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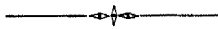
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between the first and second Adam. But there was also a contrast; the second Adam was the restorer of life and the renewer of sonship, the Saviour, in whose name remission of sins should be preached; and that contrast, although more definitely expressed in the letters of St. Paul, is most surely implied in the language and representation of St. Luke.

But it must not be forgotten that there may have been special reasons why the Virgin birth was not made publicly known at an earlier date than the New Testament records enable us to affirm. It is, of course, easy for Schmiedel to sneer at what apologists have called the "family secret," a secret which in his judgment had no existence.¹ But such a judgment entirely overlooks what Dr. Weiss again emphasizes in his new edition, "Leben Jesu," i. 209—viz., the high and holy interest which the family of Jesus had in keeping this secret of the house. "If there was never a doubt," says Dr. Weiss, "among the people that Jesus was the actual son of the man in whose house He grew up, if the reproach of illegitimate birth is not employed by the enemies of Jesus till a much later date, and *is obviously based upon our Gospel narratives*, this is an evident proof that the honour of the house was not exposed by affording a pretext for each unbeliever to designate Jesus as one born in sin and shame." And in this consideration he finds an ample reason for the comparatively late dissemination of the facts concerning the Virgin birth.

R. J. KNOWLING.

(*To be continued.*)



ART. III.—ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL AND MODERN CRITICISM.—III.

IT may be useful ere we approach the supposed garbled prophecies to vindicate yet further Luke's connection with those who from the beginning were "eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word." In this paper I shall argue that the historical setting of a number of incidents bespeaks a writer who either had this privilege or is a mere romancer, who invents situations as he thinks fit. I do not claim for Luke that he has succeeded throughout in setting the details of our Lord's life in general chronological sequence. But I do claim that again and again he shows that his source was a

¹ Schmiedel insists upon such passages as Mark iii. 21 and the unbelief of our Lord's brethren, but see in answer Edersheim's "Jesus the Messiah," i. 543, and Weiss, *u.s.*, p. 207.

first witness, by supplying minute details of *time* and *place* which must have been almost irrecoverably lost for anyone pursuing such researches after the year 70. A good illustration of this feature is offered by the *parables* of St. Luke regarded by themselves,¹ apart from the general outlines of the biography.

There are, as we all know, at least twelve parables which do not appear at all in the other Gospels, and which, though they are universally recognised as authentic utterances of Jesus, have only come down to us on the testimony of St. Luke. Parables would doubtless travel longer and further on the lips of men than any other discourses of the Master, and I should not draw any inference as to date from this feature if it stood alone. But the fact is that Luke's parables continually introduce a setting of time, place, and occasion which suggests the conclusion—either this is mere impudent invention or the writer learnt it from one who heard the parable spoken.

Let me take first two parables which are certainly given in the first Gospel as well as in the third—the Parables of the Mustard Seed and of the Leaven. Matthew, we recollect, ranges these, in his usual manner when dealing with our Lord's discourses, in view of subject, not occasion. He sets these and four others in a group of Parables of the "Kingdom of Heaven" immediately after the Parable of the Sower. Even that first parable was, he tells us, unintelligible to its hearers, and required explanation. It is therefore scarcely likely that Matthew wishes us to think that all these parables were uttered consecutively, and that the Apostles, as yet so unintelligent, received in one day seven mysterious sayings, all of which they were to digest at once. Turning to the third Gospel, we find that Luke connects those Parables of the Leaven and Mustard Seed with quite a later occasion, and

¹ I have, of course, treated the parables here as a distinct subject merely for my reader's convenience, and I assume that they came to Luke orally. There is, however, a possibility that Luke himself may have found them ranged in a book of parables; but if so, all the historical "tags" enumerated above would be unaccountable unless Luke had from *other* sources such an intimate knowledge of Christ's life as to be able to supply them. We should also have to recognise that it is not a case of mere transcription, but that Luke freely resets the presumed early authority in his own characteristic idioms. Can we conceive of anyone, without personal communication with the Apostles, so superseding a presumably Apostolic document? The same consideration applies to Luke's incorporation of the "common source." I may add, however, that the more we multiply these early "documents," the more precarious becomes Dr. Sanday's dictum that the common source itself was probably not put in writing as early as A.D. 63.

one which gives them a peculiar appropriateness. He tells us how Jesus healed a crippled woman on the Sabbath and confuted the sabbatical scruples of the ruler of the synagogue where the miracle took place. A great impression was made by this on the common people, who are said to have "rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by Him." Thereupon, and in view of this spread of the kingdom, Jesus uttered those two Parables of the Leaven and the Mustard Seed, which correspond so well to such a situation. All this seems strictly historical. But how, except from a first witness, could Luke have got all that setting of time and place and attendant circumstance? No other Gospel gives that Sabbath miracle at all.

Now, just so it is with most of the parables that are peculiar to St. Luke. Not only does Luke know and record the story of the Good Samaritan. He can supply its connection with events; he knows that what prompted it was the incident of a lawyer accosting Jesus with the question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" and that a certain conversation on that matter occurred between them before the parable was spoken. This is a very different thing from getting the parable, as one might have got it in A.D. 70-80, on a mere wave of oral tradition. Luke not only knows that the Parable of the Importunate Friend was given by Jesus to His disciples as an incentive to prayerfulness. He can tell us that it was given after He had been Himself praying "in a certain place," and that this and the Lord's Prayer were uttered when the disciples thereupon asked for instructions in prayer. Incidentally we learn from Luke's setting a fact otherwise unattested—that John the Baptist had given his own disciples certain set forms of prayer. All this accords well with my belief that St. Luke got his information from first witnesses, and principally from St. John. For the leading Apostles had been (as we are told in the fourth Gospel) disciples of John the Baptist, and it was doubtless they who cited their experience in that relation, and asked our Lord to follow the Baptist's example in this matter of prayer.

Luke not only records for us the Parable of the Rich Fool who thought he had prosperity insured him for many years. He can supply the curious little detail that it was prompted by the request of some unknown person, "Master, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me." He is not only our authority for the Parable of the Barren Fig-tree; he introduces it as explaining the true significance of delayed judgments to men who thought that Pilate's recent victims in Galilee must have been exceptional sinners. Both parables must have been communicated seemingly to Luke by one

who heard them uttered, and recollected the occasions which suggested them. So, again, Luke's Parable of the Great Supper, which is doubtless quite distinct from Matthew's Parable of the Wedding Garment, introduces circumstances which none but an actual witness could have supplied. The third Gospel can give this parable the precisest setting of time, place, and occasion. It was spoken on a Sabbath, at a meal in the house of a chief Pharisee, and when one of the guests uttered the pious ejaculation, "Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God." How, we may well ask, was all this exact detail recoverable between the years 70-80?

The three Parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Silver Piece, and the Lost Son of course appeal to men, women, and young persons, and were doubtless spoken consecutively, as Luke has ranged them, though the first is not peculiar to St. Luke. This Gospel can again give the historical context of the whole utterance. It was vouchsafed when publicans and sinners had flocked to hear Jesus, and the Pharisees protested against His mixing with such questionable company. The story of Dives and Lazarus would doubtless not easily be forgotten by the first Christians. But they, like ourselves, would probably often repeat the story without knowledge of the occasion. It was spoken, according to St. Luke, when certain Pharisees who were rich had scoffed at that saying, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." There is the same record of the precise occasion in the presentation of the Parable of the Pounds. The third Gospel can associate this teaching of responsibility in view of future judgment with a mistaken expectation on the part of the Apostles, who were still affected by the current Jewish ideas of the Messiah's kingdom: "He added and spake this parable because He was nigh unto Jerusalem, and because they supposed that the kingdom of God was immediately to appear."

Now, not many modern Christians, though familiarized with our Lord's discourses from infancy, and having easy access to printed copies of the third Gospel, could supply off-hand from memory all the settings of those parables. Therefore I cannot suppose that Luke, if, as I believe, his authority was oral, could have remembered them all without recourse to the art of writing. One inference, then, which all this wealth of detail suggests is that Luke was actually writing his Gospel at the time when he collected those parables. It is extremely hard to fancy all these details of place and occasion supplied to Luke in later years. The parables, too, are evidently recorded by an auditor, and which of the Apostles was accessible to Luke after his visit to Palestine in A.D. 58-60?

We can hardly think of Peter here if Mark is in any sense a recorder of that Apostle's teaching, for in the second Gospel no one of these parables appears. It may be too large an inference to say decisively that they all came to Luke's knowledge through St. John. But it seems an unassailable position, in view of the knowledge Luke has shown in his first three chapters, that these parables were collected in Palestine during those two years of leisure, A.D. 58-60, on the testimony of one or more first witnesses, and that they were put in writing at the same time.

But these subtle links of connection with first witnesses, and particularly with St. John,¹ are really discoverable all through Luke's Gospel. Here are a few more from that great section, ix. 51-xviii. 14, in which Luke is absolutely independent of the "common Synoptic source." It is in this section that Luke gives us the story of Martha and Mary, and their different ways of honouring Jesus when He was their guest. Martha was "cumbered about much serving," but Mary "sat at the Lord's feet and heard His word." The man who noted the behaviour of the two sisters on that occasion must surely have been the writer who, with just the same idea of their

¹ Dr. Ramsay has well noticed the many womanly touches in Luke's Gospel, and for chaps. i., ii. I agree with his inference that the oral source of information was the Blessed Virgin. But I think he forgets how markedly this sympathy for women reappears in the record of St. John. Luke, it is true, has alone commemorated the raising to life of an only son of a widow; the women who had been healed of evil spirits, and ministered to Christ of their substance; the woman who wetted Jesus' feet with her tears, and was forgiven because she loved much; the two sisters entertaining Jesus at their house; the women of Jerusalem who followed him lamenting on the day of crucifixion; the women preparing spices and ointment for the burial. But then John has supplemented the Synoptics with a record of Mary's intervention at the miracle at Cana; with the Saviour's discourse with the woman of Samaria; with another picture of the two sisters at a more memorable visit to Bethany; with Mary of Bethany, identified as the woman who anointed our Lord's feet with precious spikenard; with the women standing at the Cross; with the committal of the bereaved mother to the beloved disciple; and, lastly, with the exquisite story of Mary Magdalene in the garden on the resurrection morning. I am convinced we may as safely connect Luke with the Apostle John as with St. Mary herself. Her testimony can scarcely be inferred in the story of the public ministry. An exception, perhaps, is in Luke's account of the mother and brethren interrupting our Lord's teaching. From Matt.-Mk. we should have concluded that they only sent a message that they wanted to speak with Him. Luke knows that they tried to approach Him, but "could not come at Him because of the crowd." It is noticeable, too, how Luke here eliminates the seemingly harsh question, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" Is this a note of consideration to the feelings of her who told the story? The different contexts shows that Luke is here quite independent of the "common Synoptic source" (Luke viii. 19-21).

characters, has recorded the raising of Lazarus. We remember how St. John notices the little detail that when "Martha heard that Jesus was coming, she went and met Him, but that Mary sat still in the house." We may notice, too, in this section the tidings which came "at that very season," "of the Galilæans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices." There is a clear indication of time, but neither here, nor in the case of the eighteen men mentioned just afterwards as killed by the fall of the tower of Siloam, is the reference in any way explained. Yet such allusions in A.D. 80 would probably be as meaningless to all readers as they are to us now. More awful catastrophes and Roman cruelties would have obliterated all memory of such incidents. But evidently at the time Luke writes they are living reminiscences. For Luke and some at least of his readers they are well-known disasters, needing no note to explain these terse allusions.

There are in this section three detailed works of healing—the cures of the woman crippled for eighteen years, of the dropsical man, and of the ten lepers. All these stories seem to be in their true historical setting, and are, of course, authentic. I say this because Mr. A. Wright is perplexed at finding in Matt. xii. 11, 12, the same argument as in Luke xiv. 5 about the lawfulness of saving a beast fallen into a well on the Sabbath day. He assumes, therefore, that the cure of the dropsical man is suspicious, as perhaps a "repetition of the Petrine cure of the man with the withered hand." Yet Luke has recorded that miracle, too, in its proper place (vi. 6-11). Surely the utmost that can be allowed here in the way of negative criticism is that Luke may have given here words really belonging to the earlier Sabbath-day miracle. But there is no reason why our Lord should not have repeated so appropriate an argument in repeating miracles on the Sabbath. We may ask, again, "How were these detailed stories recoverable after A.D. 70?" But perhaps the most striking incident in this section is the mission of the seventy, their report, and Christ's greeting it with the words of promise, beginning, "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven." How was such a remarkable speech recoverable save from the testimony of one who heard it? Further, Luke is our only authority for the very existence of this band of seventy disciples. Is it at all probable that no authoritative account of such an important official organization was demanded till A.D. 80?

I have yet to notice the introduction of the true occasions in regard to certain sayings which, because they are of the same import, are linked together in one discourse by Matthew (xxiii. 13-39), and set just before the Teachings on the Future

Judgment. The way in which these sayings are apportioned in Luke xi. 37-54, xiii. 31-35, to two distinct occasions bespeaks greater chronological accuracy. And it is hard to see how Luke could have got this apportionment of the sayings save from an actual witness. Matthew in this passage appears to have congested several utterances of Jesus against the Scribes and Pharisees, and, appending the lament for Jerusalem, given this compilation the form of a continuous discourse. It includes almost all the sayings that Luke has and some which he has not. But Luke can inform us that the pointed denunciation of the Pharisees as men who "cleaned only the outside of the cup and the platter," etc., was really suggested earlier by a peculiar incident. A Pharisee had asked Jesus to dine, and "marvelled that He had not first washed before dinner." Luke knows how, as the denunciation proceeded, a lawyer who was present intervened, and drew on himself the "woe unto you lawyers," omitted or applied to the Scribes and Pharisees in Matthew's Gospel. He knows that it was this twofold denunciation within the house that led up to the prediction that "all the righteous blood from Abel to Zechariah should be required." He knows, too, how outside the house the Scribes and Pharisees retaliated by besetting Jesus with insidious questions. We can quite understand how Matthew with his artificial arrangement thinks fit to append to the mention of the martyrs the kindred lament for "Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets." But Luke is doubtless chronologically correct in attaching this to yet another occasion. He tells us of our Lord's message to Herod Antipas (xiii. 32), and this leads up to the words, "It cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem," and this to the disclaimer against "Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets." Without assuming that Luke has in every case recovered the true form of the sayings, we may at all events ask, Who was Luke's authority for that dinner at the Pharisee's house? Who told him of the people warning Jesus about the danger from Herod and of His singularly bold message to the tetrarch? How were such details discoverable so that they thus appear in a story dating A.D. 80, and that in such form as to apparently traverse an authoritative Gospel published in A.D. 70?

I have already noticed how conspicuous the evidences of first witnesses is in Luke's presentation of the close of our Lord's career. His story of the Last Supper deserves far closer analysis than I can give it here. The episode is full of details which, if authentic, could only have been supplied by one of the twelve. For one especially of Luke's deviations, it must be claimed that it could hardly have appeared at the end of a decade which had opened with the circulation of the

authoritative Gospels Matthew and Mark. The intervening years would have given to the record of our Lord's words at the institution of the Eucharistic rite a fixed form which could hardly be traversed merely on the authority of "non-Markan" documents. First Luke records in Hebrew idiom the saying of Jesus, "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer," etc. I believe that this speech indicates that the Last Supper was an anticipation of the Passover, and that Luke from his intercourse with St. John knew, what is so plainly stated in the fourth Gospel, that the real date of the Passover was a day later. The Passover itself, we read in Luke, is "to be fulfilled in the kingdom of God,"—an allusion doubtless to the offering of the true Paschal Lamb next day. Then the saying as to "not drinking of the fruit of the vine" till the manifestation of the kingdom is connected, not with the Sacramental cup, as in Matt.-Mk., but with the "cup of blessing" which was passed round earlier. Instead of "Take [eat], this is My body" of Matt.-Mk., Luke gives, "This is My body, which is given for you: this do in remembrance of Me"; and in connection with the Sacramental cup, not the form of Matt.-Mk., "This is My blood of the covenant, which is shed for many [unto remission of sins]," but the words which we find in I Cor. xi. 25, "This cup is the new covenant in My blood," with the addition, "even that which is poured out for you." Finally, it is related that even on this most solemn occasion those selfish contentions were renewed "which of them is accounted to be the greatest." The incident is perhaps more disparaging to the Apostles than anything else we read of them. Yet who can doubt its authenticity? It is true that in Matt.-Mk. we find the rebuke that follows, contrasting the self-aggrandisement of earthly kings with Christ's career of service, set in connection with the earlier dispute on the claim of the sons of Zebedee to the chief place in the kingdom. But there is little difficulty in supposing that Jesus, who had just been speaking about the kingdom, impresses again that contrast in similar terms. A comparison of the passages, indeed, not only vindicates the historicity of the incident, but once again sets Luke in close relations with the Apostle John. For there is a striking variation in the rebuke now recorded by Luke. On the earlier occasion, Matt.-Mk. have "even as the Son of Man came, not to be served, but to serve, and to give His life a ransom of many." Here we have the singular question, "Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat or he that serveth? But I am in the midst of you as he that serveth." Had we not the fourth Gospel that speech would be quite unintelligible. "Why," we should ask, "should the very honourable position

of president at a paschal supper be described as if a menial office?" We can hardly doubt that Luke had been apprised of the fact, only related by St. John, that our Lord during the Supper had actually assumed the servile office of washing the feet of the Apostles. That he, an outsider to that wonderful scene, did not venture to describe it is, I think, sufficiently intelligible.

A few words more on those contributions of Luke to the Story of the Cross, some of which I have already associated with the names of St. Mary and St. John: (1) This Gospel alone records Pilate sending his prisoner to Herod Antipas. Here, as elsewhere (xiii. 31, and Acts xiii. 2), Luke tells us facts in regard to Herod which could hardly have been recovered except in Palestine—how he had long wanted to see Jesus and witness one of His miracles, and how this compliment on Pilate's part terminated a rupture between Herod and the Roman governor. (2) The address of Jesus to the weeping "daughters of Jerusalem" is itself a prediction of extreme misery to befall that city within the lives of some of those who were now mourning. It adds, in fact, to those suspected details of the city's siege (xix. 43, 44) a distinct detail of time. Now the orthodox critics, who speak so lightly of a general prophecy being invested by Luke with "greater precision," are apparently silent on this passage. Yet plainly there are but two alternatives. Either this episode is fictitious, and Luke has gratuitously read into the most solemn scene of our religion a legend absolutely worthless, or the whole scene is historical, and our Lord did on that day foretell miseries to fall upon Jerusalem within the possible lifetime of those whom he addressed. If we accept the latter alternative, we shall probably not stumble at the precise prophecies of the city's investiture and destruction by the Gentiles, which have been cited as a ground for attributing a late date to Luke's Gospel. On these points I hope to dwell at length in my concluding paper. (3) In the episode of the penitent malefactor Luke takes us to the foot of the Cross, and gives us words which could only have been heard by the Virgin Mother and St. John and the two or three women who stood by them. The story has no parallel in the record of Matt.-Mk., where two "robbers" are depicted as taking up the insults of the crowd. Unless it be a mere piece of unwarrantable fiction, it bespeaks again an access to these few who were "eye-witnesses." (4) The same attestation must be claimed for that word from the Cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Its authenticity is corroborated by the utterance of the dying Stephen, who, animated with his Master's spirit, cries: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." (5) The closer knowledge of

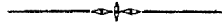
Luke is shown in the utterance attributed to the Roman centurion: "Certainly this was a righteous man." In Matt.-Mk. this Gentile is loosely represented as joining in the ejaculation which could only have come from Jewish lips: "Truly this was the Son of God." Luke's account of this matter is doubtless more correct.

I conclude this paper with a few words on Luke's story of the Resurrection. I have already noticed how Peter's visit to the empty tomb (xxiv. 12) takes us at once to the testimony of St. John. Luke goes on with a lengthy account of the appearance of the risen Saviour that afternoon to the two disciples going to Emmaus. The only other notice of this appearance is tersely given in the supplementary passage which follows Mark xvi. 8. Our Evangelist has here, of course, given a very detailed narrative, of which one can only say, as I have said in regard to so much besides, either this takes us to the testimony of one of the Apostles or it is fiction of a most unaccountable kind. Ecclesiastical legend would hardly have been contented with such obscure personalities for the heroes of its romance as an unknown Cleopas and another disciple not named at all.

There is the same note of candour and honest reserve observable in Luke's brief statement that the two disciples learnt on reaching Jerusalem that the Lord "had appeared to Simon." Why it is that the details of that manifestation to the recreant Apostle were never communicated to the Church by Peter one can but conjecture. But such works as the "Gospel of Peter" and the "Apocalypse of Peter" give one an idea how the situation would have been improved were Luke a late embroiderer of traditions. As it is, the other attestation of the incident is as instructive as our Lord's casual reference to two distinct miracles of feeding. For here again, we see how the positions of the destructive critics are dependent on the survival or non-survival of a few words. No appearance to Peter is mentioned in the other Gospels, yet the critics do not here assail the truthfulness of Luke or deny that the first generation of Christians believed that the risen Saviour revealed Himself on that Easter Day to Peter. And why? Because we learn from an equally terse passage in 1 Cor. xv. that this appearance to Peter was no legend of A.D. 80, but was a part of the Gospel which Paul had "received" and which he had "preached" at Corinth as early as A.D. 55. But were it not for the accident that certain Corinthian Christians denied the doctrine of the Resurrection, and provoked Paul to write that memorable chapter 1 Cor. xv., what a splendid playing-ground this passage, Luke xxiv. 34, would to-day be for the sceptical critic!

With what confidence we should be told about Luke embellishing the "Petrine memoirs" with another worthless legend which "Marcus Petri interpres" certainly "knows nothing of." The ukases of the "higher criticism" and "science of history" have in this case been spared us by a casual testimony on the part of St. Paul embodied in two words of the passage: *καὶ ὅτι ᾤφθη Κηφᾶ εἶπα τοῖς δώδεκα.*

ARTHUR C. JENNINGS.



ART. IV.—THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.

THE speech of St. Stephen is one of the most momentous documents in the Scriptures of the New Testament and in the early history of the Church. It was spoken by him at the time when the full scope of the Gospel was about to be realized, and when the Church was, consequently, on the point of taking a new departure; and it was delivered in circumstances of peculiar solemnity and authority. The fact was beginning to be clearly recognised that the Gospel was independent of the Mosaic ordinances and ritual. Stephen's enemies understood him to say that "Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered unto us." How much truth there was in that charge St. Stephen was called upon to explain and to justify, and his endeavour to do so cost him his life. His martyrdom, at the close of his speech, was witnessed by St. Paul, at whose feet the witnesses, by whom he was stoned, laid down their clothes; and there can be no reasonable doubt that in the account of the speech and of the scene, which we have from the pen of St. Luke, we have the very reminiscences of St. Paul himself. We are specially assured of the supernatural spirit in which St. Stephen spoke. At the commencement of his speech: "All that sat in the council, looking steadfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel," and at its conclusion: "Being full of the Holy Ghost, he looked up steadfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God." The speech, therefore, must be taken as an expression, not only of the highest Christian thought, but of inspired Christian thought, at this crisis of the history of the Church, and as stamped, in a special manner, with the sanction of the Saviour Himself. No wonder that it became the seed from which the whole thought of St. Paul started, and that it thus proved to be the point of departure of Gentile Christianity.