

Overview of the Discussion

Peter Lampe and Ulrich Luz

The questions that remained unresolved throughout the symposium and that call for further study are:

1. The *Johannine Problem*. How does the relationship between John and the synoptic tradition develop? As compared with the synoptic Gospels, does John's Gospel represent something genuinely different? Does John presuppose the stability of the synoptic tradition or is this precisely not the case?
2. The problem of *early Christian prophecy*. The ambivalent character of early Christian prophecy began to emerge as a consensus: prophecy and tradition, prophets and teachers appear to be not opposites, but two sides of the same phenomenon.

As the link between the two problem areas stands Käsemann's old thesis: Did John's Gospel perhaps represent the final stage of an early Christian prophetic strain?

On "Jesus' Gospel of the Kingdom" (O. Betz)

1. The term "originality," put forward by Betz, a term that qualifies as "original" that which is closest to the Old Testament (in this case deuterio-Isaiah), was questioned. At the very least this use of the category "original" does not seem well suited to help in making tradition-historical statements: is it not possible that in the course of the later tradition a secondary assimilation to the Old Testament took place, so that, methodologically, closeness to the Old Testament permits few conclusions concerning that which is early in the history of the tradition (for example, concerning the authentic message of Jesus)?

2. Further remaining difficulties for Betz's presentation are: Why does Luke in his Gospel consistently avoid the term εὐαγγέλιον—in fact, even eliminate it from the Marcan prototype and use it only marginally in Acts? Is the expiatory suffering of Isaiah 53 really represented in Luke? If so, why does not Luke use the concept εὐαγγέλιον?

The varied use of εὐαγγέλιον in the Gospels (Mark uses it most often; Matthew less so; Luke virtually not at all; and John totally avoids it) rather constitutes an argument against the tiered arrangement of Luke-Matthew-Mark posited by Betz.

On "The Path of the Gospel Tradition" (B. Gerhardsson)

1. How can one define the relationship of the process of gospel transmission to the educational enterprise of wisdom teachers and rabbis, on the one hand, and to the process of transmitting prophetic texts, on the other?

The circle of disciples around the Old Testament prophets constitutes an important analogy to the Jesus-communities. But in distinction from the former, the prophet Jesus had a much stronger language-shaping effect. Early Christian prophets considered themselves much more bound, in content and language, to their teacher Jesus than the Old Testament prophet-disciples were to their teachers (cf. Schürmann: "Christ-language!"). In their utterances the early Christian prophets were bound to the language and content of Jesus' message.

By comparison, Gerhardsson emphasizes the analogy between the Gospels and rabbinical education, though he does not see it as exclusive. As Jesus already shows, one cannot make a strict distinction between the teacher's sphere of action and that of the prophet. Nevertheless, for Gerhardsson the conscious process of interpreting the words of Jesus is at some distance from prophecy. The focus is rather on a further development of existing interpretation of tradition than on the creative formation of new material. Jesus certainly did not found a school in which only recitation took place. The transmission of tradition always meant: "to work with a text!" Matt. 13:51f. shows that scribes not only practice conservation but also innovation. The rule is: In early Christianity people did not simply make things up but *interpreted*. In many cases also the so-called "Spirit-logia" had a traditional core.

2. Although there is no quarrel with Gerhardsson's basic intention to take seriously the analogy of the rabbinical attitude toward tradition, but not to understand it in a way which excludes freedom and change, some questions nevertheless remain:

a) The parable tradition shows a very high degree of change and freedom. At the same time, the parables and similitudes nevertheless necessarily remained the parables and similitudes of Jesus.

b) The Gospel writers display a high measure of freedom in dealing with the tradition. They are teachers with an authority very much their own. What remains unclear is the extent to which the freedom of the evangelists vis-à-vis their sources permits conclusions concerning the freedom of earlier teachers vis-à-vis the oral tradition.

Is it perhaps the case that the degree of freedom grows in the measure in which written texts already exist, texts which in any case insure the continuity of the tradition? This would explain why in the Lucan special material (e.g., Luke 1–2) Luke is more conservative in his transmission than in the case of the material he adopted from Mark. In any case, this presupposes that later evangelists wished to supplement, not to replace, their predecessors.

On the one hand, one must remember that in contemporary antiquity verbatim transmission of longer texts occurred in only two instances: that of the *carmen* and that of the oral tradition in ethics. On the other hand, one must remember that the *Gattung* is a great mnemonic help in oral tradition: a story-teller only needs to note the basic facts and particulars of a given history. He can then tell a story as the public expects it of him, that is, in accordance with a given narrative framework.

c) Finally, the Johannine tradition constitutes an important challenge to Gerhardsson's model of tradition. Is it to be characterized as "parasitic" in the sense that John can only write because the Synoptics are already there, and he can, so to speak, profit from their existence? Or are we dealing in John's Gospel with a very different, possibly prophetic, model of tradition in which the Spirit creates the tradition? Did John really understand his Jesus-discourses in general as words of the earthly Jesus? However, one must also not absolutize the differences between John and the Synoptics, because there are also synoptic texts with a "Johannine measure" of freedom. At this point the Johannine problem already emerges as the crucial open question of the whole symposium.

On "The Theological Center of the Sayings Source" (A. Polag)

1. The essay shows that many open questions exist, even when the existence of a written logia-source is not called into question. Not only the question whether there are perhaps several collections but also the question concerning different recensions of Q (QMatt., QLuke) is completely open. Also open is the question whether Q was not more extensive than can be documented today. For the determination of the literary character of the logia-source one must proceed from the form of the *codex*: the codex, which was also the notebook of antiquity, could be carried on one's person, expanded, or changed. Hence the character of the sayings source is not comparable with that of the Gospels as complete literary units. The introduction of Luke 3–4, which is tradition-historically late,

marks the place, so to speak, where Q develops the tendency to become a literary document. But because Q is not yet a finished literary document in the way that the Gospels are, the existence of various forms of the text, which according to Polag are not conscious recensions, is understandable.

For most of the participants in this discussion it was clear at least that the logia-source had to be a literary document: the common *akoluthia* which can be reconstructed right up to Luke 12 and possibly in Luke 17 is a strong barrier against all attempts to regard Q as merely an oral stratum in the tradition. This is all the more true when one considers that the preservation of the *akoluthia* in Jewish tradition is not a very important principle.

2. With regard to the literary state of affairs, it is very difficult, in general, to raise the question of the theological center of Q. Polag's formulation, "being struck by Jesus," as the center of Q is in fact the center of every New Testament writing. In any case, the situation is very different from that of the Gospel of Thomas, where a persistent Gnostic interpretation of the Jesus-tradition proves to be the unifying center. If Isaiah 61 is also fundamental for the Q tradition, there are consequences for the determination of the relationship of Q to εὐαγγέλιον. At this point a thorough study of the significance of Luke 7:18ff. for the Q tradition would be necessary.

It became clear that a general desire to preserve tradition alone does not explain the existence of the logia-source; there must have been a heightened desire to preserve tradition which can be explained only by the person and effect of the preaching of Jesus. An additional motive for the collection is the existence of the Church. In part Q is an aid to missionary preaching, but according to Polag the greater proportion of the material points to internal use by the Church, perhaps in catechesis; the material is focused on issues of discipleship and on reinforcement of the confession of faith. It is also possible that this collection of material gained special significance in Greek-speaking churches of converts in which there were no longer any eyewitnesses of the earthly Jesus. It must also be remembered that traditions are, as a rule, not collected for one purpose alone but for multiple use.

From everything that was said great caution evinced itself toward the thesis of a special kerygma in Q and a special circle of tradition behind Q. The materials of Q are rather complementary—say, to the passion tradition—than exclusive. But even then the question whether there are special emphases in Q has not yet been answered: striking, by comparison with Mark for example, is the heavy eschatological accentuation in the Q materials and the stress on the demand for decision. The question of who the bearers of the Q tradition were remained open. The thesis that they were Christian teachers and the thesis that they were Christian prophets need not be mutually exclusive. What kind of freedom to reinterpret is there in the teachers' relationship to tradition and what

is the constitutive relationship of tradition to the early Christian prophets? Are the prophets at the same time teachers?

On “The Gospel in Jerusalem—Mark 14:12-26 as the Oldest Tradition of the Early Church” (*R. Pesch*)

1. *Mark 14:12-16*. There was general agreement that Mark 14:12-16 is a constituent part of a pre-Markan passion narrative and also that Pesch's exegesis represents a possible interpretation that must be taken very seriously. Nevertheless, questions remain: Could I Sam. 10:1ff. have played a role as model? Why are we not told of any arrangements between Jesus and the owner of the upper room? Why is it not explicitly stated that the location of the Passover meal must remain a secret? In any case, the detective side of the narrative is not given prominence. Perhaps a historical occurrence was later furnished with miraculous features (Jesus' foreknowledge). Pesch would not consider such an understanding of the story plausible in the case of Mark but only later—in the case of Luke and Matthew. It is important to him that the episode is recounted from the perspective of the disciples, who knew nothing of any arrangements. A synchronous analysis of the narrative shows an extraordinary accumulation of circumstances which call attention to the place of the meal. It is the larger context that furnishes the element of tension—it is better not to speak of a detective component in the episode. After 14:11ff., the reader asks: Will the Jewish leadership succeed in arresting Jesus? From this point of view it makes sense that apart from Jesus and two disciples no one was allowed to know where Jesus would celebrate the Passover.

2. *Pesch's understanding of the Marcan tradition of the Last Supper*. There was far-reaching agreement that Mark 14:22-25 was not a secondary interpolation. It remained unclear, however, to what degree the Passover meal must be divided, by the Passover haggadah, into a preliminary part (Mark 14:17-21) and a main meal (Mark 14:22-25), that is to say, to what degree the entire Passover meal must be understood as a unity, so that the genitive absolute καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν simply means: “and as they were eating (the following happened).” It also remained an open question whether it is really possible to contrast the Marcan narrative with a liturgical version of the Last Supper sayings as Paul renders them. The words of I Cor. 11:25 (μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι) could point to history just as well as the parallel Marcan version of the interpretive sayings (where the distribution of bread and wine immediately follow each other) could point to a liturgical text. Pesch, finding his support in Mark, takes Jesus' last meal to be a Passover meal, but is also able to leave the question of the character of the Last Supper open. Decisive for

him is that the Pauline text I Cor. 11:23ff. is a text for liturgical use because (a) it does not mention the original participants of this meal—the disciples; and (b) the phrase ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι looks back to Jesus' death while the formulation τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον in the cup-saying in Mark looks *forward* to Jesus' death. Whether the pre-Marcian passion report is really as historically reliable as Pesch assumes remains in dispute. It would also be conceivable that in a Jewish Christian Church the Passover character of the Last Supper had emerged later. An argument in favor of this position could be that Barabbas could hardly have been released after the Passover.

Another question which remained unresolved was the question concerning the relationship of the Marcian Last Supper sayings to the Lucan tradition of the Last Supper. Is Luke 22:15-20 really a secondary combination of the Marcian and the Pauline Last Supper paradises or should we not rather reckon with a pre-Pauline ("proto-Lucan") narrative strain in Luke? Over against this, Pesch suggests the possibility that Luke bases himself on Mark but, during the composition of his Gospel, already had before his eyes the collection of materials for Acts.

3. Then there is the question of the genre of the pre-Marcian passion narrative. Are there models? Can one really get beyond the very general label of "narrative"? Pesch mentions that the Church's question concerning why Jesus was crucified leads to a new genre, for which there are only rudimentary models. As a possible but speculative hypothesis one may consider whether the passion narrative together with Jesus' "anabasis" to Jerusalem which preceded it was a "founding legend" of the Jerusalem church.

As consensus the debates produced agreement with the postulate that kerygma and history are mutually inclusive and not exclusive. Critical reflection on possible criteria, especially for the determination of breaks and tensions in literary-critical and tradition-critical analyses, was considered an urgent necessity.

On "The Pauline Gospel" (P. Stuhlmacher)

1. In dispute was the question of the degree to which Paul's gospel *developed* during the roughly fifteen years between Damascus and the conflict with the representatives of the Jerusalem church, Peter and James (Gal. 1-2). Why did the conflict break out so late? Was Paul's teaching originally quite similar to that of the men of Jerusalem? Over against this, however, stands II Corinthians 11, where we learn that the Paul of the early period was persecuted precisely on account of his *violations of the law* (table fellowship with Gentiles, etc.) and not only on account of his preaching of the Messiah (the flogging and the attempt at stoning as the synagogue's means of last resort against a lawless person), so

that Paul's basic theological shift, the break with his Pharisaic past, must have occurred in his early years (cf. Phil. 3).

A consensus emerged: The disagreement between Paul and the men of Jerusalem was present *theoretically* and *in nuce* from the beginning but became *practically* virulent and manifest only after and with the Antiochian incident, when concrete Church-political problems began to crop up and there were practical conclusions to be drawn from Paul's theology of justification. How should Gentiles and Jews live together and hold table fellowship in one and the same Church? Was it to be on the basis of the fulfillment by the Gentiles of a legal minimum (Lev. 17–18)—a solution *κατὰ νόμον*—or on the basis of Christian liberty *κατὰ νόμον Χριστοῦ*, with the “strong” taking responsibility for the “weak”?

For fifteen years Paul and the men of Jerusalem lived together in apparent peace on the basis of closely related theological presuppositions (cf. I Cor. 15) until the demands of the *concrete praxis* of Church and mission first brought to light that throughout the whole period these presuppositions contained different implications. Therefore, insofar as the practical concretization of the doctrine of justification was accomplished and became the material of conflict, one could speak of *development*.

2. Also in dispute was the constellation of the word-group εὐαγγέλιον-εὐαγγελίζεσθαι-ἄκοή-*š^emuâ*-ῥῆμα Χριστοῦ plus the related but subordinate question whether the call to mission before the walls of Damascus came to Paul only as a *vision* (e.g. I Cor. 9:1) or also as an *audition*, as ῥῆμα Χριστοῦ. Should not a distinction be made, on the one hand, between εὐαγγέλιον = ῥῆμα Χριστοῦ, the word spoken by the Lord himself, and ἄκοή = εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, the apostolic message, on the other? Or is it the case in Paul that εὐαγγέλιον, in bipolar fashion, precisely embraces both: the power of revelation coming over Paul as well as the missionary message (= ἄκοή) to be preached by the apostles (Rom. 10:16f.).

From the direction of Greek philology a semantic differentiation between ἄκοή and εὐαγγέλιον is quite natural, insofar as ἄκοή described the “hearsay” which came to the hearer more or less accidentally without particular reference to the intention of the one broadcasting it. On the other hand, in Jewish usage *š^emuâ* is almost a technical term for the prophetic message originating with God and not that which happens to come to a person as “hearsay.” The message which the prophets did not produce themselves, the *š^emuâ*, can then, following the *parallelismus membrorum*, be equated with *b^ešora* = εὐαγγέλιον. For the rest, Paul himself does not, in *ad hoc* fashion, in Rom. 10:16 pick up ἄκοή from Greek usage but rather uses the term in the context of Isaiah 53. (The use of ἄκοή in the LXX requires further study.)

3. In dispute, finally, was the extent to which a connection can be

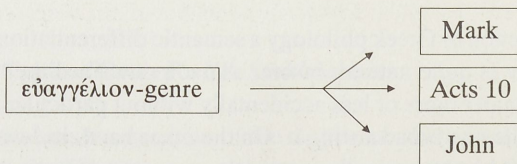
established between the pre-Lucan material of Acts 10 and the genuinely Petrine message. Similar material lies behind Acts 13, which, however, is expressly attributed to Paul. In Luke's work "Peter" and "Paul" preach basically the same gospel. Possibly the comparability of Acts 10 with Mark's outline (insofar as this could be said to go back to Peter) would constitute a completely hypothetical bridge from Acts 10 to Peter.

On "The Gospel Genre" (R. Guelich)

The agreement between the papers by Stuhlmacher and Guelich was not "by arrangement."

1. The Marcan prologue was extended by Guelich up to Mark 1:15; the Isaian tradition serves as "depth-structure" of the text. If the gospel existed in narrative form, as "narrative genre," already *before* Mark, as Guelich maintains, then the question arises: Does Mark 1:1f. (ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ with reference to Isaiah) refer back to this already existing primitive model, in accordance with which people had begun at a very early stage to tell the story of the εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ as the story of Jesus from the perspective of Isa. 52:7? Thus from the very beginning not only the narrated history of Jesus from John the Baptist to the resurrection but also the characterization of this history as εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ in line with Old Testament usage was a feature of this pre-Marcian "genre."

2. To be listed as witnesses for this primitive εὐαγγέλιον-genre or prototype (from the Baptist to the resurrection—in the light of the fulfillment of Old Testament Scriptures) would be a) Mark, b) Acts 10:36ff., and c)—especially controversial—John, so that one has to assume a development with some very early bifurcations:



Or does not John presuppose a certain knowledge of Mark? In dispute also was the question to what extent Acts 10 may be enlisted: does not Luke—incorporating traditional elements, to be sure—*himself* consciously formulate matters in archaizing fashion here also to a great extent (cf. e.g. the notion of witnesses, the utilization of Galilee, or for example the prospect of judgment, which does not seem very well suited to function as a basic element for Mark's Gospel)? Hence, the question to what extent Acts 10 actually contains early

material (perhaps going back even to Peter) is open and one which must be subjected to even sharper criticism.

3. In the *derivation* of the genre as given in the essay (see the diagram above) it is striking how little is made of the formation and development of tradition within the synoptic tradition itself. For example: How is the relationship between the "gospel" genre and the passion narrative to be defined? Did categories of development arise within the synoptic tradition by themselves? Or: the expansion of the Q tradition shows that the greater the distance in time from Jesus becomes, the greater also becomes the necessity to fix and thus to ground the teaching tradition in the history of the earthly Jesus (cf. e.g. the "apothegm" genre as an attempt to tie doctrine to the earthly Jesus). Was the Jesus-tradition itself thus designed from the beginning to develop, through a continuous process of growing precision, into the genre "gospel"?

4. Contact between the (pre-Markan) genre "gospel" and the christological kerygma in I Cor. 15:3-5 (traditionally described as εὐαγγέλιον) consists in the fact that the passion narrative also begins with confession of Christ, and the materials in the first half of Mark's Gospel have the express christological function of authenticating the discourse concerning Christ by his words and deeds. This correspondence could suggest in fact that, already from the beginning, the Jesus-tradition (both the kerygmatic, in the style of I Cor. 15, and the narrative Jesus-tradition) was called εὐαγγέλιον. Mark himself employs the term εὐαγγέλιον in its bipolarity: it describes not only the narrative genre of Jesus' history (Mark 1) but also the kerygmatic (I Cor. 15), the missionary gospel-message given to the apostles (Mark 14:9/13:10).

5. *The terminological dilemma.* The "gospel" as "genre"? In the domain of philology there is talk of a "genre" only when over long periods of time in historically diverse situations a certain literary procedure appears again and again and maintains itself (e.g., tragedy). In other words, the danger exists that the word usage of New Testament scholarship and that of philology are drifting apart.

There are, in principle, only two ways out of the dilemma: The New Testament scholar either reaches for new terms (but which?) or persists in making a loose, unspecific use of the term "genre," while the philologist reaches back to the ancient term "genus," where the roots of his definition of genre lie.

On "Literary, Theological, and Historical Problems in the Gospel of Mark" (*M. Hengel*)

1. Disputed was the extent to which Mark actually knew of a sayings-tradition (Q!) shaped on the model of wisdom literature, the extent to which he

presupposes knowledge of Jesus-logia among his readers and, in his narrative Gospel, expressly offers that which is lacking in the logia collection! Does this thesis of Hengel's remain an inference from silence? Remaining in dispute also was whether, as compared with Q, the sayings presented by Mark always represented the more developed (= adapted to the Marcan community) forms.

2. In support of the disputed value of the evidence from Papias, which, after all, goes back to the elder-tradition and may reach back at least as far as the year AD 100, it may be added that early Church data about the Gospel writer Mark as pupil of Peter are much more numerous than the data about all the other Gospel authors. One must also bear in mind, however, the observation of E. Schwarz (*Der Tod der Söhne Zebedäi*) that in antiquity there is hardly any trustworthy external information about documents, but that, by contrast, literary-historical legends are numerous indeed.

3. How is the interpretation by the ἐρμηνευτής in the Papias fragment to be taken? Did Peter not know enough Greek (hence: "interpreter" = "translator") or does Mark's hermeneutic function according to Papias also embrace the framework and the context as we see it in the Gospel? Or should Mark's function be understood on the analogy of the rabbis: a rabbi teaches in conjunction with an interpreter, the rabbi himself coining only very brief sayings, which another explains?

4. In dispute, finally, was the value of the Elijah-Moses typology in Mark. Furthermore, if Peter's preaching was in fact behind Mark and his Moses typology, the result would be that already in Peter there was the beginning of a contrast between law and gospel. Then Peter and Paul would not be that far apart after all but only separated in questions of praxis (cf. "The Pauline Gospel" above).

On "Matthew as a Creative Interpreter of the Sayings of Jesus"

(G. N. Stanton)

Stanton's overall thesis of Matthew as a conservative interpreter who accepted the authority of his sources but carefully organized and clearly profiled his materials found general acceptance. It was considered less certain that Matthew made his redactional activities visible especially toward the end of the discourses. The discussion was especially concentrated, however, on the two textual analyses—Matt. 11:28-30 and 25:31-46.

1. Stanton's proposal to regard Matt. 11:29b as redactional seemed largely convincing. One could also weigh taking καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ as redactional; that would make the symmetry of the traditional saying even clearer. In agreement with Stanton's thesis is the redaction of Matt. 11:19:

Jesus as wisdom was justified by his *deeds*. Stanton stresses that the identification of Jesus with Wisdom is not the real interest of Matthean christology but is modified, or interpreted, by Matthew's additions. The connections between Matt. 11:28-30 and Sirach 51 are generally overvalued in the research; only a small number of words are held in common; the material thrust of Sirach 51 is very different from that of Matt. 11:28ff. One might rather consider whether Mark 6:31, omitted in Matthew, could not be a parallel tradition or even a source of Matt. 11:28-30.

2. Matt. 25:31ff. remained controversial. The context of Matthew 24-25, which ends with the judgment over the Church, argues for the universalist interpretation of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη as referring to all people or to all Christians, who in the final judgment will be asked about their works of mercy for the poor and suffering. In the context of Matthew Stanton's proposed identification of the Son of Man with *his* brothers does not signify a climax but an anticlimax. The reference in Matt. 18:3-6, 10 is not to ἐλάχιστοι but to παῖδια and μικροί. It is important to consider, however, whether in the course of tradition-historical development the meaning of the text has not shifted. Originally βασιλεὺς was most likely a reference to God. Under the circumstances the development must be understood as follows: Jesus understood the text in a universalist sense; the Church in mission later probably restricted it to its own experiences in mission and identified itself with the least of the brethren of the Judge. Matthew, perhaps, thought of it in universal terms and inserted the text with a view to the judgment facing the Church. But there are arguments also for Stanton's position that ἀδελφοί meant the Christian missionaries: "Son of Man" (in the redaction) suggests the idea of the Church ("the saints of the Most High") just as "king" (in the original version) suggests the idea of all people. Vv. 31 and 46, which frame the text, carry clear reminiscences of Dan. 7:13 and 12:1 respectively, where the focus is on the salvation of the people of God. Stanton's thesis does not at all need the unprovable argument that the function of the text was to comfort the Church being attacked in its missionary endeavor: the idea of judgment over those who reject the Christian mission is dominant in the context of Matthew 25. The serious problems of the context of Matthew 24-25 can also be resolved in the case of Stanton's more restricted interpretation, as Lambrecht's attempt shows. Finally, the argument that in Matthew 18 there is no mention of ἐλάχιστοι is doubtful because in the manuscript tradition ἐλάχιστοι and μικροί are interchangeable.

On "Luke and His Gospel" (*I. H. Marshall*)

1. The difference between Guelich and Marshall¹ can be mediated by holding that Luke, after all, also wrote from the perspective of being an εὐαγγελιζόμενος, since even before Luke the tradition had been shaped in the direction of the perspective embodied in the Lucan corpus:

(a) In I Corinthians 15 the gospel had already been extended (by Paul or earlier?) to include the appearances to the apostles, and that means an extension to include a glance at the missionary history of the early Church! In other words: I Corinthians 15 offers an extended summary of the passion tradition, one that moves toward the perspective of Acts. Hence, when in his double work Luke presents not only the message of Christ but also the history of the witness to Christ, he seems only to be utilizing a mode of presenting the εὐαγγέλιον which was already available to him in the tradition.

(b) Mark's concept of the gospel is also not a single-track narrative of the story of Jesus; it is bipolar and fundamentally open toward the missionary message of the Church (see the references to Mark 13:10; 14:9 above).

2. Matthew and Luke offer two types of story, which differ in emphasis and together correspond to the bipolarity of the term εὐαγγέλιον: Matthew relates an "inclusive" story, a story in which the present as embodied in the disciples has been included in the fortunes of the earthly Jesus. Luke's Gospel, on the other hand, presents an "incomplete" story, one that is open-ended and calls for continuation. The Lucan corpus thus represents not only "continuity" (so Marshall), but also development, change, a progressive history. The Christian's relations to law and to possessions change. Even the forms of the kerygma change. Such terms as παῖς θεοῦ, δίκαιος, and ἅγιος, for example, figure as part of the Jerusalem message, in contrast, for example, with Acts 17.

Could it be that this different accentuation in Luke is behind his avoidance of the term εὐαγγέλιον? In distinction from Matthew and Mark (the retrospective reference to the history and message of the earthly Jesus) Luke emphasizes the progressively unfolding nature of redemption history. To be sure, the contrast is only relative—a matter of accentuation.

3. Among the terms in Luke's prologue, ἀσφάλεια was particularly discussed. Does the interpretation of ἀσφάλεια imply a dichotomy between the preached kerygma and the narrative of Jesus? Is it true that Theophilus has already heard the gospel? Is the narrative of Jesus, depicted in all detail and in the correct sequence, by contrast only an added guarantee for the reliability of

1. "There was no fixed 'gospel'-genre into which he had to fit his work as a whole. He regarded the works of his predecessors as 'accounts,' not as Gospels. He was not writing a 'Gospel' to which he subsequently added a sequel, but a two-part work" (point 3 of Marshall's Conclusions, p. 291 above).

the “gospel”? In other words, does the narrative itself not really belong to the “gospel” as it is necessary to the faith? Is it only a supplement to the “gospel”? Is Luke, generally speaking, the first to introduce Jesus-material in his diaspora community on a large scale?

There was a clear consensus that for Luke the Jesus-stories themselves already belonged to the kerygma of the gospel and were “gospel,” so that the unity of “gospel,” both in the sense of the synoptic as well as in the Pauline branch of the tradition, remained in view. Thus we hear again of the frequently mentioned bipolarity of the term εὐαγγέλιον, which includes both the narrated story of Jesus and the kerygmatic missionary message of the apostles.

On “Let John Be John—A Gospel for Its Time” (*J. D. G. Dunn*)

The question concerning the genesis of Johannine christology, that concerning its precise profile and claim and the matter of the relationship of the Johannine to the synoptic tradition, could only be touched upon.

1. Doubts were expressed whether John’s Gospel could be situated in the context of Palestinian Judaism. The Ebionites, or James the brother of Jesus, who belong there, represent an essentially different type of Christianity. In Palestinian Judaism the status of Jesus as Son of God is not known until the third century (Abbahu). The assignment of John’s Gospel to Palestinian Judaism would also be opposed by the fact that Wisdom played no significant role there. Another argument against Transjordan as the place of origin for John’s Gospel (Dunn, Wengst) is that from this peripheral area it is hard to conceive how John’s Gospel could so swiftly spread and be known in the Church. It also remains unclear from what time persecution for confession of Jesus as Christ is conceivable (cf. 9:22). Already before AD 70? The few notations about the persecution of Christians by Jews in the earlier period (e.g. Gal. 1:13; I Thess. 2:14) suggest rather that in the earlier period the law was the crucial factor in the confrontation.

2. It was even harder, from a tradition-historical point of view, to define the profile of Johannine christology against the background of Hellenistic Jewish logos speculation (Philo!), Old Testament sophia speculation, and Palestinian traditions of the Son of Man. Could it be perhaps that the real profile of Johannine christology does not consist in the definition of a still-open early Christian Son-of-God christology by the Logos/Son christology, but rather in the completion of the Son christology? The preexistence and Wisdom christology preceded John by two generations, and was present at the latest from the time of Paul (I Cor. 10:4; Phil. 2:6-11; Col. 1:15ff.; perhaps the mission formulas). In contrast, the absolute use of υἱός and the idea of ἐνότης between Father and Son may be specifically Johannine. On the other hand, the placement of the

Logos hymn in the preface of the Gospel seems to belong to the last phase of the history of the Johannine tradition. The fundamental question whether John's Gospel makes at all possible a redaction-historical interpretation (one oriented to the final form of the text) or whether a tradition-historical reconstruction of the development of Johannine christology deserves priority was left unresolved.

3. The question that was decisive for the symposium was that concerning the relationship between the synoptic and the Johannine Jesus-tradition. John had at his disposal reliable traditions that were special but related to the synoptic traditions. How are the Johannine "reproclamation" of the message of Jesus and the doctrine of the paraclete related to these special traditions? The challenge confronting the symposium consisted in the fact that it does not seem possible to understand this Gospel only as a new interpretation of the Jesus-tradition. John appeals to his own tradition, which he anchored directly in the life of the earthly Jesus (the beloved disciple!) and opposes it to other traditions. But how is this relationship to be defined? Dunn's thesis that according to John every christology that does not understand Jesus as Logos/Son misunderstands the Christian faith implies that the Johannine and earlier christologies do not all simply have the same standing. Gerhardsson advocates a counterthesis: John's Gospel presupposes the synoptic Jesus-tradition and uses it just as Gnosticism presupposes the faith of the Church and needs it. Johannine piety and Gnosticism would thus be "parasitic" in similar ways.

On "The 'Memoirs of the Apostles' in Justin" (*L. Abramowski*)

1. That Justin insisted on the written character of the gospel, a rather isolated phenomenon in the second century, is interesting. The important consideration here is not that in the second century the written Gospels were of course known everywhere but that Justin uses the written character of the Gospels in a specific polemical² context as an argument—an argument which constitutes evidence for the historical truth of what happened. It is at precisely that point that Justin distinguishes himself from Irenaeus.

A side note here: An additional motive for Justin's insistence on written-ness could be the apologists' high-literary environment, in which, so to speak, "only books count" and no one can establish anything with a vague, merely oral, tradition. Also, on the assumption of an anti-Gnostic front in the treatise, this

2. In dispute was the polemical thrust of the treatise on Psalm 21 (LXX) which was incorporated into the *Dialogue*. Is it anti-Gnostic/antidocetic (cf. e.g. ἀληθῶς) or anti-Jewish, insofar as Jews could acknowledge neither that God could assume flesh and blood nor that he could suffer as a human being? Was the treatise perhaps *originally* anti-Gnostic while in the *present context* it is anti-Jewish?

pointer seems helpful if Justin regarded Christian Gnostics, in part, as educated—hence as influenced by that literary environment—opponents whom he sought to persuade.

2. Justin's description of the Gospels as ἀπομνημονεύματα of the apostles seems to be an apt accommodation to the word usage of Greek literary activity. One aspect in particular is important: In Greek literature ἀπομνημονεύματα also refers to writing which draws its material secondarily from other writings and does not represent the personal memories of the authors (cf. Xenophon's Socrates memoirs). Justin seems to be familiar with this Greek literary state of affairs and thus is possibly aware that the Gospels also were not the original notes of the apostles but themselves presuppose written prototypes and thus a preceding process of transmission.

3. It needs to be established, however, that by his use of the term ἀπομνημονεύματα Justin is not referring to a general genre (just as there are not many book titles by the same name, there are also no fixed genres that have the same name), but appeals to Xenophon's *Socrates*, so that in the choice of ἀπομνημονεύματα Justin's parallelizing of Jesus and Socrates already comes to expression.

As a more generic term there is ὑπομνήματα: "rough notes," since they may, for example, serve as basis for the composition of a historical work (cf. Lat. "commentarii").

4. In the domain of Greek literary production ἀπομνημονεύματα are notes without literary form, whereas there is a decided literary aim behind the word σύγγραμμα. That Justin avoids the terms σύγγραμμα/γραφή to describe the Gospels could therefore have linguistic, in addition to theological, reasons—reasons suggested to him from the domain of Greek literary production.

5. "Ἀπομνημονεύματα of the *apostles*" in an antiheretical context is a phrase which fits the early Christian practice of securing the tradition against heretical "distortions" by claiming apostolic authorship (e.g. II Peter). There is correspondence here also to John who, alone among the evangelists, stresses the written form at the close of his Gospel but, on the other hand, avoids the title "gospel."

On "Unknown Sayings of Jesus" (O. Hofius)

1. Does Hofius's initial definition of the agrapha as sayings attributed to the earthly Jesus lead *a priori* to too narrow a view, to the extent that it blocks out an entire realm (especially Gnostic Christianity, the Gospel of Thomas, but also the Gospel of John) in which the Spirit-sayings of the exalted Lord and those of the earthly Jesus have become indistinguishable? Can no conclusions be drawn

for early Christianity, say for the phenomenon of early Christian prophecy, in the light of this realm of the tradition in which the revealed sayings of the exalted Lord have started traditions of their own?

Hofius believes that this realm of tradition is relatively unimportant for the question of the transmission of Jesus' sayings: The authors of these sources themselves knew that they "had invented all that material." (The Gospel of Thomas, for example, is not dependent on a Christian source independent of the four Gospels but is rather loosely dependent on the Synoptics, which were known from the public reading in the worship services.) That entire realm of tradition is only relevant as source material to the degree that it furnishes information about the way Christ was understood in the ancient Church or by the Gnostics.

2. The question, "How were the *agrapha* formed?" remains important. ("*Agrapha*" now in the narrow sense as defined by Hofius, not in the sense of the revealed sayings of the exalted Jesus.) By what formal process did the *agrapha* come into being? Was this different from the way sayings came into being in the early Christian tradition (e.g. by early Christian prophets)? Was it different also from how it was with the Johannine Spirit-sayings, where the *paraclete* is expressly mentioned as coauthor? Hofius expressly rejects the character of I Thess. 4:15ff. as a prophetic saying. Hence the question arises: Was the process by which the *agrapha* originated less a spontaneous, Spirit-induced process of formulation than a process of interpretation? The latter especially because the Jesus-tradition had already come to be written down? Apart from a handful of new formations for which no tradition history can be given, the overwhelming majority of the *agrapha* are demonstrably and more or less directly based on written material. Most *agrapha* seem to have evolved as follows: Synoptic sayings that were in oral use (in sermons and catechesis) and familiar in public worship gave rise to dominical sayings that were new, modified, interpreted (e.g. by the addition of a proverb or other idea) or mixed with other sayings of Jesus. One can observe a parallel here with the formation of sayings of Jesus in the gospel tradition to the degree that in it too expansion, interpretation, combination, etc., took place.

3. How can one explain the surprisingly small number of *agrapha* for which there is no tradition-historical derivation outside the canonical Gospel tradition? Or do the present findings deceive us? Could there perhaps be more? An indication in this direction could be Acts 20:35: a dominical saying which Luke refrains from using in his Gospel. Also, the Matthean and Lucan redactors simply dropped materials: the gathering process did not take place on the model of the Prussian academy; rather there was traditional material to the left and to the right, a border area in which transmission occurred. Though the likelihood is not great, the possibility exists that this marginal zone of transmission was a wide one.

However this may be, John writes (21:25): "But there are also many other

things which Jesus did; were every one of them to be written, I suppose that the world itself could not contain the books that would be written." Does John perhaps have in mind another kind of Jesus-tradition—one devoid of *sayings* of Jesus?

4. In Gnostic writings (e.g. the end of the Gospel of Thomas) the term "gospel" has marginal significance in that the most diverse literary products (frequently modeled on the available Church Gospels) were called "gospel" (e.g. "the Gospel to the Egyptians"). The word "gospel" simply refers to the "good news according to the Gnostics" and is applicable in a number of ways.

On "The Gospels and Greek Biography" (A. Dihle)

1.1. Do the biographies of philosophers (Pythagoras, Epicurus—as redeemer-figures) and the biographies of religious mythic figures (Hercules, Romulus, and others) represent a special vein *next to* the biographies of Greek rulers? Not in principle. The private dimension also stands out in Plutarch's biographies of rulers. In *all three* complexes the purpose is to show: this is what human nature is like; this is how it comes to expression in this individual—to this the reader who has the selfsame nature must orient himself. That which has been biographically depicted—a portrayal which lacks genuine uniqueness—can be imitated by the reader because in principle it does not exceed the limits of his experience.

1.2. Though it has a stronger focus on the individual's relationship to the community and state, Roman biography is not distinctive because, when it represents the development in the individual of *general* virtues, it remains bound to the Greek model. (Nepos's *Life of Atticus* illustrates, in Rome, a life that is rich in moral qualities without involvement in political affairs.)

2.1. The comparable New Testament concept of the *imitatio Christi* (Phil. 2, etc.), which in the presentation of the example intends to give parenthesis for living and thus a fair measure of repeatability to the life of Jesus, does not stand in contrast with faith in the *uniqueness* of the life of Jesus, a uniqueness provided by redemptive history and not traceable to "nature." In ancient biography it is recourse to nature which destroys uniqueness.

2.2. The difference between ancient biography and gospel can therefore be sketched with notions like "redemptive-historical perspective," an aspect of Dihle's essay that accords unusually well with the New Testament vantage point, which regards the redemptive-historical view (fulfillment of the Scriptures, the scheme "prophecy and fulfillment") as the source of the narrative framework of a gospel presentation (cf. e.g. Acts 10).

3. On the relationship between gospel and the ancient universal history/historical monograph:

Ancient universal history always offers perspectival notations or a cosmological framework with corresponding historiographic conventions, conventions which Luke takes over; hence, for example, the multiple datings, a typical universal-historical convention. What is totally lacking, however, is the specifically biblical scheme of prophecy and fulfillment.

The historical monograph as a special literary genre does not really develop a historical perspective; it tends much more to treat isolated events (e.g. a war) and can at best furnish a view of a separate epoch.

Universal history (from the beginning to the end of the world) came as a given to early Christianity in an Old Testament and Jewish framework (e.g. Daniel). Judaism had also learned to take advantage of the historical monograph (e.g. II Maccabees). The latter can hardly, however, be compared with the gospel.

Conclusion

The tendency among members of the symposium was to reckon with greater fidelity in the transmission of tradition than was the case in classical form criticism. Over against the picture which classical form criticism has produced of the origination, transmission, and fixation of the synoptic tradition, a picture in need of revision, there was a willingness to reckon with tradition that was very old and had been transmitted very carefully. The elements which accrued in the course of the process of transmission arose as a result of further interpretation and combination of existing materials, rather than through creative formation of new material.

A fine instance of the trustworthiness of tradition came out of the discussion and is here for the first time written down from the oral stage of tradition. This is an anecdote about F. C. Baur that Martin Hengel received as oral tradition from Otto Bauernfeind, who received it from his teacher, Eduard von der Goltz, the patristic scholar and practical theologian, who in turn heard it from his grandfather, who heard F. C. Baur lecture: "Around the year 1840, when F. C. Baur was exegeting ch. 13 of the Apocalypse and came to the number 666, he took off his glasses, looked up from his lectern and said: 'And Hengstenberg in Berlin says that is me!'" This piece of oral tradition has been carefully preserved by a chain of tradents which spans more than 140 years. Quite naturally, and highly illuminating for the character of the transmission process, the story at the same time acquired in Tübingen a (preredactional) addition with a second point: "I"—said Martin Hengel—"have presented this anecdote to a group of great critics, Günter Klein and others. At first they said: 'That can't be!' But after they heard the point of the story they said: 'That is genuine!' . . ."