

BURKITT - The Gospel History

III.

THE GOSPEL OF MARK: ITS
HISTORICAL VALUE.

Μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν τῇδε κακέϊσε ἀποδιδράσκεις.

CELSUS, *ap. Origen*, I 380.

S. MARK'S Gospel being the main source of information we possess for the general course of our Lord's Ministry, it is most important to determine its trustworthiness as a historical document. The problem before us, therefore, is still one of objective external history, and the general aim of this present Lecture will perhaps best be understood if I put it in the form of a question: Does the story of Jesus Christ, as given in S. Mark, approve itself as an adequately historical outline of the main events? We shall be ready perhaps to admit that this or that detail is inaccurately told or too cursorily treated, but we want to discover whether the work as a whole gives a faithful view. Above all, are we dealing with a piece of history, however popular and unscientific; or is the

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work mainly mythical, a fancy picture cast in an historical form?

It is obvious that no guarantees of age or authorship can give us the assurance we need, and that we must ultimately rely on internal evidence. If the picture presented in S. Mark's Gospel be in essentials true, it will give an essentially reasonable account of the Ministry. I do not mean it will contain no stories of what are called 'miracles,' or that we should at once be able without misgiving to accept every incident as having actually occurred in the way related. But if this Gospel be in the main historical, it will have two characteristics; it will be generally self-consistent, and it will fit in with the known political and social history of the time. We know from non-Christian historians, notably from Josephus, something of the general history and condition of Palestine about AD 30; and we know from Jewish sources, both Talmudic and pseud-epigraphic, something of the culture and the hopes and fears of the Jewish population in the first century. If S. Mark's Gospel be an historical work, it will fit into this framework. Furthermore, if it be in the main historical, it will not lend itself easily to attempts which seek to explain the Gospel as a work designed to set forth particular doctrines or theories about Jesus and the Church.

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All these conditions I venture to think satisfied. Let us consider for a moment what are the contents of the Gospel according to S. Mark. Let us approach as outsiders, as persons desirous of a preliminary general view. We read in Mark that the public ministry of Jesus, the carpenter of Nazareth in Galilee, took its rise from the preaching of John the Baptizer. The preaching of John had chiefly attracted the people of Judæa, but Jesus had gone down from Galilee and had been baptized. At the moment of Baptism He hears a voice from Heaven calling Him the beloved Son of God, but His public career does not begin until John was cast into prison by Herod Antipas. Then Jesus comes to Galilee announcing the Kingdom of God to be at hand, and exhorting men to repent and believe the message. How long the first period lasted we have no means of judging, for it is not until Simon and his companions join the new Prophet that the narrative becomes detailed. At first Jesus teaches in the Synagogues, and His commanding personality produces a great effect. But the very success of the announcement of the Gospel brings interruptions to the work which are far more clearly brought out as such in Mark than elsewhere, viz. the intrusion of invalids in season and out of season, seeking for cures and

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acquiring for Jesus a kind of popularity which He definitely tries to avoid; and the growing opposition of the official Jewish world, both religious and secular. These points afford a very remarkable testimony to the historical value of Mark, as they are features which can hardly have been supplied by later reflexion, and therefore must have been derived from real historical reminiscence. The way in which the story of the leper is told—the cure importuned and the man sent away with almost fierce injunctions of silence, and then the man's disobedient and unseasonable publication of his cure, so that Jesus is obliged to keep in the open country for privacy—goes far to shew that cures of this kind actually took place. Naturally we do not know enough about the details to found any medical doctrine on the cures. As Dr. Sanday says: 'We may be sure that if the miracles of the first century had been wrought before trained spectators of the nineteenth, the version of them would be quite different.'¹ I doubt if the evidence suffices for us to go very much beyond this admirably cautious statement. What does appear certain is this, that the final rupture of Jesus with the religious authorities in Galilee arose out of the healing of the man with

¹ *Dictionary of the Bible*, ii 625, art. 'Jesus Christ.'

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the withered hand in the Synagogue on the Sabbath.

This event, according to Mark, was the parting of the ways. The religious leaders decide to get rid of Jesus by the help of the friends of the Herodian government; while Jesus, on the other hand, begins to organise His followers into what was destined to develop into the Christian Church. He no longer preaches in the Synagogues, save once (and that unsuccessfully) in His own home,¹ and for the remainder of His ministry His main efforts are directed towards preparing His disciples for the trials in store for Him and them. For this purpose, and for present safety, Jesus more and more avoids appearing in public, much of the remaining time being spent out of Galilee, away from the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, or else in the open country far from the main routes. Shortly before the breach with the Scribes and Pharisees it had been early spring.² In the following year Jesus determines to go up to Jerusalem for the Passover, though fully aware that it can lead to no earthly victory. While still in the territory of Antipas He remains as much concealed as possible, but in the Roman province of Judæa He resumes public teaching, and enters

¹ Mk vi 1 εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ: the name *Nazareth* is only mentioned by Mark in i 9.

² Mk ii 23.

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Jerusalem openly amid His followers. He does not sleep inside the walls, but at Bethany, where He has friends. The next day after His first entry He comes in to the city and drives out from the Temple courts those whom He finds buying and selling there. The people in general are friendly, and when the priests and elders demand on the following day to know by what right He thus acts, He is able to silence them by raising the question of the authority of John the Baptist.

Various attempts are made on this day to entangle Jesus in some pronouncement which will discredit Him with the people; but they all fail, and the priests and elders decide that they must get Him out of the way as quietly as possible before the Feast begins. This plan is duly accomplished through the treachery of Judas, one of the Twelve apostles of Jesus. On the Thursday evening Jesus had gone in to Jerusalem to eat the Passover; at least that seems to have been what Mark intends, but several considerations derived from the Synoptic narratives themselves (cf. Mk xv 21; Lk xxii 15, 16) conspire to shew that the 'Last Supper' was not the legal Paschal feast, though it may have been regarded by some of the disciples as a more or less irregular equivalent for it. The place for the meal had been previously arranged with some secrecy, but

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afterwards Jesus was discovered with the disciples in a garden and carried off almost without resistance. A hasty trial followed; for a long time Jesus keeps silence, but at last avows Himself to be the Messiah and the Son of the Ineffable God of Israel. This is considered blasphemy, and the next morning the chief priests persuade Pilate, the Roman Governor of Judæa, to let Jesus be crucified. Pilate is at first unwilling, but seeing that it will satisfy the chief priests and their friends, and that no voice is raised for the prisoner, he consents. Before 10 AM on the Friday morning Jesus has been conveyed outside Jerusalem and crucified. His disciples had fled at the moment of the arrest, and His disheartened and disorganised followers made no demonstration even of sympathy. Before the tribunal of Pilate Jesus had practically kept silence, and on the cross His only utterance had been a cry which the Evangelist understood to have been in the words of the most despairing verse of the Psalms.

About 3 PM He expires on the cross in the sight of a few faithful women friends who look on from a distance. Somewhat later a certain Joseph obtained from Pilate permission to bury the corpse, and just before the Jewish Sabbath began, at dusk, it was taken down and laid in a rock-hewn tomb, with the intention of completing

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the burial as soon as the Sabbath was over. But when the women came early on the Sunday morning, they find a young man sitting in the tomb, who announces to them that Jesus had been raised ; that He was not there, but was going to meet the disciples in Galilee. At this point the text, as we have it, breaks off, but we can hardly doubt that it went on to tell how the Lord was seen by the apostles and others in Galilee.

The above outline is not an adequate picture of Jesus Christ, even if we confine ourselves to the Gospel according to Mark. I have not attempted even to indicate the doctrines taught by Him as there related, and I have intentionally passed over miraculous details, as far as it was possible to do so, without altering the framework of the narrative. My aim was not to construct a Life of Christ as it really was, as seen from the inside, but to draw up a plain narrative of the outward career of Jesus the Nazarene, as it might have appeared to a rather unsympathetic observer. That it is possible to do this at all from the details furnished by the Second Gospel is a very strong argument for regarding that Gospel to be a trustworthy historical record. A wholly un-historical myth cannot be rationalised without becoming absurd.

This is perhaps the best point to say a few

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words about the Gospel miracles. Whatever our own judgement may be with regard to what is commonly called the 'supernatural,' it is evident that the occurrences related in the Gospels were not things which impressed the adversaries of Jesus. He gave them no 'sign'; in fact, He refused to give them one when they asked for it. Nay more, occurrences which are certainly narrated as 'miracles' by the Evangelist did not greatly impress even the disciples themselves. That on at least two occasions Jesus and His disciples had found themselves far away in the open country in the presence of large crowds without means of feeding them, and that nevertheless, when they made them sit down as for a meal, there was more than enough and to spare, is attested by the narrative in Mk viii 11-21, a narrative which it is impossible not to regard as derived from genuine historical reminiscence. Yet the same passage shews us that the apostles had not been influenced by the events of these two meals, a circumstance which would be indeed incredible if these events had come to pass in the way generally supposed. What actually happened is of course quite beyond our power to ascertain: we only know that the same document that tells us of the wonderful meals, tells us also of the distress of the apostles when shortly afterwards

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they found that they were running short of provisions.

That the Gospel according to Mark contained the story of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ is surely no reason for questioning its right to rank as an historical document. Here again we cannot reconstruct the details of the history with any confidence, whatever our beliefs may be. The believer is confronted with details that do not harmonise, and the unbeliever has to explain away the triumphant progress of the new sect. There is no doubt that the Church of the apostles believed in the resurrection of their Lord. They may have been mistaken, but "there is satisfactory evidence, that many professing to be original witnesses"—I will not say with Paley, "of the Christian miracles": that claims too much, but certainly that Jesus had been raised from the dead,—“passed their lives in labours, dangers, and sufferings, voluntarily undergone in attestation of the accounts which they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief of those accounts; and that they also submitted, from the same motives, to new rules of conduct.” Let us add, what Paley omitted, the abiding personal influence of Jesus in the memories of the first disciples, and let us concede that like all other men they may have been mistaken: with these

THE RESURRECTION IN MARK

amendments, Paley's famous allegation still stands. Yet no considerations of this kind explain the vitality of the Christian Religion: we do not know why it lived and lives, any more than we know why we ourselves are alive.

To return to the Gospel of Mark, we cannot but be struck by the sobriety of tone in the fragmentary narrative at the end. There is no earthquake, as in Matthew, and no Theophany, as in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter; what is dwelt upon, as compared with other Christian accounts, is the talk of the Women and their dazed emotion on hearing the news. Whatever interpretation we may put on the narrative, it does not read like a myth written in the form of history.

I have attempted to shew you that the Gospel according to Mark presents a reasonably consistent account of the public life of our Lord; and I have tried to indicate to you some general grounds for thinking that its treatment of the miraculous is what might be expected in an historical, as distinct from a mythical, document coming from Christian sources in the first century. But these are in a sense negative tests of historicity; we have done little more than raise a plea that the work is not inconsistent with history. If this Gospel is really to rank as an historical

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work it must be something more; it must reasonably answer some of the main questions which lie at the very root of the Gospel history. These questions are four in number. Two, as I believe, are answered in the Gospel of Mark; a third it answers adequately, but less fully than the other Gospels; the fourth is insoluble.

The first question is, *How does the story of Jesus Christ fit into general history?* If He really lived on this earth, His earthly life must fill a certain place, however small, in the great Pageant of events. What position did He occupy with regard to the politics of His age, to the general course of affairs?

The second question concerns the Christian Church. However unhistorical the life of Jesus may be declared to be by advanced criticism, the Christian Society is a present fact. Before Jesus began to preach it did not exist; after His death on the cross it is found to be actually existing. And so the question arises, *How did the Christian Society come into being?*

The third question is, *What did Jesus Christ teach?* This is the question which is answered more fully by other Gospels, and will be best considered later. But it is obvious that if S. Mark's Gospel provides a satisfactory answer to the first two questions, it will have given enough

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of the teaching of Jesus to vindicate its claim to give an historical picture of Him.

The fourth question, which I have called insoluble, is, *How did Jesus of Nazareth become what He was?* I think the approved modern formula is, 'The Messianic Self-consciousness of Jesus—how was it evolved?' or something of that kind. Well, I do not know, and I do not think it very profitable to inquire. What is certain is that our Gospels are very far from being a sort of psychological novel with Jesus Christ for the Hero. From the moment that He came forth in public, He spoke with authority, and His ascendancy over His disciples was from the first unquestioned. He had been, as we have been, an infant in arms with an unawakened, undeveloped mind; He increased in due course in wisdom and stature, and the story of the Temptation may be taken to describe symbolically and parabolically the mental struggles through which He came into possession of Himself. But it is idle to attempt to trace any inner development after the Ministry has begun. We may, it is true, note a difference between His methods and actions when He first delivers His Message and after He has been rejected by the spokesmen of the official religion of His own countrymen. But all the information we possess

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consists of some of the impressions of His followers; and for them, as for us, He remains a fixed centre of authority. It was the attitude of the Scribes and Pharisees that changed, not the teaching of Jesus Christ.

Yet, though our Lord throughout His public Ministry remains essentially unchanged for us, there is one thing which happened during that period, about which (as I said just now) we may reasonably expect to be informed. The history of our Lord's Ministry is the history of the birth of the Christian Church. When Jesus was baptized by John, the Church did not exist, even in germ. A short time elapses, a time to be measured rather in months than in years, and we find the Church existing as a society in Judaism, and yet distinct from it. This Society was founded by Jesus Christ Himself, for whatever view the historian may take about the Resurrection, it is impossible to believe that the appearances of the Risen Christ could alone have sufficed to knit together the Christian community. The belief that the Lord was risen indeed, raised also the spirits of the followers of the Crucified Prophet and animated their faith; but that any group of followers at all survived the shock of the Crucifixion shews us that the Christian community was already formed.

THE BIRTH OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY

The Church came into being in the period between the Baptism and the Crucifixion, and if the Gospel of Mark be really an historical document, it will give an intelligible account of the beginning of the separate Christian Society.

I believe that the Gospel of Mark gives an intelligible and credible account; and, further, that it is the only one of the Gospels, canonical or uncanonical, which does give an intelligible account of the process by which Jesus Christ broke with the Synagogue, or rather, the process by which the Synagogue—that is, the official embodiment of Jewish religion—broke with Jesus Christ and forced Him to withdraw from their system.

Let us consider a little more closely the story of the earlier Galilean Ministry, as told in Mark. First of all we hear of a period during which our Lord has not yet come to any breach with the ordinary ecclesiastical system. During this period, which may have lasted for some months, Jesus teaches in the Synagogues. His personal friends gather round Him at His call, but they have no special organisation. The religious world of the Galilean Jews, on the other hand, has not yet made up its mind. In the light of history we may very well see it was inevitable that the new wine should burst the old wine-skins; nevertheless, the rent had not yet been

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made. Objections to various unconventional acts of the new Teacher are made from time to time, but some answer is always forthcoming. This state of things could not last. According to S. Mark the crucial dispute broke out over a matter of Sabbath observance, as to whether the healing of the man with a withered hand was lawful or not. As I said just now, the evidence is hardly sufficient for us to found any medical doctrine about the cure, but I think it clear that the general description of the event comes from real historical reminiscence. It is totally unlike what a Christian would have produced, if he had been obliged to rely on his imagination alone. There was evidently a scene of great excitement. Jesus, says S. Mark, looked round upon the Pharisees with anger at their crassness (Mk iii 5); and they on their part quitted the building to concert measures with the 'Herodians,' *i.e.* with what we should now call 'Government circles' or 'the Bureaucracy,' to plan how they might get rid of this impossible personage. Here, in Mark iii 6, as I read the Gospel, we have our Lord's definite breach with official Judaism. He left the Synagogue, never to return again, save once in His own town.¹

¹ The date of the events recorded in Mk iii 5 ff. cannot be accurately determined, but it is reasonable to suppose that it

THE BREACH WITH THE PHARISEES

After Mark iii 6 a new era in the Ministry is opened. From that moment begins the separate existence of the embryo Church. From that moment the aim of Jesus is not the rousing of the multitudes, as it had been hitherto, but the instruction and training of His own disciples. True, a crowd still follows Him on occasions, and sometimes He is willing still to teach. But if He does so it is by way of an exception, because they have come to Him from a distance and He will not send them away without a word.¹

On the present occasion the circumstances were different. It was a time for preparation and organisation, not for an appeal to the crowd; for choosing men and training them, not for precipitating an outbreak. After the scene in the Synagogue, Jesus withdraws to the seashore, but He is followed by an enthusiastic and uninstructed multitude (Mk iii 7-10). He cannot

was shortly after the occasion on which the disciples had plucked the ears of corn on the Sabbath (Mk ii 23 ff). This story, placed as it is somewhere near the shore of the Sea of Galilee, implies a date somewhere in April or May. Lk vi 1 does not tell us any more than the parallel in Mark. The textual evidence makes it certain that the *δεύτερον πρῶτον* of the Byzantine and some Western texts is not genuine, and even if it were accepted it does not seem to correspond to any known Jewish expression. Probably an ancient Western Scribe wrote *ἐν καθάρω βάτῳ* by dittography, and *βάτῳ* was erroneously expanded into *δεύτερο-πρῶτον*.

¹ See Mk vi 31-34, also viii 34. How large is an ὄχλος?

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escape from their importunities, even by remaining in a friend's boat. So He goes away altogether to the hills, and only those whom He summons to Him are allowed to invade His retreat. There He appoints Twelve of them to be with Him, and to undertake what we may call the revival ministry, the announcement in places which had not yet been visited of the coming of the Kingdom of God, and the accompanying summons to repentance. Our Lord's own time henceforth is reserved for other work.

I may pause here for a moment and remind you how differently this whole scene is told in Matthew and Luke. Their information is simply derived from Mark, but the general historical setting is so altered that we could not restore the proportions of the original, if the Gospel of Mark had not itself survived. I am not saying that the First and Third Evangelists may not have been justified from their own point of view in making their alterations. But their narratives can make no claim to set forth the march of events.

Having told us of the appointment of the Twelve, S. Mark goes on to describe how Jesus came down from the hillside to the shore, in order to go over with a few of His disciples to the country opposite (Mk iv 35, 36). On His

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way down He passes through Capernaum (Mk iii 19^b, 20). The place is still agitated by His recent quarrel with the religious world. The Clergy—for so we may call the Scribes—have now definitely made up their mind that He is a magician working by the aid of the prince of the devils, and His own family think Him mad (Mk iii 22 ff, 21, 31 ff). Hastily leaving the town without even having had a meal there, He spends the day on the shore of the Lake (Mk iii 20, iv 1, 35). Those who now form His audience are composed of His own party, both those who are more instructed and those who are less so, together with a multitude of outsiders.

Just at this point comes the Parable of the Sower and the two other Parables that have to do with the early growth of the Kingdom of God. It seems to me that they are extraordinarily appropriate in the setting given them by S. Mark. As a matter of fact the seed had been sown, the first harvest of disciples had just been reaped. The preaching of Jesus had gone on in Galilee for some months at least, and now, although much of what had been said had fallen on deaf or forgetful ears, yet a body of disciples had been formed, some of whom were ready to go wherever their Master led. The first season was over, and

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now a new sowing was about to begin. The Kingdom of God had really been inaugurated on earth (Mk iii 26, cf. Matt xii 28), and it was time that those who were to inherit the Kingdom should be conscious of their position, even though as yet the Mustard Plant, with which Jesus compared it, was in no sense a 'tree,' but only a tiny shoot, just visible above the ground.

Moreover, the position of these Parables, placed immediately after the breach with the Synagogue and the appointment of the Twelve, explains the language used when the Parable of the Sower is interpreted. Naturally we are not bound to hold that the Parable of the Sower (Mk iv 2-9), the explanation (*vv.* 10-20), and the other Parables (*vv.* 21-25, 26-32), all follow one another in strict chronological sequence. We learn, in any case, that the explanation of the Parable of the Sower, which in the Gospel immediately follows the Parable itself, was not given till Jesus and His more intimate companions were alone (*v.* 10).

It was when they were alone, according to S. Mark, that they that were about Him with the Twelve asked of Him the Parables. He said unto them: 'To you has been given the secret of the Kingdom of God: but to the outsiders it must all come in a Parable, that, as Isaiah said, they may see, and yet not see' (Mk iv 10-12).

THE PARABLE OF THE SOWER

These words are an old difficulty. Readers of *Encyclopædia Biblica* will perhaps remember that Prof. Schmiedel, in his elaborate article on the Gospels (col. 1866), tells us that they are 'impossible in the mouth of Jesus,' and that it is 'utterly futile' to make out a connexion in the words as given by S. Mark. 'What pleasure,' says Prof. Schmiedel, 'could he have had in his teaching if he had to believe his God-given task to be that of hiding from the people the truths of salvation?' And so we are told that Mark iv rests upon a composite source A + B α + B β + C, not to mention the subsidiary interpolator who inserted the Parable of the Leaven (col. 1867), who seems to have been later than the canonical Mark! It is all very complicated. I confess that I find these elaborate exercises in mosaic work somewhat lacking in verisimilitude.

Let us try for a moment to represent the scene to ourselves as it is told in S. Mark's Gospel, not from our own point of view, as we look back on the origins of Christianity from the vantage-ground of history, but from the point of view of the audience. I venture to think that there was some reason why these Parables were misunderstood by many of those that first heard them. I think that what they found most strange and difficult was not the parabolic form in which Jesus

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was speaking to them. The difficulty lay in the doctrine itself, the doctrine of the growth of the Kingdom of God.

All through the first century AD the religious part of the Jewish nation expected that the Kingdom of God was suddenly about to appear.¹ The belief is attested by the many Jewish Apocalypses which then were written, some of which survive to our own day. They are now subjects of study for learned men, but when they first were circulated they expressed the hopes and aspirations of the multitudes. At the same time there sprang up a series of leaders who announced themselves as heralds of the new age, men like that Theudas of whom we read in the Acts. Our Lord must have seemed like one of these. He had preached for some time that the Kingdom of God was at hand, and now He had taken a decisive step. He had come to a definite breach with those in authority, and now those who had been attracted by His personality and believed Him to be a teacher sent by the God of Israel, might expect a sign of the approaching catastrophe, or at the very least an assurance that the end was speedily coming. What they heard was very different. They heard that the Kingdom of God was something which could be compared to

¹ Cf. Luke xix 11.

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the growth of a plant, that it was like a man sowing his seed, which then grew from stage to stage naturally and silently, until at last the harvest was ripe.

We Christians of the twentieth century have no difficulty in understanding that our Lord's Kingdom was not of this world. We see perfectly well that the development of the Christian character and of the Christian temper among the disciples was the one thing needful to secure the permanence of the Christian Society. That this work could only be inaugurated by the long and intimate intercourse of our Lord Himself with His immediate disciples we now know, seeing that at the time of the Passion they were hardly ready for the terrible strain on their faith. But all this was not obvious in Galilee. Jesus alone was not carried away by the decisive step He Himself had taken ; He alone knew that a period of gradual growth was necessary, before His disciples, even those who were most attached and devoted to Him, would be strong enough to count the cost intelligently and follow Him to the end.

Thus we come back to Mark iv 11-13. I cannot see that these verses, when considered in the historical situation, are either inconsistent with themselves or betray the use of two distinct sources by the Evangelist. 'To you the secret

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of the Kingdom of God has been given : but to the outsiders it must all come in a Parable, that, as Isaiah said, they may see, and yet not see,'—these words mark the separation that had just been made. A few days earlier they would have been inappropriate ; but if Jesus be now outside the old Synagogue, the people of the Synagogue are equally outside the new Church. Those whom Jesus had called to Him (Mk iii 13) were inside, the rest were outside. The good Tidings of the Kingdom had been announced to all Capernaum and the country round ; those who had not responded had heard indeed, but not understood. To His disciples He will give further explanations, as much as may be needed, but if those outside misunderstand His teaching, He has other work than to go out of His way to answer their cavils. We never read that Jesus refused to explain His words to anyone who came and asked Him, even in the case of 'outsiders' ;¹ but for the future He had other work to do than rousing the indifferent or restating His Message to those who were hostile.

What follows in Mark iv 13 is equally appropriate to the situation. Jesus asks His own disciples, not without a touch of impatience, 'Know ye not this Parable? How, then, will ye

¹ See, for instance, Lk x 29, 37.

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know any Parables?' The Parables of growth ought to have been plain at least to some of His intimate friends. But as yet the nature of the new Kingdom was not clear to any of them. They differed from 'those without' in their willingness to be taught, but they were not yet 'Scribes instructed in the Kingdom of Heaven.' A few months later we find the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth so established in their allegiance that the shock of the Crucifixion of their Master leaves a nucleus of Christians undispersed. We can hardly believe that this could have been the case had our Lord not devoted the greater part of the interval to the special training of His immediate followers. During the greater part of the year before the last Passover our Lord lives a wandering life, in exile from Galilee or in concealment, and His chief work is no longer that of the Revivalist, but of the *Pastor pastorum*.

We are now in a position to go on and consider what answer the Gospel according to S. Mark gives to the first of the questions which I formulated above, the question, *How does the story of Jesus Christ fit into general history?* However obscure the outward life of Jesus of Nazareth may have been, however little the rulers of His country may have concerned themselves with

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Him, yet His life must have stood in some relation to the political events of His age. Besides, the whole Gospel narrative is full of the crowd, of the multitudes, believing or unbelieving. Our Lord was no recluse by profession. John the Baptist lived in the deserts away from the haunts of men, yet even he came into collision with the civil power, and ended his life in prison. If, therefore, our Gospels be historical, they should give an intelligible account of our Lord's relations with the civil power; in other words, with the government of Herod Antipas, the Tetrarch of Galilee.

We have just seen that the first period of our Lord's Ministry ended in a definite breach with the Pharisees, that is, with the regular religious and patriotic party among the Jews of Galilee. Their first step, according to Mark, was to concert measures with the 'Herodians,' that is, as I have said above, with persons connected in one way or another with the government administration. Now let us for a few minutes try to forget the religious interest of the Gospel history and fix our eyes only on externals.

It must not be supposed that our Lord and His disciples were in immediate danger because some of the Pharisaic party had approached these 'Herodians.' They had, in fact, done little more

HEROD AND JESUS

than complain to the police, if we may venture to find modern terms for the Gospel phrase. It could not be supposed that Jesus was as yet actively 'dangerous,' and the crowds were more or less on His side. But presently we learn that Herod hears the name of Jesus. There are various reports about the new Teacher at the Court, but Herod is sure that it will be John the Baptist over again (Mk vi 14 ff). Meanwhile, what is Jesus doing? He had crossed the Lake away from Capernaum, but had soon to leave the country (Mk v 17). On His return He had visited His own home, but that also ended in failure (Mk vi 3 ff). The next we hear of Jesus is that He takes apart His more intimate disciples, the Apostles, that He and they may have a short rest (Mk vi 30 ff). Crowds from various quarters follow, and the holiday is interrupted: for our present purpose the important point to notice is, that after these folk have been provided with a meal and sent away, the disciples' boat starts for Bethsaida. It is true that they do not get there, for at the end of the voyage they find themselves, owing to a contrary wind, back in the plain of Gennesaret on the West side of the Lake (Mk vi 45, 48, 53). But Bethsaida, a town and district at the North end of the Lake, had been the intended port. Its importance for us is political. It is

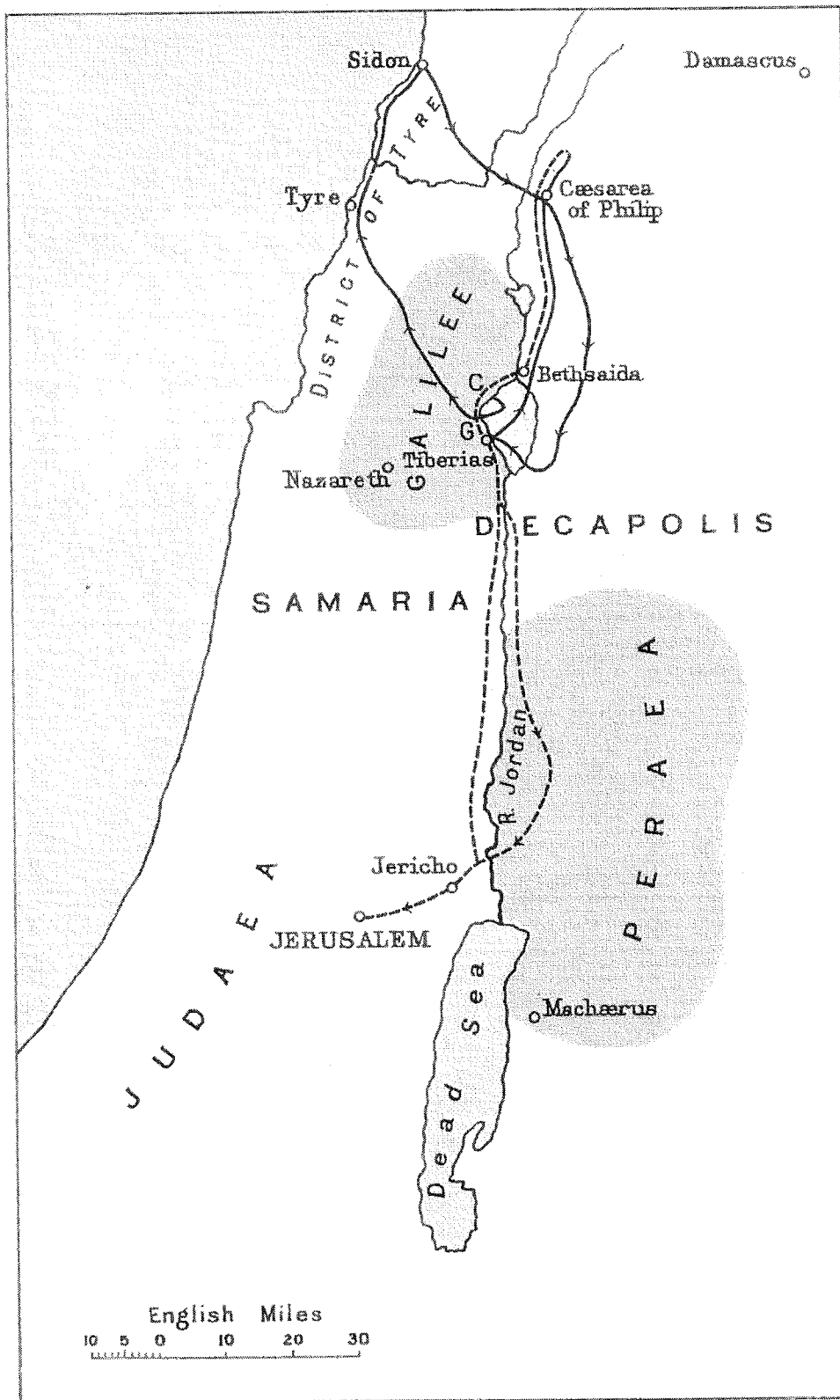
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outside Galilee, in the Tetrarchy of Philip; the aim of the voyage had evidently been to quit Galilee proper, the Tetrarchy of Antipas.

The return of Jesus and His disciples to Gennesaret produces the familiar scenes. Immediately there are crowds of sick folk and their friends, followed by a controversy with Pharisees and Scribes, some of whom had come from Jerusalem. It was just this that the voyage had been originally undertaken to avoid, and so in the next scene Jesus has gone right away from Galilee towards the Tyrian districts by the Mediterranean coast. Here He is safe and in quiet among a non-Jewish heathen population. From the Tyrian country He goes to the Decapolis, *i.e.* to the predominantly non-Jewish region East and South-East of the Sea of Galilee, making a circuit to the North instead of retracing His steps through Galilee itself.¹

This journey from Gennesaret to the Tyrian country, and from the Tyrian country by way of

¹ If we follow the text of Mark, Jesus went round by way of Sidon. He would therefore cross the Litani and the Hasbani by the existing route, and proceed by way of Caesarea Philippi to the country East of the Sea of Galilee. Wellhausen (*Ev. Marci*, p. 60) conjectures that *διὰ Σιδῶνος* in Mk vii 31 is a mistake of the Evangelist for Bethsaida, the two names being easily confused in Aramaic. But the object of the long journey was obviously to pass well to the North of the Galilean portion of the Tetrarchy of Antipas, and this very likely involved crossing the Litani river.



C. = Probable Site of Capernaum.

G. = Plain of Gennesaret

The Tetrarchy of Herod Antipas, Coloured Pink.

W & A K. Johnston, Ltd.

JESUS IN EXILE

the Decapolis to the S.E. shore of the Galilean Lake, does not take long to tell, but it seems to have occupied many months of the short period of our Lord's public Ministry. The grass was still green when the Five Thousand were fed,¹ but now we have arrived almost at the time of S. Peter's confession and the start for Jerusalem to keep the last Passover. The journey must have taken about eight months, say from June to January inclusive, and all this time Jesus had been an exile from Galilee, outside the dominions of Herod Antipas.

Need for rest and quiet is hardly enough to explain this long retirement. Why does Jesus, to use the words of a famous opponent of Christianity, the heathen Celsus, 'run off with his disciples hither and thither'?² The itinerary which the Gospel of Mark gives us, meagre as it is, makes the answer quite clear. The parts that are avoided are the dominions of Antipas. The wanderings begin immediately after the fame of Jesus comes to Antipas's ears (Mk vi 14 ff, 31). Jesus was no longer favoured by the Clergy, He was an object of suspicion at the Court, and, like David and Elijah in the old days, He was forced to leave

¹ Mk vi 39.

² Μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν τῇδε κακέειρε ἀποδιδράσκεις (Origen, *Philocalia*, p. 107 = *Contra Celsum*, I, 380).

THE GOSPEL HISTORY

the country. We are still, let me repeat, concerning ourselves with the mere externals of the Gospel history, and we need not now pause to consider what effect these long journeys in the company of Jesus, through lands mostly heathen or uncultivated, may have had upon the faithful few who remained with Him. Let us turn rather to the effect our Lord's absence must have had upon others. The effect must have been to alienate the lukewarm adherents and to encourage the actually hostile. He was evidently not 'dangerous'—so His opponents said, no doubt.

With the aid of this key to the general history, the key, namely, that it was not safe for Jesus to remain in Galilee, because His enemies had aroused the suspicions of Herod, let us go on with the itinerary. After the feeding of the Four Thousand, S. Mark tells us that He went by boat with His disciples to 'the parts of Dalmanutha' (Mk viii 10). The parts of Dalmanutha are not yet properly identified; there seems to be some error in the transmitted form of the proper name, which is at least as old as the Gospel of Matthew, where the place is called Magedan. Dr. Cheyne suggests a suburb of Tiberias called Magdalnunaya: possibly it is a corruption of Amathus, mentioned by Josephus.¹

¹ See *Ency. Bibl.* 1635.

THE LEAVEN OF HEROD

Anyhow, we shall not be far wrong in looking for some place on the West side of the Lake, *i.e.* in Galilee. Wherever it was, there were Pharisees there, who come out at once demanding a sign from heaven. The sign, as you will remember, is not given, and our Lord and His companions embark at once for Bethsaida (Mk viii 13, 22). It is all done so hastily that they forget to provision the boat; I cannot doubt that it was, in fact, a hurried flight. And from whom should it be a flight, but from Herodian officials? That is why Jesus warns the disciples, as they sail away, to beware of the influence of Herod as well as of the Pharisees. Why otherwise should Herod have been brought in? Is it not probable that the Pharisees had told Jesus to go at once, because Herod would fain kill him? It seems to me that the story given in Lk xiii 31-33, where our Lord says that it does not befit a prophet to perish outside Jerusalem, belongs to the occasion of the interrupted landing at the place called 'Dalmanutha.'

From Bethsaida they go to the non-Jewish district of Cæsarea Philippi in the Tetrarchy of Philip (Mk viii 27 ff).

And now the time comes for Jesus to start on His final journey to Jerusalem to keep the Passover. He does indeed go through Galilee,

THE GOSPEL HISTORY

but His movements are kept secret, even when He passes for the last time through Capernaum (Mk ix 30, 31, 33). The little company follow the road by the lake and ultimately reach the frontier of Judæa (Mk x 1).¹ Jesus is once more

¹The route followed by our Lord between Capernaum and Jericho cannot be fully made out. The one thing really certain is that He remained as much concealed as possible during the first part of the journey through Galilee (Mk ix 30), and that He did not resume teaching in public until He 'came to the borders of Judæa' (Mk x 1), *i.e.* as the sequel shews, not very far from Jericho in the Jordan Valley. But there is something odd about the geographical situation implied in Mk x 1 and the parallel verse Matt xix 1. According to the true text of Mark, which is also that of Matthew, Jesus comes 'to the borders of Judæa beyond Jordan' (*εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*—so D 1 & c 13 & c 28 565 latt syrr). This is generally interpreted to mean, 'He came into Judæa by crossing the Jordan,' *i.e.* that He followed a usual pilgrim route to Jerusalem, in which a passage through Samaria was avoided by crossing over into Peræa, and then crossing back again. This route, indeed, is definitely assumed by the later Greek MSS, which prefix *διὰ τοῦ* to *πέραν*. But *διὰ τοῦ* is not found in any ancient version, and cannot be genuine. The Vatican MS and its usual allies prefix *καί* to *πέραν*. This cannot imply that what follows in the next few paragraphs happens in Peræa, for, in that case, what would be meant by 'coming to the borders of Judæa'? As a matter of fact, the Jordan divided Judæa from Peræa. The odd thing, therefore, about the statement in Mark is that it seems to put our Lord on the Judæan side of the Jordan, while the narrator views the scene, so to speak, from the Peræan side.

It must be remembered that the sentence we are considering occurs in a portion of Mark which has the highest claims to be considered actual history, to be based ultimately on the reminiscences of S. Peter. It is therefore to the point if we here take into account general historical probabilities. We are told that our Lord kept His progress through Galilee as secret as possible, and it is practically certain that the immediate reason for this secrecy was to avoid collision with the Herodian officials. Now, if this were the real situation, to take a journey through Peræa, which

THE JOURNEY TO JUDÆA

safe outside the territory of Antipas, and—I quote the very words of Mark—‘multitudes come together unto Him again; and, as He was wont,

was a portion of Herod's Tetrarchy, seems like incurring a needless risk: the obvious thing to do was to go by the Samaritan route. At the same time, if many friends and adherents were going the usual way by Peræa, it might very well be arranged that the meeting should take place, not at Jerusalem, but at the point where the pilgrim-route from Peræa crossed the Jordan to enter Judæa.

This is the scheme which underlies the story of the journey as given by S. Luke, and I cannot help wondering whether after all it may not be the true account. That S. Luke has inserted a quantity of extraneous matter into his story which belongs to other times and places can hardly be doubted: this is certainly the case with the sayings about Beelzebul (Lk xi 15 ff), and it is hardly likely that Jesus would be taking a meal with Pharisees (xi 37, xiv 1), or that myriads of the people would be gathered together (xii 1), in the midst of the Samaritan country. But it is quite possible that the Samaritan journey itself was found by S. Luke in a previously existing source; at least the story of the Samaritan village that would not receive our Lord because His face was set to go to Jerusalem sounds historical enough (ix 51-56). And it is noteworthy that in this story Peter does not appear, only James and John. I venture to suggest that the historical reason for this was that Peter and most of the other disciples went round by Peræa, that when they arrived at the passage of the river they found Jesus waiting for them in ‘the borders of Judæa beyond Jordan,’ *i.e.* on the W. side, and finally that one reason why nothing is said about the events of the previous journey is that our Lord and S. Peter had travelled to the spot from Capernaum by different routes and not together.

The net result of this conjecture—for it is little more—is to harmonise the accounts in Mark and Luke. It is therefore well to point out that we are not doing violence to Mark in order to fit it into the scheme of Luke; on the contrary, the considerations which suggest that our Lord's route from Capernaum to Jericho never actually crossed the Jordan are derived from the curious wording of Mk x 1 and from general historical probabilities.

THE GOSPEL HISTORY

He taught them again.' From this point the narrative becomes once more full of incident, until in due course Jesus enters Jerusalem, not in secret but amid the acclamations of Galilean followers.

When Jesus has reached the neutral ground of Judæa and begun again to teach in public, what is the subject which is discussed? The subject is Divorce. Some persons—in adapting the story Matthew calls them Pharisees—were asking Him whether a man may put away his wife. It was a test question, and we see from what Jesus said afterwards in private to the disciples that it was well understood by Him to be a test question. From his own point of view Herod had been perfectly right. Our Lord's Ministry was in a sense John the Baptist's over again. It began when John was thrown by Herod into prison, and the first watchword of the new Prophet had been a call to repentance, like John's. From Herod's point of view, no doubt, the movement represented another recrudescence of popular religious bigotry, which was easily offended at the fashionable Roman habits of the Herodian family. John the Baptist had lost his life in protesting against the pagan morals of Antipas and Herodias; Jesus in the eyes of many was first and foremost the successor

HERODIAS

of the Baptist. For months He had been in hiding; now he was again upon the scene, and the question about Divorce could not fail to draw from Him a decisive pronouncement.

I do not think the answer was what His questioners desired. Here as elsewhere our Lord had as little taste for the leaven of the Pharisees as for the leaven of Herod. If they had expected Him to rail at Antipas now that He was safe in Judæa, they were disappointed. To Him the general relations of man and wife mattered more than the amours of this or that half-heathen princelet, and—what must have surprised and shocked His interlocutors—mattered more than the very words of this or that text out of the Pentateuch. His answer offered no palliation for Antipas and Herodias, but His emphatic insistence on the sanctity of marriage is based on the natural constitution of man as opposed to the regulations in the Mosaic Law.

Had this been all the story we should hardly have been justified in assuming any reference at this point to the Herods, but what follows makes it, I venture to think, clear. The disciples, we are told, ask Jesus in private the meaning of what He had said, and He

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replied: "The woman that leaves her husband and becomes the wife of another commits adultery, and the man that leaves his wife and takes another commits adultery" (Mk x 11, 12). There are certain variations of order and wording in the transmitted text of these words, but all MSS and versions agree in the main point, which is, that the woman that deserts her husband to marry someone else is blamed as well as the man who divorces his wife.¹

This condemnation of the woman is not found in Matthew and Luke, and it is pretty generally assumed to be a secondary addition, 'based on Roman Law,' says Dr. Schmiedel in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1851. I venture to think such a view mistaken, and that so far from being a secondary addition it is one of the really primitive features of the Gospel of Mark, a feature which was dropped out or altered when its historical meaning had been forgotten. It was no doubt monstrous to imagine that a Jewess should desert her husband to marry another man, but it was

¹ The offending woman is blamed first, according to the Old Syriac version and the valuable Greek minuscule known as Codex 1, and this is probably the true order. There are also variations in the terms used for the *desertion* of the husband by the wife and for her subsequent *marriage*, no doubt caused by the fact that a woman could neither 'divorce' nor 'marry': she might 'be divorced' or 'be married.'

HERODIAS

not quite unheard of. We know the woman and her history. Herodias had left her husband—the man whom Mark calls ‘Philip,’ but Josephus only knew as ‘Herod’—in order to live with Antipas. Antipas also was guilty: he had put away the daughter of the Arabian king Aretas to marry Herodias his half-brother’s wife, she herself being his half-niece.

We need scarcely pause to inquire whether Herodias merely deserted her first husband, or whether, like her great-aunt Salome,¹ she availed herself of the methods of Roman procedure and divorced him. Our Lord’s previous words shew that He did not regard an immoral act as being any the less immoral for being carried out according to law: in either case I venture to think the saying as reported in Mark clearly implies a reference to Herodias, a reference which is singularly appropriate in the time and place.

Thus the Gospel according to Mark does give an intelligible answer to our question, as to how the story of Jesus Christ fits into the general history of Palestine. The details furnished by the Gospel explain the silence of profane historians. John the Baptist had openly with-

¹ Josephus, *Ant.* xv 710.

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stood Herod, and had perished in consequence. Jesus came, indeed, as the successor of John; but as soon as His activity reached the ears of Herod and aroused his suspicions, Jesus gave up teaching in public and left the country. By doing this, He was working for the future, but He lost His hold on the present. He lost His hold on the Galilean crowds; but we have seen in the earlier part of this Lecture that He had already given up the task of rousing the people, and had begun to confine Himself to the more thorough instruction of His own followers, before the hostility of Herod was fairly awakened.

What the doctrine of Jesus Christ was we have yet to consider. At present we have been dealing almost entirely with the external framework in which His life is set. But I venture to think that what I have put before you goes far to vindicate the claim of the Gospel according to S. Mark to be a historical document, a document really in touch with the facts of history. In S. Mark we are, I believe, appreciably nearer to the actual scenes of our Lord's life, to the course of events, than in any other document which tells us of Him, and therefore if we want to begin at the beginning and reconstruct the Portrait of Christ for ourselves we must start from the

FACT AND INTERPRETATION

Gospel of Mark. The other Gospels, even the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke, give us an interpretation of Jesus Christ's life. An interpretation may be helpful, illuminating, even inspired, but it remains an interpretation. The thing that actually occurred was the life which Jesus Christ lived, and our chief authority for the facts of that life is the Gospel according to Mark.

We must be prepared resolutely to hold fast by the result we have attained. Ideas may develop, interpretations may become more noble and more profound, but the facts of ancient history do not develop. They remain the same. We must resist the temptation to try and fit into the historical framework supplied by Mark all the tales and the sayings of Christ that we find in the other Gospels. We must beware of regarding as additions to the sacred Biography things that are in reality interpretations of it. Not that there is nothing which may legitimately be done by the harmonist; I have ventured to put before you an instance just now, by combining Lk xiii 31 ff with Mk viii 11 ff. But such interpretations must always be made with the utmost caution. If the narrative of Mark has a historical background, and in its main outlines and arrangement fits without violence into the framework of secular circumstances and events, we are

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not at liberty seriously to disturb the proportions of this narrative and to change its general character, in order to interpolate into it stories derived from a wholly different view of the Ministry.

IV.

THE COMPOSITION AND LITERARY CHARACTER OF THE GOSPELS OF LUKE AND MATTHEW.

Date and Authorship of 'Luke' and 'Acts.'

THE Third Gospel is not a book complete in itself. It is only the first portion of a larger historical work, which was apparently designed to be executed in three volumes. The third volume is not extant; in fact, there is very little reason to suppose that it was ever actually written, but the absence of an adequate peroration at the end of the Acts of the Apostles (which forms the second volume of the series), shews us that a further instalment must have been contemplated. The date of 'Luke' and 'Acts' can be determined within narrow limits, if the arguments used below are sound. On the one hand, both the Gospel and the Acts contain details drawn directly from the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus, a work published in 93 or 94 AD; on

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the other hand, the literary evidence indicates that the author of the Gospel and of the Acts is none other than that companion of S. Paul, whose travelling diaries are largely quoted in the latter portion of the work. The Gospel and the Acts may therefore be assigned to the decade 95-105: we shall not be far wrong if we say in round numbers about 100 AD.

The evidence which convicts the Third Evangelist of having used the *Antiquities*, not always with complete accuracy, is very well brought together by Prof. P. W. Schmiedel in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, articles 'Theudas' and 'Lysanias.' In Josephus, *Ant.* xx 5, we read:

"While Fadus was procurator of Judæa, a certain charlatan, Theudas by name, persuaded a very great number of people to take their effects with them and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them that he was a prophet, and said he would at the word of command divide the river and give them an easy passage through it; and by these words he deluded many. Fadus, however, did not permit them to gain aught by their folly, but sent a squadron of cavalry against them, which, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them and took many alive. Taking Theudas also alive, they cut off his head and carried it to Jerusalem."

This would be between 44 and 46 AD.

Josephus then goes on to say that the procurator Alexander of Judæa (about 46-48 AD) put to death some of the sons of Judas the Galilean, a personage who had incited the Jews not to pay

LUKE AND JOSEPHUS

their taxes in the time of Quirinius, about AD 6 (*Ant.* xx 5₂).

Now in Acts v 34 ff a speech is put into the mouth of Gamaliel in which these two men, Theudas and Judas the Galilean, are mentioned one after the other as agitators who had come to grief after making a great stir for a short time.

"For before these days rose up Theudas, giving himself out to be somebody; to whom a number of men, about 400, joined themselves: who was slain; and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed and came to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment, and drew away some of the people after him: he also perished; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad."

Here, if anywhere in the Acts, the details of the speech must be due to the author, for all the Christians had been put outside. There are strong reasons for believing that the passage in *Ant.* xx 5_{1,2} supplied the material for Gamaliel's speech. The verbal resemblance between the two passages is considerable; so much so, that Eusebius quotes *Ant.* xx 5₁ in his Ecclesiastical History as a confirmation of the narrative in Acts.

The account in Josephus is consistent, and his information about these agitators, for aught we know to the contrary, is accurate. The passage in Acts, on the other hand, occurs in a speech where it is probable that the narrator is freely setting down such details as seemed appropriate;

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it is chronologically faulty, for Gamaliel was speaking before 34 AD, before the rebellion of Theudas took place, and yet this rebellion is mentioned as if it preceded the times of the Census of Quirinius and the birth of Jesus. When therefore we find a passage where Theudas and Judas are spoken of, one after the other and in reverse chronological order, occurring in a standard history, it is natural to conjecture that this passage was in the mind of the author of the book of Acts. That the author of the book of Acts should have been careless in his choice of suitable historical instances to put into the mouth of Gamaliel is not very surprising, and surely quite excusable: the important point is not his inaccuracy, but his acquaintance with the *Antiquities* of Josephus. If he had read the *Antiquities*, and I cannot help drawing this inference, we must date the composition of the book of Acts later than 94 AD.

It should be remarked that if we admit the literary connexion between the Acts and the *Antiquities* we cannot arrive at an earlier date for Acts by postulating a common source for Luke and Josephus. The problem is not to explain how the author of Acts should have heard of Judas of Galilee and of Theudas, but why he should mention them together in the wrong order.

LUKE AND JOSEPHUS

Almost equally cogent is the evidence about Lysanias of Abilene. The story of the public ministry of John the Baptist starts off in the Third Gospel with a very elaborately given date: "in the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judaea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis, and *Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene*, in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the word of God came to John" (Lk iii 1, 2). The 15th year of Tiberius is 29 AD, unless the Evangelist is reckoning by the system of Nerva, which would give 28 AD.

But Lysanias was not at that time Tetrarch of Abila: he had been, according to Strabo (xvi 2₁₀, p. 753), lord of the hill country of the Ituraeans, and he was executed by Mark Antony in BC 36. Nevertheless the territory that he had ruled over continued to bear his name. Josephus (*BJ* ii 115, §215) speaks of 'the so-called Kingdom of Lysanias,' and in *Ant.* xx 7, §138) he says that in 53 AD Agrippa II received the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanaea together with Trachonitis and Abila, adding that this last had formerly been the tetrarchy of Lysanias (*Λυσανίου δ' αὐτῇ ἐγεγόνει τετραρχία*).¹ Can we doubt that the Third

¹ Cf. *Ant.* xix §5, 275, 'Ἀβίλαν τὴν Λυσανίου.

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Evangelist was writing with this passage of Josephus in his mind? Josephus tells us that after 53 AD Philip's Tetrarchy and Trachonitis, together with Abila that had been the Tetrarchy of Lysanias, belonged to Agrippa II: the natural inference might well be that before 53, and therefore in the time of Tiberius, Philip's Tetrarchy belonged to Philip and Lysanias's Tetrarchy—to Lysanias.¹ We need to explain why Lk iii 1 mentions Abilene at all, and further why the writer when mentioning it should fall into a gross chronological error: the way that Josephus mentions Abila and Lysanias explains both difficulties on the hypothesis that the Evangelist derived his information from a somewhat careless perusal of the Twentieth Book of the *Antiquities*.

We now come to the evidence which tends to shew that the whole of Luke and Acts is the work of one author, including the travelling diaries in which the writer speaks in the first person plural (Ac xvi 10-17, xx 5-15, xxi 1-18, xxvii 1-xxviii 16). That these diaries are the genuine records of a fellow-traveller of S. Paul cannot well be doubted. If they were not so,

¹ Most of these regions had previously been made over to Agrippa I in AD 34 (*Ant.* xviii 6₁₀₁, §237), but in telling us this Josephus makes no mention of Abila in naming the 'tetrarchy of Lysanias.'

THE TRAVEL-DIARY AND THE GOSPEL

they would be an incredible miracle of deceptive art, and one adapted not so much to attract the early Christians as to take in modern historical and archæological scholars: among a large number of other details may be mentioned the correct geographical information in Ac xx, xxi, and the designation of the Maltese noble as a *πρῶτος*, i.e. *Primus* of the island, a title confirmed by an inscription.

Accepting then the 'We-sections' of Acts as genuine excerpts from the travelling diary of a companion of S. Paul, the question arises whether the author of the diary is identical with the author of the Acts. Now in Sir John Hawkins's *Horæ Synopticae*, pp. 148 ff. (2nd ed., pp. 182-189), the reader will find a number of carefully drawn up tables of Greek words and phrases characteristic of the 'We-sections,' of the rest of Acts, and of the Third Gospel. It would be absurd to attempt to reproduce Sir John Hawkins's work here, because the strength of the argument consists in the number of instances of agreement and the absence of serious instances of disagreement. What is really remarkable is that so much agreement with the rest of the Lucan writings can be noted in the 'We-sections,' which amount in all to only 97 verses, nearly half of which is occupied with the account of a shipwreck.

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As a mere illustration, not as a substantive proof, let us take the only voyage described in the Third Gospel, that of Lk viii 22-25. This is a little narrative of 94 words, the substance of which (with most of the wording) is taken direct from Mk iv 35-41. The only other source from whence the wording of 'Luke' is here derived is the literary instinct of the evangelist. The parallel in Matt viii 18, 23-27, also founded on Mark, will serve to indicate what points might seem to invite alteration. What, therefore, is peculiar to the Third Gospel will give us the individual style of the compiler of that Gospel. Several points illustrate the question before us. At the start (v. 22) *καὶ ἀνέχθησαν* is inserted, *ἀνάγεσθαι* in the sense of launching forth into deep water being frequently used in the 'We-sections' and twice again in the other parts of Acts, but not in the rest of the N.T. In v. 23 we find the word *πλεῖν* 'to sail, travel by water,' which is not used in Matthew and Mark, but comes four times in the 'We-sections.' Again, in v. 23 the English versions find it necessary to supply the words 'with water,' where it says that 'they' (*i.e.* the boat) 'were filling.' The mention of *κύματα* 'waves' is curiously avoided. This is paralleled by Ac xxvii 41, where according to the true text (N* AB arm) we read that the stern

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of S. Paul's ship was dashed to pieces 'by the violence,' *i.e.* by the violence of the waves, as later MSS put it and as the English Bible understands it. But the writer, perhaps from familiarity with nautical Greek, does not bring in the waves by name.

Thus in this short narrative we find three parallels of language between the peculiarities of the story in Luke and the style of the writer of the 'We-sections.' The only link between either of the other two accounts and the 'We-sections' is the fact that S. Mark finds occasion to mention the stern (*πρύμνα*), a part of the ship which is mentioned in Acts xxvii 41, but obviously this is a mere coincidence.

While we are considering this passage it may be worth while to point out that the other deviations of Lk viii 22-25 from Mark which do not happen to find a parallel in the short compass of the 'We-sections' are nevertheless thoroughly characteristic of the Lucan writings. Here, as elsewhere in Luke, the Sea of Galilee is carefully called a *Lake* (*λίμνη*) and not a *Sea* (*θάλασσα*); and the word for 'being in jeopardy' (*κινδυνεύειν*) occurs twice in Ac xix, otherwise only once in S. Paul and never elsewhere in the N.T. The agitated cry of the disciples 'Master, master, we perish' is also characteristically Lucan. The regular

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title *Διδάσκαλε*, i.e. 'Teacher,' corresponding to the Hebrew title *Rabbi*, is used in all the Gospels for the title by which our Lord is addressed. But in Luke the *disciples* do not call Him *Διδάσκαλε* or *Rabbi*; they call Him either *Κύριε* ('Lord'), or as here *Ἐπιστάτα* ('Master'). In Luke *Διδάσκαλε* is the title given to Jesus by strangers or by half-declared adversaries.¹ The change of Mark's *Διδάσκαλε* in Luke viii 24 into *Ἐπιστάτα* is therefore thoroughly in keeping. The doubling of the vocative is also a Lucan characteristic. No writer of the Old or New Testament so often gives sayings with this doubling. Besides 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' (which Lk xiii 34 shares with Matt xxiii 37), we have 'Martha, Martha' (Lk x 41), 'Simon, Simon' (Lk xxii 31), and 'Saul, Saul,' in all three places where S. Paul's conversion is narrated in Acts (ix 4, xxii 7, xxvi 14). I do not suggest that the compiler of the Third Gospel invented the doubling in all these places; in Lk xiii 34 it must certainly have stood in the source which he was transcribing. But these many examples shew that he appreciated the force of a double vocative, so that we need not be surprised to find a doubled vocative in Lk viii 24, in a

¹ In Lk xxi 7 the use of *Διδάσκαλε* is an indication that the whole of the chapter is in this Evangelist's view spoken to the people generally.

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sentence which shews other marks of having been remodelled in language by the evangelist.

These remarks may serve to illustrate the literary unity of the Lucan writings. To come back to the main issue, I think that we may venture to endorse the verdict of Sir John Hawkins, based as it is on a very full induction, that "there is an immense balance of internal and linguistic evidence in favour of the view that the original writer of these sections [that is, the 'We-sections'] was the same person as the main author of the Acts and of the Third Gospel, and, consequently, that the date of these books lies within the lifetime of a companion of S. Paul" (*Hawkins*, p. 154; 2nd ed., p. 188). Nevertheless, in view of the great historical importance of this conclusion, it may be well to consider what other view consistently with the evidence it is possible to take. It may be said that we have only proved that the 'We-sections' are taken from a real diary, the work of a companion of S. Paul on his travels; and also that the Third Evangelist edited and partly rewrote this diary for his book of Acts, just as he edited and partly rewrote Mark's narrative when he incorporated it in his own Gospel. The sections taken from Mark are full of 'Lucan' characteristics as they appear in the present Gospel of Luke, but these 'Lucan'

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characteristics are due to the Third Evangelist, not to Mark the original author of these sections. May it not be that the 'Lucan' characteristics of the 'We-sections' are due not to the original diarist, but to the editor, *i.e.* the Third Evangelist himself?

A complete and satisfactory answer to this objection can hardly be given, certainly not from linguistic evidence alone. In dealing with the work of the Third Evangelist we are dealing with the work of a very expert writer. How easily the Gospel according to Luke reads! How strongly marked all through is the linguistic evidence which shews the hand of the Evangelist! And yet we know that it is built up upon Mark, and that much of the wording of many whole paragraphs has simply been transferred from Mark. Now in studying the Acts we are in just the same position as we should be if Luke was the only Gospel that had survived. How can we distinguish between the work of the diarist and that of the editor of the Acts?

Our answer must be that we cannot safely distinguish. Even if Sir John Hawkins be in the main right, as I think he is, we cannot hope to disentangle the work of Luke the diarist from the work of Luke the editor of the Acts. If the Evangelist did not scruple to rewrite sayings that

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were given in his sources as the very words of Jesus, whenever the occasion seemed to demand it, can we suppose that he treated his own travelling notes with greater reverence? We cannot doubt that the travelling diary has been 'written up' to suit the dignity of a historical work. The story of Eutychus, with its almost pointless allusion to the many lamps in the upper room (Ac xx 8), a touch quite in harmony with a really contemporary account, may very well have been taken over from the diary unchanged. But that is no reason for believing that the diarist took full notes of S. Paul's speech at Miletus, or that (if he did so) he reproduced them unaltered.¹ And though I can well believe that during the shipwreck S. Paul had faith enough to act in the sensible and courageous way related by the diarist, thanking God that he had been spared to eat another meal and heartening up his companions in misfortune to do the same, yet the words of his speech do not sound like a real report (Ac xxvii 33^b, 34). 'Not a hair of your head shall perish' (v. 34) seems to have been a favourite phrase with our Evangelist: he had already interpolated it into the eschatological Discourse of our Lord

¹ In Ac xx 25 *κηρύσσω τὴν βασιλείαν* is in the style of Lk ix 2 and of Ac xxviii 31 rather than in that of S. Paul, while *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου* in v. 28 recalls Ac i 25 (*εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον*). Similar examples could be culled from almost every verse.

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(Lk xxi 18) and now he puts it into S. Paul's mouth.

Why, then, should we regard the substance of the traveller's diary as having been really a diary made by the editor of Acts? The main reason appears to me to rest ultimately upon a question of literary good faith. To put the matter quite plainly—and a familiar phrase will explain my meaning best—I think the device of saying 'we' when you mean 'they' is rather *cheap*, and I do not think the editor of the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts was given to using a cheap literary device. It is so easy to use and so effective, that I cannot imagine why, if this writer thought it worth his while to employ it at all, he should have used it only in certain chapters of the Acts. On the hypothesis that the 'We-sections' are not his own diary but someone else's, the editor of Acts must have almost entirely rewritten these sections, so full are they of 'Lucan' phraseology. Under these circumstances it becomes disingenuous to leave the impression that the writer of the book was really there, when he was not there. And all, we may well ask, to what purpose? To us, of course, it makes a considerable difference, because it affects our judgement as to the date of the work. But the public for which the work was originally designed knew the date of the

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work and something about the author. I do not see what reason there was for trying to induce the excellent Theophilus to believe that the writer of the Acts had been shipwrecked with S. Paul by means of a literary trick. It was probably a matter of common knowledge whether he had been at one time a companion of Paul, or not. The case is quite different with the speeches in the Acts. These no doubt, even the speech of Gamaliel, represent what the author thought the various personages would have said, and in some cases they may even have been expanded from notes taken at the time.¹ The author does not say he was there, any more than he professes to have overheard the conversations of our Lord with His disciples. The case is different again from Epistles circulated in the name of Peter or Paul, but not really his. In such a case the false ascription, if believed in, does add to the authority of the letter. But in the case we are considering the amount of extra authority gained for the whole work among contemporaries by posing as a companion of S. Paul on some of his later journeys must have been small. Readers who had accepted the Gospel of Luke without extracts from the author's diary would not need such extracts to authenticate the Acts of the Apostles.

¹ See Ac xx 25, 38.

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Of course, if the extracts really were taken from a diary by the author he might very well be proud to incorporate them in the way we actually find them incorporated.

For these reasons I still continue to hold the old-fashioned belief that the 'We-sections' in the Acts are really taken from a travelling diary made by the Editor of the whole book. As I have already explained, this view does not imply that the diary has been incorporated entire into the Acts, or that it has not been occasionally rewritten and added to in order to fit it for incorporation into a literary work. What is asserted is that 'we,' where it occurs in the narrative of Acts, really does mean that as a historical fact the Editor of the whole book was present.

But we have seen that there is considerable reason to believe that the Acts and the Gospel of Luke were compiled by someone who had read Josephus's *Antiquities*, book xx: that is to say, that they can hardly be earlier than 100 AD. Are the two opinions compatible?

I venture to think the two opinions are compatible. The travellers' diaries, of which the 'We-sections' in Acts consist, shew that their author accompanied S. Paul from Troas to

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Philippi about AD 50; there is nothing to shew that he was more than a young man of twenty. Thus he would have been born about AD 30. Consequently he would not be more than 70 years old when he published the two books dedicated to Theophilus which we possess. Is this really improbable? Does it not rather explain the very different degrees of accuracy which we find in the works of the accomplished writer whom I shall still not hesitate to call S. Luke? When he uses his own old diaries, made on the spot and at the time, he is full of information which surprises us now by its minute correctness. He gives the right title to the *Praetors* of Philippi and the *Politarchs* of Thessalonica. Yes; but he was actually there or in the immediate neighbourhood, and keeping a diary. When on the other hand he comes to describe the political situation in Palestine about the time he himself was born, we find him falling into error, error none the less real for being excusable. We do not know under what conditions he had access to the works of Josephus; he may have only had the opportunity for a rapid perusal, with but little time to make notes or extracts for his future use. For the ordinary events of secular history a Christian writer at the end of the 1st century would be dependent on the

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ordinary channels of information. For the events connected with the rise of his own sect he might have special sources to draw upon. He may have conversed during the course of his life with those who had themselves seen the Lord. At the same time, the fact that S. Luke uses the Gospel according to S. Mark as his main source for the Gospel history seems to me to make it unlikely that he had much personal intercourse with those who had been the Companions of the Ministry, men who could themselves have supplied the skeleton of a narrative from their own reminiscences. A comparison with the First Gospel makes it highly probable that S. Luke also used the so-called *Logia* Document in addition to the Gospel of Mark. But the important point which I have attempted to demonstrate in the preceding paragraphs is that the Third Gospel was compiled in his old age by a former companion of S. Paul, not earlier than the reign of Nerva.

The Composition of the Gospel according to Matthew.

The Gospel according to Matthew, unlike the Third Gospel, cannot be dated with precision, nor are we in a position to name the compiler.

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Something however can be gathered about the sources which he had at his disposal and the circle of ideas in which he moved. Like S. Luke, he was a competent writer, he treats the wording of his predecessor with entire freedom, rearranging and combining them into a well-fused whole. This makes the reconstruction of his lost hypothetical sources an extremely hazardous, if not impossible, task. As I said in the Introductory Lecture, there can hardly be a greater error in Synoptic criticism than to treat the Evangelists as if they had worked like the harmonist Tatian, who made up a single narrative by piecing together the words of the several Gospels almost without alteration.

The happy circumstance that Mark, Matthew and Luke have all survived enables us to discover that Matthew and Luke are based on Mark, but if Mark were not actually extant I very much doubt whether modern criticism would have been able to reconstruct it from the other Synoptists. This consideration should render us very cautious in making statements about the contents or arrangement of the other sources on which we may imagine Matthew (or Luke) to have been based. It is indeed highly probable that, besides Mark, another document was used in common by Matthew and Luke, of which the

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main contents were a collection of Sayings of the Lord. This document is usually supposed to have been what Papias calls the *Logia* composed by S. Matthew, but when we attempt to go into details it is found that the opinions of investigators differ widely on almost every point, and a different interpretation of the passage in Eusebius will be given below. Instead, therefore, of attempting to reconstruct the lost materials out of which the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke may have been built, let us examine the demonstrable procedure of the First and Third Evangelists with regard to the Old Testament and S. Mark's Gospel.

In the case of S. Luke the first part of the answer is simple. S. Luke uses the 'Septuagint,' the ordinary Bible which the Church inherited from the Greek-speaking Jews. Notably this is the case in the story of the Nativity (Lk i, ii), where the LXX, and not any Hebrew or Aramaic document, has perceptibly coloured the style and language of the whole narrative.¹

The quotations peculiar to the Gospel according to Matthew have wholly different characteristics.

¹ Compare the use of *ἀδυνατεῖν* in Lk i 37 and Gen xviii 14. But this is only one instance out of many. Others will be found in my own article on the *Magnificat* in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for Jan. 1906, or in Prof. Harnack's in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for 1900, pp. 538-556.

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A few of them are indeed taken from the LXX, but the greater number are based on the Hebrew, some of these exhibiting curious inaccuracies arising out of a misconception of the Hebrew text. The Hebrew basis is particularly clear in the passage 'Out of Egypt have I called my son' (Matt ii 15). This is a quotation of Hosea xi 1 that agrees literally with what we find in the present Hebrew text; but it differs both from the LXX, which has 'Out of Egypt I have called back his children,' and from the Targum, which has 'Out of Egypt I have called them sons.'¹ The quotation in Matt xxvii 9, 10, alleged to be made from 'Jeremiah the prophet' but really based on Zech xi 13, owes its presence in the Gospel to a confusion between the Hebrew words for 'potter' and for 'treasury.' This confusion exists in the Massoretic text, but the LXX has another reading and the Targum turns the 'potter' into a Temple official. Thus the Evangelist appears to have derived his curious interpretation from the Hebrew, and not from the Greek Bible or from the main stream of

¹ I quote the Targum, because it might be supposed to contain a popular Jewish interpretation of the verse. Wellhausen (*Matt.*, p. 11) explains a similar literal following of the Hebrew in Matt iv 15 by assuming that the Evangelist used 'Theodotion.' It is therefore important to notice that this explanation does not fit Matt ii 15, for in Hosea xi 1 Theodotion has [ἐξ Αἰγύπτου] ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν υἱὸν μου.

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popular Jewish exegesis. At the same time, seeing that in this passage (Matt xxvii 9, 10) he assigns words taken from Zechariah to Jeremiah, and that in xiii 35 he appears (according to the text approved by Dr. Hort) to assign Ps lxxviii 2 to Isaiah, it is improbable that he was quoting direct from a Hebrew copy of the Prophets. Equally clear is it that the words 'In His *Name* shall the *nations* hope' (Matt xii 21) are taken from the LXX of Isaiah xlii 4^b, for the Hebrew text has 'the *isles* shall wait for His *Law*.' And similarly 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected *praise*' (κατηρτίσω αἶνον, Matt xxi 16^b) agrees with the Greek of Ps viii 2, while the Hebrew text has 'Thou hast ordained strength.'

These last passages shew that the Evangelist was after all not unfamiliar with the Greek Bible. This is not surprising: the surprising part is the influence of the Hebrew text in a Greek Gospel. Now, as we have seen, the evidence does not point to the direct use of a Hebrew MS of the Old Testament: we must look rather to a collection of *Testimonia* as the immediate source of our Evangelist's quotations. The collection must have been made from the Hebrew, but the names of the several Prophets or Psalmists do not seem to have been attached to the quotations, nor were the words always cited with scrupulous

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accuracy. To collect and apply the Oracles of the Old Testament in the light of the New Dispensation was the first literary task of the Christian Church. Several such collections survive, and one of them, the *Testimonia* edited by Cyprian, is the source from which a whole series of Latin writers quote Scripture.

We may go on to conjecture that the original collection of Messianic proof-texts was made by Matthew the Publican in Hebrew, and that it is the use of this document by our Evangelist which gives his work the right to be called the Gospel according to Matthew. This collection of texts, in a word, may have been the famous *Λόγια*, of which Papias speaks (Euseb. *HE* iii 39), which each one interpreted as he could. The chief objection to this view is that such a quotation as that in Matt ii 15 ('Out of Egypt have I called my son') seems to assume the story of the Flight into Egypt, and it is difficult to believe that this story had a place in the work of the Apostle Matthew. I do not think we are in a position to solve the difficulty. The *Logia* of S. Matthew is hopelessly lost, and we do not know what it really contained. What is really demonstrable, and of great importance for us in estimating the value of the stories peculiar to the canonical Gospel of Matthew and in investigating their

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origin, is that the quotations by which some of them are illustrated are derived from the Hebrew Bible and not from the Greek. This consideration does not of itself make the stories historical or even probable, but it does tend to prove that they originated in Palestine. In no other part of the Empire can we assume a knowledge of the Old Testament Scripture in the original language.

Thus the answer to the first question we asked, as to the knowledge and methods of the First and Third Evangelists, is that S. Luke uses the Greek Bible, but the First Evangelist draws his proof-texts direct from the Hebrew (or rather from a collection of *Testimonia* derived from the Hebrew), although he too occasionally uses the ordinary Greek translation.

We must now consider the way in which Matthew and Luke have used the Gospel of Mark. This is practically the question which was considered in the second of these Lectures, and all that will be needed now is a statement of results.

Matthew, we find, shortens the narrative of Mark, retaining the main features, but cutting down details and (like S. Luke) suppressing the mention of the various human emotions of our Lord, *e.g.* anger, annoyance, amazement.

Matthew freely transposes the earlier parts of

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the story, which thereby becomes a series of disconnected anecdotes. The confusion is still further increased by the interpolation of long discourses into the framework taken from Mark: however interesting and authentic these discourses are in themselves, they completely break up the unity of the historical narrative. But very little of the material supplied by Mark is altogether omitted.

Besides the long discourses, Matthew introduces into the Marcan narrative certain stories not known to us from other sources, such as Peter walking on the water, Judas and the pieces of silver, the Earthquake at the Crucifixion, the Guard at the Tomb. There are grave difficulties in making out a claim for considering any of these stories as serious history. At the same time it should be remarked that their tone and language suggest, like nearly all the other peculiarities of this Gospel, a Palestinian origin. For example, the story of the earthquake speaks of Jerusalem as 'the Holy City' (Matt xxvii 51^b-53), and we have already seen that the quotation from the Prophets by which the story of Judas and the pieces of silver is illustrated is derived from the Hebrew and not from the Greek Bible.

In view of the Palestinian origin of the elements peculiar to Matthew, it is worth while

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once more to emphasise the remarkable fact that the Passion narrative in the First Gospel is based upon Mark. Both in the selection of incidents and their relative order Matthew follows unquestioningly the corresponding narrative in Mark.

The procedure of S. Luke offers a notable contrast to all this. He freely omits large portions of Mark, and in the Passion he deserts Mark to follow another story of the last scenes. But the sections of Mark which are incorporated in Luke are given in the same relative order; and although as in Matthew much in the narrative is curtailed, yet there is not the same tendency to interpolate fresh incidents in the Marcan stories. There are fresh incidents in Luke, but they are kept separate.

It appears to me that the inference drawn from these facts by Dean Armitage Robinson is legitimate. He considers that if we wish to reconstruct the order and arrangement of the lost document used by Matthew and Luke, that document which I will *not* call 'the Logia,'¹ we must take the outline of it from Luke rather than from Matthew. We must subtract from Luke the first two chapters and those sections of the Third Gospel which are simply derived from Mark: what is left will give

¹ Wellhausen calls it Q.

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us an approximate outline of the document in question.¹ In making use of the Second Gospel S. Luke inserted it in his own narrative *καθεξῆς*, in order; there is great probability that he did the same when making use of that lost document from which he has taken so much of what is to us of the highest value.

But fascinating as are these schemes of reconstruction, we should never forget how precarious is the foundation upon which they rest. We can no more reconstruct this lost Gospel in detail than we could reconstruct from Matthew and Luke alone the Gospel according to S. Mark. We cannot get behind the three Synoptic Gospels in the sense of being able to dispense with either of them. Each of the three contains authentic matter not represented in the other two; each of them represents a different view of our Lord's Life and Teaching. We must frankly recognise that the Gospel according to S. Mark is nearer both in time and in atmosphere to the actual course of events, but the other two Synoptic Gospels enable us to fill in many details without which the resultant Picture would be sadly incomplete. S. Mark supplies us with the crown, but many of

¹ J. A. Robinson, *The Study of the Gospels* (1902), especially pp. 87, 95, 111.

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the most precious jewels must be added from the other Gospels.

One very common misconception may be here conveniently noticed. Some writers speak of 'the Triple Synopsis' and 'the Double Synopsis,' meaning by the former phrase the incidents or sayings found in all three Synoptic Gospels, and by the latter those found in Matthew and Luke. Such phrases are somewhat misleading, as they inevitably suggest that the portions comprised under the Triple or the Double Synopsis are better attested than those which are found in one document only. But to those who hold that Matthew and Luke actually used our Mark, and another document besides, it is evident that the *consensus* of all three Synoptics resolves itself into the single witness of Mark, and the *consensus* of Matthew and Luke is in many cases only to be regarded as the single witness of the lost document discussed in the foregoing paragraphs. Thus the story of the Gadarene swine rests really on no more evidence than the story of the blind man at Bethsaida, *i.e.* upon the witness of the Second Gospel. And similarly the Parable of the Seed growing secretly, related only by S. Mark, is really no worse attested than the Parable of the Vineyard, which is given in all three Gospels. The only

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real double attestation is to be found in those few passages, mostly short striking sayings, which appear to have found a place in the common source of Matthew and Luke as well as in Mark.

These passages we shall consider in detail in the next Lecture, when we begin to study the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. But before we leave our survey of the lost common source of Matthew and Luke, which (following Wellhausen and others) I shall call Q for convenience, let us consider one important question connected with it, viz. whether it contained a story of the Passion. Practically this is equivalent to asking whether Q was a 'Gospel,' like one of our Gospels, or whether it was a mere collection of discourses.

The Judgement-Parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Matt xxv 31-46) would make so dramatic a conclusion to a collection of the Lord's Discourses that we might at first sight be tempted to regard it as the actual peroration of Q. And this view, we must admit, seems to be borne out by the remarkable fact that not a single phrase in the last three chapters of Matthew can be supposed to come from Q. Even in the account of the Last Supper and the Words from the Cross Matthew has nothing to add to what Mark tells us.

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The account of the Passion in Luke is very different. The disputes in the Temple courts with the Pharisees and Sadducees of Jerusalem are given by Luke from the corresponding sections of Mark, and the same is true for the eschatological Discourse (Lk xx, xxi). There are many verbal changes, much indeed is re-written, but no other source but Mark appears to have been used. The opening paragraphs of Lk xxii are also derived from Mark. But when the Evangelist comes to the Last Supper itself he has other material. From this point the Gospel of Mark is no longer the basis of his narrative. It only supplies a few touches here and there, like the mention of Simon the Cyrenian in Luke xxiii 26. The rest, whatever its historical value and whatever may have been the source from which Luke took it, is certainly not derived from Mark. We have seen that Luke does not, as a rule, disturb the relative order of the sources which he employs, and so the question arises whether this narrative of the Passion may not have been derived from the same source as most of Luke's non-Markan material, *i.e.* from Q itself.

The safest criterion that a passage comes from Q is that it should be found both in Matthew and in Luke. We cannot expect to find many such

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passages in this part of the Gospel, for we have seen that in the Passion Matthew is based on Mark, not at all on Q. Nevertheless some of the peculiar matter in Lk xxii is actually given in earlier chapters of Matthew. The section Lk xxii 24-30 contains a saying of Jesus on the occasion of a strife for precedence among the apostles. It begins with a parallel to Mk x 42 ff, a saying occasioned by the request of the sons of Zebedee for precedence. But it goes on to give the promise that the apostles should sit on twelve thrones judging Israel, which is parallel to Matt xix 28, a non-Markan verse, interpolated after the usual manner of Matthew into the main framework of the Marcan narrative. This at once suggests that we have here a fragment of Q, and consequently that Q contained a story of the Passion as well as of the discourses. We know that Q was not confined to discourses alone, for the same arguments which prove that it contained a discourse corresponding to the 'Sermon on the Mount' prove also that it contained the story of the Centurion's boy (Matt viii 5-13, Lk vii 1-10). There is nothing therefore surprising that it should have given an account of the last scenes.

Whatever view we may take—and I am most anxious not to put before you a piece of

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literary reconstruction of this kind without reminding you how doubtful this reconstruction of lost documents must remain—there is, I venture to think, a considerable element of valuable history in S. Luke's account of our Lord's Passion, from whatever source he may have drawn his information.

The Christian tradition tells us of Peter's Denial, of the Trial of our Lord by the 'chief priests,' and of rough horseplay practised on Him when a prisoner. But Mark and Luke do not agree as to the time or order of these events. Our Lord was arrested in the middle of the night when the apostles were heavy with sleep; He was crucified in 'the third hour' next day according to Mk xv 25, *i.e.* between 9 and 10 AM, but perhaps it may really have been a little later. Now I may be uncritical and credulous, but I confess that I am impressed with the account given by Luke, regarded as a narrative of events. Here as elsewhere, of course, the wording of the Third Gospel reflects the style and personality of the Evangelist: we must not assume that he treats the unknown source Q otherwise than he treats the extant Gospel of Mark. But the main course of the action is more intelligible in this section as Luke gives it, at least from the point of view of

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the chief priests. We can hardly suppose that the Jewish grandees kept vigil all night on account of the Galilean Agitator; according to S. Luke they did not do so. Our Lord is arrested in the dead of night, and as we should expect He is simply detained in custody until the great folk get up in the morning (Lk xxii 66). A prisoner, and deserted by His followers, He is naturally exposed to the vulgar insults of the Temple police who had arrested Him (*vv.* 63-65); in point of fact, they have nothing else to do. Meanwhile Peter slinks into a corner of the great court; we are even told that he shewed his face in the light of the fire (*v.* 56). He denies His Master, as we know, during the hours that slowly pass by. All the action takes place in the court: in one corner is the Prisoner, in another is Peter and the group of servants. I can very well believe that the one group was visible to the other, and that the Lord really did turn and look upon Peter (*v.* 61). At last the day breaks and the elders of the people gather together, chief priests and scribes; they give their Prisoner a hasty trial (*vv.* 66-71) and as soon as He is condemned they bring Him at once before Pilate (xxiii 1 ff).

According to Mark, who is of course followed by Matthew, the chief priests try Jesus in the

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dead of night, and the rough horseplay and buffeting appears to be done by some members of the Council themselves while they are waiting till it is time to go to Pilate, not by the Temple guards waiting till it is time for the Council to assemble. I venture to think that S. Luke's account is the more probable.

Among the incidents peculiar to Luke is the interview with Herod Antipas (xxiii 4-16), commonly treated by critical historians as fictitious. It has recently been the subject of an independent study by Dr. Verrall, whose work, like Lachmann's before him, has not received from professional theologians the attention which is its due. But until the arguments brought forward in 'Christ before Herod' have been successfully met, the inclusion of the story how Herod treated the Good Physician with cynical generosity must be held to illustrate the excellence of S. Luke's historical information rather than his credulity or inventiveness.¹

¹ 'Christ before Herod' first appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, x 321-353 (Apr. 1909): it has been reprinted by Dr. Verrall in his *Bacchants of Euripides and Other Essays*, pp. 335-390. He understands Lk xxiii 11 to mean: 'But Herod, with the armed forces of Galilee at his back, thought Jesus of no importance and jested at the notion, but he presented Him with a robe of honour and sent Him back to Pilate.' Properly speaking, there was no 'trial' before Herod: Pilate takes the opportunity of Herod being at hand to ascertain whether the government of Galilee regarded Jesus as a dangerous agitator (vv. 5, 6). For *σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν*, compare *σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου* in Acts vii 35: it almost means 'supported by' or 'relying upon.' See also 1 Cor v 4.

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We may note in passing that the accusation which the chief priests bring against our Lord to Pilate not only is calculated to impress the Roman Governor, but also contains the genuinely Jewish phrase *χριστὸν βασιλέα*. That the Jews told Pilate that the accused prisoner forbade the people to give tribute to Cæsar might have been surmised by the Evangelist; he would not have been likely to have hit upon a phrase exactly corresponding to *Malka Meshiha* or, as we commonly render it, 'King Messiah.' The occurrence of the technical Jewish phrase suggests to us that in this passage S. Luke is using a valuable source.

Investigations of this kind, which attempt to weigh the merits of conflicting or parallel accounts, have always a somewhat coldblooded and judicial spirit in them, a spirit which cannot but be out of harmony with that in which we can study the Passion of our Lord to our soul's profit. Yet these historical questions must be faced, if our estimate of the Gospel is to be lifted out of the region of mere inherited sentiment. And perhaps, if we have learnt to regard the peculiar matter in Lk xxii and xxiii with more respect as a historical document, we may be able to hear with renewed attention some of the words of Jesus, which S. Luke assigns to the night of the Last Supper.

These words (Lk xxii 24-38) are of very great

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interest, and I venture to think that the concluding section is not only a genuine saying of the Lord, but also appropriate in the historical situation. The earlier part may possibly not belong to the last evening; for Mark also has the saying about the kings of the Gentiles having dominion over their subjects while the chief of the disciples of Jesus was to be the servant of his brethren, and in Mark it is placed on the journey to Jerusalem, not after the Last Supper (Mk x 42 ff). Yet, after all, the desire of the sons of Zebedee to sit on the right hand and on the left of their Lord may very well have found expression when they were actually seated at supper with Jesus, perhaps occupying the very places that they coveted in the heavenly kingdom.¹ Our Lord's allusion to His own approaching death, when He would give His life as a ransom for many (Mk x 45), also suggests the last tragic night rather than the approach to Jerusalem. Be this as it may, I find it difficult to believe that the words which follow are not a true, and a misunderstood, reminiscence of the night of our Lord's arrest. They are among the saddest words in the Gospels, and the mournful irony with which

¹ If there be any historical truth in what we read of this meal in the Fourth Gospel, the struggle for precedence may have been the immediate cause why Jesus Himself began to wash the feet of the disciples.

THE PASSION NARRATIVE IN LUKE

they are pervaded seems to me wholly alien from the kind of utterance which a Christian Evangelist would invent for his Master. 'When I sent you forth without purse and wallet and shoes, lacked ye anything?' And they said: 'Nothing.' But He goes on to tell them that now they must take their purses and wallets, and that he who had no sword must get one, even if he has to pawn his cloak to buy it, for soon Jesus and His followers will be counted among lawless folk.¹ The disciples do not understand: they take it all literally, and someone says, 'See, here are two swords!'

It seems to me easier to believe that these words were remembered and recorded, than to think that they could have been invented by any early Christian of whom we have ever heard. It is impossible to believe that the command to buy a sword was meant literally and seriously: it is all a piece of ironical foreboding. The early Christian missionaries did not, so far as we know, go out on their travels armed; it is only because these words are so familiar that they do not give us a shock.

¹ The allusion to Isaiah liii 12 does not agree with the LXX, for Lk xxii 37 has *μετὰ ἀνόμων* while the LXX has *ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις*. In the words which follow, 'The things concerning me have an end' is a better translation than 'hath fulfilment'; our Lord had already used *τέλος ἔχει* (Mk iii 26).

THE GOSPEL HISTORY

Yet there they stand in the Gospel according to S. Luke, and we are entitled to draw from them the conclusions that they suggest. They are sad enough indeed; but if they are historical, as I believe them to be, they afford us a very welcome glimpse into the mind of our Lord. They shew us that there was in Him a vein of what I have no other name for but playfulness, a tender and melancholy playfulness indeed, but all the more remarkable that it comes to outward expression in moments of danger and despondency. We feel that we are listening to the words of the same Master, who excused the woman for the waste of her precious ointment that might have been so profitably spent in works of charity. This kind of playfulness is totally alien from ignorant fanaticism, and indeed it is totally alien from the general spirit of early Christianity. That it appears at all in the Gospels is in itself a proof that the Evangelists and the sources from which they drew sometimes remembered better than they understood.