

DEUTERONOMIC TRADITIONS IN ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL

A Study in Biblical Theology

by

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# ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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The question of how the Evangelists of the first century went about their tasks has always been open. Source study gained a major place under the Formgeschichte school and the impact continues today. We consider also today the community in which the Evangelist stands. The redaction-critical investigation does not give us information concerning the Sitz im Leben Jesu, but it can lead us to a better understanding of the Sitz im Leben Kirche. Besides the sources (written or oral) at the disposal of the writer we must reckon with his own outlook and theology, not forgetting those for whom he is writing.

H. Conzelmann, C.K. Barrett and others today have helped us to the position that Luke was a skilled theologian. If we regard Luke as a theologian we should be able to detect some of his theological positions and suppositions. The Lukan corpus is the most extensive of New Testament writings. Behind what Luke set down on parchment was the preaching, witness and experience of the sub-apostolic Church. What we have in Luke-Acts is a kind of double projection. It is a picture of the Church of the apostolic period superimposed by the picture of the Church of the sub-apostolic period. What is the relationship of the Old Covenant to this New Covenant people? How are the Scriptures of the Old Testament related to that compilation of writings of the "many" to whom Luke refers in his preface? More specifically, what is the relationship of Deuteronomy to Luke and his sources?

C.F. Evans has contributed much to the genesis of our paper through his essay, "The Central Section of St. Luke's Gospel". A careful study of Evans' hypothesis, that the Central Section of Luke's Gospel follows Deuteronomy by way of correspondence and contrast, has grown into a dissertation. We concur that Evans has found a connection between Luke and Deuteronomy. The argument that the connection is based on the order of contents is difficult to support adequately. We propose an alternative. Starting from the Prophet Like Moses emphasis of Acts 3 and 7 we perceive a consistent typology. Jesus is preached, according to Luke, as a type of Moses-the fulfilment of the Prophet Like Moses of Deut. 18:15, 18. We observe that Luke emphasizes the prophetic elements very strongly in his Christology. The sides of the character of Jesus emphasized by Luke are precisely those which the Pentateuch portrays of Moses: the prophetic, priestly, kingly and servant features.

The mediatorial role of the dying Christ is presented more clearly by Luke than by the other Evangelists. Luke alone records the "Father forgive them" passage (23:34). This attitude is parallel to the tradition of Deut. 9 where Moses three times makes intercession for Israel. In the record of the Transfiguration Deut. 18:15 plays a paramount part. The whole of the Journey Teaching Section follows, as it were, under the 'hear you him' imperative. Luke alone introduces the word  $\epsilon\chi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma\iota\varsigma$  describing Jesus' death which was to take place in Jerusalem. From this point of view it is argued that the "journey to Jerusalem" which many believe to be a literary device is also a theological expression. It is a Wilderness Teaching Journey. It begins with a Mosaic act-the sending out of the Seventy. Throughout the 'Journey', moreover, the



figure of Moses is nearly always present along with Deuteronomic traditions and teaching. Allusions to Deuteronomy are so plentiful that we concede that the Section is a kind of Christian Deuteronomy.

The predicted end of Jerusalem as described by Luke 21:20-34 parallels at several points the predicted end of the nation as recorded in Deut. 28. There appears to be a correspondence in relating the end of the nation with the death of Moses, the end of Jerusalem with the death of Jesus. When the verses of Mark are taken out of Luke 21:20-34 there remains a narrative which coheres. In the latter we find many Deuteronomic insights and traditions.

When we examine the Temptation narrative we note the order moving from Galilee to Jerusalem which is the order of Jesus' ministry, according to St. Luke. There appears to be more of Deuteronomy behind the narrative than the mere quotation of the Deuteronomic texts. Here is re-enacted the temptation of Israel in the Wilderness. The temptations which caused Israel to fail in time past met their conqueror in Jesus. According to Luke, Jesus moves toward Jerusalem to make the 'exodus' which Israel could not.

TO  
MY WIFE RUTH

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## PREFACE

This study had its beginnings in Lectures on Deuteronomy given during the winter of 1957 by Principal Norman Porteous. An interest was aroused in the traditions behind the text. Some initial work was done on the theme of "The Preaching of Deuteronomy." It became obvious that the area for research in the Deuteronomic tradition should be carried over into a New Testament setting. For some months we laboured to discover a manner of putting together in one dissertation the influence of Deuteronomy on the Synoptic Gospels. But the problem with this approach lay in the area of complexities of the Synoptic problem itself. It became clear that one must limit the scope of examination to one or another of the Gospels. When C.F. Evans' essay on "The Central Section of St. Luke's Gospel" was published we were determined to reply to it and find, if possible, a better hypothesis to answer the question "Is the Central Section of Luke's Gospel a Christian Deuteronomy?" The answer expanded into the present volume.

I am much indebted to Principal Porteous of the New College, to Professor James Barr and to the Rev. David Stalker. Most of all I am indebted to the Rev. Robin Barbour without whose patience, kindness and judicious help this work could not have been brought to completion.

## PART ONE

### THE PROBLEM

#### Introduction

The study of Luke and his relationship to Deuteronomy is not one problem. It is many. It involves surveillance of all the Lukan literature. It is beset continually with the question of whether the passages under consideration are the author's contribution - the reflection of his own theology, experience and interpretation, or whether they are from sources amalgamated into his treatise without revision. In the accumulation of early Christian written tradition where does the author stand? In what time relationship is he to his contemporaries? Some today would doubt that Luke's Gospel follows Mark, but what relationship does Luke bear to Matthew? When he speaks in his preface of "the many who have undertaken to compile a narrative" may we conclude that Mark and Matthew were among them? But what other sources had he to proceed from? How did he relate or react to his contemporaries? From what stance does he view history and the world? Who were the "witnesses and ministers of the Word" referred to in his preface constituting the substrata of his treatise? For our purposes the more important question however is how did Luke view the Old

Testament? How did he in fact view Deuteronomy? The problem as we shall see through our study, involves literary, theological, historical, hermeneutical and Christological considerations. With the publication of Hans Conzelmann's The Theology of St. Luke<sup>1.</sup> we may say that Luke 'came of age' as a theologian. A recent writer calls Luke-Acts, 'a Storm Center in Contemporary Scholarship'<sup>2.</sup> Lukan studies have shifted from the periphery to the centre of Biblical research. There is a storm brewing. Whoever would venture into that storm would be well advised to take with him survival equipment. This paper must survive or fall on the merits of an attempt to grasp the Third Evangelist by his 'tale', that is to grasp at Luke by that part of his tale which entails his dealings with Deuteronomy. We are indebted to the contributions of "the many" of our day and age who like Luke are evangelists and theologians. A Bibliography does not do them justice.

The renewed interest in the Lukan corpus is evidenced by a tidal wave of books and articles on that subject. The crest of the current wave had its origins through continental European scholars: M. Dibelius, H. Conzelmann, E. Haenchen, E. Käsemann, M. Morgenthaler, J. Dupont and others. In the wake have come the

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1. Die Mitte der Zeit (Tübingen, 1953), Eng. Tr. Geoffrey Buswell (London, 1960).

2. W. C. Van Unnik, from Studies in Luke-Acts Essays in honor of Paul Schubert. Edited by L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn, Abington, Nashville, 1966, p. 9.



works of British and American writers like C.K. Barrett, W.B.F. Browning, F.F. Bruce, H.J. Cadbury, A.M. Farrer, C.F. Evans, S.M. Gilmour, G.W.H. Lampe, A.R.C. Leaney, Paul Schubert, C.S.C. Williams and others. A generation ago the area of work in Luke-Acts seemed secured. J.M. Creed, William Manson, H.J. Cadbury, C.G. Montefiore, F.J. Foakes Jackson, K. Lake, V. Taylor, B.S. Easton, A. Plummer and others had possessed the field. The return to the Scriptures during World War II and after, the discovery of the Dead Sea Manuscripts quickening the expectations of all Biblical scholars, the existentialist emphasis in Philosophy, the reassessment and recognition of the place of typology and even the beginnings of the conquest of outer space have made their mark on current Biblical research. For our purposes the most significant trend has been that initiated by Dr. Austin Farrer through his essay "On Dispensing with Q"<sup>3.</sup> Dr. Farrer ventured, after scholars for forty years had acquiesced in Streeter's solution to the Synoptic problem, to raise the problem afresh and to reappraise the Q hypothesis. In the process of dispensing with Q Dr. Farrer offered alternative motifs in the construction of Luke's Gospel - based on typological perspectives.

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3. "On Dispensing with Q" Studies in the Gospels ed. by D.E. Nineham (Oxford, 1955) p. 55-88.

Opinions vary with regard to the worth of typological considerations in unravelling the Biblical skein. Irrespective of the position one may take with regard to typological considerations one cannot dismiss them. We turn to examine in such detail as necessary for our purpose the place of Typology in the interpretation of the New Testament. Before doing so we note that we shall refer normally throughout the course of this paper to material common to Matthew and Luke as Q. Q stands for 'Quelle'-source in German. It is worth our while to note, by way of review, the story of source analysis. The problem of placing Luke-Acts in the New Testament was dealt with simultaneously by scholars in continental Europe and in the English speaking theological world. For forty years now German scholars like Martin Dibelius, Rudolf Bultmann and K.L. Schmidt have searched into Gospel origins and theology using the Formgeschichte method, known to us as 'Form Criticism'. Form criticism seeks to reconstruct the origin and history of the Gospel stories and sayings by attempting to disentangle each passage from the Gospel Framework in which it is found. The Sitz im Leben ('setting in life') is researched in order to determine what changes or additions may have taken place in the transmission by later editors. These isolated stories about Jesus along with his reported sayings were then classified and identified according to certain 'forms', or 'categories'. It was assumed that judgment as to the historical

values could be based on these analyses.

While Dibelius and Bultmann were publishing their first books on Formgeschichte, Canon B. H. Streeter together with others called the 'Oxford Group' (W. Sanday, W. C. Allen, J. V. Bartlet) brought forth the Four Documentary theory of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels. Canon Streeter's magnum opus was called The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins (London, 1924). This hypothesis, sometimes called the 'multiple source' theory, is that the writers of Matthew and Luke each used Mark as the primary written source for their Gospels. Both evangelists drew upon another common written source designated as Q. This Q or 'source' may have been earlier than Mark. In addition to these two common sources St. Matthew and St. Luke each had access to other sources, written or oral, which are usually identified by the letters 'M' and 'L' respectively.

An out-cropping from the 'four document' theory which is of some interest to this paper is the Proto-Luke hypothesis.

4.

According to Vincent Taylor and others the Third Gospel was formed in two or three stages: (a) St. Luke brought together Q and L materials into an embryonic document, 'Proto-Luke', which began at 3:1, (b) later St. Luke discovered Mark and rewrote his Gospel

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4. Behind the Third Gospel. Oxford, 1926.

by inserting Markan material into Proto-Luke at intervals in blocks. (c) Finally he prefixed the nativity stories of Luke 1-2. The Proto-Luke hypothesis has not received the wide support which the 'Four Documentary' hypothesis has. Hans Conzelmann, for example, rejects the Proto-Luke theory. He sees Luke working as a creative historian and theologian. In Conzelmann's view Luke's plan hinges on three stages of Heilsgeschichte ('Salvation-history'):<sup>5.</sup> (a) the period of Israel - the Law and the prophets (Luke 16:16) (b) the period of Jesus' ministry - Die Mitte der Zeit (c) the period since the Ascension - the time of the Church and the Spirit, the period between Jesus 'Ascension and the Parousia'. For our purposes, Conzelmann's interpretation is workable. However it is our task to attempt to probe behind the structure of the written Gospel to catch hold of the influence of Deuteronomic motifs on Luke and on the sources with which he worked. One of the modes by which we seek to grasp the Lukan problem is through typology.

## 2. The Significance of Typology in Luke's Text

It is relevant to note that a group of Oxford scholars have spear-headed the typological approach to the Gospels in our time. These, including A.M. Farrer, C.F. Evans, M.L. Sanderson, and J.C. Fenton have offered some interesting solutions. The typological method sees in the Gospels not an exact historical record of Jesus' life but patterns and prefigurements created by the Gospel writers

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5. Op. cit., p. 16.



under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. *TUTTOS* may be either the primary concept or the secondary image. Usually the 'type' is applied to the Old Testament 'shadow' and the 'antitype' is applied to the New Testament fulfilment. New testament writers see in certain O.T. persons or institutions and events certain prefigurings of New Covenant truths. The origin of these patterns and 'types' are discovered in the dominant themes and figures of the Old Testament - themes like the Exodus, the Wilderness Wanderings, the Giving of the Law at Sinai and the entrance of Israel into Canaan - figures such as Moses, Elijah, Abraham, Joseph and David. It was a task of the early Christian preachers to effect the transformation of these terms and thought forms to serve as a vehicle for the Christian Gospel. G.H.W. Lampe<sup>6</sup> expresses the task in these words:

"..to establish a relationship of prophecy to fulfilment, type to antitype, image to reality between the events of Christ's life, death, resurrection and ascension, and the familiar pattern of Old Testament religious thought, grounded in the more ancient historical series of Creation, the Exodus, Sinai and the Covenant, the Davidic Kingdom and the insights of the great prophets into their significance and their implications".

The preaching of the Early Church therefore enters our study at various points. Luke's record of the sermons in Acts is a pivotal point for research. It is necessary to probe this record in search

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6. "The Reasonableness of Typology", Essays on Typology by G.W.H. Lampe and K.J. Woolcombe (London, 1957), p. 24.

of the theology which, probably, motivated Luke's handling of the Gospel narratives. The Gospel records are to some extent a depository of the preaching tradition. It is particularly in the Lukan special material, where we can assess a continuous block of the written tradition, that we may offer hypotheses as to motifs which have been employed in setting down the record. Again and again typology may serve us in the quest of understanding why Luke wrote his material as he did. It is relevant also to note that Jesus recognized His mission in creating a New Covenant which had been prefigured in the Old. Again Lampe says it better:

"It is impossible to make sense of the Gospel narratives or of the apostolic preaching which lies behind them unless we accept the view that Jesus Himself envisaged his mission in terms of Old Testament prophecy and typology, and that he deliberately fulfilled the role which the history of the Covenant People and the spiritual insight of its prophets had revealed at sundry times and in divers manners as having been laid down by the will of God for man's salvation."

That typology is used by St. Luke is not in question. The question which we must raise is to what extent, and for what purpose. Even Conzelmann who gives little weight to typological argument sees the meaning of Luke's record of the Transfiguration as typological. He notes:

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7. ibid., p. 25.

"The whole episode therefore has a typological meaning which points forward to the events in Jerusalem."

Farrer, however, would look on the whole scheme and pattern of Luke's Gospel and find that it is composed of a 'six book' plan patterned on the Old Testament hexateuch.<sup>8.</sup> Dr. Farrer's solution to the question of Lukan motifs is that St. Luke made use of Matthew as well as Mark, in this way accounting for the many so-called 'minor agreements' of Matthew and Luke which are contrary to Mark. Farrer's argument goes on to relate how Luke went about using Matthew and why. He conjectures that Luke allowed the general pattern of Matthew's 'hexateuch' to stand but he redistributed the teaching, placing as much of it as he could in the Deuteronomic position.<sup>9.</sup> In the same volume of essays Prof. C. F. Evans presents a typological interpretation of Luke 9:51-18:14 following in the main Farrer's thesis that this Central Section is St. Luke's Deuteronomy in his six book plan patterned on the Old Testament hexateuch.<sup>10.</sup> This writer finds the 'Hexateuch pattern hypothesis' difficult to accept generally. The emphasis, however, which results in the detection of special motif behind the central section of Luke's Gospel is welcomed. That typology may be the means of linking this section

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8. Op. cit., p. 77

9. Ibid., p. 77

10. Op. cit., p. 37-53. 'The Central Section of St. Luke.'

with Old Testament archetypes, and particularly Deuteronomy, appears as a sound approach. C.F. Evans' argument that the link with Deuteronomy is through arrangement of material needs careful consideration for the purposes of our study. We turn to a detailed review of this hypothesis presently.

To sum up the place of typology in today's methods of research would require a major study. We see typology as another form of evidence pointing to the writer of the Third Gospel as a theologian and interpreter of the Gospel rather than merely a recorder. On the other hand, the typological method requires careful scrutiny. It may lend itself to fancy and subjectivity. It has its limitations but judiciously employed it makes clear certain dominant themes and figures which appear repeatedly in the Old Testament and may be traced through different guises and echoes in the New. That Luke employed typology as a strategic device is a major premise of this paper. Before an examination of Evans' thesis on the question of Luke's Central Section - a Christian Deuteronomy, we offer a brief synopsis of the Deuteronomic traditions.

### 3. Deuteronomic Traditions

By a tradition we mean a unit of the complex material making up the Book of Deuteronomy. It may be a prophetic insight, a law, a song, a phrase expressing an experience, an oracle or a word. Our purpose under this heading is not to deal extensively with the strata and substrata of the book of Deuteronomy. Gerhard von Rad,



T.C. Vriezen, Ernest Wright in our time and Adam Welch, George A. Smith, S.R. Driver and others at the turn of the century, and later, have so dealt.<sup>+</sup> It is our purpose merely to point, by way of summary, to some of the central matter in the book and to indicate briefly how these traditions have been at work in subsequent Israel.

Deuteronomy occupies a pivotal place in the Old Testament. At its core are some of the most primitive doctrines of Israel. Streams of priestly and prophetic insight converge within it. From it flows the crystalline expressions of what faith in the only true God is, and how His elect and unique people are to love and serve Him, in the land which He has given them. Deuteronomy influences all that comes after it. It evoked the re-editing of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings - contributed considerably in the formation of the Priestly Code. It is a rhetorical book with a dramatic, hortatory style. Intending to give a transcription of Mosaism for times in which the nation's faith was suffering loss through the grip of Baal cults in the land, the pressure of pagan neighboring peoples and the crumbling of its royal house, its authors, with unmatched oratory, call the people to an exclusive loyalty to Yahweh. This is exemplified in the 'Shema' (Deut. 6:4.9) which became the classical confession of Judaism and which translated literally says,

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<sup>+</sup> Von Rad, G., Studies in Deuteronomy, London, 1953.

Vriezen, T.C., An Outline of Old Testament Theology, Oxford, 1958.

Wright, G.E., The Book of Deuteronomy, Interpreter's Bible Vol. 2, Nashville, 1949.

Welch, Adam, The Code of Deuteronomy, London, 1924.

Deuteronomy the Framework to the Code, London, 1932.

Smith, Geo. A., The Book of Deuteronomy, Cambridge Bible, Cambridge, 1922

Driver, S.R., Deuteronomy, International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh, 1885.

"Hear, O Israel, Yahweh our God is one Yahweh.  
 And you shall love Yahweh your god with all your heart (lebhatsh)  
 and with all your life (nephesh), and with all your strength  
 These words I am commanding you this day shall be upon your  
 heart"

The book then goes on to set forth the practical implications of  
 this commandment.

The prophets had seen the need for reform in the nation.  
 Priests had seen the holiness of Yahweh and the need for regulating  
 his worship. The Deuteronomist fused the contributions of prophet  
 and priest to shape laws which only love could inspire. Yahweh  
 himself is represented as being the protector (goel) of the fatherless  
 and the widow. He loves the resident alien, giving him food and  
 raiment. Israel must live and act in the same manner with her  
 neighbours (10:17 ff). Poverty in the land is forbidden (15:4-11).  
 Tithes are to be paid (14:28) and gleanings are to be left for the  
 needy (14:19). Love makes no distinction between people as to their  
 importance. Thus servants and slaves have their rights; even the  
 runaway slave must not be turned over to his master (23:15-16).  
 Servants are to be assured of their Sabbath (5:15). Interest is  
 not to be exacted of fellow countrymen (24:19). Cities of refuge are  
 to be set up throughout the land that the fugitive may have places  
 of resort (19:4). Family life is exalted. Adultery is abhorred and  
 is to be put away by the exercise of a death penalty to guilty parties  
 (22:22). When a new home is established, the husband is to be

excused from military service for a year "to cheer up his wife which he hath taken" (24:5). Children are expected to render due obedience to their parents. The disobedient rebellious son is to be stoned as an example (25:4).

Loving kindness extends also to the animal kingdom in Deuteronomy. The ox that treads the corn is not to be muzzled (25:4). If one chances to come upon a bird's nest, whether it contains eggs or the young, the mother bird is not to be taken (22:6). In time of war or siege, fruit trees are not to be cut down for military use (20:20). These are some of the practical human **applications** of the commandment to love Yahweh!

Ranking next in importance, we would place the concept of centralization as a major factor influencing the life of Israel. When the whole of the Deuteronomic Code was interpreted to mean the centralization of worship in Jerusalem, as enforced by Josiah in 621 B.C., radical changes took place in Israel's life. The sheer inaccessibility of a central shrine operated to produce separation between the religious and the secular. Hitherto, every slaughter was a sacrifice and every festival a festival to Yahweh. Presently only three great festivals were to be celebrated (Passover, Weeks and Tabernacles - Deut. 16:1-15). Now every home, from Dan to Beersheba, would have personal contact with the shrine of David. Three times a year all males were to appear before the Lord, in

Jerusalem. This type of religious bond with the city which was the seat of government fostered national loyalty. The Jerusalem priesthood became elevated above their brethren and special regulations were required for the care of the Levites of the country places. Directions were issued for the proper observance of sacrifices.

Deuteronomy brought religion down from the clouds to the every day level of the layman. It speaks in a manly language. It does not allow half-way measures. In terms of loyalty to Yahweh, it demands all. For the extirpation of evil, total and radical means are commanded.

The book is a plea to Israel to realize anew the basis of her existence as a people. Other nations of the world may use varying means to meet their problems and fulfil their purposes .<sup>11.</sup> Israel must find her purpose in the Mosaic Covenant and in her election as a unique people of Yahweh.

Deuteronomy played a vital part in forging Judaism. The Torah or faith of Moses appearing in documentary form became an authority for the Jewish faith. From henceforth Jews were to become increasingly the people of a book. We must not lightly regard the fact that Jesus, as a member of a Jewish family, was

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11. In Egypt, society was embedded in the universe as part of Creation, ruled over by Pharaoh an incarnate God. In Mesopotamia, society was not part of creation but man was formed as an afterthought. The King was chosen by the gods to direct the servitude of man, though human society must devise its own laws. There was no divinely revealed law.

trained in Deuteronomic traditions. In His time of trial, He met His temptations with words from Deuteronomy. When asked which was the greatest commandment, He quoted from Deuteronomy.<sup>12.</sup> When he called forth His disciples to be the founders of a new Israel, He used the Deuteronomic principle of election.

Deuteronomy has contributed much to the New Testament. It is quoted some eighty-three times:<sup>13.</sup> It is one of the four books of the Old Testament which New Testament writers used most frequently. Largely through its influence, the whole of the Old Testament came to be known as "the law".

To be fair to history, we must not leave unsaid, its limitations and shortcomings:

(1) The Deuteronomist as a historian, lacked perspective and an appreciation of the processes of human civilization. His understanding of Divine Providence was at times naive. A theodicy which saw the nation only in terms of rewards and punishments, as related to the people's conduct, refused to take into account all of the facts of life. This interpretation of history could not cope with national tragedy when it appeared in 587 B.C.

(11) Deuteronomy's strong emphasis upon Israel's election as a covenantal nation may have renewed her spiritual life, but it fell

12. Matt. 22:37; Mark 12:30; Luke 10:27.

13. Interpreter's Bible Vol. 2 p. 311.

short of calling her to her missionary task among the other nations.

What ought to have been evangelism led to nationalism. The command "to love" was kept too much within the family circle. It fell to Deutero-Isaiah and the prophet Jonah to offer a deeper interpretation of Israel's role as a people, chosen of Yahweh, to show forth his glory among the nations.

We must see also two minor evils to which Deuteronomy gave rise. After Deuteronomy, extreme emphasis was laid by Judaism upon the written Code. This tended to quench the living voice of prophecy, and raised a new authority - that of the scribes and pharisees. The temple also, when it became the central shrine, was raised to a sphere of almost superstitious veneration. With these two attitudes and their representatives, Jesus had much difficulty in subsequent time.

The historic time and place selected by the final writer of Deuteronomy gives the illusion of a farewell address of Moses to Israel. Readers are to identify themselves with the Israel led out of bondage, called to a new existence, recipient of a second law (the first being only the Decalogue). A new adventure is before it. The death of Moses with the land of promise spread out before his eyes (34:12) symbolizes, according to the literary device of the author, the end of one era and the beginning of another. The uniqueness of Israel's wilderness wanderings is expressed in the uniqueness of Moses (34:10-12). The author desires the past to be relived in this way, that Israel should know in his own day that it stood where Israel stood in that day. Israel is called to rediscover the

covenant. It is reminded repeatedly of the deliverance of the exodus.

The route by which one might trace the course of the sub-apostolic Church and its message has many points of analogy. The uniqueness of its beginnings is in the uniqueness of its Founder. The New Israel is a people led out of bondage. The death of its Founder depicts the end of one era and the beginning of another. It must look back and remember continually (as the Deuteronomist says it repeatedly to "this day" 5:3; 26:16; 18; 27:4, 9, 10). It is part of the task of this paper to show that Luke has been highly influenced by the Deuteronomic writer's device.

4. An Appraisal of C.F. Evans Hypothesis That Luke Intended The Central Section of His Gospel As a Christian Deuteronomy

In the collection of essays published in memory of R.H. Lightfoot under the general title Studies in the Gospel, Oxford, 1955, C.F. Evans submits a hypothesis to account for the order of the central section of St. Luke's Gospel. He suggests that "if in addition to the general similarity of subject matter in so many points, the order of this subject matter in Lk. 9:51-18:14, an order which has perplexed the harmonists and has seemed to many to be no order at all, is the order of the subject matter in Deuteronomy and is explicable in terms of it; then the conclusion is difficult to resist that the evangelist has selected and arranged his material in such a way as to present it in a Deuteronomic sequence". Mr. Evans has rendered excellent

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14. C.F. Evans, Op. cit., p. 50.



service in causing us to search St. Luke's Gospel for Deuteronomic traditions. The results, however, of such a search are in the direction of exegetical, historical and theological considerations, rather than in terms of the order or sequence of subject matter. The method by which Mr. Evans seeks to support his hypothesis, in fact argues against it - as can be seen by investigating his demonstration. The reader cannot but raise the query, If Luke intended to make the Central Section of his Gospel a Christian Deuteronomy by following the sequence of subject material of Deuteronomy, why does he not follow it more closely? Examination of the passages in Deuteronomy which are laid out in parallel columns with Luke 9:51-18:14 reveals a few striking similarities of subject matter. However, five blocks of Deuteronomic material (Deut. 14:1-21 Clean and Unclean Animals; Deut. 19 Cities of Refuge; Deut. 21:1-14 Treatment of Corpses and Woman Captives; Deut. 22:5-23:14 Miscellaneous Regulations, and Deut. 25:4-19 Refusal of Levirate Marriage, False weights etc.) cannot be made to relate in any way with the Central Section of St. Luke's Gospel. No attempt is made to indicate the ways in which the material is related. The conclusion drawn is that there is "general  
15.  
similarity of the subject matter at many points" Examining the material as laid out in the parallel columns and excluding the five blocks of material mentioned above, one discovers that there are only three passages having clear evidence of related subject matter

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15. Ibid, p.50.

(in one of these cases only part of a passage shows a correspondence), two are of doubtful relationship, whilst seventeen of the passages show no apparent correspondence of subject matter. Of this latter section, there is an occasional similar term of reference, a figure of speech, a phrase or a word. The proposition that the whole of the Central Section of Luke's Gospel is cast as a "journey which follows that of Deuteronomy by way of correspondence and contrast" hints at a solution which we conclude needs to be probed from a different viewpoint. Let us now examine the material as Mr. Evans arranges it in parallel columns. A fairly close correlation of subject matter is established in the first block of material, but we note that it has been necessary to re-arrange the sequence of Luke 10.

(1) Deut. 1

Israel journeys under Moses to the border of the Promised Land. Moses chooses twelve men, and sends them *ἵνα ποστέλωμεν προτέρους* to search the land. The spies return with fruit.

Lk. 10:1-3, 17-20 (Lk. 10:4-16 is re-arranged)

Jesus and his disciples journey to Jerusalem via Samaria. Jesus appoints seventy in addition to the twelve, and sends them *πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ* They return with news of success.

(2) Deut. 2-3:22

Moses sends messengers to Sihon and Og with words of peace. They seek food and water for money, and the permission to pass through the land. They are rejected. The two kings are destroyed. Let Israel see what the Lord, who fights for them, has done to these two kings (3:21)

Lk. 10:4-16 (re-arranged)

The Seventy are sent with a message of peace. They are to eat and drink what is set before them. If rejected they are to wipe off from their feet the dust of that city. Destruction like that of Sodom, Tyre and Sidon will visit Chorazin, Bethsaida and lofty Capernaum if they do not repent.

Here the correspondence of subject matter is doubtful. The principal theme of the passage in Deuteronomy is the sending of messengers to seek permission to pass through the land, whereas,

the theme in the passage of Luke is the sending of messengers to announce that the Kingdom of God 'is close upon you' (10:9). The eating and drinking is subordinate matter incidental to the subject. It is not probable that an author who was attempting to harmonize subject material according to sequence of a specific pattern would use it as a link. The final verses in Luke's passage concerning the destruction of the wicked cities does not relate easily to Deut. 3:21, for the theme here is not a call to repentance, as it is in the case of Luke's material, but it is that of a promise that the Lord will fight for Israel. Therefore, on the whole, the correspondence between passages is doubtful.

(3) Deut. 3:23-4:40

Moses as the servant to whom the Lord has shown his power, prays to the Lord who is the supreme God in heaven and earth. He is refused entry into the Promised Land. He urges them to keep the statutes which constitute *ἡ σοφία ὑμῶν καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἐναντίον πάντων ἔθνων*

They are a people which have heard the voice of God and seen his fire.

Lk. 10:21-24

Jesus as the Son who is the unique mediator and revealer of God, gives thanks to the Father *Κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς* that he has concealed these things from *σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν* and revealed them to babes. (Cf. Deut. 1:39. The babes go into the Promised Land with Joshua).

He blesses the disciples for what their eyes have seen and their ears heard.

This unexplained speculation taxes credulity but advances little. Jesus interceding on behalf of his people in the manner in which Moses interceded for Israel is an analogy which is strong in the Gospel tradition. In this passage, however, an exact point of similarity is lacking. It is approached most closely by relating the Deuteronomic passage concerning the people who had 'heard the voice of God and seen his fire' with disciples 'whose eyes have seen and whose ears have heard'

the things of the Kingdom of God. Even here, there is no clear point of correspondence of subject matter. The title given the Divine is the only precise point of correspondence in the block of material. We conclude that this is too meagre to be used as the basis of correspondence.

(4) Deut. 5-6 The Decalogue, summarized in the Shema (6:5) Commandments are rehearsed before the people, and they are exhorted to a complete devotion to God.

Lk. 10:25-27  
In reply to the lawyer's question Jesus asks, "What is written in the Law?" The Shema is combined with Lev. 19:18.

Here is evidence of subject relationship between the passages. Of the remaining eighteen blocks of material, there is only one in which there is a clear correspondence of subject material viz. that tradition which has to do with divorce; Deut. 24:1-4 cf. Luke 16:18. We shall deal more summarily with the remaining blocks of material -- except in those cases where co-relativity of subject matter is debatable.

(5) Deut. 7

Destroy the foreigner and have no mercy upon him (*οὐδὲ μὴ ἐλεήσητε αὐτούς*) lest he corrupt your worship.

Lk. 10:24-37  
The Parable of the Good Samaritan. The foreigner\* shows mercy to a Jew who has fallen upon evil.

\* Mr. Evans has read into the Lukan passage the phrase (who is corrupt in worship) and intimates that this is the link between the passages. The subject matter is very different. Deut. 7 deals with the safeguarding of Israel's worship and morals, while the parable in Luke offers by way of an illustration an answer to the question of 'Who is my neighbor?'

(6) Deut. 8:1-3  
 Man does not live by bread only  
 but

Lk. 10:38-42  
 Mary and Martha  
 Mary sits at the Lord's feet to  
 hear His word (ἤκουεν τὸν λόγον  
 αὐτοῦ, )  
 and is commended rather than  
 Martha who is busied with food.

Here the intimation is that the co-relation of subject consists  
 in the hearing of the Word as opposed to concern for bread but the  
 phrase 'busied with food' does not adequately translate *περὶ πολλά*  
 The passage in Deuteronomy deals with an exhortation to remember  
 the lessons of the desert.

(7) Deut. 8:4 - end  
 Exhortation to remember the Lord  
 as a father, and to keep His  
 commandments.

Lk. 11:1-13  
 How to pray  
 The parable of the Importunate  
 Friend.

No correspondence of subject

(8) Deut. 9:1-10:11  
 An address to Israel about to  
 cross into Jordan-admonish-  
 ment to piety applying the  
 lessons of the desert in the  
 face of the fierce nations.  
 Moses intercedes on behalf  
 of his people.

Lk. 11:14-26  
 Jesus casts out a demon.  
 He is accused of doing so by  
 Beelzebub.  
 The strong man watches his  
 goods until overcome.

No correspondence of subject

(9) Deut. 10:12-11  
 The Lord requires obedience.  
 Circumcise your heart.  
 Love strangers.  
 Admonishment to obedience-  
 eyes of the Lord are always  
 upon the land.  
 I set before you a blessing  
 and a curse.

Lk. 11:27-36  
 Blessed are they who hear  
 the Word of God and keep it.  
 An evil generation seeks  
 after a sign.  
 They eye the body's lamp-  
 an instrument of good or  
 evil.

The conception of bliss for those who obey the Word may well  
 be Deuteronomic, but in this case, the subjects are quite different.  
 The passage in Deuteronomy lays down God's requirements from

Israel. The verse in Luke declares the state of those who obey God's Word. In the latter part of the passages, seemingly the figure of 'the eye' is intended as the symbol of relationship. Again the subject matter is different.

No correspondence of subject

(10) Deut. 12:1-16

(Clean and Unclean)

Commandments to keep pure the worship of the Lord - resort to his sanctuary. You may eat flesh in any of your cities but you may not eat the blood.

Lk. 11:37-12:12

Jesus dines with a Pharisee. Pharisees fail to distinguish between inner and outer cleanliness. Woe unto the Pharisees who tithe but neglect τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ Upon them comes all of the blood shed from the foundation of the world.

Deuteronomy 12:1-16 deals with worship in the agricultural environment of Canaan. The people must keep pure their worship of Yahweh. In order to do this, they must worship at a central shrine. To give this section the title 'Clean and Unclean' is a misnomer.

No correspondence of subject.

(11) Deut. 12:17 to end

Rejoice with your wealth before the Lord. When the Lord increases your prosperity you may eat after the desire of your soul. When you go into the land take care that you are not ensnared to follow the example of the ἔθνη and to enquire how they serve their gods.

Lk. 12:13-34

Beware of covetousness. Man's life belongs to God. The parable of the Rich Fool. Be not anxious about possessions. After all these things do the ἔθνη seek. Seek ye the Kingdom of God.

This passage in Deuteronomy has to do with the maxims which accompany worship at a central sanctuary. Its main theme is that of exhortation, and warnings against syncretism. The Lukan passage deals with warnings against covetousness. There is a point of simi-

larity in the conception of the Gentiles expressed by ἔθνη . Deuteronomy may have supplied this conception to the mind of our Lord, just as Deut. 11:1 may have supplied the conception reported by Luke in the previous block; τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ . The themes, however, are different.

No correspondence of subject.

(12) Deut. 13:1-11  
More warnings against following after false gods.  
The rebellious prophet-even the member of your family which entice to false gods must be put to death.

Lk. 12:35-53  
Reward and punishment for faithfulness in the Lord's stewards.  
Jesus comes to bring fire of judgement. A family will now be divided.

No correspondence of subject.

(13) Deut. 13:12-end  
Communal destruction commanded for communal apostasy.  
If lawless men entice the inhabitants of your cities to follow other gods you shall completely destroy Πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας

Lk. 12:54-13:5  
A denial of the relation between communal disaster and personal sin.  
Hypocrites! You know how to interpret weather signs - but not judgement.

The Galileans whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices were not sinners above others. Those upon whom the tower of Siloam fell were not sinners above Πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ἱερουσαλήμ-

The inference seems to be that the phrase Πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας

κοῦντας is the link between the passages. It must be granted that a Deuteronomic principle is being contested. Luke reports that Jesus protests against the view that communal disaster is the result of communal sin. Deuteronomy commands communal destruction for communal sin, but in Jesus' eyes communal destruction is not necessarily the result of communal sin. In the Lukan passages the subject



turns upon the point that all men need to repent. The phrase  
*ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΑΣ* is not the link between passages.

No correspondence of subject.

\* Deut. 14:1-21 OMITTED List of Clean and Unclean animals

(14) Deut. 14:28

Every third year tithes are to be brought for the Levite, resident alien, the orphan and the widow.

Lk. 13:6-9

After three years of inspecting a barren fig tree, a fourth opportunity of bearing fruit is granted and the ground about it is dug and manured.

No correspondence of subject.

(15) Deut. 15:1-18

Release from Debt and Slavery  
 The Lord's release is to be proclaimed on the Seventh year. All fellow Hebrews who are in debt are to be released. This commandment is aimed at helping the poor.

Lk. 13:10-21

The cure of the Bent Woman.  
 The ruler of the synagogue protests that there are six working days for such a cure. Jesus replies, 'Ought not the woman a descendant of Abraham whom Satan has kept bound these eighteen years be released on the Sabbath day?'

Now typology becomes the means whereby the passages are made to correspond. Presumably, the working days are types of the six years, and the sabbath is a type of the year of Release. This approach however, places the major concern of the narrative on the fact that it happened to take place on the Sabbath, rather than upon Jesus whose compassion will not allow any institution to delay the freeing of the crippled. That Luke understands that the Deuteronomic tradition of release played a significant part in Jesus' interpretation of His mission is evident from his handling of the account of the beginning of Jesus'

ministry in the Synagogue at Nazareth.<sup>23</sup>

No correspondence of subject

(16) Deut. 16:1-17:1

The Three Feasts at Jerusalem  
Commandments to keep the Pass-  
over and the Feast of Weeks and  
the Feast of Tabernacles at the place  
which the Lord should choose.  
You shall kill and stone those who  
do evil, who transgress the covenant  
and commit idolatry.

Lk. 13:22-35

Jesus journeys through cities.  
Warnings to enter through the  
narrow gate before it is closed.  
They will be excluded from the  
feast of the Kingdom of God and  
aliens will take their place in  
the company of the patriarchs.  
Only in Jerusalem can a prophet's  
blood be shed. Jerusalem is the  
apostate city which kills and  
stones the messengers of God.

Here it must be granted that there are certain similar points of refer-  
ence. Luke associates the sacrifice which the Prophet<sup>24</sup> is going to  
make with the Deuteronomic tradition of a 'chosen place' where sacri-  
fice properly is to be made.

The subject matter is different, though certain Deuteronomic  
traditions have been at play on the Lukan material.

No correspondence of subject.

(17) Deut. 17:8-18

Appoint judges who will judge  
righteously.  
Teaching concerning the choice of  
a ruler - from among your  
brethren - not set upon worldly  
magnificence.  
A prophet like unto Moses will  
be raised up; unto him shall ye  
hearken.

Lk. 14:1-14

Jesus dines at the house of a  
Pharisee on the Sabbath. The  
question concerning the healing  
of the man with dropsy on the  
Sabbath.  
The *νομικοί* refuse to utter  
judgement.  
Jesus exhorts to humility.

No correspondence of subject

<sup>23</sup>Luke 4:16ff. This passage will be dealt with in detail later.

<sup>24</sup>Luke's view of Jesus as the prophet 'like unto Moses' (Acts  
3:22, 7:37) is to be fully explored during the course of this paper.

(18) Deut. 20

When you go to battle, it is the Lord's battle. The *γραμματεῖς* may grant remission from battle in the following cases: building a house and not dedicating, planting a vineyard and not partaking, a man who has betrothed a wife, one who is fainthearted, may return. When approaching a city proclaim unto it. If the offer is refused, then make war upon it and destroy it utterly.

Lk. 14:15-35

Blessed is he who eats at the feast of the Kingdom of God. The parable of the Great Feast. Excuses made

I have bought a field.

I have bought five yoke of oxen. I have married a wife - Therefore the feast is thrown open to the multitude of the poor. The challenge of discipleship. . . A king going to make war against another king first reckons if he can win. If not, he sends an embassy desiring petitions of peace.

In these passages, the parable could bear a similarity of style, but this is difficult to maintain for there are differences in the grouping of the material. The Deuteronomic passage allows four excuses from military duty. There are only three making excuse in the parable. Deut. 20:7 refers to *(μεμνήσεται γυναῖκα)* betrothed to a wife, while the parable states that in this instance the man in question *(Γυναῖκα ἔγημα)* married a wife. This part of the parable would more readily correspond to Deut. 24:5. The last passage in the block concerning the King about to Make War has similarity with the Deuteronomic passage only insofar as both use a common object *εἰρήνην*. The subjects under discussion, however, are different. The Deuteronomic passage gives commandment to moderate the cruelty of sudden assault in warfare by offering terms of peace to a city. The passage in Luke, on the other hand, deals with the reckoning which must go

into an engagement (in this instance the engagement is that of discipleship) using as an illustration the king who makes careful calculations before entering upon an engagement" seeking to choose the proper tactics.

No correspondence of subject.

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\* Deut. 21:1-4 OMITTED The Treatment of Dead Bodies and Dealings with Woman Captives

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(19) Deut. 21:15-22:4  
 Primogeniture  
 The acknowledgement of the firstborn is a command which cannot be broken in order to favour the child of a favourite wife.  
 A stubborn and rebellious son shall be stoned.  
 When your brother's ox or sheep goes astray return him to your brother.

Lk. 15 Parables of (Lost and Found)  
 A man losing one sheep seeks it.  
 A woman losing a coin seeks it.  
 A man has two sons. He divides the inheritance among them when the younger asks for his part.  
 He returns and receives a compassionate and joyful welcome.  
 The firstborn objects but is chided by the father who reminds him that all that is his father's is his also.

Naming the passage in Luke the Parable of the "Lost and Found" is a misnomer. The theme is not concerned so much with the lost and found as it is with the untiring seeking which ultimately finds. Luke possesses a rather accurate knowledge of the Deuteronomic law of primogeniture. There is more to be said upon this aspect later but as far as the relationship of subject material is concerned, there is

No correspondence of subject material.

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\* Deut. 22:6-23 OMITTED A Collection of Miscellaneous Regulations

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(20) Deut. 23:15-24:4

An escaped slave shall not be handed over but shall live in your midst. You shall not bring as a vow money gained by religious prostitution. You shall not lend upon usury.

Vows must be performed.

If a man find no favour in his wife, he shall write her a bill of divorce, and send her away, and she may become the wife of another.

Lk. 16:1-18

The Parable of the Unjust Steward

Make friends of the *μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας*

You cannot serve God and Mammon. What is lofty in men's eyes is an abomination unto the Lord. The law and the prophets are till John; from now, the kingdom is being forcibly entered. But the law abides. Whosoever puts away his wife and marries another commits adultery.

Here there is correspondence of subject matter in the last passages. Luke represents Jesus' clear contradiction of the Deuteronomic tradition of divorce.

#### Correspondence of subject in part of the block

(27) Deut. 24:6-25:8

Injunctions against oppression of poor. Remember you were delivered out of the slavery of Egypt.

You may not take the millstone to pledge.

If any is found stealing the life of any brethren, the thief shall die.

Take heed of the plague of leprosy.

Thou shalt not oppress the poor and needy in thy cities.

Give him his hire before sunset.

Each shall pay for his own sin.

When you reap your harvest leave a sheaf. It shall be for the stranger, the fatherless and the widow.

When you beat your olives. . .

When you harvest your vineyard, you shall not go over them a second time.

If there be a controversy, and men come to judgement, the judges shall justify the righteous and condemn the wicked.

Lk. 16:19-18:8

The vindication of the poor and oppressed by God in judgement.

The Parable of Dives and Lazarus

Rich man fares sumptuously

The poor man lies at the door.

The poor man is rewarded. The

rich man is in torment. He

should have heeded the law and

the prophets (16:16, 17). Better

a millstone round the neck than

to cause one of these little ones

to offend.

Forgive your brother.

When you have done all required

of you, you are still unprofitable

servants.

Ten lepers are cleansed. Only

the alien returns to give thanks.

The kingdom of God is within.

Whosoever seeks to preserve his

life shall lose it.

The parable of the Importunate

widow. Will not God vindicate

his elect?

This is the longest block of material in the pattern of Mr. Evans' arrangement. It includes twelve verses of Chapter 16, all of Chapter 17 and the first eight verses of Chapter 18 of Luke's Gospel. A number of Deuteronomic principles appear in the block; concern for the poor, emphasis upon the observance of the Law and prophets, righteous judgement, yet there is no specific instance of related subject matter. There is in the last verses in the block a point of reference. In the parable the widow comes to the judge presuming that he will justify her (*ἐκδικήσόν με ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου μου*). Her convictions may be based on Deut. 25:1 (*καὶ δικάσωσι τὸ δίκαιον*). The subject, however, has to do with persistence in prayer - of which the widow's continual coming is an illustration.

No correspondence of subject

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\* Deut. 25:4-end OMITTED Refusal of Levirate Marriage,  
False Weights

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(22) Deut. 26

Commendments for worship when coming into the Promised Land. You shall worship before the Lord and say 'I have given the tithe to the Levite, the fatherless and the widow, and obeyed the commandment. I have not transgressed any of thy commandments.' Look down from thy holy habitation and bless thy people.

Lk. 18:9-14

Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican  
Both go to temple to pray.  
Pharisee's prayer -  
'I thank Thee that I am not as other men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican.'  
I fast twice in the week; I give tithes of all that I get.  
The publican does not lift up his eyes to heaven.  
The exalted shall be brought low.

A possible correlation between passages could be argued on the basis of certain likenesses, but the subject matter is different.



The Deuteronomic passage deals with worship in the new land, while the passage in Luke deals with the importance of humility and its relationship to prayer.

Possible correspondence of subject.

Of the passages examined, five cannot be made to correlate in any way, two - as we have seen, are doubtful, one is partially related and only three passages show any likeness of subject material; whilst sixteen of the passages show no relationship of subject material. Two passages in which there is genuine correspondence of subject, out of a possible twenty-seven is slender evidence upon which to draw the conclusion that Luke has arranged the Central Section of his Gospel according to the pattern of Deuteronomy. Moreover, no reason is put forward as to why Luke should have followed Deuteronomy only as far as the end of the Law Code i. e. Deut. 26. Though reference is made to Luke's second work of Acts, no explanation is offered as to why Luke did not adopt some such arrangement of material following an Old Testament Book for this treatise. Interesting as the possibility is that Luke "selected and ordered his material with a view to presenting it as a Christian Deuteronomy," the grounds for establishing this

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25. Our results may be summarized as follows:

1. Corresp. of subj.	8. No corresp.	15. No corresp.
2. Corresp. doubtful	9. No corresp.	16. No corresp.
3. Corresp. doubtful	10. No corresp.	17. No corresp.
4. Corresp. of subj.	11. No corresp.	18. No corresp.
5. No corresp.	12. No corresp.	19. No corresp.
6. No corresp.	13. No corresp.	20. Partial corresp.
7. No corresp.	14. No corresp.	21. No corresp.
		22. Partial corresp.

26. C. F. Evans, Op. Cit., p. 50.

27. Ibid., p. 42.



hypothesis must be found elsewhere and not on the pattern of arrangement of the Central Section of his Gospel.<sup>28.</sup> Indeed Mr. Evans has opened the way for an investigation which, by its results, does provide ipso facto an adequate basis for supposing that the Evangelist Luke "who had perfect understanding of all things from the very first" understood the Deuteronomic traditions and how these traditions were relevant in the life of Our Lord and in His teaching. Tracing the course by which Luke follows Deuteronomic traditions will be the main business of our study.

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28. Aileen Guilding's solution to the problem of the order of the teaching section of Luke's Gospel, The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1960, p. 133, opens up new ground for research. She holds that "the separate units of the long teaching section in Luke .. can be shown to be strung upon the thread of a continuous series of lectionary readings, mainly from Deuteronomy, covering the events between the Transfiguration and the Passion, that is from Tishri to Adar". The validity of Professor Guilding's position is suspended upon a two-fold conjecture: that such a lectionary was in use in St. Luke's time, and that St. Luke deliberately chose to arrange the materials for the Central Section of his Gospel according to that lectionary. This is a more circuitous route to Deuteronomic dependance than the one we propose. Generally it would make St. Luke more of a liturgist than a theologian and literary artist. The hypothesis is interesting and requires further probing. For a harshly critical review of Guilding's procedure see Wayne A. Meeks, The Prophet King, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1967, p. 92. E. J. Tinsley in the Cambridge Bible Commentary, (N.E.B.) Cambridge University Press, 1965, on the other hand, expresses a position (p. 108) which we seek to explore, namely: "Comparison of this section with the structure of the book of Deuteronomy makes one think that Luke had at the back of his mind the journey of one of the 'old prophets', Moses, and the people of Israel to the borders of the promised land."

PART TWO

THE PROPHET LIKE MOSES TRADITION

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Dr. A. M. Farrer has raised the question, "Among all the books of Moses why should Deuteronomy appeal to St. Luke as specially typical of Christ's doctrine?"<sup>1</sup> He replies to his query by suggesting that the "primitive Christian saw the Law reasserted and yet transformed in the Gospel." In Deuteronomy Moses reasserted his Protonomy (the Law from Ex. to Num.). The occasion, in his last hours and in connection with his successor Jesus (Joshua) first designated as the prophet of Deut. 18:15, enforces the same point to the Christian mind. Farrer thinks also that Deuteronomy with its law of love towards God and man might have prompted Luke to place the weight of Christ's teaching in a Deuteronomic position. He terms this section of the Gospel a "Christian Deuteronomy."<sup>2</sup> It is bound by the Shema and the summary of the Decalogue. The Scribe's question and the Rich Man's question he calls the "twin pillars" which mark out the extent of Luke's Deuteronomy. He has called the question which they asked Deuteronomic; viz. "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" Both have knowledge of the formal answer which the old Law supplied. "It is the new Deuteronomy, the life-giving exposition of the old precept, that is reserved for Christ,"<sup>3</sup> Beyond these general considerations, Dr. Farrer does not pass. He has made his statement in the context of his major subject which dealt with dispensing with Q.

If Deuteronomy made a particular appeal to Luke as an Old Testament prototype for his Gospel, can a historical and theological

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<sup>1</sup>A. M. Farrer, "On Dispensing With Q," Studies in the Gospels. edited by Nineham, 1955, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 79

basis be found for this possibility? It is to be agreed that the typological approach makes less appeal to us than it did to the first century mind. In Luke's second work, Acts, however, Luke reveals himself as a historian for he says his first book was a treatise concerning "all that Jesus began to do and teach." In the preface to his gospel, he allies himself with his predecessors, offering as his authorities 'those who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word'. His intention is evangelical and theological, 'that you might know the truth concerning the things of which you have been informed'. His Gospel is to be a narrative of those things 'which have been accomplished amongst us'. In the Book of Acts, the speeches probably reveal much of the author's theology and interpretation of history. In them we are made aware of fulfillment; not of specific instances of correspondence between prediction and event so much, as of general propositions accomplished in Jesus of Nazareth. The mood which his account takes is that of a 'must', rather than a 'shall'. God has ordained, He has set a day, He has chosen witnesses, He has fixed a judge, He has appointed a way.<sup>4</sup> A prominent tradition, however, of which we are made aware is that Jesus fulfilled the expectation of the prophet like Moses of Deuteronomy 18:15. That this tradition, with all of its prefigurings by other great Old Testament prophets, is basic in St. Luke's Gospel, we shall attempt to show in this section, along with the hypothesis

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<sup>4</sup>See H. J. Cadbury, The Making of Luke - Acts, 1927, p. 299-316

that Luke's sources contained unique Deuteronomic references which Luke related to the 'prophet like Moses' tradition.

The Character of the Prophet Like Moses in Luke's Theology

We hold that Luke understood Jesus to be the fulfilment of the expectation of a Prophet like Moses of Deut. 18:15. This argument is built upon the significance of Acts 3:22 and Acts 7:37 together with Luke's handling of the Transfiguration, particularly with reference to the meaning of the term *ἔξοδος*. It is strengthened by the emphasis Luke gives to the prophetic role of Jesus and the echoes of and allusions to Deuteronomy found in the Travel Section of his Gospel which appears to be constructed on the basis of a recapitulation of Israel's wilderness journey. It is the character of the prophet which concerns us most in this section. Luke had no sources other than those which we possess ourselves for discovering what Moses was like. Necessarily, his conceptions were drawn without the aid of the modern sciences of archaeology, historiography, semasiology and the others, which are at our disposal. His information, like ours, was mainly from the literary sources of the Pentateuch. In the Pentateuch is the record of what Moses was thought to be like from the viewpoint of the Deuteronomist, and the Mosaic traditions with which he, and the other writers of the Pentateuch, worked. In these there appear to be four distinctive patterns of thought concerning Moses, which were recognized to some degree by Luke and represented in some measure in his sources:

(1) Moses was regarded as a faithful servant to whom God had made a special revelation. Numbers 12:7

And he said, "Hear my words: If there is a prophet among you, I the Lord make myself known to him in a vision, I speak with him in a dream. Not so with my servant Moses; he is entrusted with all my house. With him I speak mouth to mouth, clearly, and not in dark speech; and he beholds the form of the Lord." And Israel saw the great work which the Lord did against the Egyptians, and the people feared the Lord, and they believed in the Lord and in his servant Moses. (Ex. 14:31). O Lord God, Thou hast only begun to show thy servant thy greatness and thy mighty hand. (Deut. 3:24)

So Moses the servant of the Lord died in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord (Deut. 34:5).

After the death of Moses the servant of the Lord, the Lord said to Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, Moses my servant is dead. (Joshua 1:1, 2).

(2) Moses was Israel's first priest. The priest intercedes before God on behalf of man. Moses fulfils the office of priest at the Sinaitic covenant (Ex. 24:3-8). He manipulates the blood. Moses consecrates Aaron and his sons to the priestly office (Ex. 28:41). Moses makes intercession on behalf of Israel when the people fall to idolatry (Ex. 32:30-35). Three times in Deuteronomy 9 Moses is portrayed making intercession for Israel. He suffered for Israel.

(3) Moses was Israel's first ruler or king.

Because Moses gave the sacred law Yahweh was seen to rule through him. Deuteronomy 33:5 reads:

When Moses commanded us a law,  
as a possession for the assembly of Jacob  
Thus the Lord became King in Jeshurun. (Deut. 33:4, 5)

Stephen in Acts 7:35 affirms the rulership of Moses. Deuteronomy 17:15 lays down a pattern for Kingship in Israel:

You may indeed set a king over you him whom the Lord your God will choose. One from among your brethren you shall set as king over you; you may not put a foreigner over you, who is not your brother.

Further elaboration requires that such a king shall not multiply horses for himself, nor wives, nor great silver and gold. He is not to return to Egypt. He shall be a life-long student of the law which he shall also keep. It is obvious that he is to be chosen of the Lord from the people but he is to be more than an objective Divine instrument making pronouncements upon a people with whom he was in no way identified. Though during his lifetime Moses did not bear the title, many after him did so esteem him -- especially, as we shall note presently, Philo (30 B.C. - - A.D. 40).

#### (4) Moses was Prophet Par Excellence

Moses was revered as the chosen of the Lord who received oracles of God directly. It was from the view of this higher plane of prophetic function that the final Deuteronomic editor, writing as we may suppose about the middle of the seventh century B.C., stated:

And there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face. (Deut. 34:10)

Not Amos, Hosea, Micah or Isaiah; not even the mighty Elijah of an earlier generation are to be given a place on this exalted plane. The 'golden age' of Israel's prophecy was nearly ended and Israel would no longer be defined as a nation when the Deuteronomist wrote. The Northern Kingdom was in the grip of Assyria and the Southern Kingdom was bidding for independence. In the Deuteronomist's view a 'prophet



like Moses<sup>1</sup> had not yet arisen. Verses 11 and 12 following Deut. 34:10 indicate that no prophet since Moses had shown the signs and wonders and none had shown the mighty power nor wrought the deeds which Moses wrought in the sight of all Israel. Such a prophet was not only to be the Lord's mouthpiece, as Moses had been, but he was to manifest power for enforcing his message. Such a prophet, it would appear, would unite in his person the various aspects of God's Redemption first revealed through Moses. It is within the sphere of these functions that Luke appears to understand Jesus as the fulfilment of the expectation of a prophet like Moses.

#### Brief Survey of the Prophet Like Moses Tradition

The idea of a saviour of Israel liberating a captive people is the root out of which the tree of Messianic expectations emerged. Joseph Klausner holds that the traditions of Moses and the Exodus are the source of the Messianic idea.<sup>5</sup> Strack and Billerbeck<sup>6</sup> followed by Jeremias<sup>7</sup> observe that the Exodus from Egypt is the Vorbild or prototype of the messianic redemption. The history of Israel can be traced, partly, through its prophets, priests and kings. The latter often were regarded as deliverers. Sometimes the distinctions between the three offices were slight. In the literature of Israel the figure of the prophet generally dominates. Therefore when Moses was regarded as having the highest authority he is regarded also

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<sup>5</sup> J. Klausner, The Messianic Ideal in Israel, Allen and Unwin, London, 1956, p. 184.

<sup>6</sup> S. B. K., p. 68ff., 85ff.

<sup>7</sup> Kittel, T. W. N. T. IV., p. 864.

as being a prophet. Hosea 12:13 thus declares him: "by a prophet Yahweh brought Israel out of Egypt."

The process of exalting Moses as prophet and man of God continued in the Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Sirach (44:23 - 45:5) exalts Moses for his miracles, his faithfulness and his meekness. Moses has favour of all. He was chosen from all others to receive the Law. Moreover, the Wisdom of Solomon exalting wisdom as the chief influence in Israel's history claims wisdom entered Moses' soul (10:16 - 11:1). Also the Letter of Aristeas (C. 100 B.C.) notes that Moses is "our lawgiver" and endowed by God to understand all things. Lauding him as God's chief prophet (11:10) the Assumption of Moses (1:14) classifies him as the only pre-existent human. In addition to the evidences in Jewish Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic literature which stress Moses' prophetic function we turn also to evidence in the writings of Josephus, Philo, the Rabbin, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Samaritan Pentateuch.

#### (i) Evidence in Josephus

Josephus glorified Moses as the earliest and best of all law-givers (C. Apion 2:154-175). He calls Moses a "divine man" (Ant. 3:180; cf. C. Apion 1:279). Moses was superior to other legislators not only because he was the earliest but because he ordained Jewish government to be a theocracy and not a monarchy. He alone combined in law the two methods of achieving moral conduct, namely verbal inspiration and practice (C. Apion 2:164, 171 ff.).

(ii) Evidence In Philo

In his Life of Moses Philo portrays Moses as prophet and priest, but above all as perfect king. As his presentation conforms with current Hellenistic ideals of kingship, this category may have been chosen to appeal to potential gentile proselytes. In any case, Philo extols Moses as prophet, priest and ideal king and lawgiver. Moses is the best of all lawgivers everywhere.<sup>8</sup> He is himself the law (the Greek law of Nature, the Logos) incarnate (*νόμος ἔμψυχος*).<sup>9</sup> Here Philo follows a common Hellenistic idea that the king, since he issues the decrees which become law, is a living law -- law incarnate.<sup>10</sup> In giving the people the Law, Moses was making articulate the Law within him. Moreover, in Mosis Philo stresses the ideal type of priesthood represented in Moses. He has piety and virtue in a high degree.<sup>11</sup> While on the Mount God taught him the mysteries of the priestly office.<sup>12</sup> When the people fell to idol worship of the Golden Calf Moses as priestly intercessor prayed God to forgive their sin. Finally Philo exalts Moses as the prophet -- the most perfect and esteemed of all the prophets. Moses spoke according to *ἐνθουσιασμός* prophesying things given him by direct inspiration from God. The four offices of king and lawgiver, high priest and prophet of Philo's ideal Moses are closely interrelated.

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<sup>8</sup> Philo, Vita Mosis 2:12

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 1:162.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 2:4.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 2:66.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 2:71

(iii) Evidence in Rabbinic literature

Rabbinic tradition continued the process of glorifying Moses. The view that Moses is the greatest of all prophets is prevalent. The Mishnah (Sotah 1:9) states that "none in Israel is greater than he." This statement appears to be a conclusion drawn from Deut. 34:10 'And there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face.' Midrash Deut. R. 11:10 (7th C.) and Lekah Deut. 34:7 quote Deut. 34:10. In various rabbinic traditions Moses is called "the first Redeemer." The Zohar (3:260 b) states that "Moses was the first perfect man; the King Messiah will be the last." With all of the tendencies toward hero worship and with the weight of accumulated tradition glorifying Moses it is significant to note that authors and redactors prevented the deification of Moses.<sup>13</sup> Rabbi Akiba along with Rabbi Judah on Exod. R. 46:3 stressed Moses' subordination to God. Moses' actions are taken, not on his own initiative, but on God's explicit command.

This sketch of Mosaic references is intended to indicate the strength and persistence of the prophetic and kingly view of the figure of Moses. Moses as prophet and king does not always exist alone. It is joined with the earliest figure of Israel's prophetic line from settled times, Elijah. Strack-Billerbeck<sup>14</sup> think that the trad-

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<sup>13</sup>Wilhelm Feilchenfeldt "Die Entpersonlichung Moses in der Bibel," ZAW, LXIV, 1952, pp. 156-178 argues that the Jews took pains to prevent the deification of Moses.

<sup>14</sup>Kommentar IV., p. 785.

ition in which Moses is joined with Elijah is late (Midrash Deut. R. 3), for older Rabbinic literature knows nothing of it. Contrary to this view Hans Schoeps states that it is probably early for it is presented by Johanan ben Zakkai (late 1st C. A. D.).<sup>15</sup> Supporting Schoeps is the tradition found in the Babylonian Talmud in Megillah 19b and Sukkah 5a. The expectation that Elijah would return probably had its origin in 2 Kings 2:11 which describes Elijah's bodily ascension. For this unique honour Elijah stands superior to other prophets. He is given a place with Moses. Mal. 4:5-6 is the earliest canonical expression of the belief in Elijah's return. In Sirach 48:10-11 (180 B. C.) Elijah is to be the prophet Messiah when he returns. One of his functions is to establish or restore the nation by gathering to the homeland the Jews scattered abroad. The tradition of a return to earth is stronger with Elijah than with Moses. Some of the Rabbinic traditions, however, expressed an expectation of the return of Moses. On the basis of Tan B 2:7, Tan Shemot 14 and Shemot R. 2:4 Louis Ginsberg observes that in the latter days Moses 'will appear in the desert again, to lead into the promised land the generation (which died in the desert during the Exodus) arisen from their graves that he brought forth from Egyptian bondage'.<sup>16</sup> The midrash Numbers Rabbah 19:13-14 (12th C.) speaks of Moses coming in the Age to Come (after the resurrection) to be a teacher of the Torah.

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15. Schoeps, H.J., Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums Mohr, Tübingen, 1949.

16. Louis Ginsberg, Legends 11, p. 302

Belief in the return of Elijah and Moses is reflected in New Testament literature. It is clearly behind the record in Revelation 11. They may be the two witnesses having power to shut the sky and turn waters into blood. They are to testify and be killed in the city where their Lord was crucified (Rev. 11:8). A second New Testament evidence of the belief is in the records of the Transfiguration. Indeed we may say, upon examination of the Synoptic records, that something of the interpretation of this expectation is revealed by the manner in which each Evangelist handled the account of the Transfiguration. We shall turn presently to a detailed study of Luke's Transfiguration account. It is relevant to note, at this point, that in Mark's account Elijah is named before Moses. At the end of the account Jesus is recorded saying, "But I tell you that Elijah has come, and they did to him whatever they pleased, as it is written of him." (Mark 9:13). Matthew names Moses first and at the end of the account notes "Then the disciples understood that he was speaking of John the Baptist." (Matt. 17:13). Luke follows Matthew in naming Moses first. At the end however he leaves out altogether any reference to Elijah. It is an argument from silence. But might not this omission be intended to suppress any reference to the coming of Elijah? Is Luke seeking to impress on his reader that what was prefigured in Moses and what was prefigured in Elijah has had its completion? The prophet like Moses (and the prophet like Elijah) has come. He is to be understood as having some of the

characteristics of Moses and some of the characteristics of Elijah.

The Scriptural authority and foundation for the tradition of a Prophet like Moses is Deut. 18:15, 18

The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among you, from your brethren. Him you shall heed. . . . I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their brethren; and I will put my word in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I command him.  
(Free translation) LXX

Luther held that Deut. 18:15 was the chief passage in the whole book (Deut.) and a clearly expressed prophecy of Christ as the new Teacher.<sup>17</sup> Old Testament scholars generally agree that Deut. 18:15 referred first to a line of Yahweh's prophets.<sup>18</sup> The context deals with the problem of foreign diviners. In the succession of Yahweh's prophets each will be like Moses in that each will be Yahweh's chosen. Verses 18-22 of Deut. 18 give direction to the people for distinguishing Yahweh's prophets. During the Inter-testamental period the emphasis on a succession of prophets gave way to the tradition of a single prophet like Moses. It appears that during the time when the voice of the prophet was silenced in the affairs of Israel's leadership there was a hearkening back to Moses and the anticipation of the coming of a prophet like Moses. This prophet sometimes alluded to as the "new Moses" was from time to time identified with a historical figure of the past. Joshua, Ezra, Jeremiah and possibly the Teacher of Righteousness of the Qumran

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<sup>17</sup>Luther's Works, Vol. 9, p. 176, edited by J. Pelikan and D. Poellot, Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo., 1960.

<sup>18</sup>S. R. Driver, I.C.C., p. 227, Adam Welch, The Code of Deuteronomy, p. 108. Note more recently, von Rad Old Testament Theology, p. 294.



literature occupy this expectation. It is relevant to note literary support for each of these figures with reference to the tradition of a Prophet Like Moses.

The Assumption of Moses (A.D. 6-30) appears to view Joshua as the new Moses for he is named in connection with "the prophecy that was made by Moses in the book of Deuteronomy." According to B.T. Sanhedrin 21b - 22a Ezra was as qualified to give the law as Moses. Moreover, B.T. Berakoth 4a declares that the exodus under Ezra parallels the exodus in the days of Joshua. Ezra, like Moses, is qualified to be the law giver and in this sense is a prophet like Moses. Jeremiah also is interpreted as the New Moses by the Haggadah. The Haggadah stresses the parallels between the careers of Moses and Jeremiah. The tradition of the reappearance of a prophet in the likeness of Jeremiah is preserved by Matthew in his record of the confession at Caesarea Philippi. The disciples replied to Jesus question, 'Whom do men say that the Son of man is?' 'Some say John the Baptist, others say Elijah, and other Jeremiah or one of the prophets.' (Matt. 16:14)

(iv) Evidence in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The Teacher of Righteousness of the Qumran Community is held to be the New Moses by such scholars as Jeremias, <sup>19</sup> Wieder, <sup>20</sup> Teeple <sup>21</sup> and others. It is uncertain that the Teacher was regarded as

19. K.T.W. IV, p. 863, 866.

20. Wieder, N., "Law Interpreted", J.Q.R., 1954, pp. 12-14; 1956, pp. 356-366.

21. Teeple, H., The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet, S.B. Lit. Philadelphia, 1957, p. 57. Monograph Series Vol. x.

a New Moses or Prophet like Moses during his lifetime. It is apparent that he was so regarded afterwards. The Damascus Document (C.D. 6) calls the Teacher a Lawgiver relating him to Moses and quoting Numbers 21:18. The Qumran community thought of the Teacher as the New Moses for he interpreted the Law and brought out its real significance.<sup>22.</sup> However we may question the role of the Teacher of Righteousness there is no question that the community held that a new Prophet and Teacher (and the offices might be combined in one) would arise at the termination of the present age to usher in a new age when the scattered hosts of Israel would be gathered. This Prophet and Teacher might be also a duly anointed High Priest and King (possibly 'the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel'). Some scholars believe this tradition to be built entirely upon Deut. 18:15-18. It is most significant that a small fragment found in one of the caves contains this Deuteronomic passage at the head of a list of Scriptural quotations justifying the Messianic ideas of the community.<sup>23.</sup> Here there is an association also with the words of Moses' final Blessing upon the priestly tribe of Levi (Deut. 33:9-11.) Theodor Gaster holds that the Prophet anticipated at the end of days in the Dead Sea Scrolls is in accordance with the promise of Deut. 18:18 and is a key figure in the religious doctrine of the Covenanters of Qumran. This expectation of the

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22. Damacus Documents (G. Vesmes., The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, Penguin, 1962 p. 108.)

23. Theodor Gaster, The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect. p. 15. (4 Q Test.)

Qumran Community of the prophet like Moses to be embodied in a single person supports the view that such was the current interpretation of Deut. 18:15 in Luke's time. It is contrary to the doctrine of later Rabbinic teaching which held that the tradition was fulfilled in a succession of prophets.<sup>24</sup> Indeed the silence in Rabbinic literature on this topic during the period of 135-300 A. D. argues that this prominent Deuteronomistic passage was a subject to be avoided. Is it not possible that the Rabbis saw in the Christian interpretation something so precarious to Jewish Messianic doctrine that all references to it had to be suppressed?

One of the perplexing questions raised by the Scrolls literature is whether Deut. 18:15-18 which played an important role in the thought of the Qumran community was applied to the Teacher of Righteousness and therefore already fulfilled, or was it interpreted as referring to one yet to come. A pertinent passage in the Manual of Discipline reads as follows:

They shall not depart from any counsel of the law, walking in all the stubbornness of their hearts; but they shall judge by the first judgements by which the men of the community began to be disciplined, until there shall come a prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel (1 QS 9:9-11) (Burrows' trans.)

The reference here is to the future. In what respect, if any, may we trace here the Prophet like Moses tradition? The word

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<sup>24</sup>See Strack-Billerbeck Vol. II, p. 626 cp. Millar Burrows More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1958, p. 70, p. 310, further discussion on p. 313.

prophet  $\text{אֲבִיב}$  is without the article. Does this suggest that the expected Prophet is undefined? We cannot say so for the Prophet Like Moses in Deuteronomy 18:15 was also without the article. The concurrence with new Mosaic times and the finding of a Testimonia fragment giving precedence to a Prophet Like Moses in Deut. 18:15 all point to the identification of this expected prophet with the Prophet like Moses. These considerations have moved a number of scholars to decide accordingly.<sup>25</sup> As the New Moses he could well be expected to return as the Prophet Like Moses. No doubt this is what Teeple has in mind when he says of I Q S 9:9-11 and 4 Q Test.: "The Covenanters probably regarded the passages as equally applicable to the past and future roles of their Teacher-Prophet."<sup>26</sup> In that case there appear to be three personages yet to come, a prophet and two Messiahs, the prophet playing no doubt the role of precursor or forerunner.

Widely divergent views have been advanced and no solution seems to be in sight. But it is clear that the figure of Moses has put its indelible stamp upon the Covenanters' beliefs. It is safe to say that the figure and character of Moses was a compelling and determinative force in the development and expectations of the Community.

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<sup>25</sup>Teeple, op. cit., p. 56. Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel," Essay in The Scrolls and the New Testament, p. 63. Both Vermes and Kuhn regard the hoped-for prophet in I Macc. 4:46 and 14:41 as also based on Deut. 18:15. Teeple, op. cit., p. 50 parts company at this point. Black, M. "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man," S. J. T., VI (1953) p. 6, thinks I Q S 9:9-11 may be based on Daniel 9:24.

<sup>26</sup>Op. cit., p. 56.

v. Evidence in the Samaritan Pentateuch

The strongest evidence supporting the coming of a prophet like Moses is found in the Samaritan concept of the future Messiah. This Messiah, called Taheb or Shaheb (Restorer) would restore the Second Kingdom.<sup>27</sup> He would gather the scattered Samaritans and rule them as king. He would be the Messiah predicted in Deut. 18:15. The Samaritans considered Deut. 18:15 of such importance that they included it with the Tenth Commandment in their decalogue. On the basis of this Deuteronomic tradition the Samaritans called the anticipated Prophet "the Teacher." The Samaritans held also that this Prophet Restorer might be Moses himself come to life again. They seemed to combine the two concepts of the return of Moses himself and the coming of a Prophet like Moses.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to draw conclusions from the diverse and complex literary strands found in the sources we have quoted in Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Josephus, Philo, Rabbinic literature, the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Samaritan Pentateuch. A major dissertation on the subject is necessary in order to explore the field. Indeed we are indebted to Howard M. Teeple for his dissertation under the title The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet,<sup>28</sup> A brief critique of the work is relevant here. That Teeple should have used the word "eschatological" in his theme adds to the confusion

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<sup>27</sup>The Samaritan "Second Kingdom" was the equivalent of the Jewish and primitive Christian messianic kingdom.

<sup>28</sup>Published by J.B.L., Monograph series, Volume X.

and detracts from the abundant and illustrative material he has gathered on the subject. 'Eschatological' is a term understood in a variety of ways and with divergent connotations. It is a tribute to Teeple that he is able to employ the term so frequently without falling into more ambiguity than he does. A second comment is made on the basis of his categories. The evidence is strained to support the clear cut distinction Teeple imposes between Moses redivivus and the Prophet Like Moses. A typical example is cited. At the end of his dissertation Teeple raises the question, "Did Jesus consider himself to be the eschatological Prophet, particularly the Mosaic type of Prophet?" The question implies that a clearly recognizable 'eschatological' form of prophet is an established fact. This is by no means certain. The distinctions have been pressed too far and the author is caught on the horns of a dilemma which is largely of his own making.

Turning to the relationship of Teeple's study to that to which this paper is addressed Teeple makes the premise that "the only New Testament books which definitely present him (Jesus) as the Prophet like Moses are the Gospel of Matthew and the Book of Acts."<sup>29</sup> To establish that Matthew's Gospel presents Jesus as the Prophet like Moses Teeple cites the 'out of Egypt' typology, the Temptation

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<sup>29</sup>Op. cit., p. 74.

account with the 'forty days, and the very high mountain' suggesting Moses, the Sermon on the Mount contrasting the authority of the New Moses with the Old, and the Ten miracles following the Sermon corresponding to the Ten Wonders in Egypt. As for the tradition of the Prophet like Moses in St. Luke, Teeple states, "although Luke and Acts were written by the same author and Acts clearly contains the idea that Jesus is the eschatological prophet like Moses, one looks in vain in Luke for evidence that the author has altered or inserted traditions to support this doctrine."<sup>30</sup> It is a major contention of this paper (and especially this chapter) that the evidence is to the contrary. To follow Teeple's judgement in this respect would be to imply a serious dichotomy in the theology of the Third Evangelist. Such a dichotomy is not to be found in a study of Luke's treatment of his sources. On the contrary the more one gleans in the passages of Luke the more one becomes aware of consistency, harmony and finesse in the two-volume work. Conflicting elements are adapted and edited bringing precision, unity and a variety of subtle meanings. One of the major themes is that of the Prophet in his servant, priestly, kingly and delivering role. That these latter traits more nearly approximate to the Character of Moses and are determinative in presenting Jesus as the Prophet Like Moses we are seeking to demonstrate. These traits are not unduly stressed

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<sup>30</sup>ibid., p. 87.





for such an emphasis would not serve the Evangelist's purpose. Luke is writing to be a light for revelation to the Gentiles and for glory to Israel.<sup>31</sup> However he would have Gentile and Jew alike know that all of the expectations of Messiahship treasured by Israel have their fulfilment in Jesus. The character traits of God's Messiah, who is the Prophet like Moses, are among those things which Luke appears to have followed closely for some time past (Preface 1:3). They are sides of the character of God's Anointed and Chosen. As a headstone is shaped so that when it is in place it binds together all the building which goes before it, so the character of the Son of the Most High<sup>32</sup> embodies the divergent lines of Messianic expectation which have gone before and now is revealed as holding together the whole plan of salvation. The headstone is cut beforehand by a builder... When it is set in place it not only binds the building together but it tests the work of the builders. Luke records Peter using the headstone passage from Psalm 118:22 to testify to the Sanhedrin that Jesus is the 'stone rejected by you builders, but which has become the head of the corner.'<sup>33</sup> And there is salvation in no one else.

In Lukan thought the Headstone has four sides of varying proportions. The largest proportion might be seen to represent

<sup>31</sup> Simeon's song - Luke 2:32.

<sup>32</sup> The Annunciation to Mary - Luke 1:32.

<sup>33</sup> The testimony occasioned by the first Apostolic healing, Acts 4:11. 1 Peter 2:4-8 continues the 'building stones' allegory. For a study of 1 Peter see J.H. Elliott, The Elect and the Holy, Brill Leiden, 1966.

the long line of prophets. It is to the prophetic side that Luke gives a major portion. The other sides of Messianic character united in the person of Jesus are the servant, priestly and kingly sides. As we have seen all of these sides are in the character of Moses. The re-appearance and enhancement of these characteristics in Jesus mark Him as the Prophet predicted by Moses 'the prophet like me.' We turn now to trace briefly how Luke depicts the four sides of Mosaic character revealed in Jesus the Messiah. The succession of Israel's prophets always anticipated a greater to come. What would be the character of this greater prophet? Moses was the archetype.

1. He is the faithful servant.

In a saying which is a key statement of his Gospel, Luke records "I am among you as one who serves." (22:27b) (ὁ δὴ διακονῶν ) and in Peter's Speech in Acts 3:26: 'God, having raised up his servant, sent him to you first.' The servant is a prophet -- one in whom God has put His Spirit. He is identified with the servant of Deutero-Isaiah -- but this figure is also based to some extent, upon Mosaic tradition. For our purposes it is enough to note von Rad's view of the probable relationship between Moses as servant which is characteristic in Deuteronomy, and the servant of Deutero-Isaiah.<sup>34</sup> Von Rad finds that of the forty Old Testament references to Moses as a servant of God only five are pre-Deuteronomic.

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<sup>34</sup>Gerhard von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol. II, Tr. D.M.G. Stalker, Edinburgh, 1965, p. 261. Note also A. Bentzen, King and Messiah, London, 1954, pp. 66, 108 and H. J. Kraus, Gottesdienst in Israel, Munich, 1954, p. 116.

Of the eleven which are post-Deuteronomic practically all are in the Chronicler's history, hence dependent on Deuteronomic phraseology. The servant is given the task of raising up the tribes of Jacob and of restoring them.

A new 'exodus', which was prefigured in Israel's journey out of Egypt, is to be accomplished. The servant is summoned to flee out of Babylon -- the figure of the cleft rock being his promise of  
 35. Divine help in the desert. God shall lead the people as Israel was once led through burning sands and forbidding mountains. They shall neither hunger nor thirst for the Lord of the exodus will lead them  
 36. and guide them by springs of water. That Luke understood Jesus to be acting in the tradition of the Servant of the Lord --- like Moses in leading a new deliverance, like the prophet of Deutero-Isaiah in suffering vicariously, can be noted from his record of Jesus' public ministry in the Synagogue at Nazareth. The account, as we shall note, is a prelude to Jesus' whole ministry and an indication of the rejection by His people, generally. He is the servant prophet marked for rejection and suffering. Zimmerli and Jeremias give all the major personae and types to whom the title 'Servant' is applied in the Old Testament. They note the character of the Servant's office in Second Isaiah as well as points of correlation between his

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35. Isaiah 48:20-22.

36. Isaiah 49:10.

call and the calls of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. They conclude that a prophetic basis seems to be envisaged for the Servant.<sup>37</sup> As Mowinckel has pointed out, "As a title of honour, and as an expression of active mission, the 'Servant of Yahweh' is applied in the Old Testament, as we have seen, first and foremost in the prophets."<sup>38</sup> As G. W. H. Lampe has expressed it, "the character of the Servant is itself in some respects a reproduction, or reinterpretation of that of Moses."<sup>39</sup>

## 2. He is the first Priest of a New Israel

Irenaeus described Luke's Gospel as the 'priestly Gospel'.<sup>40</sup> The Priestly side of the Messiah's character is a lesser side in St. Luke. We could not therefore go all the way with Irenaeus' description but if we look carefully there is enough evidence to establish partial support for the claim. The first record of the boy Jesus shows him 'possessing' the Temple by his extraordinary understanding. When speaking to answer his anxious parents he asks, according to Luke, 'Did you not know that I must be in my Father's house?' (2:49) These are the first recorded words of Jesus from the pen of Luke. They would seem to indicate a primary responsibility toward the Temple. Attending to the Temple is a function of the Priest. Responsibility for the Temple is a priestly responsibility. In Luke's

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<sup>37</sup>Zimmerli, W., Jeremias, J. The Servant of God, Napierville, 1957, pp. 25, 26, especially footnote.

<sup>38</sup>Mowinckel, He That Cometh, Tr. G. W. Anderson, Oxford, 1956, p. 225.

<sup>39</sup>Lampe, 'The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke', Studies in the Gospel, 1957, p. 176.

<sup>40</sup>Quoted from Adrian Hastings, Prophet and Witness in Jerusalem, Longmans, 1958, p. 152.

account of the Temptations, the third temptation is set on the pinnacle of the Temple. As we have pointed out this probably symbolizes the greatest temptation Jesus faced, that of compromise with the Temple authorities. When Jesus enters Jerusalem in the Passion Narrative He first of all takes possession of the Temple. Indeed Conzelmann suggests that the sole purpose of the Entry is that Jesus may take possession of the Temple.<sup>41</sup> And he adds, "Jesus prepares it as somewhere he can stay."<sup>42</sup>

Intercession is a function of the Priest. As we noted from Philo<sup>43</sup> it was on the Mount that God taught Moses the mysteries of the priestly office. Luke shows Jesus at prayer on the Mount of Transfiguration. (9:28) He shows Jesus praying at his baptism (3:21) and all night before the choosing of the disciples (6:12). Early in the Journey to Jerusalem section there is a teaching parable on prayer (The Friend at Midnight, 11:5-8). Near the end of the Journey section there is a further teaching parable on prayer (The Unjust Judge, 16:1-8). Thus the Prophet's teaching discourse is given in the context of teachings on prayer. During his trial Luke records that Jesus says to the Chief Priests and Scribes 'From now on the Son of Man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God'. (22:69) This is the place of intercession. Again at the martyrdom of Stephen Luke records that Stephen saw Jesus 'standing at the right hand of God' (Acts 7:56).

<sup>41</sup>Op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>43</sup>Supra, p. 7. We recognize that intercession is also a prophetic function as well as a priestly one.

This is possibly the priestly and intercessory posture. Only in Luke's account of the Passion are the words found, 'Father, forgive them for they know not what they do.' Here is the Supreme High Priest making intercession for sinful men.

### 3. He is the New Israel's Ruler or King.

The kingly side of Luke's Messiah is readily discernible. The first prophecy concerning Jesus declares, 'The Lord God will give to him the throne of his father David, and he will reign over the house of Jacob forever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end' (1:32-33). At the Last Supper Luke records Jesus saying, 'As my father appointed a kingdom for me, so do I appoint for you that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom.' (22:29). It was as a king, according to Luke, that Jesus was received into Jerusalem --- 'Blessed is the king', they said 'who comes in the name of the Lord!' (19:38) (cf. Mark 11:9, Matt. 21:9). Luke's portrait is both kingly and prophetic. Luke alone quotes Jesus as saying 'Many prophets and kings desired to see what you see.' (cf. Matt. 11:17). Matt. 22:2 (cf. Lk. 14:16) is an exception. It appears Luke consciously emphasizes over Mark and Matthew the kingly attributes. The parable of the nobleman going to a far country to receive 'kingly' power (19:12-27) is given to indicate the character and time of Jesus' kingship. Many of the disciples did not understand but expected a nationalist king to reveal himself forcibly. The fears of His enemies as well were formulated in these terms. Before Pilate the chief priests were represented as accusing Him of plotting

for a crown. 'We found this man', they said 'perverting our nation and forbidding us to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king' (23:2). Furthermore, one of the criminals is represented saying, 'Remember me when you come in your kingly power' (23:42). After the resurrection when the Apostles are assembled (Acts 1:6) they asked, 'Lord will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?' The kingly side is given a good portion and a good exposure. It is the prophetic side, however, which requires the largest proportion. To that side we turn for a more extensive survey.

#### 4. The Prophet Par Excellence

All the Evangelists emphasize the prophetic nature of Jesus and His mission. Luke, however, lays greater emphasis on this aspect of Jesus than do the other Evangelists, emphasizing the prophetic character very heavily.<sup>44</sup> It is no exaggeration to suggest that in the debates of first century Christianity the contrast of the Law and the Gospel was frequently stated as that of Moses and Christ. John (9:28) records "You are his disciples, but we are the disciples of Moses." Luke appears to strike a mid-stream course. He seeks to fuse Judaistic and Hellenistic convictions by portraying Jesus as the Prophet Like Moses. It is impossible to over-emphasize the influence of Moses over the Jewish mind. Every action at every

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<sup>44</sup>G. W. H. Lampe, 'The Lucan Portrait of Christ', N.T.S., 1956, Vol. VI, p. 168.



moment was performed in obedience or disobedience to some precept of Moses' Law. Moses' figure filled the spiritual horizon. To imply that Jesus was the Prophet like Moses was to make an exclusive claim upon the followers of Jesus. It meant that Jesus was to dominate their entire lives even as Moses had dominated the lives of the Jews. But this is the claim that Luke shows Judaistic Christian Peter and Hellenistic (Christian) Stephen making, in his record of the first Christian preaching. The Deut. text of 18:15 is a keystone of the message. Moreover in his Gospel Luke indicates that Jesus' ministry was to Jewry. At his trial, according to Luke, his charge was 'He stirs up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, from Galilee even to this place (23:5). Luke clinches his emphasis by his commentary on the ministry of the Risen Christ to the disciples on the road to Emmaus, "And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself." (24:27). The message began with Moses (*καὶ ἀρχάμενος ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως*). Deut. 18:15 revealed Moses as the pattern prophet, the first in his succession. Deut. 34:10 revealed that Moses exceeded all the other prophets. He not only spoke for God but he acted for Him. He was mighty in word and deed. Luke shows that the disciples recognized that Jesus was a prophet mighty in deed and word (24:19).<sup>45</sup> What had been proclaimed boldly by the

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<sup>45</sup>A full treatment of this theme was done by K. Bornhäuser under the title, Das Wirken Des Christus durch Taten und Worte, Gutersloh, 1924.

earliest preachers Luke echoes in his written Gospel. Luke's records indicate that in the early Christian community the prophet of Deut. 18:15 was understood Messianically. The question as to whether it was so interpreted in the contemporary Judaism is, as we have seen, still open. A hundred years of critical opinion has been divided on the question. The case is summarized by Matthew Black in these words, "Bultmann maintains vs. Jeremias (who follows Gfrörer's tradition) that the record of Deut. 18:15 as a Messianic proof-text was purely Christian, never a Jewish insight (*Das Evangelium des Johannes* p. 61). There is general agreement, however, that it was an extraordinarily influential form of belief among Samaritans as well as among Jews and Christians; we learn this from patristic writers and from Josephus as well as from the New Testament."<sup>46</sup> J. Jeremias has put it this way, "dass die Moses/Messias Typologie in N T licher Zeit ausserordentlich lebendig war."<sup>47</sup> It is significant that Jeremias made his observation before the Dead Sea Scrolls revealed the eminence of the Deuteronomic prophet in the expectations of this sect within Judaism. The study of Deut. 18:15 is not without antecedent. In 1838 A. F. Gfrörer published a full length dissertation on the expectation of a Mosaic Messiah. Gfrörer cited most of the passages in the New Testament and Josephus which have

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<sup>46</sup>M. Black, "Servant of the Lord and the Son of Man," *S.J.T.* Vol. 6, No. 1, 1952, p. 1; note also F. W. Young, "Jesus the Prophet," *J. B. L.*, Vol. 68, p. 285ff.

<sup>47</sup>Jeremias, *TWZNT*, Vol. IV., p. 867.

been the centre of the discussion on the subject ever since. The strength of Gfrörer's emphasis might be expressed in his words, "Es gibt keine andere Stelle in den Büchern des alten Bundes welche am Christi Zeit so entschieden, und so vielen auf den Messias bezogen worden, als Deut. 18:15 . . . ."48

We stress that Luke's treatment of Jesus as the Prophet like Moses is more implicit than explicit. Luke is an artist revealing his subject with carefully chosen undertones and much delicate shading. Before passing to other features of the Lukan silhouette, in which prophetic traits are high-lighted, it is worth noting that one of the two sources which most emphasize the anticipation of a prophet in fulfilment of Deut. 18:15, the Samaritans, (the other being Qumran Covenanters), appears to enjoy Luke's sympathy. He records that Jesus will not have fire come down and destroy the unfriendly Samaritan villagers (9:52-55), that the only one to help a wounded man on the Jericho road is a Samaritan (10:33) and that a Samaritan was the only one of the ten cleansed lepers who returned to give thanks (17:16). When the Gospel is carried by Philip to a city of Samaria multitudes give heed to it (Acts 8:6). It is entirely possible that Luke knows the important place Deut. 18:15 held in Samaritan Messianic expectations. It can only be conjecture but again it is possible that what was said (τοῖς λεγομένοις ) (Acts 8:6) contained, as did the sermons of Stephen and Peter, the Deuteronomic

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<sup>48</sup> A. F. Gfrörer, Das Jahrhundert des Heils, Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1838, p. 324

proof-text. This may explain, also, the ready response to his message.

Luke's possible link with the Qumran Covenanters and their theology is seen in three esoteric phrases unique in Synoptic literature but abundantly used in the literature of Qumran. They are:

Luke 16:8 "sons of light," Manual of Discipline 1:10; War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness (1, 1-17)

Luke 19:44 "time of your visitation," Manual of Discipline 3:18; 4:18-19. (The phrase is common in Jeremiah)

Luke 22:53 "the power of darkness," War Scroll 1 (passing).

Again it cannot be argued that there is a definite connection but the possibility that Luke or his sources enjoyed some intercourse with the community of Qumran must not be overlooked. The possibility may serve further to explain why Luke is the only New Testament writer to quote Deut. 18:15, so frequently used by the Qumran Covenanters. Because the prophetic features are stressed strongly we turn now to examine this in greater detail.

#### (i) The Prophetic Setting

The spirit of prophecy which for four centuries had been dead in Israel<sup>49</sup> has a revival in the opening chapter of Luke's Gospel. The birth of John is announced as the birth of an eminent prophet.<sup>50</sup> His call from his mother's womb is reminiscent of Jeremiah,<sup>51</sup> his

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<sup>49</sup>I Macc. 4:46, Ps. 74:9, Zech. 13:3. cp. T.C. Vriezen An Outline of Old Testament Theology, Eng. tr. 1958, p. "prophecy, which played a prominent part in ancient Israel, becomes silent fairly soon after the exile."

<sup>50</sup>καὶ αὐτὸς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἡλεία.

<sup>51</sup>Luke 1:15 cp. Jer. 1:5.

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abstemious nature, of Samson, his birth, as an answer to prayer,  
 53 of Samuel. John of Judea is a distinguished personality from child-  
 hood, for the 'hand of the Lord' is upon him. 54 His priestly father  
 Zechariah becomes a prophet, uttering words which declare the role  
 his child will play in connection with the covenant made with his  
 fore-father, Abraham.

Luke used his material to create a prophetic setting for the  
 birth and infancy of Jesus. As kinsman of John, he is a member of  
 the same 'prophetic school'. His greatness is foretold in the words  
 the angel Gabriel addresses to Mary. The blessedness of his coming  
 is proclaimed by Elizabeth in a Deuteronomic utterance 55 made when  
 Mary visits her in the hill country of Judah. At the time of his cir-  
 cumcision Simeon, guided by the Holy Spirit, prophesies concerning  
 the child and Anna a 'prophetess' figures in the same setting. All  
 of Israel's prophets have foreshadowed the work of Jesus. Five times  
 the term 'Moses and the prophets' comes from the pen of St. Luke  
 56 (thrice in his Gospel and twice in Acts) while it occurs nowhere  
 else in the New Testament. Jesus is in the succession of the prophets  
 who were persecuted and martyred, and like them he must meet his  
 death in the capital, for it cannot be that a prophet should perish out  
 57.  
 of Jerusalem.

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52. Luke 1:15 op. Judges 13:2 - 5.

53. Luke 1:13 op. I Sam. 1:27

54. Luke 1:66.

55. Deut. 28:4. Blessed be the fruit of thy womb.

56. Luke 16:29; 24:27. Acts 26:22; 28:23.

57. Luke 13:33.

(ii) Peter's Sermon

Luke reveals Jesus as the fulfilment of Deuteronomy 18:15 in the sermons of Peter and Stephen in Acts 3 and 7.

The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among you, from your brethren -- him you shall heed. (RSV)

The speaker in the Deuteronomic tradition is Moses. Twice this passage is used by Luke in Acts, as a pivotal point upon which the apostolic preachers Peter and Stephen declared the new dispensation of God.<sup>58</sup> In Peter's message in Acts 3 no other Old Testament prophecy is uttered, though reference is made to the *στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν*. The speech excludes all other Old Testament prophecies except the Deuteronomic one. The passage is quoted from the LXX and given a homiletical shape.<sup>59</sup> The point of emphasis in the speech is that the prophet Jesus had been raised up *ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν*. Instead of hearing him, his brethren slew him. The succeeding verses of Deuteronomy indicate the high office of this prophet.

And whatever man shall not hearken to whatsoever words that prophet shall speak in my name, I will take vengeance on him. (Deut. 18:19 LXX).

Any who would refuse his message must give an account to God. Peter's warning is based on this scripture and passes beyond it, according to Luke. Not only vengeance will be taken against anyone

<sup>58</sup> Acts 3:22; 7:37.

<sup>59</sup> *κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε*. Allusion is made to Deut. 18:18. I will put my words in his mouth and he shall speak to them as I command him. (LXX) Some manuscripts, notably A B add *πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν* after *εἶπεν* in verse 22.

who does not heed the word of the prophet which God had raised up, but he 'will be destroyed utterly' (ἐξολεθρευθήσεται) from among the people. The word recalls Deut. 9:14 and the Lord's impatience with the idolatrous and stiff-necked Israelites who had made a molten image while Moses was on the mountain communing with Him. God would have destroyed the people utterly but for Moses' intercession. 60. Is it well to consider the plight of the church at the time of Luke's writing? The Risen Christ continues to intercede for His people. He is with the congregation in the wilderness (Acts 7:38). He it is who gives 'living oracles' by the mouth of preachers who lead the people. Some would turn to idols of man's making as the Israelites turned to the golden calf (Acts 7:41) when their leader delayed his return from the Mount. 61. The next verse in Peter's speech after the warning concerning those who do

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60. Adam Welch, Deuteronomy, The Framework of the Code, 1932, p. 118. "In Exodus 32:30 he fulfils another prophetic function in making himself the intercessor for his nation. And that is the side of Moses' life-work on which Hosea laid stress for the prophet declared that God brought Israel out of Egypt by a prophet. 12:14" Also T. C. Vriezen, op. cit., p. 258, "The earliest spiritual leader of Israel, Moses, is, as far as we can see, a prophetic figure first and foremost and all through its history prophetic figures accompany the people; Deborah, Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, down to Malachi. The canonical books are largely prophetic, not only the so-called major and minor prophets but the historical works, too, bear the mark of a prophetic origin."

61. Conzelmann sees in the postponement of the parousia the reason for the differences between Luke and Mark. To this extent Conzelmann is writing a redaction criticism of the Gospel of Luke. Luke's theology of History is determined quite strongly by the fact of the postponement of the parousia (see also Joachim Rohde, Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists, S. C. M., London, 1968.)



not listen to the prophet takes up the theme of the prophets again, indicating that Jesus had been at the climax of the succession.

'And all the prophets who have spoken, from Samuel and those who came afterwards, also proclaimed these days.'

'God having raised up his servant, sent him to you first' - Acts 3:24, 26a. RSV.

Matthew Black draws attention to the correlation in Peter's speech of Deut. 18:15 and Isaiah 53. He says "When Luke (or his source) brings together Deut. 18:15 with Is. 53 in this way and applies them to Jesus he is preserving one of the most primitive forms of New Testament Christology."<sup>62</sup> The revolutionary idea is that it is Jesus of Nazareth who is the prophet like Moses who also fulfilled the destiny of Isaiah's prophecies. Felix Gils argues that in the passage under consideration (Acts 3:12-26) it is in Christ's resurrection, the gift of the Spirit, and the Parousia, that Deut. 18:15 is fulfilled.<sup>63</sup> Commenting on verse 26 he argues that it refers not to the blessings accorded by Jesus during his terrestrial life but in his resurrection. Here Gils' method of deduction appears faulty for he describes the blessing in Acts 3:26 as reference to the Holy Spirit. There is no reference to the Holy Spirit in the passage. The parallel between the raising up *ἀνίστημι* of Christ and the raising up *ἀνίστημι* of a prophet is the theme.

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<sup>62</sup>Op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>63</sup>Gils, Felix, Jésus Prophète, Louvain, 1957, p. 34.

(iii) Stephen's Sermon

In Stephen's Sermon, Acts 7:2-53, reference is made to the 'prophet like Moses' as if the tradition is common knowledge to the hearers and of weighty significance (verse 37). It is used to recall the figure of Moses to the hearers in order to reveal the typology of the New Moses. The Moses-Christ typology is clear, subtle and meticulously drawn. The entire sermon presupposes one acting on behalf of God who leads his people out from bondage but suffers rejection at the hands of those whom he sought to deliver.<sup>64</sup> Prominence is given to the deliverance from Egypt as a type of the deliverance wrought by Christ. The complete Mosaic Messianic typology is here. There is the figure of Moses, the exodus and the wilderness journey. This three-fold emphasis is in close harmony with Luke's scheme for the presentation of his Gospel. Nowhere is it bluntly stated that "this Moses" is "this Christ." But the parallels are too obvious to miss. The Old Testament scenes are stages of the Divine Action in bringing forth a people. Moses was appointed to bring out this people. "As the time of the promise which drew near" (v. 17) appears with a double meaning. Again in verse 25:

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<sup>64</sup>It is to be noted that there are those who find in Stephen's Sermon no relevant defense against his charges and no purpose in the recital of Jewish history. F. J. Jackson, "Stephen's speech in Acts," JBL XLIX (1930) pp. 283-86 finds no reference to Jesus or the Messiah. He believes the speech is an insertion which could be removed without loss. M. Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, S.C.M., London, 1956, p. 167, says "It is, indeed, impossible to find a connection between the account of the history of Israel to the time of Moses (7:2-19) and the accusation against Stephen."

"He supposed that his brethren understood that God was giving them deliverance (σωτηρίαν) by his hand, but they did not understand" there is a prefiguration of Christ.. It is he who brought a deliverance and was rejected (vv. 25, 35, 39). Christ is the true ἄρχων and δικαστής and λυτρωτής (v. 35) who like Moses performed τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα (v. 36). In the 35th verse, as Claude Chauvasse has pointed out, there is a curious change of tense from aorist to perfect.<sup>65</sup> It would suggest an identification of Jesus and Moses as if he were saying "God has at last sent the true Moses who is not only a ruler and judge but (ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτήν) ruler and deliverer."<sup>66</sup> The verse also contains a phrase found in identical form in the Assumption of Moses ("in Egypt and in the Red Sea and in the Wilderness forty years" Ass. Mos. 3:11).<sup>67</sup>

The charge brought against Stephen was that he was undermining the law of Moses and the authority of the Temple. (Acts 6: 13, 14). Superficially reading it, the speech appears irrelevant and evasive of the charge. But the author of the speech is drawing the reader to a deeper level. What is the purpose of the Law and of

65. Chauvasse, C., "Jesus: Christ and Moses," Theology, LIV, 1951, p. 289.

66. Teeple also observes these parallels, op. cit., p. 87, as does Gils, op. cit., p. 35, and Lampe, op. cit., p. 166.

67. R.H. Charles concluded that Acts 7:36 was derived from the Ass. Mos. 3:11, C.F. Evans finds support here for his view that Luke was familiar with the latter. C.S.C. Williams, Acts of the Apostles, London, 1957, p. 99ff., observes that the contrast between Jesus and Moses as well as the parallels between them form an undercurrent of Luke's thought.

the Temple? They must be viewed from the standpoint of God's purpose for Israel and mankind. What is a 'means' cannot be an 'end'. The system, from the first, was intended for the calling forth of a people of God. The God of Moses is the God of the outward call.

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The opening words of the sermon reveal the God who said to Abraham, 'come out.' The events in Israel's history are all conceived under the same imperative. Abraham's seed was to be a sojourner (v. 6) after which they too were to 'come out' (v. 7). The people of God are always on the move because their God is one who is always striking camp and moving on. The unique wilderness period comes to a close when Joshua brings the tabernacle into the land and other nations are thrust out. (v. 45). It is the central section (vv. 35ff.) however, which alludes most clearly to Christ. The mission of Jesus to Israel is illumined by the mission of Moses -- and most of all by the picture of Moses with Israel in the wilderness. The author has focussed on the person of Moses who led the congregation in the wilderness. Here is the anticipation of Jesus leading the Church. The correspondence of the present with the past situation is the master scheme upon which the sermon is contrived. Verse 38 draws an identification so that the second person pronoun 'you' is used ambivalently

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68 William Manson in The Epistle to the Hebrews, Hodder & Stoughton, 1951, Chapter 11 outlines the similarities between Stephen's address and the thought of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is the theme of the 'ever-onward call' which pervades the whole appeal.

applying to the fathers in Moses' day as well as to Stephen's hearers. 'And he received living oracles to give to you,'<sup>69</sup>

Before leaving Stephen's sermon the typology of which bears strongly on our subject we note briefly one of the complexities apparent in the last part of it. The problem emerges when verse 44 is contrasted with verse 51. There appear to be two Israels in the past as well as two Israels in the future which are being addressed. There were the fathers who had the "tent of witness," There were the "stiff-necked" people. "As your fathers did, so do you" would seem to refer to the stiff-necked people. A. F. J. Klijn has noted the problem and has offered a solution.<sup>70</sup> Klijn suggests that the speech is an introduction to (Jewish) Christianity outside Jerusalem and its temple. He points out that Stephen's ideas parallel the Manual of Discipline with its interest in history with its double aspect of grace and rebellion. Society is divided into two -- the wicked and righteous and there are two spirits. Klijn believes that the key to the source of Stephen's sermon lies in the distinction between the recurring phrases "their fathers" and "our fathers." "Our fathers" designates, Klijn suggests, with one exception (verse 39) those in the past whose conduct was exemplary, whilst "your fathers" designates those whose conduct was rebellious. The "true" descendants of "our fathers" (Jew or

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<sup>69</sup>MSS. A D and E read  $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ .

<sup>70</sup>A. F. J. Klijn, "Stephen's Speech," N.T.S. Vol. IV, 1957-58, pp. 25-31, especially p. 26.

Christian) represent an inner spiritual Israel -- a house in which God is served as he wills to be served and not as he is served in the Jerusalem cultus. This hostility to the "house made with hands" is typical of attitudes found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The "eternal planting" and the "holy house" of 1 Q S VIII. 5-6 Klijn regards as further allusions to the true inner Israel. Klijn's argument is supported by Cullmann who treats the Hellenists as representative of an esoteric type of Judaism parallel with the Qumran Community at certain points and especially with reference to hostility to the Temple.<sup>71</sup> If the interpretations of Klijn and Cullmann are correct support is added to the view that Luke or Luke's source enjoyed affinity with some of the thought of Qumran. The tradition of Deut. 18:15 was strong in the theology of the Covenanters. It is given as the proof text in Luke's record of Peter and Stephen's Christian sermons.

#### iv The Prophet in Luke 7

We have seen that the 'raising up' of God's servant is an important point in Peter's sermon (Acts 3:26). Early in Jesus' ministry in a passage peculiar to Luke, the raising of the widow's son at Nain, Jesus is acclaimed 'a great prophet' raised up among us (7:16). The word *ἠγέρθη* from *ἐγείρω* is that used by the LXX to describe the raising up of the Judges (Judges 2:16, 18).

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<sup>71</sup>Cullmann, O., "L'Opposition contre le Temple de Jerusalem, motif commun de la Théologie Johannique et du monde Ambient," N.T.S., Vol. V, 1958-59, pp. 157-73. Cullmann's linking of Qumran with the Hellenists has not had general acceptance.

The account here is seen by some scholars (notably A. R. C. Leaney, The Gospel According to St. Luke, 1958, p. 142) as having the Elijah tradition behind it. The Septuagintal style, the association of place and the story of the raising of the widow's son (1 Kings 17:23) are a background, it would appear, to Luke's account. The town of Nain is located two miles west of Endor. Between it and Shunem Elijah performed the miracle recorded in 2 Kings 4:8-27. The phrase "and he gave him to his mother", (Luke 17:15), is similar to 1 Kings 17:23. Moreover the reader discovers that Luke implicitly links the account of the raising of the son of the widow of Nain with the opening of His ministry at Nazareth. Here Luke compares Jesus' mission with that of Elijah (4:23-26). We note immediately, however, that there is a difference between Jesus and Elijah. Jesus raises the son of the widow with a word. Elijah restores the son of the widow of Sarepta only after much prayer and a form of mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. Such comparison reveals the transcendence of Jesus over Elijah. Nevertheless, Elijah was a precursor of the prophetic ministry the style of which Jesus magnifies. These associations Luke does not label for his Gentile readers. However, they stand so strongly embedded in his sources that he cannot exclude them. They are the firm foundation of Israel's prophetic tradition. From such a tradition Jesus emerges.



Luke declares that this report of him spread throughout the whole of Judea and all the surrounding country (7:17). Reading further in Chapter 7 one discovers at verse 39 that Simon the Pharisee is represented as querying whether Jesus is the prophet. The text is debatable but *ὁ προφήτης* is the reading supported by Codex Vaticanus and lesser authorities. It may represent an Aramaic idiom simply meaning "a prophet." In any case Luke's plan in presenting Jesus as the climax of the prophetic tradition, which tradition as we have seen it in the sermons of Peter and Stephen, has as its foundation Deut. 18:15-18.

As the prophet like Moses, Jesus reproduces, according to Luke's presentation, certain features and characteristics of the greatest figure of Israel's religious history. He is represented as advancing to wisdom and favour with God and man, which is Ben Sirach's description of Moses.<sup>72</sup> The secluded years at Nazareth recall Moses' years of seclusion in the land of Midian.<sup>73</sup> Altering Mark 1:38b, Luke records *ἀπεστάλην* where Mark has *ἔξῃλθον*.<sup>74</sup> This may have served to emphasize the fact that Jesus is one sent by God, Moses also was a man sent by God.<sup>75</sup> Like Moses, Jesus is represented as communing with God on a mountain.<sup>76</sup> As Moses called an assembly of Israel to choose from among them twelve (Deut. 1:23) so Luke represents Jesus choosing from Israel

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<sup>72</sup>Ecclus. 44:27. It recalls also Samuel's childhood I Sam. 2:26.

<sup>73</sup>Exodus 2:15ff.

<sup>74</sup>Luke 4:43b.

<sup>75</sup>Exodus 3:10-15.

<sup>76</sup>Luke 6:12.

77. twelve. In the Deuteronomic tradition, Moses addressed Israel

78. on the plain of Moab. Luke represents Jesus addressing his

79. followers on a plain. As Moses was denied by Israel though he had been sent by God as a ruler and redeemer, so Jesus is denied

80. by his own at Nazareth to whom he had been sent in the power of the Spirit. As Moses performed 'signs and wonders' so Luke

81. depicts Jesus as a man attested by God by mighty works and wonders and signs. In the Transfiguration narratives, all the synoptists

recall Sinai and the glorification of the face of Moses, but Luke heightens the relationship with Moses by introducing the idea of the 'exodus' which Jesus is to accomplish by his death in Jerusalem. 82.

It has been our contention to show in this section that Luke, more than any other evangelist, seeks to portray Jesus in the character of the Prophet like Moses. The 'top-stone' in the succession of Israel's prophets is four sided. Luke clearly portrays the Servant, Priestly, Kingly and Prophetic types. All are types in the character of Moses. What is explicit in the sermons in Acts is implicit in the third Gospel.

77. Deut. 1:23 op. Luke 6:13.

78. Deut. 4:49; 34:1.

79. Luke 6:17.

80. Luke 4:28-30.

81. Acts 2:22; 7:36.

82. An exegesis of the word  $\epsilon\chi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$  and Luke's use of it. . see page 97. ff..

While it could be argued that there are other building blocks from the Deuteronomic quarry which are evident in the traditions of Moses, the question arises whether these have been noticed by Luke in the Christology he depicts relating as it does to the prophet like Moses. There is for example the representation of Moses as a Commander *οστρατηγός*. There is a military connotation in connection with the word which fits an aspect of the Deuteronomic holy war. On the other hand, however, the role of king tends to overlap this role. The king enjoys supreme command over the military forces and unique personal rule over the entire nation. Luke, as we have pointed out, distinguishes "kingly" traits without reference to any military role.

There is further the Divine Man trait. In Ant. iii. 180 Josephus applies the term *θεῖος ἄνθρωπος* to Moses. Typical of the Hellenistic 'divine man' was the ability to foresee the future. This ability is attributed to Moses by Josephus Ant. ii. 237 but it has little to do with Moses' office as prophet as represented in Deuteronomy. It is worth noting that "the Man" is one of the titles given to Moses in the Memar Marqah iv. 3. The title is derived from Deuteronomy 33:1 where Moses is called *אִישׁ אֵל*. This trait, however, is not readily discernible in the Lukan record though it might be seen in John 19:5 when Pilate offers Jesus to the crowd as "the Man".

PART THREE

THE PROPHET TRADITION AND LUKE'S GOSPEL

THE PROPHET TRADITION AND LUKE'S GOSPEL

What was explicitly declared in Luke's record of the sermons in Acts 3 and 7 we find implicitly supported in his Gospel. We examine five areas in this section in which the Deuteronomic tradition may be seen to emerge with greater or less clarity:

- (1) The Magna Carta of the Gospel Jesus Brought - Luke 4:14-30.
- (2) The Election of the Disciples.
- (3) The Style of Presentation of the Beatitudes.
- (4) The Confession at Caesarea Philippi.
- (5) The Transfiguration.

Our method of arriving at conclusions necessarily involves Synoptic comparisons. Many of the points to which we draw attention have been stressed by others. In (3) however, as far as we are aware, no writer has pointed out the possible Deuteronomic base for the Lukan Beatitudes. We believe this to be one of the strongest supports of our thesis.

(1) The Magna Carta of the Gospel Jesus Brought

Luke shows Jesus' mission at the beginning of his public ministry at Nazareth as that of a prophet. The mission to the Gentiles and the rejection of his own people are prefigured in the stories of Elijah and Elisha, which Luke records in the Nazareth synagogue episode. The servant prophet has been anointed by the Spirit - commissioned by God, to summon the year of the Lord's

favour. His citation of Isaiah 61:2 is often given the reference of Leviticus 25:11 which relates to the Year of Jubilee. It is difficult to see how this connection can be supported as against what appears in our view a more accurate reference - that of Deuteronomy 15.

The latter contains the tradition of the Year of Release. It is a new lease on life for the returned patriots which the poet of Isaiah 61 envisaged. When the 'Lord's release' was proclaimed, Israel's debtors and slaves went free - according to the tradition of Deut.

1. This was good news for the poor, and release for the captives.

The Isaianic poet yearned for and envisaged a proclamation of the

2. Lord's release - a year of the Lord's favour towards the oppressed.

According to Luke this is the Magna Carta of the Gospel Jesus

brought. Accordingly, he has placed it as a prologue to the mani-

festation of Jesus' ministry in Galilee. It is a proclamation of the

year of the Lord's favour towards the oppressed. It is the fulfilment

in Israel of the Lord's release in the tradition of Deut. 15, but in a

renewed and expanded sense. The Magna Carta is presented

against the setting of the Sabbath synagogue service at Nazareth.

1. At the end of every seven years you shall grant a release and this is the manner of release: every creditor shall release what he has lent to his neighbour; his brother, because the Lord's release has been proclaimed. Deut. 15:1, 2 (RSV).

2.  $\text{לְשָׁנָה}$  is the Hebrew noun which means a 'letting drop of exactions' - it is used in Deut. 15:1. The verb  $\text{לָשַׁח$  from  $\text{שָׁח}$  is used in Ex. 23:11 as a figure describing letting land rest in the seventh year. Opinions vary as to whether the  $\text{לְשָׁנָה}$  was a remission of loans or merely a suspension for a year. The point in question is that they were intended for the benefit of the poor of Israel. They meant good news for the poor. It is upon this tradition that Is. 61:1 appears to be built.

J. A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave II" (J.B.L. 1967, pp. 25-41) has discovered texts from Leviticus 25:13 and Deut. 15:2, Is. 61:1 and Lev. 25:10 brought together in a common context by the Qumran scribes. This is, of course, of great interest to our discussion concerning Luke 4 and a plausible relationship to Deut. 15. We argue that Deut. 15 is basic to Is. 61 and Lev. 25. Here is the tradition behind Luke 4. That texts from these passages were grouped in Qumran usage suggests that the Qumran community saw their relationship. Outside of Qumran also these texts may have been used together. Could Luke be drawing from such a source? The link with Melchizedek (quoting Ps. 82:7) is of interest also for it connects the Year of Jubilee with Melchizedek as God's agent for the execution of Divine Justice. Fitzmyer points out that "the year of Jubilee", the "year of good favour", the "release", and the "liberation" are somehow identified in this text with "salvation" - the salvation of Is. 52. What is remarkable here is that 11 Q Melch. furnishes us with support for the view that Luke has not worked at random with texts in giving his portrait of the inaugural message of Jesus' public ministry. He had contemporary support for combining Is. 61 and Lev. 25. Back of these passages was Deut. 15 and the Moses who offered release to a burdened Israel. In further detail we will proceed to examine passages which reveal Luke's emphasis of the prophetic elements. The passage is strategic.



It is in fact, a composite of texts from Isaiah 61:1; 58:6; 61:2. Luke does not make quotations without due care. Considering the limitations of documentation of his time, he records accurately.<sup>3.</sup> An examination of the pattern of the Nazareth synagogue quotations, and of the variations in the manuscripts in which they have been transmitted, leads to the conclusion that the passage existed originally as a composite of texts from the 'Isaianic' passages of Isaiah.<sup>4.</sup>

In bringing together these texts Luke's purpose was something more than a narrative of a traditional synagogue 'reading'. It is highly improbable that the texts formed a scripture reading. Moreover, Luke's record does not indicate that the texts quoted were read (orally) by Jesus. He stood up to read (verse 17). He was given the book of the Prophet Isaiah. He found the place where it was written - Isaiah 61:1; 58:6; 61:2. He closed the book and gave it again to the attendant and sat down. The eyes of all in the synagogue were upon him and he began speaking to them. There is no statement that he actually read the texts quoted. This is generally inferred from verse 21, but this saying is not necessarily to be interpreted in connection with a 'reading'.<sup>5.</sup> The words of verse 21 - "Today

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3. op. Ps. 111 in Luke 20:42, 43, Zech. 12:3 in Luke 22:24.

4. Manuscripts  $\Delta$   $\Theta$  fam. 1 vg syr. pesh. Iren. and others, include the clause 'to heal the broken in heart' in the quotation from Isaiah 61:1. These are best explained as attempts in the transmission to make the passage conform to a reading from the LXX. Luke's use of  $\kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$  for the  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\iota$  of the LXX in Is. 61:1 and 2 suggests a form in accordance with the Hebrew. op. A. R. C. Leaney, The Gospel According to St. Luke, London 1958, p. 53.

this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing, " are intended, more likely, as the introduction to an address based upon the texts which Jesus 'looked up' when he received the scroll.<sup>6.</sup> Rabbis often brought together a variety of texts upon which a theme was developed. The theme and Magna Carta of the 'Prophet' that first pleased, but afterwards enraged, his hearers was the proclamation of the year of the Lord's favour. They had expected a reading but heard a proclamation by one whose voice fulfilled the scriptures. The singular form  $\eta \gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$  would indicate reference to a single scripture. Luke's source indicates that in receiving the scroll of Isaiah, Jesus looked up the Isaianic texts -- not reading them orally, but for refreshment of memory and further verification of the convictions borne out of his baptismal and temptation experiences, in order that he might deliver an address based upon them. The scripture related to a 'release' which he now offered Israel and which was fulfilled in their hearing, involved the servant of the Lord's proclamation of a year of the Lord's favour -- based on Isaiah 61:2 but originating in Moses' law of release of Deut. 15:1.<sup>7.</sup> The servant prophet, like Moses, proclaimed a

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5. Plummer, op. cit., p. 122. Lightfoot says that it was lawful to skip from one passage to another in reading the Prophets - - That might explain the omission of a few verses, but not the going back three chapters.

6. Cp. Creed, op. cit., p. 67, on verse 21. "in hearing my words, you hear the fulfilment of the prophecy." Easton, op. cit., p. 52 quoting Wellhausen gives the exegesis "My voice, which ye hear, fulfils the Scripture."

7. The year of release is prominent in the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Oration of Moses. The manuscript is mutilated but the final verse is well preserved and extremely interesting, for it identifies the Year of Release with absolution of sins: (next page)

year of release for Israel. There appears to be a word play between verses 19 and 21 with relation to the word *δεκτός* which means 'favoured' or 'acceptable.' The prophet has proclaimed a year of favour to Israel but does not enjoy the favour of his own country. The fact that Luke included this saying at this point reveals his view that in His first public self-disclosure to His own people, Jesus showed himself to be a prophet of them (yet whose ministry was to reach beyond them) allied in this respect to that of Elijah and Elisha<sup>8</sup> but on a new spiritual level. The Oration

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"If thou (attend carefully) to the performance of (this commandment), and if you (truly) 'relax thy (hand)' in that year, it shall mean also that anyone who is (a creditor of another) and hath (a claim of any kind) upon him (in respect of a loan) shall (likewise) relax (his hand) (It shall be called the Release) ordained by God (your God.) One may exact payment from an alien, but not from any of one's brethren. For in that year God will bless you, and He (too) will absolve you -- of your iniquities." T.H. Gaster, *op. cit.*, p.227.

8. In chapters 4-9 there are a striking number of parallels with Elijah and Elisha. This occurs again after the Travel Teaching section, but never in that section. The occurrence after that section comes with the Lukan description of Gethsemane (22:43) and the appearance of an angel strengthening him. For detailed examination of parallels with Elijah see P. Dabek, "Siehe, es erschienen Moses und Elias," *Biblica* 23, 1942. A.R.C. Leaney, *op. cit.*, p. 174, suggests that Luke might have been employing two separate traditions, one which associated Jesus with Moses and another which associated Jesus with Elijah. A. Feuillet, *op. cit.*, p. 292, holds that Luke's point of view is that Jesus is a prophet particularly like Elijah. In the passages following Jesus' own words in the Nazareth sermon, likening his work to that of Elijah and Elisha, Luke appears to employ two incidents which recalled these ancient prophets. In 5:8 when Peter is confronted by the Lord, he uses words paralleled by the widow's words to Elijah in I Kings 17:18. In verses 12-14 of the same chapter, Luke depicts the cleansing of the man 'full of leprosy' recalling the prophet Elisha's cleansing of Naaman in II Kings 5:8ff. In verses 17-26 when the prophet moves among his own offering release he sets a paralysed man free, but first he releases him from his sins. In verses 27-32 the Prophet calls Levi the tax-collector,

of Moses in the Qumran literature associated the Year of Release with an absolution for sin. ("For in that year God will bless you and He..will absolve you of your sins" are the final words of the Oration.) In Jesus' time, then, the concept of release as a spiritual experience, at least of the Qumran community, was a reality. In the Deuteronomic tradition the Year of Release offered an Israelite slave the choice of liberty. If he was happier as a bondsman he might enter the state of perpetual servitude. All Israelites had been bondsmen in Egypt and God had redeemed them. It is in remembrance of the fact, according to Deut. 15:15, that Moses commanded Israel to observe the Year of Release. It was to be a time of favour toward the oppressed offering them the choice of release.

Luke writes from a community which is being redeemed because it is being released from its old bondage through the ministry of the Risen Lord. Repentance and forgiveness of sins are being preached in his name to all nations (Luke 24:47). Luke publishes the Magna Carta for Jesus' whole mission through the account of the synagogue rejection. (4:18-30). This is an expansion of Mark 6:1-6 and involves a theologoumenon expressing much of Luke's view of Jesus' total ministry. It typifies the rejection of the prophet in his own country. It takes into account the final rejection in Jerusalem. It prefigures the most prominent structural element in his Gospel, the Journey to Jerusalem. (9:51-19:41). Nazareth would threaten death, but the final deed was to be done in Jerusalem. Now the early church with which Luke is associated is making the offer. Through the rejection and death of Christ there is release. Luke sees captives

9. have the choice of release. In the same tradition, Luke understands Jesus to have offered Israelites a release which was good news to the poor and release for the sin-oppressed. But the offer was not only for Israelites; it was for all mankind. As Moses was rejected by his own countrymen, though he sought their deliverance, so Jesus is rejected.

(2) The Election of Disciples

Verse 12 of Chapter 6 recalls the figure of Moses praying 'in the hills'. When it was day he called his disciples and from among them chose twelve.<sup>10.</sup> Only Luke among the evangelists uses the word *ἐκλεξάμενος* meaning 'to choose' but carrying with it the idea of 'choosing from among'. The strongest Septuagint association with this word is found in Deut. 14:2.

For thou art a holy people to the Lord thy God, and the Lord thy God has chosen (*ἐξελέξατο*) thee to be a peculiar people to himself of all the nations on the face of the earth.

Thirty times in the book of Deuteronomy, forms of this word stemming from the Hebrew  $\text{קָרָא}$  appear. It is found more frequently here than in any other Old Testament book. In the other books of

9. See Leaney, *op. cit.*, p. 172. Jesus is clearly presented as the new Moses, with whom he is connected also by his fulfilment of the Servant of Deutero-Isaiah: for Moses is a type of him who 'made intercession for the transgressors'.

Another tradition overturned by Jesus at the commencement of his ministry may be implicit in this record. A devout Jew of Jesus' day was to thank God every day that he was not born a leper, a Gentile or a woman. Three traditionally humiliated classes are liberated at the beginning of Jesus' public ministry.

10. Luke 6:13 reads, *καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα*.  
 cp. Mk. 3:14 *καὶ ἐποίησεν δώδεκα ἵνα ᾤσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ*,  
 Mt. 10:1 *καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ*,

the Pentateuch it occurs in Genesis and in Exodus only twice, in Numbers thrice and in Leviticus not at all. The only other Old Testament book to use the term with any frequency is the Book of Isaiah, and in particular Deutero-Isaiah. Here there is evidence of Deuteronomic influence.<sup>11.</sup> Nine times in Deuteronomy the word is used with reference to the people.<sup>12.</sup> Twenty-one times it is used in connection with 'the place where the Lord God shall cause His name to dwell'. Argument from frequency of use cannot be conclusive. With regard to the question of leadership, however, it is well to consider the situation of the young church at the time when Luke wrote. Most of the twelve had gone to a martyr's grave. St. Paul had been quieted in Rome. To whom was given the responsibility of leadership? Models were required. What methods had Jesus used in the calling of the twelve? Upon what models did He base his actions? Does Luke have a more accurate knowledge than Mark or Matthew? A. M. Farrer speaks of the origins of religious institutions stressing that they are not likely to be casual or utilitarian.<sup>13.</sup> He finds St. Luke an emphatic typologist. The twelve are tribal princes who, sitting on their twelve thrones, judge the twelve tribes of Israel. In reviewing the texts, we note that Matthew 10:1 (a) adds to Mark the authority to heal every disease

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11. See T. C. Vriezen's Die Erwählung Israels nach dem Alten Testament, Zurich, 1953; especially p. 64-71.

12. 4:37; 7:6; 10:15; 18:5; 21:5; 30:19.

13. A. M. Farrer, "The Ministry in the New Testament" Essays edited by K. E. Kirk, The Apostolic Ministry, H. & S., London, 1946, pp. 134, 136, 180.



infirmity' (θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ).

Luke simply relates that when it was day the disciples were called, and from among them twelve were chosen. The purpose of their election is left for the moment, as self-explanatory. But the choice from among a number of others is in the tradition of Deut. 14:2. As Israel was chosen out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth to be a unique people for God, so the twelve are chosen from among the others to be in a unique relationship to the Lord as the core of a new Israel.

(b) The plan of calling out twelve from a number of followers is precisely the plan used by Moses, according to the tradition of Deut. 1:23a, "The thing seemed good to me, and I took twelve men of you, one man for each tribe." (RSV). In this text Moses is reported to be acting upon a request of the people that men be chosen to send ahead to reconnoitre the land. Jesus' action took place after a lonely all-night vigil. By naming those whom he chose Apostles (ἀπόστολοι ) the idea of their being sent out is present in their title, though they go out not in the sense of reconnoitering.

(c) The all-night vigil to which Luke refers in verse 12 must have consisted, to some extent, in meditation. If Deuteronomic traditions were the undergirding by which Jesus met trials in a similar (Luke 4:1-13) though much longer vigil, it is possible to suppose that such a crucial issue as the choosing of the apostles was consistent with



other Deuteronomic traditions.<sup>14</sup> At least this conclusion is probable.

As soon as the apostles are chosen, the Prophet, like Moses of Deuteronomy, came down to deliver his great sermon on a plain.

### (3) Style of Presentation of the Beatitudes

Not only does Luke present the Prophet delivering his sermon on a plain, as the Deuteronomic tradition presents Moses, but the form in which the beatitudes and woes of Luke are presented (Luke 6:20-26) bears resemblance to the blessing and cursing tradition of Deuteronomy 28:3-6 and 16-19.

Blessed shall you be in the city and  
blessed shall you be in the field.  
Blessed shall be the fruit of your  
body, and the fruit of your ground  
and the fruit of your beasts, the  
increasing of your cattle, and the  
young of your flock.

Blessed shall be your basket and  
your kneading trough  
Blessed shall you be when you come  
in and blessed shall you be when you  
go out.

Cursed shall you be in the city, and  
cursed shall you be in the field.  
Cursed shall be your basket and  
your kneading-trough.  
Cursed shall be the fruit of your  
body, and the fruit of your ground,  
the increase of your cattle, and  
the young of your flock.  
Cursed shall you be when you come in,  
and cursed shall you be when you go out.

Blessed are you poor, for yours  
is the kingdom of God.  
Blessed are you that hunger now  
for you shall be satisfied.

Blessed are you that weep now,  
for you shall laugh.  
Blessed are you when men hate  
you, and when they exclude you,  
and revile you, and cast out  
your name as evil -  
(But) Woe to you that are rich,  
for you have received your  
consolation.  
Woe to you that are full now,  
for you shall hunger.  
Woe to you that laugh now, for  
you shall mourn and weep.  
Woe to you when all men speak  
well of you, for so their fathers  
did to the false prophets.

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14. Luke records the association Jesus made with the disciples at the Last Supper in connection with their fellowship with him 'in trials', "You are those who have continued with me in my trials;" Luke 22:28. It is noteworthy that in Luke's account the twelve are appointed ( *διατίθεμαι* ) to sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Moses appoints the judges in Deut. 1:13, 23.



'laughter' and 'weeping'. One of the chief joys in life for the Hebrew way of thinking was begetting. Nothing was the source of more sadness and weeping than barrenness. That Luke understood this association seems clear from his description of Elizabeth's 'reproach among men' which was taken away by the birth of a son. 'And her neighbours and kinsfolk heard that the Lord had shown great mercy on her, and they rejoiced with her'. Elizabeth's words to Mary are a further testimony to the importance of Deut. 28:4 in the mind of Luke or his source. 16.

Schleiermacher and Weiss had suggested that the woes were glosses added by Luke to emphasize and explain the preceding blessings. 17. We think it is possible to venture further and to suggest that the literary form for the Lukan beatitudes and woes was patterned after Deut. 28. That which was a peroration for Moses' laws in Deuteronomy is used as a prologue to the New Moses' law of love to enemies. Deuteronomy was the book which gave the law of love towards God and showed the way of love towards fellow Israelites through laws of compassion and generosity. This same kind of loving-mercy is lifted to a grander scale to include even enemies. It is intended as a new commandment, not only for Israel but for 'all who hear' *τοῖς ἀκούουσιν*. The verse

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16. 'and blessed is the fruit of your womb' could be linked to Deut. 28:4 Blessed be the fruit of your body.

17. See Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

following the end of the 'woes' sets forth the new law. The next verse (28) is peculiar to Luke (εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς). This is the practical application of loving enemies. It is the only instance of Luke's use of the word εὐλογεῖτε apart from the quotation of Psalm 118:26 in connection with the Entry into Jerusalem.<sup>18</sup> That Luke should place this verse following the contrast of blessings and woes may indicate that he is seeking to emphasize the teaching which is greater than the blessing and cursing tradition of Deuteronomy. From this verse onward the more revolutionary aspects of Jesus' Gospel are set forth in the sermon. Another element strongly present in Luke, which is absent from Deuteronomy, is the idea that present values are about to be overturned with the coming of the Kingdom - cf. the Magnificat. This 'revolutionary' aspect of the Gospel is something which Luke would not find in Deuteronomy. If our analysis is correct, however, we may reasonably conclude that the blessing and cursing tradition of Deut. 28 affects Luke's record of the Beatitudes directly or indirectly.

#### (4) The Confession at Caesarea Philippi

In the Synoptic tradition of the Confession at Caesarea Philippi there are common elements. Luke's record, however,

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18. Luke 13:35; 19:38.

distinguishes Jesus from the prophetic line which preceded Him. He is regarded as fulfilling the role of a prophet, but allusion is made to a new beginning of prophecy which is made in Him.

Mark's phrase *εἰς τῶν προφητῶν* is re-written to read *ΤΙΣ Τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνέστη*.<sup>19.</sup> Jesus is not one of the ancient prophets

'raised up'. With Him a new beginning is made just as with Moses a new beginning was made in Israel. All four Gospels testify to the fact that common anticipation embraced the hope of the coming of a mighty prophet, and hoped that the time of deliverance was near. Roman oppression had precipitated this anticipation. The Dead Sea Scrolls give further testimony to the ardour of it and have been composed, in no small measure, in the light of this anticipation. In Luke 9:7 Herod the tetrarch is reported as hearing of all that was done. Herod's queries receive answers which coincide with the rumours which the disciples reported to Jesus in reply to His question in verse 18, "Whom do the people say that I am?" The answers indicate that the popular mind associated Jesus with John or Elijah. For many the figure of Elijah returned, based on Mal. 4:5, signified that the nation was being prepared for the coming of the Kingdom of God. It is possible that the Prophet who was in their midst was

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<sup>19.</sup> Luke 9:19 cp. Mark 8:28. Mark's phrase (also Matt. 16:14) suggests that the rumours concerning Jesus' identity were that he was vaguely one of the prophets. Luke's interest in the character of the prophet is greater. He would make the distinction more clear. Jesus is not one of the old prophets raised up. Note Lampe *op. cit.* p.174.

understood by some to be the fulfilment of the anticipation expressed in 1 Maac. 14:41

And the Jews and their priests resolved that Simon shall be their leader and high priest forever until a true prophet should appear.

Now the early Christian preaching, as C.H. Dodd has demonstrated,<sup>20</sup> was a witness to the things which had come to pass in fulfilment of certain ancient scriptural prophecies. This writer argues from the speeches of Peter and Stephen in Acts 3 and 7 that the prophecy which Luke found fulfilled most singularly by Jesus was Deut. 18:15. Accordingly the theology of "the prophet" has been brought to bear upon his Gospel narrative. He has emphasized, as far as his sources will permit him, the parallels which exist between Jesus and Moses.

It is from this kind of viewpoint that Luke shaped his account of the Transfiguration. The Transfiguration was the guarantee that Jesus was the fulfilment of Old Testament hopes and promises. In Him the old dispensation came to an end, but also in Him a completely new era was to commence.

#### ( 5) The Transfiguration.

The Transfiguration has been the subject of various interpretations. Harald Riesenfeld holds that it is based upon the idea of the enthronement of the Messiah transposed from the old practice of celebrating the enthronement of the king in

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<sup>20</sup>: The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments, passim

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the autumn festival of Tabernacles. From his viewpoint the story is a partial prefiguration of the enthronement of Christ.

G.H. Boobyer has stressed the Parousia suggesting that the Transfiguration is not a preview of the Resurrection of Christ but a story describing Him based on the Church's concept of His return.<sup>22.</sup>

<sup>23.</sup> Teeple argues that the account has gone through two stages. Originally it was not a story of the Resurrection nor was it in its present pre-crucifixion setting. Teeple believes that it was a brief account of the enthronement of Jesus as the Christ a week after the day of Resurrection. He thinks the essence of the original story is preserved in 11 Peter 1:17-18. For our purposes the origin of the narrative is not as significant as what Luke is attempting to say through it.

Luke's major concern in his narrative of the Transfiguration is to establish and confirm the authority of the Prophet like Moses. Like Matthew, Luke reverses the order of the appearance of the two figures representing them as Moses and Elijah, instead of Elijah and Moses, as Mark represents them. He refers to them as 'men' and creates another reversal which is unique in the Synoptic record of the Transfiguration. The other evangelists conclude the narrative with the words of the Divine Voice which spoke out of the cloud: *ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ*. Luke

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21. Jesus Transfiguré, Vol. XVI Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis, Lund, 1947.

22. St. Mark and the Transfiguration Story, Edinburgh, 1942.

23. Op. cit., p. 85. 104. Op. cit., p. 17 in Mark a confirmation of the Messiahship of Jesus.



reverses the order giving them as *αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε*. Can we discern his purpose in so doing? Is it fortuitous? Is it simply an idiosyncrasy to be attributed to style, or had Luke an association which he wished to label? If we consider that Luke alone reports that the title which the Divine Voice gave Jesus was *ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος (ὁ υἱός μου)* and remember the frequency of occurrence of forms of this word in Deuteronomy, we must acknowledge the possibility that Luke regarded the Transfiguration from a viewpoint which might be termed 'Deuteronomic.' By changing Mark's word order *ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ*, he gets *αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε* which corresponds more closely to the LXX reading *αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε* of Deut. 18:15.<sup>24</sup> Here then is the heading for the teaching section of Luke's Gospel. Luke shows that in the Transfiguration (though he actually avoids the use of the term *μετεμορφώθη*) the time predicted by Moses was fulfilled. The Prophet like Moses had been raised up from the midst of the brethren. A new deliverance was at hand. A new 'Torah' was to be revealed from the mouth of God's Prophet. The authority of what he was to say was doubly confirmed. He spoke by the authority of God himself who declared Him to be His Chosen. He spoke by the authority of the support of the greatest of God's prophets revered by every Israelite. The witness of two is in itself Deuteronomic.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Cp. C. F. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 51; also Creed, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>25</sup>Deut. 19:15b.

There is, however, a further association here which might be termed Deuteronomic. Luke emphasizes that the 'two men' (ἀνδρες δύο) talked with Him. In this conversation Luke may have recognized the bestowal of Moses' wisdom upon the New Teacher of Israel. That it was necessary in Hebrew thought for a successor of Moses to receive the benediction of Moses is seen in the closing verses of Deuteronomy:

And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom for Moses had laid his hands upon him; so the people of Israel obeyed him, and did as the Lord had commanded Moses. Deut. 34:9

After the 'conversation with Moses on the mount', no Jew could disparage the kind of authority possessed by the new 'Joshua'. It is to be observed also that Elijah was remembered as the great prophet who cast his mantle upon the younger. Luke has the great figures of the old dispensation disappear, however, 'when the voice came'. Thus does Luke prepare his reader to hear the teachings of the Prophet like Moses.<sup>26.</sup> He speaks with the highest possible kind of authority. It is helpful to cite the whole of Luke's account in order to point out those things in his account which are his unique contribution. This

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<sup>26.</sup> Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, London, 1958, supports the theory of the New Moses in St. Luke. He says, p. 184 "St. Luke in particular thinks of Jesus as the new Moses who re-enacts the drama of salvation of which the Torah was the classical and original kerugma: like Moses of old, Jesus accomplished an exodus and goes forward to his 'assumption'. Of course, the historical events of the life of Jesus do not fit neatly into the Pentateuchal pattern, and it is an indication of the canonical Evangelists' respect for history that they do not attempt to force them into it."

pattern of treatment has been suggested by A.M. Ramsey.<sup>27</sup>

Now about eight days after these sayings<sup>i.</sup> he took with him Peter and John and James, and went up on the mountain to pray. And as he was praying<sup>ii.</sup> ; the appearance of his countenance was altered<sup>iii.</sup>, and his raiment became dazzling white. And behold, two<sup>iv.</sup> men talked with him, Moses and Elijah, who appeared in glory and spoke of his departure,<sup>v.</sup> which he was to accomplish at Jerusalem.<sup>vi.</sup> Now Peter and those who were with him were heavy with sleep but kept awake,<sup>vii.</sup> and they saw his glory and the two men who stood with him, And as the men were parting from him, Peter said to Jesus, "Master, it is well that we are here; let us make three booths, one for you and one for Moses and one for Elijah- not knowing what he said. As he said this, a cloud came and overshadowed them; and they were afraid as they entered the cloud.<sup>viii.</sup> And a voice came out of the cloud, saying "This is my Son, my Chosen<sup>ix.</sup> listen to him! And when the voice had spoken , Jesus was found alone. And they kept silence and told no one in those days<sup>x.</sup> anything of what they had seen. Luke 9:28-36 (RSV)

i. It is to be noted that Luke, in common with Mark, associated the experience with the sayings which preceded it; viz., "Who

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<sup>27.</sup> The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ, 1949, p. 121

do the people say I am?" "John the baptist; Elijah; one of the old prophets arisen." "The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders and chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised." There are sayings also on the challenge of discipleship ending with "For whoever is ashamed of me and of my words, of him will the Son of Man be ashamed when he comes in his glory and the glory of the Father and of the holy angels." Luke makes it clear that the figures of the Transfiguration experience were in the minds of the disciples before the occurrence of the event: Elijah, a former prophet arisen, the eschatological glory of the Son of Man. He describes the purpose of going up on the mountain as that of a retreat-in order to pray. Here there is an analogy with Moses who went up to the mountain to talk with Yahweh.

ii. The event took place *ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι αὐτὸν* as He was praying. There is no mention that the disciples are praying at the same time. Eight times when the other evangelists are silent on the matter Luke represents Jesus praying. With him the Baptismal experience as well as the Transfiguration experience appear in connection with Jesus at prayer.

iii. *τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον* . This seems to reflect clearly the likeness of the shining face of Moses when he communed with God on the mountain. The *ἐξαστράπτω* would

then be comparable to the shining appearance which caused Moses to wear a veil when he came near to the Israelites (Exodus 34:33)

iv. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο For Luke the figures which appear are men.<sup>28.</sup> In his account the figures at the empty Tomb and at

the scene of the Ascension are also 'two men' (Luke 24:4; Acts 1:10)

v. τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ The two men identified as Moses and Elijah appear in glory and speak of his ἔξοδος which he was to accomplish at Jerusalem. This is a key point of the Lukan account. If Jesus is the Prophet like Moses, He will lead also an exodus.

That Luke intends his word as a 'literalism' is consistent with his theology. The word means 'going out'.<sup>29.</sup> Thus it has been used in Psalm 105:38 (LXX Ps. 104) and Psalm 114:1 (LXX Ps. 113) and in Hebrews 11:22. In non-canonical literature it has been used euphemistically to denote death or departure; by Philo in Virt. 77

and by Josephus Antiquities 4, 189, and in the Testament of Naphtali 1:1.<sup>30.</sup> The most interesting usage, apart from that under discussion

is in 2 Peter 1:15. The writer in the epistle anticipates his own approaching 'departure'. Remarkably, his associations at this instance are with his Lord in connection with the Transfiguration.

But Luke's purpose in the use of ἔξοδος is more than a mere euphemistic expression by which to write of Jesus' death. If the

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28. We agree with J. VanGoudoever, Biblical Calendars, Brill, Leiden, 1959, p. 258 "By mentioning these two men three times Luke has linked the Transfiguration with the Resurrection and Ascension."

29. Philo uses it in this sense in Mos. 2, 248, and Josephus in Antiquities 5:72 uses it likewise. In the Testament of Simeon 9 it means 'going out'.

30. Arndt and Gingrich, p. 276, Moulton and Milligan, p. 224. It may be used also with εἰσοδος as 'income and expenditure' so Michel 1001 v. 34 (c. B. C. 200).

meaning is simply 'death,' *πληρώω* is an awkward verb to use with it -- especially so in the case of so refined an author. Luke's fondness for the word is to be recognized.<sup>31</sup> It is highly improbable, however, that the latter would have in this case over-ruled his desire for lucid expression. If he did not intend *ἔξοδος* as a picture word to recall Israel's birth as a people delivered of God under the leadership of Moses, it is highly unlikely that he would have chosen *πληρώω* as the verb. The latter means 'to make full' or to 'fill out.' The appearance of the Prophet Like Moses signifies that the time of a new exodus is at hand. Tyndale's translation of *ἔξοδος* was 'departure.' The Rheims version of 1582 used 'deceased.' This is the word used by the Authorized Version. The RSV reverts again to Tyndale's 'departure.' But it is the untranslated word which allows the profound biblical truth to speak for itself. A more adequate translation of the verse from this viewpoint might be:

"And behold two men conversed with him, Moses and Elijah who appeared in glory speaking of his exodus which he was to fulfil in Jerusalem." Luke 9:30

Luke considers the death of Jesus to be an extension and completion of the first exodus of Moses. The exodus of Moses delivered Israel. The exodus of Jesus brought deliverance to the

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<sup>31</sup>Some form of the word is found eight times in his Gospel. It is not used by the other evangelists, except once by John in John 19:28.

whole human race.

It is well to note that the word  $\xi\xi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$ <sup>32.</sup> has been much discussed in recent times. The strongest support for the position that  $\xi\xi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$  is a 'literalism' judiciously used to express a deliverance to be wrought in Jerusalem comes from J. Van Goudoever. Goudoever sees, without reservations, the word as a reference to link together Jesus' Passion, Resurrection and Ascension:

According to Luke, Jesus had to fulfil a new Exodus. Moses delivered his people out of Egypt and led them to Mount Sinai, he himself went up the mountain to God. Perhaps this was the pattern on which Luke wrote his Gospel: Jesus delivered the followers from sin and death and ascended the mountain to God. This Exodus must be fulfilled at Jerusalem.<sup>33.</sup>

Conzelmann recognizes that the whole series of events, the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and subsequent 'glory' of the Lord are in the Transfiguration in Luke but he gives no place to any special meaning which  $\xi\xi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$  might bear.<sup>34.</sup> Teeple thinks that any parallelism between the word and the Exodus from Egypt are coincidence.<sup>35.</sup> Leaney, on the other hand, says that the word connects Jesus with Moses,

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32. Considering the variety of words Luke might have used to describe Jesus' death  $\xi\xi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$  stands out significantly. Feuillet comments, *Biblica* 39, 1958, p. 291, "C'est certain que exodus n'est pas un terme ordinaire pour signifier la mort."

33. Biblical Calendars, Leiden, 1961, p. 158.

34. Op. cit., p. 59.

35. Op. cit., p. 116.



"like his namesake Joshua in the Old Testament he is Moses' successor, and as such accomplishes an exodus or deliverance."<sup>36</sup> Evans makes a contribution to an understanding of Luke's use of the word when he states, "to biblical ears, and especially as the object of the verb πληροῦν (exodus) might suggest a mighty act of redemption."<sup>37</sup> Alan Richardson gives substantial support to Evans' hypothesis stating that St. Luke brings out the poignancy of the situation: "Moses and Elijah spoke with Jesus about the very matter which the disciples could not yet understand, namely, 'his exodus' which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem."<sup>38</sup>

It is obvious that personal pre-suppositions in the interpretation of the word lead one to one conclusion and another to another. The solution to its meaning lies in discovering, if it is possible, the kind of pre-suppositions which Luke brought to his sources. No scholar, as far as we are aware, denies that Deut. 18:15 is influential in the Transfiguration narrative. None reject the validity of the Deuteronomic proof texts in the early sermons in Acts. From these two strong points the margin of unanimity broadens. Luke had a purpose in using a touchstone

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36. Op. cit. p. 167.

37. Op. cit. p. 51.

38. Op. cit. p. 184.

word from the Mosaic tradition. The Prophet like Moses had appeared. It was no ordinary 'decease' which took place in His death in Jerusalem. Luke labels the fact that the death of Jesus was different from any other. It was a deliverance after the type of the first deliverance of God's people. It was an exodus - the New Exodus through which all mankind could be set free.

vi. ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ In Luke's conception, 'Jerusalem' is not intended to be simply a geographical concept. It is the historical site where the New Exodus was fulfilled, but it is more. J. Manek has concluded that for Luke Jerusalem also means a theological concept designating a lack of faith.<sup>39</sup> It is used sometimes by Luke in a manner similar to the way he uses the word Sodom to denote degeneracy of morals. Thus in the typology of the exodus the 'waves of the Red Sea' are the reproach of shame, the sufferings and the Cross of Jesus.<sup>40</sup> This was the 'baptism to be baptized with' (Luke 12:50) predicted by Jesus. In conversation with Moses and Elijah Jesus faces the whole sweep of His departure from this world, death included. Like Moses and Elijah He must face the 'Pharaohs and Ahab's' of His time. The clash will be in Jerusalem. The word Ἱερουσαλήμ

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39. "The New Exodus in the books of Luke", Novum Testamentum, Vol. 2, Jan., 1957 p.14.

40. Conzelmann, on the other hand, op. cit., p. 74ff. holds that it is in relation to 'Jerusalem' that Luke develops his eschatology. It is in Jerusalem that the period of salvation, the "circle of redemptive history" (p.80) is completed.

(the Hebrew form) is used by Luke 68 times (27 times in his Gospel, 41 times in Acts). The alternative name *Ἱεροσόλυμα* Hierosolyma (the Greek form) occurs 28 times (4 times in his Gospel, 24 times in Acts). Obviously, for Luke, Jerusalem is the most important form for every use of Hierosolyma is clearly a geographical indication. All of the most significant passages from a theological viewpoint have the form Jerusalem, (Luke 13:33, 19:11, 21:20, 24:49 compared with the former 2:22, 19:28). The criterion of use is not always clear. The general conclusion, however, is that the Jerusalem form bears with it a special theological significance.

vii *διαγρηγορήσαντες δὲ εἶδον τὴν δόξαν* Luke avoids the word *μεταμόρφω*. His record of the reaction of the disciples may suggest his own concern. Luke's account begins when Jesus is praying and the disciples are heavy with sleep. Luke intends the reader to note that Peter and 'those with him' were not in full possession of their faculties when the apparition began. As the apparition continues they become fully awake and are able to recognize the figures for Peter names them in his endeavour to prolong the experience. It is impossible, however, to prolong the experience for Elijah and Moses are appearing *ἐν δόξῃ*.  
41. Jesus has not yet entered into His glory. The disciples will note

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41. The event cannot be summed up better, from our viewpoint, than in Conzelmann's words, "The whole episode therefore has a typological meaning which points forward to the events in Jerusalem. We find altogether the suffering, the sleeping of the disciples, and the fact that on 'awakening' they see his glory.." *op. cit.* p. 59.

that Moses and Elijah are distinct persons. Their lives contribute to the role of Jesus but they are not re-incarnate in Him. Here Evans' comment is most pertinent. He says that Luke has followed up the figure of Elijah stressing it in his narrative before he comes to record the Transfiguration. The figure of Moses and the figure of Elijah he finds in Mark's story of the Transfiguration.<sup>42</sup> But Jesus is not one of the old prophets raised up. The Transfiguration account is intended to indicate that Jesus is in the succession of the old, but that also He transcends it.

viii. ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ ἐν τῇ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν νεφέλην. Luke's account indicates that the disciples feared as they entered the cloud. There is a consciousness of the Divine in the 'cloud'. The awesomeness of Sinai is in the record. The occurrence of the voice recalls Deuteronomy more readily than other Pentateuchal passages. After the giving of the Decalogue in Deut. 5, each of the five verses following: (Deut. 5:22-27) contain references to the voice of the Lord and allusion to the cloud. Also in Deut. 4 when the making of the Covenant is reviewed Israel is reminded that on that day they saw no form, but there was a voice. Three times in the chapter the voice speaking out of the cloud of fire is recalled. Verse 36 reads:

Out of heaven he let you hear his voice, that he might discipline you; and on earth he let you see his great fire, and you heard his words out of the midst of the fire.

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42. Op. cit. p. 53.

The next verse recalls Israel's election and the exodus from Egypt:

And because he loved your fathers and choose (the LXX word here is *ἐξελέξατο*) their descendants after them, and brought you out of Egypt with his own presence, by his great power.

In these verses are most of the elements in Luke's Transfiguration account: the voice, the exodus and the election of Israel.

ix. *ὁ ἐκλεγμένος* Except for its further employment in Luke 23:35 this is the only occurrence of this form of the word in the New Testament. The root means to choose among several possibilities.<sup>43</sup> It is probable that in Luke's thought the word is held in association with his word *ἔξοδος*. As Moses was chosen to deliver Israel from Egypt by an exodus, so Jesus is chosen by the Father to deliver all mankind. The word carries with it also the notion of choice for one's self.<sup>44</sup> Luke may realize this association also. Jesus is 'God's man,' elected for God's purpose. He is the embodiment of Israel itself. As the object of God's forethought and choice, He is the personal possession of the Lord.<sup>45</sup> In Him the history and character of Israel finds

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<sup>43</sup>Note E. Jacob's study of the root of this word, the Hebrew *בחר* Theology of the Old Testament Eng. Tr. 1958, p. 201 "The technical term to designate the fact of election is the verb bachar which expresses a choice among several possibilities."

<sup>44</sup>Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit., p. 241.

<sup>45</sup>CP. H. H. Rowley, The Biblical Doctrine of Election, 1950, p. 48 "It is by no accident that the book of Deuteronomy which insists on the fact of Israel's election in a special degree, and which calls Israel the personal possession of Yahweh, and which continually reminds Israel of the bondage of Egypt from which she was rescued by Yahweh, most insists on the duty of obedience to the statues and ordinances of God, and on the demands

its perfection and fulfilment. That Luke understood that Jesus fully responded to His election is clear from his record of Jesus' words at the Last Supper. Jesus is the servant( Luke 22:27). It is in Deuteronomy that the idea of election for a service is first worked out in the Scriptures.<sup>46.</sup> The idea is carried out to its highest Old Testament levels in Deutero-Isaiah where the chosen' becomes a servant who suffers vicariously. That Luke held all of these associations in connection with ὁ ἐκλεκτός is verified by the references to the 'Rightous One' who suffered and was slain-used in the speeches of Peter and Stephen in Acts 3 and 7.<sup>47.</sup>

x. ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις οὐδὲν τῶν ἑωράκων . Luke alone remarks that the three eye-witnesses to the experience on the mount told no one in those days what they had seen. This could imply that in later days the Transfiguration story and its significance was commonly reported. With the sound of the 'Hear You Him' of the holy mount echoing in our ears we turn with Luke to the message of the Prophet as it is disclosed on the Journey to Jerusalem.

for gracious service of the helpless and the needy, and is under no illusions about the irrevocable and automatic character of the election."

46. See T.C.Vriezen, op. cit. p.48

47. Acts 3:14, 7:52/ For a summary of the meaning of Israel's election we can do no better than to quote the words of T.C.Vriezen Die Erwählung Israels nach dem Alten Testament p. 73 "Erwählen ist die Tatsache dass Gott aus seinem Gnadenwillen Israel vor allen Völkern zu seinem Dienst bestimmt hat; das bedeutet also: 1/die Entscheidung Gottes als Anfang des ganzen Verhältnisses, 2/die göttliche Gnade oder Liebe als Motiv, 3/ die göttliche Ehre als Ziel, 4/ die Separation als Mittel, 5/ die Theokratie oder Weltmission als Weg (so bei Deuteronomium und Deuterocesaja)"

What conclusions may be drawn from our examination of the Lukan Gospel records which involve the prophetic traits of Jesus? Without equivocation we may conclude that Luke seeks to portray Jesus as the climax of the whole succession of prophets of which Moses and Elijah were the prototypes. Jesus is revealed in the succession of 'true' prophets having power with God and receiving authority from God. He is the prophet of whom Moses spoke in Deuteronomy 18:15. Luke attests His authority in a variety of ways: at the beginning of His public ministry when he draws upon Isaianic tradition which has a Deuteronomic base, in the election of Disciples fashioned after the Deuteronomic appointment of judges, more explicitly in the presentation of the Beatitudes and Woes which appear to be shaped after the 'blessing and cursing' tradition in Deut. 28, in the Confession at Caesarea Philippi where it is revealed that a new line of prophecy is begun in Jesus, and significantly in the Transfiguration in which the whole account is heightened to establish and verify the authority of the Prophet like Moses. The authority of the Prophet has been declared. The reader is to hear Him as He makes His journey to Jerusalem.



PART FOUR

THE JERUSALEM JOURNEY AND DISCOURSE

THE JERUSALEM JOURNEY AND DISCOURSE

At verse 51 in Chapter 9, Luke commences the Section of his Gospel variously called the Travel Section or Central Section, the Perean Section or Samaritan Section. This section is the compilation of material which is largely peculiar to Luke's Gospel and is the teaching section of his Gospel.<sup>1</sup> In our view, Luke has purposely compacted his sources to create the illusion of a kind of wilderness teaching Journey, like the teaching in the Wilderness

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<sup>1</sup>. In recent years there have been several different assessments of the relative importance, literary and theological, of the Travel and Teaching or Central Section of Luke's Gospel: H. Conzelmann, op. cit., p. 193 n. 4 and p. 197, makes it a deliberate journey to the scene of the Passion. B. Reicke, "Instruction and Discussion in the Travel Narrative", Studia Evangelica, Berlin, 1959, pp. 206-216, regards the journey as serving a 'merely secondary function' to the report of Jesus' teaching but also gives the journey a positive function as a type of earthly pilgrimage of Jesus' followers. H. Flender, St. Luke Theologian of Redemptive History, Eng. Tr. by R. H. and Ilse Fuller, S.P.C.K., London, 1967, p. 103, suggests that Luke may well have seen a typological parallel between Jesus' journey to Jerusalem and Israel's wandering through the desert to the promised land. G.W.H. Lampe, op. cit., p. 182, links the journey and the ascension. C.F. Evans op. cit., p. 40ff., interprets the Central Section as part of the ἀνάληψις but in virtue of its not being a journey, but of its being like the Διαθήκη Μωυσέως connotes the whole of the rest of Jesus' ministry, of which the ascension is the goal. J. H. Davies, "The Purpose of the Central Section of St. Luke's Gospel", Studia Evangelica, 1964, pp. 164-168, sees Luke 18:31-34 as the passage in which Jesus speaks a great deal of the goal of the Journey. He thinks that it is Luke's adaptation of Mark 10:32-34 and retains the phrase ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ with its idiomatic sense of ascending to the city or temple for sacrifice which would be appreciated by Luke, Mark and Jesus Himself. Davies thinks that the Marcan passage 10:32-34 is the literary source of Luke's elaboration of the Journey; and if it preserves the ipissima verba of Jesus, the sacrificial goal of the journey is an insight of the Lord Himself. William C. Robinson, Jr., "The Theological Context for Interpreting Luke's Travel Narrative" (9:51 ff.) J.B.L. (79), 1960, pp. 20-31, holds that the travel narrative is arranged by a final editor in accord with his view of Heilsgeschichte which he seemed to have conceived of as a ὁδός 'way'. This editor represents the chief function of the trip as a stage on that way, which is connected with his concept of authenticated witness on which he saw the life and ministry of the Church based. K. L. Schmidt, Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu, 1919, p. 247 ff., showed that the notices of movement (9:51, 10:1, 17:38

of Pentateuchal tradition. Here the Prophet Like Moses gives his teaching and instruction for the new Israel. The central portion of Deuteronomy, i. e., the Code of the Book, contained a core of Mosaic instructions. Luke fashioned the instructions of the new Moses into a kind of central core for his Gospel. He is able to do this readily enough, for in almost every block of material in this Section there are Deuteronomic allusions and references and insights. His subject matter, necessarily, is generally not similar

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11:1, 13:10, 14:1, 25) and destination (Luke 9:51, 13:22, 33, 17:11, 18:35, 19:1) in the Travel account are not within the traditional units themselves but rather in the framing of the units (except 9:53). He says, *ibid.* p. 23, "Since the structure is redactional rather than traditional it is not a source for a history of Jesus but may afford information on the views of the editor." J. Schneider, "Zur Analyse des Lukanischen Reiseberichts" in *Synoptische Studien* (Festschrift für A. Wikenhauser), 1953, pp. 207 ff., considers Luke's system is 'inner directed'. With other scholars he recognizes that the manner of the Journey is vague; also that Luke is writing in a theme introduced by the solemn words recorded in 9:51. He sees in the Journey the theology and ethic of the Apostolic Church. He suggests that the meaning of the Journey is to be found through an understanding of the logic behind the grouping of the material. He finds that the material is grouped according to didactic interest. J. Blinzler, "Die Literarische Eigenart des Sogenannten Reiseberichts im Lukasevangelium", *Synoptische Studien*, *ibid.*, pp. 20 ff., states that the Journey is not a chronological and geographical account. Luke puts more of himself, he says, into the introduction of the Journey than to any other part. He argues that, judging by his preface, Luke intended to be chronological but other motives made him sway. The emphasis is on the need of disciples to follow the Christ. In his professorial inaugural lecture Edward Lohse, "Luke als Theologe des Heilsgeschichte" published in *Evangelical Theology*, Vol. 14, 1954, pp. 185 ff., declares that Luke's purpose is to create a Christian literature and to win adherents to the Christian faith. He points out that Luke is seeking to create a smooth product which non-Christians can easily follow. The whole is given a 'story telling' character. Things happen in grand patterns according to the foretelling of God. One leading theological motive, however, determines his work. It is the story of salvation history from Jerusalem to Rome.

but the flavour of Deuteronomy is clearly in his sources. There is a sense, then, in which one might term the Section a Christian Deuteronomy - as, indeed, Dr. Farrer has done.<sup>2</sup> The whole is given under the heading 'hear ye him' of the Transfiguration. Reference to 'hearing him' or letting his words 'sink into your ears' is a recurring theme in this Section. Luke, who has skilfully introduced his Gospel with a preface, makes excellent use of two other prefaces to the ministry and teaching of the prophet like Moses; the first is the Rejection at Nazareth by his own, and the second is the Rejection by the Samaritans. It is after these things that 'the Lord' appointed seventy others and sent them on ahead of him. The number seventy was intended to signify not only to the Samaritans, but to all men, that Jesus understood his task, in part, to be that of a new Moses.<sup>3</sup> Luke understood that the Transfiguration brought this conception into prominence. He omits the narrative used by Mark, and followed by Matthew, concerning the coming of Elijah, which follows the Transfiguration narratives.<sup>4</sup> By so doing, he is able to represent Jesus coming down from the mountain in the manner of Moses' descent from Sinai in that his first words are addressed to the crowd and appear to be from the Song of Moses

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2. A. M. Farrer, Studies in the Gospels, 1955, p. 79

3. Alan Richardson, op. cit., p. 86, declares that "Jesus thought of himself as the new Moses." (cp. Deut. 18:15, 18)

4. J. Van Goudoever, Biblical Calendars, Leiden, 1961, says, "In Luke's theology, Jesus is probably a second Moses rather than the returning Elijah. For this reason Luke may have omitted the question about Elijah's return."

(Deut. 32:5). The LXX reading of Deut. 32:5 is *γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη*. Q gives the reading *ὡ γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ διεστραμμένη* (Lk. 9:41 cp. Mt. 17:1). Only Luke records the response of the crowd to the healing of the epileptic child. He uses a rare N T word <sup>5.</sup> *μεγαλειότη* to record the crowd's reaction. What requires nine awkward verses in Mark's account is handled by two forthright statements.

While he was coming, the demon tore and convulsed him,  
But Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the boy,  
and gave him back to his father. Luke 9:42 RSV.

There is a grandeur about the action which strikes a sharp contrast with the people of the crowd who are perverse in their motives - looking for signs and miracles in the wrong places. If the saying comes from the Song of Moses, it may suggest that Jesus had been meditating upon Chapter 31:14-32:6 of Deuteronomy after the experience of Transfiguration.

In these verses, Moses' death is discussed. Yahweh appears to Moses and Joshua in a cloud or 'pillar of cloud' at the doorway of the tent of meeting. Commandment is given for the writing and teaching of the Song (verse 19) that it may be a witness for Yahweh against the people of Israel. Joshua is commissioned as the successor of Moses. Moses wrote the Song knowing how rebellious and stubborn the people were. After his death they are certain to act corruptly and turn aside from the way they have been commanded (verse 29). The faithfulness and righteousness of the Lord

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5. Arndt and Gingrich, p. 498 suggest that the word is used in our literature only of a divinity or of divine attributes. Luke uses the word again in Acts 19:27. The other NT usage is 2 Peter 1:16.

is contrasted with the crooked and perverse generation in the first five verses of Deut. 32. There are several similarities between the passage and Jesus' situation after the Transfiguration.

- (a) There has been a discussion of his death.
- (b) God appears in a cloud to 'Joshua' and Moses.
- (c) Joshua is commissioned as the successor to Moses.
- (d) The teaching given is to be a witness for God.
- (e) The faithfulness and righteousness of 'the Lord' is set against the perversity of the people.<sup>6.</sup>

There is an unearthly atmosphere in the pronouncement made upon the crowd. M. Dibelius describes the situation, "Jesus speaks as a divine being who has appeared only temporarily in human form."<sup>7.</sup>

*θεόςθε ἔμεις εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡμῶν* seems to refer back to his saying "O faithless and perverse generation, how long am I to be with you and bear with you?" He has spoken as God, but also in the likeness of God's servant Moses who prepared a Song as a witness of the Lord which was to be taught to the faithless and perverse people

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6. Creed, op. cit., p. 136 believes the words are an echo of the O T (cp. Dt. 32:5) and should not be interpreted out of the actual situation. Manson, op. cit., p. 136 words recall Dt. 32:5. Easton, op. cit., p. 147 the reproach is a combination of Dt. 32:5 and Num. 14:21. Leaney, op. cit., p. 169 thinks words are about the disciples. Lagrange, Saint Luc p. 277 "ne sont pas seulement celles d'un homme parmi d'autres hommes; c'est le sentiment d'un être divin qui a naturellement sa place dans le ciel."

7. Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, 1935, p. 278.



after Moses' death. The Son of man is to be delivered up to death. His words, like the words of Moses, are to be kept in their ears. The disciples do not understand the saying and they are afraid to ask him about it.

(i) The Wilderness Journey to Jerusalem.

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας

τῆς ἀναλήψεως he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem, and sent messengers before his face. The journey which is introduced cannot be traced geographically.<sup>8.</sup> The word ἀνάληψις<sup>9.</sup> appears only here as a noun. In the LXX it is used as a verb in 2 Kings 2:9 - 11 and 1 Macc. 2:58. In both these cases the reference is to Elijah who is being received into heaven. The mood is of special solemnity as if introducing a matter of importance. This form may have been prompted by a writing which appeared a generation previous to the time in which Luke wrote (circa 29 A. D.) called the Testament of Moses. A somewhat later work dealing with the circumstances of the mysterious death of Moses was combined with this earlier Testament under the title ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως. The evangelist may have known this work which comprised not only an account of the passage of Moses from death to heaven (part of which is echoed in Jude 9), but also a series of addresses and injunctions delivered to his

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8. In 18:35-43 and 19:1-10 he is at Jericho, but in 13:21-33 he is in Galilee. In 17:11 he is represented as "passing along between Samaria and Galilee".

9. See Creed, op. cit., p. 141 "Here the term perhaps connotes the various stages by which Jesus passed from an earthly to a heavenly existence ( cf. ἔξοδος p. 94f. supra ) rather than the single incident of the Ascension." Also Klosterman op. cit., p. 111.



successor. The emphasis, however, in Luke's record is not only on the death of Jesus but on the locality of His death and the remarkable 'teaching Journey' by which Jerusalem is reached. With this much as preface it is important for the viewpoint of this paper to examine in greater detail the motif of Luke's Journey.

Conzelmann gives a survey of the Journey motif of such clarity that we can do no better than to repeat the important points of his findings. He states,

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"We have to start from the fact that Luke develops the idea of a journey, for which there is little support in the material available to him. This most characteristic journey motif is a piece of deliberate editorial work . . . The discrepancy between form and content does not lead us to 'reject' the journey, but helps us to discover what is Luke's Christology."

In footnotes he states further,

"What we are concerned with is Luke's picture of Jesus. The question therefore is: What is Luke's purpose in constructing the scheme of the journey? His intention is all the plainer because of the fact that the scheme does not harmonize with the material. This means, then, that Luke is determined to carry it out at any cost . . . It was not Luke who created the journey motif, for he found it in Mark (more likely than in the special material), but he was the first to develop it into a scheme. The discrepancy between the material and the scheme is the clearest indication by which we can recognize Luke's own composition and see what is his special interest."

Conzelmann concludes that the journey is a "construction, the essential meaning of which has yet to be brought out". The

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10. Conzelmann, op. cit., p. 62.

11. Ibid., p. 73.

meaning of the Journey scheme is material to our thesis. If Luke has purposely constructed a Journey scheme, as most scholars agree he has done, he must have had a pattern and a purpose. His pattern, logically, would be the Wilderness Journey of Pentateuchal tradition. From Acts 7 we conclude that Luke was thoroughly familiar with the Wilderness tradition. His editorial purpose is to be sought through an examination of the Journey Section as a literary device and also as a theological expression. Our hypothesis is that what is explicit in Acts 7: "This is he who was in the congregation in the wilderness with the angel who spoke to him at Mount Sinai, and with our fathers; and he received living oracles to give us," is implicit in the New Moses of Luke's Journey Teaching Section. The Sending out of the Seventy as a typically Mosaic act at the beginning of the section enforces our hypothesis. The Return of the Seventy contains an allusion which could identify the tradition behind it as Deuteronomic. Before beginning to examine each unit in the Travel Teaching Section for Deuteronomic traditions we look with some detail at the tradition of the Sending out of the Seventy, and their Return.

(ii) The Sending Out of the Seventy

For Luke the New Moses setting out on His Journey to Jerusalem is acting not only for the deliverance of Israel as of old, but for the deliverance of the whole human race. The Seventy, therefore, are chosen to represent in the first instance the Seventy

nations of the world of common rabbinic expression.<sup>12.</sup> In the second instance they are analogous to Moses' elders of Numbers 11:16 ff (or possibly Exodus 24:1).<sup>13.</sup> For those who believe that the number seventy-two is original in Luke 10:1 Schoeps<sup>14.</sup> offers a separate line of reasoning. Seventy-two signifies Israel, including six from each tribe. The connection with Num. 11:16 ff is not disturbed because Jewish interpretation thought of seventy-two appointees, the later exclusion of Eldad and Medad bringing the number down to seventy. Moreover, the context of Luke's material may serve to heighten the parallel between Moses and Jesus. The disciple John's rejection of a certain exorcist (Luke 9:49-50) parallels Joshua's rejection of Eldad and Medad who are prophesying without credentials (Num. 11:26-29). Jesus rebukes John as Moses rebuked Joshua for an exclusivist attitude. In addition to these parallels we note that the Seventy are to go before Jesus as the

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12. So think Leaney, *op. cit.*, p. 176. Gilmour, *op. cit.*, p. 184. Manson, *op. cit.*, p. 123. Creed, *op. cit.*, p. 144. Plummer, *op. cit.* p. 269. Rengstorf, *op. cit.* p. 134, 135 considers the seventy as heralds to spy out the land.

13. The question of whether Luke's original text reads seventy or seventy-two is of considerable importance. Goudoever has suggested that "the Mission of the Seventy is a 'doublet' of the Mission of the 'Twelve' just as the Feeding of the Four Thousand is a 'doublet' of the Feeding of the Five Thousand" (*op. cit.*, p. 248). He indicates that the Seventy are dispatched to the Gentiles (the number seventy or seventy-two signifying all peoples of the earth), and that this is Luke's equivalent to the feeding of the four thousand. He concludes that the sending out of the seventy is the Pentecost story of the Gospel. cf. Gils *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 66.

14. H.J. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1949, p. 96, 97.

spies went before Moses after the manner of Deut. 1:22-24. They are to enter into every town and place where Jesus is to come. As the twelve of Mark 6:7 they are to go 'two by two'. They are to carry no purse, no bag, no sandals. Shorn of earthly possessions theirs is to be the poverty of the Israelites in the desert. Deuteronomy 8 appears to set the pattern:

And you shall remember all the way which the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness. Deut. 8:2a.

And he humbled you and let you hunger and fed you with manna which you did not know, nor did your fathers know. Deut. 8:3a.

Your clothing did not wear out upon you, and your foot did not swell, these forty years. Deut. 8:4.

The Qumran ideal of giving up the world and engaging in a new affirmation of the journey through the Wilderness lends strong support to the view that Luke in this chapter is dealing with a like tradition.<sup>15</sup> In the wilderness journey the Seventy are to typify believers in every place who by faith received a renewal of the Covenant in which they share as a result of the new 'exodus'. In this experience they reproduce and concentrate within themselves the dissolving of the old order and the beginning of the new. This may be illustrated particularly with regard to the dissolution of the food laws of the first Moses.

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15. Cp. T. Gaster, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Deut. 14:3 demanded -

'You shall not eat any abominable thing.'

Only Luke records the words

Whenever you enter a town and they receive you, eat what is set before you (Luke 10:8).

In the instructions to the Twelve in Mark 6:7-11 (Matthew 10:5-15) there is no mention of eating 'what is set before you'. The saying is not emphasized, appearing as one of the seven injunctions. For the Jew trained in the food laws, it was most revolutionary. It may have been suggested by another liberating food law of Deuteronomy, (viz. 12:20) which was inaugurated as a maxim to centralized worship.

When the Lord your God enlarges your territory, as he promised you, and you say, 'I will eat flesh,' because you crave flesh, you may eat as much flesh as you desire.

The Reign of God ( the Kingly Rule) has been enlarged. The Seventy, typical of all believers, receive the promises of liberation from the old food restrictions, It is to be noted that the situation out of which Luke was writing involved early witnesses who had to contend with food laws (Acts 11:3, 15:20, 29). Luke preserves the liberating words of Jesus instructing the missionaries to allow no food regulations to stand between them and the people to whom they are sent. There is an urgency and authority to their mission greater than Moses' laws. Luke 10 reflects, to a degree, the later missionary situation of the post Apostolic church.

As we have pointed out, the Lukan account of the Sending out of the Seventy is unique in its reference to eating and drinking.

And remain in the same house, eating and drinking what they provide. (verse 7a).

Whenever you enter a town and they receive you, eat what is set before you. (verse 8a).

In the Deuteronomic account, when permission is refused for a peaceful passage by the kings of Heshbon and Bashan, the Lord delivered them into the hands of the Israelites and they were destroyed. In a manner very similar to the prediction of the destruction of Bashan (Deut. 3:2), calling to mind the former destruction of Heshbon, pronouncement is made against the towns which do not receive the messengers sent out by the New Moses:

But whenever you enter a town and they do not receive you, go into its streets and say, 'Even the dust of your town that clings to our feet, we wipe off against you; nevertheless know this, that the kingdom of God has come near. I tell you, it shall be more tolerable on that day for Sodom than for that town. Luke 10:10-12.

Luke continues in the same context to relate the woes upon the two towns which were to become a byword signifying faithlessness, Chorazin and Bethsaida. In verse 16 attention is drawn to the necessity of hearing the messengers:

He who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me, and he who rejects me rejects him who sent me.

The theology behind the saying is equivalent to the theology of Deut. 2:26 - 3:17. Those who rejected the ambassadors of Moses, rejected Moses and the Lord who sent him.

(iii) The Return of the Seventy

The return of the Seventy and the fall of Satan has no parallels in the Synoptics. Isaiah 14:12 may have inspired the figure of Satan falling from heaven. At least, Isaiah 14:12 gives the only other similar account in the O T.<sup>16</sup> The compelling feature in the narrative of the Return of the Seventy, from the viewpoint of this thesis, is the saying in connection with serpents and scorpions (verse 19). The saying is drawn from the imagery of the Journey through the Wilderness and is discovered in the O T only in Deut. 8:15:

Who led you through the great and terrible wilderness, with its fiery serpents and scorpions.

Moses reminded Israel in Deut. 8:14 that when they were successful and became lifted up in heart (ὁψωβήσ τῆ καρδίᾳ) (LXX), over their success that they forget not the Lord God who delivered them from the house of bondage, led them through the wilderness with its fiery serpents and scorpions, and thirsty ground, and gave them power over their enemies. In like manner, the New Moses declares that the Seventy have received their power from him.

Behold I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and Scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy. (verse 19)

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16. The image of the fall of Satan is seen in: The Assumption of Moses 10:1; Jubilees 23:29; Test. Sim. 6:6 and Test. Jud. 25:3. Cp. Felix Gils op. cit. p. 85, 86.



The *Πατεῖν ἐπάγω ὄφρων* could be an allusion to Psalm 91:12.

This is of interest as it is the passage immediately following the passage reported in the Temptation Narrative (Luke 4:10, 11; Matthew 4:6) as quoted by Satan. Chapter 8 of Deuteronomy which played a vital part in Jesus' victory over Satan in his temptations, seems to be a background against which the victory of the Seventy is characterized. The subjection of the demon through the power of the Lord's name, and the fall of Satan is linked with the Temptation episode at the beginning of Jesus' ministry. The fact that Deuteronomy is the only O T book (with the exception of the quotation from Ps. 91) quoted in the Temptation Narrative indicates its prominence in our Lord's struggle with the powers of evil. It is logical that he should return to it in connection with the bestowal of his powers over Satan upon the Seventy.

The prayer which follows the account (verse 21f) is contained in Q (cp. Mt. 11:25-27) and addresses God as *Κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς*. In it Jesus thanks the Father for hiding these things from the wise and understanding and revealing them to babes. Luke gives the fall of Satan and the saying regarding authority over serpents and scorpions, and the injunction to the disciples to rejoice that their names are written in heaven, as the context for the prayer. In Deut. 3:23, after Moses had encouraged Joshua, assuring him that he need not fear the enemy, he prays (and Luke uses an almost identical phrase for introducing the prayer *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ* ).

Lord God, thou hast begun to show to thy servant thy strength and thy power, and thy mighty hand and thy high arm; for what God is there in heaven or on the earth who will do as thou hast done, and according to thy might. (LXX)

It cannot be determined that Jesus' prayer in this instance is drawn from the prayer of Moses, but the reference in Q to 'Lord of heaven and earth' is not found elsewhere and connects well with 'God in heaven or on the earth' of Moses' prayer. Luke, in any case, has given the prayer a context which suggests that the gratitude offered for a revelation which has begun refers to the revelation to the Seventy, and therefore to the world, that the power over the enemy is in the hands of the Lord who bestows it also upon whom he chooses. The pericope ends with the injunction as to the blessing of seeing and hearing the things which the disciples have seen and heard. The problem of the Divine communicating with his people is dealt with repeatedly in the early passages of Deuteronomy.<sup>17.</sup> The fact that the people are not able to bear seeing God is brought out. He nevertheless speaks to them so that they hear, i. e.,

Then the Lord spoke to you out of the midst of the fire; you heard the sound of words, but saw no form, there was a voice. (4:12)

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17. Deut. 4:12, 33; 5:24, 26.

There is a suggestion that there is something of this nature behind the saying in verse 23.

Blessed are the eyes which see what you see.

The emphasis on seeing and hearing in the following verse seems to reinforce again the vision, and the words of the Transfiguration, 'Hear ye him'.

(iv) The Shema

The preparation is now complete for the evangelist to present the supreme and most sublime teachings of the prophet like Moses. It is logical that the first of these should revolve around the most basic and widely accepted Mosaic doctrine, the Shema, principal  
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creed of Judaism. Luke describes the lawyer by the word *νομικός*. Outside of Luke it appears in the N T only in Titus 3:9, 13. The word is Luke's interpretation of *γραμματέως*<sup>19</sup>.

In his use, the word allows a word play ironically contrasting the lawyer's question with 'the law' upon which, by profession, he was an authority. Jesus' reply is pointed *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται*; the theme of the narrative does not revolve around 'the commandments' as do the parallels of Mark 2:28-31 (Mt. 22:34-40). The

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18. Twice a day, in the morning and evening, every male Jew recited the Shema in Jesus' time.

19. The MSS. which use *νομικός* in the parallel passage of Matthew 22:35 are the result probably-scribal harmonization.

cp. also Leaney op. cit. p. 182. Creed op. cit. p. 152.

lawyer, in Luke's account, is not concerned with which of the commandments is the greatest. His concern is over the issue of what he must do to gain eternal life. Dr. Farrer calls the question a 'Deuteronomic question'.<sup>20</sup> His terminology in this respect may be somewhat misleading. It may beg the question. How to gain eternal life is not dealt with in so many words in Deuteronomy. The great law-code of the book, however, comes to a mighty climax in Deut. 30:19 (LXX).

I call heaven and earth to witness this day to you, I have set before you life and death, the blessing and the curse; choose thou life that thou and thy seed may live.

By observing the commandments, by loving the Lord God and walking in his ways, and keeping his judgements Israel would choose life over death, blessing over cursing. If the lawyer's question could be interpreted, 'how may I choose life?', it might then be regarded as Deuteronomic. There is further connection with Deuteronomy, however, in the use of the word κληρονομέω (fut. κληρονομήσω) 'inherit' which may have the meaning of acquire or 'come into possession of'. Forms of the word are very frequent in Deuteronomy describing the occupation of Canaan (i. e., Deut. 4: 22, 26; 6:1). In Luke's account, the word ἐκπειράζων suggests that Jesus was being tempted or tried by the question - as if to

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<sup>20</sup>. A. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q.", op. cit., p. 79.

ensnare him in doctrinal difficulties. If Jesus is seen by Luke as the New Moses, he may also see the lawyer's question as a 'test case' of his teaching. Jesus' reply sends the lawyer back to the Law. The lawyer's skill is great. Familiarity with the minutiae of the Law had not obscured his perception of the basic underlying principle of love to God and man. For this lawyer, the Law was not an impersonal code of regulations. It was deeper than ritual and sprung from whole-hearted devotion and obedience. It was Deuteronomy which best gave expression to these attitudes, and it was to Deuteronomy that the lawyer went, seizing upon its supreme command contained in the Shema (Deut. 6:5). The quotation is complicated by textual variants. Luke's version appears to follow the Hebrew more closely than Mark or Matthew's quotation.

It reads: ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύι σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διάνοίᾳ σου.

The last phrase καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου may be an addition. It is omitted by Codex Bezae, 1241, and Marcion. The word standing for 'mind' is an alternative translation of the Hebrew for 'heart'. In Hebrew **לֵב** 'heart' means the whole mental nature, not just the affection. **נֶפֶשׁ** 'Soul' means the whole vital nature and means potency in general. It could refer to the body (vigour) or it could refer to the mind (or ability). The Hebrew reads

**וְעִם כָּל הַלֵּב וְעִם כָּל הַנֶּפֶשׁ וְעִם כָּל הַכֹּחַ**  
 with all your 'heart' and with all your 'soul' and with all your

'might' (strength). The LXX used *διανοίας* to render  $\aleph \aleph \aleph$ . The Synoptists render it *καρδία* 'heart'. Luke used the Hebrew order 'heart', 'soul' and 'strength', plus the addition referred to above, which occurs in some of the MSS. Mark's record contains the same four objects but reverses the last two. Matthew omits 'strength'. This appears as a departure from Matthew's general plan of following carefully the Hebrew text. None of the Deuteronomic versions of the commandment contain more than three of the human faculties. Though the LXX renders *διανοίας* for  $\aleph \aleph \aleph$  in Deut. 6:5, it uses *καρδίας* in Deut. 10:12; and Deut. 30:6 is rendered *ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου* making the same distinction as the Hebrew text.

(v) Jerusalem to Rome - neighbours on the way.

Along with the commandment of the Shema from Deut. 6:5, a lawyer cited Lev. 19:18 *τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν*, an exact quotation of the LXX. While not expressed in these words, loving concern for one's neighbour was a cardinal teaching of Deuteronomy. The Sitz im Leben Kirche for Luke involved a people striving to get along with pagans and hostile rulers. Jesus was the model - the good neighbour who laid down his life for his friends. Could this kind of love triumph over the enemies of the church as the movement spread from Jerusalem to Rome? Jesus had demonstrated that in loving God and loving man there was no

more satisfactory O T reference. Here one finds the idea of inheritance and of loving the Lord with all of heart and soul. Life is promised as a reward for performing these things:

And the Lord shall purge thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul that thou mayest live (LXX).

Jesus' reply to the lawyer (verse 28)

indicates his full approval to this combination of the laws of Moses.<sup>21</sup> They superseded all others, comprised all others. When all of the human faculties - intellect, will, strength, are offered to God in loving trust - this is 'life'. Nothing new need be added to what was already written in the law. The practice of the precepts of the Law in Jesus' time, however, generally was without this basic premise. The pattern, nonetheless, was there. In Jewish thought the heart was the seat of the intellect and the soul was the centre of the desires and affections. If both were offered to God religious 'law', instead of being as it had become to the Jews - largely a matter of punctilious observance of precepts,<sup>22</sup> became an attitude of heart. Inheriting eternal life, by this token, did not consist in concurring with the status quo of prohibitions.<sup>23</sup> The lawyer understood that it was not a matter of what shall I not do.<sup>24</sup> It is an affirmative to

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21. The combination of Deut. 6:5 and Lev. 19:18 had been made in the Test. of Issachar 5:2 and in the Test. of Daniel 5:3 (circa 109 B. C.)

22. Rabbis had interpreted the Torah to create 613 commandments- 365 prohibitions, 248 ordinances.

23. Gentiles then, as now, often confused Christian restraints with "prohibitions".

24. Jewish converts of Luke's time were learning to look to Jesus. (Hebrews 12:2).



become apparent as we travel with Luke through the travel-teaching section of his Gospel.

The Lawyer would have regarded Deuteronomy as the 'life promising' book.<sup>25</sup> Since his query had as its objective the discovery of eternal life, the question might be raised as to why did he not quote from the life promising part of the book, i. e. Deut. 30:11-14? According to Luke he selected the Shema, the most familiar text of Deuteronomy and coupled Leviticus 19:18 with it. The lawyer's further question 'And who is my neighbour?' is well explained by Luke with the words *Θέλω δικαιοῦσαι ἑαυτὸν*. The desire for sharp definition is rabbinic but Luke understands this man is embarrassed by the fact that he has known those things most pertinent for 'life' yet is still seeking. His question is therefore, to justify himself in Jesus' eyes. There is no suggestion that this man realizes that he cannot fulfill the requirements of the Law he has quoted without Jesus' help! Moreover, a lawyer who was able to select out of all of the passages of Moses, two sayings, which won Jesus' certain approval, knew the

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25. E. Jacobs, op. cit. p. 133. "In the history of Israel Deuteronomy marks an attempt to reconcile and to identify the prophetic word with the legal word by presenting a book as a normative authority; in this book, which can always be consulted (Deut. 30:11-14) life is truly found (Dt. 32:47) so that any new revelation is superfluous! The dabar is therefore, no more the hoped for reality whose manifestation was often awaited with anxiety, even by the prophets, it is given once and for all and the Israelite will find there all that is necessary for his salvation. Only the backward glance matters, and every new revelation will have to assume an antique garb to avoid appearing new."

Law well enough to know the provisions made for neighbour, be he fellow Israelite or stranger. Deuteronomy especially is motivated by compassionate concern for the well being of one's neighbour. It makes the law of retaliation stringent upon any man who hates, attacks and kills his neighbour ( וְ ).

But if any man hates his neighbour, and lies in wait for him, and attacks him, and wounds him mortally so that he dies, and the man flees into one of these cities, then the elders of his city shall send and fetch him from there, and hand him over to the avenger of blood, so that he may die. Deut. 19:11, 12.

Again, in Deut. 29:24 it is written -

'Cursed be he who slays his neighbour in secret'.

These concepts arose from early laws and traditions. At a later date mitigation was offered the slayer of a neighbour by the establishment of cities of refuge:

Then Moses set apart three cities in the east beyond the Jordan, that the manslayer might flee there, who kills his neighbour unintentionally, without being at enmity with him in time past, and that by fleeing to one of these cities he might save his life. Deut. 4:41, 42.

Deuteronomy set great value upon the neighbour ( וְ ). It has nineteen references implying protection for one's neighbour. Leviticus, by way of contrast, has only four such provisions. These are all in the Holiness Code (Lev. 17-26) regarded by many scholars as being influenced by Deuteronomy. One of these (Lev. 19:18) puts into positive form the concern for one's neighbour which is shown in Deuteronomy, and to some extent in Exodus,

but which is not declared in a single positive commandment.

אֵל means, as we have seen, 'friend' or 'associate'. Another word used with frequency in Deuteronomy, and which is related to the concept of neighbour, is stranger ( אֲרָם ). This word occurs nineteen times in Deuteronomy. It occurs eighteen times in Leviticus also, but only once outside of the Holiness Code. The word signifies 'stranger' or 'resident alien'. Deuteronomy commands that the stranger be loved on the basis of the fact that the Lord loved Israel when a 'stranger' in the land of Egypt:

Love the sojourner ( אֲרָם ) therefore; for you were sojourners in the land of Egypt. Deut. 10:19.

It is out of familiarity with a Pentateuchal background, in which Deuteronomy especially offered legislation based on concern for fellow Israelites and sojourners, that the lawyer's question was raised, 'Who is my neighbour?' Jesus' famous answer embodying the Parable of the Good Samaritan is one of the great utterances of human literature. <sup>26.</sup> Through it, is given a new exaltation to the commandment to love. A deeper and broader and higher meaning is ascribed to the word neighbour which Deuteronomy or Leviticus

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26. N.B.C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, (2nd. Ed. London, 1927) p. 468. "Whether the Samaritan was original to the parable or not, at all events he is there now, and the conception of the good Samaritan is one which the world will not easily let go. For the parable is one of the simplest and noblest among the noble gallery of parables in the Synoptic Gospels. Love it tells us, must have no limits of race and ask no enquiry. Who needs me is my neighbour, whom at the given time and place I can help with my active love, he is my neighbour and I am his."

could not illustrate. In Levitical days, neighbour meant only a fellow Jew. Jesus broadened it to mean fellow man. The lawyer's response<sup>27.</sup> to Jesus' final question after the telling of the parable, is with the use of the word ἔλεος 'mercy'. The word 'mercy' is more common in Luke than anywhere else in the N T. It is a recurring theme of Chapter One (1:15; 1:54; 1:58, 1:72; 1:78).

Chapter 10 ends with the narrative concerning Mary and Martha in which Luke's main emphasis seems to fall upon verse 39 and especially the words ἤκουεν τοῦ λόγου. This hearkens back to the αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε of the Transfiguration. The disciples have seen and heard the prophet like Moses. An authority of the Law has put him to the test and has heard the Law illustrated so as to impregnate it with a new meaning. Finally, a village girl sits at his feet and hears his words. All are contained within the same context. The reader must note that Mary has chosen the good position, which shall not be taken away from her.

(vi) Luke's Version of the Lord's Prayer (Luke 11:1-4)

A. R. C. Leaney in the Introduction to his commentary on St. Luke's

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27. In Luke's account of the Summary of the Law there is no suggestion that the Lawyer understood that fulfilment of the Law was in Jesus himself, as well as in his words. There were those in the Early Church who saw their Torah in Jesus himself. Any possibilities of a new Torah which Judaism may have cherished were seen to be fulfilled and transcended in Jesus himself. For a full discussion see W. D. Davies Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come, 1952. Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, Vol. VII.

Gospel has drawn attention to the first petition of the Lord's prayer in connection with its possible relationship to early Church liturgical usage.<sup>28.</sup> (πάτερ ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου )

The tense of ἁγιασθήτω points to an eschatological fulfilment, a future when all men will acknowledge God's holy character and purpose. Is there a possible link between the Lukan form of address of the Divine and Deuteronomic name theology? The LXX translation of  $\square\psi\ \iota\chi\psi\ \tau\omega\psi\ \zeta$  of Deut. 12:11; 14:23; 16:2; 6:11 is ἐπιληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ. In each of these places the reference is to the sanctuary. In Acts 22:16, James 2:7 and 2 Thess. 1:12 the Divine name is invoked upon the one who is baptized, who enters into union with the name. Through baptism and the invocation of the Divine Name, the believer may be thought of as a 'sanctuary' in which the Divine Name dwells. If Deuteronomy has influenced the Q tradition of the 'hallowed name', it would appear to do so in relation to the concept of the Sanctuary.<sup>29.</sup> In Luke's account,

28. Leaney, *op. cit.*, p. 59-68. See also S.M. Gilmour, *op. cit.*, p. 201 "In Semitic usage name was closely associated with 'person' or 'being'. W. Manson *op. cit.*, p. 134 has "disclosure, so far from diminishing the dread in which the holy name is to be held, calls for increased reverence."

29. T.C. Vriezen, *An Outline of O T Theology*, 1958, p. 248 "It is especially the Deuteronomist who emphasizes this doctrine that the name of Yahweh dwells in the temple, evidently in order to create a distance between God Himself and the temple in this way." G. von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy*, 1955, p.38 "The idea of the name as the Characteristic form in which Jahweh reveals himself is not in itself anything new - we have only to think of the law of the altar in Ex. 20:24. But what is decidedly new is the assumption of a constant and almost material presence of the name at the shrine... It is not Jahweh himself who is present at the shrine, but only his name as the guarantee of his will to save; to it and it only Israel has to hold fast as the sufficient form in which Jahweh reveals himself. Deuteronomy is replacing the old crude idea of Jahweh's presence and dwelling at the shrine by a theologically sublimated idea."

Jesus teaches the prayer in response to a disciple who asked to be taught how to pray. The reply suggests that a disciple coming into prayer communion with the Father must first hallow His name. The disciple by hallowing the Divine Name may become, in a sense, a sanctuary in which the Divine Name or character may dwell. That Luke himself is a disciple who learned the Lord's Prayer through an Apostolic liturgy of the Church is a possibility. <sup>30.</sup>

Following the MSS of Codex Bezae we are led to a similar position. It reads *ἀγιασθήτω ὄνομα σου ἐφ' ἡμεῶς*. The concept may be built upon the LXX representation of the Hebrew of Deut. 12:11; 14:23; 16:2, 6, 11; Jer. 7:12; 'to cause my name to dwell' which reads in the LXX 'for my name to be invoked there'. <sup>31.</sup> <sup>32.</sup> There is, in relation to the Deuteronomic legislation concerning worship, an exclusive significance to the Divine Name.

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30. Leaney, *op. cit.*, p. 62, 'If Luke was taught the Lord's Prayer it was certainly a Lord's Prayer found in contemporary liturgy.'

31. In this text, Jeremiah is influenced very likely by Deuteronomy.

32. Adam Welch, The Code of Deuteronomy, London, 1924, p. 25 translated this recurring formula of Dt. as "the sanctuary where Jahweh thy God elects to locate His name."

*ibid.*, p. 26 "the peculiar intention of the phrase becomes more clearly marked, when it is observed with what features of the ritual the divine name is linked. The sanctuary to which the worshipper brings his offering must be one which is recognised as having none except Jahweh associations - His name has come to dwell there.

*ibid.*, p. 31 'The sanctuary where Jahweh elects to locate His name need not mean only one sanctuary; it must mean a shrine reserved to His honour.'



This conception was probed thoroughly by Professor Adam Welch whose conclusion was that it dealt with the character and not the unity or worship. He contended that the Deuteronomic legislation originally was concerned not with the place but with the purity of worship. The major emphasis of his thesis was upon the concept of pure Yahweh worship as opposed to Baal cultus. If the tradition of the purity of worship of the Deuteronomic Name Theology influenced the address to the Divine in the Lord's Prayer contained in Q, it would tend to place the emphasis upon the personal pronoun, i. e. 'Hallowed be thy name'. It would interpret the invocation as hallowing the Divine Name in opposition to other deities.

In the last petition of the Lord's Prayer (Lk. 11:4, Mt. 6:13) there is the possibility of the influence a Deuteronomic tradition. *καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν* A great variety of interpretations have been placed upon the petition 'and lead us not into temptation'. Much depends upon the meaning of *πειρασμός*. Modern English suggests that the word 'tempt' means entice or seduce. That this was a N T meaning is attested by James who wrote "Let no one say when he is tempted, 'I am tempted by God', for God cannot be tempted with evil and he himself tempted no one; but each person is tempted when he is lured and enticed by his  
33.  
own desire." In its history the word has passed through a wide

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33. James 1:13, 14. W. Manson, op. cit., p.135 thinks that the Lord's Prayer underlies the discussion and apparent controversy revealed in this text.



34. range of meanings. It meant at one time simply experience and is used in this sense by the author of Hebrews in writing of those who 'had trial' of mockings and scourgings. 35. The word next is seen to mean 'try' or 'attempt' as for example in Acts 9:16, 26. Finally the word meant to make trial of, to test or to prove. Paul used the word in this sense in 2 Cor. 13:5; Try yourselves (examine yourselves), to see whether you are holding to your faith (literally 'if you be in faith'). John 6:6 uses it, 'This he said to prove him'. In this last reference, the word could not have meant seduce or entice as Christ is the subject. The word has become debased in common usage. In its later uses it suggested a falling into evil. 36. A tradition of the word which has been little explored is that which the LXX translates as *πειρασμός* but which is *יָדוּן* in the Hebrew 37. implying Israel's test of God. In Deuteronomy massah clearly implies testing of God. Thus it is used in two passages of Exodus:

"Give us water to drink," they said.

"Why do you find fault with me?" Moses said to them.

"Why do you put the Lord to the test. Ex. 17:2 (Amer. trans.)

34. See J.H. Korn, Peirasmos, Stuttgart, 1937.

35. Hebrews 11:36.

36. Note our Chapter on the Temptation Narratives. See also G.F. Allen's, "Lead us not into Temptation," Modern Churchman. Vol. XXXI Apr. 1941-Mar. 1942. p. 22 ff.

37. Ex. 17:2, 7; Num. 14:22; Ps. 78:18, 41, 56; 95:9; 106:14; Is. 7:12.

and

So he called the name of the place Massah (testing), as well as Meribah (finding fault), because of the fault-finding of the Israelites, and their testing of the Lord by saying, "Is the Lord in our midst, or not?". Ex. 17:7

Also in Numbers 14:22:

None of the men who have seen my glory and my signs which I performed in Egypt and the desert, and yet have put me to the test for ten times now, and have not heard my injunctions, shall see the land.

In Deut. 6:16 is the tradition which may be associated with the

Lord's Prayer:

You must not put the Lord God to the test, as you did at Massah.

The 'sin of Massah' survived in Hebrew tradition as a type of rebellion against God and humble trust - a direct counterpart of the 'faith of Abraham'. Hebrews 3:9 in quoting the LXX of Ps. 94 used the word *πειρασμός* in the active sense (i. e. in place of *πικρασμόν*) for tempting God. It is from his own experience of temptation that we must see the meaning which Jesus would give to *πειρασμός* in connection with prayer. In Luke's account of the temptations, the temptation of putting God to the test is the climax. It was met by Deuteronomic command *οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου*. The association is with the wilderness experience of putting God to the test at Massah. The state of mind which would put God to the test is diametrically opposite to that state of mind which is receptive to humble trust and obedience.

Cornelius Houk sees this association behind the petition 'And lead us not into temptation'<sup>38</sup>. From this viewpoint a more adequate translation might be 'And lead us not into testing (of Thee)' or Lead us not into doubt of Thee. All of the temptations by which we put God to the test are included in this petition.

(vii) The Beelzebul Controversy (Luke 11:14-26)

After giving the illustration of the importance of persistence in prayer as the key to having prayer answered, Luke turns abruptly to the Beelzebul Controversy. The people are looking for a sign and testing Jesus, the very thing disciples are to pray not to do. He knows their thoughts (verse 17)

Every kingdom divided against itself is laid waste, and house falls upon house. And if Satan also is divided against himself, how will his kingdom stand? For you say that I cast out demons by Beelzebul. And if I cast out demons by Beelzebul, by whom do your sons cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges. But if it is by the finger of God (*ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ*) that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you. (Luke 11:17-20)

Why should Luke who has keen interest in the activity of the Holy

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38. Cornelius B. Houk "Peirasmos, the Lord's Prayer and the Massah Tradition," S.J.T., 19:216-225, Vol. 2, 1966. Leaney, op. cit., p. 189 "Luke is linking the work of the Lord with that of Moses." Also G.W.H. Lampe 'The Holy Spirit in the Writing of St. Luke' Studies in the Gospels, 1955, p. 172 "Luke is probably anxious to work this allusion into his narrative in order to strengthen those elements in his portrait of Jesus which are intended to recall Moses." Gilmour, op. cit., p. 207 'perhaps preferable to Matthew's the "Spirit of God"'. Manson, op. cit., p. 140 "occurring with reference to the plagues of Egypt in Ex. 8:19." Creed, op. cit., p. 161 "This is Jesus' own interpretation of his success." Plummer, op. cit., p. 302 "As distinct from the charms and incantations used by Jewish exorcists, who did not rely simply upon the power of God." Easton, op. cit., p. 181 "This last phrase is from Ex. 8:19. Christ's power showed He had won a crushing victory over Satan; Luke probably thought of the Temptation."

Spirit choose the term 'finger of God', when Matthew uses the term which logically Luke should have preferred, Spirit of God (Mt. 12:28)? If the Matthaean and Lukan accounts are derived from Q, Luke must have retained an original wording of Q or he purposely must have substituted the word 'finger' in order to emphasize a point of Theology in something of the same way in which he used *ἕξοδος* in the Transfiguration narratives.

Leaney and Lampe connect the use of the phrase with Moses. Manson and Easton (see previous footnotes) relate it to Exodus 8:19 and the plagues of Egypt. These interpretations however, do not relate well to the context in which it is used here; i. e. in connection with casting out demons. Easton has approached a point which, when pursued, gives a more adequate exegesis for Luke's use of the word *δακτύλω*. Luke is relating the whole episode of the Beelzebul Controversy to Jesus' victory over his temptations. The issue debated concerns the kind of power which He used to gain victory over demons. Luke indicates that the Prophet like Moses has one kind of power, that residing in the Word of God. It was the Word of God given by Moses in Deuteronomy 8:3, 6:13 and 6:16 which routed the prince of demons in the wilderness when Jesus was tempted. According to Deuteronomic tradition, it is this Word, written by the finger of God, which is the power by which Jesus cast out demons. Deut. 9:10 reads:

Then the Lord gave me the two stone tablets, inscribed by the finger of God, and on them a copy of all of the words

that the Lord had spoken to you at the mountain out of fire on the day of the Assemblage.

If 'finger of God' is interpreted as referring back to Jesus' temptation and the Deuteronomic Words by which he cast out Satan, then the saying concerning the capturing of the strong man's goods is in perfect harmony as Luke uses it, following the saying in verse 20. Moreover the answer to the woman in the crowd (in verse 28) and the Lukan version of the Sign of Jonah are seen to be associated with the importance of hearing the Word; (i.e. the Word first written by the finger of God). A unity is perceived within the whole section from the last petition of the Lord's Prayer dealing with temptation to the end of the pericope on light which might be interpreted as a parable of the Word of God; a disciple is to pray that he be not led into doubt (with its subsequent seeking for signs as Israel at Massah (verse 4); he is to be persistent in prayer, trusting God for his needs knowing that He will provide as a Father for his children (verses 5-13); Jesus himself is God's sign that the Kingdom of God has come (verse 14-20); the power by which he casts out demons is the Word of God. A stronger than Satan has overcome and the palace of the strong man<sup>39.</sup> has been entered.

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39. The definite article is used to indicate strong man in the Greek text; i.e.  $\delta \text{ } \tau \text{ } \sigma \text{ } \chi \text{ } \rho \text{ } \alpha \text{ } \nu \text{ } \sigma$ . J. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, 1954 p. 98 "The binding of the strong man is evidently to be understood as referring to an actual experience, hence, clearly to the temptation of Jesus." Also Leaney op. cit., p. 189. Gilmour op. cit., p. 208 writes "Allegory not only identifies Jesus with the one stronger than he, but also Satan's human victims with his goods and his spoils and the demon with his armour." Also note Creed, op. cit., p. 161, Manson op. cit., p. 140 and Plummer, op. cit., p. 303 'parable is like Is. 49:24-26 which may be the source.'

The strong man's armour is taken and his spoils are divided (verses 21-23). Verse 23 is paralleled by Matthew 12:30 and is a reiteration of Luke 9:50. Verses 24-26 are parallels of Matthew and consist of a warning concerning the demons' power of rallying and returning to their former place of occupation. It is within the general context of this warning that the Lukan saying "Blessed rather are those who hear the word of God and keep it," is found. Reference is back to the Transfiguration and the emphasis is upon hearing God's Word as spoken by His Chosen Prophet. In him is the fulfilment of Deut. 18:18b.

I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I command him.

(viii) A Prophet of the Word

With her exclamation, the woman from the crowd drew attention to the person of Jesus. He directs the attention to the Word of God. The people of the crowd, like the Israelites in the wilderness, were eager for signs. His concern is that they hear the Word of God and keep it. The crowd is offered the sign of the Prophet Jonah. Luke has repressed the information in Q used by Matthew in 12:40 which was an allegory of Jesus' death and drew attention to His person. Luke states 'Jonah became a sign to men of Nineveh'. The sign was the Word of God which he brought. In the same manner the Son of Man is to be a sign to 'this generation'. The sign is the Word of God which he brings. The related saying concerning 'the Queen of the South' is to the

same effect. *πλεῖον* a neuter adjective is employed to represent 'something greater than'. It comes, apparently, from Q (cp. Mt. 12:42). That which is greater than the great people of the past and which is revealed to 'this generation' is the fulness of the Word of God brought by Jesus.

This interpretation of Jesus as the bearer of the fulness of the Word of God leads logically to the parable of the light which may be seen as a parable of the Word of God. The latter refers back to the 'finger of God' of verse 20 and the whole coheres in unity.<sup>40.</sup> The text of verses 33-36 is extremely difficult to follow.<sup>41.</sup> If it were possible to secure the original readings they would carry, probably, three truths connected with the idea of illumination:

- 1) Jesus is the lamp of God (by which God's Word is made plain).
- 2) The eye is the lamp of the body.
- 3) It is within human power to see God's Word by means of the lamp which He has provided.

Luke places the parable so as to make it a culmination of Jesus' teaching directed toward the question of a sign from God. If Jesus cast out demons by the Word of God, i. e. by the finger of

40. Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 308 "There is no break in the discourse, and this should hardly be printed as a separate section."

41. J.M. Creed, *op. cit.*, p. 164 says of verse 36 "Some very early corruption may be suspected which is now irremediable" and B.S. Easton, *op. cit.*, p. 186 says "The difficulty of this verse is notorious". Leaney, *op. cit.*, p. 192 thinks of the lamp as the Torah or Word of God with God as the source of illumination or the light. Gilmour, *op. cit.*, p. 212 and Manson, *op. cit.*, p. 144 think Jesus himself is the lamp. Klostermann, *op. cit.*, p. 129 says of verse 36 "Er ist auch kaum verständlich".



God, it is a sign that the Kingdom of God has come. Blessed are those who hear the Word of God and keep it! The Word of God was with Jonah as a sign to the men of Nineveh. It was with Solomon as a sign to those who heard his wisdom. It is present in Jesus, something greater than Jonah or Solomon. One need only use the Lamp which God has provided to see clearly. No one lights a lamp and hides it. To one with a healthy eye a lamp gives illumination. If one's eye is unresponsive there will be no illumination. The phrase ἐπὶ δὲ πονηρὸς ἢ appears to be used in relation to the eye in the same sense as in Deut. 15:9. If (καὶ πονηρεύσῃται ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου) your eye be evil (τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου) against your brother. Luke's obscure passage may have a clearer import if it be read from the viewpoint of the Deuteronomic teaching concerning a hostile attitude of the eye in regard to a brother.

Take heed lest there be a base thought in your heart, and you say, 'The seventh year, the year of release is near', and your eye be hostile (καὶ πονηρεύσῃται ὁ ὄφθαλμός σου) to your poor brother, and you give him nothing, and he cry to the Lord against you, and it be sin in you. Deut. 15:9.

Noting this verse as a whole, and its context which deals with the importance of liberality to the needy, one realizes that Deuteronomy linked the inner state of mind with the kind of response the eye makes.<sup>42.</sup> The expression concerning the hostile eye is not

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42. E. Klostermann, Das Lukas-Evangelium, 1929, p. 129, says "der Rest von 36 soll dann bedeuten: ist jedoch das Herz einmal für die göttliche Wahrheit empfänglich, so wird es auch die Offenbarung Jesu aufnehmen, wenn sie ihm nahe gebracht wird."

43.

found elsewhere in the O T. It may be basic for an adequate exegesis of the common source used by Matthew and Luke; and could shed more light on Luke's difficult verse 36. The τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος (paralleled by Mt. 6:23b) may refer, by this token, to the mind or heart. It is the heart which controls what is seen with the eye. Thus the admonition in verse 35 (Mt. 6:23b) would mean 'Be careful lest the thoughts of your heart be iniquitous'. The LXX phrase in Deut. 15:9 is ῥῆμα κρυπτόν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου (a secret thing in thine heart) and is modified by the word ἀνόμ-  
*νω* which means 'lawless action' or 'iniquity'. Verse 36 may be understood as follows: If your heart is right having no dark designs your whole body will be full of light as when the lamp floods you with rays. Jesus is the lamp. If your heart is right you will be flooded by his rays.

(ix) Interior and Exterior Religion

Verses 37-53 of Luke II deal with the general theme of interior and exterior religion. The food laws of Deut. 14:3-21 (Cp Lev. 11:9-47) are connected immediately with regulations regarding tithing. This is the Lukan order of presentation of the material here. After the list of clean and unclean meats in Deut. 14, there is an abrupt intrusion of tithing regulations, commencing

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43. The Hebrew is ה' אלהיך יצא  
 Note S. R. Driver Deuteronomy I. C. C., 1885, p. 181.  
 is used in the sense of being wicked in Josephus' Antiquities  
 15, 348 and in The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.

with verse 22:

Thou shalt truly tithe all the increase of thy seed, that the field bringeth forth year by year.

In the Lukan passage the Prophet like Moses notes the meticulous observance of food laws by a Pharisee. Various Pharisaic traditions have been added to the original laws. Hand washing is one of these.<sup>44.</sup> Jesus does not allow himself to be bound by traditions which obscure, rather than elucidate, the Law. He indicates that God is concerned with the inner attitude (verse 40). When the inner life is offered to God everything will be clean without further ceremonial. The Deuteronomic law in regard to tithing asked for a "tithe of all the increase of thy seed". This ought to have been given, says Jesus but the many admonitions in the same law urging individuals to justice and "the love of God" ought not to have been overlooked (verse 42).<sup>45.</sup> The tradition of joining justice and the love of God is strong in Deuteronomy:

Therefore thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and keep his charge, and his statutes, and his judgements, and his commandments, always. Deut. 10:1.

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44. Josephus Antiquities 11:16 "The Pharisees have imposed upon the people many laws taken from the tradition of the fathers, which are not written in the Law of Moses."

45. S.M. Gilmour, op. cit., p. 216 "Justice and the love of God is practically a paraphrase of the summary of the law in 10:27."

If thou shalt keep all these commandments to do them, which I command thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, and to walk ever in his ways; Deut. 19:9.

In that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes and his commandments and his statutes and his judgements, Deut. 30:16.

The Lukan woes with which the chapter is concluded are arranged in two triplets consisting of three woes upon the Pharisees and three woes upon the lawyers. The denunciations are based largely on a condemnation of outward form as opposed to an inner attitude which is yielded to God.

The model for this kind of yieldedness surely is the person of Jesus himself. Luke has declared him as the suffering, servant Prophet. Those whose vocation is the Law bear greater condemnation if they do not respond to him. Love to God and justice to fellowman is no new commandment. It arose out of the Pentateuch as a Mount Everest in Deuteronomy 6:5 and is seen in the numerous humane laws of the book. Luke shows that the lawyer in 10:27 knows the way to "life". Through the preaching exemplified in Acts 3 and 7 Luke consistently draws attention to the warning against failure to heed the prophets, particularly the Prophet who has come (Acts 3:23). Deuteronomy had challenged the Israel of its time to total and exclusive obedience to God, teaching that in this attitude there was life. Luke is making the point that over and against Pharisees and Lawyers who depend on outward form, some have found the inner life.

The Fifth Book of Moses contained the commandments and statutes of God set within the context of a religion of the heart. Forty-three times in Deuteronomy the word  $\aleph \aleph \beth$  'heart' occurs. As we have noted, the word signifies 'mental nature', 'inner man' or we might say, 'Attitude'. Fully eighteen times Deuteronomy speaks of the heart in relation to the Lord. Deuteronomy more than any other, is the book of the O T which enunciates a religion of the inner man. Similarly, Luke's Gospel may be considered as the book of the N T which enunciated a religion of the heart. The word  $\kappa \alpha \rho \delta \acute{\iota} \alpha$  is used twenty times, far more frequently than in any other N T book with the exception of Acts, in which the word occurs twenty-one times. (In Matthew it is found 17 times, in Mark 12 times and in John 7 times). As we have noted,  $\kappa \alpha \rho \delta \acute{\iota} \alpha$  expresses the centre and source of the whole inner life, thinking, feeling, volition. It is used of God, in Lk. 16:15, God knows your hearts ( $\tau \acute{\alpha} \varsigma \kappa \alpha \rho \delta \acute{\iota} \alpha \varsigma \eta \mu \acute{\omega} \nu$ ); of thinking and reflecting, Lk. 12:45; of emotions, wishes, desires, Lk. 24:32, did not our hearts burn within us ( $\text{Οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν}$ )? It cannot be demonstrated that Deuteronomy was the only influence upon Luke's sources which gave expression to these inner qualities of religion; but it must be affirmed that the latter are phenomena which occur with greater frequency in Deuteronomy and in Luke than in other Biblical books. The extent of this relationship must be determined in conjunction with other similarities and parallels.

## (x) A Model for the Christian Inheritance

The Sitz im Leben of the Church of Luke's time involved people struggling to find a place in the land, amidst paganism, Emperor worship and the love of things. Could the half century year old church survive? Would she indeed have the equipment necessary in the realm of faith to invade the known world with an unknown Kingdom? How did Luke understand Jesus' use of the word "kingdom"? The temptation narrative supplies a clue.<sup>46.</sup> Comparison with St. Matthew follows: referring to the kingdoms of the world, Matthew records "All these will I give you." (4:9); Luke records "To you I will give all this authority and their glory." (4:6)<sup>47.</sup> Jesus rejected the authority of the kingdoms of the world. Luke would have his readers aware of the fact. In Acts 1:6 the disciples ask the Risen Lord, "Lord, will you at this time restore the Kingdom to Israel?" The reply, "It is not for you to know times and seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority." The authority belongs to the Father.

One of the most helpful texts for form critical analysis in the discussion of the meaning of the Kingdom for St. Luke is 9:27<sup>48.</sup>

But I tell you truly, there are some standing here who will not taste of death before they see the kingdom of God.

Matt. 16:28 Truly, I say to you, there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.

Mark 9:1 And he said to them, 'Truly, I say to you, there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the kingdom of God come with power.'

46. See Part V Supra. pp. 182-221

47. Ibid. p. 209, 210.

48. Cp. N. Perrin, Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus, S. C. M., 1967, pp. 16 ff..

Examination of the parallels in Mark and Matthew suggests a reshaping of Mark by Matthew to represent his concern for the parousia. Luke has reformulated the primitive eschatology to give emphasis to the delay of the parousia and the establishment of kingly rule of Jesus in the lives of believers. The Kingdom for Luke then is seen as the life and work of the Christian community as it inherits the land.

At this point we consider the Lukan saying of 12:32, "Fear not little flock for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom." Placed between the verse from Q "seek his kingdom" (cp. Matthew 6:33)( Luke 12:31) and "sell your possessions" (12:33), this one verse interlude is the evangelist's word to the Church of his time. It is the promise of inheritance as the Deuteronomic writer offers Israel repeatedly. C. F. Evans in his study of the Central Section of Luke's Gospel places Deut. 12:29 beside the passage under consideration:<sup>49.</sup>

When the Lord your God cuts off before you the nations whom you go to dispossess, and you dispossess them and dwell in their land take heed that you not be ensnared to follow them.

References to inheritance in Deuteronomy are plentiful (3:12, 18, 20, 28; 4:22, 28, 47; 8:1; 9:14, 5, 6, 23; 10:11; 11:08; 11:11; 11:17; 11:31). Luke is drawing from this inheritance background.

The discourse in Chapter 12 is interrupted by the one from the multitude who says, "Father, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me." (12:13). This query follows the inheritance theme. It is similar to the exclamation concerning the

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<sup>49.</sup> Op. Cit., p. 45, Leaney, op. cit., p. 199, "The words are those of a Jew to Jews whom he is recalling to their divine mission."



blessedness of Christ's mother of 11:27 for it interrupts abruptly the sequence. Further, by it a clear allusion to Moses is added. The man from the multitude appears to approach Jesus on the grounds of the Deuteronomic injunction of Deut. 1:16, 17b.

And I charged your judges at that time, Hear the cases between your brethren, and judge righteously between a man and his brother or the alien that is with him...  
And the case that is too hard for you, you shall bring to me and I will hear it.

If the approach is made on the basis of a commandment of Moses, 50. the reply is typically Mosaic, "Man, who made me a judge or divider over you?" (see Exodus 2:14). If our hypothesis is correct Luke has chosen to place this two verse incident in the middle of the teaching concerning trust in God in order to recall the figure of Moses. Using nearly the same words there is a direct reference to Moses in Stephen's speech in Acts 7:25, "Who made you a ruler and a judge?"

The parable of the Rich Fool which follows Jesus' reply to the man in the multitude deals with the follies of greed and the perils of neglecting God. This is a recurring Deuteronomic theme. Consider for example, Deut. 8:12-19

Lest when you have eaten and are full, and have built goodly houses and live in them, (12)  
And when your herds and flocks multiply, and your silver

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50. Leaney, op. cit., p. 199 and Gilmour, op. cit., p. 225 agree. H. Manson op. cit., p. 153 says "it is in keeping with the Oriental custom of going to the religious authorities for judgements in legal matters."

and gold is multiplied, and all that you have is multiplied, (13) then your heart is lifted up, and you forget the Lord your God ... (14)

Beware lest you say in your heart, 'My power and the might of my hand have gotten me this wealth'. (17)

You shall remember the Lord your God, for it is he who gives you power to get wealth (18a)

Though Jesus refused to undertake the work of an arbitrator which a New Moses might be expected to do, his parable of the Rich Fool would take an informed Jew back to the Moses who taught of the perils of becoming rich and forgetting God. The parable inimitably illustrated the Deuteronomic passages quoted. The Rich man chose to eat and drink and be merry, never thinking of God. (12) His goods multiplied and he considered everything exclusively his. (13) His heart was 'lifted up' and he forgot the Lord God, thinking that he had full command over his life. (14) He was the perfect type of one who says in his heart 'My power and the might of my hand have gotten me this wealth'. (17) In fact the man in the parable speaks of my barn, my grain, my goods, and my soul. (Lk. 12:18, 19) Amassing wealth without reference to the God who bestows it is *πλεονεξία*, and *πλεονεξία* is *ἀφροσύνη* <sup>51</sup>

(xi) Severe and Light Beatings

After the teaching on Watchfulness and Faithfulness (12:35-40) (cp. Matthew 25:1-13) Luke turns to a section in Q which he introduces by a question of Peter, "Lord, are you telling this

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51. Plummer, op. cit., p. 325.

parable for us or for all?" The answer deals with servants of the Lord; the rewards for faithfulness and the punishments for unfaithfulness (cp. Matthew 24:45-51). The setting is derived from the practice in Oriental households. The faithful servant is raised to a position of higher responsibility and honour. The wicked, scheming and drunken servant is punished and cut off from the household. Interestingly, Luke adds to the section two verses which have a profoundly Deuteronomic ring to them. Q does not indicate how the unfaithful will be punished. Matthew 24:51 indicates that the unfaithful will be put with the hypocrites and that there will be remorse. Luke 12:47, 48 appears to be based upon Deuteronomy 25:2, inasmuch as punishment is to be carried out commensurate with the offence. Deut. 25:1-3 is unique in the O T and in ancient literature. By its regulation punishment is to be carried out in the presence of the judge commensurate with the offence:

Then if the guilty man deserves to be beaten, the judge shall cause him to lie down and be beaten in his presence with a number of stripes in proportion to his offence. Deut. 25:2.

The severe beating for the informed but inactive servant and the light beating for the ignorant and erring servant the *πολλὰς* and *ὀλίγας* of Luke describe a procedure which must take place in an eschatological sense. Punishment is to be meted out to the unfaithful apostles in proportion to their knowledge of the Divine Will. Some have less advantage than others. Their punishment will be lighter than those who have more.

(xii) Baptism Through Fire

The Lukan sayings "I came to cast fire upon the earth;" (12:49a) and "I have a baptism to be baptized with" (12:50a) may be included in this context because they cohere with the teaching on judgement. If the previous passage on beating recalled Deut. 25:2 this passage may recall imagery from Deut. 4:36:

Out of heaven he let you hear his voice, that he might discipline you; and on earth he let you see his great fire, and you heard his words out of the midst of the fire.

When Moses instructed Israel at Sinai, fire was the sign of God's presence. The new Moses casts forth the fire of God for the disciplining of the whole earth. The exodus which he is to lead, which will spell deliverance for the whole earth, must be accomplished by his self-sacrificing death. In the Gospels and Acts, fire as a symbol of God in judgement, purification and conflict is associ-

52.

ated with baptism. Jesus' reply to the sons of Zebedee in Mark 10:38 distinctly associated Jesus' baptism with his death:

"Are you able to drink the cup I drink, or to be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized"

Jesus came to cast fire on the earth. Before it can be kindled his death is necessary. However translated this must be the in-

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52. Luke's text is difficult to interpret. The Qumran Manual of Discipline (4:20) indicates that at the judgement God would purge and refine. The verb used in Mal. 3:3 is used in this connection. In Malachi the Lord's messenger would purify by fire. In the Manual God purifies by the Holy Spirit. Luke 3:16b (cp. Mt. 3:11b) records the Baptist's words "He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire. Mark omits reference to the fire (Mk. 1:8).

tention of *καὶ τί θέλω εἶ ἤδη ἀνήφθη* <sup>53.</sup> . It is an anguished sigh like Luke 22:42 "Father, if thou art willing, remove this cup from me". The new exodus which he is to effect and about which he was held to be in conversation with Moses and Elijah in the Transfiguration (Luke 9:30) cannot be accomplished without his death. Death is the baptism he must be baptized with. How constrained until it is finished. Here is a further parallel with the Moses of Deuteronomy who had brought the Israelites to the Jordan but for their sakes had to die without enjoying the benefits of the Promised Land:

For I must die in this land, I must not go over the Jordan:  
but you shall go over and take possession of that good land.  
Deut. 4:22.

The closing verse of chapter 12, 57 and 59, appear to be linked with verses 47 and 48. The passage from the Q source (cp. Mt. 5:25-26) may be based on the regulation of Deut. 25:1. There may be also a link here with the brothers differing over an inheritance of verse 13. Luke gives the passage in parabolic form. Matthew, on the other hand, has used the saying as an illustration of Jesus' teaching forbidding anger. Luke uses *δὸς ἐργασίαν* 'make an effort' which is omitted by Matthew. Deut. 25:1 reads:

If there is a dispute between men, and they come into court,  
and the judges decide between them, acquitting the innocent  
and condemning the guilty,

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53. With Creed, *op. cit.*, p. 178 we translate, "How earnestly I wish that".

Based, as it appears to be, on this Deuteronomic law Q sets forth a doctrine of judgement with an eschatological reference. The inference is that self-judgement is most desirable when there are differences between two. Verse 57 is probably better translated in the Authorized Version than in the Revised Version. In the former, ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν is given the dominant emphasis:

54.

"Yea; and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?"

If there are differences between people they ought to come to a reconciliation of themselves. Luke's source indicates that they ought to 'make an effort' to settle a difference. If differences are not settled and they go before the judge, they will be dealt with on the basis of full judgement meted out upon the offender. Honest judgement, the Hebrew שִׁפְטוּ, is a strong tradition in Deuteronomy. The word occurs thirty-two times, more frequently than in any other O T book except Psalms. The following are examples of note:

You shall not be partial in judgement; you shall hear the small and great alike; you shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgement is God's. Deut. 1:17a.

You shall appoint judges and officers in all your towns which the Lord your God gives you, according to your tribes; and they shall judge the people with righteous judgement. Deut 16:18.

You shall not pervert the justice due to the sojourner or to the fatherless, or take a widow's garment in pledge. Deut. 24:17.

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54. Cp. the RSV translation, "And why do you not judge for yourselves what is right?"

There will be a final judgement at the last in which all differences and offences will receive their just due. This will be meted out according to the pattern of judgement taught to Israel through Moses. Being reconciled before being led into judgement is wisdom.<sup>55.</sup> If men would avoid judgement let them heed the word of the Lord.

(xiii) The Call to Repentance

The Call to Repentance theme with which Chapter 13 commences is related to the former parable. Those who heard the former teaching understood the action of God only in a fatalistic sense, i. e. judgement followed sin, catastrophes were judgements, catastrophes were the result of sin.<sup>56.</sup> That catastrophe was the consequence of sin was the prevailing theology of the Deuteronomist historian. His work was done in the aftermath of the disasters of 722 and 586 B.C. He understood these disasters to be judgements

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55. The general position of this teaching may be echoed and enhanced by John 5:24: Truly, truly, I say to you, he who hears my word and believes him who sent me, has eternal life; he does not come into judgement, but is passed from death to life.

56. Cp. T.C. Vriezen op. cit., p. 48 "If we also take into account the meaning of the Deuteronomistic conception of history (as it finds expression in the Deuteronomistic historical books) which is distinguished by its emphasis on the idea of retribution (sin is followed by judgement, repentance by salvation) we see to how great an extent the idea of election is the starting-point; but also obedience the goal."



which came as the consequence of Israel's sin.<sup>57.</sup> Mr. C.F. Evans has placed Deut. 13:12-18 in relation to Luke 13:1-5 suggesting similarity of subject matter.<sup>58.</sup> We have dealt elsewhere with this correlation and return to it here to examine the theological content of the Deuteronomic passage. Deut. 13:12-18 offers the consequence of disobedience to Deuteronomy's great commandment to love Yahweh. Those who in a city cease to love Yahweh and turn to other gods so that their city becomes idolatrous are to be interrogated. If it be found true that the city is idolatrous it is to be destroyed, its inhabitants put to the sword, its spoil burnt and its site abandoned. This legislation appears as a strong deterrent, to the inhabitants of any city, from following after idolatrous worship. Sin of this kind will be judged by total destruction. This legislation must be responsible to some extent for the dogma in ancient Israel that destruction was the result of sin. The book of Job is the classical protest against the dogma that destruction and suffering are directly and always the result of sin. Those who heard of the extremity of

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57. Note G. von Rad Studies in Deuteronomy, S.C.M., 1953 (Eng. tr.) p. 77 "But of course the Deuteronomist's sole concern is a theological interpretation of the catastrophes which befell the two kingdoms. Consequently, he examined past history page by page with that in view, and the result was quite unambiguous: the fault was not Jahweh's; but for generations Israel had been piling up an ever-increasing burden of guilt and faithlessness, so that in the end Jahweh had had to reject his people."

58. C.F. Evans, op. cit., p. 45. Note our examination of Evans' treatment, pp. 24. ff..

judgement (Luke 12:58, 59) made the association with an awesome incident of contemporary memory. The death of the Galileans (verse 1) whom Pilate slaughtered while they made their sacrifices, so that their blood was mixed with their sacrificial victims, was viewed by some to be a judgement upon their sins. They were making sacrifices for their sins; the 'very last copper' had been demanded. Jesus repudiated the theory that disaster, which could be interpreted as a judgement, was determined by sin. In his reply Jesus gives another current illustration of disaster which destroyed human life and was regarded as a Divine judgement. He asks, "Do you think that they were worse offenders than all the others who dwelt in Jerusalem?" His answer is emphatically, "No". Disaster is not contingent upon sin. In the eyes of history the Galileans slain by Pilate and the eighteen killed by the fall of the tower of Siloam died as a result of their sins. In calling to mind these two incidents Jesus does not seek to raise the question as to why these died in this way. He is seeking to remind His hearers that death is imminent. Men perish every day; some by disaster. Death is the respecter of no man. What is true in the case of the individual is true also in the case of the nation. The time for repentance is short. The reference to all (πάντες ὡς αὐτῶς ἀπολεισθε) may have a national significance - particularly if the parable of the fig tree which follows is interpreted as a parable concerning Jerusalem. The Deuteronomist interpreted the catastrophes of

722 and 586 B.C. as judgement upon Israel. In the context of Jesus' saying here, the Roman power may prove to be the instrument of divine justice upon an unrepentant people.

(xiv) A Parable of Jerusalem

The section on judgement in Luke ends with the Parable of the Fig Tree. According to Deuteronomy 22:9 the sowing of different seeds in the vineyard was forbidden; i. e.,

You shall not sow your vineyard with two kinds of seed, lest the whole yield be forfeited to the sanctuary, . . .

Luke, however, indicates that a man planted a fig tree in his vineyard. He came seeking fruit on it and found none. He allowed three seasons that it might grow to maturity. After three years it produced no fruit. He ordered it to be cut down. The vinedresser, however, interceded offering to give it special attention saying he would dig about it and manure it. "If it bears fruit next year, well and good; but if not you can cut it down." (verse 9) The Prophet like Moses is the intercessor for Jerusalem. The Planter comes again and again to Jerusalem hoping for fruit, but it produces no fruit for Him. The final appeal is made by the Prophet like Moses.

Verses 10-17 describe the healing of the woman crippled eighteen years. Here is a manifestation of the release to the captives proclaimed by the Prophet in his inaugural sermon. We have argued that the tradition of release of the captives is derived originally from Deuteronomy 15 and its laws for the year of release. By the word contained in Deuteronomy, similarly, Jesus overcame

the powers of Satan. By virtue of His authority over the captive power of Satan He proclaimed the woman's release. (Γύναι ἀπολέλυσαι τῆς ἀσθενείας σου ). Woman, you are freed from your infirmity. The woman straightened and began to praise God. The ruler of the synagogue becomes indignant that the Sabbath law from Deuteronomy 5:13 (Exodus 20:9) has been broken.<sup>59.</sup> According to Luke, Jesus declared those taking that attitude hypocrites. If an ox or a donkey can be loosed and watered on the Sabbath how much more ought a daughter of Abraham to be loosed from her bonds on the Sabbath!

A further interesting agreement of style appears in the final verse of the narrative, 'And all the people rejoiced at all the glorious things that were done by him'. (Lk. 13:17b) 'Glorious things' is expressed by *τοῖς ἐνδόξοις* . Deuteronomy 10:21 speaks of the Lord God who had wrought in the midst of them *τὰ μέγαρα καὶ τὰ ἐνδοξα ταῦτα* . This similarity could be coincidence. On the other hand, this may be a conscious allusion to Moses' leadership of Israel in the wilderness as recorded by Deuteronomy. At any rate, the editorial hand in verse 22 recalls the reader to the setting of this section of his Gospel:

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59. The Damascus Document (13:22-23) gives stringent rabbinic rules for the Sabbath, i. e., "No man shall help an animal in its delivery on the Sabbath day. And if it falls into a pit or a ditch, he shall not raise it on the Sabbath."

He went on his way through towns and villages, teaching,  
and journeying toward Jerusalem.

The figure of a new Moses leading a wilderness journey and teaching a new Israel on the way can be discerned from such editorial comment. Allusion to the figure of the prophet occurs in verses 28 and 33 near the end of the passage as a whole. Luke draws from Q in the parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven (cp. Matt. 17:20 and Matt. 13:33) and in the section on admission to the Kingdom of God. (cp. Matt. 7:13-14, 22-23; 8:11-12; 20:16) In this latter section where Matthew has only *Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰακώβ* Matthew 8:11, Luke adds *καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφῆτας*. By such statement 'the prophets' are brought to the foreground. Greater emphasis is added by the evangelist when he records Jesus as placing Himself in the category with the persecuted prophets; 60. 'for it cannot be that a prophet should perish away from Jerusalem'. As far as response to God's prophets is concerned, Jerusalem has 61. an ill reputation. The very enmity to the prophets which Jerusalem exercised by tradition will be used by the Prophet like Moses in the accomplishment of his 'exodus', revealed by the evangelist in his version of the Transfiguration (Luke 9:32). Jewish tradition would

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60. New English Version: "because it is unthinkable for a prophet to meet his death anywhere but in Jerusalem." Luke 13:33b.

61. Conzelmann, p. 133 "These verses, with their description of Jerusalem as the necessary place of enmity - necessary, that is, from the point of view of redemptive history - are reminiscent of Mark. Luke employs them in the setting of the journey, which is used to set out a Christological content."

determine that such a prophet should meet his end in Jerusalem. It is, therefore, not by any minority decision of individuals, or of a party, but by the will of the capital representing the nation that the Prophet should die in Jerusalem. The Deuteronomic regulation (Chapter 12) which stipulated that Israel must worship at the 'place which the Lord your God will choose out of all your tribes to put his name and make his habitation there' had led, through the reforms of Josiah in 621 B.C., to worship in a central sanctuary in Jerusalem. The corruption of the true worship of Yahweh which the reform intended to abolish, in the end was not abolished. The reforms brought about by the Deuteronomic scroll were short-lived. The prophetic streams which were crystalized within it failed to achieve lasting results in the centre from which they were applied. Jerusalem stood for the most determined resistance to the true prophet and His prophetic work. The saying in verse 33 seems to refer back to the fig tree (verses 6-9). Jerusalem is the fig tree planted in the vineyard of Israel. By its unresponsiveness to the overtures of the prophet the city brings about its own destruction.

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62. *ibid.*, p. 133 "The journey, the Passion, the guilt of the Jews and the resulting fate of the city form a closely linked chain. It is the fault of the Jews that Jerusalem does not fulfil its destiny. They forfeit their election by killing Jesus; admittedly it is by Divine decree, nevertheless they are guilty and lost."

We have held that St. Luke wrote at a time when Jerusalem was in rubble. Christians of the time, and later, debated the reason. St. Jerome associated Deuteronomy 32:11 with the passage from Q (Luke 13:34, 35, Matthew 23:37-39) with which Luke brings this section to an end. This is how the passages appear in parallel columns:

O Jerusalem, Jerusalem killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent to you! How often would I have gathered your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you would not. (13:34)

As an eagle would watch over his brood, and yearns over his young, receives them having spread his wings and takes them upon his back, the Lord alone led them, there was no strange god with them. (Deut. 32:11) LXX

A Divine Providence had watched over Jerusalem just as a bird watches over its brood. The city did not respond to this affectionate concern. Typical of Israel who grew fat and forsook the God that made it so Jerusalem forsook its God, its Father and its home.

(xv) Palsied Man and Fallen Beasts

Palestine has many full, uncovered wells and pits. Deuteronomic legislation offered a measure aimed at assisting floundering beasts and those who owned them:

You shall not see your brother's ass or his ox fallen by the way, and withhold your help from them; you shall help him to lift them up again. Deut. 22:4

Luke does not quote this legislation but allusion to it can be noted in Jesus' words to the Pharisees who watched him heal a palsied man on the Sabbath (14:4) 'Which of you, having an ass or an ox

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63. See Plummer, op. cit. p. 352.



that has fallen into a well, will not immediately pull him out on the Sabbath day? There is a textual variant in the passage. Chester Beatty Papyrus, Codex Alexandrinus and lesser authorities give *υἱός* 'son'. Sinaiticus, a few old Latin MSS., and the majority of the Greek MSS., give *ἄνος* 'ass'. The Aramaic word used to express 'ass' taken literally means 'son of the yoke'. This may be the cause of variants in the MSS.; some rendering 'son' and others rendering 'ass'. Both refer to the same object, the ass. Though the weight of best MS. evidence is with *υἱός* the R.S.V., following K.J.V., chose *ἄνος* believing apparently that it suits better the original sense. It corresponds also with the similarity of expression in Luke 13:15. *λύει τὸν βοῦν αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸν ἄνον* . On the other hand the LXX reading of Deut. 22:4 is 'ass' in the first place but substitutes *μόσχον* 'calf' for *βοῦς* 'ox' in the second place. The verb used by the LXX is *ἀνίστημι* 'to raise up'. Luke uses the word *ἀγασπᾶω* 'to pull up'. Whatever differences of expression, the meaning is clear. The Deuteronomic law commanded help for a floundering beast. Of this the Pharisees were well aware. <sup>64.</sup> Deuteronomic law required immediate and active

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<sup>64.</sup> S.B.K. Vol. 1, p. 623, indicates later rabbinic evidence regarding the lawfulness of sabbath healing. 'If there is a danger to life, yes. If not, strictly no.'

aid for fallen beasts irrespective of the day. Verse 6 'And they could not reply to this', indicates that the Pharisees could not gainsay. There were no loop-holes in the tradition of which they were reminded.

(xvi) The Choice of Supper Guests

Advice concerning the choice of guests (Luke 14:12-14) seems most certainly modelled after the Deuteronomic instructions for third year feasts:

At the end of every three years you shall bring forth all the tithe of your produce in the same year and lay it up within your towns;

And the Levite because he has no portion or inheritance with you and the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow who are within your towns shall come and eat and be filled that the Lord your God may bless you in all the work of your hands that you do. Deut. 14:29.

Luke 14:13 reads 'But when you give a feast, invite the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and you will be blessed because they cannot repay you. There are three main points of similarity:

(a) In each case there are four categories of those bidden. The Levite may correspond to the poor, because he had no inheritance. The stranger, the fatherless and the widow may correspond to the maimed, the lame and the blind because in each case they are handicapped.

(b) The meal is to be a feast. They are to eat and be satisfied.

(c) In each the blessing is promised as a reward. The same four classes of underprivileged are named again by Luke in verse 21.

The saying follows the three excuses which are made by the three

invited guests. It is to be noted that the third guest has Deuteronomic grounds for his excuse. 'I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.' The first two guests made excuses. They made them politely saying, 'I pray you, have me excused'. They betray the attitude, nevertheless, that they believed their own business to have priority. The third guest is more rude. He has authority excusing his attendance. He does not even ask to be excused. His authority is based on Deuteronomy 24:5

When a man is newly married, he shall not go out with the army or be charged with any business; he shall be free at home one year, to be happy with his wife whom he has taken.

He replies simply, 'I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come'.<sup>65.</sup> The Greek shows the force of his statement:

Because of this ( *διὰ τούτο* ) I am not able to come.

The Prophet like Moses - bearer of the Kingdom of God has come to his chosen people inviting them to his feast. Some are too occupied with worldly pursuits to heed the invitation. Others are applying the Laws of God to suit their own convenience. These have been the cardinal failings of Israel and her leaders. Israel received the oracles of God. Israel was chosen because the Lord loved Israel according to Deuteronomy 7:7. This privilege should

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65. R.V.G. Tasker, The Old Testament in the New Testament, S.C.M., London, Revised 1954, p.26, calls the groom's statement an allusion to Deut. 24:5.

have resulted in high gratitude and loving service. This is the deeper meaning of being chosen - of having the invitation of the Most High. It is a recurring theme in Deuteronomy. Those who realize their calling and interpret it to suit their own privileges are deserving of greater condemnation. The election will go to others. The host, in indignation, bids his servant to invite the less privileged to his feast. The Pharisees and religious leaders have rejected their opportunity. Invitation is therefore issued to the whole outside world - to as many as will hear it. The mission to the Gentiles is implied.

(xvii) The Call To Discipleship

The open invitation has been made. Great crowds accompany Him (Luke 15:25). Now the Prophet makes His own demands. To follow Him - to be His disciple involves great costs. Verse 26 states:

If anyone comes to me and does not hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple."

(Lk. 14:26 cp. Mt. 10:37, 38)

The Levites set apart for the sacred ministry in the Old Testament times were called to make sacrifice of natural desires and objects of affection. Deuteronomy 33:9 from the portion called the 'blessing of Moses', with reference to the Levites, reads:

"Who said to his father and his mother I have not seen them; neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor know his own children, for they have observed thy word and kept thy covenant."

Matthew 10:37 reads

'He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he who loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me;

Luke's addition of the word 'wife' may have been prompted by the man in verse 20 of the same section who could not attend the feast because 'he had married a wife'. To join in this "journey" one must be prepared to go to the full extent. No partial commitment is enough. No excuse will suffice. The disciple of the new Moses must loathe even himself. The *ἔτι τὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ* of Luke represents supreme surrender. To join with this Prophet in the new exodus one must count well the cost.

Verse 33 adds,

"So therefore, whoever of you does not renounce all that he has cannot be my disciple".

To commence a building, or to enter upon a military engagement without calculating all of the risks and expenditures involved is extremely unwise. The section ends with the refrain which recalls the reader to the words of the main heading under which all of this is given, the words of the Transfiguration which were to be heard, "hear him". He who has ears to hear, let him hear.

(xviii) Parables of the Father's Love

Chapter 15 of Luke's Gospel preserves some of the most profound teachings of Jesus concerning the value of the individual soul before God. There are two points in this section which in-

dicare Deuteronomic traditions. They have to do with sonship and with inheritance. The Deuteronomic regulation of primogeniture requires that the first born son receive a double portion of the inheritance:

'but he shall acknowledge the first born, the son of the disliked, by giving him a double portion of all that he has, for he is the issue of his strength, the right of the first born is his'. Deut. 21:17

By this requirement the *τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας* of verse 12 in the parable would mean that the younger son's share would be one third of the inheritance. *τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος* meant the part which fell to someone. The younger son was making a claim which came within his rights. The wisdom of Sirach 33:19-23 indicates the practice of fathers, before their death, parting with their goods to sons.<sup>66.</sup>

A further Deuteronomic law comes into play in the parable of the prodigal son. It is the law of Deuteronomy 21:18-21 concerning stubborn and rebellious sons:

If a man has a stubborn and rebellious son, who will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, and though they chasten him, will not give heed to them, then his father and mother shall take hold of him and bring him out to the elders of his city, 'This our son is stubborn and rebellious he will not obey our voice; he is a glutton and a drunkard. Then all of the men of the city shall stone him to death with stones.

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66. Cp. Gilmour, *op. cit.* p. 271, Plummer, *op. cit.* p. 372, Manson, *op. cit.*, p. 179, Klostermann, *op. cit.* p. 158.

Mr. C.F. Evans, in dealing with the arrangement of material in Deuteronomy as compared to Luke has noted correspondence between Deuteronomy 21 and Luke 15. It is this tradition, which is probably behind the thinking of the righteous elder brother in the parable. It was typical also of Pharisaic thought. The rebellious and drunken son deserved to be stoned. The elder son had *οὐδέποτε ἐντολήν σου παρήλθον* never once disobeyed orders. This would imply that the younger son, in addition to being profligate, had been disobedient. The father's reply with regard to inheritance *πάντα τὰ ἐμὰ σὰ ἐστίν* (all that is mine is yours) suggests, possibly, that the apportionment is settled. The two thirds remaining with the father belonged to the eldest. He need not fear a loss by further apportionment.

(xix) The Divorce Question

Chapter 16 of Luke's Gospel contains one clear reference to Deuteronomy on the question of Divorce. Deuteronomy is unique among the Old Testament scriptures in offering a law for divorce. Why did Luke abruptly insert in a section of material dealing with stewardship of money, faithfulness to God, the good news of the Kingdom of God, the rich man and the beggar, a saying on divorce? The interconnection does not seem to exist. In a block of material which had no other Mosaic Deuteronomic reference was Luke deliberately introducing a reference which would be unmistakably Deuteronomic? This must be considered, at least, a possibility.



The Prophet like Moses speaks after the authority of Moses.

Deuteronomy 18:18b declares

"I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I command him."

The saying is to recall the reader to the figure of Moses who wrote concerning divorce rather than to the law of divorce which he wrote. The law of Moses stood even though it was a temporary measure, an expediency for a specific time. Mark 10:5 interprets Moses' regulation 'for your hardness of heart he wrote you this commandment'. It was intended as a temporary measure to help the wives of hard-hearted men. From the hard-hearted man it was better for an unloved wife to be free. Matthew 19:8 reads

"He said to them, 'For your hardness of heart Moses allowed you to divorce your wives, but from the beginning it was not so.'"

The measure at its best was contrary to the spirit of marriage which makes man and woman one flesh; at its worst it protected marriage from profligate dissolution. The regulation stipulated that the man must find some indecency in his wife. Deuteronomy 24:1-4 reads

When a man takes a wife and marries her, if then she finds no favour in his eyes because he has found some indecency in her, and he writes her a bill of divorce and puts it in her hand and sends her out of his house, and she departs out of his house and if she goes and becomes another man's wife, and the latter husband dislikes her and writes her a bill of divorce and puts it in her hand and sends her out of his house, or if the latter husband dies, who took her to be his wife, then her former

husband who sent her away may not take her again to be his wife, after she has been defiled; for this is an abomination before the Lord. R.S.V.

67.

The husband, by this legislation, had to find an indecency in his wife. A proper legal procedure had to be brought against her. She had to be sent out formally from the man's house. The spirit of the Deuteronomic commandment of Moses was that of merely tolerating divorce. It did not support divorce. The time and expense involved in fulfilling these formalities offered time for a possible reconciliation. The intervention of public officials of the law in preparing the bill would prevent proceedings on trivial grounds. Luke's verse 18a corresponds to Mark 10:11; verse 18b to Matthew 5:32b. The evidence for the saying is strong in Q and in the New Testament generally. It is quoted as a command of the Lord in 1 Corinthians 7:10ff."

"that the wife should not separate from her husband (but if she does, let her remain single or else be reconciled to her husband) and that the husband should not divorce his wife."

Divorce, in itself, is not adultery by the Deuteronomic law, but it should be avoided. It is divorce and remarriage which is "abomin-

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67. The Hebrew  $\text{עֲרֻוּתָּהּ}$  literally means 'nakedness of a thing'. It is a peculiar expression. The Rabbis interpreted it differently. The School of Shammai (first Century B.C.) interpreted the word nakedness to mean unchastity. The school of Hillel pressed the "thing" allowing trivial causes to be included. For example, a woman might be divorced according to the Hillel school if she burnt her husband's food, or if he saw another who pleased him better. (Gittim IX, 10)

ation before the Lord'. This is adultery. Deuteronomy which gave the law of divorce gave also the law of punishment for adultery:

"If a man is found lying with the wife of another man, both of them shall die, the man who lay with the woman, and the woman; so you shall purge evil from Israel." Deut.22:22

It is doubtful, however, if capital punishment was given in Jesus' time. Josephus (Apion 2:25) relates casually that the penalty for adultery as death is an antiquarian note. The one incident in New Testament literature indicating a case of adultery being punished by possible death has flimsy textual evidence. It is included in Nestle's second edition Greek text only in small print. Some ancient manuscripts do not contain it at all. It remains in our English translations only with doubtful evidence. R.S.V. gives it a marginal position in small italicized print. The New English version offers it only as an addendum at the end of John's Gospel. (John 8:1-11)

(xx) The Rich Man and Lazarus

The conclusion of the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus recalls the figure of Moses. "

"They have Moses and the Prophets; let them hear them."  
(Luke 16:29)

The ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν re-echoes the familiar refrain under which the whole section falls. The Transfiguration, for Luke, revealed the Prophet like Moses commencing a teaching journey which would be culminated in an 'exodus' at Jerusalem. The par-

able is one of the certain references in Luke's source indicating regard for the poor. The poor man would have been glad to have satisfied his hunger with the scraps that fell from the rich man's table. In Deuteronomy the tradition of regard for the poor is strong. 'They have Moses and the prophets.' Is the reference to Moses in verse 29 a reference to this Deuteronomic tradition?

"If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced if someone should rise from the dead. Luke 16:31

In Deuteronomy provision was made for the poor:

"If there is among you a poor man, one of your brethren, in any of your towns within your land which the Lord your God gives you, you shall not harden your heart or shut your hand against your poor brother, but you shall open your hand to him, and lend him sufficient for his need, whatever it may be. Deuteronomy 15:7, 8.

In the parable there is no indication that the poor man cried out against the rich man. (Deuteronomy 15:9b suggests that should the poor man cry to the Lord against you, it will be sin to you.) The rich man, rather, cries out in the hereafter to Father Abraham beseeching him to save his five brothers from a destiny like his own. Failure to have regard for the needs of the poor and destitute when  
68.  
he had opportunity appears to have brought him to his agony in

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68. Karl Barth, Christ and Adam S.J.T. Occasional Paper number 5, p. 28 "Here God can have nothing to say to man but what He has said to him through the prophets of Israel in all their accusations and threats."

the hereafter. The Deuteronomic provisions appear most relevant:

You shall give to him freely, and your heart shall not be grudging when you give to him; because for this the Lord your God will bless you in all your work and in all that you undertake. Deut. 15:10

Further in Deuteronomy 24:19-21 there are written provisions for the harvest as follows:

"When you reap your harvest in your field, and have forgotten a sheaf in the field, you shall not go back to get it; it shall be for the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow; that the Lord your God may bless you in all the work of your hands.

When you beat your olive trees, you shall not go over the boughs again; it shall be for the sojourner, the fatherless and the widow.

When you gather the grapes of your vineyard, you shall not glean it afterward; it shall be for the sojourner, the fatherless and the widow."

(xxi) The Healing of Ten Lepers

Verse 11 of Chapter 17 of Luke reminds the reader of the setting; *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ* 'in the course of his journey to Jerusalem'. Lepers appear on the way. How will the new Moses deal with them? There is a probability that the record contains a dealing based on Deuteronomic principle. A single Deuteronomic provision (24:8) reads:

"Take heed, in an attack of leprosy, to be very careful to do all that the Levitical priests shall direct you; as I commanded them, so you shall be careful to do."

The New Moses in meeting the ten lepers commands them "Go and show yourselves to the priests." *πορευθέντες ἐπιδείξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν.* The incident is included by Luke at this

place to emphasize afresh the figure of Moses, and to give further authority to his Prophet in a section of material which has no other Mosaic or Deuteronomic reference. The only other account in Luke's Gospel dealing with the healing of lepers is in Luke 5:13, 14:

' And he stretched out his hand, and touched them, saying, "I will: be clean. "'

And immediately the leprosy left him. And he charged him to tell no one; but "go and show yourself to the priest, and make an offering for your cleansing as Moses commanded for a proof to the people." The phrase ἀπελθὼν δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ 'go show yourself to the priest' occurs coupled with a commandment to make an offering as Moses required for cleansing (Leviticus 13:49). In the passage under discussion (17:14) there is no mention of making an offering or the fact that the whole procedure is based on Mosaic teachings. Luke seems to present the narrative in the tradition of a Moses.

Chapter 18 closes the principal teaching section of the Gospel and contains the second of the 'twin pillars' marked out by Dr. A.M. Farrer as a Christian Deuteronomy.<sup>69.</sup> There are two probably Deuteronomic traditions touching upon the subject matter before arriving at the 'pillar' in verse 20. The widow in verse 3 who kept

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69. A.M. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q" *op. cit.*, p. 79, The pillars raise the question, What shall I do to inherit eternal life?

coming to the judge asking for vindication may have as a background the legislation in Deuteronomy 25:1

"If there is a dispute between men, and they come into court, and the judges decide between them, acquitting the innocent and condemning the guilty."

The widow's presumption is that the judge must vindicate her against one who has injured her.

The parable of the Pharisee and the Publican provides evidence of a curious parallel with Deuteronomy 26:13b-15. The Pharisee's prayer could well be based upon this tradition. According to his prayer, the Pharisee offers tithes of all that he gets. In this he expertly fulfilled Deuteronomy 14:22, 23

"You shall tithe all the yield of your seed, which comes from the field year by year - you shall eat the tithe of your grain, of your wine, and of your oil and the firstlings of your herd and flock." RSV,

Rabbinic exegesis extended these to include pulse and grains (cp. Matt. 13:33, Luke 9:42). The Pharisee's statement in prayer would include these. By placing the passages in parallel columns certain likenesses appear:

Deut. 26:13b-15

I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I forgotten them. I have not eaten of the tithe while I was mourning - I have obeyed the voice of the Lord my God, I have done all that thou hast commanded me.

Luke 18:11, 12

God I thank thee that I am not as other men, extortioners unjust, adulterers, or even like this tax collector. I fast twice a week I give tithes of all I get.



The commandment for the harvest offering required a deliberate vow that the worshipper had not transgressed the commandments. This is the attitude of the Pharisee. He was not a transgressor. The commandment required the worshipper to declare that he had not eaten of the tithe while mourning. The Pharisee on the other hand declares that he fasts twice a week. The worshipper must vow obedience to all the laws. The Pharisee indicates his obedience with regard to tithing. One may sum up the similarities as follows:

- (a) There is general similarity in the approach. Presenting oneself before the Lord confident that all of the commandments have been performed faithfully is demanded in the Deuteronomic regulation. This is the attitude of the Pharisee. He has confidence in the perfection of his religious observances. He is not as other men!
- (b) Both passages make reference to fasting.
- (c) There is similarity in a totality of observance. The Deuteronomic injunction required the worshipper to say "I have done all that thou has commanded me. The Pharisee boasts I give tithes of all that I get. The Pharisee's attitude illustrates the Deuteronomic passage just as the Rich Fool of Chapter 12 illustrates Deuteronomy 8.

Following the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican Luke rejoins the order of the subject matter of Mark's Gospel dealing with the Blessing of Children, the Rich Young Man and the Pre-

diction of the Passion. In Deuteronomy the decalogue appeared at the end of the great discourse of Moses given under the slopes of Mount Pisgah. Luke has arranged his material so that this citing of the decalogue comes at the end of the great travel teaching discourse of his Gospel. The question which introduced the teaching discourse, 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life?' also brings it to a conclusion. What shall I do to inherit eternal life? *τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω* The answer to the lawyer, skilled in the Law, differed little from the answer given to the Rich Ruler. Yield one's whole being to God. Have compassion on one's fellow man. For the lawyer this was made explicit by combining two great commandments of Moses. For the Ruler who had riches it was exemplified in the invitation to yield all that he had, to distribute it to the poor and to follow Christ. In the passage at hand when the first two commandments are quoted the B reading of the LXX version of Deuteronomy 5:17 is used. The same reading is found in the Nash Papyrus. All the synoptists give the fifth commandment last. Similarly the first four commandments of the decalogue are omitted. Luke's order for the sixth and seventh commandments is quoted by Paul in Romans 13:9 and the first two by James (2:11)

You shall not commit adultery.

You shall not kill, You shall not steal,

You shall not covet.

The prediction of the Passion in verses 31-34 contains a saying not found in Mark or its parallel in Matthew.

'But they understood none of these things; the saying was hid from them, and they did not grasp what was said'  
(Luke 9:31)

At this point in the narrative Mark 10:32 gives a specific historical situation; "on the road going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus was walking ahead." Luke omits the detail altogether. For Luke the *Ἰσοῦ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ* comes with force for it has reference to the conversation with Moses and Elijah during the Transfiguration (Luke 9:31). The word Luke uses to describe what is to take place in Jerusalem in verse 31 is the verb *τελεσθήσεται* from *τελειόω* meaning to fulfil or accomplish. The disciples do not understand these things but the Evangelist seeks to underline, through his choice of words, his understanding of Jesus as the fulfilment of the prophet promised by Moses and who moves to accomplish His "exodus" in "Jerusalem". The latter word has double connotations. For Luke Jerusalem is historical. It is also symbolical. It is the place, according to Luke's representation, where Jesus was confronted with the last and greatest of temptations. In the temptation narrative Luke uses a different order from Matthew showing Jesus taken to Jerusalem as a climax to the other temptations he suffered. There He was tested to see if He would yield to the multitude who sought a spectacular appeal. For Luke Jerusalem is also symbolical. It

is the crucial point of Christology. After the accomplishment of His "exodus" Jerusalem becomes the centre from which the Risen Christ leads His followers out into all the world. The Risen Christ revealed the meaning for those who could not grasp the things He had foretold concerning His death. On the Emmaus way He opened their eyes, "Beginning with Moses and the prophets He interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning Himself." (Luke 24:27)

(xxii) The Role of Gentiles in the New Exodus

The part which the Gentiles were to play in His death is first mentioned by Luke in 18:32 'For he will be delivered to the Gentiles'. The role of the Gentiles receives greater prominence from the pen of Luke than it does from Mark or Matthew. Luke omits reference to the 'chief priests and scribes' found in parallels of Mark 10:33 and Matthew 20:18. Has he a theological purpose in so doing? It is noteworthy that Luke's account of the trial by the Sanhedrin contains no reference to a judgement being brought against Him. No sentence of death is pronounced by the Jewish leaders as is the case in Mark 14:64 and Matthew 26:66. It would appear that for Luke the judgement and the punishment upon Him were to be brought by Israel's enemies. For the Prophet like Moses Pilate and the crowd take the place of Pharaoh and his hosts. He has taken upon Himself Israel's sin. In the place of Israel He

is judged and punished by Israel's enemies. This is the theology of the Deuteronomic historian.

Yahweh did not directly punish his people. Israel's enemies were instruments in the hands of Yahweh to punish Israel for her sins. Let us note three examples from 2 Kings:13:2:

He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and followed the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, which made Israel to sin; he did not depart from them. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he gave them continually into the hand of Hazael king of Syria and into the hand of Benhadad the son of Hazael.

2 Kings 17:21:

When he had torn Israel from the house of David they made Jeroboam the son of Nebat king. And Jeroboam drove Israel from following the Lord and made them commit great sin. The people of Israel walked in all the sins which Jeroboam did; they did not depart from them, until the Lord removed Israel out of his sight, as he had spoken by all his servants the prophets. So Israel was exiled from their own land to Assyria until this day.

2 Kings 21:11:

Because Manasseh King of Judah has committed these abominations, and has done things more wicked than all that the Amorites did who were before him, and has made Judah also to sin with his idols, therefore thus says the Lord, the God of Israel, Behold I am bringing upon Jerusalem and Judah such evil that the ears of every one who hears of it will tingle. And I will stretch over Jerusalem the measuring line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab, and I will wipe Jerusalem as one wipes a dish, wiping it and turning it upside down.

And I will cast off the remnant of my heritage and give them into the hand of their enemies, and they shall become a prey and a spoil to all their enemies, because they have done what is evil in my sight and have provoked me to anger, since the day their fathers came out of Egypt, even to this day.

The Deuteronomic histories were the great lesson books from which Israel came to read its national history and future. The disasters suffered in the Syrian wars from Omri onwards, and the internal sufferings which followed, were understood to be due to the displeasure of the Lord. For Luke Jesus stands in Israel's place.<sup>70</sup> Israel's shame is upon Him. Only Luke uses the word ὑβρισθήσεται "For he will be delivered to the Gentiles, and will be mocked and ὑβρισθήσεται 'shamefully treated'. Luke would seem to indicate that the shame of Israel was borne by Him. In being handed over to the Gentiles the wilderness teaching journey for Israel is ended.

If our hypothesis is correct Luke is taking his reader on a travel teaching Journey to introduce original teachings and actions of Jesus. The sending out of the Seventy is a Mosaic act of identification, and the return of the Seventy a re-capitulation of Deuteronomic wilderness tradition from Deut. 8:15.

What becomes of the Shema within a Church comprised of Jews and Gentiles? It is to be demonstrated, as Jesus showed, not only within the family circle but to every neighbor in need. And the Church is making its way, by these acts, to Rome. There are "baptisms of fire" to be faced. Disciples, therefore, are called to be faithful.

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<sup>70</sup>. So Karl Barth Christ and Adam S.J.T., Occasional Papers No. 5, p. 33. He submitted himself to the Law in order that he might take upon Himself Israel's sin and Israel's punishment, and so the hidden sin and the secret condemnation that were revealed in Israel but belonged to all men.

PART FIVE

TRIALS AND TEMPTATIONS



## TRIALS AND TEMPTATIONS

The temptation narrative of Luke provides one of the instances revealing Luke's hand as a theologian. The variations from Matthew's narrative are clearly explicable when viewed against the central themes stressed by Luke. It is highly significant that Luke places his narrative of the temptations adjacent to the genealogy of Jesus which is traced back to Adam the 'Son of God.' Luke wishes his reader to see that what follows is of universal significance. Adam is the 'Son of God', but Adam is a fallen son -- fallen through inability to cope with temptation. Now, Jesus, who is declared the 'beloved Son', having come of Israel -- God's chosen which had also failed through temptation, is depicted advancing by the Spirit to gain the victory over the temptations which had been the downfall of Israel and Adam.

Moreover, Luke places the temptation involving the temple in Jerusalem at the end as the climax of the temptations to indicate that here was Jesus' greatest temptation. The Temple and its leaders in Jerusalem were the historic enemies of the Prophet and his message. Herein was contrived Jesus' greatest temptation. It consisted in a bid for attention by accomplishing a spectacular leap from the Temple. Luke, who knew the story of the boy of twelve who sat amidst the leaders of the Temple and won their admiration, knew that Jesus could have exploited the popular expectations of Messiahship held by the leaders of the Temple. The record unanimously declares that Jesus did not accept the presuppositions of Messiahship held by the leaders of the Temple in Jerusalem. He rejected them

even though a subtle case for them could be made out from Holy writ. Luke's record indicates that Jesus' resistance to the temptation from the Temple and Jerusalem is based on an authority superseding 'what is written'. He uses the words, "It is said" (*Eíρηται* ) to state Jesus' reply quoting Deuteronomy 6:16 as if it were a living oracle, not only a written text.

Luke's account looks back to the origins of Israel and mankind and forward to the victories of Gethsemane and Calvary. Israel's old world-centre Jerusalem with its Temple had to bow before the Son of God and His program for all mankind. It is no coincidence that Luke places the narrative concerning Jesus' rejection at Nazareth immediately after the temptation of Jerusalem and the Temple. Nazareth, where he had been brought up, is the first place to come under the sway of the universal message of the Son of God.

The account records that the temptations come from Satan, a figure, we shall note, which has undergone a metamorphosis of character since his first appearances in Old Testament literature. Conzelmann rightly draws attention to the fact that Luke has so structured his Gospel that Satan is excluded from the period covered by Jesus' public ministry. Satan does not enter as a factor in the saving events. Conzelmann states, "Between the 'Temptation' and the Passion he is absent, then he reappears (Luke xxii, 3) and the 'temptations' are back again; but it is not explicitly stated that he is responsible for the Passion."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Conzelmann, op. cit., p. 156.

Each of the synoptic writers indicates that Satan is the source of the temptations. Satan appears in the accounts as an enemy of God possessing power over the kingdoms of the world which power, according to Luke's record, has been delivered to him (*ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδεδόται*) and this, as Conzelmann notes, "indicates his limitations."<sup>2</sup> When Satan reappears in Luke's narrative in Luke 22:31 he has asked 'to have' the disciples. He is not the accuser of the saints as for example he is seen to be in Job 1:6-12, 2:1-6; Zechariah 3:1-12. According to Luke he has been given super-world power in order to test the power invested in the Son of God. With this much as introduction we turn to that which is germane to this paper: the significance of the Deuteronomic tradition in Luke's temptation narrative. The significance of the 'forty days' meets us first. It is seen in Mark 1:13, Matt. 4:2 as well as in Luke 4:1.

Luke who presents Jesus conceived by, baptized of, and filled with the Holy Spirit also records that Jesus is led by the Spirit for forty days in the wilderness. The question of the symbolic values in the term "forty days" has been given much attention by scholars in recent times. Kittel holds that there is no connection between Jesus' forty days in the *ἐρημος* and the forty years' sojourn of Israel.<sup>3</sup> Bonnard, on the other hand, argues that the Christian exegesis of the Old Testament seized upon the typological value of

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<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., p. 157.

<sup>3</sup>From the article on *ἐρημος* and *ἐρημία* in TWZNT, 11 pp. 654-657.

the figure itself, not worrying about the actual duration of a period.<sup>4</sup> Dupont observes that within the Pentateuch there is already a correlation between the forty years and the interval of forty days, the time which it took to explore the promised land (Num. 14:34).<sup>5</sup> The question cannot be dealt with adequately apart from reflecting on motifs in the narrative as a whole and a study of Luke's use of the traditions (as far as we can discern them) which most influenced his theology. These must be considered within the milieu of New Testament writing of the period. If Luke's basic motifs can be discerned, we shall be nearer to understanding the significance of the traditions he employed. The temptation conflict turns upon the meaning of the task given to one who has been called "my Son".

What does it mean to be the elected of God? For the Deuteronomist this was a profound problem. It motivated much of the preaching tradition of Deuteronomy.<sup>6</sup> This is the problem with which Jesus agonized in the wilderness after His baptism at Jordan. It is not therefore incredible that in dealing with this problem Jesus should have turned to Deuteronomy. In the temptation narrative of Luke the full impact of Deuteronomic insight regarding the meaning of election comes into focus as the tradition upon which Jesus met the onslaught of temptation. The basis of character is revealed most clearly in the hour of greatest trial. Both Matthew and Luke give evidence that

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<sup>4</sup>P. Bonnard, "La Signification du désert selon le nouveau Testament," Hommage et Reconnaissance, Neuchâtel, 1946, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup>Jacques Dupont, "L'Arrière-Fond Biblique Du Recit Des Tentations De Jésus", N. T. S. Vol. III, 1956-1957, p. 289, note 2.

<sup>6</sup>Deut. 4:37, 7:6-11, 14:2.

in the supreme hour of testing Jesus' character is secured upon the Word of God given to Israel and, in particular, that portion given through the Deuteronomist. The narratives in Matthew and Luke appear to come from a common source. The hand of the editor, however, has been at work. Adaptations are made to re-inforce a theological view. There is careful attention to detail, as we shall note. While there are other important adaptations Luke's major contribution is the change of order of the temptations so that the temptation at Jerusalem is at the last.<sup>7</sup> It was at Jerusalem that the prophet-messiah's temptations reached their climax. It was the Temple (its authorities) that precipitated for Jesus His most menacing danger.

R. V. G. Tasker has referred to the narratives, should they come from the lips of Jesus, as "the most precious fragments of autobiography which we possess."<sup>8</sup> W. K. Lowther Clarke finds that "The author whoever he is, penetrates to the deepest meaning of the Scriptures, the spirit and the letter, producing something so subtle, so pregnant with meaning, that every commentator confesses, 'the well is deep'."<sup>9</sup> We cannot hope to reach the obvious depths which commentators behold in the narrative. We are aware that these thirteen verses -- Luke 4:1-13 (Matthew 4:1-11) stand alone

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<sup>7</sup>For a short study in detail of Luke's method in arrangement see H. F. D. Sparks, 'St. Luke's Transpositions', N. T. S., Vol. III, 1956/57, pp. 217-223.

<sup>8</sup>R. V. G. Tasker, The Nature and Purpose of the Gospels, S. C. M. Press, London, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup>W. K. Lowther Clarke, Divine Humanity, S. P. C. K., London, 1936, p. 85.

in all Scripture as a scale upon which is weighed the authentic character of the Messiah of God. There is in these verses theological insight revealing the conflict of diabolic powers with the Elected of God. Moreover, as we shall point out, the temptations of Jesus were the temptations of Israel, God's elect people. Jesus appears so identified with His people in their religious experience that all the past and the future are concentrated in His own active struggle with evil. He is, in another sense, so completely identified with man that His temptations are the temptations of humanity. Professor C. H. Dodd has summed up neatly the latter:

Again, the New Testament doctrine of the Person of Christ depends for its richness and depth, almost for its intelligibility, upon the inseparable fusion of the two figures of prophecy: the leader and the sovereign over God's people, and indeed in the last resort of redeemed humanity as a whole . . . All that is said about the significance of the work of Christ presupposes that He includes in Himself the whole people of God, or redeemed humanity.<sup>10</sup>

The associations Luke has seen between Jesus and Israel were unmistakable. The two greatest figures of Israel's religious history, Moses as the instigator of Israel's faith and Elijah as its purifier, were one with Him in terms of a forty-day fast. These same two figures are linked with Him near the close of His ministry in the transfiguration experience. They are alluded to in Luke's Resurrection and Ascension narratives as "two men." (Luke 24:4, Acts 1:10). The waters of the Jordan at His Baptism spoke of the

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<sup>10</sup>C. H. Dodd, The Old Testament in the New, Athlone Press, London, 1952, p. 20.

waters of the Red Sea. His wilderness sojourn of forty days spoke of His forefather's forty years of wilderness wanderings. His hunger recalled their hunger. His survey of the land in which He must begin His Kingdom work recalled Moses' survey of the land which Israel was to inherit. The voice<sup>11</sup> which He heard at the Jordan declaring His Sonship was reminiscent of the voice the people heard when Yahweh made His covenant with Israel, and of which they are reminded in Deuteronomy 4:

Out of heaven he let you hear his voice, that he might discipline you; and on earth he let you see his great fire, and you heard his words out of the midst of the fire. And because he loved your fathers and chose their descendants after them, and brought you out of Egypt with his own presence by his great power, driving out before you nations greater and mightier than yourselves, to bring you in, to give you their land for an inheritance, as at this day.

Deuteronomy 4:36-38.

#### Deuteronomomic Wilderness Setting and Early Church Theology

The opening chapters of Deuteronomy represent the chosen people camping in the wilderness on the border of the Promised Land.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Then the Lord spoke to you out of the midst of the fire, you heard the sound of words, but saw no form, there was only a voice.

4:12

Did any people ever hear the voice of a god speaking out of the midst of the fire, as you have heard, and still live?

4:33

And you said, 'Behold, the Lord our God has shown us his glory and greatness, and we have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire; we have this day seen God speak with man and man still live.

5:24

For who is there of all flesh, that has heard the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of fire as we have, and has still lived?

5:26

<sup>12</sup>Deut. 1:1ff. The book is presented as the final exhortation of Moses, delivered beyond Jordan, where the Israelites had arrived.



It is not surprising that the early Church should find in Deuteronomy a strong parallel to its own experience on the threshold of going in to possess pagan peoples with the Kingdom of God. Chapter eight of Deuteronomy recalls to Israel the struggle in the wilderness:

All the commandment which I command you this day you shall be careful to do, that you may live and multiply, and go in and possess the land which the Lord swore to give to your fathers. And you shall remember all the way which the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble you, testing you to know what was in your heart, whether you would keep his commandments, or not.

We must not forget in this part of our study, so pivotal to an understanding of Deuteronomic Traditions in St. Luke, that Luke was of the first generation Gentile Church. This Church was involved in a claim that it, and not the Jews, was the true Israel. To uphold this claim it was necessary to show that Gentile Christians possessed a continuity with the old covenants even more indispensable than the succession of priests and the Law. Moreover it was necessary to show that what was held was not merely a succession to the old, but that in Christ the old had been fulfilled. Matthew is concerned that his readers see that in Christ there was the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. Luke, on the other hand, is concerned that his readers see that in Christ there is the fulfilment of an obedience which was required of Israel, particularly in Deuteronomy, and in which Israel failed. Thus in the handling of the narrative the evangelists would have us see that the citations from Deuteronomy are representative of 'all the commandment' required of

Israel and 'all of the way' in the wilderness which the Lord God had led Israel testing her to know whether she would keep His commandments or not. Within the economy of the New Israel New Testament writers sketch the great events of the Old: Creation (I Cor. 15:14ff.), the Flood (I Peter 3:20), the descent into Egypt (Matt. 2:13ff.), the Passage of the Red Sea (I Cor. 10:1). The familiar pattern of Old Testament events re-appears but none of these occupy the place of the Wilderness Journey. As we have argued Luke has shaped his Gospel to recapitulate in Jesus' journey to Jerusalem the wilderness journey recalled in Deuteronomy. Before beginning His ministry among His own people or setting out on His Journey to Jerusalem, which was to deliver mankind, Luke wishes to make clear that Jesus won in the wilderness an initial victory. It was a victory which the Deuteronomist had set before Israel but which had resulted in the opposite of what had been desired -- an obstinate and rebellious attitude and a testing of God. But now in Jesus God has devised a plan of assault against the temptations of Israel. He moves with a task force of One Chosen.<sup>13.</sup> Triumphantly the Chosen offers the

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<sup>13.</sup> Vincent Taylor, The Life and Ministry of Jesus, MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1954, p. 113. "It is possible, although the point cannot be pressed, that the use of the name 'Son of Man' by Jesus in a personal sense with reference to himself, and not a community is significant. He has not renounced his belief in the Elect Community, but knows that as yet it is summed up in himself, its 'Head'."

Note also C.H. Dodd, History and the Gospels, Nisbet & Co. Ltd., London, 1938, p. 144. "This remnant diminishes, until the people of God is embodied in a single individual -- the σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελεθῆναι (Gal. 3:19) and again, "Christ gathers unto Himself the whole of what God designed for his people."

exclusive obedience of which the old Israel was incapable.

The Order of Temptations in Luke's Narrative,

It has been observed that Luke's order of the temptations differs from Matthew's order, though both place the temptation concerning the turning of stones into bread at the first. Regarding the order of the succeeding two, Dupont points out that Matthew's order is the order of events of the Exodus; the miracle of the manna took place first (Ex. 16), then came the episode at Massah with water from the rock (Ex. 17:1-7) and the third temptation comes when the sojourn in the wilderness is ended.<sup>14</sup> No precise Pentateuchal passage corresponds with the temptation which Matthew places third. Now if Matthew's order is the order of the events in Exodus, Luke's order is more Deuteronomic in that the citations from Deuteronomy 6 follow in order, viz. Deut. 6:13 is followed by Deut. 6:16.

William Manson offers the interesting possibility that "Luke's arrangement is due to the scene of the second temptation being geographically intermediate between the Jordan desert and Jerusalem."<sup>15</sup> J. M. Creed offers a similar explanation. The motive of Luke's change of order may have been the desire to avoid a second change of scene. "By omitting the exceedingly high mountain (Mt. 4:8) and by inserting the phrase *ἐν στήνῃ χρόνου* Luke softens the realism and conveys the impression of a visionary experience."<sup>16</sup> Obviously the

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<sup>14</sup>Dupont, op. cit., p. 292.

<sup>15</sup>Op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>16</sup>J. M. Creed, op. cit., p. 63.

hand of the interpreter has been upon the source available. Luke has refined some of the raw material found in Matthew's account. His narrative is an analogy of Jesus' whole ministry moving methodically from the region of His baptism to the region of His death -- Jerusalem. To emphasize that Jerusalem is the source of Jesus' greatest temptation he places the temptation of the pinnacle of the temple last. In doing so there is subtle comment suggesting that Jesus met his most dramatic temptation through the Temple and what it had become. Here is the "pinnacle" in the temptations which confronted the Prophet Messiah. The view that Luke places the latter temptation in a culminating position receives strong support from J. W. Falconer.<sup>17</sup>

Following Luke's order we may, for convenience, refer to the three temptations as the temptation of privilege, the temptation of power and the temptation of presumption. Each may be seen to have its beginnings in the basic human temptation to doubt the Word of God. Each begins with a form of the whisper of Eden, "Yea, hath God said?"<sup>18</sup> Each is seen more clearly when viewed against the whole background of the tests which caused Israel to stumble. Conversely, Professor T. W. Manson who considers Luke's order more original suggests, "It would, of course, be easy to take a much simpler line and interpret all of the temptations in a moral

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<sup>17</sup>J. W. Falconer, *The Temptation*, The Expositor, Vol. XXIV, 1922, pp. 177-188.

<sup>18</sup>Gen. 3:1.

sense as appeals to such universal human characteristics as the physical appetites, the lust for power, and the thirst for admiration." 19. The problem concerning which of Matthew or Luke preserves the most original order has proponents on either side. For the purposes of this study the question is not of great significance. It is curious that Luke's order appears to take the order of Deuteronomy more closely than Matthew's but it is not possible to develop any conclusion. We turn next to a brief survey of Luke's view of how Jesus may have used the Old Testament.

#### Luke's View of Jesus' Use of Old Testament Passages

Before studying the citations from Deuteronomy as Luke uses them in his temptation narrative it is profitable to note, briefly, how Luke views Jesus' use of the Old Testament. A reasonable way of entering the background to a man's thinking is to examine his library. A most helpful way of approaching the mind of Jesus is by reading His Bible. Luke is very aware that Jesus' life was steeped in "the Law, the Prophets and the Writings." In the final narratives of his Gospel Luke records the Risen Christ interpreting to disciples on the road to Emmaus: "And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself." 20. This verse would seem to be a key by which Luke interprets Jesus' use of the Old Testament. This use suggests no 'proof text' method in which texts are cited in isolation from the

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19. T. W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus, p. 45.

20. Luke 24:27.

whole tradition in which they are found. Jesus interprets to the disciples from all the scriptures. Even a cursory review of Luke's Gospel supports the view that when Jesus is represented using the Old Testament He seldom bases His case on proof texts but on whole traditions. Thus in the inauguration of His public ministry in the synagogue at Nazareth Luke shows Jesus referring to the traditions of Elijah and Elisha (I Kings 17:1, 8 ff.; II Kings 5) rather than citing specific texts. When the matter of Sabbath Observance is raised Jesus refers to the whole tradition described in I Samuel 21:1-6.<sup>21.</sup> In identifying John the Baptist Jesus quotes Malachi 3:1,<sup>22</sup> but when a lawyer stands up and puts Him to the test asking, "Teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" Jesus asks of him, "What is written in the Law?" The lawyer quotes Deut. 6:5 and Lev. 19:18. In Matthew 22:36-40 and Mark 12:28-31 (which are parallel to Luke 10:25-28) Jesus is recorded as giving the citations. Has Luke purposely avoided representing Jesus as a quoter of Old Testament texts? One might be led to think in this direction from a consideration of this case but in other passages, as we shall note presently, Jesus cites individual texts.

In the Jerusalem Passion narrative there are more direct quotations. Examining these we note that in every case they are given to substantiate the Prophet Messiah's authority. We note first a loose quotation of Isaiah 56:7 and Jeremiah 7:11 to substantiate

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21. Luke 6:1-5, (Also Mt. 12:1-5, Mk. 2:23-26)

22. Luke 7:27.

Jesus' authority over the Temple.<sup>23.</sup> Psalm 118:22 is quoted to substantiate Jesus' authority over official Jewish rejection.<sup>24.</sup>

Psalm 110:1 is quoted to substantiate Jesus' authority over David.<sup>25.</sup>

And at the end of the narrative of the Last Supper Luke records a quotation without parallel in the other Gospels, "And he was reckoned among the transgressors," from Isaiah 53:12.<sup>26.</sup> In Luke's

Gospel this is among the final quotations of Old Testament scripture on the lips of Jesus. It is accompanied with the words, "for what is written about me has its fulfilment." (*καὶ γὰρ τὸ περὶ ἐμοῦ τέλος ἔχει*) This is close to John's "Word become flesh."<sup>27.</sup> There is re-inforcement of the view that Jesus fulfilled the traditions of the Law, the Prophets and the Writings at the end of Luke's Gospel when the Risen Christ says to the disciples: "These are my words which I spoke to you, while I was still with you, that everything written about me in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms must be fulfilled."<sup>28.</sup>

Where are we to search for "everything written about me in the Law of Moses"? The Prophet Like Moses tradition is by far the most likely in the reference here. The Temptation Narrative of all places ought to offer a delineation of the Son of God.

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23. Luke 19:46 (Mk. 11:17, Mt. 21:13)

24. Luke 20:17 (Mk. 12:10, Mt. 21:42)

25. Luke 20:42 (Luke uses 'in the book of Psalms', Mk. 12:35 and Mt. 22:43 use 'by the Spirit'.)

26. Luke 22:37

27. John 1:14 See G. W. H. Lampe, concluding paragraph "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke" p. 200

28. Luke 24:44



Luke presents Jesus' use of the Old Testament as being based upon whole traditions implying that the fulfilment of these traditions is accomplished within Himself. From this viewpoint we regard the citations from Deuteronomy as embracing some of the central lessons of Deuteronomy, and representing whole Deuteronomic traditions. Dupont strongly supports this view when he emphasizes, in dealing with the Temptation Narratives as a whole, that the whole Deuteronomic content of the verses and not just the texts cited has left its stamp on the narrative.<sup>29.</sup>

Dupont holds that the narrative rests on biblical texts separable into three groups: (i) A group involving the texts from Deuteronomy 8:3, 6:13 and 6:16 which he calls "the temptation of Israel in the desert", (ii) A group containing Psalm 91:11-12 which he calls "the angels and the beasts", (iii) A group drawing upon Old Testament allusions which he calls "Moses on the Mountain". The first is of direct concern.

Our concern goes further than the fact of the recitation of the Deuteronomic texts. We are in agreement with Dupont who holds that the temptation of Jesus in the wilderness is an analogy of the temptation of Israel in the wilderness. The process of taking a motif from the past and applying it to a new situation is familiar to every literature. For New Testament writers it is a theological device. Thus for example the "today" of Psalm 95:7 is picked up by the writer to the Hebrews and applied to his own generation.

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29. Op. cit., p. 297ff.

"But exhort one another every day as long as it is called 'today'."

In this quotation we realize also that the psalmist had already appropriated the motif of the tempting of Yahweh at Meribah into his psalm. If we, therefore, recognize and acknowledge the methods at the disposal of the New Testament writers we may enter more fully into their thought and purpose. Gerhard von Rad in his study of the relationship of the two Testaments helps clarify something of their methods in these words:

We feel ourselves so remote from the marvelous freedom which the evangelists and the apostles had in their use of the Old Testament. The Old Testament spoke directly to them, so that wherever they opened it, they found a present witness for their theological, Christological, or ecclesiological argumentation. Still, we are beginning to understand again how the outlines of the New Testament Christ-event are constantly sketched in God's historical acts with Israel. <sup>31.</sup>

That Luke enjoys this freedom in his use of Old Testament tradition is clear. It is best illustrated, perhaps, in his record of Stephen's address in Acts 7. Here the Prophet like Moses tradition is brought into relationship with the Wilderness tradition. It is inferred that these traditions are fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth:

He led them out, having performed wonders and signs in Egypt and at the Red Sea, and in the wilderness for forty years. This is the Moses who said to the Israelites, "God will raise up for you a prophet from your brethren as he raised me up." This is he who was in the congregation in the wilderness. (7:36-38).

In summary we note that Luke, generally speaking, represents Jesus using whole Old Testament traditions rather than 'proof texts',

30. Hebrews 3:13.

31.. "Ancient Word and Living Word, "Interpretation XV (Jan., 1961), p. 10.

that he draws freely, as did other New Testament writers, upon traditions sketching God's historical acts with Israel. It is the business of this paper to indicate that Deuteronomic traditions were prominent among these. Nowhere are they more prominent than in the Temptation Narrative. We now come to the examination of the details of Luke's narrative.

The Temptation Luke 4: 1-13

Luke's narrative begins with an account of Jesus being led by the Spirit for forty days in the wilderness. The phrase *καὶ*

*ἦγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ* recalls

Deuteronomy 8:2.

And you shall remember all the way which the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble you, testing you (*καὶ ἐκπειράσῃ σε*) to know what was in your heart, whether you would keep his commandments or not.

The wilderness in the Deuteronomic tradition was the place of testing. How much Luke sought to convey by the word *ἐρημος* is, as we have indicated, debatable. Kittel has argued that *ἐρημος* had no connection with the forty years sojourn. He divides the fifty-six occurrences of *ἐρημος*, *ἐρημία* and their derivatives in the New Testament into five categories, the third category consisting of recollections of Israel's Wüstenzeit. Kittel accounts for the occurrence of *ἐρημος* in the temptation scene by associating it with a place of retreat from the crowds where communion with God can

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take place. In the passage from Acts, quoted above we note that here there is much more implied by the word 'wilderness' than simply the designation of a place. The wilderness in Stephen's mouth, from the pen of Luke, is the crucible which brings out the character of God's elect. The character of God's elect is on trial. The place of trial is the wilderness.

(1) The first Temptation (the temptation of privilege)

What is the legitimate use to which the Son of God will dispose the powers bestowed upon Him at His Baptism? This is the basic question of the first temptation. It was, no doubt, a question asked by Jewish and Gentile hearers of the message declaring Jesus as the Messiah. The occasion for the first temptation is the hunger of Jesus. Luke reports that in those days Jesus ate nothing. The phrase *καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲν* ) is closer to Deuteronomy 9:9b (repeated in 18b) 'I neither ate bread nor drank water' referring to Moses' intercessory fast, than Matthew's single word describing Jesus' fast. Matthew's use of *νηστεύω* implies the practice of fasting as a religious observance and is influenced probably by Jewish and Christian practices of fasting. Luke's description of Jesus' manner of going into the desert is closer to the Septuagint than Matthew's, also. Words from Deuteronomy 8:2 seem to appear in Luke's narrative. Luke uses the word *καὶ ἤγετο* while Matthew uses *ἀνήχθη* (Mark *ἐκβάλλει*) Jesus is led by the Spirit *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι* being tempted *πειραζόμενος*

(Matthew *πειρασθῆναι* ). We note that *εἶναι* and *ἐκπειράξαι* are used in Deut. 8:2. Thus we are led to believe that there is more of Deuteronomy in the narrative than the mere quotation of Deuteronomy 8:3. Verses five and six of Deuteronomy 8 have a bearing on the narrative as well, and in the following way: They read, "Your clothing did not wear out upon you and your foot did not swell these forty years. Know then in your heart that, as a man disciplines his son, the Lord your God disciplines you." The devil appears and says, "If you are the Son of God, command this stone to become bread." If Luke has been led to this singular form through the influence of verses four and five of Deuteronomy 8 the result is a more specific allusion to the physical hunger of Jesus and the discipline a wise father holds over his son. One stone turned to bread would satisfy His own hunger and prove His supernatural power for self-advantage. Matthew's 'these stones', on the other hand, may indicate a greater interest in the coming of a bread-making Messiah.

There are enough allusions combining to support the argument that not just the citation of Deuteronomy 8:3 but the whole of Deuteronomy 8 is material to Luke's account of the first temptation.

In stressing the similarities we must take into account also the differences between Deuteronomy 8 and Luke 4:1-4. The first to note is that, common to all the Synoptics, Luke reports that Jesus was led (or 'driven' in Mark) into the wilderness by the Spirit. In Deuteronomy Yahweh leads Israel into the wilderness. The transition<sup>33.</sup> is not as great for Luke as it is for the other evangelists. For him the Spirit accounts for much that Jesus does. As J. Dupont indicates, the transition from Yahweh leading his people to the Spirit<sup>34.</sup> leading Israel is already in the Old Testament in Isaiah 63:14. The passage (11-14) as a whole deals with Yahweh leading his people in the exodus, but "the Spirit of the Lord gave them rest."

The matter of the forty days versus the forty years has been dealt with earlier. The question of the source of the trials may be more serious. In Deuteronomy 8 God does the testing. In Luke 4 the devil does the tempting. Luke is obviously concerned with the

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33. G. W. H. Lampe's essay, "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke" Studies in the Gospels edited by Dennis Nineham, Oxford, 1957, is a most helpful study in this area of Luke's concern.

34. Op. cit., p. 289.

devil and his powers. As Conzelmann has pointed out,<sup>35</sup> this is significant in Luke's theology. Here again the development in post-exilic theology must be understood. Some things attributed to God directly in the earlier strata of the Old Testament are later attributed to Satan. The solitary example is found in the comparison between II Sam. 29:1 where the Lord incites David to conduct a census and I Chron. 21:1 where it is Satan who does the prompting.

The first temptation in itself is threefold. It involved first a temptation for Jesus to doubt His Sonship - to seek proof of its genuineness by the employment of miraculous power. It implied, further, a testing of the legitimate exercise of His miraculous gifts, and it involved finally the crude temptation to experiment with them for self-advantage. Extending from these there is the further subtle temptation raising the question of material and spiritual ministry. Reared in a humble home and grasping the widespread physical needs of mankind, would the Son of God save men from poverty and suffering or from the sin which was the root of man's ill and the cause of much of his suffering through selfishness and hardness of heart? The former is the easier way of winning man's allegiance. Working economic miracles and meeting men's physical needs makes immediate appeal. Jesus' earthly career would be short. Jesus could provide material amelioration for His own generation but He rejected the temptations of privilege. He wouldn't use the 'supernatural'

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35. Op. cit. p.156 "Satan does not enter as a factor in the saving events. In fact the only part that he plays is the negative one of being excluded from the period of Jesus' ministry. Between the 'Temptation' and the Passion he is absent, then reappears (Lk. 22:3) and the 'temptations' are back again."



to minister to his own needs. Neither would He depend upon it in order to win men. He would depend for His needs upon God alone as Israel had been taught to depend on God in the wilderness. He would not test his supernatural powers to prove His Sonship. (All four evangelists tell the story of His using miraculous means to multiply bread for the hungry crowds. This is reported, however, as being done in compassion because the people were hungry, and not to gain their allegiance<sup>36.</sup>). Jesus rejected the temptations of privilege upon the grounds of a Deuteronomic tradition. God's elect is not to look for favours but to live in humble dependence on God as the Deuteronomist saw Israel must do. The quotation is verbatim from the Septuagint: And Jesus answered him, "It is written," *οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος* (Deut. 8:3). Here we find another curious and deliberate change from Matthew's narrative which includes the latter half of the verse, *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ*. How is this omission to be explained? We refer to what was said concerning Luke's version of Jesus' use of the Old Testament; Luke does not present Jesus as a quoter of Old Testament texts but when a text is quoted a whole tradition is generally implied. If these conclusions are well founded we may then reason that Luke has avoided setting down the complete citation of Deuteronomy 8:3. Luke omits "but by every word which proceeds from the mouth of God".

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36. The miraculous feeding incident is the only miracle recorded by all four evangelists. It is noteworthy that, in all cases, the sign made no impression on the crowd as far as the acknowledgement of Jesus' Divinity is concerned. John points out the problem by recording these words: You seek me, not because you saw signs, but because you ate your fill of the loaves. Do not labor for the food which perishes, but for the food which endures to eternal life, which the Son of man will give you; for on him has God the Father set his seal. (6:26, 27).

The partial quotation, "You shall not live by bread alone" was adequate to convey the lessons of Deuteronomy 8 and the trial by which Israel learned to trust in God.

We may hold, with some confidence, that Luke's record of the first temptation recalls the whole of Deuteronomy 8, not just in the matter of words and phrases, but more in the shape of the tradition which Luke sought to record. The character of the Prophet Messiah is declared and the whole of Christ's ministry is set within the framework of Israel's testing according to the tradition of Deuteronomy 8:5. "Know you then in your heart that, as a man disciplines his son the Lord disciplines you." The experience of the wilderness was humbling. Through it Israel was marked as a son. This sonship was one characterized by humble dependence upon the One whose nature it was to give life. Adam Welch gives support to this position in these words:

To him the food comes from God as surely as the living word; both had the same divine source and could serve the same divine end. Because the food came from God, it, like every other gift from Him, could become a means of grace. Bread could become a sacrament, when Israel, as it had done in the wilderness, always took it from God's hands.<sup>37</sup>

To be a son was not to court favour. Election was for service

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37. A. Welch, Deuteronomy, the Framework to the Code, p. 100.

and not for privilege. Israel could not learn the lesson. Jesus learned it for her. The new people of God would gain their victory through Him. The Son of God moved inevitably to offer Himself. He was among His people as one who served. The popular conceptions of Messiahship had to be confounded. These conceptions were embodied in the temptations. One by one, in the wilderness, Jesus overcame them. Dupont summarizes His victory in words most apt:

Par son attitude Jésus triomphe des tentations auxquelles Israël a succombé dans le désert; il fait siennes les leçons que le Deutéronome a tirées de ces tentations. Il a compris que l'homme ne vit pas seulement de pain, qu'on ne peut pas tenter Dieu, que pour se rendre maître des nations, on n'a pas le droit d'adorer leurs dieux et la puissance satanique dont ils sont le paravent. L'histoire d'Israël est assumée par lui et portée à son accomplissement. Il apparaît ainsi comme le 'Fils de Dieu', mais d'une manière infiniment supérieure à celle que Satan lui propose.<sup>38.</sup>

## II Luke's Second Temptation (the temptation of power)

Dupont analyses the temptation involving the kingdoms of the world as the temptation of "Moses and the Mountain". Following Matthew's account he suggests the 'forty days and forty nights' of Matthew is an allusion to Moses and his fast described by Deuteronomy 9:9 and 18 (Exodus 34:28). But, he argues, it is futile to search for the place on a Survey Map of Palestine. "C'est dans le Deutéronome qu'il faut aller la trouver."<sup>39.</sup> The place of reference which Dupont gives is Deuteronomy 34:1-4. This suits his neat over-all analysis. He must have a mountain for his analogy. In Deuteronomy 34 he locates the mountain and Moses viewing the Promised Land. We note, however, that Moses in Deuteronomy 34 is not engaged in an inter-

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38.Op. cit., p. 304.

39.op. cit., p. 296.

cessory fast. A yet greater weakness of the analogy is just that of the importance of 'the place' in the literary tradition behind the narrative. Dupont argues that Luke prudently made this mountain disappear for he could situate it nowhere.<sup>40</sup> But does not this reflect another possibility, that Luke has presented a more refined reflection? A mountain from which all the kingdoms of the world could be viewed could exist only as a literary device. Luke uses a superior literary device, "And the devil took him up". The significance of the temptation involving world suzerainty is not in the site but in the peculiarity of the temptation. The temptation to become world overlord is the temptation of temporal power. It is the temptation of nationalist messianism.

In Luke the transition from the first to the second temptation is abrupt. After the citation of Deuteronomy 8:3a Luke simply states *καὶ ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν (ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ)*. The first temptation arose out of the physical necessities. In the second temptation the weakened physical state of Jesus is further exploited. Could there be no other way to save the world than the way of trusting obedience to the Father? Could not the powers and principalities of the world be brought to His aid? Immediately the devil provides an illusory view of the world. Jesus is taken up 'in a moment of time' and the open offer is made, "to you I will

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40. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

give all this authority and their glory; for it has been delivered to me, and I give it to whom I will. If you then will worship me, it shall all be yours."

A caption more precise than 'Moses and the Mountain' might be The Temptation of Elevation. Does Jesus want an exalted Messiahship? In what manner will he inherit His Kingdom? One does not have to go to Deuteronomy 34 to find literary sources for the fabric of the narrative. They are discoverable in the context of the citation by which Jesus makes his reply to the devil's offer. The question of the Elect's inheritance is involved. In verses 10 and 11 of Deuteronomy 6 there is the picture of land with great and goodly cities, houses, cisterns, vineyards and orchards. Here is the basis for a vision of the 'kingdom of the world'. The setting is Israel's entry into the Land of Promise. The abundance and satiety will cause a new kind of testing. Having known the poverty of the landless, Israel will now know the temptations of property. The possession of lands, cities, houses, orchards and vineyards as ends in themselves is the temptation of temporal power. The price of the possession of such power is obeisance to the one who controls it. For Israel inheriting Canaan the land was under control of the Baals. In the verse following the citation which Jesus makes (verse 14 of Deuteronomy 6) the people are admonished not to go after the 'gods of the peoples round about you'. In the historical context of Luke's writing one is led to think of Emperor worship. Compromise with the state in

order to gain temporal power involved an act of worship. Many were willing to pay the price to gain the prestige and privilege of the Emperor's favour. To the reader living in the Roman Empire the inference would be poignant. The letters to the Churches of Smyrna and Pergamum in Revelation 2:8-17 indicate the trial of early Christians by Satan.<sup>41</sup> The trial involved a test of their loyalty to the Lord. It is clear that these disciples received their inspiration from One who refused compromise with temporal power. The rule of Rome was built on foundations which Jesus could not accept. In the thinking of the New Testament authors -- particularly the author of Revelation, Paul, and Luke, Satan, or the devil, is the seat of this power. Paul writes of the "god of this age" (2 Cor. 4:4) and of the "princes of this world" (1 Cor. 2:8). Luke is concerned with the devil. In the temptation narrative he alone presents the devil saying, *ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται*. According to the author of the Apocalypse Rome has received its powers from Satan. Rome is described in Revelation 13:1-2 as a beast with ten horns and seven heads. 'And to it the dragon gave his power and his throne and great authority' (3:2a). To later Judaism the gods which the pagans worshipped were frequently identified with demons. In apocalyptic thought Satan was the chief prince of demons and the ruler of the kingdoms of the world.

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41. Strack-Billerbeck I, p. 153 deals with the office of Satan as *κοσμοκράτωρ* and overlord of the Roman power. Note also H. J. Holtzmann, Hand-Commentar Zum Neuen Testament, 1/1 pp. 45, 48.

With the above as background the offer of the devil in Luke's narrative is more cogent, "To you I will give all this authority and their glory if you will worship me." The reply based on Deuteronomic Tradition (6:13) is a rebuke to the devil and his offer. Worship belongs to God. He alone is to be served *προσκυνήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις*. That the citation is from the LXX is supported by Vaticanus and Alexandrinus which are closer to Luke's reading than the Massoretic Text.<sup>42.</sup>

The whole of the human epic, past, present and future is summed up in the temptation experience of the Anointed of God. He shows that homage is due to God alone. His is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory. To fall down and worship Satan means in fact to rely on worldly power and on popular methods- a temptation which has often dazzled organized religion. Mohammed yielded to it. Later it became the snare of the Medieval Papacy -- that known as "the temporal power" of the Church. The 'kingdoms of the world' and the 'glory of them', all of the baser side of Messianism, Jesus rejected as inconsistent with the vocation of God's Anointed. To snatch at unspiritual agencies and alliances in order to bring forth a people which were called to be spiritual, moral, ethical, was in fact, to become Satan's Messiah, instead of God's. This second temptation was really against His Person and the character of His

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42. Codex B reads *φοβήθη* similar to the Hebrew, while Codex A reads *προσκυνήσεις* just as St. Luke. Both A and B take the Hebrew verb *שָׂבַח* in the sense of cultic worship, not ordinary service.



Intentions. His Mission was to be accomplished not by concentration upon His Personal Vocation, nor upon the furthering of men's good-as supreme ends in themselves, but upon individual, worshipful allegiance to the Father as the sole end and chief purpose of life. The outcome of Jesus' temptations was the achievement of the goal which the Deuteronomist had set before Israel seven centuries earlier -- a deliberate self-committal to God in absolutely loyal and perfect obedience.<sup>43.</sup>

### III The Third Temptation (the temptation of presumption)

The outward form of the temptation on the pinnacle of the temple is probably the reminiscence of a visit to the temple courts in Jerusalem. Josephus speaks of a "steep precipice" of the temple.<sup>44.</sup> Doubtlessly, Jesus was familiar with the place which probably overlooked the Kedron Valley. Below was a much-travelled road. Anyone on 'the pinnacle' preparing to leap would create a sensation in the holy city. That memory is combined with the popular and Apocalyptic idea of a Messiah who would come in the clouds of heaven. Might He

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<sup>43.</sup> M. Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Secker & Warburg, London, 1958. In search of background material to the wilderness experience in Qumran literature Burrows speaks of Milik's parallel between Jesus and the life of Qumran covenanters. Qumran covenanters withdrew into the wilderness "to relive the experience of the Sons of Israel during the forty years of wandering in the wilderness; by their fidelity to the law the covenanters intended to overcome the temptations to which their fathers had succumbed. So Jesus by overcoming temptations like those of the Exodus period inaugurated the eschatological period which meant the return of Paradise." p. 78.

<sup>44.</sup> Flavius Josephus, XV 11.5 Antiquities.

not enact this, and, by forcing the hand of God satisfy the common expectation? This strikes us as a kind of youthful urge. It is sharpened by the subtle misuse of Scriptures taken out of their context from the LXX version of Psalm 91:11-12 (though part b. of verse 11 is missing). It is backed by an appeal to the very faith by which Jesus answered the first temptation -- that God would take care of Him. The context of the passage is omitted:

Because you have made the Lord your refuge  
the Most High your habitation,  
no evil shal befall you.

The formula "If you are the Son of God" is repeated.

Into the orb of this temptation might be taken the whole host of temptations which urge "the elect" to presumptuous actions not based on God's will but on a mangled use of Holy Writ. Knowing Israel's sad desert story, Jesus knew that Israel tempted God when she doubted His promise or His faithfulness. Faith and presumption were extreme opposities. No subtle proof text could disguise the fact nor veil the truth that evil lurks in presumptions.

The account may well be one type illustrating a number of sensational possibilities which presented themselves to the mind of Christ as a means of forcing the Father's hand and of challenging the Almighty to vindicate His Own. Presumption had disfigured Israel in the past. God was not to be put to the test, but He was to be obeyed. Therefore, Jesus' ready reply to the temptation which sought to put God to the test was based on Deuteronomy's Sermon on Trust. The quotation is from the LXX.

45.

You shall not tempt the Lord your God.

Spectacular methods of gaining support have no place in God's order. T.H. Robinson has well said in this connection, "God will not - nay, cannot, without being false to Himself - intervene to save one who has deliberately challenged and disregarded the methods He Himself employs in the management of the Universe." <sup>46.</sup> The question of the management of the Universe was tried in the rebellion at Massah. The author of Deuteronomy assumes that the tradition is familiar. It is recorded in Exodus 17:1-7. Verse 7 contains the crux of the offense: "They put the Lord to the proof by saying, 'Is the Lord among us or not?'" The memory of the whole distrusting, rebellious attitude is recalled by the citation from Deuteronomy. Jerusalem, for Luke, is the rebellious city - the destroyer of God's prophets. The centre of Jerusalem is the temple. It is the representatives of the Temple who raise the question, Are you the Christ (In other words, is the Lord among us?) Luke 22:66 - 23:1-12. Jesus is sent to Herod who hoped to see a sign done by him. In refusing to vindicate himself by a sign presuming miraculous intervention from heaven Jesus overcomes the rebellious attitude of Massah

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45. Deut. 6:16. The command in full is "You shall not put your God to the test, as you tested him at Massah." The quotation depends on the LXX. The second singular of the verb is used where the Massoretic text gives the plural (  $\text{אֲנִי} \text{ וְאַתָּה}$  and  $\text{אֲנִי} \text{ וְאַתָּה}$  ). With the LXX Luke employs the compound verb  $\text{ἐκπειράσεις}$  .

46. Theodore H. Robinson, The Gospel of Matthew, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1939. The Moffatt New Testament Commentary, p. 21.

and restores the true basis of sonship. It is evident that in the wilderness Jesus won an initial victory so that Satan is represented no more in Luke's Gospel as attacking our Lord in person until Luke 22. Further attacks are made only through human agencies. The greater part of the fields of Gethsemane and Calvary were won in the wilderness with the weapon of the Word delivered to Israel through the Deuteronomist. Well has James Denney written of the experience: "The historical character of the narrative is supported by what most will admit to be an allusion to it in an undoubted word of Jesus: 'No one can enter into the house of the strong man and spoil his goods unless he first bind the strong man, and then he will spoil his house' (Mark 3:27; Matt. 12:29; Luke 11:21). In the wilderness Jesus bound the strong man. He faced and vanquished the enemy of His calling,<sup>47.</sup> and of all the work and will of God for man." Professor Austin Farrer arrives at a sound and helpful statement regarding the<sup>48.</sup> passage under consideration. At the outset of His ministry Jesus

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47. James Denney, Jesus and the Gospel, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1908, p. 209. Note too J. W. Bowman, op. cit., p. 174. "Jesus has met and bound the Prince of the demons himself - a reference no doubt to his early period of temptation - hence, he is able to rescue men from his grasp, that is, to lead them into the Kingdom of God."

Also H. J. C. Knight, op. cit., p. 155. "It is interpreted positively beyond doubt in the Gospels as the 'binding of the strong man', the 'casting out of the devil', a struggle against an enemy which is to issue in the unchallenged supremacy of the Divine Will."

48. Austin Farrer, St. Matthew and St. Mark, Dacre Press, Westminster, 1954, p. 58. "Here are two sayings about houses; what is the relation between them? Satan has been mentioned under the name of Beelzebub, which means 'Master of the House', and Jesus has been

restrained Satan. A further Lukan tradition confirming this view is that of our Lord's greeting to the Seventy when they returned from their mission reporting that even the devils were subject to them. Luke records Jesus as saying, 'I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven.'<sup>49</sup> The language is apocalyptic, but the meaning clearly indicates that Jesus has gained the power over Satan and extends that power to His followers.

In this section we have attempted to trace the extent to which the Deuteronomic tradition in Israel has been determinative in the temptations of Jesus as mirrored by St. Luke. It is certain that Jesus lived and did his work in the light of prophetic tradition. That the Scriptures of Deuteronomy were eminent within this tradition is clear. Deuteronomy offered the goal of perfect faith and obedience for Israel with which Jesus was completely identified. On the grounds of Deuteronomic tradition, Jesus triumphed over Israel's temptations. He fully applied the primary lesson of Deuteronomy: that election is to service and not for privilege. This principle is the motif of Mark's Gospel. Mark represents Jesus enacting the vocation to service. He does not desire to be served but to

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accused of exorcising by his power. Jesus replies in two riddles: (a) If the Master of the House attacks Himself the house is divided and the Mastery is at an end. (b) The House of the strong cannot be plundered unless the Master of the House is first gagged and bound. We are to infer (a) Satan does not attack himself, for if he did his power would collapse by dissension without the trouble of our fighting it, which is plainly not the case, and so it remains that (b) he is a powerful lord who would not allow his household, i. e. the unclean spirits, to suffer havoc by the exorcist, if the exorcist had not first put Satan himself under restraint."

49. Luke 10:18, Supra p. 115.

serve, and to give His life for the deliverance of many. Matthew sees human history as planned by God, with whom past and future are one. In that human history, and in particular the history of Israel, the greater and more spiritual is often overshadowed by something closer, and has meaning which receives its fulfilment later on. Jesus is the Fulfiller of Israel. The recapitulation of Israel's acts is interpreted as the fulfilment of prophecies accomplished by Jesus. If Mark has seen the Deuteronomic principle of election to service activated in the life of Jesus, Luke has seen the principle of faithfulness operative in Him. Where Israel failed through disobedience often alluded to in Deuteronomy, Luke points to the obedient Servant bearing the sins and failures of His people, going out to reclaim the lost to their mission.

What conclusions may be drawn from our examination of the text which is crucial to our study? First we are led to recognize that the Deuteronomic tradition behind the narrative is extensive -- much more extensive than is usually realized. The citations stand for whole traditions. We have argued that Deuteronomic traditions stand behind the Central Teaching Section of the Gospel. They are prominent in the sermons of Acts 3 and 7 with particular reference to the Prophet Like Moses and the Wilderness theme. The latter, especially, is in the background of the Temptation Narrative. Luke

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50. Also William Manson, Jesus the Messiah, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1943, p. 97ff. ". . . the distinctive and arresting feature of his work was not simply the realism with which he proclaimed the advent of the kingdom and its meaning for mankind, but the completeness with which he identified himself with the bringing about of the conversion of his people, the ingathering and restoration to God of the lost sheep of the house of Israel."



has appropriated the temptation of Israel in the wilderness to reveal the character of the Prophet Messiah. He is closer to the Deuteronomic text than Matthew as evidenced by the order of the temptations and the emphases in his narrative.

The primary question of the narrative is the question of the meaning of Divine Sonship.<sup>51</sup> This problem of the meaning of election is basic to Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy answers are given. The wilderness experience is interpreted by Deuteronomy 8 as the means used by a wise father to discipline his son. Israel was led into the desert to be humbled, that filial loyalty might be tested and that dependence on the Word of God might be taught. With an astute sense of history and an impressive economy of words the third Evangelist presents the recapitulation of the wilderness in the life of the Son. We stand with Dupont in his analysis of the first temptation. It is the temptation of Israel in the Wilderness. The singular form, 'this stone' into bread may represent a closer association with the Deuteronomic setting than Matthew's 'these stones.' Luke's citation of half of Deuteronomy 8:3 is in accord with his restraint

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<sup>51</sup>Peter Doble's article entitled "The Temptation," E. T. LXXII (Dec. 1960), pp. 91-93 emphasizes the personal doubts of Jesus concerning the fact of His Messiahship. The temptations centre not so much in the doubts of Messiahship as in its use. H. J. Holtzmann Hand-Commentar zum N. T. p. 46 sees the three temptations of Israel recollected in I Cor. 10, and suggests that the same three are recalled in the Gospel narrative. These are (1) Ex. 16:2-9, Num. 11:4--10 cf. I Cor. 10:6; (2) Ex. 17:1-7, Num. 21:4-7 cf. I Cor. 10:9, and (3) Ex. 32:6 cf. I Cor. 10:7. The argument is cumbersome. The Evangelist is probably more influenced directly by Deuteronomy.



in presenting Jesus as a quoter of Old Testament texts. The part given is adequate to convey the whole tradition of wilderness testing as recapitulated in Deuteronomy 8.

(ii) The motif of 'Moses and the Mountain' which Dupont gives as an analysis of the second temptation (Matthew's third) is not discoverable in Luke's account. There is no mountain. The figure of Moses as an intercessor is not clearly evident. (Though one could argue from the statement "He ate nothing" to Deuteronomy 9 and Moses' fast and intercession). The imagery of the narrative lies in another direction. It is the temptation of 'elevation.' It is the temptation to gain temporal power -- to be lifted above the Kingdoms of the world. The price of such power parallels the price confronting Israel coming into the Land of Canaan--apostasy. The entertainment of the idea is revolting to Jesus. Luke shows that His character is secured in the lessons of Deuteronomy 6 -- absolute loyalty to the Father.

(iii) The third temptation (Matthew's second) dubbed by Dupont as 'The Angels and the Beasts' seems for Luke incapable of this caption. The place of the temptation is clearly established as Jerusalem. There are no 'angels and beasts' unless one supposes the High Priests to be angels and Pilate and Herod beasts! Luke omits the appearance of angels at the end of his narrative. His focus is upon Jerusalem and the Temple and he is concerned to

show that Jesus gained a significant victory over Satan. Later, Luke indicates that Jesus gave the twelve "power and authority over all demons" (9:1). Later still the Seventy who go out at the Prophet Messiah's command return saying, "Lord, even the demons are subject to us in your name!" And He said to them, "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven." (The passage in Luke is without parallel). Again he records, "Behold I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy." (10:19a).<sup>53</sup> As we have seen elsewhere, "serpents and scorpions" is a figure from the wilderness journey and probably from Deuteronomy 8:15. The accumulative evidence for Deuteronomomic background is strong, much stronger than the mere citations of Deuteronomomic texts.

A second conclusion to which a study of the narrative leads is that the whole narrative is sketched against the historical experience of Israel. Each of the temptations takes us back to an unforgettable scene of Israel's past. The historical experience of Israel in the wilderness is recapitulated in the temptation of the Son. Well

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52. Dietrich Bonhoeffer's contemplative essay Temptation deals with the overcoming of Satan as well as with the wild beasts representing demons. For the theme of 'The Angels and the Beasts' one must go to Mark. Psalm 91 has undoubtedly formed part of the background of the Messianic expectations. That Jesus the second Adam overcame the temptations of the first Adam and thus destroyed the power of death is Pauline (I Cor. 15:45-49). W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 42 states, "It does seem that in the Marcan account of the Temptation the scenery is the garden of Eden and Christ is placed against the same background as was the first Adam." Eduard Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship (London, S.C.M. Press, 1960), p. 35-36 sees Christ in Mark 1 as a second Adam.

53. . Supra p. 115

has Dupont said, "L'histoire d'Israel est assumée par lui et portée a son accomplissement."<sup>54.</sup> The Son who at the age of twelve knew that he must be in his Father's house was Divinely proclaimed at His Baptism. The character of His Sonship is tried by Satan and stands firm at the points where Israel fell. In so doing Jesus is revealed as the Son in whose victory Israel shares. J. Guillet expresses the point with fine clarity:

Il refait pour son propre compte son itinéraire spirituel. Triomphant de l'épreuve du désert, il se révèle comme étant, à lui seul, le peuple fidèle, l'Israel authentique, le Fils de Dieu.<sup>55.</sup>

In another context C. H. Dodd sums up the meaning of Jesus' victory in these words, "Christ gathers into Himself the whole of what God designed for his people."<sup>56.</sup> This is the finale of all the mighty acts which God wrought through Israel. The Son remained faithful.

A third conclusion we draw is that the narrative is a reflection of the whole of Jesus' ministry. From all that has been said Luke 4:1-13 is not a simple unreflective report of an episode at the beginning of Jesus' ministry. The evidence would lead in the opposite direction, that the narrative has been compiled with consummate skill out of a milieu in which deep reflection has taken place. The panorama moves from the hunger of the wilderness to a glimpse of

54. *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

55. J. Guillet, *Thèmes Bibliques* (Paris, 1951) pp. 24.

56. C. H. Dodd, *History and the Gospel* (London, 1938) p. 144.

the kingdoms of the world and from thence to a pinnacle of the Temple. This proved to be the pattern of Jesus' ministry moving from Galilee to Jerusalem. The significance of Jesus' ministry in its entirety is in view. Obviously an initial victory over 'the strong man' was won. In the light of Israel's painful experience Jesus reached his own decision. To remain faithful, and steadfastly so, would take him to death on a Cross. His ministry was to be that of the "faithful servant." Through faithfulness He gained His initial victory. Necessity was laid upon Him to maintain that victory intact at every turn. At the Last Supper Luke records that the disciples were "those who continued with me in my trials" *μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς* (22:28). This implies continued temptations through human agencies. But other human agencies, His disciples, were part of His defence. Luke is convinced that Jesus' victory over Satan is so complete that no more temptations, personally inflicted, are described until the opportune time.<sup>57</sup> The time for Satan's reappearance is the Passion. (22:3). Such power was put in his hands (cf. 4:16, 13:11, 16). Judas is taken by Satan and Peter is wavering (22:31). This is the plan by which the obedient servant is to be delivered up. When He is taken in the garden he says (and the saying is current in the Manual of Discipline) "But this is your hour, and the power of darkness." (22. 53)

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57. Conzelmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29 uncovers adequately the real motives behind the Lucan framework which requires that Satan be not active during Jesus' ministry.

With this our study of the temptations is concluded. The problem of the temptations, as we have seen it in Luke's record, revolves around the meaning of election. It is a continuing problem, not only with those disciples who 'continued' with Jesus in His trials, but with the disciples who were Luke's contemporaries and with the Church in each generation. We can find no better words with which to summarize our findings than the words of Professor H. H. Rowley,

To be the elect of God is not to be His pampered favourite. It is to be challenged to a loyalty and a service and a sacrifice that knows no limits, and to feel the constraint of the Divine love to such a degree that no response can seem adequate and no service worthy. The constraint is not of our choosing. It is laid upon us. We can resist it, but if we do so resist it we act disgracefully. For we have received of the grace of God, and its obligation already lies upon us.<sup>58.</sup>

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58. H. H. Rowley, The Biblical Doctrine of Election, Lutterworth Press, London, 1950, p. 168.

PART SIX

THE JERUSALEM NARRATIVE

## I The Theology of Luke with reference to Jerusalem

Chapters 19 to 24 of St. Luke's Gospel contain the Passion and Resurrection narratives. Examining these narratives for Deuteronomic traditions involves necessarily major considerations of (1) The Theology of Luke with reference to Jerusalem and the Prophet's Death, (2) Oracles concerning the End of Jerusalem, (3) The Tradition of a Divine Retribution and (4) An analysis of Luke's Source. Each of the major considerations will be dealt with separately. We begin with (1) an attempt to assess (a) the Geographical and Allegorical elements especially, to note how these may be related to (b) Exodus typology and the Prophet Like Moses Tradition. This leads to a study of (c) the Evangelist's View of Jerusalem's end. Does Luke regard the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. as Divine retribution for the slaying of the Prophet Like Moses? Is it possible to trace in Luke's source<sup>1</sup> Deuteronomic traditions relating Moses' death and prophesying the destruction of the nation which obeyed not his teaching, which are of the milieu from which Luke drew his Passion and Resurrection narratives?

### (a) Geographical and Allegorical Elements

In Luke's representation the Jerusalem which existed at the time of our Lord was at enmity with the Prophet.<sup>2</sup> Paul also writing

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<sup>1</sup>For a review of the problem see Paul Winter 'Sources of the Lucan Passion Narrative', E. T. Vol. 68, 1956-57, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup>Jerusalem was the slayer of prophets, Lk. 13:33; the city of the greatest temptation Lk. 4:9; the unrepentant Lk. 13:34. Note E. Lohmeyer, Galiläa and Jerusalem, Göttingen, 1936 p. 43, on the place of Jerusalem in Luke's account, "Aber dassie dennoch diesen 'Ausgang' verhüllt, ist lehrreich: Über dem Zuge hinauf nach Jerusalem ist auch ein gottgeordnetes Ziel, nach dem Jesus klar und gehorsam



to the Galatians speaks allegorically of Jerusalem as "Hagar." "Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia; she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children."<sup>3</sup> The Lucan report of the Transfiguration pointed to the fact that at Jerusalem the exodus (decease or departure) of the Prophet would be accomplished. E. Lohmeyer has made a thorough study of geographical, theological and topographical aspects of Galilee and Jerusalem in the four Gospels.<sup>4</sup> He finds that Galilee in the widest sense is the Holy Land of eschatological fulfilment.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, having examined the Markan references concerning Jerusalem, he concludes, "All these many individual cases always illustrate only one matter: Jerusalem is the city of deadly enmity to Jesus, the city of sin and death."<sup>6</sup> Luke, following Mark, represents Jesus and the disciples moving from Galilee to Jerusalem. Conzelmann describes Luke's treatment of Jerusalem as a reference point for his eschatology.<sup>7</sup> But for Conzel-

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sein Antlitz richtet." See also F. C. Burkitt, Christian Beginnings, London, 1924 passim; also R. H. Lightfoot, Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels, London, 1938. For the view that Jesus' love for Jerusalem compels Him to go there note A. Schlatter, Das Evangelium des Lukas, Stuttgart, 1931, p. 545 "Nach Jerusalem muss ich wandern, sagt Jesus in der Quelle; nur Jerusalem ist der Ort, wo die Propheten getötet werden. Beidem gab der neue Spruch mächtigen Ausdruck der Liebe Jesu zu Jerusalem, die ihn treibt, dorthin zu wandern und um die Stadt zu werben, und der unbeweglichen Verhärtung Jerusalems, das Jeden als Feind verfolgt, der ihm ein Wort Gottes bringt." For the relationship between the King of Peace and the 'city of Peace' note Karl H. Rengstorf, Das Evangelium nach Lukas, Göttingen, 1952 p. 220 "Da die Stadt . . . den Friedenskönig Gottes in Jesus abweist und darin die Annahme der göttlichen Heimsuchung (1:68, 78) ablehnt (v. 44b), so wählt sie Kreis und Untergang zur Form des Satzes vgl. 5 Mose 32, 29."

<sup>3</sup>Gal. 4:25.

<sup>4</sup>Op. cit., passim.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>7</sup>Op. cit., p. 74.

mann the latter is viewed by Luke always in relation to the Passion. The Passion, moreover, is misunderstood by the disciples. They are looking for the Parousia as the approach is made to Jerusalem. Quite rightly Conzelmann emphasizes that as far as Luke's treatment is concerned, "Jerusalem has nothing to do with the Parousia, though it has with the Resurrection."<sup>8</sup>

Luke is writing in the light of the Resurrection and Ascension. It is in the light of the Resurrection and Ascension that the writer to the Hebrews pictures the 'heavenly Jerusalem' with Jesus as the Mediator of a new covenant.<sup>9</sup> The Seer of Revelation also depicts the 'new Jerusalem'.<sup>10</sup> He sees connected with it two witnesses. The witnesses are given power to prophesy. They are killed but their bodies lie in the street of the great city which is called (allegorically) Sodom and Egypt, where their Lord was crucified.<sup>11</sup> These witnesses are identified through the statement that "they have power to shut the sky, that no rain may fall during the days of their prophesying and they have power over the waters to turn them into blood, and to smite the earth with every plague as often as they desire."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>9</sup>Heb. 12:22-24. Note C.P.M. Jones "The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Lucan Writings," Studies in the Gospels, Oxford, 1957.

<sup>10</sup>Rev. 2:2, 10; 3:12.

<sup>11</sup>Rev. 11:8.

<sup>12</sup>Rev. 11:6 cp. Ex. 7:14-24; I Kings 17:lff.

The city that is called 'Sodom and Egypt' is clearly the earthly Jerusalem. The 'witnesses' are in the likeness of Moses and Elijah. In Luke's representation these are the "two men" of the Transfiguration.<sup>13</sup> They spoke of his 'exodus' which Jesus was to accomplish at Jerusalem. They might be also the witnesses at the Empty Tomb and at the Ascension. The term *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο* is thrice used in identical form to describe the witnesses; at the Transfiguration, at the Empty Tomb and at the Ascension. It is to be observed that when Luke wishes to speak of angels he normally uses the Greek word *ἄγγελος*. In the passages under discussion he is specifically referring to two men. These two men act in the role of witnesses. The question of the place of witnesses in the Lukan writings has been dealt with elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> We return to it briefly to point out that the threefold reference to a twofold witness is in harmony with the demands of Deut. 19:15. Here is one of the strongest links in the theory of witnesses fully expounded by R. Morgenthauer,<sup>15</sup> though generally we hold the latter to be overstraining his point. Rengstorf finds that the two figures are more than Moses and Elijah. He designates them reliable "scouts" of the Messiah (using Deuteronomy 18:15 and Mal. 3:23 as his references).<sup>16</sup> However we may read Luke's account of the Transfiguration, the Resurrection and the Ascension it is apparent that Luke wanted to write as a witness

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<sup>13</sup>Luke 9:30; 24:4; Acts 1:10. A. R. C. Leaney puts forward the view that the "two men" are Moses and Elijah in each case. *Op. cit.* pp. 71, 167, 291. For comprehensive treatment of Moses-Elijah typology see Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 182. ff.

<sup>14</sup>See Part III.

<sup>15</sup>Die Lukanische Geschichtsschreibung als Zeugnis, Zurich 1948, Pt. I and II.

<sup>16</sup>Op. cit., p. 126.

and therefore took care to give twofold or threefold evidence. He wants his reader to realize that the central facts are well and truly attested. The "exodus" in the transfiguration account appears to be the "exodus" to be accomplished in Jerusalem. The weight which we attach to the word relates to how we interpret Luke's Christology.  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$  is in harmony with Luke's Christology in which central emphasis is placed on the Resurrection which is a prominent theme in the preaching of Acts.<sup>17</sup> For Luke the Resurrection is a miraculous act of God. It corresponds to the deliverance wrought by God when he led Israel out of Egypt by the hand of Moses. Thus it may be summarized that while for Luke Jerusalem was the place of deadly enmity to the Prophet, it was also the locality of the Resurrection and Ascension. The two conflicting elements are linked by the "exodus".

#### b. Exodus Typology and the Prophet Like Moses Tradition

The exodus from Egypt was the basic fact of Israel's history. Luke understands that the resurrection of Jesus (the suffering and death that went before it, and the Ascension and descent of the Holy Spirit which came after it) is the basic fact in the creation of the New Israel, the Church. The Church, therefore, has its beginnings in Jerusalem through the deliverance wrought by the death and resurrection of Jesus. From Jerusalem it goes out into all the world.<sup>18</sup> The

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<sup>17</sup>Acts 2:24; 3:26; 10:40; 13:33, 34, 37; 17:3, 31. Among contemporary commentators Rengstorf points out that for Luke it was important to report that Jesus' 'departure' and 'glory' are intimately bound up. *op. cit.*, p. 125. "Dem Evangelisten ist vielmehr wichtig, dass in dem Bericht, den er weitergibt, Jesu Herrlichkeit und sein Ausgang aufs innigste verbunden erscheinen."

<sup>18</sup>Luke 24:47-49; Acts. 1:8.

new exodus, therefore had universal character. It brought a deliverance to all mankind.

On the other hand, the 'exodus' motif in St. Luke should not be overworked. It needs to be correlated with the Mosaic Prophet tradition. J. Mánek has made a substantial contribution to an understanding of this motif in Luke-Acts but carries the typology beyond solid exegetical ground.<sup>19</sup> He finds a 'new covenant' in Acts 1:4, and makes a clear distinction between an Upper and Lower Jerusalem suggesting that the Risen Christ goes 'from the grave of the lower Jerusalem to the Upper Jerusalem'. The fall of Jerusalem, he suggests, corresponds to the annihilation of the Egyptians. We hold that support for the Exodus typology is in the Transfiguration, the sermons in Acts -- with particular reference to Acts 7 which we have treated earlier,<sup>20</sup> and in certain source-editing in the Passion and Resurrection narratives, but the latter is difficult to establish with precision. Conzelmann does not allow for the conception of Jesus as the prophet like Moses of Deut. 18:15.<sup>21</sup> He admits a 'suggestion of typology' in Acts 3:22, 7:37 but gives it no weight.<sup>22</sup> Neither does he recognize that in both passages the citation of Deut. 18:15 is a key point. He states that Moses' appearance as a prophet in Luke 16:29; 20:28;<sup>23</sup> 24:27, 44; Acts 3:22; 7:37; 26:22; 28:23 is tradition.

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19. Jindřich Mánek, 'The New Exodus in the Books of Luke', *Novum Testamentum*, Vol. II, Jan. 1957, pp. 8-23.

20. See Part II.

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

23. The Levirate Marriage, *Ibid.*, p. 166.

It is agreed that it is not the tradition which connects a New Moses with the giving of a New Torah as might be seen for example in St. Matthew's Gospel.<sup>24</sup> Conzelmann will admit a suggestion of typology in relating Deut. 18:15, 18 to Christ (Acts 3:22; 7:37). He says Luke has simply taken it over from the tradition without reflecting on it.<sup>25</sup> Much depends on how one views the tradition contained in the speeches in Acts. In a recently published essay Edward Schweizer, whose work in this instance grew out of a joint seminar with Conzelmann, concludes that one and the same author has composed the speeches.<sup>26</sup> C. K. Barrett accounting for the repetitive terms in the speeches says:<sup>27</sup>

One cannot doubt that Luke wrote as he did, and what he did, because he believed it to be vital that the Church of his own time should recall and adhere to the preaching of the apostolic age.

We agree with Barrett and have further argued that in the preaching tradition with which Luke worked the portrait of Jesus as a New Moses was strong. We have sought to demonstrate that Luke has reflected on this element and uses it at various points in his record. Because of the limited interest in this motif which Gentile readers would have he has not labelled it. In Acts 7 he does not state it in so many words, 'this Moses' is 'this Christ' but the points of correspondence are too numerous to miss. Both are misunderstood by their brethren. Both are sent by God as deliverers. Both perform signs and wonders. Both are with the *ἐκκλησία* in the wilderness (the latter tradition, we have held, has been employed by Luke as a device to give a unity to his sources compiled in the

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<sup>24</sup>Matt. 5:21f, 27f, 33f, 43f, H.M. Teeple, *op. cit.*, p. 77 makes much of the New Moses motif in St. Matthew.

<sup>25</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 167. n. 3.

<sup>26</sup>"Concerning the Speeches in Acts", *Studies in Luke Acts* p. 214.

<sup>27</sup>Luke the Historian in Recent Study, London, 1961, p. 60



Journey to Jerusalem section of his Gospel.) Each has a mysterious disappearance. With Luke this is to be understood in the Post-Ascension setting when the critics of the believers would be asking, "As for this Jesus, what has become of him?" (CF. verse 40).

Exodus typology is not original with Luke, nor with Paul (though Paul clearly uses Exodus typology in I Cor. 10:1ff),<sup>28</sup> nor with others of the early Church. It is a tradition arising in the Old Testament prophets who came to shape their anticipation of an eschatological deliverance through a Messiah acting in the pattern of the historical Exodus led by Moses. Isaiah 35:4ff, for example, is essentially based on the Exodus story; so also are Isaiah 40:3-5; 42:16; 43:17-19; 48:20, 21; 49:8-11; 51:10, 11; 63:11-13. Exodus events are fundamental to all these prophecies. In Psalm 68 the Psalmist deals with a Messianic deliverance typified in the Exodus from Egypt. Over a hundred references to the Exodus in subsequent Old Testament books give evidence to the central place it had in ancient Jewish thought.<sup>29</sup>

Moreover, Luke enhances the liturgical identification of Passover with the new deliverer. The Passion of our Lord, His suffering and death is recorded as taking place at the very moment when the Jews were celebrating the annual commemoration of the Passover.

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<sup>28</sup>All were baptized into Moses -- they all drank from the supernatural rock which followed them, and the Rock was Christ. '

<sup>29</sup>Cf. H. Englander 'The Exodus in the Bible', Studies in Jewish Literature, Festschrift für K. Köhler, Berlin, 1913, pp. 108-16, and D. Daube, The Exodus Pattern in the Bible.



Luke's briefer and straitened account of the Supper<sup>30</sup> indicates a precise correspondence of timing with the Passover meal. Luke's words are 'And when the hour came, he sat at table'.<sup>31</sup> (*Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα* ); compare with Mark, 'And when it was evening he came with the twelve' (*Καὶ ὀψίας γενομένης ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα* ). The meal commences, in Luke's account, as a Passover Meal with the Master,<sup>32</sup> after supper, sending around a cup of wine. The account moves swiftly, for the next verse indicates taking bread, giving thanks, breaking it and the words "This is my body." If we accept the shorter text as the original, the narrative moves at once to the prediction of the betrayal to which Luke attaches the dispute over greatness, and our Lord's description of Himself as a servant *Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν εἶμι ὡς ὁ διακονῶν* . At the time when every Jew in Jerusalem was identifying himself with the Exodus deliverance using words as '(this is what)' the Lord did unto me when I came

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<sup>30</sup>For a note on the 'Western non-interpolations' see P. Winter, 'The Treatment of His Sources by the Third Evangelist in Luke 21-24', *Studia Theologica*, Lund, 1954, p. 157. That verses 19b, 20 of Luke 22 are not contained in the parent manuscript of Codex Colbertinus, see Kirkpatrick "Luke 22:19b-20," *JTS OS XLVII*, London, 1946, pp. 49-56. The latter generally was supported by Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Lucae*, Berlin, 1904 pp. 121ff, and Lietzmann *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament III* 1, p. 131. The description of the Last Supper in Luke seems to have been based on a pre-Pauline tradition. Paul's account (I Cor. 11:23) was 'received of the Lord'. W. Manson supports shorter text *op. cit.*, p. 242, as does Easton, *op. cit.*, p. 321. For a recent well-argued defence and interpretation of the shorter text see Leaney *op. cit.*, p. 72. Maintaining the longer text is K. Rengstorff *op. cit.*, p. 242, "So wird man besser den überlieferten Text in Kurz nehmen und versuchen, ihn in seiner Merkwürdigkeit verständlich zu machen."

<sup>31</sup>Luke 22:14. Cp. Mark 14:17.

<sup>32</sup>Following W. Manson *op. cit.*, p. 240.

forth out of Egypt',<sup>33</sup> our Lord explained His action as being that of the servant. In the particular exodus which is to be inaugurated through His broken body He is the servant. Luke is letting his readers understand that through His self-giving Jesus is servant of a New Exodus. As the Old Exodus brought into being the Ancient People of God (Deut. 7:6-8; 14:2, Exodus 19:3-6) here is the New Exodus to bring into being a new People of God. The instrument of the New Exodus is He who was proclaimed by the disciples the King who comes in the name of the Lord (Luke 19:38). It is He who having kingly power (Luke 19:12ff.) takes the role of a servant of all. Luke emphasizes for Jew and Gentile alike that Jesus was a king but a king who suffered and served.

#### c. The Evangelist's View of Jerusalem's End

From all of these cases it is to be noted that Luke's sources contained a complexity of attitudes concerning Jerusalem. These are seen in sayings of Jesus, attitudes of the early Church, queries concerning the destruction of the city; and typological, liturgical associations linking the death and resurrection of Jesus in Jerusalem with the historical exodus and passover. These are the milieu behind Luke's record. For the evangelist's own view we must assess his treatment of Mark and, as far as it is possible, discern his editorial

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<sup>33</sup>Exodus 13:8. The rabbis also draw a parallel between the 'first deliverer' (Moses) and the 'last deliverer' (the Messiah). Cp. SBKI, pp. 85ff. Note also 'vaethkanan' The Zohar, Soncino Press, 1941, p. 343.

approach to his own sources.<sup>34</sup> Four passages are of particular interest in the latter connection: (i) Jesus' first appearance in Jerusalem as an infant. (ii) Jesus' final approach to Jerusalem before His Passion. (iii) The parable of the fig tree. (iv) The position and content of the Parable of the Pounds. Looking at these separately: (i) It is notable that while much is made generally of the content and significance of Simeon's speech in Luke 2, comparatively little is said about Anna.<sup>35</sup> To begin with Anna is a prophetess in the city which slays the prophets. She is devout and steadfast and departs not from the temple worshipping with fasting and prayer night and day. (Through Anna) Luke suggests that there were in Jerusalem devout folk to whom she reported: *περὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν τοῖς προσδεχομένοις λύτρωσιν Ἱερουσαλήμ*. In Luke's mind it would appear that there were the devout in Jerusalem who were looking for its redemption (*λύτρωσιν*).<sup>36</sup> Does *λύτρωσιν* here mean liberation from the Romans? Would a prophetess not be concerned more with the deliverance of her community from sin? Could deliverance come to the city exclusive of the nation? To the devout minds, Jerusalem was in need of redemption. It is of interest to note that the Priests of Qumran, also, regarded Jerusalem as defiled. For

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<sup>34</sup>Cp. C. K. Barrett 'Luke the Historian in Recent Study' Peake Memorial Lecture No. 6, London, 1961, p. 23. "The fact is that Luke stands far enough from the historical Jesus to have digested the raw, perplexing traditions which stand in Mark in all their crudity and offensiveness, and to have made of them something less scandalous, and more easily assimilable."

<sup>35</sup>i. e. Wm. Manson, op. cit., p. 21, devotes a page to the significance of Simeon's song. Anna receives only a mention.

<sup>36</sup>This line of reasoning depends upon accepting the reading *Ἱερουσαλήμ* in Luke 2:38 rather than *ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ* or *Ἰσραὴλ*.

them the Jerusalem sanctuary was defiled, its priests false, its calendar unorthodox. In the end days the Essene priesthood would be re-established in the New Jerusalem and the false priesthood would be overthrown forever.<sup>37</sup> According to Luke in the time when Jerusalem is surrounded by armies and her desolation (<sup>ε</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> *ἡ ἐρημωσις αὐτῆς* ) is near disciples are to lift up their heads for their redemption is near.

(ii) Concerning Jesus' final approach to Jerusalem Luke indicates that no preparation has been made by the city to receive Him. In his report of the work of John the Baptist which is that of preaching a baptism of repentance he does not include as do Mark and Matthew that multitudes went out from Jerusalem and Judea<sup>38</sup> to make confession of their sins and to receive the baptism of John to repentance. This tends to add weight to the view that Luke held Jerusalem to be unrepentant. She is not prepared to receive her King. This seems evident again in Luke's account of the arrival of Jesus at Jerusalem.<sup>39</sup> Luke's record indicates that only His disciples shouted a welcome to Him.<sup>40</sup> He represents Jesus as taking possession of the temple, cleansing it and teaching there daily.<sup>41</sup> In Luke's account there is no indication that Jesus entered the city proper until the day of the Passover. He is

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<sup>37</sup>F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 1958, p. 96. A prominent attitude in the Commentary on Habakkuk 2:12, 13 and 17 (Translation by Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 370) esp. "And for what it says, for the blood of a city and violence to a land, this means the city, that is Jerusalem, in which the wicked priest wrought abominable works and defiled God's sanctuary."

<sup>38</sup>Luke 3:3-20 cf. Mark 1:5; Matthew 3:5.

<sup>39</sup>Conzelmann, dealing with Luke's editing here says, *op. cit.* p. 76, "This form of the story cannot be explained from the use of different sources, but is the result of consistent editorial adaptation by the author."

described as teaching in the temple every day but going out to lodge every night on the 'mount called Olivet.'<sup>42</sup> The attitude of the city to Jesus is represented by Luke through the words of the Pharisees when they marked how the whole company of disciples hailed him, "Teacher, rebuke your disciples."<sup>43</sup>

(iii) The Parable of the Fig Tree, as noted in Part III, is a parable concerning Jerusalem. It is linked by Luke to the saying concerning those upon whom the tower of Siloam in Jerusalem fell. Were those who were thus killed worse offenders than all the others who dwelt in Jerusalem? Unless you repent you will all likewise perish.<sup>44</sup> In the parable the 'fig tree' has had its three seasons to bear fruit. The vinedresser makes a final plea on behalf of the fig tree. Since it remains unfruitful after his endeavours, the vinedresser consents to having it cut down. Herein seems to be described the evangelist's theology of Divine Retribution with relation to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D.

(iv) The Parable of the Pounds.

As an editor Luke makes superb use of prefaces. The preface to

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<sup>40</sup>Luke 19:37, cf. Mark 11:9; Matt. 21:8, 9; (John 12:12, 13).

<sup>41</sup>Luke 19:45-47.

<sup>42</sup>Luke 21:37.

<sup>43</sup>Luke 19:39b.

<sup>44</sup>Luke 13:5.

his Gospel as a whole has widespread recognition.<sup>45</sup> The account of Jesus' visit to His synagogue in Nazareth is a preface also to his Galilean ministry.<sup>46</sup> The sending forth of the Seventy has been placed at the beginning of the Journey Section to indicate the universality of application of what was to follow.<sup>47</sup> At the point when the teaching prophet of the Journey to Jerusalem narrative draws near the city, and the disciples believe that He is to come into His Kingdom, Luke places the Parable of the Pounds. In Jerusalem Jesus is to be revealed as a prophet "mighty in deed as well as word."<sup>48</sup> In Jerusalem the

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<sup>45</sup>Note a detailed study of Luke's Preface by H. J. Cadbury, 'The Knowledge Claimed in Luke's Preface', The Expositor Vol. XXIV, London, 1922, pp. 401-420. Cadbury interprets the preface as the author's claim to have been long in such close contact with the series of events which he unfolds as to be possessor of first hand contemporary knowledge about them. Gilmour op. cit., p. 27. 'A fine example of rhetorical balance and periodic structure.'

<sup>46</sup>Note our earlier treatment in Part II. In support cp. C. K. Barrett, op. cit., p. 64 -- "two pieces of Marcan Material are combined by Luke, with other material, in a highly dramatic incident (4:16-30), which anticipates the course of the ministry."

<sup>47</sup>With Conzelmann we hold that 'the journey' is a circumstance necessary from the Christological point of view. Op. cit., p. 65. The Seventy, as we have pointed out earlier represent the elders of Moses and correspond also to the nations. As the new Moses Jesus is making the exodus which Moses could not. Cp. Rengstorf, op. cit., pp. 134-5. Conzelmann's argument that the Christology is derived from 'Jesus' awareness that he must suffer' which is expressed 'in terms of the journey' is weak. Our point of agreement is that the journey has a Christological emphasis, but the point of emphasis is in the relation of the prophet-Christology to the locality where the prophets perish i. e. Jerusalem (Lk. 13:33).

<sup>48</sup>Luke 24:19, Acts 7:22.



prophet is to go to his exaltation and a throne. According to Luke the disciples are expecting *ὅτι παραχρῆμα μέλλει ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναφαίνεσθαι*. In answer to their expectation Luke sets down the Parable. It was to correct the popular notion that Israel's kingdom was to be restored in Jerusalem, and that it was to "appear" immediately as a result of Jesus' action. In the parable the citizens of the noblemen hate him and send a delegation after him saying *οὐ θέλομεν τούτον βασιλεῦσαι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς*. The narrative, however, would stand without this verse 14 which appears to be an addition to the form in which it probably appeared in Q. The parable is an edited form of what appears in Matthew 25:14-30, as the Parable of the Talents. Luke in common with Matthew records the parable as a teaching concerning the Parousia. The position Luke gives the parable, however, makes it part of the approach to Jerusalem. Its end is linked with 'And when he had said this, he went on ahead going up to Jerusalem'. It relates to the meaning of Jesus' action in going to the city. Verse 27 refers back to verse 14. Both verses can be removed to render a meaning harmonious with the Parable of the Talents in St. Matthew. The verses appear as an addition. The Evangelist has added them as an explanation of why Jerusalem was destroyed. The 'enemies' are the people of Jerusalem who would not accept their King and Lord. Their attitude is expressed by the Pharisees when they exclaimed in opposition to the disciples, 'Teacher rebuke your disciples'. The destruction of these enemies is imminent. On the other hand those who accepted Him (His friends) were enabled



to flee when they saw Jerusalem surrounded by armies.<sup>49</sup> For Luke Jerusalem has been destroyed as an act of Divine Retribution for the slaying of Jesus.

## II Oracles Concerning the End of Jerusalem

### (a) The Song of Moses and the Tradition of Moses' Death.

Omitting the question on Levirate marriage (Luke 20:27ff) which has a Deuteronomistic base and to which we shall return, we come to consider the two chief oracles concerning the end of Jerusalem, each of which contains important Deuteronomistic traditions: Luke 19:41-44 and Luke 21:20-24. Three times mentioning the progress toward the city<sup>50</sup> Luke alone records in 19:41-43 *καὶ ὡς ἤγγισεν, ἰδὼν τὴν πόλιν ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτήν, λέγων ὅτι Εἰ ἔγνων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ σὺ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβη ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου. ὅτι ἤξουσιν ἡμέραι ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ παρεμβολοῦσιν οἱ ἐχθροί σου χάρακά σοι καὶ περικυκλώσουσίν σε.*

The verb *κλαίω* implies wailing and sobbing. It is used by Luke concerning the widow of Nain (7:13), the penitent in the Pharisee's house (7:38) and the mourners in the house of Jairus (8:53). The attitude of the city is represented in the Pharisees who asked Him to rebuke His disciples when they cried their "Blessed be the King who comes in the name of the Lord" (verse 38). Nestle's Greek text gives

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<sup>49</sup>Rengstorf *op. cit.*, p. 236, holds that the references to the destruction of Jerusalem do not reflect the time of the events of 68-70 A. D., and that Luke draws upon older sources. It is important to note that Jesus separated his disciples from his own people in preparation for the event ". . . sondern lediglich die Folgerung aus einem religiösen Urteil: Dort das abgefallene Volk, hier die Wenigen, die der Erwählung würdig gewesen sind und deshalb vor dem Untergang bewahrt bleiben."

<sup>50</sup>Luke 19:28, 37, 41.

Deuteronomy 32:29 as a marginal reference to verse 42. Indeed, verses 28-29 of Deuteronomy 32 appear as the possible background to Luke's

report: ὅτι ἔθνος ἀπολωλεκὸς βουλήν ἔστιν,  
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη  
οὐκ ἐφρόνησαν συνιέναι τὰῦτα  
καταδεξιάσθωσαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα χρόνον

Traditions from this Song of Moses of Deuteronomy 32 appear to be behind the saying from Q which followed the transfiguration:

O faithless and perverse generation, how long am I to be with you and bear with you? (Lk. 9:41, Mt. 17:17)

Luke's parable of the Barren Fig Tree agrees well with this theme.<sup>51</sup>

The owner of the vineyard had in mind to cut down the fig tree but the vinedresser interceded. He bears long with the fruitless fig tree, in Luke's understanding Jerusalem. In the same spirit of longsuffering, according to the Song of Moses, Yahweh bears long with the faithless and perverse generation. Verses 26 and 27 of Deut. 32 appear as follows:

εἶπα Διασπερῶ αὐτούς,  
παύσω δὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν,  
εἰ μὴ δι' ὀργὴν ἐχθρῶν, ἵνα μὴ μακροχρονίσωσιν,  
καὶ ἵνα μὴ συνεπιθῶνται οἱ ὑπεναντίοι,  
μὴ εἴπωσιν Ἡ χεὶρ ἡμῶν ἢ ὑψηλή  
καὶ οὐχὶ κύριος ἐποίησεν τὰῦτα πάντα.

The Lord would have made the remembrance of them to cease among

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<sup>51</sup>Luke 13:6-9.

men. In the Deuteronomist's view the Lord's hand of vengeance is stayed lest the enemies of Israel should think that their own hand had wrought the triumph and not His. In verse 29 expression is given to the lack of understanding, the blindness of the people: 'If they were wise they would understand this.' In the same way Luke 19:42 Jesus is recorded as saying 'If you knew in this day, even you, the things belonging to peace' ( *Εἰ ἔγνων καὶ σὺ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην* ) but now they are hidden from your eyes.

Commentators have failed to link these passages from the Song of Moses with the instance in the Deuteronomic tradition which gave rise to the song. The Song was to be written and taught to the people of Israel and put in their mouths 'that it might be a witness for me against the people of Israel'.<sup>52</sup> The speaker in the tradition is Moses. He says further:

And when many evils and troubles have come upon them, this song shall confront them as a witness (for it will live forgotten in the mouths of their descendants); for I know the purposes which they are already forming before I have brought them into the land that I swore to give. Deut. 31:21. R. S. V.

In the source which Luke has at his disposal evils and troubles are predicted for Jerusalem. These predictions are applied as Jesus draws near to his death in Jerusalem. In Deuteronomy 31:14ff. evils and troubles are predicted in association with the death of Moses.

Against the death of Moses and as a witness to God the Song is written.

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<sup>52</sup>Vayelech (Deut. 31:1-30) The Zohar p. 372. Three things are recorded in Scripture as having been made witnesses, namely the well of Isaac, the lot, and the stone which Joshua set up. "This song, however, is the best witness of all," said Rabbi Isaac.

In each of Luke's oracles allusions to the Song of Moses Deuteronomy 32:1-43<sup>53</sup> are found. Deuteronomy is the book of the Old Testament scripture which deals with the death of Moses. If Luke understood that Jesus was the promised Prophet like Moses of Deuteronomy 18:15 it is to be supposed that the evangelist was aware of the traditions concerning Moses' death and of points of correspondence between them and the death of Jesus. In Luke's account of the Transfiguration the matter of Jesus' death in Jerusalem is a focal point. If we begin with the episode following the Transfiguration in which a citation from the Song of Moses appears (O faithless and perverse generation Deut. 32:5) in Luke 9:41 (also Matthew 17:17) Luke offers three more allusions to the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32) as follows:

Luke 13:34b (Matt. 23:37)

Deut. 32:11

<p>Προσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναΐσαι τὰ τέκνα σου ὃν τρόπον ὄρνις τῆν ἑαυτῆς <u>νοσσιὰν ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας</u> καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε.</p>	<p>ὡς ἀετὸς σκεπάσαι νοσσιὰν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς νεοσσοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόθησεν διείσ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μεταφρένων αὐτοῦ.</p>
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Luke 19:42

Deut. 32:28, 29

<p>Εἰ ἔγνων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ σὺ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην. νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβη ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου</p>	<p>ὅτι ἔθνος ἀπολωλεκὸς βουλήν ἐστιν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη· οὐκ ἐφρόνησαν συνιέναι ταῦτα· καταδεξάσθωσαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα χρόνον.</p>
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<sup>53</sup>S. R. Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 344 ascribes the object of the song "to exemplify the rectitude and faithfulness of Jehovah, as manifested in His dealings with a corrupt and ungrateful nation." E. Baumann 'Das Lied Moses (Dt. 32:1-43)' V. T., 1956, pp. 416-424 considers the contrast in the Song as between two elements in God's own people rather than between the people of God and their enemies.

Luke 21:22

Deut. 32:35a

ὅτι ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως αὐταὶ εἰσιν ἐν ἡμέρα ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω  
ἐν καιρῷ, ὅταν σφαλῆ ὁ πούς αὐτῶν

All of these passages involve Jerusalem and relate to the impending death of the Prophet which should take place there. It must be held as a possibility that Luke was compiling from sources which went back to our Lord's meditation upon the Deuteronomic traditions of Moses' death, with particular reference to the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32 and the renewal of the covenant with reference to Moses' death in Deuteronomy 4:23ff, 29:9-21; 31:1-21. If it is held that the basis of the accounts of the Temptations goes back ultimately to our Lord's meditation upon traditions in Chapters 8 and 6 of Deuteronomy, while He underwent a wilderness experience analogous to the forty years' wilderness experience of Israel in preparation for His ministry, it must be held also, as a possibility, that He meditated upon the traditions contained in the closing chapters of Deuteronomy when He approached the last days of His earthly ministry.

(b) The Problem of Sources in Luke 19:41-44; 21:20-24

The general problem of sources in Luke's Gospel has been dealt with in our Introduction. The Oracles concerning the destruction of Jerusalem demand particular attention. It is our view that Luke's

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He says on p. 416 "Der Gegensatz ist, im Liede, nicht Volk und Völker, sondern Freund und Feind Gottes, insbesondere innerhalb seiner Volkes." This view is plausible and deserves further study. Ernest G. Wright I. B. Vol. 2, p. 517 comments on the Song as a whole: "As an interpretation of Israel's history in poetry it can be compared only with Ps. 78, 105, 106, though in many respects it is superior to them. Its atmosphere is that of the prophets and though it is not necessary to assume that its author was actually a prophet, it clearly must have originated in a circle with the same theological convictions."

sources for the Oracles are shaped largely by Mosaic prophecies concerning the end of Israel (and in connection with the death of Moses) as recorded in Deuteronomy, chapters 4, 28-32. This applies particularly to Luke 21:20-24 as we shall note presently. In recent times three eminent British scholars have advanced views serving as bases from which further examination can be made: (i) C. F. Evans: *Luke's Use of the Assumption of Moses*.<sup>54</sup> (ii) C. H. Dodd: 'The Fall of Jerusalem and the Abomination of Desolation'.<sup>55</sup> (iii) P. Winter 'The Treatment of His Sources by the Third Evangelist in Luke 21-24'.<sup>56</sup> We shall consider each contribution separately.

(i) C. F. Evans in his widely read essay, 'The Central Section of St. Luke's Gospel', 1955, drew attention to the possible use Luke made of the Assumption of Moses, a first century document<sup>57</sup> written about A. D. 7-29 in which Moses predicts to Joshua the future history of Israel as far as the reign of Herod, instructs and encourages him and appoints him as his successor. The book emphasizes Moses as a prophet and treats him as a figure of almost superhuman grandeur

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<sup>54</sup>C. F. Evans, op. cit., pp. 39ff..

<sup>55</sup>C. H. Dodd, 'The Fall of Jerusalem and the Abomination of Desolation' The Journal of Roman Studies, London, 1947, pp. 47-54.

<sup>56</sup>P. Winter 'The Treatment of His Sources by the Third Evangelist in Luke 21:24' Studia Theologica Vol. VII-VIII, Lund, 1953-54, pp. 138-172.

<sup>57</sup>R. H. Charles' edition The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Vol. II, Oxford, 1913, pp. 407-424. The book is extant in a single Latin MS. It is recognized as a Palestinian trend in religious thought at the time of Jesus' boyhood or His ministry. A lost Testament of Moses belonging to the work which was originally



and importance. Of him it writes, "Thy sepulchre shall be known from the rising of the sun to the setting", (Assumption of Moses 11:7). Evans' observations lead to the establishment of two possible connections between St. Luke and the Assumption of Moses: Acts 7:36 with Ass. Moys. 3:11 and Luke 19:44 with Ass. Moys. 1:18.

Acts 7:36

*οὗτος ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς  
ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα  
ἐν ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ  
τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἕτη τεσσαράκοντα*

Luke 19:44b (RSV)

because you did not know the hour of your visitation

Ass. Moys 3:11

Moyses . . . qui multa passus est in Aegypto et in mari rubro et in et in heremo annis xl,

Ass. Moys 1:18 (Charles)

that His name should be called upon until the day of repentance in the visitation wherewith the Lord will visit them in the consummation of the end of days.

The Ass. Moys. professes to be a supplement to Deuteronomy for it begins with the statement, 'The Testament of Moses which he commanded . . . in the prophecy that was made by Moses in the book Deuteronomy.'<sup>58</sup> The appearance of borrowing from a book which sets forth Mosaic prophecies is in the first of the oracles under discussion. By its weight is added to the view that Mosaic traditions are behind the oracles prophesying Jerusalem's destruction.

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two volumes is quoted by Greek Patristic writers such as Clement, Origen and others. A fragment of the Testament concerning a dispute over the body of Moses is quoted in Jude 9. The original text was probably in Hebrew or Aramaic. A Greek version appeared in the first century and was translated into Latin not later than the fifth century.

<sup>58</sup>C. F. Evans *op. cit.*, p. 40. Assumption of Moses 1:5.



(ii) Following the view that Luke wrote after the Fall of Jerusalem C. H. Dodd points to separate units of tradition which had a pre-canonical history.<sup>59</sup> He finds Luke 21:20-24 to be such a unit. He holds that Luke 21:20f. is no mere editing of Mark 13:14f. It is probable, he argues, that Luke 21:20, 21b-22, 23b-24, as distinct from the Markan verses which Luke repeats *verbatim*, represents diverse forms which an oracle upon the fate of Jerusalem and Temple assumed in pre-canonical tradition. This oracle has some affinity with the other passages about the Fall of Jerusalem (Luke 19:42-44). He holds that the latter is not a 'vaticinium ex eventu'. The operations described are no more than regular common places of ancient warfare. He points out significantly that in Josephus' report of the Jewish War of A. D. 66-70 there is no mention of the conquerors dashing children to the ground as predicted in Luke 19:44. Inhabitants under the age of 17 were sold into slavery.<sup>60</sup> Professor Dodd notes that the expression *ἔδαφιοῦσίν σε καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου ἐν σοί* is not based on anything which happened 66-70 A. D. It is a common-place of Hebrew prophecy.

Professor Dodd goes on to indicate that the "whole significant vocabulary" of both passages (19:42-44; 21:20-24) belongs to the language of the Septuagint. Through an elaborate display of over thirty Septuagintal texts in which words used in the Lukan oracles appear he shows that the vocabulary of the oracles is characteristic

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<sup>59</sup>*Op. cit.*, pp. 47ff..

<sup>60</sup>Josephus BJ VI, 9 (417).

of the prophetic books. Dodd's conclusion is that the two Lukan oracles are composed entirely from the language of the Old Testament and that the conception of the coming disaster which the author had in mind is a "generalized picture of the fall of Jerusalem as imaginatively presented by the prophets."<sup>61</sup> He argues that as far as any historical event has coloured the picture, it is not Titus's capture of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. but Nebuchadnezzar's capture in 587 B. C. "There is no single trait of the forecast which cannot be documented directly out of the Old Testament."<sup>62</sup>

If we hold that the oracles under discussion are not coloured by any historical event Dodd's views are plausible and corrective. If, however, we hold that the oracles were built up of a variety of thirty or more Old Testament prophecies as Dodd has concluded certain difficulties arise:

- a. Is it possible to trace the origin of a source through the isolation of various words in the source and the discovery of these words in other older sources?
- b. Is a tradition of a 'generalized picture of the fall of Jerusalem' possible?
- c. Can the lexical method of gathering textual evidence apart from the larger theological content in which the words have their context bear the scrutiny of precise historical investigation? This kind of enquiry

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<sup>61</sup>Op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

in Biblical studies and language uses has been investigated with authoritative skill and impeccable logic by Professor James Barr. By the use of manifold illustrations he makes his case: "It is the sentence (and of course the still larger literary complex such as the complete speech or poem) which is the linguistic bearer of the usual theological statement, and not the word (the lexical unit) or the morphological and syntactical connection."<sup>63</sup> Professor Dodd does not make his case succinctly that the words which he isolates from the Oracles and which he finds in Old Testament prophecies are linked specifically with each detail of the oracles, but it is implied that the words are the connection between the Old Testament prophecies and the "generalized picture of the fall of Jerusalem." We will use a crude illustration. This kind of argument is like linking the existence of parts in an auto parts catalogue with a combination of these parts in a certain car. But the car under discussion may be the product of parts of a different manufacture. The parts illustrated in the catalogue were made for a specific purpose i. e. to be used as replacements, not for assembly. A further example may be drawn from Luke's Gospel. In one of his rare citations of an Old Testament scripture Luke records in 22:37 *καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη*. Here we are dealing with a single sentence and not an oracle. Nevertheless it is axiomatic that we are on stronger theological ground by tracing

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<sup>63</sup>James Barr The Semantics of Biblical Language, Oxford, 1961, p. 263 and passim.

back the whole conception of 'one who was numbered with transgressors' than by isolating component words 'ἀνόμως' and 'λογίζομαι', and making an investigation of their occurrences in the Old Testament. The latter far from adding to a correct understanding of the source of the citation would diffuse and pervert it. Assuredly words such as *χάρακα* and *κυκλώση παρεμβολας*, are discovered in Is. 29:3, Is. 37:33 and Jer. 4:1-3 in descriptions of military campaigns. It is no surprise that such words should appear in military descriptions in the oracles under consideration. The case that because they appear in both and because in the former usage they referred predominantly to the attack on Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar they should do so also in the latter stands open to question. It is not axiomatic that the appearance of these words in the oracles under consideration should associate the pictures represented in the oracles with the destruction of 587 B. C. W. Manson holds that the reference to the ramparts and the encircling need not in their present form be later than A. D. 70. He thinks that they are drawn largely from Isaiah 29:3 and Psalm 137:9. In verse 44 *ἐδαφιοῦσιν* may mean 'to lay level with the ground' or 'to dash against the ground'. The comparison with Ps. 137:9 is close. It reads *ἐδαφιῆ τὰ νήπιά σου πρὸς τὴν πέτραν*. If Luke or his sources were greatly influenced by the actual events of 70 A. D. it is unlikely that this aspect of the oracle would have been retained. Titus was humane toward the children, sparing them and sending

them off to be slaves.<sup>64</sup> Professor Dodd, however, is on firm ground by concluding that there is no single trait of the forecast which cannot be documented directly out of the Old Testament. It is more feasible, we would argue, to suppose that the Old Testament tradition behind the oracles is a sturdy main trunk of prophetic utterances which are gathered around a certain personage and event. The main trunk of such prophetic utterances is written in chapters 4, 28-33 of Deuteronomy and is gathered around the figure of Moses (relating particularly to his death) and having to do with the predicted end of Israel as a nation. We can see more clearly the broad trunk of Deuteronomic prophecy carried by Luke's source when we have separated that source from Mark 13. But before doing so, and as a further guide, we turn to Paul Winter.

(iii) Paul Winter has made in recent times a systematic enquiry into the sources of the Third Evangelist.<sup>65</sup> He disagrees with Dodd's conclusion that the whole of the forecast of the destruction of Jerusalem can be documented out of Old Testament prophecies.<sup>66</sup> He holds that the passages of Luke 21:20, 21b, 22, 23 are 'much too intimately connected with the historical situation of the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus to have been written on any other occasion than this.'<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>B. J. op. cit., VI, 9, p. 417.

<sup>65</sup>Op. cit., pp. 138-172.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 151.

Luke's source containing the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem he attributes to a second 'fly-sheet' (in addition to the fly-sheet hypothesis first proposed by T. Colani, 1864 and which was held to explain the basic contents of the little Apocalypse of Mark 13; also influencing writers of 2 Thess. 2:1-12; I Thess. 5:1-11 and Rev. 12, 13, 19, 22) not dealing with the consummation of the whole world but with the particular situation around the year 70 A. D. He refers to Eusebius Ecclesiastical History III. v.2.- 3 and the latter's reference to an oracle that exhorted the believers in Jesus to leave the invested city of Jerusalem for a safe place beyond Jordan.<sup>68</sup> Winter suggests the possibility that the 'fly-sheet' which he proposes may have been an adaptation of the oracle which Eusebius mentions. The strength of Winter's hypothesis lies in his insistence upon an independent source used by Luke which is conflated with Mark 13 by the evangelist in his report of the prediction concerning Jerusalem's destruction. In this Winter is contrary to F. C. Burkitt<sup>69</sup> and follows Dodd<sup>70</sup> and Vincent Taylor.<sup>71</sup> This independent self-sustaining source (that is from the viewpoint of the deposit which remains when the Markan verses are separated out) is of great interest. In it are clustered a number of Deuteronomic traditions. The weakness

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<sup>68</sup>Op. cit., p. 152.

<sup>69</sup>F. C. Burkitt The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I, Vol. 2, London, 1920, pp. 106-120.

<sup>70</sup>Op. cit., pp. 47-54.

<sup>71</sup>Vincent Taylor Behind the Third Gospel, Oxford, 1926, pp. 101-124; also supported by T. W. Manson The Sayings of Jesus, 1949, p. 323.

of Winter's hypothesis is in his certainty that the 'fly-sheet' was composed under the compulsion of the 'particular situation of Jerusalem around the year 70 CE.'<sup>72</sup>

The latter judgment raises questions of importance concerning historical accuracy. Does 'around the year 70' mean June 68 when the attack on Jerusalem began? Does it mean June 69 when the concentrated siege under Titus commenced? Or is it earlier than these dates when the country around Jerusalem was being subjugated and the rebels were being put down in 66 and 67 A. D. ? Of those who date Luke's source unequivocally at 70 A. D. we must ask what are the precise points of correspondence? We are dependent upon a single source of information from one Josephus of doubtful character for such historical data as we possess. Josephus' description of the siege<sup>73</sup> allows one point of correspondence possible with the Lukan Oracles -- the fact that Titus erected a wall around the city.<sup>74</sup> But such was surely the common military stratagem in attacking a city which would offer a prolonged resistance. If Luke's source in 21:20-24 came from an Apocalyptic author of 70 A. D. why did he not make the prediction include at least one specific point of correspondence which would serve as a point of identification? In the siege under Titus there were at least three details with which an eye-witness would be involved to some extent:

<sup>72</sup>Op. cit., p. 152.

<sup>73</sup>Flavius Josephus The Great Roman-Jewish War, edited W. R. Farmer, New York, 1960, Books V,6 - VI,10.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., V, 12, 491ff.



(i) The cruel, unmitigated faction fighting among the Jews. An eyewitness would surely have found this a most significant and distressing fact of the war.

(ii) The stalemate between June 68 and June 69 during which time Vespasian returned to Rome and was proclaimed Emperor. By this time the whole surrounding country, Samaria, Peraea, Idumaea and the coast region of Judaea was subjugated.<sup>75</sup> The instruction concerning 'those who are inside the city' and 'those who are out in the country' (Luke 21:21b) could not with any purpose have been written after this time.

(iii) The horrifying famine and cannibalism. Josephus takes pains to vindicate his quotation of the number of Jews imprisoned within the city reporting an investigation by one Cestius, an informer of Nero, who requested the high priests to find the number of sacrifices for the passover. The number was found to be 256,500. Allowing for a company of not less than ten for each sacrifice and discounting those who were impure, and foreigners, one arrives at the absurd number of some three million persons within the city. Other details which one might have expected Luke to include, should he have found them in his source, were such important things as the fact that the city had three protecting walls and that each was captured in stages, and that there were massive separate fortifications of the Temple which did not fall until the end of the siege.<sup>76</sup> No such details appear in Luke's oracles

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<sup>75</sup>Cambridge Ancient History Vol. X, Cambridge, 1934, pp. 859-862.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., VI, 9, 419ff..

for he did not find them in his sources. He must further have been writing with considerable restraint concerning anything involving the destruction of Jerusalem. At the time of his writing there were many living witnesses, Romans who had been in active combat, younger Jews who had been made slaves after the city fell and doubtlessly others who had first-hand information from Roman or Jewish sources.

Two minor aspects bear mentioning: (1) The Christians in the Jerusalem community had fled early in the struggle. By the time that the city was surrounded in the spring of 68 they were away safely to Pella. The fact that they acted unanimously in this manner argues for an authority of long standing and undisputed recognition. A contemporary 'fly-sheet' would probably not have gained unanimous support of the Christians. (2) The flight to Pella -- beyond Jordan, a Greek city -- suggests that the Christians desired to be out of the land and out of Jewish territory. This would seem to suggest that they may have been acting upon Luke 21:21. *τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη*

Finally, in relation to sources for the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, it is extremely important that we realize the limitations of our historical knowledge of the siege when seeking to fix a date. More documentary evidence may be forthcoming from the Dead Sea caches. Such evidence as may be gained from the seventy scrolls discovered in March 1961 concerning the ill-fated Second

Jewish Revolt of A. D. 132-5 (and its leader Simon ben Kochebah) may possibly cast new light on the rebellion of 66-70 A. D. and lend valuable assistance in solving the problem of the date of Luke 19:41-44 and Luke 21:20-24. It is to be regretted that Conzelmann dismisses as unsuccessful<sup>77</sup> the work of Taylor, Dodd and Winter with regard to the reconstruction of a non-Markan source in Luke 21:20-36. He admits that the result of Taylor's reconstruction of non-Markan material is impressive,<sup>78</sup> but holds that verses in Luke 21 such as 21b, 22, 25b, 26a and 28 can be considered as examples of Lukan interpretation.<sup>79</sup> Rengstorf, on the other hand, holds that the passage under surveillance is created from Mark, Q and a different source.<sup>80</sup> He does not see in Luke's source that which is of the nature of late Jewish apocalyptic in which the future must be revealed in detail. Rather he sees a source which urges the apostles to be prepared for the future in order to stand up to it.

Turning now to details of the Oracles:

Luke 19:42-44. The Oracle begins with an allusion to Deut.

32:28, 29 *ἐὶ ἔγνωσ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ σὺ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην*

If Luke's sources contain an allusion to a meditation on the Song of Moses with particular reference to verses 28 and 29

<sup>77</sup>Op. cit., p. 125. Leaney also sees no need to look for evidence for a separate source. Op. cit., p. 261.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>80</sup>Op. cit., p. 233.

ὅτι ἔθνος ἀπολωλεκὸς βουλήν ἔστιν,  
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη.  
οὐκ ἐφρόνησαν συνιέναι ταῦτα  
καταδεξάσθωσαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα χρόνον.

the *καὶ σὺ* may refer to Jerusalem as the key point in the history of the nation which is reviewed in the Song. If you (Jerusalem and all that went with Jerusalem; temple, priesthood, great Sanhedrin) had been wise you would have understood and received wisdom for your latter end. Would that even today you knew the things for peace! The most significant point in the oracle is surely the prediction that Jerusalem will be destroyed by enemies. The erection of a wall to surround a besieged city, violence, putting old and young to the sword were common to ancient warfare and familiar to our own generation. Such information as we have of the actual destruction of the city suggests, as we have noted, that the civil war within was as disastrous as the Roman Forces without. The prediction stands of itself and need not have been influenced by the events of 70 A. D..

The Oracle ends with the phrase *τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου*. This is of interest as it may have been based on a Mosaic saying from the Assumption of Moses which, as we have seen, was a supplement to Deuteronomy. Moses declares in it that 'the time of the years of my life is fulfilled.' He commands that his words be kept

'that His name should be called upon until the day of repentance in the visitation wherewith the Lord will visit them in the consummation of the end of days'.<sup>82</sup> Such a passage harmonizes well with Deut. 32:29. The visitation in the end of days fits with 'If they were wise -- they would consider their latter end.' The expectation of a visitation is to be noted in the Qumran literature. There are allusions to a visitation in the Manual of Discipline 1 Q S, 3:17-25

God created men to rule the world and He established two spirits by which (men) would walk until the time appointed for His visitation (i. e. Last Judgement): these are the spirits of Truth and Deceit (or Wickedness).<sup>83</sup>

The word for visitation *ἐπιδοκότη* in canonical scriptures is a neutral term implying neither blessing nor punishment. It is used in the sense of blessing in I Peter 2:12, Gen. 1:24, Job 29:4, Eccles. 18:20. It does not appear in the New Testament in the sense of visiting with punishment, but it appears in the LXX in Exod. 3:16; Is. 10:3, 29:6; Wisd. 14:11; Jer. 10:15 in an unpleasant sense.

### III The Tradition of a Divine Retribution

Of extreme weight in Deuteronomy 28 and 29 is the tradition of Divine retribution which will be brought against an Israel in disobedience and apostasy. Verse 15 of Chapter 28 reads:

But it shall come to pass that if you will not listen to the voice of the Lord your God, to observe all his commandments, as many as I charge you this day, then all these curses shall come on you and overtake you. (LXX)

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 415.

<sup>83</sup>See F. M. Cross The Ancient Library of Qumran, 1958, p. 157.

The writer continues to enumerate the evils which shall come upon Israel if she does not heed the voice of the Lord God. The speaker in the tradition is Moses. The curses are set down in ascending order of dreadfulness. She shall be cursed in the city, and in the field, in the offspring of the body, in the fruits of the land and in the herds.<sup>84</sup> There shall be want and famine, pestilence and disease and the drought. Israel shall be given up before her enemies and dispersed in all the kingdoms of the earth (verse 25). There is then a repetition of the consequences of disobedience:

And all these curses shall come upon you, and shall pursue you, and shall overtake you, until he shall have consumed you, and until he shall have destroyed you; because you did not hearken to the voice of the Lord your God, to keep his commandments and his ordinances which he has commanded you. (LXX)

The narrative continues

And (these things) shall be signs in you, and wonders among your seed for ever; because you did not serve the Lord your God with gladness and a good heart, because of the abundance of all things. (LXX)

Beginning with the words in verse 48

And you shall serve your enemies which the Lord will send forth against you, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in the want of all things.

the tradition contains the description of a horrifying siege brought by a nation from the extremity of the earth, 'like the swift flying of an eagle, a nation whose voice you shall not understand'. The cattle and the fruit of the land shall be eaten up. The cities of the land shall

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<sup>84</sup>Note our analysis of the woes of Luke 6 as parallel to Deut. 28 made in Part II.

be crushed utterly and the high and strong walls shall be destroyed. The narrative continues through the account of famine and affliction so acute that humans are eating their offspring. (cp. Josephus, Jewish War VI, 4.)

(a) Luke 21:20-34. Distress to come on Jerusalem

How far may it be determined whether Luke or his sources were influenced by the Deuteronomic tradition of divine retribution with regard to the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem recorded in Luke 21:20-24? There are echoes of Deuteronomy in the narrative. The 'days of vengeance' *ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως* (verse 22) may refer to Deuteronomy 32:35. Secondly, 'and be led captive among all nations' *καὶ ἀχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα* verse 24 may be an echo of Deuteronomy 28:64. It is well to examine these:

The passage begins in the present indicative. Whenever you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that the destruction of it is near. Verse 21 follows Mark 14b. Verse 22 departs from Mark and Matthew giving the addition 'for these are the days of vengeance, to fulfil all that is written.' Verse 23 again follows Mark 13:17 for the first half of the verse. The last half retains something of Mark's content but localizes the thought of the universal tribulation. This may be followed by examining the parallels as set out by Albert Huck.<sup>85</sup>

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ὅταν οὖν ἴδῃτε τὸ βδέλυγμα  
 τῆς ἐρημώσεως το ῥηθὲν διὰ Δα-  
 λ τοῦ προφήτου ἑστὸς ἐν τόπῳ  
 ᾧ, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω,  
 ἵτε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέ-  
 σαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 ματος μὴ καταβάτω

ἴδραὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐ-  
 τῆς, καὶ ὅ ἐν τῷ ἀργῷ μὴ ἐπι-  
 εψάτω ὀπίσω ἴδραὶ τὸ  
 τιον αὐτοῦ. οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς  
 γαστρὶ ἔχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλα-  
 ζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις.  
 προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γένηται  
 συγῆ ἡμῶν χειμῶνος μηδὲ σαβ-  
 ατοῦ ἔσται γὰρ τότε  
 ἡμεῖς μεγάλη, οἷα οὐ γέγονεν  
 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου

ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐδ'  
 μὴ γένηται καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολο-  
 βωσαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι, οὐκ ἂν  
 ἦ πᾶσα σὰρξ. διὰ δὲ τοὺς  
 κλοβῶ-  
 νται αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι.

ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃτε τὸ βδέλυγμα  
 τῆς ἐρημώσεως

ἑστηκότα ὅπου οὐ  
 δεῖ, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω,  
 τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέ-  
 τωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 δώματος μὴ καταβάτω μηδὲ εἰσελ-  
 θάτω τι ἄραι ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν μὴ ἐπι-  
 στρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἴδραὶ τὸ  
 ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ. οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς  
 ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλα-  
 ζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις.  
 προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γένηται  
 χειμῶνος

ἔσονται γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι  
 ἐκεῖναι θλίψις, οἷα οὐ γέγονεν  
 τοιαύτη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἢ  
 ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἕως τοῦ νῦν καὶ  
 οὐ μὴ γένηται. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολό-  
 βωσεν κύριος τὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἂν  
 ἐσώθη πᾶσα σὰρξ. ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς  
 ἐκλεκτοὺς οὓς ἐξελέξατο ἐκολόβω-  
 σεν τὰς ἡμέρας.

<sup>20c</sup> ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃτε κυκλουμένην  
ἐπὶ στρατοπέδων Ἱερουσαλήμ,  
 τότε γινώτε ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμω-  
 σις αὐτῆς.

21. τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέ-  
 τωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ δι' ἐν μέσῳ  
 αὐτῆς ἐκχωρεῖτωσαν, καὶ εἰ ἐν ταῖς  
 χώραις μὴ εἰσερχέσθωσαν εἰς αὐ-  
 τήν, <sup>22c</sup> ὅτι ἡμέρας ἐκδικήσεως αὐ-  
 ταί εἰσιν τοῦ πλησθῆναι πάντα  
 τὰ γεγραμμένα. <sup>23</sup> οὐαὶ ταῖς  
 ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλα-  
 ζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις

ἔσται γὰρ ἀνάγκη με-  
 γάλῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄργῃ τῷ  
 λαῷ τούτῳ, <sup>24</sup> καὶ πρесоῦνται στό-  
 ματι μαχαίρης καὶ ἀχμαλιωποθή-  
 σονται εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα, καὶ  
 Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔσται πατούμενη ἐπὶ  
ἔθνων, ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καὶ  
ροὶ ἔθνων.

Leaving out the verses which Luke holds in common with Mark it is seen that the special Lucan material of itself makes a complete narrative:

But when you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that its desolation has come near . . . and let those who are inside the city depart, and let not those who are out in the country enter it; for these are days of vengeance, to fulfil all that is written . . . . For great distress shall be upon the earth and wrath upon this people; they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and be led captive among all nations; and Jerusalem will be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled. (Luke 21:20-24, omitting verses common to Mark).

When Jerusalem is surrounded by armies its desolation has come near. This is a sign of violence. It is a sign in Luke unlike the esoteric 'abomination of desolation' of Mark 13:14 (cp. Matthew 24:15). It is a sign of judgement carried out by enemies. The *ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως*, days of vengeance, is given the reference of Deuteronomy 32:35.<sup>86</sup> Deuteronomy 32:35 reads in LXX

*ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω  
ἐν καιρῷ ὅταν σφαλῆ ὁ πόνος αὐτῶν.  
ὅτι ἐγγύς ἡμέρα ἀπωλείας αὐτῶν  
καὶ πάρεστιν ἔτοιμα ὕμῖν.*

Hosea 8:7 and Jeremiah 5:29 are given as additional references.<sup>87</sup>

Both have to do with retribution but neither fit as closely as the Deuteronomic reference. In Hosea the context deals with Israel's

<sup>86</sup>B. & F. Bible Society Edition 1958, p. 257.

<sup>87</sup>Hosea 9:7 reads: The days of punishment have come  
The days of recompence have come  
Jeremiah 5:29 reads: Shall I not punish them for these things says  
the Lord

And shall I not avenge myself  
On a nation such as this.

unfaithfulness -- with judgement coming as the result of Israel playing the harlot and forsaking God. The context of Jeremiah 5:29 deals with the iniquities which have turned the people away from following Yahweh. The Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32 on the other hand reviews the story of Israel, alluding tenderly to its beginnings: The Lord cared for him as the apple of his eye, maintaining him in the wilderness and burning thirst.<sup>88</sup> Like the eagle fluttering over its young, taking them upon its back so the Lord led Israel.<sup>89</sup> But Israel having fed upon honey and butter, oil and wine grew fat and forsook the God that made him.<sup>90</sup> Therefore the Lord said, 'I will turn away my face from them, and will show what shall happen to them in the last days.'

Verse 20b LXX. The Song continues with a description of the kinds of evil the Lord will bring upon Israel. This passage between verse 20 and verse 35 would appear to be a recapitulation of the tradition of the curses of Deut. 28. There is the consumption with hunger<sup>91</sup> and *ὀπισθόστονος ἀνίατος* irremediable destruction. There is the sword and the terror, the young man perishing with the virgin, the suckling child with the old.<sup>92</sup> There is a reference to a recapitulation in verse 26 which begins *εἶπα Διασπερω αὐτούς* I said, 'I will scatter them. I will cause their memory to cease from among men, were it not for the wrath of the enemy, lest they should say, Our

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<sup>88</sup>Deut. 32:9, 10.

<sup>89</sup>Deut. 32:11, 12.

<sup>90</sup>Deut. 32:15.

<sup>91</sup>Deut. 32:24.

<sup>92</sup>Deut. 32:25.

own high arm and not the Lord has done all these things.<sup>93</sup> They are a nation lacking in counsel and understanding. Verse 29 is linked with Luke's record of Jesus weeping over Jerusalem (Luke 19:42).<sup>94</sup> The next four verses are a commentary on the Lord's dealings with the enemies; how they had been delivered up to the Lord, how they served other gods and bore only bitter fruit. Verse 34 reads 'Behold are not all these things stored up by me and sealed among my treasures?'<sup>95</sup> The bitterness and poison of the enemy are the treasures of the Lord which He may draw upon to afflict and punish His people. This then, is the context in which verse 35 appears.

In the day of vengeance I will recompense,  
 In the time whenever their foot shall slip  
 For the day of their destruction (is) near to them  
 And the judgements at hand are close upon you.

*Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδίκησεως* appears to be a reference back to Deut. 28.

It is remarkable that the second half of the verse bears resemblance to Luke 21:20, *ὅτι ἐγγύς ἡμέρα ἀπωλείας* compares with *ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς* in that both refer to a destruction and a point when that destruction will be near. It may be argued that Luke's source, therefore, has as the tradition behind the description of the destruction of Jerusalem two allusions<sup>96</sup> to the Song of Moses

<sup>93</sup>Deut. 32:26, 27 A. R. V. <sup>94</sup>Deut. 32:28. <sup>95</sup>Deut. 32:34.

<sup>96</sup>Deut. 32:11; 32:29 (see page 14)

To us vengeance means almost solely requital out of an angry and vengeful spirit. This is not the connotation of the Hebrew word. The latter designated God's zealotness in dealing justly with people and nations. To the enemies of God vengeance meant punishment for their wickedness. To the repentant vengeance meant salvation. Cp. G. E. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

prior to the citation of verse 35; and that in verse 20 of Luke 21 further allusion to verse 35 is probable.

Concerning now the second reference in Luke's description *αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα* which is to Deuteronomy 28:64. This verse needs to be interpreted in terms of a tradition concerning the nation's end. In reference to the 'days of vengeance' Luke records that these are *πλησθῆναι πάντα* "to fulfil all that is written." What scriptures are relevant? What had been written concerning the end of Israel as a nation? At this point particularly, Luke's account differs from Mark and Matthew. Luke's account deals especially with wrath upon the land *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄργη τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ* and upon the people rather than the universal tribulation marked out by Mark and Matthew. References in Zech. 12:3, Isaiah 63:18 and Daniel 8:10 are prominent possibilities and bear examination.

Zechariah 12:3 reads:

And in that day I will make Jerusalem a trodden stone to all the nations; all who lift it shall grievously hurt themselves. All the nations of the earth will come together against it. (LXX)

The reference is to a conflict brought against Jerusalem by other nations. The thought of it being trodden down is clearly here but there is no amplified description of a siege such as is found in Deuteronomy.

Isaiah 63:18 reads:

The holy people possessed thy sanctuary a little while;  
our adversaries have trodden it down.<sup>97</sup>

The principal thought here is that of the treading down of the sanctuary or temple by the adversaries of Israel.

Daniel 8:10 reads:

And it magnified itself to the host of heaven and there fell to the ground (some) of the host of heaven and of the stars and they trampled on them. (LXX)

The latter is taken from a vision of Daniel of the he-goat and its horns and power. These references do not fit well the description of a catastrophe that shall come upon Israel -- the land and the people with particular reference to Jerusalem, which is in Luke's description. The verses in Deuteronomy 28 preceding verse 64 in which the scattering among all nations is cited are of such closeness to the description of the destruction of Jerusalem that they justify

<sup>97</sup>The text of the first clause is corrupt as LXX and Vulgate show. The literal reading is 'For a little (while) they have possessed Thy holy people,' or 'for a little while Thy holy people have possessed' -- the object being 'sanctuary' (v. 18b). The LXX has 'mountain' for 'people'. According to the second reading the verse would imply that the people of Israel were in possession only a short time when the enemy destroyed the temple. The historical context is difficult to establish, if we accept this reading. From the time of Solomon to 587 B. C. is not to be called 'a little while'. On the other hand there is no evidence that Zerubbabel's temple was desecrated before the year 168 B. C. in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. E. J. Kissane The Book of Isaiah, Vol. II, 1943, p. 298-9 accepts Vol z's reading, 'why have tyrants possessed thy holy people' but he would substitute 'city' for 'people'. He suggests that the Hebrew 'people' and Greek 'mountain' may both go back to an original reading of 'city'. Another reading which would meet historical considerations is J. Bewer's supported by J. Muilenberg L. B. Vol. 5, p. 738, 'It is only a short time ago that our enemies dispossessed thy holy people'. This is close to the M. T. Both are conjectural. R. S. V. uses the reading we have used.



reproduction at length:<sup>98</sup> (Cp. Josephus' account below)

The Lord shall bring upon you a nation from the extremity of the earth, like the swift flying of an eagle, a nation whose voice you shall not understand; a nation bold in countenance, which shall not respect the person of the aged and shall not pity the young. And it shall eat up the young of your cattle, and the fruits of your land, so as not to leave you corn, wine, oil, the herds of your oxen, and the flocks of your sheep until it shall have destroyed you; and have utterly crushed you in your cities, until the high and strong walls be destroyed, in which you trusted, in all thy land; and it shall afflict you in your cities, which he has given to you. And you shall eat the fruit of your body, the flesh of your sons and of your daughters, all that he has given you in your straitness (siege) and in the affliction (distress) which your enemies shall afflict you.

The man who is tender and very delicate within you will look with an evil eye upon his brother, and the wife of his bosom, and the children that are left which may have been left to him; so as not to give to one of them of the flesh of his children, whom he shall eat, because of his having nothing left him in your siege and in your affliction with which the enemy shall afflict you in all your cities.

And she that is tender and delicate among you, whose foot has not ventured to set upon the ground for delicacy and tenderness, shall look with an evil eye upon her husband in her bosom, and her son and her daughter, and the after-birth that comes out between her feet, and the child which she shall bear; for she shall eat them because of want of all things, secretly in the siege and in the affliction with which your enemy shall afflict you in your cities. (Free translation from LXX) verses 49-57.

It can be argued that the description in chapter 28 could describe, in general, any severe siege. As far as it is known the numbers of sieges in which famine became so acute that humans took to eating

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<sup>98</sup>Josephus, *The Jewish War* VI 4 (205 ff.) "She then attempted a most unnatural thing, and, snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she said, 'O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee in this war, this famine, and this sedition? As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us even before that slavery comes upon us. Yet are these seditious rogues more terrible than the other. Come on; be thou my food, and be thou a Fury to these seditious varlets, and a by-word to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews. As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and then roasted him, and ate the one half of him, and kept the other half by her concealed."



their offspring are probably quite few. Yet this is strictly the kind of siege described in the tradition. This aspect of the tradition is possibly behind the saying common to the synoptic record of the parousia, retained by Luke 21:23 (Cp. Mark 13:17, Matt. 24:19),

*οὐαὶ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις*

Alas for those who are with child and for those who give suck in those days.

The saying takes a deeper significance if the cause for the expression of woe upon these two individuals in the society, the pregnant woman and the nursing mother, arises from the thought that they may be eating their offspring, secretly 'for want of all things'.

Luke alone reports the great distress upon the land and wrath upon this people. The wrath recorded may be an allusion to Deuteronomy 29:28 *καὶ ἐξῆρεν αὐτοὺς κύριος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἐν θυμῷ καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ παροξυσμῷ μεγάλῳ σφόδρα, καὶ ἐξέβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς γῆν ἑτέραν ὡσεὶ νῦν.*

There are therefore these supporting allusions to the Deuteronomic traditions of the end of Israel, which lead on to verse 64 of chapter 28:

*καὶ διασπερέει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἀπ' ἄκρου τῆς γῆς ἕως ἄκρου τῆς γῆς, καὶ δουλεύσεις ἐκεῖ θεοῖς ἑτέροις, ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις, οὓς οὐκ ἠπίστω σὺ καὶ οἱ πατέρες σου.*

The whole of the passage in Chapter 28 ends with the call to remember the covenant:

These are the words of the covenant, which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel, in the Land of Moab, besides the covenant which he made with them in Choreb. (Deut. 29:1.

In Chapter 29 reference to 'the curses of this covenant which are written in this book' appear twice.

(b) Times of the Gentiles

'Times of the Gentiles' has been a phrase to create many conjectures on the part of commentators.<sup>99</sup> If however, the reference to scattering among the nations is derived from Deut. 28:64 it is not difficult to observe an apt reference to a return of the scattered in the first five verses of Deut. 30: (Israel returns from times with the Gentiles)

And it shall be that when all of these things have come upon you, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before your face, and you call them to mind among the nations, wherein the Lord shall have scattered you, and return to the Lord your God, and obey his voice in all things which I charge you this day, with all your heart and with all your soul; then the Lord shall heal your iniquities, and pity you and gather you again out from all the nations among which the Lord has scattered you. If your dispersion be from one end of heaven to the other, from there the Lord your God will gather you, and from there he will fetch you; And the Lord your God shall bring you into the land which your fathers have inherited, and you shall inherit it.

(c) Post-exilic Judaism and the Tradition of *Σιασπορά*

Before turning to three additional possible Deuteronomical traditions in Luke 21 in verses 25, 26 and 34 it is of importance to

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<sup>99</sup>Plummer, op. cit., p. 483: Seasons for executing Divine judgements, of possessing the privileges which the Jews had forfeited. Each nation has its *καρπός*. Relates to Tobit 14:5. See also Creed op. cit., p. 257. Easton, op. cit., p. 312 'The saying is based on such passages as Daniel 8:13f, 12:7, 11f, and means 'time of the Gentiles' barbarous rule". W. Manson, op. cit., p. 234 'The period of the Gentiles' is the period when the heathen power as the executor of judgement will work its savage will on impenitent Jerusalem (cf. Daniel VIII, 13-14, XII 7 etc.).'

observe that post-exilic Judaism held to the 'main trunk' of Deuteronomic prophecies when tracing the cause of the ill fate of Jerusalem in 587 B. C.. At any rate Nehemiah, upon whom the responsibility of the rebuilding of Jerusalem was laid, traces its destruction to the fact that the people had dealt corruptly against God and 'have not kept the commandments, nor statutes, nor the judgements' (Deuteronomic injunction) which were commanded by Moses.<sup>100</sup> Nehemiah draws attention to the prophecy of Deut. 28:64, and 4:27 in which Moses was remembered as commanding 'If you transgress I will scatter you abroad among the nations'.<sup>101</sup> He recalls to mind also Deut. 30:1-5 saying

But if you turn unto me, and keep my commandments, and do them; though there were of you cast out unto the uttermost part of the heaven, yet will I gather them from thence (Deut. 30:4), and I will bring them unto the place that I have chosen to set my name there.<sup>102</sup>

It is of interest to note that Nehemiah does not return to a prophecy of Jeremiah, or to Hosea or Isaiah when contemplating the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem. He turned to the words of Moses and the Deuteronomic Law. He turned back to the 'main trunk' of prophetic utterance dealing with a predicted end of the nation coming about as a consequence of transgressions.

Verse 25a of Luke 21 *ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἄστροις* bears a possible Deuteronomic influence which cannot be labelled but deserves

<sup>100</sup>Nehemiah 1:7.

<sup>101</sup>Nehemiah 1:8.

<sup>102</sup>Nehemiah 1:9.

mention. The order of *ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἀστροῖς* is the order and corresponding objects of Deut. 4:19 *καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας*. The grouping appears unique in the Old Testament and comes in a chapter of Deuteronomy in which we have found other relationships with Luke's source.

'The roaring of the sea and waves' which recurs in the latter half of verse 25 may have a source common to a Qumran Hymn.<sup>103</sup> (Cp. Ps. 64:8 LXX).

Those who dwell in the dust were like those who go down to the sea, terrified because of the roar of its waters.

Verse 26 *ἀπὸ ψυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ φόβου* may have its roots in Deut. 28:67 *ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου τῆς καρδίας σου ἀφροβηθήσῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δραμάτων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν του* Leaney would suggest Deut. 28:28 as a reference.<sup>104</sup> Again such a reference falls in a passage in which other relationships with Luke's source have been found. The means of linking the passages are not possible. However as Deuteronomy 28 has lent itself to Luke's source we must not rule out the possibility that 'men's (hearts) fainting with fear' is derived from 'the fear of thine heart which thou shalt fear' which the Lord will send as a climax of the curses in Deut. 28. In addition to other references noted in chapter 28 of Deuteronomy it is important to keep before us the fact that Luke appears to have used the form of litany of Blessings and Curses

<sup>103</sup>Gaster, T., The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect, p. 140, III, 3-18.

<sup>104</sup>Op.cit., p. 262.

(Deut. 28:3-6; 16-19) for his form of the Beatitudes and woes (Luke 6:20-22; 24-26).<sup>105</sup> This lends support to our contention of a relationship between Luke and Deut. 28.

(d) The Lukan Ending (verse 34)

Take heed to yourselves *Προσέχετε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς* is an oft-repeated Deuteronomic saying.<sup>106</sup> Its meaning generally denotes keeping watch, preserving, or it may mean "be on one's guard."<sup>107</sup>

The latter would seem to be the meaning in Deuteronomy 4:9; 4:15 and 4:23 *Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ καὶ φύλαξον τὴν ψυχὴν σου σφόδρα καὶ φυλάξεσθε σφόδρα τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν πρόσεχετε ἑμῖν μὴ ἐπιλάβησθε τὴν διαθήκην*

The case that Luke or his source was specifically influenced by the Deuteronomic usage of this saying is difficult to make unless there are other points to give it support. Keeping before us the tradition of Moses' death as the background of Luke's source for the account of Jesus' death one sees in the opening and closing chapters of

<sup>105</sup> See our Part III p. 83.

<sup>106</sup> Three times in chapter 4. ( *קָשׁוּ - קָשׁוּ* ) also 5:23, 6:12, 8:11, 11:16; 12:13, 19, 30, 15:9.

<sup>107</sup> *קָשׁוּ* the Hebrew verb means to keep, watch, preserve; be on one's guard. Gesenius, *op. cit.*, p. 1036.

In an article on this chapter Adam C. Welch, "The Purpose of Deuteronomy, Chapter IV" *E.T.* Vol. 42, 1930-31 declares the chapter made up of gathered fragments put together by a collector. He makes a distinction between verses 10-28 (which he calls the Plural Account) and which relate to Chapter V and verses 29-39 which he calls a supplement (in the latter the writer refers to hearers in the singular). The theme throughout is that Israel must not worship Yahweh under any visible form. Yahweh spoke directly out of the mount. The direct revelation was the decalogue. The people are to take heed and obey the commandments that they might live long.

Deuteronomy points of preparation for that death. The opening chapters of Deuteronomy contain the record of Moses, having led his people to the promised land, instructing them concerning their inheritance in the new land. They are to take heed and not forget the covenant (4:12). They are to take heed to themselves lest they act corruptly. When they see the sun and the moon and the stars, they are not to go after them. They are to remember that they have been brought out of the iron furnace, out of Egypt. There is the reminder that Moses must die in the land from whence he is speaking. He must die but they must go over and take possession. They must take heed to themselves lest they forget the covenant.

Again the argument cannot be conclusive. It is significant that the phrase as an admonition occurs three times in a chapter of Deuteronomy which is a recapitulation of the covenant with reference to Moses' impending death. It refers to the preparation necessary for the people so that they should remain faithful in the day when he is taken away from them. This corresponds well with the Lukan usage, coming as it does with reference to the parousia and appealing to disciples to be faithful. Twice it is associated with the heart in Deut. 4:9 and 4:15. This is the association in Luke 21:34.

IV Deuteronomic Traditions in Luke's Source

It will be helpful at this point to draw together by way of synopsis the many Deuteronomic traditions which appear to be clustered together in Luke's source in Luke 21:20-34. It is necessary to separate out the Markan portions for none of the Deuteronomic traditions appear in Mark 13 unless the reference to the 'woe upon those who are with child and those who give suck' has a Deuteronomic origin (which is a possibility, cp. Deut. 28:56, 57). In doing so we can find no better model than Vincent Taylor's. The steps by which Taylor isolates the non-Markan portions of Luke 21:20-30 are so carefully made and his reasoning so logically and clearly displayed that for our purposes we simply refer to his monumental work Behind the Third Gospel to chapter IV and part (2) 'Unity of non-Markan Portions', 108

(But when ye see) Jerusalem compassed with armies  
(then know that her desolation is at hand).

And let them that are in the midst of her depart out;  
and let not them that are in the country enter therein

For these are days of vengeance, Deut. 32:35

that all things which are written may be fulfilled

For there shall be great distress upon the land Deut. 28:20ff.

and wrath unto this people. Deut. 32:16ff.

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<sup>108</sup>Op. cit., pp. 101-125 especially p. 113.



And they shall fall by the edge of the sword,

and shall be led captive into all nations:

Deut. 4:27;  
28:64.

and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles,

until the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled.

Deut. 30:1-5

And there shall be signs in sun and moon and stars;

Deut. 4:19

and upon the earth distress of nations,

in perplexity for the roaring of the sea and the billows;

men fainting for fear, and for expectation of the things

which are coming upon the world.

Deut. 28:28; 67.

But when these things begin to come to pass,

look up, and lift up your heads;

because your redemption draweth nigh.

But take heed to yourselves,

Deut. 4:9, 15, 23

lest haply your hearts be overcharged

Deut. 8:12-14.

with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life

and that day come on you suddenly as a snare:

for so shall it come upon all them that dwell

on the face of all the earth.

But watch ye at every season, making supplication,

that ye may prevail to escape all these things that shall

come to pass

and to stand before the Son of Man.

Such an array of Deuteronomic traditions appear to present themselves that one must conclude that verse 22b *τοῦ πλησθῆναι*

*Πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα* refers with strong possibility to what is written in Deuteronomy 4, 28, 32 which passages we have been considering and which cluster around the figure of Moses with particular relation to his death and deal with those things which should befall Israel when he is gone. All of this leads to the conclusion that the prediction concerning Jerusalem is connected with Deuteronomic prophecies concerning the nation. Jerusalem was typical of the nation. The destiny of the nation had been declared by its founder. The scriptures of Deuteronomy were the witness. A faithless and perverse generation would meet with disaster and dispersion. The avenger would be God Himself. This is the tradition embedded in Luke's source. Jerusalem was in 'desolation' at the time when Luke wrote. There was only one reason. Jesus had predicted days of vengeance. That Luke considered his source 'accurate' and genuinely reporting our Lord's words may be seen from the way in which he has conflated it with Mark which at this point he considered also to be genuine. Conzelmann's point is well taken when he suggests that 'Luke abandons the symbolism of Mark's setting according to which Jesus speaks from the Mount of Olives 'over and against' the Temple'.<sup>109</sup> Luke represents him giving the eschatological speech in the Temple. The destruction of the temple had been predicted. The awe-stricken disciples had asked for a sign. Luke's source contained something more tangible than the hasty apocalyptic picture

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<sup>109</sup>Op. cit., p. 125.

of catastrophic confusion in common circulation in our Lord's time. The sign was that of 'surrounding armies'. But the battle was to be a Divine battle of vengeance. H. Gollwitzer has written well of the situation.<sup>110</sup> The disciples must know that in the war to come the question of invincibility of town and temple is of no avail. "Denn es wäre ein Kampf gegen Gott selbst, der hier durch das Schwert der Heiden gegen Jerusalem streitet. . . ."

The questions preceding the eschatological discourse in Luke have to do with what Moses wrote concerning the Levirate Marriage and its relation to Jesus' doctrine of the resurrection, and to the Davidic Messiah. In Deuteronomy 25:5ff. it is commanded that if brothers dwell together and one of them dies, and have no child, one of his brothers shall marry his wife and the firstborn son of this marriage shall bear the name of the deceased. The object of the question by the Sadducees who did not believe in the doctrine of the resurrection was to make the belief in the resurrection look ridiculous and in this manner also to make the Master who believed in the resurrection look ridiculous. In Luke's treatment of the answer the reference to 'the scriptures' is omitted. The attention is focussed on the person of Moses himself and not on the scriptures he wrote. The narrative continues with the passage concerning the Son of David. Our Lord questions in this passage, repeated also in Mark and Matthew, the validity of the Son of David Messianic category. It is more implicit

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<sup>110</sup>H. Gollwitzer Die Freude Gottes, Berlin, 1952, p. 260.

than explicit that the shadowy 'Son of David' category is not sufficient to explain the Messiah's work from Jesus' point of view. Luke represents the Risen Christ after the resurrection interpreting to the two who travelled to Emmaus a Messiah who should suffer. In doing so He began with 'Moses'.<sup>111</sup> J. Jeremias is on firm ground when he concludes that the Messianic conception of a prophet like unto Moses of Deuteronomy 18:15 has little place in official Rabbinic thought of late Judaism, but that such a conception enjoyed popular support in unofficial circles.<sup>112</sup>

Ordinary prophets like Jeremiah and Ezekiel had in their days predicted the destruction of Jerusalem. No ordinary prophet had predicted the wrath that should come upon 'a faithless and perverse generation'. Moses had made that prediction himself. The New Moses saw how it would be fulfilled. It is noteworthy that Josephus' record of the end of the siege of Jerusalem reports Titus' own words as follows: "We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications, for what could the hands of men or any machines do toward overthrowing these towers."<sup>113</sup> It was through Deuteronomy that Israel's cultus had made its home and centre in Jerusalem. It was in a main trunk of Deuteronomic prophetic tradition that the destruction of Jerusalem appeared imminent.

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<sup>111</sup>Luke 24:27.

<sup>112</sup>See Kittel T W N T, Vol. IV, 1942, pp. 864ff.

<sup>113</sup>Josephus op. cit., VI, 9, (410).

Conclusions

In Luke's own view the destruction of Jerusalem had been brought about because it had rejected Jesus. In Jerusalem 'the Prophet' had made His Exodus and in so doing brought about a new deliverance. Exodus typology in Luke is to be understood in connection with the Prophet like Moses tradition. The case for a pre-canonical history of a source predicting the fall of Jerusalem is strong. This source which is readily isolated from Mark contains a cluster of Mosaic prophetic utterances from the passages of Deuteronomy which relate to Moses' death and forewarn the nation concerning what should come about when he is gone. There is no good reason for supposing that the source does not contain original words of Jesus based upon these passages in Deuteronomy.

PART SEVEN

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSIONS

In the first part of our study we noted that St. Luke has gained the center of interest in the Biblical research field. This paper has been an attempt to grasp St. Luke through a sub-stratum which appears in Luke-Acts -- the Deuteronomic traditions. The study, however, inadequate, leads at least to some tentative conclusions. The influence of Deuteronomy is great ---much greater than some might anticipate.

The vehicle most useful to us in seeking to understand how Luke was motivated appears to be typology centered in the person of the prophet of Deut. 18:15, 18. That Luke understands that Jesus fulfilled the expectations of the Prophet like Moses is discernible at a few strategic points:

(1) The Mosaic Prophet in the sermons of Acts 3 and 7.

In each of these sermons we have observed that Deut. 18:15 is basic. Moreover, Acts 3 is the sermon of a Jewish Christian. Acts 7 is the sermon of a Gentile Christian. The prophet like Moses theme is in each. It is in the Gentile Christian's sermon, however, that the Wilderness motif accompanies the prophet like Moses theme. This gives some support to the conclusion that the Wilderness tradition of the Pentateuch was widely used in the early Church as a type. If the wilderness theme had a broad recognition, is it too unreasonable that Luke should plan to use it as a literary device for the Central section of his Gospel? If he has done so, and we



think that he has, his portrait of Christ in this section, at any rate, ought to reveal echoes of Moses, and the Deuteronomic teaching. We conclude that it does.

In Luke-Acts the stress upon the figure of Moses fails to notice the law giving function. The stress is on the deliverer. H. Teeple has pointed this out from studies of Acts 3 and 7. He omits what seems to be another link which is in Luke 24:24.<sup>1</sup> We have not dealt at length with the latter passage but agree with F. Gils that it be taken as complementary to those in Acts which identify Jesus with the prophet like Moses.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The Character of the Prophet like Moses has been a useful way of approaching what is embedded in the prophet which Luke portrays as the foreshadow of Jesus. There are prophetic elements. There are priestly elements, there are kingly elements. There are the servant elements. Without forcing the case these are elements in Luke's portrait of Jesus which we may readily associate. It is not clear that Luke's material was purposely shaped this way, or that particular Mosaic traits were being followed but they seem to be there when Luke is compared with the other Synoptics.

Working from a different perspective, W. D. Davies<sup>3</sup> has so neatly expressed our findings in this area that we can do no better

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., pp. 74, 86ff., 124.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>3</sup>W. D. Davies, The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount, Cambridge University Press, 1964, p. 117.

in summing them up than to present his words:

Each period reflected in the Old Testament seems to have pictured Moses in its own image, so that he emerges as priest, sage and, possibly, as king, in addition to being humble mediator and intercessor. But it is as a prophet that he appears most clearly. He became a type of the prophet to come (Deut. xviii. 15), even though it is asserted that none after him could surpass him (Deut. xxxiv 10-12).

Because the prophetic and Mosaic features of Christ's life and teaching in the synoptics have been for such a long time in eclipse there are still many who resist the parallels. On the other hand the current number of articles and books on the theme testify to a renewed interest. One of the most enlightening statements comes from an Old Testament scholar, G. von Rad. We quote it because it summarizes some of our conclusions.

In the wide-ranging Deuteronomistic theology there is one almost uncanny passage where Israel's situation before God seems to become almost identical with that of the New Testament church. In Deuteronomy, too, the word of salvation addressed to Israel stands in relief against the background of a mediatory suffering and dying. Deuteronomy sees in Moses the unique prophet; he is the pre-eminent mediator. . . . Thus Deuteronomy sees in Moses the only one who was really exposed to the wrath of God. For the sake of the salvation of Israel he alone was excluded from salvation. How close Deuteronomy comes here to the New Testament conceptions of the vicarious suffering and death of Jesus Christ, but again we must say; Moses is not Christ.<sup>4</sup>

In Luke's Jerusalem narrative there are points of correspondence between the Deuteronomistic tradition of Moses' death and the death of Jesus. The mediatorial character of the dying Christ is presented more clearly by Luke than by the other Gospel writers for he alone

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<sup>4</sup>G. von Rad., Ancient and Living Word, pp. 9-10.

records the 'Father, forgive them' passage (23, 34). And was not this the kind of supplication being made by Moses as represented three times in Deuteronomy 9 when Israel had become an enemy of Yahweh? The Song of Moses (Deut. 32) is echoed in Luke's narrative following the Transfiguration (9:41) and in the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem (19:42).

### (3) Conscious or Unconscious Dependence on Deuteronomy

One of the chief difficulties of our research has been to establish how much Luke, or his source, is consciously dependent on a Deuteronomic tradition and how much was unconsciously so. This is particularly illustrated in Part Three. A type of example is the account of the rejection at Nazareth. Isaiah 61 is quoted but it appears to have originated from the Deuteronomic tradition of release in Deut. 15.

In Luke's account of the Election of Disciples one must question whether the Evangelist conceived consciously of a likeness of Deut. 1:13, 23 in Jesus' choice of the twelve. We conclude only tentatively that it may be so.

When we look at the style in which Luke presents the Beatitudes we seem to be on firmer ground. The hypothesis that Luke presents the Beatitudes and Woes in the pattern of the Blessings and Curses of Deut. 28:2-6; 16, 17 has been arrived at independently. The only scholar, in our research, who raises the possibilities of a parallel (though from his viewpoint the comparisons are drawn with St. Matthew) is W. D. Davies.<sup>5</sup> He concludes that "neither in order

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<sup>5</sup>. Op. cit., p. 60.

number, content nor audience is there any real parallel."<sup>6</sup> This is not the case with St. Luke's Blessings and Curses for here there is a parallel in order, number and provisionally at least, in content. While it is true that Blessings and Curses were a common feature of first century Judaism the marked difference from St. Matthew's order may find adequate explanation in that Luke is following a more Deuteronomic sequence. The reasoning for this conclusion is to be sought in an accumulation of smaller facts: a. There is the "hear you him" emphasis of the Transfiguration found in the Synoptics. By general agreement this is from Deut. 18:15. In Luke's arrangement the Deuteronomic emphasis is stronger -- for the Journey teaching section of his Gospel follows under this heading. b. There is the word  $\xi\epsilon\delta\alpha\varsigma$  in the Transfiguration which can only be interpreted correctly when these other Deuteronomic factors are considered. If Jesus is the Prophet like Moses promised in Deut. 18:15, he must be involved in an "exodus." Jerusalem is the place of his exodus. It is an exodus bringing deliverance. It is arrived at through a Wilderness Journey.

(4) The Central Section -- a Wilderness Teaching Journey.

The sending out of the Seventy is a Mosaic act. Luke is probably preserving an act of Jesus which was done to typify the Prophet like Moses: The return of the Seventy is particularly

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

Deuteronomic, alluding to a wilderness journey with 'serpents and scorpions.' Throughout the whole of the eight chapters (in our modern texts) the reader is never permitted to lose the impact of Mosaic teaching and particularly Deuteronomic tradition. Sometimes a two verse incident recalls the reader to the figure of Moses and his teaching. Allusions to Deuteronomy are so plentiful that we must concede the section to be a kind of Christian Deuteronomy as Evans has called it. This "Christian Deuteronomy" is not determined so much by order of material (however as Evans has proposed) but by manifold Deuteronomic traditions given again and again in relation to the figure of Moses.

(5) Trials and Temptations.

We have set the examination of the temptations later in sequence of the material under study so that we might be able to reflect back more knowledgeably on the total plan of Luke's Gospel. The general conclusion is that there is much more of Deuteronomy in the narrative than the simple quotations. The order of the Temptations is in harmony with the progress of Jesus' ministry from Galilee to Jerusalem. The motif here is not so much the prophet like Moses as it is Israel in the Wilderness. Conzelmann's interpretation of Luke's plan of a time of salvation in which Satan is far away is sound.

(6) The Jerusalem Narrative.

The predicted end of Jerusalem as described in St. Luke could

well be founded on the prediction of the end of the nation as described in Deuteronomy. There is a parallel in relating the end of the Nation with the death of Moses, the end of Jerusalem with the death of Jesus. There is too much here to suggest mere coincidence. Luke seems to be borrowing on a Deuteronomic background. When Mark is separated out of Luke 21:20-28 there is a cohering narrative. Within this narrative which remains there is a cluster of Deuteronomic traditions.

In this paper with its many deficiencies we hope that some useful strand of evidence has been brought to light, some hint of a direction which needs further exploration. In some cases we may have strained at the material to create argument. In other cases we may have missed obvious relationship between Luke and Deuteronomy. The area of research in this area must continue to be open.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

B J R L	Bulletin of John Rylands Library
C A P	Charles' Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
D S S	Dead Sea Scrolls
E T	Expository Times
H D B	Hastings Dictionary of the Bible
I B	Interpreter's Bible
J B L	Journal of Biblical Literature
J Q R	Jewish Quarterly Review
J T S	Journal of Theological Studies
K T W	Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch (sometimes TWNT)
L X X	Septuagint
M T	Masoretic Text
N T	New Testament
N T S	New Testament Studies
O T	Old Testament
S B K	Strack-Billerbeck Kommentar
S J T	Scottish Journal of Theology
Z A W	Zeitschrift für die Altes Testamentliche Wissenschaft

The R S V Revised Standard Version of the Scriptures has been used throughout - except where otherwise indicated.