke is responsible for ὁ Πνεῦμα κηρύττει as we would still be dealing with notions about exorcism in the first century. On demons attacking holy men see Peter Brown "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity" JRS (61(1971) p.88.
187. Literature: E. Schürer History I pp.61ff..
188. Ibid. pp.43f..
189. H. St. J. Thackerary Josephus, The Man and the Historian (Ktav, New York, 1967) p.98.
190. G. Dellling "Josephus und das Wunderbare" Nov.T 2(1957) pp.291-309.
191. G. MacRae "Miracles in 'The Antiquities' of Josephus" in Miracles pp.142ff..
192. Cf. Ibid. p.138.
193. History p.231.
194. Bultmann History p.222; M. Dibelius From Tradition to Gospel (1933, ET, James Clarke, London, 1971) p.84.
195. Miracles p.33.
196. For example by Dibelius Tradition pp.87ff.; Barrett Spirit pp.56f.
197. Ἀπολύω (Ant.8:46) is Josephus' term for an exorcism, but it is not used in the NT in relation to exorcism, and only

once (Lk.13:12) is it used in relation to healing of any kind. Θεραπεία is used by the Evangelists in relation to exorcisms (Mtt.4:24; 12:22; 17:16, 18; Lk.6:18; 7:21; 8:2) but it is not at all distinctive of their stories. Ἐνδούμιος is Josephus' word for those possessed by demons; it is used in this sense only here in Josephus and not at all in the NT.

198. History pp.238f..

199. L.Blau Das altjüdische Zauberwesen (Trübner, Strasbourg, 1898); W.L. Knox St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1939) pp.208-11;

M.P. Nilsson Die Religion in den griechischen Zauberpapyri (Gleerup, Lund, 1948) pp.63-67.

200. (Cf. Ant.8:44) F.C. Conybeare ("The Testament of Solomon" JQR 11(1898) p.12) asks "Is it possible... that the Testament [of Solomon] in its original form was the very collection of incantations which, according to Josephus, was composed and bequeathed by Solomon?" Conybeare seems to prefer a positive reply to his question because the Test. Sol. tallies so well with what is said in Ant.8:45ff.. However as Charlesworth (Pseudepigrapha p.198) points out "Josephus does not appear to be referring to a particular text but to the numerous liquid traditions about Solomon's control over demons".

201. See Polybius Histories 31:12:1 and Plutarch Moralia 161.C.

202. Cf. for example Ant.7:109; Homer Iliad 11:55; cf. H. Schlier TDNT III p.674.

203. Schlier Ibid. pp.673-82, esp. pp.674f..

204. Luke (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1922) p.374.

205. As for example Epictetus Discourses 3:1:15 and probably Lk.15:17.

206. Literature: Schürer History I pp.68ff.. See also Fiebig Jüdische Wundergeschichten and Rabbinische Wundergeschichten des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters (Marcus und Weber, Bonn, 1911).

207. See J. Neusner "New Problems, New Solutions: Current Events in Rabbinic Studies" SR 8(1979) pp.408 and 411 and notes; also his From Politics to Piety (Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1972) pp.7 and 92ff.. (Here I follow his method -

"If a later master refers to the substance and language of the pericope itself, but evidently stands outside of both, we may suppose that the pericope was known to him, and therefore comes before or in his time in pretty much its present form and wording" (p.93).

Because later masters tried to assign sayings to the man who said them rather than some earlier, more prestigious individual Neusner takes "very seriously attribution of a saying to a named authority in a particular school and time" (p.94)). See also Neusner Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees III (Brill, Leiden, 1971) p.3 and C.G. Montefiore and H. Loewe A Rabbinic Anthology (Macmillan, London, 1938) p.711.

208. SB IV pp.501-35; Blau Zauberwesen; Langton Essentials esp. chap.Two.
209. See SB Ibid.. (To my knowledge no one has explained this ambivalent attitude to healing methods in the Talmud. But if, where possible, one assigns dates to these attitudes, the debates over healing methods and magic are generally later than the material condoning or encouraging healing through incantations and amulets etc.).
210. See J. Neusner A Life of Yohanan ben Zakkai (Brill, Leiden, 1970).
211. Cf. Vermes Jesus pp.64f.; (cf. also Fiebig Jüdische Wundergeschichten pp.19ff. and Loos Miracles pp.328-33.
212. See G. Vermes "Hanina ben Dosa" JJS 23(1972) pp.28-50 and 24(1973) pp.51-64; Jesus pp.72-8.
213. See Vermes JJS 23(1972) pp.30ff..
214. Literature: H.D. Betz Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament (Akademie, Berlin, 1961) bibliography.
215. Cf. R.M. Grant Miracle and Natural Law (North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1952) pp.41f.. Pliny (NH XXVII:iii) is another who is credulous of the power of the magician and the spoken word.
216. See D.L. Tiede The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker (Scholars, Missoula, 1972) p.63.
217. This has been mistaken for a reference to Christ (see Lucian (Loeb) III p.341 n.l.). In fact, though Lucian elsewhere noticed them, the Christians, as such, were of no interest to him, B. Baldwin Studies in Lucian (Stevens, Sarasota, 1973) pp.101f..
218. Cf. PGM:26 "pronounce 'o' shortly for spiritual threatening".
219. See Dunn and Twelftree Churchman 94(1980) pp.216f. and n.23.
220. Literature: G. Petzke Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament (Brill, Leiden, 1970) pp.239ff..
221. F.C. Conybeare Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius Loeb Classical Library I (Heinemann, London, 1948) p.vi.
222. Ibid. pp.viif. and xii.
223. Grant Miracle p.74.
224. Literature: Charlesworth Pseudipigrapha p.197. The references below are to the English translation by Conybeare JQR 11(1898) pp.1-45.
225. Recently especially Hull Magic pp.67ff..
226. JQR 11(1898) pp.11f.; cf. L. Ginzberg The Legends of the Jews 6 (Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1909-38) p.292; B.M. Metzger BHH 3 col.1653.
227. The Testament of Solomon (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1922) pp.108f..
228. JQR 11(1898) pp.5f..
229. Ibid. p.6.
230. Ibid. p.20 n.2.
231. The writer's sources range wider than Scripture for in para.103 he shows his familiarity with traditions that

- are now found in the magical papyri. §. 103b has -
 "And if anyone write on fig leaves 'Lycurgos',
 taking away one letter at a time, and write it, reversing
 the letters, I retire at once. 'Lycurgos, ycurgos,
 kurgos, yrgos, gos, os'".
- Cf. PGM XIXa:16ff.; XXVI:115ff.; XLIII.
 See also Dieterich Abraxas. p.185.
232. Cf. Conybeare JQR 11(1898) p.7.
233. Testament pp.105-8; cf. A.-M Denis Introduction Aux Pseudépigraphes Grecs D'Ancien Testament (Brill, Leiden, 1970) p.67; and Charlesworth Pseudepigrapha p.198.
234. Literature: Hennecke II, pp.167f. and 259 (Acts of Peter), 390 (Acts of Andrew), 425f. (Acts of Thomas).
235. For example Bultmann History pp.221ff.; Dibelius Tradition pp.89, 106.
236. See W. Schneemelcher in Hennecke II pp.259-68.
237. See Ibid. pp.272f..
238. See chap.III n.45 below. Note avoidance of confrontation in Mk.7:25ff. and Acts of Thomas 62ff..
239. G.Quispel "An Unknown Fragment of the Acts of Andrew (Pap. Copt. Utrecht N. 1)" VC 10(1956) pp.129-48. See also M. Hornschuh in Hennecke II pp.390-408, esp.403ff..
240. See Quispel in Ibid. pp.145ff..
241. Hornschuh in Ibid pp.396f..
242. In the Gregory of Tours version the story is even longer. See Quispel VC 10(1956) p.138.
243. Ibid. p.140.
244. Contrast PGM XIII:242ff. (see pp.30f.and n.86 above) where there is considerable difficulty in getting the demon to speak.
245. See n.242 above. Cf. Gregory of Tours text par. 18 in M.R. James The Apocryphal New Testament (Clarendon, Oxford, 1924) p.342.
246. See C.Bonner "The Violence of Departing Demons" HTR 37(1944) pp.334ff.. See also p.273 below.
247. Cf. Gregory of Tours text par. 18 (James Apocryphal p.342) where the soldier drops dead.
248. Cf. Ibid...
249. See A.F.J. Klijn Acts of Thomas (Brill, Leiden, 1962) p.26; cf. G. Bornkamm in Hennecke II p.440.
250. See p.23 below.
251. See the footnotes in Hennecke II pp.69ff..
252. See Klijn Thomas pp.267f..
253. We have not dealt with one exorcism story in the Acts of John (see Hennecke II pp.235ff.) for it is an exorcism of a building.
254. Thus Bultmann cannot use these stories to show that the early Christian oral tradition was dependent on Jewish and Hellenistic folk traditions for its stories and miracle motifs (History p.240). We have shown that in relation to the Test. Sol. and the NT Apocrypha the opposite is the case.
255. Tiede Charismatic .

256. Moses, Daniel, Jonah, Abraham and Jacob were all names taken up into incantations. See J. Gager Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism (Abingdon, Nashville, 1972); Bonner Amulets pp.171, 272f.; Goodenough Symbols II pp.223f., 226; C. Bonner "The Story of Jonah on a Magical Amulet" HTR 41(1948) pp.31-7.

257. See Duling HTR (68(1979) p.239.

258. Peter Brown JRS 61(1971) p.100; and The World of Late Antiquity (Thames and Hudson, London, 1971) pp.102ff..

Brown puts the rise of the 'Holy Man' as late as the sixth century. However we agree with Jonathan Z. Smith ("The Temple and the Magician" in God's Christ and His People (eds.) J. Jervell and W.A. Meeks (Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1977) pp.237f.) that the date should be around the second century BC.

III
JESUS-THE-EXORCIST
(the data)
(Notes)

1. This is in preparation for the latter part of chap.V where we will be examining how the early Church responded to and interpreted Jesus as an exorcist.
2. The problem is well set out and discussed by the following (examples), B.H. Streeter The Four Gospels (Macmillan, London, 1924) pp.150-360; W.G. Kümmel Introduction to the New Testament Revised edition (1973, ET, SCM, London, 1975) pp.38-80. On the history of the study of the Synoptic Problem see, for example, Kümmel Introduction pp.45-52; cf. W.R. Farmer The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis (Macmillan, London and New York, 1964) chaps.I-III.
3. On which see (eg.) H.G. Wood "The Priority of Mark" Exp.T 65(1953-4) pp.17-19; G.M. Styler "The Priority of Mark" in The Birth of the New Testament C.F.D. Moule (Black, London, 1966) pp.223-32. The 'Urmarkus' hypothesis - (G.E. Lessing "New Hypothesis Concerning the Evangelists Regarded as Merely Human Historians" in Lessing's Theological Writings selected and translated by H. Chadwich (Stanford University, Stanford, 1957) pp.65-81 - recent proponents are listed by Kümmel Introduction p.61 n.40) - is now generally discredited, see Kümmel Ibid. p.62 and notes. Against the priority of Mark see (eg.) B.C. Butler The Originality of St. Matthew (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1951); esp. Farmer Problem, see the review by F.W. Beare in JBL 64(1965) pp.292-7.
4. See Kümmel Ibid. p.70; also R.W. Longstaff Evidence of Conflation in Mark? (Scholars, Missoula, 1978); M.D. Goulder "On Putting Q to the Test" and "Mark 16:1-8 and Parallels" NTS 24(1977-8) pp.235-40; J.M. Rist On the Independence of Matthew and Mark (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1978).
5. For literature on Q see F. Neiryneck IDB Supp. p.716; G. Bornkamm RGG³ II col.766; also N. Turner "Q in Recent Thought" Exp.T 80(1968-9) pp.324-28; Neiryneck "The Symbol Q (=Quelle)" ETL 54(1978) pp.119-25; M.D. Goulder "On Putting Q to the Test" NTS 24(1977-8) pp.218-34; Kümmel Introduction p.63 n.47; W.F. Howard "The Origin of the Symbol 'Q'" Exp.T 50(1938-9) pp.379-80.
6. See C.K. Barrett "Q: A Re-examination" Exp.T 54(1942-3) p.320 and notes; P. Vassiliadis "The Nature and Extent of the Q Document" Nov.T 20(1978) pp.50-60 and notes and Kümmel Ibid. p.67 and notes.
7. Barrett Ibid. and Vassiliadis Ibid. pp.57ff..
8. For the statistics see Streeter Gospels pp.195f.. Also the opening paragraph of "The Original Extent of Q" in Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem (ed.) W. Sanday (Oxford University, Oxford, 1911) p.185; cf. F.C. Burkitt The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus (Constable, London, 1910) pp.40ff..
9. Streeter Gospels pp.289f., and in Oxford pp.186ff.;

A.M. Honore "A Statistical Study of the Synoptic Problem" Nov.T 10(1968) pp.134f..

10. This means of course that any discussion of 'Q's notion of' any particular point can only be of the most tentative kind and any reconstruction of a 'theology' of Q or the Q community rests on poor foundations. Nevertheless studies of this kind abound. See for example S. Schulz Q: Die Spruchquelle Der Evangelisten (Theologischer Verlag, Zurich, 1972); D. Lührmann Die Redaktion der Logienquelle (Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen - Vluyn, 1969);

R.A. Edwards A Theology of Q (Fortress, Philadelphia, 1976), and "An Approach to a Theology of Q" JR 51(1971) pp.247-69;

J.M. Robinson "LOGOI SOPHON: On the Gattung of Q" in Trajectories Through Early Christianity (eds.) J.M. Robinson and H. Koester (Fortress, Philadelphia, 1971) pp.71-113; and see R.D. Worden "Redaction Criticism of Q: A Survey" JBL 94(1975) pp.532-46 and notes.

11. On the relationship between Mark and Q see Kümmel Introduction p.70 and notes.

12. That there is no literary dependence see (eg.) Kümmel Ibid. p.64; B.H. Streeter "St.Mark's Knowledge and use of Q" Oxford pp.165-83. That Luke used Matthew see the literature cited by Kümmel Ibid. p.64 and n.48; (On the 'Griesbach Hypothesis' see eg. C.H. Talbert and E.V. McKnight "Can the Griesbach Hypothesis be Falsified" JBL 91(1972) pp.338-68; Longstaff Conflation?; G.W. Buchanan "Has the Griesbach Hypothesis Been Falsified?" JBL 93(1974) pp.550-72; B. Orchard and T.R.W. Longstaff (eds.) J.J. Griesbach (Cambridge University, London and New York, 1978); H.P. West "A Primitive Version of Luke in the Composition of Matthew" NTS (1967-8) pp.75-95 suggests a primitive version of Luke as a source for Luke and Matthew (p.75).

13. See N. Perrin What is Redaction Criticism? (SPCK, London, 1970); R.H. Stein "The 'Redaktionsgeschichtlich' Investigation of a Markan Seam (Mc1:21f.)" ZNW 61(1970) pp.70-94; and "The Proper Methodology for Ascertaining a Markan Redaction History" Nov.T 13(1971) pp.181-98.

14. Sir John Hawkins Horae Synopticae (Oxford University, Oxford, 1909).

15. "Markan Usage. Notes, Critical and Exegetical, on the Second Gospel" JTS 25(1924) pp.377-85; 26(1925) pp.12-20, 145-56; 225-40, 337-46.

16. HSE pp.12f.. New ground is being broken by some scholars - see particularly W.O. Walker "A Method for Identifying Redactional Passages ..." CBO 39(1977) pp.76-93.

17. Literature: R. Pesch Das Markusevangelium I (Herder, Freiburg, 1976) pp.247ff.; cf. H. Schürmann Das Lukas Evangelium I (Herder, Freiburg, 1969) p.245. In the parallel texts I have underlined those points that are important in the ensuing discussion.

18. Hull Magic pp.137f. (See also p.333 below where I demonstrate that Hull is wrong).

19. H.J. Held "Matthew as Interpreter of the Miracle Stories" in Tradition and Interpretation (eds.) G. Bornkamm (et al.) (1960, ET, SCM, London, 1963) pp.166ff..
20. J.H. Moulton and W.F. Howard A Grammar of New Testament Greek II (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1970) p.464; see n.173 below.
21. See p.310 below.
22. H.Hanse TDNT II p.819.
23. Ibid.
24. Cf. 1 Cor.8:4-7; 10:20, 21. See also J.D.G. Dunn Jesus and the Spirit (SCM, London, 1975) pp.260f..
25. See also G.W.H. Lampe IDB II pp.632ff; "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St.Luke" in Studies in the Gospel (ed.) D.E. Nineham (Blackwell, Oxford, 1967) pp.159-200; J.D.G. Dunn DNTT III pp.698ff..
26. On ἔχειν in Paul and in relation to Christ see H. Hanse TDNT II pp.819f..
27. Mk.1:23/Lk.4:33; Mk.1:26/Lk.4:35; Mk.5:7/Lk.8:27; Mk.5:13/Lk.8:33; Mk.6:7/Lk.9:1 (cf. H.J. Cadbury Style and Literary Method (1920, Kraus Reprint, New York, 1969) p.190.
28. 4:36; cf.v.35; in 6:18 the 'unclean spirit' is described as troubling people; 8:29; cf. just described as a demon; 11:24; cf.v.26.
29. 6:36; 8:29; 9:42.
30. Schürmann Lukas I p.247.
31. E. Lohmeyer Das Evangelium des Markus (Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1967) p.36. It is also noticeable that at least by itself φωνή occurs often in Luke - Acts. Mtt.=7 times, Mk.=7 times, Lk-Acts=41 times. (The Johannine material has it even more frequently; Jn.=15 times and Rv.=53 times).
33. SB II p.157; Bauer (1979) p.211. This view is taken by Plummer Luke p.133; J.M. Creed Luke (Macmillan, London, 1930) p.70; W. Manson Luke (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1930) p.45.
34. Bauer (1979) p.212; see also Liddell and Scott p.466.
35. Liddell and Scott p.465; Bauer (1979) p.211.
36. Liddell and Scott p.466; Bauer (1979) p.212.
37. See p.23 below.
38. N. Turner A Grammar of New Testament Greek III (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1963) p.259; M.J. Harris DNTT III p.1180.
39. 127 times (Mtt.=113 times, Mk.=47 times, Acts=114 times, Paul=95 times).
40. Light p.256 n.1.
41. Cadbury Style p.183.
42. See articles in Bauer.
43. Cadbury Style pp.183f.. On the 'medical' language here see Ibid. p.41 and his "Lexical notes on Luke - Acts:II. Recent arguments for Medical Language" JBL 46(1926) pp.190-209.
44. E. Klostermann Das Lukasevangelium (Mohr, Tübingen, 1929) p.67.

45. Cf. Test. Sol. (passim); b. Hull 105b; b. Kid 29b.
46. Cadbury Style p.93.
47. See p.338 below.
48. Turner Grammar III p.52; Marshall Luke p.193.
49. Eg. P. Oxy.532:17; 1673:20; Mk.8:11; 9:14, 16; 12:83; Lk.22:23 (perhaps 24:15); Acts 6:9; 9:29; see further Liddell and Scott and Bauer.
50. Liddell and Scott and Bauer.
51. Cf. Marshall Luke p.193.
52. Ibid. p.194.
53. See Bauer Harris DNTT III pp.112f..
54. Ἀκοή (in Luke only at 7:1) is not used by Luke as a 'report'. Creed Luke p.71.
55. See literature cited in Pesch Markus.I p.128.
56. R.H. Lightfoot Locality and Doctrine (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1938) p.112; G.H. Boobyer "Galilee and Galileans in St.Mark's Gospel" BJRL 35(1952-3) pp.334-48; C.F. Evans "I Will Go Before You Into Galilee" JTS 5(1954) pp.3-18; N. Perrin The New Testament: An Introduction (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1974) pp.150f.; W. Marxsen Mark the Evangelist (1959, ET, Abingdon, Nashville, 1969) pp.54ff.; J.-M. van Cangh "La Galilée dans l'évangile de Marc un lieu theologique" RB 79(1972) pp.59-72; E. Lohmeyer Galiläa und Jerusalem (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1936) p.26.
57. C.E.B. Cranfield Mark (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1966) p.72; R.P. Martin Mark: Evangelist and Theologian (Paternoster, Exeter, 1972) pp.112 ff. and notes; C.F. Evans The Beginning of the Gospel (SPCK, London, 1968) pp.46ff..
58. Martin Mark pp.111ff.. On the number of people leaving the synagogue see Metzger Commentary p.75. Cf. T.A. Burkill Mysterious Revelation (Cornell University, New York, 1963) p.34.
59. Robinson Problem chap.3.
60. R.H. Lightfoot The Gospel Message of Mark (Oxford University, Oxford, 1950) p.21.
61. Cranfield Mark p.38.
62. Cf. 2:11f.; 4:39; Dunn Jesus pp.76ff..
63. Dunn Jesus p.79; Pesch Markus.I pp.117f..
64. A.M. Ambrozic "New Teaching with Power (Mk.1:27)" in Word and Spirit (ed.) J. Plevnik (Regis College Press, Willowdale, Ontario, 1975) p.114.
65. Cf. Eitrem Notes p.8. Also Ambrozic Ibid., though I am not sure that he is right in saying that the amazement aroused in the witnesses of Jesus' teaching and mighty works is a theme "dear to Mark's heart".
66. Pesch Markus.I p.120f.; K. Kertelge Die Wunder Jesu im Markusevangelium (Käsel, München, 1970) p.50.
67. K.L. Schmidt Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1964) p.50; Taylor Mark p.175 (though on p.171 Taylor is confident that all of this pericope was in Mark's tradition). Cf. Kertelge Wunder pp.150f. and n.58.

68. See Schweizer Mark p.50.
69. That they are from Mark's hand see, for example, Kertelge Wunder p.50.
70. Taylor Mark p.91; P.J. Achtemeier "Towards the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae" JBL 89(1970) pp.265-91; Stein ZNW 61(1970) p.81 n.38.
71. Of the considerable literature on this the following is some of the more important. Ambrozic in Word pp.115ff.; D. Daube "A New Teaching with 'Authority'" in The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (Athlone, London, 1956) pp.205-16; A.W. Argyle "The Meaning of ἐξουσία in Mk.1:22, 27" Exp.T 80(1968-9) p.343. (See also Pesch Markus.I p.128).
72. Mtt.4:23; Mk.6:2; Lk.4:15, 31; 6:6; 13:10; Jn.6:59; 18:20. Philo Life of Moses II:39(216); J.-B.Frey Corpus Inscriptionum Iudiacarum II, no.1404 pp.332-5; Schürer History II pp.424, 448 (and n.102), 453; Hengel Judaism I pp.82f..
73. Schürer History II pp.424f., 445.
74. Jeremias Jerusalem chap.10.
75. "ἐξουσία in Mark 1:22, 27" JTS 39(1938) pp.45-59.
76. Exp.T 80 (1968-9) p.343.
77. Ambrozic in Word pp.115f..
78. Ibid. pp.116ff..
79. See K. Grobel "Idiosyncracies of the Synoptists in their Pericope-Introductions" JBL 59(1940) pp.405-10; E. Best Temptation and Passion (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1965) p.63; Stein ZNW 61(1970) pp.70f. and notes.
80. On 10:24 see Pesch Markus.I p.143 (esp. pp.150ff.); on 10:32 see p.197 below.
81. Mk.1:22/Lk.4:32; Mk.6:2/Mtt.13:54/Lk.4:22; Mk.10:26/Mtt.19:25; Mk.11:18/Lk.19:48; Mtt.7:28f.; 22:33; (Mk.12:34/Mtt.22:46/Lk.20:40). Cf. Bornkamm Jesus p.144; Loos Miracles p.129; Dunn Jesus p.381 n.42.
82. Mk.10:52, cf. Dunn Jesus pp.76f..
83. Mk.1:27/Lk.4:36; Mk.2:12/Mtt.9.8/Lk.5:26; 7:16; Mk.4:41/Mtt.8:27/Lk.8:25 (Mk.5:14, 17/Mtt.8:33, 34)/Lk.8:34, 35, 37; Mtt.9:8; Mk.5:20, 42/Mtt.9:26/Lk.8:56; Mk.6:51; 7:37/Mtt.15:31, 9:33; 12:23/Lk.11:14; Lk.5:9; 7:16.
84. E.Peterson Eis Theos (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1926) pp.183-222; Pesch Markus.I p.124.
85. 1:32-34; 3:7-12; 6:53-56. On the Sammelberichte see H.Sawyer "The Markan Framework" SJT 14(1961) pp.279-94.
86. Contrast Stein Nov.T 13(1971) p.197 who considers it a Markan term. See also Taylor Mark p.175.
87. See R. Pesch "Ein vollmächtigen Wikens Jesu in Kapharnahum (Mk.1:21-34, 35-39)" BL 9(1968) p.118; also Kertelge Wunder pp.51 and 56.
88. Hawkins Horae Synopticae p.13; HSE p.21.
89. Hawkins Ibid. p.12; E. Schweizer "Armerkungen zur Theologie des Markus" Nov.T Supp. 6(1962) pp.37f.; Best Temptation pp.71f.; Stein ZNW 61(1970)p.73; Nov.T 13(1971)

- p.197; HSE p.18; E.J. Pryke Redactional Style in the Markan Gospel (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1978) p.136.
90. Lohmeyer Galiläa p.26; Lightfoot Locality p.112; Marxsen Mark pp.4f.; see also n.56 above.
91. Pryke Style pp.115ff..
92. See n.87 above.
93. Also Kertelge Wunder p.56; and Schweizer Nov.T Supp. 6(1962) p.38. See also above on 1:22.
94. Cf. J. Weiss Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments I (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1917) p.85. ^{EA}
95. See G.A.Chadwick "Some Cases of Possession" 6(1892) p.275.
96. Eg. 1 Sam.16:16, 23; 18:10; Philostratus Life IV:20; Mk.9:22.
97. See p.110 above.
98. See Bauer, Liddell and Scott, Moulton and Milligan and W. Grundmann TDNT III p.898.
99. Grundmann TDNT III p.898.
100. Ibid. p.899.
101. Ibid.
102. Lucian Philops.16, cf.31; Disowned 7; Philostratus Life IV:20; cf. III:38; b.Pes 112b-113a.
103. Hull Magic pp.128ff.; Held in Tradition pp.172ff.. Matthew is not simply reticent about the exorcism stories because they are exorcism stories (as Hull thinks) but as I try to show in chap.V Matthew is so dominated by his Christological objectives that he alters Mark to enhance the reputation of Jesus.
104. See Grundmann TDNT III p.898f.; SB I p.401.
105. Cf. Josh.22:24; Jud.11:12; IK.17:18; Taylor Mark p.174; C.K. Barrett John (SPCK, London, 1978) p.191; Bauer "ἐγώ". While nothing stands in the way of Ebstein's suggestion that the plural used by the demon refers to those around Jesus at the time (W.Ebstein Die Medizin im Neuen Testament und im Talmud (Enke, Stuttgart, 1903) p.60) neither is there anything to support his notion. In fact in view of the context - Jesus confronting the demoniac - there is no need to see the demon's words referring to anything other than this confrontation.
106. W. Wrede The Messianic Secret (1901, ET, Clarke, Cambridge, 1971) p.33(f).
107. A.Fridrichsen "The Conflict of Jesus with the Unclean Spirits" Theology 22(1931) p.125 my emphasis.
108. Miracle p.112.
109. See also O. Bauernfeind Die Worte der Dämonen (Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1927) pp.13ff.; cf. Burkill Revelation p.78; Hull Magic; see also below.
110. Fridrichsen Miracle pp.12f..
111. Burkill Revelation p.76
112. Cf. Ibid. p:75.
113. In Worte.
114. Cf. Taylor Mark p.174.
115. Further references in SB II p.401; cf. F. Blass (et al.) A Greek Grammar of the New Testament (University of Chicago,

- Chicago, 1961) 299:3, W. Lane Mark (Marshall Morgan and Scott, London, 1974) p.73 n.114.
116. See J. Gray Kings (SCM, London, 1970) p.382.
117. Cf. Bauernfeind Worte p.6.
118. Ibid. pp.6ff., followed by Pesch Markus I p.122 n.19.
119. Revelation p.77 and n.14.
120. Cf. Immut. 133-9.
121. H.H. Schaefer TDNT IV p.874.
122. See B. Lindars New Testament Apologetic (SCM, London, 1961) pp.194ff.; and SB I p.92.
123. K.H. Rengstorf DNTT II p.333.
124. Schaefer TDNT IV p.874; cf. Acts 2:22; 3:6 etc..
125. For the Semitic background of 'from Nazareth' see W.C.Allen Matthew (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1912) pp.16f..
126. On ἀπόλλυμι see H.C. Hahn in DNTT I pp.462ff.; A. Oepke in TDNT I pp.394ff.. SB IV p.527 and II p.2.
127. Cf. PGM IV:3033ff..
128. See also PGM IV:1500, 2984ff.; V:103ff.; VIII:13; Bauernfeind Worte p.11f.; R. Reitzenstein Hellenistische Wundererzählungen (Teubner, Leipzig, 1963) p.124.
129. From N.Turner A Grammar of New Testament Greek IV (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1976) p.16.
130. Bultmann John p.449 n.4.
131. See O. Procksch TDNT I pp.88f.; R. Bultmann John (1941, ET, Blackwell, Oxford, 1971) p.448 n.5; H. Seebass DNTT II p.224.
132. Cf. W. Bousset and H.Gressmann Die Religion des Judentums im Späthellenistischen Zeitalter (Mohr, Tübingen, 1966) p.321 and n.2; Seebass DNTT pp.225f.; cf. also Bultmann John p.449 n.5.
133. See Bultmann Ibid.
134. Cf. Judges 16:17 (B) See F. Hahn The Titles of Jesus in Christology (1963, ET, Lutterworth, London 1969) p.233.
135. History p.209 n.1.
136. Notably by Fitzmyer "Some Observations on the 'Genesis Apocryphon'" CBQ 22(1960) p.284 and W.H. Brownlee The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible (Oxford University, New York and Oxford, 1964) p.210 n.41.
137. 1QM.14:10; 1QH.9:11; 1QHF.4:6; 1QapGen.20:28-9.
138. Kee "The Terminology of Mark's Exorcism Stories" NTS 14(1967-8) pp.232-46.
139. So Kee Ibid. pp.242ff..
140. Mtt.=7, Mk.=9, Lk.=12.
141. 1:25; 3:12; 4:39; 8:30, 32, 33; 9:25; 10:13, 48.
142. 3:12; 8:30, 32, 33; 9:25; 10:13,48.
143. See Pryke Style pp.10-23.
144. Wrede Secret pp.34 (and n.17) and 145ff.; cf. Schweizer Mark p.55.
145. Schweizer Mark p.52 and RSV.
146. See Bauer and Liddell and Scott.
147. Cf. Mtt.22:34; Lucian Death of Peregrinus 15.
148. Wrede Secret pp.34ff..
149. Cf. RSV.

150. Cf. Burkill Revelation p.89 (and n.6).
151. Ibid. p.74.
152. Further examples in S. Eitrem Papyri Osloenses I (Norske Videnskops - Akademi, Oslo, 1925) pp.76f.; cf. E. Rohde Psyche (1921, ET, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1925) p.604; Eitrem Notes pp.30f..
153. Cited by Rohde Psyche pp.603f.; see also A. Audollent Defixionum Tabellae (Luteciae Parisiorum, Paris, 1904) 20:5; 25:13; 32:13; cf. Fridrichsen Miracles p.112.
154. See Bauer; Blass Grammar par. 346; Kertelge Wunder p.54 and n.87. (Cf. Rohde Ibid. p.327 n.107 - this word is "the 'binding' whereby the spirit-raiser magically compels the unseen to do his will")
155. See esp. Audollent Defixionum 15:24; cf. Wünsch^c cited in Rohde Psyche p.327 n.107.
156. See p.80 above.
157. See p.76 above.
158. SB II p.2.
159. See further Bonner HTR 36(1943) pp.47ff..
160. See p.273 below (and Bonner HTR 37(1944) pp.334-6)
161. Literature: Pesch Markus I p.29f.; Der Besessene von Gerasa (Katholische Bibelwerk, Stuttgart, 1972); J.D. Kingsbury "Observations on the 'Miracle Chapters' of Matthew 8-9" CBO 40(1978) pp.559-73 and notes; Schürmann Lukas I pp.479f..
162. For example, Lohmeyer Markus pp.95-9; Taylor Mark pp.277-85; G. Dehn Der Gottessohn (Furche, Hamburg, 1953) pp.110-114; Cranfield Mark pp.177-80.
163. C.G. Montefiore The Synoptic Gospels I (Macmillan, London, 1909) p.11; Dibelius Tradition pp.85ff.; F.C. Grant IB 7, p.712; W. Bundy Jesus and the First Three Gospels (Harvard University, Cambridge, 1955) p.243.
164. For example, M.M. Baird "The Gadarene Demoniac" Exp.T 31(1919-20) p.189; L. Weatherhead Psychology, Religion and Healing (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1951) pp.62ff.; T. Hawthorn "The Gerasene Demoniac: A Diagnosis" Exp.T 66(1954-5) pp.79f.
165. Bauernfeind Worte pp.34f.; Burkill Revelation p.87; J. Jeremias Jesus' Promise to the Nations (1956, ET, SCM, London, 1957) p.30 n.5; S. Cave "The Obedience of Unclean Spirits" NTS 11(1964-5) pp.96f..
166. H. Sahlin "Die Perikope von gerasenischen Besessenen und der Plan des Markusevangelium" St.Th 18(1964) pp.159-72.
167. On our approach to each story see p.107 above.
168. The problem of the structure of the first Gospel is at present being re-examined in NT scholarship, but see especially J.D. Kingsbury "The Structure of Matthew's Gospel and his concept of Salvation-History" CBO 35(1973) pp.451-74; cf. chapter one of his Matthew (SPCK, London, 1976).
169. Contrast Mark's deliberate thematic-structural use of 1:21-28, see p.114 above.
170. See Perrin Introduction pp.180f..

171. See Mtt.9:18/Mk.1:16; Mtt.4:21/Mk.1:19; Mtt.20:21/Mk.10:37; Mtt.26:37/Mk.14:33; Mtt.27:21/Mk.15:11/Lk.23:18.
172. For example 'one' occurs 66 times in Mtt., 37 in Mk., 44 in Luke., 'two' occurs 40 times in Mtt., 19 in Mk., 28 in Lk., 'three' occurs 12 times in Mtt., 7 in Mk., 10 in Lk..
173. SB. I p.530; F. Hauck TDNT III pp.427f.; see n.20 above.
174. See H. Greeven TDNT VI pp.763ff..
175. See O. Betz TDNT IX pp.292ff..
176. See M.J. Harris DNTT III pp.113ff..
177. As for example Nineham Mark p.153; Schweizer Mark p.114; Loos Miracles p.386.
178. So Taylor Mark pp.280f. and Cranfield Mark p.177.
179. Held in Tradition pp.173f..
180. J. Schneider TDNT II pp.668ff.; W. Mundt DNTT I pp.322f..
181. A. Harnack "Ich bin gekommen" ZTK 22(1912) pp.1-30; H. Windisch Paulus und Christus (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1934) p.156.
182. Hill Matthew p.168.
183. See chap.V below. Cf. 1QS 4:20f..
184. Cf. P. Gaechter Matthäus-Evangelium (Tyrolia, Innsbruck, 1963) p.281.
185. "In one case the narrative that follows provides the affirmative answer, in the other it serves as a confirmation" (Held in Tradition p.174).
186. Cf. Hull Magic p.130.
187. Cf. K. Bornhäuser Das Wirken des Christus durch Taten und Worte (Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1924) p.81; X. León-Defour Etudes d'Evangile (Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1965) p.165.
188. See p.223 below.
189. Held in Tradition p.174 n.2.
190. Bornhäuser Wirken p.83.
191. There is evidence that water was used in exorcism (I. Goldziher "Wasser als Dämonen abwehrendes Mittel" ARW 13(1910) pp.20-2; Böcher Dämonenfurcht pp.195ff.; also see p. 15 above). On the other hand, however, water is mostly connected with a demon's habitat; see I.E.S. Edwards Papyri p.xxii and notes; Böcher Ibid. pp.50ff.; cf. b.Hul. 105b.
192. See p.14 above; Bultmann History p.224 and Dunn and Twelftree Churchman 94(1980) p.212 and n.10.
193. See below on δρακίς.
194. For example Tobit 8:3; Josephus Ant.8:46ff.; Philostratus Life IV:20; b.Meil. 17b.
195. The addition of the characteristically Matthean ἐπιλογαί (cf. HSE p.27) is merely a grammatical or literary improvement.
196. See J. Schniewind TDNT I pp.67f.; U. Becker and D. Müller DNTT III pp.46ff..
197. See also Held in Tradition pp.173f..
198. Marshall Luke p.335.
199. Pesch Besessene pp.57-64.
200. See Bauer p.613; cf. Marshall Luke p.338.
201. Cf. Böcher Christus p.29.

202. J. Jeremias TDNT I pp.9f.; H. Bietenhard DNTT II p.205.
203. Cf. SB III p.823. See also p.352 below.
204. See Marshall Luke p.340.
205. W. Foerster TDNT VII p.990.
206. That "the people give a peremptory command to depart" (Marshall Luke p.341) is doubtful. Ἐρωτώ (Lk.8:37) is certainly no stronger than παρακαλεῖν (Mk.5:17). See the relevant articles in Bauer; H. Schönweiss DNTT II pp.879f.; cf. R.C. Trench Synonyms of the New Testament (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1953) pp.144f..
207. See Liddell and Scott.
208. Taylor Mark pp.94f.. P.J. Achtemeier JBL 89(1970) pp.275f.; R.H. Stein ZNW 61(1970) p.81 n.36; Kertelge Wunder pp.112f..
209. Bultmann History pp.56, 60; Taylor Mark p.299; Pesch Markus. I p.59; Schweizer Mark p.123; Kertelge Ibid. pp.122 n.488, p.130.
210. Cf. Best Temptation p.75.
211. Taylor Mark p.299.
212. So also R.H. Lightfoot History and Interpretation in the Gospels (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1935) p.186.
213. Cf. Perrin Introduction pp.152f..
214. For example Montefiore Gospels I p.11; Dibelius Tradition p.88; Bundy Jesus p.243; D.L. Bartlett Exorcism Stories in the Gospel of Mark (Ph.D Thesis, Yale, 1972) pp.136ff..
215. Ibid.
216. See Kertelge Wunder p.52.
217. See for example Dibelius Tradition p.89.
218. R.A. Lipsius Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha I (Olms, Hildersheim, 1959) p.59 line 6.
219. b.Pes.112b (see p.73 above); Jub.10:7ff.; Bultmann History p.224 and 422.
220. See also b.Gitt. 69a; cf. T.W. Davies Magic, Divination and Demonology Among the Hebrews and Their Neighbours (Clark, London, and Spargatis, Leipzig, 1897) p.104.
221. Devils II p.xxxv.
222. Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Conception of God. (ET, Williams and Norgate, London, 1892) pp.88f.; Bultmann History p.225; cf. note 192 above.
223. Tradition p.87.
224. See also Moulton and Milligan p.371; Bauer pp.467f..
226. J.D.M. Derrett's suggestion that there are a number of military terms here ("Legend and Event: The Gerasene Demoniac: An Inquest into History and Liturgical Projection" Studia Biblica 1978: II p.63 and n.4 is of little consequence for ἀποστέλλω, ἐπιτρέπω, ὀρμίζω and ἐχέλη have wide varieties of meanings that do not of themselves suggest a military motif.
227. Bartlett Exorcism p.139..
228. M.D. Hooker "On Using the Wrong Tool" Theology 75 (1972) pp.570-581; cf.G.Stanton "Form Criticism Revisited" in WANT pp.13-27.
229. See Hooker Ibid.

230. Cf. J.F. Cragan "The Gerasene Demoniac" CBQ 30(1968) p.527.
231. Lightfoot History p.88; see also Cragan Ibid.
232. Burkill Revelation p.92.
233. The following relies on Ibid. pp.91f..
234. Cf. Taylor Mark p.258.
235. Implied by Wrede Secret p.141.
236. Revelation p.92.
237. Schweizer Mark pp.112f..
238. Taylor Mark p.284; Burkill Revelation has not properly explored this possibility and its repercussions.
239. Taylor Mark p.284; Lane Mark p.186 n.24.
240. See Bauer.
241. HSE p.69.
242. This word has been the centre of some debate, see Taylor Mark pp.63f.. It cannot be used as evidence for the Palestinian origin of this verse for the construction is good colloquial Greek (H.St.J. Thackeray "An Unrecorded 'Aramaism' in Josephus" JTS 30(1929) pp.361-70, esp. p.370; cf. Black Aramaic pp.125f.). In any case the locution is characteristic of Mark. (See Pryke Style pp.79f.).
243. Lightfoot History, extended note pp.106f.; Schweizer Nov.T Supp. 6(1962) pp.35f..
244. Schweizer Mark p.112; cf. Taylor Mark p.280.
245. Mk.=4; Lk.=2; Rev.=1.
246. See O.Michel TDNT IV p.679; (C.J. Hemer DNTT I p.264.)
247. See above on 1:21-28.
248. Ibid.
249. For example Philostratus Life IV:20.
250. Bauernfeind Worte p.24; Cf. Burkill Revelation p.88.
251. See last note.
252. Imut. 138; cf. Bauernfeind Worte p.6.
253. See on Mk.1:24 above.
254. G. Dehn Gottessohn; E. Schweizer TDNT VIII pp.377f.; Kee Community pp.121ff..
255. See also PGM XII:63f, 72; (cf. Test.Sol where the title is used. However see pp.85 above). Moulton and Milligan.
256. G. Bertram TDNT VIII p.620; see also Hahn Titles pp.291f..
257. See pp.122f. above.
258. Cf. the use of Solomon's name in Ant. 8:45ff..
259. Revelation pp.89f..
260. Ibid. p.90.
261. Loos Miracles pp.419ff..
262. Revelation p.90.
263. Langton Essentials pp.28f., 157; Weatherhead Psychology p.65.
264. See p.31 and n.86 above. See also PGM I:162; IV:3037; cf. Deissmann Light p.257 and n.8; E. Klostermann Das Markusevangelium (Mohr, Tübingen, 1950) p.49; Bonner HTR (36(1943) pp.44f..
265. See p.30 above.
266. On the Trial of Jesus (Gruyter, Berlin, 1961) p.129.

267. Ibid. He cites Josephus BJ III:233, 289 and 458, 485.
268. Promise p.31 n.5. H. Preisker TDNT IV p.68 - "In the imperial period a Roman legion consisted of about 6,000 men on foot...."
269. A.R. Johnson The One and the Many (University of Wales Press Board, Cardiff, 1942) pp.29f. and notes; cf. Klostermann Matthäus, p.113; Hull Magic p.103.
270. See n.220 above, and also Klostermann Markus, p.49.
271. Taylor Mark p.282; W. Foerster TDNT II pp.6f.; Böcher Christus, pp.20ff..
272. On various interpretations of the stampede of the pigs see Loos Miracles pp.390ff..
273. H. Anderson Mark (Oliphants, London, 1976) p.146.
274. Schweizer Mark p.112.
275. Taylor Mark p.283.
276. Pesch Markus I p.292.
277. History p.210.
278. Mark p.112, though Schweizer does not think that there are two stories here.
279. Literature: Pesch Markus I p.391.
280. On our approach to each story see p.107 above.
281. Hill Matthew p.253; cf. Acts.10.
282. Gospels p.260, followed by T.W. Manson The Sayings of Jesus (SCM, London, 1949) p.200. Some take it that Matthew here uses Q (see McNeille Matthew p.229).
283. Tradition p.261 n.1.
284. Held in Tradition p.198 noting Taylor Mark p.347 with reference to Mtt.9:13; 12:5-7, 11-12 and Bultmann History p.61.
285. HSE p.61.
286. Hawkin's Horae Synopticae p.7; Allen Matthew p.lxxxvi; HSE p.61; Turner Grammar IV p.43.
287. HSE p.61.
288. Ibid. p.62.
289. Mtt.=11, Mk.=2, Lk.=2, but Jn.=17.
290. Allen Matthew pp.lxxxvi f.. According to a Matthean characteristic $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ is added (HSE p.61.).
291. Metzger Commentary p.95.
292. Bauer p.757.
293. The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew (Clarendon, Oxford, 1946) p.132.
294. Cf. Argyle Matthew p.119.
295. Kilpatrick Matthew p.133.
296. Cf. Kümmel Introduction p.119.
297. See Smith Parties pp.79f.; also Schürer History III p.545ff..
298. H.B. Green The Gospel According to Matthew (Oxford University, Oxford, 1975) p.146.
299. Hawkins Horae Synopticae p.5; HSE p.61; Turner Grammar IV p.43.
300. HSE p.62.
301. Mtt.=54, Mk.=23, Lk.=33, Jn.=70.
302. HSE p.62.
303. See J.M. Gibbs "Purpose and Pattern in Matthew's Use of the Title 'Son of David'" NTS 10(1963-4) pp.446-64; Kingsbury

- Structure pp.99f. and notes.
304. Held in Tradition p.198, following Bultmann History p.38. (W. Bussmann, Synoptische Studien (Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, Halle, 1925) I pp.49-52, thinks that the whole pericope was lacking in Ur-Markus and was added later.)
305. See also Klostermann Matthäus, p.133.
306. HSE p.62.
307. Ibid. p.61.
308. See n.290 above.
309. Held in Tradition p.200.
310. Turner Grammar IV p.32. See also J. Jeremias "Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ᾠρᾷ..." ZNW 42(1949) pp.214-17.
311. So also Argyle Matthew p.119; T.A. Burkill "The Historical Development of the Story of the Syrophoenician Woman (Mark 7:24-31)" Nov.T 9(1967) p.177.
312. Matthew (1973, ET, SPCK, London, 1976) p.330; cf. Filson Matthew p.179; Green Matthew pp.146f..
313. (Käsel, München, 1964) pp.21-51. (See also J.D. Kingsbury "The Title 'Kyrios' in Matthew's Gospel" JBL 94(1975) pp.246-55).
314. Kingsbury Ibid. p.248.
315. On the text-critical questions see Ibid pp.252f. n.31.
316. Ibid. pp.252f..
317. Mtt.=11, Mk.=4, Lk.=4, Jn.=0.
318. G.H. Box "The Gospel Narratives of the Nativity..." ZNW 6(1905) p.85; cf. Allen Matthew pp.6f.; McNeile Matthew p.5; R.P. Martin New Testament Foundations I (Paternoster, Exeter, 1975) p.226.
319. See D.C. Duling "The Therapeutic Son of David: An Element in Matthew's Christological Apologetic" NTS 24(1977-8) pp.392-410; cf. Gibbs NTS 10(1963-4) pp.446-64 (cf.5.3.3. (d) below).
320. H. Greeven TDNT VI p.763.
321. See p.170 above.
322. Schweizer Matthew p.330.
323. Creed Luke p.lxi.
324. F.C. Burkitt in Beginnings II p.117; J. Jeremias "Perikopen-Umstellungen bei Lukas?" NTS 4(1957-8) pp.115-9; Marshall Luke:Historian.and Theologian (Paternoster, Exeter, 1970) p.65; Creed Luke pp.lx f.; J. Drury Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel (DLT, London, 1976) pp.96f..
325. Nineham Mark p.197.
326. Drury Design p.98.
327. Ibid.
328. Cf. Jeremias Promise pp.28f. and notes.
329. On the historicity of such a mission see Taylor Mark pp.633-36; Nineham Mark pp.197f.; Jeremias Promise p.33.
330. C.H. Turner "A Textual Commentary on Mark 1" JTS 29(1926-7) p.152; Nineham Mark p.197; Taylor Mark p.348.
331. Anderson Mark pp.189f.; Schweizer Mark p.151; Burkill Nov.T 9(1967) p.173; and "The Syrophoenician Woman: The Congruence of Mark 7:24-31" ZNW 57(1966) p.35.

332. See Bultmann History pp.38, 64; Best Temptation p.79; Pesch Markus.I p.61; Kertelge Wunder p.154.
333. See Marxsen Mark p.69 and n.55. The point is not altered however, even if Burkill's criticism (ZNW 57(1966) pp.35ff.) is correct of Marxsen's view that Mark takes up geographical data and refrains from supplementing it, for it is the internal evidence of this particular pericope that is important here.
334. See Stein ZNW 61(1970) p.78 and n.29 Cf. Wrede Secret p.36.
335. HSE p.18.
336. On εὐθὺς see Kertelge Wunder p.51 n.58; cf. HSE p.68.
337. Cf. Turner Grammar IV p.28.
338. Blass Grammar par.111:3.
339. Black Aramaic pp.100f.; Turner Grammar IV p.21; cf. Taylor Mark p.60.
340. See p.111 above.
341. Turner JTS 26(1925) pp.145 and 150; Turner Grammar IV p.26 and his Grammatical Insights into the New Testament (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1965) pp.64-6.
342. Jeremias Promise p.33; Taylor Mark (see index); Nineham Mark pp.197f.
343. Nineham Ibid.
344. Pryke cites πρῶτον as a Markan redactional word (Style p.137) but. HSE does not cite the word as significant of Mark's hand.
345. Jeremias Promise p.29.
346. Cf. Taylor Mark p.347.
347. See n.334 above.
348. Fiebig Jüdische Wundergeschichten p.22.
349. Literature: Schürmann Lukas I p.568; Kertelge Wunder pp.174-9; Pesch Markus II pp.97f.; J. Gnllka Das Evangelium nach Markus II (Benzinger, Zurich, 1979) p.45.
350. On our approach to each pericope see p.107 above.
351. Hawkins Horae Synopticae p.149 n.; cf. HSE p.64 indicating Luke's preference for εἶπον.
352. HSE p.61.
353. Support for these words in Mark is only found in p 45, (W) φ.
354. Rm.10:19, cf. Dt.32:31; Rm.12:19 and Heb.10:30, cf. Dt.32;35; Rm.15:10 and Heb.1:6, cf. Dt.32:43; Phil.2:15, cf. Dt.32:5.
355. Cf. IQS.10:19-20 and Dt.32:35. See Lindars Apologetic p.245 and n.2; A.R.C. Leaney The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning (SCM, London, 1966) pp.121, 233 and 249.
356. For example Mtt.16:4/Mk.8:12; Acts 8:33; Eph.3:5; Phil.2:15; Heb.3:10. And although a verse like Mtt.12:42, about the Queen of the South, is not an OT quotation, images of the OT are being used.
357. While it is possible that Luke used Matthew (E.P. Sanders "The Argument from Order and the Relationship Between Matthew and Luke" NTS 15 (1968-9) pp.249-61) it is

- generally agreed that they are independent (eg. see Honoré Nov.T 10(1968) p.135; Kümmel Introduction p.64).
358. For example 17:24-27; 27:3-10, 24-26, 62-66; 28:9-20; see Kingsbury Structure pp.21f..
359. Cf. Kingsbury Ibid. p.22.
360. B.W. Bacon Studies in Matthew (Constable, London, 1930) p.238; Nineham Mark pp.37 and 242.
361. See also Held in Tradition p.188
362. Matthew also omits Mk.5:31; 8:17f.; 9:38; see also J.D. Kingsbury The Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13 (SPCK, London, 1969) p.41 and n.68.
363. For example J. Schneider TDNT II p.683, Mtt.=52, Mk.=5, Lk.=10; Jn.=1.
364. Held in Tradition pp.226-8.
365. Ibid. 228.
366. H. Schlier TDNT I p.738; cf. H. Schönweiss DNTT II p.859.
367. J.C. Fenton Matthew (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1963) p.128.
368. See J.M. Ross "Epileptic or Moonstruck" BT 29(1978) pp.126-8.
369. B. Citron "The Multitude in the Synoptic Gospels" SJT 7(1954) p.410.
370. S.V. McCasland By the Finger of God (Macmillan, New York, 1951) p.114.
371. Hull Magic pp.167f. n.24.
372. Cf. Held in Tradition p.230.
373. Ibid.
374. Ibid. p.228.
375. On v.21 in the texts see Metzger Commentary p.43.
376. Cf. G.B. Caird Luke (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1963) p.134. On the 'mountain' having a symbolic significance as a place of revelation in the gospels - particularly Luke - see H. Conzelmann The Theology of Saint Luke (1957, ET, Faber, London, 1969) pp.44f. and 57.
377. Grundmann in Marshall Luke pp.390f..
378. On vv.40f. see above. On Luke's minor grammatical alterations see Cadbury Style p.8.
379. On the Lukan improvements on grammar see Marshall Luke p.392.
380. A Lukan word; Mtt.=4, Mk.=1, Lk.=12, Jn.=3; see also HSE p.64.
381. See also Marshall Luke p.392.
382. Bultmann History p.211; see also Schweizer Mark p.187; Held in Tradition p.187; Anderson Mark p.229; Nineham Mark p.242; Taylor Mark p.396. To the contrary Loos Miracles p.401.
383. Bultmann History p.211.
384. Kertelge Wunder p.52.
385. History p.211.
386. Cf. Taylor Mark p.400.
387. Ibid.

388. Black Approach (1946) p.85 n.3.
389. See also Lagrange Marc p.241; Plummer Luke p.220; Swete Mark p.200.
390. T.J. Weeden Mark-Traditions in Conflict (Fortress, Philadelphia, 1971); see also his "The Heresy that Necessitated Mark's Gospel" ZNW 59(1968) pp.145-58.
391. Weeden Mark pp.50f..
392. C.J.A. Hickling "A Problem of Method in Gospel Research" RS 10(1974) p.341.
393. See also Q. Quesnell's review of Weeden in CBQ 35 (1973) p.125.
394. See Ibid. For a more thorough treatment of Weeden's whole thesis see Martin Mark pp.150f..
395. "The Blindness of the Disciples in Mark" JBL 80(1961) pp.261-68.
396. "Die Christologie des Markusevangeliums" ZTK 58(1961) pp.154-83.
397. The Kingdom in Mark (Fortress, Philadelphia, 1974).
398. E. Best "The Role of the Disciples in Mark" NTS 23 (1976-7) pp.400f..
399. Ibid. pp.390 and 396, cf. p.399.
400. See the table in Ibid. p.386.
401. Ibid. p.385.
402. Ibid. p.387.
403. Ibid. p.388.
404. See HSE pp.18 and 58f..
405. Some texts make reference to 'fasting', see Taylor Mark p.401 and Metzger Commentary p.101.
406. Nineham (Mark p.242) is incorrect in saying that the disciples were unable "to cast out an evil spirit in his name (v.18)" (my emphasis). This form of exorcism is not in view here (v.29).
407. On exorcism in the post-Apostolic Church see Wm.W.Everts "Jesus Christ, No Exorcist" BS 81(1924) pp.355-62.
408. On 'inconsistency' as an indication of redaction see Stein ZNW 61(1970) pp.78f..
409. See HSE pp.18 and 58f..
410. On the scribes in Mark see M.J. Cook Mark's Treatment of the Jewish Leaders Nov.T Supp. 51 (Brill, Leiden, 1978) pp.83ff.
411. C.H. Turner Mark (SPCK, London, n.d.) p.43.
412. Swete Mark p.195.
413. Nineham Mark p.245.
414. Mark p.396 and also Swete Mark p.195.
415. Robinson Problem pp.68-73.
416. Ibid. p.69.
417. Robinson (Ibid.) also draws attention to the association of fear and numinous awe on the part of the disciples in 4:40 and 6:49-52 - both attitudes being attributed to lack of clarity about Jesus.
418. Jesus p.76.
419. See p.144 above.

420. See H.E. Todt The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition (1963, ET, SCM, London, 1965) p.224 and E. Kösemann ENTT p.40.
421. I accept H.E.W. Turner's criterion of authenticity (Historicity and the Gospels (Mowbray, London, 1963) pp.73ff.) that -
 "where there is an overlap of interest between the Gospels and early Church, but a marked difference in the scale of treatment, we can be reasonably sure that we are on firm historical ground" (p.74).
422. In ancient Babylonian exorcisms - see above p.13 ; Lucian Philops.16; Philostratus Life III:38;IV:20; (cf. Acts of Thomas Act 3:31-33).
423. See Eitrem Notes p.27.
424. See also Ibid. p.26; Lk.||:24-26; Deissmann Light p.252 n.2; Thompson Devils II pp.59 and 85.
425. Anderson Mark p.231.
426. On the use of hands see D. Daube Rabbinic Judaism pp.224-46 and the bibliography in DNTT II pp.152f..
427. Literature: Pesch Markus. I pp.220f..
428. On the overlap between Mark and Q here see Streeter Gospels pp.187 and 211; Lührmann Logienquelle p.32; E.P. Sanders "The Overlaps of Mark and Q and the Synoptic Problem" NTS 19(1972-3) esp.p.460; contrast Butler Matthew pp.8ff.; and Farmer Problem p.252. On the extent of the overlap see F.C. Grant The Gospels (Faber, London, 1957) pp.108f.; and Sanders Ibid..
429. Hawkins Horae Synopticae p.8; Turner Grammar IV p.43.
430. Hawkins Ibid. p.7; Turner Ibid.
431. Occurs as follows: Jn.10:21; Lk.8:36; Mk.1:32; 5:15, 16, 18; Mtt.4:24; 8:16, 28, 33; 9:32; 12:22; 15:22. Cf. P. Bonnard Saint Matthieu (Delachaux & Niestlé, Neuchâtel, 1963) p.179.
432. LXX has "recovery of sight to the blind", cf. RSV note.
433. See also S. McConnell Law and Prophecy in Matthew's Gospel (Th.D Thesis, Basel, 1969) pp.154f.; R.H. Gundry The Use of the Old Testament in Matthew's Gospel (Brill, Leiden, 1967) pp.208ff..
434. Mtt.=17, Mk.=5, and Lk.=8.
435. See n.303 above.
436. See chap.V below.
437. Fuller Miracles p.25 n.1. He feels the same about Mtt.9:27-31; 9:32-34.
438. Ibid. p.32.
439. Ibid.
440. Ibid.
441. For a test case in defence of this view see F.G. Downing "Towards the Rehabilitation of Q" NTS 11(1964-5) pp.169-87; also Honoré Nov.T 10(1968) pp.95-147, esp.p.135. That Luke did use Matthew see for example; A.W. Argyle "Evidence for the View that St.Luke used St.Matthew's Gospel" JBL 83(1964) pp.390-6; R.T. Simpson "The Major

Agreements of Matthew and Luke Against Mark" NTS 12(1966-7) pp.273-84. (It may even be possible to say that the exorcism has a pre-Q origin. Bultmann is probably right in supposing that -

"the discussion presupposes an exorcism preceding it, and no story original to the tradition would be likely to begin with a reference to some activity of Jesus in quite general terms" (History p.13)).

442. Cf. T.W. Manson Sayings pp.82ff.; A. Polag Fragmenta Q (Neukirchener, Neukirchen - Vluyn, 1979) pp.50f.. (Q is sometimes said to contain only 'sayings' material (see Petrie "'Q' is Only What You Make it" Nov.T 3(1959) p.29) but apart from Lk.11:14, it may also have contained Lk.4:2-13; 7:1-10, 18-23; 11:29-32; see Kümmel Introduction p.68).

443. I take it that Mtt.12:23b is Matthean, see below.

444. Hill Matthew p.215; cf. T.F. Glasson "Anti-Pharisaism in St. Matthew" JQR 51(1960-1) pp.316-20; S. van Tilborg The Jewish Leaders in Matthew (Brill, Leiden, 1972).

445. See E.P. Sanders The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1969) pp.188f.; see also Schulz Q p.204f. n.206; and B.M. Metzger "Names for the Nameless in the New Testament. A Study in the Growth of Christian Tradition" in Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten (eds.) P. Granfield and J.A. Jungmann I (Aschendorff, Münster Westfalen, 1970) pp.79-99.

446. Mtt.12:24/Lk.11:15.

447. T. Schramm Der Markus-Stoff bei Lukas (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1971) pp.46f..

448. On the precise wording of Q see Schramm Ibid.; Schulz Q p.205, Marshall Luke pp.473f.; and Polag Q pp.50f.

449. Cf. Klostermann Lukas. p.127.

450. Note: Stein's 'canon' that inconsistencies are more likely to be due to the last redactor than being found in his tradition (ZNW 61(1970) pp.78f.). Contrast Marshall Luke p.474.

451. On Mtt.12:28/Lk.11:20 see below.

452. See the literature cited by Marshall Luke pp.476f..

453. Marshall Ibid. p.477.

454. Only once in Q (Mtt.24:42/Lk.12:44) - following R.A. Edwards A Concordance to Q (Scholars, Missoula, 1975). Mtt.=2 (excluding Mtt.24:42), yet Lk.=14 (excluding Lk.12:44) and Acts =25 and Paul =12.

455. Lindars Apologetic p.85.

456. Marshall Luke p.516.

457. Bultmann History p.14; Lührmann Logienquelle p.34; T.W. Manson Sayings p.87; Marshall Ibid. p.479; Polag Q pp.52f.. To the contrary, with no evidence, see C.E. Carlston Parables of the Triple Tradition (Fortress, Philadelphia, 1975) p.69.

458. That Mark intends $\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma$ to refer to Jesus' 'family' rather than 'friends' is evident from Mark's conclusion to the pericope where his mother and brothers are mentioned (3:31).

459. Taylor Mark p.235.
460. See chap.V below.
461. See Bultmann History pp.29f.; cf. Dibelius Tradition p.47.
462. See p.196 above.
463. See Cook Leaders pp.85ff.; J.C. Weber "Jesus' Opponents in the Gospel of Mark" JBR 34(1966) pp.214-22.
464. See n.445 above.
465. See chap.V below.
466. See Taylor Mark p.239; Schweizer Mark pp.83f.; Dibelius Tradition p.237; Kertelge Wunder p.126 n.505; Best Temptation p.117; Schreiber ZTK 58(1961) p.16.
467. Taylor Mark p.240; J.D. Crossan "Mark and the Relatives of Jesus" Nov.T 15(1973) p.92.
468. See the discussion in Todt Son of Man pp.118ff., 312-18. Further on this verse see, for example, Jeremias Theology I pp.11, 14ff., 35f.; K. Berger Die Amen-Worte (Gruyter, Berlin, 1970) p.41; Pesch Markus.I pp.216f. and notes; Crossan Ibid. p.92; J.G. Williams "A Note on the 'Unforgivable Sin' Logion" NTS 12(1965-6) pp.75-7.
469. R. Scroggs ("The Exaltation of the Spirit by some early Christians" JBL 84(1965) p.361 here cites Johnson Mark p.83.
470. Scroggs Ibid.
471. That Mark is responsible for the position of vv.31-35 see, for example, Schweizer Mark pp.83f.; Taylor Mark p.245; Crossan Nov.T 15(1973) pp.85ff., 96ff.; Stein Nov.T 13(1971) pp.193f..
472. Ibid. p.113.
473. Contrary to what Crossan thinks, Ibid. p.96.
474. Contrary to Crossan (Ibid. p.81) who cites 6:1-6; 15:40, 47 and 16:1.
475. Ibid. p.112.
476. Taylor Mark p.235.
477. Cf. Mk.3:21 and 30 and p.187 below.
478. See Dunn Jesus pp.49ff..
479. See Carlston Parables p.135 n.30.
480. Temptation p.13.
481. Deissmann Light p.306 and n.5, see also pp.307ff.; and F. Büchsel TDNT II p.60 esp. n.3.
482. Cf. Gospel of Thomas 35 which also takes the house rather than the contents to be at risk.
483. P. Jouon in J. Jeremias The Parables of Jesus (1970, ET, SCM, London 1972) p.197.
484. See Marshall Luke p.477.
485. In fact Luke seems unlikely to have added the word for while it occurs 14 times in the material he takes up from Mark (Mk.1:12, 34, 39, 43; 3:15, 22, 23; 5:40; 6:13; 9:18, 28, 38; 11:15; 12:18) he only uses the word 5 times (from Mk.3:22; 9:18, 38; 11:15 and 12:8) and as far as we know he only once added the word to his tradition (Lk.20:21; cf. Mk.12:5). On the other hand while Matthew only drops the word a few times

- (from Mk.1:12/Mtt.4:1; Mk.1:39/Mtt.4:23; Mk.1:43/Mtt.8:4; Mk.7:26/Mtt.15:25; Mk.9:18/Mtt.17:16) he has a known predilection for $\theta\epsilon\rho\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\omega$ - see HSE p.62.
486. On the probable historicity of this story see n.44/ above.
487. On it being a charge of magic see pp.309ff. below.
489. The view of William Manson Luke p.138; cf. Bauer.
490. Plummer Luke p.301.
491. Ralph Marcus on Ant.9:19 in H.St.J. Thackerary Josephus Loeb Classical Library VI (Heinemann, London, 1958) p.12, note (a).
492. For most of what follows I am dependent on L. Gaston "Beelzebub" TZ 18(1962) pp.247-55.
493. IQM.12:1, 2; IQS.10:13; IQH.3:34.
494. E. Bickermann Der Gott der Makkabäer (1937) esp.pp.50ff., cited by Gaston TZ 18(1962) p.252 n.21.
495. Ezra 1:2; 5:11, 12; 6:9, 10; 7:12, 21, 23; Neh.1:4,5; 2:4, 20; Dan.2:18, 19, 37, 44; 4:34; 5:23; Ps.136:26; Tob.13:11; 2 Mac.15:23.
496. LXX Ps.95:5; 1 Cor.10:20; cf.LXX Dt.32:17; Ps.105:37; Bar.4:7; Rev.9:20.
497. Gaston TZ 18(1962) p.253.
498. Ibid. Gaston goes on to suggest that Zebul was used, among the possible synonyms for heaven, probably because the Pharisees in the Beelzebub controversy knew a certain claim made over the temple (Ibid. p.254).
499. On $\omicron\acute{\iota}\ \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\acute{\iota}$ see Carlston Parables p.18 n.11.
500. That Jewish exorcists did operate 'by God' is clear from PGM IV:3019ff. (quoted p.31 above).
501. For example, Perrin Rediscovering p.63; W.G. Kümmel Promise and Fulfilment (1956, ET, SCM, London, 1957) pp.105f..
502. Luke pp.160f.. Carlston Parables p.18 also finds vv. 19 and 20 incompatible. See also Schweizer Matthew p.284.
503. Bultmann History p.14, followed by Kümmel Promise pp.105f..
504. Creed Luke p.161.
505. For the literature see Dunn Jesus pp.44ff. and notes.
506. Ibid.
507. In the Old Testament the term 'finger of God' is used to identify the direct activity of God. So in Ex.31:18 it is the finger of God that wrote on the tablets of stone. (See also Ex.8:19; Dt.9:10 and Ps.8:3). The activity of the Spirit of God also indicated the activity of God himself, and in Ezekiel 11:5 the Spirit of the Lord falls on Ezekiel and he is addressed by the Lord. What is most interesting is that in Ez.8:1 it is the hand of the Lord that falls on Ezekiel to produce a vision. Thus here is an instance where 'hand' and 'Spirit' are used synonymously. (See also Ch.28:11-19. R.G. Hammerton-Kelly "A Note on Matthew 12:28 par. Luke 11:20" NTS" (1964-5) p.168). Further, in the Old Testament the 'finger of God' is a variation of the 'hand of God' with no alteration in meaning. (Ibid. and Barrett Spirit p.144 and notes.)

508. Recently Dunn Jesus pp.44ff..
509. See also SB II pp.526ff..
510. Blass Grammar par.227:lf.; cf. Moulton and Turner Grammar III pp.37f..
511. E. Stauffer TDNT II p.348.
512. N. Perrin The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus (SCM, London, 1963) chap.10; and Rediscovering chap.1; Jeremias Theology I par.11; R.H. Hiers The Historical Jesus and the Kingdom of God (University of Florida, Gainesville, 1973) chap.2.
513. On ἐπιθεωρεῖ see Kümmel Promise pp.106-9. Cf. Jeremias Ibid. p.34.
514. G. Dalman The Words of Jesus (1898, ET, T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1902) p.107. Jeremias Ibid. pp.103ff.; Barrett Spirit p.140; D. Flusser Jesus (1968, ET, Herder, New York, 1969) p.90; H. Baltenweiler "Wunder und Glaube im Neuen Testament" TZ 23(1967) pp.243-8.
515. Jeremias Ibid. p.14.
516. Literature: Jeremias Theology I p.68.
517. Luke p.170.
518. See further Schuyler Brown Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke (Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, 1969) pp.6ff. and Baumbach in Rohde Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists (1966, ET, SCM, London, 1968) pp.243f..
519. Schulz Q p.181.
520. Ἰδοὺ : Mtt.=62, Mk.=7, Lk.=57. Προερχομένοι: Mtt.=52, Mk.=5, Lk.=10; see also Ibid.
521. Hawkins Horae Synopticae p.16; cf. Schürmann Lukas. I p.214 n.198.
522. Cf. Klostermann Lukas p.61.
523. Temptation p.15; cf. Carlston Parables p.135 and n.30.
524. Best Ibid. p.10.
525. Lohmeyer in Ibid. p.4 and n.1.
526. 1:13, 3:23, 26; 4:15; 8:33. Mark does not use διάβολος.
527. Best Temptation p.10.
528. U.W. Mauser Christ in the Wilderness (SCM, London, 1963) p.101; see 1 Kings 19:5, 7; Ex.14:19; 23:20, 23; 32:34; 33:2.
529. Contrast Nineham Mark p.63ff..
530. See also H.P. Thompson "Called-Proved-Obedient: A Study in the Baptism and Temptation Narratives of Matthew and Luke" JTS 11(1960) pp.1-12.
531. Literature: Jeremias Theology I pp.43 and 103-5; Dunn Jesus pp.55-60 and Marshall Luke p.289.
532. On Luke's avoidance of repetition see Cadbury Style pp.83-90.
533. Schürmann Lukas. I p.410 n.18.
534. HSE p.79.
535. Cadbury Style pp.142ff..
536. Hawkins Horae Synopticae p.16.
537. HSE p.81; cf. Ibid. pp.21 and 45.
538. Cf. Black Aramaic p.109.

539. Hawkins Horae Synopticae pp.19 and 41; Marshall Luke p.291.
540. Also at 8:2; 11:26 (par.Mtt.12:45): Acts 19:12, 13, 15, 16; Mark also does not use the phrase. Cf. Marshall Luke p.291.
541. In the Gospels, Lk.=3; cf. Marshall Ibid.
542. Cf. Marshall Luke p.290. (Stein ZNW 61(1970) p.78).
543. Cf. Creed Luke p.106; W. Manson Luke pp.78f.; Thompson Luke p.123.
544. Cf. Polag Q p.40.
545. Discussed in more detail in Schulz Q pp.190f..
546. R.T. France Jesus and the Old Testament (Tyndale, London, 1971) p.96.
547. Cf. A.E. Harvey Jesus on Trial (SPCK, London, 1976) p.9 and n.21.
548. Cf. G.N. Stanton "On the Christology of Q" in CSNT p.30 and 32. Cf. Dunn Jesus pp.60f..
549. On the order of Q see V. Taylor "The Original Order of Q" in New Testament Essays (Epworth, London, 1970) pp.95-118.
550. Held in Tradition p.251.
551. Schürmann (Lukas I p.410 n.18) thinks that Matthew is following his custom of abbreviating his source so that Lk.7:21 would have been found in Q. But the signs of Lukan editing tip the balance in favour of this being a Lukan creation (cf. Marshall Luke pp.290f.).
552. Cf. Conzelmann Luke p.191.
553. Dunn Jesus p.60.
554. Note Ibid. pp.60ff. Cf. Bultmann History p.126.
555. Literature: Jeremias Theology I p.231; Pesch Markus.I pp.331f.; Schürmann Lukas.I pp.498f.. The brief nature of the following discussion does not warrant including the rather extensive texts.
556. F. Hahn Mission in the New Testament (1963, ET, SCM, London, 1965) pp.41-6 also Jeremias Theology I p.231.
557. Hahn Mission pp.41f..
558. Schramm Markus-Stoff pp.26-9 and Hahn Ibid. p.41; F.W. Beare "The Mission of the Disciples and the Mission Charge: Matthew 10 and Parallels" JBL 80(1970) p.2; Jeremias Theology I p.231.
559. Hahn Mission pp.42ff..
560. Marshall Luke p.412; see also T.W. Manson Sayings p.74.
561. On the reading of $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ see esp. Metzger Commentary pp.150f.; and "Seventy or Seventy-Two Disciples" NTS 5(1958-9) pp.299-306; cf. also Beare JBL 89(1970) p.1 n.1.
562. Sayings p.73; cf. G.B. Caird "Uncomfortable Words II Shake off the Dust from your Feet (Mk.6:11) Exp.T 81(1969-70) p.41 - "The mission charge is better attested than any other part of the gospel record".
563. Beare JBL 89(1970) p.12.
564. Ibid. p.13.
565. Bultmann History p.145; contrast Jeremias Theology I p.233.
566. Hahn Mission p.43; cf. Beare JBL 89(1970) p.10; Bultmann Ibid.

567. Caird Exp.T 81(1969-70) p.41.
568. P. Hoffmann Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle (Aschendorf, Münster, 1972), pp.312-31.
569. Schulz Q p.415.
570. See B.S. Easton Luke (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1926) p.160.
571. Further see Kümmel Promise pp.22ff., 105ff..
572. Jeremias Theology I p.232.
573. See SB II p.166.
574. See SB I p.571; cf. Caird Exp.T 81(1969-70) p.41.
575. Cf. Jeremias Theology I p.232 and n.1.
576. Marshall Luke p.413.
577. Cf. Jeremias Theology I p.95.
578. Taylor Mark p.318.
579. Ibid.
580. A relatively recent champion of this view is Hoffmann Logienquelle pp.248ff.. The key to this case is that Lk.10:1 is Lukan. But this being redaction may have no bearing on Lk.10:17-19 which Luke could have drawn from one of his sources. Hoffmann also says that 10:17-20 fits Luke's theology of mission. This argument however can show no more than that he has included material that is in line with his theology of mission. S. Jellicoe ("St. Luke and the 'Seventy(-Two)'") NTS 8(1960-1) pp.319-21) argues that it is Lukan in that Luke's love of the LXX led him to use the Letter of Aristeas - "Just as the seventy-two emissaries of Aristeas had, by their translation, brought the knowledge of the Law to the Greek-speaking world, so the seventy (-two) are divinely commissioned to proclaim its fulfilment in the Gospel message " (p.321). See also S. Jellicoe "St. Luke and the Letter of Aristeas" JBL 80(1961) pp.149-55, followed recently by G.Sellin "Komposition, Quellen und Funktion des Lukkanischen Reiseberichtes (Lk.9:51-19-28)" Nov.T 20(1978) p.115.
581. T.W. Manson Sayings pp.73ff.; A.M. Hunter Works and Words (SCM, London, 1973) pp.203 and 208; Caird Luke p.144.
582. Streeter Gospels pp.289f. and 291 and in Studies p.192. Hawkins in Studies p.135.
583. A. Schlatter Lukas (Calwer, Stuttgart, 1960) p.281. Note also SB II pp.167f..
584. On the visions of Jesus see Kümmel Promise p.113 and n.27.
585. Note Kümmel Promise pp.133f. (and notes).
586. Besides the two mentioned here see also (eg.) Jeremias Parables p.122 n.33.
587. The Historic Mission of Jesus (Lutterworth, London, 1941) p.66.
588. Langton Essentials p.170.
589. As does Kümmel Promise p.113.
590. So Jeremias Parables p.122 and E. Linnemann Parables of Jesus (SPCK, London, 1966) p.102.
591. Conclusions to this chapter will be drawn in the next two chapters.

IV
JESUS-THE-EXORCIST
(Notes)

1. On what follows see also Dunn and Twelftree Churchman 94(1980) pp.211-215.
2. See Dunn Jesus p.44 and n.17.
3. See Eitrem Notes p.9 and notes.
4. Cf. t.Hul. ii:22f.; j.Shab. xiv:4:14d; j.Abodah Zarah ii:2:40d-41a; b.Abodah Zarah 27b.
5. Cf. Justin Martyr Dialog. 30:3; 76:6; 85:2; Apology II:6. The topic of exorcism in the post-apostolic period is one of considerable interest, but beyond the scope of this present study. (See W.M. Alexander Demonic Possession in the New Testament (T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1902) pp.129-233; A. Harnack The Mission and Expansion of Christianity I (1905, ET, Williams and Norgate, 1908) pp.125-46; J.S. McEwin "The Ministry of Healing" SJT 7(1954) pp.133-52).
6. ~~See~~ See Dunn and Twelftree Churchman 94(1980) p.213. I no longer think that b.San.43a "is probably an echo of the charge laid against Jesus by the Pharisees (sic.) preserved in Mark 3:22" (Ibid.) - see chap.V n.57 below.
7. See also Pistis Sophia 102:255, 258; 130:332-335; Hippolytus Refutatio VII:15, 20.
8. Strauss Life pp.415-37, esp. p.436; Richardson Miracle pp.68-74; J.M. Robinson A New Quest of the Historical Jesus (SCM, London, 1959) p.121; M. Dibelius Jesus (1939, ET, SCM, London, 1963) chap.VI; Fuller Miracles chap.2; Perrin Rediscovering p.65; O. Betz What Do We Know about Jesus? (1965, ET, SCM, London, 1968) p.58; Hahn Titles p.292; Jeremias Theology I pp.86-92; O. Böcher Christus pp.166-70; Vermes Jesus pp.58-65; Dunn Jesus p.44.
9. See literature cited in n.133 chap.I.
10. See chap.I.
11. See p.333 below.
12. See p.149 above.
13. See p.150 above.
14. On the genre 'Midrash' see for example A.G. Wright "The Literary Genre Midrash" CBQ 28(1966) pp.105-38 and 417-57 and notes.
15. St.Th. 18(1964) pp.159-72.
16. See also A. Vögtle "The Miracles of Jesus...." in Jesus in His Time (ed.) H.J. Schultz (1966, ET, Fortress, Philadelphia, 1971) p.101.
17. See p.175 above.
18. H. Greeven TDNT VI p.762.
19. $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\alpha\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$ has a religious significance in the Greek world, but only in relation to the demonic and so we can infer nothing in the use of the word itself in Mark save that we are dealing with the demonic as far as Mark is concerned, (cf. W. Grundmann TDNT III pp.898f.).
20. Weiss quoted by B.W. Bacon ".....Demonic Recognition....." ZNW 6(1905) p.154. (Bacon (p.156) takes 1:24 to be the theoretical addition on the basis of 5:7; Weiss (cited p.157), the other way round.)

21. Lucian Philops. 16; (cf. 31); Philostratus Life III:38; IV:20; (cf. Acts of Peter 2:4:11; Acts of Andrew p.9 line 13 (Hennecke II p.403) Acts of Thomas fifth act: 44f; Acts of John "The Destruction of the Temple of Artemis":40); see also Lucian Disowned 6; b.Pes.112b-113a.
22. See also pp.334f. below.
23. Hull Magic pp.128ff.; Held in Tradition pp.172ff.. See also pp.137f. above.
24. See note 19 above.
25. Kertelge Wunder p.52.
26. The literature on "Son of God" is overwhelming. Much of the material is collected in the following; TDNT VIII p.334; ThWNT X/2 pp.1282f.; DNTT pp.665f.; see also "Sohn Gottes" in RGG³VI:118-20 and M. Hengel The Son of God (1975, ET, SCM, London, 1976); and now J.D.G. Dunn Christology in the Making (SCM, London, 1980).
27. For example see Taylor Mark p.225; Nineham Mark p.112; Schweizer Mark pp.78ff..
28. W.G. Kümmel Theology of the New Testament (1972, ET, SCM, London, 1974) p.74.
29. Ibid. p.76.
30. "Zum Traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund Christologischer Hoheitstitel" NTS 17(1970-1) pp.422-4.
31. Jesus pp.206-10.
32. Son p.41.
33. Such a survey has been done before on more than one occasion; for example, E. Schweizer (et al.) TDNT VIII pp.340-55; and recently Hengel Son.
34. Hengel Son p.21.
35. Ibid. pp.21f.; cf. G. Fohrer TDNT VIII pp.347f..
36. Hengel Ibid. p.22.
37. Ibid. pp.22f..
38. Vermes Jesus pp.205-10; JJS 23(1972) pp.28-50 and 24(1973) pp.51-64; cf. Flusser Jesus pp.98ff.; Hengel Ibid. p.42 n.85; J.D.G. Dunn Unity and Diversity (SCM, London, 1977) p.45 and notes.
39. Cf. Mtt.4:6/Lk.4:10f..
40. J.A. Fitzmyer "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament" NTS 20(1973-4) p.393; cf. Dunn Unity p.45.
41. See the discussion in Fitzmyer Ibid. p.392. Dunn Christology in the Making p.47 places Mk.3:11 and 5:7 together as demonic confessions. However, we have seen (n.27 above) 3:11 is probably entirely rewritten by Mark so that only 5:7 can be said to be a demonic confession. Nevertheless Dunn is right to say that it "would seem to imply recognition simply of one specially commissioned or favoured by God without necessarily evoking the idea of a divine being sent from heaven".
42. Vermes Jesus pp.206ff..
43. Dunn Unity p.45.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.

46. Ibid. p.46 (his emphasis).
47. Eg. L. Morris Luke (IVP, London, 1974) pp.109 and 156.
48. For example by McCasland Finger pp.110-15; Taylor Mark p.176; E. Fascher Die Formsgeschichtliche Methode (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1924) pp.127f.; S.E. Johnson Mark (Black, London, 1960) p.48.
49. Spirit p.57.
50. R. Herzog Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros p.17 in Loos Miracles p.330.
51. Cf. Hull Magic p.68.
52. F.W. Nicolson "The Saliva Superstition in Classical Literature" Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 8(1897) pp.23-40 and n.1; also Hull Magic pp.76-8; Loos Miracles pp.306-13. On the Babylonian texts in particular see A. Jeremias Babylonisches im Neuen Testament (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1905) p.108; Eitrem Notes p.46
53. PGM III:420.
54. NH XXVIII:37.
55. See b.Sheb.15b (cf. Blau Zauberwesen p.68). The Essenes did not permit spitting, BJ II:8.
56. See Loos Miracles p.310 and notes.
57. See E. Lohse TDNT IX pp.431f..
58. B. Jongeling (et al.) (Aramaic Texts from Qumran (Leiden, Brill, 1976) pp.99, n.22) are incorrect when they say "the practice of ^{the}laying on of hands as an act of exorcism is well attested in the New Testament, cf. especially Mark V:23...." because Mk.5:23 is not related as an exorcism and 1 QapGen. is our only other piece of evidence.
59. On Jesus 'sighing' see Loos Miracles p.325.
60. Some of the Apologists tried to make a case for the authenticity of Jesus' miracles on the grounds that he used no aids or medicines at all; see the literature cited by Fridrichsen Miracles pp.89ff. and Loos Miracles pp.305f.. The suggestion by E.R. Micklem in Miracles and the New Psychology (Oxford University, Oxford, 1922) p.105, that Jesus sometimes used oil in his healings is without foundation.
61. Dunn and Twelftree Churchman 94(1980) pp.214f..
62. Cf. Vermes Jesus p.64, though we cannot agree with Vermes that Jesus was accused because he never invoked any human source for even as Vermes notes (p.66) some Rabbis exorcised demons without evoking an authority.
63. SB.II p.10.
64. SB.II p.17f..
65. See for example Fiebig Jüdische Wundergeschichten p.72; Jeremias Prayers pp.72-8; Dunn Jesus pp.15-21 (and notes).
66. P.T.O'Brien "Prayer in Luke-Acts" T.Bull 24(1973) pp.111-27; cf. also Dunn Jesus p.17 and n.23, and most recently A.A. Trites "The Prayer-Motif in Luke-Acts" in Perspectives on Luke-Acts (Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, Danville, and T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1978) pp.168-86.

67. Bauer; cf. K.L. Schmidt TDNT V pp.462f. and notes; (cf. Josephus Ant.18:124); cf. P. Oxy.3275: 40, 46; 3295:19, 24 where ὄρκος is an 'oath'. See also Bell (et al.) PBA 17(1931) p.251, lines 19f., cf.pp.255, 266 and eg. PGM IV:3019, 3033, 3039, 3045, 3052, 3056, Deissmann Studies p.274; cf. P. Oslo 1:153 and pp.72f.; (and though Christian, see Test. Sol. passim); Moulton and Milligan; Liddell and Scott; cf. Acts 19:13.
68. On which see E. Schweizer Ego Eimi (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1965) pp.18f.; Jeremias Theology I pp.250ff.
69. E. Stauffer TDNT II p.348 (quoted p.223 above).
70. In fact so far I have been unable to find any examples that parallel its use in Mk.9:25.
71. HTR 36(1943) pp.47ff.; see also HTR 37 (1944) pp.334ff..
72. In Bonner's second article (see note above) he cites a modern example.
73. Mussner Miracles p.5.
74. Ibid., also Loos Miracles pp.280-6; R. Schnackenburg God's Rule and Kingdom (1959, ET, Herder, New York, 1968) pp.120f.; G.E. Ladd Jesus and the Kingdom (SPCK, London, 1964) pp.145ff.; Kümmel Promise pp.109ff..
75. Ibid. pp.16ff., cf.p.49.
76. See Achtemeier JBL 89(1970) p.265.
77. X. León-Defour The Gospels and the Jesus of History (1963, ET, Collins, London, 1968) p.123.
78. On John's Gospel see chap.V below. Cf. also Mk.8: 14-21.
79. Apart from the literature cited below see Fridrichsen Miracle pp.75f..
80. Bultmann History p.112, though in contrast see his Jesus and the Word (1934, ET, Fontana, London, 1962) p.124!
81. NTQT p.100.
82. W. Grundmann Das Evangelium nach Lukas (Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Berlin, 1963) p.211; cf. E. Neuhausler Anspruch und Antwort Gottes (Patmos, Düsseldorf, 1962) pp.200f..
83. K. Berger NTS 17(1970-1) pp.10-40; Cf. D. Hill "On the Evidence from the Creative Role of Christian Prophets" NTS 20(1973-4) pp.271-4 and J.D.G. Dunn "Prophetic 'I' - Sayings and the Jesus Tradition" NTS 24(1977-8) pp.181f..
84. Jeremias Promise p.50 n.1; see also his Theology I pp.10f., 15f., 19.
85. Mussner Miracles p.21.
86. Cf. N. Perrin Kingdom and Jeremias Theology I pp.31-5.
87. Jeremias Ibid. pp.152-6.
88. Taylor Mark pp.191f.; Schweizer Mark p.60; Anderson Mark pp.98f.; Vögtle in Jesus p.103.
89. Jesus p.14; cf. History p.12 and notes.
90. Lukas.I p.309f.; cf. Marshall Luke p.234.
91. Anderson Mark pp.111f.; W. Stott in DNTT III p.408. Cf. Jeremias Theology I pp.6 and 208ff..
92. Anderson Mark p.112.
93. See Jeremias Theology I pp.208f..

94. Cf. Sevenster cited by Loos Miracles p.281; Kallas Significance p.77.
95. Ibid. pp.280-6 ; E. Schweizer Jesus (1968, ET, SCM, London, 1971) p.43; see also M. Grant Jesus (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1977) p.33 and n.18.
96. Cited in Loos Miracles p.282.
97. Ibid.
98. Jesus Christ and Mythology pp.12f.; also cited by Hiers SJT 27(1974) p.37, see also p.38 for mention of others who hold these views.
99. Cf. Hiers Ibid. pp.37f., and note Fridrichsen Miracle pp.63-72.
100. See pp.215f above.
101. Hiers Jesus p.63.
102. See also Hunter Work p.83; Vögtle in Jesus p.101.
103. Fiebig Jüdische Wundergeschichten pp.72f..
104. Hull Magic, see A. Macpherson's review in Scripture Bulletin 5(1974) p.48.
105. Hengel Judaism.
106. History pp.218ff.; Dibelius Tradition pp.133ff..
107. Bultmann History p.240.
108. Symbols II pp.173ff., and 191.
109. Schweitzer Quest pp.399 and 401.

V
AS OTHERS SAW HIM
(Notes)

1. Loos Miracles pp.131ff..
2. Taylor Mark p.176.
3. Ibid., (my emphasis). Taylor also quotes Fascher Die formgeschichtliche Methode pp.127f..
4. H. Wansborough suggests that it was the crowd that was 'out of control', ("Mark 3:21 - Was Jesus out of his Mind?" NTS 18(1971-2) pp.233f.) but κρατῆσαι can hardly mean 'calm down'. Cf. Dunn Jesus p.384 n.115; D. Wenham "The Meaning of Mark 3:21" NTS 21(1974-5) pp.295f..
5. E. Best "Mark 3:20, 21, 31-35" NTS 22(1975-6) pp.309-19; cf. Taylor Mark p.236.
6. Cf. Taylor Mark p.235; Dunn Jesus pp.86f..
7. See Pryke Style p.12. Cf. Best NTS 22(1975-6) pp.309f..
8. Anderson Mark p.121; Jn.10:20; (Acts 12:15f.). In Josephus Ant.6:168 Saul, who had had a demon which was charmed away, is said to have been "restored to himself". Cf. PR 40ab and Tanh.B.4 (quoted by Vermes Jesus pp.64f.).
9. On the equation of 'Messiah' and 'Son of David' in the Gospels see G.F. Moore Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era II (Harvard University, Cambridge, 1946) p.329 and notes; R.H. Fuller New Testament Christology (London, 1965) pp.111ff.. See also Mk.3:11.
10. SB IV pp.534f.; D.S. Russell The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (SCM, London, 1964) pp.285ff.; Barrett Spirit pp.57ff.; Bousset and Gressmann Die Religion des Judentums (Mohr, Tübingen, 1966) pp.218ff.; Paul Volz Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im Neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (Olms, Hildesheim, 1966) § 31; Schürer History II, pp.527ff..
11. See last note.
12. C. Burger Jesus als Davidsohn (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1970) p.41; Dunn Unity pp.43f..
13. Duling NTS 20(1973-4) pp.68f..
14. J. Klausner The Messianic Idea in Israel (1904, ET, Macmillan, New York, 1955) p.392.
15. Dalman Words p.317; Fuller Christology p.33.
16. Mid first century BC; Eissfeldt Old Testament p.613.
17. See Charlesworth Pseudepigrapha p.196.
18. Dalman (Words p.317) says that the designation is probably dependent upon such passages as Is.9:5 ; 11:10; Jer.23:5; 33:15.
19. Dalman Ibid.
20. See n.10 above, but see below.
21. Ps.Sol.17 (cf. Sir.47:11; I.Macc.2:57); Dalman Words p.317; Fuller Christology p.33.
22. Cf. Duling HTR 68(1975) pp.235-52.
23. See references given by H.F.D. Sparks' review of de Jonge Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in JTS 6(1955) p.287.
24. M.de Jonge The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of their Text, Composition and Origin (Van Gorcum, Assen, 1953). On the present debate see J. Becker Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der

- zwölf Patriarchen (Brill, Leiden, 1970); Charlesworth Pseudepigrapha pp.211ff.; de Jonge "The Interpretation of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in Recent Years" in Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; Text and Interpretation by M.de Jonge (Brill, Leiden, 1975) pp.183-92; H.D. Slingerland The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical History of Research (Scholars, Missoula, 1977) esp. chap.VI.
25. de Jonge Testaments p.89; cf. M. Black "The Messiah in the Testament of Levi xviii" Exp.T 60(1948-9) p.322.
26. Cf. Mk.1:10f..
27. The earliest occurrences being - Sib.Or.3:63, 72, about mid-second century BC (J.J. Collins "The Provenance and Date of the Third Sibyl" Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies 2(1974) pp.1-18), G.A. Barton ERE II p.459; W. Bousset ERE I pp.587ff.; R.H. Charles Revelation II (1920) pp.76ff.; K. Gallang RGG³ I:1025f.; W. Foester TDNT I p.607.
28. See *previous note*; and
Eissfeldt Old Testament pp.615ff. and literature cited).
29. R.H. Charles The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Black, London, 1908) pp.103ff.; de Jonge Testaments p.32.
30. de Jonge Ibid.
31. Compare the texts of chapter 24 set out in Charles Testaments pp.101f..
32. Ibid. pp.128f..
33. de Jonge Testaments p.90; (cf.Mk.16:18).
34. Ibid. p.87; cf.p.92. Cf. A.J.B. Higgins "Priestly Messiah" NTS 13(1966-7) pp.227f..
35. de Jonge Testaments p.37.
36. Ibid. p.89 and n.245.
37. J.T. Milik (ed.) The Books of Enoch (Clarendon, Oxford, 1976) p.91; M.A. Knibb "The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review" NTS 25(1978-9) pp.345-9; cf. C.L. Mearns "The Parables of Enoch - Origin and Date" Exp.T 89(1977-8) pp.118f..
38. Followed by Barrett Spirit p.59.
39. The Rabbis mentioned (Yehuda and Shimon) are both from the second century as Barrett (Ibid.) notes.
40. See Schürer History I p.97; cf Enc.Jud.13:335.
41. Charles Pseudepigrapha p.412; cf. Russell Method p.290.
42. Cf. W. Foester TDNT II p.78 (and note 43).
43. In this category we should include Test.Jud. and 4Q Flor. 1:7f. which also see the demise of Satan as part of the new state of affairs rather than the work of a particular individual.
44. Russell Method p.309.
45. Ibid. p.285.
46. Spirit p.59.
47. If Jesus was, in his exorcisms, self-evidently the Messiah then it is difficult to explain why the Fourth

Gospel does not make use of what would potentially be a useful component in his Gospel.

48. Jesus p.vii.

49. Smith p.59.

50. Smith p.46. Cf.R.T. Herford Christianity in Talmud and Midrash (Reference Book Publishers, Clifton New Jersey, 1966 (1903¹) pp.35ff..

51. Smith p.47.

52. See b.San.67a (The Soncino Press Edition, London, 1935) p.456 n.5.

53. See n.50 above.

54. Herford Christianity p.38.

55. H.L. Strack Jesus, die Häretiker...(Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1910) chap. IV.

56. b.Gitt. 90a. Epstein's note to b.San.67a (The Soncino Press, London, 1935) p.457.

57. Ibid. (H. Derenbourg Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine (Paris, 1967) note 9 pp.468-71); J. Klausner Jesus of Nazareth (1922, ET, Macmillan, New York, 1927) p.21 and notes; cf. esp. Herford Christianity pp.344ff. and notes and J.Z. Lauterbach "Jesus in the Talmud" in Rabbinic Essays (Ktav, New York, 1973, reprint of 1951 ed.) p.477

"... not even one single statement preserved to us in the talmudic-midrashic literature can be regarded as authentic in the sense that it originated in the time of Jesus or even in the first half of the Christian era" (his emphasis).

G. Bornkamm Jesus p.28 (cf.n.3) - regarding sources for the life of Jesus says - "Even less productive is what the Talmud reports later about Jesus' appearance and end. It betrays no independent knowledge whatsoever and is nothing but a polemical and tendentious misrepresentation of the Christian tradition. It makes Jesus into a magician, seducer and political agitator, and tries to justify his condemnation".

58. Smith p.47. His evidence for this is the unsupported statement - "because the same charges are specified by second century pagan and Christian writers as elements in the Jewish account of him " (Ibid.).

59. Pages in parentheses refer to Smith's Jesus.

60. An die Galater (Mohr, Tübingen, 1971) pp.45f. .

61. Ibid.

62. Studies p.358, his empahsis.

63. Lietzmann (Galater, p.45) more reasonably says that 6:17 is undoubtably related to 2 Cor.4:10; Rm.8:17; Ph.3:10; Col.1:24.

64. See pp.319ff below.

65. Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church (Blackwell, Oxford, 1965) p.174 n.51.

66. Ibid. p.162 and footnotes.

67. Ibid. (and see note 52).

68. Letters X:96.

69. The Letters of Pliny (Clarendon, Oxford, 1966) pp.704f.. (Sherwin-White is interacting principally with Mohlberg, Coulton and Lietzmann with regard to early Christian liturgical practices.)
70. Ibid. p.705.
71. Smith p.180 and see p.321 below where Justin is quoted more fully.
72. F.F. Bruce Jesus and Christian Origins Outside the New Testament (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1974) p.21.
73. Although Smith has not adequately dealt with Josephus, the problems of the authenticity of Ant. 18:63-4 makes a discussion of the use of the passage here virtually impossible. Paul Winter "Josephus on Jesus" Journ. of Hist. Stud. 1(1968) pp.289-302 and in a revised form in Schürer History I pp.428-41.
74. Smith p.21 (chap.3).
75. This verse, in a Homily by Abraham Bishop of Ephesus in the sixth century, is cited with the addition καὶ ἐκ τροπικίας ὑπερέβησαν J. Mehlmann "John 8:48 in Some Patristic Quotations" Biblica 44(1963) p.206; cf.8:41.
76. Smith pp.32, 47f., (n. p.179), 77, cf.96f..
77. For example ἔχω has this meaning in Demosthenes Or. 47:45.
78. To the contrary (without evidence) C.H. Kraeling "Was Jesus Accused of Necromancy?" JBL 59(1940) p.154.
79. TDNT II pp.816-32, esp. pp.821f..
80. Ibid. pp.821f..
81. Ibid. p.822.
82. Jn. 7:20; 8:48, 49, 52; 10:20, 21; and Mk. 3:30 where 'unclean spirit' is used rather than 'demon'.
83. See Marshall Luke p.516, cf. p.225 above.
84. The phrase δαίμονιον ἔχειν is used by Matthew and Luke only in relation to John the Baptist's aesthetics (Mtt. 11:18/Lk. 7:33) and the Gadarene Demoniac (Mtt. 8:28/Lk. 8:27).
85. As a Samaritan Goet or Gnostic, Bultmann John p.299 n.4; see also J. Bowman "Samaritan Studies I" BJRL 40(1957-8) pp.298-308.
86. Bowman Ibid. pp.300f..
87. See for example R.E. Brown John I (Chapman, London, 1971) p.387; B. Lindars John (Oliphant, London, 1972) p.365; Barrett John (1967) p.314.
88. Cf. H. Preisker TDNT IV p.361.
89. Bowman BJRL 40(1957-8) pp.305f..
90. Ibid. p.306.
91. Ibid. p.307.
92. Ibid. p.308.
93. Smith eg. pp.33, 54, 181.
94. "L'accusation de magie contre le Christ dans les Evangiles" ETL 15(1938) pp.449-90.
95. Ibid. p.459f..
96. Ibid. p.460.
97. Ibid.
98. H. Braun TDNT VI p.229; Diodorus Siculus Hist. II:18

- (P. Lond. II:483:19).
99. Plato Rep. IV:444b; Phaedo 81a.
 100. Braun TDNT VI p.233.
 101. Ibid. p.235.
 102. Samain. ETL 15(1938) p.456.
 103. Smith pp.33, 174.
 104. Samain ETL 15(1938) p.462.
 105. Ibid.
 106. BJ II:13.
 107. Bk.III ch.2 and 3.
 108. Smith p.33 and note p.174.
 109. Scorniace 12:3.
 110. Testimoniorum 3:37.
 111. Divinarum Institutionum ii:16:4.
 112. In. Daniele I;ii:2a.
 113. Cf. Smith p.174.
 114. F.W. Beare First Epistle of Peter (Oxford, 1961) p.167.
 115. Cf. notes 111 and 112 above.
 116. See note 109 above.
 117. See note 110 above.
 118. Cf. Smith p.33.
 119. Sherwin-White Letters pp.699, 782; cf. Epistle X:96:3; Tacitus Annals XV:44; C. Bigg Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude (T & T Clarke, Edinburgh, 1902) p.137.
 120. Cf. a review of Smith (Frank Kermode The New York Review of Books XXV (20, Dec. 21st, 1978 p.58) - "It is perfectly plausible that magicians might be referred to as evil doers. It does not follow that one could not accuse somebody of doing evil without claiming that he was a magician".
 121. Cf. Eusebius Proof of the Gospel 3:3. We could also note that it was the fabrication element that is at the heart of the Roman laws against 'magic'.
 122. Cf. the categories in Acts 13:10 and see above on Tertullian.
 123. Cf. Winter Trial p.144. It is often thought that if an exorcism does not involve the use of physical or mechanical aids or incantations then the healing is not magical (eg. W. Kirchschräger "Exorcismus in Qumran?" Kairos 18(1976) p.52). Thus it is said "the New Testament miracles of Jesus have no connection with magic means and processes..." (W. Grundmann TDNT II p.302). There is a note of desperation here (see the editorial review of Hull Magic in Exp.T 85(1973-4) pp.355f.). The abhorrence of magic in the Bible is noted and so, at all costs, Jesus must be absolved from any charge of magic - magic defined in terms of technique (cf. Mendelsohn IDB III pp.223ff.; Hull IDB Supp.pp.312ff.). There are two problems or errors here. Firstly there is a problem of definition. We have seen that in relation to miracles and exorcism the bald categories of 'magical' (evil)/'non-magical' (good), when defined primarily in terms of technique, are not helpful in understanding the exorcisms in the NT era (contrast Hull Magic chap.IV). The second problem in the attempt at

absolving Jesus from the charge of magic is one relating to historical method. If we define magic in terms of technique - physical aids or incantations - it is an error of historical judgment to say that Jesus' techniques (or exorcism for example) have nothing to do with magical processes or that in this way he is quite unique and separate from his contemporaries (eg. L. Morris The Cross in the New Testament (Paternoster, Exeter, 1976) pp.56f. and notes). We saw in chaps.III and IV above that there is good evidence that Jesus' technique as an exorcist had clear parallels in this so called 'magic' world.

124. JBL 59(1940) pp.147-57.

125. Ibid. p.153.

126. Ibid. p.154.

127. Vermes Jesus p.69, cf. Dunn Jesus p.88 and Barrett Spirit p.57.

128. Vermes Ibid. p.79

129. Ibid. pp.69 and 79.

130. Cf. Ibid. p.63.

131. Cf. Mtt.12:27/Lk.11:19

132. Vermes Jesus p.65 and n.3/.

133. See also A.R.C. Leaney's review of Vermes in JTS 25 (1974) p.490.

134. Cf. Robinson Problem chap.3.

135. That this is a Markan summary see Bultmann History p.341; Dibelius Tradition pp.44, 224; Taylor Mark pp.180ff.; Anderson Mark p.93; Kertelge Wunder pp.31f.; (for other literature on these verses see Pesch Markus. I p.136.).

136. See Bultmann History p.341; Best Temptation pp.73; L.E. Keck "Mark 3:7-12 and Mark's Christology" JBL 84(1965) pp.341-358; Horstmann Studien pp.119, 126; Kertelge Wunder pp.34f.; Marxsen Mark p.63 n.38; E. Trocmé The Formation of the Gospel of Mark (1963, ET, SPCK, London, 1975) p.153 n.2; Schweizer Mark pp.78ff.; Taylor Mark p.225; (for other literature on the pericope see Pesch Markus. I p.202).

137. J.D.G. Dunn "The Messianic Secret in Mark" T. Bull 21(1970) pp.92-117. Cf. C.F. Evans The Beginning of the Gospel (SPCK, London, 1968) p.45.

138. Schweizer Mark pp.54ff..

139. Hull Magic p.144.

140. See especially the discussion of Smith above.

141. Magic chap.7. See esp. pp.128ff..

142. Ibid. p.129.

143. Ibid.

144. In Tradition pp.168ff..

145. See also Mtt.22:41-45.

146. Cf. Duling

NTS 24(1977-8)

pp.393ff..

147. Magic chap.6.

148. Note particularly . Achtemeier in Perspectives pp.161ff..

149. Note Achtemeier Ibid p.163 n.20.
150. Ibid. p.163.
151. Ibid. p.164.
152. See also Leaney Luke p.157 and Marshall Luke p.341.
153. The problem has been noted before, for example, C.F.D. Moule "The Classification of Miracle Stories" in Miracles p.241.
154. Cf. Grayston Ep.R 2(1975) pp.90-4.
155. Cf., for example, Taylor Mark p.171.
156. See Loos Miracles pp.306ff..
157. Fridrichsen Theology 22(1931) p.127 and note.
158. See also Dunn and Twelftree Churchman 94(1980) pp.220f..
159. Pausanias Description of Greece VI, XXXVI, 1, 2. See Loos Miracles p.601; Barrett John (1978) p.188.
160. See Loos Miracles pp.328ff..
161. Though some do not see any relationship between this Johannine miracle and Synoptic traditions (for example L. Morris John (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1971) p.288) the same incident may lie behind both traditions. See Brown John I pp.192f.; Barrett John (1978) p.245.
162. Loos Miracles pp.435ff..
163. History p.234; see also Loos Miracles pp.619ff..
164. Loos Miracles pp.655ff. and notes gives the sources for parallels.
165. See Dunn and Twelftree Churchman 94(1980) pp.220f..
166. Eusebius HE 4:3:2. See p.306above.
167. Dialog. 69. See p.321 above.
168. CC 1:7, 28, 68. See p.322above.
169. Cf. pp.321ff.above.
170. In view of the present position of the 'divine-man' debate - in which it is now generally doubted that it is a useful category to use in relation to Jesus - it is unnecessary for us to consider it in our discussions. See Dunn Jesus p.69 and notes, and C.R. Holladay Theios Aner in Hellenistic-Judaism (Scholars, Missoula, 1977); cf. the review of Holladay by W. Telford in JTS 30(1979) pp.246-52.
171. Cf. Tiede Charismatic chap.Three.
172. Cf. L. Morris Cross pp.56f..
173. Cf. J.P. Heil "Significant Aspects of the Healing Miracles in Matthew" CBQ 41(1979) pp.285f..

VI
JESUS-THE-EXORCIST
(His Self Understanding)
(Notes)

1. See particularly Dunn Jesus p.13.
 2. Fridrichsen Miracle p.72.
 3. Dunn Jesus pp.12f. (his emphasis).
 4. Ibid. p.47, though see Dunn's point (b) (Ibid. pp.47f.).
 5. Ibid. p.49 and "Spirit and Kingdom" Exp.T 82 (1970-1) p.39, (his emphasis).
 6. Dunn almost says this in "Spirit and Kingdom" Ibid. Cf. Dunn Jesus pp.47f.. Bultmann (History p.239) says Jesus "concludes from his success that the Kingdom of God has come". This can hardly be for there is no question that other exorcists were successful - even in Jesus' eyes, cf. Mk.9:38f./Lk.9:49f.; Mtt.12:27/Lk.11:19.
 7. As Otto Betz "Jesu Heiliger Krieg" Nov.T 2(1958) pp.116-37.
 8. Note Dunn Jesus p.47 -
"We should not permit our familiarity with this aspect of Jesus' preaching to dull the edge of this assertion. For this was an astonishing and audacious claim. The eschatological kingdom was already present!" (his emphasis).
- See also Dunn and Twelftree Churchman 94(1980) p.220.
9. See Dunn and Twelftree Ibid. pp.220 and n.31.
 10. Parables pp.81-5.
 11. Cf. L. Cope "Matthew xxv 31-46. 'The Sheep and the Goats' Reinterpreted" Nov.T 11(1969) pp.32-44.
 12. 'The Ruler of this World' occurs in the NT only in Jn. Cf. R. Schnackenburg John II (1971, ET, Burns & Oates, London, 1980) pp.39off. and Bultmann John p.431.
 13. Bultmann Ibid. p.508 and n.1.
 14. Contrast R.H. Fuller The Mission and Achievement of Jesus (SCM, London, 1954) p.38.
 15. Their view of the end of Satan in relation to Jesus' ministry is well summed up by Barrett.
"The devil is defeated, but he is not destroyed. The Church was too well acquainted with his devices to suppose that Satan had died " Spirit p.52.
 16. This conclusion would tie in with the view (expressed by Bultmann Theology I p.4) that Jesus proclaimed and expected an immediately impending irruption of the Reign of God. See particularly Kümmel Promise esp.pp.105ff.; "Eschatological Expectation in the Proclamation of Jesus" in The Future of Our Religious Past (ed.) J.M. Robinson (1964, ET, SCM, London, 1971) pp.29-48; and Perrin Kingdom esp. chap.V.
 17. See the summary of evidence in Perrin Kingdom p.83.
 18. See Jeremias Parables pp.224f. and Hill Matthew pp.230f. (The interpretation of the parable (Mtt.13:36-43) is probably the work of Matthew, see Jeremias Ibid. pp.81-5).
 19. Luke in particular picks up and develops this theme. For example in relating the healing of Peter's Mother-in-law

(Mk.1:29-34/Mtt.8:14-17/Lk.4:38f.) he describes it as an exorcism saying that Jesus rebuked the fever and that it left her. And in 13:10-17 Luke has written up a healing into an exorcism so that Jesus' assault against Satan is seen as wider than just the exorcisms. (J. Wilkinson "The Case of the Bent Woman in Luke 13:10-17" EQ 49(1977) pp.195-205.)

20. Dunn Jesus p.48.

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