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zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 54

Graham H. Twelftree

Jesus the Exorcist



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Begründet von Joachim Jeremias und Otto Michel
Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

54

Jesus the Exorcist

A Contribution to the Study
of the Historical Jesus

by

Graham H. Twelftree



J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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*To
my parents
Eric and Iris Twelftree
as a
token of
my appreciation*

Preface

Although I take full responsibility for the contents of this study I am very conscious of the debt I owe to others. The late Professor George Caird, when principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, introduced me to the world and critical study of the New Testament. I remain grateful for his encouragement and patience with a beginner and am deeply sorry he is not still with us. I cannot say how much I appreciated Professor James Dunn's supervision of an earlier version of this study which was submitted to the University of Nottingham as a Ph. D. degree dissertation. He gave generously of himself and of his time. His love of the New Testament text and enthusiasm for discovering both the intention of the ancient writers and their significance for the present has had a considerable and lasting impact on me. I continue to value his scholarship, friendship and critical Christian faith.

Librarians at Nottingham University, Pastor Trevor Zweck and Ruth Strelan of Luther Seminary (Adelaide), Dr. Lawrence McIntosh of Ormond College (Melbourne), Val. Carty of Parkin-Wesley College (Adelaide) and Margery Kirschke of the State Library of South Australia are to be thanked for their willing and forbearing help. I am indebted to and wish to thank those who have read parts or various drafts of the whole of this material; especially Professor David E. Aune, Canon Anthony E. Harvey, Professor Howard C. Kee, Rev'ds. Robert Morgan and Philip Muston, Professor Harold Remus, Dr. Stephen H. Travis, Professor Edwin Yamauchi and Professors C. Kingsley Barrett and John Heywood Thomas (examiners of the thesis), as well as many others. Their comments have greatly helped improve the final product. I have also appreciated the help and support of Professors Martin Hengel and Otfried Hofius, as well as Georg Siebeck, Ilse König and the staff of J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). Thanks is also due to those who have typed various stages of this study — particularly to Wendy Jettner.

The literal translations of the Greek text at the beginning of each section of chapter III are my own. In order to handle the ever increasing volume of secondary literature, relevant to chapter III, I have not attempted to repeat the material cited by Joachim Gnilka and Rudolf Pesch

in their commentaries on Mark's Gospel. Also, the bibliography of secondary sources is only able to contain a selection of the literature.

I could not have undertaken this project without the complete support of my parents — thank you, Mum and Dad! Please accept this volume as a token of my gratitude. Then, again, to Barbara my wife, I tender my gratitude for her love, help and patience. Our children, Catherine and Paul, continue to be long-suffering and hope that the completion of this project will help make good the promise of more time together as a family.

Adeladie 1991

Graham H. Twelftree

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Abbreviations

For abbreviations see *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107 (1988) 579—96.
Other abbreviations are as follows.

- CC* H. Chadwick *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
- DNTT* C. Brown (ed.) *The New International Dictionary of NT Theology* 3 vols. (Exeter: Paternoster, 1975—1978).
- ERE* J. Hastings (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* 13 vols. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1908ff.).
- Hennecke* E. Hennecke *New Testament Apocrypha* 2 vols. (London: SCM, 1973 and 1974).
- HSE* L. Gaston *Horae Synopticae Electronicae* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1973).
- ND* G.H.R. Horsley, (ed.) *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (Macquarie University: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, 1981—).

I

§ 1 The Debate

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

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

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

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

Press reports such as this, popular interest in the occult, and renewed interest in Christian deliverance, have generated considerable discussion on exorcism with the Church.² However, there is by no means a consensus of opinion within the Church on the place or the form exorcism should take in the twentieth century. For example, the Bishop of Exeter's report on exorcism recommended that "every diocesan bishop should appoint a priest as diocesan exorcist."³ On the other hand, in an open letter to the Archbishops, the bishops and members of the General Synod of the Church of England, Reverend Don Cupitt and Professor G.W.H. Lampe wrote: ". . . we believe that the Church of England is in danger of making a serious error of judgment. . . We believe that exorcism should have no official status in the Church at all . . ."⁴

The different views represented in these two quotations — and the spectrum of opinions between them — usually seek the support of the

1 *The Times* (London) 4 September 1980, 2.

2 Cf. the "Barnsley Case" *The Times* (London) 26 March 1975, 4; 27 March 1975, 6 and G.H. Twelftree *Christ Triumphant: Exorcism Then and Now* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985) chaps. I and V. See also the bibliographies in John Richards *But Deliver Us From Evil* (New York: Seabury, 1974) 222–40; and *Exorcism, Deliverance and Healing: Some Pastoral Guidelines* (Nottingham: Grove Books, 1976) 24.

3 Dom R. Petitpierre (ed.) *Exorcism. The Report of a Commission Convened by the Bishop of Exeter* (London: SPCK, 1972) 26. For other church "reports" see Richards *Exorcism* 3 n. 2.

4 D. Cupitt and G.W.H. Lampe "Open Letter on Exorcism" reprinted in D. Cupitt *Explorations in Theology* 6 (London: SCM, 1979) 50–3, quotation from 50.

New Testament, especially the reported activities of Jesus.⁵ Therefore, in the current debate on exorcism, the student of the New Testament has a weighty responsibility to elucidate the data in the Gospels in relation to Jesus and exorcism.

The Gospel of Mark has as one of its key questions: Who is Jesus?⁶ And, ever since Mark wrote his Gospel, Christians have been writing and rewriting the story of Jesus, attempting to explain for their readers Jesus' identity. However, Schweitzer showed us that, in attempting to depict Jesus for our contemporaries, we too often merely create an image of him after the likeness of our own cultural and theological predispositions.

In the Gospels the earthly Jesus has, at times, been obscured behind, and at least partly identified with, the early Christians' view of the risen Christ. The problem is that in trying to see again the Jesus of Nazareth — so important to early Christianity — we strip away the first century cultural and Christian garb only to replace it with the comfortable clothes of our own culture. In relation to the nineteenth century study of the life of Jesus, Schweitzer's words are apt:

"It loosed the bands by which He had been riveted for centuries to the stony rocks of ecclesiastical doctrine, and rejoiced to see life and movement coming into the figure once more, and the historical Jesus advancing, as it seemed, to meet it. But He does not stay; He passes by our time and returns to His own."⁷

Yet, we must still attempt to discover anew the historical Jesus — the founder of Christianity — in order that our age may see and understand him more clearly. To follow Käsemann:

". . . defeatism and scepticism must [not] have the last word and lead us on to a complete disengagement of interest from the earthly Jesus. If this were to happen, we should either be failing to grasp the nature of primitive Christian concern with the identity between the exalted and the humiliated Lord; or else we should be emptying that concern of any real content, as did the docetists."⁸

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- 5 E.g. J.H. Crehan in Petitpierre (ed.) *Exorcism* 11–15; Cupitt *Explorations* 6, 51 and K. Grayston "Exorcism in the NT" *Epworth Review* 2 (1975) 90–4.
 - 6 E.g. 1.27; 2.7; 4.41; 6.3; 14.16; and 8.7–9. Cf. J.D. Kingsbury *The Christology of Mark's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 80–9.
 - 7 A. Schweitzer *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (London: Black, 1910) 397. Cf. D.C. Duling *Jesus Christ Through History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979); J. Pelikan *Jesus through the Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985). On scholars continuing to cast Jesus after the fashion of their own christologies, see E.A. Johnson "Images of the Historical Jesus in Catholic Christology" *Living Light* 23 (1986) 47–66.
 - 8 E. Käsemann "The Problem of the Historical Jesus" in *Essays on NT Themes* (London: SCM, 1964) 45–7. Cf. V.A. Harvey *The Historian and the Believer* (London: SCM, 1967) 4, 6. On the recent move away from excessive scepticism regarding historicity see C.A. Evans "Jesus of Nazareth: Who Do Scholars Say That He Is? A Review Article" *Crux* 23 (1987) 15–19.

This book presupposes that the life, ministry and passion of Jesus of Nazareth were — and remain — of fundamental significance to the life of the Church.⁹ In turn, therefore, the search for the historical Jesus is an important enterprise for scholars who wish to serve the Church.¹⁰

Thus, the present study is an attempt to make a modest contribution to our understanding of the historical Jesus; to sketch a picture of the historical Jesus in his ministry of exorcism. In other words, this study seeks to determine if the historical Jesus was an exorcist and then to answer the three-part question: If Jesus was an exorcist, What did the first reports of his activities as an exorcist contain? How would he have been viewed by those who saw him at work? And, how did he understand his ministry of exorcism?

If we turn to the Synoptic Gospel writers, even a brief survey reveals how important exorcism was for them. For example, of the thirteen healing stories of Jesus in Mark's Gospel — 1.29—31, 4.0—5; 2.1—12; 3.1—6; 5.21—43; 7.31—7; 8.22—6; 10.46—52 and 1.21—8; 5.1—20; 7.24—30; 9.14—29 — the last four mentioned are exorcism stories. This makes exorcism the most numerous category of healing story in Mark. Also, even though (apart from Matthew 12.22/Luke 11.14) Matthew and Luke provide no extra detailed stories of exorcism they, like Mark, agree that exorcism was an important aspect of Jesus' ministry and go so far as to suggest that Jesus' dealings with the demon-possessed is of central significance in understanding Jesus and his ministry. At least this is the case on a first reading of Matthew 12.28/Luke 11.20 (see §10 below).

This importance of the miracles for the Evangelists' portrayal of Jesus, as well as the presentation of the Christian Gospel itself, was reflected in the eighteenth and nineteenth century scholarly preoccupation with miracles. Representing the mood of his time Ludwig Feuerbach (1804—72) put it sharply: "The specific object of faith . . . is miracle; faith is the belief in

9 Cf. R.R. Niebuhr *Resurrection and Historical Reason* (New York: Scribner, 1957) 146; C.F.D. Moule *The Phenomenon of the NT* (London: SCM, 1981) 77; J.P. Mackey *Jesus the Man and the Myth* (London: SCM, 1985) 2—3.

10 See also M.J. Borg "What Did Jesus Really Say?" *BibRev* 5 (1989) 18—25; J.H. Charlesworth "Research on the Historical Jesus Today . . ." *Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 6 (1985) 98: "What do I consider the central task of the New Testament scholar? It is to seek what can be known about the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth." Cf. J.H. Charlesworth *Jesus Within Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1988) 9. It is well known that the term "historical Jesus" is an ambiguous one. J.M. Robinson *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (London: SCM, 1959) defines the term "historical Jesus" as "What can be known of Jesus of Nazareth by means of the scientific methods of the historian" (26). But the earthly Jesus — like any other figure in history, lost to us — is the Jesus of Nazareth as he actually was, whereas Christ is reached through faith and doctrine (28). More recently, see J.P. Meier "The Historical Jesus: Rethinking Some Concepts" *TS* 51 (1990) 3—24.

miracle; faith and miracle are absolutely inseparable.”¹¹ For Hermann Reimarus (1694–1768), however, whose notorious ‘Fragments’ were published posthumously by Gotthold Lessing between 1774 and 1778, the substance of Christianity were the principal articles of faith in the Kerygma: “. . . spiritual deliverance through the suffering and death of Christ; resurrection from death in confirmation of the sufficient suffering of Christ; and, the return of Christ for reward and punishment, as the fruit and consequence of the deliverance.”¹² Miracles, he goes on to say, are not essential, not least because of Jesus’ criticism of those who sought assurance in signs and wonders. But Reimarus stands apart from those who followed him.¹³ For, as post-Enlightenment people attempted to subject their world views to the critical eye of reason and scientific knowledge, the concept of miracle became more and more a focus of attention and difficult for scholars to accept.¹⁴

So, in various ways, the major contributors to the nineteenth century search for the historical Jesus sought to remove the miraculous from the centre of the theological stage. Heinrich Paulus (1761–1851), who exemplified the rationalist approach in New Testament scholarship, offered rationalistic explanations for the miracles. For example, the feeding of the five thousand is explained by suggesting that, on seeing the hungry multitude, Jesus said to his disciples, “We will set the rich people among them a good example, that they may share their supplies with the others.” According to Paulus, Jesus then began to distribute his own provisions, and those of the disciples. Soon, as the example was followed, every one had plenty.¹⁵ The main interest and objective of Paulus’ enterprise was to show that miracles need no longer be an obstacle to faith for the intelligent person.

The most important contribution to the nineteenth century debate about the miracles came from D.F. Strauss (1808–74). In his two volume *The Life of Jesus* (1835), he faced head-on the problem of miracle, proceeding not by seeking ‘what actually happened’ but by examining the narratives.¹⁶ He postulated that much of the New Testament, including the miracle stories, should be understood as, and placed in one of a number of

11 L.A. Feuerbach *The Essence of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957) 126.

12 C.H. Talbert (ed.) *Reimarus: Fragments* (London: SCM, 1971) 229–30.

13 B.F. Meyer *The Aims of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1979) 30, who also cites material from Reimarus not in the above English translation.

14 Cf. J.D.G. Dunn “Demythologizing – The Problem of Myth in the NT” in I.H. Marshall (ed.) *NT Interpretation* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1977) 289.

15 From Schweitzer *Quest* 52, cf. 57.

16 D.F. Strauss *The Life of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973).

categories of, *myth*.¹⁷ Myths which related directly or indirectly to Jesus Strauss designated ‘evangelical’ myths. In turn, these were of two kinds. On the one hand, there were *pure* myths, like the transfiguration, which had no foundation in a historical event in the ministry of Jesus. On the other hand, the *historical* myth “has for its groundwork a definite individual fact which has been seized upon by religious enthusiasm, and twined around with mythical conceptions culled from the idea of the Christ.” As examples of this category of myth Strauss gave the “saying of Jesus such as that concerning ‘fishers of men’ or the barren figtree, which now appear in the Gospels transmuted into marvellous histories.”¹⁸

Strauss’ *Life* unleashed a torrent of criticism, directed primarily at the way he approached myth and the problem of miracle. As Schweitzer put it: “Scarcely ever has a book let loose such a storm of controversy.”¹⁹ Nevertheless, the significant and long term results were, to continue with Schweitzer, that “With Strauss begins the period of the non-miraculous view of the Life of Jesus . . . The question of miracle constantly falls more and more into the background.”²⁰

However, in the early part of his lectures, “The Essence of Christianity”, delivered in the winter semester of 1899–1900, Adolf Harnack (1851–1930) attempted a protest at this fear of treating the miracles. He put it: “Not Strauss only, but many others too, have allowed themselves to be frightened by them [the miracles] into roundly denying the credibility of the Gospels.” Yet, was not Harnack still under the spell of Strauss when he said that miracles did “not possess the significance for that age which, if they existed, they would possess for ours,” and “that Jesus himself did not assign that critical importance to his miraculous deeds which even the evangelist Mark and the others all attributed to them”?²¹

17 “The myth, in its original form, is not the conscious and intentional invention of an individual but a production of the common consciousness of a people or religious circle, which an individual does indeed first enunciate, but which meets with belief for the very reason that such individual is but the organ of this universal conviction. It is not a covering in which a clever man clothes an idea which arises in him for the use and benefit of the ignorant multitude, but it is only simultaneously with the narrative, nay, in the very form of the narrative which he tells, that he becomes conscious of the idea which he is not yet able to apprehend purely as such.” *New Life of Jesus* (London: 1865) I, 206. Quoted by Dunn in Marshall (ed.) *NT Interpretation* 303 n. 22.

18 Strauss *Life* 87. Cf. Peter C. Hodgson’s “Introduction” to *Life* xxxviff. Strauss did not escape the rationalism he criticised, for, in relation to our subject, he said, “that Jesus cured many persons who suffered from supposed demonical insanity or nervous disorder, in a psychical manner, by the ascendancy of his manner and words” (*Life* 436).

19 Schweitzer *Quest* 97; cf. 97–120 on Strauss’ opponents and supporters.

20 Schweitzer *Quest* 111.

21 A. Harnack *What is Christianity?* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1901) 24, 25 and 28–9.

This attempt, exemplified by Harnack, to shrug off the problem of miracle was thwarted by Bultmann in his denial that myth and Gospel could be separated.²² In Bultmann's view the element of myth could not be eliminated from the Gospel. Rather, myth was to be *demythologized*: its meaning interpreted for twentieth century people. This approach to the problem of miracle, along with the view that a modern person "does not acknowledge miracles because they do not fit into [the rational order of the universe],"²³ meant that, in Bultmann's assessment of the life of Jesus, miracles received less attention than might have been expected in the light of the Gospel data. For example, in *Jesus and the Word*, Bultmann's 'life' of Jesus, he devotes only about five pages to 'miracles'. He says there, "Most of the wonder tales contained in the gospel are legendary, at least they have legendary embellishments."²⁴

In the last decade there has been a renaissance of interest in research related to the historical Jesus. This is evidenced not only in the literature,²⁵ but also in the inauguration of the Historical Jesus Section of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1981 and the Jesus Seminar founded by Robert Funk in 1985.²⁶

However, in contrast to the great interest in Jesus as a teacher, the low profile of the treatment of the miracle stories in the Gospels as well as in the treatment of the historical Jesus, has continued to the present day.²⁷

22 R. Bultmann "NT and Mythology" (1941) in H.W. Bartsch (ed.) *Kerygma and Myth* (London: SPCK, 1957) 3.

23 R. Bultmann *Jesus Christ and Mythology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958) 37–8.

24 R. Bultmann *Jesus and the Word* (London and Glasgow: Collins/Fontana, 1958) 124.

25 E.g. I.W. Batdorf "Interpreting Jesus since Bultmann: Selected Paradigms and their Hermeneutic Matrix" in K.H. Richards (ed.) *SBLSP* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984) 187–215; M.J. Borg *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1984); D. Oakman *Jesus and the Economic Questions of His Day* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1986); M.J. Borg *Jesus, A New Vision: Spirit, Culture and the Life of Discipleship* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987); D.J. Harrington "The Jewishness of Jesus: Facing Some Problems" *CBQ* 49 (1987) 1–13; R. Horsley *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence: Popular Jewish Resistance in Roman Palestine* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987); Charlesworth *Jesus within Judaism* 9–29 and Appendix 5; M.J. Borg "A Renaissance in Jesus Studies" *TToday* 45 (1980) 280–92. Further, see the following bibliographies and bulletins: W.G. Kümmel "Jesusforschung seit 1965: Nachträge 1975–1980" *TR* 47 (1982) 136–65, 348–83; W.S. Kissinger *The Lives of Jesus: A History and Bibliography* (New York and London: Garland, 1985); W.G. Kümmel "Jesusforschung seit 1981, I. Forschungsgeschichte, Methodenfragen" *TR* 53 (1988) 229–49; L.J. White *Jesus the Christ* (Wilmington: Glazier, 1988); P. Hollenbach "The Historical Jesus Question in North America Today" *BTB* 19 (1989) 11–22; W.G. Kümmel "Jesusforschung seit 1981, II. Gesamtdarstellungen" *TR* 54 (1989) 1–53.

26 See Hollenbach *BTB* 19 (1989) 11–13 and the new journal *Forum* (Bonner, MT) 1 (1985).

27 P.W. Hollenbach "Recent Historical Jesus Studies and the Social Sciences" in K.H. Richards (ed.) *SBLSP* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) 66: "Most contemporary study of the historical Jesus focuses almost wholly on him as a teacher of ideas with the almost

Consonant with this has been the particular neglect, in scholarly study, of the exorcism stories in the Gospel traditions.

Richard H. Hiers, among others, has pointed out that in more recent times the exorcism stories and associated themes in the New Testament have been neglected in scholarly New Testament work. He mentions Schweitzer, Bultmann, Morton Enslin and Pannenberg as sharing this neglect.²⁸ Hans Conzelmann's famous *RGG* article,²⁹ which reviewed the then current position in the life of Jesus research, offers no treatment of the miracles or of the exorcism traditions associated with Jesus.

This neglect is also noticeable in the 'lives' of the so-called New Quest. For example, Bornkamm's emphasis is on the words of Jesus and his authoritative ministry. There is a token mention of Jesus' activities,³⁰ but the works — including miracles and exorcisms — play no significant role in Bornkamm's Jesus.³¹ The same neglect of exorcism and associated themes can be noticed in, for example, the works of Gustaf Aulen, B.F. Meyer, John Marsh, as well as Leonard Goppelt's *Theology*.³² In *Jesus and Judaism* E.P. Sanders has a very brief, though important, section on 'Miracles and Crowds' (chap. 5) in which he includes some discussion of exorcism. We shall interact with Sanders in the course of this study. Yet, in Sanders' concluding thumb-nail sketch of Jesus, only the miracles in general and not the exorcisms of Jesus in particular are treated.³³

total omission of his actions and involvements in the material side of life." Cf. Hollenbach *BTB* 19 (1989) 12. On miracles of Jesus and the historical Jesus see K. Kertelge "Die Überlieferung der Wunder Jesu und die Frage nach dem historischen Jesus" in K. Kertelge (ed.) *Rückfrage nach Jesus. Zur Methodik und Bedeutung der Frage nach dem historischen Jesus* (Freiburg-Vienna: Herder, 1974) 174-93.

28 R.H. Hiers "Satan, Demons, and the Kingdom of God" *SJT* 27 (1974) 35 and n. 2. Cf. Hollenbach *BTB* 19 (1989) 14.

29 H. Conzelmann *RGG* (3rd. ed.) III cols. 619-53, *Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973).

30 G. Bornkamm *Jesus of Nazareth* (London: SCM, 1960) chap. 8.

31 Cf. Hiers *SJT* 27 (1974) 35 n. 2. For some recent reviews on "historical-Jesus studies" see, e.g. Hollenbach in Richards (ed.) *SBLSP* (1983) 61-78; W.B. Tatum *In Quest of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1983) part two; Batdorf in Richards (ed.) *SBLSP* (1984) 187-215; Kissinger *The Lives of Jesus*.

32 See G. Aulen *Jesus in Contemporary Historical Research* (London: SPCK, 1976); Meyer *The Aims of Jesus*; J. Marsh *Jesus in His Lifetime* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1981); L. Goppelt *Theology of the NT* 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Erdmans, 1981 and 1982). See also the following recent studies of Jesus which give little or no attention to the exorcism stories: A.E. Harvey *Jesus and the Constraints of History* (London: Duckworth, 1982); J. Riches *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism* (New York: Seabury, 1982); Tatum *Quest* parts two and three; J. Breech *The Silence of Jesus: The Authentic Voice of the Historical Man* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); G.W. Buchanan *Jesus: The King and his Kingdom* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984); Horsley *Spiral of Violence*; H. Braun *Jesus - der Mann aus Nazareth und seine Zeit* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1988); B.L. Mack *A Myth of Innocence* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

33 E.P. Sanders *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985) 319.

So, despite the apparent importance of Jesus' exorcistic activity in the Synoptic tradition, the present state of New Testament research on the life of Jesus appears still to be under the spell of Strauss when it comes to this aspect of the reports of Jesus' ministry. This is probably because the exorcism stories are seen to form part of the miracle tradition in the Gospels. Also, they carry special difficulties in that exorcism stories presuppose a belief in the existence of demons or evil spirits. For the vast majority of twentieth century people such a belief is no longer possible nor necessary in the face of the advance in our knowledge of our world.³⁴

Over against this general neglect there have been a few specific studies that have taken up the theme of miracles, including exorcism, in the Gospels. One of the most formidable studies is that by H. van der Loos in which he has a large section on 'Healing of the Possessed'.³⁵ However, it is mainly a compendium of the views of others with little historical-critical analysis.

There are four other studies which, while contributing to this study, are fundamentally different in purpose from it. First, Gerd Theissen's *Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1983) is an attempt to develop "the methods of classical form criticism by way of an analysis of one Synoptic literary form," namely the miracle story. Second, H.C. Kee sets out the two aims of his *Miracle in the Early Christian World* as follows. He wishes

". . . to offer a critique of what have been, for the past century and more, the prevailing historical methods in the study of religion; and to propose a historical method which more faithfully portrays and interprets religious phenomena in their

³⁴ See Twelftree *Christ* chap. V, also P.L. Berger *The Heretical Imperative* (London: Collins, 1980) and E. Yamauchi "Sociology, Scripture and the Supernatural" *JETS* 27 (1984) 169–92. Cf. Schweitzer *Quest* III, "Scientific theologians of the present day who desire to show their 'sensibility,' ask no more than that two or three little miracles may be left to them – in the stories of childhood, perhaps, or in the narratives of the resurrection. And these miracles are, moreover, so far scientific that they have at least no relation to those in the text, but are merely spiritless, miserable little toy-dogs of criticism, flea-bitten by rationalism, too insignificant to do historical science any harm, especially as their owners honestly pay the tax upon them by the way in which they speak, write, and are silent about Strauss."

³⁵ H. van der Loos *The Miracles of Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 1965) 339–414. Many of the other studies of the miracles have given only a low priority to the exorcism stories. E.g. A. Fridrichsen *The Problem of Miracle* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972) 102ff; A. Richardson *The Miracle Stories of the Gospels* (London: SCM, 1941) parts of chap. III; F. Mussner *The Miracles of Jesus* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968) 41ff; R.H. Fuller *Interpreting the Miracles* (London: SCM, 1963) 29–37. For a survey of work on the miracles of Jesus, including detailed criticism of Fuller *Miracles* and G. Schille *Die urchristliche Wundertradition. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem irdischen Jesu* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1967) see K. Kertelge "Zur Interpretation der Wunder Jesu. Ein Literaturbericht" *BibLeB* 9(1968) 140–53.

original setting and which seeks to develop safeguards against imposing modern categories on ancient data.”³⁶

Third is *The Miracles of Jesus and the Theology of Miracles* by René Latourelle, which is dominated not by a historical but a theological concern: a hermeneutic of the signs of credibility of the Christian faith. His direct purpose, says Latourelle, “is to tackle the question of the signs that reveal and accredit Jesus as Son of the Father.”³⁷

Fourth, in a recent book, *Human Agents of Cosmic Power in Hellenistic Judaism and the Synoptic Tradition* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), Mary Mills calls into question writing off the tradition of Jesus’ ability to command spiritual forces as the views of ignorant and undeveloped humanity. Her concern is not so much with a detailed historical investigation into the traditions of Jesus as an exorcist but with the background to Jesus’ control of the cosmic forces and their significance for Mark and Luke.

The present book differs from these studies. It is not a comprehensive theological study of Jesus’ miracles or his background but an examination of his reported ministry of exorcism from a historical perspective.

In *The Significance of the Synoptic Miracles* (London: SPCK, 1961), James Kallas has also recognized the central significance of the miracle stories in the Gospels and has, in turn, seen the importance of the exorcism stories in Jesus’ cosmic struggle. Nevertheless, Kallas does not critically examine the exorcism stories nor does he clarify our knowledge of the historical Jesus the exorcist.³⁸

Geza Vermes also acknowledges the importance of the exorcism stories in understanding the historical Jesus (*Jesus the Jew* [London: Collins, 1973]). Yet, his very brief treatment of this aspect of Jesus’ ministry does not do justice to the Synoptic data. In chapter V I will examine Vermes’ suggestion that Jesus was simply a Palestinian Hasid.

In *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (London: SCM, 1974), John Hull gives considerable attention to the exorcism stories in the Synoptic Gospels. He uses Hellenistic magical traditions in an attempt to throw new light on the Synoptic Evangelists’ portrayal of Jesus, especially as a miracle-worker. However, I will question whether or not Hull’s concentration on Hellenistic magical traditions to the virtual exclusion of the Jewish traditions gives an accurate view of the background against

36 H.C. Kee *Miracle in the Early Christian World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983) 1.

37 R. Latourelle *The Miracles of Jesus* (New York: Paulist, 1988) 1.

38 J. Kallas *The Significance of the Synoptic Miracles* (London: SPCK, 1961) chaps. 5 and 6. The same is to be said of, e.g. R. Leivestad *Christ the Conqueror* (London: SPCK, 1954); J.M. Robinson *The Problem of History in Mark* (London: SCM, 1957).

which this aspect of the Gospel traditions is to be interpreted. I will also question the perspective of Fiebig who sets Jesus' miracles against an exclusively rabbinic milieu.³⁹ As this study proceeds, it will become apparent that matters of detail also need correction in Hull and Fiebig. In relation to the Hellenistic background to the exorcism stories I shall also be asking if Bultmann is correct in saying that folk stories or miracle stories and miracle motifs have come from the Hellenistic milieu into the Synoptic oral tradition.⁴⁰

In contrast to these studies, what follows is an attempt to press behind the Jesus of the Evangelists to the Jesus of history. Also, this study differs from Hull's work in that I want to concentrate on Jesus and exorcism rather than the whole miracle tradition associated with Jesus. Further, Hull's work also raises the question of an appropriate first century Palestinian definition of magic. I shall investigate magic in relation to Jesus as an exorcist in chapter V.

Another study that pays more attention to Jesus and exorcism than most contemporary studies of Jesus is *Jesus the Magician* (London: Gollancz, 1978) by Morton Smith. Smith examines the Gospel material to try and show that Jesus' contemporaries considered him a magician. Because it so directly cuts across our study I will be discussing this book at some length in chapter V where I will be asking: Would those who saw Jesus perform an exorcism have considered him to be a magician?

In the light of the purpose of this study and what I have said so far I will need to do two things. In the first place, I will need to reconstruct the background against which Jesus' ministry of exorcism would have been viewed by his contemporaries. Secondly, I will need to make an attempt at recovering the historical Jesus the exorcist. This will involve trying to sketch a picture of this aspect of the historical Jesus, as well as attempting to see how Jesus understood himself in relation to his exorcisms. I will also attempt to see whether I can say how Jesus' audience assessed and understood him as an exorcist.

Therefore, in chapter II, I shall begin by addressing the question: What notions of exorcism and exorcists would probably have been available to Jesus and his audience in first century Palestine? In chapter III, the principal data in the Gospels on Jesus and exorcism will be examined in order to attempt to identify material that can probably be traced back to

39 P. Fiebig *Jüdische Wundergeschichten des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1911) 71ff.

40 R. Bultmann *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963) 231, cf. 38; cf. M. Dibelius *From Tradition to Gospel* (Cambridge and London: Clarke, 1971) chaps. V and VI.

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