Dr M. R. James, however, whom I have to thank for reading this note, suggested that it may be 'dirty' in regard to its effect on the water,1 as in Isaiah lvii 20, 'the wicked are like the troubled sea which cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt'. Cf. Dio Chrys. xxxii 30, Opp. Hal. i 780, Gregor. Naz. i 477 c (Bened.) ἔνθα κάχληκες μεν καὶ φυκία καὶ κήρυκες καὶ των οστρέων τὰ ελαφρότατα εξωθείτο καὶ ἄπεπτύετο. That this is right, I infer from Hesych. Ασπιλος: χείμαρρος ύπὸ Μακεδόνων, if the ā be due to a wrong division of words, and the word is really Greek with reference to a muddy torrent. Otherwise there is no difficulty in a wind being 'dappled', a natural meaning of σπιλάs, which is used substantivally (in error 1) by Orph. Lith. 614 κατάστικτον σπιλάδεσσιν: cf. Hesych. Βαλίαν έλαφον: κατάστικτον, ποικίλον with Schmidt's note, and the common use of βάλιος of winds. for which see Thes. and Nonn. D. x 386 where  $\beta \acute{a}\lambda \iota os = \mathring{a}\nu \epsilon \mu \acute{\omega} \delta \eta s$  385. The adjectival use of σπιλάς has been examined negligently. Lexica cite Theophr. C. P. ii 4. 4 ή σπιλάς καὶ ἔτι μάλλον ή λευκόγειος έλαιοφόρος where Schneider's citation of Geopon. ix 4 shews that the meaning is ύγρά or else 'miry'. I will add Philostr. Imagg. ii 13 σπιλάδες δε οί πέτραι διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ῥαίνεσθαι with the same implication. Compare also Anth. Append. (Cougny) ii 249.

If I am right the word, used in this sense, has had a curious history. Introduced, from whatever quarter, into the literary Greek tongue, its meaning was soon forgotten. Dreaming that it must refer to a rock of some sort, the old Greek grammarians supposed that it must be a sunken rock on which a ship strikes suddenly: a meaning the word never has. Some fine Renaissance scholars perceived its true sense and translated it correctly: the learned of the eighteenth century dismissed an interpretation which lacked the support of any ignorant Byzantine lexicographer. But it may undoubtedly bear the meaning of a 'wet' or 'foul' storm.

A. D. KNOX.

## WAS THE BAPTIST'S PREACHING APOCALYPTIC?

THE Dean of Wells in his very sympathetic review of my Essay in 'Foundations' in the January number of the Journal, raises an issue of considerable historical importance by his contention that 'it is ancient Hebrew prophecy, and not "apocalyptic" in the hitherto accepted sense of the term, that forms the background of the Baptist's preaching'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> But compare Ael. N. A. xii 24 κατάστικτον σταγόσιν and the English 'a splash of', 'splashed'.

His most important argument is that the phrase 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand' is attributed to John only in St Matthew's Gospel. St Mark in the parallel passage has 'preaching a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins'. St Matthew repeats the phrase in ch. iv 17 (parallel to Mk. i 15) as a summary of our Lord's preaching. The Dean argues that 'on critical grounds it appears certain that in both places the writer of St Matthew's Gospel is offering us a paraphrase of his own, which (however justifiable as a paraphrase) ought not to be made the basis of an historical argument'.

I would submit that this is a mistaken reading of the critical comparison of the texts of the Gospels.

To take first the second occurrence of the phrase in St Matthew (iv 17)—it is not the case that 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand' is a paraphrase by the editor of St Matthew of St Mark's summary, for the actual words 'the Kingdom of God is at hand' occur in the parallel passage in Mk. i 15 and are simply taken over by St Matthew from him.

In the earlier passage (Mt. iii 2) no doubt St Matthew cannot be deriving the phrase 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand' from St Mark, but it does not follow that it is an editorial paraphrase. It is far more probable that he derives it from Q. A glance at the Synopsis shews that the main, if not the only source, which St Matthew uses for the preaching of John is O. Of the six verses Mt. iii 7-12, which occur also in St Luke, only one (v. 11) is paralleled in St Mark, and even in this one verse the numerous small agreements of St Matthew and St Luke against St Mark and the fact that it contains the grammatical antecedent of the relative of which begins the following (non-Marcan) verse (Mt. iii 12 = Lk. iii 17) prove that this verse also stood substantially if not exactly in O-St Mark and O here, as in several other places, overlapping one another. Moreover, it is obvious that the account of John's preaching in Q must have contained a word or two of introduction, traces of which are found in the agreement of St Matthew and St Luke against St Mark (Mt. iii 5, Lk. iii 3) in the phrase ή περίγωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

The facts, then, are these: St Matthew's account of John the Baptist is not derived from St Mark alone but from St Mark and Q. As regards the preaching, it would appear to be entirely from Q. When therefore we find that the introductory summary of the contents of the preaching is given by St Matthew in the form 'the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand', and by St Mark in the form 'a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins', seeing there is evidence that Q has some few words of introduction, it is far more reasonable to suppose that St Matthew transcribed a phrase from the introductory sentences of Q

than that he gratuitously modified beyond all recognition a phrase which he found in St Mark.

Hence on purely critical grounds it is probable that our oldest authority Q represented John as preaching 'the Kingdom of God is at hand'. The phrase is also specially connected with the Baptist in another Q passage δ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται μέχρι Ἰωάννον ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται (Lk. xvi 16, cf. Mt. xi 12). But the view that he expected an immediate and catastrophic coming of the Kingdom conceived in the Apocalyptic style does not rest on this one phrase alone. 'Who warned you to flee from the wrath to come' implies an immediate judgement. The metaphor in 'the axe is laid at the foot of the trees' pictures the farmer throwing down his axe for just a moment while he divests himself of his garment before beginning the *immediate* work of felling. Again, the 'baptism with Spirit and with fire' which is to come after is most naturally interpreted of the Apocalyptic outpouring of the Spirit (Joel ii 28, &c.), and the 'purging of the threshing floor' of the Messianic Judgement.

There is, of course, as I myself emphasized, much in John's preaching which recalls the manner of the older Prophets, but in view of the considerations adduced above I feel that it is a fair and adequate estimate of his peculiar position to say of him as I did, 'Apocalyptist and Prophet, the new and the old, are in him combined'.

If the preaching of John the Baptist was eschatological, it is natural to infer that to him the act of baptism itself had also an eschatological reference. But if this fact and its implications be clearly grasped one of the great theological difficulties of the New Testament disappears. As early as the apocryphal Gospel according to the Hebrews the difficulty was felt that, if John's baptism was primarily a baptism of repentance, only those whose conscience was burdened with sin had any ground for submitting to the rite. Why then did our Lord come to be baptized?

The verses (Mt. iii 14-15) added by the first evangelist to the Marcan outline are probably an early attempt to meet this same difficulty. But if the reference of John's baptism was primarily eschatological, that is, if it was regarded as a 'sealing' or symbolic act entitling to admission in the coming Kingdom, the difficulty vanishes.

No doubt John's special emphasis on the ethical qualifications necessary for entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven made repentance for the mass of men a necessary condition of receiving his baptism. But the essential meaning of the rite would be rather aspiration for the future than regret for the past. In that case One who needed no repentance would be more, and not less, inclined than others to identify Himself with the outburst of religious aspiration of which it was the characteristic symbol.

The origin of the Marcan 'baptism of repentance for the remission of sins', which is adopted also from him by St Luke, is easily explained as being a characterization of John's baptism as it was viewed later on from the standpoint of the experience of the later Christian baptism. The alternative assumption that it is more original than St Matthew's phrase entails, I would submit, serious theological as well as historical difficulties.

B. H. STREETER.

## THE 'AFRICAN TEXT' IN ST FRANCIS AND THE PRAYER-BOOK.

It is a far cry from Cranmer to St Francis and from St Francis to St Cyprian. Moreover 'liturgiology' and 'textual criticism' are usually reckoned as dry as the story of St Francis is romantic. Yet I hope to demonstrate that there is a real connexion between the three and that the conjunction produces a not uninteresting result.

In the summer of 1221 St Francis had called Caesarius of Speier, the first German among the Brothers Minor, to put into shape the Rule which he had composed for his Friars.\(^1\) The result was the work which begins Haec est vita and which used to be called 'Regula Prima', printed by Wadding, pp. 133-155. It differs among other things from the final Rule, ratified by Pope Honorius in 1223, in having a number of hortatory and scriptural passages, and it ends with a very beautiful Prayer (Wadding, chap. xxiii, p. 152) in which anticipatory echoes of the Canticum solis have been heard. It is with a sentence in this prayer that this Note is primarily concerned.

'Omnipotens, sanctissime, altissime et summe Deus (it begins), Pater sancte et iuste Domine, Rex caeli et terrae, propter temetipsum gratias agimus tibi quod . . . creasti omnia spiritualia et corporalia, et . . . nos captiuos redimere voluisti. et gratias agimus tibi quia ipse Filius tuus iterum venturus est in gloria maiestatis suae, mittere maledictos qui penitentiam non egerunt et te non cognouerunt in ignem aeternum, et dicere omnibus qui te cognouerunt et adorauerunt et tibi seruierunt in penitentia: Venite benedicti Patris mei, percipite Regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi.'

I am afraid that when I first came upon this quotation of Matt. xxv 34 was too much astonished to think of the dawn of Italian poetry or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jordanus of Giano says: Et videns beatus Franciscus fratrem Caesarium sacris litteris eruditum ipsi commisit, ut Regulam quam ipse simplicibus verbis conceperat verbis Evangelii adornaret. Quod et fecit. (Quoted by Jörgensen, E. Tr., p. 213 note.)