

# Modern and Ancient Literary Criticism of the Gospels

Edited by  
ROBERT MATTHEW CALHOUN,  
DAVID P. MOESSNER,  
and TOBIAS NICKLAS

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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451





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Continuing the Debate on Gospel Genre(s)

Edited by

Robert Matthew Calhoun, David P. Moessner,  
and Tobias Nicklas

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David P. Moessner  
Tobias Nicklas  
Robert Matthew Calhoun



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## List of Abbreviations

AB (AYB)	Anchor (Yale) Bible
ABRL (AYBRL)	Anchor (Yale) Bible Reference Library
AcBib	Academia Biblica
AcT	<i>Acta Theologica</i>
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AmJT	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANE	Ancient Near East
ANRW	H. Temporini and W. Haase, eds., <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972–)
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ASE	<i>Annali di storia dell'esegesi</i>
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
AThR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
ATLAMS	American Theological Library Association Monograph Series
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BibInt	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BMSSEC	Baylor Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BPC	Biblical Performance Criticism
BSGRT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
BSNA	Biblical Scholarship in North America
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BThS	Biblich-theologische Schwerpunkte
BThSt	Biblich-theologische Studien
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
Budé	Collection des universités de France, publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>

BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBNT	Commentaire biblique, Nouveau Testament
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CC	Continental Commentaries
CCSA	Corpus Christianorum: Series Apocryphorum
CIQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CurBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CurTM	<i>Currents in Theology and Mission</i>
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EC	<i>Early Christianity</i>
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
ECCA	Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity
ECL	Early Christianity and Its Literature
EDEJ	J.J. Collins and D. C. Harlow, eds., <i>The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism</i> (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010)
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ETL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FBBS	Facet Books, Biblical Series
FF	Foundations and Facets
FIOTL	Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature
FO	<i>Folia Orientalia</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FZPhTh	<i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie</i>
GA	Gregory-Aland (manuscript reference numeration)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
HB	Hebrew Bible
HBT	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
ITQ	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JAJSup	Supplements to Journal of Ancient Judaism
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JGRChJ	<i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JohMS	Johannine Monograph Series

JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSHJ	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KAL	Kommentare zur Apokryphen Literatur
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
KJV	King James Version
LASBF	<i>Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MnemSup	Supplements to Mnemosyne
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
MT	Masoretic Text
NA <sup>27</sup> , NA <sup>28</sup>	B. Aland, et al., eds., <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , 27th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993); rev. (1998); 28th ed. (2012)
NCB	New Century Bible
NCBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NEchtB	Neue Echter Bibel
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NET	Neutestamentliche Entwürfe zur Theologie
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NPNF <sup>1</sup>	P. Schaff, ed., <i>A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church</i> , repr., 14 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1956)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament
NTGF	New Testament in the Greek Fathers
NTL	New Testament Library
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTSI	New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts (Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis)
OECGT	Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , <a href="https://www.oed.com">https://www.oed.com</a>

OSJCB	Osnabrücker Studien zur Jüdischen und Christlichen Bibel
OT	Old Testament
OTL	Old Testament Library
PhA	Philosophia Antiqua
PG	J.-P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca</i> , 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–1886)
PHSC	Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts
PIBA	<i>Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association</i>
PillarNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
PMLA	<i>Proceedings of the Modern Language Association</i>
PRSt	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
RAC	T. Klauser, et al., eds., <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> (Tübingen: Hiersemann, 1950–)
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RCT	<i>Revista catalana de teologia</i>
RGG <sup>3</sup>	K. Galling, et al., eds., <i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft</i> , 3rd ed., 7 vols. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1957–1965)
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SAAA	Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles
SANt	Studia Aarhusiana Neotestamentica
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLGNT	M.W. Holmes, ed., <i>The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition</i> (Atlanta: SBL, 2010)
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBL SBS	Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SGRR	Studies in Greek and Roman Religion
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTI	Studies in New Testament Interpretation
SNTS	Society for New Testament Studies / Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World
SP	Sacra Pagina
SR	<i>Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses</i>
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

<i>SwJT</i>	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
SymS	Symposium Series
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TENTS	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
THGNT	D. Jongkind, et al., eds., <i>The Greek New Testament Produced at Tyndale House, Cambridge</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2017)
ThH	Théologie historique
<i>ThTo</i>	<i>Theology Today</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TS	Texts and Studies
TSK	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TUMSR	Trinity University Monograph Series in Religion
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
VCSup	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WD	<i>Wort und Dienst</i>
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
ZNT	<i>Zeitschrift für Neues Testament</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>





## Introduction

DAVID P. MOESSNER, TOBIAS NICKLAS,  
AND ROBERT MATTHEW CALHOUN

The present collection of studies focuses on the age-old problem of characterizing the church's Gospels as literature. As we were initially contemplating an event and inquiring with friends and colleagues, we became aware that Richard A. Burridge's influential study, *What Are the Gospels?*, remarkably would soon be appearing in a 3rd edition, marking its 25th anniversary.<sup>1</sup> This seemed like an auspicious moment to invite scholars working on the Gospels to deliberate together whether the question of genre had finally been settled or whether some alternative or even new approaches were showing promise in elucidating their literary character as a group. It should be clear at once from the table of contents that the vision of a conference (held in November 2018 at Texas Christian University) and a volume representing a wide range of perspectives has been realized. Several contributors travel far beyond the boundaries of "literary criticism," as traditionally understood.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the controversy no longer turns only on which genre best fits the (canonical) Gospels,<sup>3</sup> but also on whether 'genre' is a suitable interpretive instrument for this literature at all.

The essays' diversity of methods and conclusions meant that ascertaining the optimal organization (τάξις) for the volume would be rather challenging. The editors ultimately adopted a straightforward topical arrangement. Part one, "The Question of Genre and the Gospels," focuses on the literary character of the Gospels *as a group*, particularly in relation to genre theory. Unsurprisingly, many contributors turned to Mark – for most the earliest extant written narrative Gospel – as a point of entry into the problem; we gathered these into part two, "Mark as Narrative in the Light of Ancient and Modern Literary Criticism." Part three, "The Growth of the Gospel Tradition in Early Christian Literary Culture,"

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<sup>1</sup> R. A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 3rd ed. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2018). The new edition was likewise feted at a joint session of several program units at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Denver, CO, on November 17, 2018.

<sup>2</sup> As exemplified, for example, in the still-essential collection of sources in D. A. Russell and M. Winterbottom, eds., *Ancient Literary Criticism: The Principal Texts in New Translations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972).

<sup>3</sup> The individual essays vary in their capitalization of "Gospel" or "gospel" (also "Synoptic" or "synoptic," etc.); the editors thought it best to let each contributor's preferences stand.

assembles the essays that deal with Matthew, Luke (and Acts), John, and the Gospel of Peter.

A central question did emerge, however, from the variety of perspectives presented during the two days of the conference. Richard Burrige's keynote address, "The Gospels and Ancient Biography: 25 Years On, 1993–2018" (9–56), concisely surveys the course of scholarship over the two and a half decades since the publication of the first edition of *What Are the Gospels?* in 1993. Relying mainly on commentaries and major monographs, he narrates for each of the "big four" Gospels the initial continuation of the earlier consensus (i. e., that they are *sui generis* or otherwise not βίοι), then the stirrings of change inspired by his work, and finally (after some resistance by the old guard) the triumph of his thesis and the establishment of a new consensus, which younger scholars now presuppose "as a base line to develop new lines of research" (33).<sup>4</sup> Burrige's keynote thus prompts the question: has scholarship across the international spectrum in fact arrived at a broad agreement that the Gospels are βίοι? Many scholars answer *yes*.<sup>5</sup> But new stirrings in the last decade, especially in ancient 'narrative' (διήγησις) rhetorical criticism, reception and performance criticisms, 'social memory' theory, and more recently in 'genre' criticism have added their voices to the fray. As a reading of the essays collected here will make clear, the debate continues, and it is heading in some very interesting directions.

We may mention first the contributors who use Burrige's hypothesis as a point of departure in the pursuit of fresh interpretive insights. In her forthcoming monograph, Helen K. Bond observes according to the excerpts quoted by Burrige (52) a "disappointingly meager" set of "practical results of the identification of the gospels as *bioi*"<sup>6</sup> – a deficiency she intends her book to remedy. Several essays here abet that purpose. Justin Marc Smith ("Famous [or Not So Famous] Last Words: Last and Dying Words in Greco-Roman Biography and Mark 15:34," 307–33) compares significant "last/dying words" of the subjects of Greek and Roman biographical works alongside the account of Jesus's final utterance in Mark 15:34. R. Alan Culpepper ("The Foundations of Matthean Ethics," 359–79) examines "the intersection of three subjects," namely "the genre of the Gospels, the ethics of the Gospels, and the place of Matthew in Jewish Christianity" (359). Within the Gospel as a biographical whole Matthew offers a model for imitation as well as providing the rationale or warrants for

<sup>4</sup> Burrige goes on to outline how his work has helped to transform scholarship in multiple areas: (1) the audiences and social settings of the Gospels in early Christianity; (2) the genre of Acts; (3) Roman Catholic reactions to his monograph; and (4) further implications of his study for theological and historical research.

<sup>5</sup> E. g., in this volume, J. M. Smith (307–33).

<sup>6</sup> H. K. Bond, *The First Biography of Jesus: Genre and Meaning in Mark's Gospel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2020). Bond offered similar statements in her presentation at the conference ("What Difference Does It Make to Say That Mark Is a *Bios*?"). See also now eadem, "A Fitting End? Self-Denial and a Slave's Death in Mark's *Life of Jesus*," *NTS* 65 (2019): 425–42.

ethical behavior (360). John A. Darr (“Reading Luke-Acts as Scriptural History and Philosophical Biography: A Pragmatic Approach to Lukan Intertextuality and Genre,” 397–416) sets out to refine the notion, accepted by many, that Luke-Acts combines historiography and biography: he argues that Luke and Acts together comprise a foundation narrative blending “Jewish scriptural historiography and Greco-Roman intellectual biography,” in order to “establish, define, reinforce, promulgate, and defend group identity” (400). Finally, Paul N. Anderson (“Revelation and Rhetoric in John 9:1–10:21: Two Dialogical Modes Operative within the Johannine Narrative,” 441–70) regards βίος as working in tandem with “Johannine dialogism” which has theological, historical, and literary dimensions, and which furthermore has revelatory and rhetorical modes. Viewing these aspects together “may indeed shed light upon the ministry of Jesus as conveyed within the Johannine tradition” (442).

One will notice at once that these studies that perceive Mark, Matthew, Luke-Acts, and John as biography or biographical do not engage the most contentious of Burridge’s claims, i. e., that *all* of the Gospels are βίοι, and that, generically speaking, εὐαγγέλιον is βίος. Several contributors challenge these claims directly and at the same level of generality, beginning with Werner Kelber (“On ‘Mastering the Genre,’” 57–76), who homes in on Burridge’s assertion that mastery of the genre is required for correct interpretation. Kelber scrutinizes this assertion from three points of view: genre (pointing out that its flexibility, rightly emphasized by Burridge, sabotages its interpretive primacy); narrative (arguing that the Gospels’ *narrative* character supersedes genre); and history (noting that oral-scribal communication practices mean, practically, that texts were pluriform and unstable, with significant yet unconsidered implications for genre). Michal Beth Dinkler (“What Is a Genre? Contemporary Genre Theory and the Gospels,” 77–96) proposes “that we shift from considering genre in terms of *classification* to seeing genre as a dynamic, dialogical *mode of communication*” (78). Dinkler gives a brief, incisive overview of the evolution occurring among genre theorists from classificatory approaches to functional models. She concludes by describing the Gospels as “ancient rhetorically-shaped narratives that claim to be reliable records of recent events” (92). Elizabeth E. Shively (“A Critique of Richard Burridge’s Genre Theory: From a One-Dimensional to a Multi-Dimensional Approach to Gospel Genre,” 97–112) agrees with Dinkler that Burridge’s hypothesis is overdue for critical scrutiny. She urges, in light of more recent developments in genre theory, “the integration of a rhetorical dimension (genre as typified action), a cognitive dimension (genre as schemata/mental structure), and a literary dimension (genre as formal and thematic structure)” (108). Carl Johan Berglund (“The Genre[s] of the Gospels: Expectations from the Second Century,” 113–44) observes that Burridge constitutes the resemblances between Gospels and βίοι, discovered through his comparative procedures, as a set of expectations to guide interpretation – but

without testing and confirming this hypothesis by examination of the Gospels' early reception. Berglund turns to three 2nd-c. sources (part of the Acts of John, Clement's *Protrepticus*, and Heracleon's *hypomnēmata* on the Gospel of John) to demonstrate the perception of *multiple* genres in the Gospels: "ancient historiography, Christian proclamation, Jewish-Christian prophetic writings, and ancient biography" (113). Cilliers Breytenbach ("The Gospel according to Mark: The Yardstick for Comparing the Gospels with Ancient Texts," 179–200), notes that "there are still many researchers who do not subscribe to the thesis that Mark is a biography" (180), then lays out the differences between *analytic* and *illustrative* modes of comparison. The latter compares (presumably) similar texts in order to construct the type to which the two belong. The analytic mode, meanwhile, juxtaposes "equivalent units" (involving three terms: *x* resembles *y* with respect to *z*) toward the construction of explanatory generalizations. In the place of the illustrative mode employed by Burrige, Breytenbach performs preliminary analytic comparisons of Mark with a range of ancient texts, concluding that the former should be considered foremost as an episodic narrative. "[T]he genealogical relationship between Mark and narrative genres contemporary to the time of the gospel" should be left aside, pending the results of "substantial" analytic comparisons" (199–200).

The remaining studies offer proposals for how to understand what the Gospels *are* and *are doing*, as a group or individually, apart from the βίος-hypothesis. David P. Moessner ("Mark's Mysterious 'Beginning' [1:1–3] as the Hermeneutical Code to Mark's 'Messianic Secret,'" 243–71) and Margaret M. Mitchell ("Mark, the Long-Form Pauline εὐαγγέλιον," 201–17) argue that Mark designs his Gospel to have a flexible yet integral relationship with other bodies of literature. Moessner points out that the opening verses of Mark's Gospel pose questions concerning how the passages quoted in 1:2–3 might connect with the characters who promptly appear (John the Baptist and Jesus), as well as the relationship between the quoted passages' *source*, "Isaiah" (as v. 2 says, but also Exodus and Malachi) and the narrative which follows. Moessner argues that the ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου formulates an epitome of "Moses and the prophets" through the register of the plot of Second Isaiah that Mark's "gospel" will unfold as the "messianic secret" in Jesus of Nazareth. According to Mitchell, meanwhile, the evangelist Mark "not only transformed an *oral* [Pauline] kerygma (εὐαγγέλιον) into *writing*, but he transferred *a set of maverick claims for mediated Christophanies* in words, in body, in rituals of baptism and thanksgiving meal, in ethics, and in ... community – that were characteristic of the Pauline Gentile Christ-believing mission – *into long-hand narrative form*" (207). In other words, Mark expands the tightly compressed synecdochic summaries of τὸ εὐαγγέλιον into a full episodic narrative.

The idea of the Gospels as *performed texts* animates the contributions of Geert Van Oyen ("Actio according to Quintilian [*Institutio oratoria* 11.3] and the

Performance of the Gospel of Mark,” 335–56) and Tobias Nicklas (“Second-Century Gospels as ‘Re-Enactments’ of Earlier Writings: Examples from the Gospel of Peter,” 471–85). Van Oyen studies Mark’s performative features in the light of Quintilian’s pedagogical theory regarding delivery (*actio*), one of a small handful of extant rhetorical-theoretical passages dealing with this topic, in order to build bridges between past-oriented (historical) and present-oriented (reader-response, narratological, “applied”) research methodologies. Nicklas has formulated a hypothesis on the growth of the Gospel tradition that he calls “re-enactment” (*Neueinszenierung*), i. e., the emergence of new Gospels through the re-staging of the story for new audiences – from memory, not from written sources lying open on a redactor’s desk. Nicklas deploys this model here to illustrate how the Gospel of Peter can maintain fidelity to its precursors (particularly in the overall structure of the narrative) while departing from them strikingly in numerous details.

The next pair of contributors assess the impact of social memory theory on our understandings of the Gospels. Sandra Huebenthal (“What’s Form Got to Do with It? Preliminaries on the Impact of Social Memory Theory for the Study of Biblical Intertextuality,” 145–76) sharply criticizes the ways historical-critical scholars tend to investigate intertextuality (e. g., as promise and fulfillment). Intertextuality needs instead, she argues, to analyze (a) how tradition and identity are negotiated and adapt to new situations; (b) how cultural memory is used to create meaning; and (c) how both (a) and (b) change over time (154). Thomas R. Hatina (“Intertextual Transformations of Jesus: John as Mnemomyth,” 417–40) begins by noting the correlation between the view of the Gospel of John as “preserving content from the actual past” (417) and the determination of the Gospel’s genre as βίος. He challenges both premises with a study of “how the identity of Jesus is constructed through a process of social commemoration and ideological mythmaking within the medium of narrative” (418).

The remaining three essays address the literary craftsmanship of the evangelists. While these studies may go beyond the strictures of overall form or genre, they underscore afresh that whatever else the Gospels may be, they are *not* simple repositories of traditional material, as the form critics of previous generations of scholars often assumed. Stefan Alkier (“Das Markusevangelium als Tragikomödie lesen,” 219–42) inquires why a text that refers to “good news” in its opening line does not have a euphoric conclusion, but instead tells of women who are silent because of their fear. Alkier proposes that Mark 1:1–15:46 is tragic, and 15:47–16:8 is comedic. In the tragic part, the euphoric arrival and initial reception of Jesus encounter dysphoric responses and actions, culminating in his execution. The comedic part begins with the dysphoric image of the women at the tomb, yet points the readers toward a euphoric acceptance of the angel’s announcement of the resurrection. C. Clifton Black (“The Kijé Effect: Revenants in the Markan Passion Narrative,” 273–305) examines a phenomenon he

labels the “Kijé effect,” the ghostly reappearance of figures in Mark’s passion account from earlier in the Gospel’s story. Black amasses the evidence of such “revenants” carefully, and concludes by probing whether other ancient authors employ similar techniques. Wolfgang Grünstäudl (“Continuity and Discontinuity in Luke’s Gospel: Luke 9:51 and the Pre-Jerusalem Phase as a Test Case,” 381–96) urges the re-evaluation of the Lukan “travel narrative,” which scholars typically regard as beginning in 9:51. Grünstäudl argues instead that the doubled narratives of Jesus sending out his followers in 9:1–6, 10 and 10:1–20 open up a “room of repetition” which closes in 22:35–36, and that 9:51 inaugurates the “pre-Jerusalem phase” of the Gospel.

In conclusion, we, the editors, acknowledge how illuminating as a whole Burridge’s βίος theory has been in focusing the shape of Jesus of Nazareth in the larger portraits of each of the canonical Gospels. At the same time, we recognize that the new voices and fresh approaches do fill in some of the empty spaces with critical pieces in the ‘puzzle’ that point in directions away from βίος in depicting the literary character of the four Gospels. The puzzle remains unsolved – a continuing challenge for our contributors, and inviting prospect, we hope, for our readers as well.

PART ONE

The Question of Genre and the Gospels





# The Gospels and Ancient Biography

25 Years On, 1993–2018<sup>1</sup>

RICHARD A. BURRIDGE

Burridge's work was rapidly seen as highly significant, not to say game-changing, in understanding the genre of the Gospels, and his conclusions were widely accepted. This sea change in scholarship is Burridge's major contribution to the scholarly world. Steve Walton<sup>2</sup>

Richard Burridge has set an agenda that will provide decades of work for biblical scholars, historians, and theologians. Ian Markham<sup>3</sup>

It seems incredible that it is twenty-five years since my revised doctoral thesis was first published in the SNTS Monograph Series,<sup>4</sup> and some thirty-five years since I began research into the genre of the gospels. I am pleased and privileged by the opportunity to open this conference, "The Gospels and Ancient Literary Criticism: Continuing the Debate on Gospel Genre(s)" with an attempt to summarize my critical review of gospel scholarship since 2000, particularly those scholars and books which have paid me the honor of interacting with my work, and those who more recently have started to develop new avenues of interesting research.

By the time the second edition appeared, a "sea-change" about the genre of the gospels had clearly happened,<sup>5</sup> and the biographical hypothesis had become

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<sup>1</sup> This paper summarizes my "Gospels and Biography, 2000–2018: A Critical Review and Implications for Future Research," in idem, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 3rd ed. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2018), I.1–I.112. I am grateful to Baylor and especially to Dr. Carey Newman for permission to use this material here.

<sup>2</sup> "What Are the Gospels? Richard Burridge's Impact on Scholarly Understanding of the Genre of the Gospels," *CurBR* 14/1 (2015): 81–93, 86–87; repr. in *Biographies and Jesus: What Does It Mean for the Gospels to Be Biographies?*, ed. C. S. Keener and E. T. Wright (Lexington, KY: Emeth Press, 2016), 47–57, 52.

<sup>3</sup> "Richard Burridge's Achievement," *First Things* (January 2014): 22–24, 24.

<sup>4</sup> *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, SNTSMS 70 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). (The paperback appeared in 1995.)

<sup>5</sup> "This book may produce a sea-change in the problem of the genre of the Gospels. Whether it produces a sea-change in contemporary interpretations of the Gospels remains to be seen" (C. A. Tuckett, review of *What Are the Gospels?*, by R. A. Burridge, *Theology* 96/769 [January 1993]: 74–75).

accepted as the new scholarly consensus, as Steve Walton's review makes clear. However, in literary or theological studies, no less than in the wider humanities, or indeed in the sciences, the proof of an hypothesis is not only when other scholars repeat or agree with the original research, but more importantly, when it begins to be assumed and taken for granted to be used as a basis for further profitable lines of new research, as suggested by Ian Markham's quotation above, which also addresses Tuckett's second point, about whether this work would produce "a sea-change in contemporary interpretations of the Gospels." This paper builds upon the second edition's review of the 1990s<sup>6</sup> by looking particularly at new research and publications which have appeared since 2000, both significant commentaries which have been published in the last two decades, but also several areas where the biographical hypothesis has had a significant impact, namely, the social setting and audience of the gospels for specific communities or "all Christians," the genre of the book of Acts, the interest in the biographical genre among Roman Catholic biblical scholars, the relationship of ancient biography with historiography, and finally some new avenues of research about the interpretation of the gospels, both theological and historical.

### A. The Literary Theory of Genre

First, however, we must note that our account of the literary theory of genres continues to have significant implications for gospel studies, which some scholars have appreciated and utilized well, while others still fail to take this into account – particularly with regard to the distinction between *genres* (as represented by nouns, biography, history, tragedy, etc.) and the level of *modes* (as adjectives such as tragic, biographical, etc.), as well as our discussion of Alastair Fowler's model of genres' origins, life, development, and death or trans-mogrification into other, newer genres.<sup>7</sup> Equally, it is important to stress that our research into the "family resemblance" between the gospels and ancient *bioi* was based on a whole range of some nineteen different generic features which indicate a work's genre, including both "external" features of form and structure as well as "internal" features of content.<sup>8</sup> Given the more unusual nature of one of our features, namely counting all the verbs to determine the subject, it is perhaps not surprising that this one attracted a lot of attention – but it remains crucial to remember that it is only *one* of nineteen features, and cannot determine genre on its own. I propose to illustrate the contemporary approach to literary theory

<sup>6</sup> R. A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 252–307.

<sup>7</sup> See particularly Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 37–47 (ch. 3, §§ C–D), and 239–43 (ch. 10, §§ B.2–3).

<sup>8</sup> See Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?*, 105–23 (ch. 5).

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