

THE SYNOPTIC HEALING NARRATIVE AND RABBINIC ANALOGIES

LAURENCE J. MCGINLEY, S.J.

Woodstock College

I. THE SYNOPTIC HEALING NARRATIVE

The Use of Analogies in Form-Criticism

Dibelius.—In evolving the theory of form-criticism,¹ and especially in applying it to stories of miraculous healings, the exponents of the new method have naturally sought confirmation for their conclusions in analogies drawn from other literatures. Thus in his discussion of the novellen, Martin Dibelius frequently has recourse to analogies from Jewish and Greek sources to illustrate or prove his point. He gives parallels for the Gospel healings in general² and in detail: the history of the malady, the inability of doctors or disciples to cure it, incredulous bystanders;³ strange words used in magic formulae and their preservation as healing-recipes;⁴ sighs, gestures, cure by contact and the use of spittle;⁵ devils in large numbers, answering questions, inflicting damage as they depart;⁶ confirmation of the cure by carrying the sick-bed, choral acclamation, astonishment of the multitude, transition to cult-worship of the hero.⁷ In most cases the references are incidental. Occasionally, however, they shed light on the general use of analogies in form-criticism. Thus the choral-ending is viewed as an indication that the novelle was a substitute for preaching among people accustomed to the preternatural deeds of gods and prophets.⁸ From parallels it is deduced that the amazement of the multitude at

¹ For an evaluation of the basic principles of form-criticism and their application to healing narratives, cf. the preceding articles in this series, *THEOLOGICAL STUDIES* II (1941), 451-80; III (1942), 47-68, 203-30.

² M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (2nd ed.; Tübingen, 1933), p. 78, note 2. This book is cited hereafter simply as "Dibelius."

³ Dibelius, p. 79 and notes 1-3.

⁴ Dibelius, p. 81 and note 2.

⁵ Dibelius, p. 82 and notes 1, 2; p. 83 and notes 2, 3.

⁶ Dibelius, p. 86 and notes 2, 3.

⁷ Dibelius, p. 87; p. 72, notes 1, 2; p. 78, note 1. Cf. "The Structure and Literary Character of the Gospels," *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XX (1927), 159 f.

⁸ Dibelius, p. 72.

the great man's power is a step toward cult-worship.⁹ Detailed description of the technique of the cure shows close relationship between the novelle and the literary wonder-narrative.¹⁰ That certain phrases and formulae were preserved principally for the guidance of Christian exorcists and healers is illustrated by a passage from Josephus.¹¹

In the second edition of his book, Dibelius has supplemented such occasional references with a chapter on analogies. In it he seeks to confirm and circumscribe his observations on the paradigm, the novelle, and the legend by analogies for these stories drawn more or less from the sphere of Jesus' life and the milieu of the composition of the Gospels—popular, originally isolated stories of a related character.¹² He confines his researches to the rabbinic, Greek, and early Christian writings, merely referring to the other literatures in which parallels have been sought for the synoptic material.¹³ In adducing these analogies, Dibelius does not seek to prove dependence. His aim, in this step of the form-critical method, is to establish the similarity of *Sitz im Leben* and development of the individual stories, and the parallel formation and transmission of the traditions as a whole.

Bultmann.—Although Rudolf Bultmann makes more extensive use of analogies than does Dibelius, he does not, like his colleague, devote a special section of his work to an explanation of their value and use. However, there are incidental statements to be found throughout his book which will enable us to understand his general theory.¹⁴

Among the means at the disposal of form-critical research, Bultmann lists analogies, both for the form of the single units of tradition and for the tradition's general history. Regarding the form of the single units, sayings and stories of rabbis come into consideration as also Hellenistic narratives. For both form and history, the transmission of maxims, anecdotes, and popular narratives is illuminating. Much can also be learned from fairy-tale literature and the folksong.¹⁵

⁹ Dibelius, p. 78.

¹⁰ Dibelius, p. 78.

¹¹ Dibelius, p. 81.

¹² Dibelius, p. 131; cf. "The Structure and Literary Character of the Gospels," p. 153.

¹³ Dibelius, p. 178.

¹⁴ R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (2nd ed.; Göttingen, 1931), hereafter referred to simply as "Bultmann."

¹⁵ Bultmann, pp. 7 f.

Bultmann adduces a multitude of analogies to illustrate in detail the style of the miracle-story: the situation, the miraculous deed, its results, impressions of the bystanders.¹⁶ For these parallels, he draws on many sources: the Old and New Testaments, the Apocrypha, rabbinic stories, ancient Greek and Latin authors and inscriptions, fairy tales of many lands. His purpose is to depict the phenomenology of the miracle-story in as far as is necessary for an understanding of the synoptic narratives.¹⁷ He employs analogies because he believes that the history of the Gospel miracle-accounts cannot be adequately considered within the confines of the New Testament. Their creation, or at least their formation, was the work of tradition; and though, in some degree, the motifs spontaneously arose in the community, yet both the peripheral and central motifs were partly taken over from popular, perhaps even literary, wonder narratives. The precedent of existing miracle-stories and other anecdotes being applied to a hero (a savior, even a god) is often to be observed in classical literature, fairy tales, and monastic histories.¹⁸

That popular miracle-stories and motifs penetrated the oral tradition is clear, e.g., in Mr 5:1-21, the Gerasene demoniac; and this can be verified in individual cases by presenting parallels. In general it may be said that the Old Testament influence is discernible more in a tendency to tell miracle-stories of Jesus the Messiah, than in any particular narratives.¹⁹ The stylistic peculiarities of the synoptic narratives, however, show that they arose in the same atmosphere as the Jewish and Hellenistic miracle-stories, as may be observed by a study of exorcisms, healings, and resuscitations found in these literatures.²⁰ Such material, of course, can but rarely be considered as the source of definite synoptic wonder-stories. But it does illustrate the atmosphere, show motifs and forms, and help explain the penetration of miracle-narratives into the Gospel tradition.²¹

For the apothegm, analogies also serve to indicate whether the tradition was formed in a Palestinian or a Greek milieu. For the other

¹⁶ Bultmann, pp. 236-41. The examples from rabbinic and Greek literature and their interesting schematic presentation will be discussed in subsequent articles.

¹⁷ Bultmann, p. 236.

¹⁸ Bultmann, pp. 243 ff.

¹⁹ Bultmann, pp. 245 f.

²⁰ Bultmann, pp. 246-49, where a number of analogies are cited. Cf. also "The New Approach to the Synoptic Problem," *Journ. Rel.*, VI (1926), 347 ff.

²¹ Bultmann, p. 253.

miracle-stories, however, a difficulty arises from the fact that very few real miracle-stories are to be found in the rabbinic tradition. They are, for the most part, so interwoven in the rabbinic disputes that they have taken on an apothegmatic character. Of course, pure miracle-stories were also told among the Jewish people, but it is impossible to say how far such narration was under Hellenistic influence in motif and form due to the mingling of cultures. The abundance of Hellenistic parallels to the synoptic wonder-stories, especially as regards style, favors an origin on Hellenistic terrain.²²

General View.—From the foregoing summaries of the general theory of Bultmann and Dibelius regarding the use of analogies in form-criticism, it is clear what an important part they play in the new method. Obviously, any such explanation of the origin, development, and transmission of the synoptic tradition as is given by form-criticism must be tested by a comparison with other literatures. Moreover, such a comparison has a clearly restricted purpose: it does not seek to prove interdependence of the literatures nor, for the most part, the transplanting of individual stories or motifs. It seeks rather to verify previously made observations on the style and *Sitz im Leben* of the single stories and on the formation and transmission of the tradition as a whole. Briefly, it seeks to establish a similarity of *atmosphere* and all that this implies: community creation of isolated stories according to definite forms and for definite needs. In selecting this major argument of form-criticism for minute analysis in these articles, we have, therefore, chosen a suitable test of the value of the method in general and its application to healing narratives in particular. Our investigation seeks the answer to this question: *Do the Gospel healing stories so resemble their rabbinic and Hellenic parallels in content, style, and topic, that they must have originated and developed in a similar way and in a similar atmosphere?*

Some observations on the correct use of analogies were made in a preceding article.²³ There is no analogy for the synoptic tradition as a whole, and hence no amount of comparison of individual stories will be completely satisfactory; for such stories are colored by their position in the general body of the Gospel tradition with its definite

²² Bultmann, pp. 254 f.; "The New Approach," p. 349.

²³ THEOLOGICAL STUDIES, II (1941), 468-71.

spiritual tone, its historical validity, its climactic march of events. Moreover, in analyzing individual stories, diversities are even more important than similarities; the latter may be due merely to common human nature; of the former this is not true, and hence they are more immediately indicative of the milieu. Again, since we are seeking to compare milieux, there need be no discussion of analogies drawn from sources distant in time or space from primitive Christianity: Indian stories, modern fairy tales, Franciscan chronicles, or the legend of Doctor Faust.²⁴ In only two literatures, rabbinic and Hellenic, can we seek for an atmosphere comparable to that of the synoptic tradition. Analogous traits of style discovered in other literatures indicate not a similarity of milieux (which is the point of form-criticism's use of analogy) but the fundamental oneness of human nature. Finally, in regard to healing narratives in particular, one special point should be recalled. The force of the comparison lies not in the main outlines of two similar stories but in their secondary details. Granted that two stories relate a cure, it is inevitable that there should be common traits: history of the illness, request for a cure, healing, verification of the healing, reactions.²⁵ In these general features, the Gospel miracle-narratives differ but little from the latest reports of the medical examiners at Lourdes; and yet—this is the important point—such common traits obviously do not prove a similarity of atmosphere, a parallel community creation of cult-legends, the influence of primitive literary laws, or a similar *Sitz im Leben* in the Palestine of long ago and the southern France of today. Details relatively unimportant regarding the cure itself will, therefore, be of prime importance as indications of the milieu in which the story arose.

The Form of the Synoptic Healing Accounts

In any study of analogies it is of evident importance to analyze in detail both terms of the comparison. Hence, in the present article we shall investigate the form—i.e., the content, style, and topic—of all references to healing in the synoptic Gospels. In order to do this accurately for form-critical purposes, it is unnecessary to divide the

²⁴ E. Fascher agrees: *Die formgeschichtliche Methode*, p. 129.

²⁵ M. Goguel has some dryly keen observations on this point: "Une Nouvelle école de critique évangélique," *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.*, XCIV (1926, II), 142.

stories into paradigms and novellen, or apothegms and miracle-stories. Bultmann and Dibelius, it is true, agree in theory that not all healing narratives are to be assigned to the same formal group.²⁶ But in point of fact they do not agree completely on the content, the form, or the *Sitz im Leben* of their corresponding groups. Moreover, there is the problem of intermediate forms which cannot be definitely assigned to either group, and formal characteristics which are common to both groups. Finally, the study of all synoptic healing accounts under one heading is justified by Bultmann himself, who in his analysis of the phenomenology of the miracle-story refers also to healings already classified as apothegms.²⁷

Content.—The references to healing in the synoptic Gospels may, however, be grouped under three definite headings, according to content. Thus we can distinguish narrative accounts of healings, summary accounts of Jesus' general healing activity, and references to healing by others than the Savior Himself.

The following *narratives* from the synoptic Gospels record healings by Jesus Himself:²⁸

- 1) The possessed man in the synagogue: Mr 1:21-28, L 4:31-37.
- 2) The mother-in-law of Peter: Mt 8:14-15, Mr 1:29-31, L 4:38-39.
- 3) The leper: Mt 8:1-4, Mr 1:40-45, L 5:12-16.
- 4) The paralytic: Mt 9:1-8, Mr 2:1-12, L 5:17-26.
- 5) The man with the withered hand: Mt 12:9-15a, Mr 3:1-7a, L 6:6-11.
- 6) The centurion of Capharnaum: Mt 8:5-13, L 7:1-10.
- 7) The widow's son at Nain: L 7:11-17.
- 8) The Gerasene demoniacs: Mt 8:28-34, Mr 5:1-20, L 8:26-39.
- 9) The woman with the issue of blood and
- 10) The daughter of Jairus: Mt 9:18-26, Mr 5:21-43, L 8:40-56.
- 11) The Syrophenician woman: Mt 15:21-28, Mr 7:24-30.
- 12) The deaf and dumb man: Mr 7:31-37; cf. Mt 15:29-31.

²⁶ Beside the references given in the preceding articles, cf. Dibelius, "Zur Formgeschichte der Evangelien," *Theol. Rund.*, N.F. I (1929), 201 f.; "The Structure and Literary Character of the Gospels," pp. 158 f.; Bultmann, "The New Approach," p. 347.

²⁷ Fascher concludes that neither author has succeeded in drawing a line of demarcation between these groups: *Die formgeschichtliche Methode*, pp. 77, 89, 121.

²⁸ The incidents are listed in probable chronological order. To facilitate citation, each incident will hereafter be referred to by its *number*. If the reference is to an account as presented by one evangelist rather than another, a *letter* will be added to the number: a for Mt, b for Mr, c for L. Thus "2b" refers only to Mr 1:29-31; "2ac" refers to Mt 8:14-15 and L 4:38-39; "2" (alone) refers to all three passages.

- 13) The blind man of Bethsaida: Mr 8:22-26.
- 14) The possessed boy: Mt 17:14-21, Mr 9:14-29, L 9:37-44a.
- 15) The two blind men: Mt 9:27-31.
- 16) The dumb possessed man: Mt 9:32-34; cf. Mt 12:22-28.
- 17) The blind and dumb possessed man: Mt 12:22-28, L 11:14-20; cf. Mt 9:32-34, Mr 3:22-26.
- 18) The woman with a spirit of infirmity: L 13:10-17.
- 19) The man with dropsy: L 14:1-6.
- 20) The ten lepers: L 17:11-19.
- 21) The two blind men near Jericho: Mt 20:29-34, Mr 10:46-52, L 18:35-43.
- 22) The servant's ear: L 22:49-51; cf. Mt 26:51-54, Mr 14:47.

In the following passages, there is either a *summary account* of Jesus' healing activity or a *reference* to it:²⁹

- 23) In the evening: Mt 8: 16-17, Mr 1:32-34, L 4:40-41.
- 24) Missionary tour: Mt 4:23-25, Mr 1:39; cf. L 4:44.
- 25) Multitudes gather: L 5:15-16.
- 26) Crowds follow: Mt 12:15b-21, Mr 3:7b-12, L 6:17-19.
- 27) Before the disciples of John: L 7:21.
- 28) The reply to the disciples of John: Mt 11:2-6, L 7: 18-23.
- 29) Certain women healed: L 8:2-3; cf. Mr 16:9.
- 30) At Nazareth: Mt 13:54-58, Mr 6:1-6a; cf. L 4:16-30.
- 31) Missionary tour: Mt 9:35-38; cf. Mt 4:23-25, Mr 6:6b.
- 32) Herod hears of Jesus: Mt 14:1-2, Mr 6:14-16, L 9:7-9.
- 33) At the first multiplication of loaves: Mt 14:13-14, L 9:11; cf. Mr 6:34.
- 34) At Gennesaret: Mt 14:34-36, Mr 6:53-56.
- 35) At the second multiplication of loaves: Mt 15:29-31; cf. Mr 7:31-37.
- 36) Woe Chorazin, Bethsaida, Capharnaum: Mt 11:20-24, L 10:13-15; cf. Mt 10:15.
- 37) "Tell Herod . . .": L 13:31-33.
- 38) The departure from Galilee: Mt 19:1-2; cf. Mr 10:1.
- 39) In the house of Simon the leper: Mt 26:6-7, Mr 14:3.
- 40) The disciples praise God: L 19:37-40.
- 41) In the temple: Mt 21:14-17; cf. Mr 11:18, L 19:47-48.
- 42) Herod hopes for a sign: L 23:8-9; cf. L 9:7-9.
- 43) Mary Magdalene: Mr 16:9, L 8:2-3.

In the passages below there is a reference to *healing by someone else* than Jesus:

- 44) Choice of the apostles: Mr 3:14-15; cf. Mr 6:7, L 6:13.

²⁹ In some cases the reference is only probable (39) or only to Jesus' miraculous activity, not specifically to cures, though these seem to be included (30a, 32, 36, 40, 42).

- 45) "Lord . . . in Thy name": Mt 7:21-23; cf. L 6:43-46.
- 46) Mission of the twelve: Mt 10:1-10, Mr 6:7-13, L 9:1-6.
- 47) Return of the twelve: Mr 6:30, L 9:10.
- 48) Another in Christ's name: Mr 9:38-40, L 9:49-50.
- 49) Mission of the seventy: L 10:1-12.
- 50) Return of the seventy: L 10:17-20.
- 51) "Your children . . .": Mt 12:27, L 11:19; cf. Mr 3:22-26.
- 52) Signs to follow believers: Mr 16:15-20; cf. L 10:18-20.

Further analyzing the content of these passages, we may note that cures of physical ailments predominate. Giving sight to the blind is the most common miracle;³⁰ next comes the cure of leprosy;³¹ deafness, lameness, and paralysis are referred to three times,³² and mutilation twice;³³ fever, a withered hand, an issue of blood, dumbness, dropsy, lunacy, and "pains" are each recorded once.³⁴ In most of the summaries the disease is not specified.³⁵ Beside these cures of those already sick, Jesus twice grants immunity from physical harm, whether from serpents, scorpions, or drinking deadly things.³⁶ Next in frequency to cures, come exorcisms of those possessed, referred to twenty-two times.³⁷ In two cases the possession is multiple: once an unspecified number of devils, the other time seven.³⁸ Immunity from diabolical harm is apparently granted once.³⁹ In nine passages cures and exorcisms are coupled, though clearly distinguished.⁴⁰ Resuscitation of those already dead is referred to four times.⁴¹ Twice other miracles are mentioned in connection with healing: prophecy and the gift of tongues.⁴²

The healing activity of others is recorded only in summary fashion.⁴³ In most cases the reference is to Jesus' disciples: the apostles, the seventy, future believers.⁴⁴ They are granted the power to cure, to exorcise, even to raise the dead:⁴⁵

These twelve Jesus sent forth after he had charged them, saying: "Take ye not

³⁰ 13, 15, 21, 27, 28, 35, 41.

³¹ 3, 20, 28, 39, 46a.

³² Deafness: 12, 28, 35; lameness: 28, 35, 41; paralysis: 4, 6a, 24a. ³³ 22, 35.

³⁴ 2, 5, 9, 12, 19, 24a, 24a.

³⁵ So in 23, 25, 26, 29, 30b, 31, 33, 34, 37, 38, 46ac, 49.

³⁶ 50, 52.

³⁷ 1, 8, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, 26bc, 27, 29, 37, 43, 44, 45, 46ab, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52.

³⁸ 8bc, 43.

³⁹ 50.

⁴⁰ 23, 24a, 26bc, 27, 29, 37, 46, 47b, 52.

⁴¹ 7, 10, 28, 46.

⁴² 45, 52.

⁴³ Except 14, where the disciples fail.

⁴⁴ Apostles 44, 46, 47; seventy 49, 50; believers 52.

⁴⁵ Cure 46, 49, 52; exorcise 44, 46, 52; raise dead 46.

the way of the gentiles, neither enter ye a town of the Samaritans; but go ye rather unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And as ye go, preach, saying, "The kingdom of the heavens is at hand." Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out the devils; freely ye have received, freely give' (Mt. 10:5-8).⁴⁶

They are instructed, and sent forth to heal in Christ's name; on their return they report to Him what they have done.⁴⁷ There are three references to healing by other than the followers of Christ.⁴⁸ In each case it is a question of exorcism, not cure, and twice the act is performed in the name of Jesus. The Master exhibits no annoyance at unauthorized healing in His name and bids John not to prohibit such activity; it, also, redounds to His honor:

'Master,' said John to him, 'we saw a man casting out devils in thy name, and we forbade him, because he was not following us.' But Jesus said, 'Forbid him not; for there is no man that shall work a miracle in my name and shall be able soon to speak ill of me; for he that is not against us is for us' (Mr 9:38-40).

Style.—Having examined the content of these passages, we may now proceed to a consideration of their style. In every case it is simple and unadorned, objective, direct. Occasionally there are vivid touches, especially in the accounts as presented by Mark, but these are always realistic, never artificial:

And they come to Jericho. And as he was going out of Jericho with his disciples and a large crowd, the son of Timaeus, Bartimaeus, a blind beggar, was sitting by the wayside. And on hearing that it was Jesus of Nazareth he began to cry out and say, 'Son of David, Jesus, have pity on me.' And many sharply bade him hold his peace. But he cried out so much the more, 'Son of David, have pity on me.' And Jesus stopped and said, 'Call him.' And they called the blind man, saying to him, 'Be of good heart; arise, he calleth thee.' And casting off his cloak he leaped up and came to Jesus. And Jesus answered him and said, 'What wilt thou that I do for thee?' The blind man said to him, 'Rabboni, that I may see.' And Jesus said to him, 'Go, thy faith hath healed thee.' And straightway he saw, and followed him on the way (Mr 10:46-52).

Similarly, the paralytic is lowered "through the tiling, into the midst before Jesus"; the Gerasene demoniac "had snapped the chains and

⁴⁶ In order to follow the Greek text closely, all translations are given according to *The Westminster Version of the New Testament*.

⁴⁷ Instructed 46, 49; in Christ's name 50, 52; report 47, 50.

⁴⁸ 45, 48, 51. On 51 cf. De Grandmaison, *Jesus Christ*, III, 130, note 4.

broken into pieces the fetters" and was "howling and cutting himself with stones"; Jesus came "to the president's house and saw the flute-players"; the blind man of Bethsaida saw men "as though they were trees, but walking about"; Jesus bids His disciples "keep a light boat in readiness for him because of the multitude"; and so on.⁴⁹ Direct discourse is prevalent,⁵⁰ and dialogue, or at least Jesus' reply to an unspoken thought, occurs in about one-third of the passages. The action is straightforward and there are no digressions, unless we are to consider as such the words of the centurion of Capharnaum or the cure of the woman with the issue of blood en route to the home of Jairus.

The style is concise throughout, with a few possible exceptions.⁵¹ The narratives vary from two to twenty verses in length, with an average length of slightly less than eight verses. The summaries are, of course, much shorter and indicate in a special way the conciseness of the style:

And Jesus went about the whole of Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every disease and every infirmity among the people (Mt 4:23).

They sometimes represent "many" as being healed, but more frequently "all" are cured; in one case only a "few" are healed.⁵² Matthew reports three double healings and Luke one occasion in which ten are cured.⁵³ The time is generally short—a few minutes; in the summaries and the accounts of healing by others than Jesus, however, it is frequently indefinite and may cover several days.⁵⁴

Chronological details are rare. The sabbath is mentioned five times, the evening once, "the same hour" twice.⁵⁵ The occasion is often depicted, however:

And straightway, leaving the synagogue, he came to the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John. Now Simon's mother-in-law lay stricken with fever; and straightway they spoke to Jesus about her. And drawing near, he took her by the hand and raised her up; and the fever left her, and she ministered to them (Mr 1:29-31).

⁴⁹ 4c, 8b, 10a, 13, 26b. Cf. also 3b, 6, 7, 9, 14, 23 and, of course, the various sayings and discourses of Jesus.

⁵⁰ E.g., it occurs in all the narratives except 2. ⁵¹ 8bc, 9bc, 14b.

⁵² 30b. ⁵³ 8a, 15, 21a, 20.

⁵⁴ Cf. 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 38, 46, 49, 52.

⁵⁵ Sabbath 1, 5, 18, 19, 30b; the evening 23; the (same) hour 6, 11a. Cf. also such expressions as: "the following day," "some days later," "soon afterwards," etc.

Other occasions are: teaching in the synagogue, coming ashore, entering or leaving a town, ascending or descending the mountain, and, most frequent of all, while travelling.⁵⁶ Local details are quite abundant. Sometimes the place is merely described in general: a house, in the synagogue, by the sea, on the mountain, in the market places, in the temple.⁵⁷ However, many place names are given, sometimes as the site of the miracle: Capharnaum, Nain, Gadara or Gerasa, the district of Tyre and Sidon, Bethsaida, Jericho, Gennesaret; sometimes as the scene of Jesus' travelling or the place of origin of the crowds who follow Him: the Decapolis, Jerusalem, Samaria, Galilee, Syria, Judaea, beyond Jordan, Idumaea, Chorazin, the Sea of Galilee, Bethany, the Mount of Olives. Besides time and place, some numerical details also occur. Generally these are to be understood literally: four men bearing the paralytic, two Gerasene demoniacs, two blind men (Mt 9), ten lepers of whom nine fail to show gratitude, two blind men near Jericho (Mt 20).⁵⁸ But round numbers are also employed: the two thousand swine lost in the sea, the twelve years suffering of the woman with the issue of blood, Jairus' daughter as twelve years of age, eighteen years in which the woman had a spirit of infirmity.⁵⁹

About half of the narratives have external completeness, i.e., they are self-contained units which might be transplanted elsewhere without altering the general progress of the story or removing any definite transitions.⁶⁰ In the other narratives, the link with preceding events varies from the vague to the definite: "And he embarked in the boat and crossed over. And he came to his own town. And behold, they brought him a paralytic . . .";⁶¹ or, much more definitely: "And straightway, leaving the synagogue, he came to the house of Simon and Andrew. . . ."⁶² Similarly, the transition to the events that follow may be vague: "Now whilst all were marvelling at all the things that he was doing, he said . . .";⁶³ or definite: "And as they were going [i.e., the two blind men just cured], behold, men brought unto

⁵⁶ While travelling: 20, 21, 24a, 31, 34b, 37, 38, (46, 49, 52).

⁵⁷ A house: 2, 4, 10, 11, 15, 19, 23b; the synagogue: 1, 15, 18.

⁵⁸ 4b, 8a, 15, 20, 21a.

⁵⁹ 8b, 9, 10bc, 18.

⁶⁰ Good examples are 13, 18, 20; cf. also 3ac, 5c, 6; 9 and 10 together; 14ab; 15 and 16 together; 17, 21ab.

⁶¹ 4a; cf. also 5a, 7, 10, 11b, 14c.

⁶² 2b; cf. also 2c, 8, 9, 12, 16, 22.

⁶³ 14c; cf. also 3b, 4, 5b, 7, 8, 11a, 17.

him a dumb man who was possessed."⁶⁴ In one case two stories are interwoven,⁶⁵ and in several instances the passages referring to healing are closely linked together.⁶⁶ The general impression is of a loosely knit but essentially unified story.

Characterization is consistently very simple. Usually the secondary characters are quite colorless, e.g., the leper, the paralytic, the man with dropsy, of whom we know nothing more than their illness.⁶⁷ Frequently there is indirect characterization, by word or act, as in the case of the Syrophenician woman, the Samaritan leper, the blind beggars near Jericho, the centurion of Capharnaum, Jairus, the father of the possessed boy;⁶⁸ and, of course, in the portrayal of Jesus Himself, who reveals His unique personality in every act and word. Sometimes, however, the actors are depicted more directly, though always sparingly; thus, among the narratives: the enemies of Jesus when He heals the withered hand, the Gerasene demoniacs and the nearby swineherds and townsfolk, the woman with the issue of blood.⁶⁹

Except for the frequently mentioned enthusiasm of the patients or the multitudes, feelings are depicted only occasionally: fear or gratitude of the sick person,⁷⁰ fear or enmity of the bystanders.⁷¹ Sometimes the sick person is definitely named or described: the mother-in-law of Peter; the daughter of Jairus; Bartimaeus; Joanna, wife of Chuza, Herod's steward; Susanna; Simon the leper; Mary, called the Magdalene.⁷² Other names occurring in these passages are: Peter or Simon, Andrew, James, John, Jairus, John the Baptist and his disciples, Mary, James, Joseph, or Joses, Simon, Jude, Herod, Elias, the twelve apostles. There is little interest in the subsequent history of those healed: we learn only that some spread Jesus' name abroad,⁷³ and others followed Him.⁷⁴ Usually there are only two speaking characters in any passage, though sometimes there are three,⁷⁵ and twice there are four.⁷⁶ As a rule the crowd acts and speaks as a unit. Frequently it is merely

⁶⁴ 15; cf. also 1, 2, 5a, 9, 11b, 19, 21c.

⁶⁵ 9 and 10.

⁶⁶ 1bc, 2 and 23; 24b, 3bc and 4bc; 5, 26 and 17a; 8bc, 9bc, and 10bc; 46bc and 32bc; 11b and 12; 3a, 6a and 2a; 9a, 10a, 15, 16 and 31; 11a and 35; 6c, 7, and 28c; 49, 36c and 50. There are, of course, numerous parallel passages, and once a narrative in Mark is presented as a summary by Matthew: cf. 12 and 35.

⁶⁷ 3, 4, 19; cf. also 1, 2, 5, 7, 10, 12-18, 22 and most of the summaries.

⁶⁸ 11, 20, 21, 6, 9, 14b.

⁶⁹ 5, 8, 9.

⁷⁰ 9, 20.

⁷¹ Fear: 4ac, 7, 8; enmity: 4, 5, 10, 16, 17, 18, 30, 41.

⁷² 2, 10bc, 21, 29, 39, 43.

⁷³ 3b, 8bc, 15.

⁷⁴ 21, 29, (39), 43.

⁷⁵ 1, 6c, 8b, 10b, 11a, 14a, 17a, 21bc, 28c, 40, 41.

⁷⁶ 14b, 32b.

"the multitude"; at other times the scribes, the Pharisees, the doctors of the Law, the elders of the Jews, the townspeople, the disciples, pallbearers, swineherds, flute-players, lawyers, the high priests.⁷⁷

In the healings effected by Jesus Himself, His miraculous power is always taken for granted. Usually it is not referred to, but merely implied: "Lord, my servant is lying sick at home with paralysis, and is grievously tormented"; or: "And behold, there was a man with a withered hand, and they asked him, saying, 'Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath?' in order that they might accuse him."⁷⁸ Occasionally it is described indirectly, i.e., by its effects: for example, upon the Gerasene demoniacs ("The devils besought him"), or the dumb possessed man ("But the Pharisees said, 'It is by the prince of devils that he casteth out devils'").⁷⁹ Sometimes, however, Jesus' power is mentioned explicitly: "With authority and power he commandeth unclean spirits"; "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean"; "I know that power hath gone forth from me"; "If by the spirit of God I cast out devils. . . ."⁸⁰ In every instance it is a sovereign, independent power, of which Jesus is calmly sure, and which knows no limits except those He voluntarily sets to it:

And behold, a leper drew near and worshipped him, saying, 'Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.' And stretching forth his hand he touched him, saying 'I will; be thou made clean.' And straightway his leprosy was cleansed (Mt 8:1-4a).

Among the voluntary limits is, of course, that conditioning of His power which God has decreed by creating in men a free human will. Jesus does not impose His healing assistance on those who reject Him: "Because of their want of faith," He "could work no miracle there [in Nazareth] beyond healing a few sick."⁸¹ The power of healing possessed by the disciples, on the other hand, is both limited and dependent.⁸²

⁷⁷ Scribes: 4, 5c, 14b, 41. Pharisees: 4c, 5, 16, 17, 19, 37, 40. The latter are mentioned most frequently because of their opposition to Jesus. They are not, however, merely stock enemies, for Jesus is depicted as dining with one of their leaders (19) and as being warned by them of the ill will of Herod (37).

⁷⁸ 6a, 5a.

⁷⁹ 8a, 16; cf. 17 and 28 (the reply to the disciples of John).

⁸⁰ 1, 3, 9c, 17a; cf. also 4, 14b, 26c, 30, 32.

⁸¹ 30; cf. the account in Luke. ⁸² Cf. 14, 50.

Jesus' motive in performing the various miracles of healing is generally only implied; most frequently it is a response to generous faith in His person or mission. Explicitly, He is moved by pity,⁸³ by an intention to prove His right to forgive sins⁸⁴ or the precedence of the spirit of charity over the letter of the law of sabbath observance.⁸⁵ He is depicted as compassionate, angry or grieving, gently encouraging the sick, marvelling at faith or the want of it.⁸⁶

And it came to pass soon afterwards that he went to a town called Nain; and with him went his disciples and a great multitude. And as he came nigh to the gate of the town, behold, they were carrying forth dead a mother's only son, and she was a widow; and a large gathering of the townsfolk was with her. And the Lord, seeing her, felt compassion towards her and said to her, 'Weep not.' And going forward he touched the bier, and the bearers stood still. And he said, 'Young man, I say to thee, arise!' And the dead man sat up and began to speak; and he gave him to his mother. And all were seized with fear, and they glorified God, saying, 'A great prophet hath arisen among us,' and, 'God hath visited his people' (L 7:11-17).

There is no complacency in His manner, no eagerness to show His prowess. A spiritual tone pervades the stories: the leper is to offer the gift which Moses commanded; the paralytic's sins are forgiven; prayer and fasting are necessary; the kingdom of God is come; the ten lepers are to show themselves to the priests; Jesus retires to the wilderness for prayer; the poor have the Gospel preached to them.⁸⁷ Even miracle-workers in His name are to be judged by their deeds; they are to give freely what they have freely received, and live poorly; they are to rejoice, not at the subjection of spirits, but because their names are written in heaven; those that believe not shall be condemned.⁸⁸

Other traits emphasize this same spiritual tone. Jesus refuses "a sign from heaven" to satisfy the curiosity of His adversaries; He refuses to parade His power before the doubting townsfolk of Nazareth;

⁸³ 3b, 7, 21a, 31, 33a.

⁸⁴ 4.

⁸⁵ 5, 18, 19.

⁸⁶ Compassion: 3b, 7, 21a, 31, 33a; anger or grief: 5b, 14, 36, 37; encouraging: 4a, 6, 9a, 33c; marvelling: 6, 30b.

⁸⁷ 3, 4, 14a, 17, 20, 25, 28.

⁸⁸ 45, 46a, (49), 50, 52. Cf. Dibelius, "The Structure and Literary Character," p. 167: "The Gospels show practically no trace of the motive of miraculous self-help, of that device, so common to all cycles of legend . . ."; Bultmann, *Jesus* (Berlin, 1926), p. 160: "Jesus . . . ist . . . nicht wunderstüchtig." On Bultmann's concept of Jesus' own attitude toward miracles, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 158-65.

He refuses to curry favor with Herod by a miraculous deed.⁸⁹ There is no anxiety to convince the sceptical and miracles are never imposed, though He sometimes cures without being asked to do so.⁹⁰ Indeed, He often withdraws from the multitude and on one occasion endeavors to escape notice by entering a house.⁹¹ More important still is the close connection between Jesus' miraculous activity and His mission. Not only have His deeds of healing been prophesied,⁹² but they have direct probative value:

And behold, men were carrying upon a bed a man who was paralyzed, whom they sought to bring in and to place before him. And as they found no way of bringing him in, because of the multitude, they went up to the housetop and lowered him—couch and all—through the tiling, into the midst before Jesus. And seeing their faith he said, 'O man, thy sins are forgiven thee.' And the scribes and the Pharisees began to reason saying, 'Who is this that speaketh blasphemies? Who can forgive sins save God alone?' But Jesus, knowing their reasonings, answered and said to them, 'Why reason ye in your hearts? Which is easier, to say, "Thy sins are forgiven thee," or to say, "Arise, and walk"? But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins'—then said he to him who was paralyzed—'I say to thee, arise take up thy couch, and go to thy home.' And he rose at once before them, and took up that whereon he had lain and departed to his home, glorifying God (L 5:18-25).

Similarly, the leper's cure is to be a "witness unto" the priests not only of Jesus' obedience to the Law but also of His divine mission; if Jesus exorcises by the spirit of God, then is God's kingdom come to earth; a terrible destruction is prophesied for those cities which did not believe, despite His miracles; on the slope of Mount Olivet "the disciples in their joy began to praise God with loud voices for all the miracles which they had seen, saying: Blessed is he who cometh, the King, in the name of the Lord."⁹³ But the demonstrative power of His healings is made most clear in the reply to the disciples of John: "Art thou he who is to come?" they had asked Him; and Jesus answers, "Go and report . . . what ye have seen and heard."⁹⁴

It is natural, therefore, to find a pervading harmony between Jesus' words and acts. In preternatural cures and exorcisms and resuscita-

⁸⁹ 17c, 30, 42.

⁹⁰ E.g., 18, 22.

⁹¹ 11b.

⁹² 23a, 26a, 28, 41.

⁹³ 3, 17, 36, 40.

⁹⁴ 28c. On the link between Jesus' miracles and His mission, cf. De Grandmaison, *Jesus Christ*, III, 114-20.

tions His spiritual mission is externalized; it is the triumph of the Savior over original sin and its effects: possession, disease, and death. The fusion of Jesus' words and works is particularly striking: the people flock to Him "to hear him and to be healed of their infirmities."⁹⁵ Both with Jesus and His disciples, there is this constant union of teaching and healing.⁹⁶ The coming of the Kingdom, repentance,⁹⁷ the true spirit of the Law⁹⁸ are insisted on; moral lessons are inculcated.⁹⁹ Indeed some of Jesus' most beautiful sayings are spoken in connection with a healing: "How much greater the worth of a man than of a sheep! . . . it is lawful to do good on the sabbath"; "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed . . ."; "All things are possible to him that believeth"; "Every kingdom divided against itself is laid waste"; "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country"; "The laborer is worthy of his maintenance"; "Rejoice not . . . that the spirits are subject to you; but rejoice that your names are written in the heavens."¹⁰⁰

One more trait of style deserves to be noted here: the historical reality of the events narrated is always taken for granted. It is not only not questioned or defended or criticized; it is not even discussed. There is a constant presupposition that all know the actuality of the events and that a simple, objective recital of them suffices to awaken or increase faith. Inasmuch as the general historical validity of the Gospels is presupposed in these articles, the credibility of the miracles in particular does not lie within our field of investigation, especially since Bultmann and Dibelius agree that miracles are of the essence of the Gospel story.¹⁰¹ Besides, in studying the analogies to the synoptic healings found in rabbinic and Hellenic literature, there can be no question of parallel historical worth. However, it is well to recall that miracles pervade all three Gospels and every phase of the tradition contained in them; that they are intimately bound up with the faith of the disciples, the awe of the crowds, the enmity of Jesus' adversaries; that they excite even the curiosity of Herod. What the Pharisees deny is not Jesus' power to heal but His right to do so on the sabbath. Like their successors they admit His exorcisms but ascribe them to diabolical assistance. Later on, Peter will refer to the miracles of

⁹⁵ 25.⁹⁶ 1, 4bc, 5c, 18, 24, 25, 26c, 30, 31, 33c, 44, 46, 47b, 49, 52.⁹⁷ 36, 46b.⁹⁸ 3, 5, 18, 19. ⁹⁹ 5a, 14, 18, 19, 20, 45, 50.¹⁰⁰ 5a, 14a, 14b, 17a, 30, 46a, 50; cf. also 11, 18, 19, 49.¹⁰¹ Bultmann, p. 233.

Jesus as deeds well known to all.¹⁰² Indeed, throughout ancient literature, whether apostolic, patristic, or the hostile polemics of early adversaries, the discussion never centers on the *reality* of Jesus' cures, exorcisms, or resuscitations.¹⁰³

Topic: Exposition.—Having considered the content and style of these passages, we may now examine the "topic" of the Gospel healing miracles—i.e., the narrative pattern which they follow in more or less detail—beginning with the introductory part or exposition. We note that in regard to cures, the disease or infirmity from which the patient suffers is generally named in the narratives¹⁰⁴ and occasionally described: e.g., the long illness of the woman with the issue of blood.¹⁰⁵ In the summaries, however, the reference is usually vague.¹⁰⁶ The origin of the malady is not given¹⁰⁷ and the length of the illness only three times.¹⁰⁸ The seriousness of the patient's plight is seldom explicitly referred to,¹⁰⁹ though it is often evident enough, e.g., in the resuscitations, the cures of leprosy and paralysis, the exorcisms. The previous vain efforts of physicians to heal a disease is reported once, as is the failure of the disciples to exorcise.¹¹⁰

The cases of possession are generally described, except in the summaries.¹¹¹ The devils are frequently referred to as "unclean,"¹¹² are always regarded as evil,¹¹³ and are represented as doing physical harm to those possessed by them.¹¹⁴ They do not appear in physical form but they speak audibly—crying out, pleading for mercy;¹¹⁵ they recognize Jesus' mastery over them and are fearful and submissive.¹¹⁶

¹⁰² Cf. Acts 2:22 f.; 10:37 ff.

¹⁰³ Cf. De Grandmaison, *Jesus Christ*, III, 104–107.

¹⁰⁴ 2, 3, 4, 5, 6a, 9, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21 (24a, 27, 28, 35, 39, 41).

¹⁰⁵ 9; cf. also 2c, 6a, 22.

¹⁰⁶ 23, 25, 26bc, 29, 30b, 31, 33, 34, 37, 46bc, 49, 52.

¹⁰⁷ Except 22.

¹⁰⁸ 9, 14b, 18.

¹⁰⁹ 6, 8, 9, 14, 18.

¹¹⁰ 9b(c), 14.

¹¹¹ The possession is not specified in 23, 24, 27, 29, 37, 43, 46c, 48, 50, 52.

¹¹² 8bc, 11b, 14bc, 26bc, 46b; also as evil 27, 29; epileptic 14a; dumb 14b, 16, 17; blind, 17; of infirmity 18.

¹¹³ On demonology in the Gospels, cf. J. Smit, *De Daemoniis in Historia Evangelica*, (Rome, 1913). On the complex concept of demons in the ancient world, cf. De Grandmaison, *Jesus Christ*, III, 128–30, 268–73. The most important characteristics of demons in the N.T., as distinct from the pagan conception, are their subordination to God and their definite moral character as wicked counterparts of the angels.

¹¹⁴ Cf. 8, 11, 14.

¹¹⁵ 1, 8, 14b, 23c, 26b.

¹¹⁶ 1, 8, 14bc, 23bc, 26b; cf. 50.

And in the synagogue was a man who was possessed by an unclean devil, and he cried out with a loud voice, 'Ah, what have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee, who thou art—the holy one of God!' And Jesus rebuked him, saying, 'Hold thy peace and go out of him.' And the devil flung him into the midst and went out of him, without having in any way harmed him (L 4:33–35).

They can cause diseases,¹¹⁷ but even in such cases there is no confusion between possession and natural organic sicknesses. Jesus' exorcisms are clearly distinguished by the evangelists from His miraculous cures, e.g., in the summaries; and He gives the disciples a twofold power, to heal the sick and to expel the evil spirits.

The sick person is rarely named but is occasionally described,¹¹⁸ and we are told that Jairus' daughter was twelve years old. Of the men healed, one is a servant, one a Samaritan, one (two) a beggar.¹¹⁹ Of the women, one is Peter's mother-in-law, one the wife of Herod's steward, one from Magdala.¹²⁰ The parent is always mentioned in connection with the healing of a child.¹²¹ The sick person is generally depicted as approaching Jesus for the cure, frequently being brought by others and sometimes carried on a stretcher.¹²² On three occasions, the sick person is healed at a distance.¹²³ Sometimes the patient worships Jesus;¹²⁴ the woman with the issue of blood also fears:

And as he went the crowds pressed upon him. And a woman with an issue of blood for now twelve years, whom none could heal, came up behind him and touched the tassel of his cloak; and at once the issue of her blood ceased. And Jesus said, 'Who touched me?' And whereas all were denying it, Peter said, 'Master, the crowds hem thee in from every side!' But Jesus said, 'Someone touched me; for I know that power hath gone forth from me.' And the woman, seeing that she had not escaped notice, came up trembling, and falling down

¹¹⁷ Cf. 14, 16, 17, 18. On Jesus' own belief in the world of spirits and their power to cause diseases, cf. De Grandmaison, *Jesus Christ*, III, 130–37.

¹¹⁸ Named: 21b, 29, 39, 43; described: 2, 6, 7, 10, 11b, 18, 20, 21bc, 22, 29.

¹¹⁹ 6, 20, 21.

¹²⁰ 2, 29, 43.

¹²¹ Sons: 7, 14; daughters: 10, 11. Only human beings are healed. References to animals occur in these passages only in 5a (sheep falling into a pit on the sabbath), 8 (swine at Gerasa), 18 (lead ox or ass to water on the sabbath), 19 (raise ox from well on the sabbath), 50 (seventy have power to tread on serpents and scorpions), 52 (believers shall take up serpents unharmed).

¹²² Brought to Jesus: 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 23, 24a, 34a, 35; on a stretcher: 4, 34b.

¹²³ 6, 11, 20.

¹²⁴ 3, 9, 15, 20, 21.

before him made known in the presence of the whole people for what reason she had touched him, and how she had been cured instantly. And he said to her, 'Daughter, thy faith hath healed thee. Go in peace' (L 8:43-48).

An intermediary frequently asks for the cure (less often the sick person), but usually no request is recorded.¹²⁵ Several times Jesus Himself approaches the sick person or they encounter on the way.¹²⁶ On three occasions, Jesus withdraws from the crowd before performing the miracle.¹²⁷

Occasionally the Master demands faith before healing, or even tests such faith:¹²⁸

And as Jesus was departing thence, two blind men followed him, crying out and saying, 'Have pity on us, Son of David!' And when he had come into the house, the blind men came unto him; and Jesus saith to them, 'Believe ye that I can do this?' They say to him, 'Yea, Lord.' Then he touched their eyes, saying, 'Be it done to you according to your faith.' And their eyes were opened. And Jesus strictly charged them, saying, 'See that none know of it.' But they went forth and spread his fame abroad throughout that country (Mt 9:27-31).

The faith of the patient is sometimes explicitly portrayed; at other times the faith of his intermediaries suffices;¹²⁹ generally, however, there is no explicit mention of faith, though we can see from the story that it is present abundantly, especially in the summaries. Jesus is mocked by the bystanders on three occasions; twice they endeavor to trap Him; four times they are offended by His prodigies.¹³⁰ Lack of faith in Jesus or those He sends is to be punished,¹³¹ but no miraculous punishments are recorded in the Gospel; in fact they are prohibited:

And going they entered a Samaritan village to prepare for him; and they would not receive him, because his face was set for Jerusalem. And when the disciples James and John saw this they said, 'Lord, wilt thou that we bid fire fall from heaven

¹²⁵ Cure asked by patient: 3, 15, 20, 21; by intermediaries: 2bc, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 34. The intermediaries are described: 6, 10, 11, 14; they worship Jesus: 10, 11, 14ab. Two sets of intermediaries arrive: 6c, 10bc.

¹²⁶ Jesus approaches: 2, 6, 10, 24, 31, 33a; cf. also 46, 49, 52. Encounter: 7, 9, 20, 21, 127, 10, 12, 13.

¹²⁸ Jesus demands faith: 10bc, 14, 30, 46, 49, 52; tests faith: 11, 15, 21.

¹²⁹ Patients: 3, 9, 15, 20, 21; others: 4, 6, 10, 11, 14.

¹³⁰ Mockery: 10, 16, 17; trap: 5, 19; offence or indignation: 4, 18, 30, 41.

¹³¹ Cf. 30, 36, 46, 49, 52.

and consume them?' But he turned and rebuked them. And they went to another village (L 9:52-56).

Topic: The Miracle.—Having considered the topic of the exposition, we may now analyze the topic of the central portion of these stories, the miracle itself. As a rule, the cures are recorded rather than described, but this is due for the most part to the simple, all-powerful technique which Jesus employs—a word, a gesture, an act of the will. When He prefers a more tangible method, the description is proportionally more detailed: e.g., the cure of the deaf and dumb man, of the blind man of Bethsaida.¹³² The healing takes place instantaneously as a rule—contemporaneously, if at a distance—there being only one instance of a gradual cure, the blind man of Bethsaida. The cure is always complete. The exorcisms are extremely simple in technique and consequently there is practically no description of the process. Once Jesus demands the devil's name and frequently He rebukes it, silences it, or commands it to depart.¹³³ In the story of the Gerasene demoniac the devil's reply is recorded and its departure elsewhere. At all times Jesus' attitude toward the devils is curt, imperious; in His absolute, effortless mastery over them, He proclaims the beginning of His messianic triumph.

Jesus' words are quoted in all the narratives save the story of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, but in hardly any of the summaries. Twice the original Aramaic has been preserved and the evangelist appends a translation.¹³⁴ By a word Jesus can cure, exorcise, or raise the dead:¹³⁵

And they come to the president's house; and he beholdeth a tumult, with people wailing and lamenting loudly. And entering he saith to them, 'Why make ye this tumult and lamentation? The child is not dead, but sleepeth.' And they laughed him to scorn. But he cast them all out, and taketh the father and mother of the child and those with him, and entereth where the child was. And taking the child by the hand he saith to her, '*Taliha, cum,*' which translated is, 'Maiden, I say to thee, arise!' And straightway the maiden arose and walked; for she was

¹³² 12, 13. Brief descriptions are given in 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 15, 21a, 22, 23c, 30b, 34, 46b, 52; none at all in 6, 19, 20 and most of the summaries.

¹³³ Name: 8bc; rebuke: 1, 14, 23c; silence imposed: 1, 23bc, 26b; command: 1, 8ab, 14b, 23a.

¹³⁴ 10b, 12.

¹³⁵ Cure: 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 15, 21bc; exorcise: 1, 8a, 11, 14, 18, 23; resuscitate: 7, 10bc.

twelve years old. And they were straightway lost in amazement. And he strictly charged them to let no one know of this, and he bade them give her to eat (Mr 5:38-43).

Others heal and exorcise in His name.¹³⁶ On two occasions sick people are healed by contact with Jesus' garments and on another occasion He is in danger of being crushed by the multitudes seeking to touch Him and be cured.¹³⁷ Jesus frequently touches the sick person in curing diseases, once also in exorcising the woman with a spirit of infirmity and in raising Jairus' daughter from the dead.¹³⁸ He may touch the ailing organ—eye, ear, tongue—or lay His hands upon the sick person, or take them by the hand.¹³⁹ In curing a deaf and dumb man He looks up to heaven and sighs.¹⁴⁰ Twice He employs spittle and once the apostles use oil in connection with cures.¹⁴¹ On all occasions He appears perfectly free in His choice of the method of cure. His words are always imperative, never a deprecatory request for a miracle. He heals in His own name, without formulae or complicated rites. He uses no magic objects and communicates no healing-recipes.¹⁴²

Topic: Conclusion.—In regard to the conclusion of these stories, we notice that though the success of the healing is sometimes merely stated by the evangelist,¹⁴³ in most of the narrative accounts some detail gives concrete verification of the result. Thus the departure of the devil is described; the cured or revived person speaks; the blind see; Peter's mother-in-law ministers at table; the leper is to show himself to the priest; the paralytic carries his bed; the Gerasene demoniacs are tranquil; the woman with the issue of blood testifies to her cure; Jairus' daughter walks; the woman who was bent over is set upright; one of the ten lepers returns in gratitude.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, in leaving the possessed boy, the devil yells and throws the boy into repeated convul-

¹³⁶ 45, 48, 50, 52.

¹³⁷ 9, 34, 26bc.

¹³⁸ Touch in cures: 2ab, 3, 12, 13, 15, 21a, 22, 23c, 26c, 30b; 52; exorcisms: 18; resuscitations: 10.

¹³⁹ Touches sick part: 12, 13, 15, 21a, 22; lays hands on: 12, 13, 18, 23c, 30b; cf. 52; takes by hand: 2, 10, 14b.

¹⁴⁰ 12.

¹⁴¹ 12, 13, 46b.

¹⁴² On the practice of magic, especially sorcery, in apostolic times, cf. De Grandmaison, *Jesus Christ*, III, 137-39 and references there.

¹⁴³ 5, 6, 11, 22 and most of the summaries.

¹⁴⁴ Exit of devil: 1, 8, 14ab; speaking: 7, 12, 16, 17; seeing: 13, 15, 17a, 21.

sions, and at Gerasa the devils are permitted to destroy a whole herd of swine.¹⁴⁵

Sometimes Jesus prescribes certain actions to be performed afterward. Thus the lepers are to show themselves to the priests and make an offering; the paralytic is to take up his bed and return home; the daughter of Jairus is to be given food.¹⁴⁶ Jesus bids the man cured at Gerasa to proclaim all that the Lord has done for him, but more often He imposes silence on those He heals:¹⁴⁷

And they came to Bethsaida. And they bring to him a blind man, and beseech him to touch him. And taking the blind man by the hand, he led him forth outside the village; and after spitting upon his eyes he laid his hands upon him, and asked him, 'Dost thou see anything?' And looking up he said, 'I see men; I see them as though they were trees, but walking about.' Then again he laid his hands upon his eyes, and the man saw clearly, and was restored to sight, and could see all things distinctly, even at a distance. And he sent him back to his home, saying, 'Do not even enter the village' (Mr 8:22-26).

The reaction of the crowd is frequently portrayed. They marvel or are amazed;¹⁴⁸ they comment on what they have seen;¹⁴⁹ they glorify God.¹⁵⁰ They honor Jesus for His deeds, and as the Son of

¹⁴⁵ 14b (cf. 1b), 8. The critics' preoccupation with the loss of these swine is almost amusing: cf. THEOLOGICAL STUDIES, III (1942), 211; and Dibelius, pp. 84-87, 98; Bultmann, p. 224 f.; L. Köhler, *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des N.T.* (Tübingen, 1927), p. 13. Dibelius sees in the story the consigning of devils and swine to Hades (1st ed. of *Die Formg. des Ev.*, pp. 86 f.) or a proof of multiple exorcism, the story having been told originally of a Jewish exorcist among Gentiles (2d ed., pp. 86 f.). Bultmann discerns the motif of the outwitted devil, and remarks (Bultmann, p. 225) "dass hier ein volkstümlicher Schwank auf Jesus übertragen ist, kann nicht zweifelhaft sein." Both refer to other conjectures. But if the swine were really destroyed, then Jesus, as sent by God, miraculously exorcised two men. If not, the discussion is pointless. As Köhler remarks, *op. cit.*, p. 36, the critics' regret at the loss of the swine has nothing to do with the story's historical value.

¹⁴⁶ 3 and 20, 4, 10bc.

¹⁴⁷ 3, 10bc, 12, 13, 15, 26a. This prohibition, not always understood by the healed person then nor by the critic today, accords perfectly with the economy of the messianic manifestation. The divulging of Jesus' miracles was to follow the same providential, progressive plan as ruled His teaching. The Kingdom was not to be conceived as a prodigious wonderland, where blinding "signs from heaven" left no room for faith or merit. It was a spiritual realm of the pure of heart, and this concept could take root only if Jesus' divine power were gradually revealed. Meanwhile neither truth nor health would be forced on the unwilling, and those privileged to receive the Master's gifts must restrain their zeal lest by imprudence they imprint more deeply the prevalent, carnal idea of the Messiah or occasion needless and premature opposition to His teaching.

¹⁴⁸ 1, 4bc, 10b, 12, 14c, 16, 17, 30, 35.

¹⁴⁹ 1, 4bc, 12, 14b, 16, 17, 30.

¹⁵⁰ 4, 7, 14c, 18, 20, 21, 35, 40.

David.¹⁵¹ Sometimes, however, fear or opposition is the result of Jesus' act,¹⁵² and to such opposition He usually replies.¹⁵³ On four occasions the person healed proclaims abroad the miraculous favor received.¹⁵⁴ After the healing Jesus not infrequently retires from the scene, though He refuses to fly before the menace of Herod.¹⁵⁵ The Savior is never rewarded for His beneficent act, though one of the ten lepers returns to thank Him. The Gerasene demoniac requests to follow Him but is dissuaded; the blind men near Jericho, however, do follow Him, as do also certain women whom Jesus had healed, particularly Mary Magdalene, and perhaps Simon the leper.¹⁵⁶ The multitudes follow Him constantly,¹⁵⁷ and His fame spreads everywhere:¹⁵⁸

And straightway the leprosy left him, and he was clean. And Jesus strictly charged him and straightway hurried him off; and he saith to him, 'See thou say naught to any man, but go, show thyself to the priest, and offer for thy purification what Moses commanded, for a witness unto them.' But the man when departed began to speak freely and to spread abroad the whole story, so that Jesus could no longer enter a town openly, but remained without in desert places; and they came to him from all sides (Mr. 1:42-45).

In this fame, which excited the curiosity even of Herod,¹⁵⁹ in this following both by individuals and groups, in the resultant increasing opposition of His adversaries and the accompanying disputes about observance of the sabbath, the miracles of healing influence and bind together the whole career of the Savior:

And he again entered the synagogue. And there was a man there with a withered hand. And they watched to see whether he would heal him on the sabbath, in order that they might accuse him. And he saith to the man with the withered hand, 'Stand forth into the midst.' And he saith to them, 'Is it lawful to do good on the sabbath or to do harm? To save life or to put to death?' But

¹⁵¹ 12, 17a, 18, 40, 41.

¹⁵² Fear: 4ac, 7, 8, 9, 32c; opposition: 4, 5, 16, 17, 18, 19, 30, 37, 40, 41.

¹⁵³ In all cases except 16; Jesus had predicted this and warned the disciples of John, "Blessed is he that shall not be scandalized in me" (28).

¹⁵⁴ 3b, 8bc, 15, 20. Others also proclaim, e.g., 3c, 12.

¹⁵⁵ 3bc, 5, 8, 11, 23b, 25, 41; 37. ¹⁵⁶ 8bc, 21, 29, 43, 39.

¹⁵⁷ 3bc, 6, 23b, 24a, 33, 34, 38, 40.

¹⁵⁸ 1, 3bc, 7, 8bc, 10a, 12, 15, 24a, 26b, 28, 32, 33, 40, 41, 42.

¹⁵⁹ 32, 42. These and other details of the synoptic tradition, e.g., the disputes with the Pharisees, show that Jesus was not accredited with miracles because of His following but was followed because of His miracles. It is false, therefore, to imply that miracles are

they held their peace. And he looked around upon them with anger, grieving over the hardness of their heart. And he saith to the man, 'Stretch forth thy hand.' And he stretched it forth, and his hand was restored. And the Pharisees went out and straightway took counsel with the Herodians against him, how they might destroy him (Mr 3:1-6).

These miracles of healing permeate the synoptic story, from the synagogue in Capharnaum to the Garden of Olives, and even beyond—to the promises made to those who were to believe in His name,¹⁶⁰ and the very last words of the Gospel of Mark:

So the Lord Jesus, after speaking to them, was taken up into heaven and took his seat at the right hand of God. But they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the word by the signs that followed thereupon (Mr 16:19 f.).

Such, in detailed analysis, is the content, style, and miracle-topic of those passages in the synoptic Gospels which refer to healing. Such analysis is dissecting work, mole-like burrowing, and in the course of it the modest spirituality of every miracle, the simple earnestness of every narrative, the light and warmth and inspiration of every word and deed of the Holy One of God, are necessarily lost to sight. It is important, however, to perform this task, before approaching the rabbinic and Hellenic analogies; for only by subjecting these analogies to a similar scrutiny and then comparing the results, is it possible to set down in concrete detail the reasons why the miracles of the synoptic tradition make a totally different impression upon us than the stories from other literatures of their day.

II. RABBINIC ANALOGIES

The Use of Stories from Rabbinic Literature

Dibelius.—In seeking parallels for the Gospel stories, Dibelius frequently refers to the rabbinic writings. Despite the relatively late redaction of this literature, he believes that the anecdotes themselves are of comparatively early origin and satisfactorily illustrate the synoptic narratives. There was, he maintains, a pre-canonical

always told of religious heroes because of the enthusiasm of their followers (cf. Dibelius, p. 97; Bultmann, p. 244). None, for example, are recorded of John the Baptist, who ranks second only to Christ in the Gospel story.

¹⁶⁰ 52.

grouping of the rabbinic stories: sometimes according to subject matter, at other times around the person of a famous rabbi. It is also possible that extraneous material was assimilated by the Talmud. Frequently the individual stories serve merely as casuistic examples, their historical value or lack of it being of no importance. Sometimes by their insertion in the Talmud they have been much shortened, and their original point has been lost.¹

Two motifs are deserving of special consideration in regard to the formation and transmission of rabbinic miracle-stories. On the one hand, God's suspension of the laws of nature demonstrates His great interest in the fulfillment of the Law. Other miracles, on the contrary, serve merely to glorify certain rabbis or certain holy places. "Place-legends," however, have no parallel in the New Testament and so may be disregarded.²

The "theodicy-legends"—those which illustrate God's justice in a miraculous interference with the usual course of the world—are also in great measure "personal-legends," since they name and glorify their heroes, mostly famous persons from the rabbinic group. Nevertheless, the interest is centered not on the man but on his deed and on God's approbation of it. The marvel is not told for its own sake, but to emphasize the link between the divine law according to which men must live, and a strange (not necessarily preternatural) occurrence. The style is cold and influenced by the discussions in the synagogue. It does not exhibit the typical traits of the miracle-story; it aims only at stressing the intimate relationship between God's justice and man's behavior. Thus the "theodicy-legend" finds a parallel in the Gospel paradigm, as far as the latter records wonders, for there too it is not the marvel which is insisted on but the relation between Jesus' deeds and the salvation proclaimed in them.³

¹ Dibelius, pp. 131-140. On literary forms in use among the Jews, cf. Lagrange, *S. Matthieu* (4th ed.; Paris, 1927), pp. cxxvii-cxxix.

² Dibelius, p. 142. Such an exclusion is, of course, significant. However, we are comparing only healing stories, not miracle-stories in general, and need not discuss it. In a wider comparison of the Jewish and Christian milieux, such stories would naturally have their place. The motif of preternatural self-help, conspicuous in the rabbinic anecdotes, is also lacking in the Gospels (Dibelius, "Zur Formgeschichte des N.T.," p. 237), as are the following categories of rabbinic stories: strictly profane anecdotes, fairy tales, festival-legends, *halakha* anecdotes in which fulfilling of the Law is rewarded or its neglect punished: Dibelius, "Rabbinische u. evangelische Erzählungen," *Theol. Blätter*, XI (1932), 3; cf. 5 f. and P. Fiebig's reply, *ibid.*, 11.

³ Dibelius, pp. 143-146.

Those miracle-stories which extol certain rabbis are "personal-legends" in the stricter sense. Frequently they narrate prodigies merely as proof of great powers, without any particular reference to the Law or legal righteousness. More characteristic of the tradition, however, are the two following traits. First, these wonder-rabbis are great in prayer, not great in deed; that is, they are powerful not by their own strength but by their position before God. Second, these miracles are narrated not of the great teachers of the Law but of other rabbis, of lesser fame in the schools; the greatness of a rabbi consists in his ability to interpret the Law and make known God's will, rather than in his power over devils and diseases. Though these stories furnish, in many details, a parallel for the novellen of the Gospels, there is this marked difference: the Gospel miracles are epiphanies—God made manifest in Jesus' act; in the Talmud the emphasis is on the piety of men. On the other hand, since it was the rabbi's piety and not his power which was stressed, these narratives were less subject to the syncretistic influences which shaped the novellen of the Gospels.⁴

Bultmann.—Bultmann also makes abundant use of illustrations and analogies from the rabbinic tradition. He believes, however, that the process that led to its fixation was more complicated than that which occurred with regard to the synoptic tradition. In the Gospels the forms were preserved more purely than in the rabbinic literature, where the formation was more conscious and where the motifs were artistically varied and individual units reshaped.⁵

The controversies, he believes, present a typically rabbinic manner of debate: question, counter-question, simile, scriptural quotation.⁶ The origin of this style, however, is not to be sought only in the technical language of the schools. This in turn was undoubtedly influenced by the oriental manner of speaking and disputing and by the primitive artifices that have been preserved, for example, in the fairy tale. Like the Gospel controversies, the rabbinic anecdotes are not intended

⁴ Dibelius, pp. 146–149.

⁵ Bultmann, p. 43; cf. *Die Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien* (2nd ed.; Giessen, 1930), p. 15.

⁶ Dibelius, "Zur Formgeschichte der Evangelien," pp. 194 f., notes one important difference: in the rabbinic disputes the answer is clever or witty, in the Gospel it is simple and stirs the conscience. In this respect we may recall Mt 7:29: "He was teaching them as one having authority, and *not as their scribes.*"

to be historical accounts but merely illustrations of a saying, though they may contain some historical details. This is clear from the existence of variants and from the historical impossibility of certain disputes, e.g., of a rabbi with Caesar. Similarly, the numerous rabbinic parallels to the biographical apothegms are not intended to present historical reports but to portray someone's life in vivid fashion. The lesson is pointed out and the account stylized; often the fictional character of the whole narrative is clear from the inclusion of a miracle or from the many variants. As in the synoptic apothegms, unity of conception is frequently lacking; the pointed saying is primary, the rest of the scene, e.g., the miracle, spun out of it. Sometimes the story underwent subsequent expansion.⁷

The Sources.—Many of these observations of Dibelius and Bultmann are prompted by principles discussed in previous articles. The others can best be evaluated by a consideration of the rabbinic stories themselves. Accordingly, we may proceed to an analysis of the healing narratives contained in rabbinic literature. The sources for such a study are as follows. The Mišna ("repetition," "teaching") contains the traditional legal and moral teaching of the rabbis up to the end of the second century A.D. Its redactor was "Rabbi," i.e., J'huda Ha-naši', a great-great-grandson of Gamaliel I, born c. 135 A.D. The G'mara ("completion") contains the commentary of subsequent rabbis on the text of the Mišna. Together with the Mišna, it forms the Talmud ("learning"), though the G'mara itself is often referred to by this name. Since the commentary is twofold, one representing the tradition of the Babylonian scholars, the other that of the teachers in Palestine, the Babylonian Talmud and the Palestinian Talmud are distinct, though similar, sources. Both were completed by the end of the fifth century A.D. The Tosephta ("addition") is a collection of doctrines and traditions from the time of the Mišna, which it closely resembles. Its compiler was probably R. Hija bar Abba, pupil and friend of Rabbi. The Midraš ("exposition") is a group of writings, consisting of illustrative commentaries on the Old Testament, produced in the second to fifth centuries A.D. but assem-

⁷ Bultmann, pp. 43-48, 52 f., 60-63; cf. *Die Erforschung*, p. 21, "The New Approach to the Synoptic Problem," pp. 349 f. For the non-apothegetic miracle-stories, Bultmann believes that only Hellenistic sources offer satisfactory analogies.

bled much later. Finally, the writings of Flavius Josephus, though subject to Hellenistic influence, also give us some insight into the healing and exorcising activity of the Jewish world.⁸

Most of the pertinent stories from this extensive literature are cited by Dibelius and Bultmann in their exposition of form-criticism. The collection made by Paul Fiebig is also valuable.⁹ The commentary on the New Testament from the Talmud and Midraš, edited by Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck, however, is most useful of all, due both to its range of accurate, objective scholarship, and its independence of the form-critical movement.¹⁰ Because of its availability to students it will be frequently referred to in the following pages.

The Form of the Rabbinic Healing Narratives

Content.—Because of the extent of the rabbinic literature, it is not possible to begin our investigation with a list of all references to healing, as was done for the Gospel tradition. However, from a study of the narratives cited by Dibelius, Bultmann, Fiebig, and Strack-Billerbeck, it seems clear that the following twenty-one stories present a good cross-section of the rabbinic tradition in this regard and may be taken as the main subject matter for our present analysis.

⁸ The best introductory work to the Talmud and Midraš is H. Strack, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midraš* (5th ed.; Munich, 1921); cf. also W. Oesterley and G. Box, *A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism* (London, 1920). The Babylonian Talmud has been edited with text and German translation by L. Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud* (Berlin, Leipzig, Haag, 1899–1935). M. Rodkinson, *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud* (Boston, 1918), gives only the orders Mo'ed and N^eziqin and not the complete text of these; hence it has not been used in the present work. A French translation of the Palestinian Talmud is given in M. Schwab, *Le Talmud de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1878–1902). The Mišna may be found in English in H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (London, 1933). For translations of the Midraš, cf. A. Wünsche, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (Leipzig, 1880–1885); *Aus Israels Lehrhallen* (Leipzig, 1907–1910).

⁹ P. Fiebig, *Jüdische Wundergeschichten des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters* (Tübingen, 1911); *Rabbinische Wundergeschichten des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters* (Bonn, 1911) contains a pointed text for the foregoing, with footnotes; *Der Erzählungsstil der Evangelien* (Leipzig, 1925) gives parallels and some translations of Gospel passages into Hebrew, to aid the comparison of style.

¹⁰ H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (Munich, 1922–1928), hereafter referred to simply as "Strack-B." Their translation has been followed in most of the stories here quoted, as will be indicated.

Seven of these stories are connected with *illness*, its prevention, cure or infliction:

- Three cures of rabbis by rabbis: B^r 5b.¹¹
- A water snake killed: B^r 33a.
- Cure of the son of R. Gamaliel: B^r 34b (cf. pB^r 5, 9d, 21).
- Cure of the son of R. Johanan b. Zakkaj: B^r 34b.
- R. J^huda's tooth healed: pKil 9, 32b, 23.35.
- Two dumb men healed: Ḥag 3a.
- Leprosy inflicted on the Emperor's daughter: Ḥul 60a.

Eight of the narratives concern *resuscitation* or preservation from death:

- Resuscitation of a woman: B^r 18b.
- R. Šim'on b. Joḥai purifies Tiberias: pŠ^obe 9, 38d, 29.
- Preservation of the daughter of R. 'Aquiba from death: Šab 156b.
- Resuscitation of a slain rabbi: M^g 7b.
- The daughter of R. Neḥonja saved from a well: J^b 121b.
- A rabbi slain and resuscitated by another rabbi: BQ 117a.
- A servant of Antoninus slain and resuscitated: 'AZ 10b.
- A servant of Antoninus resuscitated: LvR 10 (111d).

Six stories tell of *evil spirits*:

- A watchman freed from sixty devils: P^s 111b.
- A devil in a school: Qid 29b.
- A devil in a bathhouse: Qid 39b.
- Banning of a devil who had broken a wine cask: Ḥul 105b.
- Exorcism of the Emperor's daughter: Me'ila 51b.
- Exorcism in the presence of Vespasian: Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5.

Examining the content of these and other stories, we note that R. Gamaliel is cured of fever, R. J^huda of toothache, two dumb men are given speech.¹²

A matron laid snares for R. Ḥanina b. Papa. He said some words and his body

¹¹ Abbreviations used: M for Mišna, p for the Palestinian Talmud (otherwise the Babylonian Talmud is cited), and the first letters for B^rakhoth, Kil'ajim, Š^obi'ith, Šab-bath, 'Erubin, P^saḥim, Joma, Ta'anith, M^gilla, Ḥagiga, J^bamoth, Soṭa, Qiddušin, Baba Qamma, Baba M^osi'a, Baba Bathra, Sanhedrin, 'Aboda Zara, Ḥullin, Me'ila, Tosephta Ḥullin, Leviticus Rabba, Qoheleth Rabba, Mekhilta, B^ošallah, P^siqtha. Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates* and *Bellum Judaicum* are cited as *Ant.* and *Bell. Jud.*

¹² B^r 34b; pKil 9, 32b, 23.35; Ḥag 3a.

became covered with scabs and pustules. She performed a [magic] action and he was healed. Then he fled and hid himself in a bathhouse. . . Qid 39b (Strack-B., IV, 516).

We are not told from what malady the three rabbis suffered or the son of R. Joḥanan, nor from what diseases the incantations composed by Solomon give relief.¹³

The leprosy of the Emperor's daughter is represented as incurable.¹⁴ Indeed, since leprosy was due to a divine decree, it was God's prerogative to heal it; such a cure was considered as difficult as raising the dead.¹⁵ R. Ḥanina b. Dosa marvelously preserves men from the menace of a certain water snake, whose bite does not harm him,¹⁶ but the rabbis cannot generally preserve or heal themselves:

R. Hija b. Abba was sick. R. Joḥanan went to him and said: Are thy chastisements dear to thee? He answered him: Neither they nor their reward. R. Joḥanan said to him: Give me thy hand! He gave him his hand and R. Joḥanan raised him up [cured]. R. Joḥanan became sick. Thereupon R. Ḥanina went to him: Are thy chastisements dear to thee? He answered: Neither they, nor their reward. He said to him: Give me thy hand! He gave him his hand and R. Ḥanina raised him up. But R. Joḥanan should have raised himself up! It has been said: One shackled cannot free himself from prison. B'r 5b (Strack-B., II, 2 f.).

Besides the exorcism of persons and places—sometimes multiple¹⁷—preservation from the influence of malignant spirits is a common motif. Thus Rab Aḥa bar Ja'aqob is preserved from the devil in a school by bowing his head in prayer; R. Ḥanina b. Papa, fleeing a matron's snares by hiding himself in a haunted bathhouse, is guarded all the night by "two servants of the Emperor."¹⁸ This protection from the devils is to be had not only from God and His angels, from the Scripture and fulfillment of the commandments, but also from amulets, incantations and the observance of certain precautions.¹⁹

Man must drink no water during the night, and if he does, his blood is on his own head because of the danger. What danger is there? The danger of Šabriri [devil causing blindness]. But when he is thirsty, what remedy is there? If

¹³ B'r 5b; 34b; Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5.

¹⁴ Hul 60a.

¹⁵ LvR 16 (116d); Joseph., *Ant.*, III, 11, 3. Cf. Strack-B., IV, 745, 751 o, p.

¹⁶ B'r 33a.

¹⁷ E.g., P's 111b.

¹⁸ Qid 29b; 39b.

¹⁹ Cf. Strack-B., IV, 527-33.

another is with him, let him wake the other and say to him: I am thirsty for water. But if not, then let him bang the lid on the jug and say to himself: Thou, so and so, son of so and so, thy mother has told thee: Beware of Šabriri, Bʿriri, Riri, Ri in white cups. [The fading away of the name indicates the fading away of the devil]. 'AZ 12b (Strack-B., IV, 532f.).

Solomon was famous for his power over the evil spirits and his lore has been handed down and is still effective.²⁰

In the two accounts of revivifying a servant of Antoninus and the two stories of resuscitated rabbis, the narratives clearly refer to a permanent raising from the dead.²¹ In other instances, the point is not as evident. Thus in the account of Ze'eraġ's conversation with his dead landlady, it is not clear whether the story tells of resuscitation or merely of a voice from the dead.²² Indeed, there does not seem to have been a unanimous tradition as to whether rabbis could raise the dead. Fiebig maintains that in the New Testament period, the rabbis were accredited with this power and gives as his argument a passage from the M'khiltha in which Geḥazi, the disciple of Elisha, claims that his master and he have this power.²³ On the other hand, the following passage indicates a different belief:

R. Joḥanan has said: Three keys are in God's hand which will not be given into the hand of any plenipotentiary, that is, the key to the rain, the key to the maternal womb, and the key to the revivifying of the dead. Ta'an 2a (Strack-B., I, 523).²⁴

An intermediate and perhaps more general opinion is expressed by R. Aḥa in the name of R. Eli'ezer b. Ḥalaphta: "God has said: I will revivify the dead; but He has long since done this through Elias and Elisha and Ezechiel";²⁵ i.e. raising from the dead, a prerogative of God, is constantly restricted in its communication to one or other of these prophets. Even "the conjurer of the dead, the python [ven-

²⁰ Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5; cf. Strack-B., IV, 533 ff. On the whole question of demonology, cf. Strack-B., Excursus 21 (IV, 501-35): "Zur altjüdischen Dämonologie." It is to be noted that the Jewish demonology was strongly influenced by foreign concepts, especially those of the Parsees. Monotheism triumphed by subordinating the demons to the service of God. However, this is not always expressed in the rabbinical writings; in fact most of the passages represent the evil spirits as free to do their own will, and this was the popular concept (*ibid.*, 522).

²¹ 'AZ 10b and LvR 10 (111d); M'g 7b and BQ 117a. ²² B'r 18b.

²³ Fiebig, *Jüd. Wundergesch.*, pp. 37 f. The text is M'kh, B'ešallah, Par 1. On Fiebig's argument, cf. De Grandmaison, *Jesus Christ*, III, 264.

²⁴ Strack-B., *loc. cit.*, gives references to nine parallels and variants.

²⁵ P'siq 76a. For many parallels to this passage cf. Strack-B., I, 895, 523 f.

triloquist] who makes speech come from his arm-pit," is to be executed by stoning and it is strictly forbidden to question him.²⁶ The opposite extreme from these traditional views is represented in two stories of rabbinic power to create:

Raba once created a man and sent him to R. Zera. But as the latter spoke with him and he gave no answer, he said: Thou hast surely originated from my companions, return to thy dust.

R. Ḥanina and R. Oš'aja occupied themselves every sabbath-eve with the study of the book of creation and created a three-year-old calf, which they then ate up. Sanh 65b (Goldschmidt, VII, 278).

Other miracles than cures, exorcisms, and resuscitations are, of course, related of the rabbis in these stories. Light is diffused from R. Joḥanan's arm as he heals R. El'azar; when the water snake bites R. Ḥanina b. Dosa, it dies; Elias appears to heal R. J'huda in the form of R. Hija, the elder; R. Šim'on b. Joḥai is granted prophetic vision to penetrate a Samaritan's mocking trick; at the irate glance of R. Joḥanan, Rab Kahana dies.²⁷ Independently of the healing narratives there are accounts of marvelous rainfalls etc.,²⁸ and especially of the prodigies of R. Ḥanina b. Dosa.²⁹ Particularly to be noted here, however, are the miraculous powers of the rabbis to punish or obtain punishments from God. Thus R. Šim'on b. Joḥai causes the death of a mocking Samaritan; R. Joḥanan slays Rab Kahana with his glance; R. Eli'ezer predicts the death of a disciple who decided a *halakha* in his presence;³⁰ and the power of R. J'hošua' b. Ḥananja is portrayed in the following story:

The daughter of the Emperor said to R. J'hošua' b. Ḥananja: Your God is a carpenter, for it is written: He layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters

²⁶ M Sanh 7, 7 (Goldschmidt, VII, 275).

²⁷ B^r 5b; 33a; pKil 9, 32b, 23.35; pŠ^{bi} 9, 38d, 29; BQ 117a.

²⁸ M Ta'an 3, 1-9; Ta'an 2a, 23a, b, 24b; cf. also BM 59b, 84a; Qid 39b.

²⁹ Ta'an 24b; 25a; QohR 1 (1:1).

³⁰ pŠ^{bi} 9, 38d, 29; BQ 117a; 'Er 63a; also Joma 19b, Soṭa 35a (variant). Bultmann, p. 248 n. 1, lists Joseph., *Ant.*, XII, 9, 1 (death of Antiochus), XVII, 6, 5 (death of Herod), XIX, 8, 2 (death of Agrippa) as characteristic miraculous punishments. For examples of the power of the rabbis to punish with a glance cf. BB 75a (transformation into a heap of bones), Šab 33b (fire), 34a (death, transformation into a heap of bones), BM 85a (thigh scorched), BB 14a (death): Strack-B., II, 586, 714; IV, 96, 135.

[Ps 104:3]. Tell him to make me a reel. He said: Very well. He prayed in her regard and she became leprous. They put her in one of the streets of Rome and gave her a reel; for they had the custom of giving every leper in Rome a reel with which to sit in the street and wind yarn, so that the people might see them and implore mercy for them. One day R. J^ehošua' passed by as she sat and wound yarn in the street of Rome. He said to her: Is it a fine reel that my God has given thee? She said to him: Tell thy God to take away what he has given me. He said to her: Our God gives but he never takes away. *Ḥul* 60a (Strack-B., III, 315 f).

Since these stories narrate the deeds of many different rabbis, there is not much occasion for the motif of healing by disciples. The two accounts of the resuscitation of Antoninus' servant, however, introduce this theme. It is very clear in the following version:

Antoninus came to Rabbi. He found him sitting with his disciples before him. Antoninus said to him: Are these the disciples of whom thou speakest with such praise? He answered: Indeed! The least among them can raise the dead. Some days later a servant of Antoninus became sick unto death. Antoninus sent word to Rabbi: Send me one of thy disciples, to make this dead man live again! He sent him one of his disciples; some say it was R. Šim'on b. Ḥalaphta. The disciple went and found the servant lying prostrate. He spoke to him: Why liest thou prostrate, while thy master stands upon his feet? Immediately he stirred and stood up. *LvR* 10 (111d) (Strack-B., I, 560).

Style.—The style of these rabbinic stories is consistently simple. There are occasional vivid touches—the daughter of R. 'Aqiba pierces the eye of a snake with a hairpin; a public watchman is imperiled by devils when standing by a mountain ash; porters set a winecask under a trough³¹—but they are more closely akin to ingenious story-telling than to the objective realism of an eyewitness. This is clear from the number of details which serve to cater to the reader's curiosity. Thus R. Joḥanan shows R. El'azar the bone of his tenth son; R. Šim'on purifies Tiberias by scattering lupines; devils chant a dancing tune; a ram, led by an old man, comes to save the daughter of R. Neḥonja; a devil appears as a seven-headed dragon; lepers wind yarn in the streets of Rome; an evil spirit lists the things he may not steal.³²

³¹ Šab 156b; P^es 111b; *Ḥul* 105b.

³² B^er 5b; pŠ^ebi 9, 38d, 29; P^es 111b; J^eb 121b; Qid 29b; *Ḥul* 60a; 105b.

In fact almost every story contains some curious detail, such as the request of the dead woman in the following passage:

Ze'eraĵ gave his landlady money to keep. When he returned from school she was dead. Thereupon he went to her in the cemetery and said to her: Where is the money? She answered him: Go, fetch it out of the under door-socket, in that place; also tell my mother to send me my comb and cosmetic box by those who come here tomorrow. B^r 18b (Goldschmidt, I, 67).

At times these details may approach the entertaining or even humorous, as in some of the above passages, in the prudent refusal of R. Ze'ira to celebrate another Purim meal with the bibulous Rabbah,³³ and in the following narrative:

Porters were carrying a winecask. They wanted to have it swell and set it under a trough. Thereupon it burst. They came before Mar bar Rab Aši. He had the trumpets blow and banned [the devil]. [The devil] came to him. Mar bar Rab Aši said to him: Why hast thou acted so? He answered: Well, how should I act, when they set it on my ears? The other said: What business hadst thou in a place where many men are to be found? Thou art the one who hast disturbed things, go and pay. He answered: If the master will also be pleased to set a time for me, then I will pay. He set a time for him. When the time had arrived, he tarried. When he did come, the other said to him: Why didst thou not come at thy [set] time? He answered: Of all that is wrapped round, sealed, measured and counted, we have not power to take anything, until we find something that is unclaimed property. H^{ul} 105b (Strack-B., IV, 535).

There are usually two or three speaking characters and occasionally their conversation forms a digression from the main story: thus R. Johanan discusses the possible causes of R. El'azar's tears before healing him, and on another occasion he asks permission in three different ways before the snake encircling a sepulcher will permit him to enter.³⁴ However, the stories are usually so concise—the preceding passage from H^{ul} 105b is of average length—that the action is straightforward. Generally it takes place in a short space of time, exceptions being the account of the resuscitation of R. Ze'ira, which refers to a sequel twelve months later, the two stories of the Emperor's daughters, and the banning of the devil who had broken the winecask.³⁵ Among the stories listed above, the only summary account of healing activity is presented by Josephus. R. Šim'on, however, performs several marvelous actions

³³ M^eg 7b.

³⁴ B^r 5b; BQ 117a.

³⁵ M^eg 7b; H^{ul} 60a and Me'ila 51b; H^{ul} 105b.

at the same time, and Rabbi heals two dumb men on the same occasion.³⁶ Since the Talmud and Midraš are doctrinal and scriptural commentaries, not histories, all the stories have the external completeness of independent units.

Chronological details are rare. The feast of Purim is mentioned, also the thirteen years and thirty days during which R. J^huda suffered from toothaches;³⁷ but generally there is little detail except for such vague indications as "the next day," "the same hour," etc.³⁸ Instead, the occasion is sometimes recorded, e.g., a rabbi becomes sick; Ze'eraġ returns from school; R. Ḥanina b. Dosa goes to R. Joĥanan b. Zakkaj to study the Law; Antoninus comes to visit Rabbi.³⁹ The place is specified more often. Thus Tiberias, Rome, the land of Israel are named,⁴⁰ and mention is made of a dark room, a school, cemetery, doorway, loft, a great well, a bathhouse, the houses of Antoninus and Rabbi, a street of Rome, the Emperor's treasure chamber.⁴¹ Numerical details are supplied in some instances: R. J^huda suffered for thirteen years and thirty days; sixty devils possessed the watchman; the devil in the school has seven heads; Agrath bath Maĥlath is accompanied by eighteen myriads of devils.⁴²

Characterization is mostly indirect. From their words we can perceive the piety, irritability and penitence of R. Joĥanan, the vanity of the dead landlady, the mocking nature of the Samaritan, the prudence of R. Ze'ira, Rab Kahana and R. Ḥanina b. Ḥama, the imperiousness of Antoninus.⁴³ R. Ḥanina b. Dosa is described directly, however, both by himself and by others; Rabbi depicts the power of his disciples; mention is made of the beauty of R. Joĥanan and the holiness of R. Neĥonja.⁴⁴ Emotions, rarely recorded, are generally sad: R. El'azar weeps; R. Ḥijja laments; R. 'Aqiba is troubled.⁴⁵

³⁶ pŠ^ebi 9, 38d, 29; Ḥag 3a.

³⁷ M^eg 7b; pKil 9, 32b, 23.35.

³⁸ E.g., a year later (M^eg 7b); first, second, and third hours (J^b 121b); daytime, night, next morning (Qid 29b); some days later (LvR 10).

³⁹ B^r 5b; 18b; 34b; 'AZ 10b.

⁴⁰ pŠ^ebi 9, 38d, 29; Ḥul 60a; pKil 9, 32b, 23.35.

⁴¹ A school is mentioned in: B^r 18b; 33a; Ḥag 3a; Qid 29b.

⁴² pKil 9, 32b, 23.35; P^s 111b; Qid 29b; P^s 112b.

⁴³ B^r 5b and BQ 117a; B^r 18b; pŠ^ebi 9, 38d, 29; M^eg 7b, BQ 117a, and 'AZ 10b; 'AZ 10b.

⁴⁴ J^b 121b and B^r 33a; LvR 10 (111d); B^r 5b and J^b 121b.

⁴⁵ B^r 5b; pKil 9, 32b, 23.35; Šab 156b.

Names are constantly given in these stories—the account of the watchman freed from possession being a rare exception—but usually not the name of the person healed, unless he be a rabbi.⁴⁶ Except for the fact that several of the rabbis are present in more than one story, there is no subsequent history of either the patient or his healer. The story of the Emperor's leprous daughter covers an extended period of time, however, as does that of the fatal Purim meal; and the devil who broke the winecask later returns to pay for the damage.⁴⁷ Bystanders, if present, always act as a group and are usually not described.

The healer's power is frequently mentioned as being only of a limited nature. R. Johanan cannot heal himself; R. Ḥanina b. Dosa's prayer comes to nought unless it is fluent; R. Ze'ira mistrusts Rabbah's ability to repeat his miracle of the year before; the bystanders must be patient until R. Neḥonja's daughter can be saved.⁴⁸ Sometimes the healer fails through insufficient knowledge:

A public watchman once went and stood by a mountain ash which was near the town. Thereupon sixty Šedim [devils] came upon him, so that he fell into danger. He came to one of the rabbis, who did not know that it was a mountain ash with sixty Šedim. He wrote an amulet for one Šed. Thereupon he heard how they began to chant a dancing-tune around him and sing: The turban of the master is like that of an eminent scholar; but we have tested the master and he does not know the eulogy. Thereupon, one of the rabbis, who knew that it was a matter of a mountain ash with sixty Šedim, wrote an amulet against sixty Šedim. Thereupon he heard them say: Betake you off from here! P's 111b (Strack-B., IV, 519).

It is exceptional when Rabbi boasts of his disciples that "the least among them can raise the dead."⁴⁹ However, even here, the power of the disciple is contingent on the fervor of his prayer.⁵⁰ Indeed, it is always a dependent power which the healer employs: he prays that God perform the miracle.⁵¹

Usually the healer's motive is not expressed, but it can often be discerned. It varies greatly: Ze'eraĵ wishes to regain his money; R. Šim'on to remove defilement; R. Johanan is repentant; R. Ḥanina b. Ḥama desires to avoid offending the Emperor; Eleazar intends to

⁴⁶ B'r 5b; pKil 9, 32b, 23.35; M'g 7b; Qid 29b; 39b; BQ 117a.

⁴⁷ Ḥul 60a; M'g 7b; Ḥul 105b.

⁴⁸ B'r 5b; 34b; M'g 7b; J'b 121b. ⁴⁹ LvR 10 (111d). ⁵⁰ Cf. the variant 'AZ 10b.

⁵¹ B'r 34b; M'g 7b; Ḥag 3a; Qid 29b; BQ 117a; Ḥul 60a; and cf. Me'ila 51b: "Let the marvel come whence it may."

prove his power.⁵² The healer may weep or be faint with anger or filled with remorse or triumphant.⁵³ There is a complacent satisfaction in the stories of raising Antoninus' servant, in the punishment of the Emperor's daughter, and the exorcism before Vespasian. Generally, however, a spiritual note is to be found in at least some details of the narrative. Contentment with one's lot, prayer, vicarious suffering, respect for the Law, God's providence over the just, His punishment of the mocking infidel—these things are taught by the stories. A good example of this tone at its best is contained in the following passage:

In a certain place there was once a water snake which caused men harm. They came and told this to R. Ḥanina b. Dosa. He said: Show me the hiding place! They showed it to him. He set his heel on the opening of the hole. The snake came out and bit him, and died. He took it on his shoulder, brought it into the school and said to them: See, my children, it is not the snake that kills, but sin that kills. In that hour they said: Woe to the man whom a water snake encounters, and woe to the water snake that R. Ḥanina b. Dosa encounters! B'r 33a (Strack-B., II, 169).

The miracles prove neither the healer's mission nor his doctrine. Their significance is broader than the individual incident. Sometimes they are the reward of previous good deeds, as when two men are healed of dumbness because of their diligent attention to study of the Law, or R. Neḥonja's daughter is saved because of his holiness,⁵⁴ or in the following incident:

R. 'Aqiba had a daughter, and the Chaldeans predicted that on the day on which she should step under the marriage canopy a snake would bite her and she would die. He was very much troubled on that account. One day she took a hairpin and stuck it in the wall, where it happened to pierce the eye of a snake. The next day, when she wished to draw out the pin, the snake dragged after it. Her father said to her: What didst thou do? She answered: In the evening a poor man came and knocked on the door. Everyone, however, was busy with the meal, and no one heard him. Therefore I took my own portion, that thou gavest me, and gave it to him. Thereupon he said to her: Thou hast practised charity. R. 'Aqiba then went forth and preached: Justice shall deliver from death, and not only from a violent death but also from a natural one. Šab 156b (Goldschmidt, I, 716 f.).

⁵² B'r 18b; pŠ'bi 9, 38d, 29; BQ 117a; 'AZ 10b; Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5.

⁵³ Weeping: B'r 5b; Me'ila 51b; anger: BQ 117a; remorse: M'eg 7b; BQ 117a; triumph: Hul 60a.

⁵⁴ Hag 3a; J'b 121b.

Sometimes the prodigy occasions a pointed saying by the miracle-worker: "Keep the heart set on God"; "It is sin that kills"; "God gives but never takes away."⁵⁵ It may emphasize the holiness of the healer, as is the case with R. Johanan, R. Hanina b. Dosa, R. Šim'on b. Johai, Rab Aha bar Ja'aqob, R. Hanina b. Papa;⁵⁶ or actually portray his human sinfulness, as is the case with R. Johanan on another occasion⁵⁷ and with Rabbah in the following story:

Raba has said: Man is bound on the feast of Purim to make himself drunk until he cannot distinguish between "Cursed be Haman!" and "Blessed be Mardochai!" Rabbah and R. Z'e'ira celebrated the Purim meal together. Rabbah became drunk and slew R. Z'e'ira. The next day he begged for mercy and brought him back to life. A year later he said to him: Let the master come, that we may celebrate the Purim meal together. He answered him: Not in every hour does a marvel happen! M^g 7b (Strack-B., I, 560).

Despite the constant inclusion of the names of famous rabbis, the stories give the general impression of being traditional illustrations of legal or moral points, rather than actual incidents recorded as such. Sometimes a detail is pointed out as being uncertain—the parentage of the two dumb men, the disciple whom Rabbi sent to Antoninus⁵⁸—which indicates an effort toward actuality. At other times strange exaggerations are included: a dead woman desirous of cosmetics, a mystical snake, conversation with the Emperor's daughter,⁵⁹ or the introduction to the following tale:

Antoninus had an underground passageway which led from his house to the house of Rabbi. Each day he took two servants with him. One he slew at the door of Rabbi's house, the other he slew at the door of his own house. He said to Rabbi: At the time when I come, no one must be found with thee. One day he found R. Hanina b. Hama with him. Thereupon Antoninus said: Have I not told thee: At the time when I come, no one must be found with thee? Rabbi answered: This is no man. He said: Then tell the servant, who lies at the door, to arise and come. R. Hanina b. Hama went and found him there dead. Then said he: What shall I do? If I go and tell him that he is dead—one must not thus bring evil tidings. If I leave him and depart, we would thus disparage the ruling powers. Thereupon he implored mercy for him and brought him to life and sent him within. Thereupon Antoninus said: I know well, that the most insignificant amongst you makes the dead live; nevertheless, at the time when I come, no one must be found with thee. 'AZ 10b (Strack-B., I, 560).

⁵⁵ B^r 5b; 33a; H^{ul} 60a.

⁵⁶ B^r 5b; 33a; pŠ^{bi} 9, 38d, 29; Q^{id} 29b; 39b.

⁵⁷ BQ 117a.

⁵⁸ H^{ag} 3a; L^v R 10 (111d).

⁵⁹ B^r 18b; BQ 117a; H^{ul} 60a.

The atmosphere of superstition, frequent in the Talmud, also permeates the healing stories: a watchman is possessed because he has stood near a mountain ash, and it requires a specially written amulet to free him;⁶⁰ the devils in the school of Abaje and in the bathhouse where R. Ḥanina b. Papa hides, are powerful enough to harm people entering "by pairs in the daytime";⁶¹ the devil who had broken the winecask can only appropriate certain objects to pay his fine.⁶² In the following passage, precaution is advised for certain days of the week:

One must not go out alone at night, neither on the night of the fourth day, nor on the night of the sabbath, because then Agrath bath Maḥlath sets out with eighteen myriads of angels of destruction, each of which singly has full power to destroy. At first they were to be met with daily. But once she encountered R. Ḥanina b. Dosa. She said to him: Had someone not cried out in heaven concerning thee: Beware ye of Hanina and his knowledge of the Law—I should have imperiled thee. He answered: If I enjoy such esteem in heaven, then I stipulate that thou never more rove through inhabited land! She said to him: I beg thee, grant me some space! Thereupon he conceded her the nights of the sabbath and the fourth day. P's 112b (Strack-B., IV, 514).⁶³

Topic: Exposition.—Our observations so far have concerned the content and style of these narratives. We may now examine the topic of their introduction, the miracle proper, and the conclusion. As we have seen, there is no detailed description of the malady, nor is the length of the illness recorded, its seriousness or the difficulty of its cure.⁶⁴ Sickness is sometimes regarded as a chastisement, as in the case of the three rabbis or the Emperor's scoffing daughter.⁶⁵ In the following story it is inflicted as a vicarious suffering for the good of the mothers of Israel:

For thirteen years, R. J'huda suffered with toothaches. At the end of the thirteen years and thirty days [for which R. J'huda had banished R. Hija, the elder, from his side], Elias came to him in the form of R. Hija, the elder. He said to him:

⁶⁰ P's 111b.

⁶¹ Qid 29b; 39b.

⁶² Hul 105b.

⁶³ On other superstitions, cf. below and Strack-B. *passim*, especially I, 53–63 (dreams), 457 (prayer), 820 (avoiding poverty); II, 15 f. (spitting); III, 308 f. (propitious days); III, 312 and IV, 533 (even numbers).

⁶⁴ The motif of dangerous snakes appears occasionally: cf. B'r 33a; Šab 156b; Tos Hul 2:22–23.

⁶⁵ B'r 5b; Hul 60a.

How fares my master? He answered him: One of my teeth torments me. The other said: Show it to me! When he showed it to him, he laid his finger on it; thereupon it became well. On the next day, R. Hija, the elder, came to him and said to him: How fares my teacher and how is that tooth? He answered him: Since the hour when thou laidst thy finger on it, it is healed. In that moment R. Hija said: Woe to ye, who give birth in the land of Israel; woe to ye, who are pregnant in the land of Israel! [During the thirteen years suffering of the Patriarch, R. J'huda, no woman was to die in childbirth nor have an abortion; with the rabbi's healing this ceased; hence the lament of R. Hija]. Then said R. Hija: It was not I [who healed thee yesterday]. pKil 9, 32b, 23.35 (Strack-B., IV, 771).

The activity of the evil spirits is depicted in more detail. It is frequently localized: a tree, a water trough, a school, a bathhouse.⁶⁶ Thus the devils are more often banned from a place or object than exorcised from a person, though the latter also occurs, as in the narratives of the public watchman, the Emperor's daughter, the prodigy before Vespasian.⁶⁷ In the following story, which is typical, there is no possession but only external danger:

In the school of Abaje, there was a devil. Even when people entered in pairs in the daytime, they suffered harm from him. Abaje commanded them that no one should give Rab Aha bar Ja'aqob lodging, to see if a marvel might perhaps occur. He went in and spent the night in the school. The devil appeared to him as a dragon with seven heads. Every time Rab Aha bar Ja'aqob bowed down [in prayer], a head fell off. The next morning he said to them: If a marvel had not occurred, you would have put me in danger. Qid 29b (Strack-B., IV, 535).

Sometimes the devils are named. Thus Ben T'lamjon accompanies R. Šim'on b. Joḥai on his mission to Rome; Šabriri is the devil causing blindness; Lilith or Agrath bath Maḥlath is queen of the Šedim and Ašm'dai is king.⁶⁸ They may assume physical form and often speak. They enjoy a certain independence, are frequently insolent, and constantly bring harm to both human beings and property.⁶⁹ In the following tale, however, Ben T'lamjon employs his independence to

⁶⁶ P's 111b; H'ul 105b; Qid 29b; 39b. Abodes of evil spirits: the earth; the air; houses and fields; desert places and ruins; unclean places: graveyards, bathhouses, water closets, troughs for dirty water, unwashed hands, cisterns, wells; special trees and shrubs. Cf. Strack-B., IV, 515-519. In Šab 67a, a formula is given for exorcizing the devils of the water closets.

⁶⁷ P's 111b; Me'ila 51b; Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5.

⁶⁸ Me'ila 51b; 'AZ 12b; P's 112b. Cf. Strack-B., IV, 510-515.

⁶⁹ Cf. Qid 29b; H'ul 105b.

assist a mission en route to Rome to have an anti-Jewish edict revoked:

Ben T'lamjon [a devil] met R. Šim'on b. Joḥai [en route to Rome]. If you please, I shall go along. R. Šim'on wept and said: How is it that an angel accompanied the maid-servant of my father's house three times [i.e. Hagar], and me not once? But may the marvel come whence it will! The devil went on ahead and entered into the Emperor's daughter. When R. Šim'on had arrived there and the Emperor's daughter was incessantly crying: Permit R. Šim'on b. Joḥai to come, he said: Ben T'lamjon, depart, Ben T'lamjon! While he called him, the devil came out and betook himself away. The Emperor said to them: Ask what ye have to ask! Thereupon he had them enter a treasure chamber, that they might take what they wished. They found the edict, took it and tore it to pieces. Me'ila 51b (Strack-B., IV, 534 f.).

Sickness is closely related to possession, and evil spirits can cause many diseases and even death.⁷⁰

If the sick person be a rabbi, his name is given; otherwise the patient is usually merely described—the son or daughter of a rabbi, a servant of Antoninus, the daughter of the Emperor.⁷¹ Most of the cures are performed on men, rabbis in particular, as in the threefold story, the first two parts of which have been given above:

R. El'azar became sick. R. Joḥanan went to him. He saw that he lay in a dark room. R. Joḥanan bared his arm, and thereupon light was diffused [from his beauty]. He saw that R. El'azar wept. He said to him: Why weepest thou? Can it be for knowledge of the Law, that thou hast not acquired more? But we have learned: Whether one accomplish much or little, if only he keep his heart set on God! Or can it be for the means of sustenance? Yet not everyone obtains two meals [in this world and the next]. Or can it be for [lack of] children? This is the bone of my tenth son. R. El'azar said to him: I weep for thy beauty, because it will fade in the dust. Thereupon R. Joḥanan answered: For this weepest thou justly. And they both wept. Meanwhile R. Joḥanan said to him: Are thy chastisements dear to thee? He said: Neither they, nor their reward! He answered him: Give me thy hand! He gave him his hand and R. Joḥanan raised him up [cured]. B^r 5b (Strack-B., II, 3).

Children are regularly referred to in connection with their parents.⁷² There are no cures of animals, but animals are mentioned in certain

⁷⁰ Delirium, catalepsy, hemorrhoids, asthma, heart trouble (Strack-B., IV, 504 f.); madness, fever, catarrh, leprosy, blindness, deafness, polypus (*ibid.*, 525); death (525 f.).

⁷¹ Children of rabbis: B^r 34b (twice); Šab 156b; Hag 3a (?); J^b 121b.

⁷² Sons: B^r 34b (twice); Hag 3a; daughters: Šab 156b; J^b 121b; Hul 60a; Me'ila 51b.

stories; thus, beside the dangerous snakes noted above, a **ram** comes to save the daughter of R. Neḥonja,⁷³ and a serpent figures strangely in the following narrative:

R. Joḥanan saw that the lips of Rab Kahana were parted. He **thought** he was laughing at him. Thereupon his heart became faint [with **anger**] and the soul [of Rab Kahana] went unto rest. The next day he said to the rabbis: Did you see what the Babylonian did? They answered him: That is his way [i.e., he was not laughing]. Thereupon he went to the sepulcher. He saw that **a** snake encircled it. He said to it: Snake, snake, open the door, that the teacher **may** go in to his disciple! It did not make way.—That the colleague **may** go in to his colleague! It did not make way.—That the disciple **may** go in to his teacher! Thereupon it made way for him. R. Joḥanan implored mercy and caused him to rise. He said to him: If I had known that such is the master's way, **my** heart would not have grown faint; may the master now come back to us! He answered him: If thou canst petition that I shall no longer die, I shall come; **but** if not, I will not come; since the hour is past, so is it past [for marvels]. He **resuscitated** him and raised him up and questioned him about all doubts that he **had**; and Rab Kahana explained them to him. BQ 117a (Strack-B., II, 545).

Though the public watchman and the two dumb men approach the healer, usually it is the miracle-worker who approaches the patient. One cure takes place at a distance.⁷⁴ The Emperor's daughter pleads for herself, but more frequently intermediaries ask the healer's assistance: scribes, the father, friends, the Emperor.⁷⁵ The miracle-worker's name is given as a rule, and almost **always** he is a rabbi. R. Ḥanina b. Dosa figures very prominently in **these** stories:

Once the daughter of R. Neḥonja, the well-digger, fell **into** a great well and they reported it to R. Ḥanina b. Dosa. In the first hour he **said** to them: Peace. In the second he said to them: Peace. In the third he said to them: She has already come to the surface. He said to her: My daughter, **who** raised thee? She answered: A ram, led by an old man, came to me. At **this** they said to him: Art thou a prophet? He answered: I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet; but should this holy man's child come to grief over a **task** with which he is occupied? J^b 121b (Goldschmidt, IV, 452 f.).

This rabbi, a contemporary of the pupils of Hillel such as R. Joḥanan b. Zakkaj, i.e., one of the first generation **of** the Tannaitic scholars

⁷³ J^b 121b. ⁷⁴ B^r 34b.

⁷⁵ Ḥul 60a and Me'ila 51b; B^r 34b; 34b; J^b 121b; Lv^l 10 (111d).

(prior to 90 A.D.), was not one of the great rabbis of Israel.⁷⁶ Legend, however, has fastened many stories about his name. Besides the cures mentioned in this article, he was accredited with prodigies such as the following: God stops the rain while he is traveling and starts it when he arrives at home; his wife finds the oven marvelously filled with bread; his daughter pours vinegar instead of oil into the sabbath lamp but it still burns brightly all day; each of his goats brings in a bear mounted on its horns, to prove that they have not damaged the property of others; he helps a neighbor to build a house by marvellously lengthening the beams an ell; five angels assist him to carry a stone to Jerusalem.⁷⁷ Even the devils acknowledge his esteem in heaven and Mount Horeb echoes with the words: "The whole world is nourished only for the sake of my son Hanina."⁷⁸

As a final trait of the exposition, we may note that faith is never demanded from the patient, but mockery of the healer's powers may result in serious punishment, such as the infliction of leprosy upon the Emperor's daughter, or even death:

[As R. Šim'on b. Joḥai, with his son El'azar, ended his thirteen years dwelling in caves] he said: We shall purify Tiberias [by gathering and removing human bones]. He took lupines, cut them up and scattered them about. Everywhere, where a dead man was, he appeared and rose to the surface. A Samaritan had observed him and said: Shall I not go and make this old Jew ridiculous? He took a dead man and buried him in a place that the other had purified. Then he came to R. Šim'on b. Joḥai and said to him: Didst thou not purify such and such a place? Come with me and I will there draw out a dead man for thee. R. Šim'on b. Joḥai saw in the holy spirit that the other had laid him there and said: I decree that those above descend [to the grave] and those below arise [to life]. And so it happened. [The Samaritan died and the man whom he had buried, arose]. pŠ^ebi 9, 38d, 29 (Strack-B., I, 557).

Topic: The Miracle.—In regard to the miracle proper, it is noticeable that cures and resuscitations are described briefly if at all, but exorcisms are recorded in some detail. An amulet is written; the head is bowed in prayer; the trumpets blow.⁷⁹ At times the exorcism is very simple, as in the story of Ben T'lamjon and the Emperor's daughter,

⁷⁶ Cf. Strack, *Einleitung*, p. 122; S. Mendelsohn, "Hanina b. Dosa," *Jewish Enc.*, VI, 214-16.

⁷⁷ Cf. Ta'an 24b and 25a; QohR 1 (1:1). ⁷⁸ P^es 112b; B^er 17b.

⁷⁹ P^es 111b; Qid 29b; H^el 105b.

where a word of command suffices.⁸⁰ Generally, however, it is more complicated:

God permitted him [Solomon] to know the art against demons for the benefit and healing of men. He also composed incantations, by which maladies are allayed, and left behind modes of exorcism with which those possessed drive the demons out, never to return. And even now this kind of cure is of very great power among us. I have observed a certain Eleazar, of my race, in the presence of Vespasian, his sons, commanders and many other troops, free men possessed by demons. The method of the cure was this: he held to the nostrils of the possessed person a ring which had under its seal one of those roots which Solomon indicated. Then as the man smelled it, he drew out the demon through his nose, and when the man straightway fell down, he banned the demon from ever returning into him, mentioning Solomon's name and repeating the incantations which he had composed. Then, desiring to convince the bystanders and to prove to them that he had this power, Eleazar set a winecup or footbasin full of water at a little distance and bade the demon, as it went out of the man, to overturn it and thus let the spectators know that he had left the man. When this was done, the intelligence and wisdom of Solomon were evident. Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5.

As a rule, the healing takes place instantaneously—simultaneously, if at a distance, as in the cure of R. Gamaliel's son.⁸¹ The devil in the school is slain gradually, however, and the daughter of the well-digger is not rescued immediately.⁸² The daughter of R. 'Aqiba is preserved from death by what is in reality a natural act, and Josephus seems to speak of the powers bequeathed by Solomon as a matter of knowledge rather than preternatural gifts.⁸³ In exorcisms, the healer may employ the devil's name, rebuke him, command him to go out,⁸⁴ and the spirit may resist or plead.⁸⁵

The healer's words are usually quoted. A dead woman replies when Ze'eraġ questions her; R. Šim'on b. Ḥalaphta resuscitates Antoninus' servant with a word; R. Šim'on b. Joĥai exorcises, revivifies and kills by his words.⁸⁶ Quite commonly, however, the healer obtains the miracle from God by prayer. In this connection, the words "implore mercy" are particularly significant: the rabbinic miracle-worker, as

⁸⁰ Me'ila 51b. ⁸¹ B'r 34b. ⁸² Qid 29b; J'b 121b.

⁸³ Šab 156b; Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5.

⁸⁴ Me'ila 51b; Ḥul 105b; Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5.

⁸⁵ P's 111b; Ḥul 105b.

⁸⁶ B'r 18b; LvR 10 (111d); Me'ila 51b and pŠ'bi 9, 38d, 29.

Dibelius notes, is powerful not through his own strength but from his influence in the sight of God:⁸⁷

It happened that the son of R. Gamaliel was sick. Thereupon he sent two scribes to R. Ḥanina b. Dosa, that he might implore mercy for him. As soon as he saw them, he ascended to the loft and implored mercy for him. When he came down, he spoke to them: Go, the burning has left him. They said to him: Art thou then a prophet? He answered: I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet; but so has it been transmitted to me: if my prayer is fluent in my mouth, then I know that it will be granted; if not, then I know that it will come to naught. They sat down, wrote and marked the hour. When they came to R. Gamaliel, he said to them: Verily! ye have neither diminished nor increased it; it happened precisely so; in this hour the burning left him and he asked us for water to drink. B'r 34b (Goldschmidt, I, 130).⁸⁸

Incantations and magic formulae occur at times in the rabbinic literature. Solomon composed them for dispelling diseases and malignant spirits; they protect against the evil eye, ulcers, blindness; they can cause disease.⁸⁹ Exorcism may be performed in the name of Solomon, but R. 'El'azar b. Dama dies of snake-bite before he can prove his right to be healed in the name of Ješu'a b. Panter'a (Jesus).⁹⁰ The formula may contain strange, unintelligible words:

Against ulcers one should say the following: Bazbaziah, Masmasjah, Kaskasjah, Sarlaj and Amarlaj are angels who were sent out of the land of Sedom, to heal painful ulcers. Bazakh bazikh bazbazikh masmasikh, kamon kamikh. Keep thy appearance, keep thy appearance, keep thy place, thy seed be drawn in; and as a mule is not fruitful and does not multiply, so do thou not multiply nor increase in the body of so and so, son of so and so. Šab 67a (Goldschmidt, I, 475).

Or it may contain magic gestures:

[Mar Zutra] began and said: If a man enters a city and is fearful of the evil eye, let him take the thumb of his right hand in his left hand and the thumb of his left hand in his right hand and speak as follows: I, so and so, the son of so and so, descend

⁸⁷ "Implore mercy upon him" (בקש עליו רחמים) or a similar phrase occurs in B'r 34b (three times); M'g 7b; Ḥag 3a; BQ 117a; 'AZ 10b; Ta'an 23b. Prayer is mentioned also in Qid 29b; Ḥul 60a; M B'r 5, 5; M Ta'an 3, 8; Ta'an 23a; 23b and often.

⁸⁸ The "fluency" of the prayer refers to the exaggerated rabbinic emphasis on correct pronunciation of oral prayers. Cf. M. Lagrange, *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris, 1931), p. 475.

⁸⁹ Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5; B'r 55b; Šab 67a; 'AZ 12b; Qid 39b. Cf. Strack-B., II, 17, 714; IV, 532 ff.

⁹⁰ Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5; Tos Ḥul 2:22-23. On Solomon, cf. Strack-B., IV, 533 f.

from the seed of Joseph, over whom the evil eye had no power. . . . B^r 55b (Strack-B., II, 714).

Other gestures concern prayer: bowing the head or laying it between the knees.⁹¹ The three rabbis are cured by being taken by the hand; R. Ḥanina b. Dosa sets his foot upon the hiding place of the water snake; Elias lays his finger on the aching tooth of R. J^huda.⁹² Human spittle is helpful in maladies of the eye—preferably the spittle of the first-born of the father, or of one fasting. Spitting on a diseased part of the body was particularly in use in incantations—in which case the divine name may be mentioned before, but not after, spitting.⁹³ Josephus mentions a root with strong magic powers. It is difficult and dangerous to obtain but very efficacious in expelling the devils that cause sickness.⁹⁴ R. Šim'on b. Joḥai brings dead men to the surface by scattering lupines; Eleazar uses a ring with a root under its seal to exorcise.⁹⁵ A special amulet is required for multiple possession:⁹⁶ these amulets were made out of leather or metal, with an inscription inside, also out of stone, out of plants and roots.⁹⁷ The day and hour of birth have astrological import for the Gentile, but when Abraham calculates that he is not able to beget a son, God says to him: "Away with thy astrology, the Israelites are not subject to fateful stars."⁹⁸

Topic: Conclusion.—In regard to the topic of the concluding section of these stories, we may note that the success of the miracle is sometimes merely stated by the narrator. More commonly, however, some detail is included which indicates the actuality of the marvelous result. Thus, the dead woman speaks, as do the slain rabbis and the drowned maiden.⁹⁹ The dead snake is brought into the class room; the son of R. Gamaliel asks for water (or food), precisely at the hour noted by the emissaries; the sixty demons announce their departure; the Emperor's

⁹¹ Qid 29b; B^r 34b. ⁹² B^r 5b; 33a; pKil 9, 32b, 23.35. ⁹³ Cf. Strack-B., II, 15 f.

⁹⁴ Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, VII, 6, 3. One of the ways of obtaining the root is to dig round the plant and tie the root to a dog: as the dog endeavors to follow his master, the plant yields and is harmless thereafter—though the dog dies.

⁹⁵ pŠ^obi 9, 38d, 29; Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5. For other magic beliefs and practices cf. Strack-B., II, 163 (childbirth), 271 f. (optical illusions), 473 (contest of a rabbi with a non-Jewish magician); III, 612 f. (women are magicians); IV, 316 (sowing and gathering of cucumbers), 509 (evil spirits made visible), 511 f. (building of the Temple), 524 (diseases).

⁹⁶ P^s 111b.

⁹⁷ Cf. Strack-B., IV, 529–532. Hematite was especially popular for pregnancy.

⁹⁸ Šab 156a, b.

⁹⁹ B^r 18b; M^g 7b and BQ 117a; J^b 121b.

daughter winds yarn in the street; Antoninus' servant stirs and stands up; a departing devil spills a basin of water.¹⁰⁰ The two dumb men give a special proof of their cure:

Two dumb persons lived in the neighborhood of Rabbi, the sons of the daughter of R. Joḥanan b. Gudḡda, or, according to others, the sons of his sister. Whenever Rabbi went into the school, they went in, sat before him and nodded with their heads and moved their lips. Then Rabbi begged mercy for them and they were healed. It turned out that they had learned Halakha, Siphra, Siphre and the whole Talmud. Ḥag 3a (Strack-B., I, 526).

The crowd acclaims R. Ḥanina b. Dosa on his destruction of the water snake, but this is not a common trait.¹⁰¹ R. Joḥanan b. Zakkaj comments somewhat invidiously on the marvelous success of R. Ḥanina b. Dosa; R. Ḥijja laments the healing of R. J'huda's tooth; R. Z'e'ira observes that miracles do not usually repeat themselves; R. Ḥanina b. Dosa, Rab Aḥa bar Ja'aqob, Rab Kahana, and Antoninus all make brief comments on the prodigy.¹⁰² The Emperor rewards the exorcism of his daughter,¹⁰³ but as a rule the prodigies have no discernible effect on the healers' careers, except for the fame they bestow on R. Ḥanina b. Dosa.¹⁰⁴ Even he is "neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet"¹⁰⁵ and is not even great among the rabbis of Israel:

Again it happened that R. Ḥanina b. Dosa went to R. Joḥanan b. Zakkaj to study the doctrine of the Law, and the son of R. Joḥanan b. Zakkaj became sick. He said to him: Ḥanina, my son, do implore mercy for him, that he may recover! Thereupon he laid his head between his knees and implored mercy for him, and he recovered. Thereupon R. Joḥanan b. Zakkaj said: Had Ben Zakkaj bowed his head between his knees the whole day, no one would have paid attention to him. His wife said to him: Is Ḥanina, then, more important than thou? He answered her: No; but he is like a servant before the king [who can enter at any time], while I am like a prince before the king [who must wait to be invited]. B'r 34b (Goldschmidt, I, 130).

(To be continued)

¹⁰⁰ B'r 33a; 34b (pB'r 5, 9d, 21); P's 111b; Ḥul 60a; LvR 10 (111d); Joseph., *Ant.*, VIII, 2, 5.

¹⁰¹ B'r 33a; cf. 34b; J'b 121b.

¹⁰² B'r 34b; pKil 9, 32b, 23.35; M'g 7b. Cf. J'b 121b; Qid 29b; BQ 117a; 'AZ 10b.

¹⁰³ Me'ila 51b.

¹⁰⁴ B'r 33a; P's 112b.

¹⁰⁵ B'r 34b; J'b 121b.