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LUKE'S USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN LUKE 22-23

VOLUME II

by

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Ph.D. Thesis

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CHAPTER XI

LUKE 22:63-65: ABUSE AT THE HANDS OF ENEMIES

Introduction

It is now the turn of Jesus' adversaries to treat him as a common criminal. He suffers unprovoked physical and verbal abuse. By Luke's placement of this incident Jesus' innocence and the irony of the experience of undeserved punishment come to the fore. Isaiah 53:12/Luke 22:37 is coming to its fulfilment. Still, the way in which Luke shows the OT fulfilment is not through the expected allusion. We need to explain why he does not take over the language of the Servant Songs as Mark has given it. Positively, we shall see the use Luke does make of the OT language of rejection and what LXX style, if any, adorns his presentation.

If word count alone were decisive, then the six words of twenty-seven which Luke has in common with Mark would show that Mark is probably not the basic source for this narrative.¹ The linguistic analysis of such a short passage, which has evidently been thoroughly reworked by Luke, however, cannot give a totally convincing verdict by itself. When it is accompanied by the recognition of the many differences in content, as well as the basic difference in setting, then it becomes apparent that a non-Markan source is basic at this point. The mockery takes place before and not after the Sanhedrin hearing.² Those who mock are

¹Taylor, *The Passion Narrative*, p. 79; Taylor further points out that two of the six words in Mark are textually doubtful: *καὶ πρὸς καλῶν τε καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑπόσπονδο* (Mk. 14:65) is omitted from Western-D; it^a, ^f; syr^s; Alexandrian cop^{bo}; cf. Grundmann (p. 417), who says that the text variant at Mk. 14:65 (*χαρτέ τις ἐστίν ὃ ἡδίστος σε* : Caesarean-U; θ; f¹³; Byzantine-W; X; and many other mss; cf. Lk. 23:64, *τις ἐστίν ὃ ἡδίστος σε*) shows that Mark and Luke were originally independent of each other.

²Loisy (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, II, p. 612) explains that the change in setting is due to a desire to fill the time during the night and facilitate the movement of the narrative as it advances from the Sanhedrin hearing to Pilate's judicial proceedings. However, Luke does not give a close accounting of the time lapses during that night so we are not aware that he feels a need to fill any gaps. Although admittedly the removal of mockery from the end of the Sanhedrin hearing does smooth the transition between the two trial scenes, Loisy does not explain why Luke has changed the personnel and their purposes in mocking Jesus.

members of the arrest party charged with guarding Jesus (22:63), not the members of the Sanhedrin (Mk. 14:64ff.). The action they take against Jesus is buffeting and verbal abuse (Lk. 22:63-65). Mark reports more specific actions, such as spitting on Jesus (Mk. 14:65). The purpose of the command to prophesy may be different, especially if the blindfolding detail in Mark is not authentic. For Mark, then, it would mean "Play the Prophet now!" Luke relates that the strikers want Jesus to use supernatural power and tell despite his blindfold who is striking him.¹ The differences in the description of the mockery might be explained as part of Luke's making milder the harsh treatment portrayed in Mark.² Yet this explanation is not totally satisfying for Luke's use of δέρω and the question, "Who struck you?" still indicate that physical abuse was part of the mockery. There seems to be no good reason why Luke would desire to relieve the Sanhedrin members of responsibility (cf. Lk. 22:52; Ac. 3:13ff.; 13:27ff.), and in so doing change the time and personnel in the mockery. The more probable explanation of these differences is to suppose that Luke is using a different source at this point.³ Mark 14:65 possibly influences him at Lk. 22:64.

¹Catchpole, p. 175.

²Cadbury, The Style, p. 94; Contrast Schneider, p. 41.

³Catchpole, p. 180; He further argues that Luke's failure to take over Mark's allusion to the Servant Songs is an indication that he did not use Mark as his basic source. We have already seen in a number of instances (e.g. 22:21-23; 31-34) that, though Luke's non-allusion may be due to the use of another source, this explanation only pushes the task of explaining a non-allusion one step further back in the compositional process. We must answer why the allusion made so little impact on Luke as he read Mark. Why was it of so little consequence to him that he could choose to set aside Mark as his basic source and as a result fail to reproduce the allusion? It is only an argument from silence which says, if Mark were Luke's basic source he would not have omitted the allusion. For, this is in essence what he has done at an earlier stage in the compositional process when he chose to use non-Markan material as his basic source instead of Mark; cf. above, pp. 191, 194, 238.

Old Testament Allusion

Two elements in the mockery by the Sanhedrin court (Mk. 14:65)

have been understood as OT allusions. The physical abuse of being spat upon in the face and being beaten is part of the suffering of the Servant

(Mk. 14:65 cf. Mt. 26:67, ἐμπτύειν... ῥαπίσασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον

Is. 50:6, τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας μου εἰς ῥαπίσματα (contrast the MT, וְהִנֵּה
וְהִנֵּה)... τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνῃς ἐμπτυμάτων).¹

Several elements in the blindfolding incident have had their origin attributed to the experiences of the suffering Servant (Is. 50:5; 53:3).²

Since the first allusion does not appear in Luke we must find explanations for his non-allusion. The second supposed allusion must be tested.

The simplest explanation for the non-allusion is again Luke's choice of sources.³ But as we have seen this reason does not really answer the question positively.⁴ Are there other reasons in Luke's general approach to the sufferings of Jesus and their relationship to Scripture which would make the description in Lk. 22:63-65 more suitable to him than Mk. 14:65? Since we have seen that Luke's literary source is other than Mark,

¹Dodd (Historical Tradition, p. 31) lists it as one of his testimonia; Bultmann (History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 281) says that Is. 50:6 has colored Mark's account; Contrast Suhl (p. 59) who does not see it as an allusion in Mk. or else Mt. would have made more of it. He suggests it is only part of the presentation of Jesus as martyr.

²Weidel, ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 232; Maurer, ZTK, L, p. 8.

³Catchpole, p. 180; Boismard, II, p. 409; Gundry, The Use of the OT in Mt., p. 61.

⁴Schneider (p. 100) reasons that since Luke chose another source his omission of the Markan allusion was not a conscious one as it would have been if he were working with Mark as his basic source; This reasoning must assume that Luke was not conscious of the allusion when he chose to follow one source instead of another. Such an argument from silence does not help to clarify our understanding of Luke's thinking. Certainly the distinction between unconscious disregard and purposeful avoidance of an allusion can not be maintained by stating that the former attitude applies to allusions which occur in a source which at a given point Luke has not chosen to reproduce and that the latter attitude applies to allusions which Luke has chosen to eliminate from material which is his basic source. Luke's choice of a non-Markan source over Mark involves just as much of a purposeful avoidance of a Markan allusion as if he chose to eliminate it from Mark when it serves as his basic source.

explanations¹ which are based on Luke's reworking of Mark either from an interest in probable history or simply an ignoring of the allusion are not helpful.

As we have noted before, Luke's presentation of the mockery is set before the trial so that it may be seen to be thoroughly unprovoked and undeserved. This promotes the theme of Jesus' innocence, which is part of the outworking of the fulfilment of Is. 53:12/Lk. 22:37. Luke then chooses to show that Isaiah 53 is being fulfilled not through the method of allusion to another Servant Song but through promoting his general theme.² Another explanation might be Luke's desire to soften the physical abuse rendered to Jesus. Although the fact of physical abuse is not removed altogether (contrast Mk. 15:17-20a which is not present in Lk.; but cf. Lk. 22:63-64), it is described in more general terms. Luke does not take up the details of physical abuse which Jesus gave in his most specific passion prediction (18:31-34/Mk. 10:32-34). He does not describe the events which fulfill them in those terms (cf. Mk. 14:65). Rather he takes one general term for mockery and focuses the suffering of Jesus by repeating it throughout the narrative (ἐμπροσθέν Lk. 22:63; 23:11, 36; cf. Mk. 15:20). The cluster of OT ideas concerning the suffering of the Servant of the Lord whether he be a judge, prophet, the righteous man, or the Isaianic servant, seem to provide the source for Luke's representation of Jesus' suffering. Theological themes not OT allusion is his method of presentation.

The suggestion that the original source of the blindfold incident is not historical recollection but Is. 53:3 does not make sense of the gospel evidence. It must immediately claim that the allusive intention of the detail was not understood by Mt. or Lk. They proceed to expand and rationalize the incident, turning an allusion to the suffering Servant into a game of

¹Karnetzki, pp. 215, 249.

²Schneider, p. 100; cf. above, p. 290.

mockery.¹ There is no verbal parallelism in Luke.² The material parallelism is not altogether clear even in the unrationalized Markan account. The MT may be fairly well deciphered to mean, "as one from whom men hide their faces."³ Only by a tortured exegesis of that statement could one arrive at an understanding that the guards fulfilled the Scriptures by covering the face of the one from whom they were supposed to be covering their own faces. The LXX, however, does leave some room open for understanding the activity of covering as being done to the Servant by his contemporaries. The passive verb ἀνέστραπτον without an explicit agent of the action translates the noun ἄστρον. The subject is τὸ πρόσωπόν μου αὐτοῦ (ὁ ἰσ.). Conceivably, his contemporaries could turn away his face from them by a blindfold, just as more probably the Servant turns himself away. But even if the LXX opens the way for building a blindfolding incident upon Is. 53:3, the purpose of the blindfolding or averting the face in the two instances is quite different. In Isaiah such a disfigurement of the Servant has taken place that shame forces a hiding of the face. In the gospel account the hiding of Jesus' face might be for the purpose of trying to shame him but it is not because his appearance is revolting. The material parallelism does not hold up. Since there are historical precedents which make such a "Blind Man's Bluff" diversion by the guards understandable,⁴ it is not necessary to assume that the OT is the origin

¹Weidel, ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 232.

²Ps. 68(69):8, ἐκάλυψεν ἐν τροπῇ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου, has closer verbal parallelism to the synoptic accounts, περικαλύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον (Mk. 14:65; Lk. 22:64 without τὸ πρόσωπον), but the material parallelism cannot be maintained. Though both involve suffering of shame and mockery, in the psalm, hiding one's face is the sign of shame which the sufferer feels; in Luke, the blindfolding is part of the mockery intended to bring shame on Jesus; cf. P. Benoit, "Les outrages à Jésus Prophète (Mc xiv 65 par.)," Neotestamentica et Patristica, ed. W. C. Van Unnik (Suppl. to NovT, VI; Leiden, 1962), p. 97.

³cf. the literal renderings of Theodotion and Symmachus, καὶ ὡς ἀποκρυβῇ πρόσωπόν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

⁴Benoit (Neotestamentica et Patristica, p. 95) cites Pollux,

of these details.¹ The OT may have played a part in influencing the way the events were described. It may also have served as a control on what details were remembered. Still, the process of handing on the tradition involved both historical recollection and the understanding of prophetic fulfilment.² For Luke the relationship between the OT and these events must be sought in the area of his use of OT ideas.

Old Testament Idea

Two approaches to discovering how Luke relates this aspect of Jesus' suffering to the OT are to look at the distinctive OT ideas contained in the verbs of abuse: ἐνέταλσαν, δέποντες (22:63); παίοντες (22:64); and

Onomasticon IX:113, 129; D. L. Miller ("EMTALLEIN: Playing the Mock Game" (Luke 22:63-64), JBL, XC (1971), pp. 309-313) presents an imaginative but illfounded analysis of the perikope. He takes the word ἐμπαίσειν to have a double meaning, "to mock" and in older usage "to enter a cultic dance or cultic marriage" (Euripides, Bacchae, 806). While the guards mock they actually are acting out the significance of the life-giving function of Jesus' suffering. They mock now when he is blindfolded and show by that their own blindness to the salvation in their presence. They mock when the blindfold is removed and salvation is fully revealed as Jesus hangs on the cross. Thus the blindfolding is not simply a game but a mythic drama concerning salvation. Though ἐμπαίσειν is used in both contexts cited (Lk. 22:63; 23:36), there is, as Miller himself admits no instance in Hellenistic or Biblical Greek where ἐμπαίσειν means other than mock. If Luke wanted to portray myth by this incident he probably would have chosen words which would have clearly pointed out the deeper meaning of the events.

¹Maurer's (ZTK, L, p. 8) suggestion that the command to the blindfolded Jesus to prophesy (Mk. 14:65) comes from Is. 50:5, "The Lord God has opened my ear," also fails to be fully convincing. There is no verbal parallelism. The material parallelism, however, is somewhat clearer than in the case of Is. 53:3. "Opening the ears" was one of the ways that the OT described prophetic revelation (e.g. 1 Km. 9:15; 2 Km. 7:27). Thus, this encouragement to prophesy (Mk. 14:65) corresponds with the Servant's proper task. The main difference is that in the OT this task is looked on positively as one enabled by God. In the Gospels the direction is given in derision. Mt. and Lk. (on the theory that he used Mk.) do not take this theme up, but in the mockery twist the supposed allusion into a description of an isolated mocking of Christ. This raises the suspicion that the allusion was never intended by Mark in the first place.

²Strauss, p. 657; Benoit, Neotestamentica et Patristica, p. 97.

βλασφηημοῦντες (22:65),¹ and to ask whether one OT figure, the suffering prophet, the suffering Servant, the suffering righteous man of the Psalms, or the martyr of Jewish literature is presented consistently throughout the account.

Luke begins his description of the mockery with two general terms for abuse, ἐμπνίσω and δέρω. The latter occurs only 3X in the LXX (Lev. 1:6 A and Bcorr text; 2 Ch. 29:34; 35:11 B-text). In each case it denotes the priest's action of flaying the sacrificial animal into parts as it is prepared to be cooked. We could take this word as an indicator of the sacrificial context in which the death of Jesus is to be viewed (2 Ch. 35:11 does describe the flaying of the Passover lamb). However, the rest of the Lukan context does not suggest such an understanding. The only possible OT significance which might be seen in this word must be based on Jesus' previous use of it in a parable (Lk. 20:10, 11/Mk. 12:3, 5). Presumably, those servants who are sent to the vineyard and are beaten by the wicked husbandmen represent the OT prophets (cf. Lk. 13:34). Jesus suffers such scourging as one of God's servants (cf. parallel treatment of Jesus' followers, Ac. 5:40; 16:37; 22:19).

That δέρω should be seen in such a context is strengthened by the OT significance of ἐμπνίσω. We have already noted how Luke uses this word repeatedly throughout his narrative to relate the mockery which Jesus experiences (Lk. 23:11, 36). The two OT and Jewish contexts in which this word might be understood are the treatment of prophets (2 Ch. 36:16) and martyrs (1 Macc. 9:26; 2 Macc. 7:10). The main difference between derision directed at a prophet and that directed at a martyr consists in the claims which each has made about his relationship with God. The prophet claims

¹The other verb of abuse, τύπτω, occurs in a text variant which appears to be in its various forms both an assimilation to Mark and an explanatory expansion of a quite brief and slightly cryptic shorter reading; the text variants are: after περὶ καλῶν ψαυτέων αὐτοῦ add ἐτυπτον αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον: Caesarean-θ; f¹³; Byzantine- most uncials including A; W; Γ; Δ; 135; add τὸ πρόσωπον ἐτυπτον αὐτὸν καὶ: Caesarean- f¹; Western- D; others- 063; 0124 (cf. Mk. 14:65).

to speak for God. When the disobedient people hear the message and do not believe it, they mock the prophet, "To claim such a message comes from God is to show you are no prophet at all." With regard to Jesus, it is the role of prophet which now has been thrust on him by those who have observed his ministry. He is in the power of the enemies of God who now demand some supernatural proof of God's presence with him. But the prophet cannot produce the proof on command. Thus he is mocked (Lk. 23:11, 36). The martyr claims to live righteously under the blessing of God. When he is in the hand of the enemy, they mock him asking where is the great God who should come to deliver his faithful witness out of such a fate. The verb ἐμπαίζω is used for mockery in the first sense in Luke (cf. 14:29; 23:11, 36). It should be pointed out that mockery directed at the individual who is not able to be what he claims to be is not limited in Luke to the claims of a prophet as Lk. 23:11 and 36 show. The command to the blindfolded Jesus (23:64), however, shows that it is the claims of the prophet which are involved in this particular mockery scene. Although this word and its cognate ἐμπαγωγμός (cf. 3 Macc. 5:22; 2 Macc. 7:7) are quite popular in the portrayal of the mockery directed at martyrs, we cannot conclude that every time the word is used it points necessarily to a martyrdom context.¹ With the difference in content between the mockery directed at Jesus and that aimed at the martyrs, as well as the presence of the command to prophesy, we believe that a martyrdom context is not demanded by the use of this word at Lk. 22:63.

The question to the blindfolded Jesus includes the verb, πάλω. The OT meaning, "to be smitten by the wrath of God, as punishment," (e.g. Jer. 37(30):14; Is. 14:6; Lam. 3:30) could be remotely attached to its usage here. It would then reinforce the theological theme that Jesus' sufferings have universal significance. They are the wrath of God visited

¹ Contrast TDNT, V, pp. 635ff.

on the innocent one to bring salvation. This is, however, probably to read too much theological significance into a mocking jest which asks simply, "Prophecy! Who is it that struck?" "God" is not the expected answer.

The conclusion of the mockery says that the guards spoke many other things to him, reviling him ($\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\varphi\eta\mu\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, Lk. 22:65). It has been proposed that this usage should be taken in the LXX sense of "to blaspheme God" (cf. 4 Km. 19:4, 6, 22; Da. 3:96(29); Is. 52:5; 2 Macc. 10:34; 12:14).¹ However, there is nothing in the context which indicates that claims have been made for Jesus' divinity which could now be blasphemously mocked. The placement of the incident before the trial removes any foundation for that meaning of the verb. Another suggestion is that since the LXX usage denotes those who doubt the reality of the saving power of God, the Christian use of the term in connection with the doubting of Jesus' messianic claims is quite appropriate.² Luke's use of $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\varphi\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ includes both references to blasphemy against deities (Lk. 12:10; Ac. 6:11; 19:37; 26:11) and reviling directed at men (Lk. 22:65; 23:39; Ac. 13:45; 18:6; cf. Demosthenes, LI 3, 66' εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβλάσφημον). It is not possible to maintain that every time the term is employed in the second way there is also the implication that God is being blasphemed. Still, it is interesting that more often than not the content of the reviling has to do with either the message of God's salvation (Ac. 13:45; 18:6), or the messianic claims of Jesus (Lk. 23:39). Again it is the context which must define the content. The context around Lk. 22:65 provides little evidence to show that such a Christian usage built on the LXX is the proper background here. Yet, the very presence of the term in conjunction with the command to prophecy may

¹cf. Bornhäuser (p. 88), who claims that such a sense is reasonable after Jesus' confession of divinity in the Sanhedrin trial. Its presence proves that Luke's version also originally came after the trial since it presupposes that confession.

²TDNT, I, pp. 621ff.

indicate to us that Luke intends the mockery against the Lord (22:60-61) to be understood as of the same quality as blasphemy against God.

In the preceding discussion about OT allusion we have already shown how the figure of the suffering Servant is not alluded to in this narrative. It is only the theme of unprovoked unjust treatment, which is advanced by the setting and content of the narrative, which may be said to link the narrative with the suffering Servant.¹

We have already seen that the martyrdom context has some formal and even verbal similarities with Lk. 22:63-65. Both involve the mockery of the one who suffers unjustly. We should probably include within our discussion of the martyr figure, the figure of the suffering righteous man of the Psalms and Wisdom. They all suffer scoffing abuse from their enemies. More importantly the content of the mockery is the same. It is a taunt which points out the impotence of their God to honor their righteousness and deliver them.² The taunt to Jesus, however, is not directed against his trust in God but against his office as a prophet (22:64). Jesus cannot perform on command.

Luke presents Jesus as a prophet throughout his gospel (cf. 7:16; 24:19). It is significant that the one aspect of the OT prophets' mission to Israel to which Luke continually compares Jesus' own mission is the rejection, suffering, and death which they experienced at the hands of rebellious Israel (4:24 cf. Mk. 6:4/Mt. 13:57; Lk. 4:27; 11:47, 49, 50; 13:33, 34; Ac. 7:37 ff.; cf. the fact that the followers of the Son of Man will have the same fate as the prophets who were persecuted, Lk. 6:23). Part of Luke's description of a prophet's gifts is second sight, an ability not only to foretell the future (Ac. 11:27f.; 13:1f.; 15:32; 21:10f.) but

¹Hooker (p. 91) sees no connection whatever, since the Is. 50:6 allusion has been dropped.

²cf. Hühn (p. 66) who cites Ps. 21(22):8; Thompson (p. 265) cites Ps. 21(22):7-9; Wsd. 2:13, 17 as the OT background for Lk. 22:65; cf. 2 Macc. 7:16.

a capacity for present discernment (Lk. 7:39) which could logically extend to seeing through a blindfold. Luke has repeatedly presented Jesus in the passion narrative as the prophet in full control of the situation, revealing his foreknowledge and discernment at every turn. The preparations for the Passover (22:10); Judas' betrayal (22:21-22, 48); Peter's denial (22:31ff., 61); the approaching hostility (22:35-38); the arrest itself (22:52f.) are all events which Jesus foresees. After such a consistent display of prophetic ability, Jesus the prophet now stands impotent in the hands of his captors. They may have heard of his prophetic insight, which told him what would befall him (cf. 9:22; 13:33; 18:31-33), and which ironically did not deter him from walking right into their trap. He had prophesied once who would betray him (22:21-22) and he was right (22:48). Now let him prophesy who is striking him. But Jesus does not exercise his prophetic gifts for entertainment purposes. He accepts the humiliation, mockery, and abuse and thus fulfills the role of the true prophet (2 Ch. 36:16).¹

Old Testament Style

In this brief section it is the syntactical structure which shows the most semitic character. The only individual grammatical construction which imitates LXX style is the redundant λέγοντες (Lk. 22:64). It introduces direct address as is customary in Luke.² There are no occurrences of δέ, but καί (3X) connects a series of participles subordinated to finite verbs. The parataxis then is present in general though within given segments it seems to be avoided by the subordination of a participle to a finite verb. Word order is also semitic, not in the matter of verb-subject-object sequence, but in the consistent practice of placing the object after the verb, especially when it is a participle. Since we have no extant source with which to compare Luke it is again

¹Schneider, p. 171f.

²See above, p. 370.

difficult to tell which elements of this LXX stylistic coloring are due to his source and which to his redaction. In general, it appears that he may be responsible for breaking up a great amount of parataxis in his source by turning some finite verbs into participles. However, he also let the overall paratactical structure stand. He probably introduced the redundant λέγοντες. Such coloring helps make a smooth transition between the semitically colored conclusion of the previous account (22:60-62), and the beginning of the trial scene (22:66). It is also appropriate to the content of the narrative which shows Jesus as the rejected and mocked prophet.

CHAPTER XII

LUKE 22:66-71: THE SANHEDRIN TRIAL

Introduction

Jesus has been denied by his followers (22:54-62) and abused by his enemies (22:63-65). Now his suffering enters a climactic phase. He is to be given the opportunity to defend himself against his accusers in three hearings (22:66-71; 23:1-5, 13-25; 23:6-12). Luke will use these trials to advance the fulfilment of Is. 53:12 through a portrayal of Jesus as the innocent one who is treated as a transgressor. In the Sanhedrin trial, especially, the injustice of the Jewish leaders' evaluation of Jesus' claims is presented. Some have seen the trial as modeled on the trial experience of the prophet Jeremiah. The OT figures, besides the prophet, which are referred to in the interrogation are the Messiah, Son of Man, and Son of God. Luke's Christology develops the essential relationship among those figures and applies them to Jesus with the aid of OT allusions to Da. 7:13 and Ps. 109(110):1. The relationship between Jesus as the Messiah and men is grounded in the OT ideas of faith and believing as the right response to the claims of God's servants. Some OT style also complements this passage which is rich in OT allusions and ideas.

The question of literary sources for this section is inextricably entwined with the question of the historical sequence of events. We shall focus first on the question of the probable basic literary source for Lk. 22:66-71, then we shall seek to understand how it and the Markan account of the Sanhedrin trial relate to the probable historical course of events. We must note briefly the textual problem at Lk. 22:68.¹ The extrinsic

¹ shorter reading, ἀποκριθεῖτε : Alexandrian= p⁷⁵; X; B; L; T; 1241; cop^{bo}; Cyril; add μοι : Alexandrian= cop^{sa}; Caesarean= θ; f¹; Western= Ambrose; cf. 1365.
longer reading, ἀποκριθεῖτε μοι γὰρ ἀπολύετε : Caesarean= f¹³; 28; 565; 700; 1071; arm; geo; Western= D; W; it^(a); au^r; B; C; d; ff²; f; (i, e), q; f¹; vg; syr^c; s; h; Byzantine= A; K; (X, ἀπολύετε); Ψ; Δ; Π; Byz lect; syr^p; cf. Diatessaron; many minuscules.

probabilities favor the longer reading. It has greater geographical distribution and is as ancient as the predominantly Alexandrian shorter reading. The fact that the readings are equally ancient means the longer reading, an interpretive gloss, could have entered the text tradition early and affected all subsequent mss. The argument that the widespread distribution of a secondary gloss without variation is unlikely¹ is thus invalidated. The longer reading, then, may be equally either secondary or original. On transcriptional grounds it has been proposed that the omission took place either because of homeoteleuton or theological objections to the thought that Jesus wanted to be released. The variant in some texts which has καὶ makes the homeoteleuton explanation unlikely at least in their cases.² The explanation that copyists omitted the longer reading because it contained theologically objectionable material has some merit.³ Still, the two forms of the longer reading seem to be secondary for they logically explain the abrupt ending in the shorter reading.⁴ We take the shorter reading as authentic.

The two basic options for understanding the literary composition of Lk. 22:66-71 are to view it as a reworking of Mk. 14:55-64 under the direction of Luke's theological purposes⁵ or as Luke's use of a non-Markan source.⁶ A third option, which is a variation on the first two is to see the composition as a mixture of non-Markan material combined with the

¹J. Duplacy, "Une variante méconnue du texte reçu ἡ ἀπολύσις ἡτε (Lc. 22, 68)," NT Aufsätze: Festschrift für Prof. J. Schmid; ed. J. Blinzler et al (Regensburg, 1963), p. 51.

²Metzger, Commentary, p. 178.

³Creed, p. 278.

⁴Duplacy (NT Aufsätze, p. 44) points out the grammatical difficulties of the longer reading (καὶ in parallel with a negative; ἀπολύσις ἡτε used absolutely), but fails to see that the addition of an abbreviated explanatory gloss could create such difficulties.

⁵e.g. Conzelmann, Theology of Luke, p. 84, n. 3; P. Benoit, "Jésus devant le Sanhedrin," Angelicum, XX (1943), p. 149

⁶e.g. Schlatter, Lukas, p. 140; Taylor, The Passion Narrative, p. 84.

basic source Mark¹ or portions of Mark inserted into a non-Markan source.² The difficulty with this option is that it is not possible to successfully identify which portions belong to Mark and which to a non-Markan source. Those portions which one would have assigned to Mark (e.g. Lk. 22:67, 69, 71; cf. Mk. 14:61-63)³ have been so thoroughly reworked and now form such an integral part of the narrative that it is hard to see them as insertions. A further difficulty is presented by the fact that on the face of it Luke and Mark report two different historical events. Mark records a trial which took place at night. It consisted in the hearing of false witnesses; the interrogation of the high priest (one question); and the verdict that the Jesus' confession was blasphemy (the high priest rends his garments) and worthy of death. Luke records that the trial took place in the morning. All of the Sanhedrin interrogates Jesus (two questions). There is no mention of blasphemy, the high priest's action, or the verdict. Would Luke take elements from the report of one historical event (a night hearing) and insert them into his account of another historical event (a day trial)?

From the linguistic analysis of Lk. 22:66-71 it appears that Mark is not the basic source for the account. In those portions (vv. 67, 69, 71) which appear to be most dependent on Mark, the similarities with Mark may be accounted for by the fact that the same questions and same testimony could reasonably be expected to occur at a second morning trial as had been stated at the preliminary night hearing. The similarities are a matter of historical repetition and not literary dependence. That two hearings did occur in such a short space of time is plausible for the

¹Hauck, p. 274.

²Grundmann, p. 418.

³Hauck, p. 274; D. R. Catchpole, "The Problem of the Historicity of the Sanhedrin Trial," The Trial of Jesus: Cambridge Studies in honour of C. F. D. Moule, ed. E. Bammel (SBT, 2nd ser. XIII; London, 1970), p. 64.

following reasons. We have evidence from Mk. and Mt. of at least two consultations conducted by the Sanhedrin, one at night and one in the morning (Mt. 14:55/Mt. 26:59: Mk. 15:1/Mt. 27:1, 2; John reports two consultations at night, none in the morning (J. 18:13, 24); Luke reports none at night and one in the morning (Lk. 22:66)⁷. The illegality of a Sanhedrin trial involving a capital case conducted at night;¹ the practical improbability that a quorum could be raised at such short notice on the important Passover feast night; and the custom in capital cases of delivering the verdict a day removed from the investigation,² all make it reasonable that in such a short space of time the Sanhedrin should have met twice. They deemed it as of the utmost urgency to get the investigation concerning Jesus under way. Thus, it was begun the very night of the arrest. They still possibly feared the reaction of the people (cf. 22:2, 6). They had enough sense of judicial propriety to leave the final verdict to another hearing in the morning. Do Mark and Luke, however, support in their narratives such a course of events? Do they do it in such a way that Luke shows that he understands that Mk. 15:55-64 does indeed report a historical event which is different from Lk. 22:66-71?

Luke accords best with this historical reconstruction in the light of contemporary Jewish judicial practice.³ The difficulty with Mark is

¹ Sanh. 4:1. We must continue to bear in mind H. Danby's ("The Bearing of the Rabbinical Criminal Code on the Jewish Trial Narratives of the Gospels," JTS, XXI (1919-20), p. 54) caution that what Jewish scholars at the end of the 2nd century thought to be correct law and procedure, as recorded in the Mishnah, was not necessarily the accepted practice at the beginning of the first. Such a trial was also proscribed on a feast day (Sanh. 4:1); cf. Catchpole (The Trial of Jesus (1970), p. 58), who cites Josephus, Ant. XVI:163 to show that such prohibition may not extend to the first century.

² Sanh. 4:1. Admittedly the two sessions are not separated by a full day, but this may be part of the evidence for the unfairness if not illegality of the proceedings; Contrast Catchpole (The Trial of Jesus (1970), p. 59), who says: Josephus, Ant. XV:229 is evidence that two sessions were probably required in the first century.

³ Catchpole, The Trial of Jesus (1970), p. 61; The Trial of Jesus (1971), p. 203.

that the verdict appears to be passed at the night trial. In fact the main weight in the narrative is given to the night hearing with only a brief mention of the decisive morning trial (Mk. 15:1). This has led some to conclude that Mk. 15:1 is not a reference to a trial¹ and is at best a doublet of the night trial. It is taken from another literary source which Mark has not effectively combined with the source which reports the same trial at night.² The positive evidence of Mark's narrative, however, does allow for a morning trial, though it is reported only briefly. For compositional reasons, the creation of a contrast between Jesus' faithful confession and Peter's faithless denial, Mark has telescoped the main elements of both trials into the one night trial.³

Luke's account of the morning trial presupposes the preliminary hearing of the previous night. The differences from Mk. 14:62 in the reported responses in Luke (v. 68; the abbreviated v. 69) may be best explained if the Lukan account is seen as reporting the responses to the repetitive questioning of a second hearing. They are not the result of Luke's editing

¹Benoit, *Angelicum*, XX, pp. 146ff.; Catchpole (*The Trial of Jesus* (1971), p. 191) argues that Luke did not understand Mk. 15:1 as the Markan equivalent of Lk. 22:66-71. He uses Luke's editing of Mk. 3:6 (συμβούλιον ἐδίδουν; Lk. 6:11, διδάσκουσιν) as evidence that Luke probably understood Mk. 15:1 (συμβούλιον ἐτοίμασαντες) to describe not a trial session but a private planning session to map out strategy. Catchpole fails to recognize that the decisive element in the Markan narrative is not the description of the action which the Jewish leaders took, but rather the parties which were involved in the planning (οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τῶν ὑπερβωτέρων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον, Mk. 15:1; cf. Lk. 22:66, τὰ ὑπερβωτέρια τοῦ λαοῦ, ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ γραμματεῖς; contrast Mk. 14:55, οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον). Mark's citation of the presence of the whole Sanhedrin, including a reference to its constituent parts, appears to show not a private plan of one segment of the Jewish leadership as at Mk. 3:6 but the full agreement of the whole. This accords well with the nature of the morning session as a trial; cf. Dillersberger (VI, p. 137) and Arndt (p. 455), who see Mk. 15:1 and Lk. 22:66ff. as reporting the same event.

²F. C. Grant, *The Gospels: their origin and their growth* (London, 1957), p. 133.

³M. Black, "The Arrest and Trial of Jesus," *NT Essays: Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson*; ed. A. J. B. Higgins (Manchester, 1959), p. 21.

according to his theological interests Mark's night trial report.¹ The failure to mention the coming of the Son of Man with the clouds of heaven is grounded in history. It is Jesus' claim that he was divine, worthy of a position at the right hand of God, not his return as judge, which was understood by the Sanhedrin to be blasphemous and worthy of death.² Luke's report that the Sanhedrin concluded that they did not need any more witnesses (Lk. 22:71) assumes that there was a time when they did have witnesses, i.e. the preliminary hearing (Mk. 14:56ff.). Luke does not report the presence of witnesses at the morning trial. This presupposes the fiasco of the lack of agreement among the witnesses at the preliminary hearing (Mk. 14:59).³ Mark's telescoping of the trials probably converges at this statement concerning the need for more witnesses. This comes from the second trial and so does the verdict which follows. The fact that Luke fails to report in specific terms the basis for the verdict and the verdict itself does not weaken the claims for the historicity of this morning trial. It may be satisfactorily explained by Luke's theological purpose of presenting the innocence of Jesus through an avoidance of mentioning even the false evaluation at which the Sanhedrin had arrived.

Those who maintain that Mark and Luke report the same event consistently fail to give convincing reasons why Luke has moved the trial from the night to the morning.⁴ The most satisfactory explanation is that Luke

¹Dillersberger, VI, p. 137; Contrast Conzelmann, Theology of Luke, p. 84, n. 3.

²See below, p. 427.

³Dillersberger, VI, p. 137; Contrast Voss (p. 114), who explains the omission from Luke's theological interests.

⁴cf. Benoit's (Angelicum, XX, p. 150) list which includes compositional reasons: Luke wanted to deal with Peter's denial separately from the trial; his sense of time lapse; too much had happened in the night for the trial also to take place then (cf. 22:59; 22:63-65); his sense of history: Luke wanted to bring the trial and verdict into line with Roman law which allowed the delivery of verdicts only during the day (Danby (JTS, XXI, p. 62) believes Luke has corrected Mark in line with the further information about Jewish judicial processes, which he has received). Though Luke may want to separate Peter's denial from the trial, the intervening scourging does

knew of the two Jewish hearings. He disregarded the preliminary one because it raised some issues, e.g. the false witnesses' testimony about Jesus' claims concerning the temple (Mk. 14:58), which clouded what Luke saw as the real issue of the trial, Jesus' claims concerning himself.¹ He chose his non-Markan source which reported the climax of the Jewish judicial procedure, the morning trial. The other main difference in detail which the promoters of Mk. 14:55-64 = Lk. 22:66-71 fail to account for is the speakers in the narratives. In Mark the high priest interrogates; in Luke, the whole Sanhedrin.²

What appears to account best for all the similarities and differences between Luke's and Mark's account of the Sanhedrin trial is an explanation which understands the narratives as based on two independent literary sources, without any common influence. The historical sequence of events which makes the best sense of the similarities and differences in the accounts is one which allows for at least two hearings before the Sanhedrin, a preliminary night hearing to seek evidence (Mk. 14:55-64) and a day trial at which the verdict is delivered (Lk. 22:66-71; Mk. 15:1).

this well without the need for a time marker which places the trial in the morning. Whether the night is too crowded with events to allow for a trial is a matter of subjective judgment. Luke gives no indication of the duration of events except at Lk. 22:59. As for Luke's concern for historical accuracy, it is apparently not built solely on his knowledge of judicial procedure, whether Jewish or Roman, for he fails to explicitly state in his morning trial that a verdict is given. His historical interest is probably governed by a concern for reporting what in fact happened.

¹Voss (p. 114) uses this as a explanation of Luke's omission of the false witnesses from the Markan trial account which he assumes that Luke uses. The explanation may serve just as well as a reason for Luke's choice of a non-Markan source over Mark; Bornhäuser (p. 88) contends that it is Luke's consideration for his Gentile audience, which would neither be interested in nor understand Jewish trial procedure, that the night trial is removed.

²Finegan's (p. 25) explanation from hyperbole is not convincing.

Old Testament Allusion

The account of the Sanhedrin trial presents possible allusions mainly in the words of Jesus (Lk. 22:67-68/Jer. 45(38):15¹; Is. 41:28; Hab. 1:5²; Lk. 22:69/Da. 7:13; Ps. 109(110):1³). There are several details in Mark's narrative which have been linked with OT passages (false witnesses, Mk. 14:56, 57; the testimony of the false witnesses, Mk. 14:58/Jer. 33(26):5, 6;⁴ Jesus' silence, Mk. 14:61). Luke through his choice of sources bypasses these. Thus they need to be treated as non-allusions.

Dealing with the non-allusions first we note that the historical detail of the false witnesses is understood by some as having its origin in the OT⁵. Since more than one passage in the Psalms is cited (e.g. Ps. 26(27):12; 34(35):11; 108(109):2f.; 118(119):69), it would be more correct to call this an OT idea or motif rather than an allusion. Yet, since the OT is seen as the source for this particular detail we consider it here. The way Mark presents this feature of the Sanhedrin hearing shows that he is not primarily interested in the powerfulness of the false witnesses' testimony. This is in contrast to the significance which the OT consistently gives to the idea. It is true that the high priest appears to be impressed with their testimony (Mk. 14:60). But Mark goes out of his way to show that it was truly ineffectual and would not stand up under close scrutiny (Mk. 14:55-59). In the end it is Jesus' own testimony which will condemn him (Mk. 14:63-64). We hear no more of the false witnesses or of the content of their testimony when we read the account of the subsequent trial before the Roman governor.

¹Klostermann, p. 221.

²Selwyn, First Christian Ideas, pp. 159ff.

³e.g. Gough, p. vi.

⁴Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics, p. 183.

⁵Weidel, ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 244; Linnemann (Studien, p. 131) calls it a Biblical motif which has been added.

It may be that Mark was only seeking to make clear that Jesus' silence in the face of the false testimony was not because of its unimpeachable truth. The effect of Mark's presentation, however, is to neutralize any threat of the false witnesses. Thus, the power which they have in the OT is not present here. The OT should not necessarily be seen as the origin of this motif. Rather, the presence of the inept false witnesses plays another role and this role is best understood if it is considered to be grounded in history. Not only Jesus' silence, but more importantly his confession, is what convicts him. It is true that the Sanhedrin need to twist the confession so that Jesus may appear as a political threat to Rome's hegemony but without that confession they apparently would have no case. The fact that Jesus hands himself over to death is the central historical fact. The ineffectuality not the powerfulness of the false witnesses reinforces this point by contrast. The OT motif of false witnesses which cause suffering is not the probable source for Mark's reference to false witnesses.¹ Luke's failure to mention these false witnesses then does not involve a non-use of an OT idea.

The content of their witness and the response of Jesus, silence, have also been attributed to OT passages. The false witnesses say that Jesus has spoken against the temple saying that he would destroy it (Mk. 14:58; cf. 13:2). Jeremiah was brought to trial for speaking a word against the temple (Jer. 33(26):5, 6ff.). It has been proposed that Mt. and Mk. use a tradition of the trial of Jesus, which while not including this detail on the basis of Jeremiah alone, did develop under the influence of a Christian

¹ Rose (Le Psautier, p. 309f.) says that the wording of the description of this detail has been inspired by Ps. 26(27):12; 34(35):11 in Mt. and Mk. He cites ἀναστάντες ἐψευδομαρτύρουν (Mk. 14:57) as a striking parallel with Ps. 34(35):11, ἀναστάντες μαρτυρεῖς (ἄδικοι). However, the verbal parallelism is not exact. The conjunction of ἀναστάντες and a word from the μαρτυρῶν group may be due not to allusive parallelism but to reporting the same action in court procedure, standing to give evidence.

haggadah on Jeremiah 33(26).¹ John and Luke do not mention the details of false witnesses and the condemnation. This serves as proof for the probable influence of Jeremiah in the preservation of these details, for it shows that they did not fulfill an essential part of the narrative. Luke and John probably used traditions which weren't connected with the Christian midrash of Jeremiah 33(26).²

If we grant that the content of the false witnesses' testimony was influenced by Jer. 33(26):5, 6, can we find a reason in Luke's theological or compositional purposes for his choice of a non-Markan source at this point and his consequent omission of this detail? In addition to the fact that Luke evidently wants to focus on the testimony of Jesus,³ Luke may want to overlook this content because it might have been dangerously misunderstood. Luke's readers, especially if they included interested Hellenistic Jews, might have been offended even by the false accusation that Jesus spoke a word against the temple.⁴ A positive theological reason for such a non-allusion is Luke's desire to work out the innocence

¹Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics, pp. 184, 187; This is an example of Doeve's theory that gospel tradition developed within the framework of the early church's exegesis of the OT. The details of the trial would then be preserved as part of the content of a midrash on Jeremiah 33(26). Later when the gospel tradition was collected into its independent literary form it is claimed that the expression of the details and their arrangement still shows the influence of their earlier use as part of the Jeremiah 33(26) midrash; See above, p. 81.

²Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics, p. 183; Bertram, p. 56.

³Voss, p. 114.

⁴Haenchen (p. 272) believes the material has been transferred to the safer environment of Ac. 6:14, but he fails to show how the accusations are any less dangerous as part of the testimony against Stephen. Mark's report of Jesus' trial has already shown the minor part that this piece of testimony had in that trial. Now in Stephen's trial it is the main accusation against him to which the speech in Acts 7 serves as the apologetic response (Ac. 6:14; 7:1ff.). Rather than neutralizing the seriousness of the charge by such a supposed transfer, Luke has brought it to the forefront of Christian-Jewish controversy. Some other reason than apologetic needs to be found.

portion of his theme concerning the Passion as the fulfilment of Lk. 22:37/Is. 53:12.¹ The false witnesses are not decisive in the outcome of the trial anyway (Lk. 22:71). Their presence only creates the possible misunderstanding that the Sanhedrin might have had a case after all. Thus, to promote the continuing conviction that Jesus is indeed innocent, though he is being treated as a transgressor, Luke omits the details concerning the false witnesses.

Along with this omission we have the removal of the fact that Jesus was silent in the face of false accusations (Mk. 14:60, 61/Is. 53:7). Though it may not be claimed as a verbal parallel, might there possibly be a material allusion, a "fulfilment in fact"?² The one difference between the two accounts which calls into question the appropriateness of material parallelism is the effect of the silence on succeeding events. In Isaiah the silence is a sign of purposeful defenselessness. The Servant refuses to open his mouth in a situation which was oppressively unjust and which could mean his death (Is. 53:7, 8). The assumption is that if he had opened his mouth he could have put up a defence which would have averted the unjust treatment he was experiencing. But as a docile sheep he goes to the slaughter. Jesus' silence may have this effect during Pilate's trial,³ but it doesn't seem to function that way here.

¹H. Flender ("Lehren und Verkündigen in den synoptischen Evangelien," *EvTh*, XXV (1965), p. 710) offers another reason from Luke's theology for the omission. Luke separates the work of the earthly and heavenly Jesus to allow room for an extended period of the church. He therefore would not identify the temple, symbol of the presence of God, with Jesus' body, his earthly presence, in a saying which emphasizes the bodily resurrection. He portrays the resurrection rather as the exaltation of the Son of Man to his heavenly work (cf. Ac. 6:14ff.); Flender does not take into account the emphasis on the bodily resurrection which is indeed present in Luke's resurrection appearance narratives (Lk. 24:28ff.; 37-43; cf. Ac. 10:41). The wording of the false accusation does not really interfere with an eschatological framework which gives extended time to the age of the church. The only events which are related in time are death and resurrection.

²Maurer, *ZTK*, L, p. 7.

³See below, p. 435.

Rather, as we have pointed out, the testimony of the false witnesses is ineffectual. It is Jesus' own testimony, his lack of silence, which in this trial actually convicts him (Mk. 14:63). Thus, there is probably no allusion to Is. 53:7 in Jesus' silence at Mk. 14:60, 61.¹ This silence simply shows that Jesus believed that the best way to answer false accusations, which were not going to be convincing, was to be silent. Luke's failure to report this detail does not mean that he has by-passed another allusion to Isaiah 53.

Three other OT passages (Hab. 1:5; Is. 41:28;² Jer. 45(38):15³) may have influenced the wording of Lk. 22:67b-68. Is. 41:28 may be quickly eliminated, because though there is near perfect verbal parallelism (Lk. 22:68, *ἐὰν δὲ ἐρωτήσω ὑμῶν ἀποκριθῆτε* ; Is. 41:28, *ἐὰν ἐρωτήσω αὐτούς... οὐ μὴ ἀποκριθῶσιν μοι*), there is nothing in the Isaianic context which makes these words an appropriate allusion here. There is one possible element of material parallelism. In both cases it is God or one who speaks for God who addresses the question to evidently sinful men. The difference is that in Isaiah the sin makes them unable to respond and answer, while in Luke the sin renders them unwilling to respond. There are other places where God addresses men and demands a response (e.g. Job 38:3). The verbal parallelism may be just the coincidence of the desire to express the same thought (cf. 1 Km. 23:4; 2 Esdr. 5:10f.; this is only the use of the combination "ask-answer" in Lk.; contrast Lk's adjustment of Mark, Lk. 20:3/Mk. 11:29). We need not see OT influence or an attempt to allude to Is. 41:28 here.

¹cf. Suhl (p. 60), who does not find Maurer convincing at this point. Suhl argues that Matthew's lack of emphasis on this feature (Mt. 26:62, 63) makes it unlikely that it was a conscious and recognizable allusion in Mark. Further, even if it were a material allusion there are no indications in its presentation that it is meant to be part of a promise and fulfilment scheme.

²Selwyn, First Christian Ideas, pp. 159ff.

³Lagrange, p. 572; Loisy (Luc, p. 540) believes that Lk. 22:67b-68 is an editorial adjustment by Luke which accords in its basic form, though not very closely, with Jer. 45(38):15.

The Habakkuk passage has only a slightly stronger claim to being a possible allusion because it is used by Luke in Acts (Ac. 13:41). The verbal parallelism is weaker (Lk. 22:67, ^{ὁ μὲν εἰπὼν οὐ μὴ} ~~ἐὰν~~ ~~οὐ μὴ~~ πιστεύσῃτε ; Hab. 1:5, ^ὅ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσῃτε ^{ἐὰν} τις ἐκ δειγμάτων). The material parallelism is a little closer but not close enough to identify it as a definite allusion. In Acts it is the work of salvation, the offer of forgiveness of sins through the Risen Lord, which is identified with God's deed in Hab. 1:5. At Lk. 22:67 it would be the identification of Jesus as the Messiah which would have to be identified with God's deed. The material parallelism is not as apparent. Thus, although Hab. 1:5 may serve as the basis for an OT idea concerning unbelief, it does not have enough in common with the words of Jesus to qualify as an allusion. There is certainly nothing in the Lukan context which indicates, as the Acts context does, that Jesus' words are intended to declare that for the Sanhedrin the prophetic warning (cf. Ac. 13:40) has already come true.

In Jeremiah's appearance before Zedekiah he declares that if he speaks the word of the Lord for which he was cast into prison, he will surely be put to death (Jer. 45(38):15). There is no verbal parallelism between Jeremiah's statement and Jesus' except in the matter of grammatical structure. Both contain two conditional constructions with a negative particle in the apodosis (Lk. 22:67, 68, ^{ἐὰν}... οὐ μὴ, ^{ἐὰν}... οὐ μὴ ; Jer. 45(38):15, ^{ἐὰν}... οὐ χί, ^{ἐὰν}... οὐ μὴ). There is a degree of material parallelism for both statements are made by an accused prophet in response to the enquiry of his judge concerning what he has declared as a message from God. Admittedly, the Zedekiah interview is not a formal judicial hearing. The difference is in the purpose of the statements. Both Jeremiah and Jesus comment on the unbelief of the one who asks them and the consequent futility of giving an answer (Lk. in the first of the two constructions; Jeremiah in the second). Jeremiah is primarily interested in the consequences of his testimony, the death which will issue from it. Jesus, however, makes this statement about unbelief as a preface to

answering the question he has been asked. This preface, then, does not perform the same function as Jeremiah's reply. When we combine this lack of suitable material parallelism with the fact that there are not even the elements of similarity between Jeremiah's plight at this particular point and Jesus' trial, such as the Jeremiah 33(26) account has, it seems difficult to find in Jer. 45(38):15 either the origin of this wording¹ or an allusion² to it.

The substance of Jesus' answer to the Sanhedrin's question, "If you are the Christ, tell us," seems to be in the form of a combined allusion to Ps. 109(110):1³ and Da. 7:13. The verbal parallelism which witnesses to the possible allusion is Lk. 22:69, ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ; Ps. 109(110):1, Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου. The verbal agreement is not exact for in the OT the verb is an imperative and the modifier of δεξιῶν is a possessive pronoun. In Luke the verb form is a participle in a periphrastic construction. The modifier of δεξιῶν is a combination of genitives τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ. What on verbal grounds establishes this as a possible allusion to just one OT passage is the fact that only in Ps. 109(110):1 is there any mention of a human figure being directed to sit at God's right hand. The only other instance in the LXX of the use of ἐκ δεξιῶν with a verb of sitting involves sitting at the right hand of Israel's monarch (3 Km. 2:19; cf. 1 Esdr. 4:29; Sir. 12:12). Thus,

¹Montefiore (II, 615) views the conclusion that the origin of these words is not historical remembrance but Jer. 45(38):15 as "rather strained."

²Klostermann (p. 221) calls the allusion at the best remote.

³Plummer (p. xxxv) calls it a quotation; Dittmar (p. 43) calls it a quotation in the wider sense; Kärntzki (p. 19) classifies it as a quotation made in context (Kontextzitat); France (Jesus and the OT, p. 261) puts it in his clear verbal allusion category; Others are not so confident of its quotation or allusion status: Calvin (III, p. 168) says the phrase "sitting at the right hand" is just a metaphor frequently used in Scripture; Hühn (p. 66) thinks it should be treated as an OT idea taken from the psalm.

contention that this phrase is not an allusion but a metaphor which is frequent throughout Scripture is not borne out by the OT evidence. Whether it should be treated simply as an OT idea, which admittedly only comes from this one passage, and not as an allusion, must be decided by the function of the phrase in its NT context. This phrase, as the chief content of Jesus' reply to the Sanhedrin's question, is in the midst of a prophetic prediction. That Luke does record Jesus' use of an OT allusion as the basis for a prediction about coming events is in line with what we saw at Lk. 22:28-30.¹ It not only lends authority to his prediction but demonstrates the continuity of prophetic witness. The most that the NT context gives us as a pointer to this allusion are the introductory words, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν. This time marker indicates that what is not now true will soon be true. Jesus' words are a prophetic prediction which is about to be fulfilled. These introductory words are appropriate not only to Jesus' prophetic prediction but they also appear to point back to a long-standing prophecy which is about to be fulfilled.² Thus these two factors in the immediate context, the fact that this OT material is the content of Jesus' prophecy and that it is introduced by terms that point to fulfillment, make it appropriate that the OT material from Ps. 109(110):1 should be understood as an allusion here.

We have already noticed the difference in text-form between the LXX and the NT (the MT is faithfully reproduced by the LXX at this point). It is an adjustment of the imperative in an oracle of the Lord to a predictive declaration that the command will be obeyed. The one commanded to sit at God's right hand will be found to be seated at God's right hand. There is no change in meaning in the text-form change. The basic content

¹See above, p. 218; France (Jesus and the OT, p. 103) describes this allusion as a messianic prediction.

²cf. Weiss, p. 517.

of what is taken from the psalm is the same. The allusion's difference in text-form is just an adjustment to the syntax of its NT context. Because the statement is in the future tense it is still in the same position with respect to the completion of the act as its imperative form in the psalm is.

It is advisable to understand the function and meaning of the verse in its OT context before we seek to discern its function and significance for Luke. Psalm (109(110)) is a royal psalm consisting of two divine oracles (vv. 1, 4) and some prophetic exhortation addressed to the king.¹ Our allusion is part of the first oracle which commands the king to sit at God's right hand until God makes his enemies to be in subjection to him. The attempts to find the occasion and place in historical and geographical terms where the Israelite king could have obeyed this divine command have usually assigned the psalm to either an annual enthronement ritual² or the celebration of a military victory.³ The position, "at the right hand," is usually taken metaphorically to mean a place of honor next to God.⁴ The customary place of the king at the pillar to the vestibule of the temple (4 Km. 11:14/2 Ch. 23:13; 4 Km. 23:3/2 Ch. 34:31) is identified as the ceremonial equivalent of being "at God's right hand."⁵ Unfortunately, there is no historical description of the practice of seat-

¹ cf. "my Lord" = the king, e.g. 1 Km. 25:28; 26:18; 2 Km. 13:32.

² A. Weiser, The Psalms: A Commentary, translated from the 5th German ed. by H. Hartwell (OT Library; London, 1962), p. 694.

³ M. Dahood, The Psalms (Anchor Bible; Garden City, N.Y., 1970), Vol. III-101-150, p. 112; H. H. Rowley, as reported in A. A. Anderson (The Book of Psalms (The Century Bible: new edition; London, 1972), Vol. II, p. 767), attaches the celebration specifically to David's takeover of Jerusalem.

⁴ Dahood, III, p. 114.

⁵ Weiser, p. 694; A. A. Anderson (II, p. 768) suggests the possibility of a position beside the ark of the covenant; Dahood (III, p. 114) notes a Ugaritic text which has the oriental king seated at the right hand of Victor Baal.

ing the Israelite king at the right hand of a symbol of God's presence as part of an enthronement ritual or a military celebration.¹ The connection of the Psalm 109(110) oracle with the king's position at the pillar of the temple's vestibule is strong only in that the temple contained the ark which symbolized the presence of God. No point is made of which pillar, the right or the left, is the king's place (cf. 3 Km. 7:21). More importantly the king is consistently presented as standing not seated at the pillar. It appears from at least one of the two references (4 Km. 23:3/2 Ch. 34:31) that the king's position is one of honor only as the first among his fellow Israelites with whom he stands and worships in the presence of God. To have the king seated symbolically at God's right hand at the entrance to the holy place seems inappropriate to the purposes of divine worship for which the cult functioned. Since we have no convincing evidence that any historical situation answers the command of the oracle we must look elsewhere for its proper context. Indeed, the theocentricity and universal outlook of the psalm² points to an idealized picture of the Israelite monarchy. In view of this glorious perspective on the monarchy which the psalm as a whole presents it is appropriate that the command be taken not metaphorically but literally. If so, it can only be obeyed in the environment of heaven. Thus, a messianic and possibly eschatological context is necessary for the proper fulfilment of the oracle.³

¹ 4 Km. 11:14/2 Ch. 23:13 may hint at it.

² Weiser, p. 693.

³ France (Jesus and the OT, p. 166) argues strongly from the content of the psalm that it advances so beyond all normal royal language that it can only be understood as primarily a messianic psalm and secondarily a royal psalm. That the Jews interpreted the psalm messianically in pre-Christian exegesis is disputed. Strack-Billerbeck's (SBK, IV:1, pp. 452 ff.) reasoning must assume that since the Jewish anti-Christian polemic involved an identification of "my Lord," with Abraham (R. Ishmael (135 A.D.), Ned. 32b) and Hezekiah (Justin, Dial. 33, 38), in the face of the consistent messianic interpretation by the Christians, originally the Jews also interpreted the text messianically. All of the rabbinic evidence for such a messianic interpretation is, however, post-Christian, the

earliest being in the second half of the third century (SBK, IV:1, p. 452). The possible evidence in Jewish apocalyptic literature, particularly 1 Enoch fails on two counts to provide a basis for believing that a messianic interpretation of Ps. 109(110):1 was part of the pre-Christian exegetical tradition. There is no instance where the glorified Messiah seated on a throne is said to be at the right hand of the Lord (cf. 1 En. 51:3; 45:3; 62:1-9; 69:26-29 cf. the fragment from a Qumran commentary on Is. 11:1-3 which interprets the "spirit of might" in an expanded fashion, which includes a divinely given "throne of glory" (G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1970), p. 227). It seems to signify an earthly rule however). Thus, direct dependence on the Ps. 109(110):1 in particular as opposed to the idea of messianic reign in general cannot be decisively proven. The only distinctive feature which the Similitudes of Enoch and the psalm hold in common is the heavenly context in which the Messiah rules. If this might still be considered positive evidence, the fact that the date and provenance of the Similitudes of Enoch (1 En. 37-71) are not at all certain rules out the conclusion on the basis of material from 1 En. 37-71 alone that there was a pre-Christian Jewish exegetical tradition (cf. J. T. Milik's (Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea, trans. J. Strugnell (London, 1959), p. 33f.) conclusion that since no mss for 1 En. 37-71 were found at Qumran, while mss for other portions of 1 Enoch were, the absence is "scarcely a work of chance." Rather the Similitudes "are probably to be considered the work of a Jew or a Jewish Christian of the first or second century A.D., who utilized the various early Enoch writings to gain acceptance for his own work and gave the whole composition its present form"; Contrast RGG, 3rd. ed.; III, ¶ 222-224).

The only other evidence for a pre-Christian Jewish messianic interpretation is from the ministry of Jesus (Lk. 20:41-44/Mk. 12:35-37). The puzzle which Jesus presents is supposedly based on the assumption that David is the speaker of the oracle, and the term "my Lord," refers to the Davidic Messiah, his son. The argument is that if such an interpretation weren't present among the Jews the riddle would be meaningless (Karnetzki, p. 144; Contrast A. Vis (An Inquiry into the Rise of Christianity out of Judaism: The Messianic Psalm Quotations in the NT (Amsterdam, 1936), p. 77), who argues that the difficulty in the puzzle was created by the originality of the Christian suggestion that the term, "my Lord", actually stood for the Messiah). The NT material may be just barely enough evidence to maintain pre-Christian Jewish messianic interpretation. Possibly our own passage contributes to the argument. The Sanhedrin appear to understand the connection between their question, "If you are the Christ, tell us," and the messianic interpretation of the psalm in the reply.

The choice of probabilities in the historical reconstruction is a choice between assuming, on the one hand, that the Jews understood the psalm messianically, changed their tactics in the face of the Christian interpretation, and then later returned to a messianic interpretation. Or, on the other hand, one must maintain that a historical event such as the failure of all hope in a political Messiah after Bar Cochba's defeat meant that the Jews believed that the final salvation must be totally eschatological and in God's hands. Ps. 109(110):1 then would begin to be interpreted messianically (Vis, p. 76). This latter alternative does not account fully for the origin of such an interpretation among the Jews for the first time in a period when the Christian Church had appropriated the verse and assigned it to Jesus. The Jewish adoption of such a messianic interpretation would need to have its roots deep in pre-Christian exegetical tradition if such an interpretation were in the Christian era to be maintained as legitimate Jewish exegesis. Thus, though we have no direct Jewish evidence for a pre-Christian Jewish messianic interpretation

What the ordinary background of OT usage of this phrase "sitting at the right hand" can tell us is that by analogy with the action of human kings, a directive to sit at one's right hand means that the person is given a place of honor (3 Km. 2:19; Ps. 44(45):10; cf. 1 Esdr. 4:29; Sir. 12:12). It is also a place of influence which may mean participation in the power which the one on the throne exercises. Since Israel was a theocracy before it was a monarchy, the kings of the Davidic line realized that in a paradoxical way the rule they exercised was at the same time the rule of God and rule under God. They must be faithful servants if they were to continue to know God's blessing in their reign (1 Ch. 28:5; 29:23; 2 Ch. 9:8; Ps. 44(45):7). This same paradox is present in the command of Ps. 109(110):1. Though it is a place of honor and the greatest glory to which the king is called, it is still not the supreme place of power. It is God who is supreme, giving the command, stationing the king at his right hand, and perfecting the victory which makes that position glorious and secure. The basic content of the allusion in its OT setting then is the Lord decrees that the king be honored by sharing the throne of God at his right hand. Since this command involves a session in the presence of a divine figure it is probably intended to be understood as honor attributed to the Messiah in the presence of God, in heaven.

The function of this allusion within the immediate NT context is to answer the court's question in such a way that there are three results. Jesus is able to interpret to the court the nature of his messiahship. He is able to put his present humiliation into perspective. He does these two things by primarily making a prophetic prediction concerning his destiny. This last result should also be seen in its influence on the larger context of Luke's passion narrative.

of Ps. 109(110):1, the flowering of such an interpretation in the Christian era after a time of anti-Christian polemic, which included a Jewish non-messianic interpretation, may most probably be explained from the assumption that a messianic interpretation of the psalm was a firm part of first century Jewish exegesis.

Jesus' reply to the question, "If you are the Christ, tell us," serves to correctly interpret the nature of Jesus' messiahship. By placing it in the transcendent sphere of God's presence, Jesus avoids the misunderstanding that his kingdom and power are those of a political Messiah.¹ While on the one hand denying earthly political power, Jesus also claims for himself the greater spiritual power of one who shares in God's reign over the universe at his right hand.² As we have noted in the discussion of the meaning of the phrase, the command has more to do with the acceptance of a position of honor than with the exercise of the same power as God exercises. Thus, the emphasis at Lk. 22:69 is on the position which the Messiah is about to receive and what that says about his nature. His place at the right hand of God declares his "superior heavenly dignity," indeed, his divine nature.³ The question, "Are you the Son of God, then?" which is precipitated by Jesus' remark shows that the interest is more in what the position says about who he is, than what he is able to do.

If Jesus' reply interprets his messiahship as spiritual, it also places his present humiliation in perspective. The time marker ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν alerts us to this function of the allusion. Though Jesus suffers now, one should not be misled by this humiliation into not believing his messianic claims. He will enter into his messianic glory and it will be "from now on." Luke does not express this prediction at this point in order to assure the court that, as they stand in judgment over him now,

¹Flender, Luke, Theologian, p. 61f.

²TDNT, II, p. 37

³Arndt, p. 456: Flender, Luke, Theologian, p. 61f.

so he will sit in judgment on them.¹ Luke's choice of another source which does not include the imagery of the coming of the Son of Man (cf. Mk. 14:62) has effectively eliminated such thoughts of retributive justice. It is rather a declaration of the coming vindication of the Son of Man's obedience in suffering unto death. And it is not insignificant that the basis for the combined allusion is two portions of Scripture which stress the role of God in creating by his power the gift of dominion which he bestows on the Messiah.² Still the emphasis is not squarely upon God's activity for the allusion has been so changed that any inference that it is God's power which will do this is removed. It is a straight prediction of what is the destiny of the Son of Man. The prediction does not even contain a passive verb without an explicit agent which might imply that it is God who is behind this exaltation.

The emphasis is rather on the basic pattern of the messianic mission, suffering issuing in glory. This pattern was a difficult one for Jesus' contemporaries to understand. When we trace the passion predictions concerning the Son of Man through Luke's gospel we note that the majority of them are in contexts where the glory of the Son of Man has been revealed in Jesus' earthly ministry, either in word or deed (Lk. 9:22, 44; 22:22; 17:25; 24:7; the exception, Lk. 18:31, is in a context where the pattern of suffering and glory is being discussed in terms of the cost and rewards of discipleship, 18:18-30). The first passion prediction, Lk. 9:22, immediately follows the confession that Jesus is the Christ (9:18-20/Mk. 8:31; 27-30). The second passion prediction (Lk. 9:44) follows the reaction of the crowd in praise for a miracle which has been performed (9:37-43/Mk. 9:31: 27-30). Mark's interest at this point is in the disciples' question of why they could not perform the miracle. Luke's

¹ Contrast N. Geldenhuys, Commentary on the Gospel of Luke (NIC; London, 1950), p 587; Flesseman, Zur Bedeutung, p. 90f.

² France, Jesus and the OT, p. 103.

editing in this case makes even closer the connection between the praise of the people for the revelation of God's power in Jesus' healing ministry and Jesus' warning that the Son of Man must suffer before that full glory is revealed. Lk. 22:22 and Lk. 17:25 likewise bring together the suffering and glory aspects in a context where Jesus has just been talking about the glories of the kingdom which is coming (22:15-20; 17:22-37). Finally, in the face of the most glorious manifestation of the Son of Man before the Parousia, i.e. his resurrection, the angels remind the women that it is the one who suffered who is now glorified (24:7; cf. 24:25-27).

Our passage is unique because it is in the face of Jesus' humiliation and suffering, not some brief manifestation of his glory, that Jesus must bear witness to the other part of this pattern. Jesus is not speaking to an over confident following, who have too much faith, who believe that Jesus will bring in the kingdom in triumph now. The over confident followers did not understand that the way to messianic glory is through suffering. Jesus always had to bridle their enthusiasm and challenge them to forsake their shallow optimism for strong trust in the one who though he must suffer now, will in the end bring in his glorious victory. Jesus addresses, rather unbelieving leaders who have arrested and humiliated him. He bears witness not to his suffering but to the glory which will issue from it. Again Jesus' witness is intended to elicit a response of faith (22:67), for it points to circumstances beyond their present perception and, indeed contrary to their reasonable expectations of what will be this messianic pretender's end. Luke reports that Jesus makes this call for faith through an appeal to the OT prophetic promise of an oracle of the Lord (וְיָשׁוּעַ, Ps. 109(110):1; cf. the place of Scripture in another passion prediction, Lk. 18:31-34; cf. 24:25-27, 44-48). The function of the allusion then is to correct any misunderstanding of the nature of Jesus' messiahship and to so interpret Jesus' suffering before the leaders that they would again be called to faith in Jesus as the Messiah as they hear the witness of Scripture to one part of the pattern of suffering and

glory.

The question now is, what particular event following the Passion and signifying the Son of Man's glorification is predicted in this allusion? Before we consider the other use which Luke makes of Ps. 109(110):1/Ac. 2:34-35, we need to have clearly in mind the precise limits of the meaning of the allusion. In changing the oracle from a command to a statement of fact Luke shifts the emphasis from the thought of accession, the act of taking one's seat, to the result of that command, being in position at the right hand of God. The periphrastic form also places emphasis on duration which accords with this perspective.¹ It is the reign of the Son of Man, exalted in heaven which is then stressed rather than the assumption of that reign.² This need not be seen in opposition to the function of the allusion in Mark. The fact that Luke chooses a form of words, which does not have a possible reference to the Parousia (καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Mk. 14:62) does not necessarily mean that the Parousia thought so predominates the Markan presentation that there is no thought of a period of enthronement there also.³ The main difference between the Markan and Lukan accounts is in the way they communicate the power of Jesus' glorification. Mark lays emphasis on the imminent end of the period of enthronement when the Son of Man will come in glory as eschatological judge. Luke places his stress on the beginning of the period of enthronement which happens immediately and appears to continue for some time. To this difference in emphasis we need to return when we discuss the possible non-allusion to Da. 7:13 in Lk. 22:69.

¹BDF., § 352:7.

²Karnetzki, p. 34.

³Taylor (Mark, p. 569) and J. A. T. Robinson ("The Second Coming = Mark xiv.62," ExpT, LXVII (1955-56), p. 337) go even further and state that the reference to coming with clouds does not refer to the Parousia but to the same triumphal enthronement at the right hand of God as Ps. 109(110):1 does; Wilson (NTS, XVI, p. 336) disagrees.

It is often claimed that Luke understood Ps. 109(110):1 as a proof-text for one event, the ascension [cf. οὐ γὰρ Δαυὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, λέγει δὲ αὐτός... (Ps. 109(110):1/Ac. 2:34f.)].¹ This can be maintained for the use in Acts, which quotes the passage precisely from the LXX. The imperatival form of expression allows the identity of the act of ascension into the heavens into God's presence with the obedience to the command to sit at God's right hand. The difficulty with such an application of the allusion in Lk. 22:69 is not only the difference in emphasis between the act of taking one's seat and being seated. That could be overcome by saying that the allusion at the trial simply stresses the consequences of such an ascension. Rather, it is the lack of a clear picture from Luke in general of exactly when Jesus' entrance into his glory, his assumption of his place at the right hand of God, took place. Only hyphenated expressions like "Passion-Resurrection-Ascension" or "Resurrection-Ascension" seem to properly capture what Luke understands as the time when the glory comes.² The time marker ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν again helps us to understand that this glorified state of the Son of Man will take place immediately. When we note Jesus' last words (23:46) and the Risen Lord's description of his entering into his glory (24:26) as being a past event parallel with the crucifixion, we understand that Luke does not hold the accession to the right hand to take place only after the ascension. Luke's emphasis on immediacy and his general vagueness of approach concerning the entrance into glory means that we probably should not associate this prediction with any single event, resurrection or

¹J. Dupont, "L'Interprétation des Psaumes dans Les Actes des Apôtres," Études sur les Actes des Apôtres (Lectio Divina, XLV; Paris, 1967), p. 292; Lampe, Studies in the Gospels and Acts, p. 183.

²Rose, Le Psautier, p. 311.

ascension.¹ Rather, the time marker simply associates the glory closely with the suffering.

There is no direct influence of this allusion on the larger context of the passion narrative in the sense that its particular content has changed the way Luke has presented and interpreted the gospel tradition. What influence there is, is caused by Jesus' interpretation of the promise to mean that directly following suffering, the glory will come (cf. 23:43, 46). There is nothing in the content of the psalm which indicates such a connection.

The method by which this allusion is interpreted is the scheme of promise and fulfilment. It is understood as a messianic prophecy² and is appropriated as the content of a prediction which Jesus makes about himself as the Son of Man. The OT oracle is interpreted literally³ as the use of the title Son of Man and the response of the interrogators (22:70) shows. In the OT the Son of Man appears in heaven in the presence of God (Da. 7:13). Luke does not have the "coming with the clouds of heaven" phrase which would reinforce the literal interpretation, for it would be from heaven that the Son of Man would return.

The two elements in the larger original context to which some contend that this brief allusion points are the second half of the oracle⁴ and the second oracle (v.4) concerning the messianic high priest.⁵ The

¹ Contrast Lampe (Studies in the Gospels, p. 183), who does not take the grammar of Lk. 24:26 into account in his argument.

² France, Jesus and the OT, p. 103.

³ O. Linton ("The Trial of Jesus and the Interpretation of Psalm CX," NTS, VII (1960-61), p. 261) suggests that this literal interpretation was the basis for the charge of blasphemy against Jesus (Mk. 14:64). To claim to sit at his right hand was a presumption upon the prerogatives of God.

⁴ Dalman, Words, p. 310.

⁵ G. Friedrich ("Beobachtungen zur messianischen Hohepriestererwartung in den Synoptikern," ZTK, LIII (1956), p. 290f.) suggests that in the light of the Qumran sect's expectation of a messianic high priest who would re-establish the temple cult in the End-time, the charge against Jesus which

First of these suggestions has some merit for, as we have noted, the role of God in exalting the Son of Man seems to play a part in Luke's thinking. The thought of God's victory as retribution is not necessarily implied, however, in Luke's allusion. That this allusion to Ps. 109(110):1 necessarily points to the second oracle (v. 4) is not at all certain. There is nothing in what is quoted which implies it. There is nothing in the immediate context which demands it.

The question whether the NT use of Ps. 109(110):1 violates or respects the original OT context may be dealt with briefly. There is no violation but full literal respect for the grammatical sense of the passage. The identity of "my Lord" with the Son of Man might be said to be in violation of the original historical context. Since we have seen that a messianic interpretation of the psalm is probably the primary one,¹ the only new use of the original sense, though a significant one, is its application to Jesus himself.

the false witnesses brought was that Jesus claimed to be that messianic high priest, who would destroy and rebuild the temple. The brief question, "Are you the Christ?" was really the question, "Are you the high priestly Messiah?" Jesus answered "yes" by alluding to Psalm 109(110) which refers to the messianic high priest. Jesus was condemned for blasphemy on that application of the psalm to himself. The difficulty with this understanding of the use of Psalm 109(110), particularly for Luke, is that the testimony concerning the temple is missing as is the verdict of blasphemy; cf. A. J. B. Higgins' ("The OT and Some Aspects of NT Christology," *CJT*, VI, (1960), p. 207f.) criticism of Cullmann who makes a similar point.

¹ See above, p. 402; Vis' (p. 76) argument that Christians using the LXX first came to a messianic interpretation fails to be convincing because the LXX phrasing is only marginally more helpful for Christian apologetic than the Hebrew. In fact, the Christian apologetic is not based on an assumption that "my Lord" means Jesus. Rather, it is on the question of the identity of the person addressed and the fact that David cannot fulfill the qualifications of one who has ascended to heaven to sit at God's right hand, that Christians build their case for identifying the Risen and ascended Jesus as the addressee. If by the help of the LXX Vis means the attribution of the psalm to David which opens the way for the Messiah to be his Lord, he fails to recognize that this appears to be a tradition common in first century Judaism (Lk. 20:42-44) and not limited to the LXX (cf. Weiser, p. 692).

When Luke chose the source which reported the morning trial, he discarded a clear allusion to Da. 7:13 (Mk. 14:62—Τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου... μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; Da. 7:13—ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἔρχετο). The title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου , however, remains as the subject of the Ps. 109 (110):1 allusion (Lk. 22:69; cf. Mk. 14:62). The question arises whether we should regard the Lukan use of Son of Man in connection with Ps. 109(110):1 as also an allusion to Da. 7:13.¹ Though the verbal parallelism is reduced to the title Son of Man there is still a great deal of material parallelism between the NT allusion to Ps. 109(110):1 of which Son of Man is the subject and the Daniel 7 context. The environment of the action for both is heaven. Messiahship is understood in terms of exaltation and dominion received as a gift from God (cf. Da. 7:14).² The problem is to know whether the use of Son of Man is intended to be a pointer to the larger Daniel 7 context and thus is intended to function as a real allusion to a given OT passage. It could be that the title Son of Man is intended to receive new content, Davidic Messiah content, which would be contributed to it from the Ps. 109(110):1 allusion, without any reference to its original OT context.

Of the three categories of use of the title Son of Man in the Synoptic Gospels, the one which concerns the exalted and eschatological Son of Man has the greatest affinity with the original Danielic context. The references in this category may be divided into those which deal with the Son of Man in his exalted state (Lk. 22:69; Ac. 7:56) and those which describe the Son of Man's coming to earth with clouds or attended by heavenly hosts at the Last Day (Lk. 9:26; 12:8; 17:30; 21:27, 36). The one feature of

¹ France (Jesus and the OT, p. 261) classifies it as a clear verbal allusion along with Mt. and Mk.; Hahn (p. 66) lists it as a reminiscence; Dittmar (p. 21), however, does not classify it along with Mt. and Mk. as a quotation in the strict sense; Caird (Luke, p. 37) strongly contends that Luke by his non-use of the phrase "obliterates" any necessary connection between the OT passage and any given use of the title in his gospel.

² France, Jesus and the OT, p. 103.

material parallelism which those passages that describe the Son of Man in his exalted state have in common with the OT context is the environment of heaven (Ac. 7:56, the heavens open and the Son of Man is seen standing at the right hand of God). Lk. 22:69 is the less certain of the two. If the phrase "coming with the clouds of heaven" had been used, then presumably one could understand that seated at the right hand of God meant definitely exaltation in heaven from which one returned.¹ The heavenly context of the allusion cannot be established for certain without the aid of the allusion of Son of Man to its original context. Since such a context appears to be demanded by the response of the court (22:70), one may conclude that Luke intends even in this abbreviated form a combination allusion Da. 7:13/Ps. 109(110):1.

We must briefly note the possible reasons for Luke's choice not to allude to Da. 7:13 in such a manner that the weight of the Daniel allusion would fall on the glorified Son of Man's return to earth. We recognize, firstly, that Luke's omission is a result of his choice of a non-Markan source and a desire to report the morning hearing of the trial.² This tends to make of secondary importance explanations based on Luke's theological purposes. These, however, should still be taken into account. The general theological purpose of presenting in concise form a "compendium of Christology" should be understood as governing the choice of sources and event.

A heavily favored theological explanation is that Lukan eschatology does not emphasize an imminent Parousia, but rather has been adjusted to a delay in the return of Christ.³ This is, however, not sufficient

¹ Even the less likely interpretation of Robinson (*ExpT*, LXVII, p. 337) and Taylor (*Mark*, p. 569) does not mitigate the "coming with clouds" reference as indicating heaven as the context of enthronement.

² Schneider, p. 120.

³ Conzelmann, *Theology of Luke*, p. 84, n. 3; Suhl, p. 55; Lampe *Peake's Commentary*, p. 841.

reason in itself for there is no indication in the Markan statement that the return of the Son of Man immediately follows his exaltation, though the declaration that the Sanhedrin would witness these events seems to place some time limit on when they could occur.¹ Besides, there is in Luke no toning down of emphasis on the imminence of the Parousia (cf. Lk. 12:40; 17:24, 26, 30; 18:8; 21:27, 36). Rather, Luke wished to give proper positive emphasis to the intermediate state of the Son of Man's exaltation. It is not necessary to find a parenetic reason in such an emphasis.² A soteriological reason in the present context is in the forefront.

The function of the Son of Man's coming is judgment (9:26; 12:8, 10, 40; 17:22ff.; 21:36) and salvation (17:22ff.; 21:27, 28, 36). Because of the court's evident unbelieving attitude any statement about the Son of Man's coming would be a declaration of coming judgment on unbelievers. Luke avoids this in order to promote his theme of Jesus' innocence in two ways. It removes any hint of vindictiveness in Jesus' speech. Luke does not portray Jesus' avowal that just as they judge him now so he will

¹ Stonehouse, p. 157f.; cf. above, p. 408, n. 3; the choice not to reproduce "you will see" may be explained without regard to whether it signifies an immediate Parousia or not. Voss (p. 115) suggests that since Luke's purpose to elicit faith from such testimony to the suffering and glory of the Son of Man has the practical consequence that up to the Parousia it is only those who have faith who see the exalted Lord (Ac. 7:55); Gundry (The Use of the OT in Mt., p. 60) suggests that there is a faint recollection of Zech. 12:10 in the words "you will see" (Mt. 26:64/Mk. 14:62). The lack of verbal and material parallelism makes it unlikely that Mk. 14:62/Mt. 26:64 is a faint recollection of Zech. 12:10. Even if it were, Luke probably wouldn't have recognized it. He does not allude by way of expansion to this passage, as Mt. does, during the eschatological discourse (Mt. 24:30; cf. Lk. 21:27/Mk. 13:26); N. Perrin's ("Mark XIV.62: The End Product of a Christian Peshar Tradition?" NTS, XII (1965-66), pp. 150-155) attempt to overcome the lack of verbal parallelism through the proposal of peshar word play (ἐπιβλέψοντες... κόψονται, Zech. 12:10; ὄψονται (ὄψασθε), J. 18:37; Mk. 14:62/Mt. 26:64) is highly imaginative but not convincing.

² Tödt, p. 102; Stöcker, p. 262; Wilson, NTS, XVI, p. 337; All believe this affirmation of the exalted Son of Man is intended to strengthen the faith of the Church which must go on living in the intermediate period.

judge them later.¹ Positively, Jesus in his earthly ministry even on the cross is constantly portrayed as the one who seeks to save the lost (19:10; 23:34, 43). The best way Jesus could continue to offer salvation in this situation was to attempt to correct their view that a suffering, humiliated, defenceless prisoner could not be the victorious Messiah. He does so by bearing witness to the fact that God's plan of salvation will be fulfilled. God will glorify his Servant. This is a challenge to their apparent control of that hour. It is a call to them to acknowledge their dependence on God and to trust his saving purposes. For these soteriological reasons Luke chooses not to relate the Da. 7:13 allusion to the Parousia. Thus he does not include the phrase "coming with clouds."

The verbal parallelism of the Da. 7:13 allusion has been reduced to the title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, Lk. 22:69; υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου (ܘܝܝܬܝܢ) Da. 7:13. The text-form discrepancy, the use of the definite article with ἀνθρώπου in the singular of the expression, may be due to the influence of a certain dialect of Aramaic which Jesus used.² The development of the understanding of the phrase as the title of a particular figure may also have created this form in distinction from the literal rendering of the Hebrew or Aramaic, which more often than not means by the phrase (LXX, υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου) a human being, a man (cf. Ps. 8:5; Is. 51:12; Job 25:6; especially in the plural, cf. Ps. 20(21):11; 30(31):20; 145(146):3).³ Though the phrase in its original context is not used as a title but as a term of comparison (ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, Da. 7:13), this discrepancy

¹ cf. all the authors referred to in the previous footnote; Contrast Dillersberger (VI, p. 139), who sees even in this much cooler and more abrupt reply of the second hearing a statement concerning the coming judgment. Here it is expressed as separation from the Son of Man.

² Dalman, Words, p. 238.

³ cf. the practice of the Similitudes of Enoch in using as a messianic title what according to Dalman (Words, p. 242) is the Ethiopic equivalent of ܘܝܝܬܝܢ, 1 En. 62:5. This, of course, may be due to Christian influence; cf. Hahn, p. 147.

does not significantly alter the use or meaning of the phrase. Since there is no other name given to this figure and this is the fullest description of him, it is a natural development to turn this description into a title (cf. the Lord's anointed = $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$).

As far as the function and method of interpreting the allusion is concerned everything which has been predicated of the Ps. 109(110):1 allusion should be reiterated here.¹ We have already noted what portions of the larger OT context are pointed to by the brief mention of the title. The one distinctive thing which Son of Man contributes to the allusion is the placement of the session of the right hand and the reign of the Messiah definitely in the transcendent realm of heaven. Unlike the Davidic messianic idea which could be conceived of totally in human terms as an earthly reign which would never end, the Son of Man receives dominion when he appears with clouds before the Ancient of Days in heaven. The title in this way clearly corrects the political Messiah image and replaces it with a definitely transcendent spiritual one.

The possibility that such a use of the phrase violates the original OT context arises in two areas: the identification of the Son of Man with the Davidic Messiah and the description of his being seated on a throne. It is true that those who occupy thrones in Daniel 7 are the Ancient of Days and the heavenly court (Da. 7:9, 10, 22, 26). But the Son of Man is given dominion which by implication entitles him to occupy a throne (Da. 7:14; cf. 1 En. 62:1-9; 69:26-29). That this throne should be a sharing of God's throne at his right hand may be implied not only by the eternal dominion but the universal extent of his reign (cf. Ps. 109(110):1, 2, 6). There is no violation of context only a natural extension of the description of the Son of Man as ruler which is already present in Daniel 7.

Although we discovered that contemporary Judaism did not so interpret

¹ See above, p. 410.

Ps. 109(110) in his gospel to Mark (Lk. 20:42/Mk. 12:36). That the combination of allusions most probably comes from Jesus and not the early church may be understood from the fact that such a combination is almost unique with Jesus (cf. Ac. 7:56). It is the early church's well-known lack of use of Son of Man as a messianic title in any connection which makes it unlikely that they would be solely responsible for its use at this crucial point in the passion narrative. They would probably have chosen a clearer formulation of Christological confession as Luke's preference for a source which includes the explanatory question, "Are you then the Son of God?" indicates.¹ These allusions need not be seen as a Christian peshar which has been historicized.² Rather, the opposite is just as possible and in the light of the lack of parallel Jewish exegetical tradition more probable. Jesus, himself, during his earthly ministry did refer to Da. 7:13(Lk. 21:27) and Ps. 109(110):1(Lk. 20:42), separately and in combination (22:69). It is on the basis of that exegesis that the early church developed its understanding of those texts in the light of events which were their fulfilment and in response to contemporary needs

¹Dalman, Words, p. 255; Contrast Weidel (ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 225), who not unexpectedly calls it a community confession placed into the mouth of Jesus. But aside from Ac. 7:56, which is itself a witness to a vision and not a confession, nowhere does the early church confess as part of its faith: Jesus is the Son of Man.

²Contrast Perrin, NTS, XII, pp. 150-155. Aside from Ac. 7:56 there is no other example of NT exegesis of the OT which links these two passages. Karnetzki (p. 144) claims it is a development from the Jewish exegetical tradition found in apocalyptic literature (1 En. 62:3, 5). It was taken over as a combination unconsciously by the early church (pp. 19, 92) out of this general apocalyptic tradition about the Messiah; Doeve (Jewish Hermeneutics, p. 152) attempts to show from the Hebrew the link words between the two passages; Karnetzki's explanation does not maintain itself because it is based on 1 Enoch which is of doubtful pre-Christian origin. Even if the parallel witness to a combination of allusions could be established for pre-Christian Jewish exegetical tradition, this would still not decide the issue of the origin for it would be just as plausible that Jesus could work from that tradition as the early church. The real obstacle to attributing the origin of the combination allusion to Jesus is its function in a pre-resurrection-ascension-exaltation setting as a prediction of that very event. Those who are not open to the possibility of such supernatural foreknowledge find in the presence of parallel Jewish apocalyptic exegetical tradition, which they judge to be pre-Christian, a source for the early church's interpretation after the event.

(Ac. 2:34, 35; cf. Hb. 1:13).¹

How much development we should attribute to Luke in his choice of sources, which makes exaltation the main content of a Son of Man saying,² is questionable. We have seen how this content is present already in Mark. We should notice that the real development, understanding the verse as a prediction of the ascension (Ac. 2:34, 35), is present after the event in Acts. Lk. 22:69 does not show such development. Even its different emphasis on the present exaltation does not demand that the ascension must already have taken place before the allusion's significance could have been understood.³ Rather, as we have explained,⁴ the allusion functions within the trial narrative as an apologetic corrective of the Jewish view of the Messiah and as a witness to the coming glorious vindication of the Son of Man. This apologetic and witness give another opportunity for the Sanhedrin to repent and be saved. The allusion functioning in these ways makes historical sense as a word actually uttered at the Sanhedrin trial. The only creativity which Luke may show in his use of the allusion is his selection of a source which emphasizes present exaltation at the expense of imminent Parousia. Here the subsequent events may have molded Luke's thinking and made present exaltation more important to him.⁵

¹Ellis, *Neotestamentica et Semitica*, p. 67, n. 31.

²cf. Tödt's (p. 102) comment, "He thereby produces for the first and only time a Son of Man saying in which the main content is sessio ad dextram dei."

³Contrast Karnetzki, p. 34.

⁴See above, p. 416f.

⁵E. Lövestam ("Die Frage des Hohenpriesters (Mk. 14:61 par. Mt. 26:63)," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*, XXVI (1961), pp. 93-107) suggests that the conjunctions of the titles, Christ and Son of the Blessed, is an indication of an allusion to Psalm 2. He simply notes the difference in arrangement in Luke and does not call it a non-allusion. Lövestam's case is built as much on the later Jewish midrash [*Midr. Ps. 2 (9(14b))*] as on this comparison. Though Psalm 2 is important in Christian messianic understanding of the title Son of God, the mere mention of the title in connection with *ὁ χριστός*, is not enough verbal parallelism to point to an intended allusion which Luke overlooks at this point.

Old Testament Idea

In addition to the OT ideas which we have already encountered in the Da. 7:13 and Ps. 109(110):1 allusions, we need to consider what the OT contributes to Luke's use of πιστεύωτε; χριστός — (Lk. 22:67); and δ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ; ἐγώ εἰμι (22:70).

The absolute use of πιστεύω in the LXX (rendering the hiphil of פָּקַד) has the meaning "to have confidence" (Job 29:22(24); 39:24; cf. Sir. 2:13) or "to have faith," to so trust in God and his word that one's total existence is grounded in faith [Ex. 4:31; Is. 7:9; 28:16; Ps. 115:1 (116:10)] This second use develops as part of the description of the righteous man from the fact that a right relationship with God is chiefly characterized by trust in God's promises and belief in him after seeing his promises kept in history (e.g. Ex. 4:1; 4 Km. 17:14; Hab. 1:5). Belief is also the proper response to God's message through his prophets (Is. 7:9; 43:10; Jer. 25:8).

Luke's use of πιστεύω in Jesus' response (Lk. 22:67) follows the OT usage in two respects. If Jesus were to declare to them that he was God's Messiah, he would in essence be declaring that the word of the prophets had been fulfilled. As with the promise so with the fulfilment, the proper response is belief and rejoicing that God has indeed fulfilled his word. And more than this, the absolute use of πιστεύω indicates that such a belief would have to issue in a life of faith, a continuing relationship with God through the Messiah. The difference in Luke's use of πιστεύω from that of the OT is that the absolute use predominates (e.g. Lk. 8:12, 13; especially throughout Acts, e.g. Ac. 2:44; 8:13; 13:48 14:1; 17:12; 19:2). There is still concern with belief in the message of the prophets (Lk. 24:25; Ac. 24:14; 26:27), but there must also be belief in the fulfilment of their message in the mission of Jesus. It is faith in him which is at the center of the early church's proclamation (Ac. 8:37; 11:17; 16:31). Thus Luke adopts the OT pattern of the relationship between man and God and fills it with a new content, the Christocentric

faith of the Christian community. Jesus' answer to the court shows that this new Christocentric faith is one which God hopes to evoke not by Jesus' self witness but by the witness of the promises of Scripture. Hence the allusions to Ps. 109(110):1 and Da. 7:13 are the main content of Jesus' response. Just as the OT prophets do not bear witness to themselves but to the word of God which has been given to them, so Jesus, who is the very message of God's salvation in flesh, in the face of a question intended to involve his self witness, bears witness to himself through the means of a prophetic promise. He continues to stand within the OT pattern of God's declaration and man's response of faith. By bearing witness to prophetic promises, which are yet to be fulfilled, Jesus calls for faith from his interrogators.

The LXX uses *χριστός* (rendering mainly *מָשִׁיחַ*) to designate those who have been chosen, anointed, and appointed by God to a special mission which may also include a special rank (e.g. priests, Lev. 4:5, 16; the king, 1 Km. 2:35, 16:6; 24:7, especially David, his descendants, including possibly the Davidic Messiah, Ps. 17(18):51; 88(89):39; 131(132):10, 17; Cyrus, Is. 45:1; Israel, Ps. 27(28):8; 83(84):10; 104(105):15; Hab. 3:13; Lam. 4:20; and the eschatological ruler of Israel, Ps. 2:2?; Da. 9:26). Since the significance of the anointing, which creates an Anointed One, a Messiah, consists in God who does the anointing, *χριστός* is normally used in the OT with a personal possessive adjective or the genitive of *κύριος* or *θεός* (e.g. 1 Km. 16:6; Ps. 131(132):10, the only exception is Da. 9:26, *μετὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ* ; cf. 9:25 *ἕως χριστοῦ ἡγομένου*). Because of this general usage, especially the application of such a title to all of David's descendants, it is difficult to find in one OT passage the proper origin of the use of this title as a designation for the Messiah.¹ There is little confirmatory evidence from Intertestamental

¹Dalman, *Words*, p. 291; Contrast A. Robert ("Considerations sur le messianisme du psaume ii," *RSR*, XXXIX (1951-52), pp. 88-98), who sees Psalm 2 as messianic. This is the one psalm Dalman believes could

literature and contemporary Jewish sources that ὁ χριστός in the absolute sense was used in Jesus' day as a title for the Messiah.¹ Further, to understand what anyone meant when they used the term, we need to look at the immediate context.² In the case of Lk. 22:67, we might ask what the court meant when they asked the question and also what Luke meant when he reported the question and the response. Unfortunately, the court in Luke's report does not add any qualifiers to the title. We may only conclude from the charge which they bring against Jesus before Pilate (23:2, χριστὸν βασιλέα) and from the mockery (23:35, σωσάτω ἐαυτόν, εἰ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός), that they understood that the Messiah would be a political leader. That they meant "political leader" as they addressed Jesus with the simple command εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός, ἔλα ἡμῶν may only be conjectured from Jesus' response. For it is probably to be viewed as a corrective to their thinking.

Luke's use of χριστός includes both the qualified and absolute forms (e.g. 2:26; 3:15; 4:41; 9:20 cf. Mk. 8:29; Lk. 20:41; 24:26, 46). He assumes that "Messiah" is a title which may stand for an identifiable eschatological figure. Instead of dividing the mission of the Messiah into its various component offices and assigning these offices to

possibly serve as the OT origin for the title. In the other possible source, Da. 9:26, "the anointed one" does not stand on its own as a recognizable title for it must be further identified by "the prince."

¹ cf. Dalman, Words, pp. 289ff.; M. deJonge, "The use of the word 'anointed' in the time of Jesus," NovT, VIII (1966), pp. 132-148; The positive evidence is limited to Psa. Sol. 17:36; 18:6, 8; 2 Bar. 39:7; 40:1; 72:2 (this book may be post-Christian); Qumran uses the title absolutely only once (1 QSa 2:12). However, the other employments of the term with the qualifying terms Israel (1 QSa 2:20), Aaron and Israel (CD 12:23), from Aaron and Israel (CD 20:1), or holy (3Q 1, 2), more often than not do not include a possessive pronominal suffix. Thus the Qumran literature's use seems to be in line with what we find in Da. 9:26 and may show that the first century was a transition period in the use of the term. The community had not yet so identified the special characteristics of their concept of the Messiah with the use of the title that they could use the title absolutely. They needed the qualifiers "holy" or "of Aaron and Israel." Yet they had also begun to progress beyond the OT use in which its most specific content came from the fact that it was a title for the Davidic Messiah, the Anointed of the Lord.

² deJonge, NovT, VIII, p. 147.

different figures as the Qumran literature does with its Messiahs from Israel and from Aaron, the tendency in Luke is to bring all the features of the messianic mission together and fuse them into one composite image. Luke uses basically two titles as umbrella terms by which he signifies the one who fulfills all the promises made to Israel: χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. Although these titles are normally used by Luke in such a way that their identity in his thinking rather than their dissimilarity is emphasized (e.g. 4:41; cf. 9:20, 22),¹ yet each title has a different function, which their use in this Sanhedrin hearing clearly brings out. The term χριστός serves as the messianic designation of Jesus as understood according to the OT promises. Though it is not secondary in Luke's thinking,² it does seem to suffer under the handicap of most common contemporary Jewish expectations. These limited it to the designation of a political leader who would usher in the kingdom of God through victory over Israel's oppressors and the re-establishment of the Davidic monarchy.³ Luke's understanding of the mission of the χριστός involves two features which radically alter this picture. The Messiah must suffer and die (24:26, 46; Ac. 3:18; 17:3; 26:23). The Messiah must receive his reign which is a spiritual reign through exaltation to God's right hand (Lk. 24:26; Ac. 2:33, 36). Luke in the process of redefining χριστός preserves the basic idea of Messiah as the final descendant in David's line who receives the fulfilment of all the promises made to David. Luke skilfully maintains

¹ Catchpole (The Trial of Jesus (1970), p. 64) sees this tendency in Luke as evidence for the explanation that the separation of the titles into two questions (22:67, 70) comes not from Luke's editing of Mark but his use of a non-Markan source; Contrast Zahn, Lukas, p. 693.

² Contrast Borsch, p. 392, n. 2.

³ F. F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, p. 37; Contrast deJonge, NovT, VIII, p. 132; cf. the substitution of מִשְׁחָא דְּמַלְכָּא for מִלְכָּא at Gen. 49:10 in Tg. Jer. I, II, Onkelos, which McNamara (The NT and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (Analecta Biblica, XXVII; Rome, 1965), p. 239) observes accords with what we know of messianic beliefs in NT times from the Gospels and Josephus.

both the continuity and discontinuity between the Jewish expectation and the Christian understanding by at the same time arguing from OT promises made to David and his descendants (e.g. Ps. 109(110):1/Ac. 2:34-36; Ps. 15 (16):8-11/Ac. 2:25-31) and showing that their fulfilment far exceeded the current Jewish expectation. This is what Luke has done with the term in the Sanhedrin hearing narrative. The Jews have come with one understanding, which we may reconstruct only in contrast to what Jesus expresses. Luke takes that term in its absolute, unqualified form as it appears in his source and does two things with it. As he does in the other cases where he wants to point out the necessity of either the Messiah's suffering or his transcendent exaltation and reign, Luke seems to empty the term of any specific content. It is merely a term standing for a fairly undefined figure concerning whom some new content will be argued from the OT. It is not a matter of Luke either editorially separating the combined titles of the Markan question or using a non-Markan source because he knew that the titles did not belong together.¹ He has not chosen to separate them because he wants to make a compendium of Christology which shows that all the titles mean the same thing.² Rather, Luke wants to construct in the form of a confession a brief apologetic for the exaltation of the Messiah as an essential feature of his mission. Instead of having the Christians pose the question: "Ought not the Christ to enter into his glory?" (cf. Ac. 17:3; 26:23), it is the Jews who ask the question. But they do it in the more general way so that it is still the Christians, in this case the founder of Christianity, who are clearly the source of the new Christocentric content. Thus, the absolute form is the starting point for the new interpretation which Jesus is going to give to the Messiah. Its absolute use, aside from reflecting the kind

¹ Contrast Grundmann, p. 420; Hauck, p. 275; See above, p. 423, n. 1.

² Contrast Conzelmann, Theology of Luke, p. 84, n. 3; Voss, p. 116.

of unadorned question which might be expected of the Jewish understanding,¹ then, allows the true source of the Christian understanding to be clearly presented.

The second function of the absolute use of $\delta\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ is to provide a fairly undefined term into which the Christian understanding may be poured. This Luke does through a combination allusion which maintains continuity with the OT and Jewish understanding of the Davidic Messiah (Ps. 109(110):1) and yet goes beyond popular expectation concerning that Messiah. His rule is to be in heaven (Da. 7:13). He may rightly be called the Son of God. Thus Luke radically transforms the understanding of $\delta\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ giving him a heavenly glory equal to that of the Son of Man.² The OT understanding of $\delta\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ is not negated by this spiritualizing, rather the Davidic Messiah is brought to a fullness of glory³ and a supremacy of kingship in the heavenly sphere and over the hearts of men which far surpasses the glory of earthly rule which was predicated of him.

Jesus has answered the question, "If you are the Christ, tell us," with a declaration, "But from now on the Son of Man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God" (Lk. 22:67, 69). The Sanhedrin respond, "Are you the Son of God, then?" (22:70). There is something in the way Jesus answered the first question with OT allusions which evoked from the Sanhedrin this second question.⁴ The question may be said to

¹cf. Catchpole (The Trial of Jesus (1971), p. 198), who suggests that Mk. 14:62 may be a kerygmaticized form of the question.

²cf. Tüdt (p. 102), who shows how the use of titles moves towards a climax.

³George, Sci. Eccl., XIV, p. 62.

⁴Stüger, p. 263; Tüdt, p. 102; Contrast Schneider (p. 124), who says that Luke uses $\delta\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ as a resumptive particle to continue a narrative which has been broken. This supports Schneider's conclusion that the second question actually has the same content as the first. Verses 68-69 are in effect a parenthesis; Schneider fails to recognize the difference between the resumptive use of $\delta\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ in narrative (e.g. 3:7, 18; Ac. 8:25; 12:5) and its inferential use in conversation (e.g. Lk. 16:27; 20:17; Mk. 12:10; 21:7/Mk. 13:4; Ac. 19:3). In response to the answer to one's question or to a statement which has been made, a party in a conversation

concern, generally messianic understandings. We again encounter the twofold perspective: what did the leaders intend by ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and what did Luke mean by it?

In the LXX the title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and related designations name heavenly beings, angels (Gen. 6:2; Ps. 28(29):1; 88(89):7); Israel (e.g. Ex. 4:22; Dt. 8:5; Is. 1:2); the king and possibly the Messiah (2 Km. 7:14; Ps. 2:7; Ps. 88(89):27-28); and in OT apocryphal literature, the righteous man (e.g. Wsd. 2:10-20; 5:5). Of immediate interest are the uses involving heavenly beings, who somehow partake of the divine nature, and the king, who by God's calling him into a relationship of obedience, is designated God's son.

As in the case of χριστός there is only slight evidence for the use of Son of God as a title for the Messiah in the first century Judaism.¹

may seek to draw an inference. In our case, the Sanhedrin ask a further question in order to get the gist of Jesus' statement about the Son of Man and particularly that statement's significance for any claims he would make about himself: "Are you then the Son of God?" The οὕτως shows exactly the opposite of what Schneider claims for it. It indicates that the second question, though generally related to the whole line of questioning, is particularly related to v. 69. It puts in the form of a question the logical inference from Jesus' response for any claims he is making about himself.

¹Ps. Sol. 17:22-24 interprets Psalm 2 messianically but does not take up "Son" (Ps. 2:7) as a messianic designation; 1 En. 105:2 may be a Christian interpolation for the verse is not found in the Chester Beatty papyri or the Qumran mss (Hahn, pp. 279ff.); 4 Esdras (7:28; 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9) may be post-Christian in origin and as other translations show, the original Hebrew translated into Greek as "son" was probably ἱἱς; The most helpful positive evidence comes from Qumran (4 QFlor; 1 QSa 2:11) and the rabbinic messianic interpretation of Psalm 2. In the Qumran literature both 2 Km. 7:11-14 (4 QFlor 1:11) and Psalm 2 (4 QFlor 1:18f.) are interpreted messianically, though admittedly only in the 2 Km. 7:14 quotation is the designation "my Son" connected with the Messiah. Ps. 2:7 is not quoted. 1 QSa 2:11 is important for it contains a description of the Messiah as one whom God ἱἱς. As in the case of χριστός we notice that the Qumran literature is beginning to recognize that the Davidic Messiah may be described in terms of divine sonship. When this Qumran evidence is combined with some rabbinic evidence from the 2nd century A.D., which interprets Ps. 2:7 messianically (SBK, III, p. 19 citing b. Sukka 52a), we have at least the possibility created that Son of God could have been understood as a messianic title by Jews in the first century (Borsch, p. 367; Hahn, pp. 279ff.; R. N. Longenecker, The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity (SBT, 2nd ser. XVII; London, 1970), p. 97; Contrast Lövestam (Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok, XXVI), p. 95, n. 10; Conzelmann, Outline of NT Theology, p. 76). But, again, it should be stressed that

Still the evidence is sufficient to allow for the possibility of the title's use within a context which indicates that the Davidic Messiah is meant by such a designation.¹

The leaders as we have seen, are not just repeating the question, "Are you the Christ?" It is true that they seem to be still working in the general messianic framework when they ask, "Are you, then, the Son of God?"² But they take up Jesus' own description of his messianic rule, exalted at the right hand of God, and they understand it in the best way they are able by asking whether Jesus actually claims a divine sovereignty which would make him the Son of God (e.g. Ps. 2:7f.).³ But by using this title they are asking more. They are inquiring whether Jesus with his declaration concerning the Son of Man's exaltation is actually claiming for himself a share in the divine nature (e.g. Gen. 6:2, Ps. 28(29):1; 88(89):7).⁴ This is how the charge of blasphemy, arrogating to oneself the prerogatives of God, arises.⁵ It is really then a question concerning the basic nature of messiahship, which, if answered in the affirmative, is clearly inadmissible to the Sanhedrin.⁶

What did Luke mean by "Son of God" when he used it here? For Luke, in many ways, the term "Son of God" is the key to his Christology. Though it occurs only three times in Acts its function there is at the very heart of the gospel proclamation (Ac. 9:20-22; 13:33) and the early

such a title did not yet seem to have its own identifiable content or an independent existence.

¹SBK, III, p. 20; cf. Tg. Ps. 80:16; Mek. Ex. 15:9(48b).

²B. Weiss, A Commentary on the NT, trans. G.H. Schodde and E. Wilson (N.Y., 1906), Vol. II-Luke-The Acts, p. 194.

³Lövestam, Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok, XXVI, p. 100.

⁴D. G. Miller, p. 160; Plummer, p. 519.

⁵Stöcker, p. 263; Hastings, p. 85f.

⁶Loisy, Luc, p. 541.

church's confession of its faith (Ac. 8:37).¹ In the gospel it is a title which expresses the unique nature of Jesus' messiahship: his exalted position as the fulfilment of promises made to David (e.g. Lk. 1:32, 35) and his close relationship with God his Father (e.g. 3:22; 9:35). Like "Son of Man" it expresses both the glory and the humbling through obedience even to death of the Messiah (cf. 22:42; 23:46).²

What the OT contributes to Luke's use of the title is a messianic, and a monotheistic perspective. These two viewpoints complement one another and as in the case of χριστός enable the claims which are made for Jesus to be seen in continuity with the revelation of God through the prophets.

Jesus is the Son of God for Luke only because he is first of all the Messiah (cf. 1:32, 35; 4:41).³ The aspects of messiahship which divine sonship expresses are election to a place of honor and power (cf. Ps. 2:7f.; Ps. 109(110):1) and at the same time total dependence on God who has done the electing (cf. 2 Km. 7:14). That is why in the OT the idea of divine sonship is expressed mostly in the way God addresses the Davidic line and their heirs, namely as "my Son." This form of address would naturally develop into the appellative, "Son of God," just as the

¹ Contrast Longenecker (p. 98), who treats it as a title more appropriate to the Jewish than Gentile mission and which was for that reason played down by Luke. It is true that the term might possibly be misunderstood when used in a totally pagan context (see below, p. 611f). But for Luke the title though used rarely, always occurs in contexts which concern the revelation (1:32, 35; 3:22; 9:35) and confession (Ac. 8:37; 9:20-22) of Jesus' essential nature.

² George, RB, LXXII, p. 207f.

³ Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive, p. 203; Contrast Cullmann (p. 279), who argues generally that the lack of the use of "Son of God" as a messianic title in first century Judaism means that the questioning of the high priest does not involve a use of "Son of God" within a messianic perspective. He sees Luke's separation of the titles as evidence for their independence of origin. Cullmann, however, fails to take account of the whole course of the questioning and the function of the ὁ υἱός.

idea of Davidic descent would be rendered "Son of David."¹ We can already see how the monotheistic perspective is maintained even in the use of such an exalted title. It is God and God alone who determines who qualifies to be his son. The essential ingredient of such sonship is a relationship of obedience. It is not coincidental that all of these points have been made already in connection with the significance of the two allusions at v. 69. The title "Son of God" appropriately sums up all that is entailed in being the Son of Man exalted to the right hand of God.²

The one unique quality which characterized for Luke and early Christians the holder of this title was participation in the divine nature.³ Through the literal interpretation of Ps. 109(110):1 and Ps. 2:7(cf. Ac. 13:33, where Ps. 2:7 is taken as a promise of resurrection) Jesus and the early church maintain that the fulfilment of the promises to the Messiah means exaltation to heaven and participation in the divine nature.⁴ Thus, the term comes to stand for a glorification of the Messiah which is prepared for in the OT but which the Jews did not expect in such fullness. The key event which demonstrates that such glorification is what the OT envisioned is the resurrection-ascension.

The OT idea, the self designation of God $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota\ \delta\ \omega\upsilon$ (Ex. 3:14), may be reflected in the wording of Jesus' reply to the court ($\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$

¹cf. Hahn (p. 283) though he notes that the hesitancy to include the name of God in a title might impede such a development as a messianic title among the Jews.

²cf. Voss, p. 239.

³Dalman, Words, p. 281; Easton, Luke, p. 337; Hauck, p. 275.

⁴TDNT, VIII, p. 381; Contrast Flender (Luke, Theologian, p. 41f.), who believes that $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\delta\ \upsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ represent for Luke the two different modes of Jesus' existence. They are differentiated and stand in climactic parallelism. Flender does not see the relationship between them in terms of messiahship issuing in divine sonship; cf. Catchpole's (The Trial of Jesus (1971), p. 199) criticism.

ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, Lk. 22:70).¹ Luke's phrasing may also be taken as an "ambiguous affirmative" in which the key words of the question are repeated in the answer.² Jesus' choice of words to repeat may have no more significance than to indicate the he affirms, however ambiguously,³ the entire content of question. We have no other evidence in Luke of any theological significance attached to ἐγώ εἰμι (cf. 21:8, false Christs; Ac. 9:5; 26:15, Jesus' address to Paul). It is best to see this (Lk. 22:70) as a coincidence of expression which Luke has not capitalized upon (cf. Is. 43:10; 52:6; 2 Km. 12:7).

Old Testament Style

The LXX style imitation of this section is confined mainly to the dialogue. There is no general pattern of parataxis using καί (καί, 2X; δέ, 6X); v. 66 contains one possible case of parataxis). The word order is predominantly non-semitic with respect to subject-verb (verb-subject-object: 4X; subject-verb-object: 7X), although there is a frequent occurrence of genitives in the post-positive position (e.g. τὸ πρεσβυτέρειον τοῦ λαοῦ, v. 66; ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ, v. 69; ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, v. 70). "Son of God" and "Son of Man" are technical terms which seem to have developed this fixed form. Their post-positive character along with the other examples (τὸ πρεσβυτέρειον τοῦ λαοῦ may also be understood as technically fixed; "power of God" may be the result of explanatory editing) may be explained from causes other than LXX style

¹ Stöcker, p. 263; Goppelt, p. 106.

² M. E. Thrall (Greek Particles in the NT: Linguistic and Exegetical Studies (NT Tools and Studies, II; Leiden, 1962), p. 76) gives the following examples: Plato, R. 352E, οὐδ' οἰοῦσινταί καὶ μισήσουσι καὶ ἐχθροὶ ἔσονται ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς; ἐσονται ἐργή ----- cf. 350C; Sophocles, Oedipus 1475-76.

³ It is not an evasion (Klostermann, p. 221) or even a reluctant concession to the truth of the question's content (Dalman, Words, p. 310 citing rabbinic evidence). Rather, it is a confession which is brought in line with the theological principle that Jesus does not openly proclaim his messiahship until after the events which constitute his entrance upon it have run their course (cf. O'Neill, p. 125; Flender, Luke, Theologian, p. 45f.).

imitation. Still, coincidentally they add OT flavor to the narrative. One other possibly semitic characteristic of the general structure is the parallelism in vv. 67, 68. We have already seen that it is probably not inspired by any specific OT passage.¹ Still Luke takes over this feature unchanged from his source,² probably out of respect for the words of Jesus. It also contributes coincidentally OT flavor, lending authority to the words of Jesus or merely reproducing the style in which he was accustomed to speak.

Luke introduces the trial scene with the LXX and Lukan stylistic element,³ the use of ὡς as a temporal subordinate conjunction. This seems to set the whole narrative immediately in the theological perspective of salvation history. It may show Luke's editorial hand at work (cf. Lk. 8:47/Mk. 5:33; Lk. 11:1; Ac. 1:10; 10:25), but it also may be a LXX stylistic element from his non-Markan source.⁴ In either case, though not as unmistakable an indicator of LXX style imitation as καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς, its presence still may place the trial scene in a salvation history context.

Several other features of LXX style adorn the interrogation. The verbs of speaking, which introduce both Jesus' (v. 67, εἰπὼν δέ ; v. 70 πρὸς... εἶπεν) and the court's speech (v. 67, λέγοντες, which is not exactly pleonastic; v. 70, εἰπὼν δέ), accord with LXX style.⁵ Since each part of the interrogation has its own importance it is difficult to

¹ See above, p. 398.

² Catchpole (The Trial of Jesus (1970), p. 64) and Schneider (p. 115) observe that it is unlikely Luke would introduce the structure.

³ Hawkins (Horae Synopticae, p. 23) classifies this construction as a distinctive element in Luke's style which is related to the LXX; Contrast Wellhausen (p. 16), who sees it as part of translation Greek from semitic sources; See below, p. 501.

⁴ Schneider, p. 106; Taylor, The Passion Narrative, p. 90.

⁵ See above, pp. 305, 370; See below, p. 445.

see that the placement of these LXX style elements as the introductory verbs for the various parts carries any particular significance. We will simply note that both of Jesus' replies are marked by these elements. The last time $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\pi\alpha\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ was used of Jesus' speech was at Lk. 22:52, when he addressed the arrest party. There has been no recorded speech of Jesus in Luke since then. We have noted a possible pattern, for $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\pi\alpha\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ introduces Jesus' concluding remarks at the table (22:36); his interpretive remarks to the crowd (22:52); and now his important reply to the Sanhedrin. The LXX style reinforces the salvation significance of what is being said. The same may be suggested for the introduction to the Sanhedrin's question: "Are you then the Son of God?" (22:70, $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\pi\alpha\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$).

Another pattern to which this section contributes is the use of $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ with a verb of speaking. Luke, as we have noted, uses the preposition normally when the following statement is of decisive importance and when it is addressed to a group of people (cf. 22:15, 52, 70). Again the LXX style may point to the salvation history context in which the statement should be understood. While Luke is probably responsible for $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \dots\ \epsilon\psi\eta$,¹ it is less certain that the $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\pi\alpha\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ construction came solely from him. Whether from Luke or his source these two LXX style elements converge in this narrative and reinforce its theological importance.

The use of the double negative $\circ\upsilon\mu\eta$ to signify strong denial occurs in Luke-Acts mainly in the words of Jesus and LXX quotations (e.g. Lk. 6:37b; 10:19; 18:7; 9:27; 18:17; 12:59; Ac. 13:41; 28:26; an exception, Lk. 1:15). It cannot be established as a feature of Luke's style for he inserts the construction only twice (Lk. 21:33/Mk. 13:31; Lk. 8:17/Mk. 4:22, where he may be under the influence of the current form of the saying which he knew, cf. Lk. 12:2).² But the construction is definitely a

¹ Schneider, p. 125.

² Schürmann, I-Der Paschamahlabericht, p. 17.

feature of LXX style. In the LXX it frequently renders אֵל (e.g. Gen. 3:1; Ex. 4:21; Is. 2:4; Jer. 1:19; in a few cases אֵל e.g. Lev. 11:43; Is. 2:9). Its presence in the words of Jesus may be evidence of an attempt to express the authority of his words. The fact that this is a characteristic of LXX style and especially the words of the prophets declaring the word of God (e.g. Is. 55:11; Jer. 15:20; Hab. 1:5; Hos. 10:9) aids in the general purpose of giving emphasis through the double negative. In fact, much of the force which it is said to have lost since classical times¹ may be recovered in Luke's selective use. In Lk. 22:67, 68 as at Lk. 22:16, 18, Luke is probably not originally responsible for the construction.² But he allows the construction to stand and indicates by it Jesus' perception of the hard-heartedness of those who question him (cf. 16:31).

A final feature of LXX style (ἡκούσαμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ 22:71) is an example of the OT custom of indicating the whole person by a part of the body.³ In the LXX the use of στόμα with a preposition of source normally involves ἐκ not ἀπὸ (e.g. Num. 30:3; 2 Ch. 36:12; Ps. 8:3; Is. 55:11; but cf. especially in Jeremiah the use with ἀπὸ, Pr. 12:14; 16:23; Jer. 23:16; 43(36):18, 27; 51:31(45:1); Ezk. 24:22). This phrase with either ἐκ or ἀπὸ normally renders אֶל and sometimes אֶל־אֵל (ἐκ, Ex. 23:13; cf. ἀπὸ, Ezk. 24:22), or אֶל (ἐκ, Pr. 14:3; 26:7). Because the phrase is sometimes inserted into the Greek translation to make for clarity (e.g. ἐκ, Dt. 32:1; 1 Km. 1:23; 2:23; ἀπὸ, 2 Esdr. 19:20; Pr. 16:23), and since it occurs in the OT apocryphal books with some frequency (e.g. 1 Esdr. 1:26, 45; Sir. 21:5; 28:12), we may take it

¹BDF, § 365.

²Schneider, p. 115; Schürmann, I-Der Paschamahlsbericht, p. 17.

³Johnson, JBL, LVI, p. 333; Turner (Kilpatrick Festschrift, p. 13) calls it a secondary semitism in Luke's style, since it is possible in Greek; e.g. Xenophon, Mem. III:6:9, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμ' οὐτῶ γε ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν.

not only as an identifiable LXX stylistic element but also as a feature of LXX style imitation. The construction in Luke also normally employs ἐκ (Lk. 4:22 inserted into Mk. 6:2; Lk. 11:54; 19:22 cf. Mt. 25:26; Ac. 22:14). Since this is the only occurrence with ἐκ, it is hard to maintain that it is the result of Lukan editing.¹ Luke takes over his source and its LXX style, which emphasizes that the court makes its decision on the basis of what Jesus himself has said. It is style appropriate for the speech of Jewish leaders and also to the importance of what they say. Luke, then, in his use of sources presents a narrative which begins and ends with LXX stylistic coloring. When these features are combined with the LXX coloring in Jesus' words, the trial scene may be seen to be presented, even on the stylistic level, as an event with significance for salvation history for it is presented in the style of the record of God's dealing with men.

¹Contrast Schneider, p. 132.

CHAPTER XIII

LUKE 23:1-5: THE TRIAL BEFORE PILATE

Introduction

The Sanhedrin court leads Jesus away to Pilate, the Roman governor. Luke records the trial before Pilate with the use of Mark and a non-Markan source.¹ We are able to isolate the majority of words held in common between Mark and Luke (Lk. 23:3/Mk. 15:2) and hence identify the Markan material as an insertion.² There is a verbal point of contact between John and Luke (Lk. 23:4/J. 18:38.)³ These facts give us reason to believe that a non-Markan source is basic in the section. The OT material in this brief account of the initial stages of the trial consists of several non-allusions (Mk. 15:4/Is. 52:13; 53:7), some OT ideas in the wording of the charges brought against Jesus (Χριστὸν βασιλέα, Lk. 23:2; ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, 23:3; Ἰουδαία, 23:5), and a number of LXX stylistic elements.

Old Testament Allusion

The silence of Jesus in the face of his accusers along with Pilate's amazement at that behavior (Mk. 15:5) is sometimes understood as an allusion to Is. 52:13; 53:7 (Mk. 15:5, ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔτι οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίθη, ὥστε θαυμάσειν τὸν Πιλάτον; Is. 53:7, οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα; 52:13, θαυμάσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ).⁴ Though there is no verbal

¹Taylor, The Passion Narrative, p. 86f.; Easton (Luke, p. 341) sees it as his "L"; Contrast Creed, p. 279; Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 272; Bultmann believes that Luke edits Mark out of an interest to present the Sanhedrin as producing a proper case against Jesus. Hauck (p. 276) suggests that the editing could have been done from the apologetic motive of showing that the Roman authorities held Jesus to be innocent. Grundmann (p. 421) understands that the same motive is at work in Luke's writing, but says that it governed his choice of a non-Markan source over Mark; Klostermann (p. 221) finds it difficult to decide between Mark and non-Markan material as the basic source.

²B. Weiss, II, p. 195; Taylor, The Passion Narrative, p. 86.

³Boismard (II, p. 409) sees it as evidence for their common dependence on a Proto-Luke; Grant (p. 298) also suggests that Lk. 23:4 might be a later insertion under the influence of John.

⁴Maurer, ZTK, L, p. 7; Finegan, p. 74; Hillmann, p. 186; Contrast

parallelism, the material parallelism is stronger here than at Mk. 14:61. It is in the face of charges, whether true or false, which have the evident capability of convicting and condemning him, that Jesus remains silent. If the charges did not have that power, the amazement of Pilate remains unexplained.¹ If we take Is. 53:8 (Τὰ πένωσται ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἥσυχ) as the interpretation of the image in Is. 53:7, then we may understand that the Servant's silence consisted not only in his non-resistance during the very act of execution (Is. 53:8, ὅτι ἀρεταὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡσυχ αὐτοῦ... ἥσυχ εἰς θάνατον). It also extended possibly to the situation in which "his judgment was taken away," an unjust trial during which his silence, signifying a lack of defence, contributed to the unjust result. This materially accords with the effects of Jesus' silence. A contributing piece of evidence for seeing these details as an OT allusion is the verbal and material parallelism of Pilate's amazement (Mk. 15:5, θαυμάζειν τὸν Πιλάτον (cf. Mk. 15:44); Is. 52:13, θαυμάζουσιν ἐθνη). The material parallelism consists in both Pilate's nationality as a Gentile and his amazement at one of the unusual features of Jesus' (the Servant's) suffering. We may with caution then accept these details as expressed or at least preserved under the influence of Isaiah 53.

The immediate explanation of Luke's lack of allusion is his choice of a non-Markan source as the basis for his narrative. That Luke knew the connection between Is. 53:7 and Jesus' suffering may be seen from his use of it in the missionary witness in Acts (Ac. 8:32, 33). In view of this it is necessary to find reasons for his conscious omission of these details which would have furthered this missionary apologetic.²

Suhl, p. 57; Karnetzki (p. 85) understands it as a coincidental correspondence of fact and not a conscious allusion, Kontextzitat.

¹A. N. Sherwin-White (Roman Society and Roman Law in the NT (Oxford, 1963), p. 25) explains the Roman judicial process this way: "The accusers allege facts, and the judge decides what to make of them. Since there was no defense, Pilate had no option but to convict. That was the essence of the system."

²Contrast Hillmann (p. 186), who says that the details had no special meaning for Luke and that he simply passes over them.

The main reason for Luke's choice of sources is his desire to have Pilate positively attest Jesus' innocence. In Mark the progress of the interrogation runs from Pilate's question and Jesus' answer to the accusations by the leaders and silence. At this Pilate expresses his amazement, but does not give any positive declaration that Jesus is innocent. In Luke, the interrogation of Jesus is preceded by the statement of the charges against him. It is followed by Pilate's declaration of innocence and still further accusations by the Jews. Luke in order to promote his theme of Jesus' innocence and the consequent harmlessness of his claims in political or legal terms, chooses the account with the positive declaration over the account in which Pilate is merely amazed at Jesus' lack of defence before his accusers.¹ In the process a possible allusion to Is. 53:7 and Is. 52:13 is lost.

Such a loss appears to be part of a developing pattern for the way Luke shows the fulfilment of Scripture in general and Is. 53:12 in particular. He does so through allusions not in the narrative portions but mainly in the words of Jesus. He chooses to develop the fulfilment of Is. 53:12 thematically. One of the key pillars of that theme, Jesus' innocence, is advanced by Pilate's declarations (Lk. 23:4, 14, 22). This time Luke's thematic development of the fulfilment of Is. 53:12 advances at the expense of another possible method for showing fulfilment, allusion to another portion of the larger original context.

Old Testament Idea

The titles ascribed to Jesus and the mission he is said to have accomplished contain several OT ideas. Jesus' accusers charge that he

¹cf. Schneider, p. 160; Fleigel, p. 100.

²Hühn (p. 66) suggests that Jesus' reply is reminiscent of Ex. 10:29. This is Moses' concessionary response to Pharaoh's command. Concession may also be part of the motivation for the form of Jesus' answer; cf. Dalman, Words, p. 310.

has claimed to be $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ (23:2).¹ The term $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ is explanatory of $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$.² This is only natural when the title, "the Anointed One," is used in conversation with a Gentile.³ This qualification, which implies that the Jewish leaders understood the office of Messiah as that of a political ruler, should not be taken as evidence that they understood it only in these terms. They are seeking charges against Jesus which will hold up in a Roman court. Thus, they would choose that interpretation of Messiah which would appear the most dangerous to Roman authority. Luke has so presented the spiritual nature of Jesus' kingdom and his messiahship elsewhere in his gospel (cf. in passion narrative, 22:28-30, 69) that his Christology becomes a positive argument in his apologetic, at this point, concerning the harmlessness of Christianity.⁴ If Jesus is basically a transcendent spiritual king, he is no earthly political king. Hence he is no immediate threat to Roman authority. Thus, Pilate can declare he finds no fault in him. Jesus' answer to Pilate's question, then, is necessarily an evasion. Pilate has the wrong idea about the nature of Jesus' kingship but he is right in that Jesus is a king. This Luke and the early Christians confess (cf. 19:38/Mk. 11:10; Ac. 17:7), but they prefer to use the term $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ rather than $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$ when they make that confession.

The other title ascribed to Jesus, "the king of the Jews," exhibits the totally secular and political understanding of Messiah. This is shown by the use of $\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\delta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and not $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\lambda$ to signify the nation. The former was commonly used by non-Jews to designate the Jewish nation and normally has no theological significance.⁵ The latter as we have

¹See above (p. 421) for a full discussion of $\delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$.

²Klostermann, p. 222; Dalman, Words, pp. 293, 304.

³Creed, p. 281.

⁴Conzelmann, Theology of Luke, p. 85.

⁵Hahn, p. 160; Note its use predominantly in LXX books describing events in the exile and after (e.g. Zech. 8:23; Esth. 3:6, 10; 2 Esdr. 12:16). Previously it had the specialized usage designating men of the tribe of Judah (e.g. 4 Km. 16:6).

seen is used to indicate the nation as the people of God.¹

It has been suggested that Luke uses *Ἰουδαία* in his gospel (cf. Lk. 23:5) not carelessly "but deliberately because of its theological significance. The Christ is sent to, and works in Jewry."² The term is used in the LXX most often to render *יְהוּדָה*, which is the name of one of Jacob's sons (Gen. 37:26); the tribe descending from him (Dt. 33:7); the territory they inhabit (1 Km. 23:3); and the southern kingdom under the dynasty of David's descendants (4 Km. 14:11). *Ἰουδαία* shares the translation duties with *Ἰουδᾶ* and the division of labor is not too precise. While *Ἰουδᾶ* normally translates the name of Jacob's son, Judah (e.g. Gen. 29:35), both terms may translate the other meanings (tribe, Dt. 27:12; 1 Km. 17:1; territory, 2 Esdr. 17:6; Ps. 68(69):36; southern kingdom, 2 Ch. 21:11; 17:19). Theological significance comes to be attached to *Ἰουδαία* in the OT as a result of its use as the designation for the southern kingdom. There are the prophetic promises to the land of Judah and Jerusalem. First, they will be judged by the wrath of God (e.g. Is. 8:8; Zech. 12:2). Then they will be restored by the mercy of God (e.g. Jo. 4(3):19, 20; Is. 44:26; Jer. 38(31):23; Ps. 68(69):36). Judah or Judea as a recipient of these promises, being the last to go into exile, appears to receive the expanded function of denoting the whole of the people of God (cf. its use in parallel with "Israel" in some psalms, Ps. 75(76):2; 113(114):2).

Luke's use of *Ἰουδᾶ* and *Ἰουδαία* is a little more precise than the OT use. It is conditioned by two facts of contemporary history. The Jews who returned from the second exile to the region of Judah and the city of Jerusalem were those who continued the faith in the God of Israel. By experiencing the fulfilment of his promises in *Ἰουδαία*, they in effect re-established the region of the tribe of Judah and the Davidic

¹See above, p. 231.

²Tasker, p. 39.

dynasty as the place where God would indeed visit his people. Just as Israel became the name for the people of God so Judea became the name of the territory in which God would act. In some ways its boundaries were extended so that with the old tribal territory as its center it radiated out in all directions to cover the land of Palestine with its concentration of Jewish inhabitants.

The changing political boundaries of the kingdom of Judea in the Intertestamental and NT times also contributed to the fluidity in meaning of the term. Luke's use of *Ἰουδαία* in Luke-Acts reflects an understanding of the term both in its restricted political sense, the territory over which Herod the Great (Lk. 1:5) and later Pilate (3:1) held sway; and in the wider sense of Palestine, the territory of the Jews (cf. Ac. 26:20). The latter sense is often signaled by the adjective "all" [cf. Lk. 6:17, cf. Mk. 3:7; Lk. 7:17; Ac. 9:31; 26:20; granted sometimes the "all" is associated with a phrase that includes other districts of Palestine, some of which were inhabited by Jews, e.g. Jerusalem, Galilee (Lk. 5:17); Galilee, Samaria (Ac. 9:31)]. It is in the sense of territory of the Jews" which still finds its center in Jerusalem, and has associations with the old tribal territory and the southern kingdom, that *Ἰουδαία* has theological significance for Luke. More than the other gospel writers Luke wants us to know that though much of Jesus' ministry may have been in Galilee, still some of Jesus' activity and much of his fame extended to all Judea. Luke 4:44 replaces an editorial comment concerning preaching in the synagogues of Galilee (Mk. 1:39) with the statement that Jesus preached in the synagogues of Judea (cf. 5:17; 6:17/ Mk. 3:7, Luke inserts "all"; Lk. 7:17). In Acts again the center of God's dealings starts with the church in Jerusalem and Judea which appears to be the first among equals (Ac. 1:8; 9:31; 11:1, 29; 21:10; 28: 21).

The emphasis on the evident importance of Judea in Jesus' ministry occurs in our passage. The Jewish leaders accuse Jesus of inciting the

people in all Judea beginning from Galilee (Lk. 23:5). It makes sense that the leaders would want to make the point to Pilate that Jesus' offenses took place in the territory for which the Roman governor was responsible. Thus this detail is not necessarily added by Luke from his theological purpose to show Jesus' association with Judea. However, Luke as at other places may have added the ὅλης in order to show Jesus' presentation of himself to all Israel as the one who was sent to them as the Lord's anointed (1:54; 2:32).

Old Testament Style

There is no overall stamp of LXX style in the syntax or word order of this short passage. Parataxis exists only in a series of participles which communicate the main charges against Jesus (23:2). Luke removes parataxis as he inserts a portion from Mark (23:3/Mk. 15:2). The coordinating conjunctions δέ and καί both occur 5X in the passage. Word order is consistently subject-verb-object (7X; note the adjustment of Mk. 15:2 in Lk. 23:3 from verb-subject to subject-verb). Two other cases of word order which may be due to LXX style imitation are the post-positive τῶν Ἰουδαίων in the title, "King of the Jews," and the pre-positive placement of ἅπας in the phrase ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος. The former example of semitic word order (Lk. 23:3/Mk. 15:2) accords with the LXX translation form of various royal titles (e.g. Num. 21:34, βασιλεὶ τῶν Αμορραίων; Judg. 11:14, βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀμμωνίων; 2 Km. 6:20, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ, all rendering לְכָל; contrast the normal Greek word order, Josephus, Ant. XIV:36, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέως). Luke uses this formula two times again in the passion narrative (Lk. 23:37, 38; cf. Mk. 15:26). Since Luke takes it over unchanged from Mark in this trial scene, in the midst of an insertion whose other characteristics of semitic word order Luke corrects, we may see this retention as a conscious use of LXX style appropriate to the content of the charge. It may also give us an example of Luke's selective use of word order as he attempts to make his style both literary and biblical. He can adjust general word order away from

the semitic form but he is more hesitant when it comes to technical formulas, like this title.

The phrase ἀπὸν τὸ πᾶν reflects the semitic word order of pre-positive כִּלְכֵּל (e.g. Gen. 19:4).¹ It is a frequently recurring element in LXX style, although the precise phrase ἀπὸν τὸ πᾶν occurs only once (1 Esdr. 9:10, without Hebrew tradition behind it; cf. πᾶν τὸ πᾶν, 7X most often translating כִּלְכֵּל, e.g. 4 Km. 7:13; Ezk. 32:32). Luke inserts the phrase ἀπὸν τὸ πᾶν into his sources several times (Lk. 8:37/Mk. 5:17; Lk. 19:37/Mk. 11:9; cf. Ac. 25:24; Lk. 4:6, cf. Mt. 4:9; Lk. 21:15/Mk. 13:11; cf. πᾶν τὸ πᾶν, Lk. 1:10; Ac. 6:5; 15:12). These insertions though not many at least show a preference on Luke's part for the phrase which may be seen as a marginal element in his style. Because there is only one occurrence of the phrase in the LXX, the phrase itself may not necessarily be called a LXX stylistic element which Luke has imitated. What does seem to be imitated is the pre-positive form² and the use of some form of the adjective "all" with πᾶν. The function of the LXX stylistic element is to emphasize the unity of the Jewish leaders in their opposition to Jesus.

We have already discussed two of the four types of pleonastic participle which recur here [λέγων with a verb of speaking (Lk. 23:3; cf. v. 5);³ ἀναστάν (23:1)].⁴ What may briefly be added concerning their occurrence in Lk. 23:1-5 is that we have an example of another use of pleonastic ἀναστάν: the participle of ἀνίστημι with a finite verb. This

¹Turner, VT, V, p. 211f.; Turner observes that the normal word order in the koiné as shown by the papyri is ὁ ἀνθρώπος πᾶν.

²cf. Clarke (The Beginnings of Christianity, II, p. 70), who classifies πᾶς ὁ λαός as a LXX and Lukan stylistic element.

³See above, p. 370.

⁴See above, p. 333.

is a Lukan stylistic element.¹ It occurs frequently throughout Luke-Acts (e.g. 1:39; 4:29; 15:18, 20; Ac. 8:27; 9:39; 14:20). There are times when Luke inserts it into Mark, sometimes in the editorial process of removing parataxis (Lk. 5:25/Mk. 2:12; Lk. 4:39/Mk. 1:31). In narratives which involve judicial proceedings it often describes the action of one who is about to address the council. He rises and speaks (e.g. Ac. 5:34; 23:9). Nowhere else in Luke does it signal the end of judicial proceedings (cf. Ac. 26:30). Thus, it is not necessarily for Luke a technical way of describing the trial's conclusion. It may be viewed as a pleonastic participle imitating LXX style used to smooth the transition between one scene and the next.² When viewed in combination with ἀπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους it gives the introduction to the perikope a heavy LXX stylistic coloring. It is of course appropriate to those who carry out the act described but the salvation history perspective may also be in view. Luke reminds us either by his editing or simple appropriation of his source that even the appearance before a Gentile authority is according to God's sovereign will.

The function of the pleonastic participle λέγων in introducing direct discourse is primarily to mark out the commencement of the words of that discourse. It may also call attention to them. Of its three occurrences (Lk. 23:2, 3, 5), λέγων in v. 3 is apparently inserted into the material Luke takes from Mark. The others may also be examples of Lukan insertions for clarity. We have already noted that a pleonastic λέγων is an example of LXX and Lukan style.³

An additional feature of λέγοντες ὅτι (23:5), the ὅτι - recitative, is also an example of LXX style. Though it is possible in secular Greek

¹Hawkins, Horae Synopticae, p. 16.

²Moulton, II, p. 452; Turner (Kilpatrick Festschrift, p. 11) uses this as evidence for the peculiar Biblical Greek language.

³See above, p. 370.

to use ὅτι pleonastically as the indicator of the commencement of direct address,¹ its frequency in the LXX and the NT makes it more probably a LXX stylistic element.² In the LXX the ὅτι - recitative consistently renders יְבִיחַ, often after the verb meaning, "to announce," יַאֲזִיז (e.g. Judg. 4:12; 1 Km. 3:13; 22:21; λέγων ὅτι renders יְבִיחַ יְהוָה, e.g. 3 Km. 1:13, 17; cf. Ex. 3:12). We should also note the various places where ὅτι is inserted by the LXX translation (e.g. 1 Km. 24:22; 1 Ch. 17:6; Gen. 14:23; 20:2). Thus, the frequency of the construction in the LXX appears to be due to a combination of the literal rendering of the Hebrew and the customary use in literary Greek of this device as a clarifier.

Luke shows a slight preference for this construction. He takes over only six of the twenty-two occurrences of ὅτι - recitative which are in parallel Markan passages (Lk. 5:26/Mk. 2:12; Lk. 8:49/Mk. 5:35; Lk. 9:7, 8/Mk. 6:14, 15; Lk. 9:22/Mk. 8:31).³ But he inserts the construction into Mark several times (e.g. Lk. 4:43/Mk. 1:38; Lk. 5:36/Mk. 2:21) and he uses it throughout Acts (e.g. Ac. 2:13; 11:3; 15:5; 18:13; 26:31; cf. the special use with verbs meaning "to announce," Lk. 18:37; Ac. 5:23; 16:36). From this evidence we can understand that Luke selectively used the ὅτι - recitative. Because of the similarity between his usage and that of the LXX, we may properly see Luke's employment of the construction as probably intentional LXX style imitation. This is especially true in instances where Luke has introduced the phrase λέγων ὅτι to mark the beginning of direct address for in those cases ὅτι is clearly pleonastic⁴ and derives its significance probably as an imitation of LXX

¹Herodotus, II:115, λόγον τόνδε ἐκφράσιναι δὲ Πρωτεύς, λέγων ὅτι Ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μὴδὲν ξένων κτείνεον.

²Turner, Kilpatrick Festschrift, p. 5.

³Schürmann (I-Der Paschamahlerbericht, p. 98) arrives at the same count except he has Lk. 4:41/Mk. 1:34 instead of Lk. 9:22/Mk. 8:31 as part of his evidence.

⁴Note that D and the Old Latin omit ὅτι - recitative or its latin equivalent at Lk. 23:5.

style. This is the situation in Lk. 23:5.

Two other possible LXX stylistic features, which are attached to verbs of speaking, are the use of πρός plus the accusative instead of the dative to indicate the addressee (23:3) and the pleonastic participle of ἀποκρίνομαι (23:4). The construction πρός plus the accusative after a verb of speaking occurs very frequently in the LXX rendering ⲡⲣⲟⲥ (e.g. Gen. 4:8; Ps. 2:7; Hos. 1:2; 3 Km. 1:11; cf. 2 Ch. 1:2; 2 Esdr. 8:28; Esth. 4:10 where it renders ⲡⲣⲟⲥ). It is sometimes inserted into the LXX translation (e.g. Josh. 2:3; Ruth 1:15; Job 1:16) and copied by the OT apocryphal books (e.g. 1 Esdr. 3:4; Tob. 5:17; Jdth. 2:4). This indicates its recognition as an element of LXX style.¹ Luke shows a distinct preference for this construction over the dative (cf. Lk. 4:43/Mk. 1:38; Lk. 8:22/Mk. 4:36; Lk. 9:3, 13, 14/Mk. 6:8, 37, 39, where he replaces the dative of Mark with πρός plus the accusative).² It is found throughout Luke-Acts and may properly be called a distinctive feature of his style (e.g. the references above; cf. Lk. 22:15, 52, 70; 23:4, 14, 22, 28; 24:5, 10, 17, 18, 25, 44; Ac. 2:29; 11:20; 28:17).³ Though the construction is possible in literary and koiné Greek (e.g. Aristophanes, Nubes 359, φράσσει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅτι χήσεις), it is rare.⁴ Its frequency in Luke then, may be taken as a sign that it is an example of LXX style imitation. Luke's use seems to have some theological significance when it is used in connection with Jesus, angels, or God addressing men (e.g. Lk. 9:43; 18:31; 22:15; Ac. 1:7; 9:15; 12:8; cf. Hos. 1:2; 1 Km. 3:11). The construction emphasizes the importance and in some cases the authoritative nature of the message. The construction also serves to describe the

¹Clarke, The Beginnings of Christianity, II p. 70.

²Cadbury, The Style and, p. 201.

³Hawkins, Horae Synopticae, p. 21.

⁴Turner, Kilpatrick Festschrift, p. 15.

address of an individual to a group. This appears to be its function here (Lk. 23:4). It also helps create a unified pattern of Pilate's protestations of Jesus' innocence (23:4, 14, 22). Luke's use of this construction throughout his work is one of the few examples we have discovered of a LXXism which has become an integral part of his style. Its employment here to describe Pilate's actions may also be an evidence of Luke's conviction that whether Jew or Gentile all participate in God's salvation history which may appropriately be narrated in LXX style. Besides this, the content of Pilate's statement, Jesus' innocence, is a definite part of that salvation history. Thus, in a small way by introducing that statement in LXX style Luke may be indicating, as he does in a much more explicit way in his introduction to the centurion's witness to Jesus' innocence (23:47, ἐδόξαζεν τὸν θεὸν λέγων), that Pilate's judgment should also be understood in a theological perspective.

The pleonastic participle ἀποκριθεὶς with a verb of speaking becomes a feature of LXX style as a result of a translation practice, which destroys the paratactical construction $\text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{[...]}$, by rendering it as ἀποκριθεὶς... εἶπεν (e.g. Gen. 18:27; Dt. 21:7; Josh. 24:16; Is. 21:9). This is a practice limited almost entirely to the Pentateuch (cf. 1 Km. 1:17; 4:17 where the Hebrew parataxis is reproduced in the Greek). The introduction of the construction into the translation (e.g. Gen. 23:10; Josh. 1:16; Gen. 18:9; Is. 3:7; and possibly into Biblical Aramaic style, Da. 2:5, 47) and its consistent use in OT apocryphal books (e.g. Tob. 2:3 S-text, 14; 1 Macc. 15:33; 2 Macc. 7:8) give evidence that it was recognized as a LXX stylistic feature worthy of imitation. Since it is the result of a translation practice which eliminates the parataxis of the original Hebrew grammatical structure, yet preserves all the elements, it may properly be identified as a feature unique to LXX style. It does not share its status as a semitism with the literal translation Greek of an equivalent Hebrew or Aramaic construction.¹

¹Tabachovitz, p. 47; Dalman (Words, p.25) observes, "Probability

Luke uses this construction consistently throughout Luke-Acts, often introducing it into material he takes from Mark (e.g. Lk. 5:22/Mk. 2:8; Lk. 6:3/Mk. 2:25; Lk. 9:19, 49/Mk. 8:28, 38; Lk. 20:3/Mk. 11:29; Lk. 20:39; Ac. 4:19; 8:24; 25:9). It may properly be called a feature of his style which imitates the LXX.¹ The construction is not frequent in secular Greek.² It functions in Luke-Acts simply to create a smooth transition between speakers in dialogue. Often associated with Jesus' reply to a question it does not have any theological significance of its own except that as a LXX style element, it is an appropriate way to introduce the authority with which Jesus answers. It primarily lends OT coloring to any given narrative. It introduces Jesus' reply here (Lk. 23:3; cf. 22:51) and serves as part of the cumulative evidence which shows that this trial is also part of salvation history.³ It is not original with Luke but is taken over in his Markan insertion.

A final possible feature of LXX style imitation is the use of $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ (23:3, 5). The LXX renders the hiphil of הִכָּנַח and הִכָּנַח plus the infinitive consistently as $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ plus the infinitive (e.g. Gen. 41:54; Dt. 2:31; Gen. 18:27; Josh. 17:12). Again the insertion of this construction into the LXX (e.g. Gen. 6:1; Num. 17:11) and its presence in OT apocryphal books (e.g. Tob. 2:13; 7:14; 1 Macc. 9:73) suggests that it

supports the views that the formula in question was unknown in genuine Aramaic. In that case the evangelists can have borrowed it only from the Hebrew, either directly or through the medium of the Greek Bible." Contrast Creed, p. lxxix; BDF (§ 4:3 n. 5) following Wellhausen (p. 14f.) calls it a translation Aramaism. This explanation fails to take into account the number of occasions in which Luke chooses to insert this construction into his narrative. This insertion is better explained by imitation of LXX style than translation Aramaic, whose features in other cases Luke's tries to improve literarily.

¹ Moulton, II, p. 453.

² Turner, Kilpatrick Festschrift, p. 11.

³ Plumacher, p. 46; Antoniadiis (p. 380) sees it as part of a simple style which befits a narrative told without pretense of literary sophistication.

is a feature of LXX style which could be imitated. The pleonastic use of ἀρχομαι plus the infinitive, which may be an Aramaism,¹ should not be confused with the construction's use in the LXX as a translation of the Hebrew. There the construction does signal a shift in the narrative and does distinctly and emphatically mean "to begin a new action." This non-pleonastic use is present in koiné and literary Greek,² but its frequency in the LXX and the fact that it consistently translates an identifiable Hebrew construction means that we may properly take it as a feature of LXX style.

Luke's use of this construction shows his awareness of its correct function in prose. He removes at least 12 instances of the construction from his source Mark, where evidently the construction is truly pleonastic, a probable Aramaism.³ On the other hand, he retains the construction and even inserts it into Mark (e.g. Lk. 5:21/Mk. 2:6; Lk. 9:12/Mk. 6:35; Lk. 19:37/Mk. 11:9) at places where its presence may serve to emphasize a transition and the commencement of new action. It occurs throughout Luke=Acts (e.g. Ac. 2:4; 11:15; 24:2; 27:35) and may be recognized as part of his style. Although it is good literary Greek, its frequency in the LXX may have influenced Luke's preference for it.⁴ Having no theological significance in itself, the construction is used for emphasis as at Lk. 23:3. Coincidentally it adds OT color to the narrative, again at an appropriate point, for the accusations are part of Jesus' treatment as a transgressor, which should be understood from the perspective of salvation

¹Creed (p. lxxix) says it is modeled on $\text{׀} \text{ך} \text{׀}$.

²cf. J. W. Hunkin ("Pleonastic ἀρχομαι in the NT," JTS, XXV (1923-24), pp. 390-402), who maintains that the construction is good literary Greek and should not be identified as an Aramaism and only in limited cases should it be understood as a LXXism; e.g. Xenophon, Cyr. I: 1:5, ὅπου δὲ ἀρξήταί τις πορεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων; Anabasis, VI:1: 22, ἤρχετο... καθίστασθαι.

³Turner (Kilpatrick Festschrift, p. 18) comments that Luke's use is hardly pleonastic enough to suggest the influence of Aramaic $\text{׀} \text{ך} \text{׀}$.

⁴Moulton, II, p. 453.

history.

The occurrence of ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ in the LXX is not frequent or distinctive enough to make it a LXX style element (Josh. 12:5, rendering יָשָׁנָה; Gen. 44:12, יָשָׁנָה). Luke also uses it infrequently (Lk. 23:5; 24:27, 47; Ac. 1:22; 8:35; 10:37). It need not be seen as an example of Lukan LXX style imitation.¹

Through the use of LXX stylistic elements, mostly pleonastic participles and constructions associated with verbs of speaking, Luke presents the trial before a Roman governor in the style of the OT. The theological significance of this fact seems to be that Luke desires to place the actions of even Gentiles within the purview of salvation history. More important than this is the fact that the trial advances Luke's theological theme: the innocent Jesus is reckoned to be a transgressor according to the will of God. LXX style is appropriate to that theme.

¹ Contrast Turner, (Moulton Grammar, III, p. 154f.), who says the use is perhaps under Hebrew influence; C. F. D. Moule (An Idiom Book of NT Greek, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1968), p. 181) sees no semitic influence.

CHAPTER XIV

LUKE 23:6-12: JESUS BEFORE HEROD

Introduction

Pilate to in some way relieve himself of the responsibility for condemning a man whom he finds innocent, yet whom the Jewish leaders insist on executing, sends Jesus to Herod in whose jurisdiction from point of origin Jesus belongs. The hearing before Herod is peculiar to Luke. It demonstrates so many elements of Luke's style that it is best to see it as based on oral¹ not written² tradition. The thoroughly Lukan character of the style has led some to conclude that the passage is not based on pre-Lukan tradition at all but has been worked up by Luke from features found elsewhere in the Markan trial narrative³ and from Psalm 2.⁴ We are immediately introduced to the major questions of this perikope: What is its relationship to Psalm 2? Did Psalm 2 serve as the origin for its content?

With regard to the literary source question the fact that the section is peculiar to Luke and has so much Lukan style indeed creates a most favorable situation for seeing Luke as the creator of the narrative. These factors, however, do not demand such a conclusion. It is in the end an argument from silence to maintain that material in Luke but not in Mark is probably later than Mark since if it were early oral tradition available to Mark he would probably have also included it. The histori-

¹Boismard, II, p. 418f.; H. W. Hoehner, Herod Antipas (SNTS Monograph Series, XVII; Cambridge, 1970), p. 231f.

²Grundmann, p. 423; Klostermann, p. 221; Easton, Luke, p. 343; Loisy (Les Évangiles Synoptiques, I, p. 163) suggests that Luke and the Gospel of Peter (1-2) used the same source. Hoehner (p. 231f.) disagrees because of the lack of verbal parallelism; Taylor (The Passion Narrative, p. 87) notes the contacts between Luke and the Johannine tradition (23:9/J. 19:9; Lk. 23:15/J. 18:38). However, these are quite tenuous since only the form and content but not the context are similar.

³Finegan, p. 28; Lk. 23:9/Mk. 15:4-5; Lk. 23:10/Mk. 15:3; Lk. 23:11/Mk. 15:16-20.

⁴Creed, p. 280.

cal probability of the narrative content balanced over against the theological purposes to which the writer puts it will decide whether we are to see this perikope as a report created by Luke to further his theological interests, especially that of prophetic fulfilment, or as a report of a historical event based on oral tradition, possibly eye-witness accounts, which Luke introduces to further his theological purposes. There are a few other allusions (e.g. Lk. 23:9/Is. 53:7) which we should consider and some OT ideas (ἐξουθενέω, Lk. 23:11). This brief passage will be important for understanding Luke's use of LXX style, not because we have a source with which to compare it but for the opposite reason. The material has been so reworked by Luke that his own style is readily apparent.

Old Testament Allusion

In addition to Psalm 2 which is proposed by many to be formative of the whole narrative, there are several details, which have been identified as OT allusions or as having their origin in the OT (Jesus' silence, Lk. 23:9/Is. 53:7; the mockery, Lk. 23:11/Is. 53:3, 7a; the robe, Lk. 23:11/Zech. 3:3).¹ Though there is only one passage in the OT which has the combination, ἐξουθενέω ... ἐμπαίρω (2 Ch. 36:16), these terms are probably better dealt with on the OT idea level.²

¹Selwyn's (*The Oracles*, p. 172) suggestion is based on the fact that this is a contrast with Zech. 3:3. There is then no material parallelism as well as no verbal parallelism as far as the robe is concerned. The only similarity is in the name Ἰησοῦς. No allusion to Zech. 3:3 should be seen here. Voss (p. 127) comments that the bright robe has no specific meaning beyond mock homage; TDNT (IV, p. 17) notes that λαμπρὰ ἐσθῆς is a technical term for the garment worn by a candidate for office (Polybius, X:4:8, λαμπράν... ἐσθῆν... τοῖς τὰς ἀρχὰς μεταπορευομένοις; cf. Josephus' description of Solomon and Archelaus in white royal robes, Josephus, *Ant.* VIII:186; *B. J.* II:1, 2; cf. Hoehner, p. 243, n. 1). Possibly the mock honor does have a specific content: the mockery of a pretender to the throne.

²Contrast Lindars (p. 82), who observes that in later apologetic the use of ἐξουθενέω from Is. 53:3 has been limited to an application to this detail (Lk. 23:11). Lindars unconvincingly tries to see ἐξουθενέω as stemming from Is. 53:3 (cf. LXX - ἡ τιμάσθη) by using Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (ἐξουθενώμενος) as corroborating evidence for ἐξουθενέω as part of an older Palestinian tradition which literally translates the MT. As it exists in Greek the mockery term shows no verbal parallelism

Jesus' silence (Lk. 23:9/Is. 53:7) has sometimes been identified as an OT allusion.¹ There is no verbal parallelism and the material parallelism is much weaker than in Mark's use of the silence detail (Mk. 15:4, 5; cf. 14:61). Jesus' silence is not in response to his accusers but in answer to Herod's curiosity. This means that the silence has neither the same result, condemnation to death, nor the same motivation, the willing acceptance of that fate, that the silence of the Servant (Is. 53:7, 8) has.² Herod is hoping that Jesus will perform a miracle as part of a command performance (Lk. 23:8). His selfish curiosity lacks the one ingredient, which Luke reports that Jesus maintains is consistently required of those who would see the kingdom of God coming in power through signs, the ingredient of faith (e.g. 7:9, 50; 8:48; 17:19; 18:42; cf. 20:5; 22:67). Since faith is not present, the only appropriate response to this request is silence.³ This understanding of the motive for Jesus' silence shows that it does not have material parallelism with Is. 53:7. There is probably no allusion to Isaiah 53 at this point. The explanations which we have already offered why Luke does not choose to allude to Is. 53:7, even though he evidently knows it as a prophetic description of Jesus' sufferings (cf. Ac. 8:32, 33), also apply here.⁴

The role of Psalm 2 in the Herod trial narrative may be limited to

with the Isaiah passage; See below, p. 457, n. 1.

¹Arndt, p. 460; Caird (Luke, p. 247) observes that Ac. 4:24-30, which interprets the Herod episode in the light of OT promises refers to Jesus as *τὸν ἄγιον πατέρα σου* (Ac. 4:27), which is a form of the LXX title for the Isaianic Servant (Is. 52:13). This is supposed to strengthen the case for an allusion to Isaiah 53 in the Herod hearing episode. However, the emphasis in the Acts prayer appears to be not in identifying Jesus as "the Servant" but as "the Anointed One" of Ps. 2:2 (cf. Ac. 2:27, *ὁ ἐχριστός*).

²See above, p. 436.

³Hooker (p. 88) sees it as part of a pattern of Jesus' attitude toward the authorities at all times; "he is prepared to answer an honest question but ignores partisan assertions."

⁴See above, p. 436.

Lk. 23:12 or may extend over the entire narrative. It is often proposed that the trial scene is not historical, but rather has been created in order to show that this detail of Jesus' sufferings fulfills Ps. 2:1.¹

Dibelius sets out the simplest chain of causation in which he relates the quotation of Ps. 2:1f./Ac. 4:24-30 to Lk. 23:6-12. Luke encountered in the liturgy of the early church² the belief that Ps. 2:1f. was fulfilled in the sufferings of Jesus at the hands of Herod and Pilate. Luke did not find corresponding gospel tradition which reported a trial before Herod. In good faith he set about to construct such a tradition himself and Lk. 23:6-12 was the result.

This historical reconstruction fails to be convincing in two respects. It does not take into account how poorly the Lk. 23:6-12 narrative fulfills the task for which it was supposedly created. Secondly, it does not recognize the historical plausibility of the hearing before Herod. The point of the Psalm 2 quotation in Ac. 4:24ff. is the opposition of both Herod and Pilate to Jesus (παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς... καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συν- ἤχθησαν... κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. συνήχθησαν γὰρ... ἐπὶ... Ἰησοῦν... Ἡρώδης τε καὶ Πόντιος Πιλάτος). The purpose of the Herod episode in Luke 23 is the opposite. It shows the agreement of Herod with Pilate, as a second corroborating witness, that Jesus is innocent.³ What the narrative effectively does is to isolate the guilt connected with Jesus' condemnation to the Jews in Jerusalem.⁴ The Psalm 2 prophecy is interpreted in Christian exegesis by the identification of the four sources of opposition in a chiastic pattern Gentile-Jew-Jew-Gentile [ἔθνη = ἔθνεσσιν

¹e.g. Weidel, *ThStuKr*, LXXXV, pp. 233ff.; Dibelius, "Herodes und Pilatus," *Botschaft und Geschichte* (Tübingen, 1953), Vol. I, pp. 278-292; Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, p. 273; Gilmour, *Interpreter's Bible*, VIII, p. 398.

²Haenchen (p. 229) describes Ac. 4:24-28 as early Christian exegesis of Psalm 2 cast by Luke into prayer form.

³Morgenthaler, II, p. 10; Boismard (II, p. 419) comments that the real theological purpose of Lk. 23:6-12 is to set a precedent for Paul's trial (Ac. 25:22).

⁴Conzelmann, *Theology of Luke*, p. 86.

(vv. 25, 27); λαοί = λαοὶς Ἰσραὴλ (vv. 25, 27); βασιλεὺς = Ἡρῴδης (vv. 26, 27); ἀρχόντες = Πόντιος Πιλάτος (vv. 26, 27)]. It thus allows for no distinction between the opposition to Jesus by the Jews and the protestations of his innocence by Herod and Pilate. There is then no material parallelism between Lk. 23:6-12 and the interpretation of the events in accordance with Ps. 2:1f. at Ac. 4:24-30. If Ac. 4:24-30 had actually inspired Lk. 23:6-12 we would expect to see a greater judicial role given to Herod and more importantly we would expect to see him portrayed as opposing Jesus.

The historical probability that Pilate would have sent Jesus to Herod is very high. It is likely that Herod would have been present at the feast (cf. Josephus, Ant. XVIII:42).¹ The hearing is so inconclusive and does not require an extended period of time. Thus, the objection² that there was not enough time for it to be held on a morning when two other trials occurred is not really sustainable. The main objection to the trial's historicity is the lack of sufficient reason for Pilate to send Jesus to Herod in the first place.³ There are, however, several good reasons coming out of the first century historical situation which make the action plausible. Pilate had intervened in a case involving Herod's jurisdiction (cf. Lk. 13:1-5). Now there was an opportunity for the Roman governor to give to Herod the jurisdiction of Jesus' case. He could do so out of courtesy, as a gift, in an effort to normalize relations with Herod.⁴ Pilate was faced with an awkward case.⁵ He had

¹H. W. Hoehner, "Why did Pilate hand Jesus over to Antipas?" The Trial of Jesus: Cambridge Studies in honour of C. F. D. Moule; ed. E. Bammel (SBT, 2nd ser. XIII; London, 1970), p. 84.

²Montefiore, II, p. 619.

³Creed, p. 280.

⁴B. H. Streeter, "On the Trial of Our Lord before Herod - A Suggestion," Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem, ed. W. Sanday (Oxford, 1911), p. 229; Grant, p. 137.

⁵Hoehner, Trial of Jesus, p. 90.

concluded that Jesus was innocent in contrast to the judgment of the Jews. If he gave into their verdict he would show Rome to be weak. If he resisted them and released Jesus he would incite a rebellion. Handing over the case to Herod would free him from these difficulties. Finally, he may have been genuinely interested in Herod's opinion concerning either Jesus' innocence¹ or the amount of real danger this accused revolutionary actually posed. There is then good reason to see the origin of this episode in history and not in the Christian interpretation of Psalm 2. Acts 4 probably shows the Christian use of Psalm 2 to interpret the event.²

The relationship of Lk. 23:12 to Ps. 2:1f. may be more positive. It contains a simple statement that Herod and Pilate, as the result of Pilate's yielding to Herod's jurisdiction in Jesus' case, became friends. This has a certain amount of material parallelism with Ps. 2:1f. as interpreted in Acts 4.³ Both involve a Gentile and a Jewish leader who agree together. The decisive difference, however, is again that in Luke 23 the agreement is that Jesus is innocent (23:15). This shows the opposite attitude to the hostility which motivates the concerted action of Ps. 2:1f. Thus, in this particular instance, not enough of a material parallelism may be established so that we might take this editorial comment as an identifiable allusion to Ps. 2:1f. At the most we may understand it as the reporting of a simple fact which would later be interpreted by the

¹Ibid., p. 90.

²Conzelmann, Theology of Luke, p. 91.

³Stöcker (p. 271) and Grundmann (p. 424) among others see the origin of this particular comment in Ps. 2:1f. and its function as an allusion to it. The enmity between the Roman authorities and the Jews in the first third of the first century, however, is well known (cf. Philo (Leg. ad Gaj. XXIV:38), where it is reported that Tiberius instructs his procurators on how to deal with the situation: ἐπεσκεψέ... κινῆσαι δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἐξ ἑθνῶν). A comment concerning reconciliation may well be historically founded (Hauck, p. 279).

early church and Luke as a fulfilment of Ps. 2:1f.¹ The early church's interpretation of this detail in this way insured that it would be preserved in the gospel tradition.

The reasons why Luke would choose not to make the statement of fact into an allusion are probably the same as we have encountered in the case of other non-allusions. Luke develops his theological theme: the innocent Jesus treated as a transgressor, in this instance through the testimony of secular leaders. They band together to agree on his innocence. Luke emphasizes this at the expense of the fact that they also show hostility to Jesus through mockery and finally the handing over of Jesus to the will of the Jews. This hostility does fulfill Ps. 2:1f. As a result of the promotion of this theological theme in the service of the fulfilment of Is. 53:12, another opportunity for an OT allusion has been set aside. Previous observations about Luke's use of allusions mainly in the words of Jesus, mostly as prophetic and not as manifest fulfilment; and Luke's reserving until after the resurrection the explicit discussion of OT fulfilment in Jesus' mission, are appropriate here. We are called upon to watch salvation history unfold and only later after the central fulfilment events have occurred may we go back and interpret the details in the light of the OT.

Old Testament Idea

Luke describes the mockery of Jesus with the combination of ἐξουθεύσας and ἐμπαίζας² (23:11). The LXX uses ἐξουθεύω (ἐξουθεύω), ἐξου-
θεύω (ἐξουθεύω) most often to render forms of יָרַד (e.g. 2 Ch. 36:16; Ezk. 22:8; 2 Km. 12:10) and דָּן (e.g. 1 Km. 8:7; Job 30:1; 1 Km. 10:19). The unique element in the OT idea of rejection is the object of

¹Karnetzki (pp. 3, 82) calls it an example of factual correspondence between a NT narrative and OT promise which is not utilized as an allusion.

²See above, p. 380.

the rejection: God as king, the prophet, the righteous man.¹ Although this term is used frequently in the Psalms to describe the maltreatment of the suffering righteous man (cf. Ps. 30(31):19; 72(73):22; 118(118):22; cf. Ps. 21(22):7), the NT context shows us that another OT figure may be in Luke's mind as he uses this term.² Herod's mockery is in response to Jesus' refusal to prove himself a prophet by doing a sign before him (Lk. 23:8, 9). The combination of ἐμπαίρω and ἐξουθενέω reminds us again of 2 Ch. 36:16, ἐξουθενούντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπαίζοντες ἐν τοῖς προφῆταις αὐτοῦ.³ Herod not only despises Jesus for his silence but he rejects Jesus' claims about his mission which are a prophetic word from God. These claims are given now in the form of accusations and Herod does not accept their truth. He finds Jesus harmlessly innocent of the political charge. Since he does not accept the spiritual nature of Jesus' messiahship, his natural response is to treat the politically impotent Messiah as a contemptible pretender to the throne (Lk. 23:11). Herod's mockery then treats Jesus as all the OT prophets were treated by rebellious Israel. So Luke again portrays Jesus' suffering in the context of the rejected prophet.

There is also an added dimension, for this prophet has been accused of claiming to be the Messiah. It is interesting that Samuel in responding to the people's rejection of theocracy and their demand for a human

¹Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion all render Is. 53:3, לֵךְ לָמוֹת (LXX-ἡτιμάσθη) by ἐξουθενώμενος. Since the LXX renders לֵךְ לָמוֹת by ἡτιμάσθη 9X and by ἐξουθενέω 17X, these three versions probably show a literal or more customary translation and do not point to a different LXX text tradition which Luke also could have known and used. Compare also the complicated nature of the textual witness to these versions at this point (Hegermann, pp. 37, 57). There is then not sufficient textual basis for seeing ἐξουθενέω as a possible referent to the suffering Servant of Isaiah 53. Contrast J. Dupont (*Études*, p. 301, n. 56), who sees the use of ἐξουθενέω in the wording of the Ps. 117(118):22/Ac. 4:11 quotation as the influence of Isaiah 53 in another text tradition besides the LXX.

²Contrast Rose, *Le Psautier*, p. 312; Selwyn, *First Christian Ideas*, pp. 169ff.

³See above, p. 380f.

king says that the people have rejected God from being king over them (ἔξουθενώκατε τὸν θεόν , 1 Km. 10:19; 8:7). In another sense, Herod and the Jewish leaders (cf. Lk. 23:35ff.) have rejected God's rule over their lives as proclaimed in the mission and person of Jesus. This may be part of the background of OT use here. It is then a prophet, who claims to be king, that is rejected in the same way as the prophet and theocracy, God as king, were rejected in the OT.

Old Testament Style

In a section which shows a great many characteristics of Lukan style we have the opportunity of seeing in what way Luke imitates LXX style when given freedom from written sources. Again it is not in the overall syntactical structure but in the employment of individual LXX stylistic elements that LXX style imitation takes place.

The use of δέ and καί is fairly evenly balanced with a slight preference shown for δέ (καί, 4X (2X in uses other than as a coordinating conjunction); δέ , 7X). There are three examples of parataxis (23:7, 8, 11) but these are far outweighed by the use of subordinate participles throughout the narrative. The subject-verb word order shows no preference for semitic order (verb-subject, 2X; subject-verb, 4X).

Of the individual LXX style features we have already discussed the background of interrogative εἰ (23:6).¹ In the next verse (23:7) we have one of the two occurrences of "Jerusalem" in the passion narrative. The form Ἱερουσόλυμα is the later Hellenistic, non-LXX form which serves as a contrast to Luke's use elsewhere (cf. in our section, 23:28). This non-LXX form may signify that the function of the reference is simply to make a geographical observation (cf. 2:22; 19:28) without any theological interpretation.² Still, the mere mention of Jerusalem in the heart of

¹See above, p. 356.

²Hastings, pp. 104ff.

the judgment scenes (23:7) and in the word of warning (23:28) may carry the theological emphasis that Jerusalem is a scene of judgment¹ both for Jesus at the hands of wicked men and wicked men in the hands of God. The geographical note simply underlines these facts, while Lk. 23:28 interprets them theologically.²

Two other possible features of LXX and Lukan style are the pre-positive $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\ \tau\eta\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$ ³ (23:12), and the phrase, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$ ⁴. The former suggestion is difficult to evaluate, but the latter may readily be recognized as a feature of LXX and Lukan style. Although the form of the phrase which is more precisely parallel to the customary LXX usage is $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (rendering $\square\eta\eta\ \square'\eta\eta\ \square$, e.g. Dt. 19:17; 1 Km. 4:1; Jo. 3(4):1; we encountered no instance using $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$), we may understand the phrase in general as modeled on the LXX. Since $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$ with either $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ or $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ occurs throughout Luke-Acts (Lk. 1:39; 2:1; 4:2; 21:23; Ac. 1:15; 6:1; 11:27, though not in the reports of the Gentile mission outside of Palestine) and is sometimes inserted into Luke's sources (e.g. Lk. 6:12/Mk. 3:13; Lk. 9:36/Mk. 9:8; cf. Lk. 5:17; 8:22; 20:1), we may treat it as an example of Luke's style. When $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ is used with the phrase, the function of the time marker seems to be both to give unity to the time of Jesus' ministry and also to set it off from the time in which Luke is writing. The OT coloring, however, also tends to bind the two times together in a sequence of salvation history. Peter declares that what the prophet looked forward to as happening in a different time, the Last Days, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (Jo. 4(3):1/Ac. 2:18), is fulfilled in the contemporary situation. By analogy the epoch

¹Schneider, p. 202.

²See below, p. 493.

³Vogel (p. 20) calls it a feature of Luke's style which is probably taken over from the LXX.

⁴Plummer, p. lxx; cf. Haenchen, p. 159.

of Jesus' ministry is understood by a backward glance as part of those days of fulfilment. The use of the phrase at Lk. 23:7 may partially fulfill that function of reminding the reader that the scene of Jesus' suffering is not only in a theologically significant place but also at a God-chosen time (cf. 24:18). However, this is in the background to the main use of the phrase here, which is to simply point out that Herod is in Jerusalem at the same time as Pilate.

In this example of fairly freely composed material we again find most of the LXX stylistic elements,¹ which in this case are not many, either in the introduction to the perikope as the scene is being set (23:7, ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις) or at its conclusion (23:12).

¹The periphrastic (ἤν... θέλων, 23:8; cf. Plummer, p. li) and the emphasized αὐτὸς δέ (23:9) are not examples of translation Greek or LXX style imitation but fulfill required functions of ordinary Greek prose. The periphrastic emphasizes duration and shows the intensity of Herod's desire; the αὐτὸς acts as a personal pronoun (Turner, Moulton Grammar, III, p. 40).

CHAPTER XV

LUKE 23:13-25: THE TRIAL BEFORE PILATE COMPLETED

Introduction

Armed with Herod's opinion that Jesus is innocent, Pilate continues the hearing before the Jewish leaders. They are unwilling to accept his or Herod's verdict. The real circumstances of the situation become increasingly apparent. It is not Jesus' guilt but the desire of the leaders and the people to be rid of him which has motivated them to bring this case before Pilate. Thus in the end, Pilate's decision to grant their demands is not a matter of advancing justice but of handing Jesus over to their will. This scene along with the crucifixion stands at the very heart of the fulfilment of Is. 53:12 in Jesus' suffering. We shall need to see what possible OT allusions and ideas as well as style aid Luke in portraying that fulfilment.

There is a textual problem involving the whole of verse 17.¹ The extrinsic probabilities reveal mixed evidence in the Western and Alexandrian families, while the Caesarean witnesses consistently include some form of the verse. The evidence for omission is generally earlier than that for inclusion, while the inclusion readings have witnesses with broader geographical distribution. The variations in word order of the inclusion readings and their different positions in the Lukan text² suggest that they are a later interpolation.

¹ ἀνάγκην δὲ εἶχεν ἀπολύειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἕνα : Alexandrian- χ ; vg; cop^{bomss}; Caesarean- f¹; f¹³; 28; 565; Eusebius; Western- it^{aur, b, c}, e, f, ff2, 1; q, (r1); syr^h; Byzantine- W; X; Δ ; Byz lect (170 omits αὐτοῖς); syr^p.
omit: Alexandrian- p⁷⁵; B; L; T; 892^{*}; 1241; cop^{sa}, bomss; Western- it^a; Diatessaron; Byzantine- A; K; Π ; 1546; 1¹⁸⁵ pt.
ἀνάγκην γὰρ ἔχεν κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀπολύειν αὐτὰς ἕνα δεσμικόν ἡθελόν - 1009.
ἀνάγκην δὲ εἶχεν κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἀπολύειν αὐτοῖς ἕνα : Caesarean- θ ; (arm, εἶχεν ἕνα ... αὐτοῖς); geo; Western - 1071 (omit αὐτοῖς); Byzantine- Ψ ; others; 892^{mg} ἕνα αὐτοῖς.
include verse 17 after v. 19: Western- D; it^d; syr^c, s; Byzantine- eth.

² Metzger, Commentary, p. 179.

The transcriptional probabilities favor the view that the longer reading is an interpolation with the purpose of harmonizing Luke with the other gospel accounts.¹ The intrinsic probabilities show that the omission of v. 17 does no real violence to the flow or sense of the narrative. The flow of the narrative can continue uninterrupted from v. 16 to 18. The abrupt introduction of the figure of Barabbas seems to be original with Luke's composition for he compensates for it with an explanatory note (23:19). Luke does not present Pilate's decision concerning Jesus as one which assumes that in accordance with some custom the people are free to choose a prisoner for release and another for condemnation (cf. Mk. 15:9, 12, 15). Rather, Pilate accedes to the totally unjustified demands of the people (Lk. 23:17-25). Although this way of presenting the outcome of the trial is clear in itself, there is still the unexplained action of the Roman governor yielding to the mob's pressure. This difficulty a later scribe could overcome by inserting the explanation about the custom. Since the longer readings explain this difficulty in the shorter reading, we take the shorter and more difficult reading to be original.

Luke's basic literary source is probably non-Markan² with heavy influence from Mark if not an insertion at Lk. 23:22b/Mk. 15:14.³ There are verbal contacts between Luke and John which tend to indicate that they are dependent on a common non-Markan tradition (cf. Lk. 23:18/J. 18:39-40; Lk. 23:20-25/J. 19:4, 6, 15, 16).⁴ There is significant difference in

¹Arndt, p. 463.

²Taylor, The Passion Narrative, p. 88; Contrast Finegan, p. 30.

³Perry, p. 46; Easton (Luke, p. 345) and W. L. Knox (The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, ed. H. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1953), Vol. I-St. Mark, p. 140) see Lk. 23:20-22 as the extent of the material which is dependent on Mk. and inserted into "L" or "the Twelve" source; Taylor (The Passion Narrative, p. 88) observes that there is not enough verbal similarity to warrant the isolation of this whole section as an insertion from Mk.

⁴Boismard, II, p. 411.

content between Luke and Mark [e.g. the three declarations of Jesus' innocence (23:4, 14, 22); the positive desire of Pilate to release Jesus (23:16, 20; contrast Mk. 15:12); and the context in which the release of Barabbas and the condemnation of Jesus takes place is not the Jewish custom at festival time (Mk. 15:6) but the insistence of the crowd (Lk. 23:23)]. These differences might be assigned to Luke's reworking of Mark in accordance with his theological purpose to show Jesus' innocence and the harmlessness of Christianity in the opinion of Roman authority.¹ However, the lack of a great deal of verbal similarity even in the places where Luke and Mark are parallel in content leads us to conclude that Luke furthered these theological purposes not with a thorough reworking of Mark but with his choice of a source other than Mark to be basic for his narrative.

Old Testament Allusion

Luke by his choice of sources fails to use two OT allusions which are possibly present in Mark (Mk. 15:16-20a/Is. 50:6; Mk. 15:15/Is. 53:6, 12).² Yet, scholars have proposed that several other OT allusions are present in Lk. 23:13-25. Isaiah 53 appears to be the most fruitful OT passage. After evaluating the individual allusions we need to investigate the relationship of the trial scene as history to several proposed OT sources for its content (Jeremiah 33(26) and Ps. 37(38):13-17).

There is less verbal parallelism between Is. 50:6 and Mk. 15:16-20a (ἐμπτυσμάτων Is. 50:6; ἐνέπτυσεν, Mk. 15:19) than the probable allusion at Mk. 14:65.³ The material parallelism is just as strong as at Mk. 14:65 for both Markan accounts follow trials where Jesus is condemned and maltreated as the Servant of the Lord was (Is. 50:6). The difference is that the mockery concerning Jesus' messiahship, his kingship, tends to

¹Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, I, p. 162; Finegan, p. 30; Hauck, p. 280.

²See above, p. 336.

³See above, p. 376.

dominate this second episode and any allusion to the suffering Servant's ordeal is pushed into the background.

If Mk. 15:16-20a does barely qualify as an allusion to Is. 50:6,¹ then it is necessary to note the reasons for Luke's lack of allusion to it. There is the stylistic point that Luke has achieved a climax in his portrayal of Jesus being numbered with the transgressors when he describes Pilate's decision as the handing over of Jesus to the will of the Jews (Lk. 23:25). To go on to present mockery at the hands of the Gentiles would only dilute the climax. An inclusion of such mockery would also create a stylistic doublet with Lk. 23:11 which Luke would want to avoid. Jesus already wears a kingly robe in mock honor. Theologically, Luke wants to portray Jesus as innocent both in the political judgment of Rome² and in the sight of God. Thus, he avoids any hint that Jesus' condemnation is justified. No scourging or mockery immediately follows the Roman trial (cf. the placement of Jewish mockery before not after the Sanhedrin trial, 22:63-65; 66-71; contrast Mk. 14:55-64; 65).

Isaiah 53 is the OT source of most of the allusions suggested for Lk. 23:13-25.³ The phrase ἄπει τοῦτο (23:18) is sometimes seen as an allusion to Is. 53:8 (ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἦρθεν... ὅτι ἄπει ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς - ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ).⁴ The scant verbal parallelism is accompanied by a strong

¹ cf. Schweizer, Mark, p. 342.

² Fleigel, p. 98f.

³ Hühn's (p. 66) suggestion that Lk. 23:4, 14b; 22 (the close conjunction of ἐυρίσκω and κατηγορέω) is a reminiscence of Da. 6:5 (ὑπρίσκειν...κατηγορήσουσιν) fails to take into account the natural conjunction of these terms within a judicial context (e.g. Ac. 24:5, 8, 12, 13). There are different motivations behind the statements which contain these terms. In Daniel the enemies hold Daniel blameless but want to find a charge against him. In Luke Pilate holds Jesus blameless and wants to release him. Thus, though there is some formal parallelism, which may be coincidental or conscious, the lack of full material parallelism prevents us from seeing Luke referring to Daniel in Pilate's protestations of Jesus' innocence.

⁴ Hühn, p. 66; Weidel (ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 237) says the cry has an OT ring about it; Wilcox (p. 67) comments on Ac. 22:22; 21:36 and Lk. 23:18, "There seems reason to suspect that, the origin of these words is to be sought in Isa. 53:8 (LXX)/Ac. 8:33.

material parallelism and by Luke's special use of this word and a related one (ἀναίρεω). The difficulty is that Is. 57:1 (ἄνδρες δίκαιοι ἀίρονται) has the same material parallelism for it too describes with the verb αἶρω the unjust death of a righteous man. Further, such a cry may be a common way to express a desire for a person's death (e.g. ὦνα κ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ζώντων ἄρῃ). Defixionum Tabellae quotquot innotuerunt..., ed. A. Audollent (Paris, 1904), 1:18). It is not possible to see Lk. 23:18 as an allusion to Is. 53:8. The use of αἶρω may more properly be understood as the employment of an OT idea.¹

The employment of παράδιδωμι at the climax of the judicial proceedings (Lk. 23:25, παρέδωκεν τῷ θελήματι αὐτῶν) has been taken as an allusion² to Is. 53:6, 12 (κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις... παρέδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἢ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ... διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρέδόθη). We have noted already that the simple mention of the term παράδιδωμι by Luke does not automatically direct us to the Isaiah 53 context. The material parallelism is not great in this case either. Luke's interest is in Pilate's decision to grant the Jews' request and hand Jesus into their power. The result of the handing over is the same in both Old and NT contexts. Death comes to the Servant and to Jesus. The agent who does the handing over is different. In the OT it is God; in the NT it is a Roman governor. This difference is significant enough to prevent Lk. 23:25 from being a clear allusion for the unique characteristic of the handing over of the Servant in Isaiah 53 is that God is the perpetrator. Unless we say that Luke wants us to understand that "the will of the Jews" is "the will of God," on the grounds of an allusion to Is. 53:6, 12, there is no material basis for viewing Lk. 23:25 as an allusion to Isaiah 53. The term παράδιδωμι does take its meaning from the OT

¹ See below, p. 468.

² C. Stuhlmuehler, "Luke," The Jerome Biblical Commentary, ed. R. E. Brown et al (London, 1968), ¶ 44:169.

but as an OT idea.¹

The similarities in wording and content between Jeremiah's and Jesus' trial have been taken as an indication that the gospel tradition about Jesus' judicial proceedings was formed as a conscious midrash on Jeremiah 33(26).² Both trials involve the accusation of religious leaders against a prophet of the Lord, who is brought before the court of the political head of government (Jer. 33(26):11; Lk. 23:1-3). In both trials the judge's opinion is that the accused is innocent (Jer. 33(26):16; Lk. 23:4, 14, 22). The verbal similarities are in the description of the principals involved (Jer. 33(26):16, οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαός; Lk. 23:13, τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν λαόν) and the declaration of innocence (Jer. 33(26):16, οὐκ ἔστιν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ κρίσις θανάτου; Lk. 23:22, οὐδὲν ἄτιον θανάτου εὑρον ἐν αὐτῷ).³

However, the differences between the accounts are greater. It is not to gain support from a different section of the Jewish nation that Pilate calls the leaders and the people together with the chief priests. These figures are not inspired by Luke's knowledge of Jeremiah 33(26) in which the leaders and the people declare the prophet innocent, and, thus, should in the NT situation be disposed to support Pilate's declaration of innocence. Rather in contrast to the Jeremiah passage, the leaders from the start (cf. Lk. 22:66), join the priests in pressing the case against Jesus. Besides, if the οἱ ἄρχοντες (23:13) are to be identified with any party in Jeremiah 33(26), it should probably be with the

¹Stuhlmüller (*Ibid.*) also suggests that the use of παιδεύω (23:16, 22) has a close relationship to Is. 53:5, παιδεία εἰρήνης ἡμῶν. However, Luke employs the term according to an adaptation from regular secular usage, corporal punishment being part of discipline in education. It does not need to be viewed either as an OT allusion or idea (TDNT, V, p. 621; cf. Xenophon, *Mem.* 1:3:5: διατίθηται τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπιδίδευσεν καὶ τὸ σῶμα).

²Selwyn, *First Christian Ideas*, pp. 159ff.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 162-165.

elders (Jer. 33(26):17, ἄνδρες τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ; cf. Lk. 22:66, τὸ πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ λαοῦ).¹ The wording of Pilate's third declaration of Jesus' innocence is readily explained from the immediate context for the crowd has just called for Jesus' crucifixion. The only verbal parallelism is θανάτου which would naturally be expected in both cases. If Jer. 33(26):16 had truly influenced Pilate's response we would expect to find more extensive verbal parallelism. The one difference, however, which prevents us from seeing Lk. 23:1-25 as a midrash on Jeremiah 33(26) is the outcome of the trial. In Jeremiah the trial is inconclusive for the argument of the elders (Jer. 33(26):17-23) seems to persuade the people though not the princes that Jeremiah deserves to die. More importantly Jeremiah does not die as a result of the trial whereas Jesus does. There is, then, no real allusion to Jeremiah's trial in Luke's narrative.

Weidel concluded that the whole of the Pilate trial scene was not historical. Isaiah 53 or more probably Ps. 37(38):13-17 was the source of the details in the account.² We have already seen how several of the terms in the narrative have had their origin attributed to Isaiah 53. If Isaiah 53 inspired the whole, there are several crucial details which cannot be reasonably derived from that OT passage. Jesus' innocence is established not on the basis of his silence but his simple answer to Pilate. This fact eliminates from the parallelism with Isaiah (Is. 53:7)

¹The use of οἱ ἄρχοντες in the Lukan context is quite intelligible as a general term designating members of the Jewish leadership (e.g. 23:35; Ac. 4:5; 13:27); Contrast Selwyn (First Christian Ideas, p. 162), who says that the title is only intelligible if we accept that Luke had Jeremiah 33(26) in mind as he wrote his account.

²Weidel, ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 229; Dibelius (Botschaft, I, p. 279) too would see the narrative details as of other than historical origin. But he would find their source in the gospel writer's theological purposes. Contrast H. W. Bartsch ("Historische Erwägungen zur Leidensgeschichte," EvTh, XXII (1962), pp. 449-459), who aims to take the investigation of the historical worth of the material a stage further than simply identifying where theological purposes control the material. He wants to discover those places where kerygmatic interest conforms to historical interest. He identifies Mk. 15:1-5 as part of the oldest historical material.

and Ps. 37(38):13-17, the feature of the righteous man's silence. What remains for comparison with the OT is the situation in which the righteous are unjustly accused. The details of the choice between Barabbas and Jesus and Pilate's protestation of Jesus' innocence do not find their origin in either of these OT passages. There is nothing historically improbable in a trial before Pilate on charges of promoting sedition. There is no evidence, by way of verbal or material parallelism, that the gospel account consistently depends on one or a series of OT passages for its content. Thus, it is not necessary to see the OT rather than historical events as the source for this report. OT ideas, however, do play a definite part in placing the decision concerning Jesus in a theological perspective.

Old Testament Idea

Luke builds up the objective basis for the theological significance of Jesus' death with the aid of terms which in their OT usage carry both a human and theological significance. He employs them in a way which may be understood purely in human terms without any theological significance. Yet the fact that he has chosen αἶψα and παράδωκεν and the fact that in the case of the latter Luke has made its meaning more general at Lk. 23:25 show that he is so writing his narrative that when Christians reflect on it in the light of the OT, they will be able to see that all this happened according to the will of God.

In addition to the consistent use of αἶψα to indicate the concrete action of taking something away (e.g. Lk. 5:24; Ac. 27:13, 17), Luke does develop the somewhat specialized use of αἶψα, "to do away with a person, to execute him" (e.g. Lk. 23:18; Ac. 21:11, 36; 22:22; cf. Ac. 8:33/Is. 53:8). We have seen that this is part of common usage and what is special about Luke's use is that he limits such references to the demands of Jews for Jesus' and Paul's execution. Since Luke quotes Is. 53:8/Ac. 8:33 we may at least conclude that he is aware of the meaning of αἶψα in that passage. We have seen that there is not enough evidence to speak

of conscious verbal allusion, but the possibility still exists that Luke consciously chose that word for Lk. 23:18 because of its associations with Is. 53:8 and that he may positively use the OT content from Is. 53:8 and Is. 57:1 to further a theological theme (cf. Luke's replacement of ἀρχὴ τὸν στυγερὸν αὐτοῦ (Lk. 23:26/Mk. 15:21) by φέρειν, which effectively emphasizes the specialized use at Lk. 23:18 by removing the term's occurrence in the concrete sense at a point between the crowd's demand and the meeting of that demand at the crucifixion. Another influence on Luke's choice of wording at Lk. 23:26 may have been the fact that φέρειν is better suited than ἀρᾶν to describe the action).

It is the theological theme of an innocent Jesus who receives an unjust punishment which is illuminated by the Isaiah context. The Servant's life is cut off, which is what the crowd demands for Jesus. Yet, Luke's purpose is not simply to place this demand within a messianic context and thus show that Jesus fulfills Scripture as the Messiah when he suffers.¹ This may have been part of the motivation for its inclusion in the passion narrative tradition.² Luke, however, employs ἀρᾶν in another way. He takes up the basic idea of the injustice of the Servant's suffering and employs it to promote his theme of Jesus the innocent one being numbered with the transgressors.

In Isaiah 53 the injustice is presented as a right which has been removed. This "right" is the claim which the Servant may justly make before God that he be rewarded in proportion to the righteousness which he has exhibited. Often in the Psalms the prayer goes up in the midst

¹Contrast Weidel, ThStuKr, LXXXV p. 233.

²Wilcox, p. 67f.; Contrast E. Lohmeyer (Gottesknecht und Davidsohn, (FRLANT, LXI; Göttingen, 1945), p. 62), who maintains that since the Synoptic Gospels avoid the idea that Pilate actually condemned Jesus and thus removed his κρίσις (Is. 53:8, ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἦσθαι), Is. 53:8 is not the origin of this term's presence in the passion narrative. Lohmeyer, however, does not recognize that there is also an appropriate connection between "the right being removed" and the crowd's demands for Jesus' execution in the face of Pilate's declaration of the defendant's innocence.

of adversity that God will take up the righteous man's cause, his right (Ps. 9:5; 34(35):23; 118(119):154). Isaiah tells us that when Israel sins she can no longer expect God to plead her cause. Rather, he must plead the cause of justice against her (Is. 3:13). The suffering Servant in the midst of adversity maintains that, although from outward circumstances it has been removed by affliction, yet, before God his right still exists (Is. 49:4). From this OT understanding we can see that the Servant has had his right (Is. 53:8), the justice due him, removed in his state of affliction which ends in death.

And this is the significant result of the crowd's cry, *ἀπέχε τοῦτον*, in the face of Jesus' twice declared innocence. It is a call for his death, to cut him off from the land of the living, which effectively removes his "right." Luke shows that he understands this significance by his emphasis on Jesus' innocence in Pilate's eyes (Lk. 23:4, 14, 22); the presentation of the preference for Barabbas over Jesus, not within the context of a legitimate choice according to custom, but as the frantic bargaining of a crowd trying to arrange the appearance of justice in the service of their own evil purposes which perpetrate injustice (23:18); the portrayal of the crowd as an increasingly persistent and finally irresistible force who in the end control Pilate's decision (23:5, 18, 21, 23-25); and the description of the handing over of Jesus for crucifixion as a handing over to their will (23:25). In all of these ways the theme of the innocent Jesus' being reckoned with transgressors is presented in its factual form. The OT background of *ἀπέχε* (Is. 53:8) as employed at Lk. 23:18 is part of that pattern of objective factors in Jesus' suffering and death. The theological explanation which is both prepared for and demanded by this presentation would come later in the preaching of the church. Then the innocence and the injustice would be understood as the necessary ingredients in the soteriological interpretation of Jesus' death as vicarious atonement.

The other key word which sets the events within a salvation history perspective and uses the OT as the foundation for a theological theme is *παράδωκε* (23:25, cf. Da. 7:25). We have already drawn some conclusions concerning Luke's use of *παράδωκε* in relation to its OT meaning.¹ The employment at Lk. 23:25 tends to confirm them. In the trial narrative Luke moves away from the purely technical judicial use, "to commit into custody for trial" (Xenophon, *H. G.* 1:7:3, εἰς τὸν δῆμον *παράδοθῆναι*; Luke by the choice of another source avoids this technical use at Mk. 15:1, 10; cf. Ac. 3:13; 21:11; Lk. 20:20; 21:12, 16). While retaining *παράδωκε* at Lk. 23:25 he broadens its technical sense beyond the meaning "to deliver into the custody of the execution squad for crucifixion" (cf. Mk. 15:15). Pilate takes the decision to hand Jesus over to the Jews' desires. Though this editing accomplishes both a euphemistic phrasing of the verdict and places responsibility for the crucifixion clearly with the Jews,² its positive purpose is to focus in one act the whole substance of the Son of Man's being handed over.³ The passion predictions in Luke (Lk. 9:44/Mk. 9:31; Lk. 18:31/Mk. 10:33) follow Mark in that Jesus says that he will be delivered into the power of the Gentiles and that he will be delivered into the power of men. Yet, Luke does not, like Mark, show the fulfilment of those predictions simply in the act of betrayal by Judas (Mk. 14:41ff. cf. Lk. 22:48) which issues in the handing over to Pilate, the Gentile, for trial (Mk. 15:1, 10; cf. Ac. 3:13). Rather, the focus in the handing over is shifted from the beginning or middle to the climax of Jesus' suffering. The emphasis is on the death of Jesus as the result of his being given over to the power of sinful men (Lk. 24:7). Luke makes this clear in his concluding statement, which,

¹ See above, pp. 113f., 200f., 345f.

² Loisy, *Luc*, p. 551.

³ Popkes, p. 185.

though it is more general, has an explicit mention of a human subject-Pilate and an indirect object-their will. Thus, the transcendent dimension of this transaction is not clearly in focus or even hinted at by the use of a passive with an undefined agent of the action. Unless we are going to say that Pilate who protests Jesus' innocence is meant to be understood as an unwitting accomplice of God who in reality hands Jesus over to death (cf. Is. 53:6, 12; Da. 7:25), the OT understanding of *παράδοσις* must be seen to influence the statement in another way. The emphasis appears to be not so much on the positive action of Pilate as a fulfiller of God's will, for he does it only reluctantly and with full knowledge of the injustice of the act. Luke would have probably used the passive again if he wanted to point to God's role in it all. Rather the focus is upon the triumph of the forces of evil as they achieve what they desire. Since at another climactic point in the narrative (Lk. 22:53) and in the particular cases of Judas and Peter (22:3, 31f.) Luke has presented the fact that human agents opposed to Jesus are simply acting under the authority of Satan, it may be that the general phrase "to their will" is intended to be vague enough to point to the power behind their desires, to the one into whose control Jesus in the hands of sinful man really goes, Satan himself. Their will is Satan's just as Jesus' will is his Father's (22:42). The suitable OT background for such an understanding is Da. 7:25.¹

It is the OT background of *παράδοσις*² especially its use in theological contexts which is probably taken over by Luke here. Not

¹ See above, p. 201.

² The suggestion that *παράδοσις* is part of the vocabulary of martyrdom (Euler, p. 116) and signifies Jesus as a martyr here (Stöcker, p. 282) is not borne out by its use in Jewish apocryphal literature where there is no specialized usage in relation to the martyrs. Da. 7:25 and the experiences of the suffering righteous man in the Psalms might be brought in as evidence. But here the basic meaning seems to be established by God's dealings with Israel so that the application of such dealings to individuals is secondary. There is nothing unique in the experience of the suffering righteous person, who is a model for the

only is there a transcendent dimension which is often included in the word and hinted at when Luke makes its use more general, but there is also a moral dimension. To be given over into the power of one's enemies is neither the desire nor the just deserts of a righteous man (Ps. 26(27): 12; 40(41):3; cf. 139(140):9, *μὴ παραδῶς με, κύριε, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μου ἀμαρτωλῶ;* Ps. 117(118):18; 73(74):19).¹ When God determines such a fate for Israel it is as punishment for her sins (e.g. 3 Km. 8:46; 14: 16; 2 Ch. 25:20; 2 Esdr. 9:7).

This OT understanding of *παραδίδωμι* in a moral context, if Luke employs it here, helps support the theological theme of the innocent Jesus treated as a transgressor. He experiences what is appropriate for those who have sinned, to be handed over to the desires of his enemies. Yet, this is undeserved for he is innocent. Again by portraying the circumstances of Jesus' sufferings in these OT terms Luke creates the objective pattern which demands that some theological explanation be found for Jesus' death. Though this explanation might be limited to the determinative will of God, which is sovereign even in the handing over of Jesus to his enemies, the OT moral context opens the way for this handing over to be viewed as vicarious atonement, punishment for sin not his own. Luke thus prepares for this soteriological interpretation of Jesus' death in his presentation of the judicial proceedings concerning Jesus.

Old Testament Style

The LXX style imitation manifests itself again not in the basic structure of the perikope but in individual stylistic elements. There is a preponderance of *δέ* (9X) to *καί* (4X; 3X in uses other than as coordinating conjunctions). Of the four instances of parataxis (Lk. 23:

martyr, which is not found in the general OT background. The use of the term does not make Jesus into a martyr.

¹ cf. Lohmeyer, p. 127.

14, 15, 23, 24), two are created by the LXX style element καὶ ἰδοὺ . There is little semitic coloring in word order (verb-subject-object, 2X, subject-verb-object, 7X). Other possible semitic word order is the consistent post-positive character of pronouns and adjectives throughout the narrative (23:14, 23, 25). Where the LXX style imitation is most apparent is in the presence of constructions involving verbs of speaking; καὶ ἰδοὺ ; ἐνώπιον used as a preposition with the genitive; and φωναῖς μεγάλαις.¹

Luke continues his practice of introducing direct discourse with a pleonastic λέγων (23:18, 21)² and indicating the addressee by a prepositional phrase with πρὸς (23:14, 22).³ The former construction serves to mark out clearly the beginning of the direct discourse, especially in v. 18. But it also functions to emphasize the content of the crowd's cry. Since the crowd's wishes paradoxically fulfill the will of God, Luke may also be indicating that the desire for Jesus' death, though an evil desire, is still within the purview of salvation history. For, he introduces these cries with a stylistic element from the book which records previous events of that history. In the case of εἶπεν πρὸς it is a Gentile who speaks. No appropriateness of setting or speaker seems to be involved as might be claimed for λέγοντες where Jewish religious leaders are the speakers. The stylistic function of the εἶπεν πρὸς is to clarify that Pilate is not conversing with one person but address-

¹ Several periphrastic constructions (23:15, 19) may be of a semitic but not necessarily LXX style character (Wellhausen, p. 18 calls Lk. 23:15 authentically Aramaic; Turner, *Kilpatrick Festschrift*, p. 19). The occurrence of this construction in koiné Greek makes it of doubtful value as a semitism (Wilcox, p. 123). Luke removes some periphrastic constructions as he takes over Mark (cf. Lk. 22:55/Mk. 14:54, according to Schneider, p. 50). His use of periphrasis is not indiscriminate and may carry the normal Greek significance of duration. Such significance makes sense in Lk. 23:15, 19.

² See above, p. 370.

³ See above, p. 445.

ing a whole crowd. There may be a hint in the introduction that Pilate's words have theological as well as judicial significance, as he pronounces Jesus innocent, not worthy of death. However, since we have another example where a Gentile's declaration of Jesus' innocence is placed explicitly within a theological context with the use of ἐδόξασεν τὸν θεόν (23:47), we should probably not see the more general εἶπεν ὑπὸς as bearing any theological significance of its own. It may rather be taken as an element of LXX style which serves an understandable stylistic function, as well as being part of the cumulative evidence for LXX style imitation selectively employed throughout the narrative. Since both of these constructions occur in material for which we do not have access to Luke's source, it is difficult to decide whether the feature is original with Luke or his source.

Three other possible LXX style features occur in Pilate's speech. Twice Pilate as part of his evaluation of Jesus' culpability uses the interjection καὶ ἰδοὺ (23:14, 15). This is acceptable Greek appropriate to a Gentile for often in response to a question or a command it was customary to begin with this interjection.¹ The construction's stylistic function is to emphasize² the content of Pilate's evaluation of the charges: i.e. Jesus' innocence. There are instances of this use in the direct discourse of the LXX (e.g. Gen. 24:13; Ex. 5:16; Dt. 9:13, all rendering וְיֵרָא; cf. Judg. 8:5B-text; Ruth 2:13 where the construction is inserted) and the rest of Luke's work (e.g. Lk. 1:36; 17:21b; Ac. 2:7; 8:36). The καὶ ἰδοὺ form may be due to LXX influence. This particular use of ἰδοὺ, however, because of its occurrence in secular Greek, is primarily an example of Luke writing in a literary fashion. There is no necessary theological significance attached to its occurrence. The emphasis it places on Jesus' innocence admittedly furthers one of Luke's

¹Fiedler, p. 17; e.g. Aristophanes, *Nubes* 254f., command—καὶ εἰπὲς ταύτων ἐπὶ τὸν ἑρὸν σκιμνῶσα . reply—ἰδοὺ κἀνομας .

²Fiedler, p. 60f.

theological themes but it does so without placing that fact necessarily in a theological context by a preface which is a recognized element of Lukan and LXX style. Rather, this construction in this particular use simply contributes to the LXX character of the whole narrative.

The use of ἐν ὧν as a preposition with the genitive is a construction which occurs so frequently in the LXX that it may be recognized as a LXX stylistic element (e.g. rendering mainly בְּ - Gen. 24:51; Ex. 14:2; Josh. 9:2c (8:32); and often בְּ - Num. 13:33; Judg. 2:11B-text; 1 Km. 1:9).¹ Since the koiné also has this construction, though more rarely,² it is better to see the frequent use in the LXX as a secondary semitism and not as a literal translation of the Hebrew.³ The use which Luke makes of this construction is unique among the synoptic writers and has long been recognized as an element of his style with connections with the LXX (e.g. Lk. 1:15; Luke inserts at e.g. 5:18/Mk. 2:3; Lk. 8:47/Mk. 5:33; cf. throughout Acts, Ac. 4:10, 19; 10:30-33; 19:9, 19; 27:35 including the second half of Acts and the "we" sections).⁴ From the frequency in the LXX and its frequency in Luke, then, the construction may be recognized as a feature of the style of each. That for Luke it is a way to imitate LXX style is more plausible than the explanation that it is part of the Jewish Greek dialect which was influenced by the LXX, for if it were such an integral part of the early Christian's mode of speech, why is it absent from the other Gospels and much of the NT?⁵

Any theological significance that the construction might have is

¹Thackeray, I, p. 42.

²cf. Deissmann (p. 213), who cites the relevant pre-Christian papyrological evidence.

³Thackeray, I, p. 42; Turner, Kilpatrick Festschrift, p. 14.

⁴e.g. Hawkins, Horae Synopticae, p. 18; Creed, p. lxxix; Plumacher, p. 46.

⁵Contrast Dalman, Words, p. 31; Turner, Kilpatrick Festschrift, p. 14.

usually provided by its object.¹ In Lk. 23:14 the object of the preposition is Jesus' accusers. Pilate declares that he has openly questioned Jesus before the leaders and finds nothing indictable in him. The construction simply serves to emphasize the fact that the interrogation has been done in such a way that those who witness it, though they may not agree with Pilate's evaluation, must declare themselves witnesses (e.g. Ac. 4:10). The significance of the fact that it is an element of LXX style is again secondary for this construction, along with the $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\pi\epsilon\nu \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ and the $\kappa\alpha\tilde{\iota}\iota\delta\omicron\omicron\acute{\omicron}\dots\kappa\alpha\tilde{\iota}\iota\delta\omicron\omicron\acute{\omicron}$, is simply cumulative evidence for the OT coloring which permeates the whole narrative.

The LXX often renders the emphatic Hebrew construction with a verb of speaking (לֵאמֹר) by the dative $\varphi\omega\nu\eta\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ (e.g. Gen. 39:14; 4 Km. 18:28; 2 Esdr. 19:4; Pr. 27:14; cf. 3 Km. 18:27, 28 where the לֵאמֹר is literally translated; Is. 29:6; Jer. 28(51):55; Ezk. 9:1; 11:13 where the Hebrew does not have לֵאמֹר ; 1 Km. 4:5; 2 Esdr. 3:11 where the Hebrew is simply לֵאמֹר (cf. Da. 5:7 לֵאמֹר); Job 2:12; Pr. 26:25 where the Hebrew just names "voice"; and Job 38:7; Da. 6:22 where the phrase is introduced into the LXX translation). The OT apocryphal books as part of their LXX style imitation employ this phrase (e.g. 1 Esdr. 9:10; Jdth. 7:23; Sir. 50:16 in the accusative). This phrase then qualifies as a LXX stylistic element for it frequently translates a similar Hebrew construction, is introduced into the LXX where a full Hebrew equivalent is not present, and is imitated in other works.

Luke uses the phrase consistently throughout Luke-Acts and sometimes inserts it into his source Mark (Lk. 4:33/Mk. 1:23; Lk. 19:37/Mk. 11:9; cf. Ac. 7:57; 16:28; 26:24). Though it only occurs 12X in Luke, which may be explained by its selective use at special points of emphasis, it may be seen as an example of Lukan style which imitates LXX style.

¹Lagrange (p. c) observes that Luke consciously uses this element to set in contrast what happens before God and before men (e.g. 15:10, 18).

The function of the construction at Lk. 23:23 is to emphasize the intensity of the crowd's demands. It bears no intrinsic significance derived from its LXX use but is also just part of the cumulative evidence that this perikope is written in the imitation of that book's style. It may be again another way of witnessing to the fact that even these events, especially the crowd's unjust coercive demand for Jesus' death, are under the sovereignty of God. They may be expressed in language appropriated from the record of salvation history. The formula's use may have its parallel in the experience of Paul at his trial before Festus (Ac. 26:24; cf. 7:57). It is not limited to describing the speech of Jews and Christians but also can characterize the speech of unbelieving Gentiles. It is quite probable that Luke is the originator of the phrase at Lk. 23:23. The LXX style imitation of this perikope is concentrated neither at the beginning nor the end but rather several familiar LXX style elements are evenly distributed throughout the whole.

CHAPTER XVI

LUKE 23:26-32: THE WAY TO THE CROSS

The verdict has been given. Now the sentence must be carried out. As Luke narrates the procession to the cross, he reports the words of Jesus to the mourning women who accompany him. Jesus' words of compassion are also a word of warning which sets the crucifixion and the action of the mob in a theological context. These words do this with the aid of OT quotation, allusion, idea, and style.

Since the bulk of this account is peculiar to Luke (23:27-31), the question arises whether in its composition Luke depends on a non-Markan source¹ or constructs the narrative himself, in this case, using the OT² and sayings of Jesus³ which he has encountered elsewhere in Mark or non-Markan sources. The linguistic evidence for a perikope of wholly Lukan origin is not forthcoming.⁴ We can identify the limits of Markan insertion (v. 26/Mk. 15:20b).⁵ Since Lk. 23:32 follows on naturally from v. 31 (note the consistent use of οἱ throughout the section (23:27, 28, 32), the whole perikope seems to be an integral part of Luke's non-Markan passion narrative source and not original with Luke. We should also note the affinity of its content with some other non-Markan sayings peculiar to Luke (19:41-44). That its content, which links judgment on Jesus with judgment on Jerusalem, is appropriate to a passion narrative context may be seen from the presence of other details in the synoptic

¹e.g. Taylor, The Passion Narrative, p. 90; Easton (Luke, p. 347) says it is from "L"; W. Manson, p. 258; Schlatter, Lukas, p. 444.

²Loisy, Luc, p. 554; Montefiore, II, p. 623; Taylor (Jesus and His Sacrifice, p. 197) criticizes Montefiore.

³e.g. Lk. 23:29 cf. 21:23; 23:31 cf. 21:29; Finegan, p. 31; Strauss, p. 677.

⁴Creed (p. 285) and Montefiore (II, p. 623) find it difficult to decide whether the material originates with Luke or in his non-Markan sources; Taylor (The Passion Narrative, p. 90) points out the minimal amount of words which are characteristic of Lukan style.

⁵Easton, Luke, p. 347; Perry, p. 47.

passion narratives: the portents of judgment in the sky and at the temple (23:44, 45: cf. Mk. 15:33, 38). We should also note Luke's description of the mourning crowd (Lk. 23:48).¹ Though by this analysis we may conclude that the material is not original with Luke, it will still be necessary with regard to those portions whose source has been identified as the OT to test the relationship between their probable historicity and the influence of the OT.

Old Testament Quotation

Lk. 23:30: τότε ἄρξονται λέγειν τοῖς ὄρεσιν πέσετε² ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς καλύψατε ἡμᾶς

Hos. 10:8 LXX: καὶ ἐροῦν τὰς ὄρεσιν καλύψατε* ἡμᾶς
καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς

*The A-text (A; 106 (πέσετε)); Eth^P; arm; Theodoret) transposes the verbs.

Hos. 10:8 MT: וְהָיוּ הַרִים כְּסִי וְהַרְרֵי עֵמֶק יְרֵחוֹ יִכְסֶּינָהּ וְהָיוּ הַרְרֵי יְרֵחוֹ כְּסִי וְהָיוּ הַרְרֵי יְרֵחוֹ כְּסִי

That this OT reference to Hos. 10:8 should be understood as a quotation³ and not simply an allusion⁴ to the OT may be recognized both from the nature and extent of the verbal parallelism and its setting in the NT context. The extent of the verbal parallelism is much wider than one would expect of just an allusion, which might point to only one member

¹ Contrast Dibelius, From Tradition, p. 203, n. 1; Leaney, p. 283.

² A text variant πέσατε occurs in Alexandrian: χ^{corr} ; L; Byzantine: W; X; Δ ; a few other minuscules; πέσετε is witnessed by Alexandrian: P⁷⁵; χ ; Western: D; Caesarean: θ ; Byzantine: A and many minuscules. The extrinsic probabilities show that πέσετε is the older and more widely distributed reading geographically. The transcriptional probabilities include the possibility that the πέσατε reading originated as an assimilation to the B-text of the LXX. Intrinsically, though it is possible for Luke to use first aorist endings with the second aorist stem of πέτω (e.g. Ac. 22:7), his customary practice is to use second aorist endings. πέσετε is the less difficult reading stylistically. It is more probably the authentic reading while πέσατε is a secondary assimilation to the LXX.

³ Dittmar (p. 105) describes it as a quotation in the stricter sense; France (Jesus and the OT, p. 263) classifies it as a verbatim quotation without an introductory formula; Plummer, p. xxxv; Creed, p. 286; Boismard, II, p. 421.

⁴ Clapton, p. 30; Godet, II, p. 331.

of the doublet. Of course, if the verse had become proverbial¹ by Jesus' time then the whole saying as it stands would not be too extensive to be seen as primarily a proverb and secondarily an allusion to Hos. 10:8. The text-form of the OT material agrees with the LXX A-text tradition over against the B-text tradition which follows the MT. This would tend to indicate that this OT material is not just a proverb based on the MT but a conscious quotation employing one of the LXX text traditions. The contextual setting, which makes this OT material the content of the exclamation of those in deep distress, presents the OT material as quotation. That such material is intended to be understood as a direct quotation and not an allusion may be recognized by the future perspective of the words which are part of Jesus' prophecy. If it is properly a quotation it is another example of Jesus' appropriation of OT material into his own prophetic statements. He thus claims that the events which he prophesies are the proper context of fulfilment for OT prophetic predictions (e.g. Lk. 22:37). Since the OT material functions as part of a prophecy, it makes sense to see the intention of the reference to it not simply as proverbial allusion but as prophetic quotation.

The text-form discrepancy consists in the transposition of the verbs. No decisive change in meaning results. The probable source of this discrepancy is normally attributed to the materials which Luke used.² Since the discrepancy pits one LXX text tradition over against another, this reading is sometimes taken as evidence that the A-text tradition did exist as early as the first century A.D.³ This A-text tradition is probably

¹Lagrange, p. 586; H. C. Phillips, "Commentary on Hosea," The Interpreter's Bible, ed. G. A. Buttrick (Nashville, 1956), Vol. VI, p. 674.

²Contrast Schlatter (Lukas, p. 449), who attributes it to memory loss.

³Holtz, p. 29; Sperber (JBL, LIX, p. 283) takes it as evidence for the early independent existence of the "asterisk" text tradition of the Hexapla; Contrast France (Jesus and the OT, p. 241), who notes the ever present possibility that the A-text tradition has been assimilated to Luke; Holtz (p. 28), however, notes the same transposed word order in the quotation in Rv. 6:16 which from its different wording indicates that it

the source of the quotation.

Before looking at Luke's use of Hos. 10:8 it is necessary to describe its meaning in its original context. Hosea, an eighth century prophet in the northern kingdom, foretells in an oracle (Hos. 10:1-8) the coming destruction of the kingdom and all its institutions.¹ Our quotation stands at the oracle's climax and describes the terror of the time by quoting what the people will say. They implore earthquakes to erupt and break up mountains so that they will be covered and destroyed "lest they be left in their nakedness to face the wrath of God."² The people's petition, then, points out the terribleness of the judgment they are already enduring at the hands of enemies who destroy the land. But it also points to their realization of the gravity of sin which they have committed, for bereft of every religious institution, they do not want to face the wrath of God which will be visited upon them alone. Presumably the destruction of the northern kingdom by Assyria in 722 B.C. was the time at which these words were spoken and the prophet's oracle was fulfilled.

The function of the quotation in Luke is to provide part of the content of Jesus' prophecy. Aside from common prophetic introductory words, "Behold, the days are coming" (Lk. 23:29) and the familiar call of the prophet for mourning in view of impending judgment (23:28), the future tense of the introductory verb (*ἀρξονται*) gives us evidence of the prophetic intention behind the quotation's selection and use.

The progression of thought in Jesus' prophecy moves from a single instruction, "Weep for yourselves," (23:28) to a threefold explanation

is not dependent on Luke. The frequent agreement in Luke's OT material with the LXX A-text-form gives us good reason for accepting that text tradition as the source of the quotation.

¹ J. L. Mays, Hosea: A Commentary (OT Library; Chatham, 1969), p. 142.

² Ibid.

of that instruction. Each explanation seems to grow in the severity of the conditions which it describes, driving home the necessity for their mourning the terrible time to come. The first two explanations form a contrasting couplet which declares that the preference for non-existence in the form of either the praise of barrenness or the desire to die will characterize the people of those days. Our OT quotation forms the second part of that couplet. The quotation does not simply express the desire to hide from God's wrath by seeking refuge in caves. By the use of the A-text with the placement of $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ first it is, rather, a call for God to destroy them in order that they will not have to face his wrath (contrast Rv. 6:16, where the A-text is interpreted as hiding in caves; cf. Rv. 9:6). The third explanation (Lk. 23:31) relates what Jesus is experiencing to what they will know. The quotation contributes¹ to Jesus' prophecy the theological and moral perspective with which to understand the OT ideas in the rest of the prophecy.

When we look at this quotation's function within the larger context of Luke's work, we discover that it is part of a series of prophecies concerning the judgment on Jerusalem (Lk. 13:34-35; 19:41-44; 21:20-24; cf. 21:23/23:29).² "Daughters of Jerusalem" (23:28) and the proverb (23:31), which may refer to the relationship of the Roman executioners to Jesus and the Roman armies to Jerusalem,³ show that this prophecy probably has to do with Jerusalem's destruction. But the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 is viewed as more than just another predicted event yet to be fulfilled. It is treated by Luke as a pivotal eschatological event. It is intimately associated with the tribulation which comes in the End-time just before the final revelation of the Son of Man (21:25-28). The close connection between Jerusalem's destruction and the final tribulation

¹J. R. H. Moorman, The Path to Glory: Studies in the Gospel According to St. Luke (London, 1961), p. 281.

²Sumner, p. 79f.

³Fuller, p. 72; Caird. Luke, p. 249.

is evident in the Luke 21 discourse (e.g. 21:22; καί connects vv. 24, 25). The radical severity and finality of this judgment is contributed to by our Hos. 10:8 quotation in which those who experience suffering want their own lives to end. Whether the finality of judgment means that we are to see this quotation as having an extended application to include Gentiles as well as Jews is not certain. At the least the limitation of Jerusalem as the focus of judgment should not be necessarily seen as a boundary which would exclude non-Jerusalem residents from the suffering. In fact the statements of Jesus in the Luke 23 prophecy are the most general of the series. Except for the address "Daughters of Jerusalem" there is nothing else in the immediate context which would show that the sufferings are necessarily limited to just the event of the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. Josephus (B. J. VI:9:4), who records that many Jews did hide themselves in caves under the city during the siege). It describes a basic human response to generally terrifying conditions. The general nature of the quotation from Hos. 10:8 may also contribute a universal perspective to the time of judgment which will come to both Jew and Gentile alike. Thus, at the least this prophecy concerns the destruction of Jerusalem; at the most it points to the final eschatological tribulation before the coming of the Son of Man.

There are several indications that Luke knew much of Hosea and used this quotation as a pointer to the larger original context. In Lk. 21:22 we may have an allusion to Hos. 9:7, καὶ ἡμέραι τῆς ἐκδίκησews (Lk. 21:22, ἡμέραι ἐκδίκησews). The distinguishing feature about the phrase in Luke 21 which would link it to Hos. 9:7 is the plural form (cf. "day of judgment," Dt. 32:35; Jer. 26(46):10; "time (καίρος) of judgment," Jer. 26(46):21; 27(50):27, 31; 28(51):6; cf. Sir. 5:7). Lk. 21:22 explicitly states that the days of judgment are "to fulfill all Scriptures." This points us not only to the whole OT but also to the whole Hosea context. It may not be insignificant that this Hosea allusion and our Hosea

quotation are taken from the beginning and the end of two consecutive oracles in the Hosea text (Hos. 9:7-17; 10:1-8). This may point to Luke's understanding of the whole Hosea context as important for prophesying the judgment of the end.

Two possible allusions to the larger Hosea context in the immediate Lukan context are Lk. 23:29, αἱ κοιλίαι αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐγέννησαν καὶ μαστοὶ οὐκ ἐθρῆσαν (Hos. 9:14, μήτρων ἀτεκνοῦσαν καὶ μαστοὺς ξηραύς)¹ and Lk. 23:31, ξύλω... ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ (Hos. 9:16, τὰς ρίζας αὐτοῦ ἐξηράνη; cf. Lk. 23:40, οὐδὲ φοβῇ σου τὸν θεόν; Hos. 10:3, οὐκ ἐφοβήθημεν τὸν κύριον). Although, as we shall see, the OT idea of the blessedness of barrenness during a time of judgment is common in the prophets, its combination here with unnourishing breasts has a distinct affinity to Hos. 9:14 (cf. Lam. 4:3, 4). Though Hosea presents these facts in the form of a prayer and Luke in the form of an exclamation of blessing, both have the same meaning. In fact the exclamation of blessing is a comment on a situation which has resulted from the answer to the prophet's prayer. It places this description of the time of judgment in the same perspective as the Hosea quotation.

A less clear allusion is Hos. 9:16/Lk. 23:31. Though dryness in both cases relates to sinfulness, it appears that the dryness of Ephraim's root is part of her judgment for sin,² while the dryness of the Jews, which is their sin, simply makes the prospect of coming consuming judgment all the worse. This difference may eliminate this as a possible allusion and indicator that Hos. 10:8 points to a larger original context.

If Luke has appropriated this prophecy concerning the judgment on the northern kingdom in the eighth century as a prophecy concerning the judgment on Jerusalem in the first, we need to ask through what interpretational method he made such an appropriation; has he violated the

¹Stuhlmüller, Jerome Biblical Commentary, ¶ 44:170; Rienecker, p. 527.

²Contrast Mays (p. 136), who does not see it as a punishment but as the effects of Israel's faithlessness on her national life.

original context; what is the probable source of the use of this quotation? It is possible to treat this quotation proverbially,¹ typologically,² or prophetically.³ We have already seen why from the setting of the quotation it is intended to be understood as more than a general proverb. It is a prophecy. In distinguishing between Luke's probable use of typological method and a promise and fulfilment interpretive scheme, much actually depends on how we believe Luke treated the original historical context. The typological method has the advantage of attributing to Luke a respect for the original historical context while pointing out what common elements between the two contexts and two messages made the appropriation of one by the other suitable.⁴ However, in the end the typological approach does not really differ from the proverbial, since neither allows for the close connection in prophetic function between the words of Hosea and Jesus. At the most, Hosea's word are only illustrative whether by type or proverb of the kind of catastrophe which is coming.⁵ Only a promise and fulfilment understanding of the verse will do full justice to the quotation's function within its prophetic context.

The interpretive words *ὅτι ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως αὐταὶ εἰσιν τοῦ πληροθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα* (Lk. 21:22) show the method by which Luke understands these prophecies and avoids the difficulty of a violation of

¹Lagrange, p. 585.

²France, Jesus and the OT, p. 65; cf. Smits, I, p. 79; Flessemann, Zur Bedeutung, p. 91.

³Karnetzki, p. 28; Sumner, p. 81f.

⁴Smits (I, p. 79) points to similarity in judgment; Flessemann (Zur Bedeutung, p. 91) to the similarity in sin: Jerusalem was, as Israel before her, actually rejecting God.

⁵cf. France (Jesus and the OT, p. 71) attempts to slip in fulfilment by the back door when he says that this coming catastrophe will be worse than its type, and will in that way be a fulfilment. This observation only serves to point up the difficulty of the possible violation of context which is present when the NT treats Hos. 10:8 as prophecy. It also shows the weakness of his solution.

the original historical context.¹ He reports that Jesus declares that the time of the judgment on Jerusalem is to be identified as "the days of judgment." This does not appear to deny the fulfilment which took place in the eighth century, for he qualifies his interpretation by saying that all the Scripture must be fulfilled. Evidently there were some things at that time which were not fulfilled and it will be necessary for a final time of judgment to come in order that all be fulfilled. What has not been fulfilled is detailed in the allusions to the Hosea context. These are basically the starker forms of suffering, conditions which will call forth the blessing on barrenness and the desire to die. We should recognize the contributions of the typological method: the noting of points of similarity and the interpretive logic that the final catastrophe will be much worse than the first fulfilment in 722 B.C. However, it is necessary to place Jesus' words in a true prophetic scheme. The reappropriation of these prophecies is grounded in the conviction that the Last Days have come in Jesus Christ and all will reach fulfilment in him as the plan of God comes to completion. "For Luke, this plan has come to include, the rejection of old Israel, represented by the fall of Jerusalem for the last time, thus bringing the OT prophecies to their complete fulfilment."²

Whether the use of Hos. 10:8 originates with Jesus, the early church, or Luke must be decided on the basis of historical probabilities and source criticism. We have seen good reason to suppose that this section originates not with Luke but a tradition which he uses and we would conclude the same for the quotation.³ To decide between the early church and

¹Mead (NTS, X, p. 280) classifies Hos. 10:8/Lk. 23:30 not as a passage which violates the OT context but which in its use has been detached from it.

²Sumner, p. 81f.

³Karnetzki, p. 234; Contrast Boismard (II, p. 421), who suggests that the original saying was vv. 28, 31 with vv. 29-30 inserted later. We have noted that the section's literary structure includes three explanations, two of which are combined in a couplet (vv. 29-30). But there is no evidence of discontinuity between vv. 28, 29 or 30, 31 save the change in the person of the verb which generalizes and intensifies the coming suffering.

Jesus as the originator of the quotation rests on the historical probabilities concerning whether such an event could have taken place on the way to the cross. This we shall discuss when we consider the possibility that Zech. 12:10 is the occasion for the narrative. For the present we observe that there is nothing in the theology or the perspective of the saying which is incongruous with the rest of Jesus' teaching. Though some contend that the quotation was originally part of Christian anti-Jewish apologetic or Christian prophecy concerning the impending destruction of Jerusalem,¹ there is no sufficient reason for not attributing it to Jesus himself. Luke did recognize the difference between a prophetic word from God through Jesus, and a word from the Lord through a Christian prophet (e.g. Ac. 21:11). The text-form though dependent on one LXX text tradition, does not depend for its meaning on that form over against the MT. Thus, it is not necessarily more likely that the quotation originated with the Greek-speaking sections of the early church than with Jesus.² The quotation's word order, which is an example of the A-type LXX text-form, may have been first introduced when Aramaic gospel tradition was being translated into Greek.

Old Testament Allusion

Both the episode as a whole and its various parts have been seen as either alluding to or finding their origin in the OT (as a whole, from Zech. 12:10³; 2 Ch. 35:24; 4 Km. 23:25⁴; various parts: Lk. 23:26/Gen.

Thus, no convincing evidence for the secondary insertion of vv. 29-30 exists; Holtz (p. 5) is unsure whether the text-form of the quotation is due to Luke or early church tradition.

¹Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 37.

²Contrast France, Jesus and the OT, pp. 241, 246.

³Weidel, ThStuKr, LXXXV, pp. 244ff.; Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, II, p. 662; Klostermann, p. 225; Montefiore, II, p. 623.

⁴Bornhäuser (p. 111) argues on the basis of 2 Ch. 35:24ff. with its statement that Jewish mourning always contained a reference to Josiah; and 4 Km. 23:25f. interpreted messianically with Josiah as a messianic model, that Jesus took up this reference to Josiah in the women's mourning and declared a resurrected Josiah as the true Messiah. It is against this background that Jesus' words may be understood. The difficulty

22:6, 9;¹ Is. 53:7;² Lk. 23:31/Jer. 11:16; Ezk. 21:3; Pr. 11:31;³ Lk.

23:32/Is. 53:12⁴). The verbal parallelism between Lk. 23:27-31 and

Zech. 12:10-14 is as follows: Zech. - ἐπὶ τοῦς κατοικοῦντας Ἱερουσαλὴμ...

κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτόν... αἱ γυναῖκες; Lk. - γυναικῶν αἱ ἐκόπητον το... αὐτόν...

Ἱερουσαλὴμ... μὴ κλάετε ἐπ' ἐμέ. If Zechariah 12 has colored⁵ this

narrative it is only to a limited extent. Confined to two or three terms

(Ἱερουσαλὴμ; κόπτω; γυναῖκες), this verbal parallelism may be

explained from the similar content of the two narratives. The material

parallelism, however, is not very close. The Zechariah passage does

not contain either the perspective or the content which would make it the

source for the basic ideas of the Lukan narrative. The purpose of the

with Bornhäuser's approach is that he does not really establish anything distinctive about Josiah as Messiah which is actually referred to in Jesus' words to the women. The idea of the resurrection of Jesus is not presented. It is judgment rather than hope which is the main theme here.

¹Boismard (II, p. 421) observes that there is a curious verbal parallelism between Gen. 22:6, 9 (ἐξύλα... ἐπέθηκεν Ἰσαακ... ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον) and Lk. 23:26, 33 (ἐπέθηκαν αὐτῷ τὸν σταυρόν... ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον). He suggests that Luke desires to draw a parallel between Jesus bearing the wood of the cross and Isaac the wood for sacrifice. Though the verbal parallelism is striking, Luke's choice of ἐπέθηκαν over the Markan ὄρη may be explained as a stylistic improvement which may have been motivated not only by a desire to be more precise in the description but also to give a slight echo of Lk. 9:23 (cf. ὀπίσω). The material parallelism fails on one important point. ἐπέθηκαν αὐτῷ refers to the placing of the cross on Simon of Cyrene not on Jesus. Boismard's response to this difficulty, "Does not Simon take Jesus' place?" does not solve it for there is a significance in this replacement, Simon is a possible model for Christians who are required to take up Jesus' cross. This destroys any material parallelism between Gen. 22:6 and Lk. 23:26. There is then no intentional allusion here. See below, p. 536 n. 1

²Hühn (p. 66) suggests that Is. 53:7 may be alluded to in the description of Jesus being led to the cross. The verbal parallelism is not precise (Is. 53:7, ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη; Lk. 23:26, ἀπήγαγον) and the material parallelism fails to come through clearly for, whereas Isaiah describes the Servant being led to the slaughter, Luke describes Jesus being led away from the trial. There is no intentional allusion here.

³There are several different passages involved here, none of which has more striking verbal or material parallelism with Lk. than another. Thus, v. 31 will be treated in the OT idea section.

⁴See above, p. 280.

⁵Creed, p. 285.

Zechariah mourning is a compassionate even repentant lament over the prince, the Messiah, whom they have pierced. In Luke the lament is over Jesus, but it is evidently not one of repentance. It is directed to Jesus without reference to the crowd's sorrow for their involvement in the unjust act. It is to move them to repentance that Jesus directs their lament to themselves in view of the fearful judgment to come. Thus Luke and Zechariah use two different methods for evoking repentance from the people. In Zechariah God pours out a spirit of compassion on them; in Luke Jesus points them to coming judgment.¹ It is only then in the most general way, the fact that in both accounts it is inhabitants of Jerusalem who weep over a single individual, that Zechariah and Luke are similar. Since Luke does not make anything of the ready-made fulfilment proof-text (Zech. 12:10: MT—וְיָרְחוּ וְיִשְׁכְּרוּ בְּיָמָיו וְיִשְׁכְּרוּ בְּיָמָיו; LXX—καὶ ἐπὶ βλεψόντας πρός με ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσονται ; Theodotion—εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν ; cf. J. 19:37) when he describes the crowd watching at the cross (Lk. 23:35, 48),² it is unlikely that Zechariah 12 played such a major role in his thinking. It probably did not serve as the basis for the narrative here. At the most, earlier in the history of the tradition Zech. 12:10 may have influenced the preservation of the fact that the inhabitants of Jerusalem mourned Jesus.

If neither this OT passage nor a combination of OT passages provide a suitable basis for all the content of Lk. 23:27-31, the possibility is again opened up that the true source of the narrative is in history. Those who see the event as unhistorical argue that Jewish law did not permit mourning during the Passover festival;³ the Roman soldiers would

¹ Contrast TDNT (III, p. 850), which recognizes the differences in the object of mourning between Zechariah and Luke, but still claims that Jesus' encouragement to the women is "along the lines of the Prophecy in Zechariah."

² Contrast Loisy, Luc, p. 554.

³ Klostermann, p. 225.

not have allowed Jesus to address the women;¹ Jesus would have been too weak to speak in this extended fashion;² the mourners are incongruous with the people's unsympathetic demand for Jesus' death (23:18).³ There are indications that mourning would have been permitted during the Passover festival in Jesus' day, for the Mishnah in its strict construction of the law code does not seek to eliminate mourning during festivals, but only places limits on it (Shabb. 23:4; M. K. 3:5, 7-9; e.g. "The women may sing dirges during the feast but they may not clap their hands").⁴ The Roman soldiers may have hurried Jesus to the cross, but they had to interrupt their journey at least once, when they forced Simon to carry the Jesus cross. It may have been then that Jesus spoke. Jesus' physical weakness is a fact but it does not conflict with his mental alertness and ability to carry on a somewhat extended conversation. All the gospel accounts give evidence of this ability (e.g. Mk. 15:23; Lk. 23:39-43; J. 19:25-27). It is consistent with rabbinic evidence for the conduct of rabbis on the way to martyrdom for Jesus in his word to the women to have put his suffering in a theological context.⁵ In spite of the crowd's demand for Jesus' death, it would still be possible for some of them to mourn Jesus as an act of religious merit.⁶ The act would be seen as all the more meritorious in view of the serious crimes for which they considered that he was condemned. There is then no sufficient reason to view this narrative as basically unhistorical. Since the OT provides no passage which may serve as the core around which the various OT themes may

¹Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, II, p. 662.

²Reported by Easton, Luke, p. 347.

³Weidel, ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 244.

⁴cf. Easton (Luke, p. 347), who says it is hypercritical to insist that women did not lament on a feast day.

⁵Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, p. 197, n. 2.

⁶Ellis, Luke, p. 266.

gather, it is best to see the narrative as a historical report of Jesus' conversation with the women on the way to the cross.

Old Testament Idea

Jesus' word to the women is expressed in a series of OT ideas and stylistic elements. He calls for the mourners, whom he identifies as "Daughters of Jerusalem" (Lk. 23:28), to weep for themselves. He explains his call for mourning with a beatitude concerning barrenness, the quotation from Hos. 10:8, and a proverb¹ about the green tree and dry.

In the face of impending destruction it was often the duty of the OT prophet to call on the people to lament their sins and the approaching judgment (e.g. Jo. 2:12; Is. 32:12; Jer. 22:10). More often the prophet's warning takes the form of either his personal example in which he publicly laments the coming destruction (e.g. Jer. 8:23; Ezk. 32:18; Is. 16:9) or his prediction that the coming time of judgment will be a time of weeping (e.g. Jo. 1:5, 8; Mic. 1:8). Jesus as he enters the city takes the part of the prophet and weeps over her concerning the coming judgment (Lk. 19:41-44). Now as prophet he calls on the daughters of Jerusalem to weep. Jesus not only emphasizes to them the terribleness of the coming judgment but he also makes a way for individuals to escape its consequences. For by commanding the women to weep for themselves he commands them to show a sign of repentance (cf. Jer. 50:4; Jo. 2:12; Lk. 7:38; 22:62; Ac. 8:22f.). This is part of Luke's portrayal of Jesus as a compassionate savior who is always giving men space to repent. Even after Israel has made the decision to put the Messiah to death and as a result bring upon herself the just judgment due for such a rejection of God's salvation,² Jesus still holds out hope for salvation of individuals, even the executioners (Lk. 23:34; cf. 39-43). The certainty of God's judgment and of his mercy

¹ See below, p. 497, n. 4; cf. TDNT, V, p. 38, n. 1.

² Pilgrim, p. 276.

to those who repent are brought together under the single OT idea, which describes the appropriate response of those who stand under God's judgment: bewailing the wrath to come and repentant mourning for one's sins. This OT idea, especially as it is related to the fate of Jerusalem, probably finds its origin in Luke's source material (cf. 19:41ff.). The idea of mourning as a sign of repentance Luke also shares in common with his sources (7:38; 22:62/Mk. 14:72). What is distinctive about Luke's usage is the emphasis on the grace which comes to those who repent (cf. Lk. 22:31-34; 62).

Jesus addresses the women as *θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλήμ*. This address in its plural form has an OT parallel in Isaiah's messages concerning the sinful daughters of Zion (Is. 3:16, 17; 4:4). It is a mode of prophetic speech which appears to grow from the OT practice of describing a female resident or citizen of a nation (Dt. 23:18), tribe (Ps. 47(48):12), or city (especially Zion, e.g. Ps. 72(73):28; Mic. 1:13) as the "daughter of" The significance of the address, however, rests with the use Luke makes of "Jerusalem" in Luke-Acts.

We have already noted that Luke's preference for *Ἰερουσαλήμ* to *Ἱεροσόλυμα* is probably a LXXism which is generally intended to identify those uses of "Jerusalem" which are to be understood from a theological perspective.¹ One part of the twofold theological significance of Jerusalem as a theological concept is as the city of God in which the fulfillment events of salvation history take place. The whole of Luke's world is ordered about Jerusalem as its geographical center. The climax of the gospel occurs there, since it is necessary that Jesus move to

¹ See above, p. 458; We note the caution of Hastings (p. 106) and Schneider (p. 198) that the classification: Hierosolyma = geographical place name and Jerusalem = theological concept does not strictly apply throughout Luke-Acts. The immediate context determines the degree of theological significance.

² P. Simson, "The Drama of the City of God Jerusalem in St. Luke's Gospel," *Scripture*, XV (1963), p. 76; Flender, *Luke, Theologian*, p. 107.

Jerusalem to present himself as the Davidic Messiah and claim the throne of David there.¹ The other theological significance of Jerusalem is as the representative of sinful Israel.² The city rejects Jesus the Messiah just as it has rejected the prophets which have been sent to her (Lk. 13:33-34; 18:31; 19:41-44). As a result of this last rejection Jerusalem now becomes a place of judgment (cf. 11:50, 51).³ It is this second theological theme, the "unholy Jerusalem" which is developed in the passion narrative (23:7, 28). It is in Jerusalem that the decision is made. There Jesus is rejected as Messiah and sentenced to death. The citizens of Jerusalem, perhaps as residents of the capital city and thus representatives of the nation, appear to have a special responsibility for condemning Jesus to death (cf. Ac. 4:27; 13:27). Luke reports that Jesus understands the divine necessity of Jerusalem being the location of his rejection (Lk. 13:33; 18:31). Yet once Luke begins to report the events in the city from Jesus' lament onwards (19:41-44), he shifts the emphasis from divine necessity to human responsibility. In so doing the way is opened for a call to repentance to accompany even the preaching of coming judgment (21:21-24). Thus Jesus' form of address (23:28), as he takes up the style of the prophet Isaiah, is personal when he appeals to the inhabitants to repent. Since Luke does not introduce this phrase into his sources elsewhere in his gospel and since there is similar content, the coming destruction of Jerusalem, in other portions of Luke's special material (e.g. 19:41-44), it is likely that he has also taken over this reference to Jerusalem from a non-Markan source.

¹R. H. Lightfoot, p. 143.

²Manek, *NovT*, II, p. 14.

³Flender (*Luke, Theologian*, p. 108f.) contends that the judgment on Jerusalem will become the pattern for God's judgment on men as a whole; Baumbach (p. 188) claims that Luke's depiction of Jerusalem as a "prophet killer" and her subsequent judgment is meant to be a warning to Rome not to interfere with the church's mission lest she suffer the same fate.

As Jesus explains why the inhabitants must weep for themselves he uses an introductory phrase common to the prophets: ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἐρχόμενοι ἡμέραι (23:29). From Samuel (1 Km. 2:31) to Malachi (Mal. 3:19) the OT prophets introduce statements about judgment and restoration with this and comparable phrases (e.g. 4 Km. 20:17; Am. 4:2; Zech. 14:1; Is. 13:9; Jer. 38(31):31). Luke uses this phrase to refer to the interim period between the first and second comings of the Son of Man (Lk. 5:35/Mk. 2:20; Lk. 17:22-31; cf. Ac. 2:17, 18; 13:14). These days are to be characterized by the judgment on Jerusalem which is a key event in the last times before the Son of Man returns (Lk. 19:43; 21:6, 22, 23). The use of this phrase places Jesus' prediction to the women within the same eschatological framework as the predictions in Luke 21. It alerts the women to the decisive eschatological finality of the approaching judgment. Thus, the possibility that their suffering has broader implications and significance for salvation history is opened up. It is possible for Luke to insert this phrase into his source (21:6/Mk. 13:2) and he may have done so at Lk. 23:29. However, Luke's editing probably would have been on the basis of some time marker already present in his source. Such a marker seems necessary to identify the context in which the blessing is spoken.

The threefold description of the blessedness of barrenness (23:29) stands in bold contrast to the OT view of the blessedness of fertility. Whether in the blessing which accompanies God's promise to succeeding generations or in the picture of restoration after the exile, the fruitfulness of women is an important sign of God's blessing (e.g. Gen. 49:25; Dt. 7:14; Is. 54:1;¹ 66:11). Hence, a situation in which barrenness is

¹Loisy (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, II, p. 661) says that the form of expression is possibly uniquely influenced by Is. 54:1. The difficulty in seeing such a reminiscence is that the verbal parallelism is not very precise (Is. 54:1, Εὐφρανθήτε στήρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα ; Lk. 23:29, μακάριοι αἱ στήρα καὶ αἱ κοιλίδες αἱ οὐκ ἐγεννήσαν). The material parallelism is non-existent for the blessing in Isaiah signifies the return to fruitfulness not the desirability of barrenness.

blessed must be a very terrible one (cf. Lk. 21:23/Mk. 13:17 where Jesus pronounces woe on those who in the days of Jerusalem's destruction are with child or have young children). In addition to Hos. 9:14,¹ the OT prophets, who experience the fall of the Southern Kingdom proclaim the preference for childlessness and the disadvantage of having children in that day (Jer. 16:2ff.; Lam. 2:20; 4:3, 4; cf. Wsd. 3:13 the one beatitude on barrenness in OT apocryphal literature, "Blessed is the barren who is undefiled, than the wicked who have conceived wickedness in transgression"). This OT idea serves to stress the terribleness and finality of the judgment which is coming. It so overturns normal living that one will not desire to prolong life to the next generation for it will mean the prolongation of suffering. This OT idea is stated in a general way so that it may describe conditions not necessarily confined to the siege of Jerusalem (cf. Lam. 2:20; 4:3, 4; Lk. 21:20ff.). It may describe, as the introductory words may also indicate, a universal judgment. The wording of this blessing is not distinctly Lukan save possibly στειρος (1:7, 36).² It probably comes from a non-Markan source.

After presenting the evils of the coming judgment in a couplet of antithetical parallelism: blessing on barrenness and desire for death, Jesus adds one final reason for his prophetic warning. It is in the form of a proverb: "For if they do this when the wood is green, what will happen when it is dry?" (23:31). OT ideas furnish both the basic pattern of the proverb's reasoning as well as the theological significance for the content of the metaphor. Before we see how the OT is related to Lk. 23:31 we need to establish the probable identity of the basic elements of the metaphor.

The three basic understandings of the proverb may be divided into explanations which identify both types of wood with the Jews³ and those

¹See above, p. 485.

²Taylor, The Passion Narrative, p. 90.

³Ellis, Luke, p. 266; Leaney, p. 283.

which see Jesus as the green wood and the Jews as the dry.¹ The judgment which comes on Jesus now and the Jews at the destruction of Jerusalem may be seen as coming either from God² or the Romans.³ What makes the second of these two alternatives more probable is that Jesus' command (23:28) of which this proverb is a concluding explanation also involves a point of comparison between what is happening to Jesus and what will happen to the Jews. Whether the main focus is on the suffering brought by the Romans or the suffering as a judgment of God is difficult to say. The lack of explicit subjects may again be the method by which the theological perspective is introduced. This along with the OT significance of green tree and dry establish this proverb as a statement about the terrible judgment which the guilty may expect in view of the disproportionate suffering of the innocent.

The logic of this proverb has parallels both in rabbinic sayings⁴ and the OT (Pr. 11:31; cf. 1 Pt. 4:17, 18).⁵ It is the images, however, which depend more heavily on the OT though possibly they are mediated

¹Javet, p. 261; A. B. Bruce, Expositor's Greek NT, I, p. 639.

²e.g. Grundmann, p. 430.

³Caird, Luke, p. 249; Fuller, p. 72; W. C. Robinson, Jr. (The Way of the Lord: A Study of History and Eschatology in the Gospel of Luke (Diss.; Basel, 1962), p. 92) suggests that the green tree should be identified with Jerusalem's destruction and the dry tree with the final eschatological catastrophe. The conclusion of Jesus' warning would then advance beyond a comparison of Jesus' death with Jerusalem's destruction to a comparison of Jerusalem's destruction with the final universal judgment. Robinson views this understanding as reasonable in view of Luke's separation of Jerusalem's destruction from the final judgment in his apocalyptic discourse (21:23f.) and in view of the probability that Luke wrote after A.D. 70. However, this understanding is not borne out by the immediate context in Luke 23. The warning neither distinguishes between the two judgments nor explicitly points beyond the destruction of Jerusalem to a final judgment. Rather, it is the destruction of Jerusalem, at least implied in the form of address (23:28), and the suffering of Jesus which are compared here.

⁴SBK (II, p. 263f.) cites Gen. R. 65(42a) in which Rabbi b. Jo'ezer says on the way to crucifixion, "If such things happen to those who do his will how much more to those who offend him."

⁵Lagrange, p. 586; Boismard, II, p. 421.

through a customary Jewish proverb.¹ The appropriateness of describing those who face suffering as green and dry wood is grounded in the OT use of "fire" as an image of God's consuming judgment (e.g. Jer. 11:16; Ezk. 21:4). Judgment on Israel is often described as a consuming fire on a dry tree (Is. 10:16-19; Jo. 1:19; Jer. 5:14; 7:20; Ezk. 15:1-8). Not only does dryness emphasize the rapidity and totality of fiery judgment but it also stands in the OT as a symbol for sin and its consequences. At one stage of God's relationship with Israel she was a green tender plant, which was fruitful (Jer. 11:16; Is. 5:1; Hos. 10:1). Greenness as the opposite of dryness often stands for righteousness (e.g. Pr. 11:30; Psalm 1; Jer. 11:19; Hos. 14:8; contrast Ps. 36(37):35). At another stage in Israel's history she in her sinfulness becomes dry and unfruitful (Is. 37:27; Hos. 9:16; Jo. 1:12; Nah. 1:10). Dryness may also be viewed as the judgment on sin (Am. 1:2; Jo. 1:10-20).

This OT significance of green and dry wood understood in a context of judgment contributes both a moral and theological perspective to Luke's use of the proverb. The image of quickly burning dry wood not only intensifies the terribleness of the prospective judgment, which is already emphasized by the logic of the *a fortiori* argument. In contrast with "the green wood" the dry wood also points out the moral and theological basis for the judgment. In the case of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the dry wood is their sinful rejection of the Messiah. This climax to the warning is yet again another form of Jesus' gracious call to them to repent.² With regard to Jesus, the green wood, this proverb serves to describe in another way the theological theme which governs Luke's passion narrative, Jesus the innocent one is numbered with transgressors. It is not insignificant that immediately following Jesus' proverb there is the

¹cf. SBK (II, p. 263): Seder Elij. R. 14(65): "When fire devours the green, what will it make of the dry?"; Schneider, TDNT, V, p. 38.

²Grundmann, p. 430.

narrative note that two other κακούργοι were led out with him to be executed. This historical detail appears to most graphically portray for Luke the theological theme which fulfills Is. 53:12/Lk. 22:37.¹

This proverb and its wording most probably comes from Luke's source for it does not betray any vocabulary which is of special interest to him (cf. 8:6/Mk. 4:6; ξύλον is used to describe the cross in the early church's preaching, Ac. 5:30; 10:39; 13:29).

Old Testament Style

Both in its basic structure and in particular constructions this section shows evidence of LXX style imitation. There is a preference for καί (4X; 3X in lesser constructions) over δέ (3X) with three examples of parataxis (23:26, 29, 30). Semitic word order prevails in the basic sentence structure (verb-subject-object: 3X; subject-verb-object: 1X). These characteristics occur in both the narrative and dialogue (i.e. Jesus' speech) portions of the section. The LXX style imitation which results may thus be attributed to either Luke or his source. It is not simply a result of the expected semitic flavor of the reported speech of Jesus.

The antithetical parallelism of vv. 28, 31 corresponds to one of the parallel structures of Hebrew poetry.² This semitic flavor probably comes from Luke's source since elsewhere he is known for destroying what is seemingly redundant parallelism.³

Of the individual constructions which are LXX style imitation, we have dealt elsewhere with ἰδοὺ 4; ἐρχονται ἡμέραι 5 (23:29); and ἀρχομαι plus the infinitive⁶ (23:30). What needs to be noted briefly here

¹See above, p. 280.

²Burney, The Poetry of Our Lord, pp. 79, 82f.

³Ibid., p. 87; Contrast Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts, p.122.

⁴See above, p. 128.

⁵See above, p. 495.

⁶See above, p. 447.

is that this ἰδοὺ is an example of the "prophetic affirmation" use of ἰδοὺ in Jesus' speech (22:10, 22, 31; 23:29). The difference is that this prophecy points to events beyond Jesus' earthly life (cf. 13:35; possibly 22:31). The ἰδοὺ binds together the prophetic ministry of Jesus in his passion; shows that Jesus is always in control of the situation as well as concerned for others; and emphasizes the certainty of conviction that what is prophesied will take place.¹

The whole phrase ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἐρχονται ἡμέραι has a counterpart in the LXX where וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם וְאָמַרְתָּ is rendered by διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἐρχονται (e.g. almost exclusively in Jeremiah, Jer. 7:32; 16:14; 19:6; 28(51):52; 31(48):12; cf. Am. 4:2 where Διότι renders וְ and the one instance where ὅτι renders וְ, Jer. 37(30):3). Because of the difference in subordinating conjunctions (ὅτι not διὰ τοῦτο) and the difference in word order (ἐρχονται and ἡμέραι are transposed in the LXX away from the expected semitic word order and toward a literal translation of וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם), it is difficult to say that the whole phrase is an exact imitation of LXX style.² Rather, it may come from the translation Greek of a semitic source tradition.³ At least the components in the phrase, though not its form as a whole, may be recognized as LXX style imitation.

The purpose of the phrase, "the days are coming," is both to indicate that there is a lapse in time between the utterance of the prophecy and the fulfilment and to emphatically assure that the fulfilment will come. These two purposes are also served by the use of the construction ἐρχονται.

¹Fiedler, p. 64.

²Fiedler (p. 32) also notes the differences but mistakenly says that 1 Km. 2:31 has Luke's word order; Possibly he bases his observation on the text variant ἡμέραι ἐρχονται : Alexandrian-X; Caesarean- 157; Byzantine- C; X; 1024; a few minuscules.

³Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 116; Bultmann (p. 116) also suggests that the use of ἐν in v. 31 corresponds to and supports the translation Greek character of the passage; Contrast Antoniadis (p. 212), who says the ἐν is just used for emphasis and has nothing to do with semitic background; cf. Wellhausen (p. 18), who says that the ποιοῦσιν with an undetermined subject is an Aramaic way of avoiding the passive.

plus the infinitive (23:30). It is interesting to note that both of these concentrations of LXX style occur not only in Jesus' words but also at the transition points where they serve as the introductions to the two members of the couplet concerning men's response to the dire circumstances of judgment.

Luke introduces this account of the procession to the cross with a *καί* and *ὥς*, used as a temporal subordinating conjunction, followed by the indicative. Though possible in Greek (e.g. Homer, *Il.* I:599f., *ἀσβεστός δ' ἄρ' ἐν ὥρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν ὥς ἴδον ἥφαιστον διὰ δάματα ποσειδῶνα*), the frequency of this use of *ὥς* in various constructions in the LXX where it literally translates Hebrew temporal subordinating conjunctions makes it an identifiable LXX stylistic element [e.g. most often in the construction *καὶ ἐγένετο ὥς* = *וְיָ*, Judg. 2:4; Dt. 5:23(20); 1 Km. 4:5, sometimes *δέ* translates *וְ* (Gen. 30:25), sometimes *ὥς* translates *וְ* (3 Km. 8:10; Judg. 2:19), or *וְשָׁ* (1 Ch. 17:1; 2 Esdr. 14:1; Gen. 30:25); *ὥς* may also appear with a simple *καί* (for *וְ*, 1 Ch. 21:15; 2 Esdr. 9:1, 3; or *וְ*, Pr. 8:28), *δέ* (for *וְ*, Gen. 34:7, Num. 11:25; Josh. 3:15; or *וְיָ*, Num. 16:31; Gen. 38:29), or by itself (for *וְשָׁ*, Gen. 18:33; *וְשָׁ*, Ex. 12:27)]. The fact that *ὥς* is sometimes inserted into the LXX translation (e.g. Ex. 3:4; Josh. 2:5) and that it is used frequently in OT apocryphal books which may imitate LXX style (e.g. Jdth. 2:4; 1 Macc. 2:23; 2 Macc. 1:15), further establishes it as a LXX stylistic element.

Luke employs *ὥς* in all of the above constructions throughout Luke-Acts (e.g. *καὶ ἐγένετο ὥς*, Lk. 1:23; 19:29 cf. Mk. 11:1; *καὶ ὥς*, Lk. 2:39; 22:66; 23:26; Ac. 1:10; *ὥς δέ*, Lk. 5:4; 7:12; and except for Ac. 1:10, *ὥς δέ* is the only form which occurs in Acts, e.g. Ac. 8:36; 16:4; 28:4; *ὥς*, Lk. 1:44; 6:4; 24:6, 32). Because of its frequency and Luke's practice of editing the construction into his sources (e.g. 6:4/Mk. 2:26; Lk. 8:47/Mk. 5:33; Lk. 12:58/cf. Mt. 5:25; Lk. 19:29/Mk. 11:1), we may recognize this construction as an element in Luke's style. Luke appears

to have inserted the $\omega\varsigma$ into Mark at Lk. 23:26/Mk. 15:20b. Though having no theological significance of its own, when the temporal $\omega\varsigma$ appears in the introduction to an episode it tends to place the whole episode into the context of salvation history. This is appropriate to the content of Lk. 23:27-31. We might be tempted to see a pattern developing (22:66; 23:26), in which $\omega\varsigma$ is used to introduce major portions of the passion narrative. However, Luke uses $\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$ and not $\omega\varsigma$ at Lk. 23:33 to introduce a new phase in Jesus' suffering. We must be careful then not to make too much of the possible broader theological and literary significance of his use of $\omega\varsigma$ at Lk. 23:26.

A final possible LXX style feature¹ is the use of $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ (23:28). Though possible in Greek, Luke's evenly balanced use of $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega$ in the intransitive sense "to bewail someone" with and without the preposition (e.g. Lk. 8:52/Mk. 5:38, 39; Lk. 19:41; 23:28) reflects LXX style. The LXX uses $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega$ to translate two constructions of לָאֵן which occur equally in the MT ($\text{לָאֵן לָאֵן} = \kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$, e.g. Gen. 45:14; Judg. 11:37; $\text{לָאֵן לָאֵן} = \kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ plus an accusative direct object, e.g. Gen. 37:35; Num. 20:29).² These constructions with $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$ do not occur very frequently in the LXX or Luke. But this is because of their specialized use. They may still, on the basis of the Hebrew constructions which they translate literally,

¹Lk. 23:28 contains the participle $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ which might be taken as pleonastic and thus as a candidate for LXX style imitation. But this is questionable since the action described makes a necessary transition between the women's mourning and Jesus' response. This participle appropriately shows the transition since the women are following him and not addressing him directly; An example of vocabulary which has probably been influenced by LXX usage is $\kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$ with the meaning of "womb" (Wilcox, p. 58f.). While this meaning is possible in secular Greek (e.g. Hippocrates, *Mul.* 1:38, $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \tau\eta \gamma\upsilon\gamma\alpha\kappa\iota \theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu \sigma\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\epsilon\iota \epsilon\iota \mu\eta \tau\iota\varsigma \epsilon\nu \tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\iota \varphi\acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha \tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\iota \eta \tau\eta\nu \kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\nu \mu\alpha\lambda\theta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\nu$), its frequency in the LXX to translate בֶּטֶן in both its meanings "belly" (e.g. Num. 5:21) and "womb" (Dt. 7:13) makes it a characteristic of LXX style. It is imitation of that style which may best account for the predominance of the meaning "womb" (9X) over the meaning "belly" (Lk. 15:16) in Luke-Acts.

²cf. Tabachovitz (p. 83f.), who besides contending that this is an example of LXX style, also points to Jer. 22:10 as Luke's model for Lk. 23:28.

be seen as distinctive elements of LXX style and thus probably imitated at Lk. 23:28. The function of the prepositions may be simply to emphasize the contrast between the two objects of mourning. They of course also contribute to the overall LXX style of the passage. This construction is probably taken over from Luke's source since he does not introduce it into his sources elsewhere. It might be understood as translation Greek from a semitic source as the phrases in Lk. 23:29. If that is its ultimate origin, its form now corresponds to LXX style and may be also taken as LXX style imitation.

CHAPTER XVII

LUKE 23:33-38: THE CRUCIFIXION

Introduction

As the gospel tradition reports the central event of Jesus' suffering, the influence of the OT expressed in the form of OT allusion becomes quite noticeable. In our consideration of Lk. 23:33-38; 44-49 we must deal with a great number of proposed allusions, real and imaginary, and see how they relate to the historicity of the narrative details. The prayer of Jesus (23:34) and the mockery of the crowd (23:35) contain OT ideas while a few elements of OT style are found throughout the narrative.

It is best to understand a non-Markan source with Markan insertions as the basic structure of this narrative. Besides a low level of verbal agreement with Mark which linguistic analysis would show,¹ the differences in the content² and its arrangement³ are best explained not by Luke's theological editing of Mark,⁴ but by his use of a non-Markan source.⁵ Those portions which have extensive verbal parallelism with Mark may be understood as insertions (23:34b/Mk. 15:24b; Lk. 23:38/Mk. 15/26). The abrupt introduction of these pieces of the narrative indicates their nature as insertions. The description of the dividing of Jesus' garments by casting lots (Lk. 23:34b) seems to be either an afterthought occasioned by the prayer or at most an element which was so well known that Luke did not

¹Taylor, The Passion Narrative, p. 92.

²Ibid.; Taylor contains a concise summary of the evidence.

³The order of elements reported by both Mark and Luke is as follows:
Mark: arrival at Calvary (Mk. 15:22); act of crucifixion (15:24); dividing the garments (15:24); superscription (15:26); two criminals crucified (15:27); crowd mocks (15:29-30); leaders mock (15:31-32).
Luke: arrival at Calvary (Lk. 23:33); act of crucifixion (23:33); two criminals crucified (23:33); garments divided (23:34); crowd mocks (23:35); leaders mock (23:35); superscription (23:38).

⁴Contrast Finegan, p. 32.

⁵Taylor, The Passion Narrative, pp. 92ff.; Easton, Luke, p. 349; Grundmann, p. 431.

for Jesus to do so.¹ There are, however, not as many explanations for how the text came to be later interpolated. Some call it an ancient agraphon which so reflects the spirit of Christ and the theology of Luke that it was naturally added later.² Those who might suggest either Is. 53:12 or Ac. 7:60 as the origin of the prayer, which was later interpolated, are strongly resisted by others.³ While on the one hand those who favor later interpolation fail to give an adequate reason for such a transcriptional probability, on the other hand, the provision of a variety of reasons for omission, though no single one is without objection, shows that some explanations may be found for later omission and at least the question of a solution should be left open.

The intrinsic probabilities are not decisive either. Depending on whether we identify the unexpressed subject of *οἱ δασι* and *ποιοῦσι* as the Roman executioners or the Jewish people, the prayer may or may not interrupt the natural flow of narrative from vv. 33 to 34b. Thus clumsiness of syntax is determined more by interpretive pre-conceptions than by the actual grammar.⁴ The theological affinity of the prayer with Luke's purposes has been seen as an argument for originality⁵ and for later interpolation.⁶ It has been objected that the prayer is theologically inappropriate and secondary. This objection is based on an identification of those

¹Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, II, p. 673; Contrast Lohse (Martyrer, p. 180), who, though he believes the longer reading is genuine and explains its omission on the motive of harmonization with the other Gospels, asks of this explanation: if it were true why is there not also evidence for the tendency to omit Ac. 7:60?

²Goppelt, p. 123; Creed, p. 286.

³e.g. Harnack, Sitzungsberichte, I, p. 258; Wolff, p. 76, n. 319; Dibelius (From Tradition, p. 203, n. 2) believes that Ac. 7:60 is dependent on Lk. 23:34a and argues that to accept Lk. 23:34a as secondary would demand the complicated process of double interpolation.

⁴B. Weiss (II, p. 200f.) sees clumsiness as an indication that we have a later interpolation; Contrast Harnack, Sitzungsberichte, I, p. 257.

⁵Fleigel, p. 41.

⁶B. Weiss, II, p. 200.

who are to be forgiven, as either self consciously guilty Jews¹ or Roman soldiers only following orders.² But the whole passion narrative has been pervaded by Jesus' presentation of opportunities to those who disobey God to repent and be forgiven. This prayer is the appropriate response from Luke's theological point of view to a decisive act of disobedience (cf. Ac. 3:17; 13:27; Lk. 19:44). There is nothing in the way of intrinsic probability which prevents Lk. 23:34a from being original.

Though it is longer the reading which includes the prayer is the more difficult. The early church possibly saw it in conflict with the way they interpreted later events and in conflict with their anti-Semitic prejudices. The longer reading is probably original; was omitted early for a brief time; and later re-interpolated early enough so that the majority of texts could witness to it.³

The other text problem⁴ (23:35) concerns the titles with which the leaders mocked Jesus. The extrinsic probabilities are that reading (1) is eclectic and secondary. The two factors which probably have caused the variety of word order and the use of υἱός (readings 4-7) are an attempt to clarify which substantive τοῦ θεοῦ modifies (readings 4, 5 say ἐκλεκτός; reading 6 says ὁ χριστός) and an attempt to harmonize the mockery with Mt. 27:43 and possibly Lk. 22:70, which both use the title

¹ Lagrange, p. 588.

² A. H. Dammers, "Studies in Texts," Theology, LII (1949), p. 138f.

³ Contrast Westcott and Hort, II, Appendix, p. 68.

4(1) ἔσωσας σεαυτὸν σώσον, εἰ υἱὸς εἰ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰ χριστὸς εἰ δ' ἐκλεκτός:
Western- D; it (C)
(2) ἔσωσεν, σωσάτω εαυτὸν εἰ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός:
Alexandrian- X^{corr}; L; Caesarean- f¹; Byzantine- W; Western- (D).
(3) υἱός for οὗτός: Alexandrian- B.
(4) ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκλεκτός: Byzantine- C³; most minuscules; A; Γ; Δ; Caesarean- θ; Western- Old Latin.
(5) ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ: Western- itff²; Byzantine - C*.
(6) ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός: Alexandrian- X*.
(7) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός: Alexandrian- p⁷⁵; Caesarean- f¹³; Eusebius.

"Son of God" (readings 3 and 7).¹ It may be that this harmonization began early in various forms (readings 3 and 7) and later was gradually removed under pressure of other text traditions (reading 6 - χ^* retains the σ but not the $\sigma\sigma$; reading 2 - χ^{corr} both elements have been removed). Because reading (2) is the shorter and more difficult reading grammatically and the other readings are attempts either at harmonization and/or clarification, it is best to take reading (2) as original. Intrinsic probabilities tend to bear this conclusion out for the form of the title corresponds to Luke's style elsewhere (Lk. 2:26; 9:20, 35; cf. Ac. 4:26).²

Old Testament Allusion

The two OT sections to which this portion of the passion narrative possibly points are Isaiah 53 and the Psalms [Psalms 21(22); 68(69)]⁷. Aside from the identification of conscious OT allusions two tasks are of major importance here. We need to understand the interpretational method which was used in appropriating these OT materials and the relationship of the OT materials to the historicity of the reported details.

Of the two possible allusions to Is. 53:12 (Lk. 23:33, the crucifixion of the two criminals with Jesus; 23:34, Jesus' making intercession for the transgressors), we have already seen that the former possible OT reference should not be viewed as an OT allusion.³ Admittedly its placement at the beginning of the narrative in close conjunction with another comment about condemned criminals accompanying Jesus (23:32) emphasizes this historical detail, which could be understood to literally fulfill Is. 53:12/Lk. 22:37. However, the lack of verbal parallelism, the use of this detail to show fulfilment through the development of a theological theme, and its natural place in the normal progression of the narrative,

¹Zahn, Lukas, p. 699, n. 9.

²Klostermann, p. 225; Zahn, Lukas, p. 699, n. 9.

³See above p. 280. Contrast Grundmann, p. 432; Stöcker, p. 287; cf. the later interpolation Mk. 15:28/Is. 53:12.

indicate that it does not function for Luke as the specific point of the fulfilment of Is. 53:12/Lk. 22:37.

There is no verbal parallelism between Lk. 23:34a, ἄφες αὐτοῖς and Is. 53:12, διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη. Any material parallelism which can be maintained must be based on the MT (וְלֹא יִשְׁׁוּׁםׁ), since the LXX changes "sinners" into "their sins" and "to intercede" into "to be handed over" (cf. DSS Is. 53:12, וְלֹא יִשְׁׁוּׁםׁ). Unless one is going to maintain that Luke develops material parallelism with the MT and alludes to the Hebrew¹ without making any attempt to create verbal parallelism with the LXX as a signal to his readers that there is an allusion present, it does not seem likely that Luke is consciously alluding to the OT here. Ac. 7:60 shows that Luke can portray the same thought with greater verbal parallelism (μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς ταύτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν). Possibly originally in harmony with the MT Jesus and then that portion of the early church with a semitic language background understood this prayer on the cross as an allusion to Is. 53:12.² In the careful preservation of the tradition in the translation of Jesus' words possibly the understanding of the prayer's allusive significance continued to be communicated, but now it was through the general OT ideas concerning intercession for forgiveness of sins. There is no necessary OT allusion here but we shall treat its OT content later under the OT ideas category.

Psalm 21(22) is the most extensively alluded to OT passage in this portion of the passion narrative. There are basically four parts of the gospel narratives which allude to Psalm 21(22): the parting of the garments (Lk. 23:34/Mk. 15:24/Ps. 21(22):19); the mockery of the crowd (Lk. 23:35/Ps. 21(22):8; cf. Mk. 15:29); the mockery of the leaders (Lk. 23:35/Ps.

¹ Fleigel, p. 41.

² Wolff, p. 75; Jeremias, *TDNT*, V, p. 713, n. 455; Contrast Grundmann (p. 432), who cites the DSS Isaiah text as evidence that there was no material basis in Hebrew either for establishing an allusion.

21(22):9; cf. Mt. 27:43); and the last words of Jesus (Mk. 15:34/Ps. 21 (22):2; not in Luke¹).

The description of the executioners' distribution of Jesus' garments among themselves by casting lots has a great deal of verbal parallelism with Ps. 21(22):19 (Lk. 23:34, *διαμερίζομενοι δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἔβαλον κλήρους*; Ps. 21(22):19, *διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἐαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλήρον* ; cf. Mk. 15:24, *διαμερίζονται τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ βάλλοντες κλήρον ἐπ' αὐτά* cf. J. 19:24). The material parallelism between the gospel narrative and the psalm of lament is close even though Ps. 21(22):19 is only one of the many metaphors for suffering and hostility in the psalm. There is no introductory formula. The abrupt introduction of this material into the context as part of the narrative prevents the material from functioning as a recognizable quotation.² That it should be recognized as an allusion is slightly less certain.³ Again the fact that nothing in the context points to these details as an OT allusion seems to weigh heavily against conscious allusion. Yet, on the other hand, the verbal parallelism is very close and extensive. There are no other passages in the OT where the suffering of the righteous person is described in this way (cf. Jo. 4:3; Ob. 11; Na. 3:10, where it is part of the humiliation of going into captivity; cf. Jon. 1:7). Since this detail is not essential to the progress of the narrative, and since the verbal parallelism is close and extensive, the conclusion that it

¹ See below, p. 572f.

² Zahn, *Lukas*, p. 699, n. 7; Morganthaler (I, p. 71) and Holtz (p. 58, n. 3) see the text-form discrepancy, which Luke appears to increase as he takes over Mark, as a further indication that this is not a quotation; Contrast L. Ragg (*Luke* (Westminster Commentaries; London, 1922), p. 299), who calls it a quotation without quotation marks; Creed, p. 287; W. Manson, p. 260.

³ Goppelt, p. 122; Gundry, *The Use of the OT in Mt.*, p. 62; Gough, p. vi. Hühn (p. 66f.) lists it as a messianic allusion; Dittmar (p. 68) calls it a quotation in the wider sense; Karnetzki (p. 85) classifies it as a quotation in context (*Kontextzitat*). Contrast Suhl (p. 48), who takes the increased text-form discrepancy in Luke, as opposed to Mark, as evidence that Luke did not understand this as an allusion.

functions in some way as an allusion to the OT commends itself.

Before analyzing Luke's use of Ps. 21(22):19 we need to understand the verse's role in its original context. Psalm 21(22) contains a psalm of lament (Ps. 21(22):1-22) and a psalm of thanksgiving (Ps. 21(22):23-32).¹ Though the psalm was evidently used later in corporate worship (cf. Ps. 21(22):24, 25), it originated from the spiritual experience of one man.² The psalmist endures physical (Ps. 21(22):15, 16), emotional (Ps. 21(22):7, 13, 14), and most importantly spiritual suffering (Ps. 21(22):2, 3). He describes it in such general and graphically metaphorical terms that it is difficult to identify the exact historical circumstances to which the psalmist is responding in lamentation.³ The portions of the psalm which the gospel passion narratives appropriate (Ps. 21(22):8, 9, 19) describe the mockery to which the psalmist is subjected and the hostility of his enemies. The occasion on which men scorn and despise the psalmist, gape, shake heads, and say "He committed his cause to the Lord; let him deliver him, let him rescue him, for he delights in him!" is not given. All the psalm allows us to conclude is that the righteous man is suffering unjustly in public. He is in a predicament from which there seems to be no deliverance. One of the images, the distribution of the sufferer's clothes among his enemies who as robbers take possession of them (Ps. 21(22):19), shows the hopelessness of the sufferer's condition by graphically portraying the imminence of his death.⁴ They cast lots for his

¹Weiser, p. 219.

²Contrast Coppelt, p. 125; A. A. Anderson, I, p. 184.

³Weiser, p. 220; cf. A. A. Anderson (I, p. 185), who enumerates various suggested original historical situations (e.g. David's trials; Hezekiah's illness; Jeremiah's trials; Babylonian exile), but finds none of them convincing. His alternative is a cultic setting: the votive offering. He notes the possibility of a ritual of humiliation and exaltation for the king as the original setting; Vis (p. 34) says that the psalm concerns the struggle against apostasy in the Intertestamental period. The variety of suggestions indicates again the general nature of the psalm's content and the difficulty of reconstructing the original situation.

⁴Weiser, p. 224.

clothes anticipating his death.

One other element in the psalm worthy of note is that the thanksgiving section concludes with the confident declaration that God's universal rule is going to come (Ps. 21(22):28-32). This opens up the possibility of a messianic understanding of the psalm which could extend back beyond that concluding section to the whole psalm. This perspective combined with the general nature of the suffering lamented and the graphic metaphors used to describe it, prepared the way for the early church's appropriation of the psalm to describe the sufferings of Jesus.

In the Jewish exegetical tradition leading up to the first century the sufferer of the psalm was not interpreted as the Messiah, though the MT and LXX superscription, the midrash, and a rabbinic interpreter identify the singer of this first person psalm as David.¹ The latter portion (Ps. 21(22):28-32) is interpreted in the targum, midrash, and a few rabbinic references as descriptive of the messianic End-time.² However, only in relatively late midrashic homilies is the suffering actually interpreted as messianic.³

With this background on the psalm we may analyze Luke's use of it. The text-form differences between Luke and the LXX may be explained from several of Luke's stylistic and compositional practices. He continues to avoid parataxis as he takes over Mark's rendering, which already has

¹cf. SBK (II, p. 575) for the evidence from Hul 89^a (R. Eliezer b. Jose Ha-gelili, 150 A.D.) and Midr. Ps. 22 ¶ 28(98a) (R. Idi, 325 A.D.).

²cf. SBK (II, p. 574) for the evidence from targum; Midr. Ps. 22, ¶ 32(99a); Sanh. 110b; DeWaard (p. 62) comments concerning the use of Psalm 21(22) in the DSS " . . . from Ps. 22, which is quoted five times in 1 QH, those verses which function in the gospels are not quoted"; Contrast Bornhäuser (p. 191), who maintains that the phrase εἰς τὸ τέλος in the LXX superscription indicates that the Jewish contemporary exegesis understood the whole psalm messianically; This viewpoint has been satisfactorily refuted both on the ground of the lack of external evidence for such Jewish interpretation and the lack of a consistent interpretation of εἰς τὸ τέλος in this fashion whenever it occurs in a LXX psalm superscription [cf. Karnetzki (p. 151f.) and Schelkle (p. 102), who adds further evidence from Justin (Dial. 97) that first and second century Jewish exegesis did not accept a messianic interpretation of Psalm 21(22)]⁷.

³SBK, II, p. 579f. - Pesik. R. 36(162a); 37(163a).

subordinated the second verb to the first. Luke maintains the subordination but does it by placing the first verb in subordination to the second. In the process there is a net increase in the conformity of the NT text-form to the LXX. When Luke turns *διαμερίζοντες* into a subordinate *διαμερίζομενοι* he eliminates an obvious text-form discrepancy: the difference in tense of the finite verb form (cf. Mt. 27:35, *διαμερίσαντο*). At the same time in changing *βάλλοντες* to *έβαλον* Luke brings this verb into conformity with the LXX. Two other changes of Mark, however, move Luke's text-form away from the LXX: the abbreviation of the allusion which removes *ἐπ' αὐτά* and the use of the plural *κλήρους* instead of the singular.¹ The abbreviation while reducing the extent of verbal parallelism increases to some degree the amount of material parallelism. In the process of avoiding parataxis the NT writers have compressed the OT saying removing the *τὸν ἱματισμόν* which stands in parallel with *τὰ ἱμάτια* in Psalm 21(22) and over which (*ἐπ'*) originally the lot was cast. Mark explicitly applies the casting of lots to the first member of the couplet with his use of *ἐπ' αὐτά*, while Luke by omitting this prepositional phrase only implies that the *τὰ ἱμάτια* are the prize of the gambling. Thus, he maintains better material parallelism (cf. J. 19:23, 24 where each part of the OT couplet finds an individual fulfilment). Whether the plural of *κλήρους* is an attempt to write more natural Greek or to apply the casting of lots more naturally to the distribution of more than one garment is not certain.² But it does seem to be in the interest of presenting plausibly the historical circumstances that this change from

¹The singular is strongly attested by Alexandrian (p⁷⁵; B; λ ; L), Western (D; it^c), Caesarean (f¹³), and Byzantine (C; W; Γ ; Δ ; and many other uncials and minuscules) witnesses. Though lacking early Alexandrian evidence (cf. 33), the reading for the plural does have just as wide geographical distribution (e.g. Caesarean= θ ; f¹; Western= old Latin; Byzantine=A; X; Ψ). The singular reading may be explained as an assimilation to the other Gospels and to the LXX. Although it may be more difficult grammatically, we take it as secondary. *κλήρους* is original.

²cf. Homer, *Od.* XIV:209 - *ἐπὶ κλήρους έβάλοντο* in the context of casting lots to divide substance.

singular to plural is made.¹ One other change in text-form which is an adjustment to a gospel narrative told in the third person is the use of the possessive pronoun αὐτοῦ for μου. These text-form discrepancies and similarities, which Luke's taking over and editing of Mark create, do not allow us to decide on the basis of their net effect alone that this is not an allusion.² Even Luke's historical interest only influenced the change in text-form slightly. The overall result appears to be the presentation of a historical detail in the language of Ps. 21(22):19 adjusted to the NT circumstances. Since LXX and MT agree in content at this point it is difficult to decide which is the basic text. Luke's adjustment of Mark in line with the LXX (βαλλουτες to ἐβαλον), however, leads us to conclude that the LXX is Luke's basic source here.³

This OT material has a primary and secondary function in the narrative. Its primary function is to show the depth of suffering which Jesus endures. Jesus has been brought to the lowest humiliation, the condemned criminal's execution by crucifixion. But this is not the end for his humiliation is taken one step further. The imminence of his death and the callousness of the executioners in the face of it is declared by the simple mention of this detail: "And they cast lots to divide his garments." In this act the executioners again treat Jesus as a transgressor. Jesus' prayer for the forgiveness of those who wronged him, which immediately precedes their action, presents the innocence aspect of Luke's theological theme: the innocent Jesus numbered with the transgressors (Lk. 22:37/Is. 53:12).

¹Holtz, p. 58, n. 3.

²Contrast Suhl, p. 48.

³Gundry, The Use of the OT in Mt., p. 62; Rose, Le Psautier, p. 316; Contrast B. F. C. Atkinson ("The Textual Background of the Use of the OT in the New," The Victoria Institute, LXXIX (1947), p. 51), who comments, "As usual he (Luke), is further from the LXX than Mark, as Mark is than Matthew."

The secondary purpose of this OT material is to present a historical detail which is also a fulfilment of Scripture.¹ Luke reports that the early church's missionary preaching proclaimed that especially during the crucifixion the actions of those at the cross were in fulfilment of Scripture (Ac. 13:29, ὡς δὲ ἐτέλεσαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου). This may be a guide for our own understanding of Luke's method for until this point in the passion narrative OT allusions have occurred only on the lips of Jesus not in the descriptive narrative. Luke may have viewed the crucifixion as the high point of scriptural fulfilment concerning the Messiah's suffering. Therefore, he may have considered it proper to present the narrative details in the language of the OT passages which they fulfilled. There appears to be a new freedom and we shall see how Psalm 21(22) affects the phrasing of the whole narrative up to verse 50(e.g. 23:35, 48).

Luke still shows restraint, however, even in this section. Some have been tempted to say that Luke has moved from an interest in OT fulfilment to an interest in history. He "historicizes" details which were originally presented as fulfilment proof-texts.² Yet, historical interest can promote the presentation of fulfilled prophecy. Luke manifests his historical interest and his concern for the prophetic fulfilment by carefully separating in his narrative the fulfilment event and his interpretation of it. Again with his sense of history he doesn't let himself get ahead of the story but rather simply describes the historical detail, admittedly sometimes in OT wording, but in such a way that the historical concern for the event is uppermost. Thus some of the precise OT text-form may be lost but none of the event's potential value as a fulfilment

¹ Schelkle, p. 88; Goppelt, p. 311; Contrast Suhl (p. 48), who says that Luke's interest in fulfilment in terms of salvation history meant that he was no longer interested in the fulfilment of individual OT passages.

² e.g. Holtz, p. 58, n. 3; cf. Dibelius' (From Tradition, p. 199) view on Luke in general.

of prophecy is. There will be time later in the preaching of the early church to interpret the event.

At Lk. 23:34/Ps. 21(22):19 Luke prepared the way for later interpretation as he does in the case of Ps. 2:1, 2/Lk. 23:6-12. In Lk. 23:6-12 the theological purpose of showing Jesus' innocence is primary and eliminates the possibility of the factual statement's functioning as an OT allusion. Later, however, the fact is taken up and appropriated as fulfilled OT prophecy (Ac. 4:24-28). The historical detail the parting of the garments (Ps. 21(22):19/Lk. 23:34), on the contrary, appears much more clearly as an allusion when it is presented in the gospel passion narrative. Yet, it is not taken up in the missionary preaching in Acts and interpreted as fulfilled prophecy. Thus this allusion functions only in the immediate context. The fact that it is an example of a scripture which predicts the Christ's sufferings has significance for the larger context where Luke presents in general terms an apologetic for the scriptural necessity of Jesus' suffering (Ac. 13:29: 17:3). But the allusion's particular content does not have significance for the larger context. Neither does the allusion appear to serve as a pointer to its larger original context, the psalm as a whole.¹ All to which Luke intends to allude is explicitly stated in the NT narrative.

The interpretational method by which Luke appropriates Ps. 21(22):19 as a prophetic promise which is fulfilled in Jesus' suffering can only be reconstructed on the basis of comparison with the way Luke appropriates other psalms as prophetic of Jesus' experience (e.g. Ps. 15(16):8-11/Ac. 2:25ff.; 13:35; Ps. 109(110)/Ac. 2:34).² With the psalm in the first person and the superscription indicating David as its author, the early Christian interprets it as the work of king David. He then takes

¹ Sundberg, *NovT*, III, p. 277.

² See above, p. 410.

a certain portion of the psalm in its literal sense and asks whether David ever had this experience, e.g. rising from the dead (Ac. 2:29, 30) or ascending into heaven (Ac. 2:34). When the answer is "no" the conclusion is drawn that David must have been prophesying of someone else's experience, the experience of the son of David, the Davidic Messiah, who would fulfill all the promises made to his father. Then the NT writer, who is convinced that all the Scriptures prophesy of this Messiah, and who has seen in the events of Jesus' life features which correspond to OT passages, is able to appropriate those passages and declare that they have come to their final fulfilment in Jesus. In a sense we have described the interpretational method back to front. For unless we are going to conclude that the detail of the parting of the garments has no independent existence in history, but is the fabrication of the early church in their search for OT texts which would prove that it was necessary for the Christ to suffer, then the record of the historical event itself is one of the materials the NT writer has in hand as he begins to interpret the OT as a book with prophetic promises concerning the suffering Messiah.¹ Another factor which the early church has to deal with is the tradition of Jesus' own utterance of the psalm as part of his words from the cross.² On the authority of Jesus' application of the psalm to himself, under the conviction of the ubiquity with which the OT prophesied of the suffering and exalted Messiah, armed with a knowledge of certain events surrounding the crucifixion, Luke as others before him went to the psalm and found it, when some of the metaphors were taken literally, to be strikingly descriptive of Jesus' crucifixion. Using the interpretational method described Luke began to show how these words indeed prophesied the Messiah and were

¹Edgar (NTS, IX, p. 52) comments, "... the Christians were explaining verses in the light of a person whom they knew intimately."

²Coppelt, p. 125; Weiser, (p. 226), who also points out the latter part of the psalm which is open to messianic interpretation as the Christians understood it.

fulfilled in him.

To explain the interpretational method totally within a scheme of promise and fulfilment seems to doom the method to the charge of being a scheme which condones the arbitrary extrication of limited proof-texts from their original historical contexts and their appropriation for a use for which they were not intended.¹ Psalm 21(22), on the face of it, is not intended as messianic prophecy,² and was not interpreted as such.³ Thus some other method of correlation between the psalm and Jesus' experience needs to be found if we are to understand both how the NT writers were able to make the connection and how the resulting interpretation does not violate the original historical context.

The most favored alternative, aside from an appropriation based on the similarity in thought concerning the righteous sufferer,⁴ is a typological understanding of David's experience as a type of the Messiah.⁵ While this method has the advantage of allowing OT passages which were not originally messianic prophecies to be cited as fulfilled in Jesus the Messiah through the relationship of type and anti-type, it does not do full justice to the claims made by NT writers that the OT passages were actually predictive. In the case of Psalm 21(22) we do not have such an explicit statement by Luke but we might infer on analogy with what Luke says about Psalm 15(16) and the interpretational method by which he arrives at an understanding of fulfilled prophecy that he might have said the same for Psalm 21(22). What we must always keep in mind, however, is that such conclusions concerning Psalm 21(22) were arrived at not on the basis of the study of the psalm in isolation, but rather most probably on the basis of

¹ e.g. Vis, p. 38.

² A. A. Anderson, I, p. 185; France, Jesus and the OT, p. 58.

³ See above, p. 512.

⁴ A. A. Anderson, I, p. 185.

⁵ Calvin, III, p. 195; France, Jesus and the OT, p. 58.

research in the light of NT events. These events led to the conviction that the psalm's proper understanding was as a prophecy of the Messiah. This is where it finds its fulfilment, its fullness of meaning. We can see how this method works backward after the fulfilment event. The difficult question which continues to remain is whether as David lamented his condition he was also consciously prophesying the experience of the Messiah. Both the future tense of the promises concerning eternal life in Ps. 15(16):8-11 and the setting of the promise of exaltation (Ps. 109(110):1) within an oracle of the Lord enable one to readily understand that the fulfilment of these promises may be extended in time and applied to the second David, the Messiah. In Ps. 21(22):19 David speaks of past suffering. It is hard to understand that grammatical context in such a way that we could say that David is consciously predicting the suffering of someone else in the future. Thus we must admit that on the basis of the grammatical structure, which indicates that the OT writer is describing a past event, to claim that such a description is also a prediction of future events does violate the original context. Only by the use of a typological framework may it be claimed that David in the lament over his sufferings actually predicts what the Messiah is to suffer.¹ Yet for Luke such a typological understanding if it exists at all is overshadowed by his promise and fulfilment understanding and the verdict: violation of original context as understood by the historical critical method, remains in force. We must quickly add, however, that the basic content which the NT writers pick up as descriptive of the crucifixion does not violate its original setting or sense, because the suffering which the psalmist describes, as we have seen, is public, inescapable, and one in which death is imminent (Ps. 21(22):7-22). The details agree well with a public

¹ e.g. Calvin, III, p. 195: "Seeing he was a shadow and image of Christ, he foretold, by the Spirit of prophecy, what Christ would suffer."

execution if not a crucifixion.¹ It is only that the events are in the past and not anticipated in the future which makes it more difficult to see them functioning both as a lament over one's own situation and a prediction of the Messiah's sufferings.

The all-important question is whether the OT or history is the ultimate source of this detail. We have seen that the fact that an event takes place before the interpretation of the OT in the light of that event makes a difference in the kind of interpretational process one may speculatively reconstruct and attribute to the early church and Luke.

While it is not contested that the detail is historically possible, even probable in the light of Roman custom,² there are two objections to its historicity. One is the fact that the historical detail is clothed in the wording of Psalm 21(22) and thus must be immediately suspect as a fabrication by the early church in order to show the fulfilment of Psalm 21(22).³ The other is the seeming contradiction between the description of the act in the Synoptic Gospels, where the casting of lots is supposedly connected with the distribution of the garments (especially Mk. 15:24), and John's account where the two portions of the OT couplet are separately and literally fulfilled (the garments are divided, J. 19:23; the seamless robe has a lot cast for it, J. 19:24). Without denying the difference between the accounts, it is not necessary to draw the conclusion that

¹Goppelt, p. 125.

²Strauss, p. 683f.; J. J. Wetstein, Novum Testamentum Graecum... (Amsterdam, 1751), Vol. I, p. 536; e.g. Justinian (Digesta (ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin, 1872), Vol. I, p. 818), XVIII:20-De Bonis Damnatorum:6) citing Divus Hadrianus Aquilio Bradae (de officio proconsulis X), "ita neque speculatores ultro sibi vindicent neque optiones ea desiderent, quibus spoliatur, quo momento quis punitus est"; Weidel (ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 225) admits as much although he claims that such division of Jesus' belongings would probably have taken place earlier; he further contends that the detail is historically unprovable.

³Strauss, p. 683f.; Vis, p. 36; Contrast Smits (I, p. 143f.) who argues that the fact that there are no more allusions than those to Psalm 21(22) and Isaiah 53 indicates the historical reliability of the accounts.

because John apparently constructed his narrative based on a misunderstanding of the synonymous parallelism of the psalm, there is no historical foundation for either account: both were taken first from the OT.¹

Indeed it may have so happened that the actual historical event consisted in a multiple casting of lots. When the portion of the gospel tradition which Mark represents expressed the event in the wording of Ps. 21(22):19, it so abbreviated the reference to Ps. 21(22):19 that the casting of lots is actually applied to the first member of the OT couplet, *Τὰ ἱμάτια*. Though this is not a literal interpretation of the psalm which shows how each member of the couplet was precisely fulfilled it does show the fulfillment of the general idea. The Johannine approach does not absolutely rule out the possibility that after the soldiers had cast lots over the seamless robe they then engaged in gambling over the various lots which they had already distributed in order that they might gain more. The Synoptic Gospels would then have reported the whole process as a fulfillment of Ps. 21(22):19, while John would have only reported its first two stages. What is significant is the way the actual historical event may have controlled how Psalm 21(22) was alluded to.

There is no substantial objection, then, to seeing this allusion as based on an actual historical event.² The OT relates to the detail not as its source, but as its control. The fact that this detail may be shown as an event which fulfills prophecy meant that it was valuable to the early church's apologetic and was preserved in the gospel tradition.³ This detail though historical is then controlled by the OT in the way it is expressed and in the fact that it is preserved in the

¹Contrast Strauss, p. 683f.

²Goppelt, p. 125; Gundry (*The Use of the OT in Mt.*, p. 203) asks, if this detail is taken from the OT, why Ps. 21(22):17, "they pierced my hands and feet," is not alluded to as well.

³Gilmour, *Interpreter's Bible*, VIII, p. 408.

tradition. In the same way the content of the historical event exercises control over what portion of Ps. 21(22):19 in an abbreviated form is alluded to.

The source of the allusion is pre-Lukan and rests probably in the exegesis of the early church. Jesus is the source only in the sense that some of his last words (Mk. 15:34/Ps. 21(22):2) directed the early church to that psalm as one with which Jesus could identify.

A possible allusion¹ to Ps. 21(22):8, 9 immediately follows in the description of the mockery by the Jews at the cross (Lk. 23:35). The verbal parallelism may be identified as follows (Lk. 23:35, καὶ εἰσὶν ἡ οὐδὲν ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν. ἐξεμυκτήρισον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες λέγοντες ἄλλους ἑώσωσιν σωσάτω αὐτὸν εἰ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός; Ps. 21(22):8, 9, πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με, ἐλάλησαν ἐν χεῖράσιν ἐκίνησαν κεφαλὴν ἠλπίσαν ἐπὶ κύριον ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν. σωσάτω αὐτόν, ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν; cf. Mk. 15:29, κινούμεναι τὰς κεφαλὰς; Mt. 27:39, 43). Luke's verbal parallelism is more extensive than Mark's and creates a pattern of vocabulary in common with Psalm 21(22) which makes it difficult to explain the parallelism as either the coincidence of describing similar events or the result of using the same OT ideas (e.g. θεωρῶν, ἐξεμυκτήρισον are found in the same immediate context in the OT only at Ps. 21(22):8; in the NT while θεωρῶ is a favorite term for Luke (14X Acts; he introduces it at Lk. 21:6/Mk. 13:2), ἐκμυκτηρίσω² occurs

¹Ragg (p. 299) identifies it as a quotation (Lk. 23:35/Ps. 21(22):8); Contrast Morganthaler (I, p. 71), who for the same reasons as at Lk. 23:34 (see above p. 510, n. 2) cannot classify it as a quotation; Lagrange (p. 588) will not identify it as a simple and direct quotation because of the assignment of the substantive and the verb to different groups in the NT; Gough (p. vi) classifies it as an allusion; Dittmar (p. 68) places it in his category of quotations in a wider sense; Karnetzki (p. 86) and Gundry (The Use of the OT in Mt., p. 63) recognize it as an allusion; Most other scholars speak not so much of Luke's conscious allusion to the OT but of his dependence upon Psalm 21(22) as a source (e.g. Coppelt, p. 122; Dibelius, From Tradition, p. 199; Finegan, p. 32).

²cf. Cadbury (The Style and, p. 185), who comments that though this is a bad vocabulary choice and Luke normally prefers ἐμπίσσω, his use of ἐκμυκτηρίσω here is because he is consciously thinking of Ps. 21(22):8.

only at Lk. 16:14; 23:35). The words of mockery in Ps. 21(22):9 and the Gospels have a similar line of argument as well as agreeing verbally. Luke's verbal parallelism is closer than Mark's but not as extensive as Matthew's (crowd Lk. 22:35; cf. Mk. 15:31; Mt. 27:43).¹ Luke either chooses a source which already has this more extensive pattern of allusion or he may introduce it himself.² What makes the verbal parallelism all the more striking is that the material parallelism is not as well founded. In the psalm those who stare also mock while in Luke the two actions are assigned to different parties. In the psalm it is God who is to save, whereas the mockers in Luke call on Jesus to save himself. Unlike the tightly concentrated verbal parallelism of the Ps. 21(22):19/Lk. 22:34 allusion, the verbal parallelism occurs sporadically through a larger part of the narrative. The context does prepare the reader for the allusion in the sense that the preceding concentrated allusion (Lk. 23:34/Ps. 21(22):19) turns your mind to the OT. Then in a less concentrated but just as significant way, for the verbal parallelism consists of words which form the basic structure of the narrative, a further allusion to Psalm 21(22) is introduced.

Before we look at the text-form and the function of this allusion, it is necessary to note briefly that through his choice of sources Luke has omitted a possible allusion to the second part of Ps. 21(22):8 (cf. Mk. 15:29). It is disputed whether the description of the crowd wagging their heads is really an allusion specifically to Ps. 21(22):8, and not just an OT metaphor for derision.³ Theological reasons may account for

¹Taylor (Mark, p. 593) is not certain that the Psalm 21(22) allusion in Mark, in contrast to Mt. 27:43, extends to the words of mockery. It is at best "a reminiscence." It is sometimes suggested that the words of mockery are related to Wsd. 2:17-20, possibly as an allusion to it (e.g. Hühn, p. 66f.; Stendahl, p. 141; Kärnetzki (p. 19) on Mt. 27:43; Stuhlmüller, Jerome Biblical Commentary, ¶ 44:171). Contrast Taylor, Mark, p. 593.

²cf. Knox (I, p. 144), who allows some of the portions of the allusion to originate with Luke and some with his sources.

³Taylor, Mark, p. 591; Suhl, p. 61; e.g. 4 Km. 19:21; Job 16:4; Jer. 18:16; Lam. 2:15; Ps. 108(109):25; cf. Sir. 13:7; 12:18; Contrast Gundry, The Use of the OT in Mt., p. 63.

this non-allusion. Luke wishes to avoid the false accusation concerning the temple which accompanies this sign of derision, and thus, continue to portray Jesus as innocent. Since Luke does not introduce the false charges at the Sanhedrin trial, they would be pointless here. The people play a neutral and sometimes even a supportive role with regard to Jesus in Luke's gospel and passion narrative (Lk. 19:48; 20:19; 21:38; 22:2; only at Lk. 23:13 do the people turn against Jesus; cf. 23:27; 23:48). It would be inappropriate at this point to introduce their mockery. It may also be out of reverence for Jesus, a religious motive, that the head wagging is eliminated.¹

The text-form discrepancies (Lk. 23:35/Ps. 21(22):8, 9) may be readily explained as part of the stylistic adaptation of the OT text to the NT context (θεωρῶν, the singular circumstantial participle occurs instead of the plural substantive form, οἱ θεωροῦντες, in order that it may properly modify λαός; the imperfect ἐξεμυκτήρισον is substituted for the aorist ἐξεμυκτήρισαν possibly to show the duration of the act of mockery; σωσάτω = σωσάτω). Since the LXX and the MT agree at this point it is difficult to decide definitely which was originally the basic text tradition for the allusions. As it stands now the verbal agreement is close to the LXX so that the reader is easily referred to the Greek OT text-form.²

The function of the allusion within the immediate context is to provide the basic structure for the account of the Jews' mockery. In form the allusion might readily be identified as a detached midrash. It provides a commentary on Ps. 21(22):8, 9 by interpreting it in terms of the crucifixion events. The familiar interpretational device for relating

¹Cadbury, The Style, p. 94.

²Karnetzki (pp. 86, 246) on the assumption of Lukan introduction of this allusion and the unique combination of verbal parallels θεωρῶν, ἐξεμυκτήρισω suggests that the LXX is the original text tradition.

the OT text to current events: the identification of the unspecified actors in the OT as the participants in the NT narrative, is employed. οἱ θεωροῦντες ἐξερυσσάρισαν are interpreted as the λαός who watch and the ἀρχόντες who mock (cf. 1 QpH 1:12-13; שׁוֹטְרִי (Hab. 1:4) is interpreted as the שׁוֹטְרֵי הַיְּהוּדִים of the Qumran community's experience). The mockery scenes show the depth of emotional and spiritual anguish to which Jesus' suffering went. It takes up several aspects of the relationship of that suffering to Jesus' mission and the people's response to it. Though Jesus knows that he must suffer according to the will of God, he also may have felt deeply the obstacle to faith that this suffering placed in the way of those who were expecting an immediately victorious Messiah. At least the early church labored under that scandal. This allusion functions to portray both the scandal's content and its divine necessity. The righteous sufferer in the psalm (cf. Wsd. 2:17-20) is jeered at because the God in whom he trusts, whose power he proclaims, is evidently unable to deliver him. The mockery of Jesus has a similar point but it is directed not against God but against Jesus, himself, his messianic claims, and his miraculous ministry. Though the two objects of mockery are similar, this difference is very important.

Ps. 21(22):9 may be alluded to in the choice of the titles hurled at Jesus. There is a slight hint in ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ that it is really God's power behind his Anointed One which is being mocked. We could take ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν (Ps. 21(22):9) to mean God's delight in the righteous sufferer. (The more probable meaning, the righteous sufferer's delight in God, is supported by the immediate syntax and the general chiasmic structure of the couplet in which "He hoped in the Lord" has as its corresponding member ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν). The use of ὁ ἐκλεκτός¹ (Lk. 23:35), then, would probably express the ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν of the psalm.

¹Schmid, p. 349; others relate ὁ ἐκλεκτός to Is. 42:1 (e.g. TDNT, V, p. 689; Hühn, p. 66f.); Gundry (*The Use of the OT in Mt.*, p. 145) sees the allusion to Ps. 21(22):9/Mt. 27:43 as an allusion peculiar to Mt.

The allusion's other function, however, is to present the promise and fulfilment understanding of these actions at the crucifixion. The significance of the allusion for the larger context of Luke's work is, as in the case of Lk. 23:34/Ps. 21(22):19, only recognizable in general terms. The allusion helps solve the problem of the scandal of messianic suffering by providing some definite OT basis for the Christian apologetic. As with Lk. 23:34/Ps. 21(22):19 it appears that all to which the NT writer wishes to refer is explicitly cited in his allusion. The allusion does not appear to be a pointer to the larger original context. However, the conjunction of two allusions which refer to two different portions of the larger original context (Lk. 23:34/Ps. 21(22):19; Lk. 23:35/Ps. 21(22):8, 9) does tend to direct us to the content of the psalm as a whole, at least the whole of the suffering section. Whether the allusion to Psalm 21(22) is also meant to point to the second portion of the psalm (Ps. 21(22):28-32), which emphasizes the universal salvation of God, is not certain. It would certainly correspond to Luke's emphasis on the pattern of suffering and glory which is a constant theme in his theology of the Messiah. The choice of Psalm 21(22) would then mean that the mockery was not only interpreted by an allusion which shows the scriptural necessity of the suffering aspect of the pattern. The allusion would also show the scriptural necessity of the whole of the pattern, the messianic glory as well as the suffering. Unfortunately the psalmist does not repeat the wording of the mockery in his positive statements concerning the deliverance of the Lord. Thus no close connection exists in the psalm between this aspect of the suffering and the subsequent glory. The phrasing of the mockery in Luke does not suggest that the allusion is meant to point beyond suffering to glory. At best we can say that it is an unconscious declaration of the glory which was to follow.¹

¹cf. Flesseman: (Zur Bedeutung, p. 96), who contends that simply the choice of Psalm 21(22) for the proclamation of the death of Jesus in a post-resurrection situation meant that the resurrection was unconsciously

The basic interpretational method used to appropriate Ps. 21(22):8, 9 for its NT context is the same as that which is used in Lk. 23:34/Ps. 21(22):19.¹ We have already noted that this allusion takes the form of a detached midrash. There are three aspects of the allusion's use which might be taken as indications of a lack of respect for the original context. A lament over past events is used as a predictive prophecy. The analysis of this difficulty and the possible explanations are the same for Lk. 23:35/Ps. 21(22):8, 9 as they were for Lk. 23:34/Ps. 21(22):19.² As we have noted when discussing material parallelism Luke apparently separates the actions of "looking" and "mocking" assigning them to two different groups, the people and the leaders. In Psalm 21(22) they are performed by the same group. The explanation for such an interpretation involves theological and historical factors. Luke has continually shown an interest in portraying the λαός as positively disposed to Jesus.³ Thus he presents them separated from the leaders' mocking. This may very well be grounded in historical fact. The people whom evidently the leaders had stirred up to demand Jesus' death (Lk. 22:2, 6; 23:18, 21, 23) and who in the heat of that opposition accompany Jesus to his execution, now stand dumbfounded at the cross as they witness the accomplishment of their desires.⁴ Only those who plotted against Jesus from the beginning are still enthusiastically opposed to him. The other possible lack of respect for original context is the use of a mocking cry for God to save the righteous sufferer as a call for Jesus the messianic pretender to save himself. As Matthew's

referred to; cf. Dodd (According to the Scriptures, p. 101), who in his suggestion that Ps. 79(80):7 is possibly alluded to at Lk. 23:35 notes that it has a plot which corresponds to the theme of suffering and triumph that runs throughout the OT.

¹See above, p. 516; cf. Rose (Le Psautier, p. 316), who sees it as understood in a promise and fulfilment context and compares Ps. 34(35):16.

²See above, p. 518.

³See below, p. 543f.

⁴cf. Javet, p. 262.

extended version of the jeering shows the two uses are not contradictory. They may be so related that the short version in Luke may be seen as an appropriate use of the psalm. The call on the "Christ of God," God's Anointed to save himself really assumes in the Jewish way of thinking that one is calling on God to act on behalf of his Anointed and thus vindicate the messianic claimant's contention that God does delight in him. Wisdom 2:13, 17-20 shows the connection between a special relationship with God expressed in a name (e.g. God's son) and the obligation which the relationship places on God to act on behalf of the person so named. Mockery of the person is justifiable if God is not meeting his obligation. The use of a Ps 21(22):9 allusion to express these thoughts does not violate the original context if we may recognize that the emphasis on Jesus' messianic claims and his powerlessness has pushed into the background the fact that it is God's power which must deliver him. This shift in emphasis is quite conceivable on historical grounds for the whole trial and condemnation had to do with Jesus' claims about himself. There is a surface contradiction in the application of *σωαίνω* not to God's action but Jesus'. But this does not wholly violate the original context since in both cases it is understood that God's power is the ultimate means of deliverance. It is the change in emphasis or focus from God to Jesus which has caused the seeming contradiction.

These last two differences in substance between Ps. 21(22):8, 9 and its application in Luke have already opened up the important question concerning the relationship between the historicity of the event and the influence of the OT. Though the probability that mockery occurred is not generally questioned historically,¹ it is the words of the mockery which

¹ Strauss, p. 686; Contrast Fleigel (p. 69), who says that on Passover the religious leaders would not have gone out to mock; Loisy (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, II, p. 675) sees the mockery as a doublet with the mockery in the praetorium; Loisy (*Luc*, p. 557) also sees the fact of the people looking as derived from Zech. 12:10 though the term *θεωπεῖν* is taken from Ps. 21(22):8. There is, however, not sufficient verbal or material parallelism between Lk. 23:35 and Zech. 12:10 to make either identification

are normally considered to be unhistorical and to have the OT as their source. The main objection is that the leaders would not have used the words of the ungodly from a psalm to express their disapproval of Jesus.¹ This would mean that they were actually condemning themselves (cf. Ps. 21 (22):17).² However, in view of the difference in material parallelism between the two words of mockery, it is reasonable to conclude that the basic content of what was said was not taken from the OT but from historical tradition. Only later is Ps. 21(22):9 applied to the historical tradition with the result that the content of the psalm appears to be re-interpreted in the light of the events. Matthew shows this most clearly when in his quoting of Ps. 21(22):9 as the words of the leaders he has them adding the explanation, "for he said that he was God's son." The re-interpretation which involves the shift in emphasis from God's deliverance to the messianic pretender's self-deliverance is mockery quite appropriate to religious leaders who ridicule not God but a messianic pretender. Thus, they do not necessarily condemn themselves with such mockery. It might be argued that the change in emphasis was just part of making the psalm appropriate to the supposed NT circumstances even though the psalm was originally the only source of the detail. It is more difficult, however, to see how such a change in emphasis could arise on the basis of Psalm 21(22) as the only source of the detail, than it is to understand that the allusion to Psalms 21(22) is secondary to the actual events. Of course, the OT may have controlled the preservation of the details in the gospel tradition. So both history and the OT exercised influence over the preservation and expression of the tradition. But the OT did not influence the gospel tradition as the creator of the

of an allusion possible or the maintenance of a position that Zechariah is the source of the NT detail sound. It is more probable that history provided the detail which Psalm 21(22) interpreted.

¹ Strauss, p. 686.

² Weidel, ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 262.

detail. The same may be said for the details concerning the action of looking and of mocking which are performed by two different groups. Again the NT application hardly develops from reflection on the psalm alone. Rather the psalm is secondary to the historical facts and has been interpreted in the light of them.¹ Again the fact of a recognizable allusion in these details could have influenced their preservation.

The source of the allusion is pre-Lukan as Luke depends on a non-Markan source. This conclusion robs us of the opportunity to say that Luke using Mark shows a further development in the interpretation of Psalm 21(22) as prophetic of Jesus' sufferings.² Rather it is a non-Markan source which originally provides the OT allusion in the form of a detached midrash. It is difficult to discern whether Luke has enhanced the allusion at any point.³

A possible allusion⁴ to Ps. 68(69):22/Lk. 23:36 has limited verbal parallelism (Lk. 23:36, ὄξος = ὄξος, Ps. 68(69):22; cf. Mk. 15:36/Mt. 27:48, ὄξους... ἐπὶ τῷ σεν αὐτόν = ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι ὄξος, Ps. 68(69):22; cf. J. 19:29; Mt. 27:34). The material parallelism, however, is exact.

¹Rengstorff, p. 271.

²Contrast Dibelius, From Tradition, p. 199; Schelkle, p. 88; Karnetzki, p. 86; Knox (I, p. 144) contends that Luke's further development of the interpretation of the OT in the light of the passion events shows that history not OT prophecy was the original basis of the gospel tradition and that it was on the basis of that tradition that the early church even "as late as Luke" was still finding OT prophecies of the Passion. Though we are in total agreement with Knox's understanding of the sequential and causal relationship between OT prophecy and NT event, we do not see this particular detail as part of the evidence for Luke's further development of OT interpretation.

³Another possible allusion (Mk. 15:32/Ps. 68(69):10 cf. Ps. 21(22):7) to which Luke fails to allude is disputed as being any reference to the OT (Suhl, p. 61; Karnetzki, p. 85).

⁴Ragg, p. 300; Dittmar (p. 67f.) classifies it as a quote in the larger sense and compares Ps. 21(22):17; cf. Rose, Le Psautier, p. 317; Karnetzki, p. 86; Lindars, p. 100; Gough, p. vi; Loisy, Luc, p. 557; Hauck, p. 284. Less certain are Leaney, p. 285; Plummer, p. 533; Coppelt, p. 121; Gilmour, Interpreter's Bible, VIII, p. 410. Contrast, those who are certain it is not an allusion: Vis, p. 49; Schelkle, p. 87; Rengstorff, p. 272.

Both actions are acts of mockery.¹ Of the other uses of $\sigma\zeta\sigma\varsigma$ in the OT none is in a context of mockery. The mention of the term is not simply an OT idea, a common OT expression of derision like head wagging. Its occurrence in a mockery context would point definitely to the Psalm 68(69) passage. When the fact of this material parallelism is combined with the fact of other OT allusions in the immediate context; the apparently frequent use of Psalm 68(69) in the early church to interpret Jesus' mission and sufferings (e.g. J. 15:25/Ps. 68(69):5; Rom. 15:3/Ps. 68(69):10; cf. Ac. 1:20/Ps. 68(69):26); and especially the understanding of this detail as a fulfilment of Scripture (J. 19:28f.), then we may think it probable that we have an allusion at this place.²

Psalm 68(69) may be described as an individual lament consisting of supplication to God (vv. 1-21), imprecation against one's foes (vv. 22-30), which turns into a hymn of praise looking forward to deliverance (vv. 31-37).³ Our allusion comes from the transition (Ps. 68(69):20-22) between the supplication and imprecation sections. The psalmist describes the treatment by his foes which he considers a justifiable basis on which to call down God's wrath on them. The description of his sufferings is too general to identify the historical circumstances in which they were experienced.⁴ Yet the relationship of the psalmist's offense to the temple service (e.g. Ps. 68(69):10, 31) and the hope for the rebuilding of the cities of Judah (v. 36) has given some reason to see the historical

¹TDNT, V, p. 289; Contrast Leaney, p. 285.

²Contrast Suhl (p. 61), who in his assessment of Mk. 15:36 sees the lack of material parallelism, the understandable nature of the detail's function in the narrative, and the lack of greater verbal parallelism as sufficient reasons for not classifying it as an allusion to Ps. 68(69):22. In our situation the material parallelism is stronger but the verbal parallelism is weaker.

³Weiser, p. 493; Rose, Le Psautier, p. 334.

⁴Weiser, p. 493.

setting as the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.¹ The offering of ὄξος to quench the thirst may be interpreted as mockery because of its sour taste.

Though no Jewish exegetical tradition interprets the whole or any part of this psalm messianically, it does interpret several portions of the psalm by identifying David as the psalmist.² The Jewish interpretation of Ps. 68(69):22 is concerned with the enemies who afflict the righteous in this way. The Qumran community identifies their opponents who maintain the Jerusalem temple ritual as these enemies (1 QH 4:11, 12/cf. Ps. 68(69):22, 23). No interest is shown in the interpretation of the person wronged. The Qumran literature does mention, however, that it is the people of God in general who are fed the vinegar of false teaching.

The text-form of the one word in verbal parallelism is identical with the LXX. It is difficult to tell whether the OT source is the LXX or MT since ὄξος is used to translate יַיִן in both its meanings sour wine (Ruth 2:14) and vinegar (Pr. 25:20). The LXX, of course, is what the Greek reader is being referred to.

The function of the allusion in the immediate context is, as in the case of the two preceding allusions, both to graphically portray Jesus' suffering and to show the scriptural promise and fulfilment basis of the suffering. The soldiers in mock tribute to a political pretender present him with not the best wine but bitter wine.³ They ἐνέτιξάν him by this act as well as their words (Lk. 23:36, 37). Aside from the necessity

¹A. A. Anderson, I, p. 499; W. R. Taylor and W. S. McCullough, "Commentary on the Psalms," The Interpreter's Bible, ed. G. A. Buttrick (Nashville, 1955), IV, p. 362; Weiser (p. 493) lists some other alternatives: the martyrdom of Jeremiah; religious persecution in Maccabean times.

²SBK (III, p. 313) cites Zeb. 54b on Ps. 68(69):10; SBK (I, p. 399) cites Dt. R. 2(198a) on Ps. 68(69):14; cf. Vis, p. 49.

³TDNT, V, p. 289.

of showing that the scandal of messianic suffering has been divinely ordained in Scripture,¹ the OT allusion also shows that the despiteful treatment of the Romans is motivated by other than justifiable disgust with the guilty. We have seen that Luke has purposefully shown Rome in a good light throughout the Passion. It is not insignificant that at the two places where Romans, Gentiles, adopt a negative attitude and take hostile action against Jesus (23:34, 36) both actions are undergirded by the necessity of scriptural fulfilment. Luke is able to continue to save face for Rome, show Christianity as harmless, and at the same time write history which includes some expression of the negative Gentile attitude. There is nothing in the allusion which points either to the larger original context or which is echoed in the larger Lukan context. It is simply a detail of fulfilled prophecy which supports Luke's promise and fulfilment understanding of the passion events.

The interpretational method by which Luke understands that Ps. 68(69):22 is fulfilled in Jesus' passion is the same as the one he applies to Ps. 21(22):19, 8, 9.² He takes a general image for mockery by unidentified foes and shows that it is literally fulfilled in what happens to the Son of David, the Messiah. The identity of the mockers is the Roman execution squad. There are two big differences, however. Unlike Psalm 21 (22) there is no possibility of interpreting any portion of the psalm messianically, nor did Jews as far as our information carries us interpret it that way.³ We are left with the assumption that Davidic authorship was the basis for seeing a messianic interpretation as appropriate. The psalmist's description of himself as $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ (Ps. 68(69):18; cf. Is.

¹See above, p. 525.

²Vis (p. 50) sees the fact that Christians used a psalm, which was not interpreted messianically by the Jews to prove the messianic sufferings of Jesus, shows a development in the early church's apologetic. They now "gave free rein to their imagination and saw their Messiah foretold almost everywhere."

³Rose, Le Psautier, p. 334; Flesseman, Zur Bedeutung, p. 94.

52:13-53:12) may have been taken as a clue that a suffering Servant (suffering Messiah) interpretation of the psalm was appropriate. The hymn inviting universal praise may also have been recognized as a description of rejoicing in the light of God's final salvation and thus placed the whole psalm in an eschatological perspective.¹ But these clues become clear only when the psalm is read in the light of the crucifixion and resurrection events. The other difference from Psalm 21(22) is we have no record in the synoptic tradition that Jesus applied any portion of Psalm 68(69) to himself (contrast J. 2:17/Ps. 68(69):10). Luke does not violate the original context in terms of the grammatical sense. There is again the seeming violation of the original historical context and the writer's original intent, for an individual lament over past experiences is interpreted as a messianic prophecy of future events.²

Though the presence of סֵכֶר in the possession of the soldiers at the crucifixion is historically conceivable,³ the different degrees and ways in which various references to giving Jesus drink at the cross are influenced by Ps. 68(69):22 cause some to wonder whether any reference is really historical and not rather fabricated from the OT.⁴ Of the various references only Luke shows both verbal and material parallelism. None of the others, while they may to varying degrees show verbal parallelism (note Matthew's adjustment of Mark, Mt. 27:34/Mk. 15:23; Mt. 27:48/Mk. 15:36; J. 19:29), clearly indicate that offering to Jesus the drink was an act of mockery. Not even John who explicitly states that the act fulfilled Scripture presents the offer of סֵכֶר as an act of mockery.

¹Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, II, p. 675.

²See above, p. 519.

³cf. J. Lightfoot's (II, p. 563) evidence, especially Aelius Spartianus' ("Pescennius Niger ad Diocletianum Augustum," Ex Recognitione Des. Erasmi, ed. D. Erasmus (Basileae, 1518), p. 267) observation: Idem jussit vinum in expeditione neminem (militum) bibere, sed aceto universos esse contentos.

⁴Strauss, p. 681; Fleigel, p. 69; Contrast Gundry, The Use of the OT in Mt., p. 202.

It is more probable, then, that the OT is not the source for the event but rather that in the light of the historical detail the OT passage was understood to be a prophecy of it.¹

Luke's narrative because it has both verbal and material parallelism might be the most suspect historically. What would be especially questioned is the motive of mockery behind the offer of the drink. Is this portrayal really accurate? Those who view Mark as Luke's basic source for this narrative usually conclude that either one² or both³ of Mark's references combined into one have been taken over and edited in the light of Ps. 68(69):22. Since we have seen reason to believe that a non-Markan source is basic here, we do not need to explain the relationship between these references this way. Rather it may be that Luke is reporting the same event as Mk. 15:36. In Luke's tradition the detail has been generalized and interpreted, as far as the soldiers' motivation is concerned, fully in the light of Ps. 68(69):22. Such a mocking motivation is not excluded in Mark's presentation. Rather there is a difference in emphasis so that the immediate purpose of offering the $\frac{v}{o}\xi o\varsigma$, the prolonging of life to see if Elijah will come and save him, comes to the fore (Mk. 15:36). The OT, while not the originator of the detail, probably exercised control over its preservation in the gospel tradition. The OT increasingly influenced not only the way in which the detail was expressed verbally but also the emphasis and significance which was given to it. Thus, whereas John is interested simply in the material correspondence of fact: the psalmist and Jesus both drink $\frac{v}{o}\xi o\varsigma$, Luke chooses a source which is interested in the correspondence of fact and interpretive significance: the psalmist and Jesus are offered $\frac{v}{o}\xi o\varsigma$ as an act of mockery. Thus, far from historicizing the detail so that it ceases to be a fulfilment

¹Taylor, Mark, p. 595.

²Mk. 15:36/Lk. 23:36, Lagrange, p. 589; Mk. 15:23, 36/Lk. 23:36, Conzelmann, Theology of Luke, p. 88.

³Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, II, p. 674; Gilmour, Interpreter's Bible, VIII, p. 410.

of prophecy proof-text, Luke heightens that significance by choosing a source which presents this allusion in close verbal and material parallelism with the OT. At the same time this source removes any additional functions in the historical narrative which the offering of the ὄψος originally had. The allusion is probably pre-Lukan and belongs to the process of handing on the gospel tradition understood in the light of OT prophecy.¹

Old Testament Idea

OT usage is reflected in Luke's use of the terms in Jesus' prayer (Lk. 23:34, πατήρ for God;² ἀφίεναι; οὐκ οἶδαςιν) and the Jewish leader's mockery (23:35, σώσω; ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ; ὁ ἐκλεκτός). Of special interest is Luke's use of λαός.

The prayer taken as a whole is a prayer of intercession for the forgiveness of those who have committed a sin of ignorance. This kind of prayer not only contrasts with the expected prayer for forgiveness made by a condemned Jewish criminal that his own sins would be forgiven and that his death might serve as an atonement for them.³ It goes beyond the martyr's prayer that his death may be an atonement for the sins of Israel and that God's judgment may end with his death.⁴ Rather Jesus prays for, in the most immediate instance, the Gentile executioners who have just crucified him (23:33f.). The general way in which they are indicated (αὐτοῖς), without the use of a demonstrative pronoun to point

¹Boismard's (II, p. 422) suggestion that Lk. 23:26, 33 is an allusion to Gen. 22:6, 9 has good support in the verbal parallelism at v. 33, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, since only at Gen. 22:6, 9 in the OT is ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον combined with ερχομαι. The question is whether this striking verbal parallelism is sufficient enough to overcome the deficiency in material parallelism, for Simon not Jesus has the cross placed on him. We think not, for the expression ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον functions in Luke's special material simply to designate arrival at a place (Lk. 19:5; 22:40) and may have no more significance than that here; See above, p. 489, n. 1.

²See below, p. 608.

³Sanh. 6:2.

⁴e.g. 2 Macc. 7:37f.; 4 Macc. 9:23f.; 6:29; 17:22.

to the Roman execution squad over against any other group of people, suggests that the prayer may have a universal application.¹

We need not take Is. 53:12 as the only OT source for this idea of intercessory prayer for the forgiveness of sins.² We have already noted the lack of a basis for an allusion to Is. 53:12 in this prayer. The suffering Servant's intercession for transgressors is an example of one of the characteristics of the Servant of the Lord (e.g. Abraham, Gen. 18:22-33; Moses, Ex. 32:32; Num. 14:19; cf. Job, Job 42:8). Moses asks to die if God will not forgive Israel's sin. The suffering Servant makes intercession for sinners through his death. The important difference between Moses and the suffering Servant is that God accepts the suffering Servant's death as an atonement, while he answers Moses' prayer and forgives Israel. This makes Moses' death unnecessary (Ex. 32:33).

There are other bases on which the righteous interceded for the sinner. Some attempted to persuade God by appealing to his nature: his righteousness which would not destroy the righteous (Gen. 18:22-33); his mercy (Num. 14:19); his faithfulness which would show itself in consistent action throughout history (2 Esdr. 19:17). Because Jesus offers his intercessory prayer in the midst of his suffering on the cross and for those who are causing him to suffer, it is at once suggested that the prayer may be Luke's way of expressing the soteriological significance of Jesus' death,³ either under the pattern of a martyr who atones for the sins of others (cf. Ac. 7:60),⁴ or of the suffering Servant.⁵ However,

¹Lagrange, p. 588; Javet, p. 261; cf. Daube (Studia Patristica, IV, p. 59), who observes that since Luke explains the Jews' and Gentiles' actions in crucifying Christ as acts of ignorance the prayer could apply to either.

²Contrast Dalman, Jesus-Jeshua, p. 197; TDNT, V, p. 713, n. 455.

³Contrast Hauck (p. 284), who notes the parallel with the Lord's Prayer (Lk. 11:4) and sees the prayer as functioning not soteriologically but parenetically.

⁴Stauffer, p. 131; Contrast Lohse, Martyrer, p. 130.

⁵cf. Jeremias (NT Theology, I, p. 298), who describes it as Jesus'

there is nothing in the prayer itself or its immediate setting which relates it directly to Jesus' death. The basis for forgiveness is not "because I am making atonement for them," but the character of the sin as a sin of ignorance. The sin of ignorance was provided for within Jewish law with a specified sacrifice which would make atonement for it (Lev. 5:18). It does not appear, however, to be to this sacrificial framework, which would have been a way of interpreting Jesus' death soteriologically, that the reference to a sin of ignorance points. There is nothing, then, in the intercessory prayer which suggests any kind of soteriological understanding of Jesus' death.¹ At the most, as is made explicit in the preaching in Acts the death must be assumed as the basis for the offer of forgiveness (e.g. Lk. 24:47; Ac. 2:38; 3:17-19; 10:39, 43; 13:28, 38).

The OT uses אָפֵּיבֵן in a religious sense ("to forgive sins") to render mainly חָטָא (e.g. Gen. 50:17, Ex. 32:32) and נָסַח (Lev. 4:20; 5:6; cf. נָסַח, Is. 22:14). The choice of אָפֵּיבֵן with its basically legal connotations to render the cultic terms for pardoning may have imported a new meaning into the LXX idea.² However, the basic idea of the removal of offense and the declaration of reconciliation or pardon is the same in both contexts though the means by which it is achieved may be different. It is God who forgives sins through atonement made within the divinely ordained sacrificial system (Lev. 4:20-5:18). The forgiveness of sins not only characterizes the righteous man now (Ps. 24(25):18; 31(32):1, 5), but it is one of the characteristics of restoration and the End-time (Jer. 38(31):34; Is. 33:24; 55:7).

Luke presents the offering of forgiveness of sins as an essential part of Jesus' ministry (Lk. 5:20-24/Mk. 2:5-10; Lk. 7:47-49) and as an

understanding of his death. Since he sees it as an agraphon interpolated later he does not relate it to Luke's theology.

¹ Contrast Fuller, p. 72.

² TDNT, I, p. 509.

evidence that the salvation of the End-time has begun to come (4:18 *κηρῦξαι εἰς χυδαῖς τοῖς ἄνθρωποις* / Is. 61:1-2). The heart of the missionary message in Acts is that on the basis of Christ's death and resurrection the forgiveness of sins may be proclaimed in his name (see references two paragraphs above). It is the fullness of this forgiveness which Luke stresses as he reports Jesus' prayer for those who have crucified him. Not only is it the general OT understanding of God's forgiveness which comes into play but the special eschatological understanding concerning the universal availability of forgiveness and its final effectiveness in the End-time is also present (Jer. 38(31):34). It is this kind of forgiveness which Jesus prays for now.

One other feature of the End-time as described by Jeremiah is the universal personal knowledge of the Lord. Luke with his salvation history perspective can define a person's relationship to the Messiah Jesus in terms of ignorance and knowledge. It appears that there was a time of excusable ignorance during Jesus' ministry, his death, and resurrection. But in a post-resurrection setting after all the events necessary to reveal Jesus' true nature as Messiah have occurred, there is no longer any excuse. God calls all men everywhere to repent of the sin which they committed in ignorance. This applies especially to those who in ignorance didn't recognize that they were crucifying their Messiah (Ac. 3:17; 13:27). Jesus' prayer is answered by God's allowing the space of forty years to intervene between the rejection and crucifixion of Jesus and the fall of Jerusalem which was God's judgment on Israel for that act (Lk. 19:41-44). That was the time in which all could repent of their sin of ignorance and receive forgiveness (Ac. 3:17-19; 13:38-40).¹

Luke by describing the sin as one of ignorance is not only trying to view the actions of Jew and Gentile alike in as good a light as possible.

¹Geldenhuis, p. 608; Contrast Ellis (Luke, p. 267), who claims that the prayer was answered in Jesus' death.

He hopes that a positive approach toward them will enable them to give a ready hearing to the proclamation of the gospel.¹ He is trying to understand the interplay of several factors in the working of salvation history. He is attempting to see how men can be held accountable within God's moral order for evil actions which fulfill his divine will and have soteriological significance for all men. Luke also wants to see in what way men are responsible for evil actions whose significance can only be properly understood after the full salvation history pattern of suffering and glory has run its course in Jesus' death and resurrection. To both excuse and hold men accountable Luke uses the OT and Jewish understanding of the relationship of ignorance and sin. In the OT not only is a sin of ignorance one in which men unwittingly, for lack of information, offend God. This the sacrificial system provides for and in that way shows its perfection (e.g. Lev. 5:18). But willful sin may be described as ignorance for it shows a lack of understanding, a rebelliousness which will foolishly not accept God's truth when faced with it (e.g. Pr. 7:23; 9:18; Is. 5:13; 6:9; Jer. 4:22). Sin as ignorance understood in this second way as lack of understanding is the OT idea which Luke employs to relate the accountability of men to the mystery of their free actions within the unfolding plan of God. He combines it with the thought that in the Last Days full personal knowledge of God will be possible. Thus, those who would know God must repent of their sin turn from their willful ignorance and receive God's forgiveness.

When the religious leaders mock Jesus, they hurl the titles $\acute{\omicron}\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ and $\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ at him and challenge him to save himself (Lk. 23:35 cf. v. 39). "Christ of God" or "God's Anointed" is an example of the qualified use of $\acute{\omicron}\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.² It expresses the relationship of the Messiah to God. Its mocking application to the helpless Jesus

¹Conzelmann, Theology of Luke, p. 89; Daube, Studia Patristica, IV, p. 69.

²See above, p. 421f.

strengthens the derisive taunt. If he is really God's Anointed, then he should be able to with God's power save himself, but since he won't save himself he obviously isn't God's Anointed. This is Luke's way of putting to death the exclusively glorious understanding of the Messiah. In the midst of Jesus' suffering this mockery serves as an unwitting confession of Jesus' true nature. The true Christ of God did not save himself but suffered and died. From that death he entered into his glory.

To emphasize even more the special relationship, the special esteem with which God would hold the true Messiah, but obviously does not hold this crucified pretender, the mockers attach the term, ὁ ἐκλεκτός. In the OT this term is assigned to the nation Israel (e.g. Ps. 104(105):6; Is. 43:20); Moses (Ps. 105(106):23); David (Ps. 88(89):4, 20), and the Servant (Is. 42:1; 49:2; cf. 28:16; it renders a variety of Hebrew words, רַבִּי most frequently). Because ἐκλεκτός is an adjective which means "choice" sometimes it functions not so much as a title but as a modifier (e.g. Is. 28:16; 49:2). As with χριστός the substantival use is normally not absolute but has a possessive pronoun attached to indicate that God has done the electing (e.g. Ps. 105(106):23; Is. 42:1). The absolute use in the plural to signify Israel (Jer. 10:17) occurs, but there is no absolute use in the singular as a messianic title (cf. the frequent use of the absolute as a messianic title in the Similitudes of Enoch, e.g. I En. 40:5; 45:3-4; 51:3, 5).

Though Luke's reporting of the term here is often taken as a messianic title stemming from Is. 42:1,¹ it may be that the term is not meant to

¹ Finegan, p. 32; TDNT (V, p. 689) takes it as evidence for the messianic understanding of Is. 42:1 in first century Judaism; Leaney (p. 284) takes it as part of Luke's presentation of Jesus as the new chosen Moses (Ps. 105(106):23; cf. Lk. 9:31, 35). The only feature in the immediate context, however, which might possibly point to Moses is Jesus' intercessory prayer. We have already noted the material differences between the two prayers. When we combine this fact with the fact that ὁ χριστός τοῦ θεοῦ is the more immediate title to which ὁ ἐκλεκτός is related and understand this messianic title against the background of Davidic messiahship then the connection with Moses appears to be more remote.

function as a title in apposition depending on the same genitive τοῦ Θεοῦ . It could be just an intensifier of the idea of God's special regard for the Messiah. He is not so much the Chosen One as the choice One (cf. Is. 49:2; Is. 28:16; Ro. 16:13). The understanding would be in accord with one way of understanding the kind of argument that Ps. 21(22):9 has in its mockery, "Let God save him for he delights in him." Luke takes up an adjective which is applied to David and the Messiah in the OT and applies to the Messiah here with the meaning "choice" (contrast Lk. 9:35, ὁ ἐκλεκτός).

One of the characteristics of the Messiah's reign was to be salvation (Zech. 9:9; Jer. 23:6; Ps. 71(72):4). The mockery of the leaders and the unrepentant criminal (Lk. 23:35, 39) is based on this fact. If he were the true Messiah and he had shown indications of it by saving others, he should be able to save himself now. The kind of salvation both were thinking of was a powerful deliverance from oppressive death-dealing circumstances. This should be within the power of the Lord's Anointed of the End-time (e.g. Is. 11:1-4). Luke also shares the belief that the Messiah would be one who works salvation. He consistently portrays Jesus' earthly mission as a messianic mission of salvation from physical and spiritual bondage, to those who would believe (Lk. 7:50; inserts term Lk. 8:36/Mk. 5:16; Lk. 8:50/Mk. 5:36; cf. Lk. 8:48/Mk. 5:34; Lk. 17:19; Lk. 18:42/Mk. 10:52; Lk. 19:10). However, this salvation is only a foretaste of the greater spiritual salvation which the Messiah accomplishes through his death and resurrection. Though Jesus is declared savior at his birth (Lk. 2:11; Ac. 13:23) and shows in his mission the ability to save those who believe from the bondage of physical disease and sin, it is only after his suffering death that God exalts Jesus to the right hand and declares him Κύριος and Χριστός (Ac. 5:31). The early church may then proclaim the fullness of eschatological salvation since through that suffering and exaltation Jesus has been made Lord as well as Christ (Ac. 2:36) and all of the promises of the Lord God

providing salvation in the last days are also fulfilled in Jesus (Ac. 2: 21/Jo. 3:5).

Luke in recording the mockery with Jesus' lack of response offers a corrective to the misunderstanding of the nature of messianic salvation. He shows that it is grounded in faith in what God can do in the most impossible circumstances not in the enjoyment of the immediately demonstrable power of a victorious political Messiah who will crush all opposition. He shows that salvation demands faith because it is based on the God-ordained pattern of suffering issuing in glory. Salvation depends not on human initiative, not even the Messiah's initiative, but on God's power. Luke then deepens and makes more full the OT idea of messianic salvation by showing that it is operative only because the Messiah designate has first of all refused to save his own life but rather has given it in suffering issuing in glory so that by faith those who enter into the fruit of that salvation may lose their lives in order to save them to a much greater inheritance (Lk. 9:24; Ac. 16:31).

It is often proposed that Luke's use of λαός derives its special emphases from the LXX use of λαός to render עַם, which designates Israel as the people of God (e.g. Num. 11:29; 1 Km. 2:24).¹ Though neither the LXX nor Luke use λαός exclusively of Israel as God's people (e.g. Gen. 41:40; Num. 21:29; Lk. 7:1; 2:31),² it is the frequency with which the term has that special use in both works that leads to the conclusion that Luke often adopts the special OT meaning. The term describes in Luke more often than not the crowds to which Jesus and the early Christian missionaries minister in Jerusalem and Palestine (Luke replaces the Markan ὅχλος with it, e.g. Lk. 19:48/Mk. 11:18; Lk. 20:6/Mk. 11:32; cf.

¹ e.g. Conzelmann, Theology of Luke, p. 164; Schneider, p. 192; J. Kodell, "Luke's Use of 'laos' especially in the Jerusalem Narrative," CBQ, XXXI (1969), pp. 327ff.; A. George, "Israel dans l'oeuvre de Luc," RB, LXXV (1968), p. 482, n. 4.

² Contrast George, RB, LXXV, p. 482, n. 4.

Ac. 2:47; 5:13). These crowds are consistently characterized by positive regard for the mission of Jesus and the early church (see references above; cf. Lk. 22:2; 23:5, 13, 35). Even during the passion narrative Luke is careful to tone down the crowd's opposition to Jesus although he does not totally eliminate the fact that it was under pressure from the crowd as well as the leaders that Pilate handed Jesus over to the will of the Jews to be crucified (23:13-25).¹ The OT meaning of λαός aids Luke in his theological purposes in two ways. By consistently referring to the Jewish crowds about Jesus as λαός he continually places Jesus' mission within the theological even eschatological perspective of salvation history. The people's reaction to Jesus' miracles is that God has visited his people (7:16; cf. 2:31, 32). The positive disposition of the λαός to Jesus and the early church may be part of Luke's theology of the continuity between Israel, the people of God, and the Christian community, the people of God. The λαός are a transition group.² They are those of Israel who show themselves to be the true Israel by their positive response to Jesus the true Messiah. They become the nucleus of the new Israel, the church (cf. Ac. 15:14). Luke portrays the λαός at the cross (Lk. 23:35) as those who stare at a spectacle neither trying to prevent what is being done, nor remonstrating with the leaders as the penitent criminal does with his fellow. This Luke reports with the Ps. 21(22):8 allusion in order to show that the crowd's seeming neutrality, which though it is not active opposition like the leaders' mockery, still is a form of hostility within the plan of God. The people

¹Contrast G. Rau ("Das Volk in der lukanischen Passionsgeschichte: eine Konjektur z. Lc. 23:13," ZNW, LVI (1965), pp. 41-51), whose conjecture on no ms. evidence that the Lk. 23:13 text should read ἀρχοντας τοῦ λαοῦ not ἀρχοντας καὶ τὸν λαόν is founded only on a desire to show a strict consistency on Luke's part concerning the people's positive disposition toward Jesus; Luke does record tradition that the people were involved in the demand for Jesus' death (e.g. Ac. 2:23; 3:17; 10:39; 13:27). Kodell (CBQ, XXXI, p. 332) offers a more satisfying understanding of the relationship of Luke's use of λαός here to his general use.

²Schneider, p. 192.

of God witness the suffering of the Messiah. Their stare shows also that the matter is out of their hands now and totally with God. What opposition their presence expresses may easily be understood as that sin of ignorance for which later the people are told they should repent and receive forgiveness.¹

Old Testament Style

In this brief section there are few particular constructions which imitate LXX style.² The general structure, however, shows LXX style imitation in several ways. There is an equal use of καί (4X) and δέ (4X) as coordinating conjunctions, though there is only one example of parataxis (23:36-37). Word order shows a more decidedly semitic flavor with verb-subject order slightly more frequent (verb-subject, 4X; subject-verb, 3X). Post-positive genitives occur either in OT allusion (τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, 23:34) or in titles with a set form (ὁ χριστός τοῦ θεοῦ, 23:35; ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, 23:37, 38). Another feature of basic syntactical structure, which may be a semitism, is the placement for the sake of emphasis of an apodosis which is a command before its prothesis (23:35; e.g. Gen. 18:28, 30; Dt. 11:26f.; 32:26f.; Hab. 1:5; Ps. 136(137):6).³ Though sometimes the LXX attempts to moderate the effect of this change

¹ See above (p. 380) for discussion of the OT background of ἐμπύρσαι (23:36); For ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων see above p. 438.

² The contentions in TDNT (VIII, p. 202) that ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον and especially the phrase ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον are imitations of LXX style are unfounded. In the LXX τόπος following a verb of motion is normally introduced by the preposition εἰς (e.g. Dt. 14:25; 26:9; Josh. 24:28; 1 Km. 10:25; 2 Ch. 25:10; ἐπὶ only at Gen. 22:3, 9). As far as the entire phrase including the verb καλέω is concerned, there is no instance of precise verbal parallelism between the wilderness wanderings accounts where various places are named (e.g. Num. 11:3, καὶ ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου Ἐμπύρσιμος cf. Job 42:17d, Josh. 5:3, the only times that ὁ καλούμενος is used) and Lk. 23:33. Thus Luke's use of the phrases in conjunction is not a way of developing an Exodus motif; cf. above, p. 536, n. 1. One other possible LXX style imitation element is the pleonastic λέγοντες (23:35; see above, p. 370). It serves a definite function by pointing out the exact beginning of the quotation but it is not wholly necessary and adds to the OT flavor of the narrative (cf. Lk. 23:37 where the introductory λέγοντες is not pleonastic).

³ Beyer, I:1, p. 75f.

in word order with the use of ὅτι (e.g. Ps. 48(49):17; 126(127):5), there are occurrences where the translation literally reproduces the MT. This structure should be seen as LXX style imitation probably in the sense that it corresponds with LXX usage. The original source of the construction is probably literal translation Greek of semitic oral tradition faithfully reporting even the syntax of those who spoke originally in a semitic tongue. All of this stylistic evidence is probably taken over from Luke's non-Markan source, though we are not able to decide definitely which features must have come from that source and which, like λέγοντες, may have come from Luke's own editing.

CHAPTER XVIII

LUKE 23:39-43: THE PENITENT CRIMINAL

Introduction

Having recorded Jesus' suffering in terms of mockery Luke now turns to the other part of his total theme: the innocent Jesus numbered with the transgressors. In his ministry to the penitent criminal Jesus shows his innocence. It is not by OT allusion but through OT ideas that this and several other theological themes concerning Jesus' messiahship are developed. A few LXX style imitation elements occur in line with the content of the narrative.

This episode is peculiar to Luke. Because of its many examples of Lukan vocabulary and agreement with many of Luke's theological themes¹ it has been sometimes proposed that this episode has been composed by Luke himself from the simple tradition concerning the mocking criminals (Mk. 15:32).² However, the episode's content cannot be totally understood as a simple development according to Luke's theological purposes, from the fact of the criminals' blasphemy. Neither the desire to present typologically the contrast of unbelieving Judaism and the conversion of the world,³ nor the wish to portray the vicarious atonement of Jesus' death in terms of personal repentance and faith in the Savior⁴ emerges clearly enough to be seen as the guiding purpose behind the creation of the narrative. The repentant criminal's words and Jesus' reply in no explicit way relate the vicarious atonement interpretation of Jesus' death to the salvation which Jesus promises. Though the thief is converted, there is no explicit reference to repentance and confession of faith which one might expect in a typological presentation. The penitent criminal's

¹Boismard, II, p. 431.

²e.g. Finegan, p. 32; Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, II, p. 675.

³Loisy, Luc, p. 560.

⁴Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive, p. 158.

the $\epsilon\upsilon$ to $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. The Western text encounters the same difficulty but interprets the phrase correctly with the phrase, $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$. Another understanding of transcriptional probabilities sees the Western and $\epsilon\upsilon$ readings as a correction of the $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ reading. The assumption of immediate royal glory seemed to the copyists to conflict with their understanding of an eschatological kingdom which would be established at the Parousia. They changed the $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ to $\epsilon\upsilon$ in order to remove this difficulty.¹ One other general consideration of Hellenistic style may indicate which of these two transcriptional probabilities is to be preferred. In Hellenistic Greek $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ could often be substituted for $\epsilon\upsilon$ but $\epsilon\upsilon$ could not be substituted for $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.² This fact may indicate that it would be easier to adjust $\epsilon\upsilon$ to $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ than $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ to $\epsilon\upsilon$.

The intrinsic probabilities point to $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ as the reading which is most in accord with Luke's theology of the immediate entrance of Jesus into his messianic glory after his suffering (22:69; 24:26). But not every statement concerning a given theological theme which is recorded in Luke need necessarily reflect his theology. In fact, the $\epsilon\upsilon$ reading may serve to advance Luke's theology by way of contrast. The thief reflecting the common Jewish expectation³ asks that he be remembered in the future End-time when the Messiah comes in kingly power. Jesus corrects his understanding by saying that "today" he would be with him in Paradise. The temporal contrast is destroyed and the time-marker, "today," serves no purpose if the original reading was $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, understood in terms of Lukan theology. It is better for these reasons, complemented by the first transcriptional probability explanation, to see $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ as a secondary explanation of a theologically and grammatically difficult $\epsilon\upsilon$.

¹ Metzger, Commentary, p. 181; Berger, p. 87.

² Haenchen, p. 331, n. 4; Summers, p. 306.

³ Lagrange, p. 591; Contrast Schlatter, Lukas, p. 447.

ἐν is the original reading.

Old Testament Idea

Luke uses this episode to advance the innocence aspect of his theme that Is. 53:12 is coming to fulfilment in Jesus' suffering. The words of the criminal and of Jesus and the description of their suffering also use OT ideas: Lk. 23:40, *φοβῆ... τὸν θεόν*; 23:42, *μνησθήτίμου; ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου*; 23:43, *Ἄμην; σήμερον; ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ*; 23:29, *κρεμασθέντων*.¹

Though this episode is not the one place where Luke considers that Is. 53:12 is fulfilled in the experience of Jesus,² Luke does use it to state the two aspects of his theme together. For the first time Jesus' treatment is described as condemnation, *κρίμα*. Previously, Luke had done his best to emphasize the innocence of Jesus and to avoid any hint that he might be guilty. Luke avoids describing the admittedly unjust decisions of the judicial process which condemn Jesus (22:71, cf. Mk. 14:64; Lk. 23:25, cf. Mk. 15:15). Now after the sentence has been carried out, Luke allows one who also stands condemned to comment on the nature of Jesus' fate (Lk. 23:40). Jesus has been counted with transgressors. Yet, as the penitent criminal also recognizes, Jesus is innocent. He has done nothing *ἄτοπος*.

These two features of Jesus' suffering have significance for the criminal in two ways. As in the case of the women (23:31), the realization that an innocent person is unjustly receiving the punishment of the guilty makes the sinful reflect on their guilt and the divine punishment due them. They consider the possibility that this injustice points to the fearful prospect that God who allows the innocent to be punished will return punishment on the guilty out of proportion to their offenses.

¹For discussion of the various OT ideas contained in the criminal's mockery see above: *βλασφημῶν*, p. 382; *ὁ χριστός*, pp. 421, 540; *σωσον σφεαυτόν*, p. 542.

²Contrast Reese, *Alttestamentliche Motive*, p. 157.

Thus, the thief rebukes his fellow sufferer, who is blaspheming Jesus. "Do you not fear God, since you are under the same sentence of condemnation?" (23:40). The sight of the unjust suffering of the righteous should move the sinner to repentant fear.

Such a sight also awakens a trustful hope. The criminal asks to be remembered when Jesus comes in his kingdom (23:42). Evidently, the criminal believed that the charges against Jesus were true, that Jesus was truly the Messiah. What convinced him we do not know. Jesus' behavior which the criminal witnesses may have indicated to him Jesus' innocence. Jesus shows constant concern not with himself but those about him, the women (23:27-31) and his executioners (the prayer that they might be forgiven, 23:34). Jesus does not respond to the mockery from all sides (23:35-39). But convinced of Jesus' innocence how does the criminal become convinced of the truth of the messianic claims Jesus makes? The connecting concept may be obedience to the will of God (Is. 53:7, 10, 11). The mark of the Messiah is his obedience to God's will. This obedience is rewarded with the rule of a kingdom (Is. 11:1-4). Thus, the innocent behavior of one condemned as a messianic pretender, when viewed in the light of the OT messianic ideal, could have given the criminal confidence that Jesus could be trusted to remember him when he came with his kingdom. For Luke's readers with Is. 53:12 as a background for their thinking, innocent suffering as the mark of the obedient Messiah is even more evident. They would be able to recognize that Jesus' suffering is according to the will of God set forth in the Scriptures.

There is, however, nothing explicitly stated either in the criminal's request or Jesus' answer which would show that the death Jesus suffers is the event which makes salvation possible. At the most for the criminal's part Jesus' unjust suffering brings him to the place where he realizes his own sin and faces the prospect of punishment beyond what his guilt deserves. This throws him into fearful dependence on God.

Luke does not reveal how he moves from fearful dependence to hopeful trust in Jesus the Messiah's glorious return. We have suggested that Jesus' obedience to the will of God might be the indicator. The soteriological significance of the death itself, beyond its necessity according to God's will, however, is not spelled out. In Jesus' promise, aside from its assurance which is based on the immediate issue of glory after suffering, there is nothing to explicitly indicate that his death is soteriological.¹ The most we can say again is that Luke by the witness of the criminal presents the objective facts of the innocent Jesus numbered with transgressors. In another context, the preaching of the early church, soteriological interpretations of Jesus' death, such as vicarious atonement, would be developed on the basis of these facts.

The penitent criminal's rebuke of the blaspheming criminal includes the question, *οὐδὲ φοβῆσθαι τὸν θεόν* ; (Lk. 23:40). The fear of God occurs with three different meanings in Luke. People respond with fear to the mighty signs done by God through Jesus (e.g. 8:25, 35). Fear as proper reverence for God characterizes Jews and proselytes (1:50; Ac. 10:2). Those who do not fear God in reverence during this life should fear the coming judgment by God in the next (Lk. 12:45f.). The criminal's question employs *φοβέω* in this last sense.

All three meanings are represented in the OT (e.g. fearful reaction to miraculous intervention, 2 Km. 6:9; fear of God as reverence, Pr. 1:7; cf. Sir. 40:27; fear of God's judgment, Job 31:23; Hab. 3:2; Hos. 10:3). The Hosea passage shows the same viewpoint as Lk. 23:40. It reports that the wicked do not fear God at all, and because of this judgments will come against them. It may not be accidental that the same reasoning is present in the proverb (23:31), which immediately follows a quotation from the larger OT context, Hos. 10:8/Lk. 23:30.

However, the fear of God in the sense of reverence for God may also

¹ Contrast Reese, Alttestamentliche Motive, p. 158.

be meant. From the penitent criminal's request of Jesus, it is evident that he has begun to show the proper fearful dependence on God. He sought after the assurance of God's remembrance of those who fear him (Ps. 84(85):10; cf. Sir. 2:15-18).

The criminal's request, "Remember me when you come in your kingdom" (Lk. 23:42), contains ideas which occur at no other place in Luke. While there are no other statements concerning Jesus as the Messiah remembering those who trust him, remembering is presented as characteristic of God in the End-time when he visits his people with salvation (1:54, 72). In these cases salvation comes because God remembers either his covenant promise to Abraham (1:72), or his mercies (1:54), and acts in faithfulness to them. Luke does not say that he remembers individuals or the nation.

In the OT in a few notable instances the request to be remembered is made by a person who has just done someone a favor. The one doing the favor desires that when the person who has received the favor comes into a position of power, then the favor done should be remembered and be justly rewarded. Joseph, having interpreted the chief butler's dream concerning his restoration, asks that he be remembered when it is well with the cupbearer in his restored position before Pharaoh. Joseph wants his case to be brought to Pharaoh's attention (Gen. 40:14).¹

¹ It is sometimes suggested that there is an allusion to the Joseph story in these words (Gen. 40:14, μνησθήτι μου... ὅταν ; Lk. 23:42, μνησθήτι μου ὅταν ; Fleigel, p. 62; Hasler, p. 114; Klostermann (p. 229) observes that there is no more than formal similarity). The verbal parallelism is striking and there is some material parallelism (in both situations there is one who is lost (the baker, Gen. 40:19; the blasphemous criminal, Lk. 23:39), and one who is saved (the chief butler, Gen. 40:13; the penitent criminal, Lk. 23:43). Yet for the typology to be perfect the words of Joseph, a type of Christ should have been spoken not by the penitent criminal but by Jesus himself. This confusion of roles makes it unlikely that the verbal parallelism is an allusion. It is more likely just a formal similarity resulting from the fact that the same kind of request is made in both situations. Since the request of the criminal is also similar to what appears on Jewish gravestones of the period (κύριε μνησθήτι τοῦ δούλου σου Σακερδωτός , at Beth Shearim, H. Kosmala, Hebraer - Essener - Christen (Studia Post-Biblica, I; Leiden,

Abigail, in return for aiding the fugitive David, asks that she may be remembered by him when he is made king (1 Km. 25:31). Sirach admonishes the wise man not to forget a friend when prosperity comes his way (Sir. 37:6).

When men ask that God remember them and visit them with an answer to their prayers, they give one of three reasons. God should remember them on the basis of their righteousness (2 Esdr. 15:19; 23:14, 22; 4 Km. 20:3). He should visit them because of the affliction they have unjustly suffered (Ps. 88(89):51; Lam. 5:1; cf. 1 Macc. 7:38; cf. Judg. 16:28). Finally, for the sake of who he is, a merciful and good God, and what he has promised in his covenant, he should remember men (Ex. 32:13; Ps. 24 (25):7; 73(74):2; 105(106):4, 5; cf. Tob. 3:3; Bel v. 38). God's remembrance of his people is also a characteristic of the End-time (Ezk. 16:60; Mal. 3:6; Hos. 12:6).

The OT idea of "remembering" contributes in two ways to Luke's framing of the criminal's request. It provides a human analogy in the cases of Joseph and Abigail which makes the use intelligible. When Jesus is in a position where he can do something for the criminal, the criminal asks that Jesus would remember him. The OT usage in eschatological contexts provides some of the content of the request. Ps. 105(106):4, 5 contains the same thought as the criminal's request. When God remembers his covenant and his mercy and visits his people with the salvation of the End-time, those who hope for that End-time ask that God might remember them and allow them to participate in the kingdom.¹ In this request

1959), p. 418; Ellis, Luke, p. 268; Rengstorff, p. 273), there is nothing historically improbable about the request. Even from the short space of time on the way to the cross and during the crucifixion enough of Jesus' claims to be Messiah, if only in mockery, had been communicated that the probability that the criminal actually addressed his request for messianic remembrance to Jesus need not be doubted. It is less probable that the request is a legendary growth based on Gen. 40:14.

¹cf. Dalman (Jesus-Jeshua, p. 198), who notes that "the robber wishes to see with his own eyes the kingship of Jesus, as it is promised (Is. 53:9 Targum) the wicked whose souls God has purified shall behold the kingship of their messiah."

the criminal does not give any reason why Jesus should remember him. It is simply his belief that Jesus will return as Messiah and his desire to exist under his messianic sovereignty, which are the implied motives behind his request. The criminal does not specify the nature of the favor which the returning Messiah must do in order that the criminal might be remembered. If he were asking for remembrance which would issue in pardon at the last judgment when the Messiah holds judicial court, we might expect this to be more explicitly stated in the request or reflected in Jesus' answer. For, on other occasions Jesus openly declared that the penitent's sins are forgiven (e.g. Lk. 5:20ff.; 7:47-49).¹ Jesus' answer indicates only that the request should be understood positively as a desire to participate in the End-time.

The request reflects the OT and Jewish understanding of the final revelation of the Messiah with kingly power (e.g. Zech. 9:10; Is. 11:1-9; Jer. 23:5).² Luke both affirms and transforms this understanding. Jesus' reply need not be understood as a denial of the fact that the Messiah will come with kingly power. Rather by the use of *σήμερον* Luke points out that Jesus is simply granting the criminal's request much sooner and in a different way from that which he expected. The revelation of the Messiah with kingly power will take place (cf. Lk. 9:26; 17:22-37; 21:27; Ac. 3:21) as the OT and the Jews expect. But it will occur after the Messiah has first suffered and entered his glory. The criminal in his request witnesses to this God-ordained pattern of suffering then glory.³ He brings the two aspects of the messianic mission

¹Contrast Loisy (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, II, p. 676) and Easton (*Luke*, p. 350), who both take it as a request for pardon in the last judgment; cf. *SBK* (IV:2, p. 1100), who notes that no Jewish or rabbinic literature aside from the "Similitudes of Enoch" (e.g. 1 En. 63:11) presents the Messiah as the judge at the last judgment. Since we have reason to see the Similitudes as post-Christian and possibly influenced by Christianity (See above, p. 402, n. 3), there is then no Jewish evidence which would support this interpretation of the criminal's request.

²See above (pp. 226ff.), for a discussion of the OT idea of "messianic kingdom" as applied by Luke to Jesus.

³See above, p. 405f.

together for he makes his request at the very point where Jesus is suffering terminally with no deliverance in sight. Thus, not only does the criminal bring together the innocence and criminal treatment aspects of Jesus suffering, but he also brings together the two aspects of the broader pattern of Jesus' mission, suffering issuing in glory. Again it is by faith that such an affirmation concerning Jesus' messianic mission must be made.¹ Just as the Sanhedrin who have Jesus in their power at the beginning of his suffering are called on to believe that this suffering will be immediately followed by glorious exaltation (Lk. 22:68-69), so it is by faith that the criminal, who witnesses the irreversible end of that suffering, is able to look beyond Jesus' death to his return. The other new content which is added to the understanding of the Messiah's glorious advent is the fact that between the suffering and the final consummation there is an interim period of exaltation. This Jesus declares in his answer (23:43).

Not only do the NT events bring into clear focus the whole messianic mission as one in which suffering precedes the return in glory, but the OT idea of the glorious reign of the Messiah places a theological significance on Jesus' suffering. The criminal's request shows, as we have noted, that he believes that the charges made against Jesus are true. Jesus is the Messiah though primarily in a powerful spiritual, not political, sense. His request then is another witness, this time a believing one, to the fact that the one who suffers is not just another pretender, but the Messiah himself. Luke interprets the death of Jesus not through editorial comment but through the responses of those at the cross. Though it is difficult to find in these responses explicit soteriological interpretation,² there is certainly in the repeated use of messianic

¹Bultmann (History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 283) comments that this episode has an incidental parenthetic purpose to show how even with death approaching a person may repent and believe.

²See above, pp. 292, n. 1, 420.

titles in mockery (23:35, 37, 38, cf. v. 39) and the messianic understanding of Jesus by the penitent criminal (23:42), at least a Christological interpretation of Jesus' death. From this may grow later a soteriological interpretation.

Jesus introduces his reply with Ἀμὴν σοι λέγω (23:43). The adverb ἄμην is a transliteration of אָמֵן,¹ a cognate adverb from the verb אָמַן "to confirm, support." In the LXX ἄμην shares the translation duties with several other words (ἀληθείας, Is. 65:16; ἀληθῶς, Jer. 35(28):6; γένοιτο, Num. 5:22; Dt. 27:15; 3 Km. 1:36). It is used in liturgical and devotional settings. It is the people's response to a prayer of blessing or petition offered to God on their behalf during worship (1 Ch. 16:36; 2 Esdr. 15:13; 18:6; cf. Tob. 8:8; 1 Esdr. 9:47; cf. its use as the ending to a literary work, Tob. 14:15B-text; 3 Macc. 7:23; 4 Macc. 18:24). The distinctive thing about the use of ἄμην (אָמֵן) in Jewish literature is that it is always a sign of agreement with or affirmation of another person's words. It is never a corroboration of one's own word.²

The Lukan and NT use of the word, however, is the opposite. In Luke it is used by Jesus exclusively and always as an introductory affirmation of his own word. Luke selectively reports this introductory formula. He employs it only 6X (Lk. 4:24; 12:37; 18:17, 29; 21:32; 23:43; cf. Lk. 9:27/Mk. 9:1; Lk. 21:3/Mk. 12:43 where he replaces it with ἀληθῶς; Lk. 22:34/Mk. 14:30 where he may delete it; 9X in Q he appears to delete or replace it, Lk. 16:17/Mt. 5:18; Lk. 12:59/Mt. 5:26; Lk. 7:9/Mt. 8:10; Lk. 7:28/Mt. 11:11; Lk. 10:24/Mt. 13:17; Lk. 15:5/Mt. 18:13; Lk. 11:51/Mt. 23:36; Lk. 12:44/Mt. 24:47; Lk. 13:27/Mt. 25:12). Jesus' use of the adverb to corroborate his own statements, then, is unparalleled in the

¹ Contrast J. C. O'Neill, "The Six Amen Sayings in Luke," *JTS*, n.s. X (1959), p. 1, n. 1.

² Dalman, *Words*, p. 226.

OT or Jewish literature.¹ While some² may attempt to find another OT source for the term's NT use, it is best to take the NT usage as a distinctly Christian development of the OT use of אֲמֵן (אמן). Jesus does not use this adverb of affirmation as a circumlocution in order to avoid the name of God in the prophetic introductory formula, "Thus saith the Lord."³ He does not choose אֲמֵן as an emphatic adverb because it would be as strong as an oath without actually being an oath.⁴ Rather, Jesus uses אֲמֵן to point to himself as the confirmation of his own words. Jesus the Messiah in his perfect obedience to God qualifies as a truly reliable witness.⁵ Any statements he makes are wholly trustworthy. Thus, he can preface them with the emphatic affirmation with which men witness to the truth of God as they respond to it in a prophetic (3 Km. 1:36; Jer. 35(28):6) or liturgical (1 Ch. 16:36; 2 Esdr. 15:13) context. Besides this OT significance in liturgical and prophetic contexts, there is an eschatological passage (Is. 65:16) which may have influenced Jesus' use.⁶ In the End-time men will swear by the God of אֱלֹהֵי תִּשְׁבָּחָהּ (τὸν θεὸν τὸν

¹SBK, I, p. 244.

²Berger (pp. 4ff.) attempts to develop a case for אֲמֵן, translating אמן (e.g. Gen. 22:17) as the proper source of the NT use of אֲמֵן. This explanation helps overcome the difficulty created by the difference in function of אֲמֵן (אמן) in the OT and NT and provides a greater degree of continuity between the OT and NT use. In both situations the adverb is used to emphatically affirm one's own action. The difficulty with this explanation, however, is that there is only limited evidence that אֲמֵן and אמן were used interchangeably (Test. Abraham 8 uses אמן to reproduce Gen. 22:17, אמן; Berger, pp. 4, 15). This evidence might be better explained as the clarification of the LXX under the influence of the current liturgical use of אֲמֵן, rather than as an indication that אֲמֵן has the origin of its usage in אמן. If the latter were true why do we not have more evidence of the interchangeability of the phrases in Jewish literature?

³Contrast Ellis, Luke, p. 98; Dalman, Words, p. 227.

⁴Contrast Dalman, Words, p. 227; cf. Berger (p. 28) who with his different understanding of the probable OT background says that the term does derive its meaning both from its OT function as part of an oath formula and from its OT use as an emphatic particle.

⁵TDNT, I, p. 337.

⁶Daube, The NT and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 389.

ἀληθειῶν), i.e. invoke the divine name "Amen" in their oaths. It may be both as a sign that the End-time has come and that Jesus is himself that "Amen" (cf. Rev. 3:14), that he uses that term in his sayings. Since the LXX does not carry over Ἀμήν as a title in the Isaiah passage, this part of the OT significance may have been lost to Luke.

What determined Luke's use of Ἀμήν with six of Jesus' sayings? Two of the six are promises which relate the behavior of the present time to the rewards of the eschatological kingdom of God (watchfulness, Lk. 12:37; discipleship, 18:29). Two are promises concerning future events not related to behavior (21:32; 23:43). Two are general maxims about the reception of the message of the kingdom of God (4:24; 18:17). It is difficult to find a common denominator among all of the sayings which would tell us why Luke chose to preface them in particular with Ἀμήν.¹ At the least they divide into two categories: promises and general maxims. When it is a preface to promises, the Ἀμήν appears to be an emphatic affirmative adverb, which stresses the importance and certainty of the promise.² In our case, Jesus impresses upon the criminal that the answer to his request will not only be more immediate but more certain than what he asks for. But just as the faith which prompted the request was in Jesus so the certainty of the promised answer rests in him. This certainty of promise may also be intended to reassure Luke's readers who as they face death need to know that it will not separate them from their

¹ O'Neill (JTS, n.s. X, p. 1) suggests that they are all sayings which apply directly to the life of Christians in Luke's day (cf. Hasler, p. 146; contrast Berger, p. 87). All of the sayings do fit that description except Lk. 4:24; Lagrange (p. cii) can find no reason for Luke's selective use except for the triumph of tradition at a few places over Luke's repugnance for foreign words; V. E. McEachern ("Dual Witness and Sabbath Motif in Luke," CJT, XII (1966), p. 277) believes the six "Amen" sayings are part of a Sabbath motif whereby Luke organizes elements in his gospel in groups of sevens. In this case the seventh "Amen" will be the Parousia. McEachern must depend on Rev. 22:13, 20 to be able to draw this conclusion and fit the sayings into his proposed Sabbath pattern. See below, p. 629.

² Lagrange, p. 591; Hasler, p. 146.

Lord.¹

Luke reports that Jesus gives further assurance in his reply by saying that the promise would come true immediately, "today." The criminal dared to hope to be remembered by the Messiah when he came with his kingly power at some future time. Jesus answers, "Today, you will be with me in paradise." Luke often uses σήμερον to point out the presence of the salvation of God in the ministry of Jesus (2:11; 3:22D-text; 4:21; 5:26; 19:5, 9). The σήμερον indicates that the promise is effective from the present.

"Today" has the same use in the LXX (usually rendering כִּי הַיּוֹם). God makes his covenant with the people "today." From that point on it is effective (Dt. 26:18; 29:9). God's salvation comes "today" and must be responded to "today" (Ps. 2:7; cf. Ac. 13:33; Ps. 94(95):7). Luke thus adopts this OT use of σήμερον in his use of it. At Lk. 23:43 Luke uses σήμερον to affirm the presence of salvation even in the face of death. It also emphasizes that from this time forward, immediately, the promise will come true.

The promise is twofold. The criminal will be with Jesus and in paradise. "Paradise," a Persian loan word for "park" (cf. Xenophon, An. 1:2:7, in which it denotes Cyrus' game park in which he hunted animals for sport), is used by the LXX to translate גֶּן in the expressions גֶּן עֵדֶן (παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς, Gen. 3:23, 24; Jo. 2:3; cf. Ezk. 36:35 where קִנְיָן is used; cf. Gen. 2:8, 9, 16; 3:1, 2, 8, 10 where it translates גֶּן in the absolute); גֶּן עֵדֶן (Gen. 13:10, τοῦ θεοῦ; Is. 51:3, κυρίου); and גֶּן עֵדֶן (παράδεισος τοῦ θεοῦ, Ezk. 28:13; 31:8, 9). There are only two instances where the LXX uses παράδεισος to translate the

¹O'Neill, JTS, n.s. X, p. 8; Berger (p. 87) sees the saying as part of a group which relates the resurrection to the coming of the kingdom (cf. Mk. 14:25). He fails to see that the relationship in Luke is by contrast.

whole concept of "the Garden of Eden" or "Garden of God" (Gen. 2:15; Is. 51:3 where it stands for both גֶּן־עֵדֶן and גֶּן but is modified by קִיפִּיּוֹן). When this translation practice with regard to παράδεισος is combined with the fact that גֶּן־עֵדֶן is usually translated by the genitive Τρυφῆς and not the place name Ἔδεμ , it appears that in the LXX παράδεισος in the absolute has not developed as a technical term for the "Garden of Eden" or "Garden of God." In its qualified sense, however, it had developed a special meaning. It refers not only to the garden which Adam and Eve inhabited before the Fall. It also is used as a standard of comparison to describe a state of natural fruitfulness and perfection. The highest estimate one can make of the natural order in general or any of its elements in particular is to say that it is "like the Garden of Eden or Garden of God" (e.g. Jo. 2:3; Ezk. 31:8, 9; Gen. 13:10). The prophets also used the comparison to describe the restoration of the End-time in which God would transform the desert and ruined land into a place "like the Garden of Eden, the Garden of God" (Is. 51:3; Ezk. 36:35). There is no place in the LXX which reports that the intermediate state of the righteous dead is the occupation of paradise (cf. Ezk. 31:16, 18 where the trees of Eden (Τρυφῆς) inhabit Sheol).

Jewish thought concerning the intermediate state of the righteous dead between their deaths and the resurrection at the End-time appropriated the image of the Garden of Eden and reinterpreted it as the present abode of the righteous dead.¹ The appropriateness of this image is readily understandable for the garden was a place of perfection, fruitfulness, delight, and above all eternal life. It had the sources of eternal life: the tree of life, the water of life, and the presence of God. Since death was the chief characteristic of life outside the garden, the entrance into the heavenly garden at one's death was an

¹ e.g. 1 En. 22:9; Jub. 4:23; SBK (IV:2, p. 1130) cites Rabbi Johanan b. Zakkai (circ. 80 A.D.) as the first rabbinic evidence of this appropriation (Ber. 28^b, 23; on his death bed he describes the destiny of the righteous at death as taking the way to the heavenly Garden of Eden).

appropriate reward for the righteous, who had been faithful to God under the curse of the Fall. All of these associations attach to Luke's use of the word here. It is a place of rest, delight, and eternal life to which the criminal will go with Jesus.¹

That Luke when he used the word παράδεισος meant more than just the designation of the criminal's place among the righteous dead in an intermediate state of blessedness may be seen from his other descriptions of what will happen to Jesus after his death.² Though Luke appears to believe in this intermediate state (Lk. 8:55/Mk. 5:42; Lk. 23:46; Ac. 7:59), he does not describe it elsewhere as paradise. He states emphatically that Jesus after his suffering will be exalted to the right hand of God (Lk. 22:69; 24:26). We might reconstruct the scenario of Jesus' activity between Good Friday and Easter Sunday as death, entrance into paradise, the place of the righteous dead. The criminal accompanies him thus far. On Easter Sunday Jesus is raised from the dead and ascends to the right hand of the Father. The prepositional phrase, "with me," would merely indicate that both Jesus and the criminal went to the same place immediately after death. However, the lack of precision, which we have already noted,³ in Luke's description of the relationship of various post-crucifixion events to the beginning of Jesus' entrance into his glory should caution us against detailing the course of events too precisely. Luke believed that the glorification wrought in Christ's resurrection-exaltation was so much greater than what the Jews expected.

¹Lagrange, p. 591.

²Contrast J. Lightfoot, II, p. 478; Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, II, p. 676; Creed, p. 288; Zahn, Lukas, p. 703; George (Sci. Eccl., XIV, p. 63) reasons that Jesus is not invested with his kingdom until after the resurrection; so Jesus promises him a place in the abode of the righteous dead who await final salvation; Deissmann (p. 148) and O'Neill (JTS, n.s. X, p. 8) claim that Luke is the first evidence of the Christian use of the term in this sense (cf. 2 Cor. 12:4; Rev. 2:7).

³See above, p. 408f.

Is it not possible that Luke understood Jesus' relationship to paradise in a different way also? It is the prepositional phrase "with me" and the fact the Jesus' statement is made in answer to a request concerning remembrance at the messianic assumption of power which gives us reason to understand that Jesus is promising more than just a place in the intermediate abode of the righteous dead. He is promising the enjoyment of Jesus' presence forever.¹ This does not mean that Luke in reality replaces the concept of heavenly paradise with the idea of the presence of Jesus as the only content of the intermediate state of believers after death. Rather, Luke transforms the idea of paradise through a basically Christocentric interpretation of it. He stresses that it is Jesus' presence which is the basic characteristic of life in the heavenly paradise. Since Jesus after suffering is exalted to the right hand of God, we should probably take Luke's phrasing of the promise to mean that though initially the criminal goes with Jesus to the intermediate abode of the righteous dead he is not left there. When Jesus is exalted to the right hand of the Father, he as Messiah opens the eschatological paradise of the world to come in its heavenly manifestation and brings with him all those including the criminal who have existed in Abraham's bosom.² Thus, more than the promise of a martyr's reward,³ Jesus

¹cf. Siphre Zuṭa Num. 6:24, 40(12^a) and Pesik. R. 2(5^b) which both use 1 Km. 25:29 to argue that the righteous continue to live after death because they are with the living God, bound up in the bundle of life with him.

²cf. Test. Lev. 18:1-14 where the Messiah opens the gates of paradise and removes the threatening sword; Leaney, p. 286; Contrast Tg. Gen. 3:24 (Neofiti), which through its identification of the Law with the Tree of Life in the Garden makes the Law and one's attitude toward it the key to entrance into paradise (McNamara, Targum and Testament, p. 136f.).

³Dibelius (From Tradition, p. 203, n. 3) quotes the martyr, R. Hananiah b. Teradion (135 A.D.), who says "Tomorrow I shall have my part with them in the future world"; Goppelt (p. 117) suggests that the use of paradise means that Jesus presents himself in terms of Adam = Christ typology. This is doubtful since there is nothing else in the immediate context which also alludes to the figure of Adam. Rather, it is the figure of the Davidic Messiah (Lk. 23:42) through whose role Luke re-interprets the current Jewish understanding of the intermediate abode of the righteous dead, paradise.

declares to the criminal that he will share in the victory of Jesus' glorification after suffering. For he who is with Jesus will not be left even in the portion of Sheol intended for the righteous but will rather enter into the reality of the paradise of the world to come as he accompanies Jesus who is exalted to the Father's right hand. Thus, he will immediately experience the rewards of life under the Messiah's kingship.¹

We can see then how Luke with his absolute use of *παράδεισος* has gone beyond the OT use where the Garden of Eden is just an image for comparison and not necessarily a present reality. Luke has gone beyond the Jewish use by declaring that a Christocentric interpretation of paradise is now essential. Being with the Messiah is the basic ingredient of life in paradise. The Messiah's exaltation indicates that life in paradise the intermediate abode of the righteous dead, has been transformed into life in the paradise of the age to come for the righteous are with Jesus who is at the Father's right hand.

Of the OT ideas which make up the criminal's request and Jesus' reply, only *σήμερον*, which occurs throughout Luke-Acts, might possibly have its source in Lukan editing. The rest is vocabulary Luke has probably appropriated from his source.

OT ideas may be employed in Luke's choice and use of *κρεμασθέντων* (23:39) and *ἀπολαμβάνομεν*² (23:41). It is sometimes claimed that Luke's use of *κρεμάννυμι* to describe the crucifixion is influenced by

¹cf. P. Grelot ("Aujourd'hui tu seras avec moi dans le Paradis" (Lu. xxiii.43), *RB*, LXXIV (1967), p. 196), who though he understands Jesus' promise as a promise of participation in the spiritual reign of the Messiah says that Luke does not tell us precisely when that will take place.

²Hawkins (*Horae Synopticae*, p. 16), classifies this term as a word characteristic of Luke which has some relationship to the LXX. It need not be taken as LXX vocabulary for it occurs only 3X there, nor need it be seen as Lukan vocabulary for it does not occur throughout Luke-Acts.

the LXX, particularly Dt. 21:23 which says that such a death is cursed¹ (cf. Gal. 3:13). κρεμάννυμι is used more frequently in the LXX to describe execution by hanging (e.g. Gen. 40:19; Josh. 10:26; Esth. 5:14) than σταυρώω (Esth. 7:9). Though both terms may be used to describe crucifixion (e.g. Plutarch, Caes. 2, καὶ οὖν γέλωτι πολλάκις ἡπέειλε κρεμάν αὐτούς... καὶ προαγαγὼν τοὺς ληστὰς ἅπαντας ἀνεσταύρωσεν ὥστε αὐτοῖς δοκῶν παῖσιν ἐν τῇ νύσῳ προεργήκειτο²; Polybius 1:86:4, ἀιχμαλώτους ἐσταύρωσαν), the primary meaning of κρεμάννυμι appears to be "to hang" while that of σταυρώω is "to crucify." Since κρεμάννυμι has as its secondary meaning, "to crucify," the fact that almost a third of the references in Luke to Jesus' execution use it (Lk. 23:39; Ac. 5:30; 10:39; cf. 28:4; σταυρώω, Lk. 23:21, 23, 33; 24:7, 20; Ac. 2:36; 4:10) may indicate that the Deuteronomy passage had some influence on the use of this word by the early church in its missionary preaching and the handing on of the gospel tradition. In our passage it describes both criminals (Lk. 23:39) but not Jesus. Still, the word of rebuke by the penitent criminal recognizes that Jesus is under the same condemnation (ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι, 23:40; cf. Dt. 21:22, Ἐὰν δὲ γένηται ἐν τινι ἁμαρτία κρίμα θανάτου... καὶ κρεμάσῃτε αὐτόν²).² That this sentence is a cursed death (Dt. 21:23) is not necessarily implied by the use of these two terms,

¹ Boismard, II, p. 431; cf. Lindars, p. 233.

² W. L. Knox (Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity (Oxford, 1948), p. 11) suggests that κρίμα used in the sense of condemnation is poor Greek and is probably peculiar to Biblical Greek. In the LXX the term is either qualified by θανάτου or has θανάτος in the immediate context when it is used in the sense of condemnation (Dt. 21:22; Sir. 41:2, 3). Luke's use does not show an understanding of κρίμα in the absolute as meaning condemnation (cf. Lk. 20:47 where it means judgment cf. Hos. 5:1; Lk. 24:20, κρίμα θανάτου). We might say that the OT idea of God's judgment which is expressed by κρίμα in the absolute has so influenced Luke's use that when κρίμα in the absolute is applied to a person who is being executed it stands for not only the fact that the man has been sentenced but also that he has been sentenced to death. However, the fact that Luke qualifies κρίμα with θανάτου (24:20) when he wants to speak of a death sentence makes this explanation of κρίμα in the absolute unlikely. Luke's use at Lk. 23:39 simply means judicial sentence while the immediate context supplies the understanding that this sentence is condemnation to death. There is no special Biblical Greek usage here.

κρίμα and κρεμάσσει, nor by what the penitent criminal says about Jesus. If the verbal parallelism with Dt. 21:22 is significant Luke's use of it is simply to point out the objective facts concerning Jesus' death in the language of the Deuteronomy passage. The way Luke overcomes the scandal, which these facts cause to the claim that it is the Messiah who suffers, is, as we have noted, through the use of his twin theological themes, which show the fulfilment of Is. 53:12/Lk. 22:37. It is according to the will of God that Jesus is numbered with the transgressors, suffers the divinely cursed death on the cross. This the Scriptures show. Also, Jesus' innocence (23:41) is a witness to the undeserved nature of his punishment. Thus, whether through the criminal's witness to Jesus' innocence, his trust in Jesus for salvation, or his recognition that Jesus' death is the result of a judicial sentence of condemnation, Luke uses the themes of Is. 53:12 to interpret Jesus' suffering.

Old Testament Style

The LXX style imitation in this episode is unevenly distributed.¹ There is an equal use of δέ and καί (3X) with one case of parataxis in vv. 42, 43. The word order of subject and predicate is not distinctively semitic (verb-subject, 1X; subject-verb, 3X; subject-object-verb, 1X). There is one case of the post-positive possessive pronoun (τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, 23:42).² The post-positive second person singular possessive pronoun is a regular feature of LXX style. It translates the Hebrew pronominal suffix ־לְךָ which is attached to the end of nouns (e.g. Gen. 12:1;

¹ Knox (Some Hellenistic Elements, p. 12) attributes the semitic element in the narrative to a semitic gospel source which Luke has partially reworked. The ultimate origin of many of these semitic elements may be such a source. We have seen that such is probably the case with the OT ideas of the episode. Luke's positive purpose in the selective reworking of his source, which let some of these elements stand, however, needs to be understood.

² Ibid.; Knox calls the σου a semitic element which is unnecessary in Greek.

1 Km. 1:8; Hos. 4:5; Ps. 2:8). It occurs in Jewish apocryphal literature which may imitate LXX style (e.g. 1 Esdr. 2:16; Jdth. 2:11; Tob. 3:4; 1 Macc. 2:18). It may, then, be taken as a feature of LXX style imitation. Luke regularly reproduces this construction from his sources (e.g. Lk. 5:14/Mk. 1:44; Lk. 8:39/Mk. 5:19; Lk. 18:42/Mk. 10:52). He sometimes introduces it into his sources (e.g. Lk. 5:20, 23/Mk. 2:5, 9; Lk. 9:41/Mk. 9:19; cf. his removal of this word order, Lk. 6:29/Mk. 5:40). The construction occurs throughout his work (e.g. Ac. 4:25; 16:31; 26:16; contrast, 10:31; 22:18). We may understand it as a feature of Luke's style which is an imitation of LXX style.¹ Unless we were to conclude that Luke introduced the whole phrase ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, it is probable that he takes the construction over from his source.

The other grammatical constructions, besides ἀμὴν and ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, which add LXX coloring to the narrative are pleonastic λέγων² (Lk. 23:37, 39) and ἀποκριθεὶς³ (23:40). The λέγων does serve to clarify the narrative by marking the precise beginning of the criminal's blasphemy. There is also stylistic unity created with the rest of the mockery elements in the preceding context. All words of mockery are introduced by a more or less pleonastic participial form of λέγω (23:35, 37, 39). There may be some emphasis intended in its use but there is no inherent theological significance in its presence. It is part of the cumulative evidence for LXX style imitation. It is not unlikely that Luke could have introduced it. The pleonastic ἀποκριθεὶς functions to smooth the transition between one speaker and another in the narrative. It is not essential for there is another participle which

¹cf. Wifstrand, Stud. Theol., III, p. 175.

²See above, p. 370. Note that several mss indicate the pleonastic nature of λέγων by failing to include it in their text: Alexandrian- B; L; Western- D; it^e. 1.

³See above, p. 446.

does that job already (ἐπιτιμῶν, 23:40). Luke may have added it to mark out the contrast of speakers more clearly and thus emphasize the importance of what the penitent criminal says. ἀποκριθεὶς also is part of the cumulative evidence for LXX style imitation. The appropriateness of these two elements of LXX style imitation is probably discovered in the content of the dialogue which they introduce. The mockery in its negative way and the rebuke and expression of hope in its positive way use OT ideas to place a theological interpretation on the events. It is appropriate that LXX style introduce such content.

The latter part of the episode, vv. 42-43, shows the greatest concentration of LXX imitation style. It is there that Luke appears to have let parataxis stand so that the general structure of the dialogue complements the OT ideas expressed in LXX constructions (καὶ μνησθήτε μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου καὶ... Ἀμὴν σοι λέγω, σήμερον... ἐν ταῖς πύλαις αὐτοῦ). Luke's respect for the tradition of Jesus' words as well as his awareness of their theological significance may have influenced his presentation of this portion in consistent LXX style. Thus while traces of LXX style may be found throughout its clearest manifestation is here.

CHAPTER XIX

LUKE 23:44-49: THE DEATH OF JESUS

Introduction

One thing remains for Jesus to suffer: death itself. As that death approaches, Luke reports supernatural portents of it. Their significance is conveyed by OT ideas concerning eschatological visitation and the sacrificial system (23:44, 45). Jesus' last word before his death is a prayer from the Psalms (23:46/Ps. 30(31):6). The reaction of the centurion, the mournful crowd, and the acquaintances standing at a distance may contain OT allusions or at the least OT ideas (Lk. 23:47-49). LXX style imitation pervades the whole account.

Luke shows a greater affinity to Mark in this section than he has shown elsewhere in chapter 23. It is quite difficult to isolate heavy concentrations of Markan or non-Markan material so that it may be decided which served as the basic source and which was insertion. It is possible to see Lk. 23:44, 45/Mk. 15:33, 38;¹ Lk. 23:49/Mk. 15:40² as Markan insertions. Yet, there is verbal similarity with Mark in Lk. 23:46, 47/Mk. 15:37, 39³ in terms which are basic to the narrative's structure (e.g. ἐξέπνευσεν ; Ἰδὼν δὲ ; ὁ ἄνθρωπος... ἦν). When this is taken into account and combined with the other verses which have a more extensive verbal parallelism with Mark, a detectable Markan structure emerges which appears to serve as the basis for the whole narrative.⁴ Non-

¹Taylor, The Passion Narrative, p. 93; cf. Perry, p. 48; Schlatter, Lukas, p. 143;

²Taylor, The Passion Narrative, p. 94; cf. Perry, p. 48; Contrast Schlatter (Lukas, p. 143). Easton (Luke, p. 352) attributes it to "L".

³cf. Easton (Luke, p. 352), who is uncertain whether v. 46 comes from Mark or "L" and Schlatter (Lukas, p. 143), who is certain that v. 47 comes from Mark while vv. 46, 48, 49 are from a Palestinian source.

⁴Contrast Taylor (The Passion Narrative, p. 93), who argues for non-Markan material as basic on the grounds that vv. 43 and 46 when immediately connected show a literary progression moving to a climax which vv. 44, 45 interrupt. Also, he observes it is difficult to understand how Mark can be the basis of a narrative which begins by connecting two details separated by a number of verses in Mark (23:44, 45; Mk. 15:33, 38). Taylor

Markan insertions, however, occur at key places, the word of Jesus and possibly the word of the centurion (23:46, 47). The description of the crowd's mourning reaction and the acquaintances' observation from a distance also owe some of their content to non-Markan sources. Thus, Luke appears again to have used Mark and non-Markan material side by side, but this time Mark is the basis of the narrative.

There are various descriptions of the darkness at midday in the text tradition of Lk. 23:45.¹ The extrinsic probabilities show the ἐκλείποντος and ἐκλείποντος readings as older than the readings with ἐσκοτίσθη. The latter, however, have wider geographical distribution, though the difference is a matter of one text family, Caesarean. The Caesarean witness is not very significant for when it corresponds with the Byzantine witness it should be considered as probably dependent on it. The pattern of corrections in C (C*, ἐκλείποντος; C², ἐκλείποντος... ἐσκοτίσθη; C³, ἐσκοτίσθη) may be a microcosm of the history of the two readings and show that ἐσκοτίσθη is later and not original. The pattern

fails to recognize that though v. 46 is materially a natural climax to v. 43, stylistically it does not follow on naturally from that verse. The repetitious use of ὁ Ἰησοῦς in v. 46 is not demanded for clarity by the intervention of vv. 44, 45. Taylor also does not take note of Luke's practice of combining all related subject matter under one heading, dealing with it at once before moving on to something else (e.g. Lk. 23:35-38). This could explain his placement of Mk. 15:33, 38 together. Both verses deal with supernatural portents. Such a practice does not necessarily prevent Luke from using Mark as the basic source for the rest of the episode.

¹ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος : Alexandrian- p^{75*}; X; Caesarean- geo?; Origen^{gr, lat}; Cyril of Jerusalem; Western- syr^{h mg}; Byzantine- C*; cf. 1024. τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος : Alexandrian- p^{75c}; B; (copsa, bo^{mss} τοῦ δέ); cop^{bo}; Byzantine- 9 lectionaries. καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος : Alexandrian- 892; 1241; vg; Caesarean- θ; f¹; f¹³; 565; 700; 1071; syr^{pal}; arm (omit καὶ); Origen^{lat}; mss^{acc.} to Origen; Byzantine- A; C³; K; W; Δ; Ψ; Π; X; syr^p; eth; 13 lectionaries; 28; Western- it^(a), aur, (b), (c), (e), f, ff², l, q; syr^c, s; Diatessaron e, syr (omit καὶ); Marcion; many other minuscules. ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος : Caesarean- geo?; Western- D; it^d. τοῦ ἡλίου σκοτισθέντος : Caesarean- geo?; Western- syr^h. τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος : Byzantine- C² (text distorted. . .); other- 1365. omit altogether: Alexandrian- 33; other - 1195*

in p⁷⁵ (p^{75*} ἐκλιπόντος ; p^{75c} ἐκλείπωντος) may indicate that the aorist tense reading is earlier than the present tense reading.

Transcriptional probabilities favor the ἐκλείπων participle readings for the conversion of a genitive absolute to a finite verb is an easier transcriptional procedure than the reverse.¹ The ἐσκοτίσθη reading is more general and may be an attempt to avoid the scientific difficulties raised by the report of an occurrence of a solar eclipse in the Passover season which is the time of the full moon.²

Intrinsic probabilities favor the more specific ἐκλείπων participle readings. They are less redundant in the immediate context and truly advance the narrative, whereas the ἐσκοτίσθη reading is repetitious (cf. σκοτός ἐγένετο , 23:44) and does not add to the information of v. 44.³

The ἐκλείπων participle readings because of their older attestation; their difficulty in meaning which transcriptionally the more general ἐσκοτίσθη reading may have sought to overcome; and their greater harmony with the immediate context, are probably the more original readings. Of the two the aorist participle reading, τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος , may be taken as authentic. It has the better ms attestation and agrees in tense with the verbs in the immediate context.

Another text variant which is closely attached to this problem is the placement of v. 45b after v. 46 by the "D" text. In view of the fact that the "D" reading matches Mark both in word order and in sequential order, we may take the "D" reading as a secondary harmonizing assimilation of Luke to Mark. Luke desires to group the supernatural portents to-

¹Westcott and Hort, II, Appendix, p. 70.

²Ibid.; Metzger, Commentary, p. 182. Contrast Zahn (Lukas, p. 705 n. 25), who takes the same evidence from Origen as Westcott and Hort and uses it to prove the opposite: the ἐκλείπων participle readings were introduced to explain the controversy created by the ἐσκοτίσθη reading.

³Contrast Zahn (Lukas, p. 705), who says that the genitive absolute without a conjunction such as γάρ or ὅτι is rough stylistically and therefore not original.

gether so he moves the reference to the rending of the veil forward. Other text variants which are relevant we will mention at the appropriate places in our study.

Old Testament Quotation

Jesus' final word before his death is an OT quotation (23:46/Ps. 30(31):6). In the comparable immediate context Mark records some of Jesus' words as a quotation from Ps. 21(22):2/Mk. 15:34. Luke does not take over this quotation from Mark and it is often suggested that Luke has replaced the Psalm 21(22) quotation with the Psalm 30(31) quote.¹ We need to discuss the relationship between these two quotations in the history of tradition and the reasons for Luke's omission of the Psalm 21(22) citation before we look at his use of Psalm 30(31) in the climax to his passion narrative.

The Markan account records two loud cries by Jesus at the ninth hour (Mk. 15:34, 37). The record of the first contains the words of Jesus, the Ps. 21(22):2 quotation, while the second is wordless and is followed immediately by Jesus' death. Luke records only one cry whose content is a quotation from Ps. 30(31):6. Jesus' death immediately follows. Some reconstruct the history of tradition, maintaining that originally the tradition only knew one cry at Jesus' death, a wordless one. Later the tradition gave content to the wordless cry by the introduction of the Ps. 21(22):2 quote. Mark reflects a further stage in which the wordless cry was conflated with the Ps. 21(22):2 quote.² If this were the actual line of development the final product in Mark does not show clearly the motive for the later introduction of Ps. 21(22):2 as the content for the wordless cry, for the wordless cry continues to exist. The

¹e.g. Dibelius, From Tradition, p. 194; Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 273; Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive, p. 200; Holtz, p. 58.

²Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 273; Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, II, p. 684.

quotation does not serve to eliminate it.

This approach not only does not explain all of the evidence but also tends to confuse the relationship between the Markan and Lukan quotations. It reasons that since the Markan quote provides words for the wordless cry and since the Lukan quote provides words for the wordless cry, the use of Mark by Luke necessarily means that Luke has replaced Ps. 21(22):2 with Ps. 30(31):6. Yet, in the course of the Markan narrative the Ps. 21(22):2 quotation does not actually provide words for the wordless cry which immediately precedes Jesus' death. Unless we are going to say that by telescoping two occasions of Jesus' speaking into one Luke did identify Ps. 21(22):2 as the content of the final wordless cry, which he has replaced by Ps. 30(31):6, it is not correct to describe Luke's omission of Ps. 21(22):2 and his use of Ps. 30(31):6 as a replacement or substitution of one quote for another.

A more satisfactory way of understanding the relationship of the two quotations and Luke's use and non-use of them is to see the two cries as distinct events.¹ Luke, using Mark as his basic source and with the aid of a non-Markan source, chooses to omit the Ps. 21(22):2 quotation. As a separate operation² he inserts the Ps. 30(31):6 quotation as the content of Mark's final wordless cry.

What reasons may be given for Luke's omission of Ps. 21(22):2/Mk. 15:34? The compositional reasons for omission should be treated as subsidiary to the main reasons which stem from Luke's theological purposes.

¹T. Boman, "Das Letzte Wort Jesu," Stud. Theol., XVII (1963), p. 113; cf. Easton, Luke, p. 351.

²Fleigel, p. 42; Lagrange, p. 592; Taylor (Jesus and His Sacrifice, p. 200) claims that one can only claim on the basis of Mark as the basic source that Luke has replaced one OT quotation with another. It should be observed that such a "replacement" explanation does not have to be accepted even if one accepts Mark as the source basic to the narrative for the Ps. 21(22):2 and Ps. 30(31):6 quotations occur at different chronological places in the historical sequence.

Luke has already mentioned the offer of δύναμις to Jesus by the soldiers (Lk. 23:36), thus he avoids a repeated mention of it here and as a result eliminates the OT quotation which is the occasion for the offer.¹ The fact that the quotation is given first in Aramaic may have caused Luke who avoids foreign words to omit it. However, the presence of the Greek translation which follows it probably would have made the Aramaic less objectionable to Luke.²

The theological reasons for the omission come from Luke's possible misunderstanding of the quotation's meaning and function in Mark; Luke's eschatology; and Luke's portrayal of Jesus' death. When the words of the Psalm quotation are taken at their face value, they express a despair and doubt which is clearly out of character with the obedient suffering Messiah which the early church claimed Jesus to be. Some propose that this contradiction did not exist for the early church which employed this text as a messianic proof-text to show that Jesus the Messiah must suffer. Their realization that Jesus in saying these words was quoting Scripture and thus was both proving himself to be the promised Messiah and showing his faith in God, overshadowed the content of the quotation.³ Luke and his Gentile readers did not see this cry as an OT proof-text. As a result they understood the content of the quotation as a cry of despair which was scandalous on the lips of Jesus. It was best to remove it and replace it with a quotation which showed triumphal trust.⁴ The difficulty with this explanation is that it fails to show convincingly both

¹Zahn, Lukas, p. 704, n. 21.

²Schneider, p. 161.

³Dibelius, From Tradition, p. 194.

⁴George, RB, LXXII, p. 205; Schulz, Die Stunde der Botschaft, p. 289; cf. Fleigel (p. 42), who says that this omission shows a balance of motives in Luke. He chooses his messianic proof-texts according to the Christology which they show; Weidel (ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 267) says that since the Markan words of Jesus are originally not historical but simply a prophetic proof-text placed in his mouth, Luke is merely arbitrarily replacing one prophetic proof-text with another. Luke's choice reflects the perspective of a later time when messianic suffering was no longer a big

how this quotation functions as a proof-text in Mark¹ and how such a supposed perspective does in fact turn a cry of despair into a cry of trust. Instead of having to assume on the basis of Luke's presumed Gentile background that a basic misunderstanding led to this omission,² it is better to recognize that the Ps. 21(22):2 quotation probably never did serve as either a pointer to Jesus' faith or as an explicit fulfilment proof-text. Rather, the quotation authentically expresses the separation from God which Jesus knew in his suffering. Mark's placement of the sign of darkness at midday immediately before this cry may be another indication that Mark primarily understood this cry as an interpretation of the darkness and as an expression of real forsakenness. Since this cry of despair is in the words of Scripture it is possible to see in that fact a reason for understanding it as a prophetic proof-text concerning the suffering Messiah. But this kind of reasoning comes best in reflection after the fact, on the basis of historical evidence that Jesus uttered such a cry. It is not easy to understand how the early church would have chosen Ps. 21(22):2, so easily open to misunderstanding, as a fulfilment proof-text which they would place in the mouth of Jesus. Other texts might readily be found which would portray the divine necessity of the messianic suffering without introducing the scandalous word of messianic despair. The suffering section of Psalm 21(22), as we

concern and the church wanted to show the triumph of Jesus' death through a proof-text.

¹ Contrast Suhl (p. 52), who observes that the quotation is not presented in a promise and fulfilment scheme.

² Boman (Stud. Theol., XVII, p. 112) sees misunderstanding also on Mark's part, for he interpreted a simple cry of trust "My God, My God" as a cry of despair and expanded it by the use of Ps. 21(22):2. Although Boman does not in the end identify the two cries of Mark as stemming from a single historical cry, he does identify them in content and uses Luke's Ps. 30(31):6 quotation, John's final cry (J. 19:30), and the centurion's reaction as indicators that the actual content of both cries was one of trust not despair. Boman fails to deal with the possibility that hope against hope, hope following despair could be an understandable experiential sequence here.

have seen,¹ was not interpreted messianically in the first century Jewish exegetical tradition so it was not a ready made proof-text which the early church would have been likely to appropriate for Jesus, despite its scandalous content. Nor was this proof-text introduced simply as part of the process of extending the fulfilment already seen in this psalm (Mk. 15:24, 29, 30/Ps. 21(22): 19, 8, 9). Rather, this scandalous word is probably historical and from its preservation in the tradition flows both the later reflection on it as a proof-text for the divine necessity of Jesus' suffering and the understanding of other details in the gospel tradition as the fulfilment of other portions of Psalm 21(22). But, the cry functions primarily not as prophetic fulfilment but as an exclamation of despair and an expression of the depth of suffering, the God-forsakenness which Jesus was experiencing.

Luke by omitting it probably recognizes it as an allusion to or quotation from Ps. 21(22):2. His skilful application of other portions of the psalm to the events that surrounded Jesus' death² makes it probable that he would recognize such a clear allusion to the beginning of the psalm. That he understood the allusion as functioning within a promise and fulfilment scheme is less certain. His lack of understanding, however, is not the decisive reason for his omission of the quotation. We have encountered other cases where Luke consciously omits Markan allusions which are OT prophetic proof-texts.³ It is again Luke's concern with his theological themes which controls his decision to reproduce or not reproduce OT allusions from Mark. The scandal of the cry of despair was quite real for Luke, who was attempting to portray an innocent Jesus whose perfect obedience to the Father's will led him to be numbered with the transgressors. But if he were to record these words, he would

¹ See above, p. 512.

² See above, pp. 510ff.; 522ff.

³ e.g. see above, pp. 191, 238, 336, 376.

introduce a possible misunderstanding of the nature of Jesus' obedience and innocence. Jesus' lot as one reckoned with the transgressors did mean that Jesus would be forsaken of God. But Jesus' response to this situation as the obedient Son of the Father would not necessarily include a questioning of the suffering, an asking "Why?" Luke had been careful once before not to give the impression that Jesus was less than fully obedient.¹ The prayer in the garden was so worded that Jesus' desire was manifestly shown to always stand under the will of God (Lk. 22:42). So here by omitting the allusion to Ps. 21(22):2 Luke maintains his emphasis on the innocent Jesus who shows himself to be such by his perfect obedience to the will of God. The omission helps to advance Luke's main theological theme the fulfilment of Is. 53:12 in the passion of Jesus.

Other subsidiary reasons for the omission are Luke's possible desire to present Jesus' death as a martyrdom² in which Jesus knows himself to be close to God to the end. This martyrdom may serve as an example to Christians. He may also be wishing to avoid an eschatological perspective, the future arrival of Elijah, which is different from his own (Lk. 1:17; cf. Mk. 9:13).³

Lk. 23:46: ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι⁴
τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

¹ See above, p. 324.

² Conzelmann, Theology of Luke, p. 88; Klostermann, p. 227; Schneider, p. 190.

³ Conzelmann, Theology of Luke, p. 88; Contrast Schneider, p. 161; H. D. A. Major, T. W. Manson, C. J. Wright (The Mission and Message of Jesus (London, 1937), p. 194) suggest that Luke confused ἡλίου and the Aramaic transliteration ἑλώς and as a result interpreted the cry as relating to an eclipse. Though interesting this suggestion is unlikely for Luke's gospel source provides a Greek translation which makes misunderstanding less likely; Geldenhuys (p. 616) suggests that reference to eclipse is likely due to a corruption of a marginal note like τοῦ ἡλίου ἀλλείποντος; "the passage about Elias being omitted." There is not textual evidence for this.

⁴ The first of two text variants (παρατίθεμαι : Western- D; R; Caesarean- f¹; παραθήσομαι : Alexandrian- L; Caesarean- f¹³; Byzantine- Δ; 0117; 0135; and many remaining mss) is geographically restricted main-

Ps. 30(31):6 LXX: εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου

Ps. 30(31):6 MT: אֶנְיָן תִּבְדָּחַן תִּתֶּן

Although there is extensive verbal parallelism between Lk. 23:46 and Ps. 30(31):6, the lack of an introductory formula has caused some to classify this OT material as allusion¹ and not quotation.² This OT material has a different kind of introductory formula, the LXX style element καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ.³ Though this participial clause may serve primarily another function, to show the purposefulness with which Jesus' died, its LXX coloring does turn our attention to an OT context and may in that way point out that the words of Jesus are a quotation.

The fact that the OT material is the sole content of a prayer of committal to God makes it understandable why an introductory formula would not be present. It might be possible for Jesus in his praying to claim the authority of Scripture through the use of an introductory formula before a scriptural quotation. In our case the formula would point out that the scriptural quotation was serving as the ground for his confidence and action, or the means by which he hopes to coerce God into receiving his spirit. However, the first purpose may be indicated just as well by the simple quotation without introductory formula. The second purpose would be served well if there were an introductory formula

ly to the Caesarean and Western families. The second is probably an assimilation of Luke to the LXX (Holtz, p. 58); cf. the assimilation of some of the LXX mss to the Lukan Western reading παρατίθωμι (L^p, a, u; commendo, Old Latin; vg; but the Gallicum Psalter has dabo; Holtz, p. 58). παρατίθωμι the most widely attested early reading which is difficult since it disagrees with the LXX in tense is to be preferred as the original reading.

¹ Reese, Alttestamentliche Motive, p. 200; Holtz (p. 58) reasons that since this OT reference in his view replaces Ps. 21(22):2 it probably qualifies as a quotation but not as an express quotation; Clapton (p. 12) sees it as an especially clear instance of an indirect quotation or allusion.

² Contrast Owen, p. 60; Summers, p. 310; Gilmour, Interpreter's Bible, VIII, p. 413; Easton, Luke, p. 351; Rose, Le Psautier, p. 317; cf. Hühn (p. 67), Karnetzki (p. 80), and France (Jesus and the OT, p. 263), who classify it as a quotation without introductory formula.

³ See below, p. 617f.

but such a use of the psalm is incongruous with the content of the portion quoted. On the one other occasion when Luke reports an OT quotation as part of the content of a prayer (Ac. 4:25, 26), he does employ an introductory formula. In that case, however, the formula is appropriate to the function of the OT quotation which is to be an example of prophecy which was fulfilled in Jesus' suffering. If the Lukan context indicates why a traditional introductory formula may be understandably omitted, the function of the verse within the larger context of Luke's presentation of the messianic mission throughout the gospel indicates why one may correctly conclude that Luke intended this verse to be understood as an OT quotation. This prayer of trustful committal is the final witness to the pattern of suffering issuing in glory, which is the chief characteristic of the messianic mission. The prayer includes the two other ingredients necessary for understanding that God's salvation is accomplished according to this pattern. There is the declaration that it is God who will effect the salvation. This declaration is an expression of trust in God which is essential if one is to receive glory after suffering. Luke emphasizes that the Scriptures have prophesied such a mission for the Messiah (Lk. 24:25-27). He places this OT material (Ps. 30(31):6) at the crucial point in the progress of salvation. Jesus is about to pass into the darkest part of his suffering, death, which will issue in the brightest portion of his glory, the resurrection. Thus, it would be appropriate for Luke to intentionally quote from Scripture to witness to the fact of the divinely ordained nature of this pattern of the messianic mission. The important place which this OT material occupies in the course of the passion narrative; the inappropriateness of a traditional introductory formula; and the extensive verbal parallelism, the OT material provides all the content of the prayer, combine to show us that this OT material should be understood as a quotation.

The text-form of the quotation shows both an agreement with the LXX against the MT (the plural, *ἡ ἐκείνη*, for the singular, *ἡ ἐκείνη*) and a

disagreement with both with respect to the tense of the verb (παρὰτιθέμεναι; LXX, παρὰθῆκομεν ; MT, וְנִתְּנָה). Since the first discrepancy does not seem to be caused by any stylistic considerations demanded by the NT context, it may be taken as an indicator that the OT text on which the quotation is based is the LXX.¹

We need to look at both discrepancies together and attempt to reconstruct the history of tradition so that we may understand what OT materials and what interpretational methods influenced this particular text-form. We must begin with the discrepancy of a basically LXX text-form in the mouth of an Aramaic speaking Jesus. We might explain this discrepancy by appealing to OT materials, an Aramaic Targum paraphrase of the LXX² or to a method of translation which recast the quotation from an Aramaic gospel source with the aid of the LXX text-form.³ Another possibility is that Jesus himself in this final act of witness to which the Greek speaking centurion responds, spoke Greek using the LXX text-form. The other discrepancy, the change in tense which has no major supporting ms evidence for it in either the LXX or MT must be explained by editorial practice. The adaptation is an exegetical one in order to allow the OT material to function not as a profession of future trust but as an expression of present commitment.⁴ The question is who originated the change of tense? The three possible answers are Jesus, who appropriated the psalm as a prayer of committal the way Jews often used it as a bed-time prayer;⁵ the early church, which may have introduced the quotation into

¹Hühn, p. 67; Holtz, p. 5; Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive, p. 200; France (Jesus and the OT, p. 241) notes the discrepancy and says that the discrepancy neither affects the sense nor the application of the passage.

²Toy, p. 80; Böh1, p. 96.

³Karnetzki, p. 238.

⁴Ibid.

⁵cf. SBK (II, p. 269) for the rabbinic evidence, e.g. Ber. 5a; Tanh. B וְנִתְּנָה 9 23(73a); Godet, II, p. 338, ". . . the present is alone in keeping with the actual circumstances of Jesus."

Jesus' speech;¹ or Luke, who may have done it when he himself introduced the quotation into Jesus' speech.² Since the original editor of the tense is also likely to be the originator or source of the quotation, we must leave the final determination of the answer until we consider that question later. What we can observe now is that the editorial adjustment of the tense does not point necessarily to one of these alternative answers to the exclusion of others. At this stage of our investigation of the quotation what appears to us to be the most probable explanation of the two text-form discrepancies is that the tense change comes from Jesus' original use of the prayer. It is preserved in the translation of the prayer from Aramaic to Greek with the use of the LXX text-form as a guide. This accounts for the plural ~~ἡρώδης~~. As for Luke, he simply takes over the text-form from his source.

The verse which Jesus quotes comes from the first of four sections in a psalm which contains three laments concerning various hardships (the psalmist is dangerously assaulted, Ps. 30(31):1-9; dangerously sick, vv. 10-13; and unjustly accused, vv. 14-19) and a concluding thanksgiving (vv. 20-25).³ The psalm appears to have been intended for use in public worship. It was evidently written by an individual who had experienced the suffering and the deliverance.⁴ The description of the psalmist's difficulties is so general and uses much common images that it is not possible to identify the precise historical circumstances nor relate the psalm to any known incident in Israel's history.⁵ What the psalmist expresses in v. 6 is a desire to be protected from the danger about him.

¹ Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive, p. 200.

² Ibid.

³ A. A. Anderson, I, p. 245.

⁴ Weiser, p. 275.

⁵ Weiser (p. 275) and A. A. Anderson (I, p. 246) point out that there are many ideas and images which this psalm has in common with other psalms and Jeremiah's writing.

He will commit his very life into God's keeping so that he may be kept alive and free from harm. He asks for God's protection by professing his trust in God based on the deliverance which God has already provided for him: "thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, faithful God." Psalm 30(31) is the only place in the LXX where παρατίθημι describes the commitment of one's life to God (cf. the two other renderings of a form of τίθημι, Lev. 5:23, "the deposit which was committed to him"; 4 Km. 5:24; most other references speak of hospitality, "placing food before guests," e.g. Gen. 18:8; 24:33; Pr. 23:1; cf. Lk. 10:8; 11:6; Ac. 16:34). As far as the verb is concerned, the metaphor comes from the world of commerce where one person hands over, commits to the trust of another, some goods which he expects to receive back at another time (e.g. Herodotus VI:86 πάντες δύο σφέας ἔοντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι καὶ οὐ δικάσιν τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀποδιδόναι; cf. Lk. 12:48). The imagery of placing oneself in the hands of God, being in his hand, as in a place of refuge safe from the hand of death, is common in the OT (Ps. 48(49):16; 88(89):49; 30(31):16 Hos. 13:14; Da. 3:88).

The psalm is in the first person, has a Davidic superscription and a concluding song of thanksgiving which looks to the future reward of the righteous (Ps. 30(31):20). These elements open the way for a possible messianic interpretation.¹

There is very little evidence that this psalm was understood messianically by the first century Jewish exegetical tradition. We have already seen that Ps. 30(31):6 was appropriated by the Jews as an evening prayer in which the pious Jew committed his spirit to God's keeping during the hours of sleep so that he might take it again in the morning. It is interesting to note that the pious Jew also changes the tense of the verb

¹Bornhäuser (p. 122) notes the εἰς τὸ τέλος in the superscription which according to him was the signal to the early church that the psalm should be understood messianically.

from the future to the present when he makes the psalm a bed-time prayer.¹ The Qumran hymns appropriate the psalm's metaphors for suffering to describe the affliction of the Qumran psalmist who sees himself as a righteous sufferer (e.g. 1 QH 5:33-35/Ps. 30(31):8-14; 1 QH 5:36/Ps. 30(31):11; 1 QH 4:8-9/Ps. 30(31):12-13; 1 QH 7:11-12/Ps. 30(31):19; cf. 1 QH 4:40; 15:25 which ascribe to God the title, "Faithfulness," Ps. 30(31):6b).

The Jews often understood Ps. 30(31):20 as a description of the future reward of the righteous after death.² There appears to be only one place where this reward is described within the eschatological context of the messianic kingdom.³ Even then the Messiah is not identified with the psalmist. Thus, while we have substantial evidence that Jesus' use of the psalm was according to the Jewish custom by which the righteous applied to themselves the thoughts of the righteous psalmist, this seems to have occurred without a messianic or promise and fulfilment understanding of the psalm.

The function of the quotation in its immediate NT context is to interpret Jesus' death in terms of his relationship with God. It has been suggested that Jesus says this in his role as Messiah,⁴ Son of God,⁵ Righteous Martyr.⁶ There is nothing in the content of the psalm quotation itself which would indicate that Jesus uses this prayer as anyone other than a righteous person who adopts this expression of trust in his particularly difficult circumstances. It is the immediate context which gives us several clues that the quotation is used in aid of a messianic understanding of Jesus' suffering in terms of his divine sonship.

¹See above, p. 580, n. 5.

²cf. SBK (IV, p. 494) for the evidence; Smits (I, p. 79) also sees the psalm as messianic.

³SBK, I, p. 161 citing Pesik. 149^a.

⁴e.g. Dillersberger, VI, p. 171; Goppelt, p. 123.

⁵e.g. George RB, LXXII, p. 205; Schneider, p. 187.

⁶e.g. Hauck, p. 287; Conzelmann, Theology of Luke, p. 89.

Throughout the mockery of Jesus on the cross the title which is consistently used of him is ὁ χριστός (Lk. 23:35, 39). The penitent criminal acknowledges him as true Messiah (23:42). Jesus' assurance to the criminal (23:43) might be taken in an unmessianic fashion.¹ However, Luke places between vv. 43 and 46 features of the narrative which are OT signs of God's working in the End-time.² This immediately removes Jesus' promise and his prayer from the context of the acts of just another righteous martyr. Jesus' words become part of an event which is theologically decisive for salvation history. If Luke's preference for δικαιοσύνη rather than ὁὶὸς θεοῦ (23:47; cf. Mk. 15:39) seems to reduce the death's meaning to purely martyrological significance, we need to keep in mind the charge of which Jesus is declared innocent: the claim to be a political Messiah. The implication in the centurion's praise of God is that Jesus is a Messiah who is more than political. The crowd's repentant return (Lk. 23:48) also indicates the theological significance of the one who has died. If this immediate context portrays Jesus as more than just a righteous martyr, how does Luke use this Psalm quotation prayer to advance his readers understanding of the theological significance of Jesus' death?

Luke takes up the prayer and lets it function as the interpretive climax of the crucifixion scene. The quotation interprets Jesus' death as part of the pattern of God's plan of salvation (cf. 2:23, 24; 8:10; 19:46, quotations which also function as interpreters of Jesus' and other persons' actions). Death is the time when Jesus' hands over his spirit to the Father. Although the prayer does not explicitly proclaim that death in the Father's hands, means entrance into the messianic kingdom,³

¹See above, p. 563, n. 3.

²See below, p. 602.

³Contrast Bartsch, EvTh, XXII, p. 452.

exaltation to the right hand of the Father (22:69), or entrance into glory (24:26), it does bear witness to several of the essential ingredients in God's accomplishment of his work of salvation according to the messianic mission through a pattern of suffering and glory. Those ingredients are faith, the obedient trust which Jesus' final words express, and most importantly the assertion that God will act to fulfill the Messiah's mission. Suffering has reached its climax in death and the transition must now decisively be made to glory. At this crucial point Jesus proclaims that into God's hands he entrusts himself. The glory, which comes to the Messiah after he has placed himself in the Father's hands, Luke describes with the aid of other Scripture in other contexts. This Scripture quotation simply affirms the essential ingredients, the faith of the Messiah and the action of God, which will make entrance into glory possible. At the same time, the quotation so interprets Jesus' death that we are directed to expect the glory after the suffering. The fact that an OT quotation is used to interpret Jesus' death in this fashion not only lends the authority of God's revelation to the interpretation, it also affirms the divine necessity of the "suffering followed by glory" pattern of the Messiah's mission.

To understand this prayer messianically does not mean that we must take τὸ πνεῦμά μου as the Holy Spirit with which the Messiah is anointed.¹ Rather, as the Messiah is always God's servant, empowered by God to do his will, so in death he commits his life to God in total dependence.² Divine sonship now comes into play. It interprets Jesus' messiahship in terms of one of its aspects, Jesus' relationship of obedience to and

¹ Contrast Dillersberger, VI, p. 171.

² Dalman (Jesus-Jeshua, p. 210) applies all portions of the metaphor from commerce to interpret the action Jesus is taking in his prayer: "To His Father Jesus commended His precious possession in order that it might be well guarded in Paradise, and that he might receive it again when God should re-install Him in this world."

dependence on the Father. The customary address to God as father at the beginning of the prayer immediately reminds us of this relationship which at once makes Jesus dependent on God for his very nature as his Son,¹ and exalts Jesus to partake of that nature through a unity of relationship which not even death can destroy.² The quotation also shows the voluntary nature of Jesus' death. Jesus is not overtaken by death, but rather enters it by a conscious commitment of his spirit to the Father.³ The psalm quotation then advances Luke's presentation of the divine necessity of suffering followed by glory and his Christology of Jesus, the obedient Messiah, God's son.

Whether this psalm quotation is intended as a pointer to its larger original context is not certain. The psalm contains quite a few ideas common to many lamentation psalms which also occur in Luke's passion narrative (e.g. 22:2/Ps. 30(31):14; Lk. 23:11/Ps. 30(31):19). The one conjunction of details which may be under the influence of Psalm 30(31) is the reaction of various parties to the Jesus' death (Ps. 30(31):12; Lk. 23:48, 49). This we will need to discuss later.

We have already seen that when originally this prayer was appropriated by Jesus this was done not with any promise and fulfilment scheme in mind but simply in the customary fashion of pious Jews, who applied these words of trust to a life threatening situation. Since Luke uses this verse in a hermeneutical way to interpret Jesus' death as according to God's pattern of salvation history, this quotation may have been intended to be understood within a promise and fulfilment scheme.⁴ Admittedly this scheme is not explicitly indicated in the immediate context. The application of this idea of trustful commitment from this

¹G. Voss, "Zum Herrn und Messias Gemacht hat Gott diesen Jesu: Zur Christologie der Lucanischen Schriften," Bibel und Leben, VIII (1967), p. 244.

²Schneider, p. 186f.

³Karnetzki, p. 311.

⁴See above, p. 584.

psalm elsewhere in the NT (Ac. 7:59; 1 Pet. 4:19; cf. Ac. 14:23; 20:32) tends to show that the psalm was not understood by the early church in general as a prophecy fulfilled in Jesus alone. However, the application of this psalm by Jesus to himself literally was unique in that not only did it change the reference from protection against death to protection in death. But, Jesus' use became the foundation on which Christians could pin their hopes (Ac. 7:59). If Jesus' use is unique is it necessarily presented as a fulfilment of Scripture? This can only be maintained on the combined evidence of the quotation's function as an interpreter of Jesus' death and the fact that the pattern of suffering issuing in glory in which the quote places the death is in Luke's view prophetically declared in Scripture. Luke presents Jesus as literally applying the psalm to himself. This is the method we have noted before in Luke's approach to the Psalms as messianic prophecies.¹ Possibly we should see such a literal application as the foundation for an argument that Jesus fulfills the psalm since no one else has fulfilled it literally. Jesus is able to apply it literally to himself because he is the obedient Messiah. This Luke recognizes and builds on.

What we should probably conclude is that the promise and fulfilment scheme serves as a background for Luke's presentation but it is not the determining factor. Luke does not intend to present the prayer as primarily a proof-text.² That the prayer and its answer fulfills the psalm is understandable from the precise literal interpretation of it. The answer to the prayer and the true fulfilment of the quotation is the resurrection (cf. Ac. 2:24-31). The fulfilment event, the resurrection,

¹Geldenhuyts, p. 612; e.g. see above, pp. 410, 517.

²Lindars, p. 95; Haupt, p. 204. Contrast Weidel (*ThStuKr*, LXXXV, pp. 267-269), who argues on the basis of the future tense of the verb in the psalm, the Davidic superscription, and the first person in which it was written, that Luke understood the psalm as messianic and the verse as an appropriate proof-text for the Messiah. Weidel fails to show how the quotation functions in the NT context as a proof-text.

has yet to take place. Though it is possible for Luke to present a proof-text in the form of a prediction before the event occurs (Lk. 22:37/Is. 53:12), for Lk. 23:46 to be understood as such a proof-text we would need to have explicit reference to fulfilment in the immediate context. Rather, Luke presents it as a prayer of trust which interprets Jesus' death in terms of the suffering of God's son who is dependent on the Father to effect his salvation in glory out of the midst of that suffering.

The respect for the original context which Luke fails to show in his appropriation of the quotation occurs in two areas. The basic sense of the quotation is changed by changing the verb's tense and more importantly setting it in the context of death. By trusting God to protect him in death rather than from death Jesus uses τὸ πνεῦμα in a different sense. It no longer denotes one's life, human existence. It now stands for one's existence after death (cf. Lk. 8:55; Ac. 7:59).¹ The literal understanding of the psalmist's profession of confidence will, of course, bear this meaning but from the original context it does not appear to be what he meant originally. This change should not be seen as a violation of the original context which contradicts the original meaning. This application by extending the sphere of God's protection of the trustful person even to death does not contradict, but heightens the strength of the psalmist's profession of faith. The original context is superseded.

That such an interpretation of Ps. 30(31):6 is legitimate is maintained normally by two lines of reasoning. One we have just given: the original context is not violated but taken literally and thus is logically extended.² The profession of trust is stated so generally that taken in isolation from its original context there is nothing which prevents it

¹TDNT, VI, p. 415.

²Toy, p. 81.

from being applied to the suffering of death.¹ The other line of reasoning rests on the authority of Jesus who applies the wording of the psalm as he will.² Both of these explanations should be taken into account but always against the background of the Jewish custom of appropriating the psalm for devotional use.

The other violation of context is in the application of a personal lament to Jesus' experience. If Jesus originated the use Luke simply reproduces it. However, in doing so he still shows agreement with the application. We have already seen how originally the application was made on the basis of a common link in attitude between the psalmist and Jesus and without any thought of the difference in identity between the two speakers and their situations. The interpretive function of the quotation as Luke employs it may still rest on the similarity of conviction between the psalmist and Jesus. However, we have seen reason to believe that the quotation operates somewhat within a scheme of promise and fulfilment. Luke most probably came to understand the psalm in this way through the same process as was described for Psalm 21(22).³ The presence of the quotation in the historical tradition caused Luke to reflect on the psalm as possibly messianically prophetic. That this was the psalmist's intention can be maintained more easily than in the case of Psalm 21(22) since the profession of trust is in the future tense. Again the psalm understood literally only comes to real fulfilment in the case of Jesus who trusts his spirit to the Father who protects it to life everlasting through the resurrection. Luke by understanding that David didn't fulfill it and yet Jesus quoted it, could conclude that the psalm spoke of the Davidic Messiah who would fulfill the psalm. This

¹ Contrast Weidel (ThStuKr, LXXV, p. 267), who calls such application arbitrary.

² Calvin, III, p. 210; Haupt, p. 120.

³ See above, pp. 516ff.

fulfilment was accomplished in Jesus.

Since the quotation is on Jesus' lips, the questions of the historicity of the quotation and its source are closely connected. The objections to the historicity of the quotation focus on its supposed irreconcilability with other evidence of the gospel tradition and its literary relationship with other gospel sources. John (J. 19:30) reports that Jesus' last word was *ΤΕΤΕΛΕΩΤΗ*, while Mark and Matthew record a wordless cry. Some find John and Luke irreconcilable at this point,¹ so that the historicity of both reports is brought into question. Yet, the contents of the Johannine and Lukan words are not mutually exclusive. John's word is a backward look over Jesus' suffering up to the moment of his death, "It is finished." Luke's word could very readily be the report of the immediately following words which take a trustful forward look at the moment of one's death to what lies beyond. Thus, Jesus' last words could have been, "It is finished. Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit." Another seeming contradiction is between "the loud cry" which introduces a quotation that some expect should be "a quiet word."² Yet, the confidence of this prayer may be expressed just as well by a loud cry as by a soft petition. Another supposed contradiction, which we have already noted in our discussion of the omission of Ps. 21(22):2/Mk. 15:34,³ is the discrepancy between the doubt of the Psalm 21(22) cry and the faith of the Ps. 30(31):6 cry. Though often both cries are taken as later interpretations of a reported wordless cry,⁴ if the words of the Markan cry are accepted as historical, they may be reconciled with Luke's prayer only with difficulty. Either one may say

¹ Strauss, p. 689.

² Gilbert, p. 77.

³ See above, p. 576f.

⁴ e.g. Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 273.

that when we come to v. 46 the extreme depth of forsakenness and darkness is past (Lk. 23:44)¹ or that in the midst of forsakenness Jesus hopes against hope by trusting himself to the Father. None of these seeming contradictions are substantial enough to call the historicity of the quotation into question. Although we have only one witness to it, Luke, the words were declaimed loudly in public so that they could have been witnessed. The Jewish practice in using the prayer at bed-time contributes to its historical probability. The form of the prayer introduced with an absolute vocative πάτερ is evidence for its genuineness. If the prayer were a later insertion from Christian usage one would probably find πάτερ qualified with μου or ἡμῶν.² In fact the explanation that the later Christian usage, which interprets the verse in this new way, protection in death, is a growth from Jesus' unique interpretation, is more reasonable than the explanation that the report of Jesus' use is an interpolation from later Christian usage.

The main objections to the historicity of the prayer are raised on the grounds of source criticism. It is maintained either that Luke has replaced Ps. 21(22):2/Mk. 15:34 with Ps. 30(31):6/Lk. 23:46,³ or that if this quotation is original and therefore pre-Markan, it is hard to conceive that Mark would have known it and omitted it.⁴ We have seen that the first argument is not tenable for it confuses two historically distinct cries.⁵ The second argument is basically an argument from Mark's silence and for that reason is weak.

The text-form of the quotation gives us no guidance as to the quotation's probable source. Those who choose Luke himself as the originator of the quotation have no sound argument on source critical grounds unless

¹Geldenhuis, p. 612.

²cf. Lindars' (p. 94) observations, although he leaves the possibility open that the prayer has been interpolated from later Christian usage.

³e.g. Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive, p. 201.

⁴Knox, Sources, I, p. 147.

⁵See above, p. 572f.

they are going to insist on the basis of a strict two document source hypothesis that by a process of elimination, i.e. its absence from Mark, the Lukan editorial hand has to be the source of the quotation. Reese admits as much in his method. Although he grants that the quotation could be pre-Lukan though not original with Jesus, he says that if he can find a satisfactory reason for Luke's insertion of it as a correction of Mark this will be the safest alternative in explaining its origin. But this is not necessarily the best alternative for it does not satisfactorily explain why Luke with his interest in history would choose to place on Jesus' lips words which he didn't utter. Also, there is not sufficient evidence either in the psalm or the contemporary Jewish interpretation of it, to indicate that it would be readily recognized by early Christians as a messianic prophecy. There is very little in Luke's usage to indicate that he meant it to be understood as a messianic proof-text which he had discovered and introduced into the words of Jesus. Since there are no historical objections to the prayer and since no arguments of source criticism demand that we necessarily identify this OT material as having its origin in Luke's editing or in the handing on of the tradition, it is best to understand the quotation as having its origin in Jesus himself. It was handed on and preserved because of its value as an OT interpretation of Jesus' death. Its text-form was adjusted to the LXX in the translation of Aramaic sources, while its difference from the LXX in verb tense is a preservation of Jesus' original application of the OT text to his situation. Thus, the OT influenced its preservation, not its creation, while the NT historical event controlled its text-form. It seems more probable historically that Jesus' new use of the prayer, developing from Jewish custom, would later be reflected on by the early church which would come to understand the psalm as messianic prophecy, than that the early church or Luke were the first to search out this scripture and use it as a messianic proof-text.

Old Testament Allusion

Almost every detail of this last scene at the cross has had its origin attributed to some OT passage or passages. We shall handle those details which may be based on a series of OT passages in our OT ideas section (the darkness at midday, 23:44¹; the solar eclipse and the rending of the temple veil, 23:45²; the loud cry, 23:46³). Possible OT allusions occur in the description of the various responses to Jesus' death (the centurion, 23:47/Wsd. 2:16-18; the crowd, Lk. 23:48/Zech. 12:10; the acquaintances, Lk. 23:49/Ps. 87(88):9, 19; 37(38):12; 30(31):12).

The centurion having observed the whole course of events at the crucifixion declares that this man is δίκαιος. This declaration, seen against the background of Jesus' final prayer and Luke's choice of the term δίκαιος over the title υἱὸς Θεοῦ (Mk. 15:39), is sometimes taken as an indication that Wsd. 2:16-18 is alluded to in Luke's description of Jesus' death here.⁴ The verbal parallelism consists in the conjunction in both Luke (Mark) and Wisdom of the term δίκαιος and the idea variously expressed that the righteous man is God's son (Lk. 23:46, 47, Πάτερ... δίκαιος (cf. Mk. 15:39, υἱὸς Θεοῦ); Wsd. 2:16-18, ἀλασφονεύει τοι πάτερ Θεοῦ... ἐὶ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ δίκαιος υἱὸς Θεοῦ). The material parallelism, however, is not very great. In Wisdom these titles are used in mockery by those who oppress the righteous. In Luke δίκαιος

¹Browning (p. 165) suggests that Luke may have in mind particularly Am. 5:18; Montefiore (II, p. 628) says that v. 44 describes the fulfillment of Am. 8:9; cf. Finegan, p. 81; However, there is not enough verbal parallelism to match the evident material parallelism so that the Lukan description may be seen to be a conscious allusion to one OT passage.

²Rese (Alttestamentliche Motive, p. 54) proposes that Luke's placement of the portents together, making a sign in heaven and a sign on earth, was influenced by Jo. 3:1-5a/Ac. 2:17-20. There is, however, no explicit construction of such a contrast on Luke's part. The reference to the sun is evidently explanatory and the grouping of the portents together is probably according to Luke's compositional practice of grouping common subject matter together. The influence of Joel is not readily apparent.

³See below, p. 617f.

⁴Gough, p. vi; Boismard (II, p. 430f.) sees Wsd. 2:18 as alluded to in the titles used by Luke and Mark.

is used in praise. There is strong material parallelism between Luke's interpretation of Jesus' death through Ps. 30(31):6 and Wsd. 3:1, Δικαίων δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν χερσὶ Θεοῦ. Yet, there is not a sufficiently explicit connection between Jesus' last words and the declaration of the centurion on the basis of ἰδὼν... τὸ γεγόμενον for us to conclude that δικαίος definitely points us to the Wisdom 2-3 context. There are other sufficient reasons¹ for understanding Luke's choice of wording at v. 47 which do not demand that they be taken as an allusion to Wsd. 2:18.²

The description of the crowd's reaction (Lk. 23:48) has been taken as an allusion to Zech. 12:10³ (cf. J. 19:37 which quotes the verse as a prophecy fulfilled in the piercing of Jesus at his death). There is no verbal parallelism and the material parallelism which exists must be based on an assumption that the crowd which comes and looks, returns mourning over what they have seen, i.e. the crucified Jesus.⁴ Yet, if Jesus were the object of their mourning we should expect it to be explicitly stated (e.g. Aristophanes, Lys. 396, "κόνιζεσθ' Ἄδωνιν", φγρίν). Another possible object of their mourning is themselves (cf. Lk. 23:27). After having witnessed what has taken place: the darkness at midday, the

¹See below, p. 611.

²The fact that Is. 52:13-53:12 serves as the possible background for the early chapters in Wisdom (TDNT, V, pp. 678ff.) opens the way to seeing behind the δικαίος an allusion to the figure of the suffering Servant and Is. 53:11 δικαίον in particular. The verbal parallelism is too slight to establish a definite allusion here; cf. Hooker, p. 111; Maurer (ZTK, L, p. 9) says that Mark's description (Mk. 15:39) of the Gentile's astonished confession is an allusion to Is. 52:15 which Luke removes. There is little material and no verbal parallelism which would enable us to see this as a Markan OT allusion in the first place; Karnetzki (p. 85) lists it as a factual correspondence that is not an allusion.

³Loisy, Luc, p. 562; A. B. Bruce, Expositor's Greek NT, I, p. 642; Klostermann (p. 227) and Leaney (p. 287) suggest a connection but not with much confidence; Contrast Lagrange, p. 593f.; Weidel (ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 274) proposes that the mourning for one's sins following the sign of darkness may be inspired by Is. 13:10. However, this reference is one of many OT passages which link judgment in the form of darkness with sin.

⁴Boismard, II, p. 431.

innocent Jesus confidently dying, and the declaration of the centurion, they realize what has happened in a green tree and repentantly mourn what will happen to them, the dry (23:31; cf. Gospel of Peter 25: dicentes: Vae nobis quae facta sunt hodie propter peccata nostra; appropinquavit enim desolatio Ierusalem; several mss: g¹; syr^{s,c}, include these words at the end of Lk. 23:48). Though Jesus' death is a catalyst for their mourning repentance, he is not the object of that mourning. They mourn themselves for their sins (18:13) and the coming judgment (23:27ff.).¹ There is no identifiable allusion to Zech. 12:10 here on the basis of either verbal or material parallelism. Luke's use of θεωροῦντες may be a further reference to Ps. 21(22):8² or more probably to Ps. 30(31):12 which may serve as the substructure for vv. 48, 49.

The acquaintances of Jesus are portrayed as standing afar off, possibly in the language of the Psalms (Lk. 23:49, εἰστήκεισαν δὲ πάντες οἱ γινωστοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν; Ps. 37(38):12, οἱ ἐγγιστά μου ἀπὸ μακρόθεν εἴτησαν; Ps. 87(88):9, ἐμάκρυνας τοὺς γινωστούς μου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ cf. Ps. 30(31):12, καὶ φόβος τοῖς γινωστοῖς μου).³ The verbal parallelism between these psalms and Luke is not extensive or distinctive enough to make the supposed OT material an identifiable OT allusion. The term γινωστός which is supposed to allude to Ps. 87(88):9 also is used in Ps. 87(88):19 and 30(31):12 where the psalmist describes a similar reaction of the righteous sufferer's friends to his affliction. The phrase ἀπὸ μακρόθεν is used in such a description only at Ps. 37(38):12.

¹Fuller, p. 74; Finegan, p. 33; Creed, p. 288; Contrast TDNT, III, p. 846.

²See above, p. 522.

³Though some see the Psalms as the source or an influence on the expression of the detail (e.g. Brown, p. 69; Easton, Luke, p. 352; Gilmour, Interpreter's Bible, VIII, p. 413), others see the wording of the detail as a definite allusion either to one (Ps. 37(38):12, Fleigel, p. 42; Hühn, p. 67; Farrar, p. 397; Ps. 87(88):9, Schelkle, p. 88 (he sees Mk. 15:40 as an allusion to Ps. 87(88):9 also); cf. Dodd, Historical Tradition, p. 31; Rose, Le Psautier, p. 319), or to both Psalm 87(88) and 37(38), (Creed, p. 288; Rengstorff, p. 276; Loisy, Luc, p. 563; Montefiore, II, p. 629; Stöcker, p. 303; Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 281; Kärntzki, p. 19; Dodd, Historical Tradition, p. 31).

When these components of the combined allusion (γνωστός and ἀπὸ μακρόθεν) are taken separately there is nothing about them which is so verbally unique either in their usage in Luke or in the OT which enables them to stand out as definite indicators of OT allusion material. It is the material parallelism, the fact that all three contexts are concerned with the reaction of friends to the suffering of the righteous, which makes any claim for the Lukan material as OT allusion plausible. However, since we are not able to successfully identify any one of these passages (Ps. 37(38):12; 87(88):9, 19), on the basis of the verbal parallels suggested, as the exclusive OT passage to which Luke alludes, it might be better to treat this material as an OT idea.

The passage which on grounds of verbal and material parallelism has the best claim to be the object of an OT allusion is Ps. 30(31):12 (Lk. 23:48, 49, θεωροῦντες τὰ γενόμενα τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη ὑπέστρεφον, εἰστήκεισαν δὲ πάντες οἱ γνωστοὶ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ; Ps. 30(31):12, καὶ φόβος τοῖς γνωστοῖς μου οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἔξω ἔφυγον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ). The conjunction of these two terms is unique in the OT, so that its occurrence in Luke could possibly be a pointer to this particular OT passage. The material parallelism is quite close for in both contexts these terms describe the reaction of friends (γνωστοί, Ps. 30(31):12; Lk. 23:49) and the general public (οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἔξω, Ps. 30(31):12; καὶ πάντες οἱ συμπαραγεόμενοι ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην, θεωροῦντες τὰ γενόμενα, Lk. 23:48) to the physical suffering of the righteous man. What also prepares the way for this allusion is the quotation of Ps. 30(31):6 as Jesus' last words. This quotation, as in the case of the concentrated allusion (Ps. 21(22):19/Lk. 23:34, followed by a detached midrash allusion, Ps. 21(22):8, 9/Lk. 23:35), turns the gospel readers' minds to the psalm and makes the recognition of this allusion easier. In this way the immediate context prepares for the allusion. Admittedly the statement of the centurion (23:47) intervenes between the Ps. 30(31):6 quotation (Lk. 23:46) and this OT material. But that may

indicate that the quote and this detached midrash belonged to the same source which Luke has inserted into Mark at these points. Since the allusion forms the basic structure of the narrative there is nothing except the preceding quotation which would indicate that this OT material is present and does indeed function as an allusion. It functions as an allusion in that it presents in the language of Ps. 30(31):12 details of the passion narrative which it intends to be understood as the fulfilment of OT prophecy.

The text tradition to which this allusion points is the LXX. The one difference between the MT and LXX is the use of γυνωστός as a substantive to translate the pual participle of יָדַעַתִּי which is used as a substantive. The text-form discrepancies may be explained as stylistic adjustment to the NT narrative context (θεωροῦντες becomes θεωροῦσθαι), although both contexts describe a progression of action from "looking" to "fleeing"; γυνωστοίς μου becomes γυνωστοὶ δούλω; the poetical expression, "I am become a dreadful thing to my acquaintances," becomes a narrative detail "his acquaintances stand at a distance"). The function of the allusion in the immediate context is to present the reaction of the crowd and Jesus' acquaintances to the crucifixion. In form the allusion might be termed a detached midrash. It provides a commentary on Ps. 30(31):12 by interpreting it in terms of the crucifixion events.¹ Luke again uses the familiar device for relating the OT text to current events: the identification of unspecified actors in the OT by the participants in the NT narrative.² Having established the identity of the righteous

¹cf. above, p. 524.

²cf. 1 QH 4:8-9 which applies Ps. 30(31):12-13 to the Qumran psalmist's experience: Ps. 30(31):12, יָדַעַתִּי שֶׁנִּי שָׁמַרְתִּי אֶת־צִוְּיֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְלֹא־נִשְׁכַּחְתִּי אֶת־מִצְוֹתֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ; 1 QH 4:9, וְנִשְׁכַּחְתִּי אֶת־מִצְוֹתֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ; The Qumran use takes up only the general idea of the righteous sufferer's acquaintances' revulsion at his condition which precipitates their flight. By removing the action of "looking," and attributing flight to acquaintances and neighbors the Qumran hymn shows a disregard for the particular details of Psalm 30(31) and an interest only in its general meaning.

sufferer as Jesus (Ps. 30(31):6/Lk. 23:46), the righteous sufferer's acquaintances and the general public who encounter him are identified as Jesus' acquaintances and the general public at the cross. Though these identities are made no more specific the reaction of the acquaintances and the crowd is given more exact content. The friends of Jesus show their dread of the situation by standing at a distance from him. The general public when it flees from Jesus, once having looked on him, does so in repentant mourning. Thus, the general revulsion at the physical suffering of the righteous man (Ps. 30(31):10-13) when it is interpreted in the light of the encounter with the physical suffering of the Messiah's crucifixion, is given a greater definition of content. The revulsion is no longer just because of a sickening physical sight, but moral and theological factors are introduced. The general public looks and flees because it knows its sinful responsibility for the deed and repentantly mourns that sin and the coming judgment. The acquaintances stand at a distance because Jesus' death causes *φόβος* for their own safety. They dread him in the sense that his death has uncovered the real hostility which the religious authorities have for Jesus as he seeks to do the will of God, a hostility which may next be directed toward his followers.

The main function of the allusion is to place these details within a promise and fulfilment scheme. The reaction of the crowd and the acquaintances may have proved somewhat scandalous to the early Christians who had to proclaim to all men a suffering and rejected Messiah. At the crucifixion the general public could only stare and return mourning; Jesus' acquaintances stood at a distance and were no comfort to him. By showing that this was part of the plan of God, prophesied in Scripture, the sting of the scandal, especially the fact that Jesus' disciples forsook him in his hour of need, could be removed. This allusion does not figure in the larger context of Luke's work. It is simply part of the evidence that Scripture prophesied the Messiah's suffering. The allusion does not appear to point to the larger original context.

The basic interpretational method which Luke used in appropriating this OT material to his NT context is the same as his method of appropriating the Psalm 21(22) material.¹ It is probably the historical fact that Jesus applied this psalm to himself along with the psalm's Davidic superscription and first person form of presentation which motivated the early church to read it in the light of the historical tradition of the crucifixion and find those portions which could be seen to be fulfilled by the NT events. Luke has taken the images of the psalm and found literal fulfilment for them in the action of the crowd and the acquaintances. There is no serious violation of original context in the use of any of the details. However, the general difficulty, understanding how they could have been originally intended as predictive prophecy, does exist. In the NT writer's mind the confidence that all Scripture is fulfilled in the Messiah's suffering and triumph and the knowledge that Jesus' quotation identified this psalm as one which spoke of him, probably overcame this problem.

We have already seen that the specific content which fills out the Psalm 30(31) substructure of Lk. 23:48, 49 comes from a source other than the psalm. The question is whether that material along with the Psalm 30(31) allusion has its ultimate source in history or the OT. The action of the crowd has been criticized historically on the grounds of Jewish custom,² the inconsistency of the crowd's attitude in condemning Jesus with this act of mourning,³ and this action's occurrence as a literary feature in accounts of martyrdom.⁴ The crowd's spontaneous

¹cf. above, p. 516.

²TDNT (III, p. 848) argues on the basis of Sanh. 6:6 that Jewish custom prohibited public mourning at public executions. This Mishnaic reference deals with the mourning of kinsmen in particular and does not present itself as a general prohibition of mourning at public executions; See above, p. 491.

³Strauss, p. 696f.

⁴cf. Stöcker (p. 302), who cites 3 Macc. 5:24.

mourning is probably not directed at Jesus and thus even if the Jewish prohibition were real, which is not certain, it would not apply here.¹ Although the repentant response of the crowd is what Christians would approve this does not necessarily mean that such a response is not historically plausible. The sober attitude of the crowd (Lk. 23:35); the startling nature of the events surrounding the crucifixion; and the subsequent success of Christian missionaries among Jerusalem Jews (e.g. Ac. 2:37), give us a historical setting with which their mourning is in harmony. The common reporting of martyrdoms as public spectacles has less to do with a necessary feature of a literary form than with the historical probability that such executions did occur before a gaping public. There is then nothing improbable historically in Luke's description of the crowd's reaction to the crucifixion. Although Luke alone reports these details, this need not lessen one's confidence in their reliability for Luke probably is using a non-Markan source, which contained Jesus' final prayer and this subsequent allusion.

That Jesus' disciples were present at the cross, though standing at a distance, is questioned on the grounds that it is only reported in Luke of the Synoptic Gospels (cf. J. 19:26);¹ it promotes Luke's theological interest in having the disciples remain in Jerusalem;² and only women are reported as accompanying Jesus' body to the tomb for burial.³ Mark's failure to mention the disciples at the cross is not a necessary corollary of his scheme that after the resurrection Jesus will go before his disciples and meet them in Galilee (Mk. 14:28; 16:7). For Jesus' and the angel's declarations imply not that the disciples will immediately flee to Galilee at the time of the arrest. They imply rather that even after

¹Montefiore, II, p. 629.

²Fleigel, p. 42.

³Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, II, p. 698f.

the resurrection the disciples are still in the Jerusalem area and must go to Galilee to meet the risen Jesus who has preceded them there. Thus, even Mark who places his emphasis on Galilean resurrection appearances for the disciples allows for the possibility that the disciples could have been present at the cross. The objections to the historicity of the detail on the grounds that it is only reported in Luke who stresses the presence of disciples in Jerusalem,¹ then, are not well founded for Mark's scheme also does not exclude the possibility of their presence at the cross. The description of the acquaintances standing at a distance shows the real danger in which they now lived. It is understandable that they would not accompany the women to the tomb for fear of being apprehended by the authorities. There is then nothing improbable about the historicity of this detail which was later used to allude to Ps. 30(31):12.

Old Testament Idea

Luke employs many OT ideas in the portrayal of this climax of the crucifixion. They occur not only in the speech of Jesus and the centurion but also in the narrative description of the portents and the reaction of various groups at the cross. They are an integral part of Luke's interpretation of Jesus' suffering which he reveals as he presents its climax and dénouement. The historicity of the various narrative details which are expressed in OT language needs to be considered, for it is sometimes maintained that the OT language is the real source of the detail.

The darkness over the whole land at midday caused by the failing of the sun draws its theological significance for Luke from the OT perspective on the moral order and eschatology. The OT presents the moral order and the natural order as inextricably connected (Ps. 10(11):3, 4; 74(75):4-9). Any disruption in the moral order, such as the sinful

¹ See above, p. 239f.

rebellion of men and nations is bound to disrupt the natural order. God in judgment permits the spiritual forces of evil to gain ascendancy in the natural order and thus visit on the people the evil consequences of their sinful rebellion. The unnatural occurrence of darkness at midday (Lk. 23:44, 45) may indicate that God's cosmic and moral order has given way to the hour and power of darkness (cf. Ps. 71(72):5, 17; Am. 8:9). The forces of evil are in ascendancy and they have seemingly defeated God's plan for saving men from their power.¹ Though Luke has begun his narrative of Jesus' suffering with the clear statement that this will be the hour and power of darkness (Lk. 22:53),² there have been no intervening references to the work of Satan in the suffering of Jesus. Thus this fact that the death of Jesus is the work of the forces of evil has receded into the background and what has come to the fore is the fact that the evil which Jesus is experiencing comes ultimately from God in the form of judgment. Jesus' unjust suffering should move those who witness it to repentance for if the innocent one suffers the evident judgment of God how much more will the guilty suffer (23:27-31; 39-43).

This cosmic sign of imbalance in the natural order serves in two ways as a warning to the people to repent. It illustrates in terms of a natural order out of joint at the death of the innocent the uneven and more severe judgment which will come on the guilty. It also sets the event of Jesus' death, their responsibility for it, and their impending judgment in an eschatological context. Jesus' death is an eschatological event of cosmic significance. It is part of the Last Days when there will be darkness at midday (Is. 13:10; Jo. 2:2, 10; 3:4; 4:15; Am. 5:18; 8:9; Zeph. 1:15). That darkness will be a sign of divine judgment

¹Tinsley, p. 202; Aalen, p. 21. StuhlmueLLer, Jerome Biblical Commentary, ¶ 44:173; cf. Plummer (p. 537), Vanhoye (p. 35), W. Manson (p. 261) and Hauck (p. 287), who believe the darkness is a witness to the cosmic significance of Jesus' death. It is a sign of the grief of the natural order over the death of the divine savior.

²See above, p. 348f.

on sin¹ which has so disrupted the moral order that it brings a radical change in the natural order.

That the darkness in Luke stands for more than just a sign that the End-time has arrived in Jesus' death² may be seen from the crowd's reaction to the sight. They return repentant and possibly mourning the coming destruction of Jerusalem. They see the sign as one of divine judgment on Jesus, just as divine judgment in the Last Days comes as darkness not light. That Luke may understand this judgment as permission given to the forces of evil to be in ascendancy must not be overlooked. The saving significance of the sign is contained in its value as a warning. When viewed in the light of its incongruous occurrence at the death of an innocent man it raises the fearful prospect of severe punishment of the guilty. The OT association of darkness at midday with the divine judgment in the End-time is then employed to show not only the cosmic and eschatological significance of Jesus' death but also its saving efficacy for the sign is a warning to repent.

Since this historical detail is a common feature of the events of the Last Days, and in view of the fact that the event is not readily explained from natural causes, it is sometimes held that the OT is the real source of the detail and that it has no basis in history.³ Luke's attempt to explain the image by a natural cause, an eclipse, is viewed as an example of historicization.⁴ It is also often pointed out that Luke's explanation does not take into account the impossibility of such an occurrence at the time of the paschal full moon.⁵ Two other possible

¹cf. Dalman's (Jesus-Jeshua, p. 204) comments concerning Am. 8:9 and relevant rabbinic literature.

²Fleigel, p. 72; Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive, p. 54.

³e.g. Weidel. ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 272; Finegan, p. 81; Fleigel, p. 72; Caird, Luke, p. 243; Goguel (p. 541f.) observes that it is a common attendant circumstance in the description of the death of those who are loved by deity in ancient pagan and Jewish literature.

⁴Dibelius, From Tradition, p. 199.

⁵Weidel, ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 271; Thompson (p. 273) observes that Luke's inclusion of a reason for the darkness may be influenced by Jo. 3:1-5/Ac. 2:17-20.

understandings of Luke's explanatory report are that Luke realizing that such an eclipse is impossible purposefully chooses this scientific term to explain the event and in that way bring out more graphically its miraculous nature.¹ Or, Luke uses the verb ἐκλείπω in the non-technical metaphorical sense of "to fail" (e.g. Job 31:26). He thus gives a no more specific natural explanation for the darkness than Mark. Eclipse is not meant and the way is open for explaining the darkness as a sirocco, a Middle Eastern sandstorm that can shorten vision to fifty yards and last as long as three days.² If Luke's participial phrase τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος when taken in this non-technical sense is not viewed as tautologous with the main sentence but as really advancing somewhat our understanding, then in view of the sirocco explanation verse 44 may be taken as reporting a probable historical event. The miraculous element is not removed³ but rather is found in the time of the storm, which coincides with Jesus' hours on the cross. The OT ideas surrounding darkness at midday ensured that this feature would be preserved in the tradition and may have controlled to some extent the way it was expressed.

The sign which accompanies the darkness at midday is the rending of τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ (Lk. 23:45). On the basis of the use of καταπέτασμα in the LXX and Jewish literature it is difficult to decide which of the two veils of the ναός is meant: the outer veil which covered the temple's entrance (e.g. Ex. 26:37; 37:5 (36:37); 39:19 (39:40); 40:26; Josephus, B. J. V:5:4, 5), or the inner veil which separated the holy

¹Lagrange, p. 592; G. R. Driver ("Two Problems in the NT," JTS, n.s. XVI (1965), p. 334) observes that if an eclipse had caused the darkness, it probably would have been widely reported in antiquity. Since such a happening is not widely reported some other explanation needs to be found for the phenomenon.

²Driver, JTS, n.s. XVI, p. 334. He sees the rent veil of the temple as corroborating proof that these events were caused not by eclipse but by a sandstorm. See below, p. 605, n. 3.

³Contrast Ibid., p. 335.

place from the Holy of Holies (e.g. Ex. 26:31; 37:3 (36:35); 39:4 (38:27); Josephus, B. J. V:5:4, 5; cf. Ex. 37:16 (38:18); Num. 3:26; 4:32, where καταπέτασμα stands for the covering of the entrance to the temple court area).¹ The qualifying term τοῦ ναοῦ is of little help since both the outer and inner veils may properly be called "the veil of the temple." The inner veil was a symbol of great theological significance. It separated man from the presence of God above the mercy seat. Through it only the ritually pure priest could enter to make atonement for the people's sin (Lev. 16:2, 12, 13, 16; 21:23). To rend that veil would signify an act of either the highest sacrilege and profanation or a sign that the temple cult was at an end. No theological significance of such a similarly decisive nature could be attached to the rending of the outer veil.² This general reference to "the veil of the temple" probably refers to the theologically significant inner veil which because of that significance would be readily identifiable by this phrase to those who were only generally familiar with the temple cult.³

¹SBK, I, p. 1044. Contrast V. Taylor (Mark, p. 596), who takes the LXX practice of normally indicating the outer veil by καλυμμα (e.g. Ex. 24:26; Num. 3:25) and the inner veil by καταπέτασμα as a guide for establishing that in this case (Mk. 15:38/Lk. 23:45) the inner veil is meant. Contrast TDNT (IV, p. 885), which just as confidently affirms that the phrase denotes the outer veil.

²Although compare R. Johanan b. Zakkai's comment when the temple doors flew open of their own accord in A.D. 66: "O Temple, Temple why troublest thou thyself? I know that thy end is near," (SBK, I, p. 1045).

³SBK, I, p. 1045. Contrast Driver (JTS, n.s. XVI, p. 336), who wants to identify the outer veil as the correct veil, not on theological grounds, but on historical grounds. Since he believes that a sirocco was the natural cause of these signs, he may more readily explain the rending of the thinner outer veil by the sandstorm's winds, than the tearing in two of the protected thicker inner veil. TDNT (IV, p. 336) points to the Jewish rabbinic tradition concerning the lintel of the temple being shifted and the doors flying open of their own accord 40 years before the fall of Temple (p. Yoma vi:43c), as witness to the same event, and evidence that it was the outer not inner veil which was rent. SBK (I, p. 1045f.) observes that Josephus (B. J. VI:5:3) dates this event at A.D. 66. The 40 year time reference is a round number, a literary device which places the event some years before the destruction of the temple. This time reference reflects a perspective which saw the impending destruction of Jerusalem prepared for over a longer time.

The theological significance of the rent veil for Luke is reflected in his editing of Mark. He removes the detail from its place immediately following Jesus' death (Mk. 15:37, 38) and combines it with the "darkness at midday" sign before Jesus' death (Lk. 23:44-45). This effectively removes the sign of the rent veil as a commentary on the soteriological significance of Jesus' death as the final sacrifice which makes the temple cult unnecessary.¹ It now becomes one sign among many gathering its significance from the OT ideas contained in the darkness at midday. The rent veil in the temple is a sign that judgment is about to come on the whole temple cult. This judgment will be completed in the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70. The torn veil as a warning about that judgment is a sign which should move men to decisive repentance. Though it may not declare positively that Jesus' death is the final sacrifice it does declare negatively that the cultic sacrificial means of approaching God is now at an end. The new way to God through his son which replaces the temple cult is presented by reference not just to his death but to the whole pattern of suffering issuing in glory (23:46). Salvation comes to men, the way is opened to God because Jesus has completed the whole pattern. Men no longer find God in temples made with hands, for they now can approach the presence of God through Jesus who is exalted to God's right hand (Ac. 7:48, 56, 59; 17:24). Stephen's speech is the interpretive commentary on the relationship of Jesus' suffering and glory to the temple cult. Luke's placement of the historical detail of the rent veil in the immediate context of Jesus' suffering and entrance into the Father's presence simply presents the facts which would later be so interpreted.

It is not just a compositional device which led Luke to place this sign before Jesus' death. It is also a theological conviction that in

¹ Pilgrim, p. 277; Hinderlich, p. 54; Easton, Luke, p. 351; Browning, p. 165; Contrast Geldenhuys, p. 611; Daube (The NT and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 24) believes that the report of the veil's rending immediately following Jesus' death was originally intended as a sign of mourning. This significance Luke eliminates when he places his report of the incident before Jesus' death.

the progress of salvation history the old order passes away before the new comes in. Thus the sacrificial system ends before the new way to God begins. To place the rent veil sign between the two decisive elements in the pattern of suffering and glory, the death and the resurrection, would break up that pattern. It would hide the truth that Jesus' glorious exaltation as well as his death was necessary to open the way for man to approach God.

We should not be tempted by Luke's emphasis on the temple (*ἱερόν*) as the place for worship and witness in Jesus' and the early church's mission (e.g. Lk. 19:47; 21:38; 24:53; Ac. 3:1; 5:20), to think that Luke has actually softened the symbolism of the end of the sacrificial system in Jesus' death.¹ It appears that Luke distinguished between the temple cult, which was rendered obsolete after Jesus' death and entrance into his glory, and the temple, as a place of prayer, praise, and teaching, which, though it was destined for destruction, was still a place where the true Israel could gather to worship God. Thus far from being just another omen, the mention of the torn temple veil just before Jesus commits his spirit to the Father in death is an interpretive sign warning of coming judgment and witnessing to the end of the old way of access to the Father. By its juxtaposition with Jesus' prayer it creates a context in which the new way could be understood.

There are no reports in ancient Jewish or pagan literature of this incident. Because of its miraculous nature, this lack of external witness,² and the possibility that it developed from an interpretation of

¹ Contrast Pilgrim, p. 277; Hinderlich, p. 54; Easton, Luke, p. 351.

² Some have suggested that the A.D. 66 incident of the temple's doors swinging open of their own accord reported in Josephus, rabbinic literature, and Tacitus (Histories, V:13) refers to the same event, if the rabbinic reckoning of 40 years before the temple's destruction be taken as correct; cf. H. W. Montefiore ("Josephus and the NT," NovT, IV (1960), p. 150), who though he identifies the two incidents, concludes that the precise detail concerning the torn veil is not historical but developed under the influence of theological factors from the report of a disturbance at the temple; See above, p. 605, n. 3.

Jesus death as the perfect sacrifice,¹ the historicity of the event has been questioned. The lack of such external evidence may possibly be explained from the desire of Judaism to suppress a fact which was used in Christian theology to support belief in the total efficacy of Christ's death. The positive soteriological significance which the writer to the Hebrews (Hb. 10:20) gives to the veil by identifying it with Jesus' flesh through which a new and living way has been opened up does not logically develop from the OT understanding of the veil as basically the barrier between man and God. The juxtaposition of torn veil and torn body in history would, however, bring this theological interpretation of Jesus' death to mind. It is more probable then that the historical fact preceded the theological interpretation than that the theological interpretation spawned the historical fact.

The form of address to God in Jesus' final prayer is Πατερ (23:46). This is Jesus' normal form of address to God in prayer (10:21; 22:42; 23:34). It should be understood within the context of Jesus' special relationship with God as his son, the Messiah (e.g. 2:49; 10:22; 22:29; 24:49).² Although Jesus also speaks of God as the father of those who are in the kingdom of God (e.g. 6:36; 12:30, 32; cf. 11:13) and as "the Father" in the absolute (9:26; 10:22; Ac. 1:4, 7; 2:33), there is also usually a distinction made between God as Jesus' father ("my Father," e.g. Lk. 22:29) and God as the father of those in the kingdom ("your Father," e.g. 12:32). Thus, the unique messianic relationship between Jesus and God is maintained.³ The same pattern of usage occurs in the LXX where God is both father of the nation Israel and is addressed as

¹Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, II, p. 689; Contrast G. Lindeskog, "The Veil of the Temple," Coniectanea Neotestamentica (XI) in honorem A. Fridrichsen (Lund, 1947), p. 133f.

²See above, p. 426f.

³Sparks, Studies in the Gospels, p. 258; cf. V. Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice, p. 38.

such in prayer (e.g. 1 Ch. 29:10; Jer. 3:4; Is. 63:16), and the father of the Messiah as a descendant of the Davidic line (2 Km. 7:14; cf. Ps. 2:7; cf. later Jewish literature where the righteous man individually addresses God as Father in prayer, Sir. 23:1; Wsd. 2:16, 18). For Israel or her kings to recognize God as their father was to attribute to him not only a protective care over them (e.g. Jer. 31(48):9; Is. 63:16), but also was to recognize him as their creator and sustainer (e.g. Hos. 11:1; Dt. 32:6; Is. 63:8; 43:6). On him they were totally dependent and to him they owed obedience (e.g. Dt. 14:1; 32:6; Jer. 3:4). It is this total dependence on the Father within the unique messianic relationship which Jesus acknowledges when he addresses God as Father at Lk. 23:46 and Lk. 22:42.¹ In the latter case there is also a recognition of the claim of the Father's will as a guide for Jesus' behavior. What "Father" expresses in the address of the Lk. 23:34 prayer is the special relationship between God and Jesus by which the Son may presume to intercede with the Father for the forgiveness of others. It is the immediate context in each of these instances which brings out a particular aspect of God's nature as father. It is the OT background of God's historical choice of Israel as a nation to be his son in a special relationship of reciprocal faithfulness, and the focusing of the same kind of relationship in the Messiah, which gives the content to Luke's use of *πάτερ* for God. In the case of Lk. 23:46 he probably takes the form of address over from his source.²

In the first recorded response to Jesus' death the centurion glorifies God saying, "Certainly this man was innocent" (23:47). "To glorify

¹George (RB, LXXII, p. 209) comments that for Luke Jesus' sonship is first and foremost a reference to God as Father (cf. Lk. 2:49; 23:46). Sonship is not an exalted title or privilege but an intimate relationship of full fellowship and dependence.

²Conzelmann (*Theology of Luke*, p. 173) observes that Luke does not develop the theology of the Father-Son relationship between Jesus and God any further than what he finds in his sources.

God," δοξάζει τὸν θεόν, is an OT idea,¹ which Luke uses throughout his writings in editorial descriptions of the people's response to Jesus' and the early church's ministry (e.g. 5:25, 26/Mk. 2:12; Lk. 7:16; 18:43 cf. Mk. 10:52; Ac. 4:21; 21:20). It may be recognized as a favorite expression of Luke's.² Its function throughout his work is to witness to the divine power which is at work in Jesus. Jesus does not bring attention to himself by his miracles, rather he so conducts his ministry that God receives the praise (cf. Lk. 4:15 followed by the corrective vv. 16-21). In this way Jesus' ministry authenticates his claims to be the Messiah who only does the Father's will (5:24-26). Also, the ministry which receives this response shows itself to be truly eschatological for it is evidence that God has visited his people (7:16; cf. Jer. 39(32):41) as he promises to do in the End-time.

This use of the phrase is taken over from the OT where "to glorify God" is the proper response to the mighty acts of God on behalf of his people (Ex. 15:1, 2; Ps. 65(66):2f.; Is. 25:1).³ Men also glorify God for his miraculous acts of personal salvation (Ps. 21(22):24; 49(50):15). From an eschatological perspective the glorification of God by the Gentiles is a sign that God's final triumph in the End-time has come (Ps. 85(86):9, 10; 1 Ch. 16:29; cf. Rv. 15:4; Ro. 15:9ff. with its OT quotations which substantiate this point). The Messiah will by his actions cause men to glorify God (Is. 49:3).

These OT meanings are employed by Luke as he sets the centurion's response in a salvation history or theological context. The fact that

¹The secular Greek usage can mean "to praise," but normally praise offered to men not God; e.g. Polybius VI:53:10, τὸν ἐν' ἀρετῇ δεδοξασμένον ἀνδρῶν.

²Cadbury, The Style, p. 107; Creed (p. lxxix), Plummer (p. lii), Lagrange (p. xcvi), and Hawkins (Horae Synopticae, p. 17), all recognize this as a Lukan stylistic element which is Hebraistic or Biblical in nature.

³Creed, p. lxxix. Contrast Lagrange (p. ci), who says that while the phrase is Biblical, the predominant use in the LXX is to describe God giving glory.

he glorifies God on seeing the death of Jesus and its attendant circumstances places the death in a theological context as an act of God.¹ The content of his reply, "Certainly this man was innocent," must also be interpreted theologically. δικαιος means more than judicial innocence.² One fact from the NT context which may determine what of the OT usage is significant is the Gentile nature of the speaker. This confession may prefigure the conversion of the Gentiles³ or at least show that Jesus' death is part of God's activity in the Last Days which will make the Gentiles glorify God. Luke then takes up an OT idea and uses it to show that God is performing his saving work in Jesus. Luke is probably responsible for the phrase as he edits Mk. 15:39 at this point, for he introduces the phrase elsewhere into his sources (e.g. Lk. 4:15; 18:43/Mk. 10:52).⁴

If by Luke's editing ἐδοξάσεν τὸν θεόν places the centurion's remark in a theological context, Luke's replacement of οὐδὲ θεοῦ with δικαιος appears to do just the opposite. Unless we are going to attribute the whole of v. 47 to a non-Markan source,⁵ it is necessary to find a stylistic or theological reason why Luke would interpret and render Mark's οὐδὲ θεοῦ by δικαιος. Various explanations all have merit. Luke's apologetic wants to stress once more Jesus' judicial innocence in the sight of Rome.⁶ Luke wants to avoid possible confusion among his

¹cf. Sumner's (pp. 191ff.) observations concerning Luke's theocentric approach to presenting Jesus' messianic mission.

²Schütz, p. 102; Lagrange, p. 593; Contrast Easton (Luke, p. 351), who says not too much stress should be placed on this phrase.

³Ellis, Luke, p. 270.

⁴Creed, p. lxxix; Finegan, p. 33; Klostermann, p. 226.

⁵Grundmann, p. 435, n. 25; Hill, p. 123.

⁶e.g. Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques, II, p. 689; Hauck, p. 287; Ellis, Luke, p. 267; Leaney, p. 287.

readers who might interpret ὁὸς θεοῦ as meaning demi-god.¹ Luke considered a Christian confession of Jesus' nature in the mouth of a non-Christian Gentile as incongruous, so he changed it to a statement about Jesus' innocence.² Because Luke still sets the δίκαιος form of the statement in a theological framework for by it the Gentile centurion praises God, it does not appear that he wishes to altogether avoid some incongruity. Rather, Luke's editing may be because the title "Son of God" has such a special meaning for him. He avoids presenting it as a confession on human lips throughout his whole work (contrast Lk. 22: 70), and so he avoids it here.³ Whether Jesus' prayer (23:46) actually replaces the confession (Mk. 15:39) and conveys the same content⁴ is not certain.

Once we understand in general why δίκαιος not ὁὸς θεοῦ appears in Luke's version it is still necessary to ask precisely what δίκαιος means and what the OT meaning of the word contributes to its use. The three basic possibilities are use as an adjective meaning legally innocent;⁵ morally innocent before God,⁶ possibly in the sense of a martyr⁷ or the righteous sufferer of the Psalms;⁸ or use as a substantive messianic title meaning the Righteous One (cf. Ac. 3:14; 7:52; 22:14).⁹ We

¹George, RB, LXXII, p. 195; McNeile, Cambridge Biblical Essays, p. 424; Contrast Hill (p. 123), who observes that δίκαιος is no clearer than ὁὸς θεοῦ.

²Creed, p. 288; Carpenter, p. 183.

³George, RB, LXXII, p. 195.

⁴Ibid.

⁵See above, p. 611, n. 6.

⁶TDNT, II, p. 187; B. Weiss, II, p. 203; Hill, p. 191.

⁷Grundmann, p. 435, n. 25; Stöcker, p. 203. Contrast J. Pobee ("The Cry of the Centurion—A Cry of Defeat," The Trial of Jesus: Cambridge Studies in honour of C. F. D. Moule, ed. E. Bammel (SBT, 2nd ser. XIII; London, 1970), pp. 91-102), who views Mark's wording as presented in a martyrological context which Luke changes.

⁸Dodd, Historical Tradition, p. 137.

⁹Lampe, Studies in the Gospels, pp. 178-179; Contrast Pilgrim, p. 162.

have already seen that the introductory phrase ἐξομολογῶ τὸν θεόν shows that the term may not be simply limited to legal innocence. The reaction of the crowd, their mourning repentance, further shows that the various reactions to Jesus' death are to be understood theologically. Though it may mean more we should recognize that this term does also advance the theme of Jesus' innocence which Luke has stressed throughout the passion narrative.¹ As we have suggested this theme includes both innocence before men and innocence before God. It is one of the two aspects of the Is. 53:12 theme, the unjust suffering of the innocent one who is numbered with the transgressors, that Luke repeatedly brings to our attention as he thematically works out the fulfilment of that prophecy in his portrayal of the Passion. It is appropriate at the climax of Jesus' suffering when he suffers the ultimate punishment of the transgressor, death, that there should be a witness to his innocence. In this way the two aspects of theme continue to be held together in tension until the end. It is development of this Is. 53:12 theme concerning the suffering Servant and not the martyr or the righteous sufferer of the Psalms which should be seen as the basic OT context referred to in this declaration.

It is best, then, to understand these first two possibilities together as the meaning of δικαίος here. The second, Jesus' righteousness before God, is the basic meaning in terms of which his legal innocence should be understood. The third possibility, δικαίος as a messianic title, is the least probable of the three. Not only does it encounter the difficulty of imputing to the centurion Jewish messianic understanding, but the immediate context does not contain supporting evidence that Luke presents this as a confession of Jesus' messiahship. It is true that by declaring Jesus innocent there is an implied accept-

¹ See above, p. 293.

ance of the truth of his messianic claims for which he was convicted. But this implied acceptance should remain an implication of the centurion's statement and not be elevated to the level of messianic confession.

Aside from the content of Isaiah 53 (Is. 53:11), the OT contributes two aspects to Luke's use of δίκαιος. The normal secular Greek use of δίκαιος is as an adjective indicating that which conforms to custom, one who satisfies ordinary legal norms and duties (Aristotle, Eth. Nic. V:2 ¶ 1129a 33, δηλον ὅτι καὶ ὁ δίκαιος ἔσται ὅτε νόμιμος καὶ ὁ ἴσος).¹ While translating ῥῆ by the normal Greek word for innocent, ἀθῶος, 27X, the OT does use δίκαιος to indicate innocent or blameless 4X (Job 9:23; 17:8; Pr. 1:11, 6:17; ῥῆ = Jo. 4:19; Jon. 1:14, cf. the combination of ῥῆ (δίκαιος) and ῥῆ in parallel, Ex. 23:7; Job 27:17). This LXX usage may have contributed to Luke's thinking as he came to consider it appropriate to use δίκαιος to signify "innocent" as well as "righteous."²

The basic LXX use of δίκαιος is to describe men and women who conform not only to the laws of custom and society, but more importantly to the laws of God. These are the righteous, οἱ δίκαιοι (e.g. Noah, Gen. 6:9; cf. Wsd. 10:4; Sir. 44:17; Job, Job 1:1, 8 in the A-text; the righteous in general, Ps. 54(55):23; 145(146):8; cf. Wsd. 2:18). It is this theological understanding of the righteous man, who is just in his relationship with God, which is basic to Luke's use of the term throughout his gospel and Acts (e.g. Lk. 1:6; 2:25; 5:32; 15:7; Ac. 24:15).³ Whether consciously or unconsciously the centurion glorifies God by declaring Jesus δίκαιος, and because the theological context is explicitly introduced, we may understand δίκαιος as meaning "righteous." Such an inter-

¹Deissmann (p. 83) sees δίκαιος as a term, which since it is found in both the LXX and the koiné is not an example of special Biblical Greek vocabulary. He, however, fails to investigate the areas of meaning which are distinctive to the LXX.

²cf. G. D. Kilpatrick, "A Theme of the Lucan Passion Story and Luke xxiii. 47," JTS, XLIII (1942), pp. 34-36; cf. R. P. C. Hanson's (Does δίκαιος in Luke xxiii. 47 explode the Proto-Luke Hypothesis?" Hermathena, LX (1942), pp. 74-78) criticism of Kilpatrick's article.

³cf. below, p. 623.

pretation of Jesus' death serves as the basis for the later development of the messianic title "the Righteous One."

The response of the crowds in beating their breasts (τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη, Lk. 23:48), though not expressed in the normal LXX fashion (cf. Is. 32:12; Zech. 12:10ff.; 4 Macc. 9:12), does carry the OT idea of a mourning which is repentant (cf. Lk. 18:13).¹

Old Testament Style

There is a good representation of LXX style imitation in both general syntactical structure and individual constructions. The distribution of coordinating conjunctions δέ (4X) and καί (4X) throughout the perikope allows for intermittent flashes of parataxis (vv. 44, 49). There is enough parataxis to manifest some LXX style imitation without becoming monotonous. There is no concentration of this stylistic element or word order (verb-subject, 4X; subject-verb, 5X) at the beginning or end of the narrative. Rather each is so distributed that one is aware of LXX style imitation without being overwhelmed by it. Aside from the post-positive genitives which the quotation contains (23:46, χείράς σου; πνεύμά μου), there is a post-positive genitive in the technical title τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ. Although this exact title does not occur in the LXX its form corresponds with others there [e.g. τὸ καταπέτασμα τῆς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς, Ex. 37:5 (36:37); τὸ καταπέτασμα τῆς πύλης τῆς αὐλῆς, Ex. 37:16 (38:18)]. These post-positive genitives, though primarily present for other reasons, do coincidentally contribute to the LXX style coloring of the passage. All of these elements probably come from Luke's sources. In his use of Mark we can see that he has neither removed nor added any LXX style imitation features.

Another element of word order, which is a LXX stylistic element, is the pre-positive πάντες (πάντες οἱ συμπαραγεγνημένοι ὄχλοι, Lk.

¹ See above, p. 492.

23:48; πάντες οἱ γυνώσκοντες, 23:49). While the preference of the koiné is for the word order ὁ ἀνθρώπος πᾶς,¹ the predominant usage in the LXX is πᾶς ὁ ἀνθρώπος (e.g. Gen. 1:25; Josh. 1:2; Ps. 2:10; Is. 2:2; this translates mainly כָּל plus the noun without the definite article; of our 25 examples only 7 had the definite article in the Hebrew).

Because this form is the result of a translation practice in which the article has often been introduced into the form; because the whole form is sometimes inserted into the LXX translation (e.g. Pr. 1:7); and because the construction is used in OT apocryphal books which may imitate LXX style (e.g. 1 Esdr. 1:47; Tob. 1:3; Jdth. 1:6), we may take this pre-positive πᾶς as a LXX style element. The construction occurs throughout Luke-Acts, including the "we sections" (e.g. Lk. 1:6; 5:9; 19:26; 24:9; 76X in Acts). In all of the occurrences in which Luke parallels Mark, Luke has introduced the construction (e.g. 6:17/Mk. 3:8; Lk. 8:47/Mk. 5:33; Lk. 9:1/Mk. 6:7; Lk. 21:29/Mk. 13:28; cf. removal of the phrase from Mk. 4:1/Lk. 8:4; Mk. 11:18/Lk. 19:48; Mk. 6:33/Lk. 9:11). We may take this frequency of occurrence and Luke's introduction of the construction into Mark as evidence that it is a Lukan stylistic element, which is as we have seen also a LXX style element. The present cases (23:48, 49) are probably due to Luke's other source whose material he has introduced into Mark here. Although it has been suggested that the πάντες οἱ of Lk. 23:48 lends significance to the mourning by stating that it is done by all the people. (This is supposed to suggest that just as all Israel customarily mourned its prominent national leaders (e.g. Dt. 34:8; 1 Km. 25:1), so now they mourn this rejected though true Messiah).² This is probably taking the emphasis of the πάντες οἱ too far. What we can say is that Luke wants to stress the effect of Jesus' death on those who witnessed it, so he says all who view the spectacle are moved to repentant

¹Turner, VT, V, p. 211f.; cf. above, p. 442.

²TDNT, III, p. 838.

mourning. This emphasis is expressed through LXX style imitation.

Some individual constructions supplement the general pattern of LXX style imitation. Pleonastic λέγων (Lk. 23:47),¹ serves to indicate the precise beginning of the centurion's statement. The introductory words ἔδοξεν τὸν θεόν have already placed the statement in a theological context. The λέγων as LXX style imitation performs its clarifying function and reinforces that context. Luke probably introduced it into Mark when he replaced εἶπεν with ἔδοξεν τὸν θεόν. The adverbial phrase ἀπὸ μακρόθεν² may add some LXX flavoring to the conclusion of the perikope.

A final construction φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ contains two LXX style elements. There is the emphatic use of a verb with the dative of its cognate noun (φωνέω + φωνῇ).³ This is a true LXXism though it occurs only 3X in the LXX (1 Ch. 15:16; Da. 5:7; cf. Is. 29:4;). It is the result of creating the cognate association through translating a Hebrew construction which, while it contains a verb of speaking plus an adverbial intensifier, does not have them in the form of a verb accompanied by its cognate in the dative. This construction with φωνέω occurs in one other place in Luke's writings (Ac. 16:28). Luke at Lk. 23:46 evidently introduces the construction in his editing of Mark (ἀφ' εἰς φωνῇν μεγάλην, Mk. 15:37). We may see it as an element in his style⁴ which imitates the LXX. Its function is to lend emphasis to what is being said. Since what is said is an OT quotation, this construction by its LXX coloring, serves as a kind of introductory formula to Jesus' words.

The primary function of the construction, however, is to show the

¹See above, p. 370.

²See above, p. 595.

³cf. above, p. 183; ἐνὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην θεωροῦντες (23:48), although not paralleled in LXX usage, is another example of Luke's use of cognate and verb.

⁴Plummer, p. 538; Klostermann, p. 226.

strength and purposefulness with which Jesus died. Jesus' last words are not a prayer murmured from exhaustion but a loudly proclaimed confession of faith. Though he is numbered with the transgressors and suffers his end at the hands of those who work in the hour and power of darkness, Jesus still determines according to the will of God when he will die. Luke indicates by this again the mystery of the accomplishment of God's plan of salvation through the seeming triumph of the forces of evil, who inflict their last wound on Jesus, death. And, as he has done so often before (e.g. Lk. 22:53; 23:25, 31), in order to avoid misunderstanding which might arise if Jesus' suffering and death was simply reported Luke makes clear that death did not overcome Jesus but he willingly entered it as with a shout he committed his spirit to the Father and died.

To emphasize this Luke uses a favorite LXX style imitation element, *φωνῇ μεγάλῃ*.¹ This phrase has four basic purposes in Luke: to express the reaction of demons who encounter Jesus (Lk. 4:33; 8:28; Ac. 8:7); to emphasize the people's joy in their praise of the mighty acts of God done through Jesus and Christian missionaries (Lk. 17:15; 19:37; Ac. 7:57; 26:24); to indicate the voluntary nature of Jesus' and a Christian martyr's death (Lk. 23:46; Ac. 7:60). Our use has precedents in the OT only in the more general sense of the righteous offering prayer to God (e.g. Ezk. 11:13). Other OT meanings, a loud cry as an eschatological sign² (e.g. Is. 40:9; 58:1; Jer. 40(33):11) or a divine shout announcing salvation (Is. 42:13; Jo. 4:16),³ need not be seen as part of Luke's intended meaning. He simply indicates by this preface the voluntary even victorious way in which Jesus dies.

¹See above, p. 477.

²Bartsch (EvTh, XXII, p. 452) contends that Luke by giving content to the wordless cry has removed its original meaning as an eschatological sign.

³Fleigel, p. 72.

CHAPTER XX

LUKE 23:50-56: THE BURIAL

Introduction

Luke narrates the scene of Jesus' burial with the aid of some OT ideas and stylistic elements. He does not allude to Is. 53:9 in his description of Joseph of Arimathea as Matthew does when he takes over Mark (Mt. 27:57/Mk. 15:43/Lk. 23:50). This non-allusion needs to be understood as well as the relationship of the OT to the various historical details which describe the burial. For some have claimed that the OT is the real source of the whole or various parts of this narrative.

The basic literary sources of the narrative are Mark (Mk. 15:42-46/Lk. 23:50-54) and a non-Markan source (23:55-56).¹ The high degree of verbal similarity; the agreement of content; and the possibility of explaining the omission of certain Markan details in Luke by his desire to abbreviate Mark, speak for Mark as the basic source for most of the section. The "new tomb" detail which Luke has in common with Matthew and John (Mt. 27:60; J. 19:41) is probably the influence of non-Markan tradition which he takes up as his basic source for Lk. 23:55ff. Agreements with Matthew against Mark are probably due not to dependence on a common non-Markan source, but to common editorial practice. The difference in content, namely the preparation of spices before the Sabbath, not their purchase after the Sabbath (Lk. 23:56; Mk. 16:1), indicates that Luke is relying on a non-Markan source at this point. Since Luke is just as concerned not to show a violation of the Sabbath in the women's actions as Mark, there is no understandable reason why he should change Mark's temporal order and create a possible misunderstanding of the propriety of the women's actions. Thus he is probably depending at this point

¹V. Taylor, The Passion Narrative, pp. 99-103; Contrast Easton (Luke, p. 354f.), who says the whole section is from "L"; Boismard (II, pp. 432ff.), who says it is from Intermediate Matthew; Perry (p. 49) sees it as a combination of "J" and Mark.

enough material parallelism so that the episode as a whole may be seen to portray the fulfilment of Is. 53:9.¹ If so, is history or Is. 53:9² the real source for his report? The LXX has a different understanding of Is. 53:9 from that of the MT. Luke does not verbally allude to the LXX passage. It is unlikely that the material parallelism with the MT is clear enough to direct Greek readers' attention to Is. 53:9 as the passage which is being fulfilled in this event. There are several other contexts in which the honor accorded Jesus in death could be understood.³

There is nothing historically improbable about the event. Mark is well aware that as an executed criminal Jesus should have been buried in the criminals' common grave.⁴ Thus he informs us that Joseph must beg for the body. Mark 16:1 does not necessarily contradict⁵ the burial account, for a body buried hastily before the Sabbath and given only the essential care necessary for a proper burial may understandably receive further loving attention.

Not only is the account historically probable, but Matthew develops the connection with Is. 53:9 in an evidently secondary fashion. He attaches a verbal allusion to the description of Joseph and explicitly identifies the tomb as Joseph's own (Mt. 27:60). The other gospel writers do not identify Joseph as a rich man or the owner of Jesus' burial place. If the gospel tradition were formed on the basis of Is. 53:9 alone we might expect these facts to be more explicit in all levels

¹Arndt, p. 477; Geldenhuys, p. 618; Stöcker, p. 306.

²Loisy, Luc, p. 571; F. Mildenerberger, "Auferstanden am dritten Tage nach den Schriften," EvTh, XXIII (1963), p. 266; Contrast J. S. Kennard, Jr., "The Burial of Jesus," JBL, LXXIV (1955), p. 230; Weidel, ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 276.

³cf. below under the various OT ideas associated with the details of the burial.

⁴Mildenerberger (EvTh, XXIII, p. 266) concludes from this fact that Jesus' burial place which is reported in the Gospels is historically improbable.

⁵Ibid.

of the tradition. We might also expect the report to say that Jesus received a criminal's grave at first¹ and then later a rich man's tomb. Is. 53:9 is probably not the source of this narrative. The OT, however, may have had a role in the preservation of this narrative with the details about Jesus' honorable burial.² These facts may have been perceived by the early church upon reflection as the fulfilment of Is. 53:9.³ Luke simply records the event with these details but does not indicate that they are a fulfilment of Isaiah 53.⁴

Old Testament Idea

Luke employs OT ideas in his description of Joseph, the details of the burial, and the women's action. Sometimes it is claimed that the OT idea not history is the true source of some of the details. At the appropriate places we will deal with this issue.

Luke presents Joseph as "a good and righteous man, who had not consented to their purpose and deed, and was looking for the kingdom of God" (Lk. 23:50-51). The adjectival combination ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος occurs only here in Luke and the NT (cf. 1 Pt. 3:11, 12 (an OT quotation); Ro. 7:12). Both of these adjectives Luke uses separately with other adjectives or descriptive clauses to characterize individuals. In each case, the subsequent descriptive phrases appear to qualify and clarify

¹Kennard, JBL, LXXIV, p. 230.

²Suhl, p. 33.

³Hauck, p. 287.

⁴Browning (p. 166) suggests that Joseph's name is mentioned in all the Gospels because he was understood in the early church as an anti-type of the first Joseph who begged Pharaoh to let him bury Jacob. There is no other verbal parallelism besides the proper name *Joseph* by which we could tell that an anti-type is being presented. The material parallelism is not precise for although the object of the request is the same, the freedom to bury a loved one in the place of one's choice, the barrier to fulfilling that desire is different. The first Joseph has possession of the body. The second Joseph does not. The continuing record of the name may better be explained from historical interest and the desire to honor a person who risked much out of his love for Jesus, rather than from typological method.

the content of *δίκαιος* and *ἀγαθός* (e.g. 1:6, Zechariah and Elizabeth; 2:25, Simeon: *ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος καὶ εὐλαβής, προσδεχόμενος παράκλησιν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ πνεῦμα ἦν ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτόν*; 23:50, Joseph: *ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος* — οὗτος οὐκ ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν... ὃς προσδέχεται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ; Ac. 10:22, Cornelius; 11:24, Barnabas). The characterizations of Simeon and Joseph seem to follow the same pattern a b a b in which *δίκαιος* is explained by a clause which denotes the person's expectant hope in the coming of God's final redemption.

These explanatory clauses were necessary since the adjectives which Luke used were common in Hellenistic ethical vocabulary (e.g. Epictetus, *Diss.* I:22:1; II:17:6, *οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν πρό σου ἔλεγεν ἀγαθὸν ἢ δίκαιον*; Josephus, *Ant.* VI:7:4, which reports that God doesn't delight in sacrifice but in *τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δίκαιοις*).¹ These terms in combination, however, were not well established in OT usage. Only once in the LXX (Pr. 14:19) and a few times in Jewish apocryphal writings, does the combination occur (Tob. 9:6 in the S-text; 4 Macc. 2:23).

As we have seen *δίκαιος* by itself is used quite frequently in the LXX to translate *ṣ' dš*. As an adjective or as a substantive (e.g. Gen. 6:9; Ps. 54(55):23) it means "righteous" mainly before God in a forensic and ethical sense. Those who are righteous before God are those who serve him (Mal. 3:18), keep his covenant and his law (Psalm 1; cf. Lk. 1:6). Joseph manifested his righteousness, as the explanatory clause tells us, in his firm expectation that God would be faithful to his covenant promises by bringing in his final redemption, the messianic kingdom (Zech. 9:9; Is. 60:21; 61:8). Being righteous before God then

¹Krenkel (p. 142) notes this as a favorite expression of Josephus; Hirsch (II, p. 274) sees Luke's editing of Mark as a hellenizing of him.

is to show one's faithfulness to him in one's expectation that God will be faithful to his covenants.¹ Because of this need for an explanatory clause Luke's use of *δίκαιος* shows that for him and his readers, though it was understood as an ethical term even in a theological context, *δίκαιος* did not yet have a distinctively Christian content.² The OT may help to indicate the theological context in which the word should be understood. However, the power of OT usage seems to be equally matched by the more common non-theological secular ethical usage. Thus it is necessary to identify in the immediate NT context the precise focus of meaning.

The LXX uses *ἀγαθός* (mainly rendering *טוב*) to describe men usually in the sense of "handsome" or "virile" rather than in the sense of morally good (e.g. 1 Km. 9:2; 16:12, 18; 2 Km. 18:27; cf. Tob. 5:14). As a moral quality it is mainly attributed to God (e.g. Ps. 117(118):29; cf. Lk. 18:19; to men, Pr. 14:19; cf. Wsd. 18:9). The LXX uses *ἀγαθός* in the moral sense also within a theological framework. A man who is good shows it by actions which are in accordance with the will of the good God. The upright in heart toward God are those who do good and are good (Ps. 33(34):15, 16). Luke takes up this understanding of *ἀγαθός* as a moral quality which shows itself in action, in his use of the term in Luke-Acts (Lk. 6:45; 19:17; 8:15; cf. Ac. 11:24). Again "goodness," commonly used in secular Greek as an ethical virtue (e.g. Xenophon, *Mem.* I:7:1; cf. Aristotle, *de Respublica* III:4, τὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα γάμεν εἶναι κατ' ἀρετὴν τελεῖαν), needs to be defined by an explanatory statement. But, this time Luke does so, not so much to make explicit the theological context as to emphasize the revelation of one's nature by one's actions. Joseph showed himself to be good by not consenting to the evil βουλή.³

¹Hill, p. 124.

²Haenchen, p. 366; Contrast Conzelmann (*Theology of Luke*, p. 231, n. 4), who thinks that this description and Ac. 11:24 both refer to Christian virtue.

³Bengel (II, p. 217) observes that the phraseology concerning

and deed of his fellow councillors (Lk. 23:50, 51; 6:45).

The specialized use which Luke makes of *προσδέχομαι* to describe the act of awaiting God's final eschatological redemption¹ (e.g. by the righteous Jew, 2:25, 38; 23:51; Ac. 24:15; by Christians, Lk. 12:36) has few precedents in the LXX. The attitude of the righteous sufferer awaiting his redemption is narrated with the use of *προσδέχομαι* (Job 2:9; Ps. 54(55):9). The OT prophets warned the rebellious people to expect coming eschatological judgment (Is. 28:10; Ezk. 32:10). Later, in Intertestamental times the suffering nation likens herself to their ancestors in Egypt who before the exodus "expected the salvation of the righteous" (Wsd. 18:7). The apocalyptic hope of the people in Intertestamental times also seems to have included the idea of the suffering righteous ones who await redemption. But this was understood in an eschatological context.² Luke takes this idea over in his use of *προσδέχομαι* here to qualify the nature of Joseph's righteousness. It shows that Joseph's dependence was not in his own righteousness but in God for salvation.

Several details of Jesus' burial either express OT ideas or depend on OT background. Jesus as an executed criminal should have been buried in a common field set aside for that purpose. Joseph by asking Pilate for possession of the body (Lk. 23:52) and by placing him in a new tomb goes against this custom (Sanh. 6:5; cf. Jer. 26:23). He risked accusations that he was defiling his family plot by burying Jesus there. Joseph's act was a witness to his conviction that Jesus was innocent.³

Joseph's not consenting to the counsel "approaches nearly to that in Ps. 1:1." This is probably coincidental and not intentional for Luke often uses *βουλή* in this sense (e.g. Ac. 5:38; 19:1; 27:12, 42).

¹See above, pp. 226ff. for discussion of *τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*.

²cf. Palestinian Targum's paraphrase of Gen. 49:1: "I wait for your redemption O Lord." It is understood as the determined time in which King Messiah will come. McNamara (The NT and the Palestinian Targum, p. 243) sees this and Lk. 23:51 as reflections of popular eschatological expectation in the first century.

³Daube (The NT and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 311) suggests that Luke and John's notation of the tomb in which no one had ever been laid was

This episode is then a further way in which Luke develops the "innocence" aspect of his theological theme that in the innocent Jesus' suffering Is. 53:12 was finding its fulfilment. If the Jewish law were not known to the readers at least the care and honor with which Jesus is buried communicates that Joseph and the women were convinced that Jesus was innocent and worthy of esteem.

As the fact that the tomb was new witnesses to Jesus' innocence so the fact that it was rock hewn attests to Jesus' position as the Messiah, who is worthy of such an honorable burial place.¹ The two times in the OT when a rock hewn tomb is mentioned, show that this type of tomb is worthy of royalty (2 Ch. 16:14; cf. Is. 22:16, the rebellious people are so secure in themselves that they plan to be buried in the land and have already provided for themselves rock hewn tombs). That such a tomb was available is not improbable historically given the topography of the Jerusalem area. There is not enough verbal or material parallelism with either of these OT passages to show that they and not history are the true source of this detail.² However, the OT passage may have had some

intended "to rule out burial in a grave previously used for other executed persons. They do not say that the grave did not belong to the court. . . but they do say that it had never been desecrated by the corpse of a sinner." For Daube the gospel evidence suggests that the tomb was not in a family plot but in the court-owned criminals' field. The new tomb feature of the gospel tradition was part of a reply to the anti-Christian apologetic of the Jews who supposedly made much of the fact that Jesus was buried in ground desecrated by the bones of executed criminals which lay there before him (cf. Tos. Sanh. 9:8; 26:9). The difficulty with this explanation is that there is little evidence that Jesus' burial place among criminals was ever a feature of Jewish anti-Christian polemic. Further, the explicit evidence of Mt. that the tomb belonged to Joseph and the extraordinary request of Joseph to Pilate make sense only if the tomb in which Jesus was laid, was not the customary criminal's grave. Rabbinic commentary concerning burial makes provision for martyrs to be buried in the graves of their families since they unlike executed criminals have made atonement for their sins by their death (cf. Sanh. 47a, citing Abaye's (d. 338/339) interpretation of Sanh. 6:5, in SBK, I, p. 1049). It is conceivable with a similar line of thought Joseph could have understood the propriety of burying Jesus in his own family plot.

¹Rengstorf, p. 277; Klostermann, p. 230; Hauck, p. 288.

²Contrast Weidel, ThStuKr, LXXXV, p. 276.

influence on the preservation of this detail which indicates that Jesus had a burial worthy of a king. The adjective λαξευτός is peculiar to the LXX (Dt. 4:49; cf. Aquila, Num. 21:20; 23:14; Dt. 34:1; Josh. 13:20) and Luke (Lk. 23:53). This is probably a coincidence and not a sign of Lukan use of LXX vocabulary for the LXX and Aquila use λαξευτός to translate the proper name Mt. Pisgah (פִּיֶּסְגָּ). It is not evidence as Plummer following Kennedy suggests for "the important class of words which become current through having been needed to express Jewish ideas and customs."¹

One other possible OT influence is the law (Dt. 21:22-23) that everyone who hangs on a tree must be buried on the day on which he dies (cf. Gospel of Peter 23-24).² This may have been part of Joseph's original motivation in making his request immediately to Pilate. It may have influenced the early church's time consciousness as they explicitly report Jesus' burial on the day of his death (cf. Ac. 5:30; 10:39; J. 19:31; Gal. 3:13; 1 Pt. 2:24, which appear to report the crucifixion in language influenced by Dt. 21:22-23). The reason which Luke and Mark present for the hasty burial on that day is the fact that the Sabbath is the next day. Luke's placement of the time reference at the conclusion instead of the beginning of the burial episode is not primarily to show that burial occurred according to the law. Rather it is to clearly prepare the way for resurrection "on the third day." He could then show that Jesus' prophecy that he would rise on the third day was precisely fulfilled (Lk. 9:22; 18:33; 24:7, 46; Ac. 10:40).

The time reference (Lk. 23:54) employs the OT ideas of Sabbath and

¹Plummer, p. 542; cf. secular Greek evidence for various examples of other words in the λαξ - group given in Liddell and Scott; Lagrange (p. 596) observes that rock hewn tombs were not a specialty of Jews but were especially found in the Near East.

²Caird, Luke, p. 254; cf. Hühn (p. 67), who also points out the prohibition of leaving any of the Passover sacrifice until the next day (Ex. 34:25).

Jewish time reckoning.¹ σάββατον is a transliteration of the Hebrew שַׁבָּת which has been made into a declinable neuter noun. It owes its form and meaning to the LXX² where it is the name of the seventh day of the week, the day of rest, which God has ordained that men should observe (e.g. Ex. 20:8-11; Dt. 5:12-14). It may also signify a Jewish feast day, particularly the day of atonement (Lev. 16:31; 23:32), and also be used as the word for "week" (Is. 66:23). One peculiarity of LXX usage, especially in the Pentateuch and some of the prophets, is the practice of rendering the singular שַׁבָּת by the plural σάββατα (e.g. Ex. 20:8, 10; Jer. 17:21-24). Elsewhere the singular σάββατον translates שַׁבָּת (e.g. 4 Km. 4:23; 2 Ch. 23:4, 8; 2 Esdr. 19:14). Whether this is an indicator that the translation practice progressed from an irregular rendering in earlier LXX books to a more regular one in later books is not certain.

Luke reproduces all of the LXX usage of σάββατον except its function as a designation of a Jewish feast day³ (Sabbath day, σάββατον e.g. Lk. 23:54, 56; σάββατα, Lk. 4:16; 4:31/Mk. 1:21; Lk. 6:2/Mk. 2:24; Lk. 13:10; Ac. 13:14; 16:13; note that Luke replaces this form with the singular several times Lk. 6:1/Mk. 2:23; Lk. 6:7, 9/Mk. 3:2, 4; cf. "week," Lk. 24:1; Ac. 20:7; possibly Ac. 17:2). Luke's editorial practice of replacing the plural form in Mark with the singular is an example of his desire to write in clear Greek style while still maintaining an element

¹ ἡμέρα . . . παρασκευῆς, is a technical term in first century Judaism to denote Friday, the day of preparation before the Sabbath (e.g. Shabb. 2:7, שַׁבָּת שַׁבָּת; Josephus, *Ant.* XVI:163). It does not occur in the OT; cf. R. P. C. Hanson ("Further Evidence for Indications of the Johannine Chronology of the Passion to be found in the Synoptic Evangelists," *ExpT*, LIII (1941-42), pp. 178ff.), who takes the term Sabbath in Lk. 23:56 in the sense of feast day, i.e. Passover, and sees the ἡμέρα παρασκευῆς as the day of preparation for the feast yet to take place, not the Sabbath immediately following the feast day. This is thought to be a silent witness to the authenticity of the Johannine chronology; Contrast Leaney, p. 288.

² Thackeray (I, p. 32) calls it a hellenized Hebrew word first found in the LXX.

³ Contrast see above, n. 1.

of LXX vocabulary. The use at Lk. 23:54 is probably due to Luke as he places Mk. 15:42 at the end of the episode and expands it in an explanatory fashion. He seems to assume that his readers are familiar enough with Jewish practices to know the significance of the term. It has been suggested¹ that this time reference is part of a pattern in Luke's gospel whereby he shows Jesus' ministry to be conducted within a scheme of seven Sabbaths of salvation history, (Lk. 4:16, 31; 6:1, 6; 13:10; 14:1; 23:56b). The last Sabbath is Jesus' death, on which he and his followers rested according to the commandment. Luke's time references show that he saw this Sabbath as the preface to Easter day, the first day of the week, the dawn of the new age of the Spirit and the church. This understanding of Luke's references to the Sabbath fails to take into account that each reference serves a necessary function in its own narrative. Mostly it is part of an introductory setting to an account in which Jesus will be involved in controversy concerning healing on the Sabbath (6:6; 13:10; 14:1; cf. 6:1). It is probably only coincidental that Luke happens to mention seven Sabbaths in Jesus' ministry. No theological pattern along the lines of a Sabbath motif is developed by him. The Sabbath reference is theologically important at Lk. 23:54, 56 for two other reasons: (1) as already noted, the relationship of the burial to resurrection on the third day; (2) the obedience of the women to the commandment.

Another Jewish custom, the reckoning of a day from sunset to sunset is expressed in the phrase, καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν (cf. Ac. 20:7-9).² Though ἐπιφώσκω is not used in the LXX in this way, to indicate the new day commencing, dawning at night, there are some examples of the reckoning of a day from sunset to sunset (Gen. 1:5; Lev. 24:3; Ps. 54(55):18).

¹McEachern, CJT, XII pp. 275ff.

²Contrast Driver (JTS, n.s. XVI, p. 329), who maintains that the expression really reflects Galilean reckoning of days: sunrise to sunrise.

With this idea Luke represents more immediately Jewish idiom and only secondarily an OT idea.¹

The activity of the women (Lk. 23:56), their preparation of spices and ointments and their resting on the Sabbath, expresses OT ideas. The further anointing, which they plan, is not necessary to a proper burial for such work would have been permitted on the Sabbath.² It is an act of love and shows the high esteem in which Jesus was held. The OT and contemporary Jewish history relate that this act was performed for deceased royalty (2 Ch. 16:14; Josephus; B. J. I:33:9). This may be another way in which Luke presents the kingly nature of the one whose body is so cared for.

The women keep the Mosaic law, resting the Sabbath day according to the commandment (κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν). Though it is used in secular Greek in governmental contexts to mean "command or ordinance" (e.g. Herodotus, I:157, τὰς κύρου ἐντολάς, royal ordinance). ἡ ἐντολή is not used in religious contexts.³ Luke's use of κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν to describe taking rest on the Sabbath corresponds with LXX usage of ἐντολή to refer to specific demands of God's law (e.g. Ex. 24:12; Lev. 22:31; Dt. 8:1 most frequently translating וְיִשְׁרָאֵל). Luke may use ἐντολή both for human commands (Lk. 15:29; Ac. 17:15) and for divine commands contained in God's law (Lk. 1:6; 18:20; 23:56). In the latter case, the immediate context must so qualify the term that the theological perspective is explicitly introduced. In our case, the description of the content of the command's observance so qualifies the term that we can recognize it as a divine command. The LXX usage probably contributes

¹Black, An Aramaic Approach, p. 136; Wellhausen (p. 17) calls this use of ἐπιψώσκω, a non-septuagintal, non-technical semitism.

²Ellis, Luke, p. 271.

³TDNT, II, p. 546.

to the choice of the term here which Luke takes over from his source.

The purpose in Luke's reference to the observance of the Mosaic law is not simply as part of an apologetic to Judaism that Christianity was not hostile to OT law,¹ or as an attempt to make sure Jewish Christians would not be offended as a result of misunderstanding that the women's preparation of spices was a violation of the Sabbath.² It is part of his theological presentation of the continuity and discontinuity between the age of the law and the age of grace within a framework of salvation history. Luke shows approval of pious Jews who keep God's commandments and look for his coming salvation (e.g. Elizabeth and Zechariah, 1:6). They were obedient under the hegemony of God's law, which existed up to the time of the last days of salvation, when Jesus proclaimed the good news of the kingdom (16:16). That proclamation did not abrogate the law (16:17), but placed it within the larger context of discipleship to Jesus (18:20, 22). The law received a new function. The obedience to it as a means of salvation was replaced by belief in the Savior (Ac. 13:38).

Luke by pointing to the women's obedience to the law approves of such behavior in principle. However, the specific content of obedience, the Sabbath observance, is only of historical interest. Jesus' resurrection has created a discontinuity in the specifics of Sabbath observance (Ac. 20:7). Christians observe the first day of the week as the Lord's day. The Jewish Sabbath now becomes an occasion for the preaching of the good news of the kingdom (Ac. 13:14, 42, 44; 17:2; 18:4). In this way Luke shows in Acts that in a real sense the law and the prophets have made way for the preaching of the kingdom (Lk. 16:16). In reporting pre-resurrection events Luke presents the continuity of God's activity and man's response in the two ages. In reporting the post-resurrection time the discontinuity comes to the fore. The OT idea of obedience

¹Contrast Cadbury, The Style, p. 91.

²Contrast Leaney, p. 288.

to God's law is one of the ways that the relationship between these two times of God's dealing with men may be described. The whole question of Sabbath observance is a microcosm of the emerging pattern of relationships in this crisis time of salvation history. At Lk. 23:56 Luke through his report of the women's Sabbath observance shows by way of implied contrast with Christian practice that the resurrection was the crucial event which reordered man's relationship to the law. This description of the women probably came from Luke's source¹ originally but Luke has put it to good use.

Old Testament Style

The LXX style imitation, while being supported by the several OT ideas we have mentioned, occurs unevenly throughout the narrative. Structural indicators are limited to the predominant use of καί (7X) over δέ (2X) as the coordinating conjunction. There are two clear examples of parataxis (23:53, 56). The subject predicate word order, however, points away from LXX style imitation (verb-subject, 1X; subject-verb, 6X; cf. 2 other possible word order semitisms, τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ; τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ). The beginning of the perikope where Luke has revised Mark shows the heaviest concentration of LXX style imitation in terms of individual constructions, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος Lk. 23:50.²

Part of Luke's use of ἰδοὺ in descriptive narrative is the construction καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος (5:12/Mk. 1:40; Lk. 5:18/Mk. 2:3; Lk. 8:41/Mk. 5:22; Lk. 9:30/Mk. 9:4; Lk. 9:38/Mk. 9:17; Lk. 19:2; 23:50/Mk. 15:43; Lk. 24:4, cf. Mk. 16:5; Ac. 1:10; 8:27; 10:17, 19, 30; 11:11; 16:1; ἄνθρωπος, Lk. 14:2; γυνή, 7:37; 13:11; cf. 10:25; 24:13; Ac. 12:7). In every case where Luke is using Mark he has inserted the construction into Mark.

¹Easton (Luke, p. 354f.) says that careful observance of the law is an interest of "L".

²The three periphrastic constructions in this section (23:51, 53, 55) are not necessarily examples of semitic sources or LXX style imitation. Rather they serve to place emphasis on the continuous state of the verb's action and thus help to advance the narrative.

This whole construction and especially the καὶ ἰδοὺ may be identified as an element of Luke's style.¹

The construction translates וְעַתָּה in the LXX (e.g. Judg. 7:13; 19:16; 1 Km. 17:23; 2 Km. 1:2; 18:24; 3 Km. 21(20):39; cf. the plural, Gen. 18:2; 3 Km. 13:22; Judg. 19:22; cf. καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνή, Judg. 19:27; Ruth 3:8; 4 Km. 8:5). Though there are only thirteen occurrences in the LXX of καὶ ἰδοὺ γυνή (γυνή), they are distributed widely and reproduce a Hebrew construction in translation which is not normal Greek. The resulting Greek construction may then be seen as a recognizable element of LXX style. It is a variant of καὶ ἰδοὺ, the well established LXX stylistic element. It is imitated in an OT apocryphal work (1 Macc. 5:30), and introduced into the LXX (Judg. 1:24). Luke's use of the construction may best be understood as part of his conscious imitation of LXX style.²

The function of the stylistic feature is basically to alert the reader to a new character who is being introduced. Since the character is often a person whom Jesus will heal, the καὶ ἰδοὺ focuses the readers' attention on the individual and his ailment (e.g. Lk. 5:12; 8:41). Such

¹Creed, p. lxxix; Cadbury, The Style, p. 177; Zahn, Lukas, p. 104; Contrast Schweizer (ThZ, VI, p. 164), who sees it as evidence for a non-Markan source which underlies Lk. 23:50-24:53; Schramm (p. 92) argues that since the various uses of ἰδοὺ only occur 4X in Acts 15ff. they can not be claimed as evenly distributed throughout all of Luke-Acts and thus be seen as an element in Luke's style. Fiedler (p. 65) explains that there are fewer occurrences of the construction in the latter part of Acts because Luke is no longer dealing with the glorious past of salvation history but with fairly contemporary events; Moulton (I, p. 11, n. 1) observes that Luke uses ἰδοὺ mainly while the story moves in a Palestinian setting. Schramm, however, explains the insertions of ἰδοὺ into Mark as the influence of Luke's non-Markan source which is said to run parallel to Mark at these places. Although we have recognized the influence of non-Markan materials in Luke's composition of this episode, they are not necessarily the source of καὶ ἰδοὺ; Easton (Luke, p. 354f.) attributes ἰδοὺ to "L".

²Perry, p. 69; Creed, p. lxxix; Fiedler, p. 65; Contrast Turner (Kilpatrick Festschrift, p. 13) who sees καὶ ἰδοὺ as an example of Jewish or Biblical Greek, which he admits is ultimately derived from the translated books of the OT.

an introduction to a miracle story also places Jesus' act clearly in the theological context of salvation history. It witnesses to the fact that the miracle is one of God's mighty acts just as much as those acts recorded in the LXX in whose style the miracle story is being told. The construction also introduces individuals who are unusual and important in relation to the advance of salvation history (angels, Lk. 24:4; Ac. 1:10; 10:30; 12:7, who interpret that history; men, Lk. 23:50; Ac. 10:17, 19, who advance it by their deeds). Joseph plays a surprising¹ and yet providential role in salvation history as he provides a burial place for Jesus which is proper to his true nature as the innocent sufferer. Thus, both to introduce a new and unusual character² and to emphasize that his actions take place within the perspective of salvation history,³ Luke introduces Joseph and the episode this way.

Finally we should note that the form of the proper names Ἰησοῦς (Lk. 23:52) and Ἰωσήφ (23:50) comes ultimately from the transliteration of the Hebrew יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (e.g. Ex. 17:9); and יֹסֵף (Gen. 30:24) in the LXX.

¹Arndt, p. 477.

²Cadbury, The Style, p. 178.

³Lagrange, p. xcix; Fiedler, p. 35; Moulton, I, p. 11, n. 1.

PART III. THE CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The results of our analysis must now be set out in a concise form which will enable us to see any patterns in Luke's use of OT quotations, allusions, ideas, and style. We will first present in classified form a description of each area of use by stating the findings from each part of our task (e.g. for quotations, the kind of text-form; for OT ideas, the kind of contribution to NT meaning). We shall then ask about the pattern of OT usage in Luke from the perspective of his compositional method, his interpretational method, and his audience and purpose in writing. Finally, we must ask the theological question: What was the significance of the OT for Luke the Christian theologian?

We realize that the generalizations we make concerning Luke's compositional method and theological outlook are based on an investigation of only two chapters of a two volume work. There are other portions of his work which would prove just as fruitful for research (e.g. Lk. 1-2; 24; the speeches in Acts). However, during our analysis and the drawing up of preliminary conclusions we have attempted to keep Luke's whole work in view. Hopefully, our conclusions will reflect Luke's basic approach to the OT. Of course they will need to stand the test of conformity with results emerging from the analysis of other portions of Luke-Acts.

CHAPTER I

THE RESULTS

Old Testament Quotation and Allusion

Since there are only three OT quotations (Lk. 22:37; 23:30, 46), it is difficult to draw general conclusions about Luke's use of explicit OT material on the basis of this evidence alone. To give us a wider field for comparison we have combined our consideration of quotations with that of allusions. Both areas of usage have been analyzed by asking the same questions. Where there are questions germane to only one of the areas we shall be sure to indicate separately what our results for these questions have been.

The text-form of all Luke's OT quotations show a definite influence from the LXX over against the MT (22:37; 23:46; 23:30 agrees with the A-text tradition of the LXX over against the B-text).¹ Among the OT allusions² a few show the influence of the LXX (23:34; 23:48-49). The allusions in Lk. 22:20 (Jer. 38(31):31); Lk. 22:69 (Ps. 109(110):1/Da. 7:13); and Lk. 23:35, 36, whether they have extensive verbal parallelism with the LXX or not, allude to OT passages where the LXX agrees precisely with the MT. Lk. 22:15-20; 22:20 (Is. 53:11, 12); Lk. 22:22, 30, 31 are material not verbal allusions.

The differences between the LXX and MT in the text-form of these quotations do not involve significant differences in meaning. Thus no quotation is exclusively dependent on the LXX. Most of the quotations and allusions have a mixed text-form. They show some agreement (cf. 22:37 which may show agreement with a literal rendering of the MT)³ as well as some disagreement with the LXX text-form. Normally the disagreements

¹See above, pp. 259, 579, 481.

²Ibid., pp. 514, 597, 153, 400, 415, 524, 532, 161, 158ff., 201, 217, 241.

³Ibid., pp. 259ff.

simply reflect stylistic adjustments to the NT context (22:20, 69; 23:34, 35, 48-49), but sometimes they may be due to interpretive adjustments (23:46; 22:69/Da. 7:13).¹

The basic explanation of these mixed text-forms centers in a process of oral and written transmission of tradition. In the case of quotations and allusions which are part of the reported words of Jesus, this process begins most often with Jesus and ends with Luke's final composition. The adjustment to the NT situation either stylistically (Lk. 22:20/Jer. 38(31):31; Lk. 22:69/Ps. 109(110):1) or interpretively (Lk. 22:69/Da. 7:13; Lk. 23:46) originates with Jesus and is faithfully preserved in the tradition's transmission from Aramaic to Greek (cf. 22:37 where a literal translation of Aramaic tradition is preserved probably out of respect for the words of Jesus). It is at the transition from Aramaic to Greek that the LXX influence first is felt (22:37; 23:46; 22:69). One instance of extensive LXX influence is the use of the A-text of Hos. 10:8 to reproduce Jesus' word to the women (Lk. 23:30). We found no evidence that Luke has edited the text-form of quotations and allusions which are part of the reported words of Jesus.

In the case of allusions in the descriptive narrative there is evidence that Luke took over allusions from his sources and edited them according to the LXX text-form (Lk. 23:34). We may conclude that Luke is not originally responsible for the text-form of any of his quotations or allusions. He takes them over from his sources. Any adjustment he makes is normally with the LXX in mind.² We recognize, as we will need

¹ Ibid., pp. 153, 400, 514, 524, 597, 580, 415.

² Rese's and Toy's (see above, pp. 17, 74f.) observations are partially correct. Luke does use the LXX as his basic OT text. But it is not necessarily the A-text of the LXX as Holtz (see above, p. 74) suggests. He does edit his OT material but not to the extent Rese contends. Sources as Krenkel (see above, p. 18) proposed are responsible for the text-forms of many quotations and allusions. Luke's OT material has been influenced by translation from Aramaic tradition but Luke is not the translator. Memory loss (Döpke, see above p. 17) is probably not a cause of text-form discrepancy, while Luke's concern to write in a literary fashion has influenced his editing (Toy, see above, p. 17).

to do repeatedly throughout our conclusions, that we have available for comparison only one of Luke's literary sources for the passion narrative, namely Mark. Thus we are continually hampered in our attempts to evaluate Luke's handling of OT material which occurs in portions of his narrative for which Mark is not the basic source. This is especially true for the OT quotations, all of which are peculiar to Luke. It is also true for some allusions (e.g. 22:30, 31; 23:35, 48-49). Thus, though on source critical grounds we have been able to maintain with probability that the quotations or allusions did not originate with Luke but came to him in his sources, it is not possible even by a comparison with his handling of OT material in Mark to describe with certainty what editorial alterations Luke has made to the text-form of his quotations or allusions. Thus we must always proceed with caution.

Of the three quotations only one has a regular introductory formula (22:37). It introduces the quotation as a fulfilment proof-text. The other two quotations are part of Jesus' words and are introduced by LXX stylistic elements.

The function of these OT quotations and allusions in their immediate context may be classified into four categories: interpretive text, simple proof-text, fulfilment proof-text, and illustrative text. As an interpretive text the quotation or allusion may serve a hermeneutical purpose, placing events in the narrative within an eschatological promise and fulfilment (22:15-20, 20/Jer. 38(31):31; Lk. 22:69; 23:30), or theological (22:20/Is. 53:11, 12; Lk. 22:22; 22:32; 23:46) context. The OT material may be part of a prophetic prediction made by Jesus (22:22, 30, 37, 69; 23:(29) 30). As a simple proof-text, the quotation or allusion, which is usually part of one of Jesus' prophetic predictions, may lend its authority to the prediction without placing it within an explicit promise and fulfilment framework (22:22, 30, 69; 23:(29), 30). As a fulfilment proof-text, a quotation or allusion which is again usually part of Jesus' prophetic word, places his prediction within the framework of promise

and fulfilment (e.g. 22:37, which is a proof-text in the scheme "promise and fulfilment"). Illustrative texts function within the promise and fulfilment framework but without explicit reference to it. They occur in the descriptive narrative of the crucifixion scene (23:34, 35, 36, 48-49). These texts portray the suffering of Jesus and the reaction of various onlookers. In addition to their illustrative function, they also provide in OT language the historical details which fulfill the OT prophecy concerning the suffering Messiah. They are in effect detached midrash. Originally, they were the commentary on the fulfilment proof-texts which showed that the Messiah must suffer. These categories of usage are not mutually exclusive (e.g. Lk. 22:69 and Lk. 23:(29), 30 are both interpretive texts and simple proof-texts). An OT quotation or allusion may be classified in one or more of them. Also, the promise and fulfilment scheme for applying OT texts to the NT situation was not limited to texts which function as explicit fulfilment proof-texts (e.g. especially the illustrative texts). Texts in the other categories may also be understood as having been interpreted in this scheme.¹

It may seem from the results of this analysis: only one quotation out of three quotations and thirteen allusions is an explicit fulfilment proof-text, that Luke is not really interested in a promise and fulfilment scheme for interpreting the OT (cf. also the omission of Mk. 14:49/Lk. 22:53). We shall deal with this anomaly when we consider Luke's compositional and interpretational methods.

There is a great diversity in the extent of influence which these quotations and allusions have on the larger context of Luke's work. A quotation may serve as a text from which theological themes will be

¹ Rese's (see above, p. 78) analysis of the categories of usage is essentially the same except that he does not recognize the possibility that texts could perform the functions of more than one category and that a promise and fulfilment scheme of interpretation may be present in the use of OT material which does not function as an explicit fulfilment proof-text.

worked out consistently in the rest of the passion narrative (22:37).¹ An allusion may contain a theological theme which is mentioned once again in the narrative (22:20/Jer. 38(31):31 "new covenant," cf. Lk. 22:29; Lk. 22:22, cf. 22:48; Lk. 22:69, cf. Ac. 7:56). Or, the allusion or quotation may express a theological theme which occurs throughout Luke-Acts, though the specific content of the quotation or allusion is not mentioned again (Lk. 22:15-20; 22:20/Is. 53:11, 12; Lk. 22:30, 31; 23:(29) 30; 23:46). Other allusions, the illustrative texts (23:34, 35, 36, 48-49), do not express theological themes. Yet they are examples of the OT texts which the early church would later proclaim as evidence of OT prophecy which had been fulfilled in Jesus' suffering.

Luke's use of his quotations and allusions as pointers to their larger original contexts may be placed in several categories. There are the material allusions (22:15-20; 22:22; 22:20/Is. 53:11, 12; Lk. 22:30, 31), which have no defined verbal parallelism with which to point to a larger original context. They may not properly be called "context pointers" since they depend on the larger original context for their meaning. Other material allusions are accompanied by a reference to another portion of the larger OT context in the immediate NT context. Thus, they may properly be called pointers to that larger original context (Lk. 22:30). Each of the quotations and most of the verbal allusions seem to point to the larger original context. This is apparent either from the fact that the larger original context is necessary for a proper understanding of what is explicitly cited (22:37; 22:69; possibly 23:35). Or, in the immediate context of the quotation or extensive verbal allusion there may be other allusions to the larger original context (23:30, cf. 23:29; 23:46, cf. 23:48-49; 23:34, cf. 23:35; 22:20/Jer. 38(31):31, cf. Lk. 22:28). There are also some allusions which don't serve as "context pointers" (23:36; 48-49). Thus, although not all allu-

¹ See above, p. 290.

sions are "context pointers" there is enough evidence to say that Luke often used his OT materials as "context pointers."¹

Luke's use of quotations and allusions normally respects the original context in terms of grammatical sense (22:15-20; 22:20, 22, 30, 31, 37, 69; 23:30, 34, 36, 48-49). In the two exceptions (23:35, 46) events in the NT historical situation have controlled the adjusted usage. Respect for the original context in terms of the historical intention of the writer does not yield such unequivocally positive results. Some quotations and allusions are drawn from OT prophetic contexts (22:20/Jer. 38 (31):31; Lk. 22:22, 69; 23:(29) 30). Some come out of contexts in which the suffering and testing of the righteous is presented in general terms (22:31; 23:46; cf. 22:37 where the righteous sufferer, the Servant, has characteristics like no other person in history).² Others are taken from OT contexts which present an idealized picture of God's reign in Israel which may readily be understood eschatologically (22:30). In all of these cases the original historical context either positively demands an interpretation of prophetic fulfilment in the future or allows for the application of the OT text to a NT situation. The allusions which appear to violate the original historical context are those which treat as subject to prophetic fulfilment, texts which describe past events outside any prophetic context (23:34; 35, 36; 48-49). The factors in the method which enable Luke to employ these texts in such a way we will summarize later in our discussion of Luke's interpretational method.

We have already seen in our discussion of text-form that the source of all quotation and allusion material is pre-Lukan. Two considerations which specifically concern allusions are the relation of allusions to history and the explanation of non-allusions. We have found in our

¹Dodd's (see above, p. 66), theory is then partially substantiated.

²See above, p. 290.

study no instance where the OT is the only source of a historical detail presented in OT language.¹ The influence of the OT on the historical details was probably as a selective control, determining what material was preserved in the gospel tradition. The historical details also have an influence on the OT material presented in the NT. They affect its text-form (22:20, 69; 23:34, 46) and its content (23:35, 46, 48-49). There is then a relationship of reciprocal influence between OT text and NT history which controls not only what historical details are likely to be preserved in the tradition, but also determines the text-form and content of the OT quotations and allusions, which have been appropriated to show that the historical details are the fulfilment of prophecy.

Luke's work, when compared with the other Synoptic Gospels and Acts, shows evidence of the following non-quotations and non-allusions:²

Non-quotations: Mk. 14:27/Zech. 13:7, cf. Lk. 22:31-34; Mk. 15:34/Ps. 21 (22):2, cf. Lk. 23:45;

Non-allusions: From Mk., Mk. 14:25/Ex. 24:8, cf. Lk. 22:20; Mk. 14:18/Ps. 40(41):10, cf. Lk. 22:21; Mk. 14:34/Ps. 41(42):6, 12; 42(43):5, cf. Lk. 22:40; Mk. 14:38b/Ps. 50(51):12, 14, cf. Lk. 22:46; Mk. 14:45/2 Km. 20:9; cf. Lk. 22:47; Mk. 14:54/Ps. 37(38):12, cf. Lk. 22:54; Mk. 14:65/Is. 50:6, cf. Lk. 22:63-65; Mk. 14:58/Jer. 33(26):5, 6ff., cf. Lk. 22:66f.; Mk. 14:62/Da. 7:13, cf. Lk. 22:69; Mk. 15:4/Is. 53:7; 52:13, cf. Lk. 23:4; Mk. 15:16-20a/Is. 50:6, cf. Lk. 23:25; Mk. 15:29/Ps. 21(22):8b, cf. Lk. 23:35; Two general allusions to Scripture from Mk., Mk. 14:21/Lk. 22:22; Mk. 14:48-49/Lk. 22:53; Allusions in Mt. developed from Mk., Mt. 26:3, 4/Ps. 2:2; 30(31):14, cf. Mk. 14:1-2/Lk. 22:1-6; Mt. 26:15/Zech. 11:12, cf. Mk. 14:11/Lk. 22:5; Mt. 27:57/Is. 53:9, cf. Mk. 15:43/Lk. 23:50; An allusion present in Acts, Ps. 2:2/Acts. 4:24-30, cf. Lk. 23:6-12.

The non-allusions and non-quotations in Luke may be explained by more positive reasons than Luke's preference not to present fulfilment proof-texts. Though we will mention various aspects of this issue

¹The work of Strauss, Weidel, Bultmann, Dibelius and their successors has not proved to be convincing. They have not shown with sufficient cogency that in the case of any given historical detail the OT must necessarily be its source; See above, pp. 24ff., 26, 44, 43.

²See above, pp. 238, 573; 151, 191, 310, 311, 340, 361, 376, 394, 406, 436, 463, 523; 194, 336; 105, 107, 620; 452f.

later, we may state briefly that Luke's compositional method and his various theological purposes often took precedence over the fact that his sources presented to him an allusion or quotation. Since Luke wanted his readers to relive the unfolding drama of salvation history as it moves on to fulfilment, he did not favor the presentation of fulfilment proof-texts in the form of editorial comment or even as part of interpretive comment by participants in the gospel narrative. He feels free to omit OT allusions which will create a too frequent reminder of the distance at which his readers stand from the reported events which fulfilled OT prophecy. Though it involves less explicit talk concerning fulfilment and may involve the omission of allusions and quotations, Luke's presentation enables the reader to relive fulfilment as it happened. What verbal allusions do occur seem to be limited to either Jesus' words or the descriptive narrative of the crucifixion.

Concerning the relationship of these areas of OT use to the use of OT ideas and style, we may observe that none of the quotations or allusions contributes LXX stylistic elements which Luke takes up and consistently imitates as part of his style. These quotations and allusions, however, do make a contribution to the development of several of Luke's theological themes. They portray the suffering and death of Jesus (23:34; 35; 36; 23:46). While admittedly the illustrative text allusions carry with them an implicit interpretation of the events which they describe, other allusions and quotations serve to explicitly interpret Jesus' suffering and death. They should probably be placed in a separate category: the interpretation of Jesus' death (22:15-20; 22:20, 22, 37, 69, 23:46, 48-49). Some OT quotations and allusions contribute to Luke's Christology (22:15-20; 22:20, 22, 30, 37, 69; 23:46). Others advance the theological theme of the activity of God and Satan in the drama of the Passion (22:22, 31, 37, 69; 23:46). And others contribute to the eschatological themes of the final messianic kingdom (22:15-20; 22:30), the coming judgment (23:29-30), and the fulfilment of prophecy (22:37;

22:20/Jer. 38(31):31; cf. the quotation and allusions which are the content of prophetic predictions, Lk. 22:15-20; 22:22, 30, 31, 37, 69; 23:30). The Jews and especially the destiny of Jerusalem (23:(29)30; 35; 48-49); Jewish religious practices, particularly the Passover (22:15-20); and some elements of the life of righteousness (22:31; 23:46), are presented with the aid of OT allusions and quotations. As in the case of the categories for the use of quotations and allusions, some allusions and quotations may contribute to more than one of Luke's theological themes. There is actually a complex pattern of inter-relationships in Luke's theology. When we discuss Luke's compositional method we hope to show the various elements in the thought process from which this pattern emerged.

Old Testament Idea

Over eighty OT ideas lend their special meanings to the theological themes in Luke's passion narrative. They may be classified under various theological themes as follows:

(A) The Portrayal of Jesus' Passion¹: His suffering- ἀναγρέω, 22:2; ἀΐρω, 23:18; παραδίδωμι, 22:4, 6, 21, 22, 48; 23:25; πορεύομαι ("to die"), 22:22; ἐμπαίρω, 22:63; 23:11; 23:36; βλασφημέω, 22:65; 23:39; ἐξουθενέω, 23:11; and His death- κρεμάννυμι, 23:39; the new rock hewn tomb, 23:53; burial on the same day, 23:54.

(B) The Interpretation of Jesus' Suffering and Death²: τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόνμενον... τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον, 22:19, 20; τὸ ποτήριον, 22:20, 42; the rent veil, 23:45; δίκαιος, 23:47.

(C) Christology³: ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, 22:22, 48, 69; ὁ χριστός, 22:67; 23:2, 35, 39 (ἐκλεκτός... σωσῶ, 23:35, 39); ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, 22:70 (πατήρ, Jesus referring to God), 22:29, 42; 23:34, 46; ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, 23:2, 3, 37, 38 (rock hewn tomb, 23:53); Prophet, 22:63-65 (Ἀμὴν, 23:43); ὁ κύριος, 22:61; the suffering Servant, 22:27, 37, 43-44.

¹ See above, pp. 110; 468; 113, 201, 345, 471; 207; 380; 382; 456; 564; 625; 627.

² Ibid., pp. 173ff.; 171, 324; 604; 611.

³ Ibid., pp. 196, 345, 412; 421, 438, 540, 541, 542; 426, 221, 321, 608; 438, 625; 383, 557; 362; 214, 294ff. 329.

(D) The Spiritual Realm and the Activity of Supernatural Beings¹:

ὁ παράδεισος 23:43; ὁ ἄγγελος (ἐνισχύω, ὠφθῆναι), 22:43-44; Σατανᾶς (συνιάω), 22:3, 31; cf. 23:25; ἡ ὥρα καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκοτοῦς, 23:53; God (βούλομαι, τὸ θέλημα, 22:42; ἀφίγημι, 23:34).

(E) Eschatology²: The messianic reign- ἡ βασιλεία (22:29-30; 23:43), τοῦ θεοῦ, 22:16, 18; 23:51; messianic banquet, 22:16, 18, 30; corporate reign (κρίνω), 22:30; σήμερον, 23:43; The coming judgment- σκοτοῦς, 23:44; οὐκί, 22:22; mournful repentance, 23:28, 48; ἐρχονται ἡμέραι, the blessedness of barrenness, 23:29; the proverb of green and dry wood, 23:31; The fulfilment of prophecy- τὸ γεγραμμένον, 22:37; πληρώω, 22:16; τελέω, 22:37; δεῖ, 22:37.

(F) The Jews and the Nations³: Jerusalem, 22:10; 23:7, 28; ἡ Ἰουδαία, 23:5; τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς... τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, 22:30; ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, 23:3, 37, 38; ὁ λαός, 22:2; 23:5, 13, 35; ἔθνος, 22:25.

(G) The Life of the Righteous Man⁴: δέομαι περὶ, ἐκλείπω, ἐπιστρέφω, στήριζω, ἀδελφός, 22:32; πειρασμός, 22:28, 40, 46; precautionary prayer, 22:40, 46; prayer of forgiveness, sin of ignorance, 23:34; φοβεῖν τὸν θεόν, 23:40; δαξάσθην τὸν θεόν, 23:47; δίκαιος καὶ ἀγαθός, 23:50; προσδέχομαι, 23:51.

(H) Jewish Religious Practice⁵: Passover (cup, wine); vow of abstinence, 22:15-20; Sabbath, 23:56; temple Veil, the temple worship, 23:45.

Of these over 110 occurrences of OT ideas in Luke 22-23, 63 occur in Jesus' words (cf. 13 in the speech of Jews; 6 in the speech of Gentiles; 1 introduces Gentile speech, 23:47); 2 are part of the narrative description of Jesus; 3 of the 12 disciples; 5 of supernatural forces; 25 of Jews; 3 of Gentiles. It appears that just as Jesus is presented as the source of OT quotations and allusions, so his words contain a majority of the OT ideas put forward in the passion narrative.

¹Ibid., pp. 560; 326ff.; 111, 246ff., 472; 347; 322ff., 538.

²Ibid., pp. 225ff., 172; 165, 229; 230; 560; 601; 208; 492, 615; 495ff.; 496; 300; 165; 301; 302.

³Ibid., pp. 117, 458, 493; 439; 231; 438; 543; 231.

⁴Ibid., pp. 248ff.; 219, 321; 320; 536ff.; 552; 610; 622; 625.

⁵Ibid., pp. 170ff., 180f.; 630; 604ff.

The OT ideas contribute to Luke's theological themes in one of six ways. A majority of the terms have a recognized meaning in secular Greek in a human context but the LXX employs them in a theological context. Nouns, adjectives, or verbs are used to describe God's activity, his dealings with men, or characteristics of man's relationship with God (e.g. δίκαιος; ἀφίγημι; πατήρ). They also are used to describe man's relationship with his fellows within a theological context (e.g. ἐμπαίγω; στυγίω). Within this general theological context OT ideas may introduce into NT use the specific contexts of supernatural realities, messianic eschatology, or religious practice. Category (D) contains most of the terms whose OT usage includes a reference to the spiritual world or realm of the supernatural. Category (C) and (E) contain terms whose special OT meaning has to do with the eschatological events of the End-time, especially the Messiah's reign. Categories (F) through (H) contain elements related to religious practice.

In addition to these four contexts there are several cases in which the specific meaning of a Greek term has been altered by its OT use as translation Greek, e.g. κρίνω meaning "to rule" (22:30); δίκαιος, "innocent" (23:47); ἔθνος, "Gentile" (22:25). Finally, the OT influences Luke's theological themes by providing technical religious vocabulary. These are usually transliterations of the Hebrew, e.g. Σατανᾶς (22:2); πῶχας (22:1); Σάββατον (23:56). In our discussion of Luke's compositional methods we will need to discuss how Luke employs these OT ideas in the development of his theological themes and also how he indicates through his immediate NT context that he intends the special OT meaning to be understood.

As in the case of allusions and quotations so it is with OT ideas which occur in material for which a non-Markan source is basic, it is difficult to judge whether Luke has introduced the OT ideas or simply taken them over from his source. In a few cases where Luke uses Mark

as his source we may see from Luke's redaction that he has introduced the OT idea (e.g. ἀναιρέω, 22:2/Mk. 14:1; πορεύομαι, Lk. 22:22/Mk. 14:21; δίκαιος, Lk. 23:47/Mk. 15:39; θέλημα, Lk. 22:42/Mk. 14:36; δαξάσθαι τὸν θεόν, Lk. 23:47/Mk. 15:39; ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος, Lk. 23:50/Mk. 15:43). For the rest we can conclude that where Mark is basic Luke simply adopts the idea from Mark. Where a non-Markan source is basic we are hampered. Only if Luke consistently introduces the term or idea throughout his work may we with confidence say that he is likely to have introduced it into his non-Markan source. Possible examples of such editing on Luke's part may be πάτερ (Lk. 23:34, 46) and λαός (23:13, 35).

With regard to the relationship between OT idea and OT quotation and allusion, we may observe that OT ideas often form part of a matrix in which the allusion or quotation is set, e.g. the introductory formula of Lk. 22:37; the immediate context of Lk. 23:30 (23:28-29, 31). Sometimes their presence creates a theological or eschatological context which makes verbal allusions in the midst of that context more readily identifiable, e.g. Lk. 23:36, 47-49. OT ideas are connected with OT style many times in the relationship of content to form. An OT idea conveyed by a transliterated Hebrew term or an unusual construction is also evidence of LXX style imitation, e.g. πίσχα; Σάββατον; τοῦ λόγου τοῦ κυρίου; ἐρχονται ἡμέραι (22:1; 23:56; 22:61; 23:29). The patterns of relationship between OT idea and OT quotation, allusion, and style we will need describe during our discussion of Luke's compositional method.

Old Testament Style

We may divide the semitic element in Luke's style into three general classifications: vocabulary, general grammatical structure, and individual grammatical constructions. We encounter in Luke vocabulary which has been transliterated from the Hebrew (in addition to the OT ideas having this form which we mentioned above, we should note the LXX form of the names of various characters in the narrative, e.g. Σίμων; Ἰωσήφ; Ἰουδαῖς;

Ἰησοῦς).¹ We meet LXX style sometimes in the narrative's basic syntactical structure (the use of the coordinating conjunction καί; the resulting parataxis; the word order of subject and predicate). However, Luke's pattern of usage throughout the passion narrative indicates no conscious employment of these elements of general syntactical structure to manifest consistent LXX style imitation throughout. In the nineteen perikopes of his passion narrative δε predominates over καί in seven; καί predominates over δε in seven and five perikopes have an equal number of the two conjunctions. When this evidence is combined with the fact that Luke in using Mark often replaces Mark's καί with a δε and often removes parataxis, we may conclude that Luke did not choose to imitate LXX style through paratactical syntax consistently introduced by καί. He can use these elements but he does so selectively, creating clusters of LXX style imitation. His selective use is also controlled by his desire to write acceptable Greek. Luke decidedly does not use the semitic word order "verb-subject" to imitate LXX style for in only four of the nineteen perikopes does that word order predominate over the normal Greek order "subject-verb."

Most of Luke's LXX style imitation is in the form of individual grammatical constructions. Although they are acceptable or sometimes redundant Greek, these grammatical constructions show by their frequency in Luke and the LXX that they are stylistic elements of each work and in the case of Luke probably examples of LXX style imitation. The following list gives over one hundred examples of the forty-three individual grammatical constructions and stylistic phrases which are LXX style imitation elements in Luke 22-23.

¹ See above, pp. 251, 634, 359, 634.

(A) Verbs¹: pleonastic participles- ἀπελθών, 22:4, 13; πορευθέντες, 22:8; ἐξελθών, 22:39; ἀναστὰς, 22:46; 23:1; λαβών, 22:19; εἰπών, 22:8; ἀποκριθείς, 22:51; 23:3, 40; λέγων, 22:42, 57, 59, 64; 23:2, 3, 5, 18, 21, 35, 37, 39, 47; verbs of speaking- εἰπεν δέ, 22:36, 52, 60, 67, 70; εἰπεν πρὸς, 22:15, 52, 70 (ἐφῆ); 23:4, 14, 22; τοῦ plus the infinitive, 22:6, 15, 31; ἄρχομαι plus the infinitive, 22:23; 23:2, 30; imperatival future tense, 22:11; interjection- ἰδοὺ, 22:10, 21, 31, 47; 23:14, 15, 29, 50; ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, 22:47, 60; δοξάσεν τὸν θεόν, 23:47; ἐσθίω καὶ πίνω, 22:30.

(B) Nouns²: verb plus cognate dative- 22:15; 23:46; cf. 23:48; a part of the body (e.g. hand) used to represent the whole person- 22:21, 53; 22:71; ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις, 23:7; ἔρχονται ἡμέραι, 23:29; ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα, 22:3; ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων, 22:1; τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου, 22:18; τοῦ λόγου τοῦ κυρίου, 22:61.

(C) Pronouns³: post-positive μου, 22:19, 20, 28, 29, 30(2X), 42; 23:46; post-positive σου, 22:32(2X); 23:42, 46; καὶ αὐτός, 22:23, 41.

(D) Adjectives⁴: φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, 23:23, 46; pre-positive ἅπας, 23:1; pre-positive πᾶς, 23:48, 49.

(E) Prepositions⁵: εἰς, 22:33(2X); ἐπὶ, 23:28(3X); ἐνώπιον, 23:14; ἐν, 22:20, 37, 49; 23:42; ἀπὸ, 22:18, 71; 23:49.

(F) Particles⁶: interrogative εἰ, 22:49; cf. 23:6; ὥς, declarative, 22:61; temporal, 22:66; 23:26; ὅτε, 23:5; οὐμή, 22:16, 18, 68.

The 100 and more occurrences of LXX style elements are distributed throughout Luke's passion narrative with just under a majority being associated with Jesus. Jesus' words contain 30 (the 12 disciples' - 3; Jews' - 4; Gentiles' - 5). The introduction to Jesus' speech contains 10 LXX style elements (the 12 disciples' - 2; the Jews' - 11; the Gentiles' - 5). The narrative description of Jesus has 7 (the 12 disciples- 9; Jews- 13; Gentiles- 1; the supernatural powers- 1).

¹ Ibid., pp. 125; 126f.; 332; 333, 442; 185; 125; 357; 446, 567; 331, 370, 443, 474, 567, 617; 305, 369, 431; 187, 357, 431, 445, 474; 127f., 186, 252; 210f., 447, 499f.; 130; 128, 205, 252, 356, 475, 499f., 632; 355, 369; 617; 234.

² Ibid., pp. 182f., 617; 206, 358, 433; 459; 500; 120; 188; 372.

³ Ibid., pp. 182, n.2, 233, 331, 615; 252, 566, 615; 209f., 333f.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 477, 618; 442; 615f.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 252; 502; 476; 188, 267, 357, 548; 187f., 433, 617.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 356; 372; 431, 501; 443f.; 188, 432.

Although the preponderance of these elements in Jesus' speech and the narrative description surrounding him might point to a desire to show Jesus' statements as especially authoritative,¹ Luke's use of the elements consistently throughout all parts of his narrative shows that this is not the only purpose which they serve for him. The fact that these elements are found in both the introductions to and content of Gentiles' direct discourse indicates that it is not Luke's historical interest to present his story in OT language while its environment is Palestine and its characters are Jewish, which governs his use of this style.² Rather, some theological interest which would see the whole of the passion narrative in the same framework probably controls such a thoroughgoing use of this LXX style.³

We may describe the function of these stylistic elements on two levels. Stylistically they serve to make the narrative read more clearly (e.g. 22:1, 23, 64), more smoothly (e.g. 23:3; 22:33), and with greater dramatic force (e.g. 22:15, 47, 60). Of special interest stylistically is the common translation practice which the LXX and Luke manifest. They both use a pleonastic participle to break up parataxis and at the same time preserve in their composition all the elements from their source (e.g. 22:4, 13; 23:47). The other level of composition on which Luke's LXX stylistic elements function is that of theological purpose. This brings us to the question of what distinctive content from the OT is signified by the presence of LXX style imitation.

To answer this question we seem to be inevitably driven to generalizations concerning the theological perspective, salvation history, which characterizes the LXX and which is probably intended to characterize any

¹cf. Case's observations, see above, p. 32.

²Contrast Plummer and Moulton, see above, p. 31f.

³cf. Plumacher's observations, see above, p. 90.

work which imitates LXX style. Luke by the use of LXX style places the events which he recounts firmly within this theological perspective. He constantly reminds the reader through this device that God was indeed working out his salvation in the mission and suffering of Jesus. Salvation history not only means that the events themselves have an inherent theological significance because they are part of a process by which God effects salvation for men. Salvation history means that history is understood to involve the action of supernatural as well as human beings. It is this kind of perspective, which is often expressed explicitly in Luke's narrative, to which the presence of LXX style imitation gives implicit witness.¹

In a few instances a LXX style element conveys the significance of a more specific OT context (e.g. the prophetic speech of fulfilment and judgment, *ἰδοὺ ἔρχονται ἡμέραι*, 23:29). Most of the LXX stylistic elements do not contain any special meaning in themselves. It is only as they function in their immediate NT context, adding LXX coloring often to a context in which there is an OT quotation (e.g. 23:46, *φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ*) or a cluster of OT ideas (e.g. 22:31-32, *ἰδοὺ*; *τοῦ* plus the infinitive; post-positive *σου*, 2X) that their real importance manifests itself. We shall see as we consider Luke's method of composition that he has bound together OT ideas and OT style in a unity together with OT quotation and allusion. The function of LXX style in this unity is to add emphasis at appropriate places and to connect various clusters of OT ideas through the constant recurrence of certain stylistic elements (e.g. *λέγων*, 23:2, 3, 5; 35, 37, 39; *ἰδοὺ*, 22:10, 21, 31, 47).

Although the fact that much of the material for Luke 22-23 has as its basic source non-Markan sources again makes it difficult to identify

¹ cf. again Plumacher's observations, see above, p. 90.

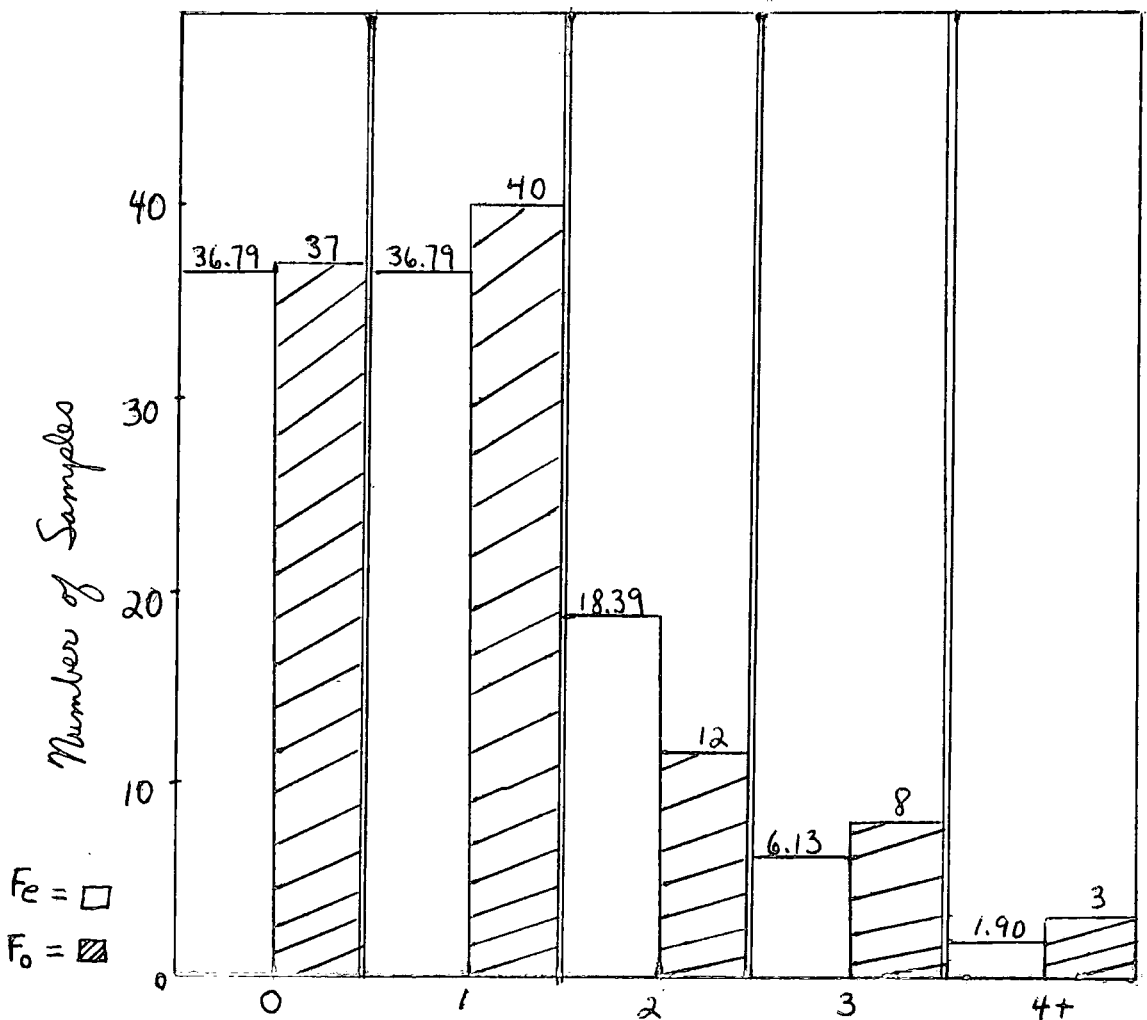
Luke as the originator of a given LXX stylistic element, we still are able to conclude with probability that 32 (another 8 are possibilities) of the 102 occurrences originated with Luke. The rest (59 from non-Markan material; 3 from Mark) come from his sources.

We have seen that there are ~~two~~ three basic theories¹ for explaining the semitic element in Luke's style: it may be the translation Greek of a semitic gospel source; the idiom of a peculiar Jewish-Greek language; the imitation of LXX style. We may discount the translation Greek theory. There is no general pattern in the syntactical structure of Luke's passion narrative, which shows that the non-Markan sections are more semitic than the portions based on Mark. In fact the opposite seems to be the case. According to our analysis only four of the nineteen perikopes in Luke 22-23 have Mark as their basic source. Yet, of the seven perikopes in which καὶ is predominant over δέ, three have as their basic source Mark (22:1-14; 39-46; 23:50-56; cf. the amount of residual parataxis in each of these sections). Of the four sections in which the semitic word order "verb-subject" predominates over the word order "subject-verb," two have Mark as their basic source (22:1-14; 39-46). The individual grammatical constructions are so distributed throughout the whole of the narrative that they are not limited to material derived from the supposed non-Markan translation Greek source. More importantly we have found evidence for Luke's introduction of many of these elements into both Mark and his non-Markan material. Thus, the translation Greek source theory even if it were to be accepted as basically correct must be supplemented by a LXX style imitation or Jewish-Greek idiom explanation in order to reasonably account for Luke's practice.

To decide whether the Jewish-Greek idiom or LXX style imitation theory is the correct explanation of the semitic element in Luke's style

¹See above, pp. 27ff., 53ff., 89ff.

we may apply as one of our tests, an evaluation of the distribution of the semitic elements according to the Poisson distribution for randomness. If they are randomly distributed it is probable that some unconscious factor such as the natural idiom of a spoken language, e.g. Jewish-Greek, is the main cause of the semitic elements. If the elements do not appear randomly throughout the narrative then some conscious factor such as selective LXX style imitation may explain their presence. Having divided the material of the passion narrative into 100 samples, each with an equal number of words, we plotted the distribution of the 102 examples of LXX style. The expected frequency (F_e) according to the Poisson distribution with which we would expect to find samples containing 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4+ elements, if the elements were randomly distributed, is represented by the " F_e " bars in the graph.



Goodness of fit $\chi^2 = 3.71$ $df=3$ probability ≈ 0.30
 Conclusion: Not a significant departure from the Poisson distribution.

The number of samples in which such a number of elements actually occurred is represented by the "Fo" (frequency observed) bars. When we did a X^2 goodness of fit comparison on these expectations and results, we discovered that the fit was so exact that there was a 30% probability that the distribution which we had observed in Luke was a Poisson distribution. Since any probability over 5% is considered a good fit, this 30% probability allows us to conclude that the distribution of LXX style elements in Luke 22-23 is a random distribution. When the evidence is viewed as a whole, then, there does not seem to be any identifiable conscious causal factor such as a semitic gospel source or the selective use of OT style.¹ This random distribution tends to support Turner's thesis that Luke is writing unconsciously in a peculiar early Christian language, Biblical or Jewish-Greek.

There are two factors, however, which keep us from being totally confident that random distribution in this case necessarily means the unconscious use of a peculiar Greek language, Jewish-Greek. There is, as we have pointed out, the difficulty of actually distinguishing between Jewish-Greek usage and LXX style imitation because the source of much of this proposed special language is in fact the LXX itself. Since there is little historical evidence that such a dialect ever existed, whenever we do encounter LXX style elements in a literary work it is more reasonable to attribute them to the more immediate literary cause of LXX style imitation. The other factor which speaks against Jewish-Greek as the cause of the semitic element in Luke is the fact that when analyzed individually very few LXX style elements do occur randomly throughout the narrative. A few elements such as λέγων and εἶπεν πρὸς appear indis-

¹ I am indebted to Dr. G. R. J. Hockey of the Dept. of Psychology, University of Durham, for instruction in the correct use of the Poisson distribution and the X^2 goodness of fit procedures; cf. Wilcoxon's (see above, p. 93) use of these procedures on the semitic elements in Acts which achieved the opposite result.

criminatingly throughout the passion narrative. As for the majority of the elements, Luke places them in close connection with OT quotations, allusions, and ideas. The pattern of usage which results indicates to us that their occurrence is more than the result of unconscious influences. What the random distribution does show us is that Luke has thoroughly reworked all portions of his narrative in LXX style. In our next section we shall seek to understand the pattern of usage.

CHAPTER II

LUKE'S USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Compositional Methods

As we attempt to reconstruct Luke's method of composition we shall consider the broad patterns of OT usage. We shall seek to understand the interplay of the various types of OT usage. It may be advisable in this section to begin with the pattern of usage of OT stylistic elements and then move to OT ideas and the theological themes which they promote. Finally, the pattern of OT quotations and allusions needs to be related to these theological themes. Luke's work continually impresses us with its richness of texture. It is able to support a variety of themes and emphases which present themselves sometimes in the forefront and sometimes in the background of his narrative. We can hardly do justice even in a purely descriptive way to the dynamic flow of his narrative. However, as we describe the progression, convergence, and mutation of various threads of thought in this tapestry of Jesus' last hours, we shall attempt to convey some of the ways in which Luke creatively worked all his OT material together into this harmonious whole.

The LXX style imitation elements are so evenly distributed throughout the whole of Luke's narrative that it is not easy to identify patterns of usage. As we have pointed out the LXX stylistic elements such as λέγων and εἶπεν πρὸς are not limited to the introduction of Jesus' words or even Jewish conversation but extend to the preface of Gentile speech. Thus, it is difficult to see a significant pattern in their occurrences. However, every so often Luke appears to create within a limited context a unity of action by the repetitive use of these introductory phrases. Jesus' farewell discourse; his interpretive word at his arrest; and his answer to the Sanhedrin at the climax to his trial are all prefaced by εἶπεν πρὸς (22:15, 52, 70). Pilate's three protestations of Jesus' innocence are also prefaced by εἶπεν πρὸς (23:4, 14,

22).¹ Though λέγων is used so consistently by Luke as to lose all significance, its use in connection with the mockery at the cross tends to bind together in a uniform pattern the ridicule directed at Jesus (23: 35, 37, 39). Luke's use of ἰδοὺ is an example of the subtlety with which Luke may repeatedly introduce a LXX style element.² Not only can Luke use ἰδοὺ in Jesus' speech as a predictive affirmation (22:10, 21, 31; 23:29; contrast the emphatic use in Pilate's speech, 23:14, 15), but he can use it in descriptive narrative to indicate the fulfilment of the prediction (22:47), or simply the introduction of a new character (23:50).

We have pointed out the most obvious cases in which Luke creates a unified narrative through the repetitive use of LXX style imitation. Some other cases of repetition are so widely separated that they may be best explained as the repeated use of OT style to mark the beginning of various sections of the narrative (e.g. temporal ὥς, 22:66; 23:26). It is sometimes claimed that Luke uses LXX stylistic elements particularly at such transition points in his narrative.³ We do find LXX stylistic elements at many of the transition points in our narrative (22:15, 21, 31, 39, 47, 66; 23:1, 26, 50). These appear to serve the important function of placing the whole perikope in a theological or salvation history context. Yet, this setting is usually supplementary to the explicit theological context of the perikope. Of more importance is Luke's employment of LXX stylistic elements at major (22:15-20, 37, 52-53; 60-62 (the fulfilment of prophecy); 66-70; 23:46, 47) and minor climaxes (22: 23). They add emphasis to the theological themes expressed.

Since many OT ideas and LXX style elements are presented in the words of Jesus, it is natural that the greatest amount of convergence of

¹ See above, pp. 445, 474.

² Ibid., pp. 128, 205, 252, 356, 475, 499f., 632.

³ Zahn and Grobel (see above, p. 31).

these two areas should occur in Jesus' speech (e.g. Jesus' instructions to the disciples, 22:8-12; the farewell discourse, 22:15-38; the words to the arrest party, 22:52-53; the interrogation at the Sanhedrin trial, 22:66-71; Jesus' prayers, 22:42; 23:46; his word to the women, 23:28-31). The OT style reinforces the theological content of Jesus' utterances. Jesus in his various statements adopts the role of a prophet who makes predictions (22:15-38; 22:69; 23:28-31); who interprets in theological terms the events leading up to his death (22:52-53); or who prays to God his father (22:42; 23:46). It is appropriate that such content should be put in the form of OT style, especially the style of the prophets. The significance of such style for the words of Jesus may be either to show Jesus' continuity with the OT prophets and his place in salvation history, or to emphasize his authority. Luke, however, does not limit the use of this style to Jesus' speech or his editorial introductions to it. It is simply a matter of heavier concentrations of LXXisms combined with OT ideas in Jesus' words. While Luke may introduce some of these features himself (ἰδοὺ, 22:10, 31; εἰπεν δέ, 22:36; λέγων, (εἰπών) 22:42; 22:8; 23:3; τοῦ plus the infinitive, 22:31; "stretch out the hand," 22:53; post-positive μου, 22:42; φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, 23:46; pleonastic πορευθέντες 22:8; ἀναστάντες, 22:46), most of them are taken over from the traditional form of Jesus' words. The features which Luke adds may have been intended as an imitation of Jesus' style of speech.¹ Since this speech contains many OT stylistic elements and since Luke extends his use of these semitic elements beyond Jesus words to the whole of his narrative it is better to speak of Luke's imitation as basically LXX style imitation. It is probably true that part of the impetus for such imitation may have derived from the OT stylistic character of the tradition of Jesus' words.

¹cf. H. Schürmann ("Die Sprache des Christus: Sprachliche Beobachtungen an den synoptischen Herrenworten," Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den synoptischen Evangelien (Kommentar und Beiträge zANT; Düsseldorf, 1968), p. 90f.) for a discussion of the characteristic style of Jesus' speech.

Indeed, for Luke Jesus may have been a primary source of the inspiration to imitate LXX style throughout his narrative.

The four other conversations in which LXX style elements reinforce and place in theological perspective content which contains OT ideas are the trial before Pilate (23:1-5; 13-25); the mockery at the cross (23:35-39); the penitent criminal's rebuke and request (23:40-42); and the centurion's comment (23:47).¹ The content of the trial before Pilate, the accusations of the Jewish leaders and Pilate's protestations of Jesus' innocence, could have been presented in a totally non-theological way. Though Luke in his account of the charges shows that the Jews present the issue as a political one, he does not refrain from placing the trial in a salvation history setting through the wording of Pilate's protests and the way both Pilate's and the leader's portions of the dialogue are introduced (23:2, 3, 4, 5, 14, 18, 21, 22, 23). Admittedly Luke is not as explicit as he is at Lk. 23:47 where he uses *δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν* to place the centurion's remarks definitely within a theological context. However, we may understand that the presence of LXX style imitation throughout Lk. 23:1-5; 13-25, serves to place this portion of the passion narrative, in which a Gentile is the main character, also within the purview of salvation history. At the same time Luke's discriminate use of LXX stylistic elements allows the history of the events to be correctly reported. Pilate is not portrayed as a follower of Jesus. The mockery at the cross and the penitent criminal's conversation already contain theological themes which the LXX style merely reinforces.

The distribution and pattern of usage of OT ideas in Luke 22-23 is approximately the same as the distribution of LXX style imitation. The main differences are that over half the OT ideas are found in the reported words of Jesus and very few may be attributed to Luke's redaction. Only

¹ See above, pp. 443ff., 474ff., 545f., 566f., 617.

in Lk. 23:44-56 does descriptive narrative use many OT ideas.

The repetitive use of certain OT terms creates a unity of theological theme both in the limited and extended contexts of the narrative. Sometimes the occurrences are contained in both Jesus' words and descriptive narrative (e.g. Σταυνᾶς , 22:2, 31; παραδίδωμι , 22:4, 6, 21, 22, 48; 23:25). Sometimes they are limited to one (e.g. πατήρ , 22:29, 42; 23:34, 46) or the other (e.g. ἐμπνέω , 22:63; 23:11, 36). Since so many of the terms and their repetition are limited to the tradition of Jesus' words, which Luke appears to have taken over from his sources, it is difficult to recognize theological significance in every repetitive pattern which emerges. Sometimes it is the simple reporting of the essential details of the tradition which causes the repetition [e.g. περασμός , 22:40, 46; σκοτός , 22:53; 23:44; κύριος , 22:61(2X)]⁷. However, there are instances which do seem to be theologically significant.

The mockery directed at Jesus is consistently described by the verbs, ἐμπνέω (22:63; 23:11, 36) and βλασφημέω (22:65; 23:39). Luke not only stylistically binds together the various mockery scenes in this way but he may also be making a christological statement. For, this treatment is what was afforded to the OT prophets.¹ Several other repetitive uses of terms, including christological titles, consistently bring to the fore the nature of the one who suffers. The title ὁ χριστός and its corollary, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, occur mostly in the charges brought against Jesus (22:67; 23:2, 3, 38) and the subsequent mockery of the condemned one (23:35, 37, 39). Luke's general approach to the nature of Jesus' messiahship emphasizes that Jesus is not the kind of Messiah whom the Jews expect. Rather, with the aid of OT allusion and quotation (22:22, 37, 69; 23:46) Luke makes clear that Jesus is a transcendent spiritual Messiah who must follow the pattern of suffering issuing in glory. The charges and the mockery serve Luke's approach in two ways. The current Jewish understanding is denied. In the mockery of Jesus,

¹See above, pp. 380ff.

the crucified political pretender, Luke mocks the idea of a purely political Messiah. The Christian understanding is affirmed for Pilate and the centurion adjudge Jesus innocent of making a false claim. The resurrection vindicates that claim. The unified witness of $\delta\acute{\chi}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ in its various contexts is thus christologically significant for Luke.

The corollary concept, the Messiah's kingdom, also occurs several times in Luke 22-23 (22:29-30; 23:42).¹ The repetition manifests a real development in the theological theme of eschatological participation in the messianic kingdom. For, Jesus in his reply to the penitent criminal makes more clear the exact relationship between the immediate glorification of the Messiah (22:69) and the nature of the believer's participation in that messianic glory if he should die before the Parousia and the final revelation of the Messiah's kingdom. Luke's Christology is also advanced by his repetitive use of Son of Man and the concept of Jesus' sonship. "Son of Man" is a key term in expressing both the suffering and the glory of the messianic mission (22:22, 69).² Its repetition at Lk. 22:48 may along with $\dot{\iota}\delta\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon$ (cf. 22:21) serve to emphasize the fulfillment of Jesus' prediction. Thus it would not only promote the messianic but also the prophetic aspect of Luke's Christology. Jesus' sonship is expressed in the title $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (22:70); in the reference to God as his father (22:29); and in the consistent use of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho$ as the form of address to God in prayer (22:42; 23:34, 46).³

The other theological themes which are advanced through the repetitive use of OT ideas are the salvation history context of Jesus' suffering and death and the connection of Jesus' death with men's relationship to God. Luke consistently reminds his readers that Jesus' suffering is part of a cosmic struggle between God and Satan (22:2; v. 31 shows the

¹ See above, pp. 225ff.

² Ibid., pp. 196, 412.

³ Ibid., pp. 426, 221, 321, 608.

involvement of the disciples in the struggle; 22:53; 23:25, 44-45).

Jesus' being handed over to arrest, suffering, and death is understood within a theological context, in which Jesus' voluntary giving up of himself is seen as according to divine will. As in the case of ἰδού, παράδωκε (22:4, 6, 21, 22, 48; 23:25) has a variety of uses, yet the repetitive presentation of the term in contexts where its meaning is general gives a unified impression of the salvation history which is being played out in this event. Finally, the OT idea of mournful repentance shows a development from its first occurrence as a prophetic prediction (23:28), which is generally related to Jesus' death (23:31), to its clear connection with that death, when those who see the outcome of the crucifixion return mourning (23:48).

As far as selective use of OT ideas at various points in the narrative is concerned, we find only a few occasions where OT ideas come at the very beginning of a perikope and contribute to its setting (e.g. 22:1, 2; 22:15; 23:50, 51). We have already noted the function of Σατανᾶς (22:2) in creating a salvation history perspective from which to view the plot against Jesus. The commencement of the Last Supper and farewell discourse is set within the framework of the theological theme of Passover and its soteriological and eschatological significance. Lk. 23:50, 51 with its brief sketch of the righteous Joseph places the act of burial within the setting of Jewish piety. It promotes Luke's theological theme of the continuity between the people of God under the old order of the law and the new order of grace. In the old order the true people of God are the righteous who express love for Jesus. In the new order the true people of God are those who accept God's decisive salvation in Jesus.

OT ideas figure more prominently in the passion narrative's major (e.g. 22:37, 53; 23:25, 46, 47) and minor (22:48; 23:43) climaxes, and also in its dénouements (22:60, 61; 23:48, 49). The major climaxes invariably involve theological interpretations of Jesus' suffering and death. These are mainly from the salvation history perspective with

emphasis on either the fulfilment of Scripture and God's plan of salvation (22:37; 23:25), or the activity of spiritual realities, God (23:46) or the powers of darkness (22:53). Lk. 23:47 interprets Jesus' death in terms of his innocence before God. The minor climaxes employ OT ideas to express the relationship of men to Jesus in the context of salvation history, whether it be betrayal of the Son of Man, or enjoyment of paradise according to his promise. The dénouements also concern the relationship of men to Jesus. Peter's denial is followed by the recognition that the Lord's prediction has been fulfilled. This, in turn, leads to repentance. Mourning repentance is the result of viewing the crucified Jesus.

Another important aspect of Luke's use of OT ideas is the way in which he relates various elements within a given area of his theology to one another (e.g. Jesus' different christological titles). Also of importance is the way Luke relates these various theological areas to each other.

Before we describe Luke's method of composition with respect to these relationships, we need to review briefly the distribution and pattern of usage of the various OT quotations and allusions. For, OT quotations and allusions are often the core about which various OT ideas are clustered.¹

It is within the framework of a discourse at the Last Supper table which is both a Passover haggadah and a farewell discourse that Luke presents one of his three OT quotations and six of his thirteen OT allusions. Some of these allusions are material allusions and might be better classified as OT ideas (e.g. 22:15-20/Ex. 12:1-13:16; Lk. 22:22/Da. 7:13, 25; Lk. 22:31/Job 1:6-12). As Luke composes his farewell discourse he allows some of the allusions to stand at the beginning of their

¹See above (pp. 644, 648), for a listing of the contribution which OT ideas make to the area of OT quotations and allusions, and the contribution which OT quotations and allusions make to OT ideas.

perikopes and create the setting in which Jesus' statements are to be understood (Lk. 22:15-20 is prepared for by Lk. 22:1, 7-14 which remind us from the beginning that it is a Passover which is being celebrated; Lk. 22:31, the spiritual and moral context of the testing of the righteous man by Satan comes at the beginning of Jesus' word to Peter). The rest find their place at the climax of their respective perikopes (22:20/Jer. 38(31):31; Is. 53:11, 12; Lk. 22:30/Ps. 121(122):4-5; the OT quotation Lk. 22:37/Is. 53:12, which is at the climax of its perikope and of the whole farewell discourse; cf. Lk. 22:22/Da. 7:13, 25, which is more to the center of the statement than the Markan version, Mk. 14:21).

Luke's placement of the remaining quotations and allusions is not as clearly connected with either the beginnings or climaxes of perikopes. Part of this is probably due to the fact that the placement of the quotations and allusions is tied more or less to a chronological progression in the narrative which Luke took over from his sources. Yet, even within these limitations Luke still was able to so order his narrative that the placement of some of the quotations and allusions is compositionally significant. Through his choice of sources he is able to place the Sanhedrin trial with its allusions (Lk. 22:69/Ps. 109(110):1; Da. 7:13) at the head of a series of trials and not simply as an interruption to the story of Peter's denial (Mk. 14:53-54; 66-72; 55-64). Within the Sanhedrin trial perikope the allusion holds the middle position in an interrogation which builds to a climax. Yet, the climax is only achieved on the basis of an interpretation of Jesus' reply which contains the allusion. The allusion is thus pivotal to the progress of the interrogation. Another choice of source material allows Luke to place his final quotation at the climax of the crucifixion scene (Lk. 23:46/Ps. 30(31):6). Jesus' last words are from the OT. It may not be insignificant that Luke portrays Jesus' first and last public words as scriptural

quotations (cf. Lk. 4:19).¹ Luke has also prepared for this climax by choosing not to reproduce the penultimate OT quotation found in Mark (Mk. 15:34/Ps. 21(22):2). The other quotation (Lk. 23:30/Hos. 10:8) occurs in a perikope which is a transition from the trial scenes to the crucifixion scenes (Lk. 23:26-32). It effectively presents the theological setting for the crucifixion and promotes several of the main theological themes which are worked out in the Passion (e.g. the coming eschatological judgment on Jerusalem; the unjust suffering of the innocent one; and the need for the sinner to repent in the face of coming judgment which may be disproportionately severe in view of the fact that an innocent one is unjustly suffering now). The quotation is placed in the midst of Jesus' word to the women and is the climax to the first reason given for the necessity of mourning repentance.

The remaining allusions do not show a significant placement within Luke's narrative. Part of the reason for this is the fact that two of them are detached midrash (23:35/Ps. 21(22):8, 9; Lk. 23:48-49/Ps. 30 (31):12) which extend over a larger area of the narrative than a concentrated verbal allusion. They are not as readily recognizable as compact allusions and thus do not serve so well as introductions or climaxes to perikopes. The compact allusions which are part of the descriptive narrative (Lk. 23:34/Ps. 21(22):19; Lk. 23:36/Ps. 68(69):22) do not occupy significant places in the account of the crucifixion. In fact, Lk. 23:34b seems to have been roughly inserted from Mark into Luke's source.

The compositional reasons for Luke's omission of quotations and allusions from Mk. are his desire to avoid repetition (Mk. 14:48-49/Lk. 22:53; Mk. 15:34/Lk. 23:45); his practice of abbreviation (Mk. 14:1-2/Lk. 22:1-6; Mk. 14:18/Lk. 22:21); his graphic presentation of climaxes (Mk. 15:16-20a/Lk. 23:25); and his use of another source in eleven of

¹ So D. M. Smith (see above, p. 76f).

the sixteen places where he fails to take over a Markan allusion or quotation.

In addition to the comments which we have made in our results chapter¹ concerning the function of Luke's quotations and allusions in their immediate and larger contexts, we need to emphasize again the special compositional method which was used in connection with Lk. 22:37/Is. 53:12.² It became the text on which the themes of Jesus' innocence and his unjust suffering according to the will of God revealed in the Scriptures, were developed throughout the subsequent narrative. Several subsequent allusions and a quotation carry on this theme showing either that Jesus' suffering was a fulfilment of the OT (Lk. 23:34/Ps. 21(22):19; Lk. 23:35/Ps. 21(22):8, 9; Lk. 23:36/Ps. 68(69):22; Lk. 23:48-49/Ps. 30(31):12) or that he was indeed innocent, righteous before God and men (Lk. 23:46/Ps. 30(31):6; cf. Lk. 23:47).

The innocence aspect of this theological theme had a controlling influence over what allusions and quotations Luke took over from his sources. Often when a given allusion did not promote this theme, Luke did not include it (Lk. 22:40, 66f.; 23:6-12, 25, 35, 45/Mk. 14:34, 58; Ac. 4:24-30; Mk. 15:16-20a, 29, 34). At other times when another source better advanced the theme Luke would choose to follow it and disregard Mark and his allusions (Lk. 22:63-65/Mk. 14:65; Lk. 23:1-5/Mk. 15:4).

Participation in the messianic kingdom of the new covenant and the suffering and glorified Son of Man are two other theological themes which Luke expresses by a combination of allusions throughout the farewell discourse and the Sanhedrin trial (Lk. 22:20/Jer. 38(31):31; Lk. 22:30/Ps. 121(122):4-5; Lk. 22:22/Da. 7:13, 25; Lk. 22:69/Ps. 109(110):1; Da. 7:13).

With this background in the pattern of usage of OT quotations and

¹See above, p. 639.

²Ibid., p. 290.

allusions as well as OT ideas we may now return to our concern with Luke's use of diverse OT ideas to promote his theological themes. We have already noted how quotations and allusions and OT ideas are related to each other.¹ We will concentrate now on how OT ideas advance Luke's theological themes. We need to plot out Luke's methods of composition in using diverse OT ideas to develop theological themes. As a result we will see what the OT contributes to the basic emphases of his passion narrative.

The Christology of Luke takes its basic content from the OT. Beginning with the identification of Jesus as the promised Davidic Messiah as the basic content of his Christology,² Luke uses OT quotations, allusions, and ideas to give a unique picture of this Messiah's mission. Three characteristics of his mission are constantly emphasized in the passion narrative. He is a Messiah who must complete his mission through a divinely ordained pattern of suffering, death, and glory. Luke employs the term Son of Man with its background of paradoxical use in the OT. There it describes the heavenly representation of the saints of the Most High who receive an everlasting kingdom but also are handed over for persecution. Luke uses this term to bring out with full force the paradoxical pattern of Jesus' messianic mission (Lk. 22:22, 48, 69). The mockery at the cross of the anointed one who is unable to save himself juxtaposed against the protestations of Jesus' innocence is in another way Luke shows that the true Messiah must suffer before he may properly exercise his glorious power (23:35, 39; 40-41; 47).

¹Ibid., pp. 644, 648.

²cf. Sumner's (pp. 236ff.) view that though in his whole gospel Luke's Christology does not center about one figure, he does show an interest in Davidic messiahship; G. W. H. Lampe ("The Lucan Portrait of Christ," NTS, II (1955-56), pp. 160ff.) contends that Luke does not fasten on one OT figure to the exclusion of others and build his Christology on it. While making helpful suggestions concerning Luke's use of the prophet like Moses as a figure with which he associated the suffering Servant figure of Isaiah, Lampe does not deal with the importance of the Davidic Messiah for Luke's Christology in his gospel.

The OT pattern of the prophet rejected, even killed, by his people is a third way in which this messianic pattern of suffering is presented in Luke. He consistently presents Jesus as a proclaimer of the will of God in the form of prophetic prediction and warnings of judgment. At the same time he describes Jesus' mockery with the same terms which are used to describe Israel's rejection of OT prophets (Prophetic pronouncements- 22:10, 15-20, 21, 28-30, 31-34, 37, 48, 60-62, 69; 23:28-31, 43; rejection- 22:63-65; 23:11, 23:36, 37, 39).

Jesus' role as prophet is not just another facet of his messianic mission, another way of saying that he is the Davidic Messiah, as the titles Son of Man, Son of God, and King are. Jesus as prophet declares the message of God, which, when it concerns his own person, happens to be that he is the Messiah. Thus the rejection of Jesus as a prophet, which includes the rejection of his message, means effectively the rejection of him as Messiah. The christological issue comes to the fore in the trial of Jesus and the subsequent mistreatment and ridicule which he receives. The rejection of the prophet, which is only briefly presented explicitly (22:63-65), becomes the rejection of the Messiah. Luke, however, continues to portray Jesus as a prophet in its positive aspects throughout the whole narrative (cf. 23:28-31, 43).

A second characteristic of Luke's Christology which OT ideas help to express is the exalted, transcendent, spiritual nature of messianic glory. This is communicated not only through the use of such christological titles as Son of Man, Son of God, Lord and the OT idea of paradise, but also through the employment of a combination allusion in the form of a prophetic affirmation with which Jesus answers the question, "Are you the Christ?" (22:69/Ps. 109(110):1; Da. 7:13).¹ The explicit quotation which interprets Jesus' death (Lk. 23:46/Ps. 30(31):6),² also bears

¹ See above, pp. 404ff., 416.

² Ibid., pp. 584ff.

witness to Jesus' true messianic nature.

The third characteristic of Luke's Christology concerns the relationship of the Messiah to God. From the OT understanding of the messianic title, God's son, Luke is able to fashion the mysterious paradox of Jesus' relationship with God, his father. Jesus' intimacy with his father is expressed both in his dependent obedience (22:42; 23:46) and in the exalted nature he has as the divine one. Luke expresses the christological significance of Jesus' obedient suffering with the aid of the figure of the suffering Servant whom God helps in the hardship which he obediently endures according to God's will (22:28; 42-44). Because of his exalted nature as God's son Jesus may, even before entering into his glory, be called "the Lord" (22:61). He is the one who will after suffering be properly exalted to the right hand of God.

The OT ideas which contribute to Luke's eschatology in its three aspects: messianic kingdom, judgment, and divine fulfilment, manifest themselves in concentrated form in certain sections of the narrative. Jesus' description of the messianic kingdom and his followers participation in it is found mainly in the words of institution at the Last Supper (22:15-20) and the midrash on them in the farewell discourse (22:28-30; cf. 23:43).¹ The theme of eschatological judgment on Jerusalem is presented in the form of prophetic prediction (23:28-31).² Although the prophecy hints in proverbial terms at the connection between Jesus' death and this coming judgment, Luke goes on to make the connection more explicit. Luke informs us that darkness over the land, the torn temple veil, and the mourning repentance of the crowd, accompany Jesus' death (23:44-45, 48). Another OT idea which concerns judgment, *שׁוֹפָר* (22:22), comes early in the passion narrative. By way of personal application to Judas, it introduces the fact that the innocent Jesus' suffering,

¹Ibid., pp. 165ff., 221ff.

²Ibid., pp. 492ff.

though determined by God, leads to judgment on those sinful yet responsible people who have brought it about. Another ~~aspect~~ of that same theme is the reference to Jerusalem as the place in which Jesus is convicted (23:7). Luke does not use terms for scriptural fulfilment often enough in the narrative to see any pattern established. At the most we can say that fulfilment is understood within a salvation history context in which one event may reach its fulfilled state, its completion, in another (e.g. the Passover is fulfilled in the messianic banquet 22:16). Fulfilment is determined by God (22:22), declared in the OT (22:37), and may be actively achieved through the obedient completion of the will of God by Jesus (22:37). Each of these elements is based on an OT idea.

The various aspects of Luke's theology concerning the life of righteousness before God are related to each other through the main event of the narrative, Jesus' suffering and death, and the response of men to it. In the farewell discourse and the instructions in the garden Jesus spells out what the approaching time of trial will demand of those who continue to be faithful (22:31-32, 40, 46). He also outlines the way back to fellowship with God through repentance and conversion, which those who have sinfully abandoned Jesus in his suffering must take. Another interpretive word concerning unrepentant sinners, who have caused Jesus' death, takes the form of a prayer that God will forgive them (23:34). Luke completes his description of the Passion with a presentation of those who show all the positive virtues of a righteous life: fear of God, repentance, and faith (23:40-42); praise of God and clear perception of Jesus' true nature (23:47); mourning repentance (23:48); the courage of a righteous and good man who awaits the kingdom of God (23:50-51); and the observance of the Sabbath (23:56).¹ Aside from the last of these virtues each is directly related to a response to Jesus' death and a

¹ Ibid., pp. 552, 610, 615, 622, 630.

perception of his true nature as innocent. All the virtues are grounded in OT ideas.

The OT ideas¹ which describe the Jews and their religious practices also have as their common denominator, their relationship to Jesus' death. While the phrase "twelve tribes of Israel" is used purely in an eschatological context and is not immediately related to Jesus' death, "Jerusalem" and "the Jews" in the title "King of the Jews" are connected with Jesus' death in the contexts of eschatological judgment and Christology. The λαοί are an ever present witness to Jesus' suffering and death. Of the elements in Jewish religious practice the Passover and the torn temple veil are closely tied to Jesus' death, though the Sabbath is not. The OT ideas which describe features of the spiritual realm, the activities of God and Satan, are limited almost exclusively to Lk. 22:1-53. They are presented in terms of a battle in which God has ordained that Jesus give himself voluntarily into the hands of those who act for the power of darkness. Satan uses Judas and desires to sift the disciples. Jesus in his struggle in the garden against Satan's temptation that he not go through with the suffering and death, is strengthened by an angel from heaven. The references to features of the transcendent realm in the rest of the narrative concern mainly the heavenly glory into which Jesus is about to enter at death (22:69/Ps. 109(110):1; Da. 7:13; Lk. 23:43, 46; cf. 23:34, 40-41).

The death of Jesus has been the unifying factor in Luke's presentation of the different aspects of these various theological themes. In addition to what Christology, eschatology, and the life of righteousness contribute to Luke's understanding of Jesus' death, there are some OT ideas, allusions, and a quotation which are particularly attached to the presentation and interpretation of Jesus' death. The unifying factor here is the quotation Lk. 22:37/Is. 53:12 and its thematic development

¹Ibid., pp. 117, 458, 493, 439, 231, 438, 543, 231, 170, 180, 630, 604.

in the rest of the passion narrative. It provides the three essential ingredients in Luke's interpretation of Jesus' death to which all of the other OT ideas are attached: Jesus is righteous; however, he is numbered with the transgressors and suffers as a transgressor; this is according to the will of God. We have already shown how the other OT allusions and quotations are related to this theme.¹ We need to see how OT ideas fill out these various emphases.

That Jesus' death is a fulfilment of Scripture according to the will of God is portrayed within the framework of salvation history. It is through this framework that the Passover events in the past provide a pattern in which the death of Jesus, his shed blood, may be recognized as the event which brings deliverance, just as the shed blood of the Passover lamb protected the Israelites from the angel of death. This framework also brings the eschatological features of judgment and triumph into close connection with Jesus' death (cf. *παραίτησις*, Lk. 22:42; 22:69; 23:28-31; 43). This Luke is able to do by the consistent use of time references which mark the progress of salvation history (e.g. 22:15, 36, 69; 23:29, 30, 43). But more than this the salvation history perspective carries with it a consciousness that certain events must necessarily occur, especially those which are prophesied in Scripture and are essential to the accomplishment of God's salvation. Thus the death of Jesus is presented as an integral and necessary part of the accomplishment of the soteriological plan of God. Luke's introduction to his Lk. 22:37 quotation (*δεῖ; τελέω*; cf. *τὸ περὶ ἐμοῦ τέλος ἔχει*); his connection of the Last Supper with a fulfilment in the kingdom of God which will come after Jesus' suffers (22:16-18); his description of Jesus' death as that which has been determined (22:22); and the use of *παραδίδωμι* throughout the passion narrative in its general sense to give a more or

¹ See above, p. 667.

less clear impression that the handing over of Jesus is done according to God's will, are the ways in which Luke shows positively that Jesus' death is a fulfilment event in salvation history. By working out the negative aspect of his theme from Is. 53:12, namely that Jesus' suffering is undeserved, Luke shows that Jesus' death does not have its cause in the course of human justice. Other than human forces have overridden even a Roman governor's sense of justice. Thus the death must ultimately have a supernatural cause. Luke explains that the death took place at the hands of agents of the power of darkness and according to the counsels of God.

It has been objected that Luke could not have understood Jesus' death as a fulfilment event in a salvation history framework because he omits some allusions and quotations from Mark as well as some general statements concerning the fulfilment of Scripture (Lk. 22:22, 53).¹ We may reply that as far as Luke's methods of composition are concerned, they are governed by no other recognizable framework than salvation history and no other consistently maintainable interpretation of Jesus' death than as an event which fulfills Scripture. The non-allusions and lack of general statements are due simply to Luke's desire to allow his reader to experience events of salvation history reaching their fulfilment from the perspective of one who relives the events. His reader is able to by-pass the viewpoint of one who looks at the events as past history and is constantly reminded by editorial comment which particular historical details are the fulfilment of OT prophecy.² There is also the historian's interest in the dynamic interplay of characters, human, divine, and demonic, which turns Luke's attention away from simple statements about scriptural fulfilment. This lack of emphasis should not be taken as a lack of conviction that salvation history indeed progresses accord-

¹ See above, pp. 76ff.

² Ibid., pp. 195, 338f.

ing to the dynamic of prophetic promises reaching fulfilment. The large influence of Lk. 22:37/Is. 53:12 on the whole passion narrative and the OT allusions in the crucifixion scene are enough to show the central place of the promise and fulfilment scheme in his thinking.

Jesus' suffering as a transgressor is related not only by terms of mockery which have christological significance¹ but also by several elements in the description of the crucifixion and burial which indicate that Jesus died an accursed death (κρεμάνυμι, Lk. 23:39; burial the same day, 23:54; cf. ἀνυπεύθυνος (22:2) and (23:18), whose OT meanings reinforce the injustice theme). The innocence of Jesus is promoted not only by the protestations of Pilate introduced with καὶ ὁδού (23:14, 15), by the rebuke and faith of the penitent criminal (23:40-42), by the repentant mourning of the crowd (23:48). It is also promoted by the centurion's confession that Jesus is δίκαιος (23:47) and the fact that he is buried in a new rock hewn tomb (23:53).

There are some who maintain that Jesus' death for Luke has no soteriological significance in itself for the course of salvation history. It may have been part of the plan of God, but it was only a necessary interruption of the Messiah's triumphal progress into glory.² Luke intends the death of Jesus to be understood christologically but not soteriologically.³ This is, however, a false distinction to apply to Luke's thought. For Luke the Messiah was above all a savior (2:10; 19:10). Luke portrays throughout Jesus' suffering, even up to his death, his saving activity (e.g. his words to Judas, 22:21-22, 48; to the Sanhedrin, 22:68, 69; to the women, 23:28-31; to the penitent criminal, 23:43; his prayer for the forgiveness of others, 23:34). In each case, OT ideas or allusions are the content of Jesus' witness to the will of

¹Ibid., p. 540.

²cf. the views given above, p. 179, n. 1.

³So Pilgrim (see above, p. 289, n. 5).

God, which is about to be fulfilled in Jesus' arrest, death, glory, and the coming judgment on Jerusalem. The witness is stated in such a way that men are pointed to their need to repent and receive God's forgiveness. For each group the choice is made decisive and the alternative to follow God's will is made as compelling as possible.

Though Jesus behaves as a savior throughout the crucifixion there is very little in the narrative which explicitly interprets his death as the act which brings salvation. Yet, what interpretation we do have quite clearly indicates that Luke viewed Jesus' death soteriologically as a vicarious atonement. The words of institution are our main evidence (22:19-20).¹ When this evidence is combined with the reasons why Luke does not give us further explicit references to Jesus' death as salvific in terms of vicarious atonement. And, when we take into account the fact that Luke presents the details of Jesus' suffering in such a way that an interpretation in terms of vicarious atonement becomes the most immediate theological explanation for Jesus' death. Then, we can understand the nature of Luke's soteriology as it relates to the death of Jesus.

Luke does not refer to Jesus' death as a vicarious atonement mainly because as Luke follows his gospel tradition in the passion narrative he encounters no further instances of such an interpretation by Jesus. As Luke presents the teaching ministry of Jesus he reserves the full soteriological interpretation of passion events until after they have occurred: either during the appearances of the Risen Lord (24:44-48) or in the preaching in Acts (Ac. 2:38). This is when the full soteriological interpretation of the passion events was probably first given. It is when they were first fully understood.

If for these reasons Luke has been prevented from giving more

¹ See above, pp. 173ff.

explicit references to Jesus' death as vicarious atonement, this should not make us blind to the way in which he so arranges his details of the Passion and brings out certain emphases that he prepares the way for a later interpretation of the facts in terms of vicarious atonement. In fact it is the essential ingredients of Is. 53:12, quoted in Lk. 22:37 and thematically developed in the rest of the passion narrative, which give the objective facts of Jesus' suffering that are basic to a "vicarious atonement" interpretation of his death. Just as the lamb without blemish sheds its blood to vicariously atone for the sins of the people, so Jesus, time and again witnessed to be innocent of any wrong doing, suffers and dies. His death creates a "new covenant" within which men can receive forgiveness of sins. Only a "vicarious atonement" understanding of Jesus' death can satisfactorily explain how the condemnation to death of the innocent one can mean forgiveness for those who trust in his name. It is then not simply to show that the Scriptures are fulfilled that Luke thematically works out Is. 53:12/Lk. 22:37 in the rest of his passion narrative. It is also to present in objective terms the fact that Jesus' death is truly a saving death.

To understand Luke's composition of his passion narrative and the role which the OT played in it we need then to treat Lk. 22:37/Is. 53:12 and the thematic development from it as pivotal.¹ By stressing the prominence of this OT passage and its themes we do not wish to ignore the richness provided by all the other OT ideas in the various theological themes. Yet it is the central figure of an innocent Jesus suffering as a transgressor according to the determined will of God which often

¹ Contrast Conzelmann (see above, p. 112, n. 2), who says that "temptation" is the main theme. He, however, fails to take into account the fact that though "Satan" and "temptation" figure prominently in Jesus' interpretation of his coming suffering there is nothing in the actual presentation of the Passion itself which shows that Luke intends it to be understood primarily in this way. The other theological themes and figures which have been suggested as basic to Luke's understanding and presentation of Jesus' death (see above, p. 179, n. 1) fail to give a convincing account of all the evidence in Luke's passion narrative.

gives significance to the other OT ideas, makes them relevant to the narrative, and binds the entire progression of thought into a harmonious whole.

Interpretational Method

We have seen how Luke uses the OT in his passion narrative from the perspective of his compositional method. It is necessary to go a step further back in the process and ask how Luke first made the connection between the OT and the NT events he reports? How did he interpret the OT material which he used as OT quotations and allusions in such a way that he found it relevant to the NT situation? To answer these questions we need to look at both the general scheme of interpretation which connects the OT with the NT events in Luke's mind and the specific methods which enable Luke to understand a given OT passage within that scheme.

The interpretive scheme, prophetic promise and NT fulfilment, dominates Luke's approach to the OT. Although formally only one quotation of the three quotations and sixteen allusions in Luke 22-23 are explicitly presented in a promise and fulfilment framework (22:37), eleven of the remaining quotations and allusions are also best understood as having been appropriated for the NT through the use of that scheme. In fact, six of those eleven are the content of prophetic predictions which Jesus utters (22:22, 30, 69/Ps. 109(110):1; Da. 7:13; Lk. 23:(29)30; cf. the others, 22:20/Jer. 38(31):31; Lk. 23:34, 35, 36, 48-49; Lk. 23:46, probably has such a scheme as part of its background). This scheme understands the OT as containing prophecy which NT events fulfill.

The other interpretive scheme, recurring patterns of salvation history, sees the connection between the OT and NT event in the recurring pattern of God's dealing with men, especially in his purpose to accomplish their salvation. Though some might call such an approach a typological method,¹

¹ See above, pp. 21, 37.

there is only one instance where Luke could be described as possibly using typology (22:15-20/Ex. 12:1-13:16). Typology is usually understood to include some form of fulfilment as part of the relationship between the NT anti-type and its OT type. It is best, then, normally not to describe Luke's interpretational method as a typological method unless his presentation of an OT allusion or quotation shows both that he understands the connection between OT and NT within a pattern of salvation history, and that he sees the OT event, which is not itself a prophecy, as somehow fulfilled, completed in the NT event. Luke's use of some features of the Passover to place the Last Supper, Jesus' death, and the Eucharist within a pattern of God's saving activity, along with Luke's declaration that the Passover would be fulfilled in the End-time, gives us the clearest example in Luke 22-23 of possible typological thinking.¹ Except for Jesus' final words (Lk. 23:46/Ps. 30(31):6), which employ both a promise and fulfilment and a salvation history interpretive scheme, though these schemes are not related typologically, all the other allusions and quotations may be understood as having been interpreted either basically within one interpretive scheme or the other. Typology, then, does not play a great part in Luke's approach to the OT.

The two other OT allusions which Luke interprets from the standpoint of the salvation history pattern of God's dealing with men are Lk. 22:20/Is. 53:11, 12, and Lk. 22:31/Job 1:8-12. Luke's confidence in the continuity of God's revelation and of his way of dealing with men enabled him to appropriate for NT situations patterns of divine-human encounter from the OT. We may also say that this same confidence is behind Luke's use of many of the OT ideas in his narrative.

Although formally many of the OT allusions and quotations are presented without a promise and fulfilment framework, we can see that this should not lead us to conclude that Luke did not approach the OT with a

¹Ibid., p. 168f.

promise and fulfilment interpretive scheme.¹ Rather, with a recognition of the reasons why Luke chooses not to place his allusions and quotations in an explicit promise and fulfilment framework,² and with a knowledge of the questions which Luke does ask of his OT passage which indicate his interpretive scheme, we may understand this paradox between interpretation and presentation. We may then avoid the misleading conclusion that because formally Luke does not present much OT material in a promise and fulfilment scheme, he must not have interpreted it this way.

How, then, does Luke make the connection between OT and NT using these two interpretive schemes? In general we may say that Luke finds the point of contact or point of similarity between the two contexts in a similarity of characters or circumstances. Luke discovered these points of similarity through a comparison of the historical tradition about Jesus' passion with the OT. He did not create it through an imaginative invention of historical details for Jesus' passion which coincided with OT messianic prophecy.

When we consider the way Luke made the connection between OT prophecy and NT event in his OT quotations and allusions, the way he interpreted the OT through a promise and fulfilment scheme, we need to recognize two important factors in this NT writer's circumstances which controlled his approach to the OT: the received tradition concerning Jesus' interpretational methods and the gospel tradition of the historical events.

Luke received historical tradition which reported that Jesus had applied to himself various OT passages. Through such appropriations he claimed not only that the experiences prophesied had been fulfilled in him, but he identified himself as the fulfilled embodiment of the one who spoke the OT words. In the Lukan passion narrative there are four OT figures with which Jesus identified himself (the suffering Servant,

¹ Contrast Reese (see above, pp. 78ff.

² See above, p. 674.

Lk. 22:37/Is. 53:12; the Son of Man, Lk. 22:22, 69/Da. 7:13, 25; the Davidic Messiah, Lk. 22:69/Ps. 109(110):1 (Lk. 23:34, 35/Ps. 21(22):19, 8, 9, other portions of this psalm were understood messianically); and the Psalmist, who from the superscription is identified as David, Lk. 23:36/Ps. 68(69):22; Lk. 23:46, 48-49/Ps. 30(31):6, 12; the allusion 22:30/Ps. 121(122):4-5 presents the glories of the Davidic dynasty). Luke took up these identifications and used them as part of his method. His interpretive method became Christocentric in two ways. In a general sense Luke's method became Christocentric because Jesus, the Christ, became the center, the focus of the majority of OT prophecies which he cited. This focus he reports is first given by Jesus (Lk. 22:37, τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί). In a specific sense Luke's method is Christocentric in that he seems to restrict himself to the development of the promise and fulfilment aspects of OT passages which Jesus has first assigned to himself through quotation (e.g. quotation, Ps. 21(22):2/Mk. 15:34; the development, Lk. 23:34/Mk. 15:24/Ps. 21(22):19; Lk. 23:35/Ps. 21(22):8, 9; quotation, Ps. 30(31):6/Lk. 23:46; development, Ps. 30(31):12/Lk. 23:48-49).

Luke's tradition concerning Jesus further reported that Jesus appropriated prophecies about a future event (23:30/Hos. 10:8), or events in the End-time (22:20/Jer. 38(31):31) and related them to himself. These Luke appropriated according to the conviction that the last days were inaugurated by Jesus' earthly messianic mission.

Historical details of the gospel tradition affected Luke's approach to the OT by controlling what OT passages were seen as prophetic. The NT circumstances may also to some extent transform the OT material (e.g. 23:46/Ps. 30(31):6, petition to be saved from death becomes petition to be saved in death; 23:35/Ps. 22:8, 9, different NT characters perform functions which are assigned to the same person in the OT; the mockery receives a different emphasis). NT historical details may also add content to the OT material. Not only does a given figure become identified

as Jesus and the passage become prophetic of him, but others in the OT context become identified with actors in the NT context (e.g. the twelve disciples occupy the thrones in Ps. 121(122):4-5/Lk. 22:30; the characters about the cross fulfill the roles of the enemies and friends of the psalmist (23:34, 35, 36; 48-49). The coming destruction of Jerusalem (23:28-30) means that its first century inhabitants will fulfill Hosea's prophecy).

What interpretational devices does Luke employ to interpret the OT passages so that these connections or applications to the NT context can be made? When he appropriates OT passages which are explicitly prophetic of the End-time, he has little difficulty (e.g. 22:20/Jer. 38(31):31; Lk. 22:69/Da. 7:13) in making the application to the NT context. When Luke appropriates prophecy which one would expect to have already been fulfilled (23:30), or divine oracles (22:69/Ps. 109(110):1) which one might reasonably expect to have been fulfilled in the life of the one to whom they were addressed, then Luke has to use some additional interpretational devices in order to understand the OT text as prophetic of the Messiah and first century events. In the case of the Hosea passage (Hos. 10:8/Lk. 23:30), Luke argues for its appropriateness as a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem on the basis of the conviction that the judgment on Jerusalem is part of the events of the End-time when all scriptures will be fulfilled. Taking Hos. 10:8 literally he finds no record of these elements of judgment having been fulfilled in 8th century B.C. Israel. "Therefore," he may reason, "they are part of all the Scriptures which will be fulfilled in the End-time."¹ Luke also employs this interpretive device concerning all the Scriptures in his apologetic presentation of the suffering and glorified Son of Man.²

When encountering OT texts which primarily refer to David, the same

¹ See above, p. 486f.

² Ibid., p. 200.

method of literal interpretation combined with the question of the identity of the one who does fulfill the prophecy enables Luke to see these texts as messianic prophecies. Thus, David did not ascend to heaven to sit at God's right hand, but the Messiah does; therefore the passage speaks of David's greater son (Lk. 22:69/Ps. 109(110):1; cf. Ac. 2:34-36).

With regard to the lamentation psalms Luke may reason, "We have no historical evidence that the images which David uses to describe his suffering literally happened. But the historical tradition gives us evidence that these metaphors for suffering literally happened to Jesus. The literal fulfilment must have been intended to take place in the life of the Messiah. This Jesus has fulfilled (23:34, 35, 36, 46, 48-49)." We have noted along the way the difficulties which such an interpretation creates for the original historical intention of many of the lamentation psalms. We must hasten to note the large degree of restraint with which Luke employs an interpretational method that treats as messianic prophecies scriptural texts which were apparently not originally so intended. Luke depends mainly on OT texts which in his gospel tradition Jesus has applied to himself. It is then on the authority of Jesus that such supposed violation of original context is undertaken and extended.

Another interpretive device which corresponds to current Jewish exegetical method was the appropriation of OT texts, in which the identity of some of the actors is made clear by providing the identity of these actors from another source. In the case of Jewish exegetical method the source is another scripture. In the case of Luke it is the NT situation (22:30/Ps. 121(122):4-5;¹ cf. 23:34, 35, 36, 48-49).

While literal interpretation plays a large part in Luke's understanding of OT texts within the scheme of promise and fulfilment, we

¹See above, p. 217f.

would be misrepresenting Luke if we did not also point out that he chooses not to interpret literally the fulfilment of the one fulfilment proof-text which he explicitly presents in his passion narrative (22:37/Is. 53:12). Rather, he takes up the general ideas from the image presented and thematically develops them. Luke then is able to interpret OT texts literally and figuratively in a promise and fulfilment scheme.

As Luke interprets OT texts within the salvation history scheme of the pattern of God's dealing with men he uses the interpretational device of literalism to apply Ps. 30(31):6/Lk. 23:46 to the new situation of trust in death. The Passover, which had become a model for the final eschatological redemption, is interpreted with the aid of this eschatological perspective as the pattern within which the saving death of Jesus should be viewed. The other allusions (22:20/Is. 53:11, 12; Lk. 22:31) are appropriated from the OT because of their unique content which expresses a truth about some aspect of man's relationship with God. Luke's method of interpreting OT ideas is to use this scheme of salvation history and appropriate for his own use terms which describe certain aspects of God's dealing with men. Though many ideas come from a prophetic context and are applied to Luke's eschatology, the whole range of OT literature, especially the Psalms, the historical books, and the Law, its sacrificial ritual and main ethical aspects, serves as a source for OT ideas. In the light of the continuity of revelation and God's dealing with men, Luke could confidently appropriate these ideas for the NT context.

Luke's method of interpretation then is basically Christocentric within a framework of salvation history understood according to a prophetic promise and fulfilment scheme. Controlled by the tradition of Jesus' own exegesis of the OT in which he declared that certain passages found their fulfilment in himself, Luke interprets the OT as primarily prophecy which predicts a suffering, dying, and glorified Messiah. His Christocentric interpretation sees in the events of Jesus' mission the

fulfilment of these prophecies.

Luke's Audience, Purpose, and Use of the Old Testament

Luke employs few OT quotations and allusions, especially those in an explicit promise and fulfilment setting. Yet, he uses many OT ideas and examples of LXX style imitation. This creates a confusing pattern of OT usage. On the one hand, Luke appears to avoid using OT material in the form of quotations and allusions. We have discussed his non-quotations and non-allusions.¹ Sometimes he fails to use OT ideas from Mark when they are in the form of transliterated foreign terms which describe Jewish practice. Yet, on the other hand, Luke's LXX style imitation, the number of OT ideas he does use, and his placement of OT quotations, allusions, and general statements about the fulfilment of Scripture at crucial places in his gospel, show that the OT plays a positive role in his work. A consideration of Luke's audience and his general purpose in writing may help to explain this pattern.

With regard to Luke's audience the choice has often been presented as one between Jewish or Jewish Christian readers who would be knowledgeable of and interested in the OT and Gentile or Gentile Christian readers who would be largely ignorant of and little interested in the OT. In comparison with Mt. and even Mk. Luke's lack of quotations and allusions, his avoidance or explanations of transliterated OT terms, has decided many in favor of a Gentile audience.² However, the mixed evidence in Luke's work does not make the choice so simple. If Luke did use OT quotations, allusions, ideas, and style purposefully, then we may reasonably assume that he expected his audience to have had both the background and the interest in the OT necessary to catch the significance of his OT material. But this does not necessarily mean that his audience was

¹See above, p. 644.

²Ibid., pp. 23, 39, 78.

Jewish,¹ either uncommitted, interested Jews, whether Palestinian or Hellenistic; or Jewish Christians, whether Palestinian or Hellenistic.

Before we investigate further this choice between a primarily Jewish or Gentile audience, it might be best to settle the issue concerning the Christian or non-Christian character of Luke's readership. Our decision is determined largely by our view of the main purpose of Luke's writing. His prefaces (Lk. 1:1-4; Ac. 1:1-2) aid us for they plainly state that he intends to give Theophilus an ordered and full account of the tradition concerning "the things fulfilled among us," which he paraphrases in Ac. 1:1 as "all the things which Jesus began to do and teach." This account should confirm to Theophilus the instruction which he has already received. From these prefaces we learn that Luke writes with a positive purpose: the confirmation of Christian instruction through a historically informative account of the events in Jesus' life and ministry. Though certain apologetic motives may secondarily manifest themselves when Luke defends Christianity as a politically harmless religion,² or when he contends for aspects of the faith, which may have been distorted by heresy,³ these motives reflect negative purposes which do not fully express the positive aims which Luke states at the beginning of his book. Luke's work is directed to one who has already received Christian instruction. Whether Theophilus is already a Christian is not certain,⁴ but at least he has been receptive enough to Christian teaching that he and those in his company warrant a two volume work.

Since much of the gospel and the greater portion of Acts is taken up

¹ Contrast Thompson (p. 12), who says that the audience consisted of Jews and Godfearers of the Diaspora.

² W. Manson, p. xxi.

³ See above (p. 80) for the views of Crockett and Talbert; cf. also Talbert's summary (pp. 98ff.) of various recent suggestions for Luke's purpose in writing.

⁴ Arndt, p. 29.

with material which would only be of interest to those who had joined the Christian community (e.g. 22:24-30, 31-34, 35-38, where instructions concerning life in the "new covenant" community are given; cf. 22:40, 46, 60-62), it appears that Luke addressed his work to Christians, or to those he expected to become Christians with the aid of his work. A better way of describing Luke's audience in the light of his purpose is to say that though Luke writes for those who are interested in Christianity but are not yet Christians he does not write to them in isolation, but within the context of the Christian community. Since his aim is to bring interested non-Christians to faith,¹ he evidently writes a work which will both inform them of the facts on which the Christian proclamation and interpretive instruction are based, and which will also present to them in a form appropriate to its original historical setting, gospel tradition which contains some Christian proclamation and interpretive instruction as well. Thus, we would not be far wrong if we also saw as part of Luke's target audience the whole Christian community which could benefit from such a historical confirmation of their faith and beliefs.²

The group which Theophilus represents, if it is made up of interested non-believers, lives in two worlds. They have as much in common with the non-Christian world as they have with the Christian community. Thus it is possible that Luke's gospel was meant to serve in a subsidiary sense as an apologetic missionary tract.³ Just as it is intended to bring the interested non-Christian to firm faith so it may have been partially directed at the disbelieving non-Christian, with the purpose of awakening interest in the Christian faith. Not only the apologetic ele-

¹ Hauck, p. 10.

² cf. Grundmann, p. 39.

³ cf. J. W. Doeve ("L'évangile de Luc; un moyen de prédication de la mission chrétienne primitive," Ned TT, IX (1954-55), pp. 332-37), who describes how Luke uses the literary form of historical biography to appeal to cultivated non-Christian Greeks.

ments, which show Christianity without offense in the eyes of the Roman government, but the whole universal tenor of Luke's work as he presents Jesus, the universal Savior, shows that he is proclaiming Christ to unbelievers.

We return now to the more difficult question. Were these "almost persuaded" non-Christians and this Christian community Gentile or Jewish? It is probably correct to say that both groups may have been mixed,¹ and that Gentiles formed the majority in each. Not only the characteristics of Luke's writing which make it an exemplary tract to non-Christians, especially Gentile non-Christians, but also Luke's distinctive emphases² make it more likely that he was writing primarily to Gentiles.

How does Luke's use of the OT relate to the nature of his audience and his purposes? Both Luke's Gentile audience and his purpose to write history probably influenced his presentation of a limited number of OT quotations and allusions, especially those that were explicitly fulfilment proof-texts. Luke's Gentile audience both Christian and non-Christian would have been interested in the fulfilment of prophecy. Josephus did not hesitate to include in his Antiquities, which presents a history of the Jews to the Hellenistic world, OT prophecies and their OT fulfilment (e.g. Ant. I:213). The second century Christian apologist, Justin, found OT prophecy which had been fulfilled in Jesus useful in his argument before Gentiles. What is interesting in a comparison of Justin's use of OT prophecy in his apologetic with Gentiles and with Jews (his Dialogue with Trypho represents itself as such), is that Justin contents himself with more general statements about OT fulfilment when dealing with Gentiles, while he enters into discussion of the details of OT prophecy

¹Rengstorf, p. 7.

²Hauck (p. 10f.) classifies universal salvation; Jesus as savior; love and forgiveness as characteristics of the life of the redeemed; Jesus' friendship with the poor; the portrayal of him as a miracle worker; and resurrection and eternal life, as emphases which show that Luke has hellenized his gospel.

when disputing with Jews (Apol. 1:50ff.; Trypho 13; 125). We find this same tendency in Luke as he portrays the use of the OT in the missionary witness and preaching in Acts (cf. Ac. 17:1-3 which contrasts with the lack of reference to the OT in Ac. 17:22-34; cf. Irenaeus (Against Heresies IV: 23-24), who contrasts the use of Scripture in the early church's mission among Jews and God-fearers, which made the task easier, with the witness among Gentiles in which the early church could not use scriptural prophetic proof-texts as part of its apologetic).

It may be that Gentile Christians accepted the idea of the fulfilment of OT prophecy in Jesus and studied their Old Testaments as the book in which they found the will of God declared for the Last Days in which they believed they were living. Yet, they did not feel perfectly comfortable with the Jewish exegetical methods which enabled Jewish Christians to expand the repertoire of OT proof-texts which spoke of Jesus.

Gentile Christians believed that general statements, which proclaimed that all the Scriptures were fulfilled in the suffering and glorified Messiah, were the best way of expressing their confidence that the OT was indeed fulfilled. The emphasis may have also shifted somewhat from a focus on the OT and its prophecy to the activity of God as he brings his will to fulfilment.¹ This shift may also account for Luke's adjustment of some general references to Scripture which he takes over from Mark (Mk. 14:21/Lk. 22:22; Mk. 14:48-49/Lk. 22:53).² Yet we should not take this shift in emphasis to mean necessarily that Gentiles once becom-

¹cf. Schulz, ZNW, LIV, p. 105f.; Karnetzki (p. 314) thinks that this shift in emphasis indicates that Luke did not look upon the OT as Holy Scripture, as a closed canon, but simply as a record of God's promises which he continues to make by his Spirit through the prophets of NT times. Karnetzki fails to deal with Luke's references to the whole Scripture (24:27, 44) which may show a consciousness of the OT as a self contained revelation; Lohse (EvTh, XIV, p. 264) points out that Luke's preface with its phrase, "the things fulfilled among us" shows that Luke intends the whole of Jesus' history to be understood within the framework of promise and fulfilment.

²See above, pp. 194, 336f.

ing Christians would not be interested in the OT or its fulfilment aspects. We have ample evidence in Luke that they were interested and did want to become knowledgeable. It is just in the first missionary approach to Gentiles that the emphasis falls on God's fulfilment of his promises in general terms. Luke, as we have seen, did not hesitate to use the Jewish exegetical methods in understanding OT texts within a promise and fulfilment interpretive scheme. But we also have seen that the texts so interpreted are closely tied to Jesus as the originator of the interpretation. Either Jesus is the first to apply the text to himself (e.g. 22:37/Is. 53:12), or the texts, which are taken as fulfilled in details of Jesus' life, come from the immediate context of an OT text which Jesus has applied to himself (e.g. Ps. 30(31):6,12/Lk. 23:46, 48-49).

Luke out of respect for his mainly Gentile audience shows a continual caution in his use of OT fulfilment proof-texts. As a result he quite frequently fails to include quotations and allusions from his source, which might be misunderstood by his audience. For instance, Luke constantly desires to avoid any misunderstanding concerning Jesus' innocence, which is manifested in his perfect obedience to the Father even to the point of suffering and dying unjustly. Thus Luke omits quotations or allusions which describe Jesus' suffering in terms of despair (Mk. 14:34/Lk. 22:40; Mk. 15:34/Lk. 23:45), or in terms of the mockery which he experiences after judicial judgment has been given (Mk. 14:65/Lk. 22:63-65; Mk. 15:16-20a/Lk. 23:25). Thus any hint that Jesus is not truly innocent is removed.

Though the lack of a Jewish exegetical tradition in their religious background may have made Gentile Christians more hesitant to use many fulfilment proof-texts, especially in the initial approaches to non-Christian Gentiles, it is Luke's purposes in writing which definitely limit the number of his fulfilment proof-texts. Luke intends to write an informative historical account of what happened. He chooses to

write from a perspective which asks the reader to relive the events. Thus the fulfilment proof-texts which he may include are limited to what comes to him in his tradition of the words of those who experienced and interpreted the events as they happened.¹ To introduce editorial fulfilment proof-texts into the gospel narrative would be to get ahead of the story. Historically these belong to a later time when the church presented its interpretive proclamation of the Gospel. This approach to the gospel tradition appears to have further limited the number of Luke's allusions for in order to promote this approach Luke has omitted several allusions which he found in Mark (Mk. 14:18, 21/Lk. 22:21, 22).

Though a gospel narrative which contains mainly a plain account of the events supplies one of the two main elements in any development of fulfilment proof-texts, namely the historical tradition, it means that the explicit interpretation of the OT in the light of that tradition must take place primarily in another literary context.

If Luke's Gentile audience and his general purpose can explain the lack of OT material in his gospel, can an explanation be found for what OT material is present? Since the Gentile "Christian sympathizers" received this gospel within the context of the Christian community, they had available to them those who could interpret any OT material which might seem foreign to them. In fact Luke so presents his quotations, allusions, ideas, and style that they may be read on several levels according to the amount of knowledge one has of the OT. Aside from Lk. 22:37 there is no explicit reference to the OT in the whole narrative. A non-Christian could read through and not notice the allusions, two of the three quotations, or some of the OT ideas. The OT style imitation might seem a little unusual or redundant to him in places, but by and large the LXX style elements would simply serve to make for a clear and sometimes dramatic narrative. Yet, the OT material would not be entirely lost on someone who was not familiar with the LXX. The two other quota-

¹ See above, p. 639.

tions have content and introductory formulas which place them within a theological context. OT ideas also often have their special OT meaning communicated by their use in the immediate NT context.

The uniqueness of Luke's use of the OT in relationship to his audience's capabilities is that his composition allows for an ever increasing growth in one's knowledge of the OT. At the same time, at any level of OT understanding, the reading of Luke does not leave the individual in total confusion. The middle level of understanding was possessed by the interested non-Christian Gentiles, Luke's primary target in writing. They probably had a knowledge of the proclaimed gospel, which included certain proof-texts concerning the necessity of Jesus' messianic suffering, death, and resurrection. This audience would then probably be able to recognize the illustrative text allusions in the crucifixion scene. These presented the historical facts of the passion events in the language of the OT prophecies which had been proclaimed to them as fulfilled in these events. Possibly the Christian teaching concerning the relationship of Jesus' death and salvation through the forgiveness of sins would become more clear to them as they read Lk. 22:37/Is. 53:12, and its thematic development throughout the passion narrative. Jesus is consistently presented as the innocent one who suffers unjustly according to the will of God. This is the objective basis for the soteriological understanding of Jesus' death as a vicarious atonement which makes possible the offer of forgiveness. OT ideas are employed to make clear Christology (Lk. 22:67-70), in which interested Gentiles may have also been instructed. This target group may have contained many "God fearers," Gentiles who had shown an interest in Judaism.¹ Thus, they would have been familiar with the LXX and its style which they found imitated in Luke.

As we can see from the amount of OT material present in Luke and

¹See above, p. 686, n. 1.

the sometimes subtle complexity of relationship among OT elements, Luke's gospel could be profitably read by someone who had a good knowledge of the OT. There is room to grow in one's understanding of the OT in relation to the NT events as one reads Luke.

Luke's gospel then is intended to bring one to faith and after having entered the Christian community to help one grow in his knowledge of the faith which is grounded in the will of God declared in the OT. Luke's gospel is also for Christians who are increasingly knowledgeable of the OT. We shall discover further reasons why Gentile Christians would have been interested in the OT and have taken the opportunity to learn its content when we consider next the place of the OT in Luke's theology.

In our explanations of Luke's pattern of OT usage we have not found it necessary to resort to Luke's relative position in the historical development of the first century church's interpretational methods as the explanation for the character of his use. The fact that Luke has a different and more developed set of proof-texts than Mk., but does not have as many proof-texts as Mt. or have as explicit editorial comments concerning fulfilment as John, does not necessarily mean that Luke represents an intermediate stage in the historical development of the early church's interpretation of the OT.¹ Each gospel writer and especially Luke, when compared with his fellow-writers, may show himself to be both more advanced in some aspects of OT usage and more retarded in others. Luke's removal of some allusions and quotations from his sources and yet his inclusion of others in his passion narrative is not explained most readily in terms of either his development or regression from Mark. It is Luke's audience and purpose for writing, not his relative position in the supposed evolutionary historical development of the early church's use of the OT, which best explains his pattern of usage.

¹ Contrast the various schemes which have been presented, see above, pp. 40, 75f.

CHAPTER III
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
FOR LUKE THE CHRISTIAN THEOLOGIAN

The OT was significant for Luke because it was significant for Jesus. Since Luke accepts the lordship of Jesus over him in religious and spiritual matters, he adopts into his theology among other elements of Jesus' teaching: Jesus' high view of Scripture's inspiration (4:21, which may imply a view of inspiration which explains the prophetic power of fulfilled Scripture; Ac. 28:25-28); Jesus' Christocentric interpretive approach to the OT (22:37; 24:25-27, 44-48; cf. Ac. 17:3); and Jesus' promise and fulfilment interpretive scheme (see the immediately preceding references). We have noticed that Luke's compositional method is characterized by the predominance of OT quotations, allusions, and ideas in the tradition of the words of Jesus. Not only is this fact a reflection of an attempt to be historically faithful to the gospel tradition and the original setting, but it is also an attempt to confirm the legitimacy of using the OT as authoritative Christian revelation. It is also an attempt to confirm the validity of the Christian method of OT interpretation. The authority of Scripture and the correctness of early Christian interpretational methods are derived from Jesus himself.¹ The Scriptures may be accepted as God's word not only because Jesus handles them as such, but also because the suffering and glorification of the Messiah in Jesus' mission demonstrates conclusively that God has spoken by the prophets in the Scriptures and has brought the prophecy to fulfil-

¹ It is sometimes maintained that Lk. 24:25-27, 44-48 which describes the risen Lord's instruction of his disciples in the Christocentric method of interpretation is not historical (e.g. H. Grass, Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte, 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1962), pp. 37ff.; Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 286. Contrast J. Dupont, "Les Pèlerins d'Emmaüs (Lc 24, 13-35)," Miscellanea Biblica B. Ubach, ed. R. M. Diaz-Carbonell (Montiserrat, 1953), p. 359). There is, however, good reason to take the resurrection appearances as basically historical. The similarity in wording between the summary of Jesus' instruction and the summaries of the basic kerygma in Acts should not be taken as an indication

ment. It is not insignificant that it is after the pivotal event which demonstrates the accomplishment of scriptural fulfilment in Jesus' mission, the resurrection, that Luke records that Jesus first interprets fully to the disciples the OT as prophecy of a suffering and glorified Messiah. It is also the first time that the disciples are able to understand Scripture's true significance through this Christocentric interpretation (Lk. 24:25-27, 44-48; cf. 18:31-34; 9:45).

Since the OT becomes significant to Luke for these two reasons, it is not surprising that one of the main areas in which the OT contributes to Luke's theology is prophetic promise and fulfilment. It is sometimes claimed, as we have seen, that the OT is only important as a collection of prophecies in general. Luke is not interested in the particular content of fulfilment. While it is true that Luke tends to remove emphasis from fulfilment in terms of particular detail (e.g. the lack of a particular incident in the Passion which may be identified as the precise fulfilment of 22:37/Is. 53:12),¹ his aim is not to ignore concrete fulfilment in detail. Rather, his purpose is probably to focus on OT figures such as the Davidic Messiah, the prophet of the Lord, the Servant, and identify Jesus as the fulfilment of these figures. The details may be traced out by those who having firmly established in their minds the identity of Jesus as the Messiah of OT promise have at their disposal the historical tradition concerning him. They may then go to the OT and discover what details of that tradition are really fulfilled prophecy.

of the literary dependence of Luke 24 on some form of early church kerygma read back into the words of Jesus. Rather, the relationship is more probably one of historical dependence running the other way. When the early church preached the gospel and interpreted the Scriptures christocentrically it did so according to a pattern given to it by the risen Lord. There is other evidence in the gospel tradition of Jesus' use of such an interpretation of the OT during his earthly ministry as we have seen in Luke 22-23 (cf. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 110; Lindars (p. 30) disagrees).

¹ See above, p. 281.

Thus, Luke presents the OT from a Christocentric perspective and bears witness that all Scripture points to Christ. By consistently viewing¹ OT prophecy as a whole, which contrasts with a perspective which might produce a series of atomistic proof-texts, Luke does not intend to deny the validity of concrete OT fulfilment. The number of allusions to that effect in the crucifixion scene are evidence enough that he believed Scripture prophesied details which would be fulfilled.

The OT also provides for Luke eschatological and salvation history perspectives which are vital to the composition of his gospel. Just as the OT prophesies specifically about the Messiah so it also prophesies about the events of the End-time. The OT is Jesus' authority that what he says about judgment (23:28-30) and messianic triumph (22:30) will take place.² Again this prophecy is a prophecy within a prophecy for it is part of Jesus' own eschatological predictions. It is part of the continuity of revelation³ which Jesus manifests in his ministry as he seeks to show himself a true prophet of the Lord. The OT, then, instructs Luke concerning the End-time. By quotation, allusion, idea, and style, Luke hands on that instruction.⁴ As in the case of messianic prophecy there is a Christocentric focus for the End-time events are closely related to Jesus' messianic mission.

The OT provides the pattern of God's working in history to effect man's salvation. Luke models his own work on the OT as he presents Jesus' life from the perspective of salvation history. This is immediately evident in Luke's use of LXX style imitation throughout his narrative. As Luke seeks to write history which faithfully portrays the human factors, he does not hesitate to introduce the divine causation which is

¹Lohse, *EvTh*, XIV, p. 264.

²See above, pp. 482f., 218.

³cf. Sumner, p. 215.

⁴See above, pp. 480; 153, 217; 646, n. 2; 459, 500.

constantly moving the drama to fulfilment according to God's plan. As the model for the pattern of God's dealings with men, the OT is viewed as a whole and patterns are extracted and applied to the NT situation (e.g. the Passover as a model for God's salvation of his people).¹ Again such a use is a witness to the continuity of revelation.

The OT serves another function in Luke's salvation history perspective. Not only is it the model according to which Luke's narrative is constructed, but it is the prophetic content of the divine design according to which the history, which Luke reports in his narrative, is happening. As the prophetic content of salvation history the OT is extremely important for understanding the significance of the fulfilment which has taken place in Jesus' mission.

Indeed, the OT is important for understanding the essential doctrines of the faith about Jesus the Messiah and the salvation he brings. The tradition of Jesus' words in Luke contain most of the OT ideas which he uses. Although the Christian missionaries to the Gentiles may have spoken of fulfilment of prophecy in general terms and described Jesus as a universal savior without much reference to his Davidic messiahship (e.g. Ac. 16:31), Luke shows that once initiated into the faith, the Gentiles were introduced to many OT ideas. The OT held the key for understanding not only much of the OT imagery and Jewish practices contained in the gospel tradition of Jesus' words and work, but also the basic titles by which Jesus' nature is confessed: Christ, Son of Man, Son of God, Lord. These could not be properly understood unless the OT was searched and the basic figure of the Messiah was discovered. If the Gentiles were to grow in grace and in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus then they would have to turn to the OT. The same may be said for many of the other OT ideas which we have dealt with especially those which describe aspects of man's relationship with God. But it would not

¹ Ibid. pp. 165ff.

be simply out of necessity but from a real interest that Gentile Christians would avail themselves of the OT. For again because of their faith in Jesus the Messiah as the supreme revelation of God's salvation for men, which had been prophesied in the OT, they would want to search the OT and discover all the implications of that salvation.

As Luke prepares all of this OT material for Gentiles he uses the device of the salvation history perspective to make it relevant to them. By taking up the idea of divine necessity and wedding it with both the pattern of God's saving acts in the OT and the OT eschatological or prophetic perspective which proclaims the decisive universal salvation of the End-time,¹ Luke is able to place the OT within a universal historical perspective relevant for all men. Through the use of the Christocentric method of interpretation the early Christians had been able to appropriate the OT as distinctively their own source of revelation. **Yet, by** emphasizing the continuity between themselves and the Jews, as Luke does effectively through his sympathetic presentation of pious Jews and their practices (e.g. 23:56), early Christians could maintain a positive witness to the Jewish community claiming that the difference in approach to the OT by Jews and Christians was only a matter of the focus of one's interpretational method.²

The OT for Luke then was the inspired Word of God which prophesied the coming of Jesus the Messiah who would suffer and be glorified, the supreme event in God's plan of salvation. The OT was the foundation for many of Luke's theological themes, especially those which concerned

¹Karnetzki (p. 314) comments that though Josephus' and Luke's portrayal of scriptural fulfilment are both less eschatological than the other Synoptic Gospels, still Luke compared with Josephus is more eschatological.

²cf. Conzelmann (Outline of NT Theology, pp. 31, 43), who makes some pertinent comments about the importance of the OT in the early church both as a force uniting Jew and Gentile and as a check against the possible tendency for Gentiles to turn Christianity into an unhistorical mystery religion.

Jesus' nature and the salvation available to men. Luke's contribution as an early Christian theologian to the Gentiles is to show that the OT heritage is essential to the Christian faith. Gentiles who as pagans were neither knowledgeable of nor interested in "the book of the Jews," now as Christians are directed to it as the revelation of God's dealings with men to bring about their salvation. Luke's work shows the basis on which the Gentiles were interested in the OT, namely the relationship of the OT to their new found Lord, Jesus. He also manifests the way in which the OT could be used to communicate God's truth to those who did not have it as part of their religious heritage. The general statements concerning fulfilment of prophecy; the placement of OT material within the continuity of a salvation history perspective; and especially the founding of one's use of the OT on Jesus' use of the OT as reported in the gospel tradition, are satisfactory ways for introducing to the Gentile Christian the OT background to his faith.

For Gentile Christians today who, because they have in canonical form the NT witness to the Christian faith, may be tempted to dispense with the OT, Luke is a firm reminder that they do so only at the risk of losing both an understanding of who Jesus is and what the salvation in his name means. Their loss would include much of the content of God's word to men in the past, which is carried on by Jesus and finds its fulfilment in him. Luke also provides some helpful approaches to the OT. Through these one can begin to grow in knowledge of a portion of the Bible whose thought and mode of expression may be as foreign to the minds of twentieth century Gentile Christians as they were to Luke's audience, the first century Gentiles who were about to become Christians.

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