

THE TEACHING OF CHRIST.

IV.

It has been calculated that out of a total of 1,149 verses the Gospel of St. Luke has 499 which are peculiar to itself, consisting of matter not to be found in St. Matthew or St. Mark.¹ Of these peculiarly Lucan verses, 261, or rather more than half, contain sayings of our Lord. It is needless, for our present purpose, to inquire what proportion of the Lucan sayings came from the document which was also at the disposal of St. Matthew, or to what other sources St. Luke had access, especially in that great section of his Gospel² which is almost wholly independent of the other Synoptists, and to which nearly three-fourths of his sayings belong. In any case we are indebted to this Evangelist for a large and most important contribution to our knowledge of the teaching of Christ.

1. The Lucan tradition, like the Marcan, contains no great sermon or prolonged instruction. On one occasion St. Luke seems to be on the point of reporting a synagogue address delivered at Nazareth,³ but whether from lack of information or for other reasons he contents himself with the opening and closing words. The most characteristic feature of the teaching which he records is its wealth of parable. No fewer than fifteen, or, if we include minor similitudes, eighteen,⁴ of the Synoptic parables are due to St. Luke, and they occupy more than a twelfth part of his Gospel. The importance of this contribution becomes still more evident when we remember that it includes such parables as the Good Samaritan, the Great Supper, the Prodigal Son, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Pharisee

¹ Sir J. C. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 23.

² Chh. ix. 51-xviii. 14.

³ Luke iv. 21 ff.

⁴ Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xli.

and the Publican. Not only are these stories full of a beauty which has fascinated all who have ever listened to them ; they add a new element to the teaching of our Lord, and possess a character which readily distinguishes them from the parables of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

The Marcan and nearly all the Matthean parables form part of Christ's public teaching, and are designed to illustrate the origin, growth, and consummation of the Kingdom of God. The parables which are peculiar to St. Luke belong to another type. Not one of them opens with the formula *ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* or *τοῦ θεοῦ* ; few if any of them belong to the public ministry. They are taken, as it seems, from recollections of His private conversation with the Twelve or with others who were about Him, and they deal with the subjects of religious interest upon which the conversation happened to turn. Thus the parable of the Good Samaritan is an answer to the casual question, " And who is my neighbour ? " ; ¹ the parable of the Rich Fool arises out of a request which revealed the worldly-mindedness of one of his audience ; ² the parable of the Great Supper out of the inopportune remark, " Happy is he who shall eat bread in the Kingdom of God." ³ The three parables of chapter xv. appear to be a reply to the muttered complaint of the Pharisees that the Lord received sinners and ate with them ; ⁴ the Pharisee and Publican was elicited by the self-satisfied uncharitableness of certain pretenders to sanctity who had crossed our Lord's path ; ⁵ the Widow and Judge was intended to sustain the flagging zeal of some who were growing weary of unanswered prayer. ⁶ The surroundings were not less various. Two of the Lucan parables were spoken at suppers where Jesus was an invited guest ; ⁷ others, probably the greater

¹ Luke x. 29, cp. 30, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν.

² xii. 13.

³ xiv. 15.

⁴ xv. 2.

⁵ xviii. 9.

⁶ xviii. 1.

⁷ vii. 36 ff., xiv. 15 ff.

number, while He walked along the high road with His disciples, or stood for a while in a village street surrounded by a crowd. Under these circumstances the parable was turned to a purpose distinct from that which it served in the preaching of the Kingdom ; it became the vehicle of religious conversation, enriching and illuminating the ordinary intercourse of life. This fact not only illustrates the boundless fecundity of the mind which was capable of pouring out such treasures without premeditation, but it also explains the wider scope and the greater human interest which belong to the parables of the Third Gospel.

The teaching of the Lucan parables, as their origin and purpose would have led us to expect, chiefly concerns the individual life. It is not the world or the Church which is in view so much as the individual soul, with its separate needs and responsibilities. The lost sheep is one of a flock, the lost coin one of a purseful ; the angels rejoice over one sinner that repents. In almost every parable there is a hero whose individuality arrests the attention—the lone traveller on the Jericho road, the beggar who lies sore and starving on the rich man's doorstep, the widow who cries till she is avenged, the publican who stands far off with downcast eyes ; and the parable is applied to the personal life—"thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee" : "go and do thou likewise" : "he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

What, then, are the salient points in this teaching of Christ upon the subject of personal religion which gives to St. Luke's parables their distinctive character? In the first place it emphasizes the need of spiritual restoration which is the *raison d'être* of our Lord's mission. The sheep, the coin, the son, lost but capable of being found again, represent in three different aspects the human soul estranged from God by sin ; while the Divine grace which brings it back is seen in the threefold image of the

Shepherd, the Woman, and the Father. This great trilogy of parables is a treasury upon which preachers and guides of souls will draw as long as the world lasts; and with it may be classed the Great Supper, which foretells the catholicity of the Church's mission, and the Two Debtors, which shews the response elicited by the love of God when it is believed. Taken together, these five parables cover the whole history of human salvation and anticipate the soteriology of St. Paul and St. John.

A second group illuminates the mystery of Prayer. Two of the three parables which deal with Prayer, the Midnight Visitor¹ and the Importunate Widow,² set forth a condition of successful prayer to which Christ evidently attached supreme importance, the spirit of absolute conviction and resolute determination³ to gain the desired end. The Lord Himself brings out the point of this pair of parables: if importunity conquered the selfishness of the sleeping householder, and the indifference of the unscrupulous judge, how much more surely will it avail with One Whose delays are due only to the *μακροθυμία* of an infinite life and a prescient love!⁴ The third parable on Prayer⁵ calls attention to another condition which is no less essential. To the persistence of the importunate suppliant there must be added the Publican's sense of personal unworthiness. The claim which Prayer makes upon God is that of utter need, not of justice or right; consciousness of sin and the need of mercy must supplement and chasten the importunity which proceeds from faith in the Divine love and power.

A third series of parables relates to Service. A fig-tree planted within the fenced enclosure of a vineyard,⁶ if it fails to respond to its opportunities and bears no fruit from year

¹ Luke xi. 5-8.

² xviii. 1-8.

³ xi. 8, διὰ τὴν ἀναίδιαν αὐτοῦ ἐγερθεὶς δώσει. xviii. 5, διὰ γε τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον ἐκδικήσω αὐτήν.

⁴ xi. 13, xviii. 6-8.

⁵ xviii. 9-14.

⁶ Luke xiii. 6-9; cf. Mark xii. 1.

to year, must ultimately be cut down; it wastes (*καταργεῖ*) good ground which might have been occupied by the vine. So the spiritual opportunities of a nation or an individual are forfeited by continued neglect of service, though not until every effort of the great *ἀμπελουργός* has been in vain. Another parable¹ represents the servants of Christ (*δούλους ἐαυτοῦ*) as entrusted with a *mina* each, their use of this relatively small sum² determining their eventual position in His Kingdom. Here the relations between present service and the future life comes into sight, and light is thrown upon the famous *agraphon* which the late Bishop of Durham took for the motto of more than one of his earlier works, *Γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι*, "prove yourselves good bankers." Lastly, lest the inference should be drawn that the reward is not *κατὰ χάριν* but *κατὰ ὀφείλημα*,³ the disciple of St. Paul is careful to add a third parable which teaches that when all has been done the servants of God are "unprofitable" to Him.⁴ God could have dispensed with their service and have been no poorer; if He accepts and requires it, He does so for their sake, because service is the necessary condition of true blessedness.

The four remaining parables peculiar to St. Luke set forth the responsibilities and temptations of social life, more especially those which arise in connexion with wealth. The first of this series reproves the folly of "making haste to be rich" at the cost of the highest interests of human nature. In the little story of the Rich Fool⁵ Jesus condemns not the acquisition of wealth in itself, but the neglect of divine riches⁶ to which it often leads. No multiplication

¹ Luke xix. 12-27.

² The "talent" of the similar parable in Matt. xxv. 14 ff. was equivalent to sixty *mina*.

³ Rom. iv. 4.

⁴ Luke xvii. 10, *δοῦλοι ἀχρεῖοι ἐσμεν*.

⁵ xii. 16-21.

⁶ xii. 21: *μὴ εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν*.

of material possessions can convert them into the essence of life ;¹ at best they are but accidental accretions, which may or may not be a true enrichment of its powers. The parable of the Dishonest Steward exposes another danger which attends the commercial spirit—the fraudulence that under the name of business creeps into the relations of men of the world. But its chief purpose is to claim for the service of God the best side of the worldly wisdom so often displayed in transactions of this kind, its *φρονιμότης*, the intelligence and quickness of observation, the good sense and promptness in action which it manifests. Our Lord would isolate this property, in itself a valuable one, from unworthy surroundings, and recommend it to His servants for their use in the stewardship of God's gifts. Scrupulous conscientiousness need not be divorced, as it too frequently is, from ordinary prudence and knowledge of the world ; the sons of light should not be less shrewd or well equipped than those who have no higher end than to promote their own selfish ends. Quite another view of the subject is presented by the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, which follows the Rich Fool, and was perhaps spoken on the same occasion.² Here it is not the unscrupulous money-grubber who is delineated, but the man who is already in possession of riches inherited or acquired, and spends them upon himself without a thought of the brother who is suffering and starving at his gate. He is seen in two strongly contrasted positions, clad in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously day by day, and a little after, stripped to the soul, and tormented in the only flame that naked souls can feel. "Father Abraham" (for the man is a Jew) is appealed to in vain ; the exchange of the rich man's and the beggar's lots belongs to the justice of things, with which the righteous patriarch would not have inter-

¹ xii. 15 : οὐκ ἐν τῷ περισσεύειν τινὶ ἢ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ.

² Luke xvi. 19-31.

ferred if he could. The picture may seem to favour the agitator who advocates the spoliation of the rich, or at least may be construed into a denunciation of the greater inequalities of life. But in fact it does not touch any social question; the reversal of social *status* to which it refers takes effect in the future life and not in this. Moreover, the parable does not teach that at death the very rich are necessarily plunged into helpless misery, and the very poor raised to Paradise. The Rich Man suffers because money was his only god, and having lost it he has lost all.¹ Thus the story is not aimed at wealth, or even at the abuse of wealth, but at the selfish thoughtlessness which is one of its chief dangers; it does not help the destructive views of the socialist, though it may well give pause to owners of property who use their money merely for the advancement of personal comfort or display. One more parable may be classed with this group, and it is perhaps the gem of the whole collection. The Good Samaritan,² as it seems, is not a rich man; he travels without retinue, and has no beast but the one he rides; the two small silver coins³ which he pulls out of his girdle and leaves with the host do not suggest a well filled purse. But whatever he has, his money, his beast, his time, is placed at the service of a wounded Jew, who has no claim on his charity beyond the fact that he is a brother-man in need. Thus the Good Samaritan is the exact opposite of the Rich Man who, with abundant means and daily opportunities, passed through life without lifting a finger to relieve distress. Perhaps the old Christian tradition—older than Origen⁴—which saw in the Good Samaritan the Supreme Example of Charity, is not altogether baseless; it is to Himself that the Lord seems

¹ xvi. 23: ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἀγαθὰ σου. Cf. vi. 24: οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.

² Luke x. 30-37.

³ v. 35: ἐκβαλὼν δύο δηνάρια.

⁴ Cf. Orig. *Hom. in Luc.* 34.

in fact to point each of us when He says, "Go and do thou likewise." But the mystical interpretation must not be suffered to eclipse the primary reference of the parable, or its plain lesson as to the duty and privilege of rendering service to suffering humanity, irrespective of kindred or creed.

2. After the parables of St. Luke's Gospel, the reader's attention is arrested by its abundance of epigrammatic sayings, chiefly reminiscences of our Lord's conversation with individuals or small groups of followers. These Lucan sayings, like the Lucan parables, have to do with the mystery of the personal life.

First there are those which throw light upon the workings of our Lord's own mind and soul. It is noteworthy that we owe to St. Luke the one recorded saying of Christ's childhood, and what was probably the last word spoken on the Cross. There is a close affinity between the two: "I must be in my Father's house"¹ reveals His early consciousness of a divine Sonship, and the attraction which the Father's Presence possessed for Him even during the immaturity of His manhood; "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit"² testifies to the victory of filial trust and the consummation of filial obedience at the moment of His departure from the world. Other words dropped in the intervening years reflect the progress of the struggle by which He was perfected. "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven."³ "I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be finished."⁴ "I cast out demons and perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am perfected; howbeit I must go on my way to-day and to-morrow and the day following, for it

¹ Luke ii. 49.

² xxiii. 46. On the rendering of *ἐν τοῖς πατέροις μου*, see F. Field, *Notes on the Translation of the N. T.* p. 50 f. ³ x. 18.

⁴ xii. 50. With *ἕως ἄντων τελεσθῆναι* comp. the final *τετέλεσται* (John xix. 30).

cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem.”¹ “With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer; for I say unto you, I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God.”² “That which concerneth Me hath fulfilment.”³ In this catena of Lucan sayings the whole course of the Great Sacrifice can be traced, and what a wealth of spiritual teaching there is here, notwithstanding the obscurity in which the profound thought is partly wrapped, the Christian heart will readily discover for itself.

Only less interesting than these glimpses into the inner life of Christ are the sayings which light up the character or the destiny of His followers. We learn for instance from a group of answers⁴ to candidates for discipleship the exacting standard which He raised before the eyes of those who would follow Him: “The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay His head”—this to one who had just made an unlimited offer of service; “leave the dead to bury their own dead”—this to another who asked for time to pay the last offices of filial duty to his father; “no man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God”—this to a third, who desired, like Elisha, to bid farewell to his kindred before he embarked on his new calling. In each case the individual character was read, and a test applied which, it cannot be doubted, drew forth its weakness or its strength. The enthusiasm of a woman who felicitated the mother of so great a Prophet is directed to a more practical end by the answer: “yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.”⁵ Simon

¹ xiii. 32 f.

² xxii. 15 f.

³ xxii. 37 (R.V.); see Field, *ad loc.* If τὸ περὶ ἐμοῦ be taken to mean “My work and life” (cf. xxiv. 27), we may keep the rendering of A.V. “hath an end,” the more obvious sense of τὸ τέλος ἐχέει.

⁴ Luke ix. 57 ff.

⁵ xi. 28.

Peter's early shrinking from the awful Presence of One whose mere word filled the nets that a night's toil had left empty, is met by the inspiring call to confidence and to a higher service, "Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men";¹ while the same Apostle's later excess of confidence is corrected by the plain warning that nothing but the Master's intercession had saved him from the danger which awaited all the disciples of falling like chaff through Satan's sieve and being lost.² Other sayings shew how clearly Jesus recognized the elements of the higher life under the most unpromising exterior. In the woman that was a sinner He saw one who "loved much,"³ and whose sins had been forgiven;⁴ in Zacchæus, the rich and well hated chief of the Jericho toll-collectors, He discovered a true son of Abraham, to whose house salvation had come on the day that he welcomed the Lord;⁵ in the robber who repented upon the cross, one who that very day would be "in Paradise"—not merely in Abraham's bosom, but in the company of the Christ.⁶ Perhaps the most delicate of all these appreciations of character is that which is revealed in the story of Martha and Mary.⁷ "Jesus loved Martha and her sister";⁸ and His love was returned by both the sisters, but each of them welcomed Him in her own way. Martha, perhaps the responsible hostess, was "distracted about much waiting" at table; Mary took her seat at His feet, listening to His discourse. Perhaps no reference would have been made by the Lord to this characteristic difference had not Martha invited it by appealing to Him to bid Mary help her. Then came the verdict: "Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and disturbed

¹ v. 10.

² xxii. 31: 'Ο Σατανᾶς ἐξητήσατο ὑμᾶς τοῦ σινιάσαι ὡς τὸν σῆτον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐδεήθην περὶ σοῦ.

³ vii. 47.

⁴ *Ibid.* 48 (ἀφέωνται).

⁵ xix. 2, 9.

⁶ Luke xxiii. 43: μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, cf. xvi. 22 f.

⁷ x. 38-42.

⁸ John xi. 5.

about many things, but there is need of few, or of but one; ¹ for the good portion is that which Mary hath chosen, and it shall not be taken from her." Both women were serving Him according to their lights, but Mary had judged best what service would possess the greatest value in His eyes. Anxiety about external details, even in the cause of Christ, tends to distract and divide the soul; He asks but for one thing, an undivided heart, possessed by the single desire to know and do His will.²

Another group of sayings deals with whole classes of men, but still in reference to life and character. Sometimes the Lord seems to recognize but two types of human character and two issues of life, as when in hearing the report of Pilate's outrage on certain Galileans He exclaimed, "Except ye repent, ye shall all in like manner perish."³ Sometimes, on the other hand, there is in His judgements a nice balancing of varying responsibilities and performances, as when we read of the many stripes or the few which await those who neglect to do the will of the Master, according as they "knew" or "knew not" what was expected from them.⁴ Much of this teaching is directed against the moral insensibility of an age which was letting slip the greatest opportunity that any generation had enjoyed. "Ye know how to interpret the face of the earth and the heaven; but how is it that ye know not how to interpret this time"?⁵ "Were not the ten cleansed? but where are the nine"?⁶ "Remember Lot's wife."⁷ "If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine

¹ Reading with \aleph B L $\delta\lambda\gamma\omega\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega\ \chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$.

² See the interesting sermons of Augustine on this passage (civ., cv.), especially civ. 5: "Bona sunt ministeria circa pauperes . . . exhortamur ad haec . . . melius est tamen quod elegit Maria . . . a te auferetur aliquando onus necessitatis; aeterna est dulcedo veritatis."

³ Luke xiii. 1-3.

⁴ xii. 47 f.

⁵ xii. 56.

⁶ xvii. 17.

⁷ *Ibid.* 32.

eyes.”¹ “Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children; for if they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?”² With these words of stern warning or sad forboding we may contrast the note of hope or triumph now and again sounded when loyal disciples are in view. “Lift up your heads, because your redemption draweth nigh.”³ “I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me.”⁴ Or again, the gentleness and love of the assurance to St. Peter, “I made supplication for thee that thy faith fail not”;⁵ or the prayer for the crucifiers, “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.”⁶ Such words, apart from their original reference, hold teaching and inspiration for all generations of mankind.

It remains to consider what special aspects of Christ's teaching are revealed by the Lucan parables and sayings.

Perhaps the most prominent feature of the Lucan teaching may be best described in a phrase used by St. Luke himself. He represents the people of Nazareth as marvelling at the “words of grace”⁷ which came out of the mouth of Jesus. It is the *graciousness* of Christ's utterances in this Gospel which at once impresses every thoughtful reader. The Evangelist has been well called by Dante “*scriba mansuetudinis Christi*.”⁸ “À peine est-il une anecdote, une parabole propre à Luc, qui ne respire cet esprit de miséricorde et d'appel aux pécheurs . . . L'Évangile de Luc est par excellence l'Évangile du pardon.”⁹ So writes Ernest Renan, adding, “On voit la

¹ Luke xix. 42.

² xxiii. 28 ff.

³ xxi. 28.

⁴ xxii. 29.

⁵ xxii. 32.

⁶ xxiii. 34. If not a part of St. Luke's original Gospel, this prayer is in perfect keeping with the Lucan sayings.

⁷ iv. 22, *εθαύμαζον ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος κτλ.* Cf. Ps. xlv. (xlv.) 2 cited by Plummer from Origen: *ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χειλεσίν σου.*

⁸ Cited by Plummer, p. xlii.

⁹ *Les Évangiles*, p. 266 f.

parfaite conformité de ces vues avec celles de Paul.”¹ The affinity of the Third Gospel to the Epistles of St. Paul was noticed in early times, and Irenæus even regards the Gospel as a record of that which was preached by the Apostle.² But St. Paul’s Gospel, if we may trust his own account of it,³ was a simple record of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ; nor can we conceive of him as repeating narratives and sayings of which he could have had but a second-hand knowledge. Still less can the exquisite parables and utterances of the Gospel according to St. Luke have proceeded from the imagination of St. Paul; his genius lay in other directions; he was master of close argument and passionate appeal, and no one could paint an ideal in more glowing colours, but for a creation such as the parable of the Good Samaritan he shews no capacity. So far as Paulinism is to be found in the Lucan teaching, it may be claimed as an original element in Christianity, due to the Master Himself. It is Christ and not St. Paul who speaks to us in the Third Gospel; and if the words often seem to savour of Pauline doctrine, it is because St. Paul above all other men of his time assimilated that side of our Lord’s teaching which this Gospel has specially preserved. It is perhaps too much to say with Harnack that Paul was “the one who understood the Master, and continued His work”;⁴ but at any rate it was given to him in an especial degree to emphasize the element in the Master’s teaching which sets forth the mystery of the Divine Grace. And it is the Divine Grace which is the keynote of the Lucan teaching. Not that in the teaching of Christ, as St. Luke records it, there is any formal doctrine

¹ *Ibid.* p. 269.

² Iren. iii. 1. 1, *καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ, ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο.*

³ 1 Cor. xv. 1 ff.

⁴ *Das Wesen des Christentums*, p. 110 (E. Tr. p. 176).

of Grace, any discussion or dogmatic statement such as find a place in the Epistles of St. Paul. In the Gospel the teaching upon this subject is concrete; it is brought into line with the facts of life, exemplified in the experience of man. "To-day hath this Scripture been fulfilled in your ears";¹ "her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much";² "this man went down to his house justified rather than the other";³ "to-day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a Son of Abraham."⁴ These are examples of the personal form which the Lord's teaching upon the subject of Grace always takes. He is the Physician dispensing remedies, and not the professor teaching their use. His purpose is not to expound their nature or the laws by which they operate, or to defend their use, but to heal and save by their means. Consequently the Gospel of St. Luke touches thousands to whom the Pauline Epistles are a sealed book. The words of the Master are a text which he that runs may read; the writings of the disciple are commentary upon the text, and not the primary source.

The graciousness of the Lucan teaching is not untempered by a just severity. The sermon at Nazareth which began with "words of grace" ended with a reproof which filled the synagogue with indignation.⁵ The Sermon on the Mount in St. Matthew begins with beatitudes only; in St. Luke the beatitudes are balanced by woes.⁶ It is St. Luke only who recalls the double warning against impenitence,⁷ the doom of the barren fig-tree,⁸ the hopeless misery which follows neglect of the opportunities of life,⁹ the fate of those who will not have their true King to reign over them,¹⁰ the terrors of the coming end.¹¹

¹ Luke iv. 21.² vii. 47.³ xviii. 14.⁴ xix. 9.⁵ iv. 23 ff.⁶ vi. 24-26.⁷ xiii. 3 and 5.⁸ xiii. 9.⁹ xvi. 24 ff.¹⁰ xix. 27.¹¹ xxiii. 29-31.

There is a sternness even toward disciples which marks this Gospel: witness the rebuke administered to James and John;¹ the discouraging words addressed to the three who purposed to become disciples;² the uncompromising demand for vigilance and service made upon those who had already enlisted;³ the charge of folly and unbelief laid against the two who were overtaken by the risen Lord on the way to Emmaus.⁴ In all this we see tokens of a love which is unsparing because it is just and true, an ἀποτομία which is consistent with the highest χρηστότης.⁵ Of the easy good nature that shrinks from the pain of rebuking sin or warning against failure there is no trace. The "grace of our Lord Jesus Christ," as it is set forth in this Gospel, does not exclude but rather implies a "wrath of the Lamb" which is the complement of His mercy.

Neither of these features of Christ's teaching is wholly absent from the other Synoptic Gospels, but in St. Luke both are prominent, and the first may be said to be the prevalent note of the Lucan teaching. If in St. Mark our Lord appears in the character of the Evangelist of the Kingdom of God, and in St. Matthew as the Legislator of the Kingdom, in St. Luke He reveals Himself as the Physician, the Redeemer, and the supreme Master of mankind.

H. B. SWETE.

DID ALEXANDRIA INFLUENCE THE NAUTICAL LANGUAGE OF ST. LUKE?

A STUDY OF ACTS XXVIII. 12 IN THE LIGHT OF GREEK POPYRI.

AMONG the contemporary accounts of ancient voyages one of the fullest and most graphic is the narrative preserved in Acts of Paul's voyage to Italy. Embarking upon a ship of

¹ Luke ix. 55.

² ix. 57 ff.

³ xii. 35-48, xxi. 34-36.

⁴ xxiv. 25.

⁵ Rom. xi. 22.

Hadramyntum, the Apostle and his companions touched at Sidon, coasted Cyprus, and reached Myrra in Lycia. There the centurion transferred his charges to an Alexandrian ship bound for Italy, and in this they reached Kaloi Limenes—Fair Havens—on the southern coast of Crete, near the city Lasea. Here Paul favoured wintering; but the centurion and the officers of the ship preferred to make for Phoenix, another Cretan haven, which was deemed a more favourable port for wintering, as it looked *κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον* (Acts xxvii. 12). The natural meaning of *βλέποντα κατὰ* in such a context would seem to be looking toward the winds mentioned, but no such harbour on the southern coast of Crete is known, nor would such a harbour be at all commodious for wintering, but rather the very reverse. Constrained by this consideration, James Smith and other commentators after him have rendered *κατὰ λίβα* “down the south-west wind,” or with Dr. Howson have resorted to the heroic expedient of assuming that as sailors view everything subjectively, that is, from the standpoint of a man at sea, not of a man on land, the sailors who told Paul and his companions of this harbour meant that from a ship lying in it one looked landward *κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον*. In a situation so desperate it is perhaps not superfluous to look a little more closely than has hitherto been done into the meaning of one at least of the words involved.

Gellius truly says that Homer recognized but four winds, *Βορέης, Εὔρος,*¹ *Νότος, Ζέφυρος*. *Ἄρκτος* does indeed occur in the Homeric poems, but only in the sense of the constellation of the Bear. The Ionic mind had not yet risen to the abstract notion of direction. *Ἐσπερος* and *ἑσπέριος* meant evening (adj.), and only in the *Odyssey* does the former begin to denote the direction of the evening star

¹ But Homer's translators sometimes treat *Εὔρος* as the south-east wind, e.g. Butcher and Lang, *Odyssey*, 19. 206; cf. Keop, *Autenrieth's Homeric Dictionary*, s.v.

(*Odyssey*, 9. 29), as *Ἡώς*, dawn, was coming to mean the east (*Odyssey*, 9. 26). *Λίψ* does not appear in literature until the time of Herodotus. In speaking of evaporation and kindred processes in Libya, he remarks that *νότος* and *λίψ* which blow from that country are naturally much the rainiest of all winds (2. 25). Here his standpoint is Egyptian, and by Libya Herodotus, like Homer (*Odyssey*), means Northern Africa west of Egypt. Whether *λίψ* means there the south-west wind or the west wind is thus left uncertain; the geographical considerations perhaps rather favouring the latter. Herodotus' use of *ἄρκτος* is an advance upon Homer's, as e.g. in his description of the course of the Arabian mountains as *φέρων ἀπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσημβρίας τε καὶ νότου* (2. 8), and *ἑσπέρη* appears in his writings in its more developed significance in *ῥέει δὲ [ὁ Νεῖλος] ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων*. *Λίψ* does not appear in Thucydides or Sophocles, and I find no occurrence of it in Xenophon or Plato registered. Thucydides employs *ἡλίου δύσις* in two senses: (1) the hour (3. 78), and (2) the direction (2. 96) of sunset. *Μεσημβρία* he uses only in its temporal sense, midday (2. 28), south being conveyed by *νότος* (2. 15, 2. 101, 3. 6).

The force of *λίψ* in classical usage is more explicitly indicated in a passage of Aristotle, *Περὶ κόσμου* (chap. 6). In it *λίψ* is classed among the west winds, and is more particularly defined as blowing from the winter setting of the sun. This makes *λίψ* the south-west wind. Aristotle further speaks of it as *ὕγρός—ὦν ὑγρὸς φύσει* (*Προβλημάτων* 2, 6),—says that such winds prevail in autumn—*λίβες περὶ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν μάλιστα πνέουσιν* (μβ. 6. 364^b 2), and explains its name as derived from Libya—*ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ Λιβύης* (σ. 973^b 11), and again . . . *λίψ καὶ οὗτος τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Λιβύης ὅθεν πνεῖ* (Fragment—*Περὶ Σημελῶν*¹).

¹ Similarly Boeckh, *Erklärung einer Agyptischen Urkunde in griechischer Wissenschaft*, etc., in *Abhandl. der K. Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1820-21, p. 4.

Of writers of the second century we may cite Polybius, who uses *ἀνεμος λίψ* in describing an Iberian harbour and town. The bay which forms the harbour lies, he says, *νεύοντι πρὸς ἄνεμον λίβα*, and an island at its mouth renders it almost landlocked, leaving a passage on each side for ships, which find shelter here from all winds. The only drawback is the occasional roughness of the passages caused by *οἱ λίβες*, which here probably means the south-west winds (Polybius, 10. 10). Still clearer is a passage in 9. 27, where, in describing the city of Acrages in Sicily, Polybius says that along the southern (*νότιον*) side of it flows a river of the same name as the city, and along the side towards the west (*δύσεις*) and south-west (*λίβα*) flows the river called Hypsas.

The continuity of the Greek usage of *λίψ* in the sense of the south-west wind is attested by a bit of epigraphical evidence familiar to all who have visited Athens. On the eight sides of the striking ancient building known as the Tower of the Winds, or more exactly the Horologion of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, a structure erected to accommodate a water clock, sundial, and weather vane, are carved in low relief the figures of eight winds with their names above them, *ζέφυρος σκίρων βορέας καικίας ἀπηλιώτης εὐρος νότος λίψ* (C.I.G.I. 518). *Λίψ* occupies the side between *νότος* and *ζέφυρος*, facing the south-west. The tower dates from the first century B.C., and introduces us to Roman times.

Gellius tells us that once at the table of his instructor Favorinus, as they were reading a Latin ode, the word *Iapyx* came up and suggested as a topic for conversation the names and quarters of the several winds. Favorinus, in the course of his remarks, mentioned three western winds: Caurus, called in Greek *ἀργέστης*: Favonius, the Greek *ζέφυρος*: and Africus, the Greek *λίψ* (*Noct. Att.* 2. 22. 10, 11, 12). Gellius adds the remark that some make twelve winds instead of eight, inserting a third four in the middle places about south and north on the same plan on which the second four

were inserted between the two cardinal ones at east and west.¹ This remark receives interesting corroboration from the archaeological side. On the Belvedere balcony of the Vatican stands a twelve-sided base for a weather vane, which was found in 1779 on the Palatine, and on which the names of twelve winds are carved in Greek and Latin. This interesting monument is said to date from imperial times. The twelve-sided arrangement leaves no room for a south-west wind proper, and instead the two faces between west and south have λίσψ—Africus on the west-south-west, and λιβόντος, Austroafricus, on the south-south-west. The same vane base has ζέφυρος, Favonius, on the west, ἰάνυξ, Chorus, on the west-north-west, and θρακίας, Circius, on the north-north-west. This evidence, taken together with the remark of Gellius, clearly shows that λίσψ was veering two points towards the west.

To the combined evidence of Gellius and the Vatican inscription must be added a statement of the elder Pliny. In describing the eight winds, Pliny identifies the Greek λίσψ with the Latin *Africus* as blowing from the winter setting, and the Greek ἀργέστης with the Latin *Corus* as blowing from the solstitial setting. He goes on to say (2. 47): “Numerosior ratio . . . interiecerat . . . item inter liba et noton compositum ex utroque medium inter mæridiem et hibernum occidentem libonoton.” If by this fuller scheme of winds is meant a compass of twelve points equally spaced, we have precisely such an arrangement as the Vatican weather-vane base presents, and λίσψ, Africus, is shifted to the west-south-west.

We have traced the Graeco-Latin use of λίσψ through without digression, because it seems a continuous tradition

¹ Partim autem sunt qui pro octo duodecim faciunt, tertios quatuor in media loca inserentes circum meridiem et septentriones eadem ratione qua secundi quatuor intersiti sunt inter primores duos apud orientem occidentemque. *Noct. Att.* 2. 22. 18.

in the pursuit of which the introduction of Egyptian evidence would have proved an interruption. That evidence is much too important and suggestive, however, to be passed over as lightly as has hitherto been done, and it is to secure a fresh and fuller hearing for it that this paper has been written. It may be most conveniently taken up under two heads: first the Septuagint, and second the papyri.

ΑΨ occurs in the Septuagint nearly fifty times, and as the representative of four Hebrew words. Once it stands for דָּרוֹם south, three times for מְעַרְב or מְעַרְבָה west, four times for combinations of נָנָב south and תִּימָן south, seven times for תִּימָן south, and thirty-one times for נָנָב south. That is, out of forty-six occurrences, forty-three mean south and three west. But in fifteen of these passages the Alexandrian manuscript has νότος instead of ΑΨ.¹

Aquila seems to have rendered תִּימָן by ΑΨ in Isaiah xxx. 6, and Symmachus employs ΑΨ in translating a word for south in Ezekiel xx. 46, where all three words, נָנָב, תִּימָן, דָּרוֹם, occur, and in translating דָּרוֹם south in Ezekiel xl. 24. ΑΨ is used in one version of Habakkuk iii. 3, in translating תִּימָן, which is simply transferred in R.V. of this passage.²

The translators of the Old Testament are thus seen to understand by ΑΨ generally south, rarely west, and as far as one can judge never south-west. Prof. Edward Robinson must

¹ Deissmann, in his note on ΑΨ, *Bible Studies*, p. 145, in recognizing three of the four forces of the word, says that the LXX.—except in three passages, 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, xxxiii. 14, Dan. viii. 5, where the Egyptian meaning *west* is given—"use ΑΨ quite accurately for *south*." But this is in no sense an *accurate* use; "uniformly" would have been the better word.

² The only occurrence of ΑΨ I remember to have seen in the Apostolic Fathers is in a LXX. quotation 1 Clem. Rom. x. 4 (Gen. xiii. 14), πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ λιβα καὶ ἀνατολὰς καὶ θάλασσαν, and means south. As to Josephus' usage, I can refer only to *Antt.* 15. 9. 6, where the coast towns between Joppa and Dora are δύσσορμα διὰ τὰς κατὰ λιβα προσβολὰς αἱ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πόντου θίνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἤβνα σύρουσαι καταγωγὴν οὐ μειλίχιον διδάσασιν, in which the translators of Josephus (Whiston, Shilleto) most improbably understand ΑΨ to mean south wind.

have been under the Septuagint influence when in his Lexicon (ed. 1850) he rendered λίψ the south or south-west wind, referring to Polybius 10. 10. 1 and Herodotus 2. 25, and specifically prescribed for the passage in Acts the translation south. As Prof. Robinson's article on χῶρος recognizes only the meaning north-west, or north-west wind, he would seem to make the harbour Pnoenix face north-west and south, which is sufficiently strange.

The evidence of the papyri is less puzzling, inasmuch as it is entirely unequivocal. We are fortunate here in having at our command a series of documents from the three periods of the Greek residence in Egypt, Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine, in which land leased or sold is described much as in a modern deed by its boundaries on north, south, east and west. Such evidence is peculiarly free from ambiguity, and has especial claims to being considered decisive within its own province. The words employed in these documents are invariably βορρᾶς north, νότος south, ἀπηλιώτης east, and λίψ west. Without having at hand full sets of published papyri, this usage cannot be traced with completeness; but from the papyri published by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt and Mahaffy numerous examples may be collected. The earliest of these are in the will of a Lybian,¹ where one piece of land is bounded on [ἀπηλιώτου] νότου, λιβός, βορρᾶ (ll. 9-11), and another on ἀπηλιώτου, νότου, λιβός, βορρᾶ (ll. 15-18). Like all the Petrie papyri, this will came from Gurob in the Fayûm. Drs. Grenfell and Hunt have published a series of Ptolemaic papyri from the Thebaid, which illustrate the same use. In a sale of land dated 139 B.C. the property is described as having as ὄρια καὶ | γείτονε[ς τ]ῆς ὅλης γῆς νότου καὶ ἀπηλιώτου νῆσος Ἀφροδίτης | τῆς ἐν Π[αθύ]ρει καὶ νῆσος Λητοῦ, βορρᾶ νῆσος Ἀφροδίτης | τῆς ἐμ [Παθύ]ρει λιβός ποταμός.² Similar land

Mahaffy, *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, No. 21.

² Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, series ii. No. 15.

descriptions occur in the same volumes¹ from the years 109 (i. 27), 107 (ii. 23), 103 (ii. 28), 103-2 (i. 33)—in this papyrus six times—101 (ii. 32), and 98 (ii. 35) B.C., all from the Thebaid. For the Roman period it is enough to cite a registration of mortgage written at Oxyrhynchus in 79 A.D., giving the dimensions of two pieces of land measured from north to south, *βορρᾶ ἐπὶ νότον*, and from west to east, *λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην*. In each of the Oxyrhynchus volumes *λίψ* occurs several times, especially in the phrase *ἡ πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχία*, the western toparchy, which occurs in papyri from the years A.D. 23 (No. 287), 26 (No. 245), 80 (No. 243), 88 (No. 345), 95 (No. 273), etc. (No. 47).² The middle and eastern toparchies are also referred to in Oxyrhynchus papyri, and the meaning western for *πρὸς λίβα* is thus as fully certified as in the deeds quoted above.

For the persistence of this usage in the Byzantine period two instances may be cited. In an unpublished deed of sale found at Ashmunên, now in the Cairo Museum, and dated in the year 341 A.D., the property involved is described as having as *γίτονες νότου | καὶ ἀπηλιώτου σου τοῦ ἄνουμένου, βορρᾶ καὶ λιβὸς δημόσιαι ῥύμαι*. Again in Dr. Grenfell's *Greek Papyri*, a document from Edfu, dated A.D. 581, describes a courtyard *ἧς γείτονες ὄλης τῆς αὐτῆς αὐλῆς | νότου [. . . ἀπηλιώ] του καὶ λιβὸς καὶ βορρᾶ ῥύμαι δημόσιαι*. This is one of the latest in date of the Byzantine papyri as yet published, and the will of the Libyan with which we began the evidence of the papyri is one of the very earliest Ptolemaic papyri known, so that we are exceedingly fortunate in the distribution of our witnesses in time.

We have seen that *λίψ* first came into Greek literature in connexion with Libya, and that Aristotle did not hesi-

¹ Grenfell, *Greek Papyri*, and Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, series ii.

² The numbers are those of the papyri in Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. and ii.

tate to explain it etymologically as derived from Libya whence it blew.¹ Its use in Egypt, if we except the phenomena of the LXX., has been shown to be uniform through eight centuries and from the Fayûm to Edfu, in the sense of west, the direction of Libya; and whether we accept Aristotle's etymology or not, it seems at least probable that from meaning south-west λίψ was, in the speech of Greeks in Egypt, attracted into the sense of west because west was the Libyan direction.²

The various forces of λίψ are now before us. In classical Greek it means the south-west wind, or by metonymy the south-west; in Latin writers it wavers between this force and the west-south-west wind or direction. In the LXX. it generally means south, but rarely west; and in all Greek papyri from Egypt it means west. Did Luke mean to use the word in the strict classical sense? But in that case why did he select χῶρος for north-west? Aristotle gives three names for the north-west wind, and χῶρος is not one of them. They are: ἀργέστης, ὀλυμπίας, and σκίρων. Χῶρος is properly a Latin word, and its occurrence here in Acts is the first recorded instance of it in Greek literature. Indeed it is almost the sole instance, for only John of Lydia, A.D. 527, has been quoted as an additional witness for the word, and his form of it is κῶρος. So utterly lacking is Greek precedent for the word that one is almost tempted to disregard the analogy of κατὰ λίβα, and understand χῶρον as the ordinary Greek word for place,

¹ Boeckh (*op. cit.*), quoted by Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 142, remarks, "λίψ means *south-west* in Hellas, *Africus*, because Libya lies south-west from the Hellenes—whence its name: Libya lies directly west from the Egyptians; hence λίψ is for them the west itself, as we learn here." A more probable etymology connects the word with λειβω and the notion of moisture, and this is favoured by the rainy character of the wind, attested by Herodotus. Boeckh does not attempt to extend his explanation to the LXX. and Italian uses of λίψ, and it is difficult to see how it could be applied to them.

² The editors of the *Thesaurus* noted the meaning west for λίψ in Turin papyri, but quoted no decisive instance.

land, country. Or, again, shall we suppose that Luke is here following LXX. usage, and by $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$ means south? This, too, splits on $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu$, for he would hardly use a LXX. word in one phrase and in its fellow resort to a Latin word, not only quite unknown to the LXX., but never before, as far as we know, employed by a Greek writer. Besides, a harbour facing south and north-west would seem in itself highly improbable. But may not Luke have had in mind that distinctly western (Italian) use of $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$ of which we have found traces in Gellius and the elder Pliny and explicit evidence in the Vatican inscription? The half Latin character of $E\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$ in xxvii. 14 and the pure Latin character of $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (Caurus, but Chorus on the Vatican vane base) perhaps favour this solution, and the position of Lutro cannot be said seriously to disagree.

In approaching the question raised by the papyri, we may remember one fact. Paul and his biographer seem never to have seen Phoenix. They heard about it at Fair Havens, probably from the officers of the ship they were on. That ship was an Alexandrian ship and plied between that port and Rome, being, if Professor Ramsay is right, one of the imperial fleet of corn transports. The Greek of the officers would be the Greek of Alexandria, and they would be just such persons as wrote the business documents of Roman Egypt that have come down to us. This easy chain of connexion seems to give the evidence of the papyri especial value in precisely this passage. But does not it, too, go to pieces on $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\varsigma$? Perhaps so; but it seems at least possible to understand Luke's whole use of names of winds as having come to him through men whose speech was a hybrid of Greek and Latin. Such men, officers, and crew of a ship plying between Alexandria and Ostia or Portus would surely be. Some would be Alexandrians and speak Egyptian Greek; others Italians and speak Latin. The languages would blend on the ship if not in port, and such half Greek, half Latin

phrases as *κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον* would be a natural result. If this be thought visionary, one may point to Luke's *Εὐρακύλων* (Eurus-Aquilo) two verses below the mention of Phoenix. This word is unknown apart from this passage, and the Greek lexicographers can only cite as analogy *Εὐρόνοτος*, which being composed of two *Greek* words fails of being analogous at the vital point. Euraquilo is simply the Greek east wind combined with the Latin north-east (more exactly east-north-east) wind; such words occur in later Latin (e.g. Euroauster, but not even in the *Latin* of this period.

Tested with this possibility in mind, the interpretation of *βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον* as looking west and north-west does not seem wholly improbable. If now we are to take the view of Dr. Howson and Mr. James Smith, followed by Professor Ramsay and a host of commentators, that a harbour looking *down* these winds is meant—a view for which the use of *κατὰ* in Josephus' *τὰς κατὰ λίβα προσβυλάς* affords some confirmation. Lutro, already clearly pointed to by Ptolemy¹ and Strabo,² by the fact of its incomparable security as a haven, seems from an examination of Mr. Smith's map more than ever appropriately described by the modification of *λίψ* from south-west to west.³ The harbour does indeed look down the west and north-west winds.

¹ *φονικοῦς*, Ptolemy 3. 17. ² *φόνικα τὸν λάμπεων*, Strabo, 10. p. 475.

³ One objection may be urged. The writer of Luke and Acts has a word for west. He uses *ἑσπέρα* three times (Luke xxiv. 29; Acts iv. 3, xxviii. 23), but always in the sense of evening. But he has another word for west, *δυσμαί*, and while its occurrence in one passage (Luke xiii. 29, *καὶ ἤξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου*), may be dismissed as due to quotation, either from the LXX. (Isa. lix. 19; Mal. i. 11), or more properly from a Gospel discourse source common to Matt. and Luke (query: the Perea document?), in the other (Luke xii. 54, *ὅταν ἴδῃτε νεφέλην ἀνατέλλουσαν ἐπὶ δυσμῶν*) the word seems ascribable only to the author of the book. It is generally accepted however that the chapters dealing with this journey are in a peculiar sense the work of the writer of the book. But were this not the case, the writer's language about a place he had never seen may well reflect the language of his informants and exhibit a use of words somewhat different from his usual one.

One wonders what light the Western text might have thrown upon this passage, but Codex Bezae unfortunately breaks off in chapter xxii. Tischendorf's apparatus records no substantial variation from the current text, save that one or two versions (Syr. Arab.) omit *καὶ κατὰ χῶρον*. Here again, as so often, an old Syriac text of Acts is a desideratum.

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