

(= Joshua) for "the Lord" in the Epistle of Jude, verse 5; and, as has been pointed out by Mr. Thomas Whittaker, that passage, clearly alluding to Joshua, ascribes to him divine status. The existence of an ancient Jesus-cult within the Judaic sphere is thus indicated in the New Testament itself; and a collation of the passages in Exodus xxiii, 20-24; Joshua xxiv, 11, establishes Joshua as a divine figure, on a higher plane than Moses. And when he in turn (Josh. iv, 2) figures as choosing out twelve for his purposes, the parallel is tolerably significant.

The so-called "Gospel of the Twelve Holy Apostles," as preserved in the Syriac, begins thus:—

"The beginning of the gospel of Jesus the Christ, the son of the living God, according as it is said by the Holy Spirit, I send an angel before his face, who shall prepare his way."

This is not said, as in the synoptics, of John the Baptist: of him there is no mention in the document. And it contains substantially the very expression used in Exodus xxiii, 20: "Behold I send an angel before thee, to keep thee by the way," which resolves itself into a prediction of the conquests of Joshua, the quite unhistorical personage of the book called by his name.

If, then, finally, the Book of Joshua is, as is generally admitted by scholars, wholly unhistorical, (1) on what name and what lore did the story proceed; and (2) if the entire Book of Joshua be an unhistorical priestly fabrication, why should not an equally unhistorical record have been compiled later concerning Jesus the Christ?

APPENDIX

THE PROBLEM OF "MARK"

I

THE theory of the priority of "Mark," weighed and rejected in the last century by Baur and Strauss, has had the fortune to be accepted by many modern rationalists on the strength of the general consensus of German and English theologians, with small concern to weigh the arguments which countervail it. Broadly speaking, the consensus stands simply for the cumulative movement towards the biographical as opposed to the supernaturalist standpoint. The simple fact that Mark has no Birth Story, no Virgin Birth, naturally appeals, first to the Unitarian, and next to the rationalist, as indicating an early writing.¹ It is on the presumption thus set up that the analytical process explaining the concurrences of the other synoptics as borrowings from Mark confidently proceeds. Yet most of those who carry it on are agreed in conceding that a prior gospel underlies all three synoptics—a datum which invalidates a multitude of the special textual arguments for Mark's priority.

For the rationalist student, it cannot be too

¹ "Many have regarded the absence of any sketch of the Saviour's infancy and childhood in Mark as a conclusive proof of the priority of his Gospel" (Bleek, *Introd. to N. T.*, Eng. tr., 1869, i, 265).

clearly affirmed, the question has only a subsidiary importance. The order of production of the gospels, which for the theologian raises far-reaching problems, is for scientific criticism just a matter of literary history. The question of the credibility of any or all of the gospel records is to be settled by tests which apply irrespectively of the order in which the documents are supposed to be compiled. It is first the Unitarian, and next the "orthodox" theologian who is now silently adopting the Unitarian standpoint, that have "an axe to grind." For them, Mark represents the chief refuge for the belief in the simple "historicity" of Jesus—the residual belief that a *man* Jesus really did suffer trial and crucifixion, whether or not he worked miracles.

Long ago this facile structure of hypothesis was freshly rent from within the biographical school by the definite pronouncement of Loisy (summing up on grounds already urged in the time of Eusebius) that the existing gospel according to Mark *cannot* have been penned by a disciple of Peter; and by the weighty conclusion of Schmiedel that Peter never was at Rome—another old opinion, very definitely expressed by Scaliger. It is well to keep in view also the fact that a large majority of critics have agreed that the account of "Mark" given by Papias cannot apply to the gospel as it stands. On those points writers like Dr. Major¹ are prudently silent. But the priority thesis may still claim to stand irrespectively of the question of authorship, proceeding as it does on structural aspects of the text in comparison with those of Matthew and Luke. The nature of the argument may be gathered from three cases, specially stressed

¹ See his *Jesus by an Eye-Witness*, 1925.

for the priority theory as against the view that Mark partly combines the texts of Matthew and Luke.

1. Dr. Abbott notes that the Greek of Mark xii, 1-11, contains all the words, excepting four of no importance, which are common to the parallel passages, Mt. xxi, 33-44; Lk. xx, 9-18. *If* Mark was a mere compiler, it is argued, he had to "write a narrative graphic, *abrupt*, and in all respects the opposite of artificial," yet embracing all the words he found common to the other two. This, it is contended, is an impossible strain of artifice.

2. Dr. J. E. Carpenter similarly handles the parallel passages Mk. xi, 2-3; Mt. xxi, 2-3; Luke xix, 30-31, printing Mark's sentences so as to show the Luke matter in italics, the Matthew matter in spaced type, and Mark's own in ordinary type. Thus we get:—

Go your way into the village that is over against you and straightway as ye enter into it, ye shall find a colt tied whereon no man ever yet sat: loose him and bring him. And if any one say unto you, Why do ye this? say ye, The Lord hath need of him, and straightway he will send him back hither.

Here, on the compilation theory, says Dr. Carpenter, "the epitomizer has endeavoured to combine the two stories, by taking a clause from one, and two words from the other, alternately. Can anything be more artificial?"

3. Mr. Robinson Smith, an able rationalistic writer, marshals ('Solution of the Synoptic Problem'; Watts, 1920, p. 10) a set of twenty-two passages in which Mark combines phrases that occur singly in Matthew and Luke. They are not all strictly analogous combinations, some of the phrases being important, some mere tautologies; but two samples will indicate the argument:—

a. At even, when the sun did set (Mk. i, 32). Mt. (viii, 16) takes the first clause, Lk. (iv, 10) the second.

b. And a great multitude from Galilee followed ; and from Judæa, and from Jerusalem, and from Idumea, and beyond Jordan, and about Tyre and Sidon (Mk. iii, 7-8). Matthew (iv, 25) has : " And there followed him great multitudes from Galilee and Decapolis and Jerusalem and Judæa and beyond Jordan." Luke (vi, 17) has : " And a great multitude of his disciples, and a great number of the people from all Judæa and Jerusalem, and the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon."

Mr. Smith's thesis is, " that no writer would have assembled these.....phrases from two other writers, whereas it was quite natural that two writers should have taken one one part and the other the other from their original, Mk." I confidently submit that, on the contrary, the natural inference is the other way about. On what probable grounds should Matthew and Luke respectively pick out from Mark certain regional names, each leaving the other in possession of a few others? That the Judaizing Matthew should ignore Tyre and Sidon is intelligible ; but that would be his attitude whether he had seen Mark or not. Conceivably, Luke *might* be disposed to omit Galilee ; but he would on his own Gentilizing grounds be ready to name Tyre and Sidon. And why should he ignore Idumea? The reasonable inference is that Mark, who so often heightens a description, was here combining the others, and adding Idumea.

And when we turn to the first sample, " what could be more artificial," as Dr. Carpenter would say, than the assumed agreement of Matthew and Luke each to take one clause from i, 32 : " at even,

when the sun did set"?¹ The same procedure is imputed over Mk. x, 29:—"For my sake and for the gospel's sake"; Mt. (xix, 29) having only "for my name's sake," and Lk. (xviii, 29) "for the kingdom-of-God's sake." The theory that in a whole series of such cases Matthew picked out one of a pair or set of Mark's phrases, and that Luke then came and scrupulously took *only* what was left, is nothing short of grotesque, when we remember in what a multitude of cases Matthew and Luke verbally coincide. Only the need for a new argument to prove the priority of Mark could set a thoughtful scholar on such a hypothesis.

And the argument of Dr. Abbott and Dr. Carpenter is no sounder. Dr. Abbott's, in the case of the parable of the vineyard, turns upon the *assumption* that Mark's narrative is "in all respects the opposite of artificial," when that is the very thing to be proved! Any unbiased reader, collating the three passages, will pronounce that not only are Matthew and Luke at least as "graphic" as Mark, but Mark's conclusion: "*And*

¹ Dr. Major (p. 37) argues that "Mark's double phrase brings out what *only one who was present would remember*. The evening was the evening of the Sabbath"; and as Jews they could not bring their sick till the Sabbath was over. This, like so many of Dr. Major's arguments, is over sixty years old (Bleek's *Introd.*, Eng. tr., 1869, i, 313); but the old plea that Matthew and Luke "might *unintentionally* have divided [Mark's] fuller expression between them" is more circumspect than Mr. Smith's. The answer to the whole "eye-witness" argument here, however, is that the context tells nothing of a Sabbath day. Nor is that hypothesis needed: the inference is simply that the sick were to be carried only in the cool of the evening. And when Mark combines "brought unto him all that were sick and them that were possessed with devils," where Mt. viii, 16, has "brought.....many possessed with devils and he.....healed all that were sick," and Lk. iv, 40, has only "any sick with divers diseases," the theory of a "turn about" choice on the part of Matthew and Luke becomes fantastic.

they sought to lay hold on him : *and* they feared the multitude ; for they perceived that he spake the parable against them ; *and* they left him and went away," is flat and dull, and is perfectly conceivable as the bald curtailment of a compiler ; though Mark is not *always* a mere compiler. To seek to salve such bald matter as " abrupt " is vain reasoning.

Dr. Carpenter's claim is equally nugatory. *If* Mark's story be artificial, considered as a copy from Luke, with phrases from Matthew, then Luke's and Matthew's are equally artificial, considered as modifications of Mark. On the face of the case, the most " natural " theory would be that Matthew's version is the first, as being by far the simplest ; that one of the others was concerned to elaborate it ; and that Mark's " And they said unto them even as Jesus had said " is more like a modification of Luke's " And they said, The Lord hath need of him," than vice versa. To seek to make out Mark unartificial is just to throw the charge across to Luke ; and when Mark is visibly more artificial than Matthew, that tactic comes to nothing. What is more, Dr. Carpenter has discounted his argument in advance by taking up the position that " either the Gospel which was produced first was employed by the authors of the other two, *or the three Gospels were based upon some common Greek source. This latter view seems best to meet the conditions of the case* " (' First Three Gospels,' 3rd ed., pp. 176-7). On that view, what becomes of the points we have discussed ?

The careful and temperate argumentation of Professor Burkitt in his ' Gospel History and its Transmission ' avoids such contradictions ; but that, too, fails to satisfy critical logic. The propo-

sition (p. 116) that "much of the wording of many whole paragraphs [in Luke] has simply been transferred from Mark" is plainly inconclusive, in that Mark may just as well have copied Luke. This counter-theory the Marcans never rightly face.

II

The outstanding critical shortcoming, indeed, of the large body of writers who maintain the priority of Mark, is that they almost invariably ignore the strong counter-arguments. It may be that some of their opponents are similarly remiss; but many have weighed the claims they contest; whereas the mere putting of particular pleas for Mark's priority without facing the contrary case is a sheer evasion of a critical problem. So far is the habit of special pleading carried that writers professing to give their readers a conspectus of the documentary evidence are commonly found suppressing the fact that Clement of Alexandria expressly declared the tradition of the oldest presbyters to be that the Gospel of Mark was written *after* "those which contained the genealogies" (Eusebius, 'Ec. Hist.,' vi, 14). Dr. Major, for example, does not scruple to profess to quote (work cited, p. 9) from Eusebius the very section that contains that vital statement as to Clement, while *leaving it out with no marks of omission*, and quoting only what follows. His Anglican lay readers may be left to say whether he has treated them honestly.

It is in a thesis thus conducted that the exponent begs the whole critical question by affirming that "the proof of this incorporation of Mark into Matthew and Luke is *overwhelming*, though it was

very long before it was recognized and accepted by Christian scholars." What ought to be argued, with an honest statement of the counter-case, is put as a now undisputed truth. The "very long" is in itself misleading. A large accession to the view of the priority of Mark had taken place before Renan had written his 'Vie de Jésus,' which propounds the "eye-witness" formula. And the present-day accession of Church of England scholars to a view long ago common on the Continent is simply the result of *their* recognition that that view is the only one which can be expected to save belief in the historicity of Jesus. Careful proof is the last thing they will attempt. It is not the objective, and it is not the method.

For Dr. Major it may be pleaded that M. Loisy likewise puts as a foregone conclusion the priority of Mark, saying not a word in the Introduction to his 'L'Évangile selon Marc' (1912) of the mass of countervailing considerations, though he is careful to indicate that there has been much redaction of the text, and that it is primarily a schemed and planned composition, not a simple collection of oral traditions. M. Loisy's attitude on the priority problem is here determined in the same way as that of the mere special pleaders. He too has made up his mind in advance that there must be a historical Jesus, and that to settle the priority of Mark is to help to establish the main case. All his careful study of the text is subordinated to the unwarranted assumption, made in silent disregard of the disproofs.

M. Loisy is indeed above the puerility of arguing, as do so many of the other combatants, that Mark is on the face of it the record of the reminiscences of an eye-witness, in respect of its

frequent vividness of description. The worst of that pretence is that it is put forward by men who know that precisely the same kind of claim was long made for the fourth gospel, and who have yet entirely abandoned that claim. By the spurious tests of vividness, emotionalism, and realism of detail, urged as they usually are without a grain of critical circumspection, John would stand highest of the four gospels as a historical record. It was these qualities that so long chained Renan, as they did Arnold, to faith in it. The Christian scholars who at length gave it up did so simply because they had abandoned the supernaturalist standpoint. They then obliviously proceeded to apply the old doubly-discredited argument to Mark, because they wished to establish that as a relatively historical document.

Any one who will fairly face the problem will speedily realize that the alleged "eye-witness" qualities ascribed to Mark are exhibited chiefly in regard to episodes which *cannot* have been witnessed by anybody. The writer tells us (i, 41) that "yearning with pity" Jesus puts out his hand to the leper, touches him, says "I will, be thou made clean; and straightway the leprosy departed from him, and he was made clean." To put *that* as history is to insult common sense. No theory of faith-healing that can pass muster even at Lourdes will support a story of instantaneous disappearance of leprosy. So with the detail of "asleep on the cushion" (iv, 38); it is grafted on a story of what did *not* happen, and is to be reckoned a deliberate stroke of fiction.¹ When,

¹ There is to be noted, however, that the writer may have seen a *picture* on the subject.

then, improving on Matthew and Luke, Mark (x, 16) makes Jesus "take up in his arms" the little children, as before (ix, 36) he had taken up one, and again (ix, 27) takes by the hand and lifts up the possessed child, as he touches and salivates the deaf and dumb and the blind man (vii, 33; viii, 23), who only in *this* gospel are cured—in such cases the only critical inference is that these "graphic" touches are *systematically* introduced, and proceed upon no testimony whatever.

Otherwise, what explanation can be offered of the *non*-appearance of all these details in Matthew and Luke? Would they have refused to represent Jesus as taking up little children in his arms if they had such a narrative before them, assigned to a pupil of Peter? Would they have shunned the thought of Jesus lifting up one whom he healed? Would they have refused to record miraculous cures by saliva? These and other objections, put in the past by scholars perfectly impartial on the documentary question, because loyally and solely intent on it, have never been met: they are simply outfaced by such pleas as we have already examined, the product of the *wish* to prove Mark the earliest gospel, in the hope thereby to establish a naturalistic where a supernaturalist belief in Jesus has collapsed before scientific common sense.

III

If the open-minded reader, provisionally admitting that there is *some* force in the objections to the priority claim for Mark, will just experimentally apply the hypothesis that Mark was written *after* the other synoptics, as was declared by Clement to be the report of the oldest Presbyters, he will find

that all manner of features which are inexplicable on the other view will come newly "in line." Taken as a planned adaptation of previous written matter, Mark is broadly intelligible as a purposive document.

1. It supplies a gospel freed from the hopeless contradictions of the birth-stories by leaving them out; and it thus presents an "Adoptionist" doctrine of Christ, known to have been current in the second century as against that of incarnation.

2. It mediates to a large extent between the Judaizing and Gentilizing tendencies which so long divided the Christian communities, making concessions in both directions. It puts aside the Judaic claims for the Apostles, certainly holds no brief for Peter, modifies without quite abandoning the primary Judaist attitude of the Master, as in the story of the healing of the Syrophenician woman (vii, 26-30), and substantially leans to the Pauline side. It is thus a gospel planned to win adherents.

3. It concentrates largely on stories of miracle-working; on the testimonies of demoniacs, always reckoned in the East to have a supernormal significance; and on the power of faith to save believers from evil spirits.

4. Its "Roman" character, often acknowledged by adherents of both sides in the priority dispute, consists specially with a late origin, and needs no theory of authorship by the traditional interpreter of Peter to support it. That theory is further barred by the collapse of the legend of Peter's sojourn at Rome. And the frequent use of Romanized word-forms, as distinct from others, cannot be explained as a mere original employment of such forms by one who had lived in Rome

and wrote for Romans. When, for instance, in the story of the palsied man ordered to take up his bed and walk (Mk. ii, 4, 10, 12), Mark uses the word *krabatos*, which connects with the Latin *grabatus*, he is really putting a more fitting in place of a less fitting term. The term *klinē* (= a bedstead or couch) he uses where it is required (iv, 21 ; vii, 4, 30) ; the form *krabatos* (= a movable pallet) he uses where *that* is the specially required term—here purposely improving on Matthew and Luke, who represent the cured paralytic as told to take up and carry away what may be thought of as a *bedstead*. It is incredible that Matthew and Luke would here have wilfully written *couch* if they had before them the *pallet* of Mark.¹

5. Again and again the "heightening" process is precisely that of a doctrinaire bent on enforcing a theological conception, as opposed to that of a man who reports something reported to him. In Mk. ii, after an opening which specially aims at heightening a physical picture, we have the scribes represented as debating "in their hearts," where Matthew and Luke make them "speak"; and the purpose is to exalt Jesus as knowing at once "in his spirit" what the scribes are *thinking*. It is really not discreet to speak of a writer as preserving the testimony of an "eye-witness" when, in order to display the Master's supernatural powers, he is thus expressly discarding what *might* have been credited as an eye-witness's testimony.

6. This gospel is palpably late in respect that, like Luke (ix, 27), it makes Jesus say (ix, 1):

¹ *Krabatos* is of course not a classical word. But it is still used, with the old *krabbatos* spelling, in the Modern Greek version of the N. T., in Mark and John, showing that it was and is a current word in Greece. It occurs also twice in Acts.

"There be some here.....which shall in no wise taste of death till they see the Kingdom of God come with power," where Matthew (xvi, 28) has: "till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom." It is inconceivable that Matthew, seeing the prediction in Mark in the guarded form, should yet have preferred to make Jesus predict that contemporaries would see him returning in person. Mark's is plainly the later form, in that it substitutes for a falsified prediction one that might be said to have been fulfilled in the spread of the Church. It is characteristic of Dr. Major's logic that he claims priority for the corrected prediction *because* it is the more correct!

7. Equally significant of lateness, as Strauss notes, is Mark's omission (xiii, 18) of the second clause of Matthew's (xxiv, 20) "pray that your flight be not in the winter, neither on a sabbath." By the year 150 the sabbath had ceased to affect the life of professed Christians as such, at least outside of Jewish areas; and by that time nine-tenths of the existing Christians were in Gentile lands.

8. The scanty and negligent mention of the Temptation (i, 13), with its added phrase, "and he was with the wild beasts," is admitted even by advocates of the priority of Mark to be explicable only as a willed abbreviation of the account in Matthew, and it tells of a theological standpoint from which the Temptation episode was regarded with doubt or aversion, perhaps as more or less incompatible with the writer's view of the power of Satan.

Such are the general considerations which repel in advance the hypothesis that Mark is the earliest of the four gospels. The strongest counter-

consideration is, not any of the textual arguments which we have considered above, but the fact that Mark omits such a body of doctrine as the Sermon on the Mount. But this argument is repelled by the fact that that long section is also as a whole omitted in Luke, who supplies only the "Sermon on the Plain" (vi, 20-38), and other sections in different places. Why did Luke thus curtail and break up a mass of ethical discourse which is normally treasured by Christians? There are two possible answers. Either the long section in Matthew *was not in that gospel when Luke's was composed*, or the early compilers of Luke were aware that as a whole it was not Jesuine matter. In either case, the absence of the section from Mark can no more prove *its* priority than the brevity of the similar matter in Luke proves that gospel prior to Matthew.

The first proposition is probably the true one. The almost invariable divergence in terms from the Matthæan text in the multitude of passages in Justin Martyr which are claimed to be cited from our first gospel is a convincing proof that Justin had before him another collection. And this view is borne out by his divergences in other respects. "Mark," then, simply did not find in "Matthew" the Sermon on the Mount as we have it. Even the order, evidently derived from some other source, is in Justin quite different.

In this matter, finally, the real and vital difficulty is that entailed on those who regard Mark as the earliest of the canonical gospels, and as preserving the reminiscences of Peter. On *that* view, how is the omission of the Sermon on the Mount to be accounted for? Are they prepared to say that Peter either had no knowledge on the subject of

the longest and most important of the discourses ascribed to the Lord, or that, whatever reminiscences he had, he preferred to withhold them? On either view, it is plainly impossible to argue that the absence of the Sermon from Mark bars the inference of lateness. It is the total failure of the Marcan champions to face these cruxes that finally entitles us to dismiss their case as an unscientific attempt to save the belief in the historicity of Jesus by an arbitrary documentary claim.

IV

So far, our argument against the priority of Mark has been mainly destructive and defensive. There has recently emerged, however, a constructive theory which seems to the present writer to offer a new and satisfying solution of the entire problem. It is set forth in the work of Hermann Raschke, *Die Werkstatt des Markus-evangelisten*—"The Workshop of the Marcan Evangelist" (Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Jena, 1924; paper covered, 7 marks; bound, 8.50), one of several large recent German works on Mark of which, of course, we hear nothing from Dr. Major. To deal with its whole content would require a volume; and in the present connection it must suffice to present briefly its most important thesis—to wit, that *the Gospel of Marcion was made the Gospel of Mark*.

At first sight, this is as unmanageable a proposition as that so long discussed in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and revived early in the twentieth by Mr. P. C. Sense—that our *Luke* is substantially Marcion's gospel, further redacted after his time, the original Luke having

been different. That view, long maintained in the Tübingen school, has never won much ground, and was early abandoned by some who had held it. Its vital difficulty is that *a* gospel of Luke, on a large scale, unquestionably had existed, being endlessly quoted from by Tertullian in his polemic against Marcion.

But Raschke's hypothesis stands really on a far stronger ground, there being no such primary obstacle in its way. For there is positively no evidence to show that what passed for "Mark" in Tertullian's day was a gospel at all in the modern sense. The existing gospel, so often claimed as the first, is precisely the hardest to trace before the latter part of the second century. There is nothing to show that Tertullian knew it at all. Herr Raschke's hypothesis, then, is well worth weighing.

English readers unfamiliar with the ecclesiastical history of Marcion (properly Markion), and the large modern literature in regard to him and his gospel, will find a sympathetic survey in Professor F. C. Burkitt's 'The Gospel History and its Transmission' (1906, Lect. ix); another in Canon Foakes-Jackson's 'Christian Difficulties of the Second and Twentieth Centuries' (1903); a good summary in Mr. Cassels' 'Supernatural Religion' (R. P. A.; pt. ii, ch. vii), and an interesting sketch by Harnack in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' Marcion may be described as the greatest Christian heresiarch of the second century, and his sect as one of the largest "dissenting bodies" in early Christian history for several centuries, after which it seems to have been absorbed in the Manichæan and other movements. Son, by late accounts, of a bishop of Sinope in Pontus, Marcion came to Rome about 139-42, and was an active

publicist for some twenty years. Producing treatises which earned for him the copious vituperation of eminent Fathers in the next century, and preparing for his followers a special gospel, which diverged from those then accepted by the Church, he built up a numerous and widespread sect of his own, and seems to have dreamt of converting the whole Church to his special creed.

The question, What was the substance of the gospel of Marcion? has been ably and immensely debated. It can be answered only after sifting the aspersive literature directed against the book by Tertullian, Irenæus, and Epiphanius, who discuss alike its alleged deficiencies and the heretical treatises of Marcion, which survive only fragmentarily in their quotations. Briefly, the indictment against him was that he had mutilated the gospel of Luke to suit his heretical purposes. Believing as he did in a God of Grace who was not the God of the Jews, and identifying the latter with the Demiourgos, the Creator God of the Old Testament, a mere God of Law, he conceived Jesus not as the begotten but as the adopted Son of the former, and as finally triumphing over the latter, who in the spirit of the law brought about his crucifixion. Marcion's gospel, then, would be adapted to these views, even if it did not expound them.

Let us now consider the outstanding charges of the heresy-hunting Fathers against the gospel arranged by Marcion:—

1. It was short ;
2. It had no Birth History ;
3. It lacked much of the teaching of the Lord.

All three characterizations apply to the existing

gospel of Mark. And now arises the question, *Is* that gospel was current *as canonical* in Tertullian's and Irenæus's day, how came they to speak of Marcion's elision of the Birth Stories without noting that they are elided in Mark; or to comment on the brevity of Marcion's gospel when Mark's was less than half as long as Luke's; or to denounce Marcion for leaving out much of the Lucan record of the Lord's teaching when Mark did the same? Herr Raschke argues (p. 34) that Irenæus was so completely under the fixed idea of a mutilation of Luke that he could not see the identity of Marcion's gospel with the canonical Mark. This is a difficult conception. As a matter of fact, Irenæus (III, xi, 8), putting his mystical thesis that the gospels must be four, neither more nor less, cites Mark as beginning in the manner of our text, and making "a compendious and cursory narrative." That is in effect what he denounces Marcion for doing. The question thus insistently arises whether the existing text of Irenæus, a Latin translation made at the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, represents what Irenæus wrote in the second. If it does, Raschke's solution must stand, for the inconsistency of the attitude in the existing treatise is gross. That Marcion had before him a primitive compilation of miracle stories, ascribed to Mark, is quite conceivable; but our Mark is not the disorderly thing described by Papias; and apart from the passage cited there is nothing, I think, in Irenæus to show any familiarity with our text. If he had a copy before him, how could he endorse it while denouncing Marcion?

The same question arises in regard to the whole polemic of Tertullian against Marcion. That

Father writes ('Against Marcion,' iv, 2) : " We lay it down as our first position that the evangelical Testament [*instrumentum*] has apostles for its authors, to whom was assigned by the Lord himself this office of publishing the gospel. Since, however, there are apostolic men also, they are yet not alone.....Of the apostles, therefore, John and Matthew *first* instil faith into us ; whilst of apostolic men, Luke and Mark renew it afterwards. These all start with the same principles of the faith, so far as relates to the one only God the Creator and his Christ, *how that he was born of the Virgin, and came to fulfil the law and the prophets.*"

The conflict between this assertion and the facts as to Mark is so direct that it is hard to understand how it has been ignored. Firstly, "Mark," as it stands, is quite falsely described as stating that Jesus was born of the Virgin.

But no less great is the further difficulty that while Tertullian cites frequently from Matthew, less frequently from John, and hundreds of times from Luke, *he never once cites Mark in his whole polemic.*

Thirdly, when Tertullian cites from Luke the passage on the question "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" (xviii, 18), he makes no allusion whatever to v. 19a, "Why callest thou me good?", though he discusses the rest of the verse. Now, we know that Marcion was described by Hippolytus as stressing the question, "Why call ye me good?", and by Epiphanius as reading: "Call me not good." The question arises, then, whether for Tertullian the text Lk. xviii, 19, existed. But if we interpret Mk. x, 18, as the later Fathers did, there arise two more questions: (1) Whether Marcion's original text may have been modified; and (2) whether Hippolytus and Epiphanius knew of both

the Lucan and the Marcan texts when they censured Marcion.

These, however, are secondary difficulties. The primal mystery is that Tertullian, professing, as his text stands, to have a Mark, never once cites it; and, describing Marcion as cutting out the preliminary narratives of Luke, never seeks to account for the same procedure in Mark. Either his allusion to Mark is an interpolation in his text, and the above italicized passage another, or the Mark he possessed was an entirely different document from ours—conceivably a mere recital of wonderworks, such as Papias seems to suggest, with no teaching whatever. If the latter alternative be reckoned unlikely, the other can hardly be called so. The corruption of the texts of the Fathers is a scandal since the time of Erasmus.

V

So insuperable is this difficulty from the traditionalist point of view that we are led at once to ask whether the gospel of Marcion, alleged to be framed by deliberate curtailment of Luke, is not substantially the document preserved as the canonical Mark. Plainly Mark, as it stands, broadly *suited* Marcion's standpoint. If he did not adopt Mark as we have it, must it not have been simply because it was not there? Are we not *forced* to infer that Mark as it stands (with allowance for probable modifications after it was adopted by the Church in general) was made by Marcion; largely from Luke, but also from Matthew and other sources? Epiphanius called the Marcionite gospel a Luke lacking the beginning, the middle, and the end, "like a garment eaten away by moths." As

Herr Raschke comments, that description just fits Mark.

When we come to the specific charges of mutilation, the surmise is confirmed. Epiphanius, for instance, complains that Marcion's gospel mutilates the text about Jonah, saying merely that "no sign will be given," and lacks the mention of Nineveh and the Queen of the South and Solomon. *But all this applies to our gospel of Mark!* As Herr Raschke puts it, Epiphanius was *commenting on the text of Mark*. When yet other patristic charges of mutilation against Marcion are found to impinge on Mark, and further charges of adding to Luke are likewise found applicable to Mark, the inference, Marcion's gospel = Mark, becomes so urgent that only a new body of evidence, accounting for these strange coincidences, can repel it.

Nor will it suffice to produce from Mark texts which may seem incompatible with a Marcionitic origin. The ultimate acceptance of a Marcionite gospel by the Church would be certain to involve *some* measure of adaptation. Our Mark has apparently been mutilated at the close, and then finished by another hand. Further, the Marcionites are described by the Father as themselves altering their gospel from day to day. On the other hand, the wide diffusion of the Marcionite book can very well account for the acceptance by the Church of a gospel which lacked the birth stories and much else. Its brevity may have been found advantageous by the Marcionites; and the attractions which obviously operated for them would serve the Church in the same fashion. That Mark was looked-at askance in the early Church is admitted all round.

A general hypothesis suggests itself. We are told concerning Marcion that towards the end of

his life he sought to be received back into the Church, and was prepared to invite his followers to return with him, but was prevented by death. Our Mark, then, might be his gospel, with the preliminary addition of the first twenty verses, and other changes. According to Tertullian, his gospel began with an account of the coming of Jesus to Capernaum, and being hailed in the synagogue as the Holy One of God. Marcion may have prefixed the preceding matter by way of partial accommodation; or one of his sect may have done it. An orthodox hand would hardly have been content with so little.

On this view, Marcion's gospel in its first form may very well have gone on circulating in his own sect, keeping that form for Tertullian. As Dr. Burkitt candidly avows,¹ "one of the unsolved problems of the New Testament literature is *to supply the reasons why Mark became part of the Church's Canon.*" Is there any better solution than that above suggested?

Finally, there are special doctrinal features of Mark which a Marcionite origin best accounts for. The Anglicans who are now proclaiming it as the eye-witness gospel lay special stress on its absolute prohibition of divorce. But that is declared to have been an item in the teaching of Marcion! Denying that Mark can have had Matthew before him, the Rev. Arthur Wright ('Some N. T. Problems,' 1898, p. 264) asks: "What sort of Christians would desire to purchase brevity by the excision of the story of our Lord's birth, the Sermon on the Mount,.....with the longer parables and much discourse matter?" The answer now obtrudes

¹ *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, ed. 1925, p. 61.

itself: "Heretical Christians, such as the Marcionites are declared to have been, by the Fathers who denounced them." So with the passage, stressed by Schmiedel as biographical, in which the friends and relatives of Jesus speak of him as "beside himself." That, too, could come from anti-Judaic heretics.

One of the notable differences between Mark and Matthew is that the former lacks these four Matthæan texts:—

xi, 25. Jesus.....said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth.

— 26. Yea, Father, for so it was well pleasing in thy sight.

— 27. All things have been delivered unto me of my Father, etc.

xxviii, 19. Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

The only passages in Mark which thus name the Father are:—

xiii, 32. Of that day or that hour knoweth no one..... neither the Son, but the Father.

xiv, 36. Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee.

Dr. Burkitt,¹ at the end of his chapter on the Literary Originality of the Gospel of Mark, explicitly endorses the pronouncement of Wellhausen that "Mark was known to the other Synoptists in the same form and with the same contents as we have it now." Yet on the previous page he approves of "the hypothesis that the Eschatological Discourse in Mk. xiii once circulated, very much in its present form, as a separate fly-sheet; and that probably from this fly-sheet, and not from the gospels, was derived the eschatological chapter at the end of the Didachê." Now, if the Eschatological Dis-

¹ *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, 3rd ed., p. 64, citing Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 57.

course be admitted to be thus detachable, the natural inference is that it is an addition to Mark, even as the story of the Tragedy is an addition to all the gospels. Then Mark is left without *any* naming of "the Father" in its primary form; and this is exactly what we might expect in the gospel of Marcion, who repugned against the conception of Jesus as the son of Jehovah.

Dr. Major (p. 15) ascribes to Mark a "primitive" Christology. But it was the express claim of Marcion that the principles of Christianity had been corrupted, and that true Christians must return to the pure Pauline doctrine. Dr. Major implies that Mark embodies the old "Jewish Christianity," and is pre-Pauline in doctrine. But it is now recognized by many scholars that the Christology of Mark is Pauline, as was that of Marcion. Dr. Major, who never lets his readers know that in M. Loisy's view Mark cannot be the work of a follower of Peter, or that in Schmiedel's view Peter never was at Rome, is merely playing the special pleader. And it is as a result of the loss of critical vision set up by special pleading that he cites the observation that a charge of special dullness against the disciples "is only found in Mark." *That* is a mark not of "Jewish Christianity" but of Gentilism. Raschke's theory has yet to run the gauntlet of criticism; but it is plausibility itself in contrast with the other.

VI

A completely scientific study of the problem of Mark, it is clear, must now mean an approach from a deliberately impartial point of view. It must give fair play to *every* hypothesis, Raschke's

included, recognizing that the à priori attitude of the majority of the partisans of Mark, from Wilke to Major, is untenable; that their arguments are satisfactory only to those who start with their pre-supposition; and that only hypotheses which reasonably account for all the phenomena can pass as valid. This complete scrutiny will involve, for the true student, the facing of the theoretic method of Dr. Arthur Drews, developed in his treatise on 'Das Markus-Evangelium' (1921), before the appearance of Raschke's, and his 'Die Entstehung des Christentums' (1924). A searching study may end in the challenging of the newer interpretative methods at many points; but it will result in a much firmer hold of the problem than has been possible on the partisan principles now being popularized by "progressive" Anglican clergymen. Such publicists—from whom we should distinguish Dr. Burkitt—differ from their orthodox colleagues only in substituting a quasi-biographical sentiment for a sentiment which clings to the whole supernaturalist tradition: they have in no wise subordinated sentiment to scientific truth-seeking.

And their work is ultimately in vain, for they do but conserve a Jesus-figure which cannot be brought into constructive connection with the rise of the Christian movement. Mark's gospel no more reveals a primary gospel of Jesus than do the others. "Supposing it were agreed that Mark *was* the first of the four gospels," I once asked a demi-semi-orthodox adherent of that view, "what do you think would be gained towards establishing a belief in the gospel history, as you call it?" "Why, that there had been an actual man called Jesus Christ, whom his disciples did not take to be born of a virgin," was the reply. "And who

taught his disciples—what?" I pressed. At that point

something sealed
The lips of that evangelist,

who suddenly seemed to divine that a Teacher whose main work consisted in casting out devils and saying "Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand," can have had but little work for twelve disciples, who could operate on devils only in his absence.

All attempted biographies of Jesus bring us thus finally to the problem of his alleged historic *work*—his intangible teaching to a nebulous apostolate who never revealed what his gospel had been, and whose supposed attempt to make a gospel of *him* as a sacrifice was supplemented by a body of ethical teaching which cannot critically be regarded as coming from him or them. The historic problem of the Rise of Christianity remains the ultimate one, and to its solution the Gospel according to Mark contributes nothing, save by revealing, on analysis, its own factitiousness.

Dr. Burkitt makes the notable pronouncement (p. 79) that Mark is the only gospel which "gives an intelligible account" of the process by which Jesus came in decisive conflict with the Jewish authorities. If that be so, the inference may well be that it is the work of a writer creating a certain historical order out of a chaos presented by his predecessors. But Dr. Burkitt's theory of the main plan of Jesus will hardly meet the difficulties of the case. It is, as I understand him, that at a quite early stage in the ministry Jesus devoted himself chiefly to educating his disciples. Let the reader, after re-reading Mark, ask himself what there is to show for the hypothesis.

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