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Edited by Bernard Orchard and Thomas R. W. Longstaff

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1776—1976

Edited by

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Monk of Ealing Abbey

and

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Jakob Griesbach and the development of the investigation  
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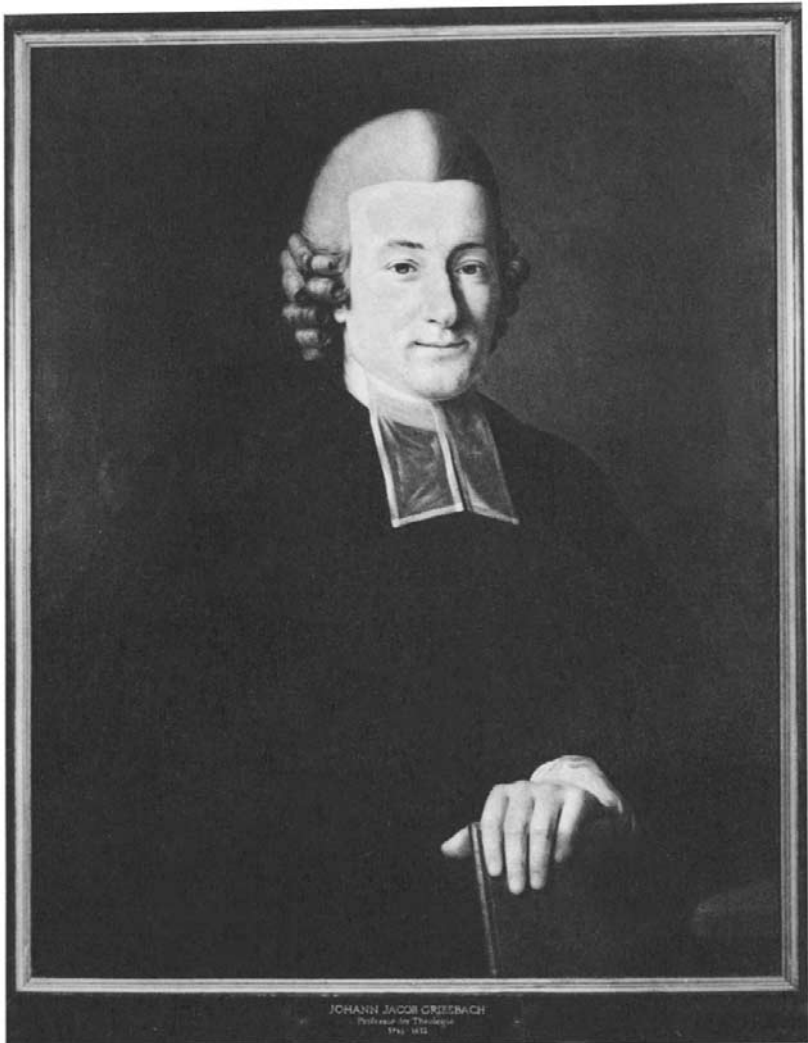
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THE JOHANN JAKOB GRIESBACH  
BICENTENARY COLLOQUIUM  
1776 - 1976

held at  
Münster (Westphalia)  
26-31 July 1976

under the joint patronage of  
The Rector of the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität zu Münster  
Professor Dr Wolfgang Hoffmann

and of  
The Rt Revd the Bishop of Münster  
Heinrich Tenhumberg

and of  
The Rt Revd the Präses of the Evangelical Church of Westphalia  
D. Dr Hans Thimme

on the theme  
**JOHANN JAKOB GRIESBACH**  
and the  
**DEVELOPMENT**  
of the  
**INVESTIGATION OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM**  
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## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND SELECTED OBSERVERS

*An asterisk indicates participants who were commissioned to write papers for distribution prior to the Colloquium and for possible publication in this volume or elsewhere.*

### The organizing committee

\*Professor William R. Farmer, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University

\*The Revd Bernard Orchard, O.S.B., Ealing Abbey, London (Hon. Secretary)

\*Professor Dr K. H. Rengstorf, The University of Münster

### The participants

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Professor Dr Albert Fuchs, Linz

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- \*Professor G. D. Kilpatrick, Queen's College, Oxford  
 Professor Dr H.-W. Kuhn, Heidelberg  
 Professor Dr H. Lausberg, The University of Münster  
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 Professor Thomas R. W. Longstaff, Colby College, Waterville, Maine  
 The Very Revd Carlo H. Martini, Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Rome  
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 Professor Dr Frans Neiryneck, The University of Leuven
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- \*Professor Dr Bo Reicke, The University of Basel
- \*Professor Dr K. H. Rengstorf, The University of Münster  
 Professor Harald Riesenfeld, The University of Uppsala  
 Professor E. P. Sanders, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario  
 Dr Werner Schäfke, Historische Museum der Stadt, Köln  
 The Revd George Soares Prabhu, De Nobile College, Pune, India  
 Professor Joseph B. Tyson, Southern Methodist University  
 Professor Dr W. C. van Unnik, Bilthoven

In addition to the official participants, whose numbers were limited by the funds available to the organizing committee, other scholars were invited to attend the colloquium as observers. Among those who (at the invitation of the chairmen of the several sessions) made significant contributions to the discussion were Professor Dr Willi Marxsen, Dozent Dr Martin Rese, and Dr Klaus Junack. A number of other scholars (including Professor Dr G. Schneider, Professor Dr H. Lausberg and Akad. Oberrat Dr Hubert Frankemölle) supported the colloquium by their presence and participation.



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## PREFACE

The aim of this volume is to provide the reader with basic information about the life, work and influence of Johann Jakob Griesbach (1745-1812) and to indicate why an understanding of this scholar's contributions to New Testament criticism is important both for the history of New Testament scholarship and for contemporary research. Griesbach was perhaps the most noteworthy and influential Biblical scholar during the last quarter of the eighteenth century - the age of the French and American Revolutions. The editors of this volume are firmly convinced that, after being forgotten and ignored for more than a century, his ideas, suitably brought up to date, have a great deal to offer to twentieth-century New Testament studies.

Griesbach spent long hours in the attempt to find the best readings among the many variants in the New Testament. His work laid the foundations of modern text criticism and he is, in no small measure, responsible for the secure New Testament text which we enjoy today. Many of his methodological principles continue to be useful in the process of determining the best readings from among the many variants which remain.

But Griesbach was first and foremost a theologian concerned with the issues of faith and life in his own time. In this regard he firmly believed that theology requires a clear understanding of the sources from which it proceeds. Thus his greatest contributions to New Testament scholarship were his Greek *Synopsis* of 1774-6 and the theory about the inter-relationships among the Gospels which resulted from it.

An examination of Griesbach's *Synopsis*, the bicentenary of which has been the occasion of the Münster Colloquium, reveals that he was under the influence of the Augustinian Hypothesis (that Matthew was written first, that Mark knew Matthew and that Luke was latest of the three and had knowledge of both Matthew and Mark) when he produced this work. A few years later, however, in his Easter Programme of 1783-4 (one of a series of Biblical essays which he issued annually at this season for the spiritual benefit of the citizens of Jena) he first outlined his belief that

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Mark's Resurrection Narrative must have been dependent on those of Matthew and Luke.

In 1789-90 Griesbach issued his famous *Commentatio qua Marci Evangelium totum e Matthaei et Lucae commentariis decerptum esse monstratur* in which he listed in full his reasons for concluding that not only in the Resurrection Narrative but throughout his whole Gospel Mark was dependent on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. This new theory, together with his *Synopsis*, was to enjoy considerable popularity and influence, not only through the work of his disciple, Wilhelm M. L. de Wette, but also as a result of its adoption by the Tübingen School under the leadership of F. C. Baur. (Until now this important essay has been available only in eighteenth-century Latin and thus has been relatively inaccessible. The English translation included in this volume was especially prepared for the Münster Colloquium.)

Griesbach's influence, however, although great, was also limited. His solution to the Synoptic Problem did not find universal acceptance, in part because at the time he was developing his own theory his contemporaries (and rivals) Heinrich E. G. Paulus, Gottlob C. Storr and Johann G. Eichhorn were developing another understanding of the relationships among the Synoptic Gospels which was eventually to become the theory of Marcan priority.

The reasons for the decline and eventual disappearance of Griesbach's solution to the Synoptic Problem have been considered in detail in William R. Farmer's *The Synoptic Problem* and need not be repeated here. We may note that Farmer has argued forcefully - and with some success - for the revival of Griesbach's theory, modified, of course, to take account of developments in New Testament criticism over the past 200 years. Thus the essays on the Synoptic Problem presented to the Münster Colloquium and the resulting discussion were timely contributions to New Testament studies.

The lasting influence of Griesbach's work on textual criticism can be seen clearly in the essay of G. D. Kilpatrick (included as chapter 7 below) and in the manner in which his principles and methods are still incorporated into contemporary New Testament text criticism.

This volume had its origin in the Griesbach Bicentenary Colloquium which was held in Münster in July 1976. The details of how the Colloquium was conceived and organized are related in W. R. Farmer's essay 'The genesis of the Colloquium' (chapter 1 below). The programme of the Colloquium was devised by an organizing committee and, with three exceptions, proceeded according to plan. (Prof. G. Delling was unable to come to Münster for the Colloquium. His paper was circulated in advance

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to all participants and, at the opening session, was accepted as read. Prof. C. M. Martini found it necessary, due to the unforeseen pressures of other duties, to decline the invitation to present a paper to the Colloquium. His contributions to the discussions, however, were of great value. Finally, Prof. G. D. Fee kindly and ably stepped into the void left by the late withdrawal of Prof. K. Aland. His paper (chapter 8 below) and his participation throughout contributed much to the Colloquium.)

After an opening session in which the Colloquium was formally convened, introductions made, etc, the discussions proceeded as follows. Two formal meetings were held each day.

The first day was given over to the consideration of the Gospel synopsis. Under the chairmanship of Prof. Matthew Black, papers prepared by Prof. Heinrich Greeven and Prof. Xavier Léon-Dufour were read and discussed.

The second day was given over to a discussion of New Testament text criticism. Under the chairmanship of Prof. Fritzleo Lentzen-Deis, papers prepared by Prof. G. D. Kilpatrick and Prof. Gordon D. Fee introduced the discussion.

The third day was reserved for a discussion of the Synoptic Problem. Under the chairmanship of Prof. Reginald H. Fuller, papers presented by Prof. Bo Reicke and Prof. William R. Farmer stimulated extensive discussion.

On the fourth day, the first session was devoted to a discussion of a paper by Prof. K. H. Rengstorf on Luke, and the second session given over to an evaluation of the Colloquium, including an attempt to define the progress which had been made and the questions raised but not resolved. Both of these sessions were under the chairmanship of Prof. Harald Riesefeld. The final session is summarized in part in chapter 9 below.

The essays included in this book have been selected from those presented to the Colloquium. It is unfortunate that the limitation imposed by the need to produce a volume of manageable size has made it impossible to include all of the papers which were prepared for that meeting. (Not included are the following: W. R. Farmer's 'Modern developments of Griesbach's hypothesis'; G. D. Kilpatrick's (supplementary paper) 'Griesbach's place in the text criticism of the New Testament'; Xavier Léon-Dufour's 'The Gospel Synopsis of the future'; and K. H. Rengstorf's 'Griesbach and the problem of Luke'. G. D. Fee kindly agreed to an abridgement of his paper in accordance with the criteria used for selection. It was also impossible to include a number of written responses, prepared for and circulated at the Colloquium. Among these were: F. Neiryneck's 'A new synopsis?', a response to Farmer's suggestion that it would be an advantage to have a synopsis illustrating the Griesbach Hypothesis; Neiryneck's further response to Farmer in 'The Gries-

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bach Hypothesis: a phenomenon of order'; and Bernard Orchard's response to Greeven's view that a modern synopsis, when properly edited, is entirely neutral.) Happily, some of these are published separately and thus available to interested scholars. (Thus, Farmer's essay appears in *New Testament Studies*, 23 (April 1977), 275-95. The editors hope that the remainder will also be published individually in the near future.) In making the selection the editors have attempted to produce a volume with a unified and coherent theme: Griesbach's contributions to, and subsequent influence upon, the critical study of the New Testament. Omitted were those papers (or parts of papers) where the author expressed his personal views with regard to the present state of the discussion of questions considered by Griesbach and still at issue. Accordingly, the intended value of this volume is that it provides an adequate background for understanding and evaluating modern developments of Griesbach's theories as they are proposed in contemporary scholarship.

On behalf of the organizing committee and themselves the editors wish to offer special words of appreciation to a number of people who contributed greatly to the success of the Colloquium.

A special word of thanks is offered to Prof. Gerhard Dellling for his instructive biography of J. J. Griesbach and for his list of Griesbach's published writings, but no less also for the inspiration and assistance which he provided in the preparation of the exhibition of Griesbachiana which was featured in the library of the University of Münster throughout the Colloquium.

Warmest thanks are also expressed to the chief citizens of the historic and lovely city of Münster for the splendid welcome which they gave to all the participants: to His Excellency the Bishop of Münster, Heinrich Tenhumberg, for his patronage and support of the Colloquium from the beginning; to D. Dr Hans Thimme, Präses of the Evangelical Church of Westphalia; to the Rector and Pro-Rector of the University of Münster; to all of the personnel of the Universitätsbibliothek, to Dr G. Liebers, the Librarian, and Dr Hellmut Rüter his colleague and assistant, for their efforts in mounting the exhibition of Griesbachiana and to all of the staff for the courteous provision of the facilities necessary for a comfortable and efficient series of meetings; to the students and staff of the Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum for their unobtrusive, generous and effective help at all times; to the Burgomaster of Münster for his welcome at the Rathaus on behalf of the citizens of the city; and to the Director of the Collegium Borromäum and his staff for the excellent arrangements which were made for the meals, accommodation and general comfort of the participants.

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Our best thanks are also due to the scholars who came as participants and observers and who by their collegiality and contributions made the Colloquium a success; and above all our appreciation is expressed to Prof. K. H. Rengstorf whose personal prestige and influence at all times were an asset of immeasurable value.

Further, since no such gathering can take place without an ample supply of funds, appreciation is expressed to two German philanthropic foundations: to the Volkswagenwerk Stiftung of Hanover, and to an anonymous private charitable trust in Düsseldorf, for providing the essential financial support.

Finally, appreciation is expressed to the editorial board of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas and to the editors and staff of the Cambridge University Press whose co-operation has made the tasks of the co-editors of this volume easier and much more pleasant.

*Ealing Abbey, London*  
*January 1977*

Bernard Orchard  
Thomas R. W. Longstaff

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AdBiog</i>	<i>Allgemeines deutsche Biographie</i>
<i>GCS</i>	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Révue Biblique</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i>
<i>RGG</i>	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
<i>ThLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>