of walking on the water and the miraculous coming to land has been added instead.

An increase of the miraculous element is also frequently to be found in particular features. Apart from the fact that Matthew and Luke relate some new miracles over and above Mark and Q, this appears in the editorial passages where summaries of Jesus' miracles are given: Mk. 1:28-24, 3:7-12, 6:53-56, further Matt. 4:23-25, 9:38ff., 13:29-31. In addition Matt. 14:14, 19, 21, 21 adds healings to the text of Mark. Finally, he adds some small individual features to his Markan copy. After the feeding stories he remarks in 14:21, 15:38 that the number given must be taken as excluding women and children. Whereas in Mk. 1:32ff. (cp. 3:10) it states that all the sick were brought and many were healed. Matt. 8:14 (cp. 12:15) states the reverse—that many were brought and all were healed. The statement in Mk. 6:58: καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκαν ἑκατέρας οὐδῆμα ἑκατέρας, εἰ μὴ ὁλιγος ἐφόδωσος ἐπηρρέασεν οὐδὲς ἐφήσει τάς χείρας ἑσπεράσαν is weakened in Matt. 13:58 to: καὶ οὐκ ἔπιπον ἑκατέρας ἑκατέρας. There is a similar relationship of Lk. 4:41ff. (all the sick were brought and all were healed) to Mk. 1:23-31. And instead of Mk. 3:10: πάλλος γῆρα ἑσπεράσαν Luke writes in 6:19 ( influenced by Mk. 6:56): καὶ τὸς ὁ δύο ἐξῆρχον ἐπηρρέασεν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἄνων παρακλησακοῦν καὶ λέγοντα πάντως. The same tendency is also visible in John, especially in comparing the story of Lazarus with the Synoptic raisings of the dead. Jn. 20:39, 21:35 hints in traditional terms at the many miracle stories in circulation: the miracles are so many that it is impossible to tell them all (cp. Weinreich, pp. 199ff.; Dibelius, Formgeschichte, 18.2; W. Bauer, Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neuesten Apokr., 364).

Yet it would not be right to consider the gospel miracle stories in the bounds of the N.T. only. The less the miracle stories as such are historically reported the more we need to ask how they have found their way into the Gospel tradition. And even if some historical events underlie some miracles of healing, it is still true that their narrative form has been the work of the Tradition. And even if the motifs have grown up spontaneously in the early Church, there would be both central and peripheral motifs taken over from popular and even perhaps literary miracle stories. That is clear, as far as the peripheral motifs are concerned, from the parallels to the Synoptic miracle stories quoted above. The process of transferring some available miracle story to a hero (or healer or even a god) is frequently to be found in the history of literature and religion. Ovid, Metam., VI, 313ff. may be cited as an example where the motif of changing a peasant into a frog is transferred to Latona; it was originally a folk-tale about an old witch, as can be seen from Apul., Metam., I, 9 (p. 8.24f. Helm). In The Thousand and One Nights Harun al Rashid has been made the hero or participant in countless fairy stories. In Caucasian and Swiss stories alike all sorts of jests are attributed to King Solomon. In German anecdotes and fairy-tales, 'Old Fritz' has been made a hero, while in Austria it has been Joseph II. The fairy story of the fortunate fellow with his death warrant is attached to Henry III in the German Saga. The story of the Master Thief is told in Russia about Peter I. In the Armenian and Georgian languages it is Alexander the Great who is given the part of fairy hero, as he once was in the Alexander Romance. For the rest, reference can be made to R. Reitzenstein, Hellenistische Wundererzählungen, 1906; and Historia Monachorum et Historia Rusticae, 1916, e.g. pp. 14, 40ff., 76.3, 115.2, 163.3: K. Lehrs, Populare Aufsätze, 1875, pp. 385-408; W. Hertz, Ges. Abhandl., 1905, p. 323, and H. Gunkel, Das Maerchen im AT, 1917, p. 167.

The A.T. used to be thought of very highly as a source of the gospel miracle stories. The Church following the Rabbinic teaching of Moses as the type of the Messiah (Midr. Qoh. f. 73.3 מים לות לות לות לות; cp. Schoettgen, Horae, II, pp. 251ff.; Strauss, Leben Jesu, I, 1835, p. 72 note 31; II, 1836, p. 1 note 1) has decked out the story of his life with miraculous features from the story of Moses. Little notice need actually be taken of that; there is something of the sort in the story of the Transfiguration, but that is hardly a miracle story in the strict sense. It is highly improbable that the feeding stories have arisen out of the story of the Manna in Exod. 16. But the expectation that the Messiah would work miracles (Js. 61, 35ff., 29ff.; 4 Ezr. 7:27ff., 13:60; 'And then shall he show them very many wonders'; Test. Zeb 9; Sim 6) has certainly contributed to the practice in the Palestinian Church of telling stories about the miracles of Jesus. And in details the O.T. has made its own contrib.

4 Donau-Maerchen (Maerchen d. Welt-Lit.), pp. 201-5.
5 Grimm, Deutsche Sagen, no. 466.
8 An instance of ascribing an alien story to Jesus is found in the apocryphal passage in Jn. 7:43. There is a parallel to this in Neugriechischen Maerchen edited by Kretschmer, 1917, p. 159f. (The Two Fig Thieves), where the obviously original humorous character is plainly in evidence.
Yet the resuscitations of the dead accomplished by Elijah and Elisha have not had any effect, though analogous resuscitations were expected from the Messiah in Tanchuma f. 54; the raisings from the dead which are reported of Jesus have no similarity at all with them. The only motif deriving from that source is that the young man at Nain was a widow’s son. The story of Jesus walking on the water can hardly have derived from the hyperbole in which God is said to walk on the waves of the sea (Job 9:8, 38; Sir 24:6), any more than the story of the stilling of the storm has come from Ps. 105:9, 106:32-33, 88:10. Nor is 2 Kings 4:38-44 (Naaman’s leprosy) a type of Mk. 1:40-45. On the other hand it is possible that 2 Kings 4:41-42 (Feeding of a hundred men from twenty barley loaves) is a type of the Feeding stories: the story of the cruse of oil 1 Kings 17:16-18; 2 Kings 4:11 does not, however, have any relevance.

But the less probable it is that we can understand the transference of miracle stories to Jesus as a literary process the less the O.T. can stand out to occupy our attention. It is possible to ask about certain miracle stories whether they have originated in the Christian Church itself, either in forms fashioned out of dominical sayings. In the same way that unambiguous sayings of the exalted Jesus can become sayings of the earthly Jesus (see pp. 127f., 149), and just as the story of Peter’s confession and of the Transfiguration are antedated Easter stories (see below), so are the same things possible with miracle stories. That is particularly true in the case of the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, especially if the version in Jn. 21:1-14 be considered more original than that in Lk. 5:1-11. For the other water miracles in Mk. 4:38-41 (Stilling of the Storm) and 6:45-53 (Walking on the Water) the same position has often been adopted, and it has even been asked whether they have not arisen out of the early Christian celebration of the Eucharist, perhaps by some sort of vision.1 But in none of these instances is certainty obtainable.

It is possible to observe elsewhere the process by which a miracle story can be developed out of a saying.2 I think it likely that the story of the miraculous draught of fishes in Lk. 5:1-11 had its origin in the saying of Jesus about ‘Fishers of Men’ (p. 217), in the same way that this saying may also have led to the stories of the calling of the disciples in Mk. 1:16-20 (see pp. 27f.). It has frequently been supposed that the cursing of the fig tree in Mk. 11:12-14, 20 has grown out of a parable (cp. Hos. 9:10, 14; Mi. 7:1). Such a origin is hardly possible with any other miracle stories.

It is more probable that folk stories of miracles and miracle motifs have come into the oral tradition, a process which is quite plain in Mk. 5:1-21. In particular instances this can be confirmed by adding parallels. In general the stylistic characteristics of the Synoptic miracle stories we have considered show that these stories have grown up in the same atmosphere as the Jewish and Hellenistic miracle stories. There is still much for research to do at this point. What I now give in what follows is in essentials a review of material already collected.3

(a) Exorcisms of Demons

From Jewish literature we can include the following demon exorcisms: Pes. 112b/113a (Fiebig, Jued. Wundergeschichten, pp. 25f.); Hanina b. Dosa exorcized Agrath, a female demon that appeared each night, as she gained a concession from him that she could operate on the nights of Sabbaths and Wednesdays. Other Rabbinic stories are in Strack-B. IV, 534f.

From Hellenistic literature: Jos., Ant., VIII, 2:5: The Jewish exorcist Eleazar banned a demon before Vespasian, which overturned a basin of water as it departed.

Philost., Vit. Apoll., III, 38: An Indian sage was consulted by a woman on behalf of her son who was possessed by a demon. She described the course of his sickness and the sage gave her a letter for the demon with eu δειλή και δεκάλεις.

Philost., Vit. Apoll., IV, 20: Apollonius expelled a demon from a young man which smashed a statue as it came out.

Lucian, Philops., 31: A ghost is banished that had made a house unsafe.

How widespread such stories were is shown by Lucian, Philops., 16: ‘I would greatly like to ask you what you think of all those who free demoniacs from the spirits that trouble them and so manifestly exorcize spectres. I do not need to go into details about them. Everyone knows about the Syrian from Palestine who understood such matters thoroughly. Whoever he came to, the moonstruck,

---

1 Cp. apart from the Commentaries and O. Weinsreth, Antike Heilungsmittel; P. Wendland, De Paellis antiquis eumque at Christianos Propagatione, Progr., Gottingen, 1911; W. Gemoll, Das Apolloniegen, 1924, pp. 20-20a, 128; P. Fiebig, Juedische Wundergeschichten des N.T. Zeitalters, 1911, and Antike Wundergeschichten (Kleine Texte 70), 1911. That the miracle in Jewish stories is frequently the fulfilment of a prayer is no hindrance to bringing them into our own context, even if it means that this has to be stressed as characteristic, as it is for Jewish stories. The connection between miracle and prayer is very close; cp. how in Mk. 1:24-28 the saying about the power of prayer (vv. 21-25) follows immediately on the miracle of cursing the fig tree. Cp. also Jn. 11:21 ff.
those that rolled their eyes or foamed at the mouth, he really put right and dismissed them cured for a high fee, after he had freed them from their affliction. For when he came up to some prostrated person and asked whence the affliction had come into the body, the sick person himself kept silent, but the demon answered in Greek or some foreign tongue or in that of its own country and told how and whence it had come into the man. But the Syrian then used his exorcisms, and if the demon failed to respond, he would cast him out with threats. I have myself seen one come out, black and dark in colour.

Formulae for casting out demons are given in Strack-B. IV, 352f. and in A. Dieterich, Abraxas, 189, pp. 11ff.; cp. also Jerome, Vit. Hil., 42; Reitzenstein, Hellenist. Wundererzehrungen, p. 124; Wiedemann, ‘Magie und Zauber: im alten Aegypten’ in Der alle Orient, VI, 4, p. 22; Maspero, Contes Populaires, p. 159.

The idea behind Mk. 5:1-21, that to know the name of the demon gives power over it is a well-known and widespread motif. It will suffice in this regard to refer to Bolte-Polivka, Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Haus-maerchen der Bruder Grimm (I, 1913, pp. 490ff. to no. 55).

(b) Other Healings

Jewish Miracles of Healing: Ber. 34b (Fiebig, Jued. Wunderschrift., pp. 19ff.): Hanina b. Dosa healed the son of R. Gamaliel II and of Johanan b. Zakkai by prayer. Both are healings at a distance in so far as the sick person is not at the place where the healer offers his prayer. It would be erroneous not to consider these as proper miracle stories just because they are concerned with healing by prayer. The express statement that the healing took place at the very time the prayer was offered is quite in the style of the miracle story (see also p. 231, n. 1). Hag. 3a (Strack-B. I, 526) tells the story of two dumb men; other examples can be found in Strack-B. II, 2f., 10 (on Mk. 1:21, 5:13); IV, 771.

Hellenistic Miracles of Healing: These are fairly brief reports of the healing of lame persons in Sueton, Vespu, 7 and Philostr., Vit. Apoll., III, 39. They are also recounted in IG, IV, 951, pp. 107ff., 110ff., 113ff., 952, pp. 96ff., 110ff., 132f. It is a frequent element in the stories that the lame person is brought on a stretcher and after

The Serpent miracle characteristic of Jewish stories (e.g. Strack-B. II, 160, 545, 772; cp. Acts 28:1-5) and the miracle of punishment (e.g. Strack-B. II, 291, 309, 772; Acts 6:5-8; Macc. 11:8-11, 5:1 = § 357; XVII, 6:5 = § 311f.; frequent in the Hellenistic tradition since Herod., IV, 205; cp. Acts 12:9-23 and the Commentaries thereon; also Acts 5:1, 13:11; frequent in Apocryphal Acts but absent from the Syoptic tradition.

(c) Raising from the Dead

Fiebig (Jued. Wunderschrift., pp. 36f.) advances a text from the Mekila which gives expression to the belief that a Rabbi could also quicken the dead; some examples are noted in Strack-B. I, 557, 560, though they are for the most part highly artificial stories. There are much closer parallels in the Hellenistic tradition. According to Weinreich, p. 172, raising of the dead was an element in the legends of the Philosophers. Herakleides Pontikus tells of a raising of a dead person by Empedocles (Diog. Laert., VIII, 67): Ηρακλείδης μὲν γὰρ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν διηγημένοις ἐνδοξησθεὶς ἐπιστευκὼς ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἀνθρώπου. (Weinreich, p. 172.1). Dieterich, Abraxas, pp. 167ff. gives a formula for raising the dead (Kleine Texte, 79, p. 27; Reitzenstein, Hellenistische Wundererz., 41, 3). In Lucian, Philos., 26, the physician Antigonos asks the question: τί θουμαστόν; . . . ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα τίνα μετὰ έκκοστίν ἡμέραν ἤ ἡ ἔτηραν ἀναστάντα, ἔρεμενας καί πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέραν καί ἐπείδη ἀνέστη τὸν ἀνθρώπον. And Alexander of Abonuteichos advertises the fact that he εὑρίσκει δὲ καὶ ἡμέραν ἀναστήσεις Lucian, Alex., 24).

Philostr., Vit. Apoll., tells a detailed story: Apollonius meets the stretcher of a bride who has died, followed by the bridegroom and

1 The Serpent miracle characteristic of Jewish stories (e.g. Strack-B. II, 160, 545, 772; cp. Acts 28:1-5) and the miracle of punishment (e.g. Strack-B. II, 291, 309, 772; Acts 6:5-8; Macc. 11:8-11, 5:1 = § 357; XVII, 6:5 = § 311f.; frequent in the Hellenistic tradition since Herod., IV, 205; cp. Acts 12:9-23 and the Commentaries thereon; also Acts 5:1, 13:11; frequent in Apocryphal Acts but absent from the Syoptic tradition.

1 Cp. also J. Bergmann, Die Legenden der Jüd, 1919, pp. 35, 49.
prayed, the storm ceased and the heathen paid respectful admi-
ration. This is evidently an old story which first comes to view in Josh. 4:1.
There is there interwoven with the story of Jonah and the whale. Here we
find, admittedly not intact, yet clearly recognizable in v. 3b (apart
from the last words 'from the presence of the Lord'), 4a α, 5a α, b, 7b, 8
(apart from the words 'for whose cause this evil is come upon us')—
10a α, 15b, 16 the story of a Jew asleep in a heathen ship during a
storm, when the captain called upon a god to have mercy.

(d) Nature Miracles

From Jewish Tradition: There are all sorts of stories telling how a
Rabbi's prayer produced rain in Fiebig, Jued. Wunderg., pp. 14-18,
and Strack-B. I, 55b, 864; II, 413f. They are hardly describable
as miracle stories, being more in the nature of Jewish prayers of faith.
Ta' an 24a (Strack-B. IV, 539) tells how the grain store of the benefi-
cient Eleazar was miraculously filled when it had only a little wheat
left in it, and Ta' an 24b/25a (Fiebig, Jued. Wunderg., pp. 22f.) tells the story of R. Hanina b. Dosa's wife who, every evening before the
Sabbath although she had nothing to cook, used to heat up her oven,
as to hide her poverty. One day, when some curious neighbour
 came to investigate, the oven was miraculously full of bread and the
trough with dough. Such stories are obviously a contribution to our
knowledge of Jewish belief in miracle but they are not true parallels
to the N.T. feeding stories; nor are the Rabbinic legends of the inexhaus-
tible supply of oil for anointing during the wandering in the wilderness
or of the oil for the Sabbath lamp (cp. Strack-B. I, 683;
II, 539f.). One would sooner refer to the fact that according to
Yoma 99a (Strack-B. I, 687f) there was a blessing on the Shewbread
in the days of Simon the Just by which every priest who ate even a piece
the size of an olive from it was satisfied and always left some
more. It is recounted in Ta' an 24a that a fig tree produced miracu-
losus fruit so that the workers had no need to be hungry (Strack-B. II,
26). A carob tree and a spring of water were miraculously provided
for R. Simon b. Jochai and his son when they fled from the
Romans (Shab 33b in Strack-B. IV, 298).

The story told in B.M. 59b, how a storm rose during a sea voyage
taken by R. Gamaliel when he confessed a wrong he had done to
R. Eleazar, is no parallel to the *stilling of the storm* in Mk. 4:36-41,
but the story repeated in Fiebig (op. cit., p. 61) from the Jer. Ber., II, 1 of
R. Tanchuma (about A.D. 350) is probably one: A Jewish child went
on a voyage in a heathen ship. When a storm brough the ship into
danger, all the heathen called on their gods and when that proved
useless, finally urged the Jewish child to call upon his God. When the child

1 In Fiebig, Jued. Wunderg., p. 33 and Strack-B. I, 409f.