

# History and Theology in the Gospels

Edited by  
TOBIAS NICKLAS,  
KARL-WILHELM NIEBUHR,  
and MIKHAIL SELEZNEV

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament  
447*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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# History and Theology in the Gospels

Seventh International East-West Symposium  
of New Testament Scholars,  
Moscow, September 26 to October 1, 2016

Edited by

Tobias Nicklas, Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr,  
and Mikhail Seleznev

in collaboration with

Judith König and Rebecca Draughon

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## Introduction

The Seventh International East-West Symposium of New Testament Scholars took place in Moscow between 26<sup>th</sup> September and 1<sup>st</sup> October 2016 and addressed the topic “History and Theology in the Gospel Narratives.” It was part of a long-term project of the Eastern European Liaison Committee (EELC) of the *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas* (SNTS) devoted to dialogue and exchange between Eastern Orthodox and Western Roman Catholic and Protestant New Testament Scholars<sup>1</sup> and was made possible through a generous invitation by His Eminence, Metropolitan Hilarion of Volokolamsk.

The main idea behind the East-West conferences has always been to focus on central topics of New Testament Exegesis and Theology (see, for example, earlier meetings on “The Holy Spirit and the Church,” “Gospel Images of Jesus Christ,” and “Prayer in the New Testament”).<sup>2</sup> The key topics are usually treated by at least two speakers, representing an Eastern and a Western perspective, and allowing engagement from different perspectives on the same text or problem. When Metropolitan Hilarion not only opened the conference with a challenging scholarly paper but also took the time for a special session to discuss his ideas in a scholarly context, he widened the possibilities for further inter-confessional dialogue. This is why the present volume consists of three parts: Part 1 is devoted to the Metropolitan’s Opening Paper and its discussion; Part 2 consists of a collection of main papers on the four canonical Gospels, the figure of Jesus, the “Gospel” of Byzantine liturgy, and extra-canonical Jesus narratives; and Part 3 offers select short papers from the seminar sessions.

While the papers collected here discuss a variety of Gospel-related topics, they all presume, to varying degrees, a set of core assumptions and ideas behind the title “History and Theology in the Gospels”:

(1) As Christian theologians, we speak about Jesus of Nazareth not as a mythological figure but as a historical person. This underscores the fact that there has always been a historical dimension in and of our shared Christian theology.

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<sup>1</sup> For a broader overview of the project and especially the East-West Symposia see Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, “Introduction,” in *The Holy Spirit and the Church according to the New Testament* (ed. P. Dragutinovic, K.-W. Niebuhr and J. B. Wallace in cooperation with C. Karakolis; WUNT/I 354; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 3–4.

<sup>2</sup> The editors are grateful to Mohr Siebeck publishing house which, from the very beginning, has been publishing the conference volumes in its prestigious WUNT series.

(2) The theological significance and meaning of who Jesus of Nazareth was as a historical figure, and who he is as Jesus Christ in our respective ecclesial contexts, can never be understood by means of historical criticism *alone*.<sup>3</sup>

(3) Historical work is never directed towards a pure reconstruction of the past but towards the interpretation of history. This has to be done by well-reflected historical methods working with the whole set of available and relevant sources. History is not identical with the past but an image of the past from a present perspective. It is thus interested in addressing the extent to which the past (or what we can know about the past) impacts the present. An objective way of writing history is not possible.

(4) Both Theology and History have to make clear which are the preconditions and assumptions behind their thoughts, their logic, and their arguments. Only this allows forms of reasoning which may not be objective but comprehensible on an inter-subjective level.

(5) Critical historical approaches and a trustful attitude as believers are not mutually exclusive. Instead, when used responsibly, they not only *serve each other* but may also – as scholarly attitudes – *serve the Church(es)*.

(6) The question of the Gospels' truth is neither identical to nor one-dimensionally related to the problem of whether or not a particular detail of the Gospel story can be made historically probable. In other words, questions that may arise over a Gospel passage whose historical veracity may be debated do not necessarily question that passage's claim to tell the truth. Instead, the living truth of God's word, which wants to address us in and through the Gospels, is not bound by the question whether a certain story reported in the Gospels can be proven as more or less historically reliable.

At the end of this introduction, we wish to express our thanks to the many people who made this meeting possible. We are first and foremost extremely grateful to His Eminence Metropolitan Hilarion of Volokolamsk for his generous invitation, his openness, interest, and his own active participation in the meeting. Without many friends and members of the EELC, the relevant contacts and preparations before the conference would not have been possible – we would like to mention especially Armand Puig i Tàrrach and Christos Karakolis, EELC-Vice-President and co-organizer of the meeting. We are grateful for the generous financial support we received from the *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* (EKD), the Catholic Foundations *Renovabis* and *Kirche in Not*, as well as, the Catholic Diocese of Regensburg. Many people not only made this meeting possible but also went to great lengths to create space for open dialogue, talk, and exchange. We

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. three brief reflections on Jesus from Orthodox, Roman-Catholic, and Protestant perspectives by Christos Karakolis, Tobias Nicklas, and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr in: Christos Karakolis, Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, and Sviatoslav Rogalsky, eds., *Gospel Images of Jesus in Church Tradition and in Biblical Scholarship* (WUNT I/288; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 427–440.

think especially of staff and students of the Doktorantura/Aspirantura in Moscow. During the publication process decisive editorial work has been done by Judith König, Universität Regensburg, and by Rebecca Draughon, University of Virginia (who checked the English of many texts). Both are currently finishing their doctoral work – we hope they will be able to take part in some of the future EELC activities! We are also grateful to Jörg Frey and the editors of Mohr Siebeck's renowned WUNT series, Elena Müller, Tobias Stäbler, and everyone else from the Mohr Siebeck publishing house for their always congenial cooperation.

The basic idea behind the East-West conferences goes back to Professor Dr. Ulrich Luz, Bern. He was the driving force without whom the present EELC work would not be possible. Ulrich Luz – or better: Uli – died on the 13<sup>th</sup> October 2019. We dedicate this book to his memory.

Regensburg, Jena, and Moscow, Spring 2020  
Tobias Nicklas, Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, and Mikhail Seleznev





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## I. Opening Paper and Plenary Discussion



# The “Demythologization” of New Testament Studies

*Metropolitan Hilarion (Alfeyev) of Volokolamsk*

Esteemed conference participants,  
Dear brothers and sisters,

It is a great pleasure and honor for me to greet you at the Seventh Eastern European Symposium of New Testament Researchers, one of the most important international projects devoted to relevant issues of contemporary biblical scholarship. These issues are multi-varied: they cover not only the sphere of biblical translations and new manuscript testimonies of Scripture, but also archeological discoveries, the patristic tradition of biblical interpretation in its historical context, and the way they have been refracted in the modern-day life of the Christian Church.

Yet, in spite of these issues touching as they do upon the text and content of Scripture, there is another matter, namely, scholarship’s impact on the Bible. Perhaps no other philological or historical discipline has been so dependent on external factors (including the political and religious moods of society and the researcher’s own worldview) as biblical criticism: the academic approach to studying Scripture, a discipline formed at the end of the eighteenth century on the wave of a rupture with Church tradition. Indeed, no other aspect of biblical criticism has been so open to arbitrary opinion as the study of the Gospels with its intention to reconstruct an ‘accurate’ historical portrait of Jesus Christ.

Contemporary researchers – whether a biblical scholar, patrologist or Church historian – who wish to root themselves in a strictly established scientific knowledge of the Gospels in order to reach conclusions on a particular concrete scholarly-biblical problem, encounter the following difficulty: namely, not a single academic premise has been able to withstand strict examination.

Forty years ago J. A. T. Robinson wrote: “One of the oddest facts about New Testament is that what on any showing would appear to be the single most datable and climatic event of the period – the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70, and with it the collapse of the institutional Judaism based on the Temple – is never once mentioned as a past fact.”<sup>1</sup> Yet until very recently a commonplace in the New Testament scholarship was the “belief that the Synoptic Gospels should be dated

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<sup>1</sup> John A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), cover page.



after the Jewish War of AD 66–70 because they contain prophecies *ex eventu*<sup>2</sup> of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the year 70.”<sup>3</sup> In that each synoptic Gospel contains prophecies of the destruction of the Temple (Matt 24:2; Mark 13:2; Luke 21:6), many scholars somewhat feel obliged to adhere to this approach, that is, dating the Gospels to the end of the first century.

The perception that the synoptics would not record Jesus’ prophecy of the destruction of the Temple *before* its occurrence is, in reality, founded either on distrust towards them as authors of the narrative or on a prejudice against the possibility of Jesus having the gift of prophecy. If we were simply to admit this possibility, it would undermine the hypothesis of the later origin of the synoptic Gospels, making it vulnerable, dubious and ultimately unnecessary. As one contemporary scholar notes, “New Testament critical scholarship has a curious capacity to identify as ‘genuine’ prophecy that which failed to be fulfilled and, all too often, to insist that fulfilled prophecy is only after-the-event description dressed up as prophecy.”<sup>4</sup>

In declaring its independence from whatever tradition and non-dogmatic approach, European New Testament scholarship has created its own tradition and its own dogma. The word ‘dogma’ is rejected by many New Testament scholars because one of their objectives is to liberate the New Testament text from layers of Church doctrine. Striving for this aim, however, leads one to another kind of prejudice – for example, when the particular assertion of a scholar begins to be perceived as an indisputable dogma or an axiom. And if at one time Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976) spoke of the need to demythologize the New Testament – how then can honest and unbiased scholars face the task of ‘demythologizing’ New Testament interpretations?

In my presentation I will list the more widespread standpoints of contemporary New Testament scholars whose statements have acquired the status of dogmatic truths in their circle of adherents. I will identify four myths which in one form or another continue to be conveyed uncritically by theologians, drifting from one to the other. Finally, I shall demonstrate the consequences of endeavoring to reconstruct the image of the ‘historical Jesus’ on the basis of these myths, none of which having any true foundation in the New Testament text.

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<sup>2</sup> *Ex eventu* (Latin) – literally, “from the event” or “on the basis of the event”. The phrase “prophecy *ex eventu*” in literary studies and in historiography means the description of an event formed after the event’s occurrence, but dated to an earlier period in order to give it the appearance of a prediction or prophecy.

<sup>3</sup> Bo Reike, “Synoptic Prophecies on the Destruction of Jerusalem,” in *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature: Festschrift for A. P. Wikgren* (ed. D. E. Aune; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 121.

<sup>4</sup> John Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 14.

## I. Myth 1: The Q Source

Among the hypotheses which have literally become dogma is the notion that at the basis of the synoptic Gospels lies a certain 'Q source' which to the present has been referred to as 'lost'. Here is a typical illustration:

"Once upon a time, before there were gospels of the kind familiar to readers of the New Testament, the first followers of Jesus wrote another kind of book. Instead of telling a dramatic story about Jesus' life, their book contained only his teachings. They lived with these teachings ringing in their ears and thought of Jesus as the founder of their movement. But their focus was not on the person of Jesus or his life and destiny. They were engrossed with the social program that was called for by his teachings. Thus their book was not a gospel of the Christian kind, namely a narrative of the life of Jesus as Christ. Rather it was a gospel of Jesus' sayings, a 'sayings gospel' ... Then the book was lost. Perhaps the circumstances changed, or the people changed, or their memories or imagination of Jesus changed. In any case, the book was lost to history somewhere in the course of the late first century when stories of Jesus' life began to be written and became the more popular form of charter document for early Christian circles."<sup>5</sup>

There is a difference, the author continues, as to whether the founder of a particular movement is remembered for his teaching or for his life and fate. For the early followers of Christ what were most important were the collections of teachings that circulated under his name – teachings that touched on various ideas, attitudes towards life and conduct. Only later, when the movement began to fall apart, did the groups of his adherents in various places and in changed circumstances begin to meditate upon the life which Jesus lived. Only then was the founder's *vita* subjected to the overlaying of various myths, paramount of which was the account of his resurrection from the dead, that were modelled on the myths of the classical world. This story was reflected in the epistles of Paul, and later in the Gospels, first of which was Mark's in the 70s, then Matthew's in the 80s, John's in the 90s and Luke's at the beginning of the second century. The Gospel narratives took over the original Q source, which appeared when there were no Christians but only the 'people of Jesus' who did not believe in Christ as God or in his resurrection. This is why the 'discovery' of this source (achieved by dismembering and extracting it from the canonical Gospels) has such importance, even though it grieves followers of traditional Christianity.<sup>6</sup>

Even the manner in which this fantastic story was written, wholly and completely the fruit of the imagination of scholars, reminds one of a myth or fairy-tale. The problem, however, is not that the fairy-tale was created and believed in, but that it gives a false picture of the origin of Christianity and its development

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<sup>5</sup> Burton L. Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q and Christian Origins* (San Francisco: Harper, 1993), 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1–2.

from the beginning. Ancient church literature testifies that it has been the person of Jesus, his life, death and resurrection (and not his social or moral teaching) that have stood at the centre of Christian faith from the very outset. To present matters as if the early Christians were interested exclusively in Jesus' teaching and only later, towards the end of the first century, created stories of his life and resurrection, would turn the history of the appearance of Christianity on its head and propose a distorted and erroneous picture.

St Paul, in the middle of the first century, laid out the essence of the Gospels in the following laconic memorandum addressed to the Christians of Corinth:

"Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand; ... For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures: And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that, he was seen of James; then of all the apostles .... Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen: And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God that he raised up Christ: whom he raised not up ... And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins." (1 Cor 15:1-7, 12-15, 17)

With these words it follows that the central event which lay at the foundation of Christian message was Christ's resurrection and the primary evidence of this event was the many appearances of the risen Christ to various groups of apostles. Christ died for peoples' sins, was buried and rose on the third day – these are the three fundamental truths upon which, according to St Paul, the Gospel rests. This is the fact of God's entering into history: his appearance to people in the person of Jesus Christ. This is what formed the beginnings of Christianity, not any particular moral or social teaching. The person of Jesus, his life, death and resurrection, are primary; the rest is secondary. For this reason Paul, in setting forth the version of the Gospels which the apostles preached, has nothing to say about Christ's teachings or his sayings. He does not say that without a book of Jesus' sayings your faith is in vain.

The appearance of the Q hypothesis was not the result of a comparative analysis of the texts of the three synoptic Gospels. To a significant degree it was linked to the idea that only a part of the Gospel material 'goes back to the historical Jesus', whereas the other part is the fruit of later redactors. This perspective, in turn, was conditioned by ideological considerations: the negation of the divine nature of Jesus, his bodily resurrection from the dead and the meaning of his redemptive sacrifice. Theologians who did not believe in Jesus as God incarnate were desperate to create a theory according to which Christianity was born, not

from the person of its Founder, but from a moral and social teaching ascribed to him at the end of the first century by a group of followers.<sup>7</sup> In this sense the so-called 'Q reconstruction', by means of extracting the supposed sayings of Jesus from of all that was brought into it by later Church tradition, very much reminds one of the labours of Sisyphus with respect to a 'demythologization of the Gospels' first undertaken in the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.

The volume of research in this direction is truly inexhaustible. At the same time, not a single piece of research aimed at deconstructing the text of the Gospels is based properly on New Testament textology, because all scholars work with the one and the same text. Conclusions about the authenticity of particular fragments of the Gospels are based, not on working with the text, but on predetermined ideological presuppositions that allow scholars to assign one part of the text to the authentic sayings of Jesus – or narratives about him – and another to later additions.

Currently, within the academic community voices are growing louder in asserting that the Q source is nothing more than a phantom invented by scholars who wished to prove to themselves and to the world that Jesus was a conventional teacher of morality who left a collection of moral *sententiae*.<sup>8</sup> Even statistical information, which would appear to be an unshakeable affirmation of the literary dependence of the synoptics upon each other, is being re-evaluated.

Contemporary scholarship generally accepts the following data concerning the correlation of textual material among the synoptics: 90 % of the material of the Mark is present in Matthew and more than 50 % in Luke. At the same time literal coincidences make up about 51 % between Mark and Matthew and about 53 % between Mark and Luke. These figures, so it would seem to twentieth-century scholars, ought inevitably to lead to the conclusion that the three Evangelists are interdependent or at least have a common primary source.

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<sup>7</sup> In time even those scholars, who belong to the traditional Christian confessions and are conditioned by ideological considerations that presuppose the negation of the divine nature of Jesus or his resurrection, began to believe in this myth (or were obliged to accommodate themselves to it).

<sup>8</sup> See in particular: Austin M. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q," in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. Lightfoot* (ed. D. E. Nineham, Oxford: Blackwell, 1955), 55–88. The hypothesis of Farrer and his follower M. Goulder comes from the primacy of the Gospel according to Mark; however, he sees no need for the Q source to explain the interdependence of the three synoptic Gospels. See: Austin M. Farrer, *A Study in St. Mark* (London: Dacre Press, 1951); idem, *St. Matthew and St. Mark* (London: Dacre Press, 1954); Michael D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (2 vols.; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989). See also: E. Linnemann, *Biblical Criticism on Trial: How Scientific is "Scientific Theology"?* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Kregel, 1998), 18–41 (in examining the question of whether Q is a fact or a fantasy, the author comes to the unambiguous conclusion that it is a fantasy); James R. Edwards, *The Hebrew Gospel and the Development of the Synoptic Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009), 209–241 (the author comes to the conclusion that it is time to part with the concept of Q).

A statistical analysis of the correlation of the texts of the three synoptic Evangelists, however, corrects this notion. E. Linnemann, a German New Testament scholar, made an attempt to calculate the corresponding passages and words of the three synoptic Gospels.<sup>9</sup> On the basis of this almost mechanical calculation, Linnemann reaches the conclusion that there is no ground to speak of a literary interdependence among the three synoptic Gospels.<sup>10</sup>

Similar conclusions are reached by James Dunn, who approaches the issue from a very different point of view. He points out an essential methodological error which, to a significant degree, has defined the huge amount of work completed by scholars over the past two hundred years or so in the field of New Testament studies. This error is linked to the 'literary paradigm'<sup>11</sup>, based on the supposition that in the early Church there occurred an intensive process of creating various types of written sources on Jesus. Later, redactors such as Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, worked with these written sources, compiling their narratives from fragments, but subjecting the original material to an intensive reworking with objectives corresponding to their own interests and the interests of the local church communities which they represented.

This approach does not take into account the fact that, at the early stage, traditions about Jesus were to have been in the main spread, if not exclusively, in oral form. Oral transmission was characteristic of the culture when the process of forming the Gospels took place. The most natural means of spreading information was by repeating stories and traditions that were conveyed 'from mouth to mouth'. An important role in all of this was played by memory, since in order to transmit a particular tradition it was necessary to commit it to memory.

Our generation has witnessed a rapid transition from the printed word to electronic means of information and communication. The paradigms of transmitting information have, at the same time, also been essentially changed. Thirty

<sup>9</sup> According to her calculations (Eta Linnemann, *Biblical Criticism on Trial*, 71–72), Mark comprises 116 pericopes (passages). Of them forty, consisting of 3635 words, have no parallels in Matthew and Luke: this is 32.28% of Mark. The remaining seventy-six pericopes, comprising 7625 words with parallels in Matthew and Luke, comprise 67.72% of Mark. However, from these 7625 words there are 1539 (20.19%) that are completely identical in the three synoptics: in Matthew and Mark, 1640 words (21.51%); in Mark and Luke, 877 (11.5%); in Matthew and Luke, 381 words (5%). Of the 1539 words identical in all three synoptics only 970 can be considered terms identical in meaning: this is 12.72% of the total number of words comprising the parallel material of all three synoptics. The remainder are prepositions, articles and other auxiliary words, the presence of which in the three texts do not indicate any coincidence in meaning.

<sup>10</sup> Linnemann's statistical analysis has been subject to criticism in the scholarly community. Alternative statistical research has given different results. See, in particular: Joseph Tyson and Thomas Longstaff, *Synoptic Abstract* (The Computer Bible 15; Wooster, Ohio: Biblical Research Associates, 1978). Nonetheless, the general conclusion reached by Linnemann is confirmed by a greater number of scholars in recent research: the presence of similar thematic material and a similar vocabulary in the three Evangelists does not necessarily indicate a literary interdependence.

<sup>11</sup> James Dunn, *The Oral Gospel Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2013), 44.

or forty years ago the average person could retain in his memory what today is kept in his computer or mobile phone. For example, people could recall dozens of important phone numbers which were constantly dialed manually. Now we do not need to remember phone numbers – not even of those closest to us because they can be crammed into the memory of mobile phones. These are always at hand and numbers can be brought up with the press of a button. This has its advantages and disadvantages. For if we were to lose our mobile phone, we could not remember a single number to call a relative.

Even with the passing of a few decades, we can see substantial differences in the way information is transmitted. This difference is far more striking when we compare our epoch to that of two thousand years ago. At that time most people did not have written sources at their disposal and were also unable to read. All basic information was received by ear.

In an oral culture, the role of memory plays an astonishing role. Someone accustomed to writing down everything does not always concern himself with fixing it in his memory: paper or computer seem to be far more reliable aids. Hence, modern humans distrust oral tradition and its main transmitter, memory. The generally accepted view is that what is stored in the memory can neither be verified nor objective, since a person's memory is, firstly, fickle<sup>12</sup> and, secondly, it may embellish any past event in subjective colours.<sup>13</sup>

But even in our time many people can recall texts word for word. Verses or entire poems are learned by heart and are retained in a person's memory, in the form which he learned them from the original. The original source itself may be either written or spoken. Children often learn from hearing and verses learned in childhood often stay in one's memory for life.

Furthermore, there are concepts such as professional memory and collective memory. The former is the ability of someone in a particular profession to memorize a huge volume of material, a feat which may seem inconceivable for someone in a different profession. A chess master, holding a session of thirty-six games simultaneously, for example, needs to retain in his mind the order of movements on each board as well as the position of the figures at each concrete moment. Again, a professional pianist or conductor retains in his memory an enormous number of musical notes.

Collective memory also has a specific nature. When a particular participant in a specific activity erroneously reproduces some action, other like-minded participants are able to correct the error. Indeed, when the participants are of one accord in their beliefs and aspirations, the probability of erroneous transmissions is virtually nil.

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<sup>12</sup> Over the years a particular episode may acquire various details or, on the contrary, many details may be wiped from the memory.

<sup>13</sup> The basic role is played not by the event but by how it is perceived and how it is transformed into consciousness.

Let us project such observations onto the situation as it was two thousand years ago. Traditions about Jesus were preserved within the closed group of his disciples and followers. These reports were fixed both in the memories of separate witnesses and of the entire community. At the same time, many traditions had a verbally fixed form: in the first instance this concerned the words of Jesus that were transmitted from mouth to mouth, word for word, in the same way we recite poetic verse or song lyrics to others. The parables of Jesus, his sermons, even the lengthy ones such as that on the Mount, could, for a time, only exist in the form of oral communications, but this in no way had any negative effect on the way they were conveyed or reproduced. Memory, and more so collective memory, was in its way no less a reliable means of retaining information than modern-day electronic devices.

Were the disciples in possession of ‘professional’ memory? As we know, many of them were fishermen, yet by being continually alongside Jesus, seeing what he did and hearing what he said, made them ‘professionals’ in the cause for which he had chosen them. In Jesus’ lifetime the disciples knew that they were to convey to the world the word they had heard from him. After his death and resurrection this word acquired for them special meaning and significance.

By virtue of these circumstances we, on the one hand, have no right to cast doubt on the reliability of the information contained in the Gospels. On the other hand, there are no grounds for us to think of the process involved in forming the Gospels as solely that of textual redaction. Accordingly, hypotheses and theories such as the Q hypothesis recede into the background and lose their meaning. Whether a Q source existed or not is meaningless. All attempts to restore or ‘excavate’ it<sup>14</sup> among the scrapheap of existing literary material bear a hypothetical character and are devoid of interest for understanding the extant texts of the Gospels in the form we have today.

“What happened to Q? Why did it disappear?” asks one of the document’s ardent supporters having spent many years on its ‘reconstruction’ and popularization.<sup>15</sup> To put it bluntly: nothing happened to it; it did not disappear, it simply never existed. There was never a ‘discovery’ of ‘Q’; there have only ever been more or less clumsy attempts to invent it on the basis of fragments remaining after the deconstruction of the Gospel text.<sup>16</sup> It is quite likely that the Evangelists used some sources; and it cannot be excluded that some sort of collection of Jesus’ sayings existed not only in an oral, but also in a written tradition; but in

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<sup>14</sup> See: John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> John S. Kloppenborg, *Q, The Earliest Gospel: An Introduction to the Original Stories and Sayings of Jesus* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 98.

<sup>16</sup> On the methods by which a reconstruction of Q has been made, see, for example: Shawn Carruth and Albrecht Garsky, *Q 11:2b–4 (Documenta Q: Reconstructions Through Two Centuries of Gospel Research Excerpted, Sorted, and Evaluated 1; Leuven: Peeters, 1996), V–VIII.*

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