

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 40

Barry Blackburn

Theios Anēr and the Markan Miracle Traditions



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Begründet von Joachim Jeremias und Otto Michel

Herausgegeben von

Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

40

Theios Anēr and the Markan Miracle Traditions

A Critique of the *Theios Anēr* Concept
as an Interpretative Background
of the Miracle Traditions Used by Mark

by

Barry Blackburn



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Abbreviations

It is not necessary to list the standard abbreviations for the books of the Bible or other ancient Jewish and Christian writings which appear regularly in scholarly works. For aid in deciphering the abbreviations of classical and Hellenistic authors and their works see N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970²): ix–xxii. Other abbreviations which are found herein (and are not explained in the first footnote in which they appear) are as follows:

AB	Anchor Bible
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BSGRT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur ZNW
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly — Monograph Series
ConNT	<i>Coniectanea neotestamentica</i>
EBib	Études bibliques
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Greg	<i>Gregorianum</i>
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's NT Commentaries
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
ICS	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>

<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSHRZ</i>	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament – Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KIT	Kleine Texte
Meyer K	H. A. W. Meyer, Kritischexegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
NCB	New Century Bible
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTF	Neutestamentliche Forschungen
NTL	New Testament Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
PCCHSHMC	Protocol of the colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>RelSRev</i>	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>RTL</i>	<i>Revue théologique de Louvain</i>
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
SB	Sources bibliques
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCBO	Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis
SCHNT	Studia ad corpus hellenisticum novi testamenti
<i>SEÅ</i>	<i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</i>
<i>Sem</i>	<i>Semitica</i>
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SO	Symbolae osloenses
SPB	Studia postbiblica
SSS	Semitic Study Series

<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>TQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
<i>TTZ</i>	<i>Trierer theologische Zeitschrift</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZKG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
<i>ZWT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

Chapter One

Introduction:

Theios Anēr and the Markan Miracle Traditions

I. Focusing the Problem: T. Weeden

“To a great extent, contemporary research has cast the divine man as a pivot on which the relations between early Christianity and other religions of Late Antiquity turn”¹. The truth of this recent judgment of E. Gallagher was clearly demonstrated when in 1968 T. Weeden published an important study of the purpose and christology of Mark entitled, “The Heresy that Necessitated Mark’s Gospel”². This article, based on his Claremont dissertation (1964) and later expanded into the well-known monograph *Traditions in Conflict* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), is significant in the way it reflects and builds upon the widespread notion that the oral and/or written cycle(s) of miracle narratives used by Mark portrayed Jesus as a *theios anēr* (a Hellenistic type of divine-human religious hero or holy man whose divinity expressed itself among other ways through the working of miracles). Weeden proceeded to argue that Mark’s purpose was to combat a *theios anēr* interpretation of Jesus (along with its implications for discipleship) which held sway in a segment of his community³. To achieve this goal Mark depicted the (dense and uncomprehending) disciples as advocates of a *theios anēr* christology and a *theologia gloriae* which was based primarily on Jesus’ miracles; Jesus, however, was made to champion a *theologia crucis*.

Weeden’s overall thesis has not escaped criticism⁴, but his contention that Mark was unhappy with the *theios anēr* christology of his miracle

1 Eugene Gallagher, *Divine Man or Magician? Celsus and Origen on Jesus*, SBLDS, 64 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982), p. 1.

2 *ZNW* 59 (1968): 145–68.

3 For Weeden’s understanding of “*theios anēr* christology” see *Traditions*, pp. 54–59.

4 See, e.g., Ralph Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1972), pp. 150–53; Ernest Best, “The Role of the Disciples in Mark,” *NTS* 23 (1977):

traditions won significant support⁵. This interpretation of the Markan redaction is, in turn, dependent on the longstanding view that the portrait of Jesus in the miracle narratives employed by Mark was produced — largely *via* the mediation of Hellenistic Judaism — under the influence of the *theios anēr* concept. It would be difficult to overemphasize the degree of importance that this “axiom” has assumed for Markan (and Gospel) exegesis, for *traditionsgeschichtliche* investigation of the Jesus tradition, and for investigation into christological origins. But it is precisely for this reason that this axiom, like other axioms, should be critically appraised to see whether, or to what extent, it should remain a fixed reference point in exegetical and historical research.

II. Prehistory of the *Theios Anēr* and its Application to the Gospel Miracle Tradition

As intimated above, Weeden felt no need to offer a justification of his appeal to the *theios anēr* type or the role that this type played in the formulation of the evangelical miracle traditions, which surface first, of course, in Mark. On these points he relied almost entirely on the earlier labors of *die religions- und formgeschichtliche Schule*. As early as 1910, R. Reitzenstein, with reference to the early Christian era, could speak of “A general conception of the *θεῖος ἄνθρωπος*. . . , according to which such a divine man combines within himself, on the basis of a higher nature and personal holiness, the profoundest knowledge, vision, and the power to work miracles”⁶. Without such a conception, Reitzenstein averred, figures such as Apollonius of Tyana and Alexander Abonuteichos would remain inexplicable. Later studies developed this idea of the *theios anēr*, whether in an effort to define this type more carefully (Weinreich 1926; Leisegang 1950), to develop a hypothetical, or ideal, typology as an aid in

377–401. Now see Sharyn Dowd, *Prayer, Power, and the Problem of Suffering: Mark 11:22–25 in the Context of Markan Theology*, SBLDS, 105 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986). Especially useful is her survey (pp. 6–24) of the debate over whether Mark was intended as anti-miracle polemic.

5 See, e.g., Ludger Schenke, *Die Wundererzählungen des Markusevangeliums*, SBB, 3 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1974), pp. 373–416; Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Bedeutung der Wundererzählungen für die Christologie des Markusevangeliums*, BZNW, 42 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), pp. 15–30, 180–88; Hugh Anderson, *The Gospel of Mark*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 49–52.

6 Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions*, trans. J. Steely, PTMS, 15 (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1978; 1st Germ. ed., 1910), p. 26.

the analysis of empirical data (Bieler 1935–36)⁷, or to account for phenomena in the origin of Christianity (Wetter 1916; Windisch 1934)⁸.

However, several years before most of these studies were published, the two great masters of the form-critical approach, Dibelius and Bultmann, had already taken the decisive step of using the *theios anēr* to explain, above all, the origin and christology of those miracle traditions which they designated *Novellen* and *Wundergeschichten*, respectively⁹. Although, to my knowledge, neither used the exact expression *theios anēr*, it is clear that they regarded Reitzenstein's "general conception of the *θεῖος ἀνθρώπος*" as a decisive influence on the miracle traditions in question. This is clearly to be seen, e.g., in Bultmann's comparison of Mark and Q:

In Q he [Jesus] is above everything else the eschatological preacher of repentance and salvation, the teacher of wisdom and the law. In Mark he is a *θεῖος ἀνθρώπος*, indeed more: he is the very Son of God walking on the earth. This mythological light in which Jesus is set by Mark . . . is there for the most part on the author's own account but also in part on account of his materials, and especially of the miracle stories¹⁰.

In essentials Dibelius and Bultmann agreed: most of the Synoptic miracle stories were formulated in a Hellenistic environment in order to magnify and win converts for Jesus, the superior *theios anēr*. This view of the christology, *Sitz im Leben*, and hence late *traditionsgeschichtliche* position of the miracle stories has been extraordinarily influential to the present day¹¹. Only in one respect has there been a significant refinement: largely

7 This interpretation of Bieler's purpose is extensively discussed and advocated by Gallagher, *Divine Man*, pp. 10–22.

8 Otto Weinreich, "Antikes Gottmenschentum," *Neues Jahrbuch für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* 2 (1926): 633–51; Hans Leisegang, "Der Gottmensch als Archetypus," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 18 (1950): 9–45; Ludwig Bieler, *ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Buchhandlung Oskar Höfels, 1935–36); Gillis P. Wetter, *Der Sohn Gottes*, FRLANT, 26 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1916); Hans Windisch, *Paulus und Christus*, UNT, 24 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1934).

9 Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, trans. B. Woolf (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935; 1st Germ. ed., 1919), pp. 70–97; Rudolf Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (= *HST*), trans. J. Marsh (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963; 1st Germ. ed., 1921), pp. 218–41.

10 Bultmann, *HST*, p. 241. Dibelius (*Tradition*, p. 94), for his part, describes the Tales as "Epiphanies in which the divine power of the divine wonder-worker becomes manifest." Cf. also pp. 96f., where he argues that Jesus' miracles, like those attributed to "Apollonius of Tyana, Alexander of Abonuteichus, and many other magi and thaumaturges," were narrated as "proof that he was really a divine being."

11 Of course, critical reactions to this type of approach were not absent, especially in Gt. Britain: Vincent Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1935²; 1st ed., 1933), pp. 119–41; Alan Richardson, *The Miracle-Stories of the Gospels* (London: SCM Press, 1941); William Manson, *Jesus the Messiah* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1943), pp. 33–50; Laurence McGinley, *Form Criticism of the Synoptic Healing Narratives* (Woodstock, Md.: Woodstock College Press, 1944). Later appeared the massive study of H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus*, NovTSup, 8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965).

under the influence of F. Hahn it has become very common to argue that the *theios anēr* made its initial impact on early christology, not directly from the pagan sphere, but *via* Hellenistic Judaism insofar as the latter had already begun the transformation of its O.T. heroes into *theioi andres*¹².

III. Recent Developments

Since the publication of Weeden's article in *ZNW*, several studies have appeared which raise questions about the validity of his conception of the *theios anēr* christology of the Markan miracle traditions. Hard on Weeden's heels W. von Martitz, in his oft-cited *TDNT* article on "υἱός (in Greek)," argued (1) "that θεῖος ἀνὴρ is by no means a fixed expression at least in the pre-Christian era," and (2) that "The features of θεῖος in later antiquity [presumably as illustrated by Pythagoras in the *vitae* composed by Porphyry and Iamblichus and by Apollonius of Tyana in Philostratus' *Vita*] cannot be traced back smoothly to the earlier period"¹³. The assumption that at the beginning of the Christian era there was a fixed, uniform image or type of the *theios anēr* in the Hellenistic world was further challenged by D. Tiede, who argued that prior to the third-century Neopythagorean portraits of Pythagoras and Apollonius of Tyana, *theioi andres* fell into one of two basic categories depending on whether their divine status was authenticated on the basis of wisdom/moral virtue, or on the basis of miraculous deeds or events¹⁴. Thus, for Tiede it is important to be precise when speaking of the type of Hellenistic figure in the hues of which the novelistic gospel miracle stories painted Jesus: it was "the divine *miracle worker* [my emphasis]"¹⁵, or we might say "the miracle-working *theios anēr*," rather than the divine man of the philosophical tradition who exhibited superhuman wisdom and virtue. More recently E. Gallagher, on the

12 Ferdinand Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, trans. H. Knight and G. Ogg (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969; 1st Germ. ed., 1963), pp. 11–13, 288–99; further support was lent by Dieter Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief*, WMANT, 11 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964), pp. 114–67 (recently appearing in Eng. as *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986]). See Carl Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic Judaism*, SBLDS, 40 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), pp. 22–43, for an illuminating historical survey of the "Hellenistic-Jewish hypothesis."

13 P. Wülfing von Martitz, "υἱός (in Greek)," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (= *TDNT*), ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, trans. and ed., G. Bromiley, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids: Wm. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964–76), 8:338–40. On von Martitz's second contention see Eduard Schweizer, "Towards a Christology of Mark?" in *God's Christ and His People*, ed. J. Jerrell and W. Meeks (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977), p. 30.

14 David Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, SBLDS, 1 (Missoula, Mont.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972).

15 *Ibid.*, p. 290.

basis of his study of the christological debate between Origen and Celsus, has maintained that though "the proposition that a god or worthy candidate for divine status ought to do good for humankind seems to have enjoyed a wide currency," it is doubtful whether "there was a *native* Hellenistic conception of the divine man," but if so "it was certainly a more fluid conception than is portrayed in much contemporary scholarship"¹⁶. This is because "contemporaries . . . of candidates for divine status in Late Antiquity" did not use "a single, rigid 'Hellenistic concept of the divine man' as their guideline for evaluation, but rather a shifting and flexible collection of categories and criteria which could be adapted to fit the demands of particular situations"¹⁷. Thus in the final analysis, for Gallagher the state of affairs with respect to "the *theios anēr*" is even more complex than for Tiede¹⁸.

If the above studies have muddled the waters with reference to "the *theios anēr* type," Carl Holladay's Cambridge dissertation has placed a question mark beside the deeply rooted hypothesis that the *theios anēr* ideology of Hellenism first substantially influenced the emerging church not directly, but by means of Hellenistic Judaism¹⁹. For Hellenistic-Jewish Christians, so this thesis goes, it was inevitable that Jesus would become a *theios anēr* since even before the advent of Christianity, Hellenistic Jews had found it useful, in the interests of apologetic and missionary propaganda, to assimilate their O.T. heroes to the great Hellenistic *theioi andres*. But after a careful analysis of the relevant evidence in Josephus, Philo, and Artapanus, Holladay is led to these two conclusions among others:

- 1) It may be true . . . that during the Hellenistic era there occurs a significant shift in Jewish thinking which enables Jews more easily to attribute divinity to their Biblical heroes for propagandistic purposes, but the evidence for supporting such a contention does not seem to be forthcoming from Hellenistic-Jewish apologetic, at least, in the sources we have examined²⁰.
- 2) Our study has failed to produce evidence to substantiate the position that Hellenistic-Jews, in an effort to propagate their faith to Gentiles, tended to heighten thaumaturgic motifs, either in their portrayals of Israel's heroes or in their own understanding of history²¹.

These conclusions certainly go against the grain and will continue to be debated²², but it is undeniable that Holladay's contribution has and will stimulate a critical reassessment of the type of "*theios anēr* hypothesis" which was taken over and advanced by authors like Weeden.

16 Gallagher, *Divine Man*, p. 177.

17 Ibid., pp. 176f.

18 Ibid., pp. 18–22.

19 Holladay, *Theios Aner*.

20 Ibid., p. 236.

21 Ibid., p. 238.

22 Cf. the review by William Telford in *JTS*, N.S., 30 (1979): 246–52.

Finally we come to a series of scholars who have objected to the use, or at least the overuse, of the *theios anēr* notion to explain the origin and christology of the Synoptic – especially the Markan – miracle traditions on the ground that their *primary* interpretative background is provided by the O.T. and later Jewish literature. In a short but influential article, O. Betz led the attack by positing an early Palestinian-Jewish *Sitz im Leben* for the rise and formulation of two Markan miracle stories (4:35–41; 5:1–20) which previously had been regularly subsumed under the *theios anēr* rubric²³. Subsequently, in 1977, Betz and his pupil W. Grimm produced *Wesen und Wirklichkeit der Wunder Jesu*, a monograph which, significantly, appeared in the series *Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum*, and undergirds Betz's earlier essay insofar as it argues for deeply rooted correspondences between O.T. and Jesuan miracle traditions²⁴. Emphasis on such correspondence is easily seen by perusing the book's *Inhalt*²⁵ wherein both O.T. and Jesuan miracles are broken down into four sub-groups: *Zeichen-Wunder*, *Theophanien oder Aufleuchtungen*, *Heilungswunder*, and *Rettungswunder*²⁶.

Along with Betz and Grimm, H. C. Kee and R. Pesch agree that the influence of the *theios anēr* on the Markan miracle stories has been overplayed at the expense of the O.T./Jewish background. Both of these scholars call special attention to the influence of late Jewish expectations of a Mosaic eschatological prophet whose miracle-studded ministry would immediately precede the Eschaton²⁷. Moreover, Kee has repeatedly argued that miracle stories relatively similar in form and content may vary in function depending on the cultural/social context. For Kee this means that while miracle stories *could* be told in order to prove the miracle worker's divine status, this function need not *necessarily* be present (e.g.,

23 Otto Betz, "The Concept of the So-called 'Divine Man' in Mark's Christology," in *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature*, ed. D. Aune, NovTSup, 33 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 229–40.

24 Otto Betz and Werner Grimm, *Wesen und Wirklichkeit der Wunder Jesu*, *Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum*, 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1977).

25 P. vii.

26 This of course does not mean that Betz and Grimm see *no* differences between O.T. and Gospel miracle stories, but that the O.T. provides the main background for understanding the theological development which the Gospel stories represent.

27 H. C. Kee, "Aretalogy and Gospel," *JBL* 93 (1973): 402–22; idem, *Aretalogies, Hellenistic "Lives," and the Sources of Mark*, PCCHSHMC, 12 (Berkeley: The Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, 1975), pp. 1–21; idem, *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977), pp. 17f., 22–29; idem, *Miracle in the Early Christian World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 146–70 (see also his "Excursus on the 'Divine Man,'" pp. 297–99); Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium (= ME)*, 2 vols., HTKNT, 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1976), 1:278–81 (also see commentary on individual miracle narratives).

as in the O.T.), and that it is therefore premature to dub the miracle stories which appear in Mark as expressions of a *theios anēr* christology simply because they are rather similar to stories which were current in a Hellenistic milieu and whose purpose was to document the divinity of a given miracle-doer²⁸.

As a final representative of the reaction against the type of *theios anēr* interpretation of Mark's miracle stories to be found in Weeden we may mention Richard Glöckner, whose recent book on *Neutestamentliche Wundergeschichten* is an attempt to explore the linguistic and theological relationship between N.T. miracle stories and the Psalms, especially "die Lob-, Dank- und Klagelieder"²⁹. In turn, "Die theologische Verwandtschaft zwischen Psalmen und Wundergeschichten soll die Glaubwürdigkeit der Jesus-Erzählungen insofern stützen, als sie wieder näher an ein genuin biblisches Entstehungsmilieu herangebracht werden und damit von dem Verdacht freikommen, Produkte hellenistisch-heidnischer Religionspropaganda zu sein"³⁰.

Nevertheless, in spite of the trend which the foregoing studies represent, the *theios anēr* has continued to play an important role in interpreting the formation and significance of the miracle traditions which, after oral and perhaps written transmission, found a home in Mark's Gospel. In this regard one can point to such distinguished scholars as Kuhn, Koester, Achtemeier, Schenke, Luz, Koch, Anderson, H. D. Betz, and most recently Corrington³¹. Koch is more or less representative when he urges that

28 See esp. Kee, "Aretology and Gospel," pp. 402, 413–16; moreover, one of the principal points of Kee's *Miracle in the Early Christian World* is that the meaning and function of miracle varies according to the precise historical context. His criticism of the *theios anēr* hypothesis continues in his recent title *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times*, SNTSMS, 55 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 84f. (including notes 37–38).

29 Richard Glöckner, *Neutestamentliche Wundergeschichten und das Lob der Wundertaten Gottes in den Psalmen*, Walberberger Studien, Theologische Reihe, 13 (Mainz: Mathias-Grünwald-Verlag, 1983), p. 16. See the earlier study by Dieter Zeller, "Wunder und Bekenntnis," *BZ* 25 (1981): 204–22.

30 Ibid., p. 23. In the same year in America Jack D. Kingsbury registered his complaint against the prominence of the *theios anēr* in Markan studies in his *The Christology of Mark's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), pp. 33–37 (see his earlier "The 'Divine Man' as the Key to Mark's Christology – The End of an Era?" *Int* 35 (1981): 243–57). For reactions against the heavy use of the *theios anēr* to explain the christology of the Johannine miracle stories see W. Nicol, *The Semeia in the Fourth Gospel: Tradition and Redaction*, NovTSup, 32 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 48–94; D. Moody Smith, "The Milieu of the Johannine Miracle Source: A Proposal," in *Jews, Greeks and Christians*, ed. R. Hammerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs, SJLA, 21 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), pp. 164–80.

31 Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Ältere Sammlungen im Markusevangelium*, SUNT, 8 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), pp. 191–213; Helmut Koester, "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels," in J. M. Robinson and H. Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), pp. 187–93; Paul Achtemeier, "Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae," *JBL* 89 (1970): 265–91; idem, "The Origin and Function of the Pre-Markan

various data “machen deutlich, dass zumindest ein wesentlicher Teil der markinischen Wundererzählungen dem Verfasser des Markusevangeliums bereits in einer stark hellenistischen Prägung vorgegeben war; sie zeigen zugleich, wie der Jesus dieser Wundertraditionen in Analogie zu den als göttlich verehrten Thaumaturgen des Hellenismus verstanden werden konnte”³². While these scholars and their like-minded predecessors have not denied that Jewish thinking, rooted in the O.T. and in later Jewish theological developments, played a role in the shaping of the miracle traditions inherited by Mark, they nevertheless continue to push strongly the interpretative significance of the *theios anēr* for what appear to me as three basic reasons:

1. In the first place, the influence of the *theios anēr* allegedly accounts for elements in the miracle traditions which appear to betray reflection on Jesus’ *θεία φύσις*. Thus with reference to the miracle stories of the pre-Markan tradition Luz said:

In die Wundergeschichten können göttlich Züge eindringen und das Bild Jesu prägen, z.B. die Proskynese oder Motive von Theophanieschilderungen. Dadurch unterscheidet sich das Bild des vormarkinischen Jesus von den in Annäherung an den hellenistischen *θεῖος ἀνὴρ* interpretierten, aber von Gott unterschiedenen Patriarchengestalten des hellenistischen Judentums, z.B. Moses, aber nicht von den hellenistischen *θεῖοι ἄνδρες*, für die gerade die Vermischung von Menschlichem mit Göttlichem charakteristisch ist”³³.

As one of the clearest examples of this *Vermischung* Luz and many others would point to Mark 6:45–52, a pericope in which O.T. *theophanic* motifs are apparently transferred to Jesus³⁴. And yet because of the stringent monotheism of the Jews who comprised the primitive church in Jerusalem and its environs, it is frequently held that those miracle traditions which surround Jesus with a *divine* aura can only have originated, at least

Miracle Catenae,” *JBL* 91 (1972): 198–221; idem, “Gospel Miracle Tradition and the Divine Man,” *Int* 26 (1972): 174–97; Schenke, *Wundererzählungen*, pp. 375–82; Ulrich Luz, “Das Jesusbild der vormarkinischen Tradition,” in *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie*, ed. G. Strecker (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1975), pp. 360–67; Koch, *Wundererzählungen*, pp. 26–30; Anderson, *Mark*, p. 49; Hans D. Betz, “Gottmensch II,” in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (= *RAC*), vols. 1–, ed., T. Klausner, et al. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1950–), 12: 296–300 (see his earlier article “Jesus as Divine Man,” in *Jesus and the Historian*, ed. F. T. Trotter (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968), pp. 114–33); Gail P. Corrington, *The “Divine Man”: His Origin and Function in Hellenistic Popular Religion*, American University Studies, Series VII: Theology and Religion, 17 (New York: Peter Lang, 1986). Considerable use of the *theios anēr* is also made by Karl Kertelge, *Die Wunder Jesu im Markusevangelium*, SANT, 13 (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1970), esp. pp. 208f., but he notes that “gilt es, die Begegnung und Verquickung von jüdischem Denken und hellenistischen Vorstellungen in den Anfängen der Wunderüberlieferung wahrzunehmen” (p. 209), and therefore he will only ascribe “bedingte Gültigkeit” to Bultmann’s distinction between a Palestinian and Hellenistic stage of the tradition (p. 209, n. 36).

32 Koch, *Wundererzählungen*, p. 30.

33 Luz, “Jesusbild,” pp. 361f.

34 Ibid., p. 361, n. 32.

in their present form, in a milieu strongly influenced by Hellenistic thinking, viz., in Hellenistic-Jewish – or gentile – Christian circles³⁵.

2. Secondly, since the studies of Weinreich and especially Bultmann, it has been impossible to ignore the parallelism between Jesus and various miracle-working divine-humans with respect to the types of miracles performed and the various motifs which occur in the narratives that relate these miraculous happenings³⁶. Of course, the influence of *theios anēr* ideology on the Gospel traditions is posited especially in those cases where Jewish parallels are either absent or weaker (quantitatively and/or qualitatively). Thus, for example, the two miracle stories found in Mk. 7:31–37 and 8:22–26 are repeatedly regarded as especially good examples of the assimilation of Jesus to a *theios anēr* on account of motifs such as the use of spittle, manipulations with the hand, “sighing,” and miracle-working formulae in a foreign language (ῥῆσις βαρβαρικὴ)³⁷. Moreover, since the celebrated study of O. Bauernfeind *Die Worte der Dämonen im Markusevangelium* (1927), scholars such as Bonner, Smith, Hull, Theissen, and Aune have pointed to the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* as a deposit of parallels to such Gospel exorcistic motifs as the apotropaic and exorcistic use of the opponent’s name, the binding formula employing φμῶω (or δέω, καταδέω), the exorcistic formula ἔξελε . . . , and the banishment of the demon to another place or dwelling (*epipompe*)³⁸.

3. Finally, Dibelius, Bultmann and successive form critics have noted a basic similarity in structure, or form, between most of the Gospel narratives which relate miracles performed by Jesus and various Hellenistic miracle stories whose subject is a *theios anēr* (especially Pythagoras and Apollonius of Tyana)³⁹. In both sets of stories a common purpose (to relate

35 Representative is the discussion in Schenke, *Wundererzählungen*, pp. 375–82.

36 Otto Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 8. 1 (Giessen: A Töpelmann, 1909); Bultmann, *HST*, pp. 220–26.

37 E.g., Kertelge, *Wunder*, pp. 157–59, 162f.; Schenke, *Wundererzählungen*, pp. 273, 310; Pesch, *ME*, 1:392–99; Joachim Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 2 vols., EKKNT, 2 (Zurich: Benziger Verlag, 1978–79), 1:296, 312f.

38 Otto Bauernfeind, *Die Worte der Dämonen im Markusevangelium*, BWANT, 3. 8 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1927); Campbell Bonner, “Traces of Thaumaturgic Technique in the Miracles,” *HTR* 20 (1927):171–81; idem, “The Technique of Exorcism,” *HTR* 36 (1943):39–49; idem, “The Violence of Departing Demons,” *HTR* 37 (1944):334–36; Morton Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 220–31, 235f.; John Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*, SBT, 2nd Ser., 28 (London: SCM Press, 1974); Gerd Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, trans. F. McDonagh, ed. J. Riches (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), pp. 57–71, 85–90; David Aune, “Magic in Early Christianity,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang des römischen Welt (= ANRW) II. Principat*, 23. 2, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1980), pp. 1529–37.

39 Dibelius, *Tradition*, pp. 82–90; Bultmann, *HST*, pp. 220–26.

a great miracle) is accomplished through a common pattern: (1) a description of the nature of the distress or situation in need of correction, (2) narration of the miracle-producing action, and (3) a conclusion which states or confirms the reality of the miracle⁴⁰. Just as the pagan stories were employed to propagandize for various *theioi andres*, so it is argued that the Gospel miracle stories arose in just such a milieu in order to win converts to the divine Lord Jesus.

Thus for these three basic reasons the *theios anēr*, despite his detractors, continues to be an influential ingredient in the exegesis of the evangelical miracle traditions.

IV. Task and Scope of the Present Study

The basic task of this study is to examine critically the validity of the three basic arguments of the foregoing paragraphs with respect to the miracle traditions that Mark wove into his Gospel. We therefore restrict ourselves to the Gospel of Mark, which is still generally considered to be the earliest Gospel and therefore provides the earliest point of access to a significant number of miracle traditions associated with Jesus. Furthermore, it has been within the context of the Markan miracle traditions that much, if not most, of the recent research on the *theios anēr* vis-à-vis Christian origins has been conducted.

While the results of this investigation may have some bearing on one's posture toward the historicity of the Jesuan miracle tradition as a whole, it will not be our purpose to deal with matters of historicity but to inquire whether the so-called telltale signs of the assimilation of Jesus to a Hellenistic miracle-working *theios anēr* in the miracle traditions used by Mark are, in fact, precisely that, or whether such features, or some of them, may well have originated or been formulated within the context of the early Aramaic-speaking Jewish-Christian communities of Palestine⁴¹.

At this point a word needs to be said about the use of the words "Hellenistic" and "Hellenism," as they figure prominently in the hypothesis which I seek to test. Actually, as Hengel has cogently shown⁴², these terms as

40 It was with respect to this threefold pattern that R. H. Fuller, *Interpreting the Miracles* (London: SCM Press, 1963), p. 34, described Mk. 1:29–31, 7:31–37, and 8:22–26 as exhibiting "the pure form of a Hellenistic wonder story." More recently, Kertelge, *Wunder*, p. 204, described how the miracle stories used by Mark follow a Hellenistic *Erzählungsschema*.

41 This manner of setting up the alternatives is, at least for now, following the general assumption that the "telltale signs" of *theios anēr* ideology would have been alien to the primitive Palestinian-Jewish church – especially the church in Jerusalem.

42 Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, trans. J. Bowden, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 1:1–5.

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