

• A New Look at the Synoptic Question

• *Un nouveau regard sur la question synoptique*

• *Eine neue Betrachtung der synoptischen Frage*

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RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur présente ici un résumé en langue anglaise de ses publications sur la question synoptique, qui ne sont parues jusqu'ici qu'en français. Sa thèse fondamentale est une modification de la théorie des deux sources. En plus de Q, Matthieu grec et Luc grec dépendent, non du Marc

actuel, mais des sources que celui-ci a fusionnées: le Pré-Matthieu et le Pré-Luc, deux versions indépendantes du Matthieu hébreu dont parle la Tradition. L'article montre la cohérence de ce schéma généalogique avec le récit des Actes des Apôtres et la tradition patristique. Il souligne l'intérêt historique et théologique de cette recherche.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Verfasser präsentiert eine Zusammenfassung seiner Veröffentlichungen zur synoptischen Frage, um sie der internationalen Gemeinschaft zugänglich zu machen. Bislang waren diese Veröffentlichungen nur auf Französisch erhältlich. Seine Kernthese läuft auf eine Modifikation der Zweiquellentheorie hinaus. Er geht dabei von der Annahme aus, daß der griechische Text von Matthäus und Lukas nicht auf die Endform des Markusevangeliums zurückgeht, sondern

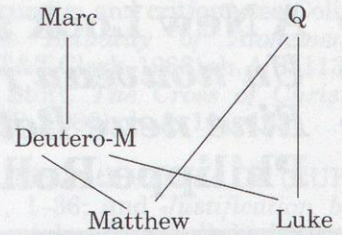
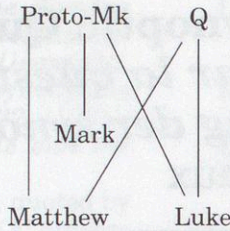
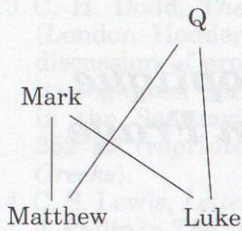
vielmehr auf Q und andere von Markus kombinierte Quellen, nämlich eine vormatthäische und eine vorlukanische Quelle, bei denen es sich um zwei unabhängige Versionen des in der Überlieferung attestierten hebräischen Texts des Matthäusevangeliums handelt. Der Artikel entfaltet die Übereinstimmung dieses Entstehungsentwurfs mit dem Bericht der Apostelgeschichte und der patristischen Tradition. Außerdem wird die historische und theologische Bedeutung der hier dargebotenen Forschung hervorgehoben.

In order to interpret the synoptic gospels, whether from a historical-critical or a theological perspective, it is important to try to reconstruct the sources used by the Greek texts of Matthew, Mark and Luke. The meaning of any part is largely determined by the context in which it is found, and it is necessary to look at the intention of each gospel writer when he deliberately puts an event in a context different from the context in the source. This is also true concerning the details of the account. It is instructive to assess the redactional work involved in each incident, that is, which words have been omitted, modified or

added, because this redactional work is the visible expression of the theological thought that inspired it.

1. The Present Positions:

Most current scholars use the two-source theory as a starting point. Matthew and Luke used Mark, supposedly written some time before AD70, as well as another ancient source conventionally called Q, which many suppose was written down around AD50. However, apart from a few defenders of this strict schema¹, specialists consider this theory more as a



convenient way to teach students to observe the differences in events reported by Matthew, Mark and Luke rather than as a proven certainty. It is often taught that Matthew and Luke used a form of the gospel of Mark that has since disappeared, whether a 'Proto-Mark' or a 'Deutero-Mark'. This second solution is defended notably by Fuchs². As a precaution, advocates of this view rarely attempt to reconstruct the exact contents of this document.

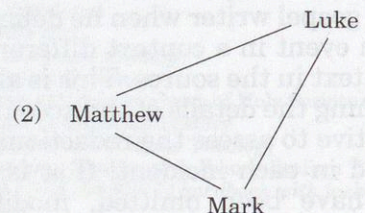
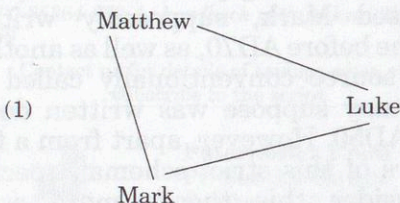
The 'two source' hypothesis can be summarised by the three diagrams above. An active, even vociferous, minority opposes this majority position. This minority, led by Farmer³, is being won over to Griesbach's 'two gospel' hypothesis, which dispenses with the need for the Q source. These scholars assume that it is not scientific to postulate the existence of a source which has not been substantially proven. A very simple genealogy ((1) below) based on interesting observations of the gospel of Mark is suggested but could theoretically be replaced by a second ((2) below).

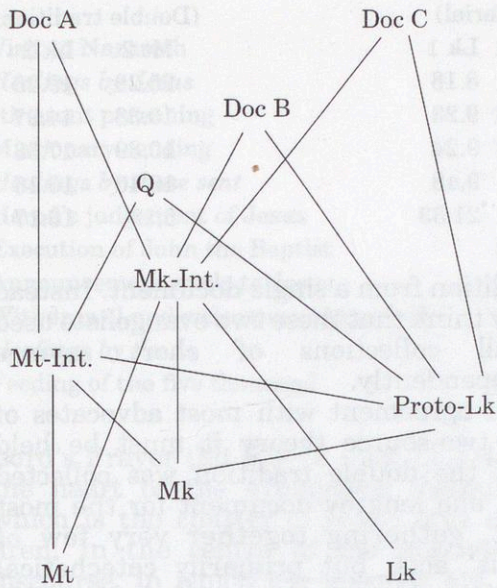
A third tendency is upheld especially by French speaking exegetes. This theory could be called 'multiple documentation'. The 'two-gospel' hypothesis is taken into consideration but dismissed as being excessively simplistic, incapable of giving an intelligent account of the three synoptic writings. The 'two source' hypothesis

is given respectful consideration but is problematic when the details of its analyses are examined, the fundamental obstacle being the minor agreements between Matthew and Luke over against Mark.⁴ The example opposite can be given.

In opposition to Griesbach's theory, the 'multiple documentation' adherents, as well as advocates of the 'two source' theory, emphasise that Matthew and Luke are independent of each other. Their accounts of Jesus' childhood and his Resurrection appearances are too different, to the point of making any reconciliation very difficult. Their distinctive parables are very different. It is thus difficult to find a satisfactory explanation of the minor agreements between Matthew and Luke as opposed to Mark. How can one maintain that Matthew and Luke each altered Mark's text in a nearly identical manner independently of each other? Resorting to a Proto-Mark or a Deutero-Mark thus becomes essential, but such a document exists in name only.

For this reason, some scholars engage in meticulous analyses in order to find out which hypothetical documents would allow a satisfactory explanation of all the observable facts. Boismard is the main representative of the multiple-documentation theory. His genealogical diagram is produced opposite (top) and compared with my own less complicated proposal.





Mt 9, 17:	and the wine	is spilled and	the wineskins are ruined
Mk 2, 22:	and the wine	is ruined, and also	the wineskins
Lk 5, 37:	and it will	be spilled and	the wineskins will be ruined

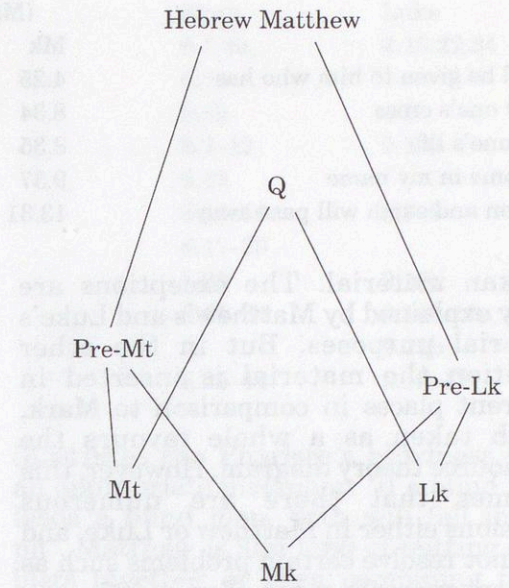
Boismard's schema was expounded in 1972⁵. After the publication of my own studies on the synoptic question⁶, he decided to simplify his theory by 'enriching' mine in the manner below.⁷

The critical examination of the two different positions will not be undertaken here. Let it suffice to use examples to explain how our theory functions. It is more complex than the 'two gospel' and 'two source' hypotheses, but appears to be the simplest possible among those suggested by 'multiple documentation'.

2. The Distinction between the Markan Material and the Double Tradition

Agreeing with the two-source theory, it is essential to distinguish two types of material in Matthew and Luke; that which they share with Mark, often in parallel (Markan material), as well as that which is common to Matthew and Luke but does not appear in Mark (double tradition).

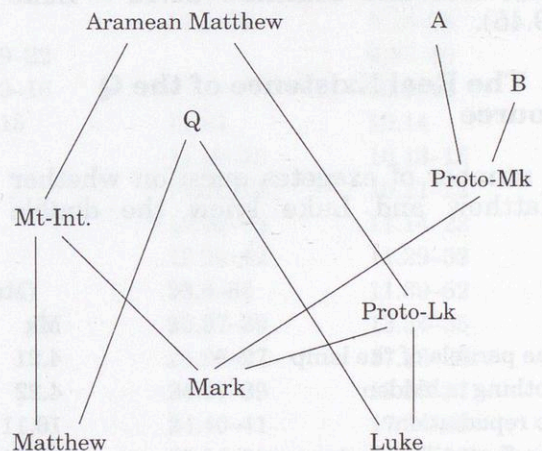
The first reason is the existence of several doublets i.e., sayings of Jesus, found on the one hand in Mark and in a similar



manner in Matthew and Luke, and on the other hand in slightly different form in Matthew and Luke alone. Overleaf (top) is a list of five doublet accounts having five references.

A vast number of other examples where the same word is attested to four times instead of five could be added. Without being exhaustive, overleaf (bottom) are four other examples.

Secondly, as can be seen in both lists, the order of the sentences of the three evangelists is generally the same for the



	(Markan material)			(Double tradition)	
	Mk	Mt 1	Lk 1	Mt 2	Lk 2
It will be given to him who has	4.25	13.12	8.18	25.29	19.26
Carry one's cross	8.34	16.24	9.23	10.38	14.27
Lose one's life	8.35	16.25	9.24	10.39	17.33
Welcome in my name	9.37	18.5	9.48	10.40	10.16
Heaven and earth will pass away	13.31	25.35	21.33	5.18	16.17

Markan material. The exceptions are easily explained by Matthew's and Luke's editorial purposes. But in the other tradition the material is inserted in different places in comparison to Mark, which taken as a whole favours the two-source theory diagram. However, this assumes that there are numerous omissions either in Matthew or Luke, and does not resolve certain problems such as the next example at top of page 137.

A significant agreement exists between Matthew and Luke as opposed to Mark in that, independent of each other, the healings performed by Jesus are placed immediately before the feeding of the five thousand and not in the context of the visit to Nazareth. Moreover, John is familiar with the same motif in this passage (John 6.2b). It is therefore safe to suppose that the corroborating facts of Matthew, Luke and John are traditional, and that Mark displaced the healing motifs on the one hand in 6.5b and on the other hand in 6.13. It is therefore exaggerated to say that Matthew and Luke are never in agreement about the order of events as opposed to Mark. A few rare exceptions do exist (see also Matthew 21.12 = Luke 19.45).

3. The Real Existence of the Q Source

A number of exegetes question whether Matthew and Luke knew the double

tradition from a single document. Instead they think that these two evangelists used small collections of short sayings independently.

In agreement with most advocates of the two-source theory it must be held that the double tradition was collected into one lengthy document for the most part, gathering together very few of Jesus' acts, but primarily catechetical maxims. In my opinion therefore, this document is not a true gospel. (Significantly, it did not contain any accounts of the Passion and the Resurrection.) This would explain why Mark, who probably knew it, did not use it.

The reason for my conviction is as follows: the order of numerous elements of the double tradition is common both to Matthew and Luke throughout these two gospels. This can be illustrated by the table opposite (bottom).

The doublet of Matthew 10.15 and 11.22 seems to show quite well that Matthew voluntarily displaced the long text that I have entitled 'Jesus and John the Baptist' (Matthew 11.2-19 = Luke 7.18-35) into a context where he brings together all sorts of controversy. As for the rest, which includes the greater part of the double tradition, the order of the events is identical.

Matthew's displacing of a number of important maxims can be understood in terms of his interest in regrouping Jesus' words thematically.⁸ (8) He places the

	(Markan material)			(Double Tradition)	
	Mk	Mt 1	Lk 1	Mt 2	Lk 2
The parable of the lamp	4.21	—	8.16	5.15	11.33
Nothing is hidden	4.22	—	8.17	10.26	12.2
No repudiation	10.11	19.9	—	5.32	16.18
The first will be last	10.31	19.30	—	20.16	13.3

	Matthew	Mark	Luke
Visit to Nazareth	13.54–58	6.1–6a	4.16.22.34
<i>Healings by Jesus</i>		6.5b	
Itinerant preaching	9.35	6.6b	8.1
Missionary sending	10.1–14	6.7–12	9.1–6
<i>Healings by those sent</i>		6.13	
Herod's judgement of Jesus	14.12	6.14–16	9.7–9
Execution of John the Baptist	14.3–12a	6.17–29	
Announcement made to Jesus	14.12b	6.30	9.10a
Withdrawal and welcoming the crowds	14.13–14a	6.31–34	9.10b–11a
<i>Healings by Jesus</i>	14.14b		9.11b
Feeding of the five thousand	14.15–21	6.35–44	9.12–17

Lord's Prayer (Mt 6.9–13 = Lk 11.2–4) in the heart of the evangelical discourse, which is the charter of God's true children. In the centre of the missionary discourse, in which the apostles are the plenipotentiaries of the one who sends them (cf. Mt 10.1; 10.40), Matthew defines their identity as follows: 'It is enough that the disciple be like his master' (Mt 10.24–25 = Lk 6.40). In the Parables discourse, which demonstrates the contrast between the knowledge of the true disciples and the hardness of the crowds (Mt 13.13–15), he inserts the saying, 'Blessed are your eyes because they see' (Mt 13.16–17). In contrast, he

illustrates the Pharisee's blindness with an appropriate metaphor: 'If a blind man leads a blind man, both will fall into a pit'. Matthew is also fond of putting doublets together or even combining them (see, for example, Mt. 19.30 and 20.16; Mt. 12.31 and 12.32; Mt. 13.31–32 compared to Mk. 4.30–32 and Lk. 13.18–19.) Therefore, it is natural to suppose that Matthew broke up the Q source while Luke inserted lengthy passages into the midst of the Markan material (Lk. 6.20–7.35; Lk. 9.57–17.37).

It is remarkable that six dispersed double tradition maxims attested to in Luke should be found regrouped in exactly the

	Matthew A	Matthew B	Luke
Exhortations of John the Baptist	3.7–10		3.7–9
Three Temptations	4.1–11		4.1–13
Evangelical Discourse	5.3–7.27		6.20–49
The Capernaum centurion	8.5–13		7.1–10
Jesus and John the Baptist		11.2–19	7.18–35
Accounts of vocation	8.19–22		9.57–60
Missionary Discourse	10.9–16		10.3–12
Tyre and Sidon during judgement	10.15 =	11.22	10.14
Unconverted Cities		11.20–23	10.13–15
The gospel revealed to the simple-minded		11.25–27	10.21–22
The dumb demon		12.22–30	11.14–23
Jonah and the Queen of Sheba		12.39–42	11.29–32
The Hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees		23.4–36	11.39–52
The Lamentations for Jerusalem		23.37–39	13.34–35
The day of the Son of Man		24.26–27	17.23–24
The flood		24.37–39	17.26–27
The one taken and the one left		24.40–41	17.34–36
The parable of the talents		25.14–30	19.12–27

	Luke	Matthew
The disciple and his master	6.40	10.24–25a
Beelzebub	11.15	10.25b
Nothing is hidden	12.2–9	10.26–33
Not peace, but a sword	12.51–53	10.34–36
Renounce everything	14.26–27	10.37–38
To lose one's life	17.33	10.39

same order in Matthew. See the list above.

It is highly improbable that these maxims were known by both Matthew and Luke in isolation from each other without this order being presented in a pre-existing document. Games of chance have their laws.

I agree, therefore, with one of the most contested theses of the two source theory, that the existence of the Q source is indispensable. The exegete's certainties are as reliable as any archaeologist's certainty of the existence of an ancient city discovered in the ruins of a tell. A well-reasoned argument has as much credibility as the discovery of a parchment in a desert cave.

4. Mark, the First Evangelical Harmony

The Markan material remains to be studied. It has been shown how difficult it is to assume that the canonical Mark was independently recopied by Matthew and Luke. Does another alternative exist?

The alternative is quite simple. There is evidence in Antiquity of a tendency to fuse the four gospels together into one account without losing the richness of any of them. Tatian wrote the *Diatessaron*, imitated today by the famous 'Quatre évangiles en un seul'. I propose the hypothesis that Mark already had this idea, not for the four gospels, but for two evangelical documents used in Rome; one being used in the Greek text by Matthew and the other by Luke?

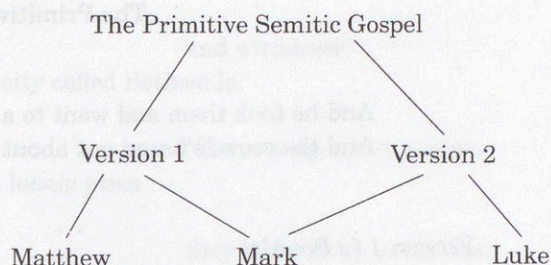
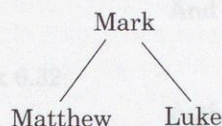
Indeed, it is acknowledged that a phenomenon of duality exists throughout the text of Mark.⁹ The best-known example is found in Mk. 1.32: 'That evening (= Mt. 8.16) after sunset (= Lk. 4.40)'. Mark uses repetitive expressions to say what

Matthew and Luke say in a simple way with synonyms. Could not Mark have harmonised two parallel versions in Greek of an ancient Semitic document? Moreover, it must be observed that Luke expresses himself here in a manner that conforms to good Hebrew style, while Matthew employs a familiar expression from classical Greek. The concrete expression 'the setting of the sun' is attested to in Gen. 28.11, Lev. 22.7, Dt. 23.11, Jdg. 14.18, 2 Sa. 2.24, 3.35, 1 Ki. 22.36, 2 Ch 18.34, Ecc. 1.5, Am. 8.9, Mic. 3.6, Isa. 60.20, etc. But the abstract expression found in Matthew and in the first part of Mark's text, 'a late (hour) having come' (*opsias genomenès*), understood quite well in Greek, cannot be retranslated literally into Hebrew. In the primitive oral tradition, when the event was told for the first time in the language of the Judeo-Christians, Mark's redundancy did not yet exist. It was simply said as in Luke, 'the setting sun'.

The proposed solution to the synoptic problem merely consists of correcting the system of the two-source theory with respect to Mark's material. A comparison of the two genealogical diagrams appears opposite.

In this perspective, Matthew's and Luke's agreement in opposition to Mark causes no problem. It is simply the obverse of Mark's redactional work. See the example given at the beginning of this article (Mk 2.22 and parallels, shown opposite).

The fact that Matthew uses the present while Luke uses the future can be explained quite well by a Semitic background. In Hebrew, as in Aramaic, there is no distinction between the present and the future. The same form (the imperfect or incomplete) expresses either idea,



depending on the context; in one situation the wine is running out, and in the other situation the wineskins are ruined. In relation to the omission of the verb 'to run out' in Mark, an air of sadness is quite intelligently added to the traditional wording represented by Matthew and Luke. The wine not only 'runs out', but is completely 'lost'.

Another example (top of page 140) which explains how my solution works is Jesus' withdrawal to a solitary place (Mark 6.31–33 and parallels), before the feeding of the five thousand.¹⁰

It would be paradoxical indeed to maintain that the final version of Mark was the source which Matthew and Luke each copied independently. In Mark, *the disciples* were the ones who left while in Matthew and Luke, *Jesus* was the one who went away. Mark contains neither the subject 'the crowds' nor the verb 'followed him' which are used in the same manner both in Matthew and Luke. The common denominator of Matthew and Luke is not Mark, but the Semitic text that I have reconstructed.

This text is preserved almost intact in Luke who extracts from his source a detail about the location of the feeding of the five thousand; a remote place situated near Bethsaida (cf. Mk 6.45). In Matthew, the primitive tradition is embellished with details about how people moved from one place to another, on the one hand by Jesus and his disciples (by boat), and on the other hand by the crowds (on foot).

The redactional work of Mark is extensive, and intelligently done. He first uses the pre-Lukan tradition to emphasise that Jesus took his disciples with him. He introduces the Biblical theme of 'rest', towards which the Good Shepherd is leading his sheep (Psalm 23.2). He justifies this need to rest by the intense activity of Jesus and his disciples, a rationale he has already used in Mark 3.20. He then moves closer to the pre-Matthew tradition by specifying the different ways the disciples and the crowds moved from place to place.

The repetitive character of Mark, which harmonises the pre-Luke and pre-Matthew traditions, is quite visible in the synopsis. This can be presented in another way (top of page 141).

The rest of the synopsis is even more interesting because the intelligence of Mark's method is revealed by his harmonising of the two traditions (bottom of page 141).

By merging the two traditions, Mark explains the reaction of the crowds. Some (as in Pre-Mt.) saw the disciples leave, and saw to it that many others knew about it (as in Pre-Luke). With respect to the crowd's action, Mark could no longer use the stereotyped wording of the primitive tradition ('the crowds followed him') since he knew that Jesus had discovered when he got out of the boat that the crowds had arrived at the shore before him. He therefore described the people's race there (interpreting PreMt), and logically

Mt 9.17 and the wine is spilled,
Mk 2.22 and the wine is ruined,
Lk 5.37 and it will be spilled,

and the wineskins are ruined
and also the wineskins
and the wineskins will be ruined

The Primitive Semitic Gospel

And he took them and went to a remote place in the desert.
And the crowds found out about it and followed him.

Version 1 (= Pre-Mt)

And taking them, he left
by boat
to a lonely place apart.
And, the crowds having seen him,
followed him
on foot from the towns.

Version 2 (= Pre-Luke)

But, taking them along, he withdrew
apart, to Bethsaida.
But the crowds, knowing it,
followed him.

Mt. 14.13

Now when Jesus
heard this,

(cf. Mk. 6.45)
(cf. Ps. 23.2)

Jesus withdrew
from there
in a boat to a
lonely place **apart**
But, when the
crowds heard it,
they followed him
on foot
from the towns.

Mk. 6.31-33

And he said to them,
'Come away
apart to a
lonely place
and rest awhile'.
For *many*
were coming and going,
and they had no
leisure even to eat.
and *they went away*

in the boat to a
lonely place **apart**.
Now, *they* saw them going,
and *many* knew them,
and they ran there
on foot
from all the towns.
and got there
ahead of them.

Lk. 9.10b-11a

And he took them
and withdrew
apart to a
city called Bethsaida

When the *crowds*

knew it,
they followed him.

concluded that they had arrived ahead of
Jesus and his disciples.

A careful examination of the genealogi-
cal relationships between the synoptic
gospels leads to a highly interesting con-

clusion about the redactional activity of
their authors. This viewpoint seems
much more interesting than that which is
currently being taught, namely that
Matthew and Luke removed all the

Lk 9.10b:

And he took them _____ and withdrew
apart to a city called Bethsaida.

Mk 6.31a:

And he said to them, 'Come away by yourselves
apart, to a lonely place . . .'

Mk 6.32:

And they went away in the boat
to a lonely place apart.

Mt 14.13a:

And when Jesus heard this, he withdrew from there in a boat to a lonely place apart.

picturesque qualities of Mark's text, replacing it, strangely enough, with an almost identical schematic presentation, while at the same time insisting that Matthew and Luke are not interdependently related!

5. The Historical Consequences:

Discarding 'the critical dogma' of the two-source theory is of great significance to the historian. Matthew and Luke are reinstated. They are not simple paraphrases of Mark. They had access to sources combined by Mark. By comparing them, the oral tradition which was taught to the Judeans and Galileans in their mother tongue at the beginning can be reconstructed fairly easily.

This does not mean to say that what is older is necessarily more exact in the historian's eyes. The primitive tradition was

very schematic, and easily memorised. Details were added when it was written down. The primitive tradition stated that, 'The crowds knew about it, and they followed him'. Subsequently, a witness was able to clarify that Jesus travelled by boat while the crowds went on foot along the shore. Thirdly, Mark pointed out that people had to run, which is not at all unlikely.

The historian must take into account all of the ancient descriptions, or narrations, of the event. Each includes a part of the truth. But this truth must be assessed by evaluating the transformation of the text at each stage, looking for the reasons why the wording was changed. Such a process is the reverse of a fundamentalist approach, but does not put the global historicity of the gospels into doubt. It is the implementation of healthy criticism.

Lk 9.11a:

When _____ the crowds learned it,
they followed him.

Mk 6.31b:

... For many were coming and going ...

Mk 6.32:

And many saw them going,
and
they ran there
on foot from all the towns,
and got there ahead of them.

and knew them,

Mt 14.13b:

And when they heard it, the crowds
followed him on foot from the towns.

6. Consequences for Dating the Synoptic Gospels

The demonstration that the canonical text of Mark was not used by Matthew or Luke facilitates the freedom of research with respect to the date of the final redactions. It is generally recognised, on the basis of Irenaeus' witness, that Mark was written in Rome after the 'exodus' of Peter and Paul, which probably signifies their deaths (to judge by the usage in Lk 9.31 and 2 Pe 1.15). However, nothing forces us to believe that the Greek text of Matthew and Luke were later than that, since they were not inspired by the present day Mark but by more ancient sources. Other observations need to be taken into consideration in order to know whether Matthew and Luke were written before or after the fall of Jerusalem in 70.

This question was dealt with in a relatively recent work.¹¹ It seems that it would have been difficult to write the book of Acts after Nero's persecution of the Christians in 64–65. As long as my arguments are not refuted, I maintain that Luke's gospel should be dated slightly earlier. The Greek text of Matthew must have been written at the same period as Luke but in another geographical area. If it had been published later, for example around 80, it is difficult to understand why Jesus' childhood and his appearances after the Resurrection were presented in a way which is so difficult to reconcile with its precursor.

7. Consistency with the Data from the Acts of the Apostles

Even though Acts, like any ancient narrative, must be read from a critical point of view, especially in terms of chronology, one cannot doubt its overall presentation of the progressive diffusion of Christian ideas in the Mediterranean world.

The evangelical message was first proclaimed in Jerusalem, reaching those Israelites whose liturgical language was Hebrew. Others who spoke Greek also joined the Christian community. The message was received very early in remote

regions, in the outskirts of Jerusalem (Lydda, Joppa), but also quite probably in Galilee, and even as far away as Damascus. The oral teaching of Jesus' witnesses had to be passed on to remote communities, and there is no reason to think that writing was not used for this purpose. The primitive tradition also had to be translated into Greek for the Greek-speaking believers, so once again writing must have been used, even if the oral tradition continued to play a role.

The death of Stephen led to the scattering of the Greek-speaking believers. Some preachers were welcomed in Samaria, Cyprus, Phoenicia and Antioch. The door was timidly left open to a few people from pagan roots who joined the faithful of Jewish origin. Roman soldiers were first evangelised in Caesarea, and would not have been satisfied with the Jewish documents typically used until then. A more universal catechism needed to be written for their benefit, one which highlighted those aspects of Jesus' teaching most easily within their grasp: confidence in the Creator who fed the birds and clothed the flowers of the field in beauty, the approval of the conversion of the people of Nineveh, and the Queen of Sheba's quest for wisdom, for example. This catechism, written in Greek, corresponds to the Q document which modern science has been able roughly to reconstruct.

The Antioch church became more important later on. It housed Peter for a certain time (Gal 2.11) and recorded his memories. The first collection, which we call Pre-Matthew, was probably put together in Antioch. Furthermore, one of the leaders of this church, Saul, also called Paul, undertook several voyages to remote lands, baptising the uncircumcised. From the very beginning he was accompanied by disciples, Barnabas and then Silas, who used a number of oral traditions in their preaching which were absent from the written texts up until then. The document which we call Pre-Luke was written in those regions of Macedonia, Achaia and Asia. Paul needed to leave a written form of the gospel once he left this mission territory (Rm 15.23).

It was only after Paul's coming to Rome that Luke, his companion, wrote, in the space of perhaps two years, two books on the 'History of Christian Origins' ending in 63 according to the chronology most currently accepted and based on earlier investigations. The Church Fathers link his gospel to Paul's preaching, of which an abstract is known to us as Pre-Luke. The gospel of Matthew was written around this same period in another place, probably Antioch. It was during the period in which the separation between Jews and Christians was symbolised by the stoning of James (AD62). Finally, after the fire in Rome in AD64 and the deaths of Peter and Paul in AD64 or 65, Mark was asked to harmonise the Pre-Matthew text from Antioch which was nurtured by Peter's tradition and the Pre-Luke text from Macedonia or Asia which was nurtured by Paul's tradition.

This history can be summarised by the diagram below which covers the genealogy presented earlier.

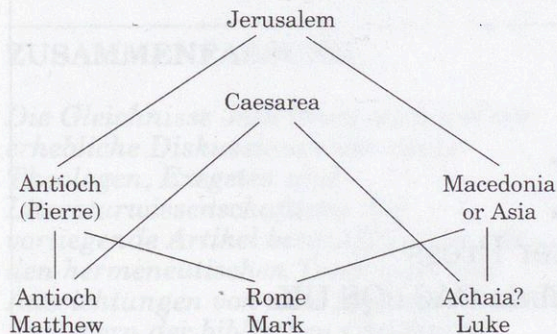
My research has hitherto been published only in French. I have provided a summary of it here, so as to bring it to the attention of a more international audience who can evaluate the various arguments put forth.

Notes

- 1 Specifically F. Neirynck and C. M. Tuckett.
- 2 A. Fuchs, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Matthäus und Lukas. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik* (Rome, 1971).
- 3 The abundant bibliography in W. R. Farmer, *The Gospel of Jesus. The Pastoral Relevance of the Synoptic Problem* (Louisville, Kentucky, 1994). Dom B. Orchard,

another illustrious defender of the hypothesis of two gospels, orally confided in 1984 that he no longer believed in Mark's dependency on a written text from Matthew and Luke, but rather that his basis was a pre-Matthew and pre-Luke tradition. J. J. Griesbach theory was presented for the first time in 1783, but was not accepted by the scientific world. My solution closely approaches that of J. G. Eichhorn which was defended for the first time in 1794, and developed in *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1804). But Eichhorn complicated his schema by assuming that there was an Aramean original and Greek translation for each source document. This would explain why his theory has been forgotten.

- 4 Cf. F. Neirynck, *The Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark, with a Cumulative List* (Leuven, 1974).
- 5 P. Benoit and M. E. Boismard, *Synopse des quatre évangiles en français* (Paris, 1992) Tome II, 17.
- 6 P. Rolland, 'Les prédécesseurs de Marc (Mk. 2.18-22)', in *Revue Biblique* (1982) 370-405; 'Marc, première harmonie évangélique?', in *RB* (1983) 23-79; 'Les évangiles des premières communautés chrétiennes' in *RB* (1983) 161-201; *Les premiers évangiles. Un nouveau regard sur le problème synoptique*, Paris, 1984; 'L'arrière-fond sémitique des évangiles synoptiques', in *ETL* (1984) 358-362; 'Jésus connaissait leurs pensées', in *ETL* (1986) 118-121; 'Synoptique, Question', in *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de la Bible* (Maredsous, 1988) 1227-1231; 'La question synoptique demande-t-elle une réponse compliquée?', in *Biblica* (1989) 217-223; 'Marc, lecteur de Pierre et de Paul', in *BETL C* (Leuven) 1992, 775-778; 'Lecture par couches rédactionnelles de l'épisode de l'épileptique', in *BETL CX* (Leuven, 1993) 451-458.
- 7 M. E. Boismard, *L'évangile de Marc, sa préhistoire* (Paris, 1994): 'My position is close to the theory developed by Philippe Rolland, stating that Mark combined texts, not from the final versions of Matthew and Luke, but rather from a Pre-Matthew and a Pre-Luke (cf. my Intermediate Matthew and my Proto-Luke). In my opinion, this theory is wrong in that it does away with any Markan tradition. If it is true that in certain cases the final version of Mark combined texts coming from Intermediate-Matthew and



Proto-Luke, most of these texts came from Intermediate-Matthew and Proto-Mark' (p. 9). The acceptance of this theory is even more evident in the revised edition of *La Bible de Jérusalem* (1998). 'The following hypothesis now becomes plausible: the relationship between the Synoptics must be considered not on the level of the Gospels as we presently have them, but on the level of older redactional material that can be called pre-Matthew, pre-Luke, and perhaps even pre-Mark. All these intermediate documents could be dependent on a common source which could only be the Aramaic version of Matthew and then translated into Greek in the different

ways of which Papias spoke'. (*La Bible de Jérusalem*, édition révisée (1998) 1667)

- 8 Cf. P. Rolland, 'From the Genesis to the End of the World. The Plan of Matthew's Gospel', in *Biblical Theology Bulletin* (1972) 155-176.
- 9 Cf. F. Neirynck, *Duality in Mark. Contributions to the Study of the Markan Redaction* (Leuven, 1972).
- 10 Part of my response to M. E. Boismard's 1994 book is summarized here: P. Rolland, 'La véritable préhistoire de Marc (MC 6, 30-34 et parallèles)', in *RB* (1996) 244-256.
- 11 P. Rolland, *L'origine et la date des évangiles. Les témoins oculaires de Jésus* (Paris, 1994).

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