

MAUREEN W. YEUNG

# Faith in Jesus and Paul

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

147

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**Mohr Siebeck**

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zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgegeben von  
Jörg Frey, Martin Hengel, Otfried Hofius

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# Faith in Jesus and Paul

A Comparison with Special Reference to 'Faith that  
Can Remove Mountains' and 'Your Faith Has  
Healed/Saved You'

Mohr Siebeck

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*To my mother  
with love and gratitude*



## Preface

This study is a slightly revised version of a doctoral thesis completed at the University of Aberdeen in 1999.

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I am deeply conscious of how much my work owes to the love of people around me. The inspiring friendship of the Aberdeen NT postgraduate community, members of the Bengel Haus of Tübingen, the community of the Tyndale House, faculty and students of Evangel Seminary and friends in Auckland has constantly been a source of encouragement. Words cannot express my thanks to my family members who have given me tireless support. I wish to thank them all and especially my mother, whose moral, financial and prayer support has been a vital encouragement throughout the challenging days of research.

*Soli Deo gloria.*

Hong Kong, December 2001

Maureen W. Yeung

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## Abbreviations

The system of abbreviations of Biblical books as well as periodicals, reference works and primary sources follows that of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* 117 (1998): 555–579, with the following exceptions:

Mt Matthew  
Mk Mark  
Lk Luke  
Jn John

Other abbreviations are:

*NIDNTT*      *The New International Dictionary of New Testament  
Theology*  
*PIBA*        *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*  
*TJ*            *Trinity Journal*

Secondary sources are cited by the author's name and full title on first occurrence in the book, and by name and a short title thereafter.





## Part One

# Introduction



## Chapter I

# Introduction

## 1. Methodology and Thesis Statement

### *1.1. Introductory Remarks*

The theological concern of this thesis is vividly illustrated by *The Last Temptation*, a novel turned into a popular movie in the nineteen eighties. Its concluding scene is not only dramatic in its own right, but it also challenges the continuity between Jesus and Paul. To demonstrate our point it is worth quoting the confrontation between Jesus and his ‘apostle’ Paul at length:

Approaching Paul, he (Jesus) grabbed him by the shoulders and shook him violently.

“Liar! Liar!” he shouted. “I am Jesus of Nazareth and I was never crucified, never resurrected. I am the son of Mary and of Joseph the Carpenter of Nazareth. I am not the son of God, I am the son of man — like everyone else. What blasphemies you utter! What affronts! What lies! Is it with such lies, swindler, that you dare save the world?”

“You, you?” murmured Paul, bewildered. While Master Lazarus spoke, frothing at the mouth, Paul had noticed blue marks like nail-wounds on his hands and feet, and a further wound over his heart.

“Why are you rolling your eyes?” cried Jesus. “Why do you stare at my hands and feet? Those marks you see were stamped on me by God during my sleep. By God — or by the Tempter: I still can’t understand which. I dreamt I was on the cross and in pain, but I cried out, awoke, and my pain disappeared. What I should have suffered while awake, I suffered while asleep — and escaped!”

. . . Now it was Paul’s turn to explode.

“Shut your shameless mouth!” he shouted, rushing at him. “Be quiet, or men will hear you and die of fright. In the rottenness, the injustice and poverty of this world, the Crucified and Resurrected Jesus has been the one precious consolation for the honest man, the wronged man. True or false — what do I care! It’s enough if the world is saved! . . . I create the truth, create it out of obstinacy and longing and faith. I don’t struggle to find it — I build it. I build it taller than man and thus I make man grow. If the world is to be saved, it is necessary — do you hear — absolutely necessary for you to be crucified, and I shall crucify you, like it or not; it is necessary for you to be resurrected, and I shall resurrect you, like it or not. . . And in every corner of the earth, innumerable eyes will look up and see you in the air — crucified. They will weep, and the tears will cleanse their souls of all their sins. But on the third

day I shall raise you from the dead, because there is no salvation without a resurrection. The final, the most horrible enemy is death. I shall abolish death. How? By resurrecting you as Jesus, son of God — the Messiah! . . . I shall become your apostle whether you like it or not. I shall construct you and your life and your teachings and your crucifixion and resurrection just as I wish. Joseph the carpenter of Nazareth did not beget you; I begot you — I, Paul the scribe from Tarsus in Cilicia.”<sup>1</sup>

Nowhere is the wedge driven between Jesus and Paul sharper than in this short and provocative episode. Paul is seen to be an innovative theologian who seizes upon Jesus as the protagonist of his own religion. On this view, it does not really matter what the earthly Jesus has done or preached, or whether this Jesus has any impact on the thinking of Paul. Instead of being the faithful disciple of Jesus, Paul actually creates a myth around Jesus to serve his own purpose.

This interpretation of the Jesus-Paul relation is but a popular version of the more academic Jesus-Paul debate which has occupied scholars since the beginning of the nineteenth century and was ignited afresh by William Wrede’s *Paulus* (1904, ET *Paul* in 1907). After W. Wrede asserted that “Paul is to be regarded as the second founder of Christianity,”<sup>2</sup> scholars have been compelled to take sides on the relation between Paul and the earthly Jesus. An array of opinions have been articulated. The situation is summed up succinctly by S. G. Wilson:

Among modern scholars Jeremias maximizes the continuity between Jesus and Paul, Kümmel proposes a more modest list of common features, Käsemann makes do with a minimal link and Bultmann takes the more radical view that the search for continuity must be rejected in principle. Faced with these alternatives, and variations in between, it is natural enough for scholars simply to opt for that version which best fits their predilections about Jesus and Paul without feeling they have anything new to add.<sup>3</sup>

The dust has not yet settled, even though nearly a hundred years have passed since the appearance of Wrede’s book. No wonder A. J. M. Wedderburn remarked recently (1996), “It is hard to think of a more pressing theme in the whole field of New Testament study than that of the relationship of Paul to Jesus.”<sup>4</sup> This statement is no exaggeration, not only because the issue remains exceedingly controversial, but also because how a person views this relationship will greatly affect his or her interpretation

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<sup>1</sup> N. Kazantzakis, *The Last Temptation* 487–489.

<sup>2</sup> W. Wrede, *Paul* 179.

<sup>3</sup> S. G. Wilson, “From Jesus to Paul,” 2–3.

<sup>4</sup> A. J. M. Wedderburn’s foreword to W. A. Simmons, *A Theology of Inclusion in Jesus and Paul* v.

of many burning issues in New Testament study, one of them being whether Paul owes his theology more to Greco-Roman pagan religions than to the message of the earthly Jesus.

### 1.2. The Jesus-Paul Debate

The first important scholar to discuss the relationship between Paul and the words of Jesus is H. H. Cludius. In his work of 1808<sup>5</sup> he sets out to differentiate between the apparent and the fundamental forms of Christianity, “theils einzusehen, wie früh man statt der *Gotteslehre Jesu*, eine *Christusreligion* angenommen hat, theils sich zu dem Lautersten und Heiligsten der Religion leichter zu erheben.”<sup>6</sup> After a survey of Paul’s letters, he comes to the conclusion that Paul knows nearly nothing about the pre-Easter teachings of Jesus.<sup>7</sup> This provocative thesis was either taken up in various forms (F. C. Baur, 1831<sup>8</sup>; D. F. Strauß, 1835<sup>9</sup>; W. Wrede, 1904<sup>10</sup>) or strongly criticised (J. K. L. Gieseler, 1818<sup>11</sup>; J. H. A. Ebrard, 1842<sup>12</sup>; O. Thenius, 1843<sup>13</sup>; H. Paret, 1858<sup>14</sup>; A. von Harnack, 1901<sup>15</sup>; P. Feine, 1902<sup>16</sup>; A. Resch, 1904<sup>17</sup>; A. Schlatter, 1906<sup>18</sup>) in the following decades. It is interesting that two important works representing the opposing camps appeared in the same year of 1904: W. Wrede’s *Paulus* and A. Resch’s *Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu*. On the one hand, Wrede asserts that Paul’s Christ did not originate from the earthly Jesus. Paul merely identified his pre-conversion belief in a pre-existent heavenly figure with faith in ‘Jesus’.<sup>19</sup> Wrede concludes, “It follows conclusively from all this that Paul is to be regarded as *the second founder*

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<sup>5</sup> H. H. Cludius, *Ursichten des Christenthums nebst Untersuchungen über einige Bücher des neuen Testaments*.

<sup>6</sup> H. H. Cludius, *Ursichten* III–IV, quoted in R. Riesner, “Paulus,” 347.

<sup>7</sup> H. H. Cludius, *Ursichten* 142–145, quoted in R. Riesner, “Paulus,” 347.

<sup>8</sup> F. C. Baur, “Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde.”

<sup>9</sup> D. F. Strauß, *Leben Jesu*.

<sup>10</sup> W. Wrede, *Paul*.

<sup>11</sup> J. K. L. Gieseler, *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die frühesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien*.

<sup>12</sup> J. H. A. Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*.

<sup>13</sup> O. Thenius, *Das Evangelium ohne die Evangelien*.

<sup>14</sup> H. Paret, “Paulus und Jesus.”

<sup>15</sup> A. Harnack, *What is Christianity?* 189, 194.

<sup>16</sup> P. Feine, *Jesus Christus und Paulus*.

<sup>17</sup> A. Resch, *Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis untersucht*.

<sup>18</sup> A. Schlatter, *Jesus und Paulus*.

<sup>19</sup> W. Wrede, *Paul* 87–89, 147, 151, 166.

of Christianity.”<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, Resch claims to have found more than a thousand parallels between Jesus and Paul. Just as Wrede’s assertion still holds sway, Resch’s thorough study is still highly regarded by scholars. W. D. Davies remarks, “It must be admitted that Resch overstated his case,” but “the tables presented by Resch in his work *Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu* (1904) demand serious evaluation.”<sup>21</sup>

The Jesus-Paul debate of this century has been conducted on two levels. On the literary level, scholars who maintain the continuity of Jesus and Paul seek to establish verbal parallels between Jesus and Paul. This route is taken by scholars like David M. Stanley,<sup>22</sup> D. L. Dungan,<sup>23</sup> B. Fjärstedt,<sup>24</sup> Dale C. Allison,<sup>25</sup> P. Stuhlmacher,<sup>26</sup> M. Thompson<sup>27</sup> and R. Riesner.<sup>28</sup> Dale Allison, for instance, argues on the basis of a clustering of allusions that Paul knew three collections of sayings — the sources behind Mark 9:33–50, Luke 6:27–38 and Mark 6:6b–13.<sup>29</sup> The Achilles’ heel in this kind of effort is that even if real parallels are found, they cannot prove that Paul depended on the words of Jesus. Mere verbal similarity does not necessarily point to historical continuity. As a matter of fact, scholars who take a minimal view turn the evidence on its head. K. Wegenast claims that Paul did not conform to the Jesus tradition, but the other way round. Paul actually made the tradition serve him.<sup>30</sup> F. Neiryneck strongly contests Allison’s case and asserts that the so-called parallels, apart from 1 Cor 7:10–11 and 9:14, have not been proven to be Paul’s direct use of Jesus’ sayings in either the Q form or the Synoptic form.<sup>31</sup> N. Walter states pungently, “Weitergabe von Tradition ist noch nicht in sich die Garantie für eine wirkliche Kontinuität auch in der Sache!”<sup>32</sup> A middle position between the maximal and the minimal views is represented by James

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<sup>20</sup> W. Wrede, *Paul* 179.

<sup>21</sup> W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* 353.

<sup>22</sup> D. M. Stanley, “Pauline Allusions to the Sayings of Jesus.”

<sup>23</sup> D. L. Dungan, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul*.

<sup>24</sup> B. Fjärstedt, *Synoptic Tradition in 1 Corinthians*.

<sup>25</sup> D. C. Allison, “The Pauline Epistles and the Synoptic Gospels: The Pattern of the Parallels.”

<sup>26</sup> P. Stuhlmacher, “Jesu-tradition im Römerbrief?”

<sup>27</sup> M. Thompson, *Clothed with Christ: The Example and Teaching of Jesus in Romans 12.1–15.13*.

<sup>28</sup> R. Riesner, “Paulus und die Jesus-Überlieferung,” 347–365.

<sup>29</sup> D. C. Allison, “The Pauline Epistles,” 19–22.

<sup>30</sup> K. Wegenast, *Das Verständnis der Tradition* 91–92.

<sup>31</sup> F. Neiryneck, “Paul and the Sayings of Jesus,” 265–321.

<sup>32</sup> N. Walter, “Paulus und die urchristliche Jesustradition,” 518.

Dunn,<sup>33</sup> T. Holtz<sup>34</sup> and V. P. Furnish.<sup>35</sup> James Dunn, fully aware of the inconclusiveness of verbal parallels, accepts the varying degrees of similarity between a number of Paul's exhortations and elements within the Jesus tradition as such, arguing that this is actually evidence of the influence of the Jesus tradition, which was still a living tradition at Paul's time, working at the level of Paul's own thought process.<sup>36</sup>

A more sophisticated level of the Jesus-Paul debate is the comparison of theological concepts. After W. Wrede, R. Bultmann posed the greatest challenge to the continuity between Jesus and Paul. Bultmann distinguishes the *historische Jesus* from the *geschichtliche Jesus*. In his view, Paul was not influenced by the *historische Jesus* because he encountered Christianity first in its Hellenised form. He was neither a disciple of the earthly Jesus nor dependent on the teachings of Jesus as mediated through the first disciples. The *geschichtliche Jesus*, however, played a key role in Paul's theology. It is the *Dass*, the fact that Jesus the crucified was proclaimed as God's Messiah, rather than the *Was*, the content of Jesus' teachings, that was important to Paul.<sup>37</sup> Käsemann, while agreeing with Bultmann's categories of the *historische* and the *geschichtliche Jesus*, allows a greater connection between the earthly Jesus and the exalted Christ.<sup>38</sup> In the same spirit, Kümmel ascribes Paul's eschatological understanding to the earthly Jesus although he is in accord with Bultmann concerning the role of eschatology in the Jesus-Paul question.<sup>39</sup>

On the other hand, scholars like Eberhard Jüngel, Josef Blank and recently David Wenham tried to demonstrate the continuity between Jesus and Paul. E. Jüngel's method of connecting Jesus and Paul is quite innovative. He prefers the philosophical to the historical approach. At the outset of his *Paulus und Jesus* (1962) he states his methodology as follows:

Daß der Schritt von der paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre zurück zur Verkündigung Jesu im Sinne einer neu gestellten Frage nach dem historischen Jesus *nicht* in der Absicht geschieht, das christologische Fundament der paulinischen Rechtfertigungs-

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<sup>33</sup> J. Dunn, "Jesus Tradition in Paul."

<sup>34</sup> T. Holtz, "Paul and the Oral Gospel Tradition," and "Jesusüberlieferung und Briefliteratur."

<sup>35</sup> V. P. Furnish, *Jesus According to Paul*.

<sup>36</sup> J. Dunn, "Jesus Tradition," 155-178.

<sup>37</sup> R. Bultmann, *Faith and Understanding* 1. 220-246.

<sup>38</sup> E. Käsemann, "The Problem of the Historical Jesus," 23-25, 34-35.

<sup>39</sup> W. Kümmel, "Jesus und Paulus," 181.



lehre durch sogenannte Tatsachen historisch zu zementieren, dürfte aus dem bisher Gesagten deutlich sein. Es kann sich nicht darum handeln, das christologische Problem durch eine historische Untersuchung zu bagatellisieren. Vielmehr gilt es, durch eine Verhältnis-bestimmung der paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre zur Verkündigung Jesu das christologische Problem verschärft, also gleichsam christologischer zur Sprache zu bringen.<sup>40</sup>

Using the linguistic philosophy of G. Ebeling, E. Fuchs and ultimately M. Heidegger, he proposes that Paul's doctrine of justification and Jesus' message of the Kingdom of God are parallel eschatological *Sprachereignisse* (language-events). The two language events are essentially the same, making up an overall *Sprachgeschichte* (language-history). Although Jüngel succeeded in demonstrating the congruence of Jesus' and Paul's messages, he failed to prove the *historical* continuity between the two. E. Käsemann rightly criticised his approach as too mythological: "Das bedeutet dann jedoch, daß der Ausdruck 'eschatologische Sprachgeschichte' historisch überhaupt nichts klärt, also auch nicht das Verhältnis von Jesus and Paulus."<sup>41</sup>

J. Blank's approach is more historical. In his *Paulus und Jesus* (1968), he argues that Paul owed his conversion more to the Damascus road experience than to the encounter with the kerygma. Since the stoning of Stephen, who was a Hellenist, made a great impression on Paul before his conversion, Paul must have first encountered Christianity in its Hellenist Jewish form. The Hellenists may well have formed the bridge between the words of Jesus (e.g., the law-critical sayings) and Paul. Blank's case is severely undermined by H. Räisänen who shows that there is no comprehensive criticism of the law in Stephen's speech. Moreover, Räisänen argues that the Hellenists would have domesticated the words of Jesus and therefore would not be a bridge between Jesus and Paul.<sup>42</sup>

A more comprehensive approach is adopted by D. Wenham. His *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity?* (1995) is a continuation of his many works on the Jesus-Paul question.<sup>43</sup> Wenham tries to demonstrate the continuity between Jesus and Paul on six issues: the Kingdom of God, Jesus' identity, the crucifixion, the mission and nature of the Church,

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<sup>40</sup> E. Jüngel, *Paulus und Jesus* 4.

<sup>41</sup> E. Käsemann, Review of *Paulus und Jesus* 185.

<sup>42</sup> H. Räisänen, "The 'Hellenists' — A Bridge Between Jesus and Paul?" in his *The Torah and Christ* 242–306.

<sup>43</sup> E.g., "Paul and the Synoptic Apocalypse" (1981); "Paul's Use of the Jesus Tradition: Three Samples" (1985); "2 Corinthians 1:17, 18: Echo of a Dominical Logion" (1986); "The Story of Jesus Known to Paul" (1994).

ethics, and eschatology. In each of these chapters he first compares Jesus and Paul on the topic and then tries to prove that Paul was in some way indebted to Jesus on that topic.

The mixed response to Wenham's work shows that the Jesus-Paul debate has far from abated. While some scholars subscribe to Wenham's cumulative argument,<sup>44</sup> others find his case unconvincing.<sup>45</sup> Morna Hooker asserts that Wenham has succeeded only in demonstrating the general similarity between Jesus' and Paul's teachings, but not in proving Paul's dependence on Jesus. She puts forward several incisive questions which are worth considering:

But how much of this similarity is due to the fact that they [Jesus and Paul] shared a common background and culture? Is there anything *distinctive* in Jesus' teaching that is found also in Paul? And how much of the similarity is due to Paul's use of *early Christian tradition* (or vice versa), rather than to knowledge of Jesus' own teaching?<sup>46</sup>

Andreas Köstenberger, albeit sharing Wenham's theological persuasion, doubts if it is necessary to prove that Paul used Jesus traditions extensively in order to show that Paul was a faithful follower of Jesus. In his opinion Paul could have remained faithful to Jesus' teaching while innovatively developing Jesus' original teachings. Wenham's painstaking attempt to demonstrate that Paul used Jesus' traditions extensively would not automatically clear Paul of charges of (legitimate or illegitimate) innovation.<sup>47</sup>

It is this conviction that Jesus-Paul continuity can be proved without having to argue for Paul's use of Jesus' traditions that underlies a recent contribution to the debate. The work is a published doctoral thesis under the title of *A Theology of Inclusion in Jesus and Paul: The God of Outcasts and Sinners* (1996) by William A. Simmons. Simmons regards it futile to search for a 'link' or 'bridge' between the historical Jesus and Paul.<sup>48</sup> He also rejects the search for verbal parallels as inconclusive. In his comparison of theological concepts, he dismisses Jüngel's comparison as too language oriented. Instead he takes the event into consideration. He proposes that the continuity between Jesus and Paul lies in their understanding of God. Both of them view God as one who is extraordina-

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<sup>44</sup> Favourable reviews include those of D. Allison, E. Hensell, J. Proctor, F. Thielman and R. Yarbrough.

<sup>45</sup> Critical reviews include those of M. Hooker, A. Köstenberger and F. Neiryck.

<sup>46</sup> M. Hooker, Review of *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity?* 758.

<sup>47</sup> A. Köstenberger, Review of *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity?* 261.

<sup>48</sup> W. Simmons, *A Theology of Inclusion in Jesus and Paul* ix.

rily gracious to the outcasts and Gentiles. This perspective runs contrary to the contemporary views. In this way, the ‘theology of inclusion’ of Jesus and Paul suggests that Paul is in touch with the historical Jesus.

The recent appearance of two books on Paul shows how burning the Jesus-Paul debate still is today. In his *Paul: The Mind of the Apostle* (1997), A. N. Wilson claims that “the historicity of Jesus became unimportant from the moment Paul had his apocalypse.”<sup>49</sup> The Crucifixion became Paul’s “obsessive religious attention” as he sought to mythologise pagan worship rituals.<sup>50</sup> The religion of Paul was thus a creative invention having little to do with the historical Jesus. N. T. Wright takes issue with Wilson in the last chapter of his *What Saint Paul Really Said: Was Paul of Tarsus the Real Founder of Christianity?* (1997). He questions Wilson’s portrait of Paul as a collaborator with Hellenism on the one hand and seeks to show how Jesus fulfilled Paul’s Jewish eschatological expectations on the other.<sup>51</sup>

### 1.3. Scope of Research

It can be seen from the above that after two hundred years of debate the Jesus-Paul problem is still very inconclusive. In view of the significance of the question, we undertake to explore the problem further. We ask if Paul was really influenced by the teaching of the earthly Jesus. If he was, how much and in what way was he influenced? Does the verbal correspondence between Jesus and Paul tell us anything about the relationship between them? Is there a continuity between the two? Since the problem is too huge we believe that it is necessary to confine our discussion to one theme in order to conduct a meaningful comparison between Jesus and Paul.

The theme of faith is chosen as our focus of discussion owing to its significance in Christianity. As observed by many scholars, πίστις and πιστεύω have become *the* central theological terms for the Christian religion.<sup>52</sup> The noun πίστις and the verb πιστεύω occur 243 times in the NT, more frequently than ‘kingdom’ (162), ‘grace’ (156), ‘church’ (114), ‘save’ (107) and ‘righteousness’ (92).<sup>53</sup> Specifically, our attention zooms in on two groups of Jesus’ faith sayings, namely, ‘faith that can remove mountains’ and ‘your faith has healed/saved you’.

<sup>49</sup> A. N. Wilson, *Paul: The Mind of the Apostle* 73.

<sup>50</sup> A. N. Wilson, *Paul* 60.

<sup>51</sup> N. T. Wright, *What Saint Paul Really Said* 167–183.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., G. Barth in *EDNT* 3.92.

<sup>53</sup> G. Friedrich, “Glaube und Verkündigung bei Paulus,” 94.

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