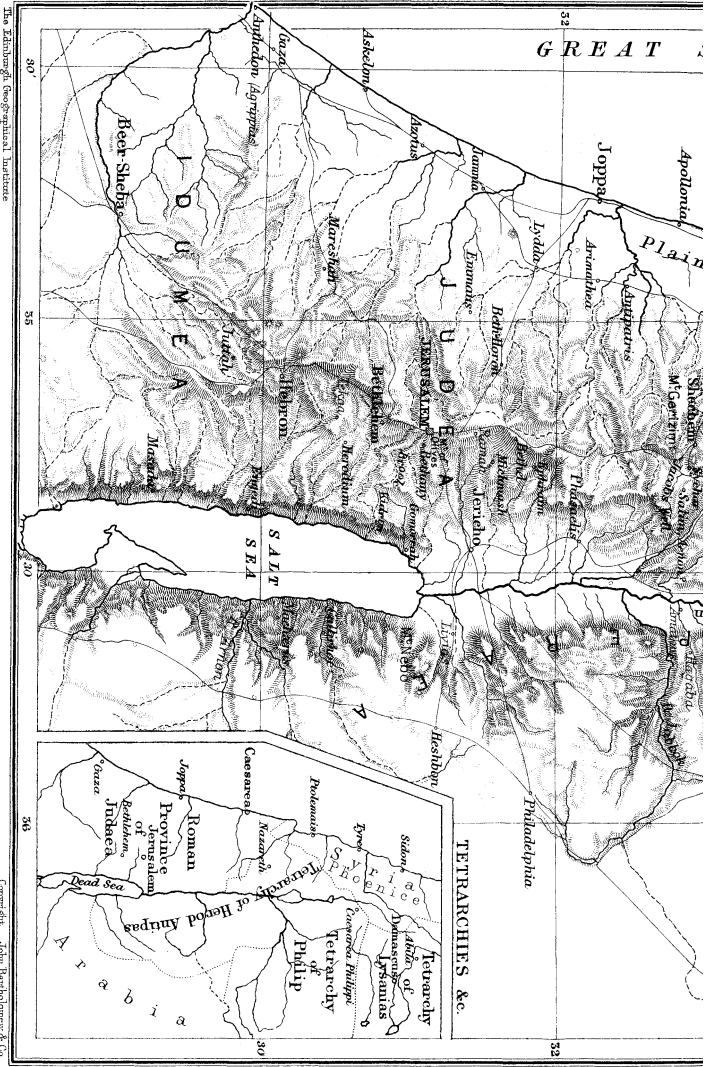
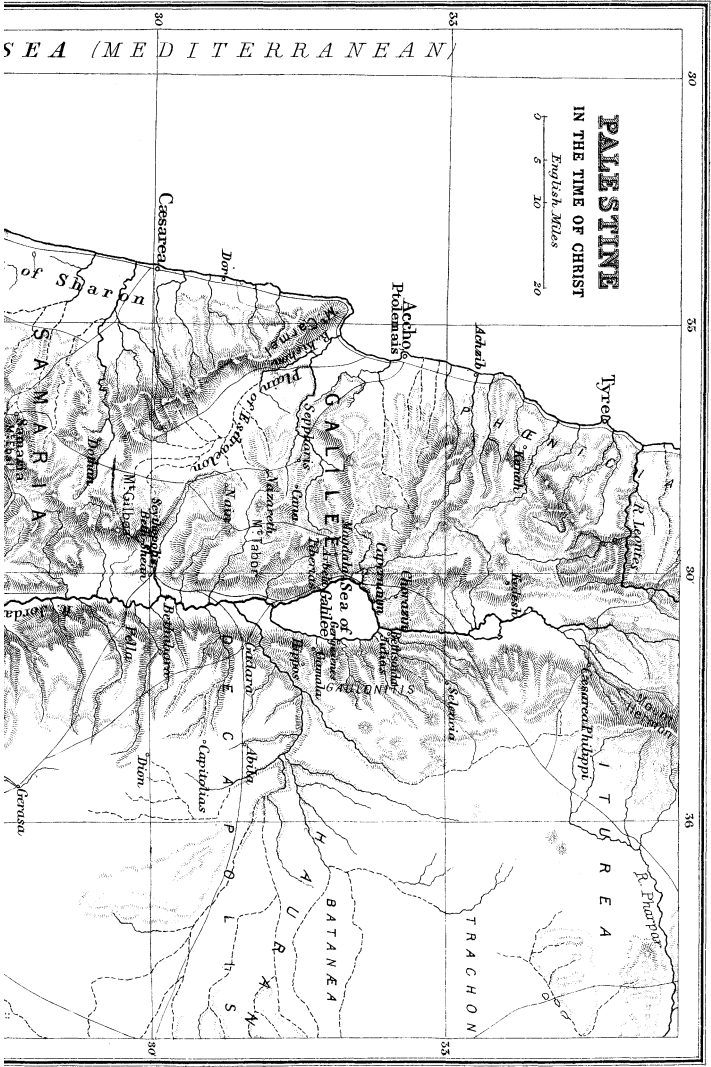


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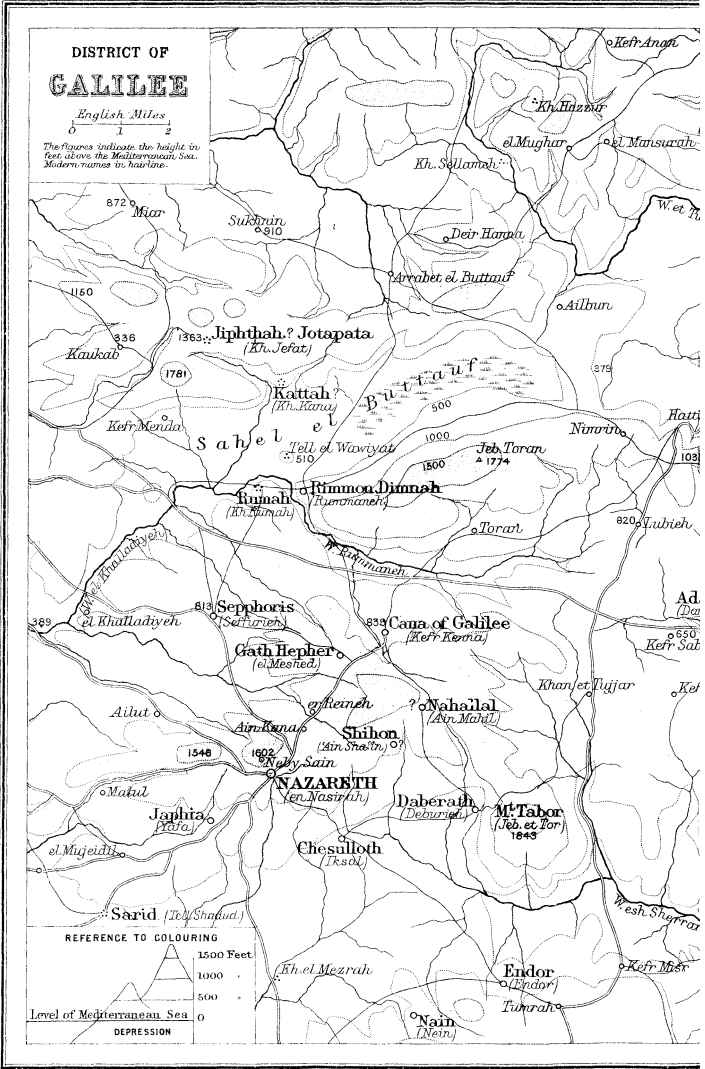


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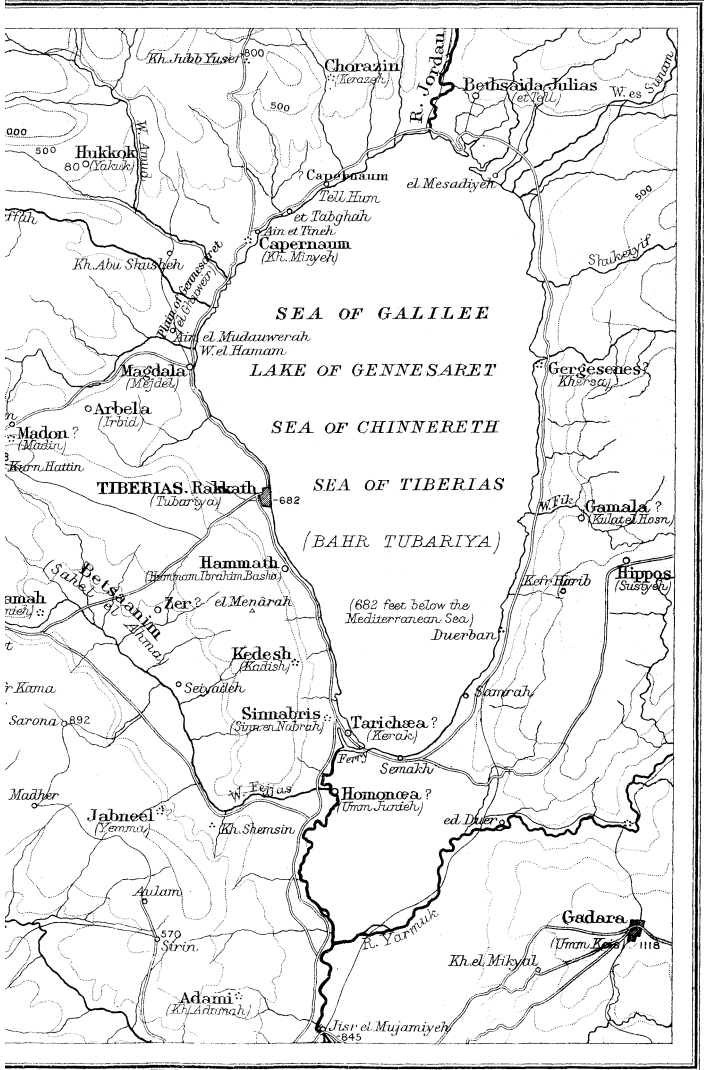
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ST MARK

THE REVISED VERSION

*EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS*

BY

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PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR
FOR THE GOSPELS AND ACTS.

THE Revised Version has to some extent superseded the need of annotation on the Gospels and Acts, so far as the meaning of words and phrases is concerned. But the present Edition will, it is hoped, serve a good purpose in drawing the attention of young scholars to the importance of some of the changes made in that Version.

Another aim is to present in a clear and intelligible form the best and most approved results of recent theological work on these books.

The General Editor takes this opportunity of noting that, as in *The Cambridge Bible for Schools*, each writer is responsible for the interpretation of particular passages, or for the opinion expressed on any point of doctrine. His own part is that of careful supervision and occasional suggestion.

ARTHUR CARR.

October, 1903.

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INTRODUCTION.

A. ORIGIN OF THE GOSPELS: RELATION OF ST MARK'S GOSPEL TO THE OTHERS¹.

Features distinctive of each of the four Gospels.

THE Gospel is contained in four books, two called after apostles, St Matthew and St John, two after companions of the apostles, St Mark, the companion of St Paul and of St Peter, and St Luke, the companion of St Paul. The same Person is brought before us, in the main the same story is told four times over. But there is no mere repetition, for each writer sees the life which he is describing from his own point of view, and no two of them were writing for the same class of readers. Thus St Matthew's interest lay in the past; he wrote to shew his own countrymen, the Jews, how the life of Jesus had fulfilled all that was written in the Law and the Prophets concerning the Messiah. St Mark lives in the present: he writes for Romans (see below, p. xiv), and gives them a living portrait of a living man. St Luke, influenced by the far-reaching aspirations of his master, St Paul, looks forward to the day when all flesh shall see the salvation of God, and, writing in the first instance for his own countrymen, the Greeks, brings before them One who was fitted to be the Saviour of all nations in every age. St John, writing

¹ Adapted from the *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*.

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long after the other three for the instruction of the Christian Church, gazes on the eternal mysteries which had been brought to light by the revelation of the Word made flesh.

Corresponding to these differences between the writers of the Gospels, and between the classes of readers to which they were originally addressed, there is a difference between the features in the character of the Lord which stand out most prominently in each. Thus the first three help us to see in Jesus the perfect Son of man, St John shews us the same Jesus as the perfect Son of God.

St Mark's Gospel follows the outline of the public preaching of the apostles.

It is important to remember that, although the Gospels stand first in our New Testament, this order does not represent the order in which the books were written. In the earliest age of Christianity there were no written Gospels, because the need for them had not arisen. The facts on which the apostles laid most stress in the earliest public teaching were the Death and Resurrection of the Lord, those facts which were of the first importance in the message which they had to deliver. While the memory of His words and works was still fresh, there was no need of a written record. But we learn from Acts i. 22 that it was regarded as essential that an 'apostle' should have personal knowledge of the life and teaching of Jesus during the whole period between the Baptism of John and the Ascension: and it is this period which was embraced in the earliest form of the written Gospel. St Mark traces 'the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ' (i. 1) from the advent of the Baptist: his book as we have it is incomplete (see n. on xvi. 8), but we may well believe that, had the conclusion of it been preserved, it would have carried on the narrative up to the Ascension.

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The other Gospels in various ways supplementary.

St Mark's Gospel then represents the Gospel story in its earliest and most elementary form, and gives such facts about the life of Jesus as Gentile Christians would wish to know. But it soon became necessary to prefix to this story of the Ministry of Jesus some account of His birth, and other events connected with it: and such accounts we have in the Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke. The outline of the Gospel story was now complete. It remained for St John to supply important details which were omitted by the first three evangelists, to throw new light on the gradual revelation of Christ's Person in His human life, and generally to present His life and teaching in a 'theological' aspect to meet the growing needs of the Church: it was becoming necessary by that time not merely to accept the record of His life as historical fact, but to think more deeply about its meaning as revealing the eternal purposes of God.

The Synoptic Problem.

The record given in the first three Gospels is called the 'Synoptic' narrative, and the three writers are called the 'Synoptists,' because (as distinguished from St John) they give the same 'synopsis' or general view of the life of Christ. It is obvious that the three narratives have much in common, that they not merely tell the story of the same events, but to some extent tell it in the same way, or even in the same words; so that the writers cannot be thought to have written in entire independence of one another. On the other hand it is equally clear that each of the three books contains things which are not found in the others: indeed they do not always agree in the details, when they are telling the same story. In fact their independence of one another is quite as striking as the strong similarities between them. Our difficulty then is

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to account for these two opposed facts, to frame a theory as to how these books came to be written, which will account at the same time for the dependence and for the independence of the three narratives: and we have practically no means of information except the books themselves. This difficulty is called the 'synoptic problem.' An examination of passages found in St Mark in common with St Matthew, and in some cases with St Luke, gives the impression that in very many instances the words which St Mark gives us lay before the other synoptists, each of whom has modified them from his own standpoint, sometimes by compressing the story and sometimes by adding further details from sources of his own. Similarly, when certain passages common to St Matthew and St Luke are compared, it appears that there was another common source of information which both of these evangelists used, but not St Mark.

The further question arises whether, if these inferences are correct, the 'common sources' which were drawn upon by the evangelists existed in the form of *written* documents, or whether they consisted of an '*oral*' tradition as to the words and works of Jesus. In the latter case the histories, from being constantly repeated (before they were written down) in the instruction of Christian converts, may well have become, as it were, fixed in a certain form, so that even the same words, to a great extent, were used whenever the story was told, and were consequently preserved when it came to be written down. At present however most scholars incline to the first theory, that of primitive *written* records: the terseness of the narratives and the general absence of comments, such as would naturally fall from a teacher's lips, point rather in this direction.

In any case our Gospel of St Mark probably closely represents (if it is not identical with) the earliest form in which the apostolic tradition of our Lord's life was committed

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to writing: and it is not unlikely that this document was actually seen and used by St Matthew and St Luke.

Accordingly, it is of first-rate importance that we should get as clear an understanding as possible of the meaning of St Mark. It is, however, important to remember that St Matthew and St Luke must have had access to other sources of information, which may well be equally early and authentic.

B. THE WRITER AND HIS BOOK.

The life of St Mark.

If it be assumed¹, as it may be with tolerable certainty, that the John Mark mentioned in the Acts is the same person as the Mark of St Paul's epistles and as the author of the Gospel, we may put together the following fragmentary biography of the evangelist. His Hebrew (Aramaic) name was John, and he adopted the Roman *praenomen* Marcus as a second name. His mother's name was Mary; she was a Christian and a person of some position in the Church at Jerusalem, as we see from what is said of her household in the account of Peter's escape from prison (Acts xii. 12—17). We there see that John Mark was probably already intimate with Peter. This is the earliest certain mention of him; he is not mentioned in the Gospels, though it has been conjectured that he was one of the Seventy, and with more likelihood that he was the 'man' of Mark xiv. 13, who guided the two disciples to the house where they were to prepare the Passover, and the 'young man' of Mark xiv. 51, 52 (see notes), who was present at the arrest in the garden of Gethsemane: if these conjectures could be accepted, it

¹ See Col. iv. 10 and cf. Swete's commentary, chapter on 'The personal history of St Mark.' Hastings, *D.B.*, John Mark.

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would seem that the Last Supper was taken at his mother's house, the same house to which Peter turned on his escape from prison.

We next hear of him in Acts xii. 25, where it is said that Barnabas and Saul took him with them from Jerusalem to Antioch, on their return thither after administering the relief fund sent from Antioch for the Christian poor at Jerusalem: this was in 45 or 46 A.D. At this time Saul was rather second in command to Barnabas than leader of their missionary enterprises, and we learn from Col. iv. 10 that Mark was a relation of Barnabas: this was doubtless one reason for his selection, and he may have already proved useful to the apostles at Jerusalem. He accompanied Barnabas and Saul on the first missionary journey, and after being with them in Cyprus, sailed with them to Pamphylia. On this expedition it is said (Acts xiii. 5) that he acted as their 'attendant,' i.e. apparently as a sort of courier. At Perga in Pamphylia he left the apostles and returned to Jerusalem, his home¹ (xiii. 13). This 'desertion,' as St Paul regarded it, led subsequently to a breach between that apostle and Barnabas, since, when they were starting on the second missionary journey (Acts xv. 36), Barnabas wished again to take Mark with them, but Paul refused, and the two apostles travelled separately, Mark accompanying Barnabas to Cyprus, which was the latter's own country. It is clear however that Mark had been allowed to rejoin the apostles at Antioch during their stay there previous to the second missionary journey, and it would seem that it was only as a companion in missionary travels that St Paul objected to him. From this point we hear no more of him in Acts. There is nothing improbable in the tradition that he proceeded from Cyprus to Egypt: there he is said to have founded the Church at Alexandria; legend goes on to

¹ For a suggestion as to the reason of his conduct see Ramsay, *St Paul the Traveller, &c.*, Chap. v.

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say that he there suffered martyrdom, and that his remains were eventually taken to Venice, of which he became the patron saint. For this story, interesting as it is, especially in connexion with the romantic history of Venice, there is no authority.

Our only authentic information as to his later life is gathered from the epistles of St Paul and St Peter, and we know nothing certain about his death. From Col. iv. 10, 11, and Philem. 24 (written at the same time as Col.), we find that he was at Rome during St Paul's first imprisonment there, and it is evident that there was now complete harmony between them: he is called in Col. iv. 11 one of St Paul's 'only fellow-workers...of the circumcision.' After this he seems to have gone to Asia, as in 2 Tim. (iv. 11), the latest of St Paul's epistles, addressed to Timothy at Ephesus during Paul's second imprisonment at Rome, just before his death, Timothy is told to 'pick up' Mark and bring him to Rome, and it is added that he is 'serviceable for ministry.' We thus gather that his place in the early Church was that of a practical industrious subordinate, a character which is borne out by the early traditions presently to be mentioned, and by the simple unpretending tone of his Gospel.

Again, in St Peter's first epistle, written also probably from Rome (1 Pet. v. 13), Mark is spoken of as 'his son,' and it is implied that he too was then at Rome. We have seen that the intimacy began in early times at Jerusalem; and the phrase 'my son' apparently indicates that he was a favourite 'pupil.' It is considered likely that St Paul's death occurred earlier than St Peter's, and that this epistle was written in the interval: in that case it would seem that Mark (with perhaps others of St Paul's circle) transferred his services to St Peter. It is with St Peter that tradition especially connects his name: he is called Peter's 'interpreter,' and this he may well have been in a literal sense, if Peter was not familiar with Greek. It is asserted

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that he wrote a record of Peter's preaching, consisting of the doings and sayings of Christ: the description given of this work applies closely to our 'Gospel of St Mark' (see below, p. xvi). The traditions which give us these facts vary in some particulars, but the earliest of them go back a long way and may be accepted as trustworthy. The later traditions appear to go too far in asserting that Mark wrote in any sense at the *dictation* of Peter. It was this connexion with Peter's name that probably gave to St Mark's Gospel its authority in the early Church.

Mention may be added of the curious epithet 'stump-fingered' which is applied to St Mark by some fairly early authorities. The meaning may be either that he had a natural defect in the hand or hands, or that he had suffered some kind of 'mutilation' from an accident or otherwise.

The contents and style of the Gospel.

All that we are able to gather about his later life goes to support the view that his Gospel was written in the first instance for *Roman* Christians, and it contains just those things which such converts would wish to know, a vivid sketch of the personality of Jesus as He 'went about doing good' in Galilee, and instructing His disciples for their future work, and of the attitude of rulers and people towards Him; and a full description of the circumstances of the crowning scenes of His earthly life (see below, p. xvi). St Peter's speech to Cornelius (Acts x. 36—40) supplies just such a 'table of contents' for our Gospel.

The main characteristic of St Mark's style is extreme simplicity of language. 'Simple' sentences predominate, strung together with such connexions as 'and straightway.' There is little of elaborate syntax, and, if the construction of a sentence is difficult, it is generally not because of complexity, but because it is broken in a free, almost

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conversational way: hence 'sense-constructions' and parentheses are not infrequent. There is no 'word-painting' or rhetoric, the facts are left to tell their own story. Very few words are used, yet the story is not bald, because brief as is the account, no picturesque feature is omitted: hence we often find in St Mark an added detail which brings the picture more vividly before our eyes than the accounts of the same event by St Matthew or St Luke. He shares with the other synoptic writers a strange power of suppressing his own personality and feelings, and an extraordinary reserve in refraining from comment on the momentous events which he describes.

Its first readers.

It is evident that the book was written in Greek, and is not a translation. It contains a good many Latin words, but they are mostly such as must have become current among Greek-speaking subjects of the Roman Empire, being for the most part words for Roman coins or military terms. The readers whom St Mark had in view would be Greek-speaking converts, especially Christians of the Church at Rome; those to whom St Paul and St Peter in succession had preached. Such readers would desire just such a plain statement of the main outward facts of our Lord's life as St Mark gives: they would not be specially interested in Him as a Jew, and they would not be fully acquainted with Jewish customs or ways of thought. Hence he explains for their benefit the Aramaic words which he occasionally introduces, and the allusions to Jewish customs or beliefs, while he does not, like St Matthew, appeal to a knowledge of Jewish literature and prophecy.

The plan of the Gospel.

The Gospel falls into well-defined sections: the two principal ones are (1) a selection of typical incidents of

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Jesus' ministry in Galilee, derived doubtless from St Peter's 'reminiscences,' and (2) a full account of the last days at Jerusalem, for which the writer evidently also drew on other sources of information: it must be remembered that Jerusalem was his own home. Between these two main sections comes a very brief sketch of Jesus' ministry in Peraea (which is fully treated by St Luke): the work opens with an introduction on John the Baptist's preaching—leading up to Jesus' baptism and the opening of His ministry in Galilee—and ends with an (incomplete) account of the events of the morning after the Resurrection.

Within each section the events appear to be arranged in what the writer considered to be their chronological order, so far as his information went. Thus in the section on the Galilean Ministry what is said of our Lord's methods of preaching clearly shews a natural sequence. We learn that *first* He preached in the synagogues of Galilee, *then* to a larger audience by the lake-sides or among the hills, *then* that He began to address the people at large in 'parables,' and *finally* that He devoted Himself more and more to the special training of the Twelve. But, though a certain order is thus discernible, it would be a mistake to consider either this Gospel or any of the others as by itself constituting a 'Life of Christ.'

Traces of St Peter's influence.

The influence of St Peter may be detected not only in those details about him which St Mark alone gives, but in significant omissions. Thus e.g. the stories of the rebuke to Peter and of his fall are told circumstantially, the account of the Transfiguration, as describing St Peter's confusion, could hardly have come from anyone else, and on several occasions he is named by Mark and not by the other evangelists who record the same incidents: while on the

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other hand things which might seem to exalt his dignity are omitted, such as the great promise made to him as the representative of the apostles (Matt. xvi. 17—19), and the account of his walking on the sea (Matt. xiv. 28—32).

C. THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE
 GOSPEL HISTORY¹.

The interval between the Testaments.

It is impossible to understand the conditions under which our Lord's life was passed without knowing something of the history, religious and political, of the Jews in the period between the end of the Old Testament history and the beginning of the Gospel history. In our Bibles St Matthew immediately follows Malachi, and we are apt to forget how wide is the gap. The latest event recorded in the last historical book of the Old Testament took place more than four centuries before the coming of John the Baptist, a period as long as that which divides our own time from that of the Wars of the Roses. In that period great changes took place, so that the Jews of the New Testament must be regarded as very widely different from the Jews of the Old. Indeed the history of the Jewish people during that time covers what is in many ways the greatest period of their national life, and includes some of the most characteristic exhibitions of Jewish character and Jewish ideas: it is a period conspicuous for striking events, for new developments of religious thought, and for elaborate organization of internal government. It is to that epoch that we must look for explanation of the political and religious ideas of our Lord's contemporaries, as we find them depicted in the Gospels. Thus there is little in the Old Testament itself to account for the intense

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feeling of the nation's right to independence, the developed hopes of a future life, and of the coming of the great Deliverer, the Messiah, the punctilious reverence for the letter of the Law shewn by Scribes and Pharisees, or the peculiar views of the Sadducees. In fact the religion of the Jews in the time of Christ (and religion with this nation was always closely bound up with politics) was not either in its higher or its more popular form the religion of the Israel of the books of Kings: it was that religion as modified, chastened and enriched by the experience of the Captivity at Babylon, the stern discipline of the Return, and the manifold changes and chances of 400 years of struggle for national existence. The thoughts and hopes which filled the minds and stirred the imaginations of the contemporaries of Christ were more directly moulded and inspired by the reforms of Ezra and the exploits of the Maccabees than by the heroes and prophets of an earlier generation. Without some knowledge then of this period we cannot properly enter into our Lord's attitude or that of His apostles to the Law of Moses, or the Jewish sects of His time, or the Roman government: nor again can we understand the attitude of His contemporaries towards Him, and the popular hopes which His career excited or disappointed.

The beginnings of important changes are seen in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. We there see how widely the Jews who returned differed from their fathers of 50 years before. Then they were under kings, but now they were to be ruled by priests. Again, whereas before the Captivity they had been constantly torn by divisions, given to idolatry, careless of the Law, freely mixing with other nations, now on the other hand they were united as a nation, they were zealous in the worship of the one God, and almost servile in their devotion to the Law, and their revived patriotism took the form of a narrow and rigid exclusiveness with regard to all foreigners. National

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pride was fostered by the institution of a new Feast, Purim, which commemorated a great national deliverance. This new Israel was largely the work of Ezra, the first 'scribe,' and Nehemiah, the zealous if narrow-minded reformer. A brief sketch is subjoined of the period thus inaugurated: it is clear that new forces were at work, which could not but produce important developments. But a period so rich in incident necessarily loses in interest when it is compressed into a few paragraphs.

For convenience the whole period between the Testaments may be divided into three sections.

1. *The period of subjection and silent growth.*

[From the death of Nehemiah (B.C. 415) to the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175).]

Throughout this period Israel played no independent part in history. At first the Jews were under governors appointed by the kings of Persia, under whose rule they had passed when Cyrus conquered the Babylonian Empire during their captivity at Babylon. The Persian Empire, which he founded, was subdued after about 170 years by Alexander of Macedon, and Palestine therefore became part of his vast dominions. Those dominions were divided at his death in B.C. 323, and the Jews became by turns subject to Egypt and Syria: their country lay between these two powers and was often the battlefield of their wars.

But, though thus dependent first on one power, then on another, the Jews did not lose their consciousness of being a nation, and in many ways 'silent growth' was going on.

It was then that arose the institutions, the sects and the forms of religious thought which we meet with in the New Testament. In religion the idea of the Unity of God gathered strength, while the hope of the Messiah

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took more definite shape ; the expectation of a future life became clearer, and a doctrine of angels was developed. And closely combined with their religious hopes was the fervid spirit of patriotism which has made the Jews the most distinct among the nations of the earth.

Meanwhile it is likely that they were left by their successive masters tolerably free to govern themselves: the high-priesthood passed from father to son, and the high priest was practically a petty king. Few of these rulers were distinguished: one of them, Jaddua, is said to have had a remarkable interview with Alexander the Great, who received him well and granted favours to the Jews in different parts of his dominions: the greatest of them in the eyes of the later Jews was Simon the Just, of whose dignity and splendour an ideal portrait is given in the 50th chapter of Ecclesiasticus, written long afterwards. This picture shews at least the importance of the Temple in the life of the nation, and the impressiveness of this almost unique form of government.

(The Jews outside Palestine and the origin of the Septuagint.)

Connexion with Egypt produced important consequences. In B.C. 320 one of the Ptolemies (Greek kings of Egypt) took Jerusalem, the refusal of the inhabitants to fight on the Sabbath making the capture easier. Thousands of Jewish captives were taken to Alexandria. There the Septuagint (LXX), the first written translation of the Old Testament books, presently appeared, being made for the benefit of Jews to whom Hebrew was now a dead language (the Jews of Palestine now spoke, not Hebrew, but a Syrian dialect called Aramaic). The Version gets its name from a tradition which relates that Ptolemy Philadelphus (285—247 B.C.), being anxious to secure a translation of the Jewish laws for his famous

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library at Alexandria, applied to the high priest Eleazar of Jerusalem, who sent six elders from each of the tribes of Israel to Egypt: these 72 translators were royally entertained, and produced their work in 72 days. In this story the kernel of historical fact seems to be that the Pentateuch was translated in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, probably in the first instance to meet the needs of the synagogues of Greek-speaking Jews. Most of the rest of the books of the Hebrew Canon were added before 132 B.C. The whole was probably complete and in general circulation before the time of the apostles. This Greek Bible became the Bible of a vast number of Jews: the benefit to them may be compared to the benefit which our forefathers received when the Bible was first translated into English and so became the property of all who could read, and not merely of the learned few: the later Jews did not necessarily know the original Hebrew any more than a modern Englishman necessarily knows Anglo-Saxon or a modern Greek the language of Homer. It is from this translation that the Old Testament quotations in the New Testament are mainly taken: hence it cannot be neglected in our study of the New Testament. Moreover, since Greek was the language of a large part of the Eastern world, this translation did more than anything else to break down the barrier between Jew and Gentile: Jewish and Greek ideas now met and began to react on one another. This intermixture of Jew and Greek was further promoted by the establishment in Palestine of Greek settlements. Without realizing these things, we could not understand how a Gospel written by a Jew came to be written in Greek, and why it is that in the Gospel story Greek influence meets us constantly. (See n. on Galilee, pp. 59, 60.)

The Syrian kings of this period (see above) also shewed consideration to the Jews, to many of whom they granted the privileges of citizenship. This explains how in the

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Christian Era so many Jews were Roman citizens, since the wise Romans after their conquest of Syria continued the Syrian policy of indulgence to their subjects. The ultimate result of the wars between Egypt and Syria (see above) was the victory of Syria under Antiochus the Great: in his reign Palestine, as part of the defeated Egyptian empire, became a province of Syria (B.C. 203). In the reign of his successor internal factions at Jerusalem caused the intervention of the Syrians; the king's envoy attempted to plunder the Temple, and, according to the story, was miraculously repelled. This crisis was the beginning of a new state of things.

2. *The Maccabean rule.*

Now began a period of fierce struggle, in striking contrast to the previous period of (on the whole) quiet subjection to indulgent masters. An attempt was made by a party of the Jews themselves to introduce Greek customs at Jerusalem, and this attempt was stoutly resisted by the 'exclusive' party. The result was that Antiochus Epiphanes invaded the country in 169 B.C., pillaged and profaned the Temple, slew or took captive thousands of Jews, and posted a Syrian garrison on the Temple hill. He then proceeded to a violent persecution of the religion of Jehovah, the object of which was to force the Jews to adopt the paganism of the rest of his vast empire. The first step was to be the erection of altars to Zeus throughout Palestine. Then came the resistance. The first active protest was made by an aged priest called Mattathias, who slew both the sacrificers and the royal officer who had been sent to establish the heathen worship. Further persecution followed, but for a considerable time heroic resistance was led by members of the family of Mattathias, generally called the Maccabees.

The first and greatest of these was Judas Maccabaeus,

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who won many victories over the Syrians, restored the desecrated Temple, conquered also jealous neighbours, such as the Edomites and Ammonites, and even made a treaty with Rome. The struggle was carried on by Judas' brothers, one of whom, Jonathan, for his services to one of the Syrian kings against a rival, was made by him high priest. This was an important step in two ways: it set the precedent, afterwards followed by the Romans, for the *appointment* of the high priest by the power that ruled Palestine (instead of the office being, as formerly, hereditary); and it gave to the family of the Maccabees (also called from an ancestor the Asmonean house), the nominal, as well as the actual authority over their countrymen. Israel had never since the time of Solomon taken so high a place among the nations as during the rule of Jonathan. With the next reign, that of Simon, the nation became practically independent, for the first time since the Captivity.

In B.C. 135 John Hyrcanus became high priest and chieftain: he conquered the Samaritans, the formidable neighbours of the Jews, and destroyed their rival temple on Mount Gerizim. His eldest son, Aristobulus, was the first to take the title 'king of the Jews.' Another of his sons, however, Alexander Jannaeus, incurred the hatred of his subjects, and his death was followed by a time of confusion, in which the power of the Asmonean house came to an end, and another great family, that of the Herods, came to the fore.

3. *The Herodian dynasty.*

There was now a quarrel for the high-priesthood between Hyrcanus and a second Aristobulus. The former was supported by Antipater, father of Herod the Great, an Idumean, i.e. of the Edomite race which had from olden times been bitterly hostile to Israel. At Antipater's instigation, Hyrcanus, after once resigning his claims,

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revived them, and pleaded his cause before Pompey, who was then (B.C. 63) in the East, having recently conquered Syria and made it a Roman province. Pompey restored Hyrcanus, but he became henceforth little more than a puppet in the hands, first of Antipater, and afterwards of his son Herod. Aristobulus had attempted some resistance, whereupon Pompey besieged Jerusalem. Once again the scrupulous observance of the Sabbath gave an advantage to the enemy. A terrible massacre followed the capture of the city, and the Jews were scandalized by an act of sacrilege: Pompey entered the Holy of Holies, expecting to find some visible sign of the mysterious Eastern worship; in the words of the Roman historian he found nothing (*vacuam sedem et inania arcana*. Tac. *Hist.* v. 9).

Then the Romans settled the country: it was divided into five separate governments. At the same time a number of Jewish captives were carried to Rome and there formed a colony which was afterwards to have important consequences in the history of the Jews and of the Christian Church. Antipater was made a Roman citizen and *procurator* of Judaea, and was succeeded in that position by his son Herod, while the feeble Hyrcanus sank into insignificance. One more desperate effort to recover the lost position of the Asmonean family was made by Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus. The immediate result was that Herod fled to Rome: but there he ingratiated himself with Antony and Octavian, and was recognized by them as 'king of the Jews' in B.C. 40. Jerusalem was once more captured by Roman armies. Herod ruthlessly massacred the party opposed to him; Antigonus was scourged and crucified. Herod then further strengthened his position by marrying Mariamne, a daughter of the old Asmonean house. Her brother, Aristobulus, was made high priest by Herod and then murdered by his orders. He also compassed the death of the aged Hyrcanus, then of his wife Mariamne, and

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lastly of her two sons. The story of his passionate remorse is well known¹. By such atrocities the house of Herod was secured against the Asmonean family.

One of his latest crimes, the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem, is known to us only from St Matthew. The Gospel history only touches the closing years of his reign, and we gather thence little about him except the terror of his name. But he was remarkable for other things besides his hideous crimes. To the Greek and Roman he was perhaps the most striking figure in the Eastern world. He was the friend and ally of Augustus, from whom he had received a kingdom, and towards whom he displayed a profuse and noble gratitude. His rule was inspired by the example of Rome, and it was to Rome that he sent his sons to be educated under the roof of a distinguished noble, Pollio, the friend of Vergil and of Augustus (see Verg. *Ecl.* iv). To the Greek he appeared as the lover and patron of Greek authors and philosophers. He was appointed perpetual president of the great Olympic festival, which he had re-endowed and restored to its former splendour. He introduced the games of Greece and the shows of the Roman amphitheatre into the cities of Palestine, and adorned those cities with buildings in the style of Greek architecture. By the Jew he must have been regarded in various aspects. Fierce hatred must for the most part have pursued the Idumean upstart, who ruled by the overthrow and slaughter of the beloved family of the Maccabees; who had massacred the Sanhedrin and the learned men of Israel; who in his youthful campaigns had slain by the sword thousands of Galilean patriots; who did violence to the ancient spirit of Jewish exclusiveness by foreign innovation; and whose cruel and capricious despotism, supported by a barbarian soldiery, brought fear and insecurity upon Israel.

¹ See S. Phillips, *Herod, a tragedy*, for a powerful modern presentation of the story.