

THE SYNOPTIC TITLES FOR JESUS

by

Joel Lock

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AUTHOR: William Joel Lock

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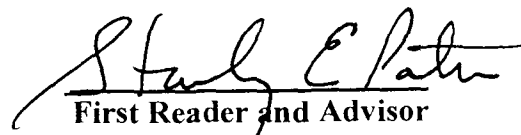
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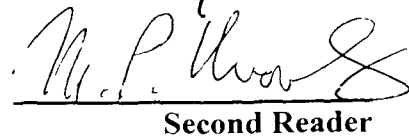
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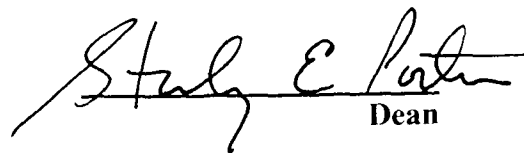
WILLIAM JOEL LOCK

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ABSTRACT
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William Joel Lock
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This thesis consists of four chapters that concentrate on seven synoptic titles attributed to Jesus. Chapter one is an historical survey of how the synoptic Gospels have been studied from the second-century until today that specifically focuses on Augustine, Griesbach and the Two-Source hypotheses, Markan priority and redaction criticism. Chapter two is a redaction-critical survey that outlines additions, omissions and alterations made to the synoptic Titles Teacher, Son of Man, Lord, Messiah, Son of God, Son of David and Master. This chapter demonstrates that each Gospel author, for the needs of a new audience or different situation/audience, redacted the traditional material behind the Gospels—including these titles. Chapter three specifically focuses on the narrative and exegetical value of three titles out of the seven titles (Teacher, Lord and Master). This chapter proposes that each title is used for specific purposes and in specific contexts to reveal unique theological contributions made by each synoptic evangelist. In chapter four, the results and conclusions from chapters two and three are applied to modern English translations questioning if translators do justice to Matthew, Mark and Luke’s creativity. This chapter questions if Matthew’s, Mark’s and Luke’s tendencies in the handling of traditional material are reflected in these translations or do English translations interpret, translate and/or redact in their own unique way(s)? To conclude, this thesis proposes, that, just as Matthew, Mark and Luke redacted certain titles for their new audience and situation, hermeneutically, Christians today must consider the relevance of the Gospel for their “new” audience and situation.

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Introduction: The Synoptic Titles for Jesus

A redaction-critical study of Matthew, Mark and Luke reveals that the synoptic titles were used as theological vocabulary to identify Jesus in a specific way disclosing unique aspects of each author's purpose for writing. Each synoptic title is not only an historical portrayal of how Jesus was viewed during his life and ministry. Though certain titles may have been used historically to address Jesus, when Matthew, Mark and Luke write they tell the reader who Jesus *is* and not only who he *was*. For that reason they look beyond the impact of Jesus' historical life and identify the impact of Jesus upon their present situation. Their Gospels reflect that impact, as do the titles they attribute to Jesus.

Jesus was given many important names that define him in an authoritative and Christological way like 'Messiah', 'Son of God' or 'Lord'. Some were given at his birth, pronounced by Joseph and Mary, the angels, the three wise men and/or the shepherds. Other names were given later as a child, and still others later as he began his ministry (at his baptism and concerning his relationship with John the Baptist). He acquired different names during his ministry and still other names as he was rejected and crucified because of that ministry. After this, the Early Church further developed other names as the stories about Jesus continued in the oral tradition. All of Jesus' names are attested to in letters, confessions, proclamations, and, of course, the Gospels. For the last 2000 years scholars, theologians, preachers, Christians and non-Christians are still calling Jesus names. Part of the "name-calling" has required much study in the attempt to determine what these names mean and what the significance behind each title/name is. This thesis will study the titles/names of Jesus as they are portrayed in the synoptic Gospels. The goal will be

to identify the unique uses of specific titles in the individual Gospels and determine if they identify Jesus in a historical or theological way. How much control, power and choice did the authors (Matthew, Mark and Luke) have over the naming of Jesus in their stories? Was the Jesus of their story helpless, as we were at birth, to be named in any way the Gospel writers felt appropriate? And finally, if they had the choice to name Jesus as they wished, what power has been passed on to believers today as they identify Him upon whom their faith is established?

Willi Marxsen noted that many Gospels emerged not because they intended to displace the others, but their goal was to write a “better” account.¹ Marxsen comments that “better” is not a judgment of higher value but rather that “better” is an “‘exegetical judgment’, commensurate to the needs of a later time. The old concern is to be expressed anew, brought up to date.”² How do these titles confirm that the evangelists wrote “better” Gospels? Was there an evolving nature of the Gospel witnessed in these titles? By reflecting upon the methods used by Matthew, Mark and Luke in naming Jesus it will be questioned if theological implications are possible from these titles. That question is two-fold: first, are the titles truly that significant? And second, is redaction criticism that reliable? If theological implications are possible, what are the hermeneutical implications that one might learn from in order to have a more complete and worthy picture of who Jesus was according to the way Matthew, Mark and Luke identified him with certain titles? What ways can Christians today “express the old concern anew” so that they too might boldly and meaningfully, name, identify and present Jesus to a world that needs to call upon the only name in which they might be saved?³

¹ Willi Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist* (trans. R. Harrisville; Nashville: Abingdon, 1969), 212.

² *ibid*, 212.

³ Romans 10:13-15: For, "every one who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved" (RSV).

Chapter One: The Synoptic Problem

Introduction

Chapter one will present an overview of the history of synoptic studies, identifying important information regarding past errors and present developments. In the end, this overview will demonstrate the theological value of pursuing redaction criticism as an effective method for studying the synoptic titles. This will be accomplished by discussing four major issues including the synoptic problem, synoptic solutions for the ‘problem’, Markan priority and redaction criticism.

When speaking of genres in the New Testament, the word Gospel identifies different material than the other documents. It is the first four books: the Gospel according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Initially a study of the Gospel must be concerned with the transmission of the historical events of Jesus’ life. This transmission process included the historical events of the life of Jesus, the telling of that story in the oral tradition and then finally the writing of that story in books like Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. It is important to note that, “...the evangelists did not see themselves primarily as authors writing for a general audience, but more likely as ‘servants of the word’ (Lk 1:2).”⁴ As “servants of the word” they were guided by God to collect and edit, but more than that, to *write* and *create* an account of the story of Jesus that had an incredibly applicable and meaningful purpose for the lives of those around them. Their accounts influenced their audience rationally, spiritually and informationally so that many would be encouraged to grow in the faith. In this way the Gospels are not just a story about history, rather they contain the history of Christian faith.

⁴ L.W. Hurtado, “Gospel (Genre)”, in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (eds. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, I. Howard Marshall; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1992), 279.

Though conclusive at one point, the question of the genre or sub-genre “Gospel” has been re-opened in the last 35 years.⁵ Scholars now are questioning the original consensus that the “Gospels constituted a unique literary genre in the Greco-Roman world, and that any apparent analogies with other early Christian writings or from the wider Greco-Roman literary setting were irrelevant.”⁶ What type of genre is one dealing with? Is it ancient historiography, biography, novel, Greek tragedy, or is it a combination of a few of these (a sub-genre)? Is it possible to say that this was the start of an entirely new ancient genre that is now called “Gospel”?

To these questions Hurtado makes two important contributions concerning the genre of the Gospels. First, he says that they should likely be considered “church documents with a certain biographical character rather than as biographies with a religious tone”,⁷ and second:

It is likely that the evangelists consciously and, perhaps more often, unconsciously reflected features of Greco-Roman popular literature. In very general terms, the Gospels can be likened to other examples of Greco-Roman popular biography, but they also form a distinctive group within that broad body of ancient writings.⁸

Whatever conclusions are drawn concerning this genre, an important purpose behind the writing of these documents was to answer the question, “Who is this man?” (Mark 4:40 and parallels). Different than the letters and other theological books of the New Testament, these accounts were a unique first-century contribution made by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John because they told the story of an important man who influenced the majority of the world for centuries following. Within these Gospels are the attempts to tell one story. Primarily it is the story of Jesus of Nazareth and the roots of

⁵ *ibid*, 276-77.

⁶ *ibid*, 276.

⁷ *ibid*, 279.

⁸ *ibid*, 282.

Early Christianity. This includes elements of the life of Jesus and his followers as well as his ministry that involved great deeds and teachings. The stories reveal to each reader the events of his birth, life, death, burial and resurrection. The four accounts are similar and unified in this way and yet in other ways strangely diverse. Because of this Stein comments that, “As early as the second-century, Christian scholars have wrestled with the issue of the similarity and diversity of the Gospels”.⁹ These diversities will be explored further below, but for now, what can initially be said to be similar is that all four accounts attempt to identify who Jesus was and one important way they do this is with the titles they attribute to Jesus.

The Synoptic Problem

As noted above, since the second-century, almost immediately after the writing of the Gospel accounts, people have studied, debated and concluded solution upon solution to the synoptic problem. But what does one mean when one suggests there is a problem with the synoptic Gospels? What is the synoptic problem? In simplest terms it is the “discussion of the historical, literary and theological relationship between Matthew, Mark and Luke”.¹⁰ In broader terms the synoptic problem encompasses many issues. It is the discussion that begins with the historical life of Jesus (start of his ministry, words and deeds) and then how that story was re-told by the Early Church then written and re-written by the evangelists. Dealing with the documents that exist today it is the attempt to explain most honestly and probably the actual development and relationship between Matthew, Mark and Luke. Historically scholars followed the lead of early Church

⁹ Robert H. Stein, *The Synoptic Problem: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1987), 16.

¹⁰ B. Reicke, “The History of the Synoptic Discussion,” in *The Interrelations of the Gospels/A Symposium Led by M.-É. Boismard, W.R. Farmer, F. Neirynek, Jerusalem 1984* (edt. David L. Dungan; Macon: Mercer University, 1990), 291.

Fathers like Augustine, who proposed that the canonized order is the historical order and only solution to the problem. However with the introduction, growth and development of modern criticisms such as source, form and redaction, many new conclusions have been established.

An important first question that must be asked is whether there is a literary interdependence between the synoptic Gospels. By looking at any modern synopsis one would immediately notice the relationship that is shared between these three books that is not shared with John. Compare, for example, Mark 3:29; 4:3-8, 25; 6:41-42 and parallels to note how close and often identical the wording is in these pericopes. Initially then, it must be understood that any possible solution must account for the amount of material that is incredibly similar. Stein outlines four important agreements that point in the direction of literary interdependence. They are the agreement in wording, the agreement in order, the agreement in parenthetical material and the attestation of Luke 1:1-4.¹¹ The conclusion drawn from this is that there is enough agreement that points in the direction of an early *written* source beyond that of the oral tradition. If there is an early written source then many more questions are introduced. Who wrote it? How many written sources? Is that source the complete text of one of the Gospels known today, or are there other fragments of written material? Were Matthew, Mark and Luke merely collectors of this material as form critics would suggest or were they more? Did they create something uniquely different and were they theological authors?

So far, the problem does not sound very difficult. Matthew, Mark and Luke tell stories that contain the same characters, plot and similar themes. This is not a problem. The problem lies in the examples of discontinuity. How can these books be so similar

¹¹ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 29-43.

while at the same time dissimilar? This is where the difficulty of the synoptic problem lies.

The dilemma of discontinuity indeed has turned the synoptic discussion into a synoptic problem. This has led many to debate the purposes behind writing these accounts and the narratives of the life of Jesus. Are readers dealing with historians, strictly presenting a historically accurate account? Can readers trust the chronology? What type of literature is being dealt with? What is the “genre” of this material (as discussed above)? Recently however, with the introduction in the last century of redaction criticism, the important questions that are being addressed concern the theological background of these writings and the theological purposes of each individual author. Other questions are concerned with the process of transmitting these stories. For example: how reliable was that transmission? What source or sources were involved? How reliable was the oral tradition? All of these questions have led to one of the most difficult, important and heated parts of the synoptic problem: who wrote first, second and last? What is the order of the Gospels and what is their relationship to each other? These concerns outline the areas that scholars have rigorously studied in the attempt to solve the synoptic problem.

The Synoptic Solutions: From Tatian to Griesbach

From the beginning of Gospel studies, the primary focus was to establish the correct historical and chronological account of the life of Jesus. Apologetic efforts concentrated on factual evidence making early Church Fathers hungry to uncover the truths concerning the various events found in the four Gospels. This is the idea behind

the earliest harmonies. As early as A.D. 150 Tatian became famous for his *Diatesseron* as the classic first example of a work that attempted to, "...establish the correct historical order of the various events found in the four Gospels and/or try to explain or "harmonize" the apparent discrepancies in them."¹²

Two other important works of the third and fourth century are the works of the otherwise unknown Ammonius of Alexandria (220 CE) and Eusebius (265-339 CE). In Ammonius' work one sees the actual beginning of a "synopsis" of the Gospels. "The main purpose was not to arrange the accounts in historical order but to list the parallel passages in the Gospels for the sake of comparison."¹³ This "synoptic" work, however, was not followed when other scholars preferred to harmonize the Gospel accounts. For example, Eusebius made very important early contributions with his *Canons*, which is a useful table that enables the reader to find parallel materials in the various Gospels.¹⁴ With the first harmonies it is important to note two things. Immediately there was a fascination for comparing like material in the Gospels and, secondly, the primary agenda was the search for the historical and chronological truths behind these texts. For these reasons, a theological agenda for writing each Gospel was not proposed for many years to come.

The primary efforts of the early Church Fathers up to the seventeenth century continued to follow Tatian's lead in the attempt to "harmonize" the Gospels. This includes Augustine's contribution *De Consensu Evangelistarum* as well as the great explosion of Harmonies that were published in the sixteenth century.¹⁵ Stein notes that

¹² Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 16-17.

¹³ *ibid.*, 17.

¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵ There is an explosion (well over 30 harmonies) produced in the sixteenth century. "But on any rational reckoning it is safe to say that the sixteenth century produced more harmonies than the combined fourteen centuries that preceded it." See Harvey K. McArthur, *The Quest Through the Centuries* (Philadelphia:

this led to problematic interpretations of the synoptic Gospels found in harmonies like the one created by Andreas Osiander (*Harmoniae Evangelicae*, Basel, 1537).¹⁶ For Osiander all events had to be explained historically. Any interpretation in this way leads to many different variations in the events, narratives and sayings of Jesus including claims that similar events occurred multiple times in the life of Jesus and the disciples. Problematic texts, when considered historically and chronologically in the synoptic tradition, include: Jairus' daughter (Mark 5:21-43), the blind men at Jericho (Mark 10:46-52), the Gerasene maniac (Mark 5:1-20), Jesus and the crown of thorns (Mark 15:16-20), the criminal on the cross (Luke 23:39-43) and Peter warming himself at the fire in the courtyard (Mark 14:66-72).¹⁷ Luther and Calvin both rejected Osiander's interpretation because his historical interpretation was problematic.¹⁸ Therefore, it should be re-emphasized that the attempts to harmonize the historical and chronological order of these stories have in the past hindered synoptic studies. Those efforts have confused the historical accuracy of the Gospels, which in turn questions the competency of Matthew, Mark and Luke as authors.

During this time harmonies made no attempt to place similar parallel material side by side. Instead it was integrated into one account. The concept of creating harmonies that would be shorter and save space soon became out-dated by the development of the printing press. From then on, harmonies began to be presented with similar, parallel material presented horizontally and vertically rather than integrated as one account.

Slowly parallel accounts began to be placed in columns. An example would be the work that began in 1644 by John Lightfoot (*The Harmony of the Four Evangelists*) and found

Fortress, 1966), 86; see also 157-64 for a listing of these harmonies. Stein adds that this likely has as much to do with industrial developments including the printing press as with development in synoptic Gospel studies. See Stein, *The Synoptic Problem*, 19.

¹⁶ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 20.

¹⁷ Compare these with their synoptic parallel accounts to note historical/chronological differences.

¹⁸ Stein, *The Synoptic Problem*, 20.

completion in 1699 by Johannes Clericus (*Harmonia Evangelica*).¹⁹ The primary purpose here began shifting away from a simple interweaving of the accounts to form one chronological narrative. Instead the parallel accounts were placed side by side for comparison. The first “pure” synopsis however was created by Johann Jacob Griesbach between 1774-75, *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthaei, Marci, et Lucae*.²⁰ Griesbach’s synopsis is the first true example where someone chose the “synoptic” route over the “harmony” route:

The authors of harmonies have principally tried to determine the time and sequence in which the events written down by the evangelists happened; but this lies far outside my purpose. For I freely admit—and I wish to draw the reader’s attention to this—that a “harmonia” in the literal sense of the word is not the aim of this book. For although I am not unaware of how much trouble very learned men have taken to build up a well-ordered harmony according to self-imposed rules, yet I still think not only that out of this minute care small advantage may be obtained, or even practically none at all that my synopsis would not also offer; but further I have serious doubts that a harmonious narrative can be put together from the books of the evangelists, one that adequately agrees with the truth in respect of the chronological arrangement of the pericopes and which stands on a solid basis. For what [is to be done], if none of the evangelists followed chronological order exactly everywhere and if there are not enough indications from which could be deduced which one departed from the chronological order and in what places? Well, I confess to this heresy!²¹

J. J. Griesbach’s statement that questions the chronological agenda and promotes a theological agenda has had far reaching consequences. Since Griesbach’s synopsis the study of the Gospels has experienced many ups and downs. This has been seen in areas of Christology and specifically the Christological titles. Three major developments represented by Reimarus, Kähler and modern scholars (like Cullmann, Hahn and Fuller) demonstrate how Gospel studies have been affected. For example, statements similar to Griesbach’s are what allowed scholars like Samuel Reimarus to make a sharp negative distinction between Jesus’ actual words and the Early Church’s interpretation of those

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 22.

²⁰ William R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem, A Critical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), 2-3.

²¹ The quotation comes from Heinrich Greeven, “The Gospel Synopsis from 1776 to the Present Day”, trans. Robert Althann in *J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text-Critical Studies 1776-1976* (eds. Bernard Orchard and Thomas R. W. Longstaff, Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1978), 27.

words.²² Reimarus perceived the Gospel material as historically flawed. Because of this perception he sought to “completely separate what the apostles present in their writings from what Jesus himself actually said and taught during his lifetime.”²³ His task was to separate “the authentic religion of Jesus from the dogmatic formulations of the Church.”²⁴ Albert Schweitzer, however, critiqued this position and felt that there was a continuity to be found between these two worlds.²⁵

Many other scholars attempted to counter Reimarus’ negative perspective. This is seen in the works of Kähler, Wrede, Bousset, Dibelius and Bultmann. These scholars attempted to re-orientate New Testament Gospel studies with the positive view that the Gospels are early Christian developments based on faith.²⁶ These scholars argued that Jesus could only be known because of the Early Church’s articulation of Him in faith. So Kähler can say:

Thus, our faith in the Savior is awakened and sustained by the brief and concise apostolic proclamation of the crucified and risen Lord. But we are helped toward a believing communion with our Savior by the disciples’ reflection of Jesus, a recollection which was imprinted on them in faith...²⁷

“In this manner Kähler sought to ground all Christological dogma in the faith experience of the Church.”²⁸ Whereas Reimarus had a negative view of the historicity of these documents, Kähler and others concluded that the history of Jesus is unknown and unimportant. Bultmann, for example, stated that “Christological dogma belonged to the

²² Edwin K. Broadhead, *Naming Jesus: Titular Christology in the Gospel of Mark* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 13.

²³ W.G. Kümmel, *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of its Problems* (trans. S. McLean Gilmour and Howard C. Kee; Nashville: Abingdon, 1972), 89.

²⁴ Broadhead, 14.

²⁵ Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* (trans. W. Montgomery; London: A & C. Black, 1911 [1906]).

²⁶ Broadhead, 15.

²⁷ Martin Kähler, *The So-Called Historical Jesus and the Historic, Biblical Christ* (trans. C. Braaten; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1964 [1892]), 96-97.

²⁸ Broadhead, 16.

post-resurrection faith of the Church and not to the facts of Jesus' life."²⁹ These scholars believed that the traditions were formed primarily by the Early Church, and mostly borrowed from other religious traditions.³⁰

Other modern scholars have presented a new belief or view that Christology and the Christological titles are "Church formulations based on faith, but this faith is rooted in the history of Jesus."³¹ In this view, the Christological titles are believed to be Church creations based on faith, but these creations also originate from the history of Jesus. This synthesis demonstrates that the unique early Christian developments, seen in the works of the evangelists, were grounded in the life of the historical Jesus.

A few authors including O. Cullmann, F. Hahn, and R. Fuller represent this position. For Cullmann, New Testament Christology emerged through "veiled allusions" during Jesus' life, "the continuing impact of contact with Jesus" and the "experience of the present lordship of the risen Christ."³² Cullmann insisted that, "All Christology is founded upon the life of Jesus."³³ Hahn in *Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity* investigated the development of five major titles (Son of Man, Lord, Christ, Son of David, Son of God) in order to clarify the history of their development within early Christianity.³⁴ Hahn consistently points to a future eschatological emphasis

²⁹ Broadhead, 17.

³⁰ "The division between the mission of Jesus and the message of the Church was sketched in a negative way by Reimarus and given positive status in the thought of Kähler. Kähler's theoretical position was given exegetical support in the work of various scholars (here mentioned specifically were Wrede, Bousset, Dibelius, and Bultmann). Consequently the Christological titles were seen as faith formulations emerging within the life of the earliest Church. These terms were drawn largely from the religious world surrounding Christianity and were applied to Jesus as expressions of faith in the crucified and risen Christ." See Broadhead, 19.

³¹ Broadhead, 19.

³² Broadhead, 22.

³³ Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (trans. Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall; London: SCM Press, 1959), 317.

³⁴ Ferdinand Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity* (trans. H. Knight and G. Ogg; London: Lutterworth, 1969 [1963]).

that was developed from the titles that had no sense of exaltation in their first usage.

“The earliest Christology has in all its distinctive features a consistently eschatological orientation.”³⁵ Fuller attempted a similar survey of Christological development.³⁶ He investigated the development of titles from within Palestinian Judaism, Hellenistic Judaism and the Hellenistic Gentile realm. Broadhead notes that for Fuller the “... *implicit* understanding present in Jesus’ ministry provided the foundation for *explicit* Christological developments within various stages of the Early Church.”³⁷ These are three examples where the authors were willing to interpret Early Church Christology as rooted in the history of Jesus.

These three positions (Reimarus, Kähler, and modern scholars like Cullmann, Hahn and Fuller) demonstrate a few of the developments that have taken place in synoptic studies since Griesbach’s statement that promoted a theological perspective over a chronological one. If nothing else the movement from harmonies to synopses began the ideological movement that one could analyze and study the synoptic Gospels as more than historical and chronological documents. An explosion of solutions to the synoptic problem has been the outcome for generations who followed. Farmer says that, “No review of the history of the synoptic Problem can take them all into account without leaving the reader in a state of confusion, and the researcher in a state of frustration.”³⁸

The Synoptic Solutions: Augustine, Griesbach and the Two-Source Hypotheses

While being bombarded by many solutions three major hypotheses have remained important: the early Church Father tradition, the Griesbach Hypothesis and the Two-

³⁵ Hahn, 347.

³⁶ R.H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (London: Lutterworth, 1965).

³⁷ Broadhead, 23-24.

³⁸ Farmer, *Synoptic Problem*, 3.

Source Hypothesis. One of these three solutions has been the preferred hypothesis during some significant period in historical synoptic studies. These three solutions will be outlined identifying the scholars who have defended them (or the scholars most significantly associated with each hypothesis) and the time period in which they were defended.

The first solution is the early Church Father tradition usually identified with Augustine. The defended order is that Matthew wrote first, Mark used Matthew, followed by Luke who used both Matthew and Mark. This is the traditional view that is witnessed by the order of the canonized New Testament. Where this solution seems valuable is seen in how early it is attested. It is difficult to argue (even with modern critical methods of research) against such early witnesses to these documents. This was the consensus only two or three centuries removed from the writing of these documents. It can be argued that the early Church Fathers, like Augustine, had at their disposal insights and understandings that scholars 1600-2000 years later are not privileged to have at their disposal.

Scholars today, however, continue in their attempts to interpret references made by second—fourth century Church Fathers that would both discredit this theory and credit modern understandings concerning the synoptic order. This includes observations of early witnesses like Clement of Alexandria who is known for his comment that the Gospels with genealogies were written first.³⁹ Papias is also known for an early second-century comment, “Mark became Peter’s interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not, indeed, in order, of the things said or done by the Lord” and “Matthew collected the oracles (τὰ λόγια) in the Hebrew language and each interpreted them as

³⁹ Farmer, *Synoptic Problem*, 8.

best as he could.”⁴⁰ “Whereas other early Church Fathers (Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, etc.) made comments about the authorship of the synoptic Gospels, Augustine (*De Consensu Evangelistarum*, 1.2.) was probably the first to seek to explain how they were related literarily.”⁴¹ At this point in time and with this source hypothesis, it must be noted that one is still dealing with Church Fathers and theologians who are attempting to piece together a historically and chronologically correct story for ecumenical and apologetic purposes. This is a different agenda than that taken by most modern synoptic scholars in their attempt to defend a source hypothesis.

The second solution that gained great acceptance during the first half of the nineteenth-century was the Griesbach Hypothesis⁴² or today sometimes identified as the Two-Gospel Hypothesis. In light of the movement from a “harmonistic” to a “synoptic” approach, Henry Owen was the first (1764)⁴³ to begin seeing the order of the synoptic Gospels differently. J. J. Griesbach made this view popular in 1776. His hypothesis proposes that Matthew was written first (following Early Church tradition), Luke used Matthew to write his Gospel and then Mark used both Matthew and Luke. This is the first attempt made to change the order by switching Mark and Luke, but leaving Matthew as the first Gospel, agreeing with the already canonized order presented in the New Testament. Mark, it is believed, is the one who, having Matthew and Luke before him, behaved like a scribe or “harmonizer”, taking his sources and creating an abbreviated, condensed, and conflated version that would save papyrus or scroll space. Mark becomes the simpler and smaller combined version for everyday use. One positive aspect of this solution is that it eliminates any need for a hypothetical source. This is also the first

⁴⁰ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.39.15-16 (Loeb). See Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 129.

⁴¹ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 130.

⁴² Farmer, *Synoptic Problem*, 8.

⁴³ C. M. Tuckett, *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1983), 3.

solution to do justice to the tradition proposed by Clement of Alexandria.⁴⁴ A difficulty, however, is that it still proposes, as Augustine did, that Luke had Matthew as a source when writing. It should be noted, nonetheless, that the “greatest single argument for the advocacy of the Griesbach Hypothesis is clearly the agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark in the triple tradition.”⁴⁵ Further positive and negative aspects of this theory will be discussed below as the Two-Gospel hypothesis has had an important surge of interest within the last 30-40 years following the work of B.C. Butler and William Farmer.⁴⁶

Finally, the third important solution that has earned the majority of modern scholarly support has been the Two-Source (or Two-Document) Hypothesis. The men associated with the origin and development of this hypothesis are K.Lachmann (1835); C. H. Weisse and C.G. Wilke (1838); H. J. Holtzmann (1863) and B. H. Streeter (1924). The Two-Source Hypothesis states that Mark wrote first, and both Matthew and Luke independently wrote next using Mark as one of their sources and a second hypothetical source known as ‘Q’. There have been other proposals for either eliminating ‘Q’⁴⁷ or the addition of two more hypothetical sources that constitute a possible Four-Source hypothesis.⁴⁸ The additional hypothetical sources are identified as “M” (Matthean additional material/sources) and “L” (Lukan additional material/sources). Recently this theory (Two-Source) has regained strength with many fruitful studies focusing on the

⁴⁴ Farmer, *Synoptic Problem*, 8.

⁴⁵ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 132.

⁴⁶ B.C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1951); Farmer, *Synoptic Problem*.

⁴⁷See A. M. Farrer, *St. Matthew and St. Mark* (London: A. & C. Black, 1954), vii; or Farrer, “Dispensing with Q” in *Studies in the Gospels; Essays in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot* (ed. D.E. Nineham; Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1955), 55-86. See also M. D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1989).

⁴⁸ See B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: Macmillan, 1924).

redactions made by individual authors in order to identify unique themes, characteristics and theology.⁴⁹

Before concluding this section a number of other possible solutions where scholars have added to the discussion should be identified. They have been steps taken in developing one of the three major views (1-3 below) or original solutions (4-5):

1. An Ur-Gospel in Aramaic, which was used by each of the Evangelists (G.E. Lessing [1778]; J.G. Eichhorn [1794])
2. An early common oral tradition used by each (J.G. von Herder [1796]; J. C. L. Gieseler [1818]; B.F. Wescott [1888]; Chilton [1989])
3. The use of common “fragments” or *memorabilia* (F. Schleiermacher [1821])
4. Mark was first, was used by Matthew, and Luke used both (no Q) (A. M. Farrer [1957]; Goulder [1989])
5. Luke was first (R. L. Lindsey [1969])⁵⁰

Markan Priority

It is not hard for anyone to wonder at the significance of many of these inconclusive solutions. What is the point of arguing the order of who wrote when? Does it matter? The importance is that at the heart of the struggle is the possibility of concluding who wrote first. In solving that mystery one can then become engaged with the sources that were used in the appropriate order they were used. The end result is something worth attaining. Conclusions concerning the redaction-activity of the early theologians provide insights into hermeneutics and methods of transmission developed and prevalent in the Early Church and early Christian theology.

In this subsection an attempt will be made to outline the significant weight of the arguments developed in favor of Markan priority, which is a major aspect of the Two-

⁴⁹ F. Neirynck, “Introduction: The Two-Source Hypothesis” in *The Interrelations of the Gospels/A Symposium Led by M.-É. Boismard, W.R. Farmer, F. Neirynck, Jerusalem 1984* (ed. David L. Dungan; Macon: Mercer University, 1990), 4.

⁵⁰ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 130-31. See also Peter M. Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem: An Argument for Markan Priority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997), 5-7.

Source (Document) hypothesis. Like all theories this hypothesis is not absolute. It has been stated correctly that no single argument or individual proof alone is able to make this theory infallible, but it is the weight of all the arguments combined that make Markan priority most probable.⁵¹

Now, seven arguments that have been developed with the help of Stein⁵² and others⁵³ will be outlined. First is the argument from length that is sometimes referred to as the “great omission”. In this argument one must determine why Mark is the shortest of the three Gospels while at the same time dealing with the fact that over 90 percent of Mark’s verses are contained in Matthew, and over 50 percent in Luke.⁵⁴ Traditionally Matthean prioritists would state that Mark is an abridgement of Matthew and Luke. However this is proven most unlikely due to the importance of the material missing in Mark (i.e. birth narratives, teaching material and the Sermon on the Mount). Stein convincingly displays in a problematic comparison of the pericopes within the triple tradition that Mark usually is the longer version and not an abridgement (see for example Mark 1:29-31; 2:13-17; 3:13-19; 4:1-9; 4:13-20; 4:30-32; 4:35-41 and parallels to note a few).⁵⁵ These example and others like them demonstrate that Mark usually has the longer story with the most unnecessary redundant material. The Griesbach hypothesis then is contradictory on this point because it is saying at the same time that Mark has both “conflated” and “abbreviated” Matthew and Luke. This is most difficult to understand

⁵¹ Tuckett, *Revival of Griesbach Hypothesis*, 186-87.

⁵² See Stein, *The Synoptic Problem*, 45-87.

⁵³ C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1959), 6-8. C. M. Tuckett, *Revival of Griesbach Hypothesis*, 9-76; idem, “Response to Two-Gospel Hypothesis” in *The Interrelations of the Gospels* (ed. David L. Dungan; Macon: Mercer University, 1990), 23-46. See also M.D. Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 8-15; Head, 8-23; Neiryneck, 3-22.

⁵⁴ Cranfield, 6.

⁵⁵ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 50. “It can be seen that in the fifty-one examples listed in table 4 Mark is the longest twenty-one times, Matthew is the longest eleven times, and Luke is the longest ten times.” See Stein, 49.

and clearly shows that Mark did not merely abridge Matthew and Luke. It does however point to the possibility of Matthew and Luke using Mark and abridging their triple tradition stories. Cranfield presents it in this way:

That Matthew, whose style is much more succinct than Mark's, should have omitted superfluous words and phrases which he found in Mark in order to make room for additional matter is understandable: the opposite process of omitting valuable material in order to make room for diffuseness, which the theory of Matthaean priority presupposes, is incomprehensible.⁵⁶

Second is the 'argument from grammar'. It should never be assumed that Mark was an illiterate or incompetent author. Rather, readers are indebted to Mark for his expertise in creating a unique and original piece of literature out of the first-century that has many excellent qualities. These include such important themes as the Messianic secret,⁵⁷ or interesting structuring like his chiasm, sandwich technique or doublets to note only a few.⁵⁸ However, the 'argument from grammar' points to the examples where it makes little sense for Mark if he had Matthew and/or Luke before him to change his source(s) for less refined grammar. It is Cranfield who states, "Often, where the language of Matthew and/or Luke differs from that of Mark, it will be seen that it represents a grammatical or stylistic improvement".⁵⁹ The opposite, then, seems more likely—that Matthew and Luke corrected Mark's grammar (see for example Mark 1:12; 2:4; 4:41; 5:9-10; 10:20 and parallels).

Third is the 'argument from difficulty' that follows the same approach as the 'argument from grammar'. Traditional examples of Mark's harder readings include his view of the disciples (Mark 4:13, 6:51-52, 10:14, 10:35-37) and the limitations of Jesus (Mark 1:32-34a, 3:9-10, 6:5-6). It is possible that Mark having Matthew and Luke before

⁵⁶ Cranfield, 7.

⁵⁷ William Wrede, *The Messianic Secret* (trans. J.C.G. Greig; Cambridge: James Clark, 1971 [1901]).

⁵⁸ Ben Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 36-37.

⁵⁹ Cranfield, 7.

him added, changed or redacted in this way for his historical and/or theological emphasis. However, it is more likely that Matthew and Luke having Mark before them would wish to heighten or magnify their presentation of Jesus and his disciples, as witnessed by the methods of the Early Church, than to assume Mark would change an easier reading into a more difficult one. Regardless, it is also true that the more difficult reading (a rule of textual criticism) is usually most likely to be the original or earlier reading. It is for this reason that many push Mark's interpretation back to an earlier date.

A fourth argument is from verbal agreement and order. The results of this argument conclude that there are a number of Matthean and Markan agreements against Luke, a number of Markan and Lukan agreements against Matthew, but in comparison a lack of Matthean and Lukan agreements against Mark. This argument initially was stated as a conclusive proof for Markan priority, and has usually been associated with K. Lachmann. More recently, however, Griesbach supporters, namely Butler, have labeled it the "Lachmann Fallacy".⁶⁰ In more recent study the "fallacy" of this argument has been revealed. As Tuckett mentions:

the inconclusive nature of the argument (*verbal agreement and order*)⁶¹ to support Markan priority has been recognized: the evidence is ambiguous and allows a variety of hypotheses, i.e. any hypothesis which places Mark in a "medial" position.... Thus any claim that the facts are explicable by one and only one hypothesis is a logical fallacy, whatever that hypothesis is.⁶²

The next argument is the argument from literary agreements. This appeals to "certain omissions and wordings that make much more sense on the basis of Matthew and/or Luke having changed their Markan source than vice versa (see Mark 1:10, 20; 2:4;

⁶⁰ Butler, 62-71.

⁶¹ Italics mine.

⁶² Tuckett, "Response to Two-Gospel Hypothesis", 54-5.

10:17, 35; 11:2 and parallels)".⁶³ Stein concludes that this verbal phenomenon is best explained by a Matthean abbreviation or rewording of Mark.⁶⁴

The next two arguments (six and seven) help to identify the field of study that will be focused on in the remainder of this thesis. The sixth argument is from Mark's more primitive theology. This aspect, like the others, appeals to probability. One example that will be pursued further in this thesis is found in the way that Matthew, Mark and Luke identify Jesus. "In this argument we noted that—if as Luke demonstrates, there was a tendency in the church to use the title 'Lord' or 'Kyrios' more and more for Jesus in the Gospel traditions—Mark is more primitive than Matthew, and Matthew's use of Mark explains the greater occurrence of this term in Matthew."⁶⁵ Cranfield believes this is demonstrated with the pre-Resurrection opinion of Jesus as 'Rabbi' or 'Teacher' represented in Mark versus the post-Resurrection understanding of 'Lord' represented more often in Matthew and Luke.⁶⁶ The greater question lies in the probabilities behind the development from a more primitive to a less primitive theology.

This argument sounds promising. However, one must assume that a theological development and understanding of Jesus as 'Lord' had not occurred even by the time of Mark's writings—if he is the earliest. This is difficult to comprehend when considering Christological developments made by other authors in the New Testament possibly at an earlier date. Nevertheless, the strength of this argument, like argument two and three (grammar and difficulty), is that it seems more likely that Matthew and Luke would change their source than Mark reverting to a more primitive theology. This argument then only is able to stand if it can be decided that Mark has a more primitive theology and

⁶³ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 70-76. See 71 for quotation.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 76.

⁶⁵ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 88.

⁶⁶ Cranfield, 7.

that his theology is not simply his redaction of other sources. This hypothesis seems likely though not conclusive.

The last argument is the argument from redaction. Redaction criticism has become very important in synoptic studies for supporting Markan priority. This type of investigation should continue to become more prominent in future discussion. The arguments from redaction in support of Markan priority conclude that “Markan redactional characteristics tend to appear more frequently in those sections of Matthew that contain the triple tradition, but Matthean redactional characteristics do not tend to appear in the triple tradition of Mark or Luke.”⁶⁷ This seems to be a very persuasive argument and as noted above this type of investigation will provide further important insights in the future. Studies that have shown the redactional probabilities of Markan priority have been the proof that has helped weather the storm of recent attacks made by supporters of the Griesbach hypothesis.⁶⁸ Overall, this thesis will attempt to uncover the implications of this argument while pursuing a redaction-critical look at the synoptic titles.

Though most of these arguments seem to lean in favor of Markan priority one should never be closed-minded to other options available. This has been one of the great contributions made by Farmer and others returning to the Griesbach hypothesis. The implications of his research have led scholars to question again what was once thought to be an “assured result” of biblical scholarship.⁶⁹ One must realize that the key word is “hypothesis”. Much work must be completed before conclusions will definitely support

⁶⁷ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 127.

⁶⁸ Neiryck, 4.

⁶⁹ D.L. Dungan, *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, xiii stated that the Two-Source (Document) hypothesis should no longer be viewed as an “assured result” of biblical scholarship. This was one of the resolutions unanimously voted upon at the Cambridge Owen-Griesbach Conference.

one and only one source hypothesis. As arguments are presented one must listen carefully, critically and analytically to arguments that oppose Markan priority. An example of where to listen in this thesis is with the question of “primitiveness” where conclusions are not as simple as was once thought.⁷⁰

Another interesting proposal is that scholars, on both sides of the argument, are looking at different evidence. For example, most modern synopses present material from the perspective of Markan priority or the Two-Source hypothesis and therefore present the evidence in favor of that argument. Supporters of the Two-Gospel hypothesis (Griesbach) say that if the evidence were presented by means of a different synopsis, following their hypothesis, then this would help everyone to see the same material and in turn their side of the argument.⁷¹ In their words, “scholars are just not looking at the same evidence/material”⁷² and that is why they are coming to different conclusions. This then is a reminder to remain open-minded. More research is needed into the nature, relationship and development of the oral and written tradition and transmission that occurred during the first-century. What supporters of the Griesbach hypothesis have also made clear is that sometimes the sayings or incidents of a story in Matthew or Luke seem to be in fact from a source earlier than that of Mark.⁷³ This is an encouragement to embrace each other’s work with the hope of finding more concrete and complete truths.

⁷⁰ This will be a concern below as we discuss the “primitiveness” of these titles.

⁷¹ Compare for example Burton H. Throckmorton (ed.), *Gospel Parallels. A Comparison of the Synoptic Gospels* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1992) with Dom Bernard Orchard’s *A Synopsis of the Four Gospels Arranged According to the Two Gospel Hypothesis* (Macon: Mercer University, 1982). The important and difficult question being debated between both synopses is how one determines what is a parallel passage for material that seems out of sequence.

⁷² Dungan, *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, xiii.

⁷³ Hooker, 15. See also E. P. Sanders, *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition* (London: Cambridge University, 1969), 24.

Concerning a source hypothesis, in the end the options should be weighed and not assumed. It is difficult to conclude definitely one way or the other with genuine certainty or confidence. As M. Hooker notes:

Certainly the fact that no theory fits all the facts suggests that there may be hidden factors contributing to the situation....All we can say with certainty is that, on the evidence available, the hypothesis of Markan priority solves more problems than any other. But no hypothesis should ever be given the status of an 'assured result', and we may be grateful to those who have challenged this particular theory for reminding us of this fact.⁷⁴

Therefore the goal should be to lean critically and carefully on that approach which seems *most* likely, probable and plausible. For these reasons, I will tentatively embrace Markan priority when stepping forward into a deeper study in Christology and specifically titular Christology.

Redaction Criticism: Definition

The concluding section of this chapter will identify, outline and present the value of redaction criticism as a method of study that will be applied to the synoptic titles.

First, however, redaction criticism should be defined. Norman Perrin's definition of it states:

It is concerned with studying the theological motivation of an author as this is revealed in the collection, arrangement, editing and modification of traditional material, and in the composition of new material or the creation of new forms within the traditions of early Christianity....it is concerned with the composition of new material and the arrangements of redacted or freshly created material into new units and patterns, as well as with the redaction of existing material.⁷⁵

Redaction criticism was the natural development that followed form criticism. Just as the time after the First World War may be identified as a time when form critics became very busy defining and practising their new discipline, one may identify the time after the

⁷⁴ Hooker, 15.

⁷⁵ Norman Perrin, *What is Redaction Criticism?* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 1.

Second World War as the time when redaction criticism began to be defined and practised.⁷⁶

It was the work of two important form critics (Dibelius and Bultmann) who took the necessary steps in form criticism that eventually led to the development of redaction criticism.⁷⁷ Bultmann has been considered more influential in the development because he was able to ascribe “a greater element of free creativity to the Early Church in her work on the tradition than does Dibelius.”⁷⁸ An important point of departure between form critics and redaction criticism is found in Bultmann’s and Dibelius’ classification of Matthew, Mark and Luke as authors. For Dibelius, the synoptic evangelists “are not ‘authors’ in the literary sense, but collectors.”⁷⁹ Bultmann, however, can speak of “the editing (*Redaktion*) of the narrative material and the composition (*Komposition*) of the Gospels”⁸⁰ and speaks of “the theological character of the Gospels.”⁸¹ Perrin notes that Bultmann also goes beyond Dibelius when talking about the redaction in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. “Here he concerns himself with the relationship to, and the differences from, the Gospel of Mark and with the theological motivation for these differences. In this he is the true father of redaction criticism, although it should be noted that he reaches conclusions very different from those reached by the redaction critics.”⁸²

Nevertheless, the true growth and formation of redaction criticism may be attributed to three prominent scholars and to the students that they trained. Around the

⁷⁶ W. Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist* (trans. R. Harrisville; Nashville: Abingdon, 1969), preface. See also Perrin, 21, 25.

⁷⁷ Perrin, 16-19.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, 18.

⁷⁹ Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (trans. B. Woolf; Cambridge: James Clarke, 1971 [1919]), 59.

⁸⁰ R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. J. Marsh; New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 337.

⁸¹ Bultmann, 338.

⁸² Perrin, 20.

same time these scholars independently published three different works on each of the synoptic Gospels all with an emphasis on this new discipline. They are Gunther Bornkamm (Matthew), Hans Conzelmann (Luke) and Willi Marxsen (Mark).

Gunther Bornkamm, a pupil of Bultmann, was the first to publish a short article, which appeared in a journal in the theological school in Bethel in 1948.⁸³ This is now available in *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, by Bornkamm and his two students G. Barth and H.J. Held. Bornkamm in this article makes specific mention of the redaction-activity of Matthew in the pericope of the stilling of the storm (Matthew 8:23-27) by comparing it with Mark 4:35-41. He demonstrates how Matthew re-interprets the story. This article is the first work that identifies Matthew as an *interpreter* who *modifies* the earlier tradition to reveal his own theological agenda. This should be considered the first redaction-critical work because it concentrated on the significant omissions and additions that Matthew makes to develop unique themes that inform the reader of the intentions behind writing his Gospel.

Hans Conzelmann was next, though he wrote almost at the exact same time as Bornkamm. Perrin says that if Bornkamm was the first to do a redaction-critical study then Conzelmann was the most important.⁸⁴ In 1954 his *Theology of St. Luke* was published and until this point Luke was primarily viewed as an important and early first-century Christian historian. “With Conzelmann’s accomplishments all this changes; Luke the historian becomes a self-conscious theologian, and the details of his composition can be shown to have been theologically motivated.”⁸⁵ Conzelmann demonstrates that Luke, just like Matthew, Mark and John, was theologically driven and

⁸³ *ibid.*, 26.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 28.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 29.

motivated to write his Gospel. An example of this is how Luke places all of the resurrection appearances in Jerusalem whereas the others place these in Galilee. This all fits into a Lukan theology that is concerned with Jerusalem's role in salvation history.

Conzelmann contributes greatly by creating a proper methodology that focuses on a second phase where the traditional material of the evangelists is now being used to create a positive, new picture, "like stones used as parts of a new mosaic".⁸⁶ The evangelists, he says, are creators and not simply editors.

The method which Conzelmann uses may be described somewhat as follows: He begins by carefully comparing the text of Luke with that of his source, mainly of course the Gospel of Mark, in order to determine what may be recognized as the Lucan editorial activity. Then he studies this activity as carefully as he can to determine what theological motivation is to be seen at work in it, and he goes on from there to certain major texts which seem to him to summarize central aspects of the theological purpose he has detected in the editorial activity.⁸⁷

Conzelmann builds his basic understanding of the Lucan theology upon the minute observation of changes introduced by Luke in the material he inherits from Mark and Q; in other words, Conzelmann is looking for demonstrable tendencies to be revealed in Luke's handling of traditional material.⁸⁸

Conzelmann helps to identify the theological value of a redaction-critical study. His commentary reveals that there are promising results when one observes "minute changes" that are verified through the "demonstrable tendencies" in an author's handling of the traditional material. It is this method that will be applied most closely to the synoptic titles.

Next was Willi Marxsen who published *Mark the Evangelist* only two years later in 1956. It is important to note that if Bornkamm was the first, and Conzelmann the most important, then Marxsen is the one responsible for, or at least the first one who proposes, the name of the new discipline: *Redaktionsgeschichte*.⁸⁹ Willi Marxsen's book was

⁸⁶ Hans Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke* (trans. G. Buswell; New York: Harper and Row, 1960), 12.

⁸⁷ Perrin, 30-31.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 65-66.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 33.

concerned primarily with four aspects, or four redaction-critical studies, of the material in Mark that revealed Mark's theology and the way that this material was re-used by Matthew and Luke. The four concerns were (1) the tradition concerning John the Baptist, (2) geographical references in the Gospel narratives, (3) the conception εὐαγγέλιον (Gospel) and (4) Mark 13.

Marxsen differs from form criticism on three major points. First he states that while form criticism primarily sees the evangelists as "collectors, vehicles of tradition, editors",⁹⁰ redaction criticism can identify them as individual authors. Secondly, Marxsen states that form criticism fragments the unity of the Gospels when it breaks down the tradition into smaller units.⁹¹ Redaction criticism on the other hand counteracts this "fragmentation" when the larger unit of the entire Gospel is kept in mind while noting the individual creations that have taken place alongside the tradition.

Finally, the third difference that Marxsen suggests is the possibility of a third *Sitz im Leben*. Until this point, form critics only perceived two *Sitze im Leben* (settings/situations-in-life): the first *Sitz im Leben* is the situation in the life of Jesus and the second *Sitz im Leben* is the situation in the life of the Early Church. Marxsen, however, moves forward by investigating a potential third *Sitz im Leben* of the Gospels, which involves the study of what the evangelists did with the Gospel traditions available to them.⁹² Marxsen, therefore, states:

If Joachim Jeremias differentiates the "first situation-in-life" located in the unique situation of Jesus' activity, from the "second situation-in-life" mediated by the situation of the primitive church (which form history seeks to ascertain), we are dealing here with the "third situation-in-life."⁹³

⁹⁰ Dibelius, 3.

⁹¹ Marxsen, 17-20.

⁹² *ibid.*, 26.

⁹³ *ibid.*, 23.

With this “*third* situation-in-life” Marxsen can inquire into the setting in which each Gospel arose and developed by the particular interests and point of view of the evangelist concerned.⁹⁴ The perception of a third *Sitz im Leben* is important to redaction criticism because it provides a method that is helpful for envisioning stages of development. This method will also be applied next chapter to the synoptic titles as the three stages of development (three *Sitze im Leben*) will be considered.

One of Marxsen’s initial proposals was a hypothetical projection of the historical setting behind this type of investigation. This is a new departure even from redaction criticism which points to the possibility of identifying actual historical events based on the redaction editing and writing of the early Gospel authors. So Marxsen concludes that the theology of Mark, the third *Sitz im Leben* or “setting in life” for this evangelist, reflects the situation in Galilee in A.D. 66 at the beginning of the Jewish War. Here he seems concerned with the background importance of Markan insights (gained from redaction criticism) and how one might identify those developments with a specific moment in time, related to certain historical events. Marxsen’s proposal at this level is difficult to accept. He steps into a territory that is indeed hypothetical and highly inconclusive. It is a step beyond redaction criticism and possibly a territory for future research. Presently, however, the redaction can only suggest possibilities; it cannot confirm them in this direction.

Redaction Criticism: Limitations and Benefits

Bornkamm, Conzelmann and Marxsen, through their development of redaction criticism, have indeed initiated a valuable approach for studying the Gospels. Here, four

⁹⁴ *ibid*, 24.

limitations and four benefits of this criticism will be identified. First the limitations will be presented followed by the benefits.

One of the first negative outcomes of redaction criticism is that it has “cut the ground from under the feet of the ‘*life of Jesus*’ theology”.⁹⁵ It is now more difficult to promote a “Quest for the Historical Jesus” as redaction criticism reveals this material to be more theologically motivated than historical.

Second, one of the major burdens of redaction criticism is that it must come to conclusions concerning a source hypothesis. The emphasis of this criticism is that it is based on a redaction made to a source. The burden of proof lies in defining whether Mark was used first, and therefore who has redacted and upon which sources they have redacted. This sometimes forces conclusions to be made that possibly should not be made. If accomplished correctly then redaction criticism may become quite successful. However before this is accomplished one is walking on dangerously hypothetical ground. This is a major limitation. This is where some would accuse redaction criticism of failing because of a circular argument: i.e. Markan priority is proved through redaction criticism but redaction criticism can only work when you know Mark to be the original source. It was this concern that led to the appeal of scholars at the Jerusalem Symposium (1984) for future research to consider whether one may identify redactional features in the Gospels independently of a source hypothesis.⁹⁶

Third, is the concern of how difficult it is to define a clear redaction. Many times one is dealing with a shift in the story, in events or in perception. Though today this may be viewed as a redaction, the author of the Gospel might not have viewed it in this way.

⁹⁵ Perrin, 74. Italics mine.

⁹⁶ Dungan, *Interrelations of the Gospels*, 609.

Again assumptions are being made. Sources could be missing or scholars might be placing too much emphasis on a false source hypothesis. Chapters two and three will pursue whether the titles being explored in this thesis represent a clear redaction and whether those redactions are concrete, noticeable and definable. The limitation, therefore, is whether or not one can ever truly identify what the redaction is. Missing background sources that are unavailable to modern scholars could possibly reveal that this is not in fact a redaction but rather that other unknown sources were used in these instances.

A final limitation of redaction criticism is that at times when Matthew and Luke are compared too closely with the Two-Document Hypothesis, then they are not permitted to speak for themselves.⁹⁷ When the stress of identifying a source is forced upon the individual accounts each author has the potential of being stripped of his own personal message. This occurs when too much concentration is placed on the “diversity” and therefore a loss of interest in the “unity” of these Gospels.⁹⁸ This has its limitations. Yet, if redaction criticism is used correctly it will in turn expose the reality of these unique differences and the way they unify the Gospel message. This limitation is noted to identify a possible area of restriction to be aware of.

There are four benefits of redaction criticism that should be identified here. First, redaction criticism has helped scholars to understand something more profound about the nature of the Gospel genre. No longer can they be interpreted strictly as historical accounts of Jesus from A.D. 27-30. Instead they can be said to represent the “history of Christian experience in any and every age.”⁹⁹ This is possible because the accounts

⁹⁷ Reicke, “The History of the Synoptic Discussion”, 308-09.

⁹⁸ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 234-35.

⁹⁹ Perrin, 74-75.

(Matthew, Mark, Luke and John) are now easily understood as products “reminiscent of that ministry (Jesus’), interpreted tradition and the free creativity of prophets and the evangelist.”¹⁰⁰ Redaction criticism makes these facts apparent. No longer are Matthew, Mark and Luke regarded as historians but rather as individual theological authors and interpreters of the tradition. The understanding that the evangelists are authors and theologians has allowed for the increase in source hypotheses and has proven certain source hypotheses to be more probable.

Second, the Gospels, when redaction criticism is done correctly, are viewed as holistic books and not just collections of isolated pericopes.¹⁰¹ Because of this, studies are better able to understand the true, independent and unique aspects of each individual author. The danger is when one attempts to force the redaction to be equivalent to the total theology of the books of Matthew, Mark and Luke. The redaction is not a complete or total representation of that theology. Instead it identifies a unique theological emphasis of each author.

Third, redaction criticism has helped to identify a more accurate understanding of the history of the tradition. This is attested to in Marxsen’s idea behind three separate *Sitze im Leben* for the situation in the life of Jesus, the Early Church and the evangelist. Historical research into the life of Jesus is still attainable then, through the aid of redaction criticism. When a redaction is clearly identified then the material that is *not* the redaction could possibly be identified as historical material. A “passage that betrays a non-Matthean, non-Markan, non-Lukan terminology and style” can most likely be

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 266.

identified as traditional material.¹⁰² This can only be identified through redaction criticism.

Fourth and finally, the hermeneutical implications are promising. If a third *Sitz im Leben* is considered, with redaction criticism, then readers have at least two examples where “the old concern is expressed anew” and “brought up to date”¹⁰³ or as Marxsen says, exegetically there are “better” illustrations. Does this then propose and encourage the possibility of a fourth *Sitz im Leben* (the situation/setting in the life of believers today)? If so, how do Christians today, who experience Jesus and the Gospel, address the needs of a fourth situation in life?

It is through the help of redaction criticism that many of the realities of the Christian faith expressed in the Gospel have been rediscovered. The theological value of redaction criticism and the hermeneutical implications of those redactions will be pursued in the remainder of this thesis. Conzelmann demonstrated that when one notices the “minute observations of change” and “demonstrable tendencies” in the handling of traditional material then redaction criticism is effective. In this way both Conzelmann and Marxsen are witnesses to the reliability of this method. Redaction criticism, therefore, will help to identify the significance of the synoptic titles as unique theological contributions made by the synoptic authors.

Redaction Criticism and the Synoptic Titles

The next chapter will deal more specifically with examples of how each synoptic author uses specific titles. But, how does a study of the synoptic titles relate to redaction

¹⁰² *ibid*, 269.

¹⁰³ Marxsen, 212.

criticism? When comparing a story in the triple tradition it is not uncommon to notice a shift, change, addition or omission, known now as a redaction, made to these titles.

Although quite frequently the same title/name is used, here I am questioning those instances where one expects to see the same titles but does not. The first question is—why or why not? What is the purpose behind this change? Is it thematic? Is it theological? Is it accidental? Is it due to complications in transmission (textual corruption)? Is it historical? What can be learned about the process and the tendencies of handling the synoptic tradition? By comparing those redactions to the rest of Matthew's, Mark's and Luke's theology, is it possible that these titles reveal insights into a unique theological aspect of each evangelist's Gospel? The redaction of certain titles has the potential to inform readers of exegetical and hermeneutical methods along with how transmission of the traditional sources took place. These are the concerns that I will turn to now in the remainder of this thesis.

Chapter Two: A Redaction Survey

Introduction

In simplest terms a Christological title is any name given to describe or identify Jesus in an authoritative way. Edwin Broadhead states that, “These titles prove central for the history of Jesus, for the faith of the Early Church and for the formulation of New Testament theology.”¹⁰⁴ As this quotation indicates, research in the Christological titles has many areas of interest. Historically it looks to the life of Jesus and theologically it looks to the Early Church’s interpretation of that life. A few significant examples that will be pursued in this chapter include titles or names like Teacher, Son of Man, Lord, Messiah, Son of God, Son of David and Master. These are the titles most frequently spoken by prominent characters within the Gospel narratives. Though they are the easiest titles to identify they are not the only names given to Jesus, nor should they be considered a comprehensive and conclusive list. There are other persistent narrative images like King, Prophet, Shepherd,¹⁰⁵ and Servant¹⁰⁶ that hold great Christological significance and theological weight. For the purposes of this thesis, this chapter will first present a historical background into the study of Christological titles. Second, it will introduce and outline these seven major titles, analyzing significant redactions made by the synoptic authors. It is then that the conclusion of this chapter will begin to look beyond the redaction in the attempt to answer this question: How might one uncover the theological implications of these titles?

¹⁰⁴ Edwin K. Broadhead, *Naming Jesus: Titular Christology in the Gospel of Mark* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 13.

¹⁰⁵ See Broadhead, *Naming Jesus* where he suggests these three and other potential titles of significance: 61-62 (The Greater One), 63-74 (Priest), 97-100 (The Holy One of God), 101-108 (Suffering Servant of God), 155-56 (The Risen One) and 157-58 (The Crucified One).

¹⁰⁶ D. Hill, “Son and Servant: An Essay on Matthean Christology” in *The Synoptic Gospels* (eds. Craig A. Evans & Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 13-27.

Historical Developments in the Christological Titles

In the attempt to understand the Christological titles in the synoptic Gospels three important areas of research have developed: 1) historical background, 2) the possible interpretations of certain titles and 3) stages of Christian development. All three areas have added substance to this primitive theology helping to demonstrate how various titles were used to articulate faith in Jesus. These conclusions have been important as they identified Christianity as a religion separate from, but developing alongside, Judaism. Early Christianity was interested in reinterpreting the Old Testament Scriptures through the new understanding of Jesus, the cross and his resurrection along with the introduction and guidance of the Holy Spirit. One of the great questions has been concerned with identifying how and when Jesus became known as the Messiah. And if he is the Messiah, why does he do things that the Messiah was never expected to do, like die on a cross? Or suffer and be humbled in the way Jesus suffered and was humiliated? These three areas (historical background, possible uses of certain titles and stages of Christian development) have added substance and a background understanding into the study of the Christological titles.

With regard to the third area of research (stages of Christian development), scholars have attempted to identify whether Christological developments can be discovered through redaction criticism and what role this plays in the synoptic problem. Research in this direction has attempted to answer whether an author's approximate time of writing might be established based on his preferential treatment of certain titles. Sometimes this is classified as developments from lower Christology to higher Christology. An example of this is the shift from titles such as 'Teacher' to 'Lord' or the

name 'Jesus' to 'Jesus Christ'. Complications, however, arise with these theories when one considers the level of high Christology in the Pauline corpus that traditionally is considered as pre-Gospel material. This chapter will demonstrate how the synoptic Christological titles were omitted, added, altered and shaped for the purpose of re-telling the story of Jesus to a new and different audience or situation. This is proven by an overview of Christology and the synoptic problem and a redaction-critical survey that considers all three unique *Sitze im Leben*. Two important questions must be addressed. First, are rigid, consistent and progressive (low to high) developments in Christology confirmed in a redaction survey of the synoptic titles? And second, do the implications of Christological developments support Markan priority?

Christology and the Synoptic Problem

Are there levels of theological development from Gospel to Gospel and/or do they rely on each other for their Christological development? Scholarly opinion has traditionally held that one should be able to notice development from a low Christology to a high Christology or early Christology to later Christology. As noted above, a switch from a title like 'Teacher' to 'Lord' would indicate reverence and possibly a later redaction of an earlier source.¹⁰⁷ The question then becomes: Is there a means or

¹⁰⁷ "J.B. Koppe (1782) was the first scholar to suggest a relationship between Christology and literary priority. His argument against Augustine's view that Mark was the epitomizer of Matthew played an important role in the demise of the traditional view of Matthean priority. Koppe presupposes an argument from Christological development: a later writer using earlier traditions is unlikely to diminish the majesty of Jesus in his representation of the gospel traditions, rather he will at least maintain the 'level' of reverence, if not actually heighten it. This line of argument, although similar to the text-critical argument that doctrinally developed variants were likely to be secondary readings (defended by both R. Simon in 1689 and J.J. Wettstein in 1730 and 1751), does not appear to have been taken up by other gospel scholars. A different kind of argument, focussing on the general primitivity of Mark, proved more popular." See Peter M. Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem: An Argument for Markan Priority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997), 9-10.

method by which one might identify the developments in Christology? Was there a point when Jesus became recognized Christologically as more than an ordinary man with titles like ‘Messiah’, ‘Son of God’ and ‘Lord’? If that moment is identified and one is able to note historical and progressive developments within the Gospels—then the hope is that the relationship between the Gospels would support one source hypothesis over another.

Peter Head in *Christology and the Synoptic Problem* outlines the significance of the Christological argument throughout history and how it has related to the development of Markan priority (the Two-Source Hypothesis) and to the Griesbach Hypothesis over the last 250 years.¹⁰⁸ Concerning Markan priority, it is important to note that many early supporters (H. Ewald, Weisse, Holtzmann) abandoned Christological developments for other aspects of Mark’s general originality and primitivity.¹⁰⁹ These include references to Jesus’ emotions,¹¹⁰ inability,¹¹¹ questions¹¹² and other alterations of a Christological nature.¹¹³ On the other side of the argument, supporters of the Griesbach Hypothesis seemed to embrace this concern. Both Owen¹¹⁴ and Griesbach might be used as examples.

J.J. Griesbach himself (1796) accepted the principle of theological and Christological development as an important element in evaluating variant readings (‘where there are more readings than one at any place, that reading which favors orthodoxy is an object of suspicion’), but does not appear to have applied this to the synoptic problem.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 8-26.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 9-12.

¹¹⁰ Mark 3:5; 1:41, 43; 3:21; 6:6; 8:12; 10:14, 21; 14:33. These references and the next three footnotes with references all come from W.C. Allen, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew* (ICC; 3d edn; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), xxxi-xxxiii.

¹¹¹ Mark 1:45; 6:5, 48; 7:24; 9:30; 14:58; 11:13.

¹¹² Mark 5:9, 30; 6:38; 8:12, 23; 9:12, 16, 21, 33; 10:3; 14:14.

¹¹³ Mark 6:3; 10:18; 13:32.

¹¹⁴ In 1764 Henry Owen had formulated a similar method, as the full title of his book suggests: *Observations on the Four Gospels; Tending Chiefly to Ascertain the Times of their Publication: and to Illustrate the Form and Manner of their Composition* (London: T. Payne, 1764).

¹¹⁵ J. J. Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1796), vol I, LXII. See Peter Head, “Christology and Textual Transmission: Reverential Alterations in the Synoptic Gospels”, *NovT* 35 (1993): 109.

The opinion that Mark's Gospel resembled the Apocryphal Gospels of a later date dominated much of scholarly opinion during this time, making it difficult to assume Mark was the earliest Gospel. This might have contributed to why Griesbach never applied his understanding concerning orthodox developments to Matthew and Luke. It is only important to note that early Griesbach defenders understood the principles behind this argumentation and the relevance it played on the redaction of Gospel traditions while still promoting Matthean priority over Markan.

As Markan priority developed and became accepted over the Griesbach Hypothesis, Christological arguments were developed further. Streeter argued that development could be noted with the increase in use of the title 'Lord'¹¹⁶ and other phrases of Christological weight.¹¹⁷ Scholars have continued to show an interest in this type of argument.¹¹⁸ For Christology and Christological titles, the relationship between Markan priority and a study in redaction criticism will always be very closely connected.

Recent defenders of the Griesbach Hypothesis, however, have argued that theological primitivity should not be correlated to chronological priority¹¹⁹ and that "there is no reliable way in which to adjudge the Christology of Mark as earlier or as later than

¹¹⁶ 'Lord' (κύριε) once in Mark, this occurs nineteen times in Matthew and sixteen times in Luke (along with six uses of ἐπιστάτα); see B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins. Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* (London: Macmillan, 1924), 162.

¹¹⁷ Certain phrases [in Mark] which might cause offence or suggest difficulties are toned down or excised [in Matthew and/ or Luke]' (specifically Mark 6:5 // Matt. 13:58 and Mark 10:18 // Matt. 19:17) see Streeter, 164.

¹¹⁸ Throughout the twentieth century the Christological argument has functioned specifically as an argument for Markan priority in many studies, including those of F.C. Conybeare, E. Klostermann, G. M. Styler, R.H. Stein, W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison and G.N. Stanton (See Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 22 for a detailed list of these works). In addition many scholars have viewed Matthew's redaction of Mark as involving some measure of increased reverence; examples include G.H. Dalman, F.H. Chase, H.L. Jackson, A. Plummer, E. Klostermann, B.W. Bacon, F. W. Green, S. E. Johnson, G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, G. Strecker, G. M. Styler, R. E. Brown, W. Grundmann, B. Rigaux, W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, A. Descamps, R. H. Gundry, G.N. Stanton and J. Gnilka (again see Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 22 for a detailed list of these works).

¹¹⁹ B.C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1951), 170 argued against accepting any a priori 'historical order of the theological development' since the literary sequence must be determined first, rather than the theological.

that of Matthew or Luke.”¹²⁰ Farmer bases this point on the fact that all three come from the post-Pauline period, during which Christology was complex and highly developed, but:

There is no objective basis upon which to reconstruct a scheme of Christological development in this period against which to measure the relative date of a specific Christological reference in the Gospels. For this reason, the Christology of a given passage offers no secure criteria by which it can be judged primary or secondary to a related Christology in a parallel passage.¹²¹

These concerns question whether the Christological argument can be verified by redactional plausibility. Is it possible that the redaction and the theological emphasis of these titles have come from an earlier time period and therefore development cannot be traced to the Gospels alone? Here Sanders’ work *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition* should be mentioned. Sanders conducts a thorough investigation of the synoptic Gospels, the synoptic material in the early Fathers and the Apocryphal literature in order to re-define the tendencies apparent in the handling of traditional pre-Gospel material. The tendencies and handling of this material, he concludes, is not as “tightly controlled”¹²² and his study “emphasizes the changing character of the tradition rather than its rigidity.”¹²³ By looking at both pre-Gospel and post-Gospel time periods, it is clear that the traditions were still being shaped, filtered and altered.

As the Gospel traditions are received and passed on they pass through the grid, and receive the imprint, of the redactor’s Christology. This is clearly true of *some* scribes involved in the copying of Gospel texts. It is also true, often more manifestly so, in the alterations of Gospel material involved in the composition of several of the early non-canonical Gospels.¹²⁴

More specifically, concerning titular Christology, Head notices in the non-canonical Gospels, the works of early scribes and early Church Fathers that development

¹²⁰ W. R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), 230.

¹²¹ Farmer, 230. For a similar argument see R.H. Fuller, “Review Article: *The Synoptic Problem: After Ten Years*”, *PSTJ* 28 (1975): 64.

¹²² E.P. Sanders, *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition* (London: Cambridge University, 1969), 1.

¹²³ *ibid.*, 280.

¹²⁴ Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 41-2.

does not take place as might be assumed, i.e. from low to high.¹²⁵ Rather it is developed up and down, forwards and backwards, high then low, then high again. It can be concluded that redactionally, Jesus was not named throughout this time period with a consistent method. Nor can one identify a determined progressive straight line where consistent stages of development took place as both Farmer and Sanders have made clear.¹²⁶ Sanders encouraged that “we must always give room for human difference and be alert to the editorial tendencies of each particular writer.”¹²⁷ Therefore it should be concluded that Jesus was identified in a way where the redaction is noticeable and intentional but not consistent.

Redacting the traditional Gospel material was not unique to the Gospel authors. Jesus was identified in a titular way, with high and low theological Christology *before* and *after* the writing of the Gospels! *Before*, high and low Christology is developed in the Pauline writings. *After*, high and low Christology is found with the early Church

¹²⁵ See Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 42-43 for these 1st-4th century insights:

P. Oxy. 840, a fourth-century manuscript, Jesus is designated as σωτήρ (lines 12, 30). In P. Oxy. 1081, a fourth-century manuscript, the disciples address Jesus as κύριε while the narrator uses σωτήρ (lines 25-7). *Gos. Heb.*: ‘Lord’ was the standard narrative designation (2, 5, 7 (ter)).

Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* III. 11.7 (they distinguished between Jesus and the Christ).

Tertullian, *Praescriptio* 33.11 (did not believe that Jesus was the Son of God).

Tertullian, *De carne Christi* 14 (Jesus is a mere man and only the seed of David).

Hippolytus, *Refutatio* VII. 34.1f (Christ and Jesus; a man like us all).

Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.3.3-6 (differences among Ebionites re: when heavenly being united with Jesus).

30.14.4 (Jesus was really a man, Christ came into being in him after descent of dove).

Tatian: Although he is by no means as radical as Marcion there are also sufficient indications in Tatian’s editorial practices to suppose that ‘he filtered the Gospel texts through his own Christological grid.’ See Peter Head, “Tatian’s Christology and its Influence on the Composition of the Diatessaron”, *TynBul* 43 (1992): quote from 137.

¹²⁶ See Sanders, 272. “There are no hard and fast laws of development of the Synoptic tradition. On all counts the tradition developed in opposite directions. It became both longer and shorter, both more and less detailed, and both more and less Semitic. Even the tendency to use direct discourse for indirect, which was uniform in the post-canonical material which we studied, was not uniform in the Synoptics themselves. For this reason, *dogmatic statements that a certain characteristic proves a certain passage to be earlier than another are never justified.*”

¹²⁷ Sanders, 272.

Fathers, non-canonical Gospels and early scribes. In light of this information it is important to state:

In all these cases ‘Christological redaction’ can be seen to have taken place and diverse techniques (addition, omission, conflation, alteration, restructuring, etc.) were employed by authors, scribes and redactors with the result that the final product becomes a vehicle for the expression of a characteristic Christology. Thus, it is not a matter of isolated changes to ‘elevate’ Jesus; rather it involves a representation of traditional material in view of a new situation and different Christological beliefs and priorities.¹²⁸

Here again is an echo of chapter one where Marxsen was quoted saying that the “old concern is to be expressed anew, brought up to date.”¹²⁹ An important *redaction* took place so that these early authors might identify and answer for each generation who Jesus is for the purposes of a new audience, situation or need. There is a suggested “Christological grid” or a “representation of traditional material” in view. But of greatest importance was the needed answer to Jesus’ question, “Who do people say that I am?” This was answered differently as new situations and different Christological beliefs and priorities arose.

E.S. Johnson’s understanding of the titles in Mark develops the hermeneutical implications of this thought. He gives a different interpretation to the Centurion’s response at the cross (15:39).¹³⁰ Traditionally this passage is interpreted as an important Christological title and a concluding climax to Mark’s Gospel. In this way Mark bookends his Gospel with this insight: Jesus is the ‘Son of God’.¹³¹ In his article Johnson probes further into the response of the Centurion and others in Mark. “In the context of the passion narrative, it (son of God) stands along with other *ironic statements* at the foot of the cross about who Jesus is: King of the Jews (15:2, 9), Savior (15:31), Christ, the

¹²⁸ Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 43.

¹²⁹ Willi Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist* (trans. R. Harrisville; Nashville: Abingdon, 1969), 212.

¹³⁰ E. S. Johnson, Jr., “Is Mark 15:39 the Key to Mark’s Christology?” in *The Synoptic Gospels* (eds. Craig A. Evans & Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995).

¹³¹ See Mark 1:1 and 15:39.

King of Israel (15:32), One connected with Elijah (15:36) and a son of God (15:39)".¹³²

Rather than being a pointed description or title Johnson sees it as an ironic statement.

Going further he notes that Mark's titles for Jesus "run the gamut of human imagination: He is the Holy One of God (1:24), a blasphemer (2:7), a lunatic (3:21), the Son of the Most High God (5:7), a carpenter (6:3), a prophet (6:15), John the Baptist risen from the dead (6:16), a φάντασμα (6:49), the Messiah foreseen in Isa. 35:5-6 (7:37), the Son of Man (8:31, 38; 9:9, 12, 31; 10:33, 45; 13:26; 14:21, 41, 26), the Son of David (10:47-48; 11:10; 12:35-37), the Christ (14:61-62), the King of the Jews (15:2, 9, 18, 62) and even the Son of God (1:1, 11; 9:7)."¹³³ Everyone in Mark (including the intended audience) is wondering—who is this man? They are confused, being bombarded by the different ways that Jesus is identified in Mark:

Looked at this way, the Gospel does not require a fixed or complete Christology because, ending with no one fully understanding who Jesus is and the women fleeing from the tomb without experiencing the appearance of the risen one who could settle the question once for all, Mark extends the question of Jesus' identity fully into the future. The answer will not be found in Jesus' past, in the belief or lack of belief of the Gospel characters, or even in the perception of those who witnessed the crucifixion, but will only be found in the Christian church in which Jesus is found, understood and followed by those with eyes of faith. It is in this church that the true confession of Jesus will be made and the true meaning of the cross will be discovered and lived.¹³⁴

Though it is difficult to agree that the titles are being used completely ambiguously by Mark it is indeed important to state that the tension of answering who Jesus is will always be pushed forward. That tension is answered by Matthew, Luke and today it still must be resolved by the church (i.e. a proposed fourth *Sitz im Leben*).¹³⁵ The Christological titles serve as quiet whispers reflecting the full truth of the Gospel. But that full truth is only

¹³² Johnson, "Is Mark 15:39 the Key to Mark's Christology?", 161.

¹³³ *ibid.*, 162.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*

¹³⁵ The fourth *Sitz im Leben* is a natural hermeneutical and exegetical future projection of the direction already established by the first three *Sitze im Leben*. A fourth *Sitz im Leben* will be discussed further below in chapter four.

experienced in and through the church's faithful confession and understanding of the person Jesus.

Therefore, the Christological arguments for theological development may not be so simple. Nor are they necessarily able to help prove the source hypothesis of Markan priority. This is validated by the conclusions of redaction criticism seen in first—fourth century titles lacking consistent and identifiable progressive development. It is always possible that an author made any redaction for theological purposes. Peter Head has proposed a redaction-comparative method that approaches the text from both the Two-Source hypothesis and the Two-Gospel hypothesis (Griesbach). As noted in chapter one,¹³⁶ one of the agendas for future research set out at the Jerusalem Symposium was to identify whether redaction criticism can be accomplished without a source hypothesis. Head's method could be a possible proposal.¹³⁷ However, it still seems to side-step an important part of that agenda: i.e. rather than having no source, Head recommends an approach utilizing both sources. His end results are still based on a source hypothesis.

Summary

The study in Christological titles, then, has primarily been concerned with the origins, background and development of these titles within the history of the life of Jesus, the interpretation of that life in the Early Church and the interpretation by the evangelists and beyond. This confirms that an important area of study is in the redaction made to these titles. The discussion of Christology and the synoptic problem has not helped to confirm

¹³⁶ See Chapter One: Limitations to Redaction Criticism, p. 35-37.

¹³⁷ Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 169-70 and 256-262 concludes even after his research using this method, that Markan priority seems most plausible. "The Christological argument, if transformed in such a way as to focus on the positive redactional interests of the evangelists, provides powerful support for Markan priority." See 261 for quote.

a source hypothesis. Instead it questions whether or not one can rely on a source hypothesis at all when being pushed in the opposite direction: i.e. the inconclusive nature of a source hypothesis based on redaction criticism. It is important to comment that one of the biggest errors historically in synoptic studies was relying on chronology as a basis for study. Does the same thing occur when one attempts to determine the appropriate chronology of the written historical texts?

Redaction Survey: Introduction

Two concerns of redaction criticism and Markan priority should be summarized before continuing with this survey. These concerns will help re-strengthen previous assertions, that Mark seems to be the earliest written source and that Matthew and Luke relied upon and redacted his work to develop their Gospels. The first concern is an appeal to redactional plausibility. The process of this appeal can be identified from one of E.D. Burton's general principles as adapted from textual criticism. "That one (document in literary relationship) is to be accepted as, relatively speaking, the original which will explain the origin of the others, but cannot itself be explained as the product of the others."¹³⁸ Tuckett also states an appropriate method for comparing hypotheses that relates to redaction criticism. "The extent to which a hypothesis gives a coherent, consistent picture of the redactional activity of each evangelist will then be a measure of its viability."¹³⁹ And finally a further confirmation of this methodological agreement was

¹³⁸ E.D. Burton, *Some Principles of Literary Criticism and Their Application to the Synoptic Problem* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904), 197. See also Farmer, *Synoptic Problem*, 229.

¹³⁹ C.M. Tuckett, *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis: An Analysis and Appraisal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1983), 13.

probably the most significant of the agreed conclusions reached at the 1984 Jerusalem conference.¹⁴⁰ The resolution stated:

that a literary, historical and theological explanation of the evangelists' compositional activity, giving a coherent and reasonable picture of the whole of each Gospel, is the most important method of argumentation in defense of a source hypothesis.¹⁴¹

Concerning Christological developments one must question: does Markan priority truly suffer through these attacks or is it made stronger with redactional plausibility? Though the Two-Source (Document) hypothesis may seem uncertain one must also question whether Matthean priority (i.e. the Griesbach Hypothesis) or other hypotheses have been made any more reliable or whether they too remain inconclusive.

The second concern is an appeal to the seventh argument in favor of Markan priority outlined in chapter one.¹⁴² This is the 'argument from redaction'. The argument states that, "certain Markan stylistic features, when found in Matthew, appear almost exclusively in the material which Matthew has in common with Mark."¹⁴³ This has been effectively demonstrated with Mark's famous use of "immediately" (εὐθὺς) and "for" (γάρ).¹⁴⁴ If a feature of Mark can be shown to exist in Matthew only where Matthew has borrowed from Mark and not in material unique to Matthew, this then would conclude Matthean dependence upon Mark. This principle will be applied to the synoptic titles in the attempt to support this proof in favor of Markan priority.

¹⁴⁰ Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 37-8.

¹⁴¹ David L. Dungan, in *The Interrelations of the Gospels/A Symposium led by M.-É. Boismard, W.R. Farmer, F. Neiryneck, Jerusalem 1984* (ed. David L. Dungan; Macon: Mercer University, 1990), 609.

¹⁴² See Chapter One: Markan Priority: Argument seven, p. 28.

¹⁴³ R.H. Stein, "Synoptic Problem" In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (eds. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, I. Howard Marshall; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1992), 789.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*

The Redaction Surveys

Willi Marxsen developed the important conclusion that in the synoptic Gospel material there is a representation of three *Sitze im Leben*. The three *Sitze im Leben* are the situation in the life of Jesus, in the life of the Early Church and that of the evangelist. At the heart of a study in the Christological titles and redaction criticism is the potential of identifying from which *Sitz im Leben* these titles originated.¹⁴⁵ Historically, Christians and scholars have questioned at what point Jesus was identified as more than just a man. Theologically, Jesus has been identified as fully divine (Son of God, Lord and/or other pre-existent titles like the Word, Wisdom) and fully human. At what point in history did Jesus understand himself to be more than just a man and at what point did the first Christians realize this? Was it pre-Easter or post-Easter? Was it after the resurrection appearances and the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit? Was it in the garden or on the cross when Jesus was in full submission to the Father's will? Was it at some point in His mission, in His ministry, in His teaching, in His healing or in His powers over nature? Was it at the transfiguration, at Peter's confession or at His baptism? Or was it at divine conception? Or did the Son exist before the beginning of time? These questions help identify the unique levels of concern that originate from all three *Sitze im Leben*. The surveys below will identify how the evangelists speak for themselves as they betray their own theological agenda by the use of certain titles. The important question, however, is whether the title is historical or has it been heightened with exaltation taking place in the

¹⁴⁵ See especially the third concern of R. H. Stein, *The Synoptic Problem: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1987), 235 where he states: The goals of redaction criticism are limited. Scholarship in this discipline seeks to discover answers to these questions:

1. What unique theological emphases does the Evangelist place upon the materials he uses?
2. What theological purpose(s) did the Evangelist have in writing his Gospel?
3. What was the *Sitz im Leben* out of which the Evangelist wrote his Gospel?

methods used to identify Jesus. If so, who has developed the exaltation: the Early Church, the evangelist or both?

The surveys to follow will provide valuable information regarding the redaction of the titles (both vocative and non-vocative of Teacher, Son of Man, Lord, Messiah, Son of David, Son of God and Master) when used to name Jesus in Matthew, Mark and Luke. Primarily this will be statistical information that will add substance where needed in this chapter and for this thesis. The charts below will demonstrate the redactional activity (including additions, omissions, developments, etc.) of the synoptic evangelists. This will be accomplished with two different surveys. First, the number of times a title appears, identifying which titles are most and least common to each author, will be outlined (Survey One).

Second, and more useful to this thesis, will be a presentation of these seven titles and the potential Matthean, Markan or Lukan redaction (Survey Two). A comparison will take place of Markan material, “Q” material, “M” material and “L” material. These are the sources and/or potential hypothetical sources that could have been used by each author as proposed by B. H. Streeter.¹⁴⁶ The Markan material will usually include the triple-tradition passages, the “Q” material will be those passages attested to in the double-tradition,¹⁴⁷ the “M” material is unique in Matthew (either his additional source(s) and/or his own original penned thoughts) and “L” material is unique in Luke (either his additional source(s) and/or his own original penned thoughts). The majority of decisions concerning parallel passages have been made by relying on *Gospel Parallels*¹⁴⁸ and their

¹⁴⁶ See B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: Macmillan, 1924).

¹⁴⁷ I also classify other material attested twice as “D” in my survey. This includes a story found in Mark and Matthew only or Mark and Luke only.

¹⁴⁸ Burton H. Throckmorton, *Gospel Parallels. A Comparison of the Synoptic Gospels* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1992).

classification of what is a triple, double and single tradition passages. Survey two will give a base of information that: a) identifies other possible titles that were available to each individual author, b) the possible relationship between these titles, c) how often this type of redaction activity actually takes place, d) whether the redaction is significant or insignificant and e) whether or not a source-hypothesis seems more plausible based on the redactions (GH or 2DH).

These questions and categories will be important in identifying how these titles are being used. This will add insights into the nature of whether these titles are being used systematically, historically, ambiguously and/or theologically. Again one of the purposes will be to determine if low to high Christological developments have taken place or if the titles demonstrate that the Gospels were written to different audiences for different situations. This will be accomplished by considering the evolution of the three *Sitze im Leben*.

Survey One: Christological titles in the Gospels

The first part of this study and survey is an example that notes how often a title is used and in which book each title appears. The survey identifies each time the titles Son of God, the Son, my Son, Son of Man, Son of David, Christ, Lord, Teacher and Master appear in Matthew, Mark, Luke (+ Acts) and John. Initially this only helps to reveal the general use of these titles.

Christological title ¹⁴⁹	Matthew	Mark	Luke (+ Acts)	John	Total
Son of God	9	4	6 (+ 1)	9	28 (+1)
the Son, my Son etc.	8	3	6 (+ 1)	20	37 (+1)
Son of Man	30	14	25 (+1)	13	82 (+1)
Son of David	9	4	4 (+0)	0	17 (+0)
Christ	16	7	12 (+28)	19	54 (+28)
Lord	27	7	41 (+ > 50)	44	119 (+>50)
Teacher	11	12	14 (+ 0)	6	43 (+0)
Master (ἐπιστάτα)	0	0	6	0	6

Some interesting conclusions can be made, merely on the surface, from a presentation of the titles like this that requires further exploration. For example, it is easy to note one of Luke's preferences with his title 'Master' that does not appear in either of the other Gospels. The title 'Lord' also seems to be favored in Luke and John over Matthew and especially Mark whereas the titles 'Son of Man' and 'Son of David' seem to be favorites in Matthew. One interesting title, 'Teacher', seems to find a lot of use in Mark. This is strange, especially when one considers the size of Mark in comparison to Matthew, Luke and John.¹⁵⁰ Based on this first survey, initially many superficial assumptions could be made concerning the redactional activity of the evangelists. Survey two will add substance and attempt to confirm some of these initial reactions.

Survey Two: A Redaction Survey of the Three Potential *Sitze im Leben*

The following material is presented to introduce each title and give a few background issues that help define from which *Sitz im Leben* the title possibly originated.

¹⁴⁹ See Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 151. These numbers are based on UBS4 = NA27. It should be mentioned that statistically this survey is far from adequate for establishing firm conclusions concerning individual titles of preference. It would be appropriate to add statistical information that calculates a ratio per word comparison between the Gospels.

¹⁵⁰ Again the size difference must be kept in mind. Traditionally the titles are only compared as titles found within Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, which in some ways does not account for the fact that Mark is substantially smaller than the other Gospels. Since Mark is smaller it would make sense that he should have fewer titles. Mark's contributions, then, stand out when a title like 'Teacher' has more occurrences in Mark than Matthew and almost as many as Luke.

Following this the redaction survey two, as proposed above, will be presented.

Conclusions concerning a viable source hypothesis will then be made based on both the 2DH (Two-Document Hypothesis), GH (Griesbach Hypothesis) and redactional plausibility. One purpose of this survey is to identify and outline how and why a title might be classified from a first, second, and/or third *Sitz im Leben*. This has served as a valuable way to organize and categorize these terms. Traditionally the titles have been studied to try and note if development took place in the theology and Christology of the Early Church. As noted above, this method is not completely effective and should be questioned.¹⁵¹ Rather than note development from Gospel to Gospel, this method seeks to identify development from title to title.

The First *Sitz im Leben* (Jesus, Teacher/Rabbi, Son of Man)

The first *SiL* is the situation in the life of Jesus. This *SiL* identifies those titles that get back to the original names that either Jesus used in self-identification or others used during his historical/earthly life and ministry. Identifying the original setting behind a title is the most difficult and hypothetical to understand as one moves from a known to an unknown fact. The main question being asked here is what titles were used for Jesus' earthly life (i.e. before his death, burial and resurrection) compared to those titles used after Jesus' earthly life and ministry.¹⁵² The "Quest for the Historical Jesus" has attempted to un-cover the historical roots of Jesus and his followers in their original setting. A recent example of this is B. Chilton's book *Rabbi Jesus* that challenges scholarship and traditional views of the life of the earthly Jesus. Chilton changes titles

¹⁵¹ See pp. 43-51 above.

¹⁵² What is Post and pre-Easter material/titles?

like “the Son of Man” to the “one like a person” and concentrates heavily on Jesus’ development and growth as a Rabbi/Teacher in the historical Jewish setting of the first-century. Although scholars have been blessed with a great number of wonderful discoveries, including the Dead Sea Scrolls and other ancient literature in this century, one may never truly be able to come to an understanding of the complete historical truth with the data available to study. Though these reveal in more conclusive terms the Jewish/Christian world of the first-century (C.E.), the “Quest” has been deemed difficult and possibly always was meant to be inconclusive. Here the beneficial aspects of this research, for this study, will be utilized by identifying those titles that are a glimpse at the first *Sitz im Leben*.

Jesus of Nazareth (Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζαρηθός)

The name Jesus, although not usually studied as a title, reveals some unique information. He was Jesus, the son of Joseph and Mary, the Jew from Nazareth. His name informs the reader of a man who existed historically in time. The name alone is different than Jesus Christ, the Lord Jesus Christ, Christ Jesus, Immanuel (Matthew 1:23) or any other way that the rest of the New Testament talks about him. When the name Jesus is used, it is purposefully used to say something different than when the Christological titles are added as suffixes or prefixes. For example the word Toronto or Ottawa seems to have a different connotation than if one says ‘the capital of Ontario’ or ‘the capital of Canada’. Even if it is not done purposefully at least one cannot deny that the single name Jesus reveals something different when absent of these extra titles. Readers are reminded that He (God) became flesh, was a child with parents, a teenager

with friends and an adult who existed as a man being tempted in every way that humans are tempted (Hebrews 4:15).

Matthew says that his mother was to give him the name Immanuel (Matthew 1:23), which means “God with us”. This develops a theme throughout Matthew beginning with this verse and concluding the book with the great commission, “And surely I am *with you* always (Immanuel--God is with us) to the very end of the age (Matthew 28:20). This shows how the name or title “Jesus” was likely an original, historic name and Immanuel a creation either of Matthew (third *Sitz im Leben*) or the Early Church (second *Sitz im Leben*). The name ‘Jesus’ gets closer to the first *Sitz im Leben* while the name Immanuel is a title developed in the second or third.

In a similar way one can compare how the Christological title ‘Christ’ is added to the name Jesus Christ, Christ Jesus, or Lord Jesus Christ, which is found more often in the rest of the New Testament. When one compares the use of these titles to the Gospel accounts one notices that regardless of the time period written, the singular name Jesus in the Gospels is likely closer to the original or first *Sitz im Leben*. Although this information seems very obvious, the exercise is a good starting point to begin looking at other titles.

Redaction survey: Jesus in Matthew, Mark, and Luke

	Matthew	Mark	Luke
Ἰησοῦς	110	58	55
Ἰησοῦ	25	13	18
Ἰησοῦν	15	11	14
Total	150	82	87

Conclusions from Redaction survey

It is difficult to produce a chart comparable to the charts below containing each time this name occurs in triple or double tradition passages. I will only comment that an interesting phenomenon is present in the number of times the title is found in Matthew and not Luke when compared to Mark. With Matthew and Luke being the longer accounts one would expect to find an increase in this name. However the increase is most prevalent only in Matthew. If one considers the full title ‘Jesus of Nazareth’, however, it is important to note that Matthew only has that title twice (21:11; 26:71), Luke has it three times (4:34; 18:37; 24:19) but Mark, being the shortest, uses it the most (1:9; 1:24; 10:47; 16:6).

Teacher/Rabbi (διδάσκαλος/ ραββί)

Jesus is identified as ‘Teacher’ (διδάσκαλος) in all four Gospels. As noted above, oddly the title seems to find a great deal of usage in Mark’s Gospel. Is it possible that it could serve as more than just a historical title and possibly is a messianic title of importance? In an attempt to answer whether this is a title of exaltation or merely a title ascribed to Jesus’ earthly ministry it is interesting to look at a background in the rabbinic traditions. The rabbinic traditions, unfortunately, speak only of a “messiah who would teach in the fullness of God’s wisdom”.¹⁵³ It seems these texts identify that teaching would be an activity of the messiah, but no messianic expectations awaited ‘the Teacher’.¹⁵⁴ Instead, other positions and activities were highly anticipated like priests, prophets and kings who would obtain political authority.¹⁵⁵

The messianic implications are seen, however, in times when Jesus was perceived as a teacher with wisdom beyond that of the scribes and Pharisees (Mark 1:27). Jesus’

¹⁵³ Targums—*Tg. Gen.* 49:10-11; *Tg. Isa.* 53:5, 11. Apocalyptic—*I Enoch* 46:3; 49:3-4; 51:3. Essene—CD 6:11, 7:18; 4QFlor 1:11; 4QMess ar; 4QAha; 11QMelch 18-20, cf. *T. Jud.* [A] 21:1-4; *T. Levi* 18:2-6. Samaritan—*Memar Marqa* 4:12, cf. Jn 4:25. Rabbinic— e.g., *Midr. Ps* 21:90a. See R. Riesner, “Teacher” In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (eds. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, I. Howard Marshall; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1992), 808.

¹⁵⁴ Broadhead, *Naming Jesus*, 82.

¹⁵⁵ See the title ‘Christ/Messiah’ below, pp. 77-81.

style and methods of teaching have been highly studied and compared to those of a Jewish Rabbi in the first century. His teaching devices (studying and interpreting the scriptures, parables, metaphors, mnemonic devices like rhythm and rhyme, rhetorical devices like hyperbole, riddles and irony) and his methods (gathering disciples, anointing/healing, prophetic activity) have all identified Jesus as an important Rabbi of his day whether recognized or not by those of the Jewish Synagogue.¹⁵⁶

In the Gospel portrayal of Jesus, he does not assume the expected position of τέκτων (his father's occupation) but rather assumes the role of traveling teacher (διδάσκαλον or ραββί). Although it is quite possible that Jesus still performed carpentry/maintenance type responsibilities while moving from town to town, in the Gospels he had a new responsibility. This responsibility was teaching about the coming Kingdom of God. Usually Jesus drew large crowds as he taught and debated amongst any who would give an ear to the conversation. He did not limit himself to the synagogue but would often be found preaching in open areas. In this way Jesus stopped being known merely as Joseph's son (the carpenter)¹⁵⁷ and now becomes known as God's son, the 'Rabbi' of the Kingdom of God.

An important point to consider, however, is how this title disappears in other New Testament works. When other authors are no longer telling the story of Jesus' life but explaining theology in a different way, those New Testament texts do not have nor do they develop the title 'Teacher'. Does this all point to 'Teacher' simply being a historically accurate title? Was this title the origin of all other Christological titles?

¹⁵⁶ Birger Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript; Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1961), 258. And Leon Morris, *New Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 8-99.

¹⁵⁷ Attested to in the Gospels when Joseph's name, strangely, is rarely mentioned. Commonly Jesus is only associated with Mary, and this could be understood as Joseph possibly dying when Jesus was quite young.

Whatever the case, a theology of Jesus as the ‘Teacher’ is abandoned in the rest of the New Testament and other Christological titles are embraced by the Early Church.¹⁵⁸

Teacher (non-vocative)¹⁵⁹

Sources	Redaction Addition	Activity omit/alter	Mark	Matthew	Luke	Speaker
T		Matthew	Teacher (5.35)	*** (9.22-23)	Teacher (8.49)	People from Leader's house
Q			***	Teacher (10.24)	Teacher (6.40)	Jesus
T	Matthew		he (2.16)	Teacher (9.11)	you (5.30)	Pharisees
M	Matthew		***	Teacher (17.24)	***	Temple tax collector
T	Matthew		*** (12.39-40)	Teacher (23.8)	*** (20.46-47)	Jesus
T			Teacher (14.14)	Teacher (26.18)	Teacher (22.11)	Jesus

¹⁵⁸ Notice how often ‘Teacher’, ‘Christ/Messiah’ and ‘Lord’ are found in the Gospels when compared to the rest of the New Testament:

	Gospels	Acts-Revelation
Teacher	47	6
Christ/Messiah	55	441
Lord	184	412

¹⁵⁹ The next twenty pages will display a number of surveys similar to this one. Conclusions will be based on the redaction of synoptic titles. I have relied on *Gospel Parallels* to help determine parallel material: i.e. what is a triple, double and single tradition passage. The first step taken was to establish what a title is and where those titles are located in the Gospel texts. Next I compared parallel accounts and made note where an author has added, omitted or altered the title. Following this I compared the redactional tendencies based on both the Two-Document Hypothesis and the Two-Gospel Hypothesis (Griesbach). For the 2DH, I started with the triple tradition material (assuming Mark as the source) and identified how often Matthew or Luke made a redaction in the parallel passages. If a title was only found in Matthew and Luke, I assumed ‘Q’ as the source and then considered who was most likely to add, omit or alter. For ‘Q’ many difficulties arose due to the inconclusive nature of this material. Unique Matthean passages produced a Matthean addition or alteration. Unique Lukan passages produced a Lukan addition or alteration. For the 2GH, again I started with the triple tradition passages. With this argument, in the parallel passages, Mark could have used either Matthew or Luke as his source and so he is less likely to add, omit or alter and more likely to follow one source over the other. This is the same conclusion for those double tradition passages found only in Matthew and Luke (noted as ‘Q’ in the 2DH argument). In these instances, however, Mark not only has removed the title, usually he has removed the entire pericope. With unique ‘M’ and ‘L’ material, Mark always must omit/ignore a title and story that is unique to Matthew or Luke if he had both as his sources. With both hypotheses the triple tradition passages really are the key because they represent concrete examples of a redaction and not a hypothetical change. There are four major purposes for the survey and concluding comments. First, to determine whether a unique redaction of one author was represented in material shared in other Gospels. The second purpose was to determine Matthew’s, Mark’s and Luke’s tendencies in the handling of traditional material. In triple tradition passages do they follow, ignore, alter, add or omit? Can it be determined that unique Matthean, Markan, or Lukan tendencies are repeated in a later source and therefore point us in the direction of dependence? Third, do the authors have titles they prefer and if so how do they demonstrate that? Finally, fourth, which hypothesis is supported by this redaction survey: 2GH or 2DH?

Conclusions from Redaction survey

2DH—The argument in favor of the Two-Document Hypothesis notes that Matthew adds this title three times and omits it once. Of these additions two stories are found in the triple tradition (Markan source) and one is a unique Matthean pericope. Luke either borrows from Mark or ‘Q’, and he has no unique additions or omissions. Matthew agrees with Mark once and ‘Q’ once. Luke agrees once with ‘Q’ and twice with Mark. In omitting the title Luke agrees once with Mark. In conclusion Matthew has more unique additions than Luke, who follows the traditional material more often.

GH—In this argument Mark never adds this title but four times he omits it. In two triple tradition stories Mark could have completely removed the title: twice from Matthew to follow Luke. It is easy to understand how he would have followed Luke in some situations but difficult to understand why Mark would omit any reference to Jesus as ‘Teacher’ when he prefers that title over others.

Teacher (vocative)

Sources	Redaction Addition	Activity omit/alter	Mark	Matthew	Luke	Speaker
T	Luke		*** (14.3-5)	*** (26.6-9)	didaskale (7.40)	Simon
Q	Matthew	Luke??	***	Didaskale (8.19)	***** (9.57)	scribe
T		Matt/Luk	Didaskale (4.38)	Kurie (8.25)	epistata X2 (8.24)	disciples
Q	Matthew	Luke??	***	Didaskale (12.38)	*** (11.29)	scribes and Phar
T		Matthew	Didaskale (9.17)	Kurie (17.15)	didaskale (9.38)	father of boy
D		Luke	Didaskale (9.38)	***	epistata (9.49)	John
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (23.4)	didaskale (11.45)	lawyer
L	Luke		***	***	didaskale (12.13)	one of crowd
T			Didaskale agathe (10.17)	Didaskale (19.16)	Didaskale agathe (18.18)	rich young man
T		Matt/Luk	Didaskale (10.20)	***** (19.20)	***** (18.21)	rich young man
D		Matthew	Didaskale (10.35)	***** (20.20)	***	James and John
L	Luke		***	***	didaskale (19.39)	Pharisees
T			Didaskale (12.14)	Didaskale (22.16)	didaskale (20.21)	Phar and Hers.
T			Didaskale (12.19)	Didaskale (22.24)	didaskale (20.28)	Sadducees

T	Matthew	Didaskale (12.32)	*** (22.33, 46)	didaskale (20.39)	scribe
T	Matt/Luke	***** (12.29)	Didaskale (22.36)	didaskale (10.25)	Phar / lawyer
T	Matt/Luk	Didaskale (13.1)	***** (24.1)	***** (21.5)	disciples
T	Luke	***** (13.4)	***** (24.3)	didaskale (21.7)	they?

Conclusions from Redaction survey

2DH—Matthew omits this title six times from Mark (with the possibility of one more time from ‘Q’) and adds it three times (to the ‘Q’ source). He agrees with Mark three times and Luke/‘Q’ four times (if Luke is also following ‘Q’). Matthew attempts to avoid the vocative title ‘Teacher’ (which is used to address Jesus more often than the non-vocative—see above). This is a different result than that seen above with the non-vocative title ‘Teacher’. Luke adds ‘Teacher’ six times and omits it four times (possibly two more from ‘Q’). In agreement, Luke agrees with Mark four times and Matthew/‘Q’ four times. Matthew avoids ‘Teacher’ for ‘Lord’ two times and Luke avoids it for ‘Master’ two times. Beyond this, Matthew (5X) and Luke (3X) completely ignore the title when found in Mark. With the three times that Luke ignores Mark, Matthew has also ignored Mark, and therefore this could be an example of where he is following ‘Q’. In conclusion Matthew avoids this title more than Luke does. Luke occasionally avoids it but also is able to add it freely (6X). This might demonstrate that Luke did not know/use Matthew.

GH—Mark, in this argument, adds the title five times and omits eight times. Very rarely in survey two (see conclusions to follow) is Mark known to add a title. The surveys show that he always omits and rarely adds a title. However, ‘Teacher’ and ‘Rabbi’ are the only titles that demonstrate a Markan addition greater than one. Here his additions are quite remarkable. It is confusing unless he is the original/earlier source. For Mark this is the only title that he adds frequently while at the same time omitting so often. This is confirmed here with one of the three triple tradition passages where Mark would have to omit both Matthew and Luke:¹⁶⁰ *** Mark 12:29, διδάσκαλε Matthew 22:36, διδάσκαλε Luke 10.25. This is an example where it is very hard for GH to explain why Mark would omit this title when it is a Markan feature. Mark has to omit this feature even when it is his tendency to omit other titles in place of ‘Teacher’, ‘Rabbi’ or ‘Rabbouni’. Why would he not use one of these here (Mark 12:29) in the triple tradition when Matthew and Luke have ‘Teacher’?

Additional comments:

This Markan feature is found only in Matthew where Matthew is borrowing Markan material and therefore Matthean dependence seems most likely. Matthew usually prefers κύριος. The three titles (Teacher, Rabbi, Rabbouni—in the vocative) represent the only

¹⁶⁰ See also ‘Son of Man’ (pp. 66-69) and ‘Lord’ (pp. 71-76).

time that Matthew ever has more omissions than additions. Just as Mark rarely adds a title Matthew very rarely omits a title. Matthew omits every other title somewhere between zero and two times and so here, when he omits this title six times, it immediately warns the observer that something unique is going on. If Matthew rarely omits and Mark rarely adds this then points to Matthean dependence upon Mark.

Rabbi/Rabbouni

Sources	Redaction Addition	Activity omit/alter	Mark	Matthew	Luke	Speaker
T		Matt/Luke	rabbi (9.5)	kurie (17.4)	epistata (9.33)	Peter
T		Matt/Luke	rabbouni (10.51)	kurie (20.33)	kurie (18.41)	blind men
D		Matthew	rabbi (11.21)	***** (21.20)		Peter
T	Matthew		*** (14.21)	rabbi (26.25)	*** (22.22-23)	Judas
T		Luke	rabbi (14.45)	rabbi (26.49)	***** (22.47)	Judas

Conclusions from Redaction survey

Rabbi:

2DH—Matthew adds once and omits/alters twice (once for κύριος and once no title). Matthew's addition of the title at 26:25 is difficult to explain and very unique when in two other instances he ignores Mark. Luke never adds this title and omits/alters twice (once for 'Master' and once no title). It seems then that Luke more than Matthew consciously ignores this title, whereas Matthew, though he ignores it, he also uses it (following Mark) and adds it (original addition of the title).

GH—Mark adds twice and omits once (Matthew 26:25). Once Mark could have followed Luke (omission at 14:21) and once Matthew (addition at 14:45). What is difficult to explain is when Mark follows neither Luke (Master) and Matthew (κύριος) and chooses Rabbi.

Rabbouni:

2DH—The title is only found once in Mark and is omitted in both Matthew and Luke for κύριε. Matthew and Luke never add this title.

GH—Mark changes κύριε once for 'Rabbouvi' ignoring Matthew and Luke's title. He never omits this title.

Additional comments:

These two titles ('Rabbi' and 'Rabbouni') confirm what was set out with the 'Teacher' title above. The titles are ignored for either 'Lord' (Matthew) or 'Master' (Luke) and one must explain Mark's highly redactional work and presentation of Jesus as 'Teacher' if he is not the earliest. Either theory must explain how his redaction and choice of 'Teacher' must replace Matthew's use of 'Lord' and Luke's use of 'Master'. Matthew's title (at 26:25) confuses both theories. If Matthew was the earliest it is hard to explain why Mark would not use the same title. If Mark was the earliest, why would Matthew add the title when he usually ignores it for κύριε?

Son of Man (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου)

This title is loaded with an incredible amount of baggage, to the point that one should almost fear in addressing it. Throughout history, and within scholarship, it has caused an equal reaction to the reaction found in the Gospel accounts. Either it is ignored as a mere description of humanity¹⁶¹ or it is handled explosively like the reaction of the High Priest immediately before Jesus is sentenced to death (Mark 14:62-63 and parallels). Jesus frequently uses this title as his own self-identification. It has also often been associated with the events described in Daniel 7.¹⁶² It is for these reasons that many will continue to question whether this is a historically accurate title (from the first *SiL*) or an Early Church and/or synoptic authors' creation.

How should one interpret the title? Or, rather, is it a title at all? J. Jeremias questions if the Greek ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου or underlying Aramaic equivalent *bar'enāšā* may simply have had the everyday significance of 'the man', 'a man' or 'someone' in some passages.¹⁶³ Is it possible that this only became a title through misconception? What points in the direction of a first *SiL* is the fact that the title is regularly found within the Gospels (over 80 times) and on the lips of Jesus (almost exclusively) and yet it is

¹⁶¹ J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology* (trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM, 1971), 258.

¹⁶² Morris, *New Testament Theology*, 101.

¹⁶³ *ibid.*, 261.

rarely found in the remainder of the New Testament (only once: Acts 7:56).¹⁶⁴ Since these stories are dealing with the life of Jesus it might point to an historical fact that Jesus addressed himself in this way. The Gospel writers then, in abandoning other titles and using this title, are possibly informing readers that this was how Jesus understood himself (i.e. the first *SiL*).

In a closer examination, one notices an increase in the number of times this title appears following Peter's confession (see Mark 8:27-33 and parallels). This title is used less frequently (almost never) before that confession. It seems, then, that this title is being used strategically, as a possible creation by Matthew, Mark or Luke (i.e. the third *SiL*). It is also important to note that the 'Son of Man' title has been identified as being used in three different categories: 1) Earthly Ministry, 2) Eschatological/Apocalyptic and 3) Suffering and Death.¹⁶⁵ In the Gospel narratives, these three areas become increasingly important as Jesus moves closer to the cross to fulfill his earthly mission. Three major concerns surrounding this title are whether it was used ambiguously, whether Jesus regarded himself as the eschatological 'Son of Man' and whether this title equated him with God, as assumed from the response of the High Priest who has Jesus sentenced to death for blasphemy (Matthew 26:64-65, Mark 14:62-63). The overuse of this title on the lips of Jesus and in the Gospels seems to point to its historical accuracy. However, the level of interpretation of the title by the Early Church and the synoptic authors is still a matter of debate and an issue to be resolved.

¹⁶⁴ Jeremias, 258.

¹⁶⁵ See Morris, *New Testament Theology*, 101-03.

Son of Man

Source	Redact Add	Activity omit/alter	Mark	Matthew	Luke	Speaker
Q			***	Son of Man (8.20)	Son of Man (9.58)	Jesus
T			Son of Man (2.10)	Son of Man (9.6)	Son of Man (5.24)	Jesus
M	Matt		***	Son of Man (10.23)	***	Jesus
Q			***	Son of Man (11.19)	Son of Man (7.34)	Jesus
T			Son of Man (2.28)	Son of Man (12.8)	Son of Man (6.5)	Jesus
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (5.11)	Son of Man (6.22)	Jesus
T			*** (3.28-29???)	Son of Man (12.32)	Son of Man (12.10)	Jesus
Q			***	Son of Man (12.40)	Son of Man (11.30)	Jesus
M	Matt (x2)		***	Son of Man (13.37, 13.41)	***	Jesus
T	Matt		*** (8.27)	Son of Man (16.13)	*** (9.18)	Jesus
T		Matthew	Son of Man (8.31)	*** (16.21)	Son of Man (9.22)	Jesus
T			Son of Man (8.38)	Son of Man (16.27)	Son of Man (9.26)	Jesus
T	Matt		*** (9.1)	Son of Man (16.28)	*** (9.27)	Jesus
T		Luke	Son of Man (9.9)	Son of Man (17.9)	*** (cf. 9.37)	Jesus/narrator
T		Luke	Son of Man (9.12)	Son of Man (17.12)	*** (cf. 9.37)	Jesus
T			Son of Man (9.31)	Son of Man (17.22)	Son of Man (9.44)	Jesus
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (10.32)	Son of Man (12.8)	Jesus
Q			***	Son of Man (24.44)	Son of Man (12.40)	Jesus
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (24.26-28)	Son of Man (17.22)	Jesus
Q			***	Son of Man (24.27)	Son of Man (17.24)	Jesus

Q		***	Son of Man (24.37)	Son of Man (17.26)	Jesus
Q		***	Son of Man (24.39)	Son of Man (17.30)	Jesus
L	Luke	***	***	Son of Man (18.8)	Jesus
T	Matt	*** (10.29)	Son of Man (19.28)	*** (18.29)	Jesus
T		Son of Man (10.33)	Son of Man (20.18)	Son of Man (18.31)	Jesus
T	Luke	Son of Man (10.45)	Son of Man (20.28)	*** (22.24-27???)	Jesus
T	Matt (x1)	Son of Man (13.26)	Son of Man (2X) (24.30)	Son of Man (21.27) Son of Man (19.10)	Jesus
L	Luke	***	***	Son of Man (19.10)	Jesus
M	Matt	***	Son of Man (25.31)	***	Jesus
T	Matt	*** (14.1)	Son of Man (26.2)	*** (22.1)	Jesus
T	Luke (x1)	Son of Man (2X) (14.21)	Son of Man (2X) (26.24)	Son of Man (22.22)	Jesus
L	Luke	***	***	Son of Man (21.36)	Jesus
T	Luke	Son of Man (14.41)	Son of Man (26.45)	*** (22.40-46???)	Jesus
T	Luke	Rabbi (14.45)	Rabbi (26.49)	Son of Man (22.48)	Judas / Jesus (Lk.)
T		Son of Man (14.62)	Son of Man (26.64)	Son of Man (22.69)	Jesus
T	Luke	*** (16.7-8)	*** (28.7-8)	Son of Man (24.7)	the men??

Conclusions from Redaction survey

2DH—Matthew adds this title nine times and omits it once (potentially three more times based on ‘Q’). Luke adds this title eight times and omits more often than Matthew with five omissions. Of all the titles this one seems to originate most frequently from ‘Q’ (i.e. Matthew and Luke often have the title together when Mark does not). When following ‘Q’, eight times Matthew and Luke agree and only three times do they disagree. When they disagree it is always due to an omission by Matthew. It is hard to explain Luke both adding and omitting so often (ratio of 8:5). This might be best explained by the possible ambiguity of this title in some passages.

GH—Mark never adds this title but he has to omit it up to 25 times. Again, the triple tradition passages are the passages of significant importance. In these passages Mark omits six times. Five of these omissions can be explained by following Luke—never Matthew. Interestingly this points to a unique relationship between Mark and Luke that is not shared with Matthew and Mark nor Matthew and Luke. It is difficult to explain, however, Mark's omission at 3:28-29 where Matthew and Luke have the title.¹⁶⁶ Mark follows Matthew the only time this title is altered from 'Son of Man' to 'Rabbi'. Far more significant than the other 19 titles that are omitted is the fact that Mark has omitted large sections, many pericopes and therefore the titles in those pericopes. GH must convincingly defend why Mark has omitted so much material.¹⁶⁷

Additional comments:

Since all three Gospels use 'Son of Man' frequently, it is hard to identify this title as a specific feature of one Gospel over another. That would also support the opinion that this title originated in the first *Sitz im Leben*. With this title the speaker is almost always Jesus and it is either omitted or added, rarely is it altered (only once—See Luke 22:48 and parallels).

The Second *Sitz im Leben* (Lord, Christ/Messiah)

It is important to note that at times Matthew, Mark and Luke's theology and Christology may actually have come from an historical time period earlier than when they wrote. While telling their story it is hard to determine which author is acting anachronistically and which is attempting to avoid that tendency. Certain theological titles could historically originate and represent a time period earlier than the one represented by Matthew, Mark and Luke's writings. Is it possible to determine the true significance and difference between these two levels (i.e. the first and second *SiL*)?

As one steps away from the first *SiL* and moves towards the second *SiL* (situation/setting in the Early Church), it is suggested by most form critics that this is where study should stop (Bultmann and Dibelius).¹⁶⁸ For these critics there is no other development beyond this second *SiL* and Matthew, Mark and Luke only represent the

¹⁶⁶ See also 'Teacher', pp. 60-65.

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter One: Markan Priority: proof one—the "great omission", pp. 24-25.

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter One: Redaction Criticism: Definition, pp. 30-36.

community of the Early Church. The section below will demonstrate that there is a need to go further and it is evident that the evangelists do indeed enter a third level of interpretation and evolution (the third *SiL*) when identifying the redactional activity with their titles. For now, however, this section, will present titles which originate from a potential second *SiL*.

Lord (κύριος)

The title that most clearly comes to mind when thinking of the Early Church is the title and confession Jesus is ‘Lord’. In this confession, the title is historically associated to the Early Church creed *Maranatha* (“come, Lord, come”). It is also possible that this title originally developed as an anti-Roman movement contrary to the confession, Caesar is Lord. Yet, in some instances, the title possibly carries no significant exaltation and could be translated as “owner”, like the owner of a house, or just another way of saying “Sir” or “Mister”.¹⁶⁹ However, when the title is associated with the Hebrew *YHWH* or *’ādōn*, it serves as a way of addressing God himself and possibly exalting Jesus to this status.¹⁷⁰ All are powerful images that in a titular way are used to address Jesus. First, no one but Jesus is ‘master’ or ‘lord’ (not Caesar or a slave’s master). This slavery imagery is attested in the Pauline writings. For Paul, Christians are now servants of the one and

¹⁶⁹ B. Witherington, “Lord” In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (eds. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, I. Howard Marshall; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1992), 488-490 feels that most ‘Lord’ titles in the Gospels represent this type of usage.

¹⁷⁰ In a study based on OT, LXX, NT, Jewish sources (Josephus and Philo) and ancient literature Peter Head states, “The conclusion must be that a connection between *yhwh* and κύριος, while not attributable to the influence of the Septuagint, was nevertheless the common property of Greek-speaking Jews during the first century, and was not a Christian invention.” Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 161-62. See also B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University, 1981), 35; J.A. Fitzmyer, “The Semitic Background of the New Testament Kyrios-Title”, in *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS 21; Missoula: Scholars, 1979), 120-23.

only ‘Lord’, Jesus. Second, in a profound way, Jesus is being recognized and equated with God through this title. He is Lord, *YHWH* or *’ādôn*, God in the flesh! This, then, serves as a profound early attestation that Jesus was God who came in the flesh. Both examples are found in the Gospels.

An interesting aspect of this study reveals how the title possibly developed.

Although written later, the Gospels present Jesus as ‘Lord’ less often than the rest of the New Testament writings, revealing their bias to present a historically correct account of Jesus (i.e. the first *SiL*). This, however, is not the only case and at times they reveal their theological biases that result from being a part of the Early Church by portraying Jesus as ‘Lord’.¹⁷¹ The belief that Jesus was ‘Lord’ was realized after his resurrection through the aid and indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Some scholars suggest that the formal point of departure for this title was grounded in Jesus’ ministry.¹⁷² Though it may have been grounded in the earthly ministry of Jesus, the Early Church believed, as noticed in Paul and Acts, that it is only through the Holy Spirit that one can say Jesus is ‘Lord’ (I. Cor. 12:3). It is for these reasons that the title ‘Lord’ seems to be a natural development of the second *Sitz im Leben*.

Lord (non-vocative)

Sources	Redaction Addition	Activity omit/alter	Mark	Matthew	Luke	Speaker
L	Luke		***	***	the Lord (2.11)	Angel (narrator)
T			the Lord (1.3)	the Lord (3.3)	the Lord (3.4)	OT text
Q	Matt (x2)	Luke??	***	Lord, Lord (7.21, 22)	Lord, Lord (6.46)	Jesus

¹⁷¹ Note especially Luke and John from Survey one above. See also Witherington, “Lord” In *Dictionary*, 491.

¹⁷² *ibid.*, 491-92.

T			lord of Sbth (2.28)	Lord of Sbth (12.8)	lord of Sbth (6.5)	Jesus
T		Matt/ Luke??	the Lord (5.19)	*** (8.33-34)	God (8.39)	Jesus
Q	Matthew	Luke??	***	Lord, Lord (25.11)	Lord (13.25)	Jesus
T			Teacher or Rabbi (10.51)	Lord (20.33)	Lord (18.41)	blind man [2 blind men (Mt.)]
L	Luke		***	***	Lord (19.8)	Zaccheus
T			the Lord (11.3)	the Lord (21.3)	the Lord (19.31)	Jesus
T	Matt (x1)		*** Lord to my Lord (12.36), ...Lord (12.37)	Lord (22.43), ...Lord to my Lord (22.44), ...Lord (22.45)	*** Lord to my Lord (20.42), ...Lord (20.44)	Jesus

Conclusions from Redaction survey

2DH—Matthew adds this title once when following Mark and possibly up to three times when following ‘Q’. These only constitute a doubling or addition where the title is already present in the story (i.e. ‘Lord, Lord’ [Matthew] when ‘Lord’ [Mark] is already present). This is not an alteration or the creation of a new title. Matthew only omits once. Luke adds twice and never omits Mark (but possibly omits up to three times from ‘Q’). In conclusion, for this title, both Matthew and Luke seem to be following the tradition. Luke possibly is the greater omitter (depending on ‘Q’).

GH—Mark adds once and omits ten times (this includes every one of Matthew’s titles, even if doubled, as an omission). Of the ten omissions only one is in a triple tradition passage. In this passage Mark could be following Luke. Both hypotheses, then, can explain the redaction activity of the evangelists.

Lord (with article, non-vocative)

Sources	Redaction Addition	Activity omit/alter	Mark	Matthew	Luke	Speaker
L	Luke		***	***	the Lord (7.13)	Narrator
L	Luke		***	***	the Lord (7.19)	Narrator
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (9.36-37)	the Lord (10.1)	Narrator
L L	Luke		***	***	the Lord (10.39)	Narrator

	Luke		***	***	the Lord (10.41)	Narrator
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (23.25)	the Lord (11.39)	Narrator
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (24.45)	the Lord (12.42)	Narrator
L	Luke		***	***	the Lord (13.15)	Narrator
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (17.20)	the Lord (17.5)	Narrator
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (17.20)	the Lord (17.6)	Narrator
L	Luke		***	***	the Lord (18.6)	Narrator
L	Luke		***	***	the Lord (19.8)	Narrator
T	Luke		Jesus (11.6)	*** (21.6-7)	the Lord (19.34)	two of his disciples [narrator (Mk.)]
T	Luke (x2)		Jesus (14.72)	Jesus (26.75)	the Lord (2X) (22.61)	Narrator
T	Luke (???--text Variant)		*** (16.5)	*** (28.4-5)	possibly.. "body", "body of Jesus", or "body of the Lord Jesus" (24.3)	Narrator
L	Luke		***	***	the Lord (24.34)	two of them (on the road to Emmaus)

Conclusions from Redaction survey

2DH—As noticed from the chart, Matthew never adds this title (Lord—with article, non-vocative). It does not seem likely that Matthew has ever omitted the title either.

However, there is the potential that he omits up to five times from ‘Q’. This is difficult to know with certainty. Luke adds this title 16 times (possibly 17—note textual variant) and never omits the title used in this way. An interesting Lukan redaction is seen when two times the title ‘Jesus’ is changed to ‘the Lord’. This shows that this is a unique Lukan invention. With this hypothesis a few of the titles could be attributed to ‘Q’ and in these instances Matthew would have to choose to omit both Mark and ‘Q’. That is unlikely. What is more likely is that this is a unique Lukan feature and presentation using ‘the Lord’ which is found here and in Acts.

GH—Mark never adds and 16 times he would have to omit (possibly 17 times). Two of these times he would have to change ‘the Lord’ to ‘Jesus’. It is hard to explain Mark’s choosing the name ‘Jesus’ over the title ‘Lord’ (once he follows Matthew and once he is alone). For this Lukan feature, Mark always has to ignore and choose to follow Matthew. Is that plausible? It is possible because it has been demonstrated that Mark indeed avoids this title. What should be questioned here is: Has Mark chosen to follow Matthew over Luke with this title or is he the earlier written source, independent of Matthew and Luke? With the avoidance of this title, Matthew also seems independent which supports GH. It is difficult to understand, however, why Luke relying on Matthew would create this unique term. But not less or more plausible than how it would be explained in 2DH (i.e.

redactional purposes). Therefore redaction criticism demonstrates that either theory is plausible.

Lord (vocative)

Sources	Redaction Addition	Activity omit/alter	Mark	Matthew	Luke	Speaker
L	Luke		***	***	Kurie (5.8)	Peter
T			***** (1.40)	Kurie (8.2)	Kurie (5.12)	Leper
Q	Matthew	Luke??	***	Kurie (8.6)	*indirect (7.3)	centurion
Q			***	Kurie (8.8)	Kurie (7.6)	centurion
Q			***	Kurie (8.21)	[kurie] (9.59)	a disciple
T	Matthew		didaskale (4.38)	Kurie (8.25)	Epistata X 2 (8.24)	disciples
M	Matthew		***	Kurie (9.28)	***	blind men
D	Matthew		*** (6.50)	Kurie (14.28)	***	Peter
D	Matthew		*** (6.50-51)	Kurie (14.30)	***	Peter
D	Matthew		***** (7.25)	Kurie, uios David (15.22)	***	Can. woman
D	Matthew		***** (7.26)	Kurie (15.25)	***	Can. woman
D			kurie (7.28)	Kurie (15.27)	***	Can. woman
T	Matthew		***** (8.32)	Kurie (16.22)	*** (9.22f)	Peter
T	Matthew		rabbi (9.5)	Kurie (17.4)	Epistata (9.33)	Peter
T	Matthew		didaskale (9.17)	Kurie (17.15)	Didaskale (9.38)	father of boy
L	Luke		***	***	Kurie (9.54)	James and John
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (8.22f)	Kurie (9.61)	potential. disc.
L	Luke		***	***	Kurie (10.17)	seventy
L	Luke		***	***	Kurie (10.40)	Martha
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (6.9)	Kurie (11.1)	disciples
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (24.44-45)	Kurie (12.41)	Peter
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (7.13)	Kurie (13.23)	a man
Q	Luke	Matt??	***	*** (24.28)	Kurie (17.37)	disciples
Q	Matthew	Luke??	***	Kurie (18.21)	*** (17.4)	Peter
T	Matthew		uie David Ιησου (10.47)	[kurie] Uios David (20.30)	Ιησου uie David (18.38) Uie David	blind men

T	Matthew	uie David (10.48)	Kurie uios David (20.31)	(18.39)	blind men
T	Matt/Luke	rabbouvi (10.51)	Kurie (20.33)	Kurie (18.41)	blind men
T	Matthew	**** (14.19)	Kurie (26.22)	*** (22.21)	disciples
T	Luke	*** (14.29)	*** (26.33)	Kurie (22.33)	Peter
L	Luke	***	***	Kurie (22.38)	disciples
T	Luke	*** (14.47)	*** (26.51)	Kurie (22.49)	disciples

Conclusions from Redaction survey

2DH—Matthew adds the title fifteen times and never omits it from Mark (but possibly five times from ‘Q’). Luke adds the title thirteen times and never omits the title from Mark (but possibly twice from ‘Q’). The title that is usually being avoided by Matthew and Luke is ‘Teacher’ or ‘Rabbi’ for ‘Lord’. This again confirms many of the conclusions drawn from the surveys above concerning the title ‘Teacher’.

GH—Mark never adds this title but must omit the title 30 times. Mark has this title once and in this instance he could have borrowed from Matthew. What is difficult to explain is why he would omit/alter eleven others in the triple tradition¹⁷³ and the entire stories along with the titles in other passages (19x). For the triple tradition: twice Mark follows Matthew in omitting, five times he follows Luke in omitting/altering and four times he is alone. This again points to a unique relationship between Luke and Mark that is not shared with Matthew. Especially note those instances when Luke and Mark alter Matthew’s ‘Lord’ for the same title (‘Son of David’ twice and ‘Teacher’ once). Again it should be questioned what seems more likely: the additions or omissions? Mark either omits ‘Lord’ completely or has to change it to ‘Teacher’. An important conclusion and question remains: if ‘Lord’ is a Lukan and Matthean feature, why does it not re-appear more often in Lukan and Matthean material common in Mark?

Additional comments:

What is very difficult about this process is determining whether Matthew and Luke are following (adding/omitting) from ‘Q’ or if the additions and omissions are original creations or unique individual features. A serious question and/or conclusion also is, if Griesbach-Mark is the appropriate response then why would Mark decrease his uses of κύριος from twenty-seven (Matthew) or forty-one (Luke) to seven (Mark)? With this title then, Matthew and Luke seem to have a perspective that has been influenced by the Early Church’s development to address Jesus as ‘Lord’ more frequently. This serves as confirmation that this title originated in the second *SiL* and/or it has been highly influenced by it. Though this title seems to be a natural development of the second *SiL* both Matthew and Luke (and less so Mark) have unique and original developments in

¹⁷³ Especially 1:40 when Mark completely omits the title when Matthew and Luke have the title and 4:38; 9:5; and 10:51 when Mark alters the title when Mathew and Luke have the title.

their Gospels. How much of this originality can be traced to the Early Church is a matter of debate.

Messiah/Christ (Χριστός)

One does not have to look far to realize that messianic expectations were incredibly high during the centuries leading up to and closely following the turn of the Christian era. The Dead Sea Scrolls attest to this, as do Josephus and Philo.¹⁷⁴ For example, Jews of this time projected messianic expectations towards certain “royal pretenders”.¹⁷⁵ Titles like “priest”, “king”, “prophet”, “messiah”, “son of David”, the “scepter” and the “star” were applied to these “pretenders”.¹⁷⁶ Josephus states that many of these figures had a negative effect, causing chaos within the nation: “Deceivers and imposters, under the pretense of divine inspiration fostering revolutionary changes, they persuaded the multitude to act like madmen, and led them out into the desert under the belief that God would there give them tokens of deliverance” (*Jewish War* 2.258-60). After failing as the ‘Messiah’, this title was usually stripped and applied elsewhere, upon the next hopeful and successful candidate. In Jesus, however, there is an historical example unlike any other where the title ‘Messiah’ was not stripped. Because of all the turmoil concerning the awaited Messiah, it goes without saying that the Early Church was concerned with how their candidate (Jesus) was no royal pretender, nor failed rebel.

¹⁷⁴ See J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1996).

¹⁷⁵ The best account of these movements is that of R. Horsley and J. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets and Messiahs* (Minneapolis: Winston, 1985).

¹⁷⁶ For these see John J. Collins, “Jesus, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls” in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger and Gerbern S. Oegema; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998) or idem, *The Scepter and the Star* and C.A. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries: Comparative Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

Rather, he was, and is, the Messiah. This then became a crucial point of divergence where Christianity begins to step away from Judaism.

An interesting Early Church development is a look at the Pauline writings and other New Testament works where there does not seem to be a time or point in which Χριστός lost its messianic implications and merely became Jesus' second or last name.¹⁷⁷ This is an excellent note to ponder in one's own understanding of the full name "Jesus Christ". But as a title, 'Messiah/Christ' has implications for all three *Sitze im Leben*. The question is, from which *SiL* comes the appropriate understanding for the title? In one sense, the Gospels portray Jesus as avoiding this title as attested to in the messianic secret of Mark. This most likely is because Peter and other followers did not have a correct understanding of what it meant for Jesus to be the 'Messiah'. This is apparent immediately after Peter's confession when he overstepped his boundaries by telling Jesus that he would never be rejected, suffer or die (Matthew 16:13-23, Mark 8:27-33).

When are the full implications of this title perceived? Is it through the Early Church's understanding and interpretation of the Easter events post-resurrection? Jesus undoubtedly interpreted his messianic ministry quite differently than Peter and the others. For Jesus, being the Messiah meant humility, service, suffering, rejection, pain and death, but in the end spiritual reconciliation and redemption. An example of the first *SiL* might be the way that many understood Jesus to be the royal/earthly Messiah. For Jewish followers, Jesus being the Messiah (and they being his disciples) meant earthly victory (Peter¹⁷⁸), setting the captives free (John the Baptist¹⁷⁹) and that God's Kingdom would

¹⁷⁷ B. Witherington, "Christ" in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (eds. G. F. Hawthorne, R.P. Martin, and D.G Reid; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1993), 95-100.

¹⁷⁸ Mark 8:32 and parallels

¹⁷⁹ Luke 7:18-23

reign here and now. The second *SiL* is seen in the Early Church's re-interpretation of the events of Jesus' life. This takes place when they altered their views to align with Jesus' views—that the Messiah was a heavenly Messiah, who is the King of a different realm, the spiritual realm. It seems then, based on the events of Jesus' life and death, the Early Church (as represented in the second *SiL*) re-oriented their understanding and concept of who the 'Messiah' really was.

Messiah/Christ

Sources	Redaction addition	Activity omit/ alter	Mark	Matthew	Luke	Speaker
M	Matthew (5X in Intro)		***	the Messiah (1.1 (JC), 1.16, 17,18 (JC), 2.4)	***	narrator
L	Luke (2X in Intro)		***	***	Messiah (2.11), Lord's Messiah (2.26)	Angel / narrator
T	Luke		*** (1.7-8)	*** (3.11-12)	the Messiah (3.15)	narrator
D/ T??	Luke		*** (1.34)	*** (8.16-17???)	the Messiah (4.41)	narrator
Q	Matthew	Luke??	***	the Messiah (11.2)	*** (7.18)	narrator
T	Matthew		Christ (8.29)	Messiah, Son of living God (16.16)	Messiah of God (9.20)	Peter
T	Matthew		*** (8.30)	the Messiah (16.20)	*** (9.21)	Jesus (narrator)
D		Luke	the Christ (9.41)	***	*** (9.49-50)	Jesus
T			the Messiah (12.35)	the Messiah (22.42)	the Messiah (20.41)	Jesus
T	Matthew		*** (12.37b-40)	the Messiah (23.10)	*** (20.45-47 ++)	Jesus
T	Matthew		he (13.6)	the Messiah (24.5)	he (21.8)	Jesus [narrator (Mk/Lk)]
D			the Messiah (13.21)	the Messiah (24.23)	***	Jesus

T	Matthew	*** (14.65)	Messiah (26.68)	*** (22.64)	high priest's officials
T	Luke	*** (15.2)	*** (27.11)	the Messiah (23.2)	accusers
T	Matthew	King of Jews (15.9)	the Messiah (27.17)	*** (23.19)	Pilate
T	Matthew	King of Jews (15.12)	the Messiah (27.22)	*** (23.20-21)	Pilate
T	Matthew	Messiah, King of Israel (15.32)	King of Israel (27.42)	the Messiah of God (23.35)	Chief Priests, scribes, elders
T	Luke	*** (15.32)	*** (27.44)	the Messiah (23.39)	criminal on cross
L	Luke (x2)	***	***	the Messiah (24.26, 46)	Resurrected Jesus

Conclusions from Redaction survey

2DH—Matthew adds this title twelve times (five times in his introduction/birth narrative) and omits it once. Luke adds this title eight times (three times in his introduction and twice in his conclusions) and omits it once from Mark and possibly once from ‘Q’. In the triple tradition passages, Matthew and Luke always follow Mark and most additional creations are added in their own introductions and conclusions—which are not found in Mark. Matthew makes an alteration when twice he changes ‘King of Jews’ to ‘Messiah’. Lukan independence from Matthew and a proof against GH is seen when twice Luke omits ‘Messiah’ (Matthew) and ‘King of the Jews’ (Mark). Here 2DH can “conveniently” say that Luke follows Q, though this seems weak. Whatever the case, Luke has not shown a tendency to avoid the title ‘Messiah’. If he had Matthew as a source, it would seem natural for him to use the title and unnatural that he would ignore the title here. Since he does ignore it, it seems likely that he does not have Matthew as a source. Redaction interests and purposes here again seem to be influential.

GH—Mark adds this title once but has to omit it twenty times. The title is found only seven times in Mark compared to sixteen in Matthew and twelve in Luke. It is plausible that in the triple tradition material Mark omits ‘Messiah’ by either following Matthew or Luke in every case, except when he alters ‘Messiah’ with his title the ‘King of the Jews’. This is a very strange alteration that makes less sense if Mark is the later source. Mark 9:41, however, seems to be an example where Mark could be a later redactor upon Luke because Mark has the title in a pericope where Luke does not. Since Luke does not avoid the title in any other pericope GH easily explains this as Luke being the earlier source.

Additional Comments:

With this title Matthew and Luke add the title very often while Mark omits it very often. What is difficult to explain is how and why Mark would omit these large sections, pericopes and in turn titles, when he is not avoiding the term ‘Messiah’ in most of his

stories. GH must explain why this Matthean and Lukan feature disappears in Mark when he does not seem to be avoiding this feature anywhere else? 2DH must explain Luke's omission of the title from Mark 9:41. The redaction interests again seem to be the most convincing response for both hypotheses.

The Third *Sitz im Leben* (Son of God, Son of David, Master)

The burden of this section is to identify if a third *SiL* exists and how it might be revealed with a study of the titles for Jesus. One of the goals of redaction criticism is to establish how the historical situation in the life of Jesus (first *SiL*) was developed through the situation of the Early Church (second *SiL*) and then finally is re-interpreted and developed for the situation in the life of the evangelist (third *SiL*). This is one of the values of redaction criticism over and beyond form criticism. This also identifies the goal of this subsection and one of the goals of this thesis when applied to the synoptic titles—i.e. is it possible to identify theological/Christological development from Gospel to Gospel and by each individual author with the use of the titles they attribute to Jesus? What must be realized, however, is that some titles have the potential of originating from all three *Sitze im Leben*, depending on the context of their use. This has been demonstrated with a few of the titles presented above. Is every title simply based on a historical reminiscence of the actual life of Jesus and then theologically developed by the Early Church? Or are there certain titles that the evangelists use to present Jesus to a specific audience or new situation and have been created to fulfill each author's theological agendas? Here, three more titles will be considered: Son of God, Son of David and Master.

Son of God (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ)

The important concern with the ‘Son of God’ title, in this sub-section, is when this level of exaltation was applied and identified with the person of Jesus. Was Jesus aware of it? Were the disciples aware of it? Was the world aware of it? At what point did the Early Church proclaim it? At what point did Jesus stop being known as simply Joseph’s son (the carpenter)¹⁸⁰ and become known as God’s Son? This is indeed one of the unique contributions behind Luke’s genealogy when the Son of Joseph is eventually identified as the son of Adam, the Son of God.¹⁸¹

The theme of Father and Son is an important one in the Gospels. There are many stories where a father or mother brings their sick or dying child before Jesus, wishing for their son to be healed (see Mark 9:17 and parallels). Numerous parables are told using the father and son relationship. A few examples are the owner of the vineyard (Mark 12:6 and parallels), the prodigal son (Luke 15:11) and the man and his two sons (Matthew 21:28). Occasionally references are made to the disciples’ adoption or followers of Jesus as the sons of God (Matthew 5:9, Luke 6:35; 20:35-36). But what was important for Matthew, Mark, Luke and disciples today is that there is one important Father and Son relationship, and only one unique ‘Son of God’. He is Jesus, “the Messiah, the Son of the living God” (Matthew 16:16). The relationship between the Father and the Son is most dramatically portrayed through the Son’s obedience, which is seen dramatically at the cross. This title then is “arguably the most significant Christological title in the NT and it may be the foremost Christological category in each

¹⁸⁰ As mentioned above this is attested to in the Gospels when Joseph’s name, strangely, is rarely mentioned and commonly Jesus is associated with Mary.

¹⁸¹ See Luke 1:23—38 with special attention to 1:23 and 1:38.

of the Gospels.”¹⁸² Was it a title of importance for the Early Church (second *SiL*) or was it used in a unique and creative way by the Gospel evangelists (third *SiL*)?

Traditionally, following Mark and ‘Q’, one observes that only the spiritual realm is able to recognize that Jesus is the ‘Son of God’. The demons notice (Mark 5:7, Matthew 8:29 and Luke 8:28), as do Satan (Matthew 4:3, 6 and Luke 4:3, 9—a possible “Q” Source) and God (Mark 1:11 [parallel in Mt. 3:17] and in Mark 9:7 [parallel in Matthew 17:5]). Luke also has additional references made early in his account by angels (Luke 1:32, 35), confirming the tradition of Mark and ‘Q’, that only the spiritual realm recognize Jesus as the ‘Son of God’. Only once in Mark does this confession appear on the lips of a human—the centurion at the cross, in Mark 15:39, “Truly this man was the Son of God!” This demonstrates that Mark is using this title in a very unique and creative way. “The Markan Jesus does not wish to be proclaimed as Son of God until it is clear his divine sonship involves not spectacular miracles but suffering and death.”¹⁸³

Matthew also uses the title in a unique way. For example, the disciples don’t use the title ‘Son of God’ in Mark, nor Luke; but occasionally they do in Matthew. For Matthew the disciples are able to come to terms with a title typically only understood by the spiritual realm (Matthew 14:33, 16:16). Matthew emphasizes that, “Son of God is the only adequate Christological confession, and one can come to this understanding of Jesus solely through divine revelation (Matthew 16:13-17; 27:51-54).”¹⁸⁴ This demonstrates Matthew’s unique interpretation of the title.

¹⁸² D.R. Bauer, “Son of God” In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (eds. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, I. Howard Marshall; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1992), 769.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*, 773.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*

Luke shows that from the beginning of Jesus' life he was more than merely the child of human descent, but of heavenly descent as witnessed in his genealogy. More than this, Luke is the only one who records Jesus as the young boy who tells his mother in Luke 2:49, "Why is it that you were looking for me? Did you not know that I had to be in My Father's house?" For this Lukan development, even at a young age, Jesus understood his mission as the 'Son of God'.

Although Jesus is not referred to as the 'Son of God' frequently (the Gospel writers indeed prefer the title 'Son of Man' to 'Son of God'), the occasions of usage are very important and have great theological weight. Matthew's, Mark's and Luke's presentations of Jesus as the 'Son of God' informs readers that they had a theological agenda and not simply an historical one. This title was developed as an important Christological confession that reveals a historical truth about who Jesus is. This historical truth was seen in the Son's greatest act of obedience to the Father when he endures the cross. It is in this way that Jesus fulfills his supreme role as the Son of God. Is it not possible then that the significance of this title was only realized post-Easter by the Early Church and then creatively developed later into these narratives as a third *Sitz im Leben*?

Son of God

Sources	Redaction Addition	Activity omit/alter	Mark	Matthew	Luke	Speaker
L	Luke	***	***	***	Son of God (1.35)	Angel
Q		***		Son of God (4.3)	Son of God (4.3)	tempter
Q		***		Son of God (4.6)	Son of God (4.9)	tempter/Devil

T	Luke	***(1.32-34)	***(8.16-17)	Son of God (4.41)	Demons
T	Matthew	Son of God (3.11)	***(12.15-17)	Son of God (4.41)	unclean spirits / Demons
T		Son of Most	Son of God (8.29)	Son of Most	Legion of Demons
		High God (5.7)		High God (8.28)	
D	Matthew	***(6.45-52)	Son of God (14.33)	***	those in the boat (disciples)
T	Matthew	Christ (8.29)	Messiah, Son of living God (16.16)	Messiah of God (9.20)	Peter
T		Messiah,	Messiah,	Messiah (22.67)	High Priest /
		Son of Blessed One (14.61)	Son of God (26.63)	Son of God (22.70)	elders, chief priests, and scribes
T	Matthew	*** (15.30)	Son of God (27.40)	*** (23.35)	those passing by
T	Matthew	***(15.32)	Son of God (27.43)	*** (23.35)	Chief priests
T	Luke	God's Son (15.39)	God's Son (27.54)	he was innocent (23.47)	Centurion / narrator (Lk)
D	Matthew	Jesus Christ, Son of God (1.1)	Jesus, Messiah, S. of David, S. of Abraham (1.1)	***	narrator
M	Matthew	***	my son (2.15)	***	narrator (OT text)
L	Luke	***	***	Son of Most High (1.32)	Angel (OT text)
T		My Son, The Beloved (1.11)	my Son, the Beloved (3.17)	my Son, the Beloved (3.22)	voice from heaven
Q		***	The Son (X3) (11.27)	The Son (X3) (10.22)	Jesus
T		My Son The Beloved (9.7)	my Son the Beloved (17.5)	My Son, my Chosen (9.35)	voice from the cloud
T	Luke	The Son (13.32)	the Son (24.36)	*** (21.32-33)	Jesus
M	Matthew	***	the Son (28.19)	***	Jesus

Conclusions from Redaction survey

2DH—Matthew adds this title six times and omits it twice. Luke adds this title three times and also omits it twice. Luke’s additions are usually only in his unique material (i.e. in the triple tradition passages he often follows Mark and ‘Q’ in his presentation). Matthew however adds to the triple tradition passages when no title exists. This confirms as seen above that Luke follows the traditional material more often and Matthew redacts more often.

GH—Mark adds once (unless one’s interpretation of the textual variant (Mark 1:1) does not allow for this title) and omits 14 times. In the triple tradition passages he omits four times (three times following Luke and once following Matthew). In this way, the triple tradition passages can be explained: Mark choosing to follow one source over the other. Concerning agreement, Mark follows Luke six times to avoid Matthew’s title and three times he follows Matthew over Luke’s title. Therefore he prefers Luke twice as often. Again this demonstrates that there is an agreement between Mark and Luke more often than between Mark and Matthew. Mark’s addition in his introduction (1:1) gives reason for pause, but no more than what would be allowed above in 2DH with Matthew’s and Luke’s introductions containing the title ‘Messiah’. It is also difficult for GH to explain Mark’s ‘Son of the Blessed One’ at 14:61 where both Matthew and Luke have ‘Son of God’. Mark must ignore both his sources for this original title and the purposes behind this redaction should be explored.

Additional comments:

The majority of these titles seem to be developed in the triple tradition stories. One significant and questionable omission must be considered in GH—why Mark would omit the title ‘Son of God’ when the Devil is tempting Jesus after his time of fasting. This line of questioning (especially from the spiritual realm) would be another example that fits effectively into Mark’s theological use of this title. With this title the GH has more explaining to accomplish.

Son of David (ὁ υἱὸς Δαυίδ)

This is a title of exaltation in the sense that it reminds the reader that the ‘Messiah’ was to come from the line of David. In this way the title seems to refer to Jesus’ earthly status more than his heavenly status.¹⁸⁵ The Gospel portrayal of Jesus, especially when related to this title, shows that Jesus accepted the messianic implications of this title, yet he knew that the Messiah’s glory and authority would surpass that of

¹⁸⁵ D.R. Bauer, “Son of David” In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (eds. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, I. Howard Marshall; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1992), 767.

David.¹⁸⁶ What is abundantly clear is that Jesus, as the ‘Son of David’, did not come to bring about oppressive, authoritarian rule. Instead he came to act mercifully (Mk. 10:46-52), as a humble savior who brings peace and blessing (Mk 11:9-10), who brings about salvation and healing (Matthew 9:27; 15:22; 20:31) including salvation from demonic oppression (Luke 4:16-19; 11:14-23; 18:35-43).¹⁸⁷ James Charlesworth states that, “Christian historians must be honest and admit that the Jesus known to us from the New Testament simply does not fit the profile of the Davidic Messiah which was espoused by many Jews of his time.”¹⁸⁸ Most importantly this ‘Son of David’ came not to be an earthly ruler but to die on behalf of his people (Mk 8:31; 9:30-31; 10:32-34; 15:1-32).

‘Son of David’ is only found within the synoptic Gospels. Though related references might be made in other areas of the New Testament to concepts like Jesus as ‘King’ or of Davidic descent, the title is found exclusively in Matthew, Mark and Luke. From the first survey above¹⁸⁹ it is clear that ‘Son of David’ is a title preferred by Matthew. Matthew produces the title six additional times where it is not found in Mark or Luke. Since this title is found frequently in Matthew it seems most likely that it represents the world of the third *SiL*, a title that is meaningful for a new, unique and specific situation/setting by Matthew for his audience.

Son of David

Sources	Redaction addition	omit/ alter	Mark	Matthew	Luke	Speaker
M	Matthew		***	Son of David (1.1)	***	narrator

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 768.

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 768-69.

¹⁸⁸ J.H. Charlesworth, “Introduction: Messianic Ideas in Early Judaism” in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger and Gerbern S. Oegema; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 6.

¹⁸⁹ See Survey One above, p. 56.

M	Matthew	***	Son of David (9.27)	***	2 blind men
T	Matthew	*** (3.21-22)	Son of David (12.23)	*** (11.14-15)	crowds
D	Matthew	*** (7.25)	Lord, Son of David (15.22)	***	Canaanite woman
T		Jesus, Son of David (10.47) (vocative)	Lord, Son of David (20.30)	Jesus, Son of David (18.38) (vocative)	Bartimaeus / 2 blind men (Mt.)
T		Son of David (10.48) (vocative)	Lord, Son of David (20.31)	Son of David (18.39) (vocative)	Bartimaeus / 2 blind men (Mt.)
T	Matthew	*** (11.9)	Son of David (21.9)	*** (19.38)	crowds (narrator's remarks)
T	Matthew	*** (11.11)	Son of David (21.15)	*** (19.45-46)	chief priests and scribes (narrator's remarks)
T		Son of David (12.35)	Son of David (22.41)	David's Son (20.41)	Jesus
T		David...his son (12.37)	David...his son (22.45)	David...his son (20.44)	Jesus

Conclusions from Redaction survey

2DH—Matthew adds this title six times and never omits it. Luke follows Mark and never adds this title and therefore also never omits it if he did not have Matthew as a source. Matthew follows Mark with four of his uses and adds six of his own. Two times Mark and Luke use the vocative when Matthew uses the nominative. It would make more sense for Luke to follow Matthew in this pericope since Matthew has ‘Lord’ instead of ‘Jesus’, a title that Luke prefers (‘Lord’)¹⁹⁰ instead of one he ignores (‘Jesus’).¹⁹¹ Since he does not it seems as though he only has Mark as a source. That this is a Matthean redaction is confirmed when these creations seem to originate from Matthew only and are never found in ‘Q’.

GH—Mark never adds this title but omits six of Matthew’s uses. Mark following Luke over Matthew can explain Mark’s omissions in the triple tradition. Two of these times include following Luke with the vocative title and ignoring ‘Lord’ for ‘Jesus’, which is difficult to understand.

¹⁹⁰ See Lord (vocative/non-vocative, etc), pp. 72-76.

¹⁹¹ See Jesus, pp. 58-59.

Additional comments:

Both theories are plausible because most unique uses of the title seem to originate from Matthew for his audience. This confirms that, for Matthew, it was used for a third *SiL*.

Master (ἐπιστάτα)

Is ‘Master’ a Lukan creation in the third *SiL* or has he simply borrowed this title from one of his other sources (Luke 1:1-4)? The title is found seven times (5:5; 8:24 (x2) [instead of ‘Teacher’]; 8:45; 9:33 [instead of ‘Rabbi’]; 9:49 [instead of ‘Teacher’] and 17:13). Descriptively it is difficult to know whether Luke ambiguously intends the same thing as ‘Teacher/Rabbi’ (διδάσκαλος/ ῥαββί), ‘Sir/lord’ (κύριος), ‘Lord’ (κύριος) or something entirely different when he uses the title. It is never found in Matthew or Mark and so with this term it has been assumed that Luke sought to heighten Jesus’ authority.¹⁹² As the surveys above have shown Luke is not afraid to use διδάσκαλος, but like Matthew, Luke has preserved its use as a term of address for Jesus by outsiders.¹⁹³ When the title ‘Master’ (ἐπιστάτα) replaces διδάσκαλος/ ῥαββί, it usually helps identify the speaker as an insider. In this way Luke demonstrates that, even though Jesus was a teacher, that was not the only significant role he played for the disciples.¹⁹⁴ Since Luke is the only one who uses this title in his Gospel (never in Acts), it seems as though he is using it creatively and purposefully for his own situation and theological agenda.

¹⁹² Riesner, “Teacher” in *Dictionary*, 807.

¹⁹³ Lk 7:40; [8:49]; 9:38; 10:25; 11:45; 12:13; 18:18; 19:39; 20:21, 28, 39; 21:7

¹⁹⁴ Riesner, “Teacher” in *Dictionary*, 807.

Master

Sources	Redaction Addition	Activity omit/alter	Mark	Matthew	Luke	Speaker
L	Luke	***	***	***	epistata (5.5)	Peter
T	Luke	*** (5.31)	*** (5.31)	*** (9.21-22)	epistata (8.45)	Peter
T	Luke (x2)	didaskale (4.38)	didaskale (4.38)	Kurie (8.25)	epistata X 2 (8.24)	disciples
T	Luke	rabbi (9.5)	rabbi (9.5)	Kurie (17.4)	epistata (9.33)	Peter
D	Luke	didaskale (9.38)	didaskale (9.38)	***	epistata (9.49)	John
L	Luke	***	***	***	Ihsou epistata (17.13)	ten epers

Conclusions from Redaction survey

2DH—Matthew never adds and never omits this title because it is not found in Mark. Luke adds the title seven times and never omits it. When the title appears, half of those instances are in the triple tradition. It is never created by Matthew and only found in Luke. This shows that the title is a Lukan creation, from Lukan vocabulary or from Lukan sources. It is difficult to understand instances when Matthew both ignores Mark's 'Teacher' and Luke's 'Master' (if Luke's 'Master' is represented in 'Q') for his own preference 'Lord'. The only explanation would be another hypothetical source or an original redaction by all three authors. In most cases, however, Matthew follows Mark and 'Q'. If Luke creates this title or uses his own vocabulary, it is still difficult to understand and explain why sometimes he uses 'Master' (ἐπιστάτα) while other times he is comfortable using 'Teacher' (διδάσκαλος).

GH—Mark never adds this title and seven times he alters/omits it. Of these seven times, three times he omits completely and four times he changes this title: the change is three times to 'Teacher' and once to 'Rabbi'. Mark following Matthew by omitting the title explains one of the triple tradition passages. It is difficult, however, to explain those times when he does not follow Matthew and instead creates his own title. Out of the seven times Mark omits/alters, he follows Matthew four times, changes Matthew and Luke twice and changes Luke once when he does not follow Matthew. Similar to Mark's treatment of κύριος, it is difficult to explain Mark's redaction of ἐπιστάτα for διδάσκαλος.

Additional Comments:

This title like the others above has emphasized how often a redaction takes place with the synoptic titles. This demonstrates the significance of these titles as theological vocabulary being used purposefully for unique and different audiences and new situations.

Conclusions to Redaction Surveys

One can never venture far beyond this fact: the evangelists did not simply create their own myth or legend based on nothing; everything was rooted in the life, ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus and their interpretation of those events. However contextually, historically and redactionally there is proof that these titles originate from three potential *Sitze im Leben*. The historical situation (first *SiL*) influenced the evangelist. It is also true that the Early Church's interpretation (second *SiL*) influenced the evangelist. But as these surveys have demonstrated, a third *SiL* existed. The evangelists not only developed existing titles; they creatively used their own titles and used them in unique ways for theological purposes. The next chapter will pursue three titles that have caused a lot of commotion in surveys one and two: Teacher, Lord and Master.

If these titles can be definitely traced in this way to the three different situations (the life of Jesus, the church or the evangelist) then this might be applied to a source hypothesis: i.e. it seems as though the titles reminiscent of the first *SiL* are used most frequently in Mark. This then points in the direction of Mark being the earliest account. Or as Head states:

This view of the use of Christological titles could, at a superficial level, support the view of a primitive Mark—using 'teacher' and 'Son of Man' as his main titles—and a later, more developed Matthew—focusing on Jesus as 'Lord' and 'Son of God'; with Luke in particular using 'Lord' a great deal and John using 'Son' terminology and 'Lord' more than all the others.¹⁹⁵

This, however, is not the only conclusion. Concerning the redactional activity of Matthew, Mark and Luke this survey has given support to both hypotheses (2DH and GH) while at the same time also providing reasons for doubt. For example, strangely, GH is not as defeated by these surveys as it might be assumed. This is demonstrated with

¹⁹⁵ Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 151.

the triple tradition passages where Mark frequently could have chosen to follow either Matthew or Luke. GH still must explain Mark's larger omissions of entire sections and stories and hence the titles contained within that material. But titles within the triple tradition passages usually can be explained by Mark following one source over another. In this way, the title surveys confirm Tuckett's view that any hypothesis that places Mark in a "medial" position is to be the preferred hypothesis.

One of the conclusions drawn from the surveys above is an insight into Lukan independence: i.e. that a Lukan relationship with Matthew is unlikely while some form of a relationship seems more likely with Mark (see especially Son of Man, Teacher [vocative], Lord [vocative] and Son of David titles). These examples do more damage to GH than 2DH, but only in so far as 'Q' can be relied upon. Another observation is that far fewer alterations take place than anticipated. Usually an addition or omission of the title takes place and rarely an alteration. The majority of alterations take place with the titles 'Teacher/Rabbi', 'Lord' and 'Master'. Again it is for this reason that these three titles will be pursued in chapter three. Future considerations that would add insights to this survey include: considering titles from the Gospel of John, a better understanding of the 'Q' material and a survey of the non-canonical Gospels and other early Christian writings.

Nevertheless, the results of this study (though not nearly as thorough or comprehensive) confirm the conclusions of Sanders' *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition* that the tendencies in handling the traditions were not rigidly developed. Instead as the audience/situation changed and developed so did the presentation of the

tradition as witnessed in the synoptic titles. As Sanders says, “No hesitation was felt toward expanding or abbreviating the material to make it *clearer* or *more useful*.”¹⁹⁶

Though both hypotheses can at the same time be confirmed and doubted with a redactional look at these titles, this survey does seem to support 2DH more times than GH and therefore Markan priority. This is confirmed through redactional plausibility as well as the tendency that Markan or ‘Q’ features are less likely to appear in Matthew’s and Luke’s material when they are not borrowing from either Mark or ‘Q’ and vice versa. Another way this is confirmed is because Mark always omits more frequently (as many as 30 times) and Matthew (and Luke less so) always adds more frequently (Matthew as many as 15 times). Though the tendency to see an increase in detail or an increase in length is not always equivalent to a later source¹⁹⁷ there indeed was a greater tendency to add than omit.¹⁹⁸

To conclude, the majority of titles are found within the triple tradition stories. This confirms literary interdependence. But the titles are not always reproduced from author to author in the same way the stories are. This shows that they are unique vocabulary with theological significance and hence they were created and used purposefully to promote the theological programs of individual authors. This then re-confirms the conclusions of chapter one (the probability of Markan priority and the value of redaction criticism) and will be a benefit for the research of chapter three.

¹⁹⁶ Sanders, 280.

¹⁹⁷ Sanders, 46. See also A. C. Clark, *The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1914), vi.

¹⁹⁸ Sanders, 48; See also 189 where he lists examples of how the post-canonical tradition tended to become more detailed. Sanders notes that this should prove useful in any discussion of the redactional methods of the evangelists.

Are Theological Insights from these Titles Possible?

Before moving towards the specific study of three titles in the next chapter it is appropriate to question: are theological insights possible from these titles? That is the question that should be considered when researching these titles. Do they represent the starting point of some form of primitive theology that blossomed into something greater? Here a few of the positive and negative criticisms that have fallen upon such works will be identified. Whatever conclusions drawn thus far and before the next chapter is presented these positives and negatives will demonstrate the benefits of this study and the opinions held by some scholars.

Benefits

There are five potential benefits behind this type of study. First, the theology behind these titles informs readers of a bigger picture. The titles are pieces of a larger puzzle and research within them should never lose sight of the ‘forest in the midst of the trees’. Each title should be viewed as a small piece that supports the larger theological picture. Any redaction to a title does not represent a comprehensive theology; rather it is only a unique aspect of one author’s theology. The purpose of the next chapter will be to see if it is possible to support the theological and Christological conclusions of this chapter by a look at the redactional work of the evangelists in the entire narrative. It is quite impossible to re-create one’s theology simply by identifying the names they attribute to God, Son and the Holy Spirit. However, one cannot deny that certain titles, when used over others (omitted [if purposefully omitted], or added [if purposefully added]) and when used in a certain context, bear unique meaning. The purpose of

surveys one and two was to outline where a specific redaction to the synoptic titles takes place.

Second, the titles add historical, cultural and religious background information from the first-century into Jesus' life, the Early Church, and the origins of Christianity. Third, for synoptic studies they confirm the redaction-activity of Matthew, Mark and Luke, supporting the idea that these authors were individuals, storytellers, theologians and not only historians. Fourth, this in turn verifies that chronology and history was not the primary agenda in telling the story of Jesus. Theology and faith was and thus the re-telling of that story should be bound up in those elements as well.

Finally, Christians have a responsibility to each aspect of these stories: historically, theologically and exegetically. It is a responsibility to express "the old concern anew" and bring it up to date with something exegetically and hermeneutically "better" (Marxsen's term). This is important, not only for this thesis, but also for Christians who embrace and live out the Gospel. These titles have helped shed light on the historical transmission process of the traditions. Matthew, Mark and Luke were a part of learning, interpreting and creating meaningful theology for those who read their stories. This has exciting hermeneutical and exegetical implications. The complex and multi-leveled truths of the Gospels are confirmed with the synoptic presentation of these titles. Again this proposes the hermeneutical question: do Christians then have a responsibility to pursue and develop these truths forward to a fourth *SiL* from generation to generation?

Limitations

“Since the 1950’s the study of New Testament Christology has, for good or ill, been dominated by a titular approach.”¹⁹⁹ A few of the major concerns and or limitations are as follows: First is that this type of study is a type of reductionism where far too much is being made out of far too little. Keck attacks the (mistaken) view that meaning resides in words rather than sentences; and shows how the emphasis on titles has hampered the study of New Testament Christology.²⁰⁰ If a titular study stops at words then it is indeed limited. The context of sentences, paragraphs, chapters and books must all be taken into consideration.

Second is the question of whether one can ever really know the semantics behind a title since readers today are many years removed from the actual cultural setting or the historical background. L. E. Keck, in particular, has argued that the “preoccupation with the history of Christology and Christological titles has left Jesus’ place in New Testament Christology insecure. This concentration misses much of the relevant material, tends to transcendentalise the presentation of Jesus and fails to provide access to ‘the dynamic struggle of New Testament Christology with early Christian theology.’”²⁰¹ In a later publication he is more forceful: “Probably no other factor has contributed more to the current aridity of the discipline than this fascination with the paleontology of Christological titles.”²⁰²

A third concern, noted earlier in this chapter—which has been highly questioned—is whether development in the titles and or a progressive theological Christology can

¹⁹⁹ Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 149.

²⁰⁰ L.E. Keck, “Toward the Renewal of New Testament Christology”, *NTS* 32 (1986): 368-70.

²⁰¹ L.E. Keck, “Jesus in New Testament Christology”, *Australian Biblical Review* 28 (1980): 14.

²⁰² Keck, “Toward the Renewal of New Testament Christology”, 368.

ever or should ever be identified. This is a very difficult task to approach. What seems to be high Christology for modern readers possibly may not have been high Christology two thousand years ago. Areas of Christology that were assumed two thousand years ago possibly would not have found their way into the writings of these authors. It is important to be reminded that these stories were written not to our cultural audience but to an audience who understood the “inside” material. And finally:

Recently, the practice of looking at ‘titles’ has come under increasing attack as the difficulty of establishing with certainty a fixed tradition of usage and meaning behind any of the ‘titles’ has become increasingly clear. Whether they should be called ‘titles’ at all is highly debatable...In order to discover the specific understanding of Jesus guiding each of the canonical Gospels, instead of studying ‘titles’, a truly narrative Christology must be developed that attempts to perceive the distinctive function and depiction of the character of Jesus within the dynamics of each story...Thus, the Christology of Mark is not established by looking at ‘titles’ provided for Jesus; rather, the meaning of the ‘titles’ is defined by the narrative itself.²⁰³

These benefits and limitations have noted that there is potential value and potential risk to be revealed. Conzelmann stated that, when minute observations with demonstrable tendencies are found in the handling of traditional material, then a unique theological insight could be discovered. The surveys above have attempted to study each title and make minute observations and notice the demonstrable tendencies in Matthew, Mark and Luke’s handling of the traditional material. These conclusions will be confirmed further in chapter three. As Peter Head observes, “In any case...the prominence of Christological titles in the Gospels—numerically and structurally—is surely indicative of their importance to the evangelists because Christological titles are at structurally important locations (introductions, prologues, conclusions and decisive junctures).”²⁰⁴ Nevertheless these limitations demonstrate that one must be careful of the results produced by certain methods. As a result, certain methods should be questioned,

²⁰³ M.A. Tolbert, *Sowing the Gospel: Mark’s World in Literary-Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 122-23.

²⁰⁴ Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 150.

not the significance of the titles. Understanding these limitations and the potential of these benefits, in the next chapter this thesis will move beyond the redaction of these surveys and propose a method that helps identify three titles (Teacher, Lord and Master) and their narrative theological value.

Chapter Three: Beyond the Redaction: Three Narrative Titles for Jesus

Introduction

The conclusions of chapters one and two showed that redaction criticism has two valuable purposes. First, it is a way of discovering one of each author's unique editorial and theological agendas. Therefore, there is also the potential of discovering what is *not* that author or a secondary author's agenda. This is only the beginning of understanding the theological implications of these titles. They must be confirmed in another way. Chapter three intends to move beyond the redaction and look at three specific titles in Mark, Matthew and Luke. The purpose is to reveal the full implications and potential behind the redaction surveys from the last chapter. For that reason, Mark's use of διδάσκαλε (Teacher), Matthew's use of κύριε (Lord) and Luke's use of ἐπιστάτα (Master) will be studied in order to reveal how the synoptic titles have been altered in ways that demonstrate a unique theological contribution of each evangelist. These titles are not only historical signposts but also theological, rhetorical, exegetical and narrative signposts that inform the reader of an original aspect of each author's Gospel. To do this one must look beyond the redaction towards an exegetical, narrative contextual approach. "The number of references to a title cannot be assumed to relate to its importance for an evangelist; ultimately only exegetical investigation of evangelical usage will allow any firm conclusions."²⁰⁵ The benefits and limitations of redaction criticism have been identified and so here a method that goes beyond what was revealed in the redaction will be proposed and applied.

²⁰⁵ Peter Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem: An Argument for Markan Priority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997), 150.

Beyond the Redaction

The most appropriate way to move beyond a redactional study is to consider a contextual narrative approach. The Gospels, and specifically these titles, have been written initially not for their redactional value but for their narrative value. Broadhead makes an important statement when saying that these titles are not to be understood with the weight and importance of early Christian confessions, creeds, hymns, parables, sayings, prayers, letters and Gospels.²⁰⁶ They were not professed, memorized or committed to “doctrine”/“theology” as the latter would have been. This might be one reason behind the subjective use of certain titles in each story. Since the titles are used for specific purposes, it seems appropriate to identify some of those specific reasons. That will be accomplished by approaching the narrative structure of each Gospel.

The importance of studies in the historical background should not outweigh the importance of the actual text being examined. With historical studies one is moving from the known to an unknown. P.G. Davis questions the method of applying exterior views or opinions into the background (i.e. Roman/Jewish) of Mark when one should think first of Christian origins.²⁰⁷ This important insight applies also to a Christology of each title. One must consider that Christian application and development has taken place and early Christianity would be in the minds of these authors when applying titles.

As my teacher, Professor Ben F. Meyer, repeatedly told me, historical investigation is a matter of moving from the known to the unknown. In this case, Mark’s broader cultural setting is not a ‘known’; only the text itself meets this requirement....rather by interpreting Mark on its own terms first, we may come closer to solving the question of provenance. Here I agree with Kingsbury’s statement²⁰⁸ that the key to Mark must be found within the Gospel, not outside it.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Edwin Broadhead, *Naming Jesus: Titular Christology in the Gospel of Mark* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 27.

²⁰⁷ P.G. Davis, “Mark’s Christological Paradox” in *The Synoptic Gospels*, (eds. Craig A. Evans & Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 173.

²⁰⁸ J. D. Kingsbury, *The Christology of Mark’s Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 40-41.

²⁰⁹ Davis, 173.

This demonstrates the narrative importance of titles within each Gospel. Edwin Broadhead outlines six reasons why the narrative approach is to be preferred. The first four conclusions below outline the problems that arise when one moves from the known to an unknown. The final two conclusions (five and six) outline the concerns that will be developed in the remainder of this sub-section and in this chapter. They are the concerns that will help develop this thesis from the unknown of the last chapter to the known of this chapter by looking at the entire narratives of Matthew, Mark and Luke.

1. The background of most titles is more complex than previously imagined. Indeed, the background of many titles appears irresolvable.
2. Attempts to delve into the consciousness of Jesus have made only small advances.
3. Attempts to locate any one title unambiguously on the lips of Jesus have failed.
4. There is a growing awareness that Christology cannot be written exclusively along the lines of the titles. Attempts to study them in isolation prove discomfoting. There is a growing consensus that Christology must be structured along more holistic lines.
5. Previous studies have failed to adequately treat the narrative role of the titles. The formal role of titles as narrative constructions has yet to be properly examined.
6. The very description of 'Christological titles' may now be called into question. Careful research will show that none of the titles is inherently Christological, and none of them is unambiguous. The idea that Jesus (or the Church) borrowed fixed titles to describe his work is outmoded. It is more likely that *Jesus provided the hermeneutic for understanding the titles*. Titles become Christological only when they are assigned this role within specific social and literary contexts; Christological titles exist only as social and literary constructs.²¹⁰

For these reasons each title should not be viewed "simply as historical or editorial markers, but as formal elements which operate within a cohesive narrative world."²¹¹ It is important to look beyond the titles in isolation and towards the way they function in the narrative. As M.A. Tolbert notes, "Thus, the Christology of Mark is not established by looking at 'titles' provided for Jesus; rather, the meaning of the 'titles is defined by the narrative itself."²¹²

²¹⁰ Broadhead, 26-27.

²¹¹ *ibid.*, 27.

²¹² M.A. Tolbert, *Sowing the Gospel: Mark's World in Literary-Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 122-23.

In the last chapter much of the historical, editorial and redactional information behind these titles was presented. These conclusions are important. However, for this chapter the role of the titles as literary tools being used for narrative purposes will be considered. Broadhead says by doing so one should be able to produce “sharp narrative images and claims”.²¹³ This chapter will insist that the most important purpose behind any title is the way it fits into Matthew’s, Mark’s and Luke’s narrative structures and the literary worlds in which they live.

The most important approach, then, will be to consider the “narrative foreground and not the historical background.”²¹⁴ The true significance of a title is not found in the history behind a title, nor is it found in the cultural make-up from whence the title originated or was developed. Rather the true significance for each evangelist is discovered when the implications of how a title functions within the whole narrative scheme are explored. With this method, redaction criticism is just a starting point. The titles are important only within their unique narrative framework, not when differences are compared to another author’s narrative framework.

It must also be considered that, in each story, the titles, though of importance, are not the only way of identifying Jesus. Along with these titles, one might seek out additional images, concepts and themes that identify Jesus in the narrative world. Broadhead says that in this way unexpected ‘titles’ for Jesus, which are usually neglected, will appear.²¹⁵ These ‘titles’ that Broadhead suggests are not traditionally researched because numerically, statistically or rationally they may not be as

²¹³ Broadhead, 28.

²¹⁴ *ibid.*, 29-30.

²¹⁵ Broadhead, *Naming Jesus*, suggests other potential titles of significance including The Greater One, Priest, King, The Holy One of God, Suffering Servant of God, The Risen One and The Crucified One.

significant.²¹⁶ Rhetorically, however, certain images and titles do have significance and therefore they should be pursued.

Broadhead's method is as follows: to provide a broad sketch of the historical background and then identify the foreground of the title as it operates within the Gospel. A number of concerns are pursued next, including the distribution of the term through the Gospel, the patterns of association established around the title, the level of confirmation offered by the narrative, development of the term within the larger literary strategy and the effect of this strategy upon the Christological presentation. Finally, he concludes with a statement that focuses on the formal operation of the title within the characterization of Jesus, particularly in light of other uses of this tradition.²¹⁷ This method is fascinating and important for developing a holistic approach to the titles in the Gospels. For the purposes of this thesis it will be important to identify the context, distribution and then the exegetical and theological implications of that distribution.

D. Hill notes that it is possible to consider, at one time, that an individual Gospel might have been the only way some early Christians would have read and studied these stories and not as a collection of all four Gospels as in the New Testament today.²¹⁸ The story became tradition, in the form of Gospel, and then was redacted by the evangelists. It is still the same story, only with unique and important theological redactions. This all happened for a purpose. Scholars, therefore, must learn and teach about those purposes.

²¹⁶ For example making conclusions about the importance of a title based on how many times it appears in a book. i.e. 16 times in Matthew, 4 times in Mark and 24 times in Luke and then concluding that this title must be important in Luke. D. Hill, "Son and Servant: An Essay on Matthean Christology" in *The Synoptic Gospels* (eds. Craig A. Evans & Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 27 critiques J.D. Kingsbury's approach in *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) as "rather statistical and superficial".

²¹⁷ Broadhead, 30.

²¹⁸ D. Hill, "The Figure of Jesus in Matthew's Story: A Response to Professor Kingsbury's Literary-Critical Probe" in *The Synoptic Gospels* (eds. Craig A. Evans & Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 81-82.

Chapter two surveyed the historical background, the use and development of titles, on the lips of Jesus, in the life of the Early Church or in the minds of the evangelists. These historical issues and the number of times a title is used should only be the start or first stage of research. If redaction criticism takes place next it helps to confirm what was begun in that first stage and identifies other areas of possible research. The next method is to confirm the results of the first two stages in a narrative and thematic approach to each Gospel. It is this level that will be pursued in this chapter. One cannot neglect the importance of subtle images and themes that display the narrative genius that led to each Gospel's canonization. These approaches combined will help reveal the powerful Christological methods that each evangelist used to present and interpret the truth concerning Jesus.

This contextual narrative approach will be utilized in a study of the calming of the storm pericope. This study will rely heavily on the previous work that argues for Markan priority and the value of redaction criticism when applied to the synoptic pericopes. The "titles" will be the starting point of interest into the aspects of Matthean, Markan and Lukan theology. This interest will spring the discussion forward to pursue what part that narrative image plays in the rest of the book. Context and distribution will be very important. If the image is meaningfully confirmed in other places, this study has accomplished much. If these redactions are merely ambiguous then the study will teach what is *not* an aspect of that author's theology and researchers are more informed from the search.

Definite conclusions concerning one source hypothesis over another are not as mandatory in a narrative approach or in this pericope. This is true because, regardless of

sources, the same story is attested in the triple tradition with three unique titles for Jesus. In this way, it is confirmed that the traditions of each Gospel author attest to a different title in this story. That begs the question, why? This seems to point to the narrative significance of these three titles—especially in this story. Regardless of who wrote first, one must consider the differences found within the triple tradition. As mentioned above, these titles, unlike creeds, songs, confessions, parables, letters or Gospels, did not carry as much theological weight outside of these stories and therefore they cannot be separated from the narratives in which they are found. A holistic approach seeks to uncover the images that each title (and imagery associated with that title) presents in Matthew's, Mark's and Luke's entire story and Gospel.

Jesus Calms the Storm

'Teacher' in Mark, 'Lord' in Matthew and 'Master' in Luke

Dr. Eckstein, an elderly professor of mine from Rochester College, was known for a certain story. Everyone on campus anticipated that at least once a semester (sometimes more often), he would re-call the images of this story/event. Dr. Eckstein served in World War II and would always begin his story by commenting on how the actions of his fellow soldiers were far from moral. He mostly told stories of their foul language, their drunken bar fights and promiscuous behavior. They were the worst, of the worst of course, whom one would never expect to darken the door of any church. Yet he continued, as soon as the bullets started flying over head and they were in the midst of battle and lives were endangered, everyone—regardless of how many times they had been in a church, regardless of their Christian or non-Christian background, good or evil

tendencies, righteous or sinful nature, whether they spent the night before in prayer or passed out drunk—*everyone* was calling on the same name, “Lord, save us!” Everyone was praying, or maybe begging, to get through the battle and the dangerous situation they now found themselves in. It was the nature of the event—everything else disappeared but fear and the only need that anyone embraced was a cry, “Lord, save us”.

Dr. Eckstein’s question was, in the midst of the battle, placed in that situation, when death is staring you down, what would your cry be? When terror and fear overwhelms and you are drowning in a sea of your own emotions that strangles each fleeting breath, what enters your mind first? When faith is slipping between your fingers like hot dry sand or drips of water that you are unable to hold on to, what do you shout out? In the midst of the storm, what name would your voice utter?

Initially Matthew, Mark and Luke possibly had these thoughts in mind when they heard the pericope of the calming of the storm.²¹⁹ With these thoughts, they developed and told an encouraging story about the nature of faith. The story also reveals much about discipleship and the relationship that is needed and expected between disciples and God in order to survive in this world with their ‘Teacher’, ‘Master’ and ‘Lord’.

First, Matthew, Mark and Luke’s re-telling of this story will be presented in a ‘harmonistic’-type way. From there, in the upcoming sections of this chapter, a synoptic look at the individual redaction found in each author’s narrative presentation of Jesus the ‘Teacher’, Jesus the ‘Master’ and Jesus the ‘Lord’ of the ship, the storm and the disciples will be pursued.

²¹⁹ It is hard to determine whether it came to Mark as a series of stories (demon possessed man, Jairus’ daughter, and hemorrhaging woman) or whether Mark is the original compiler of these pericopes. Interestingly Matthew adds the paralytic here and places Jairus’ daughter and the hemorrhaging woman later (9:18-26) in his story.

It was getting late in the evening. Jesus had been busy all day²²⁰ teaching²²¹ the large crowds²²² and they were beginning to press towards him for even more of his attention.²²³ He was teaching them parables about the kingdom of God (Mark 4:1-34) and about the high level of expectation required to follow him (Matthew 8:19-22). So the disciples took him with them just as he was (Mark 4:36) or they followed him into the boat (Matthew 8:23). Regardless, they left the crowds behind when Jesus said to them, “Let’s go across to the other side of the lake.” Other boats followed them (Mark 4:36).

While in the boat, either before the storm (Luke 8:23) or in the midst of the storm (Mark 4:38, Matthew 8:24), the disciples noticed that Jesus had fallen asleep. Three understandings of this are possible: a) because it was humanly possible—he was fatigued from the long day,²²⁴ b) he trusted in God²²⁵ or c) he trusted in himself as God’s Son.²²⁶ The sleeping Jesus is unaware when a massive storm is not only about to begin, but when it is already upon them. In the midst of the storm²²⁷ that was breaking into the boat, they were in danger (Luke 8:22). They went and woke him, “διδάσκαλε—Teacher, do you not care that we are perishing?” (Mark 4:38), “κύριε—Lord, save us! We are perishing!” (Matthew 8:25) or “ἐπιστάτα, ἐπιστάτα—Master, Master, we are perishing” (Luke 8:24).

Jesus, now awake, rebukes the disciples first, then the storm (“Why are you afraid, you of little faith” Matthew 8:26) or the wind and waves first, then the disciples

²²⁰ Mark 4:35 tells us evening had come.

²²¹ Mark 4:1, “Again he began to teach beside the sea.”

²²² Large crowd: Mark 4:1; Matthew 8:18; Luke 8:19.

²²³ Luke tells us (8:19) that his mother and brothers could not reach him because of the crowd.

²²⁴ E.P. Gould, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Mark* (New York: Scribner’s, 1903), 85.

²²⁵ Morna D. Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 139.

²²⁶ Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 239.

²²⁷ σεισμός is found in Matthew and λαίλαψ in Mark and Luke.

(Mark 4:39, 40; Luke 8:24, 25). Shut Up! Be Still! *And remain that way* (Mark 4:39)!²²⁸

Why are you afraid (Mark 4:40)? Have you still no faith (Mark 4:40)? Where is your faith (Luke 8:25)? These are his words to the storm and then the disciples. And a great calm appeared on the lake. There was ultimate silence and likely an awkward quiet moment for quite some time. The disciples indeed were stunned and afraid. For Mark, like the great storm, and the great calm, the disciples have a great awe (Mark 4:41).

Words eventually came out of their already opened mouths, “Who is this (Mark 4:41, Luke 8:22) or what sort of man is this?” (Matthew 8:27) Even the wind and the sea obey him.

For the concerns of this thesis and the remainder of this chapter, it is important to note that when the disciples went and woke him, Mark’s disciples cried “διδάσκαλε—Teacher, do you not care that we are perishing?” (Mark 4:38), Matthew’s disciples cried, “κύριε—Lord, save us! We are perishing!” (Matthew 8:26) and Luke’s disciples cried, “ἐπιστάτα, ἐπιστάτα—Master, Master, we are perishing” (Luke 8:22). These three titles allow for at least two conclusions. Either, a) they are different titles purposefully chosen with unique theological meaning or b) they are different titles chosen ambiguously with the same semantic meaning.

Jesus as ‘Teacher’ (διδάσκαλος) in Mark

Introduction

Considering Markan priority, a difficult first question is how does one identify a Markan redaction if he is the first written source? Does he represent the first historical

²²⁸ The italics are mine. The verb tense reveals this: *πεφίμωσο*—The perfect imperative passive (which is rarer) is more emphatic than the aorist used in 1:25: so ‘be silent and remain so’. See C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1959), 174.

name/title that was associated with this story or has Mark created a redaction in his story by changing from the name ‘Jesus’ to ‘Teacher’? With Mark the task is more complicated. He has re-told the traditions in his own words and in his own style. “This is unfortunate because it makes the separation of the Markan redaction from the pre-Markan tradition all the more difficult.”²²⁹

Inquiry and research of this nature is two hypothetical steps removed from the text of Mark. It is an attempt to re-create the thoughts and materials that most likely represented the stories that existed before they came to Mark. It is therefore difficult to know the content behind this type of material. As R. Stein puts it, “The pursuit of a Markan redaction history is a difficult task, but it is not an impossible one.”²³⁰ In the long run this is a good exercise for learning about a) the transmission of these stories through the oral tradition and b) identifying unique aspects about the events in Mark’s stories. In turn these methods can then be applied to the other evangelists.

Stein in both *The Synoptic Problem* but more specifically in *Gospels and Traditions: Redaction Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels* attempts to answer many of these difficulties.

We are not primarily concerned with all that the evangelists believed. Rather we are concerned with ascertaining the unique contribution to and understanding of the sources by the evangelist. This will be found in their seams, insertions, interpretative comments, summaries, creations or modification of material, selection of material, omission of material, arrangement, introductions, conclusions, vocabulary,²³¹ Christological titles and the like.²³²

²²⁹ Robert H. Stein, *Gospels and Traditions: Studies on Redaction Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991), 51.

²³⁰ Stein, *Gospels and Traditions*, 67.

²³¹ Robert H. Stein, *The Synoptic Problem: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1987), 258. With vocabulary Stein outlines how certain words can portray an author’s theological emphasis. For example, Matthew: to fulfill, disciple, Son of David, cause to sin (σκανδαλιζω), righteous-righteousness, what was spoken (ρηθεν); Luke: Spirit, to heal (ιαομαι), repent-repentance, multitude, salvation-Savior-save, receive; John: love, know, witness, Father (as a title for God), life, I am, world, light; Mark: teach-teacher-teaching, preach the gospel, authority, to be able (δυναμαι)-power (δυναμις), amaze-marvel (θαμβέω-θαυμάζω-εκπλήσσω), follow, believe, etc.

²³² Stein, *Gospels and Traditions*, 31. For a detailed discussion of the means for ascertaining a Markan Redaction, see Robert H. Stein, “The Proper Methodology for Ascertaining a Markan Redaction History”,

In this section Markan seams, vocabulary and especially Christological titles will be emphasized. These three areas will help reveal Mark's biases to the reader. Since the titles are of special interest for this project it is important to note Stein's view on these Christological titles.

When we observe the freedom with which Matthew and Luke alter the titles Mark gave to Jesus, it would appear that Mark also probably changed the titles he found in his sources. This being so, the titles used of Jesus both in the pericopes and in the seams will reveal the Christological preferences of Mark, and this preference will be a theological preference and not merely an aesthetic one. The investigation of the Christological titles used by Mark will therefore be a helpful means for ascertaining a Markan redaction history.²³³

Since Markan seams, vocabulary and Christological titles are an effective means for identifying a unique aspect of Markan theology, this study will pursue his portrayal of Jesus as the 'Teacher'. Here Mark's portrayal of Jesus as a 'Teacher' will be explored in comparison to the ways that Matthew and Luke either do or do not present him as 'Teacher'. This question must be asked because of all the titles Mark could have chosen he chose 'Teacher' as the name that the disciples cry out in fear. Matthew and Luke both use a different title. Could Mark have done the same? If so, why has he chosen to name Jesus as the 'Teacher' in the boat? What is the significance of having a teacher in the boat? Surely someone would rather have a captain, or, as Luke puts it, a 'Master' or, possibly even more powerful in Matthew's words, the 'Lord!' Why the 'Teacher' of the boat? That is the purpose of the rest of this section, to explain how and why Mark identifies Jesus in this way.

Jesus as 'Teacher' in Mark: Context

This pericope is the first of a group of miracle stories. Mark 4:35-41 could be the beginning of one or two groups found in the total of ten individual miracles between

NovT 13 (1971): 181-98.

²³³ Stein, *Gospels and Traditions*, 67.

4:35-8:26. Four of them are found immediately after this pericope. Some would say that these ten miracles are seen as two balancing groups. Each group begins with a lake miracle (4:35-41; 6:45-51) and contains a feeding miracle.²³⁴ Guelich limits the miracles to six, this being the first of six miracle stories, with the sixth (6:45-52) “forming an inclusion by offering a sequel with an epiphanic self-disclosure of Jesus on the sea that specifically answers the disciples’ concluding question of 4:41.”²³⁵ Historical chronology and topography seem to have determined the order of these stories; the first takes place on the sea, the second on the other side from Galilee and the third back on the Galilean side after the return trip.²³⁶

There are a number of interpretations as to what is the main theme of this group of miracles. For example, Gundry believes the theme is death.²³⁷ Lane sees it as a theme of God’s power over the demonic.

The cosmic dimensions of Jesus’ encounter with Satan are emphasized in the first of these stories, where the sea is understood as a manifestation of the realm of death, with overtones of the demonic in its behavior. This in turn prepares for the account of Jesus’ healing of the demoniac from the region of the Gerasenes. Between the two narratives there are parallels too obvious to be incidental.²³⁸

Regardless of the theme, these miracle stories reveal something remarkable about Jesus that makes the up-coming visit to Nazareth (6:1-6) a more disappointing experience of rejection.

²³⁴ R.T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 220.

²³⁵ Robert A. Guelich, *Word Biblical Commentary: Mark 1-8:26* (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 263.

²³⁶ Gundry, *Mark*, 237.

²³⁷ “The stories seem to progress from Jesus’ stilling the stormy sea, which represents the threat of death; to his exorcising the unclean spirits called Legion, who made their victim dwell in the realm of death (the tombs) and self-destructively lacerate himself; to Jesus’ conquering death itself in Jairus’s daughter, whose case, surrounding as it does that of the woman, may make the woman’s chronic flow of blood represent the impurity of death.” See Gundry, 237.

²³⁸ William L. Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 173-74 calls attention to the howling sea, which corresponds to the raging fury of the demoniac who cannot be tamed by the strongest chains, while the stillness of the wind and the sea after Jesus’ word finds its counterpart in the peace of the healed man who sits at the feet of Jesus clothed and sane.

Hurtado mentions that through these stories another key theme of Mark is revealed. The astonished question (4:41), “Who is this?” seems to echo the crowd’s bewilderment in 1:27 and Jesus’ critics questions about him in 2:7 and 3:22.²³⁹ This theme is perhaps Mark’s major concern throughout his book. Only God and the demons know the truth until Jesus’ crucifixion and resurrection. Even the disciples, who see his power firsthand, cannot arrive at the full truth till then. The epiphany of this story works in a context of six or possibly up to ten other stories that are revealing to the reader the character of Jesus. This story is Mark’s first nature miracle that shows and describes two things: Jesus’ power and authority. By demonstrating Jesus’ power and authority, it is a way of declaring an answer to the rhetorical question, who is this man? Why, however, is it so incredible that this man is a teacher?

Immediately before Jesus calms the storm, Mark reveals something about the nature of Jesus’ teachings through a discourse of “Kingdom” parables (4:1-34). These stories include the parable of the Sower, the lamp on a stand, the parable of the growing seed and the parable of the mustard seed. Mark demonstrates with these stories a stark contrast between the disciples’ failure to understand and Jesus’ ability to comprehend the kingdom of God. The theme of the disciples’ struggle is underscored by their surprising behavior in response to the storm (4:38, 40) and the miracle (4:41).²⁴⁰ By bearing profound witness to the truths of the kingdom of God, Jesus is their great Teacher, who can help them gain understanding if they follow his example.

²³⁹ Larry W. Hurtado, *Mark* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1989), 81.

²⁴⁰ Guelich, 263.

Distribution

The significance of Mark's tendency to present Jesus as the 'Teacher' in his narrative will be confirmed in three important ways: this Markan Christological title, Markan seams and Markan vocabulary. Initially it is important to identify the distribution of this title along with Matthew's and Luke's response to it. In this story it has already been noted that the disciples call Jesus 'Teacher' (Mark 4:38), 'Lord' (Matthew 8:25) and 'Master' (Luke 8:24). This tendency is found in other examples where the same titles are used. For example: first, at the Transfiguration (Mark 9:5 'Rabbi', Matthew 17:4 'Lord', and Luke 9:33 'Master') and second at John's complaint about the person casting out a demon (Mark 9:38 'Teacher' and Luke 9:49 'Master'). This is also seen in a third example at the healing of the epileptic boy (Mark 9:17 'Teacher' and Matthew 17:15 'Lord') and fourth, the healing of Bartimaeus (Mark 10:51 'Teacher' and Matthew 20:33 'Lord'). This confirms what was established in chapter two that Mark prefers this Christological title ('Teacher') when Matthew prefers 'Lord' and Luke 'Master'.

Second, within Markan seams, the teaching activity of Jesus is confirmed.²⁴¹ As Stein notes, "Certainly not every one of these references is due to the hand of Mark, but it is undeniable that Mark frequently seeks to portray Jesus as a teacher."²⁴² This is one of

²⁴¹ This theme is stressed in the following potential seams: Mark 1:21-22; 2:2 (Jesus speaks the word); 3:14 (the disciples are called by Jesus to preach); 6:2, 12 (the disciples are sent to preach); 30 (the disciples report what they taught); 7:14 (Jesus speaks to the crowd); 8:31, 34 (Jesus speaks to the crowds and the disciples); 9:31; 12:1 (Jesus speaks in parables); 35, 38a; 13:1 (Jesus, the Teacher, speaks to the disciples). It is found in the following potential Markan insertions: Mark 6:34; 11:17a, 18 and the following potential Markan summaries: Mark 1:14-15 (Jesus comes preaching), 39 (Jesus preaches); 2:13; 4:1-2, 10-12 (indirectly), 33-34 (indirectly); 6:6b; 10:1 (teaching is Jesus' *custom*); 32 (indirectly). See Stein, *Gospels and Tradition*, 76.

²⁴² Stein, *Gospels and Tradition*, 76.

his contributions and it is the task of this study to uncover how he develops that into a powerful image and theme.

Finally, Markan vocabulary also confirms how important this idea is in Mark's narrative. For example the verb "to teach" is a favorite term being used seventeen times to describe Jesus' activity. Matthew omits the verb "to teach" from the parallel in Mark nine times (Mark 2:13; 4:1, 2; 6:34; 9:31; 10:1; 11:17; 12:14, 35) and one time he changes it (Mark 8:31).²⁴³ These redactional features seem to show that Mark is using this to promote one of his unique theological aspects. If this title 'Teacher' is to be taken as a Christological title, then that will confirm the importance of this image to Mark's narrative. The theological value and implications of this title will now be explored to determine its Christological value.

Exegetical and Theological Implications

There are many interesting ways that Mark defines this image. One is seen in his use of the verb διδάσκειν (to teach). In Mark, Jesus is the only one who is ever described as teaching (διδάσκω) (with exception to 6:30 referring to the teaching of the disciples in extending Jesus' teaching ministry).²⁴⁴ The other characters of Mark's story (this includes Jesus at times) are described as preaching or proclaiming (κηρύσσω).

Though they can κηρύσσειν, they never διδάσκειν because there is only one Teacher.

No one can replace him in Mark's Gospel; they can only proclaim his teachings. Is it

²⁴³ Other statistics also show Mark's emphasis in this area. In two places where Mark uses the title "teacher" for Jesus, Matthew changes it to "Lord" (Mark 4:38, 9:17). In three places where Mark uses "teacher," Matthew omits it (Mark 10:20, 35; 13:1). In all, Matthew, whose Gospel contains 65 percent more material than Mark's, uses the term "to teach" fourteen times to Mark's seventeen, "teacher" twelve times to Mark's twelve, and "teaching" three times to Mark's five. See Robert H. Stein, "The 'Redaktionsgeschichtlich' Investigation of a Markan Seam (Mk 1:21ff)", *ZNW* 61 (1970): 84; 91-92.

²⁴⁴ Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 155.

possible that in this way Mark is describing Jesus and his teachings (ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ—4:2; 12:38) as possessing unique authority? This is confirmed with Mark’s presentation (especially 1:21f) based upon the belief that the messianic age and the Messiah would bring a new teaching.²⁴⁵ Jesus’ teaching activity is related to the Messiah because he teaches with wisdom and authority. However as was discussed in chapter two, the messianic age would be known for the teaching of wisdom and knowledge, not necessarily a “Teacher” messiah.²⁴⁶

A great deal of the “teacher” imagery is bound up in relationship. This is most profoundly seen in Jesus training his disciples. Mark develops this interrelationship in two ways. First, it is seen in certain narratives. Mark’s material found in 8:31-10:45 is an example of this. Here in a unique way Mark deals with these stories by showing three different aspects of training and discipleship. Like the stories surrounding the calming of the storm, the failures of the disciples are used to teach the meaning of true discipleship.

Passion saying	Error by Disciples	Teachings on Discipleship
8:31-32a	8:32b-33 Peter	8:34-9:1 (involves suffering like Christ)
9:30-32	9:33-34 the twelve	9:35-10:31 (involves serving like Christ)
10:32-34	10:34-41 James and John	10:42-45 (involves serving like Christ) ²⁴⁷

Mark has brought together the material of Mark 8:27-10:45 and arranged it in a theological way for his theological purposes. In this way it is confirmed for the reader

²⁴⁵ Stein, “‘Redaktionsgeschichtlich’ Investigation”, 91; followed by R.T. France, “Mark and the Teaching of Jesus” in *Gospel Perspectives 1* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1980.), 111.

²⁴⁶ For the relationship of Teacher and the messianic age—especially the Dead Sea Scrolls and other ancient literature (targums, rabbinical literature, etc.) see R. Riesner, “Teacher” In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (eds. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, I. Howard Marshall; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1992), 808.

²⁴⁷ Stein, *Gospels and Traditions*, 61-62.

that ‘Teacher’ is a title of relationship. It is unique of all other titles because it speaks about the relationship of the student to Jesus. He is the ‘Teacher’ who can help them understand the Kingdom of God if they follow his words and deeds.

The second way Mark develops this relationship is with the use of other “teacher” terms like ‘Rabbi’ and ‘Rabbouni’. Rabbi is used in three examples of failed discipleship (Peter twice and Judas once). Rabbouni is used once to signify a positive model of discipleship (Blind Bartimaeus). “Thus, the use of the Rabbi title is preserved wholly for the issue of discipleship. Two stark images mark those who address Jesus as Rabbi. Peter and the Twelve fail to understand Jesus; one betrays him and all forsake him. In contrast, Bartimaeus insists upon the gift of sight, and then uses it to follow Jesus in the way.”²⁴⁸ Again this confirms how Mark develops the theme of the teacher and student relationship throughout his story.

Conclusions

Why in the storm does Mark portray Jesus as a Teacher? In Mark, apart from 1:37, these are the first words that the disciples use to address Jesus. That demonstrates how important it is that the disciples say, “Teacher!” At the core of many of Mark’s redactions is the teaching ability and authority of Jesus, which demonstrates the unique theological importance of this title. Another aspect, however, was the disciples’ relationship with the teacher. The disciples gave Jesus the respect that any Rabbi would have received in the first-century. This is attested in the oral and written transmission of Jesus’ words.²⁴⁹ However in looking to rabbinic literature one notices that the emphasis

²⁴⁸ Broadhead, 89.

²⁴⁹ Birger Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1961), 258.

is "...on the importance of what is taught, not on the importance of the rabbi who taught it. But for Mark, it is the Teacher who is supremely important."²⁵⁰ In this way, who Jesus was and what he did is what matters most. The disciples were not committed solely to his teachings; they were primarily committed to the *person* of Jesus.²⁵¹ They were followers not so much of Jesus' teachings but of Jesus himself. Therefore, imitating the Teacher is what each student was supposed to do. That is why this title is so important, especially in this pericope for Mark. The disciples have trusted the teacher up to this point, even enough to enter into the boat with him. At this point they are in training mode. The 'Teacher' is to be observed, learned from but most important *imitated*. That is why he is the 'Teacher' and they are his disciples. His example becomes the students' lesson and eventual goal. Mark makes this clear in his Gospel and especially in this story when the lessons of discipleship and faith are closely related to this title.

With a possible list of other titles before him Mark chose 'Teacher', rarely 'Lord' and never 'Master'. It doesn't seem as though he did this ambiguously. These narrative images help to answer why Mark seeks to portray Jesus as a 'Teacher'. With the next two titles ('Lord' and 'Master'), it will be questioned if these differences are actually developments to a higher Christology or simply another way of saying, 'Teacher'. Has an elevated opinion taken place, a new unique theological aspect or descriptively is the same title in mind?

²⁵⁰ L. Morris, *New Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 99.

²⁵¹ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 201.

Jesus as ‘Lord’ (κύριος) in Matthew

Introduction

For Matthew, one must consider again whether one is dealing with Markan or Matthean priority. If one supports Markan priority, then the redaction is significantly easier to identify and more concrete to notice. If, however, one proposes Matthean priority, then it becomes important again to outline information discussed above.²⁵² Since that information has been outlined, it is only important to state that a similar type of search must take place in Matthean seams, vocabulary and titles, etc. in order to identify what is a possible Matthean redaction. Regardless of a source hypothesis, these areas of research are valuable. Since this thesis has argued for Markan priority, work will continue with that understanding and a Matthean redaction will be assumed to be a redaction he has made upon his sources (Mark and ‘Q’). The purpose here, as above with Mark, is to try to identify the significance behind why Matthew chose the title ‘Lord’ when and if he had other possible titles at his disposal. Is the concept of Jesus as ‘Lord’ an important one in Matthew or has he merely used this title ambiguously?

Jesus as ‘Lord’ in Matthew

There are two important reasons behind Matthew’s use of the title ‘Lord’ in this pericope. The first is related to the context of this story and the surrounding pericopes. The second reason is related to the way that Matthew develops his concepts of ‘Lord’ versus ‘Teacher’ throughout his narrative. This will be dealt with below in the section dealing with the distribution and theological implications of this title.

²⁵² See above in the Introduction to Jesus as Teacher in Mark, pp. 108-110. There a discussion takes place of how to define a Markan redaction.

Context

It is important to identify the unique context of the Matthean calming of the storm story. This is discovered in four major areas: a) Matthew's demonstration of the authoritative words²⁵³ and deeds²⁵⁴ of Jesus; b) the concluding remarks of the Sermon on the Mount (7:15-29); c) stories concerning faith (8:1-9:8) and d) the cost of following Jesus (8:18-22). The first of these four reminds readers that valuable information has been added that is not found in Mark's Gospel concerning Jesus' teachings, i.e. the Sermon on the Mount. Contextually important for this pericope are the concluding teachings of the Sermon on the Mount (7:15-29) that lead into the stories about faith (8:1-9:8). Of relevance to these stories is the number of times the title 'Lord' is found.²⁵⁵

Context is very significant for Matthew. Many scholars would agree that, "Matthew is undoubtedly the supreme literary artist among the evangelists. And he certainly writes with distinctive theological emphases."²⁵⁶ He is regarded as the author who groups and gathers similar material to present in an effective topical and theological way.²⁵⁷ This is witnessed by observing how Matthew interweaves narratives and

²⁵³ Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5-7).

²⁵⁴ Matthew 8-9.

²⁵⁵ See Matthew 7: 21 (twice), 22 (twice) for the title in the non-vocative and 8:2, 6, 8, 21 (the storm), 25; 9:28 for the vocative title.

²⁵⁶ Graham N. Stanton, "The Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Gospel. Matthean Scholarship from 1945 to 1980," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (eds. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), 1906.

²⁵⁷ Here are five possibilities that have been suggested by scholars concerning Matthew's structure. Each suggested structure demonstrates Matthew's unique ability as a "literary artist":

- 1) A Second Edition of Mark's thematic outline: R. Bultmann (1921), F. Neiryneck (1967), and E. Schweizer (1976).
- 2) Geographical: W.C. Allen, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912). Also associated with this view is A. Plummer (1909).
- 3) A Fivefold Topical Discourse: B.W. Bacon, "The 'Five Books' of Matthew against the Jews," *The Expositor* 15 (1918): 56-66.
- 4) Chiastic or Concentric Style which recognizes Matthew's structural alternation between narrative and discourse: C.H Lohr, "Oral Techniques in the Gospel of Matthew," *CBQ* 23 (1961): 403-35. Originally this structure was defended by N.W. Lund (1931).
- 5) A Threefold Temporal Structure: J.D. Kingsbury, *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989).

discourse together grouping similar material: 1-4 (N), 5-7 (D), 8-9 (N), 10 (D), 11—12 (N), 13 (D), 14-17 (N), 18 (D), 19-22 (N), 23-25 (D) and 26-28 (N). If one accepts this type of organization then it is easier to identify what similar-type material Matthew has placed around the storm pericope and what theology he is attempting to teach and encourage with these stories.

For the reader, the cry, “Lord, save us”, while in the boat, is reminiscent of other cries to the Lord. For the reasons mentioned above, it does not seem haphazard that Matthew has just told a story stating, “Not everyone who says to me, ‘Lord, Lord’, will enter the kingdom of heaven, but only he who does the will of my Father” (Matthew 7:21). Then Matthew says that many on that day will say, “Lord, Lord”, did we not do this or that in your name (7:22). If the reader is to be reminded of these statements then Matthew is saying that it is not the cry from the boat that could have saved them. Being saved only comes through obeying and doing the will of the Father. Those who simply cry “Lord, Lord” and do not live in a way consistent with that confession, Matthew classifies as evildoers (7:23), foolish builders (7:26) and ones with “little faith” (Matthew 8:26).²⁵⁸ Following this Jesus tells about the wise and foolish builders emphasizing that those who *hear* the words and *practise* them are like the wise builder. The stories that follow explain what it means to *hear* the word and *practise* it. By doing this they help identify how to be a wise builder and who is a foolish builder.

First, the leper says ‘LORD’, if you are willing, you can make me clean and the Lord says I am willing. Jesus’ ability is being demonstrated first hand for the benefit of the disciples. The Lord is able and willing for those who trust him and put faith in him. Next the faith of the Centurion (a non-Jew and non-disciple) says, ‘LORD’, my servant

²⁵⁸ See also Matthew 25:37, 44 for Matthew’s critique of righteous ones and unrighteous ones using κῶπιε.

lies at home paralysed and suffering. ‘LORD’, *just say the word* and my servant will be healed. Jesus remarks that he has found no one within all of Israel with *such great faith* (he is a wise builder). Soon however, Matthew is going to tell a story of the disciples with *little faith*. Because of this they are like the foolish builders.

Following the Centurion story, Jesus heals many, starting with Peter’s mother-in-law who immediately begins serving them. When the sick and demon possessed come to Jesus (8:16), he drives out the spirits *with a word* and heals all the sick. Again the power of Jesus’ word is being emphasized over and over in these passages. Those who hear it, trust it, follow it and practise it are rewarded with healing and told they have *great faith*—they are wise builders.

Next Matthew tells about the cost of following Jesus. In Matthew’s context, the calming of the storm pericope should begin here. Note especially Matthew’s introduction of 8:18 which parallels in Mark 4:1, 35 and Luke 8:22. Here, Matthew’s inserted material reveals a great deal of theological information important for understanding this pericope. The title ‘Teacher’ is found on the lips of a teacher of the law and the title ‘Lord’ on the lips of one of Jesus’ disciples. Both ask what it takes to be Jesus’ disciple and His response is “Follow me” (8:22). The story of the storm goes on to describe the very “following” of the disciples. Schweizer asks, “Is this passage then meant to replace the omitted calling of the Twelve (Mark 3:17-19) and be a watershed separation between the ones who follow Jesus and those who do not?”²⁵⁹ Whatever the case, all three of Jesus’ requests (go to the other side of the lake [8:18], have no place to lay your head [8:20] and let the dead bury their own [8:22]) represent the demands of discipleship²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Matthew* (trans. David E. Green; London: S.P.C.K., 1976), 219.

²⁶⁰ Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1991), 39.

and a forward step into insecurity.²⁶¹ In this way, Matthew, more than Mark, uses this pericope to demonstrate the theme of discipleship and faith.²⁶²

Next, Matthew inserts the story of the storm where the disciples cry, “Lord, save us!” Jesus responds by questioning their fear and calling them ones of *little faith*.²⁶³ Knowing the ‘Lord’ in principle, being affirmed by his actions recently and choosing to step forth into the insecurity of discipleship, they fear and their faith falters. They still do, however, experience the Lord’s help in very practical terms when the storm is calmed and the lesson is learned. Following the storm, on the other side of the lake, another story takes place that confirms Jesus’ authority over the demon possessed man (or two men in Matthew 8:28) when he is (they are) healed. Then the paralytic is forgiven of his sins and also healed.²⁶⁴ This takes place when Jesus saw *their faith* equating them with the wise builders who hear, trust and obey.

Through this context Matthew is developing stories that show people with *great faith* and people with *little faith*. The difference is bound up in each person’s unique understanding of Jesus as ‘Lord’. Those of great faith not only call on the Lord in the times of storm (both the rainstorm that floods against the house²⁶⁵ and the storm that beats against the boat²⁶⁶) but they also live a life consistent to that confession. Like the leper, the Centurion soldier, the sick and the demon possessed who trust in the voice and words of Jesus, on that day their reward will be secure, they are healed, they are wise builders

²⁶¹ Schweizer, 219.

²⁶² Harrington, 39.

²⁶³ One should be reminded however that “little faith” in Matthew is not necessarily negative. For Matthew, even a “little faith” can move mountains (17:20).

²⁶⁴ This pericope is inserted here by Matthew much later in his story than Mark (2:1-12) and Luke (5:17-26). It replaces Mark’s (and Luke’s) story of Jarius’ daughter and the hemorrhaging woman. In Matthew that story is found later in this chapter (9:18-26).

²⁶⁵ Matthew 7:25-26.

²⁶⁶ Matthew 8:23-26.

and people of great faith. Those willing to leave everything (“let the dead bury their own dead” and “have no place to lay their head”) and follow their Lord into the boat across to the other side have nothing to fear. It is the Lord whom the winds, the waves and the sea obey! The disciples are challenged to listen and hear his words, do the will of the Father and trust that their safety is in His hands.

Distribution

‘Lord’, translated from κύριος, is found seventy-seven times in Matthew. Of those seventy-seven times eighteen refer to God (including one in the vocative), twenty-two are used in Jesus’ parables to refer to the master or owner of property (including four in the vocative) and four are used in Jesus’ teaching in general of the same type of master (some of these may refer to Jesus). Of those which refer explicitly to Jesus, twenty-three are in the vocative and seven in other cases (several of these are Matthean parallels to passages noted in the survey of chapter two: 3.3; 12.8; 21.3; 24.42; 22.43-6).²⁶⁷ The majority of cases where κύριος refers to Jesus are in the vocative (κύριε). This wide use of the title ‘κύριος’ shows that it is used in many ways²⁶⁸ and therefore it is difficult to know whether it is a technical term for Matthew.

However, Matthew does seem to have a method that shows consistency in his use of this title. Peter, for example, never uses any other term of address (14.28, 30; 16.22; 17.4; 18.21) and other disciples also use it (8.21, 25; 26.22). It is regularly introduced when Mark has either no term of address (Mark 1.40//Matt. 8.2; Mark 7.25f//Matt. 15.22, 25; Mark 8.32//Matt. 16.22; Mark 14.19//Matt. 26.22) or uses either διδάσκαλε (Mark

²⁶⁷ See chapter two redaction surveys for Lord, pp. 72-76.

²⁶⁸ God, Pilate, master/owner (in parables), a father, a bridegroom, etc.

4.38//Matt. 8.25; Mark 9.17//Matt. 17.15) or ῥαββί, ῥαββουνί (Mark 9.5// Matt. 17.4; Mark 10.51/ Matt. 20.33). Riesner comments that it is more likely that “intentional replacement is going on”.²⁶⁹ For example, in the pericope concerning the Syrophenician woman, the only passage where Mark uses κύριε (7.28), Matthew has the term three times on her lips (15.22, 25 and 27).

Thus, while it is going beyond the evidence to suggest that Matthew wishes to connote the deity of Jesus every time someone approaches him saying κύριε, there are clear indications that the term plays its part within Matthew’s Christological purposes.²⁷⁰

Exegetical and Theological Implications

Here Matthew’s strategic use of the titles ‘Teacher’ and ‘Lord’ will be discussed. The implications of this discussion are of great importance because even here in Matthew’s additional context (8:18-22) a teacher of the law identifies Jesus as ‘Teacher’, while a disciple calls him ‘Lord’. Initially, it seems that for Matthew, the true followers, ones of faith (even if it is “little faith”); always identify Jesus as ‘Lord’. Those who do not wish to follow, those who are against Jesus, and those that oppose Jesus always identify Jesus as ‘Teacher’.²⁷¹ “It has been suggested by some scholars that Matthew regarded the address διδάσκαλε as characteristic of Jesus’ opponents, as in some way inadequate, and even as derogatory.”²⁷²

While Matthew is probably not, therefore, intending some covert criticism of Jesus as teacher, it does seem likely that he has imposed a system for using vocative forms of address to Jesus. This

²⁶⁹ Riesner, “Teacher” In *Dictionary*, 807.

²⁷⁰ Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 168.

²⁷¹ See Head *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 158-59. 1) A scribe who says ‘Teacher’ (8:19) receives an implicit warning from Jesus. 2) The scribes and Pharisees, representatives of ‘this evil generation’, say to Jesus ‘Teacher’ (12:38). 3) The wealthy young man, unwilling to give up his possessions asks, ‘Teacher’ (19:16). 4) In controversy stories (ch. 22) Pharisees and Herodians (vs. 16), then the Sadducees (v. 24) and finally a lawyer (representing the Pharisees--v. 36), all approach Jesus with, “Teacher...” 5) other representatives of Jesus’ opponents, including the Pharisees (9:11) and the collectors of the temple tax (17:24) refer to Jesus as ‘Our Teacher’. 6) Similarly, Matthew reserves the use of the title ‘Rabbi’ for Judas’ use (26:25, 49).

²⁷² E.g. France, ‘Mark and the Teaching of Jesus’, 109.

system distinguishes between those on the inside, who use κύριε, and those on the outside, who use διδάσκαλε.²⁷³

The most profound interplay between these two titles (διδάσκαλε/κύριε) and evidence of Matthew's strategic use is found in Matthew's re-telling of the Lord's Supper. The supper had already begun and while they were eating Jesus said, "Truly I tell you, one of you will betray me" (Matthew 26:21). As each disciple dealt with these words in their own way it says that they were greatly distressed and *one after another* began saying, "Surely not I, *Lord?*" (26:22). Immediately after this however, Matthew, the only one of the three accounts, gives the words of Judas. In 26:25, "Judas, who betrayed him, said, 'Surely not I, *Rabbi?*'" and Jesus replied, "You have said so."

In this unique Matthean redaction he has repeated the distressed words of each disciple, altering one of the disciples' responses. Judas is not able to say and identify Jesus as 'Lord'; instead he calls him 'Rabbi'. With these two titles, Matthew is speaking loudly where the other Gospel accounts are silent. The one, who stands in opposition to Jesus, Matthew notes, addresses him only as a teacher. The true disciples see Jesus as 'Lord'. In Judas' act of betrayal Matthew has labeled him an outsider. He only experienced and understood Jesus as 'Teacher' because he was in opposition to the Lord. Shortly thereafter Judas completes his betrayal when he meets Jesus in the garden. There he came up to Jesus and said, "Greetings, Rabbi!" and kissed him (26:49). With a kiss and again with the title 'Rabbi' Judas gives the sign that led to Jesus' arrest. For Matthew, Judas never understood Jesus as 'Lord' and therefore he becomes the great betrayer. This is a profound example of a narrative feature employed by Matthew to tell the story of the life of Jesus and his followers.

²⁷³ Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem*, 159.

Conclusions

It is easy to immediately comment that, “It seems reasonable, simply on the basis of numbers, to understand the greater number of instances in which Jesus is called κύριος in Matthew as a secondary development in which this favorite title of the Early Church is read more and more into the Gospel accounts.”²⁷⁴ There certainly is support for this claim. It is even possible to suggest that Matthew has borrowed a Markan tendency of associating the term ‘Teacher’ or ‘Rabbi’ with negative or failed discipleship. Matthew’s reluctance may be a response to the use of the term ‘teacher’ among contemporary Jewish leaders.²⁷⁵ According to Matthew, Jesus is more than simply a teacher; he is the Lord. Matthew makes this explicit in one of his seven woes to the teachers of the law and the Pharisees.²⁷⁶

Matthew’s narrative context, however, relays a deeper concern. Though Jesus is an authoritative teacher demonstrated in his great words (Matthew 5-7) and great deeds (Matthew 8-9) the disciples do not call him teacher, they cry, “Lord, save us.” Jesus stood at the shore and said, “Follow me!” (8:22). For Matthew, even before the storm takes place, each disciple must make a choice weighing the cost of following Jesus. Some will not be able to enter the boat and will remain on the shore talking about the teacher they once met (Matthew 8:19). Others however will enter the boat, heading for the storm, knowing they are with the Lord. They who have stepped through faith into this insecurity cannot in fear simply cry, “Lord save us”. Nor at this point can they return to shore. Now, their discipleship and development relies on hearing, doing and practising

²⁷⁴ Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 84.

²⁷⁵ W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), II, 41.

²⁷⁶ See especially Matthew 23:5-11, “... they love to be greeted in the market-places and to have men call them ‘Rabbi’ (vs.7). But you are not to be called ‘Rabbi’, for you have only one Teacher and you are all brothers (vs. 8). Nor are you to be called ‘teacher’, for you have one Teacher, the Christ (vs.10).

the will of the Father. But most of all they must trust that, even in chaos, the Lord creates peace.

Jesus as ‘Master’ (ἐπιστάτω) in Luke

Introduction

With Luke the discussion is less concerned with whether or not Luke wrote first.²⁷⁷ Though redactional information now becomes searchable and identifiable, one might still be concerned with whether Luke is redacting Mark or Matthew. In this way, Luke’s redactions have the potential of serving as a possible proof one way or the other. For example, if Luke had Matthew as a source why would he not follow Matthew in the present pericope when Luke prefers the title ‘Lord’ over most other titles as seen in the surveys of chapter two?²⁷⁸ Future studies (especially within redaction criticism) might help support a source hypothesis when they consider which is most probable, a Lukan redaction of Matthew or of Mark. Since it is very difficult, from the perspective of Markan priority, to assume that Matthew and Luke knew each other,²⁷⁹ it will be assumed that Luke redacted Mark independently from Matthew.

Jesus as ‘Master’ in Luke: Context

The context of Luke is somewhat different from that of Matthew and though closer to Mark, it still has originality. Like Mark, four miraculous stories are grouped together (the storm, the demoniac man, Jairus’ daughter and the hemorrhaging woman).

²⁷⁷ Very few scholars would suggest a Lukan priority. An example of one scholar is R. L. Lindsey, “A Modified Two-Document Theory of the Synoptic Dependence and Interdependence”, *NovT* 6 (1963): 239-63 and idem, *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark Greek—Hebrew Diglot with English Introduction* (Jerusalem: Dugith, 1973).

²⁷⁸ See Chapter Two: Redaction Survey Two: The title ‘Lord’ in the vocative, pp. 75-76.

²⁷⁹ See Stein, *Synoptic Problem*, 127-128.

Some might identify this pericope, then, as the beginning point of a new major section.²⁸⁰ Or as Nolland states, “There is clearly a focus on Jesus’ mighty works which begins here and culminates in the confession of 9:20.”²⁸¹ But, one story has been inserted immediately before the Lukan storm pericope that seems relevant. It is the statement about who Jesus’ mother and brothers are (Luke 8:19-21). Jesus identifies them as those who hear God’s word and put it into practice (Luke 8:21). Here, though with a different story, there is a similar context with Matthew that serves as an introduction to the storm story. This does show a contextual agreement in the information associated with the pericope of the stilling of the storm. Before the storm, where faith and discipleship are challenged, Jesus has been teaching and preparing the disciples to be taken to a new level of expectation.²⁸² The emphasis again is on the ones who hear, do and practice God’s word (Luke 8:21; see also 8:15, the Parable of the Sower).

This “new level of expectation” is important to Luke because these four stories, according to Craddock, are strategically placed between the choosing and the sending of the twelve.²⁸³ Since they are immediately before the commissioning of the twelve, it is important to view them as examples of Jesus’ ministry during that preparation. Before the storm, Jesus teaches them to hear and put into practice God’s word. That is how they are accepted into his family and not simply by means of physical family ties.

It is also important to note Luke’s narrative method of disclosing who is in the boat with the disciples.²⁸⁴ Luke reveals to the reader earlier than Matthew or Mark who Jesus is by means of John’s questions concerning the Messiah (7:18-35). Jesus confirms

²⁸⁰ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (Garden City: DoubleDay, 1981), 726.

²⁸¹ J. Nolland, *Luke* (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 397.

²⁸² Fred B. Craddock, *Luke* (Louisville: John Knox, 1990), 115.

²⁸³ Craddock, 114.

²⁸⁴ Nolland, 399. Here Nolland notes that the remainder of the section 8:1-9:20 is strongly oriented to the question: Who is Jesus? (esp. 8:25; 9:9, 18-20; but also 8:28, 37, 39, 56).

that his deeds are the expected deeds of the Messiah: the blind receive sight, the lame walk, those who have various diseases are cured, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the good news is preached to the poor (7:22) and so John is not to expect someone else. Luke then uses the sinful woman at the house of Simon to confirm rhetorically “who is this who even forgives sins?” (7:49). In the storm when Jesus rebukes the wind and the raging waters (8:24) and the disciples ask, “Who is this?”, the reader can associate Jesus’ actions to the other self-disclosing stories. Shortly after the four miracles that have been grouped together, Luke has moved Peter’s confession that Jesus is “the Christ of God” closer to the storm pericope to answer again, “Who is this man?” (9:20). The storm story, therefore, is purposefully used in this context to identify a unique aspect of who Jesus is.

Though a unique context, one must ask the important question, why did Luke choose ‘Master’ when his vocabulary would have allowed him other options? Why use the title ‘Master’ when others might have suggested ‘Lord’ and ‘Teacher’? How and why is Jesus ‘Master’ in Luke in ways he is not (or that he is something else) in Mark and Matthew?

Distribution

Since Luke is the only one to ever use the title ἐπιστάτα (‘Master’),²⁸⁵ it seems simple enough to claim that this is one of his unique theological contributions. The difficulty, however, remains in determining whether Luke purposefully intends something different than διδάσκαλος (teacher), ῥαββί (rabbi) or κύριος (Lord/sir).

Fitzmyer suggests that in the Lukan writings there are two titles for ‘Teacher’:

²⁸⁵ In Greek literature or inscriptions it often has connotations like, ‘commander, administrator, supervisor’ (e.g. in the training of youth). See Fitzmyer, 566.

διδάσκαλε and an exclusive Lukan word ἐπιστάτα.²⁸⁶ But Luke never uses the title ῥαββί and similar to Matthew, only non-disciples use διδάσκαλε.²⁸⁷ ἐπιστάτα is used in 9:33 (instead of ῥαββί) and in 8:24; 9:49 (instead of διδάσκαλος). In two unique Lukan pericopes, he has added ἐπιστάτα (5:5 [by disciples]; 17:13 [by those seeking help]) and once where there is no title he inserts it in 8:45 (Peter).

“Master” is found only on the lips of those who submit to the authority of Jesus. Glombitza thinks that the term distinguishes Jesus from a ‘teacher’ of a theological school.²⁸⁸ Peter uses the title ἐπιστάτα the most (5:5; 8:45; 9:33 [Peter]; 8:24 [disciples]; 9:49 [John] and 17:13 [lepers]). Many non-disciples use διδάσκαλε including Simon the Pharisee (7.40), man from crowd (9.38), lawyers (10.25; 11:45), one from among the multitude (12.13), rich ruler (18.18), Pharisees (19.39), spies (20.21), Sadducees (20.28) and scribes (20.39); cf. also 8:49. “For Luke διδάσκαλε is an objective description while ἐπιστάτα involves a personal recognition of Jesus’ authority.”²⁸⁹

Exegetical and Theological Implications

The majority (6/7) of these titles are found in one major section of Luke’s narrative and between two important events (the choosing of the twelve [Luke 5] and the sending out of the twelve [Luke 9] or the sending out of the 72 [chapter 10]). In this section Luke has performed some significant altering of titles:

²⁸⁶ Fitzmyer, 218.

²⁸⁷ Lk 7:40; [8:49]; 9:38; 10:25; 11:45; 12:13; 18:18; 19:39; 20:21, 28, 39; 21:7.

²⁸⁸ E.E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke* (London: Nelson, 1966), 102-103.

²⁸⁹ Nolland, I, 222.

The Storm		The Transfiguration		Another Exorcist	
διδάσκαλε	Mark 4:38	ραββί	Mark 9:5	διδάσκαλε	Mark 9:38
ἐπιστάτα (x2)	Luke 8:24	ἐπιστάτα	Luke 9:33	ἐπιστάτα	Luke 9:49
κύριε	Matthew 8:25	κύριε	Matthew 17:4		

Notice especially how close Luke places these three stories to each other where Mark and Matthew have them separated by five chapters (Mark) and nine chapters (Matthew).

Luke's unique context gives value and weight to the narrative significance of this title.

Between chapters five and nine the only title used by the disciples (and primarily Peter) is

'Master'.²⁹⁰ Others say 'Lord',²⁹¹ 'Son of Man',²⁹² 'a great prophet',²⁹³ 'coming one',²⁹⁴

'Teacher'²⁹⁵ or 'Son of Most High God'.²⁹⁶ To this list could also be added the material

of chapter 9 which leads up to the sending out of the 72 (Luke 10.1). Here again the

disciples prefer 'Master'²⁹⁷ while these titles are spoken by others: 'John the Baptist,

Elijah, or a prophet',²⁹⁸ 'Son of Man',²⁹⁹ 'My Son',³⁰⁰ 'Teacher'³⁰¹ and 'Lord'.³⁰²

In context and with all of these choices, Luke could have used a variety of titles.

But the title 'Master' comes frequently from the disciples and usually is a title of

exaltation that contrasts the disciple's failure to perceive the situation they are in. Notice

Peter who does not want to put the nets out again (5.5), the disciples in the storm (8.24),

Peter who questions how Jesus thinks he can identify who has touched him (8.45), Peter

²⁹⁰ Except once: 'Lord' by Peter (5:8).

²⁹¹ Leper (5.12), narrator (5.17; 7.13, 18), Jesus (6.5, 46), Centurion (7.6).

²⁹² Jesus (5.24; 6.5, 22; 7.34).

²⁹³ Widow and others (7.16), Simon (7.36).

²⁹⁴ John the Baptist (7.19), John the Baptist's disciples (7.20).

²⁹⁵ Simon (7.40).

²⁹⁶ Legion of demons (8.28).

²⁹⁷ Peter (9.33), John (9.49). In chapter nine however the disciples do however say 'Christ' once (Peter—9.20) and 'Lord' once (James and John—9.54).

²⁹⁸ Herod (9.7-8), the crowds (9.19).

²⁹⁹ Jesus (9.22, 26, 44, 58).

³⁰⁰ God (9.34).

³⁰¹ Father of epileptic boy (9.38).

³⁰² Man from the crowd (9.59), another man (9.61).

who did not know what he was saying (9.33) and John's confusing attempt to stop a man from driving out demons (9.49). Each of these situations is found between choosing and sending out the twelve (or 72) and identifies a time of learning, training and discipleship. After this, the title is only found once (17.13) and not from one of the disciples.

In the midst of this section of training God says once, "Listen to him (My Son)" (9.34). Luke also re-emphasizes this dramatically in 9.44 when Jesus says, "Listen carefully to what I am about to tell you..." (9.44). During this section, however, the disciples fail to listen and fail to understand and as a result they fail on many levels. They are asked, "Where is your faith?" (8.25). They are not able to feed the five thousand (9.13-14). Peter, it says, "did not know what he was saying" (9.33). They were unable to drive out the spirit (9.37) and in 9.44: "But they did not understand what this meant. It was hidden from them, so that they did not grasp it, and they were afraid to ask him about it."³⁰³ All of these events seem to be tied to the title 'Master'. Luke effectively uses it here in these chapters to contrast the disciples' ability to perceive with the faith of Jesus and others (i.e. the paralytic, the Centurion, the crowds, the sinful woman, the demon possessed man and the bleeding woman). However, the title is still associated and represents the relationship between the disciples and Jesus in a unique way, different than all these others. This emphasizes that Luke set this narrative section aside for teaching about the disciples' learning and training.

The title 'Master' is associated with the learning curve when the disciples lack faith and fail to perceive. After chapter ten, however, the disciples go on to perceive more effectively. The requests "Listen to Him" and "Listen carefully" are eventually heeded and the title 'Master' is no longer found on the lips of the disciples. Notice the

³⁰³ See also 9.55 where James and John are rebuked.

incredible turn of events in Luke 10:17, “The seventy-two returned with joy and said, ‘**Lord**’, even the demons submit to us in your name.” Incredibly, from this point on, Luke shows that the preferred and correct title of address for the disciples is ‘**Lord**’.³⁰⁴ This change of perception is also dramatically confessed with another title—‘**Son of Man**.’ Luke is the only author who has someone other than Jesus speak this title. In 24.7-8 it reminds the readers of the time in Galilee when the disciples failed to perceive. This time, however, they remembered his words (24.8). In this way, the title ‘**Master**’ serves as a pivotal turning point in the disciples training and perception of who Jesus was.

Conclusions

With these insights one finds the answer to the question, why in Luke is Jesus ‘**Master**’ in the calming of the storm pericope? This title does indeed mark a personal recognition of Jesus’ authority over the disciple’s lives. In this way, Luke prefers ‘**Master**’ to the other synoptic titles ‘**Teacher**’ or ‘**Rabbi**’ in stories where Jesus’ authority is not related to his teachings. Those who speak the title, however, do not yet recognize the full power of Jesus.³⁰⁵ This exegetically supports the opinion that the shout ‘**Master**’, **Master**’ in the boat/storm is not the correct address. For Luke, it is a title of misconception and failure to perceive the situation. During that time they call him ‘**Master**.’ But when they finally “Listen to Him” (9.34) and “Listen carefully” to these words: “The Son of Man is going to be betrayed into the hands of men” (9.44), they are able to understand the correct response: that the ‘**Master**’ did not come to gain authority here on earth, but that Jesus is ‘**Lord**’ through his obedient death, burial and resurrection.

³⁰⁴ The seventy-two (10.17), the disciples (11.1; 17.37; 22.38, 49), Peter (12.41; 22.33).

³⁰⁵ Nolland, I, 400.

Conclusions

The attempts of this chapter have been to come to terms with three different titles in three different narrative worlds. With these examples, source or no source (based on a source hypothesis), priority or no priority (based on Markan or Matthean priority), something unique is happening. This type of study strives to uncover the implications of those redactions and learn what value this has for Christian growth in understanding the Gospel message.

This chapter is not a comprehensive study and in no way has it laid claim to identifying one of the foremost Christological titles within these Gospels. I am not attempting, like Kingsbury,³⁰⁶ Hill³⁰⁷ or others³⁰⁸ to define what the central Christological title is for Matthew, Mark or Luke. Anyone would likely have a very difficult time defending ‘Teacher’, ‘Lord’ or ‘Master’ as the most important theological and Christological titles of these works. Rather, this study is attempting to discover what unique theological truths and aspects of Markan, Matthean and Lukan theology might be uncovered by a look at the redactional and titular way they name Jesus in their pericopes.

Many scholars have argued for a historical and/or chronological agenda behind the telling of these stories, and yet this strange phenomenon must point towards a different conclusion. Not that there is no historical or biographically important information, but that there were other purposes behind writing the Gospels more important to Matthew, Mark and Luke. This chapter has demonstrated how Matthew,

³⁰⁶ J.D. Kingsbury, “The Figure of Jesus in Matthew’s Story: A Literary-Critical Probe” in *The Synoptic Gospels* (eds. Craig A. Evans & Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 47-80.

³⁰⁷ D. Hill, “Son and Servant: An Essay on Matthean Christology” in *The Synoptic Gospels* (eds. Craig A. Evans & Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 81-82.

³⁰⁸ S. McKnight, “Matthew, Gospel of” in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (eds. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, I. Howard Marshall; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1992), 533 identifies that others (esp. Hill, Versepunt, France, Suggs) have argued that while Son of God is a central title, it must be supplemented by additional ideas in order to achieve a comprehensive and accurate portrayal of Matthew’s Christology.

Mark and Luke preferred certain methods, tools, styles, vocabulary and indeed certain titles to tell their story.

Can studying the narrative aspects of the Christological titles reveal the theological significance of a title? Plummer notes Augustine's comments on the three titles of this pericope:

Augustine has some good remarks as to the difference between the exclamations attributed to the disciples in the three narratives, "There is no need to inquire which of these exclamations was really uttered. For whether they uttered some one of these three, or other words which no one of the evangelists has recorded, yet conveying the same sense, what does it matter?" (*De Cons Evang.* ii. 24,25)³⁰⁹

This narrative approach has answered Augustine's question: "What does it matter?"

Historically readers will likely never know what title was uttered in the midst of that storm. But exegetically and rhetorically these titles have significance and therefore should be pursued.

Rather than study the titles in isolation this chapter has also shown the importance of identifying the rhetorical and narrative purposes for which these titles were used. The titles cannot be removed from their stories or from the context that they represent. The true results of a narrative approach are witnessed when the redaction is confirmed with other similar tendencies in the full narrative presentation. For these reasons, Mark's title 'Teacher', Matthew's title 'Lord' and Luke's title 'Master' add a unique theological contribution about the person Jesus to the Gospel message.

³⁰⁹ Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke* (New York: Scribner, 1896), 226.

Chapter Four: A Fourth *Sitz im Leben*

Introduction

A comparison of modern English translations reveals that the tendency to alter, add and omit titles purposefully in the synoptic Gospels is not always interpreted effectively. Therefore an important question must be asked: are Christians, interpreters and translators supposed to be redactors or transmitters? Historians or theologians? Scribes or evangelists? This thesis has been the attempt to answer whether Matthew, Mark and Luke were redactors or transmitters. In this chapter a study of modern English translations will reveal clues into the nature of these questions as well as commenting on the fourth *SiL* that has been alluded to throughout this thesis.

First the conclusions of chapters two and three should be re-stated. Chapter two demonstrated that the tendencies of handling the tradition did not always demonstrate a consistent low to high replacement: i.e. one “low” title in an earlier source always becoming a “high” title in a later work. Rather the tendency of handling/transmitting traditional material, including the titles, was creative and unique. For example it was demonstrated that the titles were based on historical situations in the life of Jesus, were filtered through developments made by the Early Church and then the evangelists added their contributions throughout the Gospel narratives. A new audience or new situation seemed to be the most important reason for the selection of certain titles (i.e. new or different theological, exegetical, hermeneutical and contextual needs). Therefore the redaction is very informative for a) assessing unique theological contributions and b) revealing growth, development and the needs of that new situation and audience.

Chapter three confirmed that although a) certain titles are very creative and unique and b) it is difficult to determine progressive/consistent development (i.e. “low” to “high” development), the titles are not ambiguous vocabulary. They were not used accidentally, but rather the opposite is true. They were used purposefully as theological vocabulary for two important reasons: first, theologically to tell a more profound story and second, rhetorically in the narrative revealing specific story-telling tactics and style. For these reasons, it was demonstrated in chapter three how and why Mark often chose διδάσκαλος, rarely κύριος and never ἐπιστάτης. Matthew, on the other hand, preferred κύριος (for followers/believers) to διδάσκαλος (for opponents) and Luke used ἐπιστάτα only within a specific context and only for the disciples. It does not seem as though they did this ambiguously. The conclusions of these two chapters pointed out that the evangelist’s choices of titles were intentionally made to reveal the impact of the living, resurrected Christ Jesus upon a new audience/situation. The leading question, then, for this chapter is: do modern English translations³¹⁰ reflect these conclusions in their interpretation of the synoptic titles?

This chapter will look at the way in which ‘Teacher’, ‘Lord’ and ‘Master’ are translated into English Translations. The purpose of this study will be twofold: first, to identify whether translations have faithfully translated the Greek texts or if these translations have prominent redactions of their own, and second, to see whether they have translated the theological tendencies that were revealed in the second and third chapters of this thesis. Although this is possibly a step away from the third *SiL* towards a fourth, this is not the fourth *SiL* that must be addressed and argued for in this thesis. To

³¹⁰ NIV, RSV, NRA, NRSV, KJV, NKJV, ASV, NASB and NASU

conclude, the deep need to understand why Christians name Jesus will be demonstrated at the level of a fourth *Sitz im Leben*—exegetically, hermeneutically, contextually and with redactional implications for the lives of Christians today. Before the survey is presented the question of the fourth *Sitz im Leben* should be re-opened.

A Fourth *Sitz im Leben*

And Jesus and his disciples went out into the village of Caesarea Philippi: And in the way he was asking his disciples, saying to them, ‘Who are people saying that I am?’...And he himself asked them, ‘But you, who are you saying that I am?’ (Mk 8:27-29)

Has Jesus’ question already been answered for Christians or are they responsible to address it anew as different audiences/situations arise? What is a fourth *Sitz im Leben*?

In a survey of the titles, concerned with each author’s redaction, it seems as though Matthew and Luke initially borrowed from Mark’s original presentation. Mark, the oral tradition, possibly other sources and the Early Church were the filters that they passed the historical story of Jesus through. From these points of reference they created unique images with certain theologically chosen titles for their contextual needs. ‘Son of David’, ‘Son of God’, ‘Teacher’, ‘Master’ and ‘Lord’ are all examples of this. Matthew, Mark and Luke were not the only ones who did this. From the first-century into the fourth-century Christians, scribes and Church Fathers struggled with the main issue of who Jesus was and how to determine the facts of his existence and purpose. During that time, however, the traditions were still being shaped, filtered and altered. As was stated in chapter two, Christology was not “a matter of isolated changes to ‘elevate’ Jesus; rather it involves a representation of traditional material in view of a new situation and different Christological beliefs and priorities.”³¹¹

³¹¹ Peter Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem: An Argument for Markan Priority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997), 43.

Whether it is apparent or not with the Gospel of Mark, S.E. Johnson is correct when he states that defining who Jesus is will always be pushed forward into the future for the next generation and can only be answered by faith within the church.

....Mark extends the question of Jesus' identity fully into the future. The answer will not be found in Jesus' past, in the belief or lack of belief of the Gospel characters, or even in the perception of those who witnessed the crucifixion, but will only be found in the Christian church in which Jesus is found, understood and followed by those with eyes of faith. It is in this church that the true confession of Jesus will be made and the true meaning of the cross will be discovered and lived.³¹²

In this way Marxsen's comment rings true again, that the "old concern is to be expressed anew, brought up to date."³¹³ The responsibility to create "better" exegetical accounts commensurate to the needs of a "new" audience was of utmost importance for Christians from the first to fourth-century. Is it still of utmost importance? Are Christians today meant to be translators of the tradition or redactors who make unique alterations? Should they follow Matthew, Mark and Luke's lead in redacting the traditional material or should they simply be true to Matthew, Mark and Luke's tendencies when they translate? First, this chapter will consider what occurs in most major English translations.

A Fourth *SiL*: Translations

In surveying every occurrence of 'Lord', 'Master' and 'Teacher'/'Rabbi' in Matthew, Mark and Luke in English translations (NIV, RSV, NRA, NRSV, KJV, NKJV, ASV, NASB and NASU) a few discrepancies were noted (**See Appendix One—p. 157**). For some titles this was quite fascinating. Note for example, the incredible differences with the title 'Lord'. This should be expected because the Greek κύριος leaves the interpreter with many options as discussed in chapter two. For other titles this study is

³¹² E.S. Johnson Jr., "Is Mark 15:39 the Key to Mark's Christology?" in *The Synoptic Gospels* (eds. Craig A. Evans & Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995.), 162.

³¹³ Willi Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist* (trans. R. Harrisville; Nashville: Abingdon, 1969), 212.

not as significant. Note the similarity behind the ‘Teacher’ title. This points us oddly enough in both directions—similarity and differences in the translations. With the ‘Teacher’ title, these translations are remarkably similar in presentation but with the ‘Lord’ title they disagree frequently in presentation. Does this have any theological implications?

As noted above this does not necessarily represent a fourth *SiL* because what is taking place here has more to do with translating than contextualizing. But this will help to start questioning how consistently these translations interpret the titles and whether or not they reveal some of their own biases when they render the synoptic Christological titles. This survey will also pursue what choices were made with those options and how that reflects a translation’s bias.

The first goal of this chapter is to uncover what is taking place with the numbers found in appendix one. Surveying these statistics to identify why and where there are inconsistencies helped to initiate the study. Are the titles ambiguous? Does it depend on the Greek translation being used (GTR [Greek Textus Receptus] and GNT—(UBS4) = NA27)? Have certain titles developed through the Greek texts over time and in history? Has an understanding of the Greek vocabulary developed or have the semantics of certain English titles/names changed? These are all questions that helped guide this research and survey. The first step was to look through each translation and notice why they have fewer or more titles than other translations. From there the English translation was compared with the Greek text. The results of this survey reveal each time a discrepancy takes place in the English translations and what the inconsistencies are. The initial questions were: are these translations redacting the stories, similar to Matthew, Mark and

Luke and in that way revealing some of their own theological biases? Are they creating an exegetically “better” (Marxsen’s term) account commensurate with the situation that they are translating for? And finally, after the results of chapters two and three, do these translations agree with the tendencies, patterns and theological preferences of Matthew, Mark and Luke?

In this chapter, five New Testament terms (διδάσκαλος, ραββί, ραββουί, κύριος and ἐπιστάτα) will be pursued. These five terms have become the focus of this thesis. One must question, then, did the ancient Greek authors really just mean the same thing when they used any of these five words? Head states that the semantic overlap within these terms would have provided a range of lexical choices for the evangelists.³¹⁴ Is this true for the evangelists, and if so, how should translators render each term in English (ραββί → Rabbi, διδάσκαλος → teacher, κύριος → Lord, ἐπιστάτα → master)? With this possible list before them, or at least in mind, it was demonstrated last chapter that Mark, Matthew and Luke used specific titles, in specific contexts and it does not seem as though they did this ambiguously. Do these translations reflect these tendencies? Are the additions/omissions simply descriptive or is there more behind each discrepancy? There are indeed some fascinating questions behind these inconsistencies that relate to this thesis. Appendix two and three will attempt to answer some of these questions by highlighting the discrepancies found within this material (**See Appendix Two and Three—pp. 158-163**).

The limitations of appendix two and three are that they only account for every time there is a discrepancy. What is not observed in this study is all of the times that the

³¹⁴ Head, 153.

translations agree. This could produce a list of other possible ways that they have rendered the Greek. Appendix two only shows where they disagree and how they disagree. Another limitation is that this survey does not identify the specifically important information concerning how many times a title is being used to address Jesus. Those titles will help identify how well each translation reflects the biases and tendencies discovered in the previous chapters. Below, comments will be made concerning the number of times that Jesus is being addressed and how that relates to the conclusions of chapters two and three.

Conclusions from Appendix Two and Three

κύριος

With the title κύριος much of what should be expected takes place. It is not usually translated one for one—'Lord' for κύριος. Most of the translations, likely determined by context, but possibly a bias, render the term in a variety of ways including: 'Master', 'owner', 'Lord', 'Sir' and even sometimes 'Jesus'. The majority of discrepancies are found when the KJV and ASV, making no assumptions, translate 'Lord' for κύριος³¹⁵ when other translations alter the title. In chapter two and especially chapter three it was shown that κύριος was a title that both Matthew and Luke chose specifically over other titles like ῥαββί and διδάσκαλος. Since it was demonstrated that they did not do this ambiguously the KJV and ASV more consistently represent the tendency that each title was used purposefully.

³¹⁵ KJV does have Master only once (Mark 13.35).

Most of the inconsistencies are not found when this title is used specifically to address Jesus. For example, there are no discrepancies in the context of Matthew 7-9 where chapter three noticed that this title was being used strategically. When someone addresses Jesus as κύριος the translations usually render the title as 'Lord'. There are, however, two discrepancies found with the title κύριος and ραββουνί in Mark at 7:28 and 10:51 respectively. In the first instance with the story of the Syrophenician woman the NRSV translates κύριε as 'Sir' while all the other translations render it 'Lord'. The redaction survey of chapter two demonstrated that this use of κύριε is the only time that Jesus is addressed as κύριε in the book of Mark. By interpreting it as 'Sir' the impact of the Syrophenician woman's cry is diminished or minimized. The other example in Mark, ραββουνί, is translated as 'Lord' in the KJV (Mark 10:51). The other translations render this term as 'Rabbi', 'Master', 'Teacher' or 'Rabboni' as will be further discussed below. The KJV, however, has made a unique decision by interpreting it as 'Lord'. In the parallel accounts of the healing of blind Bartimaeus (Matthew [20:29-34] and Luke [18:35-43]) one notices that Matthew and Luke have made this redaction to the title 'Lord'.³¹⁶ The KJV, then, it seems is following Matthew and Luke's redaction and not interpreting Mark's title.

Beyond these two examples, rarely is κύριος translated as anything but 'Lord' when Jesus is being addressed. One notices the majority of changes when the term κύριος is used of other narrative characters or characters in a parable. The question, then, is how often should the title κύριος be translated 'Lord' in certain parables and

³¹⁶ See Matthew 20:33 and Luke 18:41 for the title.

how often should it be translated ‘Sir/owner/master’? Consider, for example, these parables: the parable of the unmerciful servant (Matthew 18:15-34), the vineyard (Matthew 20:8), the wicked tenants (Mark 12:9 and parallels), the faithful and wise slave (Matthew 24:24-50 and parallels), the ten bridesmaids’ (Matthew 25:11) and the parable of the talents (Matthew 25:18-26 and parallels). In these parables, most translations render κύριος frequently as ‘Sir’ or ‘Master’ and sometimes simply as ‘he’ or no title at all. Is the impact of κύριος lost when it is not translated as ‘Lord’? Consider for example the title in Luke 12:37 in the parable concerning watchfulness and faithfulness. Here Luke gives a beatitude that states, “Blessed are those slaves whom the κύριος finds alert when he comes...” Is the effect of the title κύριος diminished or altered when it is not translated as ‘Lord’ in this example or others like it? The KJS and ASV are the only ones to translate this term as ‘Lord’. This again demonstrates how the KJV and ASV, with the title κύριος, both better represent the tendency that the synoptic titles are not used ambiguously. Instead the titles are specific vocabulary used purposefully by the evangelists to promote their individual theological contributions.

One final comment should be made concerning the interpretation of κύριος from Appendix two. Occasionally in Luke the title is interpreted as ‘God’³¹⁷ or ‘Jesus’.³¹⁸ This is very interesting, especially since it was demonstrated in the redaction survey of chapter two³¹⁹ that Luke occasionally changes ‘Jesus’ (Ἰησοῦν) to ‘the Lord’ (κύριος). In this survey, however, it can be explained as each translation following either the GTR (Greek Textus Receptus) or the GNT (UBS4=NA27).

³¹⁷ See ‘God’ interpreted in NIV, RSV, NRSV, ASV, NASB and NASU at Luke 2:38 following GNT (θεῶ).

³¹⁸ See ‘Jesus’ interpreted in KJV and NKJV at Luke 7:19, 10:39 and 10:41 following GTR (Ἰησοῦν).

³¹⁹ See Lord—with article, non-vocative in chapter two, p. 73-74.

διδάσκαλος or ἐπιστάτα³²⁰

With διδάσκαλος every translation but the KJV renders this term as ‘Teacher’.

It is interesting that the KJV that always translated κύριος as ‘Lord’ now always translates διδάσκαλος as ‘Master’. Only once does the NIV translate διδάσκαλος as ‘Master’ (Matthew 23:8). With the titles διδάσκαλος or ἐπιστάτα the KJV would not represent the conclusions made in the Lukan section of chapter three or the redaction survey of chapter two. It was demonstrated very specifically that the disciples in Luke chapters 5-10 used ἐπιστάτα instead of διδάσκαλος or κύριος to address Jesus during this “time of training” and therefore translating both διδάσκαλος or ἐπιστάτα as ‘Master’ does not reflect Luke’s intentions.

If one considers the tendencies of Matthew, Mark and Luke with their handling of διδάσκαλος and ἐπιστάτα this is the conclusion for the KJV’s presentation of the synoptic titles. In Matthew, the KJV’s interpretation of διδάσκαλος as ‘Master’ might be acceptable, only because it has replaced διδάσκαλος almost every time. ‘Master’, then, like ‘Teacher’, becomes the term related to the opponents in Matthew while ‘Lord’ is still associated with followers. However, this still does not do justice to all three terms διδάσκαλος, ἐπιστάτα and κύριος. Confusion is seen in the other synoptic Gospels when there is no distinction between διδάσκαλος and ἐπιστάτα in Mark or Luke. In this way, Luke’s title ‘Master’ is found all throughout his Gospel³²¹ and there is no

³²⁰ The reason these two titles are grouped together is because of the KJV’s overlapping of the terms as seen in Appendix two and three.

³²¹ See these examples where διδάσκαλος is translated as ‘Master’ in the KJV: the tax collectors addressing John the Baptist (Luke 3:12), Simon when the woman anoints Jesus (7:40), the father of epileptic boy (9:38), questions from the religious leaders (10:25) and the Pharisees at the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem (19:39).

distinction between the disciples (Peter, James and John) naming Jesus in this way and everyone else in the story. Other problematic interpretations include the KJV rendering of Mark's storm pericope, which has the disciples cry 'Master' in the boat. Though this might be closer to 'Teacher' than 'Lord', the last chapter demonstrated how effective and important the 'Teacher' title and image is to Mark. Both the RSV and KJV render ῥαββί as 'Master' for Peter's address at the Transfiguration in Mark (9:5) and the KJV interprets διδάσκαλος as 'Master' for John's address to Jesus at the pericope concerning "Another Exorcist" (Mark 9:38). In both of these stories these translations actually follow Luke's lead to redact this title from ῥαββί/διδάσκαλος to ἐπιστάτα. It was demonstrated that Luke used the title ἐπιστάτα purposefully—by specific characters in a specific context—and therefore when one translates ῥαββί/διδάσκαλος and/or ἐπιστάτα all as 'Master' one neglects the impact of all three titles. This, then, betrays a KJV and RSV bias and not a Markan or Lukan bias.

A final comment can be made concerning the KJV redaction of διδάσκαλος in Matthew 19:16. Here the KJV translates διδάσκαλος as 'Good Master' and the NKJV follows this lead by translating it as 'Good Teacher'. Interestingly this has not followed the Greek and instead has followed the lead of Mark and Luke.³²² Most commentaries would identify the omission of "good" as one of Matthew's redactions³²³ and thus translating it into the text, to follow Mark and Luke, betrays Matthew's intentions.

³²² See parallels: Mark 10:17 and Luke 18:18.

³²³ See Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 385 where he states, "In the words of the one who approaches Jesus, Matthew retains "Teacher" and "what shall I do...?" but changes ἀγαθέ. The change shifts attention from Jesus' goodness to the goodness of obeying the law, indeed, to the necessity of doing good in order to have eternal life."

ῥαββί/ῥαββουνί

With ῥαββί/ῥαββουνί there are many unique choices that have been made in translation. ῥαββί is usually translated as ‘Rabbi’³²⁴ or ‘Master’.³²⁵ What is creative, however, is how ῥαββουνί is translated in comparison to ῥαββί. The NKJV, ASV, NASB and NASU all transliterate the term as ‘Rabboni’. Interestingly the NRA translates ῥαββουνί as ‘Teacher’ in the same way it translates διδάσκαλος. These five translations would agree with Broadhead’s assessment that ῥαββί has been purposefully used as a different term than ῥαββουνί.³²⁶

The NIV and RSV, however, make no distinction between ῥαββουνί and ῥαββί. The NIV translates ῥαββουνί also as ‘Rabbi’ and the RSV translates both as ‘Master’. The implication of this interpretation has consequences for the unique redaction represented in Matthew’s title at Judas’ betrayal (see Matthew 26:25, 49 where the RSV and KJV translate ῥαββί as ‘Master’). By translating these three titles as one and/or translating them as ‘Master’ instead of ‘Rabbi’, the NIV, RSV and KJV all fail to reveal the significant difference between this title and others like it: i.e. διδάσκαλος or ἐπιστάτα. Also unique is the KJV that always translates διδάσκαλος and ῥαββί as ‘Master’. Here, it has associated ῥαββουνί with κύριος, translating it ‘Lord’. Again the KJV, by translating ῥαββουνί as ‘Lord’ in Mark 10:51, seems to be following Matthew and Luke in their parallels. This then is more of a redaction than a translation revealing the KJV’s bias and not Mark’s.

³²⁴ Most frequently: NIV, NRA, NKJV, ASV, NASB, NASU.

³²⁵ Less frequently: RSV, KJV.

³²⁶ See Chapter three: Teacher in Mark: Exegetical and Theological Implications, pp. 114ff.

These conclusions demonstrate that certain translations have not taken into account the fact that Matthew, Mark and Luke have used these titles purposefully and theologically. This is confirmed in those instances where Jesus is being addressed. In comparing the surveys of chapter two and the contextual, exegetical and theological results of chapter three to these conclusions, it is observed that even these English translations act as redactors to a certain extent.

Chapters two and three demonstrated that Matthew, Mark and Luke strategically used these titles in a narrative way to illuminate their unique theological programs. This was seen in the way that certain characters of the stories purposefully used titles at important junctures: opponents, disciples, faithful, un-faithful, etc. Rhetorically and exegetically, they revealed significant concepts of Matthew's, Mark's and Luke's stories. These rhetorical and exegetical points should therefore be reflected in the translation of each story. When they are not, it gives one reason to wonder: are these translations translating effectively or are they interpreting biases into the text that Matthew, Mark and Luke never intended? For example, this is seen specifically in the KJV title for Jesus in the calming of the storm pericope. In the boat the disciples cry 'Lord' (Matthew), 'Master' (Mark) and also 'Master' (Luke). The question is: does this betray a bias of the translator that is not an original bias of the text?

A Fourth *SiL*: Translators or Redactors?

Has Jesus already been identified for Christians, in Matthew, Mark and Luke's presentation, or must he be re-identified from generation to generation? Here again the hermeneutical questions of a fourth *SiL* must be re-opened. Are the goals, purposes or

aims of Christians today to be true to the way that Matthew, Mark and Luke presented Jesus or must they understand Jesus at a new level because of new audiences/situations that exist today: i.e. a fourth *SiL*? Are Christians supposed to be translators or redactors? Scribes or evangelists? Historians or theologians? These are questions of transmission versus what level of new creativity is permitted or acceptable.

“...And he himself asked them, ‘But you, who are you saying that I am?’ (Mk 8:27-29).” Jesus still asks this question of believers today. What is the response when titles like ‘Son of Man’, ‘Son of God’, or ‘Son of David’ are not expressed as often anymore? Or in a time and place where titles like ‘Lord’ and ‘Messiah’ are not proclaimed as frequently, what can one say? When these titles are taken for granted is it important to define Jesus in a way that speaks contextually to a “new” situation and audience?

A survey of modern English translations and their attempts to translate the synoptic titles demonstrates that at times they are interpreters and redactors and not simply translators. An example of where this is seen has been in the translation of titles like κύριος to sir, owner, he or sometimes no translation at all. Has the true authority that was given to Jesus, especially in Matthew, Mark and Luke’s presentation of titles like κύριος, διδάσκαλος or ἐπιστάτα diminished or been altered as a result of a translation’s bias that was not an original bias of the text? With their presentation of the synoptic titles, it was demonstrated that Jesus’ authority requires respect, but more than that, self-sacrifice and devotion. Like the lessons from the calming of the storm, it is not simply a cry for help (whether ‘Teacher’, ‘Lord’ or ‘Master’) that Jesus requires, but living a life consistent with that cry. Jesus requires his followers to abandon everything

else and comply with the demands/costs of discipleship. In that way he must become more than ‘sir’ or ‘master’ as κύριος is sometimes translated. He must become the ‘Lord’ of his followers’ lives. It is these titles of authority, respect and submission that distinguish the true followers from the would-be followers. If nothing else that is a lesson that must be learned from the way the Gospel is presented with the titles they attribute to Jesus.

Can any title replace the synoptic titles ‘Lord’, ‘Master’, ‘Son of God’, ‘Messiah’, etc.? The tendencies apparent in the way that Matthew, Mark and Luke handled the traditions demonstrate that redactionally there was never meant to be only one specific title or name for Jesus. Is it possible, then, that different or “new” titles can help change lives today because they refer to a “new” situation, while at the same time, still tell of the grand events of Jesus’ mission to save the lost and pronounce freedom and victory for his followers? There is indeed that encouragement—to seek out images that are beneficial in a fourth *Sitz im Leben*, while at the same time, Christians cannot neglect the fundamental ways that Matthew, Mark and Luke identified Jesus with their synoptic titles. Jesus asked, “Who do you say that I am?” That is a question that must continually be addressed by Christians today. Believers, therefore, must embrace and confess the names of Jesus purposefully. That He is ‘Teacher’, ‘Master’, ‘Son of God’, ‘Messiah’, and ‘Lord’!

Conclusion: The Synoptic Titles for Jesus

In a redaction study of these titles three worlds are made clear: the situation in the life of Jesus, the life of the Early Church and the life of the evangelist (three *Sitze im Leben*). The Gospel writers created, defined and wrote from a third *Sitz im Leben*. The implications are that believers are to continue to study, interpret and create images relevant for a possible fourth *Sitz im Leben* (the situation in the lives of Christians today). This important role of embracing the traditions has been passed on to Christians today. They have a responsibility to translate and interpret it faithfully, joining a work that began thousands of years ago at the beginning of time in Jesus and is still being painted, being written and being proclaimed until His return. Christians embrace, live and become apart of the Gospel when they tell and create meaningful images that are true to who Jesus was and what he came to do! This is seen when they answer the question, “Who do you say that I am?”

It must be remembered that a redaction does not attempt to fragment; it attempts to unify and stop the fragmenting process. Each title, therefore, is part of a unified perspective, each a single strand brought together and joined with the larger stroke of the entire brush for the purposes of painting a more complete picture. Or as Conzelmann stated, “...like stones used as parts of a new mosaic.”³²⁷ Willi Marxsen is correct when he notes that the traditions, through oral transmission, led to “fragmentation”. This would include the initial understanding of these titles. But the evangelists’ purposes,

³²⁷ Hans Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke* (trans. G. Buswell; New York: Harper and Row, 1960), 12.

seen in their redactions, are different. They are not fragmenting but bringing the pieces together.³²⁸

The redaction made to the synoptic titles demonstrates that Matthew, Mark and Luke have not forged their accounts because they are not identical. Rather they are individual authors with unique contributions. If they were merely copying each other, one might expect to find Jesus named in exactly the same way. But there are variations and intricate differences that point to their unique understanding of how to identify and name Jesus, the hero of their story. These accounts are more reliable because of that fact. Like the harmony of music each sings a different note that is not out of tune. Rather the melody is sweeter because they are different notes meant to work together. “But that is precisely the point: ‘the Jesus of the Gospel story’ is at one and the same time the “historical” Jesus bar Joseph from Nazareth, the risen Lord of Peter’s resurrection vision and the Son of God who guides the evangelist to an understanding of the ultimate hope for persecuted Christians.”³²⁹ This redaction-critical study has revealed this aspect of the synoptic Gospel narratives.

A Critical Analysis of the Success and Failures of this Thesis

Negatives

One of the negative outcomes of the first 1500 years in synoptic studies was forcing a chronological and historical agenda into Gospel studies (i.e. the first Harmonies: an example like Osiander’s harmony was given in chapter one). The mistake was the attempt to force an historical and chronological order into the structure

³²⁸ W. Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist* (trans. R. Harrisville; Nashville: Abingdon, 1969), 18.

³²⁹ Norman Perrin, *What is Redaction Criticism?* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 74.

of the Gospels when a theological understanding is to be preferred. Do scholars make the same mistake when they attempt to force a chronological sequence into the order of Matthew, Mark and Luke? Do they miss the theological agenda and possibilities when forcing conclusions that might not be there; i.e. concluding that one Gospel had to be written before another? Is this again a chronological/historical mistake when theological purposes should be pursued? Can scholars, as proposed at the Jerusalem Symposium, pursue redaction criticism without a source hypothesis?³³⁰ This thesis has not pursued or demonstrated an effective methodology concerning this request and instead relies heavily on Markan priority. This is left to be resolved in future research.

Unfortunately many of the titles covered in this project (especially in chapter two: ‘Son of God’, ‘Son of David’, ‘Son of Man’ and ‘Messiah’) were only introduced and the survey remains very broad and general. Applying the proposed narrative contextual approach of chapter three to other titles including these four would be effective and useful. Also, as proposed in the second chapter, there is still more to be done with the redaction survey in order to give a more complete understanding of the tendencies of the first-century and early Christianity. This includes: a) a more complete statistical analysis including word ratio comparisons between the Gospels. b) A better understanding of the content of ‘Q’ so that further conclusions can be made. c) Including the non-canonical Gospels and other early Christian and non-Christian writings into the survey. d) Including material from the Gospel of John into the conversation and discussion and e) further research into the oral tradition and the possibility of other early sources.

³³⁰ David Dungan, *The Interrelations of the Gospels/A Symposium led by M.-É. Boismard, W.R. Farmer, F. Neirynek, Jerusalem 1984* (ed. David L. Dungan; Macon: Mercer University, 1990), 609.

To this I would add that there is a need to study other narrative images prevalent throughout the Gospels that are not necessarily titles. Simply studying the person of Jesus portrayed through the titles alone neglects many of the *images* that are found in the Gospel narratives. There are potential “titles” that come from these narratives that had incredible meaning to the first-century Christians. For example, stories that express Jesus as ‘Healer’, ‘Forgiver’, ‘Sacrificer’ or ‘Redeemer’ portray potential “titles” that express the message of the Gospel. These images do not always come out in an explanation of the Christological titles and yet they are stamped in and throughout the Gospels.

Some might question and critique that this study goes beyond the original intent behind writing these Gospels. The titles, like most words, cannot be completely dissected or removed from the context of a sentence, paragraph, chapter, etc. The titles are only a small part of the larger picture. I hope I have added to this picture and not taken away.

Positives

This thesis shares potential and possible insight into the cultural and historical way Jesus was identified and understood theologically by Matthew, Mark and Luke. The goal has been to follow Conzelmann’s lead in making “minute observations” and stating “demonstrable tendencies” in the handling of the traditional material. Using that method, this thesis has served as an analysis of the redaction to the titles in the synoptic Gospels. Because of that, it gives a unique first-century perspective of the purpose of Jesus’ life and ministry as seen in the way three early Christian evangelists presented Jesus.

Concerning a source hypothesis, in the end one must say that the options should be weighed and not assumed. D.L. Dungan states:

Finally, we agree with the concluding statement by Neiryck that a source hypothesis must be verified (or falsified) by “an examination of language, style and content”, i.e., that the only way in which the relatively greater “plausibility” of one hypothesis can be demonstrated compared to other hypotheses is by numerous detailed, redaction-critical studies.³³¹

This thesis has been a “redaction-critical study” that points to the greater “plausibility” of Markan priority (2-Document/Source Hypothesis). However, all that really can be said is not that Markan priority is an “assured result” but rather, “it solves more problems than any of the others.”³³²

This thesis has also defended and supported a narrative contextual approach to the titles and Gospels that looks beyond the historical background and implications of a redaction in isolation. This is to be the preferred method for studying the titles as it confirms the implications of other methods. Through viewing the “narrative foreground” and not the “historical background”,³³³ a more holistic approach to the titles can be utilized. The context and rhetorical impact of these titles is most important and most profound.

Finally in a study of English translations it was questioned whether or not a fourth *Sitz im Leben* exists. This questions whether Christians are responsible to transmit and translate the traditions effectively or if there is a necessity to re-create meaningful images for a “new” situation/setting in the lives of believers today? The names/titles reflected in the Gospel message, in a profound way, identify Jesus, the one who has saved humanity and brings peace where fear and chaos exist! That still is the “Good News” for all who believe. Therefore, the idea of a fourth *Sitz im Leben* is a necessity. If there is a “new” setting/situation in my life than Christianity cannot cease, but will be found in a living

³³¹ D. L. Dungan, “Response to Two-Source Hypothesis”, in *The Interrelations of the Gospels / A Symposium led by M.-É. Boismard, W.R. Farmer, F. Neiryck, Jerusalem 1984*; edited by David L. Dungan (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1990), 204.

³³² Morna Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 15.

³³³ Broahead, 29-30.

Lord Jesus, who continues to change lives, not only yesterday, but also today and tomorrow. The Good News therefore is for every generation, every audience and every situation. In this way, there will always be a “new” situation/audience that must be addressed and a potential fourth *SiL* just beyond the horizon. With a fourth *SiL* that is always just beyond the horizon, Christians must purposefully proclaim Jesus in unique and creative ways that are true to the Gospel tradition, trusting and relying on God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit who travel with believers into that future.

**APPENDIX ONE: The Number of Times 'Lord', 'Teacher', 'Rabbi' and 'Master'
Appear in Modern English Translations**

LORD

	Matthew		Mark		Luke		Total
NIV	48	36%	15	11%	69	52%	132
RSV	53	37%	14	10%	77	53%	144
NRSV	53	37%	13	9%	76	54%	142
KJS	72	39%	18	10%	97	52%	187
NKJV	59	38%	17	11%	78	51%	154
ASV	71	39%	17	9%	92	51%	180
NASB	50	37%	14	10%	72	53%	136
NASU	54	37%	15	10%	77	53%	146

TEACHER

	Matthew		Mark		Luke		Total
NIV	13	33%	12	30%	15	38%	40
RSV	12	31%	12	31%	15	38%	39
NRSV	12	30%	13	33%	15	38%	40
KJS							
NKJV	13	33%	12	30%	15	38%	40
ASV	12	31%	12	31%	15	38%	39
NASB	12	31%	12	31%	15	38%	39
NASU	12	31%	12	31%	15	38%	39

RABBI

	Matthew		Mark		Total	
NIV	4	50%	4	50%	8	
RSV	2	100%			2	
NRSV	4	57%	3	43%	7	
KJS	2	100%			2	
NKJV	4	57%	3	43%	7	
ASV	4	57%	3	43%	7	
NASB	4	57%	3	43%	7	
NASU	4	57%	3	43%	7	

MASTER

	Matthew		Mark		Luke		Total
NIV	19	45%			23	55%	42
RSV	16	42%	5	13%	17	45%	38
NRSV	15	43%	1	3%	19	54%	35
KJS	15	28%	16	30%	23	43%	54
NKJV	13	32%	2	5%	26	63%	41
ASV	3	21%	1	7%	10	71%	14
NASB	10	34%	1	3%	18	62%	29
NASU	14	37%	1	3%	23	61%	38

APPENDIX TWO: A Survey of the Redactions in English Translations

LORD

	NIV	RSV	NRSV	KJV	NKJV	ASV	NASB	NASU	GREEK GTR	GNP
MATTHEW										
10:24	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριον	κυριον
10:25	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
13.51	***	***	***	Lord	Lord	***	***	***	κυριε	***
18.25	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριος	κυριος
18.26	***	Lord	***	Lord	Master	Lord	***	***	κυριε	***
18.27	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριος	κυριος
18.31	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριω	κυριω
18.32	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριος	κυριος
18.34	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριος	κυριος
20.8	owner	owner	owner	Lord	owner	Lord	owner	owner	κυριος	κυριος
20:30	Lord	***	Lord,	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριε	κυριε
			(Other ancient authorities lack [Lord])							
21:40	Lord	owner	owner	Lord	owner	Lord	owner	owner	κυριος	κυριος
24.45	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
24.46	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
24.48	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
24:50	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
25.11	Sir! Sir!	Lord,	Lord,	Lord,	Lord,	Lord,	Lord,	Lord,	κυριε,	κυριε,
		Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριε	κυριε
25.18	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριου	κυριου
25.19	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
25:20	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
25.21	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
25.22	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
25.23	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
25.24	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
25.26	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
28.6	He	He	He (Lord)	Lord	Lord	Lord	He	He	κυριος	***

LORD

	NIV	RSV	NRSV	KJV	NKJV	ASV	NASB	NASU	GREEK GTR	GNP
MARK										
7.28	Lord	Lord	Sir	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριε	κυριε
9.24	***	***	***	Lord	Lord	***	***	***	κυριε	***
10.51	Rabbi	Master	Teacher	Lord	Rabboni	Rabboni	Rabboni	Rabboni	ραββουνι	ραββουνι
11:10	***	***	***	Lord	Lord	***	***	***	εν ονοματι κυριου	***
12.9	owner	owner	owner	Lord	owner	Lord	owner	owner	κυριος	κυριος
13.35	owner	Master	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος

LORD

LUKE	NIV	RSV	NRSV	KJV	NKJV	ASV	NASB	NASU	GREEK GTR	GNP
2.29	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	δεσποτα	δεσποτα
2.38	God	God	God	Lord	Lord	God	God	God	κυριω	θεω
7.19	Lord	Lord	Lord	Jesus	Jesus	Lord	Lord	Lord	ιησουν	κυριον
7.31	***	***	***	Lord	Lord	***	***	***	κυριος	***
9.57	***	***	***	Lord	Lord	***	***	***	κυριε	***
9.59	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	***	Lord	κυριε	κυριε
10.39	Lord	Lord	Lord	Jesus	Jesus	Lord	Lord	Lord	ιησου	κυριου
10.41	Lord	Lord	Lord	Jesus	Jesus	Lord	Lord	Lord	ιησους	κυριος
12.36	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριον	κυριον
12.37	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
12.43	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
12.45	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
12.46	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
12.47	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριου	κυριου
13.8	Sir	Sir	Sir	Lord	Sir	Lord	Sir	Sir	κυριε	κυριε
13.25	Sir	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριε κυριε	κυριε
14.21	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριω	κυριω
14.22	Sir	Sir	Sir	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε κυριε	κυριε
14.23	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
16.3	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
16.5	Master...	Master...	Master...	Lord...	Master...	Lord...	Master...	Master...	κυριου.....	κυριου...
16.8	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	ΚΥΡΙΩ	ΚΥΡΙΩ
17.6	He	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριος	κυριος
19.16	Sir	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
19.18	Sir	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
19.20	Sir	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
19.25	Sir	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
20.13	owner	owner	owner	Lord	owner	Lord	owner	owner	κυριος	κυριος
20.15	owner	owner	owner	Lord	owner	Lord	owner	owner	κυριος	κυριος
22.31	***	***	***	Lord	Lord	***	***	***	κυριος	***
24.3	Lord	***	(Lord)	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριου	κυριου

TEACHER

MATTHEW	NIV	RSV	NRSV	KJV	NKJV	ASV	NASB	NASU	GREEK GTR	GNP
13.52	teacher of the law	scribe	scribe	scribe	scribe	scribe	scribe	scribe	γραμματευς	γραμματευς
23.8	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	καθηγητης	διδασκαλος
23:10	Teacher	Masters	Instructors	Masters	Teacher	Masters	Leaders	Leaders	καθηγηται...καθηγηται... καθηγητης	καθηγητης
MARK										
10.51	Rabbi	Master	Teacher	Lord	Rabboni	Rabboni	Rabboni	Rabboni	ραββουνι	ραββουνι

RABBI

	NIV	RSV	NRSV	KJV	NKJV	ASV	NASB	NASU	GREEK GTR	GNP
MATTHEW										
26.25	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	ραββι	ραββι
26.49	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	ραββι	ραββι

MARK

9.5	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	ραββι	ραββι
10.51	Rabbi	Master	Teacher	Lord	Rabboni	Rabboni	Rabboni	Rabboni	ραββουνι	ραββουνι
11.21	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	ραββι	ραββι
14.45	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Master, master	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	ραββι ραββι	ραββι

MASTER

	NIV	RSV	NRSV	KJV	NKJV	ASV	NASB	NASU	GREEK GTR	GNP
MATTHEW										
8.19	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
9.11	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλος	διδασκαλος
10.24	Master	Master	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Master	διδασκαλον	διδασκαλον
12.38	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
13.27	Sir	Sir	Master	Sir	Sir	Sir	Sir	Sir	κυριε	κυριε
17.24	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλος	διδασκαλος
18.25	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριος	κυριος
18.26	***	Lord	***	Lord	Master	Lord	***	***	κυριε	***
18.27	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριος	κυριος
18.31	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριω	κυριω
18.32	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριος	κυριος
18.34	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	κυριος	κυριος
19.16	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	***Good Master	***Good Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
22.16	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
22.24	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
22.36	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
23.8	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	καθηγητης	διδασκαλος
23.10	Teacher	Masters	Instructors	Masters	Teacher	Masters	Leaders	Leaders	καθηγηται... καθηγητης	καθηγηται... καθηγητης
24.45	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
24.46	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
24.48	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
24:50	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
25.18	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριου	κυριου
25.19	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
25:20	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
25.21	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
25.22	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
25.23	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
25.24	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
25.26	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
26.18	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλος	διδασκαλος
26.25	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	ραββι	ραββι
26.49	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	ραββι	ραββι

MASTER

MARK	NIV	RSV	NRSV	KJV	NKJV	ASV	NASB	NASU	GREEK GTR	GNP
4.38	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
5.35	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλον	διδασκαλον
9.5	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	ραββι	ραββι
9.17	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
9.38	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
10.17	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher		
10:20	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
10.35	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
10.51	Rabbi	Master	Teacher	Lord	Rabboni	Rabboni	Rabboni	Rabboni	ραββουνι	ραββουνι
11.21	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	ραββι	ραββι
12.14	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
12.19	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
12.32	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
13.1	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
13.35	Owner	Master	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
14.14	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλος	διδασκαλος
14.45	Rabbi	Master	Rabbi	Master,	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	Rabbi	ραββι	ραββι
				master						

MASTER

LUKE	NIV	RSV	NRSV	KJV	NKJV	ASV	NASB	NASU	GREEK GTR	GNP
2.29	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	Lord	δεσποτα	δεσποτα
3.12	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
6:40	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλον	διδασκαλον..
									διδασκαλος	διδασκαλος
7.2	Master	him	he	him	him	him	him	him	***	***
7:40	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
8.49	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλον	διδασκαλον
9.38	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
10.25	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
11.45	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
12.13	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
12.36	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριον	κυριον
12.37	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
12.38	Master	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
12.42	Master	Master	Master	lord	Master	lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
12.43	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
12.45	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
12.46	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
12.47	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριου	κυριου
14.22	Sir	Sir	Sir	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
14.23	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
16.3	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
16.5	Master...	Master...	Master...	Lord...	Master...	Lord...	Master...	Master...	κυριου...	κυριου...
	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριω	κυριω
16.8	Master	Master	Master	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριος	κυριος
18.18	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher		
19.16	Sir	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
19.17	Master	he	he	he	he	he	he	he	***	***

19.18	Sir	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
19.19	Master	he	he	he	he	he	he	he	***	***
19:20	Sir	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
19.22	Master	he	he	he	he	he	he	he	***	***
19.25	Sir	Lord	Lord	Lord	Master	Lord	Master	Master	κυριε	κυριε
19.39	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλε	διδασκαλε
22.11	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Master	Master	Teacher	Teacher	διδασκαλος	διδασκαλος

APPENDIX THREE: Results of the Survey of the Redactions in English Translations

	κυριος	διδασκαλος	ραββι	ραββουνι
NIV				
Matthew	Master, owner, Lord, Sir	Teacher, Master (once 23.8)	Rabbi	Rabbi
Mark	owner, Lord	Teacher	Rabbi	Rabbi
Luke	Master, owner, Lord, Sir	Teacher		
RSV				
Matthew	Master, owner, Lord	Teacher	Master	Master
Mark	Master, owner, Lord	Teacher	Master	Master
Luke	Master, owner, Lord, Sir	Teacher		
NRA				
Matthew	Master, owner, Lord	Teacher	Rabbi	Teacher
Mark	Master, owner, Sir (Lord)	Teacher	Rabbi	Teacher
Luke	Master, owner, Lord, Sir	Teacher		
KJS				
Matthew	Lord	Master	Master	Lord
Mark	Lord, Master (once: 13.35)	Master	Master	Lord
Luke	Lord, Jesus	Master		
NKJV				
Matthew	Master, owner, Lord	Teacher	Rabbi	Rabboni
Mark	Master, owner, Lord	Teacher	Rabbi	Rabboni
Luke	Master, owner, Lord, Sir, Jesus	Teacher		
ASV				
Matthew	Lord	Teacher	Rabbi	Rabboni
Mark	Lord	Teacher	Rabbi	Rabboni
Luke	Lord (God?)	Teacher		
NASB				
Matthew	Master, owner, Lord	Teacher	Rabbi	Rabboni
Mark	Master, owner, Lord	Teacher	Rabbi	Rabboni
Luke	Master, owner, Lord, Sir	Teacher		
NASU				
Matthew	Master, owner, Lord	Teacher	Rabbi	Rabboni
Mark	Master, owner, Lord	Teacher	Rabbi	Rabboni
Luke	Master, owner, Lord, Sir	Teacher		

**** ἐπιστάτα—This title must always be translated as Master? Confusion only comes with the four titles above or other related terms: δεσποτα and καθηγητης.

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